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SUBVERSION

Uruguayan Armed Forces Summary of Subversive Movement in Latin America

Part I

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FOREWORD

[Text]

From the Armed Forces to the People of Uruguay

This book reveals the artificial prestige with which an attempt was made to surround one of the most publicized guerrilla organizations of Latin America. Exciting because of the reality it describes, it offers the originality that the documents of the terrorist organization itself do the speaking. In their pages parade the main criminal acts that shook Uruguay and world public opinion. Abundantly documented, it explains the origins of the sedition, its foreign background and roots, the profiles of the guerrillas, and the techniques and causes with which the terrorists tried to justify their criminal actions.

The conclusions drawn provide a clear evaluation of the meaning of Uruguayan subversion as a phase not yet clearly defined in the overall and most ambitious aspirations of the contemporary revolutionary war waged on a world-wide scale by the enemies of peace and freedom.

Pondered and sober, this book is a warning to all free people, and its reading is particularly indicated for those who have not yet abdicated the most important right of the human being: that of thinking for himself.

The reader, regardless of his language or the place he lives, will find the most complete explanation on the Tupamaro guerrillas and the best proof of the spiritual strength and hope that people can draw from democratic institutions.

The timeliness and profound sense of this book, prepared and published by the Armed Forces, are proper and the best reply--with validity for any time and for any freedom-loving country--that Uruguayan society could give to sterile politico-social solutions based on hate and violence, which--like an anachronistic remora--flourishes in the convulsed world of today.

INTRODUCTION

"Know your enemy and know yourself and you can wage a hundred battles without running any risk of defeat." Sun Wu, Chinese military strategist of the 5th Century B.C.

1. Much has been said and written on subversion in Uruguay, particularly on the seditious organization that gave it so much notoriety in and out of our borders, the "National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros)"[1] /MLN-T/.

However, even today, instead of gaining ground, the truth remains hidden, offering a distorted view, particularly on the international scene, in which a not always truthful and sometimes decidedly false, information has been provided.

This work attempts to show the naked truth for the real evaluation of events throughout a vast cycle--not yet concluded--which ranges from the origins of the movement in the early years of the decade of the 60's to the present.

Its realization has been possible thanks to the arduous task performed by the Armed Forces[2] /AF/, Army, Air Force and Navy, together with the police services, in a struggle without truce to eradicate subversion from the soil of the republic.

The documentation on which it is based was obtained through the effort made beyond the call of duty, and on many of its pages remain the fresh traces of the blood shed by the officers, soldiers and police who fell defending the principles and values on which the juridico-political system which has traditionally ruled national life, is based.

The main source of information were the rebels themselves because of what their documents are and what they say. These were seized in many operations, and in an objective way they allow us to learn the sinister nature of the organization from a theoretical point of view, because from the practical point of view, reality revealed it with insuperable eloquence.

It is the testimony of subversion itself which is permanently present in the pages of this work. They are the words of the insurgents, their ideas, opinions, evaluations, contained in them. It is the seditious movement that speaks through its many means of expression and with its own particular language and philosophy.

Put together with unchallengeable materials, this book is a systematic and patient exploration of the morbid climate of violence unleashed by tiny groups of irascible, unsuccessful and resentful groups, without a popular base or supported by opinion, in a desperate attempt encouraged from abroad to question the order and legality of an authentic democratic state, which patiently realized its own progress and culture and vigorously tried to perfect them.

This book is divided into two parts. The first one provides a preliminary idea of subversion in Latin America--without which knowledge it is impossible to understand the true significance of domestic subversion in Uruguay or any other Latin American country--and the prominent role played in it by the Cuba of Fidel Castro Ruz, which was converted into a Latin American agency for international communism.

The second part deals with national subversion, the way it was laboriously instrumented by Marxism, and then it goes into the study of the seditious movement, the essential aspects of its structure and organization, its objectives, strategy, its methods of struggle, its criminal activities and its future prospects.

Certainly from now on no one will ever be able to write or speak with any degree of authority on the Uruguayan subversive organization without taking into account the revelations of this volume in which are accumulated figures, references, events and explanations such as had never been done before, supported by copious material and the testimony of the very persons responsible for the chaos they attempted to unleash in the country at the service of interests and designs that are alien to it.

The revolutionary theoreticians of the entire world are still asking themselves today how the Uruguayan insurrection could be overcome so easily in 1972 when in that era it was already a double power with a military apparatus of several thousand combatants, a clandestine organization of 10,000 members, and a strategic-political leadership that had aroused admiration because of the audacity and precision of its terrorist activities.

Without being affected by the worn-out explanation of the insurrectionists and their vast foreign chorus, which reduced the defeat to the loss of a battle in terms of certain tactical errors and the alleged terror of military repression, the present study reveals to the people, with names and surnames, the motivations and the threads of the plot that was woven behind their backs from the beginning of the decade of the 60's, delving deep into an analysis of the causes, procedures and purposes of the insurrection itself.

This book is the calm reply which, while continuing with the task entrusted to them, the Joint Forces[3] /FC/ give to the challenge issued by a deliberate domestic and foreign campaign of lies which lacks any basis in fact.

To these lies they dialectically oppose the objective facts of Uruguayan history, and to the disloyalty and treason of those who attacked the fatherland, the unswerving faith of the Uruguayan people in the peaceful future of the land of Artigas, in harmony and a community of ideals with all men and all countries of the world who love peace and progress.

2. Abusing its freedom and tolerance, a small number of fanatics, adventurers, and criminals, tried to destroy the political stability and the economic possibilities of the nation, pushing it to the brink of the abyss. In a painful experience, that at any other time or place may be duplicated, and which for that very reason is worth knowing, the seditious aggression undergone by Uruguay must serve as an example and warning to all those who believe that the basis for every possible coexistence continues to be the right of each nation to build its own destiny by itself and to do it freely.

A country of deep democratic convictions, Uruguay believes in the genuinely human values on which its institutions are based. It firmly maintains its unvarying zeal for peaceful and rapid development in keeping with the rate of the times the world is living in. And it vehemently rejects a revolution based on hate and violence such as the one the terrorist groups, tiny minorities encouraged from abroad, tried to implant in it.

Precisely because Uruguayan democracy is sufficiently strong and courageous, it can reveal to the entire world the truth on the scope and objectives of the subversion it had to curb, and which surely could not be bared in those countries from which the supporters of the extremist organizations that promote it obtain their instructions.

Almost a century had passed in our national history since armed struggle had been used as a means of expressing ideas when there emerged the small subversive groups, which resorting to methods of direct action, tried to force solutions totally improper and alien to the hopes of the Uruguayan people in whose name they said they acted and for whose alleged happiness they did not hesitate to commit atrocious excesses and crimes that the country repudiated unanimously.

There are no racial problems or separation of social groups in Uruguay. Reforms introduced from the beginnings of the century guaranteed all its inhabitants freedom of speech, travel, work, unionization, vote and the right to be candidates for the main public offices. A system of social security, that has been labeled as excessively broad for the possibilities of the country, free education for all levels of learning, primary, secondary and university; medical treatment, also free and paid by the state, and an unblemished tolerance for dissenting opinions, describe the system and way of life whose change through force and organized crime was unsuccessfully attempted.

The foregoing is so uncontradictable that the extremists themselves had to acknowledge in their documents that the subjective conditions required for accomplishing a revolutionary action did not exist in the country. This fact did not stop them, however, through holdups, robberies, kidnapping and the

useless spilling of blood, from trying to create the insurrectional "center" /foco/ and "the revolution" etched in their brains by the influence of what, according to abundant subversive literature and other not so "literary" influences, had happened in other countries that live under different conditions than those existing in Uruguay.

The formula followed is not national but imported from Marxism, it being administered and systematized in the Havana conferences called the "Tricontinental" and the "LASO" /Latin American Solidarity Organization/, which is where armed struggle was institutionalized as an expression of an international phenomenon, structuring the foundations for transplanting the Cuban pattern to the other countries of the continent.

Despite the absence of conditions for revolutionary action, because of the force of the subversive current promoted by Castro-communist Cuba, the intellectual need for the armed struggle acquired volume in the minds of many members of the Marxist groups, advocates of provoking revolution in the Cuban model under the encouragement of the frontal combative position applied by the Chinese.

That is the scheme that was followed to the letter by the Uruguayan seditious organizations, particularly the MLN-T, with the negative results that are well known.

3. The conditions that were lacking, but which the struggle would cause to germinate, actually did not appear; the people, particularly the lower economic classes, far from responding to the call to armed struggle, became its most determined and tenacious enemy, contrary to what had been foreseen by extremist theoreticians. They only managed to establish the most adverse conditions for the attainment of the goals they said they maintained; in short, "the revolution" crystallized but merely as a programmatic aspiration lacking any substantial content and popular support, in the restricted ambient of refined intellectual and university circles instilled with a sick aristocraticism, the product of frustration, resentment and lack of any interest in freedom.

The roots of republican ideas and practices among the Uruguayan people are so solid that in the midst of the struggle unleashed with the maximum intensity of which subversion was capable, when the time came for the holding of elections for national offices[4], the extremist organizations had to acknowledge that propensity and halt their guerrilla activity to join one of the political groupings that was participating in the elections.

The electoral results showed the feelings of the Uruguayan people, who voted massively for the traditional parties. The grouping of all the leftist sectors and parties into a united front, the "Broad Front"[5] barely managed to obtain the votes that those parties had obtained individually in previous elections. However, it would be wrong to infer from that expression of support for that political conglomerate acquired publicly by the extremist groups, that each and every one of their voters shared the idea of armed struggle sustained by those groups.

The elections over, and the rejection by the immense majority of the people of the objectives and methods of subversion confirmed, subversion resumed terrorist procedures with renewed zeal until the AF intervened after a decision by the Executive Branch based on new juridical norms, forcing them to retreat and rapidly decimating the seditious organizations[6].

4. From the resolutions and agreements reached on an international level that inspired subversion in Uruguay, as much as from the documents seized from the extremist groups, and from various records and reports coming from other Latin American countries, two fundamental conclusions are drawn:

a) the seditious movement is the local expression of an international politico-ideological phenomenon, individually Latin American;

b) its affiliation is essentially of the Marxist-Leninist type. Actually, without regard to the common Marxist affinity and distinctive politico-ideological shadings, four main well-defined trends are noted in the Uruguayan extremist groups:

1) Marxism-Leninism (MLN-T; FRT, 12 December Movement, GAU [Groups for Unified Action])
2) Castro-communism (FARO)
3) Anarchism (OPR-ss)
4) Maoism (Red Groups)

5. One of the constants recorded during the course of antisubversive action was the flagrant contradiction between the theoretical slogans of the insurrectionists and the practical reality of their effects.

In their "Interrogation Manual", for example, they constantly repeat the need never to "betray even at the cost of one's life."

Reality, on the other hand, was much less heroic.

When during the first months of 1972 the FC organized and waged their counter-offensive, forcing the insurrectionists to withdraw to defensive positions, the imprisonment of criminals increased day by day until several thousand were taken.

The basis for these repeated successes, as the movement began to lose strength, resided exactly on the propensity of its members to inform, with every-growing fluency, on the activities of the other members of the organization. The "mystique of silence," to which the organization referred in its documents, was broken. Of course such events should be explained in some way and it was then that the insurrectionists orchestrated a campaign of lies aimed at picturing the FC as having obtained information through "torture," which was widely commented on subsequently by the international press with a complete lack of truth. That campaign tended to paint the insurrectionists as innocent victims of a refined military sadism, with the deliberate purpose of winning the sympathy of opinion but primarily also to create a climate of

apology and understanding for the stealthy murders, which under the heading of "harassment" and "reprisals" they were going to commit. Of that campaign, conceived and executed pursuant to the modern principles of psychological-political warfare, there is abundant documentation, opportunely published to alert the population on its divisive purposes[7].

Real tortures, on the other hand, were those applied to those kidnapped and maintained under incredible subhuman conditions in the so-called "people's jails." Of them the FC managed to rescue the persons still being held, and they showed accusing evidence of unspeakable physical and moral mistreatment. The isolation of those kidnapped from every indication of life and time in subterranean cages impossible to describe, supposes the sick attempt to provoke imbalance and madness in the victims sentenced to pay for imaginary "bourgeois" crimes by irresponsible "people's courts" imbued with blind Marxist hate against society.

In a letter from Claude Fly, inexplainably smuggled past the seditious censor, there are passages that suggest that constant struggle of the mind to preserve the lucidity of reason[8].

Murders and wholesale slaughter were likewise committed by the terrorists against agents of public order, police officials and members of the armed forces for no other reason or justification than that they were doing their duty in defense of the institutions and the law.

Torture and sadism were also the cowardly murders of Dan A. Mitrione, Inspector Hector Moran Charquero, the victims of 14 April and 18 May 1972, of Colonels Artigas Alvarez and Ramon Trabal, and the horrible death by means of an injection of Pentothal of Pascasio Ramon Baez, a humble rural laborer.

These execrable crimes confirmed the homicidal coldness and lack of all human feelings of the members of the terrorist group. The first revealed the intensity of the anti-North American hate inculcated in them by communist preachings. The latter revealed the emptiness of their slogans as self-proclaimed redeemers of the workers and peasants. But it also showed that it was only fear, inadmissible in true revolutionaries, that was the driving force which made their criminal instincts flourish every time that their own safety was in danger, with the most absolute contempt for the life of their brothers.

Fear, hate and evil are the essential elements of the resentment the MLN-T had against the man of the society he intended to ruin. Even in a story so Britanically sober and free from political comment as the one told by Ambassador Jackson about his kidnapping and his life with the insurrectionists for a period of 8 months, could do no less than show a glimpse of that burden of perversity and hate, even ferocity, that animated Tupamaro violence. "I have, therefore, reached the conclusion, particularly with the help of the incident described, that it was ferocity more than a precise ideology, the only and common exponent of the various personalities of my captors. Where it had not existed or was only latent, it had to be learned, or emerge so that the individual could live in a consistent manner with himself."[9]

Another repeated attitude of the rebels when arrested was that of the insistent demand for all the rights and prerogatives offered to all citizens by the legal ordinances they wanted to destroy, seeking to protect themselves in that manner from the criminal and traitorous actions they committed against these rules, in addition to having a body of specialized lawyers, the majority of them closely linked to the organization. The list of defense attorneys for those arrested for sedition consists of a score, and among them are members of the MLN-T, several persons more directly or indirectly implicated in subversion, and some others, who without any well-known records that allow including them in these categories, placed their science and professional expertise at the service of the insurrectionists for one reason or another.[10]

The government adhered so closely to legal rules that it had to ask Parliament repeatedly for the passage of a special legislation to safeguard public order in order to counteract the ineffectiveness of legal methods, which, with a pristine legal innocence, protected terrorist activities without safeguards or security of any kind for public peace, freedom and the rights of the population.

Contrasting with the procedures of exaggerated liberalism and even leniency of ordinary justice, there appeared the tortuous principles of the so-called "Tupamaro penal code," which established the death penalty, and delegated authority to any insurrectionist to carry it out.

Perhaps there was nothing more demonstrative of the pseudo-intellectual and aristocratic concept that presided over the lives of those movements than the opinion maintained with respect to recruiting, as explained by textual expressions contained in their internal documents: "The requirement for a certain level of quality is vital: who is going to want to do something more or less compromising with an open and amorphous organization?" What counted was, therefore, quality and not the number.

Recently, in view of pressures from sympathizers and criticisms from general opinion, the terrorist group published its "program of government," on the occasions of the elections that were to be held at the end of November 1971. Except for the complete state takeover of the means of production, according to the well-known Marxist recipe, that program was nothing more than a hodgepodge of generalizations. Many of them were either already national realities or were included in the platforms of the traditional parties.

6. The statement by the MLN-T, extracted from the statement of its "general strategy" that there are objective but not subjective conditions for revolutionary action in Uruguay, cannot withstand the slightest analysis regardless of the critical criterion used to consider it. If it is examined through one of the elementary indexes of evaluation of the economic and social condition of a country, as for example the status of nutrition of the people, it turns out that in 1969 Uruguay replaced New Zealand in first place in the entire world as the consumer of red meat, a standing, which of course is a vital reflection of the nutritional potential of a nation.

Another clarifying example of insurrectionist disorientation is provided by its resounding failure when it tried to transfer its actions from the urban centers to the rural area, attempting, like other countries, to create rural guerrillas.

The opening of this second front, through actions to be carried out outside the cities, had in mind the purpose of dividing the small forces assigned to antisubversive struggle.

Confirming this statement, the extremist group states in one of its documents:

1. The low density of population in the interior allows the deployment of contingents without being noticed.

2. The extremely poor living conditions of the rural wage earners have created a sector which is spontaneously rebellious and which may be very useful in the rural struggle.

3. The repressive level of the FC is very low because of its great dispersion throughout national territory.

These concepts, after a short analysis, show they are erroneous and merely speculative, however, a product of the theoretical imagination of city dwellers:

1. The apparent "vacuum" of the Uruguayan rural area is not really that to the people of the interior, who are accustomed to noting any movement at great distances, which allowed them to easily see who and how many persons come and go, and from whence they come.

2. As far as the possible complicity of the rural laborers in actions, it turned out in the reverse, since they collaborated spontaneously and actively with the Combined Forces, being an auxiliary element of the first order to such an extent that on more than one opportunity they had to pay with their lives for refusing to support the insurrection.

3. Their evaluation as to the small number of repressive forces was exact, but the error was made in not having correctly estimated the degree of their effectiveness, and their support and loyalty for juridico-political rules they promised to defend and to the armed institution to which they belonged and served devotedly.

In general, the estimates and plans of the seditious movement, based on the presumed characteristics and conditions of the armed forces, were notoriously erroneous.

It is true, that always devoted to their traditional activities, they lacked the political training and initial aptitude for antisubversive struggle. It is also true that at the beginning they lacked proper intelligence services and personnel and that they also lacked an initial motivation for consecrating themselves to an activity up to then considered as being a police function.

However, the Uruguayan soldier is not a mercenary, as the insurrectionists mistakenly maintained; he has patriotic ideals and the relationship between officers and men is paternal, affectionate and familiar without prejudice to discipline. He is a professional soldier and not a conscript; he rapidly became involved in the new task to be performed, and in an exceptional manner acquired an unequaled capacity for urban antisubversive combat. His actions, moreover, were always within the framework of the strictest legality, whose formalisms and ambiguities the insurrectionists exploited abundantly, even taking advantage of the parliamentary support given to them by the Marxist sectors represented in it and even by others who did not understand the situation or its seriousness. On many occasions, the officers, subalterns, noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the FC demonstrated their innate qualities of daring and bravery, vying for the positions of greatest danger in a constant show of collective and anonymous heroism free of all exhibitionist zeal against a cruel, tricky and traitorous enemy filled with hate and well supplied with automatic weapons.

The revolutionary paranoia, assimilated in the Marxist school with the quasi-mystical dogmatism which it knows how to instill in its initiates, led the insurrectionists to overestimate their own capabilities, aptitudes, and methods and to reduce and underestimate, in an inverse proportion, the motivations of service, dignity and loyalty of the modest servants of law and order, insolently labelled with the most contemptuous adjectives such as "tiras," "milicos," "mercenaries," and "servants," which is a serious error of arrogance.

The documents of the organization are full of illustrative examples of this aspect, but perhaps nothing is as graphic as the joking praise inspired by the most stale tactical principles of Leninism, with which in some of them they refer to the repeated use by its members of the sewers, into which "a revolutionary may enter, but not a mercenary and a soldier...This means that in a pipe 50 centimeters in diameter, among waste water, urine and excrement, a man in the pay of repression cannot work, but a Tupamaro, a revolutionary can...It is a matter of two different moralities, two human attitude that cannot be compared..."[11]

It is this type of intransigently dogmatic conviction, blind and unchanging, rooted in the faith of the enlightened, who believe they have all reason and truth on their side, which they automatically do not recognize for the rest and deny to them, that fill the documents of the MLN-T. In less than 2 months, rural guerrilla actions were completely disrupted and nearly 800 members of the organization were taken prisoners, large quantities of weapons and supplies of various types being taken from them. In September 1972 the guerrillas in the interior of the country had been completely crushed and in the city they had seen contained to increasingly reduced and private expression of any initiatives. Around the middle of November 1972, the antisubversive campaign, launched by the FC as of 15 April of that year, had practically ended with the arrest of nearly 3,000 members of the seditious organization and the destruction of its military infrastructure, as can be seen further on.[12]

7. It is also of interest to make some observations with respect to what subversion euphemistically calls "mass action front". From the beginning the seditious movement sought to attract the "masses" and "sink its hooks into them." This was always its greatest preoccupation, acting on the well-known Maoist premise that "the guerrilla must move among the population like a fish through water," winning solid support for its activities among them.

The so-called CAT [Committees for Aid to the Tupamaros][13] were created for this purpose. Infiltrating the worker, student and employee movements, they were able to mobilize the people around their alleged revolutionary ideals.

With respect to the workers and employees, seized documents revealed the sustained attempt at penetrating the National Convention of Workers [CNT][14] and the union area in general, as a firm tactical line of the seditious movement. As far as the students were concerned, they sought to create the human material capable of rigidly following the instructions of destruction and hate of the organization in the intellectual and emotional malleability of the young. The creation of sacrificial "victims" of student and popular reaction was coldly and carefully prepared.

Support by the masses of the seditious movement, however, was never substantial, and as its purposes and procedures became known, it was more and more restricted, until it generated an attitude of rejection against this group that distorted the destiny of the country, and not only never had any sympathy among the people, but was always the object of the most open resistance except from its agents and propagandists.

Moreover, such resistance was foreseeable because the movement was mainly formed and led by an aristocratic minority in the recruiting of its members, and in large percentage made up of members of wealthy and middle and upper class families.

The various actions of traitorous and fierce aggression by the MLN-T, culminated by revealing the naked truth about the seditious group as it was, without the deceitful cloak of perfidious dialectics, and as a result, the Uruguayan people quickly became acquainted, as they are acquainted today, with that small minority of rebels with a wild mentality.

The inner circles of the intimate life of the organization--which in its zeal for originality even produced a special method of seditious love, "tupamor"--revealed a sordid, repugnant picture of vileness, disloyalties, felonies and immoralities, which we deliberately omit so as not to lower the level of this analysis or enter into disgusting individualizations.

8. At this period of the struggle waged by the FC against subversion, it is necessary to call a halt and make an objective examination of the seditious phenomenon and provide those who desire them with the facts so that they may evaluate its true significance, particularly international public opinion, which is lacking any strictly true and impartial information.

A propaganda, which was as profuse as it was slanted, disseminated in all languages and in all countries, gave a totally false and distorted picture of those movements and of the country which they mendaciously said they served but which they actually caused a great deal of harm.

Denigrating descriptions and diatribes are far from the seriousness with which information should be handled. That is the reason this book may appear unusual, since a good part of its contents consist of documents originating in the extremist organization itself, which up to now were circulating clandestinely among its supporters and sympathizers, but which the FC did not hesitate to publish so that knowledge by the people of this convincing information would serve them for arriving at well-founded conclusions. To those who have not given up the most important right of man, that of thinking for himself, therefore, this publication is primarily directed.

Upon ending these reflexions, there arises a question: Did the ends declared in their proclamations and documents, which the extremist organizations said they pursued, justify all the harm caused to the country and the people?

The program of the seditious organization contains goals already attained years ago in Uruguay, points which were contained in the plans of national traditional parties, and other propositions that are not even admissible in the countries with the system of government which the extremists say they are imitating.

Every living being--and the nation is a living being--must, if it wishes to survive, defend itself against everything that may harm it, from within as well as from abroad. It is an illusion to believe that there can be a providential situation that will guarantee that the social body can never become ill.

Neither physical nor moral persons can have the luck of such a miraculous immunity.

In view of subversive aggression, which is a sickness of the Uruguayan nation, it must be concluded that the primary role of defense is, and shall always be, that of protecting the basic foundations of society, built and ratified by the people, against the perturbations that may threaten them, because the illnesses of the social body are like those of human beings; it is necessary to prevent them and attack them when they manifest themselves.

The most serious threat against the body of the nation is the danger of intrusion of foreign ideologies into the minds of the people, ideologies that based on the power, be it mental or economic, of its followers, attempts to facilitate and justify the total destruction of that which exists as the price for a utopian tomorrow that is never well-defined. The people must then assume the responsibility of their own defense and unmask and destroy the many forms of such types of aggressions.

That is the way a doctrine is defined and a theory outlined. From this it emerges that for the Uruguayan people, democracy, even acknowledging the concept of philosophical relativism on which it is founded, does not carry implicit in it the seed of its own destruction because its defense is the main objective for guaranteeing and making possible the survival of the nation and the progress that it needs and pursues.

9. On 14 April 1972, on a sad dawning, an officer of the navy, two police officials and a former undersecretary of state were murdered by the treacherous bullets of the insurrectionists, and the government headed the funeral procession for the four bodies. It only asked that on that day of mourning the people be present, and they, genuinely supportive of their national responsibility, fully responded. They paid a heartfelt tribute to the dead, applauded the calm determination of the authorities, supported the FC in its silent **task** of defending Uruguayan society and definitively **eradicating subversion.**

When barely a month later, the following 18th of May--Armed Forces Day--four humble soldiers fell riddled with bullets, killed by seditious hate, the military organizations and all their members felt galvanized by the irrevocable determination of putting an end to the terrorist bands which for years had been decimating the people of Artigas and besmirching their purest traditions.

To Uruguay, to its people, to all countries of the world that love peace, culture and progress, the AF feel the moral imperative of telling them that their most fervent wish is that prudence return to the midst of all Uruguayans and that violence give way to order, with liberty and justice; that all the citizens once more feel themselves brothers in devotion and loyalty to the country and forget the distrust and hate that foreign forces tried to sow among them. And to the rest of the countries of the continent and other latitudes, that in the pain undergone by Uruguay they will know of its sorrows and doubts, and through the sad truth documented in this book, they will remember that because of the intercontinental and universal nature of the aggression, the misfortune that saddened the Oriental Republic of Uruguay could perhaps strike their borders or try to bloody its own once more in a tomorrow that no one wants or expects, but which it would be imprudent to treat lightly.

PART ONE: CONTINENTAL SUBVERSION

> ...We see with joy that the ranks of the revolutionary movement expand, that the revolutionary organizations multiply, that the Marxist-Leninist spirit is opening the way, and we feel a profound satisfaction when in the final resolution of this conference it is proclaimed that the revolutionary movement in Latin America is guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas...
>
> Fidel Castro, closing speech of the LASO Conference

I. Communism and Subversion
1. Communism, source of world subversion.
   a. Role of Soviet Communism.
   b. Role of Chinese Communism.
2. Sino-Soviet Rivalry.
3. Havana, communist base in Latin America.
4. Subversion in Saxon America.
   a. Canada.
   b. United States.

COMMUNISM AND SUBVERSION

1. Communism, source of world subversion.

a. Role of Soviet Communism.

10. /as published/ The communism instituted by the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 has been, in what has passed of the century, the direct or indirect, visible or hidden, source of subversion in the present world.

A subject of dominant attraction, it is in one way or another joined to the majority of the problems that as of that time the world has lived in the political, economic, diplomatic, social, cultural and military fields as a result of the expansion and growing weight that communism attained.

Its confrontation with the other noncommunist systems, which it considers irreconcilable enemies and attempts to annihilate, and its spread throughout the world, is one of the subjects of the most burning interest of the contemporary era and of the greatest importance for the lives of free states since this confrontation acknowledges as the basic reason for it the aspiration of the communist theoreticians of destroying the present system of international relations and replacing it with the establishment of a world communist state. This aspiration is not an idle intention but the expression of a definite and unchanged policy of empire clearly maintained by communist ideology and applied by the leaders of international communism. The masterly analysis by Professor Goodman of the Institute for Russian Studies of the

Columbia University published in 1960, has demonstrated this unequivocally. As this author warns, that study "cannot encourage complacencies, since an examination of the proofs provided by Marxist inheritance, and displayed copiously by the leaders and spokesmen of the Soviet Union, leads to the conclusion that its hopes and intentions represent a well-defined plan for installing a world government."[15]

The reference which the chapter makes to these questions is necessarily in summarized form, unavoidable because of the direct link it has with the subject treated by this book, even though it is limited to serving as a simple frame of reference for the rest.

The subsequent emergence, based on the Soviet model, of Red China as a new power of the communist family, the dissentions between the two in a growing struggle for a communist leadership in the world, the incorporation of Cuba in Latin America to the area of communism, and the role they played as factors of continental subversion, are the main subjects of this chapter.

11. The apparatus installed by communism for the accomplishment of its imperialist plans is of an enormous vastness, subtlety and effectiveness.

The activities and machinations used for advancing its ambitions of conquest by communism are truly impressive everywhere, but particularly in underdeveloped countries whose weak defenses allow them to accept penetration more quickly and easier under the cover of internal circumstances that favor such action.

Labin refers to this apparatus as "an instrument so colossal that it cannot be described except in outline," mentioning the following 11 main weapons of political war, which acting basically on the mind to harness opinions, are used by communism, to wit: propaganda, organization, infiltration, crypto-communism organizations, popular fronts, organized trips, publicity, special schools, use of national minorities, use of the diplomatic corps and use of violence.[16]

It is not the intention of this book to make a detailed study of each one of these techniques of communist insurrection, despite the fact that in many of its chapters references and concrete illustrations on all of them are found.

Nevertheless, something must be said here on one of the main parts of that enormous apparatus of communist penetration: propaganda.

Transformed into a true science for exploiting the psychology of the people it intends to catechize, it is presented primarily as the champion of the masses against the oppressor classes, and then as a crusader of national independence against the oppression of foreign countries. Such a weapon of psycho-political warfare is usually of tremendous effectiveness because it is mainly addressed at awakening the idealism and revolutionary ardor of young students and intellectuals.

Labin speaks of 20,000 communist publicity agents who spread the seeds of propaganda and divisiveness, dedicated to poisoning the free countries: 150,000 hours of radio broadcasting per year in all languages, 60,000 volumes published per year, usually profusely illustrated, in addition to 2 million pamphlets: "the tracts, posters and leaflets pasted on walls," he adds, "cannot be calculated in number but in the hundreds of tons. Soviet propaganda has no precedent either in its scope or its extension. It is all-encompassing, implacable and infinitely deceitful. It penetrates everywhere, from virgin jungles to palaces, openly or in hidden form; it is provocative or insidious, exciting or calming, but always and everywhere, carefully calculated and disseminated with extraordinary diligence. In the underdeveloped countries this propaganda is devoted wholeheartedly to demagogy. In India I saw poor beggars, who with one hand ate out of a bowl of rice distributed by an American organization, and with the other they held pamphlets that explained that America had sent that rice only for imperialist reasons."17

The technique, to cite another example, of "cultural" penetration through organized trips, especially cultivated by the Chinese and which they call "popular diplomacy," is a formidable instrument for winning foreign sympathy and support.

Free tours through communist countries of one or more weeks, "delegations" of special guests, among who are included teachers, newsmen, politicians, artists, officials, lawyers, businessmen and so forth, permanently attract thousands of visitors who are hosted in such a manner as to arouse their gratitude, showing them all the "advances" of the system, although carefully steering them away from the most vicious aspects of socialist society. It is the "testimony" of these visitors, when they return to their countries, which the well-mounted propaganda machinery of communism exploits cleverly, pointing out the "marvels" of the "socialist experiment" and the emergence of the "new man," chamber music of Marxist literature on the vague project of the "collective creation" of the human being of the future: the "communist man."18

In 1959 alone, Red China received 168 delegations from 38 African and Asian countries, 112 from American countries, 85 from West European countries, 10 from Australia and 4 from New Zealand.

Communist Cuba, through the work of its diplomatic embassies and cultural services "for friendship with people," would apply this technique on a vast scale in its action of penetration into the rest of Latin America, as will be seen further on.

Communist machinations, which are never halted in their progressive task of subverting the internal life of countries located outside the Marxist area, through divisive preachings, social conflicts and terrorist tactics, which make the peace of peoples and stability of their institutions impossible, will take advantage of the Cuban Castroite movement to step up the communist offensive in Latin America. Moreover, Castroism itself will not be anything

but the product of communist cleverness, whose "betrayal" with respect to the other countries of the continent lends new significance to the sentence by Philip II, "Whoever possesses the Island of Cuba, will have in his hands the key to the New World."

Thus there emerged the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana in January 1966, which another chapter will discuss at more length.[19]

Referring to this meeting, Fidel Castro said cynically: "If imperialism takes the right of intervening everywhere, what is to stop liberated countries from giving moral and material help to the people who aspire to their liberation?" Closing the sessions, he added: "In many nations of America there are the full conditions for armed revolutionary struggle...We believe that in this continent, in all, or in almost all countries, the struggle will assume the most violent forms. And since this is known, the only correct thing is to prepare for when that struggle comes. To prepare!"

Sharaf R. Rashidov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who headed the large Soviet delegation to that meeting, for his part said: "The Soviet people have always supported the wars waged by the people, the armed struggle of oppressed people, and it will give them total support and help..."

This means that the internal conflicts of nations and civil war itself, which is in the nature of self-determination and sovereignty of the people, because of the work of communism, must be transformed into an international war, a war in which the Soviets and the communist parties abroad will have a preponderant participation. Collaboration with insurrectionist movements in any country where they take place is in effect a theory of Soviet inspiration, whose experience in this matter was developed harshly over a long period of time in their aggression against, and domination of, Eastern European countries and the brutal subjection of the Baltic countries. The experience undergone recently by Uruguay, to which this book refers, confirms the underlying application of this theory, and allows the doctrinaire explanation of the support and more or less open approval that all the groups of Marxist extraction gave and/or showed for the seditious organization.

At the end of the sessions of the Tricontinental, the 27 Latin American delegations created an organization especially responsible for planning, leading and encouraging subversion in those countries, an organization they called LASO and to which Chapter II also refers with greater detail.

From then on, Latin America experienced a growing state of subversion, social conflicts, agitation, insurrections and guerrilla warfare promoted by and from Cuba.

On 18 May 1967, the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee issued the following declaration: "Our Party and our people do not reject their revolutionary responsibility before the world, nor will they reject combat...We are accused of wanting to subvert the order of this continent, and we in effect proclaim the historical necessity that the people subvert the order established by imperialist in Latin America and the rest of the world. They accuse us of

preaching the revolutionary overthrow of established governments, and in effect believe that all oligarchic governments of gorillas with or without uniform, servants of imperialism and accomplices in its crimes, must be swept out by the revolutionary struggle of the people. We are accused of helping the revolutionary movement, and we in effect give and shall give that help as many times as we are asked for it to all the revolutionary movements that struggle against imperialism in any part of the world."

On 12 January 1961 the government of Uruguay had to expel the Cuban ambassador when the intervention by the diplomatic mission in his charge in the promotion of internal conflicts was confirmed.

On 8 September 1964 the country broke relations with Cuba, through whose services a very active communist propaganda and subversion action was channeled. However, despite that measure, leaders and supporters of Castro-communist subversion and of the application of the principles of the Tricontinental and LASO, continued to cultivate close contacts with Cuba through trips, congresses and visits to Havana, where many of them received indoctrination in subversive techniques and training in guerrilla warfare.

During the course of 1966 Uruguay was forced to order the expulsion of four Soviet diplomats,[20] who the government accused of being officials of the Military Intelligence Service (GRU) and the Intelligence and State Security Service (KGB), Soviet agencies charged with "planning subversion of the democratic institutions of the Western countries."[21]

Subversive planning with general strikes, acts of violence, sabotage of production, and the systemizing of social antagonisms, was decided upon, as is pointed out by the official report, in the Uruguayan Communist Party Congress held around the middle of August of that year, which was attended by a large and prominent delegation from the USSR Communist Party," bearer of "important decisions and documents prepared at the highest level at the directorate of the Western Hemisphere Division in Moscow."[22]

At the end of 1967, the government had to dissolve certain leftist parties and other Marxist groups, which acting pursuant to the line of the Tricontinental and LASO, publically declared they had formalized an agreement to overthrow the institutions through armed struggle.[23]

Despite the fact that Latin American agitation is due to various causes peculiar to each country and the internal living conditions of its people, in great measure it appears as the result of careful plans of world subversion to undermine their economies, corrupt the morality of their inhabitants; create discontent, internal dissension and the chaos that will finally allow them to be swallowed by communist imperialism.

It is true that in almost all Latin American countries there existed, and still exist, problems of an economic, social and political order, headed by a need for development generated by the natural impatience of great population centers deprived of the acceptable living standards which scientific

and technological progress provides for all social classes in the industrialized countries today, and which are exhibited daily in the press, radio, moving pictures and television as if they were within reach.

Per capita income in many Latin American countries actually indicates a degree of poverty and underconsumption; in many of them, a small percentage of the inhabitants own a large part of tillable land; in others the degree of illiteracy closes all prospects of advance, or live expectancy falls to truly alarming averages.

Reforms in physical matters, holding of land, exploitation of natural resources, use of energy, industrialization, health, employment, housing, education, communications, irrigation, and so forth, are an urgent requirement for the democratic governments which honorably want to keep the tempting siren song of the deceitful demagogy of communism from the great masses of hungry and sick who suffer under conditions of extreme injustice.

It is that indispensable need for change that the Latin American political groups and national parties are the first to denounce and try to promote through social reforms, but which the governments do not manage to impose. This is used by communism as a rallying point to gain the popular support it is lacking, and to present itself as the vanguard of that change, which it calls "revolution," but without the slightest hint of seeking solutions and only that of achieving the seizure of political power, the only definite objective of the communist movement throughout the world. The basic goal is actually the siezure of the total power of society by any means, whatever they are, and on a world scale, through a minority or elite group or party of a new type: the Communist Party. "The question of power is the fundamental question that determines everything in the development of a revolution..."[24]

As the Colombian, Lleras, says: "That is the struggle, the great struggle of Latin American democracy now, dragged by the left toward disorder and by the right toward ineptitude. It is that sum total of internal problems of each country, deliberately distorted and exacerbated, which in its strategy for universal domination communism exploits constantly to produce frictions, discouragement, frustrations, resentments, hates and disturbances which will favor its systematic penetration."

Moved by a tireless purpose of internal division, all events, even the most insignificant, are good.

Any favorable event or circumstance in ordinary life, any incident of any significance or possible repercussions capable of shaking national or international public opinion, or of predisposing it in its favor, is going to be selected and exploited propagandistically by communism, which will disfigure it, turning it into an accusation against the West, expanding it and multiplying it into a thousand echoes everywhere, in a manner best suited to its purposes.

Among the hundreds and hundreds of examples that could be cited, it is well to recall, because of the notoriety it attained, the enormous world campaign launched in 1970 during the trial in the United States of the young black communist, Angela Ivonne Davis, guilty of the kidnapping and murder of a judge in San Rafael, state of California, on 7 August of that year. She was portrayed as a victim of racial prejudice and persecution.

How does communism manage to give the appearance of realism to the cunning subversive action it carries out?

To give the impression that it is the people themselves who do the agitating, communism applies refined techniques of mobilization of the multitude aimed at leading it to a calculated climate of disorder, riot, protest or rebellion, placing it at the service of its plans of subversion.

Among those techniques--in very summarized form--the five following phases may be distinguished.

1. Infiltration of agents into strategic organizations and into mass communications media, unions, civic associations, political parties, education centers, and if possible, the police and armed forces, dailies, magazines, radio stations, television channels, journalism schools, etc.

2. Exploitation of symbols of universal acceptance and support: "peace," "freedoms," "rights," "bread," and so forth, always expressed through the catechizing jargon of "class struggle" with systematic accusations against "imperialism," the bourgeoisie," "capitalism," the "exploiters," and the "oligarchy," and so forth.

3. The creation of the human nucleus for disorder, riot, and so forth through newspaper articles, notices, flyers, wall or radio announcements, free transportation or "rides" and the hiring of "demonstrators."

4. Agitation of the crowd through two commands, one external which directs the disturbance from a distant place where the entire "field of battle" may be observed, and an internal command, mingling with the crowd and managing it according to the directions he receives from the former. In this second command there are a chief, closely protected and located at a prominent point that allows him to be seen; runners who carry orders and reports between the two commands, armed shock guards and reserves who will go into action if the forces of public order intervene; groups of agitators who shout slogans and watchwords previously selected and practiced, and groups who will provoke the public forces forcing them to react and show the "brutality" of repression.

5. Fabrication of martyrs through prior instructions on how to provide a sacrificial victim, carrying his body through the streets, rendering him resounding honors and a funeral, and then commemorating his "murder" at the hands of "the police" with as much frequency as is necessary to maintain his memory and the spirit of "struggle" "fresh" among the masses.

As Col Granillo Fernandez said: "neocommunism is expansionist and imperialist and it attempts to become universal. After having failed to spread to the other countries by force, it tries to do so now by other means, creating the present situation of confusion, subversion and localized wars in which the world of today is engaged, all of which together is called the 'cold war!' The 'cold war' is the aggregate of the actions accomplished or provoked by international communism on a world level and in the particular case of each country, in the attempt to extend and implant in all of them the domination of the neocommunist philosophy. It is, in the final instance, the materialization on a world scale of a colossal conspiracy to communize the world, and in each country, the preparatory phase of a civil war that seeks the replacement of their present governments to others of neocommunist type, becoming a problem of universal coexistence that affects the international as well as the national policy of each state."[25]

It is not accidental that these problems and resentments flourish everywhere. Human discontent is heightened and managed skillfully, and that ochestration is part of the tactic of rebellions, uprisings and subversions organized within the overall strategy of the silent but inexorable war that international communist wages in all areas and in all regions of the world against free societies and the democratic-republic systems in which they flourish, and which it attacks as its true enemies and seeks to destroy them.

Trying to capitalize on the climate of provocation and blackmail in which it moves stealthily, always winning new points of support for increasing its field of geopolitical gravitation, the angry protests by Marxism in favor of certain political prisoners, never located in areas of world communist oppression; complaints against alleged tortures in any part of the world except in the enormous concentration camps in Siberia, Kengir, the Solovik Islands or prisoner camps, the "rehabilitation farms," and the Cuban jails of Las Gavetas de San Roman, Tres Maceos, Isle of Pines, Melena, La Cabana, Castillo del Principe, 5 y Medio, Moron or Manacas; the heated defenses of freedom of thought and press, except in the countries where there exists the official organ of the single party; the political neutralities and the Third World with the common anti-North American denominator, which excludes the truly neutral countries such as Switzerland, Sweden and Austria; the structuring of blocs of nonalined countries, which are really militarily alined with the directives of Marxism; the high principle of nonintervention with omitted bloody backgrounds such as those of the suppressed demonstrations of Prague, Potsdam, Hungary, Bulgaria and other massacres; all this sum of open partialities make up the accusing finger that singles out Soviet communism as the promoter and instigator, and the members of the /Komitet/ Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti /KGB/ as the material executors, of the sinister plans of violence and subversion which ever so often and everywhere shake the world, everywhere manipulated from the offices of Lubyanka, the offices of the Soviet secret police or KGB, installed in the very heart of Moscow, and the office that handles affairs having to do with Uruguay located on the third floor of the "Division America."

12. This scientific army of agents, spies, saboteurs and technicians in the refined handling of psychopolitics and subversive war, is always alert in any part of the world, to turn into something favorable for their Red masters each and every one of the problems that affect man, individually or collectively considered.

It is an invisible but powerful army that does not work to create but to destroy; its discipline and mind are at the exclusive service of hate, terror and violence that is the first principle of communist theory, the only real truth of the atheist-materialist religion of Marxism-Leninism, without which cult communism would disappear and lose all reason for being. On the rubble of what has been destroyed, communism attempts to build a new order, "its" order of tyranny and misery.

"From its point of view"--observes Crozier--"terrorism is the ideal weapon. In public the communists advocate a "detente," a lessening of international tensions, and try to improve their relations with certain governments, but at the same time they give secret support to terrorists endeavoring to overthrow that government. For them everything is good that helps to undermine the structures of the democratic governments. In Mexico, for instance, the Soviet secret service recruited some political dissidents to go study in the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow. Subsequently, the Russians transported that group to North Korea to be trained there in sabotage and terrorism. On returning to their country, those Mexicans began a campaign of urban terrorism, which ended with the expulsion of several functionaires of the Soviet embassy in Mexico. The KGB has its own programs of terrorism in Chile, whose president, the Marxist, Salvador Allende, was also persuaded by Fidel Castro to allow the increase in the personnel of the Cuban Embassy in Santiago with the intention of turning it into a general headquarters for Castroite subversion throughout South America."[26]



Cuban political prisoners in "La Cabana" left to their fate

Revelations made by the present Chilean Government after the fall of the communist regime of Allende, confirm and exceed the aforementioned statements by the quoted British specialist.[27] Documents seized from the seditious organizations in Uruguay, and the confirmations by Military Justice, show the support that Chile gave them under the government of Allende through a liason effected there with Cuban agents, and the way in which the latter worked. An entire column of the MLN-T--the "Gaucha"--was operating in Santiago until the end of the overthrown regime on 11 September 1973.



Political prisoners. Not one is even 15 years old: They are victims of Castroism.

13. The communist parties created after the Russian revolution of October in almost all of Latin America[28] are a fundamental part of that army of corrosion, disciplinedly obeying the mandates and directives given them from Moscow and its many international front organizations.

Thus the more than 80 communist parties active in the free world countries are agents of a foreign power who work, not for the countries in which they perform their destructive mission, but supporting and defending the interests of the world communist movement. Like the legendary Trojan Horse, they have the exceptional advantage of carrying out their mission from behind the lines of the declared enemy. "Perhaps the most important contribution of Lenin to the policy of the 20th Century," says Meyer, "is his concept of the communist party as a creative force that changes history and as a general headquarters of world revolution. In the Bolshevik movement, he created the model that has served for the formulation of many other totalitarian modern parties."[29]

The 20th Congress of the Third International, better known as the COMINTERN, held in Moscow in 1920, subjected the communist parties of the entire world to the strictest ideological and political servitude of Moscovite imperialism in the interests of universal revolution. "Since Lenin believed," says

Carew Hunt, "that the West was ripe for revolution and also that the new Soviet order would collapse unless this happened, he established the COMINTERN as a rallying point for it; thus, from the beginning, Russian policy toward the western powers was combined with that of an organization whose objective was to overthrow them."30



In the gloomy Cuban socialist cells
the cold floor is the only bed.

Since then the communist plans of aggression and world conquest rest on the 21 points expounded on that occasion by Lenin, articles of faith of international communism, which in short, can be reduced to these five principles:

The communist revolution must be worldwide.

The communist party must be genuinely international with strict discipline and completely controlled by Moscow.

The USSR is "the only fatherland of the world proletariat," therefore, no other type of patriotism is conceivable and it must be discarded without a second thought.

The communists of the entire world must unite to defend the "Holy Land" of communism against its enemies.

The 21 points developed by Lenin in the aforementioned Congress went on to become the 21 conditions for membership or submission of the world communist parties to Moscow, and through them they became docile instruments for the violation of national sovereignties and Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of the respective countries.



The agents of the Cuban secret police (G-2)
call the roll for the "interrogations."

Through the COMINTERN, the USSR could comfortably promote world revolution from within each country and it rapidly assumed the absolute control of said parties, the international communist movement becoming the main auxiliary instrument of Soviet policy.

According to those conditions, communist party propaganda must adjust everywhere to the program and decisions of the Third International against the bourgeoisie and the "reformists" or advocates of the "center." Communist parties cannot trust "bourgeois laws" and "must create an illegal parallel apparatus, which at the opportune time will help the party to fulfill its duty to the revolution." "A plan of propaganda and systematic and persistent agitation has to be carried out in the army where communist groups must be formed in each military organization." Anywhere that agitation is impossible due to repressive legislation, it is necessary to carry it out illegally." Every party that wishes to join the Third International must renounce, not only its declared social patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism." All member parties must be constituted on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization," being obliged to "give all assistance possible to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces. The communist parties must put into effect a precise and defined propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to carry any military equipment against Soviet Republics and also, through legal or illegal means, they must make propaganda among the troops that oppose the worker republics." "Every party that wishes to join the Communist International must call itself 'the Communist party of that country.'" "The members of the party who reject the conditions and thesis of the Third International in principle are subject to being expelled from the Party," and so forth.[31]

Attention must be directed here to two principles, particularly of the foregoing conditions, closely linked to each other: that of infiltration and agitation in the FA, which the COMINTERN establishes as a common directive for the communist parties of the world, which will remain unchangedly in effect and which, as will be seen later, was a concern of the seditious Uruguayan movements,[32] and the principle of centralization or democratic centralism, prescribed as the indispensable base for the organization of those parties.



Under the Cuban dictatorship there is no mercy, not even for the deformed

Infiltration of the FA of the noncommunist countries and the search for their support--as well as that of other sectors--is part of the communist attempt to achieve the "national democracy" through the application of the tactic of the "popular front," "united front," "united national front," "unity front," or "national liberation front," different names for the same thing in the transition phase to the socialism with which communism expects to achieve complete control of the situation.[33] It was in the Seventh World Congress of the COMINTERN in 1935, that it was decreed that all communist parties should adopt a "united front" against fascism, in which all the organizations existing in a country regardless of the type would become the target for communist infiltration.[34]



Political prisoners in the Cuban jails. Their physical appearance tells it all. At the front of their cell is what appears to be a skeleton.

The pretended "national democracy" or "national democratic revolution" is thus nothing else but a Leninist tactic, faced, not as an end but as a merely transitory phase on the path to socialism. During this phase, the communist party wins the best positions and dominates the other "allied" democratic groups, which it finally abolishes when it attains power and establishes the "dictatorship of the proletariat"[35] in a process which is clearly illustrated--among many other examples--by the present case of Portugal as of the coup d'etat of 25 April 1974.[36]

Centralization or democratic centralism is the other complementary Leninist principle through which control of the communist parties from the command center of the world communist movement is effected. The best criticism made of this principle of Lenin, which Soviet experience amply confirmed, was made by Leon Trotsky when he said: "The organization of the party takes the place of the party itself; the Central Committee takes the place of the organization, and finally, the dictator takes the place of the Central Committee..."

Despite having been eliminated officially in 1943, the COMINTERN[37] principles continue to rule the activity of communism throughout the world.

Decidedly, those principles established in the 21 conditions previously listed, presuppose a formal declaration of psychopolitical war against the Western World, a war, which as Griffiths observed, must be waged "partly by purely communist organizations and partly through the mediation of satellite institutions theoretically devoted to humanitarian purposes, but which in reality

are managed by communists, and also by means of infiltration of noncommunist organizations so as to finally control them. In all these operations the "reformists," that is, the organizations that struggle to improve the lot of the masses using legal means, must be held as the worst enemies even if in some cases, because of tactical convenience, cooperation may be effected with them during the infiltration process."[38]

The purely communist organizations are the communist parties, in the first place, instruments of world revolution and, therefore, official agents of the USSR, who acting with an apparent official autonomy, in a half century of patient and methodical work contaminated even the minds of western societies, which observing the permissive rule of liberal and "pluralist" democracy, free of all national sentiments, allowed the new Trojan Horse of the 20th Century to come inside.

This is not a figure of rhetoric, but a tactical line expressly considered and systematically applied by international communism. In the 7th International Communist Congress, referring to it, Georgi Dmitrov said: "Comrades, penetrate into the interior, into the very heart of the enemy with the help of the famous Trojan Horse...whoever believes this to be humiliating situation could be an excellent comrade, but if you will allow me to say so, he is a charlatan and not a revolutionary."

And Lavrentiy Beria, a former all-powerful chief of the Soviet Political Police, in the speech of introduction to the study of psychopolitical science at the Lenin University in Moscow addressed to the American students declared: "Through psychopolitics our chances for assuming international leadership increase considerably. Our first and most important step is to introduce maximum chaos into the culture of the enemy. The fruits of our task will be reciprocal distrust, economic depression and scientific confusion; then the popular majorities will see the communist state as the only solution, and communism will solve the problems of the masses."[39]

But the communist movement, without solutions and values, is also a Trojan horse in the most subtle sense, as pointed out by Kirkpatrick, because it systematically hides its identity, in its propaganda as well as in its organization tactics, identifying itself with all the symbols of prestige, slogans and traditions of the movements in competition, through which it distorts problems, ideas and affiliations.

In the war to the death it wages against noncommunist countries, even language is a formidable weapon in that each language adjusts to a dictionary of its own invented by communism for its purposes of distortion. The sense of the words has nothing to do with their true acceptance but rather with the effect that they wish to produce with them.

Master of lies and deceit, communism uses the language of Aesop[40] and lexicographic adulteration, perverting the meaning of words; it calls "autonomous" something that lacks power; "federated" that which is a unit, "democratic" that which is autocratic; "united" that which schismatic; "popular" is something imposed by terror; "peaceful" that which incites to war.[41]

The "freedom" of the "capitalist countries" is the freedom to die of hunger; "status quo" indicates change; "overseeing disarmament" means espionage; "peace" means the acceptance of Soviet will; "work" in the "capitalist" system means exploitation and under the socialist system "freedom;" protective Western forces requested by a threatened country are an "invader army," while a Soviet invasion represents "liberation;" the "free press" is the organs of communist or procommunist opinion, those genuinely free or against communism are the "fascist," "reactionary" or "pro-Yankee" press; "democracy in capitalist countries" is an oligarchic system, in the socialist countries, as Lenin said in his report to the 21st Congress, "It is in no way contradictory with unipersonal rule and dictatorship...a dictator is sometimes the executor of the will of a class;"[42] "free elections" are not those that take place in the "capitalist" system with a variety of parties, but rather those that take place under the political system of a "single party;" the "single party" is a genuine expression of political freedom in the communist system, in the bourgeois system, on the other hand, only "ideological pluralism" can be considered, without the full functioning of which that system is dictatorial and tyrannical because it allows communism to slip into its gears and break them comfortably from inside; "peaceful revoltuion" (or parliamentarian way to socialism) means that the enemies of communism surrender without even attempting a fight. In such a case, the communists achieve power without having to employ force, but they use power violently to annihilate the adversaries who surrendered. A "violent revolution," on the other hand, is when the opposition resists, and civil war, armed struggle or guerrilla warfare is waged so that the communists may gain power. In the field of international relations, communist semantics establish an analogous distinction between the victory of "socialism" through war or through peaceful means. The latter is possible when the "capitalists" (meaning the governments that are independent of the Soviet-Sino bloc) give up without resistance to the demands of the "socialist camp," an attitude which in essence becomes "peaceful coexistence" of which the socialists speak with so much pleasure. Wars on a large scale must be avoided, but in the meantime, "economic means" must be used to begin to destroy "the imperialists," that is, to arrive at the final imposition of communism everywhere. In "economic means" are included, in addition to trade competition and in aid, all available forms of propaganda, subversion, revolutionary activity, and so forth.[43]

Without a clear understanding of these techniques of confusion and deceit, it is impossible and useless to fight against communism, which is progressively insuring conditions for its final victory over the noncommunist societies.

Incredibly, the line of "understanding" with communism on the political plane or on the commercial plane is shared and supported today by "anti-Marxist politicians," or at least those who call themselves that, and by priests, and the faithful of the "revolutionary" church, which they call the "new church," which only shows either the complete disorientation to which they have succumbed or the quality of the fruits that such a line has begun to bear. For these "Christians" it would be useful to review the penetrating questions and answers made some years ago by Cardinal Cushing after acknowledging that communism is more of a cause than an effect: "Our knowledge of

communism will not help us to examine such a monster unless we Christians are sufficiently humble as to admit our responsibility in the birth and quick maturing of communism."

For all those who have had to live under it or suffer under it, communism is a system empty of all human substance which can lead only to a universe of insects without soul and contradictions, therefore, without genius, without encouragement, without hope, conceited and without pity, where, as is illustrated by the most famous story by Solzyhenitsyn, peasants, journalists, artists, naval officers and Baptists, who suffer only because they profess a Christian faith, are paying for nonexistent crimes in sinister concentration camps.

If indeed a look is taken at the very essence of communism, at the scientific, philosophical or moral foundation on which it rests, it is seen that the most important Marxist discovery was that matter is the exclusive and excluding fact of the entire system of nature. Human conduct, with the sensations and emotions that determine it, is completely subordinated to this axiom, therefore, relegated or discarded from the system are the values of the spirit, which communism denies, but in which is deposited the primitive purity to which no human being can be indifferent.

The absurd attempt by communist to establish economic primacy as being the determinant of all social actions, as the only essential thing, must be counted, as Rickert observed "among the most whimsical historical constructions that have been tried up to now."[46] That is why Stammler, with impeccable scientific discipline, could conclude that "the materialistic concept of history is incomplete and is not well pondered."[47]

The communist theory on class struggle, outlined by Marx and Engels in 1848 in the Communist Manifesto and developed by the Marxist theorists until they converted it into the pillar of system, is based on an amazing number of fallacies and childishnesses, whose survival is difficult to explain, if it were not that it serves marvelously for mobilizing sentiments, passions and hates to serve the revolutionary cause which blames an exploiting class for being responsible for the misery, crisis, wars, and other calamities that afflict humanity. The extravagant hoaxes of this theory, accepted and applied by communism as a dogma, have been so exhaustively and lucidly dissected by Lerner that there is no need to return to it.[48]

Marx actually translated the state of things he could see in the world during his time into the category of universal law of history, giving origin to historical materialism, according to which economic circumstances are exclusively the ones that determine all the spiritual life of human society and in which discrepancies between the two main classes of each social formation are the decisive element that makes history.

Engels, for his part, through a broader generalization, concluded that matter is primary and knowledge a result, creating "dialectic materialism," in which, applying the social concept of Marx to the kingdom of nature, he tries to say that a similar phenomenon is repeated in it and that its evolution is presided over by new and higher forms of beings, the fruits of a struggle of contrasts.

Beginning with these premises, all the rest of communist theory is an amazing collection of generalizations and aphoristic deductions that are not compatible with reality. Class differences announced by Marx, for example, were not constantly accented, as he maintained, and neither were the intermediate classes absorbed by the two main classes, but rather were vitalized, and so forth.

To resolve these contradictions, communist revisionism created Marxism-Leninism, a daring concept development by Lenin, who did not try to adjust the theories of Marx to real historical evolution but to oblige history to behave in the manner established by him.

That is the reason for the element of express willingness, characteristic of Leninism; the overriding importance that Lenin adjudicates to the factor "awareness," that is, the willing, desired and aware intervention by men in the development of history.

Since historical evolution did not confirm the forecasts by Marx on the progressive worsening of the class struggle, the way to make the forecasts come true was to create a centralized and strictly disciplined party of struggle whose task it was to inculcate into the workers of the entire world the exact notion of their "true" interests and force them into revolutionary struggle and the imposition of socialism, which cannot limit itself to winning in only one country but must do so in all countries.

That necessary and inexorable victory "in the entire world" is the element that instills virulence and real danger in communism, which through various means tries to corrode and destroy the institutions of the other countries to insure that victory.

To military power, the force of arms, is joined the use of a complex complementary technique of civil, psychological and political action, which first erodes and subverts all the internal fronts of the countries to erase any possibility of resistance, without any consideration or respect whatsoever for the limits of frontiers, pacted obligations, traditional legal rules or even the moral norms of civilized international coexistence. International law itself can at the most be a decoy for, but in no way a curb or impediment, to communist aggression. In 1955 a U.S. Senate Committee made a study of some 1,000 treaties and pacts signed by the USSR. During a period of almost 40 years, it did not keep any of them. The study clearly documents that the communists respect international agreements only when it is to their advantage.[49]

The overthrow of the politico-social order existing in a country through overt or covert actions including violence, committed by persons, groups or organizations that advocate or carry out doctrines that have such intentions, is thus the determining element and the very essence of subversion and subversive activity.

Therefore, subversion covers an extraordinarily extensive area of the life of the country undergoing it and practically no part of it is free of the subtle aggression perpetrated against it.

Openly violent and ostensibly visible actions such as guerrillas and armed struggle are only the culmination, the most advanced forms of the aggressive process in favor of which the minds of the population have been progressively prepared by a prior psychological operation.[50]

In short, and despite the avalanche of propaganda and dialectical display with which it attempts to impose itself, communism is nothing more than the most pitilessly despotic form of imperialism, servility and submission known. The Romanian communist writer, Panait Istrati, nauseated by all that he saw, wrote after touring the entire USSR: "I did not know that anything that bad could exist. That supreme evil, tribute to an imposing human ego, that crime against humanity, which universal thinking will one day brand with its red hot iron, that height of banditry and terror, has found its perfect expression in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the reign of the self-styled "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."[51]

Wrapped in the pseudoscientific trappings of a complete solution to the problems of man, in a philosophical exaplanation of the world and everything that happens in it--even though, naturally, as Perales said: "every explanation is false."--[52] communism has as its only goal the possession of its body and soul and that of placing all of humanity under its rule.

The temporary dictatorship of the proletariat until all classes are abolished and the classless society emerges, as prophesized by Marx, has nothing to do with the specific systems where this sinister imperialism has been established. The Soviet regime, example and model of the system, is a despotic state where a cruel and absolute tyranny is exercised in the name of a single party, which represents less than 5 percent of the total population, and curbs the march of the people it subjugates toward greater conquests of freedom and justice. In turn, the Chinese Maoist regime, also operating on the social body with the Marxist-Leninist scalpel, makes efforts to build a culture that is anti-European and anti-West and, therefore, anti-Christian, based on the idea of "race" and politically in agreement with pan-Mongolism which has hate as its inspiration and the goal of annihilating the "other" races. In the "work universities" and in the barracks of the Red Chinese Army, says Kirkpatrick, "individuals have to answer politically for what they say in their sleep because the government of Communist China has arrogated itself the right to interfere in the private lives of its citizens and in their private behavior.

Obviously, this is the reason for its mass effort to change thinking. In the Soviet Union, literature, styles of painting, architecture and music continued to be, as in the era of Stalin, official areas for state activities. Languages, philosophy, psychology and biology, as well as the social sciences and history are areas subjected to the authority and coercive power of the state."[53]

The communists take advantage of all the chances opened for their penetration offered by the regimes they intend to undermine and conquer. The entire complex of rights and safeguards of the demo-liberal society is used by the communists to organize and promote struggle, discontent, dissatisfactions and resentments that make man potentially a revolutionary. As Lenin maintained: "A powerful enemy, when there is a great inequality in conditions, can be defeated only and exclusively if one devotes himself unconditionally and specifically, with every precaution and skill, to exploiting all the differences, all the dissentions of the enemy, even the smallest; every clash of interests between the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or classes of the bourgeoisie in each country; if one also takes advantage of even the tiniest possibility of winning an ally...The one who has not understood this, has not, in short, understood an iota of Marxism and scientific socialism either."[54]

"One must know how to make any sacrifice, overcome the greatest obstacles, so that in a systematic, obstinate, persevering and patient manner, an attempt to carry out propaganda and agitation in every association or club is made--even in the reactionary ones--to which proletarian or semiproletarian masses may belong."[55] The communists use procedures in those countries they intend to destroy that are banned by communist societies in their own midst. There, where it has established itself, ideology and principles are imposed and maintained with implacable authority and vigor. There are no considerations, infiltrations or deviations: the most severe authoritarianism protects the safety of the doctrine and order of the communist system. However, the society chosen as the victim and sentenced to succumb to its claws, cannot even oppose resistance or the slightest defense because if it does it risks the unleashing of the most furious campaign of insults, abuse and calumny in which the descriptions of "dictatorship," "fascism," "imperialism," "militarism," "guerrillaism," "lackeyism," and so forth are among the most restrained. The purpose of these systematic and constant assaults is none other than that of creating a climate of intimidation, appeasement and cowardliness, which will allow the democracies with no authority or personality to justify themselves as barriers against the extremism of the "right," which helps the extremism of the "left" to maintain the framework of weaknesses and omissions that give it the complete freedom it needs to carry out its plans of destruction and domination.

Compatible with its nature and its aims of world imperialism, and in a like manner everywhere, communism abused the rights of liberal Uruguayan legal rules to undermine the people, institutions and the state: the unions, education, press, radio, television, public services and the administrative organizations themselves. Nothing escaped its designs of destruction and

conquest. It would take particular advantage of, and abuse, the naive philosophy of the democratic-liberal state, which initiated its own decline before such a crafty enemy by the fetishist and indiscriminate respect for all ideas; the absurd even-handedness of ideological pluralism, as if by the mere fact of being ideas they were all equally valid and good and as if it were possible to give your hand to an enemy who has sworn to take your life.

The well-worn concept of pluralism was particularly and craftily handled in repeated attempts from various sources to reinstall Cuba in the inter-American system from which it had been expelled as a result of the Castro statement that Cuba was a Marxist-Leninist state.

Intellectually and empirically engaged in a retreat in the scientific, cultural, economic and social fields, communism knows that its only chance of predominance resides in the use of violence, destruction, sabotage, deceit, terrorism and armed struggle, used individually or in combination, depending on which is best for its strategy of aggression. These are the means it uses and abuses everywhere.

In an extensive study of the antecedents of Russian expansion and the annexation of territory by the Soviet Union after World War II, Seton concludes that it is an imperialist power in three respects: first, "the Soviet system has inherited from the Russian Czarist system around 90 million subjects scattered throughout a large number of medium and small nations to which it denies the right to choose their independence with greater harshness than did the Czars. The self-determined so cherished by Soviet foreign policy, is a crime inside Russia. Second, the USSR indirectly, although with no less reality, rules another 90 million subjects in East Europe distributed among seven nations the Soviet Army occupied in 1944-45, plus some 10 million inhabitants of Mongolia and North Korea. Third, the CPSU, inspired by a missionary ideology, tries with a great variety of means and tactics to impose its doctrines and institutions on the other nations of the world. A very similar thing can be said about the People's Republic of China, although direct proof is less abundant and its history is more recent."[56]

Passony categorized the systems of communist violence in an insuperable and always timely manner: "The communist weapons of violence," he said, "cover all types of firepower and are used in regular and irregular military operations, conquests of power, uprisings, sabotage, disturbances and terrorism. They are handled by military and paramilitary organizations and by special operations groups. The weapons of nonviolence cover all the instruments of propaganda and agitation, parliamentary subversion, antimilitarism, defeatism, political and economic war, diplomacy, negotiation and intimidation.

The weapon of infiltration is devoted to reducing the efficiency of the enemy, sabotaging decisions adopted by enemies of communism, neutralizing and capturing of hostile organizations from within, and controlling allies.

Infiltration is carried out partly through orders, sometimes spontaneously whenever the opportunity presents itself, and partly through converting to communism persons who occupy positions in noncommunist organizations.

Deceit is used to achieve surprise, disperse enemy forces, facilitate the use of nonviolent military weapons and carry out cheap, easy and effective operations of all types. Deception is often accomplished by means of military feints, secrecy, camouflage, publication of partial information, false information, misinformation (neutralization or refutation of correct information) disorientation (gradual imposition of an erroneous structure of categories and alternatives), distortion (false accentuation of events), plain falsification and propaganda of falsehoods.

The areas where deception is applied systematically, cover education, publications, mass communications, diplomacy, technology, news, and all types of military and paramilitary operations. Deceit is practiced by communist organizations of all types, among them the Russian State, cryptocommunist organizations and communications networks, and also by secret communists infiltrated into the armed forces, governments, means of communication, educational organizations, and so forth. The main purposes of deceit are: to hide the real strength of communism, distort the true strength of the anticommunist camp, hide the vulnerable areas of both sides, hide infiltration, disguise communist intentions, prevent due evaluation of the politico-military situation and in general hinder and halt effective actions.

The weapons of violence, nonviolence, infiltration and deceit can be combined to form the additional weapon of provocation aimed at inciting the adversary to act under conditions of force, place and time that are unfavorable to him and favorable for the communists. The hasty and unpondered action of the enemy under the foregoing conditions is a prior condition for the use of counteroffensive strategy.

Provocation presupposes a successful propaganda, deceit and infiltration of the noncommunist organizations. Maximum results are achieved through it, employing it in conjunction with violent means: military maneuvers and threats are the most effective means of forcing the enemy to act. The counteroffensive assumes its most feared aspects if it adopts a military form.

The communists can choose from among three systems of strategic weapons: revolution from within, revolution from without, and revolution from above through a coalition government. None of these weapons has a dogmatic preference: they can be used separately or in combination, provided that each strategic problem is resolved in the most expeditious and economic way. The technique of revolution from above will rarely be successful if it is applied separately, although unexpected opportunities can present themselves and must be taken advantage of. The expedient can demonstrate it is useful, always as a method of transition to reduce the cost of violence.

Violent revolutions from within, possibly followed by civil war, can happen in countries that are poorly armed, have an inadequate internal security or are in the throes of a serious political or economic crisis.

The revolution from without must be used against strong and intact countries that can only be conquered by war. If there is a simultaneous combination, those systems find themselves in dialectical or reversible relationship.

War is a weapon of revolution: military conflict produces the revolutionary situation, facilitates the organization of revolutionary forces and insurrections, and through victory can install a revolutionary government or one of coalition.

Revolution is a weapon of war: paramilitary forces support regular armies. Uprisings are an integral part of military strategy. A successful revolution from within shortens the war and implants a revolutionary or coalition government.

Revolution is a military operation: uprisings must be organized and carried out as military endeavors. For the same reason, war--revolution from without--is a revolutionary operation. It must be conducted in such a manner that it will provoke political and social changes in the enemy nation.

Revolution from within makes revolution from without necessssary. The absence of failure of internal revolution makes war inevitable. "There is a scale of violence: The main categories of violence in ascending order are: disorders, sabotage, intermittent terrorism, terrorism of classes against terrorism of classes, insurrections, conquest of power, civil war, national liberation war, defensive revolutionary war and offensive revolutionary war. There is also a scale of nonviolent techniques which range from agitation and propaganda through demoralizations, antimilitarism, to demoralization, revolutionary defeatism, political sabotage, and the expedient of coalition. In ascending order, these nonviolent techniques advance from a reorientation of individual spirits to influencing the behavior of classes and masses, which can be active, paralyzed or neutralized, successively, gradually or not, simultaneously or in multiple combinations. The scale of nonviolence can rule itself. If the intensity of the violence increase, techniques of nonviolence must follow the example and by resorting to direct action facilitate and reinforce the application of violence."[57]

In the joint solemn session of the PCSU Central Committee, the presidium of the Soviet Supreme of the USSR and the Soviet Supreme of the Russian Federation held in Moscow in 1970 during the commemorative celebrations of the Lenin Centennial, the first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, was very explicit on the divisive actions of communism in the world since the 1917 Revolution to date: "It has already been a quarter century since socialism went out beyond the framework of a single country and became an international force. The socialist revolution has triumphed in a number of European and Asian states, and it has spread to the Western Hemisphere, winning in Cuba. The world socialist system is the greatest

conquest of the working class after the October Revolution. It is difficult to overestimate the influence on the popular masses of the rest of the world of the happy development of a new society in a number of countries in different parts of the world. In the half century that has passed, the communist movement has become the most influential political force on the international scene. But the communists will not be able to accomplish the tasks they have before them if they do not themselves act as a single cohesive international force. One of the teachings of Lenin was that the firm international union of the revolutionary internationalists is the guarantee of the victory of the liberating movement of the working class. In the struggle for the reinforcement of this union, the international conference of communist and worker parties held last year has been a valuable help. It can be said today that in the past years certain weaknesses and difficulties have been manifested in the communist movement, which have led to a break in its unity in a number of links, and they hinder the communists from taking full advantage of the possibilities existing for revolutionary struggle. It is a matter of the policy of opportunists of the left, including the Trotskyites, who try to exchange the scientifically based Marxist line of the revolutionary line for adventurism.

"It is also a matter of manifestations of rightist deviation which attempt to eviscerate Leninist doctrine, removing from it its revolutionary essence. The peculiarity of the present phase of the revolutionary struggle resides in the fact that opportunism of the right and left interlink and in many cases merge with nationalist tendencies. The world revolutionary process progresses impetuously. Its successes will be greater as the Marxist-Leninist parties strengthen themselves and increase their influence. The new victories of the revolution will be even more rapid when the great Marxist-Leninist ideas root themselves more in the minds of the masses. Under the banner of Leninism we shall achieve the complete victory of our just cause."[58]

The "just cause" to which the Soviet premier refers is none other than that of the "socialist revolution" and "universal revolution," the final goal of communism.

By "social revolution" Soviet ideology means "the overall political and economic changes that lead to the total liquidation of capitalism and the construction of socialism. It begins with the political destruction, the annihilation of the power of the capitalists, and the imposition of the power of the workers."[59]

Official Soviet doctrine of socialist revolution lists and makes a detailed explanation of the conditions for the revolution, the need for it, its driving forces, the strategy and tactics for carrying it out, the course of the democratic revolutions foreseen for developed capitalist countries,[60] as well as the applicable means of struggle, among which is armed rebellion.

All these subjects are discussed in "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," and "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy," both books prepared by a group of the most prominent ideologists of the Soviet Union under the direction of

O.V.Kuusinen and F.V.Konstantinov, respectively, officially published in Moscow in 1960 and since then considered the orthodox version of USSR ideology throughout the world. In the second of the aforementioned books are collected the basic philosophical principles of Soviet ideology and its historical and dialectic materialism; and in the first, the overthrow of all the existing governments in noncommunist countries is openly proclaimed and a detailed explanation of the means and procedures for attaining this end is given.

The "universal revolution" is not expressely defined by present official Soviet texts but their concepts refer to the effective execution of socialist revolutions under the direction of the Soviet-type communist parties in all countries of the world.

In Lenin, on the other hand, there are repeated references to world revolution: "The principle of the Third Communist International is the preparatory phase for the International Soviet Republic, for the world victory of communism."[61] "We shall soon see the triumph of communism in the entire world, we shall see the foundations of the Soviet Federation of Republics that will cover the universe."[62] "The future belongs to the Soviet order throughout the entire world."[63] "...no difficulty will prevent us from completing our world. This work is the universal proletarian revolution, the creation of a world republic of Soviets."[64] "We have on our side the advantage that the entire world is already entering into a movement that has to have the Universal Socialist Revolution as a result,"[65] and so forth.

There can be, therefore, not the slightest doubt for anyone that Lenin proclaimed the doctrine, which official Soviet doctrine ratified and perfected, of the universal proletarian revolution and the installation of a world Soviet state, the world state of a class, which as Goodman said, is the most extraordinarily coercive that has ever been conceived by the mind of man.[66]

"The international objectives of Soviet ideology, the implantation of socialism and communism," concludes Leonhard, "is aimed against every political system in a similar manner, against every economic order, political concept, trends, parties and organizations with the exception of its own. The conservatives are attacked as much as the liberals, the social democrats as much as the Marxists, the socialists of the left as much as those of the right, the Christians as well as the Buddhists, Mohammedans or atheists; the states that are members of NATO as well as those which do not belong to any bloc; modern industrialist states or developing countries; social democratic governments as well as those consisting of Christian democratic or liberal parties. The communist states themselves (Yugoslavia, for example) are in the line of fire of these objectives when they are not willing to subordinate themselves to the principles of Soviet ideology."[67]

When Lenin died in January 1924, the Stalinist era enthroned a different interpretation of the concept of world revolution; it no longer depended so much on the result of the revolutionary movements in different countries but on the development and strengthening of the USSR, particularly its economic,

political and military power. That was the reason the working class and every true revolutionary had the duty to defend and struggle for the USSR, even before his own country: "A revolutionary," said Stalin, "is he who without reservations, without conditions, with honor and openness, without secret military councils is prepared to protect and defend the USSR because the USSR is the first revolutionary and proletarian state in the world and the one that is building socialism."[68]

However, when Stalin died, there was a new change. The USSR having been developed and strengthened, its power and prestige increased, the proliferation of national liberation movements in the colonies and protectorates caused the confidence in the victory of communism in the world to flourish anew. The Leninist doctrine of universal revolution was then dusted off and refurbished once more, it being left to Khrushchev to exhibit it with the trappings of the imminent predomination of communist ideas in the world, a predomination which the capitalist countries unsuccessfully tried to contain.

"...Our ideas will conquer all human minds...We declare that the ideas of communism are incomparably stronger and more powerful and that they will win inevitably."[69] "Your children will also live under socialism in America. I prophesy that. Do not fear for your grandchildren. They marvel that their grandparents have not been able to understand such a progressive doctrine as the doctrine of scientific communism."[70] "We are convinced that in the peaceful competition of socialism with capitalism the victory will be on the side of the former. Capitalism will inevitably disappear from the historical scene."[71] "The communists will overthrow undesirable governments that have sold out their people, they will build a democratic popular order in their countries and they will embark on the road of socialist evolution...In the final analysis, it will be that way in other countries, in the United States and England...That is the inexorable path of historical development and none shall hold it back," and so forth.

The victory of the universal communist revolution, that is, the victory of socialism and communism in the world--in the sense that the political and economic system of the USSR and other states of the Soviet bloc is understood to be--is, therefore, a basic objective of Soviet communism.

The attainment of this objective must be achieved through the various means and methods of struggle--excluding military force--[73] that may be ideal, to wit:

> the example of the socialist area, which because of its economic advances and improved standards of living, will induce the workers of capitalist countries to embrace socialism. Communism will then infiltrate, not only because of ideas taught by the study of Marxism-Leninism, but because of the results of its example;[74]

> the activity of the communist parties, promoters of socialist revolutions in all countries of the world, particularly in those in which domestic dissensions become more actue, until they provide the condition of a "revolutionary situation;"[75]
>
> the steering of revolutionary movements toward the forces of universal revolution, that is, leading the very different revolutionary processes that appear in the world toward the socialist trend--the socialist revolutions of the proletariat, democratic revolutions, antifeudalism, national liberation movements, and anti-imperialist colonial movements--thus, as a consequence of the guiding work done by communism, the various revolutionary movements, including those that do not in principle have an immediate socialist nature, later become "component parts of the universal socialist revolution."

It is in keeping with the basic ideological purposes, means and methods described, that communism plans and carries out its actions. Like other continents, Latin America offered a vast and fertile field for this action which communism did not hesitate to put into effect, first using the precious instrument of its vanguard in all the noncommunist countries: the international communist movement represented in each one of them by their respective communist parties.

14. In the report prepared in 1969 after officially visiting the various countries of Latin America, Nelson Rockefeller reflected the opinion it deserves of the communist subversion process in the hemisphere, evaluated from a global view.

Referring to the "need for change" in Latin American countries, "decisive characteristic of our time," and to the forces that promote it[76] and allow to forecast for coming years "a growing frustration with the rate of development," for Latin America, the report includes these observations on communist penetration into the continent. "In each country there is an uneasy struggle for a better life. Occurring as it does at a time of an unsettling change, this brings a vague sense of unease to many that all the systems of society are out of control. With this panorama, all the American nations are a tempting target for communist subversion. Actually, it is very obvious that this subversion is a reality with an alarming potential today.

"Castro has persistently recruited guerrillas from the other American republics and has trained them in Cuba for exporting agrarian communist revolution of the Cuban type. Fortunately, the governments of the American republics have gradually improved their capacity for confronting the rural Castro-type guerrillas. However, there are radical revolutionary elements of the hemisphere who appear to be increasing inclined toward urban terrorism in their effort to overthrow existing order. This type of subversion is more difficult to control and the governments are forced to use increasingly repressive methods to confront it. It is thus that a cycle of terrorist actions and repressive actions tends to upset the political situation, creating a more fertile field for radical solutions among large sectors of the population.

"There are also Maoist communist forces in the hemisphere. Despite the fact that they are relatively small in number, they are fanatically dedicated to the use of violence and intimidation to achieve their ends. The mystique of Maoism has principally attracted the idealism of the young and has been, therefore, the means for generalized subversion.

"It appears now that some Castroite and Maoist forces have united for carrying out acts of subversion, terror and violence in the cities. These forces are also concentrating on the massive student demonstrations and in the upheavals in various public and private institutions, requesting as much support of labor communist fronts as they can possibly obtain.

"Despite the fact that Castro's propaganda shows him to be a leader of the dispossessed, who opposes the imperialism of the United States and is independent of Soviet communism, it is obvious that the Soviet Union at this time has an important degree of financial, economic and military influence over Communist Cuba. The recent visit by the Soviet fleet to Havana is evidence of the growing warmth of their relations.

"This action by the Soviet Union in Cuba and throughout the hemisphere, contrasts with official protests of the Soviet Government and the communist party that they are not only in favor of peaceful coexistence but also deny association with Castro and his program of terror in the American republics.

"Obviously, the opinion held in the United States that communism is no longer a serious factor in the Western Hemisphere is completely mistaken.

"We have seen almost universally how the other American republics are deeply concerned about the threat this means for them. And the United States must be alert and concerned at the threat, which in the final analysis, it represents for the United States and the entire hemisphere."[77]

The concept of peaceful coexistence--which to western ears suggests a satisfactory merger of the ideal of internationa life in peace and harmony and reciprocal and abiding respect among states--is neither a fundamental nor a definitive principle, but another mendacious communist trap, conceived and handled as a transitory tactical line until communism achieves economic, political and military superiority over the capitalist countries that will allow it to impose universal revolution and conquest.

Goodman, who analyzes this idea magnificently, reminds us that peaceful coexistence was born of desperation in the early times of the USSR when there were still great doubts as to the survival of the new regime: the roots of the idea of coexistence were grounded on the desire to enter into treaties and make use of the forces which they nevertheless felt to be mortal enemies." Lenin said that "in February 1918 when the imperialist attackers hurled their troops against Russia, which was disarmed and lacking armies...I did not hesitate to enter into arrangements with the French monarchists." De Lubersac, a French official, told Lenin: "I am a monarchist and my only

objective is to defeat Germany." Lenin understood the French aversion to revolution perfectly. "This did not prevent me in the slightest from arranging with Lubersac for the services that French officers, expert sappers, wanted to provide us for blowing up the railroads and preventing the German advance." That arrangement, according to Lenin, was legal because it promoted the cause of socialism. "The French monarchist and I were shaking hands, knowing that each of us would gladly hang his associate. However, our interests coincided for some time."

In the essence of peaceful coexistence as handled by the Kremlin is the intention of obtaining a truce from the capitalist world and the opportunity to strengthen the Soviet camp in such a manner that it can confront any contingency.

The possibility of establishing a parallel existence in the capitalist order and the communist order only refers to a certain period of growing socialist expansion and, therefore, restricted to the time it needs to become strong. That is why Chicherin, who headed the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Economic and International Conference of April 1922, said that the USSR "without violating the principles of communism, recognized that in this historical period economic competition among the states that represent the two systems of property becomes an imperious necessity in attempting a general economic reconstruction."[79] However, as Goodman observes, if that economic cooperation based on peaceful coexistence of the two different world systems was an imperious need "in this historical period," there emerges the unequivocal deduction that in the following phase the aforementioned coexistence will no longer be a subject for discussion because there will only be one world system in existence.[80]

War between the communist and capitalist worlds being inevitable,[81] everything is reduced to postponing it until the former is consolidated and in a condition to defeat the latter. As long as this condition is not present, as Korovin says, "time works in favor of communism and every year of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist systems that passes, strengthens the former and weakens the latter."[82]

Peaceful coexistence has been used thus to exert pressure, with the intensification of trade relations between the communist and noncommunist worlds, in an attempt to separate the United States and its allies and for penetrating the latter under the banner of commerce. Even the European countries must be maintained isolated among themselves. The same Soviet publications that advocate peaceful coexistence, categorically condemn the political federation of Europe, the European Council, the Schuman Plan, the European Defense Community, the Organization of the Economic Cooperation of Europe, the European Payment Union, the European Economic Community and Euratom.[83]

"The USSR," comments Leonhard, "is convinced that it is able to vanquish and cause the defeat of the capitalist world and that the victory in economic competition will promote the universal revolution advocated by the Soviet Union."[84]

The USSR needs and employs peaceful coexistence to consolidate itself until the moment comes for the final assault on the western states because it needs and uses commercial relations with those states to overcome its own economic difficulties: "Thus, the Soviet principle of coexistence consists of a doctrine that protects the Soviet Union from the danger of a military conflict and provides the prior conditions for the trade exchange, for which it has a pressing need, with the industrialized states of the West on the one hand, and because it facilitates the world victory of communism, on the other."

Ideological and political penetration that communism hides behind the facade of trade relations with free countries also benefits from an exclusive privilage of the communist system that is difficult to counter. Since a communist economy can do without common mercantile factors--including profits--the mobilization of a great mass of slave labor, imposition of reduced consumption, expropriation, and the commercial penetration of the countries that communism intends to control allows it to be in a condition, at least initially, to obtain the advantages of an amazing competition in prices and payment terms that allows it to win markets.

In his interesting analysis of commercial penetration and Soviet-aid to underdeveloped countries, Labin concluded that: "the alleged 'aid' is only one branch of communist political action. It hides behind its satellites. It gives nothing away for nothing. It ties the economy of the 'aided' countries to its own economy. It indoctrinates native technicians. It pretends to be more than it is. It is accompanied by a wave of technician-propagandists. It selects spectacular projects with a propaganda value and it makes distortions about western help and so forth."[86]

Peaceful coexistence and economic competition do not imply a halt in the ideological struggle of communism against capitalism. On the contrary, they are the best opportunities for accentuating it. "There does not exist," wrote Il'ichov, "a peaceful coexistence of ideologies as some demented persons proclaim; it cannot happen, just as there can be no reconciliation between light and dark."[87]

And the statement made by the 81 communist parties on 5 December 1961 says unequivocally: "Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not mean a reconciliation of the socialists and bourgeois ideas. Rather it supposes a redoubled struggle by the working class and all communist parties for the victory of socialist ideology."

What kind of peaceful coexistence and what kind of economic relations can be discussed under those conditions?

Since the time of Lenin, and on repeated occasions, Soviet theoreticians have been calculating that the end of the transitory "peaceful coexistence" phase and the final victory of communism will come with the installation of a world communist state.

The latest forecasts place this achievement around the year 2000.

Whether this prediction is exact or not, the truth is that "coexistence" between the two antagonistic systems, which for more than half a century has been suffered by the world, is in no way "peaceful" nor is there anything that allows one to believe that it may be, until the definitive action of the relentless war it wages takes place.

It is in the field of that war, and as a new expression of the antagonism that divides and poisons the entire planet, that subversion surges and expands, constantly renewing itself, up to now with obvious advantages for communism because of constant concessions and surrenders by the western countries.

While the North American grand strategy since World War II has been defensive, Soviet grand strategy, on the other hand, has been offensive, aimed at the growing expansion and definitive victory of communist ideology throughtout the entire world.

It is not because of fear of nuclear war in which the United States equals or surpasses the USSR that the latter intends to achieve global victory of communism, but in other types of wars: "national uprisings," "national liberation struggles," limited "guerrilla warfare," all of them contained within the framework of the "science of insurrection" through which a minority of conspirators tries to take possession of power.

This is one of the instruments of the grand offensive strategy of the Soviet Union. The other is economic struggle, the occupation by socialism of first place in the world production as an industrial superpower. Thus, according to Khrushchev's statement: "The victory of the USSR in its economic competition with the United States, the victory of the entire socialist system over the capitalist system, will be the culminating point in history. Then even the most skeptical will decide in favor of socialism."[88]

Brazen political intervention or open military aggression are not actually the only or principal methods used by communism to subject other countries to its will.

On the contrary, without discarding their use in certain cases, to avoid universal condemnation that such procedures bring, and to avoid the dangerous consequences of reciprocal defense pacts with which small countries try to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty, communism, always aggressive and dynamic, put into practice the methods of armed insurrection, revolutionary war or subversive war, conceived, like the methods of conventional war, as an art.[89]

Cultivated as such by Soviet specialists since the end of World War II and previously by the Chinese communists, their refined techniques were applied from the decades of the 30's in China until it fell: in Spain, Greece, Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran, Algeria, the Philippines, Burma, Korea, Iraq, Congo, Angola, Vietnam and in Latin America itself, and since then no free country can consider itself immune to their perfidious actions.

This new communist offensive of modern warfare, also called psychopolitical war,[90] is an instrument of war of such effective results that it has allowed the world, although it superficially does not show it, or it is not noticed, to be truly submerged into a new war, more harmful and dangerous because its weapons, obviously different from those of conventional war, are much more difficult to find and fight.

Those weapons and methods, carefully discussed and taught in Soviet schools of subversion (under the direction of Department 12 "Deception" of the First Principal General Directorate of the KGB), even cover the falsification of state documents, to which is then given great publicity. The famous "Berry Letter," which was commented on all over the world in 1958,[91] is an example.

The present communist offensive, which includes all fronts and all activities in the life of a free nation in order to corrode and subvert it, explains why the demo-liberal state, ethically neutral and indifferent to the struggle of ideologies, is ineffective in confronting the new methods of psychopolitical war and also why the democratic countries, if they wish to survive, must revise and improve the conceptual bases on which requirements for their preservation and defense rest.[92]

Because of the rarified atmosphere of tension and subversion that this special type of communist offensive creates, it can be maintained that since the last quarter century it inaugurated an authentic World War III in which the Soviet Union, abandoning the Cold War which created western alliances of mutual defense which hindered communist strategy (NATO, CENTO, SEATO), inaugurated a new line of coexistence or of living together which is being placed into practice with the policy of "lessening tensions" or detente as the new watchword.

"I maintain," said Thompson, "that we have been in World War III for the past 25 years and that the Soviet objective in the long run is to win it without arriving at a nuclear confrontation. For this purpose the Russians will have to force the United States to a strategic surrender, undermining U.S. will and determination or isolating it until it is placed in an untenable world situation, or with maneuvers in both directions." "Pursuing the great goal of winning World War III without a nuclear confrontation, the main intention of the Soviets during coming years will be the elimination of every U.S. presence and influence in Europe, Asia and Africa, which is very far from being an absurd intention."..."The question as to whether the United States will continue to be a great power capable of keeping the West united and of saving Western civilization, will depend less on military, economic and political factors than on the psychological factors and their influence on the minds of men everywhere. If the people of the United States do not understand that their credibility is in play and that the greater their credibility the smaller will be the cost and the danger, their future will be very black."[93]

Directing an exaggerated strategy of spaced but continuous international crises, communism has completely monopolized the offensive for its benefit and to the detriment of the western countries.

Moscow, Peking or their agents ever so often, and wherever it best suits them, promote a new international conflict that leads the western countries to react in a purely defensive manner.

The solution to these renewed crises also always carries with it a concession or withdrawal by the West and a communist victory.

Each new international crisis provoked by communism naturally pursues one immediate objective, however, it also has a purpose of greater scope within the grand strategic offensive: to confuse and weaken the alliance of the western countries, dividing them and distracting their attention from other aspects or zones of its interest. As Strausz-Hupe said, it is a matter of a tactic that attempts to keep them "on the defensive," preventing them from taking any initiative in the "prolonged conflict" that communism wages against the West. Sun-Tze, Chinese strategist of the 5th century B.C., in his treatise on the "Art of War," said: "Make noise in the east but attack in the west," an aphorism that Mao Tse-tung was pleased to quote frequently and has even been adopted in the communist text books on the Cold War.

The Berlin Blockade in 1948 hid communist preparations in the Far East, which served for subsequent aggressions in Korea and Indochina and the final conquest of China; peace negotiations in Geneva in 1954 only had the objective of arousing false hopes in the West that would permit the successful conclusion of communist operations in Indonesia. The death of Stalin was used to create the mirage of an impossible peaceful coexistence and it led to the postponement of NATO armament programs and reductions in the military budgets of its members, and so forth.

As long as the West does not break the monopoly of communist offensives and takes the initiative, selecting its own field for action, communism will continue constantly creating new international crises that will allow it to keep its offensive line through which it proposes to defeat the free countries without having to resort to the extreme of an open conflagration. In a more or less hidden, or in an open manner, reality shows that Soviet communism is the father of the contemporary panorama of world subversion; Maoist communism, its child, which when barely of age, as sometimes happens in some families, tried to confront its sire; Castroism, a poor distant relative of those empires, but which lends itself marvelously to both as a bridgehead for extending their claws to the Western Hemisphere.

The discrepancies, arguments and squabbles in which the first two engage ever so often, and on which the western countries naively speculate, are a simple smokescreen that does not manage to conceal the common intent of destroying the West.

No matter how serious they may appear to be to the superficial observer, these squabbles are merely differences as to the best way to achieve a single purpose.

Moscow does not oppose the efforts by Peking to destroy the free world and vice versa. On the contrary, it is a matter of competition in which each one wishes to demonstrate the superiority of its own method over that of the other.

The belief that communism is really trying to reach an understanding of peaceful coexistence with the countries of the West and that it has abandoned, or will abandon, its designs of destruction and conquest, embarking on a new cycle of truce, is a complete illusion, a fatal illusion because it implies the most absolute ignorance of communist strategy and of the situation that the world is facing as a result of its application. If they are not capable of organizing in such a way that they can go from the defensive to the offensive and defeat communism forever, the countries that are still free cannot blame anyone but themselves.

Coexistence, disarmament, ideological pluralism and "detente" are tactical trickery in the vast psychopolitical offensive unleased by the USSR and with which it has managed to lull the attention of the West, making it conceive false illusions of an international harmony while it gains time and space which tilts the balance of forces in all areas in its favor more and more.

Referring to those methods of deceit and subjection with brave frankness and a trace of pathetic irony, Solzhenitsyn, addressing the American people, and through them the rest of the free world, said: "Dissension as is being practiced only serves to strengthen the USSR and to give it the means with which one day it will destroy Western civilization...They will soon be twice as powerful as you and then they will be five times stronger, and ten times stronger. Some day they will say to you: 'We will advance with our troops in East Europe. If you react, we shall annihilate you.' And their troops will advance and you will do nothing...When they bury us alive, please do not send them the shovels and other modern equipment for burials."[94]

Detente, the present name for "coexistence," is nothing more than a tactical variant, whereby with the most affable and suave methods, communism tries to dissipate distrust and lull western public opinion, making it believe that communist and capitalist countries can coexist in peace and collaborate among themselves.

In reality, however, this tactic that Soviet leaders repeatedly state is scrupulously tied to the Leninist concept of the final eradication of capitalism from the world and only seeks to weaken the Atlantic alliance, reduce the U.S. defense effort and obtain long-term financial credits and the help of advanced western technology for the development of the economic, industrial and, therefore, military potential of the USSR.

Hopefully the West thinks of a "liberalization" of communism; of a "westernized" communist policy, which discovering the dark hidden world behind the curtain which hinders the free circulation of ideas, news and individuals according to the traditional principles of western freedom, will allow the progressive recovery of the communist countries for the culture of the West....

Based on this illusion and on the desire for making good business deals by many businessmen, bankers and capitalists, the West is bent on the task of improving economic relations with the communist countries. This is the time when many U.S., Japanese and European companies are competing in the construction of enormous Soviet factories and in development of entire regions of the USSR at a tiny cost to it and without any types of guarantees that subversion, espionage, sabotage, guerrillas and other weapons of the ideological war with which communism is fighting a war to the death against the West, will disappear.[95] As Lenin said: the bourgeoisie are so filled with the idea of carrying out business that "they will even sell us the rope with which we shall hang them."

The joint space flight of the "Apollo" and the "Soyuz" (July 1975), viewed throughout the free world as a Soviet-American effort, but presented to the communist world as an exclusive Russian accomplishment, will remain as one of the best anecdotes on the naivete of the West in the inventory of communist successes achieved during the political war known as "detente."

The Helsinki "summit" conference at the end of July 1975 is another eloquent example of this naive position by the democracies toward the enslaving communist drive.

The "Helsinki Document" tacitly recognized Soviet postwar territorial invasions, annexations and occupations, when it "crystallized" the present borders of Europe, and it accepts in a completely theoretical manner a number of principles that are systematically denied and violated by the USSR repeatedly: nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries, soverignty of peoples, human relations, news, culture, education and so forth.

As Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev explained it, the USSR reserves the right to interpret the terms of that document as it pleases, which will result in the document--which obliges no one to do anything--being at most invoked rhetorically as a sort of "good behavior code or manual" in the case of possible future Soviet violations.

Once more, therefore, the democracies are being gulled by the traditional policy of communist deceit. To the tragic names of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, recent history has just added that of Helsinki. To the dynamic territorial and demographic "growth" consecrated by those agreements, is now added the Helsinki pat on the back to the growth of the political prestige of the USSR in the world. Communism is thus left in unbeatable conditions for continuing to drive its machinery of oppression and aggression without the need to resort to any declaration of conventional war or to its methods.

Within this vast machine of world communist aggression, the techniques of information, intelligence, espionage and sabotage become vital instruments of modern war.

The Soviet intelligence services (handled by the KGB, State Security Committee, as well as by its neighbor, the GRU, the top directorate for intelligence of the Soviet Ministry of Defense), project their clandestine activity abroad through specialized operational units which in the Russian terminology of espionage are known as "rezident" or "legal rezidencies," which means the headquarters that centralize intelligence and counterintelligence operations in the countries with which the USSR has relations or in "friendly" countries.

While the KGB, through its Foreign Intelligence Directorate or General Principal First Directorate, works in all the areas of clandestine activity, the GRU devotes itself specifically to espionage. There are, however, those who maintain that the GRU, like the KGB, not only engages in military, political, economic and scientific espionage, but it also carries out activities of propaganda, provocation, blackmail, terrorism and sabotage. The difference in the GRU is exclusively in that which refers to domestic activity in the USSR but it is identical abroad.

The label of "legals" comes from the fact that the agents are officially accredited before the authorities of the country in question, with "official" cover and can, therefore, reside legally as members of the "Soviet mission" in that country.

This label is also used to differentiate from the "illegals," which covers the overall group of disguised Soviet citizens sent to the western countries with false identity and/or documents to hide their status and who are not under the orders of the local "rezidents" or "rezidencies," but are directly managed from Moscow by the aforementioned KGB Foreign Intelligence Directorate. Many of those agents are not even Soviet citizens, but of any nationality, previously found, selected and trained for carrying out their "tasks."

Another important agency of special interest for the purpose of this book is the General Directorate for Instruction to Agitators, Terrorists and Guerrillas, under the GRU, which controls the operation of the training schools and centers for subversive and guerrilla techniques also attended by communists from other countries, who being duly selected through the communist parties or the local "rezidencies," go to the USSR and on their return they apply the knowledge acquired in the interests of the communist world revolution.

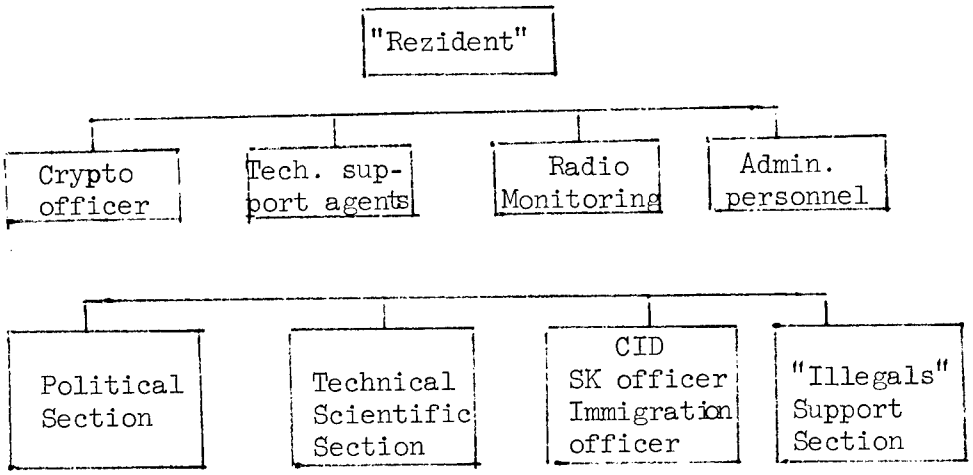
Theoretically, the KGB--successor to the primitive CHEKA, the GPU and NKVD--, is a department of the USSR Council of Ministers but in fact operates under the direction of the CPSU Central Committee.

It is from a careful study of the "Soviet Colony" or SK (the overall group of officials and offices of the Soviet government in a certain country: embassy, consulates, trade delegations, military, tourist and aid or co-operation offices for project plans, technicians, economists, industrialists, scientists, cultural affairs officers, news agencies, TASS, PRAVDA, NOVOSTI, IZVESTIYA, MOSCOW RADIO, Inturist, Morflot, Aeroflot and so forth) that it can be deduced where the "rezident" or "rezidencies" are installed. Generally there is a "rezident" or legal "rezidency" of the KGB and another of the GRU, and sometimes also, depending on the importance of the country, one in each city.

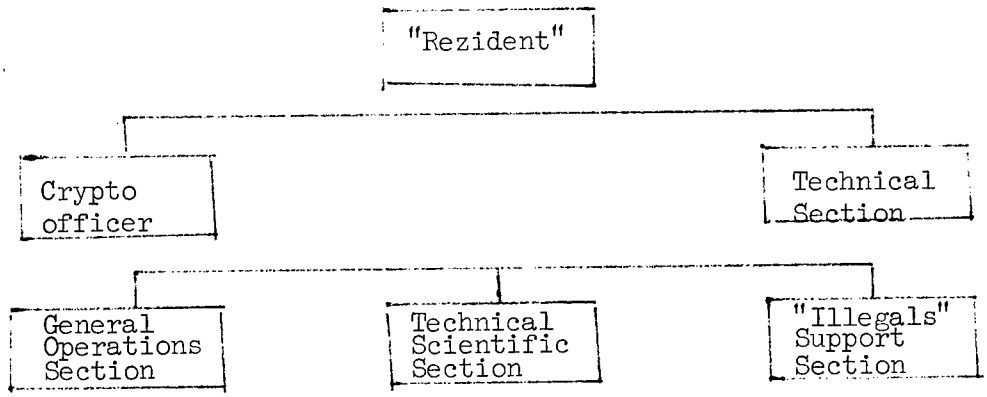
Of the total number of Soviet officials on the diplomatic corps list, 75 percent of them are KGB or GRU officers.[96]

The domestic organizations of the "rezidencies" or legal "rezident" are generally in keeping with the following table:

KGB



GRU



The menacing role we have quickly tried to describe in the previous paragraphs, is the one which indeed is being played by Soviet communism under the sinister banners of Marxism in the context of the war it wages implacably against the countries not yet subjected to its yoke, including those of this hemisphere.

b) Role of Chinese Communism

15. It is not only the orthodox Soviet communism which channels Marxist penetration toward Latin America. The "heterodox" and surging drive of Maoist communism, in an open battle with the former after the death of Stalin, also plays an important role in encouraging subversion and communist revolution in the continent.

The Chinese have expounded and applied the techniques of political penetration with clarity: since the communists are few, in order to achieve their purposes they are obliged to use the noncommunists and even anticommunists. This is accomplished by the following:

> Helping the ambitious politician who his own party has forgotten. Grateful, he will later help the communists to obtain any little position no matter how modest;
>
> Teaching a union leader how to organize the workers. The communists will soon be the ones who manage the strikes;
>
> Preaching "peace" and identifying themselves with the struggles against "injustice," they will soon win respectability and influential friends;
>
> Helping even a dictator. Recognized, he will give jobs and will allow the founding of the machinery of his own party while he finishes off his democratic rivals. When, inevitably, the dictator falls, the communists are in an excellent position to take power.

Within the great lines of its strategy of world expansion, Chinese communism set itself the objectives for encouraging and supporting the "revolutionary wars of liberation" with the identical purpose of arriving at world revolution, the proletarian socialist world revolution of which Mao spoke,[97] and of replacing the present political, economic and social structures with the communist system wherever it does not exist.[98] Restricted primarily to Asia and Africa, this "support" is beginning to spread to Latin America at the rate which circumstances allow.

From the early years of the decade of the 60's, it encourages terrorism so as to increase its influence in the Third World and raise the prestige of the Maoist concept of communism over that of the "petrified" concept of Soviet policy.



In communist China the women are also trained in military exercises.

Initially Mao supported the propaganda of Asian and African campaigns against "imperialism" and exploitation by the West. Then he began to provide active support in weapons and training to several insurgent groups.



The campaign against the West is one thing which the communists do not neglect.

In 1965 he smuggled weapons into Indonesia and supported an attempt at a coup d'etat in which six generals of the Indonesian army were assassinated. In the massacre that followed this coup, around 500,000 Indonesians died.

In Burma, the Chinese communists led the "white flags," a military branch of the communist party previously under Soviet supervision.

The Chinese communists provided weapons to the Thai liberation army and they controlled the insurgent groups of Malaysia. They trained the Naga and Mizo rebels of northeast India and are the driving force behind the 180,000 Naga hillsmen, who through terror and pillage assail the entire western Bengal region.

The vandalistic attack, which in 1950 it made against legendary Tibet, is a brazen example of the worst type of imperialism, colonialism and genocide to which, unfortunately, no one paid any attention. The International Commission of Jurists documented that the Tibetans who opposed the "Communist" reforms were the objects of vivisection, sterilization, crucifixion, death by beatings, disembowelment and decapitation. Hundreds of landowners, cattlemen of the villages and former officials were tortured and murdered. The lamas and monks were persecuted with special savagery, yoked to plows and made to pull like beasts of burden or they were publicly whipped and beaten.

In Africa and the Middle East, the rivalry between the Chinese and Russian communists was extremely intense. In the Persian Gulf, where oil was the reason for discord, they fight for the control of the Sultanate of Oman, where the former obtained--as they did in the Portuguese territory of Mozambique in Africa--greater successes than the latter, just as they did in Tanzania where they took over an old Soviet accomplishment when they placed red guards in the construction of a railroad for the goverment.

In short, Red China does not hesitate to use all the invisible methods of subversion, among others the large-scale production and sale of narcotics as a weapon of political war that tends to corrupt and subvert the western societies to facilitate the victory of world communist revolution. At the same time, however, this sinister activity is also a great business involving fantastic sums deriving from the drug traffic, which is based on the uncontainable demand by the world's drug addicts.

In 1965 it was estimated that China obtained an annual gross income of more than $500 million from this traffic.

Sicot, who was an outstanding secretary general of INTERPOL, one of whose main activities was the pursuit of drug traffickers, observed cautiously in his memoirs: "It is frequently heard that certain producing countries systematically use large quantities of the narcotic to drug the countries that are hostile to their ideology. This is still to be demonstrated and this political aspect of the drug traffic is absolutely not within our purview; however, it is undeniable that the clandestine traffic in large quantities often means an enormous source of income that has a considerable effect on the economy of some countries."[100]



Scene in the communes of Red China: Man takes the place of animals in work on the farms.



Mao and Lin Piao: directors of the great "cultural" revolution.

The many accusations made in this respect, and which are periodically repeated, have not had a great effect since the traffic takes place secretly through a vast network of clandestine organizations and agents, to which even the "maffia" is no stranger, and is active in practically all countries of the West. At one time Cuban territory was used as a base of operations for drug traffic to the United States as was shown by the seizure of a large shipment of Chinese opium in Miami in 1962 by U.S. authorities. Evidence on opium plantations in Red China, the plan which governs the promotion of this "business," as well as the map of the plantations and the laboratories where the drugs are made, the varieties of them manufactured, methods and routes of traffic and so forth, have been recently denounced by the World Anticommunist League.[101]

16. Mao, among whose objectives was to expand his zone of political and economic influence, not only in Asia and Africa but also in Latin America, placed his sights on the countries of this continent.

Realistic politicians, the men who today direct the destinies of the enormous Asian empire,[102] see great prospects among the Latin American peasants, basing themselves on their own revolutionary experience. The peasants are much more numerous and also the poorest. If they served Mao Tse-tung for the conquest of China, why would they not serve for the conquest of the world?

The military concept of Mao is based more on numbers of soldiers, in the war of "attrition," and in the capacity for resistance on the basis of the vastness of territory and an inexhaustible reserve of population, which coincides with the conditions of Latin America and the possibilities for an effective

communist penetration, rather than on the power of weapons and technology. The great territorial size of these countries, the dispersion of population centers, difficulty of communications, existence of zones far from government supervision, are all favorable factors for a long, armed resistance against conventional armies in a war of attrition waged with ideas and techniques similar to those used by Mao in his long guerrilla struggle to seize power. The guerrilla concepts of Guevara, as will be seen further on, had a strong Maoist influence, as did the Castro-communist guerrilla himself, who showed a greater inclination toward the Chinese line than toward the Soviet in this and other questions.[103]

17. In 1965, after a trip to Communist China, Argentine writer Rosarios warned against the possibility of communist Chinese penetration into South American countries: "I saw the evidence," he said, "that my Latin America, my great fatherland, was threatened from abroad and from within: from abroad by the confessed objective of conquest that Chinese Communist leaders made me hear again and again without any dissimilation or euphemisms; and from within by the intrinsic weakness of the Latin American situation which demands an immediate solution because a late solution will be useless." "The Chinese communists are prepared to lose tens of millions in their tasks of conquest... The laws of history are invariable. The hungry invade the fertile lands that are not fully used..." and so forth.[104]



Red Guards: Adolescents of 14-18 years raised in the atmosphere of **unrestrained** adulation of the leader.

These considerations and many others of a similar nature, which could be made about the aggressiveness and tortuosity of communist tactics, must be ignored. While prior to its cultural revolution[105] Red Chinese relations with Latin America were reduced to the establishment of friendly ties of declared innocence: the absorption of the groups that abandoned the Moscow line, and the dissemination of a violent and corrosive propaganda about a final confrontation that won it the sympathy of the radicalized left, the always-changing political situation forced consideration of the aforementioned possiblities.

In 1968 Peking had only one trade mission in Latin America--in Santiago--five offices for its HSINHUA news agency (in Havana, Quito, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Montevideo) and one diplomatic mission in Cuba where it worked to fuel the Latin American guerrilla movement.

However, since 1971 when it entered the United Nations, Peking has established diplomatic relations with six more American countries (Argentina, Chile, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico and Peru) and with that inscrutable cynicism of communist policy, rapidly exchanged the violent propaganda line it had been using for another in which it appears to be cultivating official trade relations with the governments and wearing the trappings of a representative of the "developing" world opposed to the two "imperialisms."

This attitude is particularly placed in evidence at the Third UN Conference on Trade and Development held in Santiago, Chile, in April 1972.

Since time marches on, it will be the future that will tell the results of these relations with the second greatest power of the communist world--which to the great displeasure of the Soviets makes efforts to be the first--and the results of the activities that it may carry out in Latin America. Whatever the future tells, one thing seems certain, and that is that the preservation of these countries from the communist threat and the certainty of its progress depends on the effort, imagination and sense of political foresight of their own people. The reflection by Machiavelli is still fully applicable: "Salvation that does not depend on yourself is of no account; only the factors that depend on you yourself and on your courage can be safe, certain and lasting."

2. Sino-Soviet Rivalry

18. The growing expansionism of Chinese communism in Asia and Africa and the claims that the policy of Mao Tse-tung is an "authentic" communist line against the "bourgeois leanings" which it ascribes to Soviet policy, quickly gave way to a silent but profound rivalry between the two empires of world communism, rivalry which for years was reflected in a bitter public dispute, which shows no sign of disppearing but everything indicates will intensify.

At the bottom of this antagonism lies the profound contempt with which Chinese communism views the western world, particularly anything European.

Jose Ortega y Gasset expressed an enlightening opinion in this respect some time ago: "The Oriental, not accustomed to separating culture from life, because he has always required that the former be vital, sees in the behavior of the West a radical, all-encompassing hypocrisy, and cannot suppress a feeling of contempt when he makes contact with things European."[106]



"Imagine," said the Russian, "a billion Mexicans with the atomic bomb, reclaiming Texas." A Soviet official said in 1969 to a U.S. journalist: "If you want to understand what the Chinese danger represents to us, imagine Mexico with 900 million people and 50 divisions at the border with Texas, a state reclaimed by Mexico. Then imagine the Mexican army with a growing capability to produce major nuclear arms. Then imagine them without any respect for human life and a concept of mass warfare which has changed very little since the times of Genghis Khan...

Although perhaps there are no other people less suited than the Chinese for absorbing Marxism, "their transitory coincidence originates in the fact that the theories of Marx were used to make the old empire asleep on cushions of pride, awaken on a bed of apparent vitality and make use of that demoralizing doctrine to destroy the foundations on which the western world rests. Great Chinese wisdom could do no less than discover the corrosive power of Marxism in the civilization in which that wisdom originated, without, however, retaining any commitment whatsoever to its great underlying principles."[107]



...then, perhaps you will understand
what we are predicating here."

Based on the idea of race, Maoist communism cherishes the idea of world conquest and the rule of the yellow race over the "other" races. It aspires to be a rallying point for all the colored races against the white race.

A nation whose spirit drinks from the fountains of such a concept, sooner or later will have to clash with the other nations. Therefore, the frictions between Soviet Marxism, which is constituted on the basis of other races, and that competitor who has appeared in the communist camp, should not be a cause for surprise.

Sino-Soviet rivalry, which many communists "lament," but which no one can hide, is based on different motives and on many circumstances of the actions that one or the other empire engaged in when attempting the conquest of the other noncommunist countries. The effects of that rivalry can be seen in the repeated political and diplomatic battles in Asia, Africa and the Middle and Far East and Latin America between the two factions in struggle, and also in the midst of the communist parties, in the international communist fronts, and the groups that aline themselves, whether it be under the leadership of Moscow or in the Maoist ranks.

With the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization /AAPSO/ itself,[108] for example, there have been hints of savage struggles with nothing of "solidarity" in them, as happened in the Third AAPSO Conference in Tanganyika in 1961, in the Congress of Solidarity with Cuba and in the Women's World Congress held that same year in Niteroi, Brazil, and Moscow, respectively.

The "doctrinaire" conflict between Chinese and Soviet communism has flourished in all fields, including unions, because of the intention of the former to create an Afro-Asian union organization for that area to compete with the World Federation of Trade Unions /WCTU/[109] which is controlled by the latter, and in the field of peace, dominated by the World Peace Congress /WPC/--[110] in the field of youth, headed by the World Federation of Democratic Youth /WFDY/[111] and the International Union of Students [IUS][112]; in the field of women's activities, of which the International Federation of Democratic Women [FIMD][113] the standard bearer, all of which international communist front organizations were originally created by the Soviets and managed at their whim.

To this struggle, the Hindu Communist Party weekly NEW ERA referred in an article published 24 March 1963, in which after relating the history of the affair, said: "The ideological differences within the communist movement have been introduced by the Chinese comrades in all the mass organizations in which they participate, such as the WPC, the WCTU, the WFDY and so forth." It concluded expressing the hope that the Afro-Asian Union Conference that was being promoted by the Chinese communists at that time "will not be a step toward the division of the WCTU nor a new instrument of denounciations on the impurities of the unions of Asia and Africa."

And the chief of the Chinese communist delegation to the Women's World Congress held in Moscow on 24 June 1963, Yang Yun-yu, without beating around the bush, declared to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY [NCNA][114], referring to the Soviet maneuvers to thwart the Chinese, that the aforementioned congress "was a lesson through negative examples."

However, it was with respect to the doctrine of war--also and paradoxically known as the doctrine on the struggle for peace--that the Sino-Soviet controversy reached the point of greatest friction.

The Soviet Political Dictionary defines war as "an armed struggle between states or classes for carrying out their economic and political objectives, the imposition of a policy by means of war...The basic origins of war are actually the unreconcilable antagonisms that the capitalist system carries within itself."[115] The communist system is in essence antiwar and if it should go to war, it does so forced by a "just war" and so forth.[116]



Prague is occupied by the Soviet army, whose troops penetrated to Wenceslao Plaza in the face of popular hostility.

While Marx and Engels maintained that with the foreseeable development of military technology, not only national but world wars would take place, which would give rise to an increasingly dangerous situation for the sector that wanted to carry out a campaign of war. The danger would be so great that no one would dare to begin a war. In addition, there would be the uncertainty of not being able to determine who would emerge the winner from such a gigantic struggle.[117] Lenin defended the opposite idea: with the growth of imperialism in the last third of the 19th Century and beginnings of the 20th, the risk of war not only increased but became inevitable. "As long as private ownership of the means of production remains," he said, "imperialist wars are inevitable."[118]

Imperialism generates war among the great imperialist powers, wars between colonial powers and the national liberation movements in the colonies, and wars within the imperialist countries themselves. This gives rise, therefore, "first to the inevitability of war and national revolutionary insurrections; second, to uprisings and wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and third, to the combination of both types of revolutionary wars," and so forth.[119]



Prague is occupied by the Soviet army, meeting the resistance of its inhabitants.

Stalin also maintained the Leninist thesis of the inevitability of war in the imperialist system[112] and for a period of 40 years (1916-1956) this was the official communist line.

However, on 14 February 1956, at the 20th assembly of the CPSU, this thesis was revised by Khrushchev. Conceived in an era in which imperialism had the power of a universal system on the one hand, the influence of the influence of the socialist area, which became a new and powerful force, the presence of other states not interested in making war, of "worker movements" and "universal freedom movements," on the other, caused the existence of a group of dynamic forces capable of preventing the imperialists from unleashing a war and for this reason the fatal inevitability of war no longer existed.[121]

Naturally the new thesis was not a mere academic treatise but was linked to communist exploitation of the growing world concern for peace, exploitation the USSR carries out extensively everywhere as an expression of the "struggle for the freedom of people," through several front movements and organizations in a double context: it portrays itself as a peace-loving country and thrusts the responsibility for war on imperialism.

It was this new Soviet thesis on the evitability of war, adopted compulsorily by all the communist parties of the world in the resolution of the Communist International Conference of November 1957 and confirmed by the 21st CPSU Congress in January-February 1959, which led to the impugnation by the Chinese communist party leaders.

On 22 April 1960, on the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, Mao's China opened discussions on the new Soviet line: "There has been no change in the nature of imperialism since the end of World War II."[122] "Everywhere you look it can be seen that no new branch of technology--atomic energy, space rocketry and the rest--has been able to change the basic characteristics of imperialism and the proletarian revolution that were already present in the era of Lenin."[123] In turn, the Soviet leaders replied to this piece of daring by accusing the Chinese and their supporters within the world communist movement of "leanings and tendencies of sectarianism of the left[124] that have nothing to do with communism," and so forth.[125]

Summarizing the reasons for Sino-Soviet dissension, Leonhard made a clarifying evaluation: "These differences, in any case, are only differences within an alliance of similar systems. It is a matter of mere differences in strategy and tactics for reaching the same objective: the imposition of communism throughout the world (or to say it with more accuracy, of the system that today calls itself communism in the eastern bloc).

"The Soviet communists, who have an industrial country and have set themselves the goal of overcoming and passing the United States in production per inhabitant in certain branches of industry by 1970, are persuaded that they will achieve economic preponderance in the world. In this manner it would be possible to attain the final objective in an easier and safer way than by use of

military procedures. Only the modern methods of a directed economic expansion would be applied and the domestic differences of the western countries and those existing between them and the developing countries would be exploited politically.

"The Chinese communists, on the other hand, who lead an economically backward country and find themselves in the beginning phase of industrialization, make efforts to transfer the radical procedures of their domestic development to international policy. The possibility of catching the modern industrial states economically and of spreading communism through the "Soviet procedure" appears very remote. They want to attain the final goal through a maximum encouragement, support and use of the present revolutionary movement, propagating civil war on a world scale even if this carries with it the growing danger of a universal conflagration."[126]

The winds of revolution that blow through the world and which communism has tirelessly provoked and fueled, help Peking and make it acquire greater influence and prestige. On the other hand, every revolution brings greater difficulties for Moscow. Moscow is as little revolutionary as the capital of any great empire has been throughout history. This is exactly what the Chinese communists, as well and the Castroites and pro-Castroites reproach them for--although they do not say it openly. For them the communist parties are only bureaucratic almost inoffensive petit bourgeois deviations.

19. That is the reason for the acceptance of the Chinese line by the radicalized revolutionary movements of the entire world, including those of Latin America. Ideological differences between the two communist powers had profound effects on Latin American subversions, provoking bitter disputes and internal divisions in the very midst of the communist parties of the continent, some of which split, giving way to the formation of splinter groups oriented toward Peking and to even small parties and groups that separated from the mother organization. In some cases the intensity of bitterness reached the level of armed struggle among rival communist organizations themselves. That is what happened in Angola, for example, as is illustrated by the chaos into which the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola /MPLA/ (pro-Soviet) and the Angolan National Liberation Front /FNLA/ (pro-Chinese), plunged the country in the middle of 1975, with entire cities such as Malanje, Duque de Braganza, Lobito, Novo Redondo and Porto Amboin filled with cadavers, which led to the exodus of the population who fled in terror.

Nevertheless, it is well not to be deceived. Despite the rivalry, the antagonisms and clashes the situation has already produced, or may produce in the future, Chinese communism like Soviet communism is a partner in the policy of world subversion, which ranges from guerrilla activities to large-scale wars of "national liberation," as well as partners in the benefits these struggles may obtain. And it could not be otherwise because this policy considers the purposes of political and economic expansion throughout the world which are common to both imperialisms and in which differences are only different tactics, circumstantial accidents or pretexts in the struggle for first place

in the leadership of world communism. The dispute between China and the USSR is basically a dispute over the means and not the ends. China and the USSR do not argue over the burial of the western countries, an objective both have set for themselves, but only on the best way to accomplish it.



Mao and Lin Piao: the first public appearance proved that they had not displaced him in the exercise of power (1967).

That the USSR has not given up--nor can it do so according to Marxist-Leninist doctrine--universal revolution was once more placed in evidence around the middle of 1972 when some portions of the report by Boris Ponomarev, Soviet official in charge of the communist party affairs in countries other than the Soviet Union, leaked out.

The report attributes special importance to the Latin American revolutionary movement, acknowledging the "colossal role" played in it by Cuba. Ponomarev said that "on the whole, the uprising of Latin America is of tremendous importance for the world revolutionary movement. What appears to be the safe North American rearguard is becoming a formidable anti-imperialist center. A tremendously powerful revolutionary movement is developing near the main bastion of capitalism: the United States. These changes are having, and undoubtedly will continue to have, a strong impact on the additional changes in the correlation of world powers in favor of socialism. The victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile, the revolutionary changes in Peru and the great successes obtained in the revolutionary struggle of Uruguay,[127] as well as in other nations, leads us to believe that the revolutionary process of Latin America will continue to develop at a greater rate than in other parts of the nonsocialist world. This is a true continental uprising."

It seems, therefore, that it is not necessary to hesitate very long on determining where the driving force that raises the seditious movements in Latin America and the entire world comes from and who really controls it.

Despite the fact that it is perfectly well-known and even the tactics used by the uprisings are known, this is frequently forgotten and they begin once more.

Meanwhile the enemy advances more and more. Skillfully using one or another tactic, one or another trick, and/or all of them at once, but always methodical and tireless, communist expansion continues its imperturbable progress.

At this time that expansion covers a somber 40 percent of the entire planet, which leads one to think of the danger awaiting the rest of it. Sooner or later it will also force the governments that do not perceive this danger, or remain indifferent to it, to mobilize the forces or techniques capable of opposing resistance to it and/or force it to turn back on the path it has travelled.

In Europe 8.3 million of its 10.5 million square kilometers and 311 of its 633 million inhabitants groan under communist tyranny. In Asia, 30 million of its 44 million square kilometers and 900 million of its 1.9 billion people are subject to the same conditions. In Africa, no fewer than 20 million of its 30 million square kilometers and nearly 200 of its 330 million people who live there suffer the same fate. And in America, finally, communism has managed to establish its bases in 1.5 million of its 42 million square kilometers of continental territory.

In summary, therefore, of the 150 million square kilometers of land surface, almost 60 million are under communist oppression today; and of the 3.4 billion people on earh, 1.4 billion are smothered or run the imminent risk of being smothered under that oppression, as is shown graphically by the following maps.[128]

That is why the experience undergone in Uruguay, which this book describes, is doubly interesting: because of what the experience itself teaches, and because, knowing its alien causes and motivations, it serves to alert those who have not yet suffered the tortuous methods of communist conquest, and to warn of possible new attacks on those who have already had the misfortune of experiencing them.

20. As far as the real role of the communist "front" organizations previously mentioned is concerned, and the role of many others which will be mentioned at the proper time, it is important to establish this concept.

It was the former prime minister of Australia, Robert Menzies, who during the course of an illustrative parliamentary debate briefly and precisely defined the idea of communist front organizations. "The primary objective of the communist front organizations is to have certain eminent or respectable persons confer an aura of responsibility on a conference, which without that aura would have all the appearance of being a communist activity."[129]

The greatest degree of trust or respectability that some persons have before the public because of their functions, activities or prestige, is used as a deceitful mantle to cover the sense and desires of communist activity with impartiality, many times becoming, without noticing it or desiring it, a communist mouthpiece. In an even more summary fashion, that attitude by many people who are eager for the limelight or fame, has been described as "useful cretinism" [as published].

Useful cretinism brings great benefits to communism, which skillfully makes use of it, particularly in propaganda campaigns aimed at confusing public opinion, using as bait the invocation to great principles such as peace, democracy, freedom, culture and so forth, principles with which people who are not necessarily communists are in agreement, but which appear associated, sometimes without it being noticed, with the plans and maneuvers of communist strategy.

Specific cases of this technique of communist propaganda exist everywhere, particularly in statements, proclamations, manifestos, exhortations, campaigns or positions of associations, groups, institutions, movements and so forth published by communist publicity organs and in which are featured intellectuals, writers, artists, professors, union leaders, politicians, and students in close proximity with more or less well-known communists, procommunists, philocommunists and cryptocommunists.

Among many others, a clear example is provided by the declaration "for non-intervention in Cuba and for selfdetermination of people," issued in Montevideo in 1964 by a group of "men of culture and various social activites, who go beyond political and philosophical differences," said the preamble, for the purpose of serving the campaign which international communism was carrying out at that time to pressure the governments of the American countries so that they would not break diplomatic relations with communist Cuba, who was guilty of flagrant acts of intervention.[130]

Another example of similar evidence is the manifesto published in 1952, with the support of more than 1,000 signatures, by the self-titled "Movement of Resistance to the Military Treaty with the United States." The reasons invoked in this case were that the treaty was based on a false reciprocity, subjected Uruguayan foreign policy to that of the United States, created new international obligations, interpreted previous treaties in a dangerously irregular manner, increased militarism and armamentism and established the economic subservience of Uruguay to the United States. The objective of the manifesto--crowned by a huge public ceremony at the campus of the university under the slogan that the aforementioned treaty meant "compulsory military

service, repression of union freedoms, new taxes and intervention in a possible war," and so forth--was none other than that of exerting pressure on public opinion, political parties and parliament so that the treaty would not be ratified.[131]

To end the foregoing glance at communist theory and practice, there is perhaps nothing more eloquent than the words of Winston Churchill. Written almost 50 years ago--although unfortunately forgotten shortly after Yalta--they condense admirably into a few lines the nature and objectives of communism and with even greater vigor than when they were uttered; in the light of the experience lived by the world since then, they reacquire all the values of a specific and lucid warning.

"Communism is not only a credo, it is a campaign plan. The communist is not only an individual who harbors certain opinions; he is the sworn supporter of well-pondered methods of action. He has studied the anatomy of discontent and revolution in all its aspects, and he has prepared a veritable manual for overthrowing all existing institutions. The method of applying it is as important a part of communist faith as the doctrine itself.

"At the beginning, communism invokes the precepts, already consecrated by time, of democracy and liberalism to protect the recently created organ. Freedom of speech, of assembly, constitutional rights and all forms of legal political agitation are advocated and affirmed. An alliance with any popular movement of leftist tendencies is sought.

"The first thing to do is to implant the moderately liberal or socialist regime during some period of upheaval. However, shortly after it is implanted, it must be overthrown. The calamities and penuries derived from confusion must be exploited. Clashes, accompanied if possible by the shedding of blood between the agents of the new government and the workers must be provoked. Martyrs will be invented. Any sign of weakness in government leaders will be taken advantage of. Behind the guise of peaceful propaganda will be hidden hates never before seen among men. It will not even be necessary, nor will it be possible, to keep promises made to those who are not communists. Every act of good will, tolerance, or conciliation government leaders or statesmen will be used to bring about their own downfall.

"Then, at the proper moment and when the situation has ripened, all types of violence must be resorted to, from mass rebellion to the murder of private individuals, without restrictions and without remorse. The fortress must be taken by assault brandishing the banners of freedom and democracy. Once that machinery of power is in the hands of the brotherhood, they will proceed to crush all opposition, and even all dissidence, with death.

"Democracy is nothing more than an instrument to be used and then destroyed; freedom is nothing more than a sentimental madness unworthy of anyone who is guided by logic. There will be imposed on humanity, pursuant to dogmas learned in chorus, without mercy and for all times, the absolute dominion

exercised by a "priestly" class which has appointed itself as such. All of this, expounded in books and also written in blood in the history of several powerful nations, is the doctrine and objective of communism."[132]

3. Havana, Communist Base in Latin America

21. The insurrection initiated in 1953 against the regime of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba and brought Fidel Castro to power in 1959, ended by transforming Cuba into the soviet of Latin America.

With undeniable internal and external support, that revolutionary movement at the beginning had one clear political objective in view: the restoration of humanist principles, the affirmation of the freedoms of representative democracy proclaimed by the 1933 revolution and made effective in the 1940 constitution but forgotten and trampled in the process of the decomposition of the Batista tyranny.

To the general resistance opposed to this tyranny by large centers of politically or morally uncommited sectors of opinion, with the deterioration of the Batista regime, was added the support of the opinion of external liberal trends, several neighboring Latin American countries, political exiles opposed to the dictatorship, and even a large part of the people of the United States, the Democratic Party and even the American government itself, which in 1958 decreed the embargo on a shipment of weapons purchased by the island government to fight the Castro guerrillas.

It was after his assumption of power that Fidel Castro "evolved," when perceiving the prospects that Marxist doctrine opened to him of becoming a great leader of the Latin American revolution and of rewriting a new "bolivarism," his strong megalomaniac personality inclined him to devote himself entirely to Marxism-Leninism and to convert Cuba into the center of continental communist subversion, facilitating Soviet plans.

That initial support of a genuinely popular base is the explanation for the success of Castro, who not having a large army, a political party, the unions, the peasants or the middle-class businessmen supporting him, had behind him only the support of a couple of hundred supporters recruited from among the middle class and the students. For this reason his victory was not even a military victory but the victory of the moral forces of the people in opposition to a worn-out government without popular prestige and lacking authority. It was a victory which internationally communism skillfully capitalized on shortly afterward.

Changing the direction of his original strategic-political concept of popular type but ideologically uncommitted, which meant for him the support of the majority of the people and even the sympathy of international opinion, Fidel Castro began to oscillate rapidly toward communism until he culminated with his famous public confession that Cuba was a Marxist-Leninist state.



Castro in 1959, haranguing the people of Havana.



1960: Castro and Khrushchev embrace at the United Nations.

This is what in the democratic ranks is considered the "betrayal" by Castro of the popular groups who made his access to power possible and hopefully celebrated it.

Actually, that sudden turn must be attributed to the skill of communism, which would thus arrive into the government of a Latin American country for the first time, taking over the Castro movement from "within." "Although the movement captained by Fidel Castro was not communist," observes Alexander, "communist-leaning people held leadership positions in it."

At the end of 1959, these persons dominated the movement and the government. The definitive victory of the communists was assured in July 1961 when the remnants of the Fidel Castro movement joined the Communist Party of Cuba and when members of the party occupied all the key posts of the resulting group."[133]



1963: With the Cuban economy in complete disarray, Castro traveled to Moscow to request aid from his red mentors. In the photograph he appears between Khrushchev and Brezhnev in the Lenin Mausoleum.

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The Communist Party of Cuba, called the Popular Socialist Party there, headed by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Blas Roca and Anibal Escalante, in fact clambered onto the winner's bandwagon at the last moment, but at the timely one, joining in the PURS [United Party of the Socialist Revolution], later called the Cuban Communist Party.

However, Castro's "conversion" to communism was neither so sudden nor so surprising to those familiar with Cuban politics and the communist maneuvers in Latin America as might be deduced from a superficial recognition of the

popularity of the Castro movement. Beginning with the rash attempt to communize Guatemala under the Jacobo Arbenz government in the 1950's, the USSR had zealously sought to create a bridgehead in Latin America, to counterbalance the U.S. bases in Israel, Greece and Turkey, and to be in a position to threaten and undermine the American regime from its own area of influence. Cuba offered it such possibility, as rapidly became evident in 1962, during the "October crisis," with the installation of the Soviet missile bases in Cuba.

Portell-Vila, a Cuban exiled in the time of Batista, one of Castro's professors at the University of Havana, and a man with the best of reasons to know about them, repeatedly spoke of the old love affairs with the communists engaged in by the young student Fidel Castro, "well known for his skirmishes and his violent actions," as well as for his role--although this is less well known--in the Bogota riots financed by Peron.

Portell has exhumed this background material in connection with the recent and ostentatious reconciliation of the Peronist regime in Argentina and communist Cuba, and he comments: "Peron had always praised Castro and his communists from his asylum in Madrid, and there is a certain logic to this renewed cordiality. In the final analysis it was the regime of Peron himself which, with the cooperation of the Soviet cultural attache in Havana, around about April 1948, paid the costs of a trip to Bogota, Colombia, made at that time by a young student who had continually been flirting with the communists and who was well known for his skirmishes and violent actions. The name of this student was Fidel Castro Ruz, now the dictator of communist Cuba. And this was how he was enabled to participate in the bloody 'bogotzao' mutinies.[134] Now Castro and Peron are exchanging cordialities as the masters of Cuba and Argentina."[135]

In the final analysis, then, it was the misgovernment of Cuba which led to chaos. Castro took advantage of the confusion, as communism took advantage of him, until in the end they showed their teeth, resulting in the well known situation.

This version of the story, which because of its origin is beyond suspicion, confirms the sinuous nature of communist procedures and in no way contradicts the support given by the public, not necessarily as much as the political insiders, to Castro's movement against the Batista government, without even being able to examine the concealed communist orientation of this movement.

The communizing of Cuba, however, did not occur overnight. It began when Fidel Castro had barely taken possession of the island on 1 January 1959. The precise, detailed, anecdotal and documented history of this surrender of Cuba to the USSR was described 3 years later in masterful fashion by Monahan and Gilmore, in a book which retains a palpable timeliness and which reveals that what happened to the fatherland of Marti could very well happen to any other American country which does not examine the reality of

communist danger. The thesis of Portell and other students of Castro communism was confirmed, moreover, by Castro himself when he confessed cynically in an address: "...If we had undertaken to tell the people that we were Marxists when we were still in Sierra Maestra, and we were not strong yet, it is possible that we would never have been able to come down to the plains."

22. The process of the political-ideological "evolution" of Castroism clarifies the point, if we bear in mind five stages or phases through which it passed, which Amaro schematizes as follows:

The first, or democratic phase, which began in 1956 with the founding of the 26 July Movement, and ended with the first economic and social laws approved shortly after the triumph of the Castro movement;

The second, humanistic phase, which lasted a very short time, until the "purging" of the ranks of the movement (arrest of Huber Mattos and other "comrades" in October of 1959);

The third, or nationalistic phase, which lasted until the publication of the First Havana Declaration in 1950;

The fourth, or socialist phase, which began with the approval of the nationalization decree of 13 October 1950, in which Castro recognized Marxism-Leninism; and

The fifth, or Marxist-Leninist phase, in which the Cuban dictator turned openly to the political-economic concepts of communism.[136]

It was in the first or democratic stage that Castro felt obligated to "liberate" the neighboring countries from the political regimes under which they suffered. Thus there occurred, one after another, his Caracas statement, in which he launched the idea of creating a special revolutionary body for the countries in the Caribbean region (end of January 1959), and the armed incursion which followed that declaration, against Panama (April of the same year), Nicaragua (May), the Dominican Republic (June) and Haiti (August), preceded or accompanied by intensive Cuban diplomatic intervention in the domestic affairs of these and other countries on the continent.

It was beginning then and as a consequence of the failure of these expeditions that Castro was to revise his plans and define a strategy for transforming Cuba into the focus of Latin American subversion, as will be seen farther on.[137]

4. Subversion in Anglo Saxon America

23. Subversion in regions of the hemisphere other than Latin America lies outside the scope of this study. However, and in order not to lose sight of what occurred in this connection in countries with a political and

cultural level and standard of living different from those in the Latin American nations, such as Canada and the United States, we are giving a brief picture of subversion in the two countries, for this constitutes yet another proof of the indiscriminate world convulsion instigated and promoted by communism against noncommunist countries, in accordance with its plans for universal domination, as well as the artificial nature of the thesis of the inevitable outbreak of revolution in the colonial and underdeveloped countries of the third world, subject to the exploitation of "imperialism," which it is the role of the guerrilla forces to launch.

This is the reason for providing a summary survey of the manifestations of subversion in the two large Anglo Saxon nations in the hemisphere in the following paragraph.

a. Canada

24. Two sensational kidnappings -- one of which was to culminate in murder -- riveted the Canadian and world public in the autumn of 1970, during the so-called "October crisis."

James ("Jasper") Richard Cross, the British commercial attache, was kidnapped from his home in Montreal on 5 October of that year by the FLQ [Quebec Liberation Front].

This movement, founded in 1963 by a group of terrorist fanatics in university circles, suggestively servile to the ideas of Castro and Guevara, had given earlier indications of its presence and announced its goal of separating Quebec from the rest of Canada to establish a radical socialist state.

The demand which this group made of the government immediately after the kidnapping of Cross was that 23 FLQ members arrested for various crimes, ranging from bomb throwing to murder, be released and taken to the Montreal airport so they could be flown to Havana or Algiers, plus the payment of $500,000 in gold. "By this means," said the note sent by the terrorist group to the authorities, giving them 48 hours time in which to respond, "the FLQ wants to draw world attention to the fate of the French-speaking citizens of Quebec, who represent a majority being oppressed on their own territory by an economy being directed to the benefit of the interests of the large U.S. financiers, the powerful racist and imperialist masters."

Shortly afterward, giving further proof of its determination and boldness, the FLQ kidnapped Pierre Laporte, minister of immigration and labor. The firm determination of the Canadian Government not to negotiate with the terrorists nor to submit to their blackmail led to the assassination of Laporte, to the consternation of the general public.

A communique broadcast by the FLQ over the radio station CKAC on the morning of the Sunday following the kidnapping warned that Laporte would be "executed" if the demands of the kidnappers were not met by 2200 hours on

that day. In view of the refusal of the authorities, they murdered him by strangulation.

25. The commotion created by this barbarous crime forced the government to seek parliamentary authorization to establish martial law, in order to be able to wage an efficient battle against the increasing terrorism. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau said the following in this connection to the House of Commons: "I realize, as I hope that others do, that this extreme position to which the government has been forced represents to some extent a trap. Forcing the authorities to adopt inflexible positions is a well known technique of the revolutionary groups which are attempting to destroy society by means of unjustified violence. The revolutionaries then make capital of any evidence of presumed authoritarianism as justification for their need to have recourse to violence."

Months later, reporting on the implementation of the emergency authority granted to the government, he added: "Democracy guarantees the most valuable of the freedoms: that to govern oneself. It provides the citizens with a peaceful means of choosing or rejecting those who govern them. And the first responsibility of those who have been chosen lies in taking care that this freedom is kept intact, that no one degrades nor usurps it. The principle we must safeguard is the very principle which authorizes these changes. There are many restrictions under which we must suffer in the normal course of our lives, and if necessary, we will have to impose others upon ourselves. We are capable of accepting them as the armor of our freedom, for freedom does not lack form, and the price we must pay for it may be the temporary sacrifice of a given freedom. This is the highest price we can pay, except for giving our lives in defense of it. However, freedom is well worth this sacrifice. The democracy which encompasses and safeguards our freedom is not an impotent, passive or blind democracy, nor is it in retreat either. It has no intention of yielding to the savage fantasies of its adversaries. Nor is it prepared to approve its own destruction in advance. It has already shown the strength and the clarity of which it is capable. To my way of thinking, the governments of Ottawa and the city of Quebec have given evidence of knowing how to use power in defense of freedom. Similarly, to my way of thinking, the Canadian people have shown that they well know what the price of this freedom is."

The irrevocable decision of the government of Canada, despite the high price of the very tragic circumstances, was without a doubt the determining factor in the triumph of reason and justice, that is to say, of the law, over the blackmail and terror of those who sought to destroy it.

b. United States

26. In the United States, the authorities admitted at the beginning of 1972 that "it would be an exaggeration to state that a full scale guerrilla war is in progress at the present time, but without a doubt guerrilla actions are being carried out."[138]

In thousands of incidents ranging from acts of vandalism on university campuses and in other public places to the murder of agents of law and order, the terrorists pursued the guerrilla tactic of "attack and run," "strike and flee" of which Guevara spoke,[139] by means of unexpected attacks upon the police.

The total number of adamant revolutionaries as estimated in that period by the authorities was not, in their view, very large, perhaps not exceeding 4,000. But the general uncertainty and fear for their lives and activities of themselves created a serious situation. Thus, for example, James McGuire, superintendent of police for the state of Illinois, could say to a journalist: "Look at the police operations in this country, and what do you see? Helmets and protective masks for the face, armored vehicles. Our police stations are becoming fortresses defended with barricades. The courts of our nation are being provided with armed guards. Searches for bombs are now routine operations."

Among the most active U.S. subversive groups is the Black Panther Party and the ultraradical group called the Weathermen, but there are also a certain number of ad hoc "collective" or "tribal" groups, mainly made up of discontented whites, which have been involved in disturbances and dynamiting incidents.

Barely a month has passed since the police discovered a new guerrilla band training to attack it. At the end of 1971, after two New York policemen had been seriously wounded by a burst of machinegun fire, a group calling itself the "Black Liberation Army," of which absolutely nothing was known, sent the TIMES, a New York daily newspaper, the license plates of a vehicle stolen for their flight, with a note saying: "The armed fascists of this racist government will find themselves faced with the weapons of the oppressed people of the third world again." A few hours later, two other policemen were shot dead.

27. The tactics of these U.S. subversive groups were oriented not so much toward concrete objectives as toward the simple creation of anarchy and terror. For this reason, bombs and explosive artifacts have been the main weapons of choice.

In the state of Washington alone in 1 year, no fewer than 1,450 attacks of a guerrilla type against police agents occurred. "The extremists," a police inspector in Berkeley, California, stated, "seize any opportunity to draw the people into the street. Then they either allow the difficulties and the feelings aroused in the crowd to pursue their course, or they take advantage of the circumstances to perpetrate some previously prepared act of violence. In April of 1971, for example, a crowd gathered at Stanford University for the purpose of holding a 'demonstration' in protest against the dismissal of a janitor at the hospital of this educational institution. They occupied a part of the building, tore out the telephones and destroyed documents and furniture, causing considerable damage."[140]

In May of that same year, 1971, the capital of the country saw direct evidence of mass guerrilla action when subversive groups transformed a peaceful demonstration into planned rioting. Using "civil disobedience" as their cover, the organizers of the demonstration had worked for some months distributing propaganda and preparing carefully detailed maps and instructions to help the guerrilla groups block the traffic moving toward Washington and shut down government buildings.

The result was a display of urban guerrilla "attack and retreat" tactics which lasted in this case for 4 days. Extremist elements patrolled the streets overturning automobiles, slashing tires, setting fires and attacking the police.

It is estimated that this "demonstration" caused the city losses totaling some $5 million.

28. Virtually all of the U.S. guerrilla groups seem to adopt a communist line on their own initiative, proclaiming their rejection of capitalism and the system of American government, and even when they exhibit an ideological mixture of political theories, the tendency of their thinking is without exception in a communist direction.

The Black Panthers, for example, call themselves a "Marxist-Leninist party," although it has taken on a peculiarly North American tint. The Weathermen praise Mao Tse-tung and the "Chinese style," but they also observe the "Cuban model," in which guerrilla fighters become the vanguard of the new order.

The same can be said of the recently publicized SLA [Symbionese Liberation Army], which during the greater part of 1973 waged a campaign of murder and terror, shocking the whole world with the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, the daughter of the rich owner of a U.S. newspaper chain, Randolph Hearst.

The American authorities have noted the numerous visits paid by the best known U.S. extremist leaders to Moscow, Hanoi, Pyongyang, Havana, East Berlin and other communist capitals.

The First Conference of the LASO [Latin American Solidarity Organization], held in Havana in 1967, was attended by George Ware, of the SNCC [Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee], as an observer, and by Gordon Idefrey, a member of the Progressive Labor Party, Julius Leiter, another SNCC leader, and Stokely Carmichael, a black leader, former president of the Nonviolence Activities Committee, who was declared Delegate of Honor, as invited guests.

In the heated anti-American speech delivered by Carmichael at that meeting, he described the activities being pursued by "black power" in the cities of the United States since the Watts rebellion in Los Angeles on 18 August 1965. "The heart of production and trade exchange is in the city. We are in the city. With our rebellions we have transformed ourselves into a force of

destruction in the flow of services, goods and capital." In statements to the Cuban press, he added that "the era of talk has ended," saying that that date marked "the day on which the Afro-Americans in the United States decided it was no longer possible to continue to try to coexist, and that the only solution is black revolution. This was the date on which we decided that weapons are the only answer," etc.[141] Also present as guests at that meeting were 16 journalists representing the U.S. radio and periodical press,[142] and messages of support were sent by the Socialist Youth Alliance, the revolutionary and nonviolent action contingent, etc.



Uprising in Los Angeles: The scene appears to be made in Hollywood, though this time it is reality.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Henceforth MLN-T.

2. Henceforth FA.

3. Great strategic operational unit of the FA consisting of tactical units of the army, air force, navy and police. Henceforth FC.

4. November 1971.

5. Henceforth BF.

6. On the time that the FA took charge of the antisubversive struggle and the social, economic and political conditions of Uruguay at the time and the strategy with which they undertook that struggle, see installment II: "The Political Process."

7. That is the way a voluminous material on "tortures" was prepared. The reader will find extensive references to it in this book. One of the last attempts to discredit the FC under that false imputation was the pamphlet "Torture in Uruguay" published in Caracas in June 1974 by the self-styled "Committee of Information on Repression in Uruguay."

8. "...my greatest problem is the total isolation from time, the light of day, the happenings of the world, the lack of news and communication. I am as if suspended in time and space...The problem is to remain normal... (Letter from Fly to his wife dated 10 December 1970).

9. Geoffrey Jackson, "Peoples Prison," London, 1973, Faber and Faber, p 108.

10. Alejandro Artucio Rodriguez, Ronald Juan Bosco Capelli Borthagaray, Rafael Berciano Jr., Ariel Collazo, Edgardo Carvalho Silveira, Maria Inez Capucho Rodriguez, Marcos Canetti Nakson, Jose Enrique Diaz Chavez, Arturo J. Dubra Naranjo, Alba E. Ell'Acqua Houget, Mario Angel Dell'Acqua Houget, Hugo Flavio Fabri Gilardoni, Maria Esther Gilio Faddei de Queigeiro, Jose Harari Strur, Ruth Fernandez, Irma Masdeu Picart, Carlos Martinez Moreno, Juan Carlos Orticochea Aguerre, Wilmar Olivera Jackson, Juan Pablo Maria Schroeder Otero, Ricardo Vercellino, Alfredo Mario Astigarraga de San Vicente, Julio Alberto Caymaris Pereyra, etc.

11. It was actually Lenin, of course, who advocated ubiquity and abjectness as a revolutionary tactic, the aptitude of communist for introducing itself everywhere, of allying itself with any organization, of making pacts even with the enemy, even when such an alliance was brief and precarious, of taking advantage of dissensions of the adversary to overthrow the faction it has proposed confronting and obtain the breakup of established political or social situations. "If an individual cannot make accomodations or drag himself through the mud, if he is not capable of that, let him not say he is a revolutionary, he is nothing more than a charlatan. And I do not propose to progress in this manner because it pleases me but because there is no other path, because history has not provided something more pleasant." (Speech on peace and war in the 7th Party Congress).

12. Chapter VI, 5 Military Defeat, Nos 311 and subsequent.

13. Committees for Tupamaro Support.

14. Henceforth CNT.

15. Elliot R. Goodman, "The Soviet Design for a World State," New York, 1960, Colombia University Press, republished in Mexico in 1964, Spanish version by Antonio Guzman Balboa, Libreros Mexicanos Unidos under the title "Soviet Plan for a World State."

16. Suzanne Labin, "The Activities of the Soviet Union in the Underdeveloped Countries," in "Soviet Colonialism in Theory and Practice." "Studies on the Soviet Union," published by the Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union, Mexico, 1964, Libreros Mexicanos, pp 269 and subsequent.

17. Op. cit., pp 274, 280 and 287.

18. See the sharp commentary made in this respect by H. and B. Overstreet, "The Iron Curtain," Mexico, 1964, Chapter 8.

19. Chapter II, Nos 55 and subsequent.

20. Sergey Alekseyevich Yandaykin, Nivolav Losifovich, Inanov Aleksey, Alekseyevich Zudin, and Vladimir P. Shvetz.

21. Report by the Minister of Interior, 4 October 1966, Montevideo, 1966.

22. Quoted report.

23. Resolution dated 12 October 1967, to which the communist press and the leftist propaganda media later referred to as "the big decree."

24. V.I. Lenin, "Toward the Seizure of Power."

25. Abraham Granillo Fernandez, "Communist Peace or the Continuation of the War by Other Means," Buenos Aires, 1970, Military Club, p 17.

26. James Atwater, "Enough of Terrorism!" Interview with Brian Crozier, May 1973.

27. White Book on the change of government in Chile, 11 September 1973, general secretariat of the government, Republic of Chile, Santiago, 1973. See particularly the facsimili reproduction of the handwritten letter from Castro to Allende dated 29 July 1973, secret documents, appendix I, pp 101 and 102, and "Cuban Packages," pp 103 and subsequent pages, etc.

28. Argentina (1918), Bolivia (1950), Brazil (1922), Chile (1922), Colombia (1930), Costa Rica (1930), Cuba (1925), Ecuador (1929), Guadalupe (1958), Guatemala (1922), Haiti (1934), Honduras (1954), Martinique (1957), Mexico (1919), Nicaragua (1939), Panama (1943), Paraguay (1934), Peru (1928), Puerto Rico (1934), Dominican Republic (1942), El Salvador (1930), Uruguay (1920), and Venezuela (1937). To this list must be added, to complete the countries that make up the continent, Canada (1921), the United States (1919). Altogether 88 communist

parties are active in the world of which 9 are in East Europe, 20 in West Europe, 4 in Communist Asia, 20 in noncommunist Asia, 2 in Oceana, 23 in Latin America, 2 in North America, and 8 in Africa, with some 42 million members. Of these parties, 12 are in power, 35 function legally, 31 illegally, and 6 are in a "semilegal" condition. ("The Worker Movement in the Capitalist Countries of 1959 to 1961, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, 1962; Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Washington, D.C., September 1962; "Neue Zurcher Zeitung," 16 July 1962; Strany Mira, Moscow, 1963; Munzinger Archiv, Munzinger, and so forth.)

29. Alfred C. Meyer, "Leninism," Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1957, p 19.

30. R.N. Carew Hunt, "Theory and Practice of Communism," Mexico, 1965, p 316.

31. Conditions 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 17 and 21.

32. Infra., Nos 118, 615, 639/187 and 981

33. In this respect see the excellent analysis of Thomas P. Thornton, "Communist Attitudes Toward Africa, Asia and Latin America," in "Strategies of Political Violence," Buenos Aires, 1968, pp 301, etc.

34. One of the primary targets of the tactic of the "united front" are the "intellectuals," a term under which the communists include writers, teachers, artists and scientists. Through this tactic, the communist obtained the cooperation of thousands and thousands of persons throughout the world in support of the "struggle against fascism," but in reality a support of collaboration and support for the Soviet policy.

35. Sovetskaya vlast, or "Soviet power," dictatorship that effectively invests Soviet power, enormous power, but which is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that of a small number of persons.

36. "The Communist Party" and the "National Democratic Revolution in Portugal." ESTE & OESTE, Paris, October-November 1974.

37. Since the Nazi 22 June 1941 attack on Russia, at that time "partner" of Hitler's National Socialism, through the German-Soviet Pact of 1938, brought the entry of Russia into the second world war, the USSR in a purely tactical and temporary tactic suppressed the Comintern and created a "unity" with the western powers who then became its "allies." However, shortly afterward, it was recreated with the name COMINFORM with headquarters in Belgrade and later in Bucharest, where it was transferred after Yugoslavia's communist party was expelled from it because Marshal Josip Broz or Tito created the first difference in the communist society, maintaining the theory known as "national communism," according to which each country can travel its own path to communism without subordinating

itself to the leadership of the USSR, although not abandoning Marxism-Leninism. The Cominform was dissolved in turn by Nikita Khruschev on 17 April 1956 to curry favor with Tito and bring him once more to the Soviet flock. As Khruschev said in his secret speech on the crimes of the Stalin era made during the 20th CPSU Congress in February of that year, that was the way to liquidate "the abnormal relationship with Yugoslavia in the interest of the entire socialist camp," etc.

38. Sir Percival Griffiths, "The Opportunistic Philosophy of Communist," Mexico, 1964, p 276.

39. Quoted by Kennet Goff, "Psychopolitics," Buenos Aires, 1963, Orden Nuevo Publishing House.

40. Allusive and indirect phraseology used by communism in its documents to deceive the noncommunists and to impose the victory of its line or plans, also called "slave language" in a reference to Aesop, who the communists maintain was a serf who wrote his famous fables to ridicule his masters without them being aware that he was doing it.

41. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "The Strategy of Deceit," A Study of Communist Tactics Throughout the Entire World, Mexico 1964, Libreros Mexicanos Unidos, Pages XXVI and XXVII.

42. On this doctrine is based the hierarchically arranged and dictatorial organization of the communist parties and also that of the Uruguayan seditious group because of the intellectual influence that Marxism-Leninism has on its leaders (see Nos 108,158, 411, 520 and 590).

43. Hugh Seton-Watson, "The New Imperialism," Mexico, 1963, F. Trillas S.A., publisher, pp 115 and subsequent.

44. Richard Cushing, Cardinal Archbishop of Boston "Questions and Answers on Communist," Boston, Mass., 1961, Daughters of St. Paul.

45. **Aleksandr** Isalevich **Solzhenitsyn,** "A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," referring to the drama of the purges and the Stalin camps. The aforementioned Russian author estimated recently the impressive figure of 66 million people who died in the USSR, in Siberian camps as a result of starvation and collectivization, or as a result of being shot by firing squads. (Press conference, Paris, 10 April 1975).

46. H. Rickert, "Cultural Science and Natural Science," Buenos Aires, 1943, p 186.

47. Rudolf Stammler, "Modern Doctrines on the Law and the State," Mexico 1941, p 175.

48. Abba P. Lerner, "The Death of the Class Struggle," in the work by Kirkpatrick previously quoted, p 3 and subsequent pages.

49. This tactic, also of Leninist type, was consecrated in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed 3 March 1918, putting an end to the participation of Russia in World War I. According to that treaty, Russia ceded a substantial part of its territory to Germany as a price for ending the war. Lenin explained, when the opposition complained, that he had no intention of respecting the treaty and that he was only "exchanging space for time," as it turned out. At the end of that same year, according to the conditions set for the end of the war, Germany was forced to return the territory ceded by Lenin at Brest-Litovsk.

50. On the legal aspects and the means of surveillance of subversive activities of communism as well as of any other extremism in general, see: Karl Lowenstein, "Controle Legislatif de l'Extremisme Politique dans les Democraties Europeennes," French translation by Albertine Jeze, Paris, 1939; Alejandro Rovira and Luis Segui Gonzalez, "Surveillance of Subversive Activities in Uruguay," Montevideo, 1943; "Legislation for Political Defense in the American Republics," published by the Emergency Consultative Committee for Political Defense, Montevideo, 1947, etc.

51. Russia in the Raw, Published by Cenit S.A., Madrid, 1930, p 134.

52. Narciso Perales y Herrero, prologue to the book by Bernard Lefevre, "The West in Danger," Acervo publishers, Barcelona, 1962, p XVI.

53. Op. cit., p XXV.

54. V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Volume II, p 716.

55. Ibid., p 699.

56. Hugh Seton-Watson, op. cit., p 143.

57. Stefan T. Possony, "A Century of Conflicts. Communist Technique for World Revolution," 1848-1950, Mexico, Editorial Guarania, "Weapons and Weapon Systems," "War is Everything and Peace is its Prophet," pp 272 and following and p 294.

58. "The Cause of Lenin Lives and Triumphs," Supplement to the magazine USS$ No. 9 of May 1970, Moscow, abbreviated version of the speech by Leonid Brezhnev.

59. "Basics of Marxism-Leninism" by Dietz-Vering, Berlin, 1960, p 522.

60. United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and so forth.

61. Selected Works, "Written Progress and Dispositions," Vol II, p 505.

62. "On the Communist International and the Worker Movement," selection of articles, speeches and letters, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1961, p 261.

63. "On the Struggle for Peace," interview with the NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1956, collection of selected articles and speeches, p 228.

64. Report on the international situation and the main tasks of the Communist International in the 2nd Congress, in "On the Struggle for Peace," cit., p 266.

65. "Good Quality in Small Amounts is Better," Ibid, p 303.

66. Elliot R. Goodman, "Soviet Plan for a World State," op. cit., p 537.

67. "Soviet Ideology," op. cit., p 483.

68. Speech at the 14th Congress of the CPSU, 18 December 1925.

69. Speech at the presentation of credentials by the Albanian ambassador to Moscow, PRAVDA.

70. Interview with the U.S. television station of the Columbia Broadcasting System, 28 May 1957.

71. Interview with the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES, James Reston, 7 October 1957.

72. Letter to Bertrand Russell from Nikita Khrushchev, "For a Lasting Peace and Peaceful Coexistence," speech and interview in 1957, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin 1960, p 95.

73. The exclusion of military means must be taken with great care, given the cases in which the USSR has made use of force and oppression to expand (annexed territories of East Poland, Southeast Finland, Bessarabia, northern Bukovina, Soviet zone of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), and because the use of this means will depend primarily on circumstances and the resistance it may encounter from other powers, particularly the United States.

74. "Our country is now approaching such a level of development that, making use of the success of our economy, we shall be able to create an abundance of consumer goods. Then the ideas of communism will enter into the minds of men, not only through the study of Marxism-Leninism, but also through our example. The workers of all countries will then see that only communism guarantees a profusion of material and spiritual goods. That is why victory shall be ours! (Nikita Khrushchev, speech before the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 9 April 1958, "For the Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism" Speeches and Interviews of 1958. Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1960, pp 259-260.

75. By "revolutionary situation" Marxism-Leninism understands it to mean: worsening of need and poverty, exploitation that exceeds the customary, mass strike, rapid climb of prices and other manifestations of an economic crisis, acute danger of war or resurgence of fascism, reactionary policy, risk of occupation by foreign troops or that the country be involved in a nuclear war. However, the revolutionary situations do not always result in revolution by themselves. This takes place only when prior objective conditions previously mentioned are joined to the subjective conditions, that is, "the capacity of the revolutionary class for mass revolutionary actions," with a "great enough aptitude to overthrow (or to make it totter) the old government that never "falls" not even in a period of crisis if it is not pushed." (V.I. Lenin, "Against Revisionism," collection of selected articles, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1960, p 219.

76. Political and social instability, tendency to radical authoritarian solutions, military propensity to seize power to guide economic-social progress, growing nationalism.

77. "Quality of Life in the Americas," report presented by a U.S. presidential mission to the Western Hemisphere. Chapter One, C, "The Forces of Change, Communist Subversion," Washington, 30 August 1969.

78. Goodman, op. cit., pp 203-204.

79. V.P. Potemkin, Istoriya Diplomatii, Moscow, 1954, Vol III, p 1970.

80. Op. cit., pp 209-210.

81. Infra, No 18.

82. E.A. Korovin, "Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo," No 11, November 1947, p 30.

83. Goodman, op. cit., pp 222, 223 and 431 and subsequent pages.

84. "Soviet Ideology," cit., p 560.

85. Leonhard, op. cit., p 568.

86. Op. cit., Chapter III, "Soviet Economic Aid as a Branch of Soviet Political Action," also Yevgeniy Glovinskiy, "Soviet Economic Expansion in Developing Countries," same volume, p 317 and subsequent pages.

87. Leonid Il'ichov, "Peaceful Coexistence and the Struggle of Ideologies in Problems of Peace and Socialism" 1959, No 1, p 9.

88. Speech on 6 January 1961.

89. According to Marx, and pleasing to the communists, "Armed insurrection is an art like war," words to which Lenin paid tribute saying that "one cannot be loyal to Marxism or to the revolution unless you consider revolution as an art." (Quoted by N.K. Krupsala, "In the Days of October," "Soviet Literature," No 11, Moscow, 1967, p 21).

90. Because by using psychology to advance the communist plans of world domination, through various techniques, it captures the minds of individuals and populations, allowing the conquest of countries from within their own borders.

91 Apocryphal letter attributed to Frank Berry, U.S. assistant secretary for health and medicine, published on 7 May 1958 in "facsimili" by the East Berlin communist newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, according to which 67.5 percent of Strategic Air Command pilots were psychoneurotic and unbalanced and as a result subject to hysterical and irresponsible fits capable of unleashing a war by mistake, and so forth. The objective of this communist campaign, initiated in November 1957 by Khruschev himself and developed for a long time by Soviet delegates before the United Nations, was none other than that of frightening world opinion, convincing it that the planet was at the mercy of the whims of U.S. pilots, and to create their reaction so as to immobilize the U.S. strategic bombers, basic deterrent force against aggressions possessed by the free world, and so forth.

92. On the nature, ends, objectives and techniques of psychopolitical warfare, see the book by Vuenaventura Caviglia Campora "Ps-P, Psychopolitics," Montevideo, 1974, Ediciones Azules and the bibliography it provides, with special reference to international, political, social, economic, strategic, tactical, operative, psychological, religious aspects and so forth.

93. Sir Robert Thompson, "Peace is not at Hand," on the same subject, Robert Strausz-Hupe, William Kintner, James Dougherty and Alvin Cottrell, "Protracted Conflict."

94. Statement by the Russian writer on his tour of the United States in July 1975.

95. In this respect see the excellent joint study by Robert Conquest, Brian Crozier, John Erickson, Joseph Godson, Gregory Grossman, Leopold Labedz, Bernard Lewis, Richard Pipes, Leonard Schapiro, Edward Schills and J.P. Vatikiotis, "Detente: Analysis and Balance," ESTE & OESTE, March-April 1975, No 183, p 6 and subsequent pages.

96. Penkovskiy, Colonel of artillery and important member of the Soviet intelligence service who was shot in Moscow in the spring of 1963, charged with espionage for the United States and Great Britain, raises this figure to 80 percent: He said: "In the majority of the embassies we can say without fear of equivocation that 80 percent of its personnel is made up of intelligence agents, KGB or GRU. Naturally, the majoirty of the other employees of the embassy "cooperate" for intelligence purposes." (Oleg Penkovskiy, "The Penkovsky Papers," Barcelona, 1966, p 97) See also Chapters II "The Sinister World of the GRU," and VII "Espionage Note," pp 93 and subsequent pages and 301 and subsequent pages; Antonio Frescaroli, "The GPU and the NKVD," Barcelona, 1971; Aleksandr Kaspachev, "Inside a Soviet Embassy," Mexico, 1964; I. Ya. Prkhod'ko, "Practical Manual on the Nature of Communications and of the Actions of Agents in the United States," 1961, and so forth.

97. "On the New Democracy," January 1940, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, 1968. Vol II, pp 353 and subsequent.

98. The Chinese consider the following 13 as socialist countries: Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

99. International Criminal Police Organization with headquarters in Paris.

100. Charts concerning Chinese Communists on the Mainland-Twenty-Ninth Series-Republic of China, February 1974, Chapter VI, "Activities of Communist China to Poison the Free World with Narcotics." pp 63 and subsequent.

102. Continental China has 9,561,000 square kilometers of surface and more than 700 million inhabitants: "When night falls in the East, it is still day in the West; when the shadows cover the South, the North remains lighted." (Mao, "Strategic Problems of the Revolutionary War of China," December 1936).

103. Chapter II, "Doctrinaire Bases of the Castro-Communist Guerrillas," Nos 100 and subsequent.

104. Ottokar Rosarios, "Red China, the Leader in Latin America?" Emece Editores, Buenos Aires, 1965, pp 133 and subsequent.

105. The famous Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution was carried out, as is well-known, by the Maoist state itself mainly through the use of fanatical students, and suffered by people of every situation in life.

Harrassment of persons wearing western dress, replacement of words and colors, which were suddently denounced as being "reactionary," in a frenzy whose scope and direction cannot be seen clearly from outside the great communist empire, are inevitable events in a regime of this type which eliminates all prospects of dissident opinion, an elimination without which a communist revolution cannot be carried out and much less maintained. Since "the old traditions and foreign influences" prevented China from attaining the objectives of its communist revolution, Mao unleashed the "cultural" revolution to put an end to those traditions and those influences, destroying old Buddhist temples, western dress and hair styles, flowershops and all the other "symbols of capitalism," jewelry, bourgeois furniture and even the green light for public traffic was replaced by a red light to signify "go."

In the "Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China," book published in Peking in 1966 by the Foreign Language Publications of the State, it is warned, with the words of Mao, that after eliminating the armed enemies there still remain the unarmed enemies, who must not be underestimated, and that in order to safeguard the construction of socialism, it is imperative that the socialist revolution be carried out to its conclusion in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and so forth.

In "Hostage in Peking," Antony Grey, correspondent of REUTERS NEWS AGENCY in Red China, who remained for two years in solitary confinement, makes a vivid narrative of the campaigns of terror unleashed by the government of Mao during the hysterical antiforeigner campaign of the "cultural revolution," and of the sufferings he personally was subjected to.

106. "The Subject of our Time," Madrid, 1923.

107. Atilio Garcia Mellid, "National Revolution or Communism," Buenos Aires, 1967.

108. Henceforth AAPSO.

109. World Federation of Trade Unions, one of the principal international communist front organizations, created in Paris in February 1945 under the auspices of the CPSU. It has its headquarters in Prague and at this time is headed by Uruguayan communist leader Enrique Pastorino.

110. World Peace Congress. Another important communist front organization created in Paris in April 1949 with headquarters in Vienna.

111. World Federation of Democratic Youth, created by the Komsomol in 1945. With the UIE it channels the efforts of international communism to turning in its favor the support of the youth of the entire world.

112. Internation Union of Students, also created by the Komsomol in 1946 for the same purposes as the WFDY.

113. International Federation of Democratic Women, created in 1946 at the initiative of the well-known French communist organization, "The Union of French Women," it pursues the same objectives in the feminine camp as the two previous ones in the youth organizations.

114. NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, in a 18 July 1963 report.

115. "Politicheskiy Slovar'," State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1958, p 85.

116. The "justice" of communist warmongering is demonstrated, among other cases, by the war by the USSR against Finland (November 1939-March 1940), the occupation by Soviet troops of the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (July 1940); the annexation of Bessarabia and North Bukovina (end of June 1940), military intervention against the people's uprising in East Germany (June 1953), the military crushing of the Hungarian revolution (November 1956) and that of Czechoslovakia in September 1968), and so forth.

117. Friederich Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism."

118. V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism as the Supreme Degree of Capitalism." Selected works, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1961, Vol I, p 770.

119. Military program of the proletarian revolution, cited works, Vol I, p 879.

120. Joseph Stalin, "Questions of Leninism," Dietz-Verlag, Berlin 1951, Vol I, p 29.

121. Nikita S. Khrushchev, report on balancing of accounts of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-25 February 1956, Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1956, p 43.

122. "Red Flag," Peking, 1 April 1960.

123. NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, 19 April 1960.

124. N. Matkovskiy in PRAVDA, 12 June 1960.

125. PRAVDA, 7 August 1960.

126. Wolfgang Leonhard, "The Kremlin Without Stalin," Madrid 1963, Taurus Ediciones S.A., pp 376 and 377.

127. The report was prepared during the height of subversion in Uruguay before the military defeat of the MLN-T and other seditious groups by the FC, that is the reason for the reference he made to the "success in the revolutionary struggle."

128. Published by the daily EL PAIS on 23 April and 17 May 1975.

129. Parliamentary Debates, Hansard of Australia, 23 October 1964.

130. Infra, No 639/1181.

131. Talleres Graficos, CISA, I, located at 1580 Flores Street and Talleres Graficos, CISA, I and "33# at 522 Piedras Street. In the long list of signers of the manifesto are: Jose Claudio Williman, Roberto Ares Pons, Dario Queigeiro, Sarandy Cabrera, Idea Vilarino, Juan Pedro Zeballos, Luis E. Gil Salguero, Arturo Ardao, Francisco Espinosa, Carlos Quijano, Ruben Yanez, Aldo E. Solari, Jose Pedro Diaz, Oscar Bruschera, H. Aslina Thevenet, Francisco Vital Irazoqui, Emir Rodriguez Monegal, Agustin Rodriguez Larreta, Hugo Balzo, Carlos Martinez Moreno, Washington Reyes Abadie, Lincoln A. Bizzozero, Antonio Larreta, Carlos Victor Armand Ugon, Miguel A. Lopez Lomba, Juan E. Pivel Devoto, Mario Benedetti, Arno Fabbri, Juan Carlos Alvarez Olloniego, Sergio Deus, Ruben Fratelli, Tabare Melogno, Enrique Williman Ramirez, Raul F. Abadie, Raul F. Abadie Aicardi, Anibal E. Abadie Aicardi, Oscar N. Abadie Aicardi, Alberto Methol Ferre, Omar Prego Gadea, Julio Cesar Moreira Parsons, Lil Gonella de Chouhy Terra, Fermin J. Garicoas, Alfredo Gomez Haedo, Carlos E. Abdala, Anatolio Palamarchuk, Marcos Canete, Roque Faraone, Jorge Manera, Ruben Svetogorsky, Hector Gros Spiell, Francisco J. Forteza, Julio C. Barreiro Giordano, Armando Cuervo, Washington Hourcade, Balta Sureda Cabrera, Ivan Jose Flo, Ramon G. Carnales, Domingo Carlevaro, Raul Sendic, Ariel B. Collazo, and so forth.

132. "Great Contemporaries," The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., Hamlyn House, 42 The Center, Feltham, Middlesex, England, 1937.

133. Robert J. Alexander, "Communism and the National Social Reform Parties in Latin America," in the book by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick "The Strategy of Deceit," cit., p 472.

134. Revolt organized by the communists in 1948, during which the Colombian capital suffered for 3 days from an orgy of assassinations, fires and anarchy, which took a toll of about 4,000 dead and 128 buildings in ruins.

135. Herminio Portell-Vila, "An Old Tango in Argentina," DIARIO DE LAS AMERICAS [Daily Newspaper of the Americas], 11 June 1973. Along the same lines, "Lanusse Against Peron in Argentina," "The Argentine Elections," etc.

136. Nelson Amaro V., Las Fases de la Revolucion Cubana [The Stages of the Cuban Revolution], APORTES, Paris, No 13, July 1969.

137. Chapter II, "Cuba, Focus of Continental Subversion."

138. William Sullivan, assistant director of the FBI. (Quoted by Ralph Kinney Bennet, "Terrorism in the United States," January 1972.)

139. "Strike and flee," some quote it in deprecatory fashion, and this is correct. "Strike and flee, wait, lie in ambush, return to strike and flee and so on successively, without giving the enemy respite" (Ernesto Guevara, Strategy and Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare).

140. In the spring of the preceding year, the events at Kent State University in Ohio had occurred and shaken the entire nation. An excellent description is given by James Michener in the book "Kent State: What Happened and Why."

141. GRANMA, 18 August 1967.

142. Associated Press, Ramparts, Treason, Los Angeles Times, The Militant, The Sacramento Bee, The Christian Science Monitor, Look, New York Times, Life, Monthly Review, National Guardian, The Worker, Vie-Report, and T. V. Americana.



Fires in Watts

II. Cuba, Focus of Continental Subversion
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CUBA, FOCUS OF CONTINENTAL SUBVERSION

1. Cuban Aggressiveness.

29. Two circumstances served to exert a decisive influence on Latin American subversion, through the activity of the communist parties and other rebel groups: the success of the guerrilla action launched in Cuba in 1953 by Fidel Castro against the wornout regime of Fulgencio Batista, and the Sino-Soviet conflict, outlined in the preceding chapter.

This is how a Latin American extremist describes this double and basic material and ideological influence: "...The triumph of the Cuban revolution marked the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Latin America. Until then, the seizure of power by the revolutionaries, and as a consequence the building of a socialist society, had never before presented themselves as immediate possibilities. In fact, they did not occupy a leading place on the agenda of the Marxist parties and groups." "Cuba showed that it was not enough to call oneself a communist party in order really to develop the advance of the popular classes. A revolutionary organization, clearly interpreting the historic moment and launching itself into a struggle with suitably employed political-military tactics and strategy placed itself at the head of the people and relegated the official and, in numerous cases, officialized, communist parties to a secondary position. In addition to the above, Che Guevara noted another contribution made by the Cuban revolution: it had shown that it was not always necessary to wait until all the objective and subjective conditions which would have made victory possible were joined together: the very dynamism of the struggle made them mature. These, sketched in rough outline, were the first general lessons the Cuban revolution taught Latin

American revolutionaries. They put an end to a whole complex of old concepts dear to the traditional Marxists and inaugurated the beginning of a new era, awakening the desire for struggle in the younger sectors of the impoverished and exploited population."

"At the moment when the victorious Cuban example strengthened the spirit of struggle in the peoples of our America, another event of capital importance on the international level occurred to be added simultaneously to the vision and the awakening awareness of the revolutionary sectors: the Sino-Soviet quarrel. Opposed in radical fashion to the traditional orthodoxy of the Communist Party, the Chinese established a position of struggle calling for adamant confrontation with the world imperialist system... The policy of Chinese communists was oriented mainly toward winning influence and support in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its echo among the Colombian revolutionaries was not long in being felt in the student sector. The peasant sectors, with little access to communications media, did not participate in a discussion the substance of which they did not understand. But the example of the Chinese communists -- combating the traditional communist parties -- inspired and encouraged a growing number of revolutionaries in their ideological struggle against the methods and the platform which for some decades, had given form and substance to the actions of the Communist Party." "...The influence of the Cuban revolution and its solidarity with the national liberation movements, particularly Latin America, as well as the adoption of the theoretical provisions of the Chinese communists -- although representing two different lines -- had an impact on numerous revolutionary sectors; they contributed in large part to the gaining of an awareness of the need to put the popular struggle into action, to seek new methods and forms of work, to begin to organize, in the cities as well as the countryside, new tools which would encourage and develop the armed struggle in one way or another, as the principal means toward the seizure of power."[1]

30. The action organized and disseminated throughout Latin America by Cuba to promote revolution, and the means it used represent direct and immediate background factors for continental subversion of such importance that they must not be overlooked.

Although in a relatively disorganized fashion, the product of the euphoria and haste of the early days, the Castro regime undertook from the beginning "to export" revolution to the other American countries, based on the pattern of its own experience.

The insurgency which was latent in some of these countries, and blooming in others, the social difficulties and conflicts in many of them, offered an excellent opportunity for beginning this undertaking, which was favored, in addition, by the popularity which the Castro movement enjoyed at its beginning.

This circumstance is of importance, because it gave rise to and contributed to the shaping of the idea, stressed by Arenas, that any organized Latin American group, bold enough to imitate Cuban example, has the potential to overthrow a government, to vanquish its police and army and establish the "new socialist society" which the Communist Parties and other leftist movements on the continent had long since been proclaiming.

For the first time on the continent, the Cuban revolution demonstrated that this undertaking was achievable and that it was not necessary to wait until all of the objective and subjective conditions required by those parties and their theoreticians for launching the revolution to exist, but that the very development of the struggle represented the decisive factor with sufficient potential to cause them to develop. The Cuban experience brought into challenge the "reformist" or "evolutional" solutions of an electoral nature for the seizure of power, dismissing them in favor of the use of "other higher forms of struggle," of which armed struggle came to be the formula par excellence.

But the Castro communist aggressiveness was not to be limited to Latin America, but was to extend itself even to the United States, as the organization of the famous "Venceremos" Brigade was to demonstrate. It was the product of an agreement signed in Havana in August of 1969 (in the period when Angela Davis was making her first trip to Cuba), between the Castro supporters and Gus Hall and other leaders of the Communist Party of the United States.

The agreement called for successive contingents of North American recruits to be sent to Cuba to learn guerrilla warfare methods. The first of these groups traveled to Havana via Mexico in the month of December of that year.

From that time on and until March 1972, at least five contingents of U.S. citizens traveled to Cuba as members of the brigade referred to, involving a total of 1479 recruits who returned to U.S. territory after being trained.

Later, this influx into the Castro communist guerrilla warfare and subversion schools even involved children, with the creation of the Venceremitos Brigade, which included North American children recruited by the communists in the United States. The first lot included 25 children, with the record for "youngest member" being set by a girl of 5, whose opinions on the war in Vietnam and other matters of international note were published in the pages of the daily newspaper GRANMA.

The statements of Dwight D. Crews, an agent in the office of the sheriff of Jefferson County, in Louisiana (New Orleans), who succeeded in infiltrating the fifth contingent of Venceremitos Brigade recruits and who returned to the United States via Canada in a Cuban livestock transport vessel, provided revealing evidence of the investigations made by the U.S. authorities in Miami.

The investigation further clarified the role played by Commander Manuel Pineiro and Capt Javier Ardizones of the Cuban General Intelligence Office, in the preliminary work of selecting the recruits, as well as the techniques of guerrilla apprenticeship used, culminating among other specific incidents in the bombing incident in Greenwich Village, New York, and Bel Air, Maryland, and other various skirmishes and acts of sabotage and terrorism in the United States, etc.

31. During the trip Fidel Castro made to Caracas at the end of January 1959 as the leader of the triumphant revolution, he proposed the creation of a body to promote subversion in the Caribbean zone, as had already been said, and proclaimed the need to extend the revolution to the Dominican Republic, which at that time was subject to the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina.

This attitude, which had enormous repercussions and awakened great expectations, immediately transformed Havana into the Mecca where large numbers of revolutionaries and adventurers from Latin America congregated. This unusual proposal was followed almost immediately by the well remembered armed Cuban landings in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

These assaults were decided upon in the atmosphere of euphoria caused by the revolutionary triumph, and it was their resounding failure which showed Castro the need to organize things in another way. This is the reason which led Cuba to adjust and plan a vast program of continental subversion, which it put into operation in the middle of August of that same year, 1959, the main goals of which were:

Political indoctrination and military training of Latin American individuals in the techniques of guerrilla warfare, espionage, sabotage and terrorism in schools and centers established on the island;

Use of the student movement to incorporate the peasants in the revolutionary action and to make the conflict over land ownership and racial questions more acute;

Involvement of the Latin American intellectuals;

Development of guerrilla warfare and rejection of electoral activities as a means of resolving political, social and economic problems;

Intensification of the campaign of hatred against the United States as the visible agent of imperialism in Latin America;

Sabotage of economic and social development efforts in the countries on the continent, and encouragement of student disturbances in the university and teaching centers in general, with a view to hindering the training of specialized personnel;

Sabotage of the basic means in each national economy;

Campaigns to discredit and vilify the international bodies for development;

Stimulation of the flight of domestic capital and frightening potential foreign investors in countries on the continent;

Open intervention by Cuban diplomatic personnel in the internal affairs of the countries on the continent, in accordance with the above guidelines;

Encouragement and support, in every possible form, of subversive movement, etc.

As can be seen, the whole was an integral plan, within the framework of which continental subversion was to function.

32. The direct involvement of Cuba in Latin American subversion reached all the activities in each American country, and in particular, the life of the young people, a sector of special interest to communism.

Not to discriminate against other factors, but simply to indicate the importance of Marxist action on student bodies, it is necessary to bear clearly in mind the role of the universities and other educational centers as the vanguard of subversion, wherein Marxism was to penetrate deeply, corrupting the minds of students and catechizing an interminable list of recruits.

The autonomous freedom within which Latin American universities have traditionally operated is the best and most effective tool in the process of destroying and triumphing over the naive democratic society.

There are trained and from there graduate the best cadres in the army of subversion and treason. More than a generation, without any help of rescue, will pay tribute to this irresponsible alienation from freedoms and national traditions.

Referring to the University of Caracas, in a judgement which is also applicable to that in Montevideo or any other American university, Larteguy correctly diagnosed one of the main centers of the cancer which corrupted these countries: "In Latin America," he said, "the universities are like the medieval Sorbonne and they enjoy total autonomy. They administer themselves, elect their rectors, enjoy economic independence. Neither the police nor the army has the right to intervene there. They are a place of asylum which the communists and other revolutionary movements were not long in transforming into a bastion of rebellion. And the matter goes much farther, for the corpse of a police chief was even found on university premises. There guerrilla fighters in uniform took refuge, or rather there they established their center of operations, there students took courses in subversive warfare and were trained in the handling of firearms."[2]

As corruption in the Uruguayan university is taken up elsewhere, the reader is referred to that section.[3]

33. On the basis of the guidelines set forth above, more than 20 establishments designed for the instruction and training of revolutionary agents who were to operate in the Latin American countries -- and Africa as well -- were established in Cuba.

These establishments, true "academies of subversion," reproduced on the American continent the techniques of revolutionary warfare used by the USSR and Red China in the training of experts in conspiracy, insurrection and social conflict, who were then assigned as the shock troops of communist conquest, disguised as diplomats, businessmen, technicians and secret agents on the various "fronts" in the western world.

As the communists are clearly aware, as has already been seen, of being at war with the free world -- not the traditional warfare of tanks and bombs, but revolutionary warfare, they are permanently training their troops, that is to say, the technicians and professionals needed for the utilization of all the political, economic and psychological weapons suited to this type of warfare, leaving nothing to chance or to be improvised.

The Soviet schools of subversion referred to earlier -- such as the Kuchino school, established in the Moscow quarter which bears that name, the curricula of which include courses in judo, kidnapping, the administering of poisons and use of special weapons for murder, propaganda methods, single front and armed insurrection tactics, the production of explosives and weapons, the blowing up of bridges, the taking over of electrical plants and radio stations, conversion of strikes, falsification of official documents, introduction of agents into government and "enemy" institutions, ideological penetration and winning over of the armed forces, etc., were soon to be copied in the Cuban schools and centers designed for the instruction of "native" elements responsible for creating chaos and insuring the path of revolution in the countries of Latin America.

As on so very many other subjects, the communists are faithful to the teachings of Lenin, who in 1911, at the clandestine school of the party in Longjumeau, France, traced the first outline for such centers of subversion, designed, he said, to train "bodies of revolutionary workers especially skilled over a long period of training (such that) no police force in the world can prevail over them."

It was these centers and establishments specializing in fomenting discontent and rebellion which, once Cuba had surrendered to communism, the Soviets organized on the island without delay.

It was there that under the direction of the Special Schools Department, a section of the Cuban DGI [General Intelligence Office], thousands and thousands of "students" from Latin American countries, Uruguay included, as will be seen later on, were instructed.

It was these centers from which, duly "trained," batches of Latin Americans graduated and continue to graduate, returning to their respective countries, where they become a part of the cadres of the guerrilla units of the "fronts" or "national liberation movements."

Among these subversive education centers established in various regions of Cuba, we might mention the following:

The El Cortijo School for military personnel, in the province of Pinar del Rio.

The Ciudad Libertad School in Marianao, in the municipal district of Marianao, Havana Province, run by Soviet instructors.

The Blas Roca School in Los Pinos, municipal district and province of Havana.

The Marcelo Salado School, in Luyano, Havana,

Youth Training Center, in the La Cabana Military Fortress, municipal district and province of Havana.

The Boca Chica School, in Playa Tarara, municipal district of Guanabacoa, Havana Province, some 16 kilometers east of the Cuban capital, which initially operated under the direction of the Spanish communist general Alberto Bayo Gosgaya, with Russian and Czech instructors.[4]

Training camp for Haitians, Central Americans, and Guayanese, in the environs of the city of Trinidad, municipal district of Trinidad, in the southern part of the province of Las Villas.

The Julio Antonio Mella School, in Playa Marbella, municipal district of Guanabacoa, province of Havana.

Training camp for agrarian and rural sabotage problems, in San Pedro, Camaguey Province, for Bolivians, Colombians and Peruvians.

Training camp for Ecuadoreans and Bolivians, in the environs of the city of Nuevitas, in the northern part of the province of Camaguey.

Training camp for 300 men, for Venezuelans, in the municipal district of Victoria de las Tunas, Oriente Province.

Special center for Venezuelans, for training and agitation and guerrilla struggle, in the municipal district of Mayari, in the northern part of Oriente Province.

The Minas de Frio Center, the most advanced and largest guerrilla training school, in the Sierra Maestra, in the southern part of the province of Oriente. (This later served as a center for the training of teachers.)

The Lumumba Center, for training in guerrilla struggle, in the Sierra de Siguanea, Isle of Pines.

Subversive training center for Peruvians, including courses in the Quechua language, at 17th and L, Vedado District, City of Havana.

The School for Latin American Scholarship Students, with a capacity of 800 scholarship students, offering general, political and military training, in Santa Maria del Mar, municipal district of Guanabacoa, Havana Province.

Training center for young natives of the Congo, Africa, at the 7 kilometer marker on the road to Bejucal, Havana Province.

Training center for Africans, at the La Union estate, 4 kilometers to the southeast of Bahia Honda, municipal district of Cabanas, province of Pinar del Rio.

Center for the training of Ghanaians, on the Villalba estate, El Cano quarter, municipal district of Marianao, Havana Province.

Compulsory Military Service Camp, for the training of young Cubans to be sent to North Vietnam, run by Soviet instructors, 2-1/2 kilometers from the village of Santiago de las Vegas, Havana Province.

Camp for the training of guerrilla fighters, with a capacity of 200 men, in Jardines de Hershey, municipal district of Santa Cruz del Norte, Havana Province.

Training zone for mountain artillery, for young Bolivians, Guatemalans, Peruvians and Venezuelans, in the mountainous region in the municipal district of San Cristobal, Pinar del Rio Province.

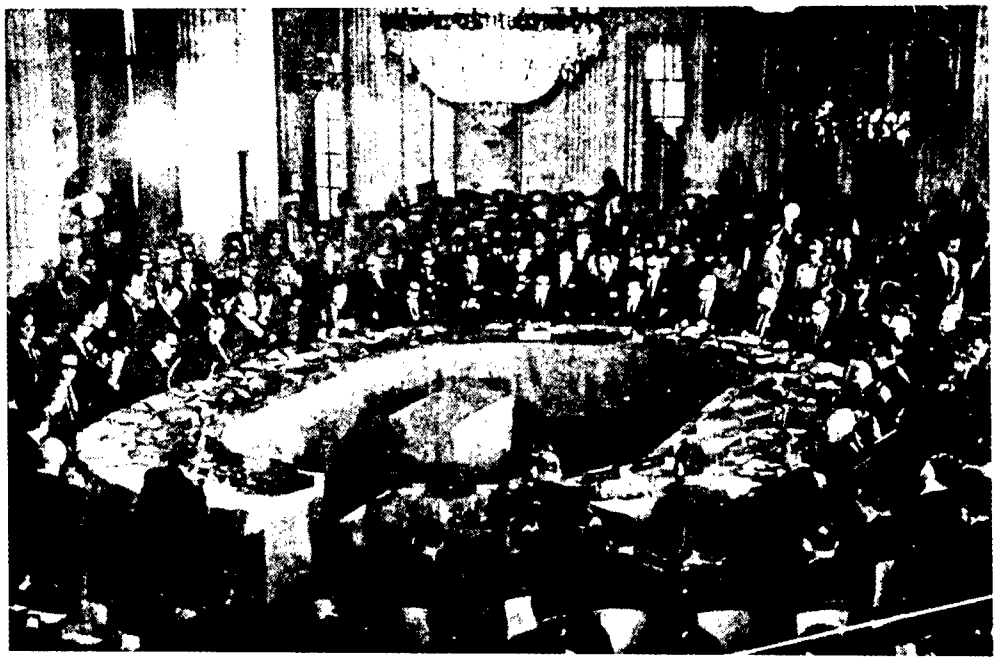
34. In addition to these schools and centers, there are also the Agricultural Technological Institutes, National Agrarian Reform Institute Schools, and the Fishing Universities and Schools, where in addition to technological instruction, political and military training are provided.

Other centers especially designed for subversive training include the EIR [Revolutionary Training Schools], of which as early as December of 1966 there were already some 244 in operation, distributed as follows: two Higher Revolutionary Training Schools, four National Revolutionary Training Schools, 12 Provincial Revolutionary Training Schools, 12 Basic Revolutionary Training Schools (for boarders) and 201 Basic Revolutionary Training Schools (night schools).

From the founding of these revolutionary training schools up to December 1966, some 145,000 students passed through them. Jules Regis Debray, the Castro communist theoretician of French origin, who was the author among other things, of the book "Revolution Within the Revolution?", taught in them.



The first thing one sees upon arriving at the Havana Airport are large suggestive signs in Czech and militiamen.



High ranking American officials: They vigorously condemn the Cuban regime for repeated acts of aggression and intervention in Venezuela.

In the periods between 1960 and December of 1966, more than 6,000 young Latin Americans received subversive training in Cuba, returning to their countries of origin to participate in guerrilla warfare and other subversive activities.

In a cable dispatch disseminated worldwide by the International News Agency on 18 March 1962, information on these courses, which were being taught under the direction of Spanish and Cuban communist experts, was reported in the following terms: "A clandestine Cuban organization opposed to the regime has brought to light the plans for communist subversion in Latin America and the intensive military training and indoctrination currently being undergone by 1500 Latin Americans, who later will organize and direct guerrilla movements. The 'Authentic Revolutionary Crusade,' in a report sent out of Cuba secretly, gives assurance that the future guerrilla fighters are receiving their training in various military establishments and that the instructors are the Spanish communists Enrique Lister, Albero Bayo and Manuel Monreal, along with other Cuban military officials. The report was brought to Miami by Antonio Bustillo, head of the intelligence and sabotage section of the organization mentioned, and it says therein that the students make up an army called the Latin American Liberation Militia, with headquarters in Cuba. The students are recruited in each country by the communist parties or by cryptocommunist groups, and are sent to Cuba as guests of the People's Friendship Institute, which has its office in Havana. In order to avoid arousing suspicion, the students are sent to Mexico and once there, they are lodged and maintained by the Cuban Embassy, which supplies them with tourist cards. In this way, the passports of the travelers do not show that they have been in Cuba. Once in Cuba, the students are lodged in housing confiscated by the government, until they are enrolled in the military school in Managua, Havana, going from there to the indoctrination school at the Camilo Cienfuegos School City in the Sierra Maestra, and finally to the Higher Center in Minas de Frio. Those who have graduated and are back in their respective countries include Rene Revites, Jaime Ortiz and Ramiro Andrade, in Colombia; Armando Dorta, Leopoldo Ruiz, Adolfo Whithey, Guillermo Zalbuena, and Adolfo Rodriguez, in Venezuela; Felipe Ubal, in Uruguay; Leonidas Rodriguez and Luis Franco, in Nicaragua; Dr Carlos Villa, in Costa Rica; and Carlos Guerreo, in Guatemala. The plan drafted for Guatemala is being directed by former president Jacobo Arbenz,[5] who also is a career officer. In addition, the assassination of President Miguel Idygoras has been specifically discussed as an efficient means of dividing the army in that country. Costa Rica is the Central American headquarters for these militia forces, under the direction of deputy Marcial Aguiluz. The plan for this country is similar to that for Guatemala, and there too the assassination of former president Jose Figueres comes into it.

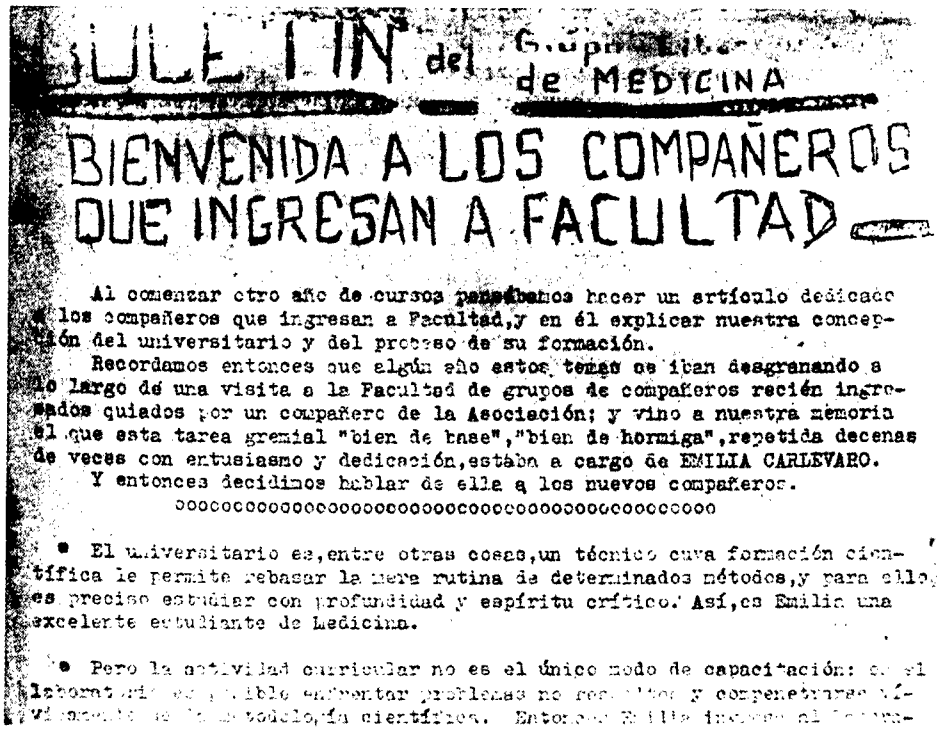
"Other conspirators in the country are said to include Mora Valverde, secretary general of the Communist Party, and former president Rafael Calderon Guardia. Colombia and Venezuela are linked in a single plan according to which the guerrilla uprisings should be carried out mainly in the regions of the frontier between the two countries, in order that the two operational forces can join their activities. The smuggling of weapons

to both countries is carried out by means of vessels disguised as fishing boats, which do not unload directly on the coast, but to smaller vessels which transship the contraband. The liaison agent for this region is said to be Venezuelan deputy Fabricio Ojeda, who, protected by his parliamentary immunity, travels constantly between Cuba and Venezuela."[6]

The detailed report produced in 1964 by the Investigative Commission appointed by the OAS [Organization of American States] to examine and issue a report on the charges against Cuba formulated by Venezuela made it possible to prove the intervention of that country in the domestic affairs of the other, by means of such actions as: introduction of subversive propaganda and weapons into Venezuelan territory, training of Venezuelan guerrillas and terrorists in the Cuban "academies" of subversion, mentioned above, financing and planning of subversive activities in Venezuela by the government of Cuba, etc.

Such evidence led the commission to conclude that "the complex of actions outlined, and in particular, the shipment of arms cargo paints a picture of a policy of aggression by the current government of Cuba against the territorial integrity, political sovereignty and the stability of the democratic institutions of Venezuela," etc.[7]

Finally, in 1966 an Airplane Hijacking School was established in Havana, which was to result in a real epidemic of acts of air piracy in various countries, as reported in the leading news articles of the world press in recent years.



BULETIN del G.[illegible] de MEDICINA

BIENVENIDA A LOS COMPAÑEROS QUE INGRESAN A FACULTAD

Al comenzar otro año de cursos pensábamos hacer un artículo dedicado a los compañeros que ingresan a Facultad, y en él explicar nuestra concepción del universitario y del proceso de su formación.

Recordamos entonces que algún año estos temas se iban desgranando a lo largo de una visita a la Facultad de grupos de compañeros recién ingresados guiados por un compañero de la Asociación; y vino a nuestra memoria el que esta tarea gremial "bien de base", "bien de hormiga", repetida decenas de veces con entusiasmo y dedicación, estaba a cargo de EMILIA CARLEVARO.

Y entonces decidimos hablar de ella a los nuevos compañeros.

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

• El universitario es, entre otras cosas, un técnico cuya formación científica le permite rebasar la mera rutina de determinados métodos, y para ello es preciso estudiar con profundidad y espíritu crítico. Así, es Emilia una excelente estudiante de Medicina.

• Pero la actividad curricular no es el único modo de capacitación: [illegible]

Heading and initial paragraphs in the Bulletin of the Anarchistic Group of Medicine, in which the apology of Flora is made, found in the possession of her brother Pablo.

There were also in operation in Cuba institutes for the indoctrination and subversive training of women, such as the Girls Secondary School established in the vicinity of Havana, under the exclusive direction of Soviet instructors, where courses of from 6 to 8 months duration were offered on espionage, sabotage, nursing, psychology and investigation. Students in those courses who graduated from this school in 1961 included, among others, Elisa Romero Martinez, from El Salvador, Gladys Feijas, a Peruvian communist leader, and Hemilda Lila Corradi, the granddaughter of the Uruguayan ambassador in Havana.

It was in these schools and centers for political indoctrination and specialization in sabotage, terrorism, espionage and guerrilla warfare that numerous agitators and militants of the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay] and other subversive groups in Uruguay, as well as other countries in Latin America, were to receive instruction.

Many of them were to become members later of the MLN-T, and, once a part of its activities, the leaders and members especially selected because of their aptitudes or personal qualities traveled to Cuba for training or to perfect their knowledge of the techniques of subversion, as will be explained subsequently.

a. Courses Taken in Cuba by Members of the MLN-T

35. From the statements of members of seditious groups, a rather precise and indicative picture of the courses pursued in Cuba by the members of the MLN-T emerges.

The summary given in this section will allow the reader to develop a rather accurate idea of these courses, as well as the specialties and activities of a number of the "students." As the statements refer constantly to the pseudonyms or aliases of the members of the seditious groups, as is usual in this type of clandestine organization, which is basically cellular and compartmented, the footnotes give the corresponding personal data and briefly explain the status or activities of each within the group.[8]

The reference to the courses mentioned and those taking them is in no way exhaustive in nature, and is given only by way of example.

"...I knew of the existence of these courses as of the end of 1968, through the PS [Socialist Party]..." "...These courses could be taken by any leftist leader or militant who went to Cuba desiring to do so, provided he was known to Cubans or recommended by someone known to them..." "...Almost all of the leftist leaders from here who went there for other reasons at least engaged in target practice and acquired a knowledge of weapons..."

"...Moreover, by the end of 1972, about 1,000 Uruguayan communists had been through the courses in Cuba..."

"...Those from the organization[9] who did so in various epochs included 'Ruffo'[10], 'Andres,'[11] 'Julio,'[12] and 'Cecilia'..."[13]

"At the beginning of 1957, Fidel Castro personally reviewed an invitation for a representative of the executive branch of the organization to come to Cuba..."[14]

"...A large group of Tupamaros who had been freed to go to Chile accepted Fidel's invitation.[15] This group totaled about 25 and the course was to last some 3 or 4 months. At the head of everything having to do with the Tupamaros was the Cuban who was a member of the Cuban Intelligence Service, known as 'Veitias,' whom Ruffo said was a bureaucrat who had not fought in the mountains to win power..."

"...The ordinary courses included something on the theory of the war, munitions and weapons, history and news, tactics, strategy, organization, command, intelligence, etc..., and on this we spent something like 8 hours a day..." "...As the material was taken up, adjustments to the courses were made on the basis of what seemed necessary to the group."

"...This training was carried out on flat terrain very like our own..." "...During these 10 days, with three or four Cubans as companions, an

infrastructure was established, a night march, ambushes, seizure of villages, placement of explosives, confrontations, etc. were practiced. During almost the length of the course there was target practice."

"...The professors and instructors were all Cuban army personnel..."

"...With regard to the specialties, there were frogmen, aviation, communications, artillery, intelligence, topography..."

"...The frogman course was taught by 'El Flaco Garcia'[16] and involved learning to place explosive charges under water, learning to handle weapons under these conditions..., it was a basically practical course..."

"The aviation course, too, was a basically practical one, taught by 'Pablo'...[17] It involved mainly learning to use small and light planes, which is what is most common here." "...The communications course had already been given in earlier epochs by other people, among them Vladimir.[18] The students learned to write in code, in invisible ink, Morse communications, the use of various types of transmission, the use of public communications media, the clandestine use of certain telephone lines, etc. This course was given before and they gave it to this group now, too. One of those who teaches it is 'El Canario Enrique'...[19]

"...The artillery course was taught by several people, one of them being 'Nacho.'[20] "...This was a matter of the knowledge and use of heavy weapons. Not because we had them, but in view of the possibility that we would sometime have them."

"...When 'Leonel'[21] went to Cuba in April of 1972, he asked for and was promised some mortars and some home made bazookas..."

"The intelligence course had also been given earlier by other comrades..." "Among the last group to take the intelligence courses was 'Nino.'[22]

"The topography course involved learning to recognize various types of terrain, how to measure them and orient oneself, how to use maps and learning the symbol of their normal use. This course was entirely a written one. It was planned to put out a small manual and distribute it in the interior, for it was believed that this would be useful as a function of the implementation of the Tatu plan..."

"With regard to the members who went to pursue some particular specialty, this was the case with 'Gaston'[23] and 'Bolivar,'[24] who was a draftsman... He went to Cuba in order to see if he could perfect his knowledge in the process of counterfeiting money (dollars)... 'Gaston' went to Cuba with the intention of producing a machinegun in such a way as to be able to do so here in a clandestine workshop of the organization... The weapon was finally completed, and it was capable of being made in a clandestine premise here, with a lathe and two or three other tools ordinarily found



Hood used by "Leonel" and other "people's prosecutors" in interrogations of those kidnapped, as well as by the guards of the "people's prisons."

in a lathe shop or smithy. On the basis of this it was planned to set up such a workshop in the 'berretin' or 'berreta' of 'La Estrella'...[25]

"The people who have come recently from abroad include the following: early months of 1970, 'Yorka,'[26] 'Leonardo,'[27] and 'Diego,'[28] directly from Chile; end of 1971 and beginning of 1972, 'Nino,' 'Flora,'[29] 'Pablo,' 'Tito,' 'Jose,'[30] 'Nacho,' 'Bolivar,' 'El Negro,'[31] 'Tomas,'[32] 'Jorge,'[33] 'Nelly,'[34] 'El Flaco Garcia,' etc.

Various parts of the statements in which the "travelers" referred to their stay on the islands prove extremely enlightening about the "activities" in which they engaged there, as well as the transportation mechanism established for going and coming. If we set aside the training of the shock personnel of the PCU and the visits to Cuba by "Ruffo," mentioned above, the first contact made by representatives of our domestic seditious groups with the Castro regime must have been in 1966-67, the years in which the tricontinental and LASO Conferences, which were attended by some members of the Uruguayan subversive organizations, were held. These contacts were, moreover, perfectly logical, and consistent with the nature of both meetings, which, responding to the communist strategy, sought to establish the bases for organized international subversion, and to facilitate personal acquaintanceships and closer bonds among the seditious leaders throughout the world.

The consequence of these "bonds" were precisely the trips made to acquire military training toward the end of 1967 by Manuel Toledo,[35] Billy Sobrino[36] and Juan Sixto Cabrera,[37] among others, who were sent by the leadership of the PS,[38] and who took courses in explosives, weapons, security, photography, signal and other types of code, etc.

But the formal establishment of relations between the MLN-T and the Castro Government occurred in the middle of 1968, when the PS militant and member and co-founder of seditious organization, Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao,[39] who informed the latter that he was "the bearer of an invitation from the Cuban Government for a member of the MLN (Tupamaros) to go to Cuba."

The leadership of the movement then decided that the man who would go to Cuba to represent it would be "Andres," a mission he carried out and to which he specifically refers in his statement. It would be well to quote them verbatim, for apart from clarifying matters in connection with the mission he carried out, he describes the mechanism used for travel and which, except for some variations in detail, was repeated in other cases, very well.

"To this end on the 2d or 3d of August of that same year, with false Uruguayan papers, I traveled by air to the city of Paris and went from there to the city of Prague by the same means. I had with me a telephone number and a password I was to use on reaching Prague. I did so on reaching that city and I made contact with an individual who was a Cuban Government official, whom I knew as Armando,' who came to the airport to get me and solved the problem of my entering into the country, since I had no visa. I stayed for approximately 5 days in Prague, being taken care of throughout by 'Armando." He gave me false Cuban papers in the name of

Demetrio Reynaga, and with this documentation I took a plane bound for Havana. On reaching the Jose Marti airport in Havana I was met by an individual whom I knew as 'Veitias,'[40] who, bypassing any customs or immigration inspection, took me by automobile to an apartment located in the 'El Vedado' quarter, where I took up residence. There I had a couple of meetings with 'Veitias,' to whom I explained the ideology of MLN (Tupamaros) and its method of operation.

"After a few days 'Veitias' met with me and offered me the opportunity to take a course in explosives, grenades, fuses and marksmanship. I accepted. To this end I went to a place the Cubans call 'Punto Cero.' I do not know if it was a military establishment, but it was being run by the army, which operates all its courses there. The explosives course included the manufacture of powders and other elements and the use of these and other types of explosives. The grenade course included the production and use of various devices of the type called 'zazabobos,' both electrical and mechanical. The program of the sharpshooting course included instruction in the assembly, dismantling and use of various types of weapons such as the Browning 9 mm pistol, the Walther 38 cal pistol, UZI and MT40 submachinegun, AK, FAL and Garand rifles, Browning light machineguns and M1 and M2 rifles. With all of these wapons they engaged in target practice at the field in this zone. Once the course was ended, I stayed in Havana for 2 months more, during which I went to visit some prefabricated housing factories, a fiber cement plant and a teacher training institute. As a result of the mission I was carrying out, it was established that the MLN (Tupamaros) would send members to Cuba for training and that the government of that country would instruct them in technical-military subjects and in guerrilla warfare. Once my mission was completed, I left Cuba in the same way I had arrived, returning to Uruguay by the same route, but in reverse, as that I had used to travel from Uruguay to Cuba, making contact in Prague with the same individual I had seen on the previous trip. During my stay in Cuba all of my expenses were covered by the Cuban Government, and I was even given a certain quantity of Cuban pesos for expenditures while I was alone..." "...In the courses I took in Cuba, there were students from other countries, such as the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Brazil, Honduras and Argentina. Among the Argentines whom I knew was Jose Baxter Denaro, alias 'Joe.'"[41]

At the time when "Andres" was staying in Cuba, the wife of Carlos Hebert Mejis Collazo and "Cecilia," who at that time were affiliated with the FARO [Revolutionary Workers' Action Front], were also there, and he made contact with them.

"Cecilia" had traveled to Havana in the month of March of that same year, 1968, staying until December and taking the "service" courses in casting (manufacturing of grenades from cast aluminum), welding (production of home-made armaments) and explosives (theoretical-practical course), and also working in the rural and educational sectors. They traveled in a fashion similar to that described by "Andres," with some variations both going (Montevideo-Cannes, Paris-Prague-Havana) and coming (Havana-Moscow-Prague-Paris-Buenos Aires-Colonia-Montevideo), returning to this last mentioned

capital in January of 1969. Referring to her meeting with "Andres," "Cecilia" said: "Not until the end did I meet Manera Lluberas, who was there with his family."[42]

The relations between the MLN-T and the Cuban Government were strengthened in 1971, as a result of the trips made to Havana and Santiago, during that year, by two of the members of the former, who met on both occasions with Fidel Castro.

The first of these trips was made by "Leonel," in the middle of that year, while he occupied the post of political head of the MLN-T, to ask Castro for aid in weapons, money, guerrilla training and possibly "asylum" for those members of the organization who for one reason or another could not remain in Uruguay.

This is how "Leonel" described this trip, which he made via Chile, and its results: "I made the trip between the city of Montevideo and Santiago de Chile with my own legal papers. I traveled from Santiago to Havana on documents drafted by comrades in the movement located in Chile. This second part of the trip was made by air, on the Cuban Airline Company. I traveled alone. On reaching the Jose Marti airport I was welcomed by a Cuban Government official and Luis Martirena, a Uruguayan member of the MLN (Tupamaros), who was living in that country.[43] We left the airport and all three of us traveled in an automobile driven by the Cuban official to a house located in the urban sector of Havana. The reason for the trip had to do with the need on the part of the MLN (Tupamaros) for disinterested aid (sic) which had been discussed within the organization. In this fashion, a norm of conduct was violated, dictated on this occasion by powerful internal factors, with recourse to those who in the 'Bolivar' spirit could provide us with training, weapons and money. The reasons for my trip were presented in writing to the Cuban Government official and Martirena, with the tacit understanding that the Cuban Government was open to this type of petition, without asking anything in exchange beyond the fact that a struggle for the freedom of the peoples be involved. In this report, the theoretical basis of the needs was established and it asked for aid in weapons, money, training courses and the accommodation on Cuban territory of comrades from the movement who for some reason could not remain in Uruguayan territory. This report was submitted to the proper authorities in the Cuban Government and reached the hands of Prime Minister Fidel Castro. As a result of this, a meeting was held a few days later which we attended: Prime Minister Fidel Castro, Luis Martirena, other Cuban authorities and myself. At that meeting I reiterated the concept set forth in the report and Fidel Castro told us for his part that the Cubans were open to any kind of petition which would contribute to the struggle for the freedom of the people, and therefore to our request. Dr Fidel Castro responded affirmatively to the request drafted by us. The details of this aid remained to be made specific by the Cuban Government official and Martirena. This interview took place in the home of a Cuban Government official located in the city of Havana. My mission to the Cuban Government was concluded in this way,

and in the days which followed I was taken to visit some sites such as collective farms and a zone known by the name of 'Punto Cero' used for military training. The same individuals who had welcomed me on my arrival in Cuba accompanied me to the Jose Marti airport, and I returned to Santiago de Chile by the same airline. In that city I made contact with Lucas Mansilla,[44] and I returned to the territory of the republic of Uruguay using my own legal document."[45]

"Leonel" traveled to Cuba a second time, as has already been said, in the months of April-May of 1972, in order to "speed up the procedures for fully specifying the aid promised by the Cubans, which for administrative reasons had been delayed. The aid which the Cuban Government had provided specifically in the period covered between my first and second trips was in training courses, which were already being given, and money, which had been sent directly to the members of the MLN (Tupamaros) who were operating in Chile. The shipment of weapons to Uruguay occurred during the same period, but after the trip which 'Nepo'[46] made to Chile, during which he talked with Fidel Castro and made concrete arrangements. At the Jose Marti airport I was welcomed by 'Raul' and the same Cuban Government official I had seen during my earlier trip. After the explanations I gave the Cuban Government official, he said that what we had asked would be sent. The details were left to 'Raul' and the Cuban official. On this occasion I did not meet with Fidel Castro, who communicated to us the fact that Latin America is a single entity and that the struggle for independence is a single one. I returned in the same fashion as during my first trip."[47]

The trip made by "Nepo" to Chile to which he referred was, as mentioned, the second link strengthening the relations between the MLN-T and the government of Fidel Castro, with whom he met in Santiago, taking advantage of the latter's trip to that transandean country in November of 1971, just prior to the Uruguayan election.

"Nepo" himself explained this meeting in the following terms: "I met with the Cuban prime minister, Fidel Castro, as a member of the leadership of the MLN (Tupamaros). The interview took place in the city of Santiago de Cuba, in a house the location of which I cannot specify because I do not know this city. The interview was held in that country to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the fact that I was there at the same time as Fidel Castro was paying a visit to Chile. The meeting took place in the month of November 1971. The arrangements were made through 'Marcelo,' who at that time was a member of the leadership of the MLN (Tupamaros) operating in Santiago de Chile. There were 10 or 12 other persons whose names I do not know at the meeting. At that time it was just a few days until the national elections were held in the republic of Uruguay. The main subject of the interview was the political and electoral picture existing at that time in Uruguay and the possibilities existing for the 'Broad Front,' and within it, the influence the MLN (Tupamaros) had had on materially winning votes. I told him of the organization's view on the matter. This view

was that the 'Broad Front' could not win the elections, and that at the most it could come close in the department of Montevideo, and that the MLN (Tupamaros) had provided critical support to the 'Broad Front,' not supporting any given candidate in particular, but the 'Broad Front' in general. The substance of the conversation continued to be on this point."[48]

Referring in another part of his statement to the delivery of the weapons requested of and promised by the Cubans, "Nepo" said: "Beginning at the end of the month of February and the beginning of March 1972, the first lot arrived from Chile. The members of the MLN (Tupamaros) operating in Chile had been assigned the mission of making concrete arrangements in fact for what had been discussed in this connection in a general way by 'Leonel' on the trip he made to Havana.... The weapons included Walther 38 caliber pistols, 8 mm, and MP 40 submachineguns."[49]

It was on the basis of these agreements with the Castro Government that members of the MLN-T traveled to Cuba to be trained in subversive warfare, enabling them to overthrow national institutions and establish the communist tyranny in the image and likeness of the satrapy imposed by the tyranny on that Caribbean island.

These trips were made by individuals or groups, depending on the circumstances, to enroll in the courses there being offered in the schools of subversion mentioned above.

One of these groups, precisely, was that which left Chile in the middle of 1971, and whose activities in Cuba were outlined above. Made up of numerous members of the MLN-T, it was divided into two sections, one group traveling by air and the other by sea.

Those traveling on a Cuban Aviation Company plane included "Diego," "Pablo," "Bolivar," "El Flaco Garcia" and "Chichi"[50]; the trip was made in a vessel flying the Cuban flag, the "Seirra Maestra," by "Nino," "Flora," "El Canario Enrique," "Gaston," "Jose," "El Negro," "Jorge," "Nelly," "Nacho" and "Gonzalo."[51] The "Sierra Maestra" sailed from the Chilean port San Antonio, bound for the port of Santiago de Cuba, in the province of Oriente. There the travelers were welcomed by "Veitias," and after staying in that locality for 2 days, were then taken to Havana by plane.

The corroborating statements by "Diego," "Jose," "Nino," "Guzman," "Nelly" and "El Flaco Garcia,"[52] in particular, are prodigious in their references and detailsabout the voyage, the courses taken, programs, extent and duration thereof, theoretical and practical aspects, etc., as we have sought to summarize above.

The specific evidence of the Cuban intervention in the internal affairs of Uruguay and in encouraging sedition, is as abundant as it is overwhelming. But in addition to that, the evidence continues.

Once the MLN-T had been vanquished and its military infrastructure destroyed in the campaign waged by the FFCC [Carabineers' Forces] in 1972, the government of Fidel Castro continued to train and instruct new members of the seditious organization in the techniques of guerrilla warfare and subversion, in the service of the plans of the communists for expansion and universal hegemony as set forth in Chapter 1.

The trip made on 28 February 1973 from Santiago to Havana by a further dozen seditious organization members for this purpose, the courses they took there and the methods they used for travel, etc., faithfully repeat those described above. The courses indicate an adapted and expanded version of those already described: target practice, ballistics, weapons, explosives, tactics and strategy of conventional warfare, offensive and defensive operations, logistic and sanitary support, intelligence, counterintelligence, espionage, guerrilla procedures in rural zones and in cities, "covers," ambushes, actions to divide the enemy, cutting off enemy units, bank robbery, kidnapping, assault, study of the special army and police forces, etc. The statements of those who took the courses clearly show how the subversive activities being pursued against the other countries on the continent by Cuba continue to be carried out with unchanged virulence and insuperable treachery. In particular, the testimony of Osvaldo Neves Maciel[53] dissipates any doubt which might remain in this regard.

The same could be said of the courses which seditious organization members Mario Acosta Echeverria, Silvia Maria Tojja Coppes and Waldemar Lopez del Rio took in April of 1973, according to the evidence of their statements. Currently, the MLN-T maintains a regional office in Cuba operating in close affiliation with the government, supervising all of the activities of the colony of Uruguayan seditious organization members established in that country. The administration of this office is entrusted to "Eduardo."[54] The regional office in Havana operates in coordination with the regional office established in Buenos Aires, and relations are carried out through the accredited embassy of Cuba in Argentina, as was the case until September 1973 with the Cuban Embassy in Santiago de Chile. The man in charge of the handling of these relations in Buenos Aires is "Marcelo." For some time now the MLN-T has urged the need of organizing a military force in Cuba and having it ready to act, a force which at present involves hundreds of militants.[55] The negotiations undertaken by "Leonel" and formalized in the agreement reached by the movement with the Castro Government in 1971 provided precisely for the possibility of using Cuban territory as a "refuge" for the militants who could not remain in Uruguay. But it is not a matter, of course, of the traditional asylum given the victim of political persecution in accordance with the rules and practices of American public international law, but of a true base of operations, training and continuation of the acts of aggression, sabotage and terrorism in which the members of the seditious organizations are engaging against Uruguay, which places the present government of Cuba, which supports and encourages these actions, in an open position of warlike hostility toward the republic, "Mutatis mutandi," this is also the situation in which the communist government of Cuba maintains itself with regard to the majority of the other American republics, an attitude of political vandalism, of barefaced intervention in their domestic affairs, of violation and

and defiance of the international relations and the principles on which the existence and operation of the United Nations itself rests, as specified in the San Francisco Charter.

As the Joint Commanders in Chief revealed, the events and factors set forth above make clear the intervention by the Cuban regime in the domestic affairs of Uruguay. This intervention has been continued in recent years, without any substantial correction being made in the Cuban policy. "On the contrary, the material, technical and propaganda support of the subversive movements continues to constitute a threat to continental security... The trend has not been interrupted and Cuba today continues to give this assistance -- training, weapons and money -- in clear contempt of the international norms, the principle of nonintervention in the domestic problems of the American nations."[56]

This is the reason for which the so-called "ideological pluralism" is politically unacceptable. It is a Marxist subtlety by means of which an effort is made to seat the wolf and the lamb at the same table, those who respect the law and free coexistence and those, who with a deliberate intention of intervening in the domestic affairs of other nations to subject them to their yoke, violate and trample upon the law.

Pluralism is thus nothing more than a new artifice, similar in its strategic goals to peaceful coexistence and trade penetration, which the communists use for their purposes of conquest, given the inertia, poor memory and inconsistent democratic-liberal exaggerated sentimentality of the noncommunist countries.

b. Santiago Branch

36. But Cuba is not the exclusive Latin American center which aided the MLN-T in preparing and planning sedition. Chile, too, the Chile of Salvador Allende's Marxist government and its capital, Santiago, functioned until the fall of that regime as a base for the members of Uruguayan seditious organizations in major sectors of their activity, such as relations with Havana, liaison with the Cuban agents assigned to that brotherly country, the purchase of weapons, publicity and propaganda, etc.

Concerning these aspects there are abundant items of evidence, documentary and testimonial, of which some have been chosen for illustration purposes.

It should not be forgotten that under Allende, Chile became the second Marxist capital on the continent, and that the Cuban communist regime, at the request of the government of Chile or by natural gravitation, was in direct and continuing control of the advance of the transandean revolutionary process by means of a large network of specialized personnel, disguised as diplomats, consular, commercial, scientific, advisory and other personnel of a more or less technical aspect.

The explosive termination of this process by the Chilean Armed Forces was precipitated by the fact that the Allende government was contemplating a coup which would have been utilized to insure the definitive liquidation of military and police commanders and officials and to transfer the public forces into the hands of the Marxist hosts supporting that government, according to the careful plans drafted for the purpose, which the military intelligence services found out about in time.

The critical domestic situation prior to the overthrow of Allende, mainly a consequence of his absolute inability to cope with the increasing economic deterioration of the country and the grievous state of collective penury to which the people had been reduced, led Fidel Castro to send the secret letter of 29 July 1973 to "Beloved Salvador," in which he said that he was sending two of his key men, Carlos Rodriguez and Manuel Pineiro to him, "on the pretext of discussion with you questions having to do with the meeting of non-aligned countries,"[57] but in reality "to learn from you about the situation and offer you, as always, our readiness to cooperate in view of the difficulties and dangers hindering and threatening the process," and asking them to make known "to Carlos and Manuel how we loyal Cuban friends of yours can cooperate." Without prejudice to the apparent information objective he assigned to the two agents, Castro, who had been informed by his permanent representative in Santiago of the difficulties pressing ever closer against Allende, took the opportunity to hint at the desirability of arming the trade unions and calling them into the streets in defense of the regime which was in danger of falling: "...Do not forget for a second the formidable force of Chilean workers class and the energetic support they have provided you in all the difficult moments. It can, on your appeal to support the threatened revolution, paralyze those planning a coup, retain the support of the vascillating, impose their conditions and decide the destiny of Chile in a single stroke, if necessary. The enemy should know that this force is aware and ready to go into action. Its strength and its combativity may tip the balance in the capital in your favor, even when other circumstances are unfavorable," etc.[58]

37. Here is how the present Chilean authorities describe Allende's plans for a coup: "An internal coup toward the middle of September, preferably during the festivities held to commemorate independence. This coup would be brought about by means of terrorists and paramilitary teams selected throughout the country, and in Santiago in particular. The best organized of the teams was, naturally, the GAP ["group of personal friends"], the security force of Mr Allende himself, made up of some 200 elite men, well trained and perfectly equipped. To the effect of the internal coup was to be added a vast quantity of weapons, kept in places it was impossible to search (such as La Moneda Palace and the private residence of Mr Allende on Tomas Moro Street), and which included revolvers, semiautomatic pistols, rifles, carbines, semiautomatic rifles, automatic rifles, machine pistols, machineguns, rocket launchers, grenade launchers and hand grenades, anti-vehicular mines, etc. This weaponry, of Czechoslovak and Soviet origin,

had been brought into Chile gradually and under the most varied pretexts. To date only a part of it has been recovered, but with this part alone some 5000 men could be equipped without difficulty. The training of the contingents was carried out in various guerrilla warfare schools. One of these operated with impunity in the presidential premises themselves on Tomas Toro Street and in 'El Canaveral' (a foothill sector in El Arrayan). In these schools there were texts, classrooms, teachers and courses in weapons firing, hand to hand combat, handling of explosives, etc. Salvador Allende himself learned how to use a machinegun there, a fact of which abundant photographic evidence remained. The training required experts in guerrilla warfare, who came from all parts of the world, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, etc., in particular, recruited from among the terrorists of those countries. It is estimated that their number varied between 10,000 and 13,000. The internal coup also required adequate financing. To this end, the resources of the state, in domestic and foreign currency, were squandered without limit or measure. There were secret budgets, parallel to the official ones, in government departments. Agitators, terrorists and guerrilla fighters were hired on contract as workers and employees in the treasury department, which thus supported and paid for authentic militia forces, like those of the Urban Renewal Corporation, for example, which in 3 years increased its personnel by almost 60 times: militiamen of this corporation murdered two militant Christian Democratic youths illegally occupying an urban site in the commune of La Reina (Santiago). This need to finance the coup explained why, when the 11 September military action occurred, there were in the possession of Popular Unity officials or politicians, or in their homes -- including the residence of Mr Allende -- and without any valid explanation, millions of escudos in national currency and tens of thousands of dollars drained from the fiscal coffers. The coup was to begin with the physical elimination, by terrorist commandos, of high officials in the Armed and Carabineer's Forces, as well as opposition political and trade union leaders.

This bloody operation was known as "Plan Z." After 11 September, detailed written instructions for Plan Z were found, with all kinds of personal information pertaining to those who were to be eliminated, and with the assignment for the terrorists who were to carry out the respective murders, terrorists who -- in the documents found -- were identified by pseudonyms. Finally, the coup was polished in every detail during the month of August, when two well known Cuban communist leaders paid a visit: Vice President [of the Councils of State and Ministers] Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, and the chief of the secret police, Manuel ("Barbarroja") Pineiro. The visit was described as for the purpose of discussing with the Chilean leaders their stand at the Conference of Nonaligned Countries, which was to be held somewhat later (beginning of September). But the specific recognition that this was but a pretext, and that the real purpose of the presence of Messrs Rodriguez and Pineiro was intervention in Chilean politics was provided by Fidel Castro in a letter written in his own hand to Mr Allende, dated 29 July, which was found among the papers of the former president. This is only one of the precedents, moreover, for the obstinate interference by the Cuban government in our internal affairs.

Documents found in the safe of the former director of investigations, Eduardo Paredes, established beyond dispute the shipment of weapons from that country to Chile, destined for the paramilitary teams of the Popular Unity movement. Along with speeding up the preparations for the coup to the maximum, a pincer movement aimed directly at the bases and the high commands of the Armed and Carabineers' Forces was launched. Apparently, this, too, was recommended by Messrs Rodriguez and Pineiro, and its purpose was to divide the military institutions, or at least to insure their passivity at the time of the coup. The intellectual adviser of the Popular Unity movement and of Allende, the Spaniard Joan Garces, also encouraged the "beheading" of the high military command, it would appear from his confidential papers.[59]

In addition, this most interesting and enlightening document reveals the thinking of Allende and the political groups which supported him about the democratic path and the armed path, the preparations for the internal coup up to 1973, the organization of the "militia" forces, the acquisition and smuggling of weapons and explosives, the training of the militiamen in their use and in the tactics of the guerrilla warfare, battle in the streets, personal defense, sabotage, etc., the training personnel, the operations of the guerrilla schools, such as those in Guayacan (Santiago) and Chaihuin (Valdivia) and the establishment of new ones, such as those in Nehuentue (Cautin) and those in the residences of Allende himself in Tomas Moro Street and "El Canaveral," already mentioned, the thousands of foreign extremists and terrorists living in Chile, coming from various countries in Latin America, among them Uruguay, the financing of all of these activities, the specific plans, the role played by the various leftist parties and groups, the UP [Popular Unity], the Radical Party, the MAPU [Unitary Popular Action Movement], the Communist Party of Chile, the PS, the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the military tasks of these organizations, etc.[60]

38. It was within this climate that the MLN-T and its numerous members residing in Chile after having to leave Uruguay as a result of their actions, or who went back and forth between those two countries, operated and acted.

Many of these representatives of Uruguayan seditious groups found work for their "idle elements" in the activity controlled and managed by the Chilean groups mentioned above, in key government departments and even in Allende's personal guard corps. "The apprentice guerrilla fighters who were seeking work were given real sinecures in state agencies such as the CORMU [Urban Renewal Corporation], whose personnel increased from 200 to 12,000 employees under Allende, although there was no notable increase in municipal projects. And among the more than 15,000 political exiles, there were many veteran terrorists anxious to demonstrate their experience. The Tupamaros sent propaganda groups throughout the outlying settlements, and they built a rural base in the northern part of Chile under the leadership of Raul Bidegain Greissing, one of the few organizers who escaped the Montevideo police."[61]

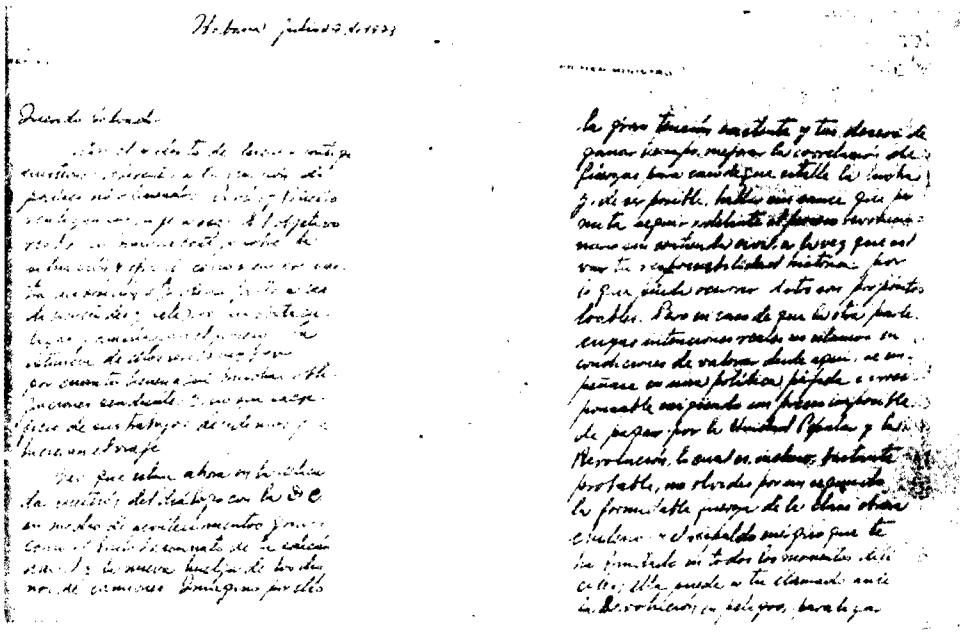
The secret documents of the MLN-T which were seized in due course, and the statements by many of the members of the seditious groups who participated directly in the events provide clear evidence of the broad use of the Chilean situation to meet numerous needs of the organization -- and in many cases this was also done in Argentina and in various other countries in America, Europe and on other continents, in such respects as "the printing of passports, the manufacture of large valises, attache and briefcases with false bottoms...," "...the purchase of radio transmitters and weapons... especially from Cuba...," "... publicity and propaganda," "...through foreign publishing houses and firms; it was many times a question of putting out propaganda which the organization believed to be fundamental...," "... on one occasion there were negotiations concerning two songs by Daniel,[62] 'Muchacha' [Girl] and "La Sangre" [Blood], on records...." "There was much insistence on the publication of the new edition of 'Actas Tupamaras' [Tupamaro Documents][63] with a foreword by Debray..."; "... and also a second edition of the book by Labrus..."[64]; "...a Cuban TV series on sedition in Uruguay, which was to be the event of the year..."[65]; "a short story in the Cuban periodical BOHEMIA, although I do not recall if it was finally published..."; "...there were also some prints of animated cartoons, drafted by Oski..."; "...the film on Jackson...."; "....the reports about Jackson were marketed through the various journalists and Prensa Latina..."; "...the periodical GENTE [People] made a first payment of some $2,000 and something more..."; "...Jackson was sent off to support Allende, who promised to obtain the things the MLN-T needed, money and weapons, from Cuba..."; etc.

With the change in the domestic situation in Chile, a large number of the MLN-T members fled to various countries, particularly Peru and Argentina. From there they tried to reorganize the subversive activity which, in the realm of propaganda in favor of sedition and attacks on the armed forces and the police, gave rise to the recent publication of a volume of more than 100 pages in the last mentioned country, which is a compilation of previously familiar propaganda material by notorious Uruguayan seditious and pro-seditious elements.[66]

This provides yet another proof, among many others, of the fact that the seditious elements, with their military apparatus and immediate aggressive capacity decimated, remain active on the level of their political leadership and propaganda activity, seeking to rebuild themselves in order to return to the struggle.

3. Political-Ideological Leadership

39. While the technical schools for subversion in Latin America to which we have referred were operating, as we have just seen, the political leadership of Cuba, with Fidel Castro as the main spokesman -- without a doubt one of the most talkative political leaders on the continent known to date -- an effort was being made to draft and officially decree the doctrine of the Castro communist revolution and its ideological foundation.



First part of the handwritten letter of Fidel Castro to Salvador Allende, of 29 July 1973. Reproduction authorized courtesy of the Chilean Government. See the final part



Fidel Castro said: "I am a Marxist-Leninist and I will be until the day I die."

This intensive and continuing task of continental agitation and disturbance was pursued in Havana by Castro in two main directions, to wit: that of public statements, outlining the most important activities and events which occurred, through speeches or statements, which were widely disseminated throughout the world by means of the information and propaganda apparatus of the Cuban regime; and the holding of numerous international congresses and meetings which, on varied pretext, Cuba convoked and sponsored, and at which the most authentic representatives of subversion on the continent and throughout the world congregated.

Both manifestations of the Castro communist export of subversion will be rapidly reviewed in the following section.

a. Official Statements

40. The multiple statements made by the Castro Government, particularly the speeches delivered by its leader in the period ranging from the triumph of the revolution in Cuba to the present, are basic elements documenting the positions and attitudes which clearly define the open interventionism of the Castro movement in the domestic affairs of the other American countries, the attacks upon and insults to their governments and elected leaders, the OAS, the "dictatorships," the "strong-arm armies and military," "imperialism" and the imperialists, etc.

Imperialism above all, conventionally or tacitly accepted to mean "U.S. imperialism," was to be a kind of battle force set forth and skillfully exploited in Castro communist activities to the point of weariness, benefiting from a long tradition more or less common to the large majority of the political parties and groups on the continent.

"A constant factor," Mercier Vega said quite rightly, "is found in the majority of the propaganda texts, programs and manifestos published by the political movements in Latin America: anti-imperialism, understood almost always to be mean anti-Yankeeism. Anti-imperialism makes it possible to mobilize multitudes; it insures the success of any speaker; it suffices to reabsorb, at least temporarily, divisive tendencies. From Mexico to Chile, all political movements make continuing use of its emotional power.

Like any great collective movement, this anti-imperialism is nurtured by an infinite number of elements, some rational and susceptible to analysis, others psychological and more difficult to identify. The consummate sensitivity of public opinion leads the political leader, whether he be in power or in the opposition, to avoid the study and the exposition of the exact terms of international relations, and to content himself with generalities and symbols. In an extreme case, the point of verbal anti-Yankeeism is reached, as in Uruguay, even when the economy and the functioning of political institutions depend to a very limited extent on the United States, or, as in Mexico, the point of maintaining and cultivating a popular anti-Yankeeism is reached, even though the imbrications of the financial systems of Mexico City and Washington place the two nations in close affiliation.

At the base of anti-imperialism, there is without any doubt a profound frustrated nationalism. The fact that this nationalism took on continental dimensions, a Pan American aspect, with Simon Bolivar or the Ecuadorean poet Jose Olmedo has not lost its importance. Reference is made to Greco-Roman antiguity or the vocabulary of the French Revolution is used, with the Venezuelan Andres Bello, the Chilean Francisco Bilbao, or the Cuban Jose Marti, the Nicaraguan Ruben Dario, or the Uruguayan Jose Enrique Rodo, and all of them exalt the diverse and and mixed peoples of the south as the founders of a new civilization, the heir to a European past but in a position to exceed it because of the very wealth of the contradictions, overlying the stricter dominion of the nation-states. Each party, each theoretician in Latin America has a tendency to present its doctrine or experience as possessing a continental value. Much time has passed since the period of struggles for independence and the two dimensions of nationalism, "national as such and continental, are becoming more evident."[67]

But also and above all, the statements and speeches by Fidel Castro are self-confessions of his constant promotion of subversive activities, instigation of rebellion and insurgency, of the Latin American communist revolution, of the armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, etc.

Given the material impossibility of analyzing these speeches or even quoting them in full, we mention below the more important, with a brief indication of their content for the orientation of the reader.[68]

41. In the extensive repertory of Castro oratory, and within the series of statements of principle and postulates of a general nature, one should begin with the celebrated proclamation to the effect that Cuba is "a communist state, an adherent of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine"[69]; the recognition of the support received from Soviet communism and the socialist sector, weaponry included[70]; the enunciation of the widespread slogan set forth in the Second Havana Declaration, and later to be institutionalized by the LASO, to the effect that "the duty of a revolutionary is to promote revolution"[71]; the claim on Castro's part of the "right" to encourage revolution in Latin America[72]; his firm solidarity and identification with the Latin American revolutionary movements[73]; the exhortation to revolutionaries on the continent to follow the Cuban communist example[74]; the obligation of Latin American revolutionary leaders to prepare the masses for launching the revolution[75]; the warning to the effect that the Castro communist regime only recognizes revolutionaries as the legitimate representatives of the peoples[76]; the proclamation to the effect that guerrilla movements are "the only path" toward the seizure of power in the countries of Latin America[77]; the much bandied about, although not always clearly understood, aspiration of Castro to "transform the Andes mountain range into the Sierra Maestra of the continent"[78]; the extravagant claim of having fathered the guerrilla movement in America[79]; the solidarity of Cuba with the guerrilla forces[80], euphemistic rhetoric which, as will be seen later,[81] in fact represents the inspiration, identification and complicity of the Castro movement with the continental guerrilla movement, which is nothing but the tool chosen for provoking and extending communist revolution to all the countries of Latin America, etc.

42. In the no less extensive series of Castro communist attacks on each and every force which does not share the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, one should recall those directed against "imperialism," especially "U.S. imperialism" and the "imperialists"[82]; the hated OAS, which expelled the present Cuban regime when its leader "betrayed" democracy by going over to the enemy ranks of communism[83]; the Inter-American Peace Force, in connection with the events in Santo Domingo[84]; the military castes and "the strong arms"[85]; the governments of the Republic of Argentina[86], Brazil[87], Guatemala[88], Paraguay[89], Nicaragua[90], El Salvador[91], and Venezuela[92]; Presidents Lleras Camargo, of Colombia[93], Frei Montalva, of Chile[94], Stroessner, of Paraguay[95], and Betancourt and Leoni, of Venezuela,[96] etc.

43. With direct regard to Uruguay, one should recall the public recognition given by the Cuban dictator to the "official delegation" of the MLN-T which made a special trip to Cuba in 1970 for the celebration in honor of the revolution,[97] thus bearing consummate witness to the relations which, as we have already had occasion to see,[98] the Castro regime had been cultivating for some time back with the seditious Uruguayan organization, through various and noted representatives thereof. Its first ambassadors were those who attended the Tricontinental and LASO Conferences, and in particular, the journalists from the weekly MARCHA (Advance) to whom reference is made in the discussion of these meetings.

After greeting the various delegations from the socialist countries attending the celebrations mentioned and referring to the delegation from Brazil as "representing the revolutionary movement in that country," Castro said: "...En route here, although it was not possible for the members to arrive in time, is a delegation from the Uruguayan revolutionary movement, the Tupamaros." Labrousse, who has reason to know, comments as follows: "This reference clearly showed that the Tupamaros are currently considered as one of the most important guerrilla movements in Latin America and that they are capable, thanks to their support of the Cuban revolution, of entering into contact with other movements with the same inclinations."[99]

The statements made in Santiago and in Lima, immediately after the defeat of the FA [Broad Front] -- which had the public support of the seditious group in the November 1971 Uruguayan elections, became known, constitutes further evidence of the Castro-Broad Front-Tupamaros affiliation, clearly illuminating the national subversion scene.

At that time, the "revolutionary" forces rallied in the communist-Christian Democratic-seditious conglomerate called the Broad Front -- a new version of the old tactic of the "popular fronts" of international Marxism,[100] had been proclaiming with joyous clamor that the experience brought about in Chile by the Popular Unity headed by Salvador Allende, a confrere and personal friend of Fidel Castro, was being repeated in Uruguay.

This led Castro to travel to Santiago, to await the expected electoral success of the FA there, and thus to be in a position to travel speedily with the former president of Chile to Montevideo, to celebrate the victory along with the triumphant forces...

Castro had barely arrived in the Chilean capital when his old acquaintance and friend, the first secretary of the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay], Rodney Arismendi, paid him a visit, and through him he sent his greetings to the FA and the PCU.[101]

The defeat inflicted by the Uruguayan people on the FA was the factor which gave rise, at that time, to Castro's well-known expressions of encouragement to our national seditious groups: "...Violence is the only path toward the conquest of power in Uruguay..."[102] "There is no peace in Uruguay, the struggle will become more acute... The joint forces of the Broad Front and the Tupamaros can liberate the Plate River country by the means they deem most suitable..."[103] The "path" of the Tupamaros was certainly well known to Fidel Castro and to the people of Uruguay as well...

Finally, the "moderate" policy of the Uruguayan foreign ministry with regard to the Cuban situation in 1972 and 1973 found its response from that nation and its seditous allies in Uruguay in an immediate reaction of greater challenge and more violence against the new government which had just taken office on 1 March of the first mentioned year.

In fact, the enormous amphitheater of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers in Havana was jammed on 25 April 1972 during an assembly held to express official identification with the Uruguayan terrorists. Jesus Montane, minister of communications and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, was one of the speakers representing the Castro regime there. The other was Hector Ramos Latour, secretary general of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers and also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Both speakers made it very clear that the subversion by the Tupamaros in Uruguay was seen as seriously threatened by the Uruguayan government's new repressive measures. However, Havana decided to send all the aid possible to the seditious elements in Uruguay via Chile, Peru and Argentina. The Cuban Minister Montane did not hesitate to say that this aid was on the way, and he even boasted of it, while at the same time praising the Tupamaros as heroes and martyrs...

Finally, the official organ of Castro communist subversion for the month of October in that same year, 1972, carried an article entitled "The Law of Torment," in which this purportedly heroic image of the Tupamaros was compared with the picture of a torturous and sadistic Uruguayan army engaged in all sorts of aberration.[104]

44. If there is any reason to be thankful to Fidel Castro, it is certainly his loquacity, which provides anyone who wants to find it with an inexhaustible source of factors for judgment and explanatory and/or probatory evidence of his attitudes and official decisions. No doubt can remain in the minds of anyone about the goal he really sought, nor the way in which he has been trying to achieve it in these last 15 years. No one can claim to have been deceived by the real intentions of Castro communism, nor what can be expected of it. Like other similar movements on the continent, the Uruguayan



LEGA FIDEL A CHILE

DE NUESTRO CORRES
MARCEL GARCES (VIA

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Cuba en el contine

EL POPULAR announces the arrival of Fidel Castro in Santiago, whose trip is interpreted as the break in the isolation imposed on Cuba by the OAS.



La Violencia fue Desatada Para Impedir al Frente Ampli

ARISMENDI CON FIDEL

25 PESOS

Año XV
Montevideo,
Domingo 14
de Noviembre
de 1971
Nº 5168

Rivera
Aclam
Ayer
Sere

LA CRU
DE
VICTO
LLEGA
A ART
Y B. UNIO

PATRIA

La prensa chilena y otras agencias internacionales han difundido en América Latina la siguiente nota gráfica e informativa reproduciendo el texto y fotografía propagandísticas de las agencias de publicaciones de Cuba sobre la visita que [illegible] Arismendi a Santiago de Chile para saludar a Fidel Castro.

"Arismendi felicitó al Primer Ministro Cubano por la [illegible] de este viaje, que "es el fin del bloqueo a Cuba y que marca un punto de viraje en la situación latinoamericana".

"El Primer Ministro cubano aprovechó la oportunidad para enviar un saludo al Partido Comunista del Uruguay, al Frente Amplio y al pueblo uruguayo por las muestras de solidaridad con Cuba que

Interview between Rodney Arismendi and Castro in Santiago

seditious faction found in Cuba the most solid base for inspiration and support, and there is nothing to prevent its doing so again in the future, in accordance with the process of communist dialectics, in which its supporters believe with religious fervor, leading them to think and work within the strict limitations of the Marxist principle according to which the struggle does not end due to the accidental contingency of one or more defeats, but reemerges as a result of the internal contradictions in the noncommunist society.

Above all when the current Cuban regime, totally imbued with Marxism and animated by a notable vitality, is pursuing a supranational political theory which has enabled it to give more than sufficient evidence to date of its boldness and aggressive nature, and which imperceptibly pushes it ever further toward the assumption that it is the leader of the Latin American revolutionary movement and inevitably, the master of the final triumph.

b. Meetings and Congresses

45. Parallel to the unfolding of subversive agitation and the political-ideological doctrinarism we have just discussed, Fidel Castro, on various pretexts, promoted a number of international meetings and conferences, all of them characterized by a single goal, open or concealed -- carrying the principles and the effective practice of communist revolution to all the corners of the continent.

Between 1961 and 1968 alone more than 20 meetings were held in Cuba, among which one could mention as the most important the Congress of Central American Students (May 1961), the Seventh IUS [Internation Union of Students] Congress (May), the Meeting of Latin American Trade Union Leaders (July), the Second Meeting of Latin American Construction Workers (August), the Congress of Writers and Artists (August), the Fifth Congress of the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions] (November), the Fifth Congress of the IOJ [International Organization of Journalists][105] (January 1962), the Conferences of Peoples (February), the preparatory work for the American Women's Congress (July), the Seminar on Sports in Latin America (October), the Latin American Music Festival (October), the Second Congress of American Women (January 1963)[106], the International Infants' Day (June), the Conference of Latin American Communist Parties (December 1964), the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Tricontinental) (January 1966), the Fourth Latin American Students' Congress (July), the Encounter with Ruben Dario (January 1967), the Latin American Women's Encounter (February), the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of America (April), the Journalists' Seminar on News Agencies (July), the First Solidarity Conference of Latin American Peoples (LASO) (July-August), the Havana Cultural Congress (January 1968), etc.

46. In some cases, as circumstances allowed, a number of these meetings were also held in other capitals or cities in Latin America, as was the case with the Continental Congress on Solidarity with Cuba (Brazil, March 1963), the Underdeveloped World Seminar (Brazil, July), the National

Assembly of Friends of Cuba (Chile, July), the Meeting of the Latin American Workers Central Organization (Brazil, September), the Latin American Youth Congress (Chile, March 1964),[107] etc.

47. Of all these conferences, five in particular are of interest for the purposes of the study: the Conference of Latin American Communist Parties, the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Tricontinental), the Fourth Latin American Students Congress, the First Solidarity Conference of Latin American Peoples (LASO), and the Havana Cultural Conference, and they are dealt with in the following section.

1) Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties

48. This conference, of a secret nature, was convoked by Cuba on the initiative of Moscow (which, if in fact it was not formally represented, pulled the strings through the Cubans), was held in Havana from 22 to 29 November 1964. Attending as a representative of the PCU was Rodney Arismendi, secretary general. Its decisions, which were only made known later, mark a rapprochement on the part of Cuba with Soviet communism, and the triumph of the policy pursued by the latter.

49. The essence of what was decided can be made clear by saying that the local pro-Soviet communist parties were entrusted with organizing the revolutionary activities in their respective countries, which in fact came to be translated into the subordination of the Castro groups to the communists.

The methods of struggle were also to be determined by the revolutionary forces formed in the fashion indicated. In six specific cases (Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti and Paraguay) the conclusion was that they should rely on armed struggle.

From what has been said it emerges that it is the Communist Party which should decide, in accordance with the prevailing political conditions, whether the path should be that of armed struggle or that of classic communist activities, or a combination of the two, which was consistent with the tactical norms of Moscow.

Cuba was thus compromised and limited in its provision of support to dissident groups or factions, and within the political circumstances in the time in which that conference was held, this must be interpreted as support rendered by Cuba to Moscow in the struggle the latter was waging with Peking.

As a counterpart, Moscow and its parties pledged themselves to provide, within possible limits, active support on an international scale to the struggle of the Venezuelan people for their liberation, etc.

50. The conclusions of this conference, in the formal statement of its specific decisions, came down to the following:

Promotion of the creation of movements or councils of solidarity, giving campaigns against repression a permanent nature, so that they would not be limited to sporadic demonstrations or isolated statements.

Active support of those subject to repression, such as the combatants in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay and Haiti.

Encouragement of the struggle against colonialism in Latin America, giving sustained support to the causes of independence for Puerto Rico and British Guayana, winning autonomy for Martinique, Guadalupe and French Guayana, the return of the Malvinas Islands to Argentina, and the achievement of the aspirations of the British and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean.

Organization on a continental scale of active solidarity on the part of all the Latin American peoples with the liberation struggle of the Venezuelan people.

Identification and solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle being waged by the people of Panama, under difficult conditions.

Advancement of intensive campaigns for the liberation of the "kidnapped" communist leaders, among whom were the Venezuelans Jesus Faria,[108] Gustavo Machado and Pompeyo Marquez, the Ecuadorean Pedro Saad, the Haitian Jacques Stephen Alexis, the Paraguayan Antonio Maidana, and the Brazilians Mario Alves, Ivan Ribeiro and Astrogildo Pereira.

Struggle for the liberation of all the persecuted workers and democratic patriots and fighters.

Development of the socialist spirit of solidarity within the Latin American proletariat, promotion of worker protests in all enterprises and submitting them to the WFTU and all the independent workers' central organizations in Latin America, etc.

2) Tricontinental Congress

51. On 3 January 1966 the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (which because of the joint participation of the three continents is called the "Tricontinental" Congress) began its sessions in Havana.

The overwhelming importance of the meeting has its origin precisely in the fact that it gave a "tricontinental" aspect to subversive, terrorist and guerrilla actions for Asia, Africa and Latin America, impressing upon them a common doctrine and tactic.

The communist parties and subversive organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin America sent 82 delegations to this congress, made up of 483 representatives in all.[109]

Of the 82 delegations, 27 were from Latin American countries.

The Uruguayan delegation included nine delegates.[110]

52. By way of common principles of struggle for the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America "to root out every vestige of imperialist economic domination and to build their own economies," in those countries "which are still battling to win their liberation," the Tricontinental Congress proclaimed "the right to national control of the basic resources, the nationalization of the banks and vital enterprises, state control of foreign trade and exchange, growth of the public sector, the reconsideration and repudiation of spurious and antinational debts imposed upon their economies, the implementation of true agrarian reform, such as to eliminate feudal and semi-feudal ownership, promote agricultural development, raise the standard of living of the peasants and other workers in agriculture, and contribute to the growth of the national economy and exports.

53. In the extensive "General Declaration" approved by this conference, "the right of the people to win political, economic and social liberation by the means they deem necessary, including armed struggle to achieve this goal" is set forth. "For the subjugated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is no more important task." "The conference proclaims the right of the peoples to oppose revolutionary violence to imperialist violence, in order to protect, under such circumstances, the national sovereignty and independence."

54. From the profuse preparatory background and the numerous resolutions approved, it becomes clear that the Tricontinental Congress aspired to provoke chaos in the countries in conflict in Asia, Africa and Latin America, through the intensification of the armed struggle, terrorism and economic sabotage. Economic sabotage was directed against the commercial, industrial and agricultural installations in each country, as well as the international development bodies, such as the APEP [Alliance for Progress],[111] the IMF [International Monetary Fund],[112] the MCE [European Common Market],[113] the agreements on Latin American Regional Market, the IBRG [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development],[114] the United States Peace Corps, the ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America][115] and others.

55. The Tricontinental Congress also recommended "increasing the participation of young people in the national liberation movement," "encouraging the women's organizations to make contact with and plan forms of cooperation with the WIDF [Women's International Democratic Federation], and "linking the trade union struggles more closely with the liberation and anti-imperialist struggles taking place on the three continents."

56. Where Latin America is concerned, it stated that the peoples and the governments produced by the national liberation movements are not obligated to respect the agreements and commitments of the OAS, particularly the Mutual Assistance Treaty, because that body "has no juridical or moral

authority to represent the Latin American continent." It condemned the IAPF [Inter-American Peace Force] as a "Yankee army of aggression in its Latin American disguise, which today is occupying the territory of the brotherly people of the Dominican Republic by force," and the governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica which "have sent troops to Dominican soil, in accordance with the orders of the Yankee imperialists and against the will of their peoples," and it recommended "full support of the Cuban revolution, as an event of overwhelming significance to the national liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America and all the oppressed peoples of the world."

57. A special resolution pertaining to western civilization recommended "promoting and organizing the translation and dissemination of classic and modern, literary and scientific works which, because of their quality and content, will serve to destroy the cultural monopoly of the so-called western and Christian civilization," and it urged a subtle form of infiltration in all the sectors of activity in each country, by means of the creation "on the tricontinental scale, of a school for leaders in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, in the political economic and cultural sectors," etc.

58. With a view to the implementation of the agreements and the direction of subversive process, the Tricontinental Congress created the AALAPSO [Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization][116] with headquarters in Havana.

The executive secretariat of this body is made up of 12 secretaries, four for each continent, and a secretary general, selected by Cuba.

The AALAPSO functions with four departments: the political-economic department, which has the responsibility for the political, economic and military planning to combat the imperialist policy, including the tasks of the "Training Schools for Revolutionary Cadres on the Three Continents"; the socio-cultural affairs department, which has charge of directing subversive propaganda, under the slogan of "struggle against ideological penetration by imperialism," through the publication of books, pamphlets and periodicals and the production of films of a subversive nature; the organization and liaison department, which is responsible for organizing and coordinating the various anti-imperialist movements and serving as the point of contact for all the subversive movements; and the department of information and propaganda, which is the organ which publicizes the activities of the AALAPSO, through the printing and world distribution of bulletins, posters, placards, pamphlets, periodicals, prints, photographic exhibits, radio and television programs, etc., intended to inform the entire world of the subversive struggle being waged in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to propagate the revolution.

59. In June of 1967 the AALAPSO began to publish the periodical TRICONTINENTAL which in April of that year carried a supplement with an article by Ernesto Guevara, etc.

From the time of its creation, TRICONTINENTAL invested its efforts in promoting violence in all of the countries of the world not yet conquered by the Marxists, thus acting in accordance with the goals of international communism. As it was eloquently put in an editorial in the newspaper GRANMA, the organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, "every communist knows, as Marx said, that violence is the midwife of history, and armed insurrection is the highest expression of the class struggle. He who ignores or seeks to conceal this is not a communist," etc.[117]

3) Fourth CLAE [Latin American Students Congress]

60. This congress, held in Havana from 29 June to 11 July 1966 under the slogan "For anti-imperialist unity among the Latin American students" was attended by 145 delegates representing as many student organizations in Latin America. The president was chosen from the Cuban delegation, the vice presidents from those from Venezuela, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, and the secretary from Uruguay.

61. The General Resolution approved by the Fourth CLAE [118] said the following, among other things:

"We solemnly proclaim our duty and our right to struggle beside our peoples against Yankee imperialism and those who serve it.

"We proclaim the duty and the right of the Latin American student body to fight adamantly to enable the revolutionary movement to prevail.

"We solemnly proclaim that the armed struggle today constitutes the most effective and consistent form of struggle.

"We proclaim our support of the resolutions of the Tricontinental Congress in the struggle against imperialism, and in particular Yankee imperialism.

"We solemnly declare that to the continental strategy of aggression, repression and exploitation, we must respond with the strategy of continental revolutionary struggle, and in particular, armed struggle, to defeat imperialism.

"In this connection we hail the creation of the LASO, which represents a real step toward the implementation of a united front in the frontal struggle against imperialism."

62. With regard to armed struggle, this student congress agreed upon the following:

"To hail the struggle of the peoples of America are carrying forward today against the imperialists, headed by the United States.

"To support without reservation the armed struggle being waged by the peoples of Latin America, who have responded with revolutionary violence to the violence imposed by the Yankee imperialists.

"To take the view that the seizure of political power in the various Latin American countries to the benefit of the popular classes cannot be achieved by the electoral or parliamentary path, but through revolutionary violence."

63. The congress also approved the creation of the OCLAE [Continental Organization of Latin American Students], the basic goals of which are:

To promote and develop concrete and combative solidarity on the part of Latin American students in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

To struggle for closer links between the students and the working class, the peasants and the popular sectors in general.

To struggle against imperialist penetration of the universities and education in general.

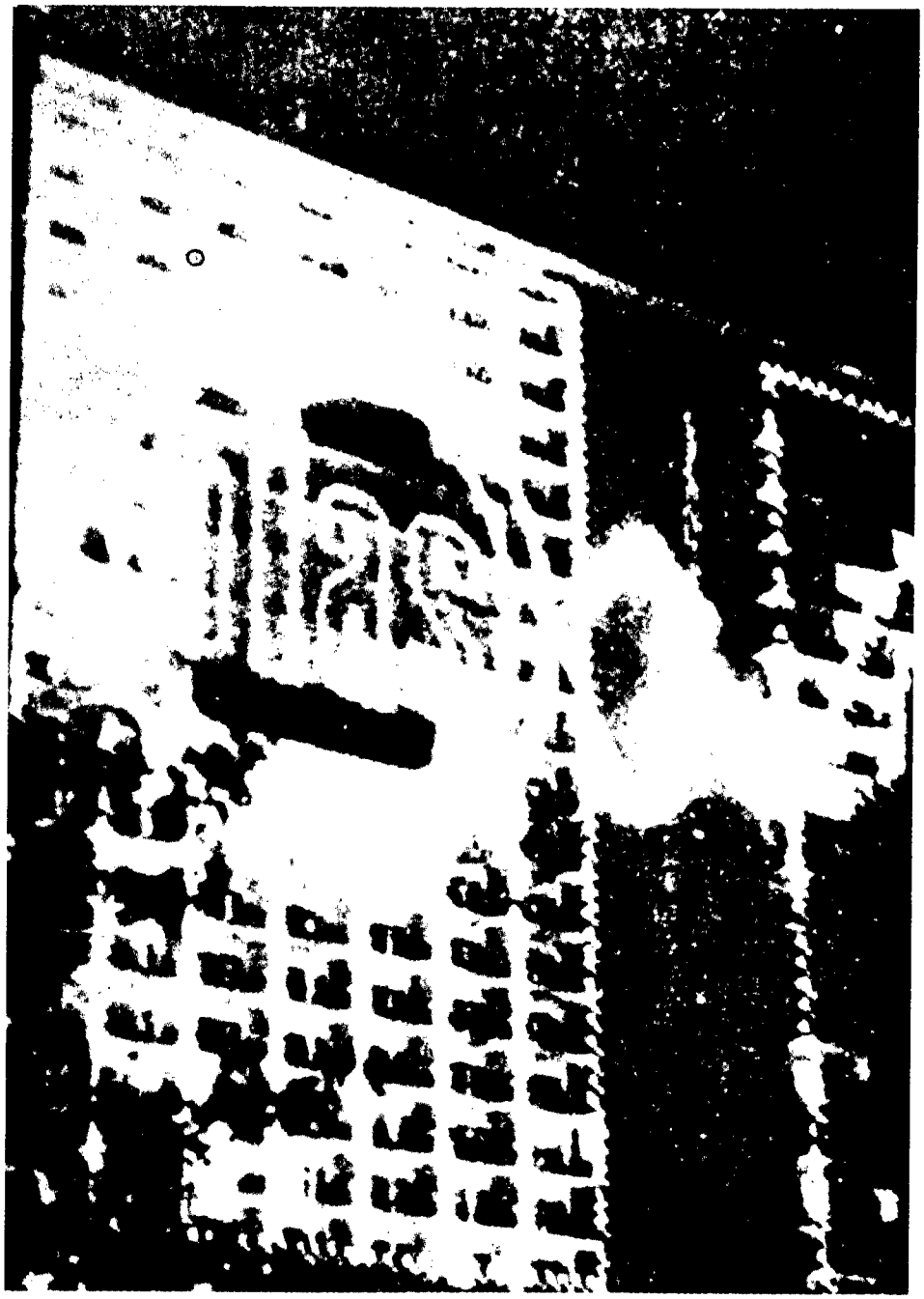
To establish closer links of solidarity and mutual aid between the students of Latin America and those of other continents.

Cuba was chosen as the permanent headquarters of the OCLAE, with its permanent secretariat being organized by the FEUC [Federation of University Students of Cuba]. Secretaries were to be elected by the Venezuelan Federation of University Centers, the Federation of Dominican Students, the Guadalupe Students Association, the Panamanian Students Federation, the FEUU [Federation of University Students of Uruguay], and the Pro-Independence University Federation of Puerto Rico.

64. The holding of this congress which was sponsored and controlled by Cuba and the student communist leaders on the continent naturally served the purposes of the Castro strategy.

At the concluding session, the organization secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Armando Hart Davalos, said: "As Comrade Raul Castro said on one occasion, the Achilles heel of imperialism is the peoples of Latin America and the national liberation movement... Today we are waging, in some American countries, major military battles for the peoples of America. And it is important that all revolutionaries, all their combative organizations, closely united in this struggle, face up to the imperialists with a common strategy, with an overall strategy... The time has come to strengthen the unity of our peoples, as was done at the Tricontinental Congress -- an efent of extraordinary revolutionary scope, and as has been done in the Organization of Latin American Students.

65. In November of 1966, the OCLAE issued an appeal for continental support of Venezuelan subversion. In January of 1967, it convoked an assembly on student activities in Latin America, in connection with imperialist penetration in the universities, the educational and cultural sectors. Later, its permanent secretariat demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from



The Hotel Habana Libre during the LASO Conference

Korea, urged the creation of student brigades to assist Vietnam and all the guerrilla movements of the world, etc.

4) The LASO

a) Establishment and Preparatory Work

66. While the Tricontinental Congress was carrying out its work, but outside their scope, the 27 Latin American delegations attending it agreed to establish a special organization which would be specifically entrusted with directing subversion in Latin America.

It was thus that the Latin American Solidarity Organization was established, its creation having been approved by these delegations on 16 January 1966, for the purpose of "uniting, coordinating and promoting the struggle against U.S. imperialism on the part of all of the exploited peoples of Latin America."[119]

The members of the 27 Latin American delegations which were founders of the LASO also agreed on the holding in Cuba of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Latin America, in the course of the next year, 1967, at a date to be determined later, and they appointed an organizational committee of nine members, made up as follows: for Cuba, Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado, secretary general; for Brazil, Aluizio Palhano; for Colombia, Manuel Cepeda Vargas; for Guatemala, Oscar Edmundo Palmas; for Guyana, Lall Bahadur; for Mexico, Daniel Molina; for Peru, Jesus Mazza Paredes; for Uruguay, Leopoldo Brueras; and for Venezuela, Silvia Moreno.

67. This committee worked intensively throughout almost of 1966 and a large part of 1967 on gathering background and drafting the studies needed to direct the deliberations of the conference. On 22 February of this latter year, when these studies were completed, it announced the scheduling of the conference for 31 July of that year.

68. In the preparatory work, use was made of the data and report obtained through special questionnaires sent to all of the national committees of the LASO in each American country. The responses received were analyzed by a team of more than 700 technicians and officials belonging to some 52 Cuban organizations engaged in special studies. They were the commissions on demography and geography, economics, political and social matters, education, ideological and cultural matters, and public health affairs. Numerous officials and experts from the Cuban MINREX [Ministry of Foreign Relations], worked on the commission on political and social matters, in particular, etc.

69. The LASO Conference, which was held in the middle of 1967, marked a defeat of the Soviet line, because the repercussions of the clamor of armed struggle and guerrilla warfare were heard there, as its basic expression, that is to day, the theses of Guevara and Debray, confirming Cuba in its role as the leader of the Latin American revolution.

b) Resolutions

70. The LASO began its deliberations on 31 July 1967 in the Habana Libre Hotel in the Cuban capital.

At this meeting Ernesto Guevara and the black U.S. leader Stokeley Carmichael were elected honorary presidents "in absentia." Other officers elected were Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado, of Cuba, acting president; Rodney Arismendi, of Uruguay, vice president; Francisco Prada, of Venezuela; Nestor Valle, of Guatemala; and Gerardo Sanchez, of the Dominican Republic.

71. Ten delegates attended as representatives of Uruguay: Rodney Arismendi, first secretary of the PCU, representing the Uruguayan National Committee of the LASO, and serving as president of the delegation; Ariel Collazo, representing the MRO [Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement][120] who served as vice president; Edmundo Soares Netto, vice president of the FIDEL [Leftist Liberation Front]; Jose Diaz Chavez, secretary general of the PS[121]; Alberto Caymaris, of the MPU [United People's Movement][122]; Adalberto Gonzalez, of the APUM [Maldonado Popular Unitarian Group][123]; Carlos Domingo Elichirigoity, of the "Avanzar" Batllist Group; Juan Iglesias Villar, of the CCO [Workers Central Committee[124]; Elbio Baldovino, of the "26 October" Batllist Movement; and Leopoldo Brueras, of the PCU, and a member of the organization committee of the LASO.

Those attending as guests included Juan Antonio Trimboli, of the MRO; Reinaldo Gargano Ostuni and Enrique Pastorino, of the PCU, and president of the FSM; and as journalists, Ricardo Saxlund, of the PCU daily organ EL POPULAR; and Carlos Maria Gutierrez and Carlos Nunez, both of the pro-communist weekly MARCHA.[125]

72. The LASO conference approved a General Declaration, consisting of two parts, one containing general propositions and other resolutions, endorsing the Castro thesis of guerrilla warfare as the beginning of the armed revolutionary confrontation designed to undermine and destroy "the bureaucratic-military machinery of the oligarchies and power of imperialism."

73. In the general proposition section, it says the following: "In many countries special conditions in the rural sector, favorable topography and a potentially revolutionary social base, linked with the special adaptation of the technical means and the professional armies for the repression of the people in the cities, and incapable on the other hand of adapting to irregular warfare, makes of guerrilla warfare the basic expression of the armed struggle, the most formidable school for revolutionaries and their unquestionable vanguard. The revolution already advancing in some countries, in immediate demand in others and with future prospects in the rest is of a clearly anti-imperialist nature within its anti-oligarchic goals. The first objective of the popular revolution on the continent is the seizure of power by means of the destruction of the bureaucratic-military apparatus of the state and its replacement by the armed people, in order to change the existing social and economic system: this goal can only be achieved through armed struggle. The development

and organization of the struggle depend on the proper selection of the scene where it is to be waged and the most suitable organizational means. The lessons of the Cuban revolution and the experience accumulated by the revolutionary movement in recent years in the world, and the presence in Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia and Guatemala of a growing armed revolutionary movement show that guerrilla warfare, as the genuine expression of the popular armed struggle, is the most efficient method and the means best suited for waging and developing the revolutionary war in our country, consecutively, on a continental scale. In this particular situation the unity of the peoples, the identity of their goals, the unification of criteria and the joint readiness to wage the struggle are the elements characterizing communist strategy which must be opposed to that being pursued on a continental basis by the imperialists. This strategy demands a clear and bright expression of solidarity, the most effective aspect of which is the revolutionary struggle itself and its vanguard detachments, the guerrilla forces and the liberation armies."

74. In the resolutions portion, the General Declaration of the LASO says:

"1. That to undertake revolution is a right and a duty of the peoples of Latin America.

2. That the revolution in Latin America has its most profound historic roots in the liberation movements waged against 19th century European colonialism and against the imperialism of the century. The epic of the peoples of America and the great class battles against imperialism waged by our peoples in the preceding decade represent the source of the historical inspiration for the Latin American revolutionary movement.

3. That the basic content of the revolution in Latin America is provided by its confrontation with imperialism and the bourgeois and landowning oligarchies. Consequently, the nature of the revolution is the struggle for national independence, emancipation from the oligarchies and the socialist path for full economic and social development.

4. That the principles of Marxism-Leninism guide the revolutionary movement of Latin America.

5. That the armed revolutionary struggle constitutes the basic guideline of the revolution in Latin America.

6. That all the other forms of struggle should serve rather than hinder the development of the basic orientation, which is armed struggle.

7. That for the majority of the countries on the continent, the problem of organizing, launching and developing the armed struggle and bringing it to its culmination represents today the immediate and basic task of the revolutionary movement.

8. That those countries in which that task has not been set forth in terms of the near future, must in any case regard it as an inevitable prospect in the development of the revolutionary struggle in those countries.

9. That the peoples of each country and their revolutionary vanguards will have the historic responsibility of carrying forward the revolution in each of these countries.

10. That the guerrilla force as an embryo of the liberation army represents the most effective method for launching and developing the revolutionary struggle in the majority of our countries.

11. That the leadership of the revolution demands, as an organizational principle, the existence of a unified political and military command as a guarantee of its success.

12. That the most effective solidarity which can be mutually provided by the revolutionary movement is the development and culmination of the struggle itself within each country.

13. That solidarity with Cuba and collaboration and cooperation with the revolutionary movement in arms represent an inescapable duty of an international sort for all of the anti-imperialist organizations on the continent.

14. That the Cuban revolution, as a symbol of the triumph of the armed revolutionary movement, constitutes the vanguard of the Latin American anti-imperialist movement. The peoples waging armed struggle, to the extent that they advance along this path, also become part of the vanguard.

15. That the people directly colonized by mother countries in Europe or subject to direct colonial domination by the United States have in their path toward liberation the immediate and basic goal of fighting for independence and remaining linked with general struggle on the continent as the only way of avoiding being absorbed by U.S. neocolonialism.

16. That the Second Havana Declaration, embodying the beautiful and glorious revolutionary traditions of the past 150 years in American history, constitutes the program document for the Latin American revolution, which the peoples of this continent have during the past 5 years confirmed, deepened, enriched and radicalized.

17. That the peoples of Latin America have no antagonisms against any other people of the world, and extend their hand in friendship to the people of the United States itself, whom they exhort to struggle against the repressive policy of the imperialist monopolies.

18. That the struggle in Latin America is strengthening its links of solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa and the socialist countries, and with the workers in the capitalist countries, particularly the black people of the United States, who are suffering simultaneously from class

exploitation, poverty, unemployment, race discrimination and the denial of the most basic human rights and represent an important force to be considered within the context of the revolutionary struggle.

19. That the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam is providing all the revolutionary peoples who are combating imperialism with inestimable aid, and constitute an inspiring example for the peoples of Latin America.

20. That we have approved the bylaws and established the permanent committee, with headquarters in Havana, of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, which is a genuine representation of the peoples of Latin America.

We revolutionaries of our America, the America south of the Rio Grande, heirs of the men who gave us the first independence, armed with an unbreakable determination to struggle and a revolutionary and scientific orientation, and with nothing to lose but chains which oppress us, affirm that our struggle represents a decisive contribution to the historic struggle of mankind to free itself from slavery and exploitation. The duty of every revolutionary is to undertake a revolution."

75. The LASO Conference also approved 28 resolutions pertaining to widely varied matters, ranging from the political-military and cultural penetration of the conference by the U.S. to solidarity with the Arab people. A listing of the titles of these resolutions suffices to provide an idea of their content: 1. Resolution on the Mechanism of U.S. Political-Military Intervention on the Continent; 2. Resolution on the Mechanisms of Economic Penetration; 3. Resolution on Cultural and Ideological Penetration of Latin America by U.S. Imperialism; 4. Resolution on the OAS; 5. Resolution on Colonialism in Latin America; 6. Resolution on Support of the Struggle of the Black People of the United States; 7. Resolution on Solidarity with Venezuela; 8. Resolution on Solidarity with the Colombian Guerrilla Struggle; 9. Resolution on Solidarity with the People and Their Guerrilla Struggle in Guatemala; 10. Resolution on Support of the Struggle of the Bolivian Guerrillas[126]; 11. Resolution on Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution; 12. Resolution on the Day of Solidarity with the Paraguayan People; 13. Resolution on the Day of Solidarity with Puerto Rico; 14. Resolution on Peru; 15. Resolution on the French Colonies; 16. Resolution on the Dominican Republic; 17. Resolution on Solidarity with the Vietnamese People; 18. Resolution on Korea; 19. Message of Greeting to Commander Che Guevara; 20. Resolution Hailing the 50th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution; 21. Resolution on Solidarity with Africa; 22. Resolution on Solidarity with the Asiatic People; 23. Resolution on the Strengthening of Solidarity Among the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and in Support of the AALAPSO; 24. Resolution on the Solidarity with the Arab Peoples; 25. Resolution on the Right of Professional Journalists to Pursue Their Activities as Guerrilla Correspondents; 26. Resolution of Homage to the Organization Committee for the First LASO Conference; 27. Resolution on Haiti; and 28. Agreement on the Solidarity of the Latin American Peoples with the National Liberation Struggle.

c) Concluding Session

76. On 10 August 1967, the final session of the LASO Conference was held in the Chaplin Theater, in Miramar, Marianao, Havana. On this occasion Fidel Castro gave a lengthy speech, which was carried in the daily newspaper GRANMA the following day.

Among many other things -- attacks on the United States, imperialism, Venezuela, the Venezuelan Communist Party, etc. -- he said: "There is a series of principles which no one believes will be accepted without discussion, but which are true essentials approved by the majority, with the exception of some. This irrelevant discussion has to do with the means of struggle and the paths, whether peaceful or not, whether armed or otherwise. The essence of this discussion, which we call irrelevant, as it is a discussion between two deaf mutes, because it is what separates those who want to promote the revolution from those who do not want to promote it, those who want to hinder it and those who want to advance it. No one is deceived! No one nurtures the illusion that power will be won peacefully in any country on this continent. No one deludes himself, and those who attempt to say such a thing to the masses are deceiving them miserably." "Let those who truly believe that peaceful transition is possible in some country on this continent explain to us what kind of peaceful transition they mean, if not peaceful transition in accordance with imperialism. And those who believe that they are going to win some elections over the imperialists are nothing but naive, and even those who believe that on the day they win some elections they will be allowed to take office are nothing but supernaive." "And these ideas are clear. We are absolutely convinced that in the long run, as the resolution says, one path and no other -- the role of the guerrilla war in Latin America... Guerrilla warfare is the main form of struggle, and this does not exclude all the other manifestations of armed struggle which may arise..."

"...Our satisfaction goes very deep and we see with joy, and not sadness, that the ranks of the revolutionary movement are expanding, that the revolutionary organizations are multiplying, that the Marxist-Leninist spirit, that is to say, Marxist-Leninist ideas, are gaining ground, and we feel a profound satisfaction because the final resolution of this conference proclaims the fact that the revolutionary movement is guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas...," etc.

5) Havana Cultural Congress

77. This congress began in the Cuban capital on 4 January 1968, with as its most immediate background the preliminary work of a preparatory seminar which met toward the end of October the preceding year, also in Havana. Attending as delegates from Uruguay were Jose Luis Massera, a legal citizen of Italian origin, and a leader of the PCU, heading the Labor Committee; Manuel Claps; Hiber Conteris Sardo; Jorge Escudero; Jorge Galeano; Mario Handler; Juan Carlos Zaffaroni Zubieta, a Catholic priest; and Mario Benedetti, a writer, member of the Collaboration

Committee of the periodical CASA DE LAS AMERICAS, and director of the Casa de las Americas Literary Research Center.

Just as the First Conference of the AALAPSO in 1966 was the "Tricontinental" Conference on communist subversion, guerrilla warfare and terrorism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the 1968 Havana Cultural Congress was the "tricontinental" congress on communist infiltration in the intellectual, scientific and artistic circles on these same continents. The basic dialectical problem that gathering faced was the reconciliation of culture with armed struggle and subversion. But this problem was resolved in the traditional sophistic style of the communist doctrine, maintaining that "revolution itself is the highest expression of culture."

78. In the declaration which this "tricontinental congresss" on culture approved, it says: "The proletariat, the peasantry and the other revolutionary popular classes are the historic heirs of the best cultural traditions. Only by means of the seizure of political power and the realization of the socialist revolution, headed by those classes, will it be possible to develop without limit, without the previous obstacles to the class struggle, an extensive and rich genuinely national culture."

Linking the figures of Lenin and Guevara (who had already died in Bolivia the year before) as a symbol of the militant intellectual revolutionary, the declaration says: "We want to conclude with the statement that the example of Lenin is being kept and will be kept alive in the revolutionary practice of the peoples; that we will defend the revolution against all enemies and threats, with our work and with our lives if necessary; and we want to say to the world that the war cry of our commander Che Guevara has been heard, that we are ready -- with our hands and our throats choked with hatred and revolutionary passion -- to put down our working tools, to take up arms and to intone the mournful songs to the accompaniment of machineguns and new cries of war and victory."

This in major outline is the valuable contribution made by the communist intellectuals of Asia, Africa and Latin America to subversion in the name of culture at the 1968 Havana Congress.

4. Propaganda Apparatus

79. With a view to providing the broadest possible dissemination of its doctrines and facilitating the implementation of its plans for continental subversion, Cuba rapidly created an enormous domestic and international propaganda apparatus, in the best communist totalitarian style.

When Batista fell, no fewer than 16 daily newspapers of various tendencies were being published in Havana: the morning INFORMACION [News], DIARIO DE LA MARINA [Coastal Daily], EXCELSIOR, MANANA [Morning], MUNDO [World] and HAVANA POST, the last mentioned in English; the noon dailies CRISOL [Crucible] and ALERTA [Watchword]; and the evening papers PRENSA LIBRE [Free Press], EL PAIS [The Nation], AVANCE [Advance], TIEMPO [Time], ATAJA [Shortcut], PUEBLO [People], LA TARDE [The Evening], RESCATE [Exchange] and MAN SEN YAT PO, in Chinese.

With the triumph of the Castro movement, freedom of the press was totally suppressed and the old Cuban dailies were forced either to shut down or change their line, replacing their editorial and management staffs with pro-Castro personnel.

The members of the 26 July Movement took over the dailies which supported Batista, and in the workshops where ALERTA had previously been published, they began publication of the periodical REVOLUCION [Revolution], the initial voice of the new regime. In the end, the press was reduced to the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, GRANMA, which replaced REVOLUCION, and JUVENTUD REBELDE [Rebel Youth] and EL MUNDO [The world].

The case of the periodical BOHEMIA merits a special paragraph. Since prior to the triumph of the Castro movement, it tipped the weight of all its prestige in support of the revolution. Its editor, Miguel Angel Quevedo, not only viewed Fidel Castro with sympathy, but maintained close and friendly relations with him. But the Marxist bias adopted almost immediately by the triumphant led BØHEMIA, like other Cuban and foreign news organs, to reflect the deception and discontent caused by this deviation in its pages.

The last editorial Quevedo wrote in July of 1962, the publication of which was prevented by the government, which seized the periodical was a vain and tardy effort to alert public opinion to the turnabout effected by Fidel Castro, now committed to communism. The paragraph of that editorial, which was carried in the international press shortly afterward, thanks to the asylum sought by Quevedo in the premises of the Venezuelan Embassy in Havana, and his subsequent departure from the country, although they had no practical effect on the domestic situation in Cuba, represented the accusing finger pointing to the betrayal by the guerrilla commander of the Sierra Maestra: "For 52 years, since the very dawn of the republic, BOHEMIA has shared with the people of Cuba their concerns and desires, efforts and hopes; it has been at their side in the brightest moments and the darkest hours. The ideals of this people which has suffered, been deceived and mistreated as few have, but which is also combative, generous and courageous, as few are, have been the ideals of BOHEMIA itself... And when on 1 January 1959 a revolution which represented the great hope of final liberation for our people came to power, BOHEMIA took its part, as it had done in the tragic but heroic days of the insurrectional struggle, serving the noble cause of these young people, who with unparalleled heroism were reenacting the deeds of our elders in the Sierra Maestra, and in the resistance in the cities, generously offering their lives. For all of these reasons, BOHEMIA, from the very first moments, took the side of the revolutionary government. It is not ashamed of this, nor does it regret it.

"BOHEMIA stood with the revolution when all of the people of Cuba did, and it remained faithful toward it as long as it believed in the sincerity of its leaders and in the honesty of its purposes. The faith which the entire people had placed in this revolution was too great to readily admit that they had been deceived. Even today, many Cubans resist the notion that, behind the beautiful reality which was promised them was hidden a dark plan to convert our fatherland into a satellite of the most implacable of the totalitarian regimes which have devastated the face of the earth. The truth was too cruel to be accepted without hesitation, the deceit too monstrous to allow without objection, and even when alarming symptoms were noted some time ago, BOHEMIA, like a large part of our people, clung stubbornly to the hope of timely correction, in an effort to save the revolution and the republic from the dangers which threatened it. But with profound sorrow, BOHEMIA recognizes that there is no longer anything to nurture even this remote hope."

80. Subsequently, there was also established a strict governmental inspector for printed propaganda intended to project subversion abroad in the form of periodicals, reviews, pamphlets, books, posters, etc., which inundated the countries on the American continent through the channel of the embassies and consulates of the regime and the offices of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

The weekly summary of GRANMA, in Spanish, English and French; the periodical CUBA, with a format similar to that of LIFE; the periodical VERDE OLIVO [Olive Drab], on military affairs, and COMERCIO EXTERIOR [Foreign Trade], published by the Ministry of Foreign Trade; the weekly PEL [Latin American Economic Panorama], published by the PRENSA LATINA [Latin Press] News Agency; PENSAMIENTO CRITICO [Critical Thinking], a periodical devoted to problems of Marxist ideology; CUBA SOCIALISTS [Socialist Cuba], a periodical which appeared toward the beginning of 1967; OCLAE, the official publication of the Continental Organization of Latin American Students; pamphlets and bulletins of the AALAPSO; and the periodical TRICONTINENTAL, which that organization began to publish in June of 1967, in Spanish, English and French, made up the lengthy collection of publications utilized by Castro to project torrents of communist propaganda to Latin America and the world.

For the sale of Cuban books, periodicals and daily newspapers abroad, the CUBARTIMPEX [Cuban Enterprise for Export and Import of Items of Art and Culture] was established, with the trade operations being entrusted to the Cuban Book Institute when it was created, in April of 1967.

81. In the middle of 1959, the PRENSA LATINA Cable News Agency, one of the most capable channels of subversion used by Cuba anywhere, was established, with its main headquarters at No 201 23d Street in Havana, Vedado sector, and branches in numerous Latin American, European, Asiatic and African capitals. The specter of communist information expanded and was supplemented as PRENSA LATINA signed agreements on exchange of news by telegraph and teletype with its counterparts: TASS [Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union], the CTK [Czechoslovak News Agency], the TANGUC [Yugoslav Telegraph News Agency], the PAAPA, in Poland, the BTA [Bulgarian News Agency], the HSINHUA [New China News Agency, in Red China, etc.

PRENSA LATINA operated freely in Uruguay for years dealing every thrust it could at its institutions, until the government called for its shutdown and the expulsion of the foreign agent serving as its director in the middle of 1971.[127]

PRENSA LATINA has the use of a special plane and a radio broadcasting and receiving station in the environs of Havana. The information it obtains is used by the intelligence services of the Cuban Ministry of the Interior, for which many of its department heads and correspondents work.

Beginning in 1962, PRENSA LATINA became an official part of the structure of the Castro system under the jurisdiction of the COR [Revolutionary Orientation Department] of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

82. In July of 1967, under the auspices of PRENSA LATINA, the UPEC [Union of Cuban Journalists] and the IOJ, the Latin American Journalists Seminar on News Agencies was held in Havana, as a forum designed to develop greater efficiency in the techniques of subversion for "revolutionary journalists."

This seminar was attended by some 25 representatives of Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico and Uruguay) and an equal number of Cubans.

As was stressed in a lecture given at that seminar by Carlos Franqui Mesa, editor of REVOLUCION, and an outstanding personality in the Castro press, "revolutionary journalists must prepare and organize the clandestine or guerrilla press, and in those countries where the conditions do not exist, they must aid other armed movements... Revolutionary journalists must make capital of the contradictions existing in the bourgeois press, using them to disseminate the revolutionary truth," etc.

The agreement reached at the conclusion of this seminar called for "the creation of clandestine and guerrilla bodies in those countries where liberation movements already exist, with journalists being instructed, among their basic tasks, to devote themselves to this revolutionary news work."

Supplementing the work of that seminar, the UPEC took the opportunity to establish the date for the holding of the First Latin American Journalists' Congress, with the same purpose of promoting continental revolution using the subtle and powerful resources of the press.

This congress was held in the Cuban capital in July of 1968, etc.

83. The radio, too, is a tool of the greatest importance in the vast machinery of Castro's propaganda, served by powerful installations exporting two supplementary methods of diffusion, to wit, short waves, via Radio Havana Cuba, which transmits propaganda to Latin America and the world in general, and the medium wave broadcasting during the night of special programs for the Caribbean region.

The programs of these nations include broadcasts in Spanish to North, Central and South America and the Mediterranean zone, in Portuguese, English, Guarani and Quechua, to South America; in Creole, to the Caribbean region; in French and Arabic, to the Mediterranean area; in English to North America and the northern part of Europe; and in French to North America, Europe and the Mediterranean zone.

84. The UNEAC [National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba] and the ICAP [Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples], already mentioned previously, represent two other propaganda tools of the Cuban revolution, along with the ICAIC [Cuban Institute of Cinema Arts].

The ICAIC monopolizes all the film making activity in Cuba and produces news reels, documentaries and short and full length feature films urging revolution, a trend which has been imitated by film producers in other Latin American countries, giving rise to the movement which the Argentine director Fernando Solanas called the "Third Cinema," referring to the problems of the Third World, which this type of film seeks to set forth in a clear effort to "undertake revolution," communicating to the public a message of clearly political intent from the screen.

Among the films made by the ICAIC we should mention "Historias de la Revolucion" [Tales of the Revolution], by Tomas Gutierrez Alea; and "Los Dias del Agua" [The Days of the Water], also by Alea and the Brazilian Manuel Octavio Gomes; "Manuela," "Lucia," and "Un Dia de Noviembre" [A Day in November], by Humberto Solas, etc.[128] What has been said about cinema is generally applicable to the theater, which has also been profoundly politicized by the inflammatory revolutionary spirit.[129]

85. The ICAP, similar to the Union of Society for Friendship with Foreign Peoples, at No 14-16 Pr. Kalinina Street in Moscow, is the suction pump by means of which Havana attracts large numbers of visitors from Latin America and other countries, to show them the "conquests" of Fidel Castro communist regime. In the law establishing it, dated 30 December 1960, the duties of the ICAP are set forth, including the following:

"To encourage and facilitate visits to Cuba by representatives of the popular and progressive sectors in all countries of the world showing an interest in direct knowledge of the social and economic changes and the achievements resulting from the Cuban revolution.

"Contributing to the strengthening of friendship with all the peoples of the world, in accordance with postulates of the Havana Declaration, the concern of the revolutionary government and the effort of the numerous committees for solidarity with and just treatment of Cuba established in the countries of America and other continents."[130]

86. The Casa de las Americas [House of the Americas] completes this large constellation of Cuban communist propaganda organs.

Located in Havana at the corner of 3d Street and G, in the Vedado quarter, this organization was for a long time served as director by Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the LASO Congress Organization Committee, and of the congress itself, and as assistant director, by Manuel Galich, former Guatemalan Foreign Relations Minister, under the communist government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

The Casa de las Americas carries on intensive subversive infiltration efforts in Latin America through the publication, in the classifications of the novel, short story, play, essay and poetry, of works by Latin American Castro communist intellectuals with whom it maintains direct links through the holding of annual competitions for the Casa de las Americas prize. It invites pro-Castro writers and intellectuals from Latin America to serve on the juries. For the same purpose, it also publishes a periodical, which carries its own name, in which it disseminates the works which win prizes in the competitions, etc.[131]

87. Finally, and although this subject would in itself merit a special chapter, it is necessary to include in this brief summary the activities under the jurisdiction of the MINREX, which spread throughout the world to the accredited embassies and consulates of Cuba in other countries, under the guidance of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, which engages not only in propaganda, but also in espionage, sabotage and other forms of subversion.

The subversive trend channeled into the Latin American countries through the MINREX is the responsibility of the DAL [Latin American Affairs Department], which since the beginning of the Castro regime has trained and instructed specialized personnel, assigning them to two groups of subversive agents, the "propaganda group" and the "agitation group." The activities of these agents in Latin America immediately became obvious, as the numerous cases in which individuals were declared "persona non grata" or expelled, as mentioned elsewhere, illustrate.[132] The export of propaganda is effected through the intermediary of the International Organizations Office under the MINREX, etc.

5. The Present and Future of Communist Cuba

88. The ideological position and the political attitude of Castro's Cuba, which we have attempted to summarize above, cannot be ignored or underestimated, for this would be a serious error.

Throughout this time and since their advent in the political life of Latin America and the world, this posture and this attitude have not only remained constant, but have matured, been affirmed and strengthened. The surrender of Cuba to communism, its growing dependence on the Soviet Union, constitutes an unalterable and irreversible historical reality.

Since the now distant in time statement by Castro in 1961 to the effect that Cuba was a Marxist-Leninist state advancing toward communism, considerable time has elapsed and many things have happened, showing that this was an advance without retreat. It is not a forced, automatic, vacillating advance, but a result of a firm, resolute and voluntary decision, the product of mature and conscious reflection.

The degree of the collaboration between Havana and Moscow has taken on ever greater intensity. The recent agreements signed in Moscow on 23 December 1972 by the secretary general of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and prime minister of Cuban Revolutionary Government, Fidel Castro, calling for the reconstruction of old textile plants and the building of new ones, the rebuilding and repair of the nickel plants, the building of a large mining-metallurgical complex in Punta Gorda and the modernization of railroad transportation, the joint construction of the large electrical plant on the Isle of Pines, the expansion of the oil refineries, the rebuilding of the ports of Havana and other cities,

the mechanization of sugar harvesting, including the construction of a cane harvesting machine assembly plant, as well as irrigation and land improvement projects, geological prospecting, building of a factory for the assembly of television and radio sets and the introduction of computer technology into the Cuban economy, etc., fully reveal the total surrender of the main means of production and the economy of Cuba to the Soviet Union. Naturally, this economic and technical support of Cuba by the Soviet Union is not based exclusively on the aforementioned doctrinary concepts as to the necessary collaboration among the countries of the socialist world, but basically takes into account the need to consolidate Cuba in a political and military way "as the bastion of communism in the western hemisphere." "One of the determining factors in Cuba's foreign security," Gorbachov says, "lies in the vast military aid it receives for the strengthening of its defense capacity, which exceeds the boundaries of purely economic relations, but substantially facilitates the solution of the priority economic tasks."[133]

89. Fidel Castro himself has recognized this situation recently, without circumlocution.

At the Fourth Conference of Nonaligned Countries held in the course of the month of September 1973 in Algiers, which was attended by delegations from almost 80 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, he said in the introduction to his speech: "I want to remind you that Cuba is a socialist, Marxist-Leninist country, whose final goal is communism. We are proud of this! Taking this concept of human society as our basis, we are establishing our national and international policies. We are above all loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and my words will be consistent with these ideas," etc.[134]

90. The past, present and future of Cuba, then, are irrevocably marked by communism, and the whole complex of deceptions and abjections inherent in it. It would be well to remember this. This Caribbean island has added to the power and mystic vitality of the system it has embraced the charismatic figure of a leader who has been able to project himself beyond frontiers, desirous of lighting the torch of communist revolution in all the countries of this hemisphere.

The first stage of this bonfire is made up of the acts of subversion and guerrilla warfare Cuba has projected upon Latin America. But history follows its course. Other stages have already begun to develop, and further new ones will without a doubt develop in the future, all of them consistent with the dauntless internal dynamics of communism and its plans for expansion and universal domination.

It was this first stage that led to a chain of explosions and insurrectional movements without precedent in all of Latin America, and therefore in Uruguay, as well, which is the main subject of this work. But one should not allow the details of this special type of subversive warfare in a given country to obscure from view the broader picture, on a world scale, in which such warfare is being and will continue to be waged everywhere, under the consistent and subtle auspices of communism and those who serve it.

In essence, it would be well to reiterate, the communist concept of the world and life, the communist Weltanschauung, involves seeing the non-communist world and man as enemies to the death, who must necessarily be "wasted" and destroyed. All of the communist relations with the non-communist countries comes down to a dark contest, without umpire or rules, for which the arena is our planet, and the goal victory for communism and its law, the law of the jungle. This and no other is the basic principle which governs the international relations of the communist world with the noncommunist world, which the latter, two times out of three, forget or has an inborn difficulty in understanding. As Kirkpatrick observed, "when there are basic principles and values in common, it is possible to appeal to "empathy" and intuition for an understanding of the conduct of others. When this is not the case, empathy, which is based on the projection of one's own feelings to others, represents a danger for the heedless, the source of the majority of the problems which occur in communications among different cultures."[135]

The consistency of communism with its own principles of philosophy, the internal force of this mystical-political system, its tenacity and refined aptitude for subterfuge and deceit thus regularly disorient its adversaries, but not the communists, who are perfectly clear about their goals and how to achieve them. All of the communist actions are dictated by the implacable struggle against the noncommunist world, by a true war to the death among antagonistic concepts, or as the communists themselves prefer to say, between the "communist world" and the "capitalist world," in which there are no substantial changes in orientation but only tactical variations.

At this point in time, and Latin American subversive experience provides irrefutable proof of this, no one can be unaware that the abandonment of the "cold war" (exacerbated in its day by the cynical slogan "better red than dead") is not due to any change in attitude on the part of the communist leaders, but to a simple change in tactics. As PRAVDA said in a highly controversial editorial, the policy of so-called "peaceful co-existence" has not eliminated "the basic conflict of our time: the conflict between socialism and capitalism," and those who hope it has deserve to be called "naive."

In the most categorical but also gloomiest fashion, Lenin asserted the absolute impossibility of reconciling the "two camps," imperialist and socialist, into which the world is divided, when he said: "So long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace: one or the other will triumph in the end; whether it be over the Soviet republic or over world capitalism, a funeral hymn will be intoned."[136]

The position of those who attempt to "smooth over" the ideological differences and "reconcile" the antagonistic economic concepts may in any case be an attitude of good faith, but it is entirely cancelled out by the same naivete or absolute lack of understanding of the reality and the plans and goals of the communists, when it is not a matter of maneuvers provoked by infiltrated communists themselves.



Soviet military aid to Cuba



"...those in the OAS who supported the plans of imperialism are outlaws...," said Fidel Castro. First page of the GRANMA Weekly Review, 8 October 1967

These are not idle reflections. On the contrary, they take on unaccustomed pertinence in circumstances in which the question of abandoning sanctions imposed on Cuba in 1964 for its acts of barefaced intervention in other American countries has been raised again, as we have had occasion to note previously.

When Cuba was expelled from the OAS, Castro publicly reviled that organization and the entire inter-American system as the final and most contemptible filth. Nonetheless, and by other means, he made a desperate effort to bring about the reversal of that decision, which limited and hindered the strategy of continental communist subversion.

The conference of the IILA held, by way of exception, in Punta del Este from 4 March 1974 on, with a large Cuban government delegation[137] and representatives of American governments participating in the rejected system attending, was another paragraph in a new chapter in the skillful and well coordinated communist maneuvers to effect rapprochement and to attempt to "break the ice," leading to the formal restatement of the right of Cuba to rejoin the OAS, based on an invocation of vague concepts of "solidarity and cooperation," "dialogue with the socialist countries" and "plurality of ideology,"[138] with an incredible effort to rely on some presumed "change of circumstances."[139] This appeal, which at the last moment proved fruitless, was taken up at the 15th Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of American Republics held in Quito in November of 1974, convoked under the TIAR [Inter-American Mutual Aid Treaty].[140] As the system of voting used by the TIAR (for imposing sanctions or approving any other decision) calls for a two-thirds majority,[141] the countries now supporting Cuba revived the frustrated effort by the indirect means of proposing an amendment to that system, calling for a simple majority instead of the two-thirds rule.

A new extraordinary assembly of the OAS was called to consider this proposal on 18 July 1975, and its final decision in favor of Cuba, in view of the background, was not difficult to predict.

As if Castro had changed his attitude toward communism, armed struggle and continental subversion, or abjured the solemn pledge to transform "the Andes mountain chain into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent."

To wait guilelessly for miracles to happen such as a reversal of the policy of the leadership in Havana, Moscow or Peking, the establishment of sincere relations and reasonable treaties which would be carried out in good faith, or a decrease in tyranny would mean plunging ever deeper into the trap set by the communists.

It is this kind of illusion, which has a resurgence every so often in the unwary and forgetful free society, of which precisely the communists make capital in their inexorable advance toward sanctions and conquests.[142]

As Fidel Castro says, the international policy of the socialist countries has communism as its final goal. It is communism which has kindled insurrection and revolt in all the noncommunist regions of the world, which provided weapons to the seditious groups which operate there, and it would be foolish to think that it will cease to be consistent with itself. When it fails to stir up or unleash insurgency it is either because it cannot, or because circumstantially it does not suit it to do so. But in the final analysis, it is communism which is the sole judge of its own strategy, communism which has the power and which provides the fuel.

For a long time, Cuban pipelines sent bulk fuel to Latin America. Uruguay is yet another example, presently and palpably, as this work demonstrates.

Some times Cuba activated the bomb with such enthusiasm that Moscow had to restrain it. It is logical that Castro would speculate and even use blackmail with a situation which to date has allowed him to rise above domestic economic chaos and subsist thanks to Soviet aid.

But the USSR, too, makes its calculations. The balance point is found by what this sponsorship of the Cuban "enfant terrible" costs and what it can hope in exchange for its investment to get out of Latin America, the coveted booty and strategic zone to which Cuba provides it with a secondary and discreet back door access.

Situations change, circumstances change. But this does not happen with the major guidelines of world policy, and the ideological, philosophical and strategic concepts on which they are based.

Thus the conditions of the guerrilla war and the revolution which Cuba has promoted and which reached their climax in the middle of the 1960's have been modified, as will be seen in the following chapter, but because of their results, not as a consequence of a change of policy.

This does not mean then, that either revolution or guerrilla warfare have been vanquished, nor that they had been excluded from the well stocked tactical arsenal of communist subversion.

Nor does it allow the expectation that Cuba will alter its policy in the future. On the contrary, everything suggests the conclusion that it may revive it at any moment, and that it is only waiting until the changing play of circumstances, or the domestic situation in a given country, proves auspicious, in order to do so.

In all those countries in which subversion and guerrilla warfare caught fire, hot ashes remain. Nothing more than fanning them would be needed to revive the flames. Cuba is only awaiting the opportunity and the orders of the USSR. No Latin American country can escape this fate, however developed it may be. Not even those which have already faced up to communist guerrilla warfare once, and won, Uruguay included, are immune.

The expulsion of Luis Fernandez Ojeda, head of the PRENSA LATINA Agency in Quito, in May of 1972, the Castro communist intervention in Chile and Uruguay, the pursuit by Cuban agents of subversive activities of interest to the USSR, but in which it does not wish to show its hand,[143] are unequivocal current evidence that the Castro attitude has not changed.

The "normalization" of diplomatic relations with the island of Cuba by other American countries, to which the current policy of detente would seemingly lead,[144] dispels any major doubts about the results of continental confraternity with Cuban-Soviet subversion, deriving from the double diplomat-spy roles played by the members of all the Cuban missions. As an astute commentary by a well known specialized publication observes, "this characteristic is the product of the 'new line' adopted by Cuba to carry forward the plans for penetration entrusted to it by Moscow, following the failure of the guerrilla forces, of which the most illustrious and tragic proponent was Ernesto "Che" Guevara, in Bolivia.[145]

It is not a matter of prophecy, but of a prediction fully based on the background examined thus far, which the near future will serve to confirm.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jaime Arenas, "With the Guerrillas. Origins of the National Liberation Army," Paris, 1972, Calman-Levy, pp 9 et seq.

2. Jean Larteguy, "The Guerrilla Fighters," Mexico, 1970, Diana Publishing House, S.A., pp 45, 46.

3. Vol II, Chapters I, 1, d, and V, Nos 675 et seq and 783 et seq.

4. According to the account given in 1965 by the Venezuelan Juan de Dios Marin, who escaped from Cuba after taking courses at this school, the main study text was the book by Bayo himself, entitled "One Hundred and Fifty Points a Guerrilla Fighter Should Know," in which, among other things, instructions were given on how to manufacture various types of incendiary and time bombs, traps, explosives, mines, bazookas, bangalore torpedos, etc.

5. Jacobo Arbenz, the former president of Guatemala ousted by a military coup headed by Castillo Armas, went into exile in Uruguay, from which he went in 1960 to Cuba to live. According to a Associated Press cable report datedlined Havana, 3 August of that year, he stated the following on his arrival; "Cuba can count on the support of all the peoples of Latin America and the world. Cuba is a star which shines in the awareness of the Latin American people." Arbenz was living in Uruguay and said that "there is there extraordinary support among the people for the Cuban revolution."

6. Quoted by Alejandro Rovira, "Illicit Organizations in Uruguayan Legislation," Montevideo, 1963, pp 312 et seq, Note 233.

7. See, in this same connection, the report drafted 3 years later following denunciations of the same kind by a similar commission, which investigated the allegations, and, in particular, the very prolix statement submitted to it by the former Castro agent and member of the Cuban revolutionary national militia, Venezuelan born Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel ("Subversion in Latin America," Miami, Florida, 1967, pp 46 et seq., published by the Iberian-American Federation of Publishing Houses).

8. As a general methodological clarification, it should be borne in mind that this individual identification having been given, it will not be repeated, on the assumption that it is known to the reader. In the eventuality that a name or pseudonym is forgotten, or in the event of an unsystematic reading of the text, the indices included at the end of the book should be consulted. The same suggestion is valid for the acronyms of organizations, institutions or associations, as well as the words or phrases with a special meaning which have already been defined.

9. The National Liberation Movement-Tupamaros.

10. Raul Sendic Antonaccio. Born in the department of Flores in 1925, of Serbo-Sicilian parentage, he was also known within the organization as "El Bebe," being one of the founders and principal leaders of the MLN-T. A law student and attorney, he was a member of the PS, which he abandoned when the old guard of Emilio Frugoni, the founder of that party in 1910, broke away in 1950, being replaced by the faction headed by Vivian Trias, a socialist leader influenced by the Castro movement and by the Argentine exile Jorge Abelardo Ramos, in whose works Trotskyite and Peronist influences are mingled. Arrested in May of 1962, Sendic regained his freedom, publishing a number of articles in the pro-Chinese Montevideo daily EPOCA (Epoch), on the subject of his arrest, in particular one entitled "Waiting for the Guerrilla Fighter," in which, disillusioned by the uselessness of the efforts to win satisfaction of the workers' demands by peaceful means, he urges the need to achieve them by means of weapons and revolutionary violence. He then joined the workers in the northern part of the country, "islets of the rural proletariat," settled around the sugarbeet, rice and sugarcane plantations, and popularly called "peludos" (armadillos). After organizing the sugarbeet workers of Paysandu and the sugarcane workers in Salto he established the UTAA [Artigas Sugar Workers Union] among the workers supplying the Cainsa enterprise in the Bella Union zone in the northern part of this latter department, among whom he settled and worked. In 1962 he organized the first "cane cutters march" on

Montevideo, in which the workers and their families walked the more than 600 kilometers from Artigas to the capital of the country, as a means of calling attention to the living conditions under which they suffered, and demanding the expropriation of land belonging to poorly or totally unexploited estates existing in the northern department so they could work it. Already embarked on the path of armed struggle, he directed the attack on the Swiss Gun Club in the Department of Colonia (July 1963), from which weapons were stolen. He participated in another weapon theft from the Bella Union Customs Office, and later, when the existence of the MLN-T had become notorious, he participated in the attacks on the San Rafael Casino and the Naval Training Center. He was arrested but took part in the leadership of the activities of the terrorist organizations from the prison to which he was confined, along with other members of seditious groups, and he effected his escape with many of these, eventually leading columns in the interior during the "Tatu Plan." He had surgery done while in hiding in Paysandu, changing his appearance, but at the end of September 1972 he was again arrested in Montevideo, etc. He traveled to France in 1958, where he represented the PS at the international socialist congress held that year in Paris, and to Cuba in 1960, which was where he made the decision to organize the farm workers of the north following the Brazilian example of Francisco Juliao. He went to Cuba again, incognito, at the time of the LASO Conference in 1967. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the seditious organization, of which he was one of the mainstays. An adamant partisan of world struggle, he traveled through the interior of the country and the Argentine coastal zone. He was always a proponent of "line H," of harassment and harshness toward the armed forces, etc. A major propaganda effort, including the campaign by Mario Benedetti, also a member of the Tupamaros subversive organization, and the French-born pro-Tupamaros writer Alain Labrousse, among others, attempted to depict him, domestically and internationally, as "the symbol of a change."

11. Jorge Amilcar Manera Lluberas. He also answered to the pseudonym "El Inge," and like the preceding individual, was a veteran member of the MLN-T, and intensively active within its ranks. When sentenced to the Punta Carretas prison, he was one of the inspirations for and authors of the escape plans, which they succeeded in carrying out due to the disastrous state of the prison, as well as a number of studies on weapons, explosives, communications and organizational services in general. Having escaped from the prison, he directed the Caraguata installations, and participated in the repair and adaptation of weapons, producing a type of homemade grenade and a kind of small recoilless gun which he called "T-zero." He was a part of the column 45 service command, and for a time was a battle comrade of "Cecilia," etc.

12. Jorge Pedro Zabalza Waksman. The son of former Senator Pedro Zabalza, of the majority faction of the National Party headed by former Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, he joined the MLN-T after the death of Guevara, whose group in Bolivia he thought of joining while he was in Cuba. He returned to the country to travel through the interior in the company of Sendic, and to teach training courses. Arrested, he escaped with other members of the seditious group and joined the leadership of the 20-North column in Paysandu. Arrested again, he again escaped, being assigned to serve in the general command in the interior, where he was in charge of columns 23 and 24, etc.

13. Jessie Arlette Machi Torres. She was a member of the MLN-T in which she was assigned command responsibility in the interior. She traveled to Cuba and on her return carried out minor commissions in the spa sector of the department of Canelones. After being arrested, she escaped from the women's prison with other members of the seditious movement, but was arrested again. A physically attractive woman, her presence in the organization gave rise to frequent conflicts in terms of human relations, etc.

14. As will be seen later on, the first direct relations between the government of Cuba and Uruguayan seditious organization were formalized toward the middle of 1968, when that organization had already gained notoriety and the possibility of deriving benefit from its increasing guerrilla activity became evident to Castro.

15. Reference to the members of the seditious group who, arrested under the regime of emergency measures, chose, on the basis of the applicable constitutional norm, to leave the country, going in almost all cases to Chile, from which they then returned secretly, etc. (See, in this connection, Vol II, "The Political Process," Chapter I, 4, Meeting of the Armed Forces High Command with the Joint Commanders in Chief, Nos 698 and 699, item 6).

16. Luis Ricardo Garcia Quaglia. Also known as "Santiago." A member of the MLN-T and a native of Soriano, he traveled to Chile and from there to Cuba, returning secretly to Uruguay at the beginning of 1972, on which occasion he joined column 25.

17. Raul Benito Hernandez Torres, also went to Cuba. On his return to the country, he was arrested in the hideout of the seditious group on Emilio Rana Street in Montevideo. The leadership of the MLN-T planned to use him as the pilot of the plane the movement owned, for which reason he was sent to Cuba for special training.

18. Vladimir Sawchuk Swed. Very skillful with this hands, he participated in the preparation of many of the materials for communications purposes the subversive group had. Assigned to the interior column, he traveled to the department of Salto after escaping from the Punta Carretas prison, joining the group operating in the Dayman hills and collaborating in the training of participants in the "Tatu Plan."

19. Rodebel Cabrera Britos, also known as "Tito," a man enjoying the personal confidence of Sendic, belonged to column 25, operating in the Mercedes zone, where he was born. Using the special training he had acquired in Cuba, the organization intended to establish a radio broadcasting station in the interior.

20. Pedro Ignacio Dubra Diaz. Also known as "Nicolas." The son of a former PS leader, former deputy and defense lawyer for members of the seditious groups, Arturo Dubra Naranjo. Arrested in August of 1968, he managed to escape from the hospital where he was being treated for wounds he suffered in the accident thanks to which he was arrested. Rearrested in December of that same year, he escaped from the Punta Carretas prison with other members of the seditious group on 6 September 1971, during the "Abuse" (the escape was so called by the prisoners because of the large number of escapees -- 111), and became active in the interior. In Cuba he established a close friendship with "Nelly," whose comrade he was. Within the organization he was considered dangerous and somewhat unstable, etc.

21. Marcos Mauricio Rosencoff Silberman. Also known in the seditious movement by the nickname "El Pelado" and "Caruso." A journalist, he was a member of the UJC [Union of Communist Youth], from which he went on to join the MLN-T. He traveled to Cuba in the middle of 1971 and in April of 1972; and to Chile, to arrange with former President Allende the details of freeing the British ambassador, Geoffrey Jackson, who had been kidnapped by the organization in January of 1971, and whose release was being negotiated through the former Chilean president, on which occasion "Leonel" took the opportunity to meet with the members of the MLN-T residing in that country. He worked in the eastern political sector, column 70, the 26 March Movement, and on the daily newspaper and periodical of the organization, LA IDEA, with Washington Fernandez, with whom he reached an agreement, and CUESTION, respectively. He attended to the publicity affairs and political relations with the PCU, the UP, headed by former Senator Enrique Erro and the FA. Until the creation of the secretariat, he was in charge of the CAI [Committee for International Affairs]. He drafted the majority of the communiques, proclamations,

letters, etc., issued by the MLN-T, and also was the author of the interview in the "Report to Urbano" published in GRANMA in October of 1970 by Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo. He was also one of the main interrogators of those who were kidnapped by the seditious organization, etc.

22. Americo Rocco Barraneche. A student leader in the Faculty of Architecture, he joined column 15. He was arrested and released to go to Chile, from which country he traveled to Cuba along with his wife, "Flora." In that country he enrolled in intelligence courses. On his return, he was assigned to column 70, etc.

23. Walter Sanzo Biachi. He also went by the nickname "Argibaldo." A turner and a mechanic by profession, he was sent to Cuba by seditious organizations to look into the possibility of producing a machinegun, in the simplest possible form, in a secret MLN-T workshop.

24. Liber Fernando de Lucia Grajales. Also known as "Alvaro." A member of the MLN-T, he drafted the plans and drawings in the group for which his brother, known as "Raul" or "El Caqui," was responsible. His trip to Cuba was arranged by the organization so that he could specialize in counterfeiting currency.

25. A concealed hiding place in houses, cellars, basements, furniture or elsewhere in which persons, papers, things, materials and weapons were concealed by the organization. A "berreta," from the word "berretin," is by extension the site or place serving as a secret hideout or refuge for the members of the organization.

26. Jorge Becca Tessa. Dentist. Also known as "El Chiquito" and "El Petiso," he was a member of an MLN-T action group in column 15. Arrested under the emergency measures, he chose, as did the great majority of the members of the seditious group arrested under these conditions, to leave the country for Chile, from which he returned secretly in the middle of 1971, to join the command of the 30-South column and "Collar." He participated in the Soca action and in other operations carried out by the seditious organization. He was entrusted with transmitting the order to assassinate Lt Commander Ernesto Motto to Leonel Martinez Platero, alias "Emilio," or "Leandro," etc.

27. Alberto Tetti Izquierdo. Also known as "Alfredo," he was a veteran member of the military sector of the MLN-T and one of those mainly responsible for the escape from Punta Carretas, and a member of the military command of column 10.

28. Pablo Ricardo Blanco Mazzara. A professor biology, known variously as "Gervasio," he was one of those who went to Chile and from there to Cuba.

29. Emilia Martha Carlevaro, a medical student, wife of "Nino" and sister of Pablo Carlevaro Botero, dean of the faculty of medicine.

30. Yanduy Miguel Cabrera Sureda. A member of the MLN-T, he remained "buried" (hidden) in "La Estrella" for a long time, and then became a member of column 26, after the reverses suffered by the organization in the Dolores zone.

31. Pablo Martin Harari Dubinsky. On his return from Cuba, he joined column No 15. The brother of "Omar," another member of the MLN-T since its early days, who participated in numerous actions; and son of Jose Harari, attorney, known in the organization as "El Viejo Harari," who as its representative played a role of certain importance in the founding of the FA and the 26 March Movement, being said to be the author of the thesis called "Double Power," to which the internal documents of the MLN-T refer.

32. Antonio Tomas Marmol Suarez. Situation analogous to that described in footnote 26.

33. Jorge Bernardo Ramada Piendibeni. Student union leader. On his return to Cuba, he was assigned to column 70.

34. Julia Nelly Armand Ugon Courdin. Arrested and released to go to Chile, from which country he went to Cuba, where she established a link with "Nacho." On her return she was assigned to column 21, in Treinta y Tres, being arrested in the department of Flores, shortly after, etc.

35. A member of the PS, a teacher by profession, residing in the department of Treinta y Tres.

36. Another member of the PS.

37. A member, like the preceding individuals, of the PS.

38. The statement by Manuel Toledo is sufficiently explicit about all these matters.

39. "Mariano" or "Martin."

40. Also known as "El Vasco Veitias." "Veitias," coincidentally, is mentioned by the majority of the members of the seditious groups who traveled to Cuba, as the man responsible for welcoming them and making the initial and final contacts, from their arrival to their departure; something like a welcoming and liaison agent between the members of the Uruguayan seditious groups and the Cuban authorities.

41. Statement by Jorge Amilcar Manera Lluberas.

42. Statement by Jessie Arlette Machi Torres.

43. Luis Nelson Martirena Fabregat, alias "Raul," who was affiliated with Cuba through the Cuban Embassy in Montevideo and Prensa Latina in Uruguay, in which office he worked (see No 82 below).

44. Lucas Victor Edmundo Mansilla Calleros, alias "Marcelo," "Eliseo" or "El Negro Eliseo," MLN-T leader.

45. Statement by Marcos Mauricio Rosencoff.

46. Adolfo Wassen Alaniz, MLN-T leader.

47. Statement by Marcos Mauricio Rosencoff.

48. Statement by Adolfo Wassen Alaniz.

49. Statement quoted.

50. Noel Viana.

51. Samuel Blixen Garcia, also known as "Bolita."

52. Statements by the following, in order: Pablo Ricardo Blanco Mazzara, Yanduy Miguel Cabrera Sureda, Americo Rocco Barreneche, Samuel Blixen Garcia, Julia Nelly Armand Ugon Courdin and Luis Ricardo Garcia Quaglia.

53. Member of an MLN-T military group.

54. The alias of Efrain Martinez Platero.

55. Statement by Giocondo Antonio Ravagnolo Garassin.

56. Communiques from the Joint Commanders in Chief dated 7 November 1974.

57. Reference to the Fourth Conference of Nonaligned Countries scheduled to be held in Algiers in the month of September of that same year, 1973.

58. "White Paper on the Change of Government in Chile," 11 September 1973, Lord Cochrane Publishing House, S.A., Santiago, 1973, pp 101, 102.

59. Op. cit., pp 21 et seq.

60. Ibid., pp 31 et seq and 41 to 50, etc.

61. Robert Moss, "The Chilean Marxist Experiment," Santiago de Chile, 1974, Gabriela Mistral National Publishing House, Ltd., translation by Raul Pinto-Cortinez, pp 223, 224.

62. Daniel Viglietti, a member of column 1 and an MLN-T action group, whose services with seditious organizations were most clearly seen in the music field, particularly the "Songs of Protest" he composed and interpreted, becoming widely known. In "A Desalambrar" [Taking Down the Fences], he sang of agrarian reform; in "Cruz de Luz" [Cross of Light] of Camilo Torres; and in "El Hombre Nuevo" [The New Man], of the revolution. One of his records was dedicated to Jorge Salerno, who died in the early days of October 1969 when the Ernesto Che Guevara command of the MLN-T carried out the Pando action, etc.

63. Published initially in Buenos Aires, Schapire Publishers, written by "Mauricio" or "El Nato," the pseudonym of the insurgent Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro, also the author of other major MLN-T documents, such as "Document 4" (along with "Sebastian"), the "Plan Collar," "Foco y Partido" [Focus and Party], "Carta del Nato a la Parda" [Letter from Nato to Parda], "Plan 72," etc., written in the Punta Carreta prison. Making stylistic corrections and a clear copy of the "Actas Tupamaras" was entrusted to Cecilio, the alias of another insurgent, Sarandy Cabrera, who was responsible for having it published in Buenos Aires, and during a trip to Italy, he sold the right to a Rome publishing house, etc.

64. Reference to the book by Alain Labrousse, "Los Tupamaros, Guerrilla Urbana en Uruguay" [The Tupamaros -- Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Uruguay], published in Argentina at the end of 1970, and in France in 1971.

65. Reference to the film "Tupamaros," by Juan Lindquist first shown at the end of 1973 in New York, and exhibited in May of 1974 at the anti-imperialist film festival in Royan, France, in which, on the basis of interrogations recorded by members of the seditious group with the murdered Dan A. Mitrione, the British ambassador Jackson, and Pereira Reverbel, an effort was made to present the subversive organization as made up of persons of great intelligence and humanity, not only because they were shown as having treated these kidnapped victims kindly, but because, as Oliva said, they were "honorable and very moral, since they were not motivated, according to Jackson, by a desire for profit. A very romantic touch which the family of Mitrione will doubtless not appreciate." "The film was made working very closely with the Tupamaros group, which not only provided the secret material but later helped in smuggling the film for exhibition outside the country involved." (Alberto R. Oliva, ABC de las Americas (ABC of the Americas), No 69, New York, January 1974,p 53, column 3). With an inclination as different as it was devoid of information about the real national situation, the periodical CAHIERS DU CINEMA

[Cinema Notebooks] called this film an "exceptional document" in which "various attitudes (seditious and official) on the domestic situation in Uruguay and the forms of popular resistance are placed in opposition" (periodical referred to, May 1974, No 250, Paris). Along with "Tupamaros," "Septiembre Chileno" [Chilean September] was also exhibited at the Royan festival. This film was made by Bruno Muel and Theo Robichet, who won the Jean Vigo prize, and which took the same tack to discredit the present Chilean government in the eyes of a misinformed international public, presenting that country and its people as "martyrs" of military oppression, in a context of supposed horrors, etc.

66. "Uruguay -- Y Ahora Que?" [Uruguay -- What Now?], CUADERNOS DE CRISIS [Notebooks of Crisis], Northeast Publishing House, S.A.I.C.I., Buenos Aires, 1974. This book includes statements and/or notes by Jorge Duran Mattos, Sergio Lujan Silveyra, Zelmar Michelini, Gerardo Gatti, Carlos Martinez Moreno, Ruben Sassano, Liber Seregni, Carlos Parteli, Enrique Rodriguez, Hector Rodriguez, Daniel Viglietti, Washington Benavidez, Carlos Maria Gutierrez, Idea Vilarino, Alfredo Zitarrosa, Mario Benedetti, Carlos Quijano, Enrique Erro, Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, William P. Thompson, and other cryptocommunists using the World Council of Churches as their disguise (who visited Uruguay from 10 to 14 June 1972), the CNT [National Convention of Workers], the FA, MARCHA, the Tupamaros, etc. Also designed to discredit the government, the armed forces and the country, was the article by Tabare Bertali, "L'Uruguay, ou la Descente Progressive aux Enfers" [Uruguay, or the Gradual Descent to Hell], in the ICI [International Catholic News], Paris, March 1975, No 475, pp 17 et seq., etc.

67. Luis Mercier Vega, "Mechanism of Power in Latin America," Chapter IV, "Foreign Pressures, Anti-imperialism as a Pretext and a Problem," Buenos Aires, 1967, Sur, pp 121 and 122.

68. More extensive references will be found in Chapter IV, 3, "Chronological Survey of the Main Latin American Events Which, in a General Fashion, It Would Be Well to Bear in Mind with Regard to the Events Occurring Outside Uruguay in the Period Under Study."

69. End of December 1961.

70. 26 July 1963 and 1 May 1965.

71. 26 July 1966.

72. 11 February 1961.

73. 26 July 1966 and 26 July 1967.

74. 26 July 1965.

75. 16 January 1963 and 26 July of that same year.

76. 13 March 1967.

77. 26 July 1966.

78. 26 July 1960. Referring to this statement, Nicolas Rivero, who served as the Cuban foreign relations minister, said: "I wondered how many nations in the western hemisphere, peoples and governments, would succeed in understanding the significance of that bold confession. Here was the true meaning, the most serious threat of Castro's revolution; it meant something more than communism in Cuba; its final goal was the Sovietization of the hemisphere."

79. 20 January 1961.

80. 2 January and 13 March 1967.

81. Chapter III, "Guerrilla Warfare, Tactical Tool."

82. 2 September 1960, 4 February 1962, 26 July 1964, 1, 4 and 28 May, 19 April, 26 July and 14 November 1967.

83. 2 September 1960, 26 July and 2 December 1965, and to that which the textbooks of the Cuban literacy brigades defined as an "organization made up of miserable American states, along with their oppressor, the United States of America..."

84. 4 and 28 May and 16 June 1965.

85. 16 June and 26 July 1965.

86. 4 May 1965.

87. 16 June 1965.

88. 2 February 1962.

89. 16 June 1965.

90. 16 June 1965.

91. 16 June 1965.

92. 26 July 1964, 4 May 1965 and 13 March 1967.

93. 2 February 1962.

94. 13 March and 26 July 1966.

95. 16 June 1965.

96. 2 February 1962, 26 July 1964 and 19 April 1967.

97. 26 July 1970.

98. SUPRA, "Courses Offered in Cuba to Members of the MLN-T," No 35.

99. Alain Labrousse, "The Tupamaros," Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1971, p 133, quoted.

100. Concerning the "popular fronts," see paragraph 188, below. With regard to the significance and functions attributed to the FA by the communists, see the book by Rodney Arismendi, "The Uruguayan Revolution in the Hour of the Broad Front," Montevideo, 1971, Ediciones Pueblos Unidos [United People's Publishing House], in which the communist leader, reiterating well known views, pressingly urged the development of the National Liberation Democratic Front, on the basis of a union of the proletariat, the peasantry and the middle, urban and rural strata, "the only forces of the great masses of people capable, in their unity and through their combativity, of carrying out the revolution in any country, under any circumstances... We should regard the Broad Front as the real, authentic life of approximation to revolution," and as a tool making it possible to achieve the basic goal of winning government power..., etc. (Op. cit., pp 20, 93 and 94).

101. Arismendi (whose full name is Tibaldo Rodney Arismendi Mattos Carrasco, and to whom numerous references will be found farther on) has played an outstanding role as a foreground figure in domestic and international communism. The unconditional and malleable tool of Moscow, his record includes no fewer than 70 trips to the communist world, and especially to the USSR, where he is highly regarded. At the LASO Conference, of which he was vice president, it fell to him to play a major role as a neutralizing buffer in the harsh tug of war which occurred between the Soviets, who were not prepared to abandon either the general strategy or their control over the Latin American revolution, and the Castro movement, at that time enjoying the full euphoria of guerrilla virulence. In 1969, he gave the closing address at the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, where he sat on a platform surrounded by the cream of Soviet and world leadership -- Kirilenko, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Podgornyy, Suslov, Ponomarev and the delegation of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1970, he celebrated 20 years as a legislator in the Chamber of Representatives, of which he was a member as chief executive of the PCU. When this body and the PCU were dissolved in 1973, he went underground, being arrested toward the end of 1974 while he was holding a secret meeting, disguised with a

wig and false beard. Released in the early months of 1975, he went directly to the USSR, from which country he issued angry statements against Uruguay, its government and the military authorities. From there he traveled to the Iron Curtain countries and Cuba. At the end of May 1975, the Carabineers Force made public some passages of a letter he sent to other PCU leaders, informing them of the intensive work he was doing to sabotage the country. In that letter the first secretary of the PCU reminded his correspondents in fact that there was in effect a decision committing all the communist parties of the world to an attempt to paralyze trade relations between the socialist countries and the western countries, in general, with Uruguay, establishing a kind of international trade and political blockade. He said, in addition, that attacks and pressure against the republic by the international workers organizations, such as the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions], its affiliates, and other organizations, etc., would be increased. Without any doubt whatsoever, Arismendi is among those mainly responsible for the communist advance and treason in Uruguay.

102. Santiago de Chile, 3 December 1971.

103. Lima, 4 December 1971.

104. TRICONTINENTAL, No 32, September-October 1972, pp 135 et seq.

105. The International Organization of Journalists is another major communist front organization, created in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1946. That IOJ Congress in Havana was attended, as delegates from Uruguay, by Carlos Borche and Dolores Castillo Diaz, both of the Uruguayan Press Association.

106. Among the other delegates attending from Uruguay was Blanca Travieso de Maggio.

107. Delegates from Uruguay attending the Latin American Youth Congress in Santiago (9-14 March 1964) included Guillermo Bodner Paleeff, of the UJC; Juan Carlos Camora Gascon, of the UNTMRA [National Union of Metallurgical and Related Workers]; Milton de Martini Ferrari, of the JS [Socialist Youth]; Hermes V. Gadda Ramirez, of the CTU [Uruguayan Workers Center]; Juan Alberto Gonzalez Lopez, of the ADEOM [Association of Municipal Employees and Workers]; Leon Lev Poniachyk, of the FEUU; Manuel Lopez Terra, of the SUGU [Single Union of Food and Restaurant Workers]; Mirta Martin Machado, of the SUA; Carlos Milano Arriaga, of the MRO; Omar Mir Silva, of the CTU; Luis Nadales Devita, of the FOL [Federation of Wool Workers]; Guarani Pereda da Rosa, of the FEUU; Juan Hugo Rodriguez Diaz, of the ADEOM; and Walter Sanseviero Napoli, of the UJC. Also attending as "fraternal" delegates were Guadimiro Rancano Lopez and Francisco Lopez Dias, both of the Spanish Guard; Domingo Martinez Cela, Carlos Espinola Baruchi, Alberto Garin Sper and Guillermo A. Rallo Corral, all four of the Youth Committee of Friends of EPOCA; and as observers, Daniel Dans Leira and Vicente Rubino Puig, of the PCB [Batllist Colorado Party], Lista (Lift) 99.

108. Later released, he went to Moscow to live.

109. The immediate background for the Tricontinental Conference included the conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, in April 1955, under the auspices of Red China, and attended by 29 countries in Asia and Africa; the Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Moshi, Tanganyika, in February of 1963 (which was where, on the initiative of Cuba, the concept of extending the activities of the OSPAA [Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization] to Latin America as well was crystallized); and the Fourth Conference of the OSPAA held in Accra, Ghana, in May of 1965, at which the decision to hold the First Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the course of the next year, 1966, in Havana, was made.

110. Luis Pedro Bonavita (president of the FIDEL); Rodney Arismendi (first secretary of the PCU, of the FIDEL); Edmundo Soares Netto (FIDEL); Blanca Sylvia Collazo (FEUU); Luis Echave (FEUU); Cesar Reyes Daglio (of the official daily organ of the PCU, EL POPULAR); Ricardo Saxlund (of that same newspaper); Manrique Salaverry (of the pro-Chinese daily EPOCA); and Carlos Nunez (of the pro-communist weekly MARCHA, and a member of the MLN-T).

111. Alliance for Progress.

112. International Monetary Fund.

113. European Common Market.

114. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

115. Economic Commission for Latin America.

116. Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization.

117. Issue dated 6 May 1967.

118. The First Latin American Students Congress (I CLAE) was held in Montevideo in 1955; the second, in Santiago de Chile in 1956 (it established an office for permanent contact among all the Latin American student groups, the OREL; the third congress was held in Caracas in September of 1959 (at which it was agreed that the OREL would function through three secretaries assigned to three student unions in different countries); and the fourth congress was held in Natal, Brazil, in October of 1961. However, since the results of this last congress (at which denunciations were also formulated against the USSR expansionist policy, and the dictatorships, both on the continent and elsewhere, and Cuba was rebuked for the executions and urged to release hundreds of students who had been imprisoned, etc.) did not favor communist interests, it was decided to ignore it. For this reason the Havana Congress of 1966 was not

called the fifth as it should have been, but the Fourth CLAE, etc. As to the "demands" of the Third Congress, it is clear that they ignored the communist methods established in Castro's Cuba since the beginning, and unchanged after almost 15 years. (See in this connection the book by Juan A. Fernandez Pellicer, "Asi Marcha Cuba" [So Goes Cuba]; "Reflections on the Reestablishment of Relations with Fidel Castro's Cuba," ESTE Y OESTE [East and West], October-November 1975, No 180, p 19, etc.

119. From the pamphlet "What is the LASO?" printed in Havana in 1966 and later widely disseminated and discussed in all the countries of Latin America prior to the holding of the conference.

120. Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement.

121. Socialist Party. Lawyer, university comrade of Sendic. He taught clandestine classes on party organization, pyramidal functioning, compartmentalization and the use of pseudonyms for the training of the action groups of that party. He maintained relations with the MLN-T and provided cover for "Isabel," with whom he worked, etc.

122. United People's Movement.

123. Maldonado Popular Unitarian Group.

124. Workers Central Committee.

125. Carlos Nunez was a member of the MLN-T, as we have already said, in which he was an active propagandist, publishing a number of works and numerous journalistic commentaries on the organization and its activities. At the beginning of 1972, he was a member of the secretariat, in charge of a group of editors of CORREO TUPAMARO [Tupamaro Post], a publication which the organization had decided to put out every 2 weeks, etc. Carlos Maria Gutierrez was also one of the main editors of the weekly MARCHA, in which he published a large number of articles of support and solidarity with the MLN-T and its activities, as he did in periodicals and daily newspapers in Cuba and other countries. Linked with Fidel Castro, he was a supporter of the Chinese Communist line, etc. Concerning the weekly MARCHA, see "Communism in Uruguay," Buenos Aires, 1969, YPP Publishing House, pp 22 et seq., 57, 100, etc., and Chapter V, 2, k, Nos 177 et seq. Many of the articles by Nunez and Gutierrez are quoted farther on.

126. This resolution refers to the "portentous battles launched in Nancahuazu" and the "victorious emergence" of guerrilla warfare in Bolivia, which "created new conditions for the struggle of the peoples of all of Latin America," but indicatively, it omits any reference to Guevara, who had been in that country since the preceding year organizing the guerrilla groups and maintaining contact with Castro.

127. Orlando Contreras Castro, Chilean. Subordinate to the Buenos Aires Prensa Latina office, the local agency was controlled by the DEGN, a corporation headed by Edmundo Soares Netto, a FIDEL leader, and also including Jacques Albelda, Eduardo Lima, Sergio Ibarburu Cedres and Ariel Martirena. In addition to Contreras Castro, the Uruguayan director of Prensa Latina, collaborators included Alfredo Jose Gabriel Munoz Unsain, Julio Santiago Villegas Piaggio, Luis Nelson Martirena Fabregat, Carlos Nunez, Carlos Maria Gutierrez, Marcos Gabay Yafe, Jorge Onetti Onetti, Maruja Echegoyen, Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, Lyllyan Garcia Nunez, Gerardo Felix Inchausti Picco, Walter Machado, and Marcelo Alex Ravoni. This last individual served as the Prensa Latina correspondent and agent in Uruguay with relation to Prensa Latina in Havana, etc.

128. Among the other Latin American countries participating in this trend, one might mention Argentina, with the "Cine Liberacion" [Liberation Films] group, made up of the previously mentioned director-ideologist, Fernando Solanas, Gerardo Vallejo and Octavio Getino, who produced the film "La Hora de los Hornos" [The Hour of the Furnaces]; Bolivia, with the Ukamau group, which included director Sangines, cameraman Eguino, producer Rada and scriptwriter Oscar Soria, producers of the film "Yawar Mallku"; Brazil, with the so-called "Group of Four," made up of Glauber Rocha, Nelson Pereira do Santos, Anselmo Duarte and Antonio Magalhaes, producers of "Que Sabroso Era Mi Francesito" [How Delightful Was My Little French Friend], "Pagador de Promesas" [Keeper of Promises] and "Antonio das Mortes"; and also the Brazilian film "El Caso de los Hermanos Naves" [The Case of the Naves Brothers], a criticism of police abuse; Chile, with the "Chile Films" group; Mexico, with the "Cine Independiente de Mexico" [Independent Films of Mexico]; and Peru, with the film by Robles Godoy entitled "Muralla Verde" [Green Rampart], etc. Of the European countries, we should mention France, where the leftist film maker Costa Gavras produced the films "Z" (with the equally leftist script writer Jorge Semprun), a criticism of dictatorship in a Greek context; "La Confesion" [The Confession], on the subject of the notorious Prague trial; and "Estado de Sitio" [State of Siege], filmed in Chile under the Allende regime (with the Argentine script writer Franco Salinas), concerning the Tupamaros and the assassination of Dan A. Mitrione, played by the French communist actor Yves Montand, in which an attempt was made to ridicule the Armed Forces of Uruguay and to censure the United States for intervention in the domestic affairs of the democratic countries, etc.

129. See PARTISANS, Nos 36, February-March 1967, Theater and Politics, particularly the articles by A. Loumatcharskiy and R. G. Davies, "Art and Revolution" and "The Guerrilla Theater," respectively, as well as the bibliographical references at the end, and 47, April-May 1969, etc.

130. Article 2 of Law No 901, referred to above.

131. The work "Los Guerrilleros" [The Guerrilla Fighters] by the Uruguayan Hiber Conteris Sardo, which won a Casa de las Americas prize in January of 1965, is an example. Another example is "La Guerrilla Tupamara" [The Tupamaros Guerrilla War], published by the MARCHA library, Deposition Collection, No 7, by Maria Esther Gilio, one of the lawyers for the members of the seditious group, who won the international Casa de las Americas prize in one of these competitions. This writer's link with the Tupamaros is seen not only in the content of the book, which is definite in praise of the seditious movement, but also the dedication which appeared at the beginning of the French edition: "To all of our dead: Jorge Salerno, Mario Rovaina, Carlos Flores, Fernan Pucurull, Indalecio Olivera, Alfredo Cultelli, Ricardo Zabalza." ("La Guerrilla Tupamara," Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1972). In no part of this book is there a single word reflecting the slightest sensitivity concerning the agents of public order assassinated in infamous fashion by the members of this seditious group. Another example is the book by Filomena Grieco and Carlos Rovira, the parents of the insurgent Horacio Carlos Rovira Grieco, called "Uruguay, Viernes 14 de Abril de 1972" [Uruguay, Friday, 14 April 1972], Havana, 1973, which won honorable mention in the Casa de las Americas prize collection, and in which the authors undertake to denounce "the state of repression prevailing in Uruguay."

132. Chapter IV, "Events," 3, chronological survey of the most important events, No 150.

133. Boris Gorbachov, "Cuba and Socialist Integration," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 3, 1973 (C).

134. GRANMA, 8 September 1973.

135. In the introduction to the study by Charles Burton Marshall, "The United States and the USSR in the UN," op cit., p 506.

136. Quoted by Elliot R. Goodman, "Soviet Plan for a World State," op cit., Chapter VI, "Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence," p 206.

137. Attending this meeting as representatives of Cuba were Mario Fernandez Font, minister of foreign trade, ambassador Vilaseca Forne, delegate to the IILA, Rafael Nenez Cuesta, director of International Bodies at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Oscar Pino Santos, director of the National Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Collaboration, Miguel Vazquez Montes de Oca, head of the American Department at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Orlando Echeverria Fiol, alternate delegate to the IILA, Enrique Serrano Avila, department head in the International Bodies Division of the MINREX, Damian Arteaga Hernandez, Nelson Dominguez Moreira and Jose Oquendo Asuncion, a specialist in trade policy.

138. Declaration on Principles Pertaining to Relations Among the American States, approved by the General Assembly of the OAS on 15 April 1973.

139. This is the justification given as a basis for the petitions submitted on 6 September 1974 to the OAS by the governments of Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela, urging the convocation of a meeting of foreign ministers to serve as an advisory body on the implementation of the TIAR, "so that this meeting, taking the change of circumstances existing in 1964 into account," could rule "on the desirability of annulling the provisions of Resolution I of the 9th Advisory Meeting."

140. Inter-American Mutual Aid Treaty, signed at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace and Security on the Continent held in Rio de Janeiro from 15 August to 2 September 1947.

141. Articles 17 and 19.

142. The Joint Commanders in Chief were categorical when, referring implicitly to the initiative mentioned, they concluded that "the conditions justifying the removal of the sanctions imposed do not exist," etc. (communiques dated 7 November 1974, quoted).

143. This was the case with the Cuban pilots of the jet planes belonging to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the instructors of the crews of the Mig planes in Syria, the drivers of the Arab tank brigade in the last Arab-Israeli confrontation, also Cuban, the intensive Cuban-Soviet subversion in Equatorial Guinea, the former Spanish colony on the Muni River, directed by the Cuban ambassador, Luis Gonzalez Marturelos, heading a team of some hundreds of "diplomats," etc.

144. Public opinion is constantly confronted with confusion with regard to the real Castro communist danger, with news reports designed solely to lull it to sleep. A recent example of this is the statement by the U.S. Senator George McGovern, carried in a cable report by the Associated Press on 15 August 1975, according to which Castro had recognized "that he was mistaken when he rejected withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba in 1962," during the October crisis. "Had my view prevailed," Castro said, according to the senator, "a terrible war might have been unleashed. I was mistaken."

145. "Diplomaticos o Espias Cubanos?" [Cuban Diplomats or Spies?], ESTE Y OESTE, March-April 1975, No 183, p 21.

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III. Guerrilla Warfare, a Tactical Tool

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GUERRILLA WARFARE, A TACTICAL TOOL

1. War and Peace

91. The guerrilla is possibly the most ancient form of struggle known to man in which war is wrested from the hands of professionals by sectors of the population. Today it has become one of the most modern methods of waging war as a generalized social phenomenon within the real or apparent state of "peace" in which the world lives.

In the "peace" contemporarily achieved by a balance of "mutual terror," the hope for a rapid and splendid victory with all its excitement, as Winston Churchill said, "is today prevented by an initial period of anxiety which neither of the two parties can prevent. It must seem very sad to the moralists that peace cannot find more noble foundations than mutual terror. However," concludes the British statesman, "for my part I would remain happy if those foundations are solid."

An up-to-date version of such a crude viewpoint is that of the "peace" obtained through the so-called "deterrent weapons," posed once more after World War II because of the enormous development of nuclear experiences.

For the atomic strategists, nuclear weapons are the most effective preventive method against the provocation of war. But the question has not only not been resolved but has become complicated by the breaking of the monopoly of scientific knowledge in matters of nuclear energy, in which, as in the field of conventional weapons, the superpowers work and compete.

The problem of dissuasion by terror develops and regains characteristics of a novelty in the history of military policy. "In the past," says Henry Kissinger, "the military was asked to prepare for war. The test to which they had to submit was combat; their justification, victory.

In the nuclear age victory has lost its traditional meaning. The outbreak of a war is the worst catastrophe, according to an ever-more generalized opinion. Henceforth, the excellence of any military organization will be judged by its efficiency in preserving peace."[1]

However, the debate extends interminably and there is no sign of it ending except exclusively in that which refers to the best way of preventing the consequences of a universal nuclear cataclysm and limiting the extent and use of that type of weapon.[2]

As always, communism obtains a benefit from that situation. The communist doctrine of war, as is known, reduces the causes of every armed conflict to the principle of private property and the irreconcilable antagonisms that the capitalist system carries within itself. According to Lenin, war actually is nothing more than "the direct and immediate result of the evolution of these principles."[3] The nature of a war depends on which class is waging it and the policy it is going to follow with that war.[4] Wars are, moreover, just or unjust. The just are those which an oppressed class wages against another which oppresses it: national wars of liberation, those of the proletariat against imperialist states in defense of socialism,[5] and so forth. The unjust wars are those that are waged to conquer and oppress other countries such as the 1914-1918 war, which for Germany as well as for France "was an imperialist, reactionary war of rapine."* The nature of a war can even change, going from unjust to just and vice versa, and so forth.

In short, this doctrine which serves for placing the blame for any war on the "capitalists" or "imperialists," as well as for excusing and justifying the communist countries for their support or participation in "just wars of liberation," also serves international communism in exploiting for its benefit the peaceful aspirations of the peoples as another expression of "the struggle for freedom."

92. It is in the climate of this special type of "peace" achieved through constant confrontations, in which countries find themselves dragged into maintaining the highest national defense budgets in history, that there appear here and there the so-called substitutive or minor wars which are carried out to the conventional limits of violence and destruction as another phase of the permanent confrontation between the great powers in which rivalry, frustration, resentment and hate are exploited and brought into play.

2. Guerrilla

93. It is useful to turn once in a while to the clarity that language casts on things because languages are the living instruments that are always coining the empirical figures of life.

Our language acknowledges three special acceptances of the term "guerrilla," which are not substantially different among themselves but complement each

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* W. I. Lenin, "On the National and Colonial Questions," Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1960, Vol II, p. 819.

other: "Order of battle that is done by dividing the troops into a number of small groups which harass the enemy everywhere." "Detachment of light troops which acts openly." "Group of countrymen who wage war independently of the regular army."

Traces of this type of struggle are found in all eras of history. It was practiced by the Jews in the campaign against the Syrians in the times of Anticchus IV (Epiphanes) in the 2nd Century B.C., described in the Book of the Maccabees. It was known by the Romans in Gaul and in Germany in the 1st Century B.C. in the times of Caesar. European history of subsequent centuries offers many other examples. Spanish resistance against the Napoleonic armies of occupation at the beginning of the 19th Century led to the incorporation into the dictionary of the word "guerrilla" itself, which was characterized by skirmishes and actions which Benito Perez Galdos immortalized in one of his "National Episodes."

But Spanish guerrilla resistance of that time also provided the first general tactical and strategic principles which were later applied by contemporary guerrillas.

The Spanish guerrilla did not seek to destroy the French armies but to undermine their resistance, undermine their confidence, weaken their desire to remain in the country and cause them to leave it. The guerrillas struggled for their land and their way of life. Their objectives were of a defensive nature. They operated in mountainous terrains unknown and inaccessible except to the guerrillas themselves. The population from whence they came gave them support and they only resorted to this irregular method of combat when conventional tactics were defeated. There, as in other places and as always, the guerrilla was the weapon of the militarily weak.

In their struggle against the British Crown the Boers in South Africa also resorted to guerrilla methods after being defeated in traditional war actions.

During the U. S. Civil War, John Mosby opposed to Union troops a strong and skillful guerrilla resistance by Confederate irregulars in northeast Virginia until General Sheridan devastated it, destroying the guerrilla bases systematically.

94. The famous German general Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) in his treatise "On War," published after his death and which gained worldwide fame for him, tried for the first time to systematize the tactics of irregular actions.

He maintains that in Europe the popular war is "a phenomenon of the 19th Century. It has its defenders and its opponents. The latter oppose it for political reasons because they consider such war a revolutionary method, a state of anarchy made legal, as dangerous for social order as for the enemy; or for military reasons, because they considered that the result had no relationship with the effort it was necessary to make." *

* "Vom Kriege," 1832, Book VI, Chapter 26, Volksbewaffnung (Arming the people).

Clausewitz analyzes popular war from the point of view of its operational advantages as a means of struggle, which allows the use of the ideological potential of a country, and he expounds the principles of the efficiency of that type of struggle with a general operational plan coordinated with the actions of regular forces: "Unless we wish to pursue a mirage," he says, "we must conceive of popular war in coordination with operations carried out by the regular army so that both forces can adjust to an overall plan."

95. In his judgment these five conditions are necessary for guerrilla warfare to be successful:

1. The war must take place in the interior of the country.

2. The war cannot depend on a single battle.

3. The theater of operations must extend to a considerable area of the territory.

4. The national character must support that fight.

5. The country must be irregular, difficult, inaccessible. He then points out the natural limitations of the guerrilla: Neither the militia nor armed civilians can, or should be, used against the main force of the enemy, not even against units of a certain size. They must not try to split the "core" but merely nibble at the surface and the edges... In these small attacking units will really burn the spark of the people's war: in some points the enemy will be overcome by numbers; courage and enthusiasm will grow, and the intensity of the struggle will increase until its culmination which will decide the entire action."

Despite the fact that units of struggle are a weapon of strategic defense, their psychological and organizational characteristics must always, or almost always, be tactically offensive. Their actions must consist of pinpricks, raids, ambushes, withdrawals and dispersals even when they are in favorable positions. The withdrawal for a new attack or counter-attack, insists Clausewitz, is better than a final stand. As Mao Tse-tung, one of the victorious guerrillas of the 20th Century, would say almost 100 years later: "In many cases it is necessary to withdraw. Knowing how to withdraw is one of the characteristic traits of the guerrilla."*

Two outstanding contemporary military specialists, Paret and Shy, observe correctly that Clausewitz captured the essence of guerrilla warfare "as it was between the years that passed from Valmy to Waterloo, and he defined the military and psychological characteristics of the volunteer patriot who defends the country of his birth spontaneously or in officially organized formations, although in both cases using irregular tactics."*

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* "Strategic Problems of the War of Guerrillas Against Japan," Chapter IV, May 1938.

* Peter Paret--John Shy, "Guerrillas and Counterguerrillas, Defensive Function of Guerrilla Warfare," Buenos Aires, Jorge Alvarez.

96. The use of guerrilla warfare against foreign invasion forces is a classic model widely known by military theory. But in the 17th and 18th Centuries there appeared another two applications of the guerrilla of direct interest for this analysis: as a weapon of insurrection and as an agent of foreign aggression.

Previous to the Spanish guerrilla resistance against Napoleon, the republic that emerged from the French Revolution had to fight counter-revolutionary outbreaks, which using guerrilla tactics tried to reestablish the Bourbon dynasty on Gallic soil. In this century, the successful communist struggles in Czarist Russia and in China offer the first two examples of the application of guerrilla warfare with revolutionary purposes assayed by Marxism.

Actions by the Jews against the English and the Arabs in Palestine from 1945 until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948; the struggles of the EOKA against Great Britain for the independence of Cyprus;* and especially the famous invisible guerrilla campaigns in the desert organized by Lawrence during the Arab rebellion against the Turks during World War I, which accomplished the feat of destroying the IV Ottoman Army,* are other victorious examples of noncommunist guerrillas in this century.

Finally, the mobilizations of clandestine subversive war, which at the service of its universal empire interests are promoted by communism, taking advantage of disturbances, revolutions and internal wars of other countries, exploiting existing conflicts, fears and hopes, or creating them, provide an example of guerrilla warfare that is of specific interest for the purposes of this study as a covert weapon of foreign intervention and aggression.

Its exponent in Latin America is the communist guerrilla encouraged by the present Cuban regime and which is examined in the following paragraphs.

3. The Castro-Communist Guerrilla

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* EOKA, Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston, created by then retired Greek army colonel Georgiu Grivas, see particularly W. Byford-Jones "Grivas and the Story of the EOKA," London, 1959, Robert Hale Limited.

* It was possibly Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935), brilliant tactician and notable writer who with the most literary vigor may have described the subtle and contradictory picture of the presence and absence, at the same time, of the characteristics of the guerrilla. In a passage of his well-known book "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom," he says: "...supposing we were an idea, an influence, an intangible invulnerable thing, without a front or a back, floating like a gas... Armies would be like plants, immobile, with roots, fed by long shoots that go to the head. We could be a vapor, floating wherever we wanted"....and so forth. (Seven Pillars of Wisdom, a Triumph, London, 1935, Jonathan Cape, Book III, Chapter XXXIII, Strategy and Tactics, p. 192).

97. It was seen previously how jealously Fidel Castro claimed the guerrilla to be a special instrument of the Cuban revolution and the importance attributed to it for revolutionary victory in the other Latin American countries.

At this point the theory of the Castroite guerrillas must be examined in the light of its immediate background, its purposes and its tactics, as well as the doctrinaire elements on which it is based, the phases through which it is going, differences it arouses and the results obtained on a practical plane.

a. Immediate Background

98. Actually the guerrilla is no Castroite invention but it has very rich traditions and background in Latin America where small armed groups waged frequent actions against state forces since the colonial era.

The method of fighting was then used almost without exception in the struggles for independence in all Spanish American countries at the beginning of the 19th Century, and also in Cuba in 1860 in the wars for independence fought against the Spanish Crown and at the beginning of this century when the Pearl of the Antilles finally freed itself from the colonial yoke.

Independence obtained in almost all Latin American countries, different groups or factions usually engaged in armed disputes, in which the system of guerrillas was also used, a system of tactical and military struggle adapted to the level of political culture and the natural, geographic and social conditions of those countries and to the situation of chronic instability of their governments.

Even after the last world war, many countries of the continent of different structure, degree of development and social conditions faced the guerrilla phenomenon. Such are, for example, the cases of Costa Rica, where the democratic revolution of 1948 headed by its leader, Jose Figueres Ferrer ("Pepe"), resorted to guerrilla tactics; Colombia during the forties and fifties during the period called "the Colombian violence," where guerrilla actions integrated the technique of a sort of civil war polarized around the two large Colombian parties: the Liberal and the Conservative; and Cuba, country in which resistance against the dictatorial regime of Fulgencio Batista finally ended by becoming guerrilla warfare directed by Fidel Castro.

99. Those are roughly the sources of the guerrillas, which in the decade of the sixties, the Castro movement in Cuba having won, and with the inspiration and tutelage of Castro-communism, began to be used in various Latin American countries to achieve, not political goals, but social changes.

It is a matter, therefore, of a type of guerrilla, which because of its tactics and political objectives, must be described as a "Castro-communist guerrilla" used in many Latin American countries in the imitation of the example of Cuba and under the ideological orientation, the exemplary influence or direction of that country.*

b. Doctrinaire Bases

100. The Cuban theory of the guerrilla, which such direct influence has on Latin American revolutionary movements, is not based on a historical reality undergone by the guerrilla in Cuba, but rather in its ideological, tactical and technical concepts it supposes an adaptation to a reality that arose after the victory of the movement headed by Fidel Castro when he had already embraced Marxism-Leninism and had resolved to make Latin America burn in the fire of the communist revolution.

It was in that period of Castroite ideological evolution, between the third "nationalist" phase and the fifth and last phases, the "Marxist-Leninist indicated previously,* that the Castroite guerrilla theory was developed and perfected, the "regulations" for the Latin American guerrilla.

101. The fundamental doctrinaire elements of the guerrilla theory, the ideological base of Castro-communist guerrilla warfare, its thesis, rules and basic teachings, are contained in three different phases, which in turn are supported respectively by three different documents: Ernesto Guevara's book "The War of Guerrillas" written in 1959 in Cuba and published there the following year, 1960; the Second Declaration of Havana on 2 February 1962; and the ideas of the Castro-communist theoretician of French nationality, Jules Regis Debray, whose fundamental theories were compiled in his book "Revolution Within the Revolution?" officially published and distributed by Cuba throughout the world around the middle of 1967.

1) The Guevara Theory

102. First phase--While Guevara's book is not a theoretical study, but more a practical manual for action, it contains some doctrinaire elements on which the guerrilla theory is built.

After defining the guerrilla, Guevara relates its "ideal development" "beginning with a single nucleus in favorable terrain," and describing it from there. He added: "This means that we are going to theorize

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* Cf. Robert F. Lamberg "The Guerrilla in Latin America. Theory and Practice in Revolutionary Models." Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH 7 Co. KG, Munchen, 1972, p. 12.

* Chapter I, 3 "Havana, Communist Base in Latin America," Nos 21 and 22.

once again on the Cuban experience. At the beginning there is a more or less armed group, more or less homogenous, which devotes itself almost exclusively to hiding in the most inhospitable places, the most remote, maintaining a scant contact with the peasants. It strikes a lucky blow, its fame grows, and some peasants evicted from their land or fighting to preserve it and some idealistic youths from other classes come to swell its ranks. It acquires greater daring for moving in inhabited places, for greater contact with the people of the zone. It repeats some attacks, always fleeing after making them. Suddenly it engages in combat with some column and it destroys its vanguard. It continues to acquire men; it has increased in numbers but its organization remains exactly the same except that precautions diminish and it ventures into more populated zones.

"Later on it establishes provisional camps for some days after which they are abandoned when news is received of an approaching enemy army or they are bombed, or simply when they suspect they may be in danger of any of these perils. The numerical increase of the guerrilla continues at the same rate as the work with the masses, which makes of each peasant an enthusiastic supporter of the war of liberation and finally, an inaccessible place is selected, a sedentary life is begun and the first small industries are established there: shoemaker, cigar and cigarette factory, tailor shop, gunsmith, bakery, hospitals, radio, and if there is one available, a printing shop, and so forth. Now the guerrilla has an organization, a new structure. It is the head of a great movement with all the characteristics of a small-scale government. A court is established for the administration of justice and some laws are passed, if possible, and the work of indoctrination of the peasant and worker masses, if there are some close by, is continued so as to attract them to the cause. An enemy offensive is unleashed and it is defeated; the number of rifles, and therefore the number of men in the guerrilla is increased. But at a given moment, its radius of action does not increase in the proportion that its men have increased and it is at that moment that a force of whatever size is necessary, a column or a platoon and so forth, is detached and it moves to another combat front.

"Work will begin there, although with somewhat different characteristics, because of the experiences it has had, because of the freedom of movement in the combat zones won by the liberation troops. Meanwhile, the central nucleus continues to grow; it has received substantial contributions from distant places in food and sometimes rifles. Men continue to arrive, the tasks of government continue with the passage of laws. Schools are established, which allow indoctrination and training of recruits. The commanders learn as the war develops and their ability to command grows with the responsibilities in the qualitative and quantitative increase in forces. At a given moment, if there were distant areas, a group would leave for them to establish all the advances that have already been obtained, continuing the cycle.

"However, there will also be an enemy territory, the territory unfavorable for guerrilla warfare. That is where small groups are introduced who commit holdups on the highways, destroy bridges, place mines, and sow unease. With the ups and downs of the war itself, the movement continues to grow. The great work of masses allows the easy movement of those forces in unfavorable terrain and the last phase is then created: that of the urban guerrilla.

"Sabotage in the entire zone increases considerably. Life in it is paralyzed and it is conquered. The move is to other zones, the army is fought on defined fronts; heavy weapons have already been seized (even tanks) and the fight is on the basis of equals. The enemy surrenders when the process of partial victories becomes one of final victories, that is, he has been led to accept battle under the conditions imposed by the guerrilla band and he is annihilated there causing his surrender.

"This is an outline which tells what happened in the various phases of the Cuban war of liberation, but which has an approximately universal application. The only thing is that there is not always present the joining of the people, conditions and leader as there was in our war. It is unnecessary to say it: Fidel Castro has in himself the high qualities of a fighter and statesman, and our voyage, our struggle and our victory is owed to his vision. We cannot say that without him the victory of the people would not have taken place, but we can say that the victory would have cost much more and would have been less complete," and so forth.*

103. As the essence of the theory he supports and which he fluidly explains, Guevara states elsewhere which fundamental principles should be drawn from his theoretical-empirical lucubration. They are reduced to three:

1. The people's forces can win a war against a regular army.

2. Not always should all the conditions for revolution be waited for; the insurrectional center may create them.

3. The terrain for armed struggle should basically always be the rural area in underdeveloped America.*

These principles formulated by Guevara and which have no strict relationship with reality nor with the personal experience of the author, were

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* Ernesto "Che" Guevara "The War of Guerrillas," II, The Guerrilla, 5 Principle, Development and End of a War of Guerrillas.

* "War of Guerrillas" Cit., I, General Principles of Guerrilla Warfare.

then summarized by Fidel Castro in the already-quoted speech on 26 July 1960 when he expressed the desire of turning the "Andes mountain range into the Sierra Maestra of the American Continent."*

2) Second Declaration of Havana

104. Second phase--The Second Declaration of Havana issued shortly after the expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States [OAS] and at a time when its leader was already in the arms of Marxism-Leninism, added very little or nothing to the Guevara thesis, it being limited to confirming it and consolidating it. In essence this document maintains: the peasants are a force of great revolutionary power who must be led to the struggle by the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals because due to their backwardness they are not capable of achieving victory by themselves.

The so-called national bourgeoisie are not in a condition to lead the antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle either. At the forefront of the struggle are the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals, the petit bourgeois, the more progressive part of the national bourgeosie as well as other progressive elements. Also of importance in the struggle for freedom are the great indigenous masses who live in miserable conditions, the landless peasants and exploited workers.

On the tactical and technical parts of the guerrilla, the Second Declaration of Havana contains nothing new.

With respect to ideology, particularly in its initial part, the influence of Chinese tendencies is perceived, tendencies oriented toward converting Marxism into an ideology of the colored races, pursuant to the racist concepts and general strategy of Mao Tse-tung.

105. While the Second Declaration of Havana has no great significance as far as guerrilla theory is concerned, it does have significance as a document which defines the Castro revolutionary position and his strategy in the ideological battlefield of world communism of which Cuba is a member.

Guevara delves into the lessons which can be extracted from this document in his brief study "War of Guerrillas, a Method," published in 1963, in which he reafforms the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the guerrilla, condensing its principles thus:

From the ideological point of view the goal of a liberation war is the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat; the guerrilla is the forerunner of the people's army and the future machinery of the state;

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* Chapter II, 3, a, Official Statements.

guerrilla warfare is the war of the masses; without their support it is impossible to carry it on.

From the tactical and technical points of view, mobility is essential for the guerrilla and it must always be on guard. The guerrilla goes through three phases: defensive, then one of balance between opposing forces, and finally, a phase of offensive. Guerrilla warfare goes beyond national borders; it has continental scope. The centers of guerrilla activity [focos] have to multiply.

106. Summarizing, in this second phase (which lasts approximately from 1962 until 1966, time during which the guerrilla spreads to the American Continent and in which Cuba becomes a star in the world communist constellation within which Castro already begins to play his ambitious role as leader of continental revolution), the principles of guerrilla ideology do not correspond to the Castro experience during the time of the guerrilla in Cuba nor to the objective conditions existing in the island at that time.



Debray: intellectual author of the new revolutionary line

3. Theory of Debray

107. Third phase--The aforementioned book by Debray "Revolution Within the Revolution?" is based on the Cuban political and military experiences as well as on the activities of Latin American guerrillas until 1966.

Well known because of the development it makes from a theoretical point of view of the theory of the guerrilla "center of activity" or "foquismo" as the driving force capable of unleashing revolutionary struggle, this work has been vastly discussed among revolutionary leaders of Latin America and other latitudes.

Before publishing "Revolution Within the Revolution?" Debray, a young philosophy professor, discussed the subject in another book published in French by Les Temps Modernes and titled "Castroism: The Long March of Latin America," which was the book that gave him international renown and which he himself warns is the result of "a very long trip through South America at the side of revolutionary militants of every origin during the years 1963 and 1964," to try "to understand them right there where they are and where we have met them: in Venezuela ..." in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil and so forth.

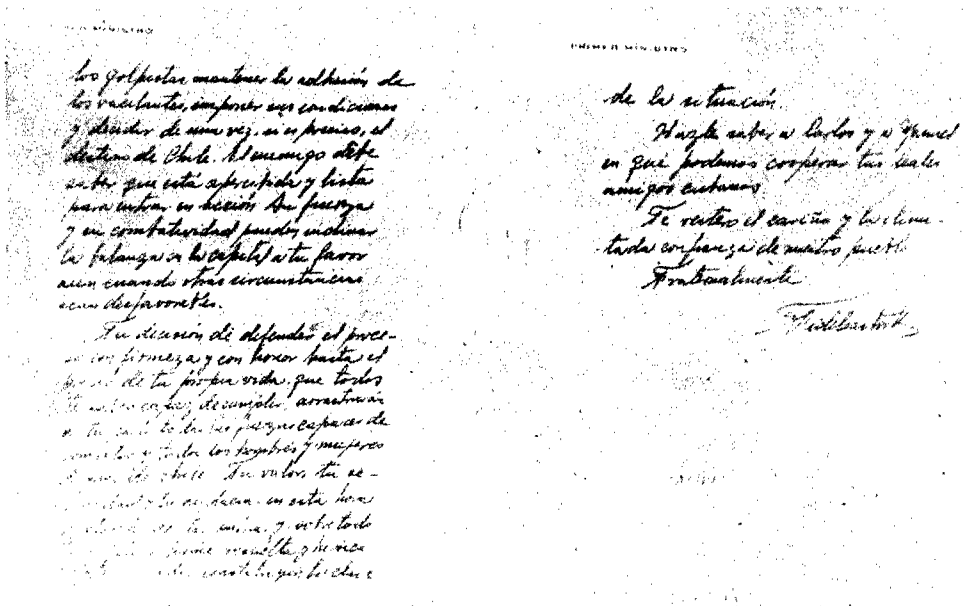


Che in Red China

The theory of the insurrectional center of guerrilla activity, a sort of oil slick that spreads because of its presence and activities, results in long developments and controversies, with contradictory conclusions

with respect to its real meaning. As Arenas says: "There are those who attribute "miraculous" powers to the existence of the center of guerrilla activity, while others do not accord it the slightest importance. The painful experiences of Peru and Bolivia have caused the problem to be taken up again and discussed.* Actually the theory of the center of guerrilla activity gives the privilege of being the catalyzing agent of the revolution to a small guerrilla nucleus, contrary to the Leninist theories that give it to the party as the vanguard organization. Naturally, such a theory will not be very well received by the chiefs of the orthodox communist parties subjected to the rule of Moscow, nor, of course, by the Muscovite leaders of international communism, but it will undoubtedly serve the Castro-communist purpose of exporting the Cuban revolution to the other American republics.

In "Revolution Within the Revolution?" Debray declares that "when a guerrilla speaks with its urban leaders or with a foreigner, he speaks with "its bourgeoisie." If the political leadership stays in the city it will be inevitably destroyed or dismantled by repression. The city must be abandoned for the mountains...The guerrilla is isolated in the cities...not one single rifle must be sidetracked for urban resistance," and so forth.



Final part of the handwritten letter of Fidel Castro to Salvador Allende of 29 July 1973. Reproduction by courtesy of the Chilean Government.

* Dans La Guerrilla, op. Cit., p. 225.

Analyzing the theory of the insurrectional center of guerrilla activity, Guillen made a biting criticism of Debray, who, he says "is not a strategist or even a tactician. He never had the experience of leading a revolutionary war nor of its large or small military units. As a graduate philosopher he could opine on dialectics with more authority than on strategy. History rebuts these theories: peasant revolutions never won as long as the cities did not follow in the insurrectional movement of the rural areas. Revolutionary war is not partial, but total; without unity of action between the city and the countryside victory will not be achieved in a people's revolution...A revolution is not carried out by a minority unless it mobilizes the dissatisfied majorities politically. But how can this be done if the guerrillas remain in the mountains, leaving the city alone in countries that have an urban population of from 50 to 80 percent? Are the theories of "Che" and Debray correct? Are not tactics being lyrically confused with strategy?"*

Nevertheless, despite it being a theorization "a posteriori" of a long experience he did not undergo personally from a revolutionary point of view, Debray makes a correct statement: He says: "Today in Latin America a political line in a coherent and precise military line, which cannot be expressed on the plane of its results, cannot be considered revolutionary. Every apparently revolutionary line must be capable of giving a definite reply to this question: How can the power of the capitalist state be overthrown? This means how can its framework be broken when its army is reinforced day by day by the U. S. military missions? The Cuban revolution offers a reply to its fraternal American countries, which must be studied in all the details of its history: the more or less slow creation through the war of guerrillas, waged in the most favorable rural zones, of a mobile strategic force, the nucleus of the People's Army and the future socialist state."

But aside from, and in addition to, the controversial theorizations on the center of guerrilla activity, Debray entered into another type of political consideration, which it is of interest to point out here.

The political process, he reasons, demonstrated that solidarity existing between the communist parties and the Castro-communist parties in Latin America left a lot to be desired despite the fact that the former, although reluctantly, had given their support to armed struggle. Moreover, it was already well known at that time that Moscow as well as Peking had planned, and were trying to apply, tactics that did not coincide with Castro's plans in Latin America.

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* Abraham Guillen "Challenge to the Pentagon: The Latin American Guerrilla," Montevideo, 1969, Editorial Andes, pps 67 and following. See p. 137.

Latin American experiences required, in turn, an overall review, a reappraisal that would allow adapting basic tactical and military principles to those which would be used in the future.

This is the main political focus of Debray's book, which follows and develops Guevara's theory and the orientations of the Second Declaration of Havana, taking into account the experiences of Latin American countries, the actions of the extreme left, their policies and power, and basically the plans of Castro.

108. Debray, of course in agreement with him, agrees with Guevara in establishing the following:

As far as political strategy is concerned, the orthodox communist tactics of popular fronts and peaceful routes for achieving power must be rejected.

Revolution without violence is possible but the revolutionary vanguard has no reason to identify itself with the communist parties or to merge with them.

The guerrilla is the military nucleus; it has the initiative; it leads the revolution from every point of view, and it is not subordinated to any political body, as up to then had been the rule, although not in Cuba itself.

A dualism of the centers of political and military power cannot be tolerated in the long run, much less when the political leaders who try to lead the guerrilla from the city do not understand its problems.

The leadership cadres of the communist parties have to abandon the cities and follow the guerrillas to the mountain to strengthen the military nucleus; otherwise, the political aspects become disassociated from the military aspects. Subordination to the military must replace democratic centralism.

If the communist parties do not want to follow this path, the political leadership should be placed in other hands. At any rate, the guerrilla has to assume political responsibilities also, and it is from its midst that the political element comes that becomes the political tutor.

As far as military tactics are concerned, first of all those armed groups which defend themselves, by themselves, in Latin America must be pointed out, such as those of the "free republics" in Colombia, the peasants of Francisco Juliao in Brazil, the resistance formations of Yon Sosa in Guatemala or Hugo Blanco in Peru. These types of "free groups" must be rejected because it is not possible to attain power through them.

The actions of armed propaganda are then considered. These are preferred by the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese groups, which do not serve for convincing the peasants either, although as a rule they may be proper for

attracting the attention of the military and police repressive forces to the guerrilla.

There can be no fixed rules on the guerrilla because they are not valid from a military point of view, as is demonstrated by the experience of the Peruvian guerrilla in 1965.

The division of the body of leaders into two powers: one political in the capital and another military with the guerrillas in the mountains, must also be rejected for military and security reasons.

Debray here takes into account the Cuban experience in which, while the guerrillas received help from the political parties and had accepted it, they were not subordinated to them (even when in that experience it was a matter of democratic parties and not the communist party which was very alien to the struggle by Castro against the Batista regime).

109. As Lamberg observed, the principles of Debray are definitively of macro-political origins because they tend to give "the" answer of Cuba to the thorny controversy which appeared between Castroism and the traditional communists and brought into the open in the discussion by Castro with the Venezuelan Communist Party, which in view of a lack of positive results for many years of the armed groups that operated in Venezuela, had concluded by condemning this method and returned to the political methods traditionally used by communism.

"Revolution Within the Revolution?" meant a provocation, an audacious ideological-political provocation by Havana of Moscow, the forerunner of a new struggle which received its baptismal waters at the LASO Conference.

However, the Debray theory could do no less than weaken the guerrilla, instead of improving its tactical and military position, when it reduced it to what it really was: a small group of armed people.

In addition, however, that theory led to a divorce with the communist parties, bringing to the guerrillas, as a minimum, the loss of the propaganda which with reluctance and not very good will these parties had been providing for the guerrillas in keeping with their continental strategy.

Finally, concluding with Debray, his theories and his revolutionary ventures, it is well to remember that when captured by the Bolivian Army in April 1967 he was sentenced by the courts of that country at the end of the year to serve 30 years in prison.

Although shortly afterward the procommunist government of General Torres was to set him free, the world communist organs of opinion, using the wornout concepts of international revolutionary solidarity, which Debray

himself advocated, unleased a clamorous publicity campaign devoted to praising his right and that of all those who receive communion at the Marxist-Leninist altars of LASO, to carry out revolution, a right which the Bolivian court decision had hindered in such an iniquitous and severe manner, and so forth.

The right of the country, invaded by foreign armed bands financed and lead by international communism, to defend itself and to defend its people and land from such a sinister threat, that right was naturally not invoked by the concerted world campaign, which with the deliberate intent of confusing independent opinion, was applied to burying the real underlying subject in mountains of formal and legal aspects and factual circumstances of the well-publicized event.

As a reputable commentator of the time said with brevity and accuracy, undoubtedly a shorter and effective sentence to prison "would have made the right--which was violated--of Bolivia to live in peace without foreign interference, without guerrillas paid by Cuba, without Cubans paid by Russia, without Frenchmen paid by the publishers of his articles and his books, all of them endeavoring to make an experimental communist revolution in the territory of a South American republic,"* more understandable in the eyes of the world.

4) Message from "Che"

110. Proof of the divorce between communist parties caused by the Debray theory was made obvious by the isolation of the international guerrilla, which Guevara tried to create in the Bolivian jungles with the well-known results and which the Argentine-Cuban revolutionary defended heatedly in his message to the secretariat of AALAPSO in April 1967 which was read during the LASO Conference.

In this posthumous contribution to the guerrilla theory, Guevara declared that there was no other alternative: the struggle had to be armed and international, creating many Vietnams, or at least one Vietnam in the very heart of the Andes, as he personally was trying to do from Bolivia; international proletarian armies have to be taken into the struggle; the enemy must be provoked everywhere; only thus can national liberation be a reality.

The split between Moscow and Peking is, according to Guevara, a misfortune. Africa and Asia are important centers for the revolution, although the first in a lesser degree.

In Latin America, he says, the conditions for revolution are present everywhere: "Struggle with weapons in hand is going on in Guatemala,

* VISION, Vol 34, No 1, p. 11.

Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia, and the first outbreaks are visible in Brazil. There are centers of resistance which appear and are extinguished. But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a struggle of such a type and in order to be victorious they cannot be satisfied with anything less than the installation of a government of socialist type. A single language is spoken practically throughout the continent except in the case of Brazil, with whose people the Spanish-speaking people can speak because of the similarity of the two languages. There is such a great identification among the classes of these countries that they have achieved an identification of the international American type which is much more complete than in other continents. Language, customs, religion, and a common master unites them. The degree and methods of exploitation of a good part of the countries of our America are similar in their effects for the exploiters and the exploited. And rebellion is ripening quickly in America. We can ask ourselves: How will this rebellion bear fruit? Of what type will it be? We have maintained for some time that given the similarity in characteristics, the struggle in America will acquire in its time a continental dimension. It will be the scene of many great battles waged by humanity for its liberation. Within the framework of this struggle of continental scope, those which are now being actively waged are merely episodes but they have already provided the martyrs who figure in American history as having given their share of blood needed in this last phase of the struggle for the full freedom of man. There are the names of Maj Turcios Lima, Father Camilo Torres, Maj Fabricio Ojeda, Majors Lobaton and Luis de la Puente Uceda, principal figures in the revolutionary movements of Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru. But the active mobilization of the people creates its new leaders: Cesar Montes and Yon Sosa pick up the fallen banner in Guatemala; Fabio Vazquez and Marulanda do so in Colombia; Douglas Bravo in the western part of the country, and Americo Martin in Bachiller, lead their respective fronts in Venezuela. New outbreaks of war will appear in these and other American countries, as has already happened in Bolivia, and they will continue to grow with all the vicissitudes contained in this dangerous profession of being a modern revolutionary...America, continent forgotten by the last political liberation struggles, which begins to make itself felt through the Tricontinental, in the voice of the vanguard of its people, the Cuban Revolution; will have a task of much greater scope: the creation of the second or third Vietnam or of the second or third Vietnam of the world." "The war must be carried as far as the enemy carries it: to his home, to his places of recreation; make it total. He must be prevented from having a moment of peace, a minute of rest outside his barracks, and even in them. He must be attacked wherever he is; made to feel a fierce attack everywhere he goes. Then his morale will fall. He will become even more bestial, but the signs of the fall that is coming will be seen," and so forth.

111. The revolutionary and guerrilla ardor of Guevara (which is, naturally that of Fidel Castro himself also), is adopted by LASO, as was already seen, and through its resolutions an inflammatory language is poured over the continent, inciting to armed struggle which is "the fundamental line of

revolution in Latin America," on the basis of the guerrilla "which as the embryo of the armies of liberation is the most effective method for initiating and carrying out revolutionary struggle in the majority of our countries," and so forth.



Guevara dead in Bolivia

c. Practical results

112. From the point of view of international agitation, especially the Latin American, and the propaganda activity provoked by Castroite guerrillas, the results were a resounding publicity success.

On the other hand, from the point of view of the success of the guerrilla itself, the intrinsic results were scant and of short duration.

Shortly after the deliberations of LASO were ended, Guevara was killed; Debray was arrested and submitted to trial by a military courtmartial; the possibilities of a second Vietnam vanish and Castro himself tries to withdraw discreetly from the vast guerrilla scene that extends from Atitlan Lake to the River Plate, where the guerrilla theory had failed.

113. As of this time Cuba was to diminish subversive activities in the continent.

But this does not mean in any way that it has changed its long-range objectives of promoting violent rebellion in Latin American countries.

He is merely tuning up his techniques and using a greater selectivity in choosing those groups which are in a condition to receive support and those which are not. It must not be forgotten that for many "revolutionaries" the support of Cuba, the dollars of Castro, were even a good business or at least an excellent "modus vivendi."*

In a limited way, the subversive groups of Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia continued to receive support from Cuba. When the successful uprising of the MLN-T in Uruguay took place, this guerrilla group also found support in Cuba.

While it has been seen historically that Castro accepted and encouraged rural guerrillas as the basic tactical tool for revolutionary struggle in Latin America, the victories attained in the cities by terrorist groups such as the Tupamaros convinced him that the urban guerrilla could also be an effective weapon of struggle.

As far as Moscow was concerned, it did not forget the challenge of the Debray book nor the deviation that its principles meant from Soviet tactics. For this reason did not lose any opportunity to label the internationalized guerrilla of Guevara in the Andes an expression of "political adventurism" and a "tactic contrary to the fundamental principles of Leninism." These were criticisms that were used by the communist parties of Latin America, docile tools of Moscow, and against which Castro ranted in the "necessary introduction" with which the "Diary of Che in Bolivia" was published by Havana.*

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* Among many other examples of the profitable business with funds obtained from communist countries, see the "profitable" maneuver in the amount of $200,000 made in 1967 by the group of Uruguayan "revolutionaries" of the pro-Chinese daily EPOCA revealed on pages 57 and 58 of the aforementioned book "Communism in Uruguay."

* "...Also interested in this diary never being revealed could be the pseudorevolutionaries, opportunists and charlatans of all types, who calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, communists and other titles of that type have not hesitated in calling Che the mistaken, the adventurer, and even most benignly, an idealist, whose death is the swan song for revolutionary armed struggle in Latin America. "If Che," they exclaim, "the maximum exponent of those ideas and an experienced guerrilla, was killed in the guerrillas and his movement did not liberate Bolivia, this shows how mistaken he was..." How many of these miserable ones must have rejoiced at the death of Che, not even ashamed at thinking that their positions and reasonings coincide completely with those of the most reactionary oligarchies and of imperialism?" and so forth.

114. As a result, therefore, while the Castro-communist guerrillas did not achieve their immediate objectives of seizing power in any American country, in almost all of them they provoked an intensive agitation and a climate of insecurity and distrust which even managed to undermine and compromise its social and economic rules. Far from having disappeared, that climate remains in a latent, larval state and can at any favorable time result in the resurgence of the guerrilla with renewed vigor.

As long as quick and effective solutions are not found that give the people, who are driven by the population explosion, real and just conditions of security and development that insure their economic and social stability, the threat of a guerrilla revival will have the best reason for remaining over the future like a bloody sword of Damocles.

This danger increases when it is seen how divisive action, carefully calculated by international communism, easily pierces the weak defenses of a democratic society, seeking to sow chaos and the destruction of the state that represents it. On the other hand, from the point of view of their economic and social structure, contemporary human societies and their political systems, not always as capable or flexible as necessary, are very vulnerable, internally as well as externally. They are exposed to a state of permanent anxiety in which their fate and survival is often endangered in a world revolutionized by an extraordinary scientific and technical progress of ever-growingly easy access, which if used can be more than they can protect.

Kahn and Brucebriggs observe with accurate vision: "The socio-economic system of the world is so complex that it is very exposed to disintegration. New technology offers fantastic opportunities for the perpetration of acts of sabotage and terrorism by individuals or small groups. In the abstract atmosphere of the great cities, it is very difficult to prevent and punish crime and other forms of antisocial behavior. The 'demonstrated incapacity' of lawyers, judges, and other persons with authority, makes the task of rationally confronting criminals and crime very difficult...The Tupamaros served as a model for angry and ambitious youths of the entire world...perhaps they will be the Guevaras of the twilight of the decade of the seventies."*

115. The present resurgence of armed vandalism in the Argentine republic by the Revolutionary People's Army [ERP] and other terrorist groups, who ignore recent pronouncements by the people and which together with pathological unionism fight with the government over the exercise of authority, hindering its actions and national development, is a clear legacy of the Castro-communist guerrilla, which demonstrates that no country is free today from the aforementioned dangers.

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* Herman Kahn, B. Brucebriggs "What Must Happen--The Decade of 1975 to 1985" Emece Editores, Buenos Aires, 1972, p. 77.

In view of the continentality and universality of subversive action by international communism, the somber prospects of equal or similar dangers for the countries of this hemisphere and the world in general are another practical result of the guerrilla which no one is in a position to ignore and of which at least a review of its real significance and consequences must be made.

4. Rural Guerrilla

116. As has been seen, the theory of the Castro-communist guerrilla is based on the hypothesis of a guerrilla in the mountains, in the rural zones of Latin America, in keeping with the general principles and historical experiences of the guerrilla.

Guevara expresses it clearly when he says that one of the three basic contributions of the Cuban revolution to the techniques of the Latin American revolutionary movements is precisely that which states "that in the underdeveloped America the terrain for armed struggle must be fundamentally the rural area." And Castro diagrammed that hypothesis when he spoke of converting the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the continent.

Referring to the guerrilla, Guevara adds that it is a matter of a contribution that "is basically of strategic type and must be called to the attention of those who with dogmatic opinions try to focus the struggle of the masses on the movements in the cities, forgetting completely the immense participation of the people of the fields in the life of all underdeveloped countries of America. It is not that the struggle of the organized worker masses is disdained, but that simply the possibilities under the difficult conditions of armed struggle are analyzed with a realistic view because the safeguards that usually adorn our constitutions are suspended or ignored. Under these conditions, the worker movements must be carried out clandestinely, without weapons, outside the law and running enormous risks. The situation in the open fields is not so difficult, the inhabitants being supported by the armed guerrilla in places where the repressive forces cannot go." "All this indicates that the guerrilla will carry out its actions in inhospitable and sparsely populated places. In these places the struggle of the people for their rights is preferentially located, and sometimes is based almost exclusively on the social aspects of the holding of land, which means the guerrilla is primarily an agrarian revolutionary. He interprets the desires of the great peasant masses to be the owners of the land, owners of the means of production, the livestock, everything that he has wished for years, that which is his life and will also be his cemetery." "The China of Mao begins as an uprising of the worker nucleuses of the south which is defeated and almost annihilated. It only becomes stabilized and begins its upward

march after the great Yenan March;* it settles in rural territories and establishes agrarian reform as the basis for its demands.

"The struggle by Ho Chi Min in Indochina is based on the rice-growing peasants oppressed by the French colonial yoke, and with that force it progressed until it defeated the colonialists...In the case of Algeria, the great idea of Arab nationalism has its economic replica in the use of almost all the tillable lands of Algeria by a million French settlers, and in some countries, like Puerto Rico, where the particular conditions of the island have not allowed a guerrilla outbreak, the nationalist spirit, wounded deeply by the discrimination committed against it every day, has as a basis the hope of the peasant (although he is many times already proletarianized) for land wrested away from him by the Yankee invader. This same main idea was the one which animated, although with different goals, the small farmers, peasants and slaves of the eastern plantations of Cuba, who closed ranks to defend together the right to possession of the land during the 30-year war of liberation."

117. A similar orientation marks the other contributions to the development of the Castro theory of the guerrilla examined previously: the Second Declaration of Havana, the Debray thesis and the conclusions of LASO.

While urban struggle is not excluded, it has a secondary accessory role. It is in the inhospitable rural regions of difficult access where, because of its conditions, guerrilla warfare must be carried forward in the greatest part of the countries of Latin America, presided over by the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.*

118. This is also the position to which many subversive groups of the continent cling, certainly all of those of Castroite orientation.

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* Strategic withdrawal toward the northwest by Mao Tse-tung's red army harrassed by Kuomintang troops, the nationalist party of the Republic of China, led by Gen Chiang Kai-Shek, initiated in October 1934 with some 100,000 followers, who departing from Changtin and Ningjua in the western part of Fuchien, Yuichin, Yutu and other places, crossed 11 provinces (Fuchien, Chiansi, Kuantung, Junan, Kuangsi, Kuichou, Sechuan, Yunan, Sikang, Kansu and Shens), across mountains and marshy areas, in a travel of more than 12,000 kilometers throughout which they waged bitter battles until they arrived in the province of Shensi in 1935, in the northern part of which they established their revolutionary base, and so forth.

* The terrain for guerrilla warfare, according to guerrilla theory, must be a place whose topography hinders the movements of the police and the army, where communications are scattered and where a small revolutionary group can upset the economy and sow destruction. The jungles at the mouth of the Congo River, the difficult terrain of Laos, the dense forests of the Sierra Maestra, are, among others, perfect examples.

That is what happens in Uruguay with the Oriental Revolutionary Movement [MRO] which adopted "as a main method that of rural guerrilla actions,"* and the MLN-T, when it put into effect the "Tatu Plan," as will be seen in the part in which this seditious organization is specifically discussed.

5. Urban Guerrilla

119. The fact that the guerrilla in Uruguay was basically operative in the urban environment, in the "cement jungle" of the great city, obliges us to cast a quick look at its most important general characteristics.

For this purpose there is nothing better than to depend on the guerrilla manual by Brazilian guerrilla Carlos Marighella in which the essential Castro-communist doctrinaire principles are adapted to the conditions of the city, predominantly for educational purposes and immediate application by the militants.

120. Familiarity with this document is important because it helps to form a complete idea of the basic concepts of tactical and strategic nature of the urban guerrilla, the manner in which it acts, what can be expected of it, and also as a result, how to fight it and forestall it.

a. Theory of Marighella

121. Actually Marighella contributes no new idea to the doctrinaire theories of the guerrilla formulated by Guevara and Debray. But his contribution has a definite significance of a practical order as definite expression and application of guerrilla methods pursuant to the particular conditions of the revolutionary struggle in the area of the cities. Basing himself on the basic concepts of the Castro-communist guerrilla, Marighella systematically and didactically compiles and illustrates the most important observations that must preside over and guide the actions of the urban guerrilla, and the behavior and attitudes of the guerrilla member in the city. In this respect, the value of the Marighella contribution cannot be ignored or underestimated, it having had great influence within the urban guerrilla groups in all countries of Latin America.

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* Ariel Collazo, "Uruguay is Not an Exception," MRO, LATIN AMERICA, the theoretical magazine of the Executive Committee of the Oriental Revolutionary Movement, July 1967, No 2, pages 28 and 29, appeared at the same time in PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, Havana, July 1967. Collazo there: Our Oriental Revolutionary Movement defined its political line in favor of armed struggle in its second congress, when it approved its programmatic declaration complemented by an important resolution of its Central Board on 9 June 1965. The document not only defines the path of the Uruguayan revolution but also the specific tactic, adopting as its main form the tactic of rural guerrilla warfare, and with urban insurrection and work within the armed forces as auxilliary methods." Chapters VI and subsequent.

122. A mulatto of the Brazilian lower middle class, an engineering student in his youth, a deputy for the Brazilian Communist Party [PCB], Marighella is the prototype of the professional communist agitator. Together with Pedro Pomar, Diogenes de Arruda Camara, Mauricio Grabois and Joao Amazonas, he joined the small "intimate circle" to which Juan Carlos Prestes entrusted the leadership of the PCB.

In 1967 he attended the LASO Conference as a guest. At that time he declares to the Cuban press: "Brazil today is a country surrounded by the guerrillas of Bolivia, Venezuela and Colombia and nothing indicates that the liberation of our people can take place unless we also hurl ourselves into guerrilla struggle...The policy of supporting the struggle for reforms through a peaceful path under the leadership of the bourgoisie leads inevitably to the defeat of the masses...Our objective must be, through an armed alliance with the workers and peasants, to arrive at the creation of a nucleus of an army of liberation. Our work is to act, struggle, seize the initiative and create a revolutionary awareness through struggle. Our watchword is to unite the revolutionary forces. The vanguard is the guerrilla." "We are completely in agreement with the 13 March speech by Fidel Castro and with the message from Maj Ernesto Che Guevara addressed to the Tri-continental magazine. We are a reflection, with our thinking and actions, as a communist leader, of what a great revolutionary sector of Brazilian political life thinks, accepts and does, a sector that has the firm conviction that only the guerrilla struggle will resolve the problems of the Brazilian people."*

123. Marighella returns to Brazil determined to speed up the reorganization and formation of the guerrilla groups that are the nucleus around which the future liberation army will be created.

The discussion and conclusions of the LASO Conference, the foundations of continental solidarity cast there, and the tutelage of Cuba, encourage the confidence that he was acting coordinatedly in a subversive movement that links all Latin American countries.

Devoting himself completely to the work of internal reorganization, in which other Brazilian extremist leaders are also engaged, it was 7 months immediately after, on March 1968, that Marighella gives the first public signs of life when he calls on the militants of the left to join the ranks of armed struggle against the government, a call that he made in the clandestine newspaper O GUERRILHERO and which was repeated in October of that same year.

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* GRANMA 4 August 1967. Similar statements were made by Marighella to the Cuban daily JUVENTUD REBELDE, which it published in its edition of the following day, and so forth.

It is as of that moment that the Brazilian revolutionary groups abandoned the old classical methods of political agitation to join the clandestine cadres of terrorist activity and urban guerrilla with attacks, bank holdups, assassinations, kidnapping and so forth.

From the "Politica Obrera" will come the COLINA guerrilla group in the state of Minas Gerais and then the VPR [Popular Revolutionary Vanguard] in Sao Paulo under the command of Captain Lamarca. From the Brazilian Communist Party--Maoist line--will emerge the armed Red Wing in 1968; from several communist groupings in Sao Paulo and other spontaneous nucleuses was formed Marighella's Alliance for National Liberation [ALN]. In the book appearing over his signature in 1970, published in France, Marighella refers prolifically to the background of the Alliance, the problems relative to its organization and other questions of tactical and strategic order on the guerrilla.*

In 1969, finally, there were rural guerrilla attacks, in their majority encouraged by the former governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel Brizola,* and some former sergeants. Around the middle of 1969, all these groups of guerrillas were confronted systematically and fought by the authorities. Some were defeated and others managed to regroup until they were finally annihilated.

124. It is in the active period of armed struggle in Brazil that Marighella --killed on 4 November 1969 in a clash with the authorities--wrote the guerrilla minimanual, published at the beginning of 1970, to which reference was made. In this minimanual Marighella explained the needs, characteristics, conditions and operational methods of the urban guerrillas.

The summarized and direct form in which that adaptation was made had the result of making it immediately become a best-seller for Latin American guerrillas, as far as the practical aspects of the guerrilla were concerned. Its influence on the methods of action of the greatest part of the rebel groups in the urban centers of the continent is undeniable.

With the obvious power of being something that could be realized, this manual, which was distributed with the title of "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," but which deserved to be called the "Minimanual for the Urban Criminal," condenses and simplifies the characteristics of the guerrilla

* Carlos Marighella "Liberating Action," Document of Liberation Action. The role of revolutionary action in the organization. On problems and principles of strategy. Questions of organization. On rural guerrillas. Guerrilla operations and tactics, and so forth. Paris, 1970, Maspero.

* Brizola sought refuge in Uruguay where he cultivated a close relationship with UP leader Enrique Erro and other Uruguayan extremists.

of the city, fact that has been demonstrated in various countries of Latin America. Its reading has a direct effect, like a shock, on the minds of the more simple, less gifted militant, motivating him to engage in criminal action. Its examination reveals with insuperable clarity that it is not a matter of isolated explosions, the result of improvisation, but a work of organized, systematic, coherent subversion with technical objectives and men well trained in crime, murder, robbery, sabotage, terrorism and all types of activities destructive of free and normally well constituted human society.

Profusely disseminated among the subversive movements of the entire world, and not always known by authorities and organizations charged with security, it is necessary to have a general, summarized idea of the content of this document as contained in the following paragraph. The version used for this purpose is the one disseminated by Havana at the beginning of 1970.*

b. Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

125. The guerrilla--The urban guerrilla member is defined with the criminal traits which in reality characterize him: an implacable enemy of order who systematically causes harm to society and the authorities and men who exercise power or have some authority over him. His main task is to distract, erode and demoralize the Armed Forces in addition to attacking, robbing and devastatingly destroying the goods and properties of foreign companies, particularly those of the United States and the great bourgeosie. No one should be bothered by the accusations of holdup man, terrorist and so forth with which the reactionaries are accustomed to labeling the guerrillas. On the contrary, that must be considered "as a reason for pride because to be a holdup man or a terrorist today is a condition that ennobles any man, since it means exactly the actions of the revolutionary who fights with weapons in hand."

Revolutionary war is expressed through the urban guerrilla, psychological war or rural guerrilla warfare. The mainstay of urban guerrilla warfare or psychological war in the city is the urban guerrilla member. The urban guerrilla member is an armed man who fights using unconventional means. The career military man or the police at the service of the government has modern weapons and vehicles. He can move freely to any place using the power of strength. The urban guerrilla, in turn, does not have those resources and carries out a clandestine and criminal activity. Many times he is a convict or sentenced to preventive imprisonment and is forced to use false documents and to seek refuge in clandestinity.

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* TRICONTINENTAL NO 16 January-February 1970. It is also in the book by Marighella published by Maspero, quoted previously.

Living conditions--The manner of living and surviving of the urban guerrilla is characterized by these traits:

He must live from his employment or his own normal activity. He must not wear clothing that is different from that of other people; extravagant or latest-style clothing is not suitable for the urban guerrilla who has to act in worker zones or districts or in places where such garb is not common.

He must have a great capacity for observation and be well informed. Precisely because he engages in armed struggle, he has few possibilities of living for a long time from his normal profession or employment. That is where the role of robbery comes in, which subversive organizations call "expropriation:" "It is impossible for the urban guerrilla to subsist and survive without expropriations," which is what the urban guerrilla does when he commits holdups and robberies to maintain the revolution, the organization and to maintain himself.

Within the class struggle, armed struggle by the urban guerrilla has two essential purposes:

the murder, the "liquidation" of the commanders and subordinates of the armred forces and police;

"expropriations" must be aimed preferably and systematically against the bank network. For this purpose the guerrilla member must be willing to kill the police or those who exercise repression and even those who accidentally hinder or place in danger a criminal operation of this type. The loot from the "expropriation" must be used for guerrilla apprenticeship and technical perfectioning of the guerrilla members; the purchase, manufacture and transportation of weapons and ammunition to the rural zone; the security apparatus of the terrorists, the daily maintenance of them, those who are freed from jail through armed force, and of those who are wounded or pursued by the police. This is what the seditious movements call "self-financing."

The urban guerrilla member must be dedicated to "making expropriations from the exploiters of the people" 24 hours a day.

127. Technical training--The essential aspect of the guerrilla member's technical training consists of the following:

Learning the handling of weapons such as the revolver, the automatic, the machine pistol (submachinegun), automatic weapons such as the FAL, shotguns and carbines, mortars, bazookas, munitions and explosives, particularly dynamite, the use of incendiary, smoke and other types of bombs, manufacture and repair of weapons, preparation of Molotov cocktails, mines, homemade destructive devices, techniques of blowing up buildings, installations, bridges, railroads, and so forth.

Learning the handling of automobiles, motorboats or sailboats, airplanes, and understanding things about radio, electricity, mechanics, telephones, and acquiring some idea of electronic techniques.

Learning how to forge documents so that he can live within the society he has to destroy.

128. Weapons--Weapons must be light, easily repaired, generally captured from the armed forces or police. Their outstanding characteristic must be that they can be used quickly and be easily transported. Automatic and semiautomatic weapons will increase the firepower of the urban guerrilla but are hard to control and also mean an enormous expenditure of ammunition.

Experience has shown that the basic weapon of the urban guerrilla is the submachinegun or the machine pistol, which is held in great respect by the enemy and is easy to fire in the urban zone.

Each guerrilla fire group must have a submachinegun in the hands of a good shot. The other members of the group must be armed with handguns--revolvers or pistols. Hand grenades and smoke bombs are light weapons used to cover retreats. Homemade weapons can be as effective as those industrially made. Such is the case of Molotov cocktails, gasoline bombs, pipe and tin can bombs, mortars for throwing bombs, mines, smoke bombs, explosives made of dynamite and potassium chloride, gelignite capsules and plastic explosives. The metal-working worker and the machine lathe are basic tools called upon to play an extremely important role in urban guerrilla warfare.

129. Combat organization--The reason for existence of the urban guerrilla member, the essential condition of his actions and survival, is that of shooting. The urban guerrilla member must be an excellent shot, ready to kill without vacillations or commiserations, and he has to shoot first because otherwise he will be killed. Shooting and aiming are most essential elements for an urban guerrilla member.

The basic combat cell is the fire group made up of four or five persons with great trust among themselves. The higher organization above of the fire group is the fire team made up of two fire groups as a minimum, strictly compartmentalized and separated, articulated and coordinated with each other by one or two persons. The group above the fire team is the strategic command, that is, the command of the guerrilla organization itself, which has groups and/or fire teams directly subordinated for fulfillment of special tasks, including support for other fire groups who may find themselves in a bind or have operational needs.

The fire group must plan and execute actions of urban guerrilla warfare. This means that except for priority actions subordinated to strategic interests any fire group can decide on guerrilla actions by itself: a bank holdup, a kidnapping, an "execution," that is, the premeditated

murder of agents or officials of the government, political figures of the center or the right, or of persons identified with foreign interests of a commercial or official nature. It can also carry out any action of psychological warfare without the need for consultation with the main command.

What is sought here is that no fire group should remain inactive waiting for higher orders because its duty is to act constantly: "The initiative is free and the only thing that is of interest is that the volume of urban guerrilla activity increase substantially so as to erode the government and force it to go on the defensive."

130. Logistics and Techniques

While conventional logistics for regular armies is represented by the formula Food, Fuel, Equipment and Munitions, that of the urban guerrilla, which begins at zero and initially has no support,* is expressed by the formula Motorization, Money, Weapons, Munitions and Explosives. Every good urban guerrilla member must be an expert driver so that he may expropriate the vehicle he needs, a prior step to the ambush which allows him to surprise the enemy and take away his weapons, equipment, vehicles and other resources he can "expropriate."

As far as technique is concerned, that is, the resources used by the urban guerrilla member in his activity, it is characterized by three basic traits, to wit:

aggressiveness, that is, an eminently offensive nature.

simultaneous aptitude for an attack as well as for retreat.

capacity for eroding, demoralizing and destroying enemy forces, making possible the emergence and survival of the rural guerrilla.

For Marighella, loyal to the Castroite guerrilla theory, the urban guerrilla is not a decisive factor within revolutionary struggle, but a support or help to the rural guerrilla which is the only one that has the most capacity for combat and is, therefore, in a condition to become the "army of national liberation," which in turn is the only one that can win over regular armies. That is why when a rural guerrilla movement in a country dissolves its forces to become an urban guerrilla, it is an unmistakable sign of its failure. However, when the urban and rural guerrillas exist at the same time, the degree of subversion in that country can be considered alarming.

* As is known, this is not exact because from its beginnings the guerrilla received support in weapons, money and men from abroad as been seen previously.

131. Success factors--The urban guerrilla member has success on his side if he has certain initial advantages such as the following:

He takes the enemy by surprise.

He knows the field of operations better than the enemy.

He has more mobility than the enemy.

He has a better intelligence service.

He has a high degree of capacity for decision.

The surprise factor resides in five essential elements of which generally the enemy is completely unaware, to wit:

Exact knowledge of the condition of the enemy through direct intelligence and observations.

Exact knowledge of the forces in the selected site.

Savings and concentration of forces in the selected site.

Selection and determination of the site, time and duration of the attack.

Knowledge and determination of the withdrawal route and the means for covering it.

Knowledge of the terrain consists of familiarization with the streets, avenues, shortcuts, rough terrain and corners of population centers, empty lots, passageways, sewer networks, depressions, twists and turns, normal and secret passageways, abandoned areas, underbrush, gullies, ravines, streets under repair, police posts, military, restricted or prohibited traffice zones, tunnel entrances, viaducts that must be compulsorily traveled, street lights or traffic lights, and so forth.

All have to be known and carefully studied and learned by the urban guerrilla member to avoid fatal mistakes.

Mobility and quickness require these conditions:

Motorization.

Knowledge of the terrain.

Cutting or interruption of means of communication and transportation.

Light and efficient weapons.

The urban guerrilla member must carry out his operations in different places of the logistic bases of the police or security forces. The telephone is the first target in the technique of depriving the enemy of the means of giving the alarm and defending himself and for placing communications means out of action.

With respect to movement and to obtain a greater margin of security than that of the public forces it is advisable to:

Intercept these forces intentionally with other vehicles, simulating an accident or accidental malfunctions, but in all cases the vehicles must not be local or have legal license plates.

Obstruct the road with fallen trees, rocks, ditches and false traffic signs.

Place homemade mines on the road, throw Molotov cocktails to burn enemy automobiles and then fire bursts of machinegun fire at the motors or tires of pursuing vehicles.

With respect to intelligence, to prevent the enemy from obtaining information through traitors or informers in the guerrilla group, or through the infiltration of spies into the organization, the urban guerrilla member must:

Reveal the informers, spies, traitors and provocatuers to the people.

Physically eliminate spies once they are known.

Obtain information that covers everything, including the apparently most insignificant aspects. A large quantity of information on paydays, business, plans of all types, opinions, points of view, state of mind of person, trips, interior of buildings, offices, operations centers and so forth may be peacefully gathered in places of work.

Read the press organs and pay particular attention to mass communications media.

The processing of all this information will give the urban guerrilla a great superiority and facilitate the exercise of his capacity for decision.

132. Objectives--The objectives of the urban guerrilla are: Provoke the destruction of the industrial-financial-economic-cultural-military-political complex in power.

Weaken the public security system.

Attack on all flanks and with many different armed groups made up of small numbers of men who trust each other.

Provoke the incessant erosion of the government and its public order and security services, forcing it to deploy special guards for the protection of banks, factories, barracks, prisons, public offices, ration and television stations, foreign commercial firms, filling stations, oil refineries, ports, ships, airports, bridges, hospitals, blood banks, warehouses, garages, embassies and residences of prominent persons of the government.

Gradually increase disturbances by the urban guerrilla with an endless sequence of unforeseeable actions so that the government forces are completely absorbed in the urban areas and cannot pursue the rural guerrillas without danger of leaving the cities unprotected and seeing the rebellion grow in them.

Force the armed forces and police, with their commanders, chiefs and subordinates, to change the relative comfort and peace of their garrisons for a state of alarm and growing nervous tensions.

Limit the struggle to short, fast attacks with resounding results.

133. Operations and methods--The following operations and methods of urban guerrilla struggle are expressly recommended:

Holdups

Occupations

Ambushes

Street tactics

Strikes and work interruptions

Desertions, acquisition of weapons from deserters, capture and expropriations of weapons, munitions and explosives.

Rescue of prisoners

Executions

Kidnappings

Sabotage

Terrorism

Psychological warfare (armed propaganda and war of nerves).

Holdups are armed attacks for the purpose of stealing funds, explosives, weapons and munitions and to free prisoners. To insure their success the following must be done: shoot at the tires of vehicles to prevent pursuit, lock people up in bathrooms and toilets; immobilize guards, taking their weapons, wear wigs and disguises, and so forth.

Raids or invasions are quick attacks on establishments located in the worker districts or in the center of the city to cause damage, punish and terrorize, carry out reprisals or rescue prisoners or the wounded or those who are under treatment under police vigilance, destroy supplies, garages or vehicles, and damage installations, above all if the companies and properties are U. S. or foreign owned.

Occupations consist of remaining in certain establishments or places for a temporary resistance or to carry out an act of propaganda, and they are particularly recommended for factories, schools, radio broadcasting stations and the faster the better.

Ambushes are surprise attacks in which the enemy is trapped when he travels on a road, highway, or bridge or attempts to surround a farm or a house. The urban guerrilla sniper is the type of fighter particularly indicated for ambushes and murder with impunity. Hidden on the roofs of buildings under construction, in windows and hidden places of apartments, he is in an excellent position to fire with sure aim at selected victims.

Street tactics have the purpose of placing obstacles to police and military service actions with the participation of the masses, building barricades, tearing up cobblestones from the pavement or the slabs from paths, burning used tires, using materials from projects under construction or demolition, throwing objects such as rocks, bricks, bottles and all types of projectiles at the forces of order.

Street tactics have generated a new type of urban guerrilla member who takes part in mass demonstrations. He is known as an "urban guerrilla demonstrator" and he participates in gatherings and demonstrations by the people to accomplish defined and specific missions.

These missions may consist of throwing rocks and projectiles of all types, sprinkling gasoline to burn buildings, vehicles and installations, discharging firearms against the public forces, kidnapping public service agents, and so forth.

The guerrilla operation known as "fence within a fence" is that in which a large group of urban guerrillas surrounds a group of policemen to take their weapons or to free a comrade they are holding under arrest.

Strikes and work interruptions are the methods used in work places or educational installations to cause harm through cessation of activities by those who work or study and to create dissension, disorder and chaos.

Desertions and surrender of weapons are recommended for execution in barracks, ships, hospitals and other military installations. They imply the infiltration of rumormongers, agitators and saboteurs into military establishments to sow discontent and provoke uprisings by soldiers and subaltern cadres, inciting them to desert, taking their weapons with them for the supply and use of the guerrillas. Another method is that of preparing ambushes against policy or military personnel and the vehicles in which they travel so as to be able to murder them by surprise without running any risk.

The rescue of prisoners is the result of a joint action by the urban guerrilla at liberty and the imprisoned guerrilla, through actions such as the following:

Riots in fails, correctional farms and similar establishments.

Attacks on urban penitentiaries, precincts, or any other place where prisoners are kept temporarily.

Attacks on trains and vehicles transporting prisoners.

Ambushes of convoys carrying prisoners.

Execution is the cold and stealthy murder of those who in the jargon of the guerrillas are called "North American spies," agents of the government or the police, or of so-called informers, spies or agents of the latter.

Marighella emphasizes certain characteristics of this barbarous homicide: "...execution is a secret action with the participation of the smallest possible number of urban guerrilla members. On many occasions a single, solitary and unknown sniper, who acts in the most absolute clandestinity and with the greatest of cold-bloodedness, is all that is necessary."

Kidnappings have the purpose of obtaining an exchange or the freedom of guerrilla members who have fallen into the hands of the police or justice by the person kidnapped. "The kidnapping of persons who are well known because of their artistic or sports activities or because of other well-known qualities, who do not show any political tendencies, can be a form of propaganda for revolutionary objectives, providing that it takes place under very special circumstances and the kidnapped persons is treated in a sympathetic manner acceptable to the people." Among the "revolutionary objectives," as much as the release of imprisoned guerrilla members, is the acquisition of funds, dissemination of the movement's propaganda throughout the world and the moral and hierarchical weakening of the government.

Sabotage is an attack with the destructive objective of damaging, harming, making inoperable and destroying vital property and points of the country such as:

The national economy.

Agricultural and industrial production.

Military and police systems and their establishments and supplies.

U. S. or foreign companies and properties in the country.

Marighella recommends that sabotage be entrusted to those urban guerrilla members who are industrial workers because "they know which industrial branch, factory, machinery or part is most indicated for the destruction of an entire structure."

Terrorism in its simplest expression is the placing of bombs or explosive devices, some of them of great destructive power. It is also the systematic burning of installations, properties, plantations and supplies, as well as the looting to which the masses can be led through instigation of the urban terrorist.

Psychological war covers armed propaganda and the war of nerves. The former is the psychological exploitation of a physical action of robbery, ambush, terrorism, occupation or general combat aimed at demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the public security organizations, the feasibility of action and impunity of the attackers, as well as the usefulness of having the people support them, or at least not supporting the actions of the forces of order. The latter, the war of nerves, has the purpose of misinformation, providing erroneous information to the authorities to create a climate of confusion, nervousness and exhaustion among the repressive organizations and to discredit the state security system. The leaving of false clues, false reports about the placement of bombs and future actions, spreading of false and tendentious rumors, exploitation of mistakes and slips by government officials, false charges before international and church organizations about alleged acts of torture of prisoners by the state security organs, are means especially recommended for eroding and discrediting the government.

134. "Sins"--Pursuant to the classical Marxist-Leninist pattern of self-criticism, Marighella indicates the six faults or sins to which those responsible for leading or participating in urban terrorism are exposed. They are:

Inexperience or underestimation of the enemy.

Boasting and bragging about actions performed.

Vanity because of successes achieved.

Overestimation of their own forces and attempting to perform actions for which they lack conditions.

Haste.

Attacking the enemy when he is most prepared and alert.

Improvision, that is, lack of planning in actions.

135. Choice of schools--Revolution is a social phenomenon that depends on men, weapons and resources. Weapons and resources exist and can be captured and handled but for this it is necessary to have men who in turn must fulfill two indispensable characteristics:

Have a politicorevolutionary motivation.

Have an adequate technicorevolutionary training.

The most suitable human material must be recruited from five sources: worker cadres, peasants who have been attracted to the city by the labor market, students, intellectuals and clergy.

It is in these sources that the personnel for the urban guerrilla must be sought and selected: "It is with this material, beginning with the urban guerrilla, that the armed alliance of the workers and peasants with the students intellectuals and priests is built." The workers and peasants absorbed by the factories are sufficiently motivated by the unions, which are controlled by communists; the students are trained by universities and teaching centers that are completely infiltrated by Marxism-Leninism; and the clergy receive the influence of a decadent church penetrated by the conciliar ideas of a Third World, which claims the figure of Jesus Christ to be the historical forerunner of Marxism.*

136. The Marighella minimanual, as can be seen, is one of the most complete and brief practical lessons on crime and terror achieved by communist subversion in Latin America to mobilize the cadres and the activities of urban guerrillas, not only in Brazil, but also in the other countries of the continent they intend to destroy and conquer. The teachings it transmits provide a clear idea of the enemy who assails us and his real danger, which it would be stupid to hide or try to ignore.

6. Uruguayan Guerrilla

137. Theoretically it is not correct to speak of a Uruguayan guerrilla, which in essence does not exist with its own individuality different from that of the Castro-communist guerrillas heretofore analyzed. To give a quick idea of the type of guerrilla that is historically produced in Uruguay in the period that is under study is the purpose of this chapter under the conventional title of "Uruguayan Guerrilla."

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* Maia Neto "Political Message of Jesus," Translation by Jesualdo, Introduction; Julio de Santa Ana, Montevideo, 1968, Dialogo.

Despite the fact that the main seditious organization, the MLN-T, is examined further on in a detailed manner, it is well to point out here the basic concept on which subversive struggle is based, the method it chooses and the motives of political, social and military nature it invokes, and with which the other seditious groups, offshoots or accidental splinters of it, generally coincide.

138. It was the noisy propaganda of the seditious movement itself that tried to create the myth of a "Tupamaro guerrilla"* which, however, did not present any originality of a theoretical or doctrinaire nature which substantially modifies or rectifies the principles of the Castro-communist guerrilla theory. All the vast Tupamaro "literature" is nothing more than an interminable number of variations of well known Marxist-Leninist and Maoist revolutionary topics without the slightest touch of individuality. What shows from afar is the presence of a movement of intellectuals driven by Marxist irascibility, who seek an outlet for their complex of resentments and hates through communist violence. This also explains the isolation of the MLN-T and other similar organizations, who violating the primary rules of guerrilla theoreticians who inspired them, were always bereft of any popular understanding and support.

The single trait that distinguished them most is perhaps the calculated spectacularity of many of their actions, which changed and enlarged by a great domestic and foreign propaganda, allowed them to weave the portentous and false legend of the alleged feats and cavalier virtues of these seditious groups of apparent invincibility, and tried to hide their incurable Marxist fetishism, their grossly distorted concept of Uruguayan society, their intellectual and political vacuity, their fawning imitation and dependence on foreign methods, and their perverse criminality.

Despite the fame with which successful attempts were made to surround them, that ill-attained fame could only be born and increased as long as no one took them seriously or attributed any importance to them domestically.

The calm impunity with which they were able to move and the publicity given to them by those who were politically interested in promoting them so as to receive a share from their activities, were decisive factors which impelled these criminal, totally artificial and affected groups to increase their excesses and crimes until the armed forces in very few months put an end to them.

139. Like other similar movements in Latin America, the MLN-T sees in armed struggle the only solution for the problems of the country and the first step that will allow reaching, under their leadership, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist society.

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* This is what Maria Esther Gilio, active publicity agent for the MLN-T, titled the collection of journalistic notes which under that title was awarded a prize and published by Casa de las Americas, as was already indicated. (No 86).

With a Marxist view and under the influence of the tactics agreed upon at the LASO Conference, it makes an examination of Uruguay, which had already been advanced by several of the Marxist-Leninist national theoreticians,* and of the geographical conditions of its territory, which leads it to opt for urban guerrilla warfare. In opposition to what took place in other countries of the continent, the Uruguayan countryside does not offer favorable conditions for rural guerrillas. But that is no reason for the revolution to sit around waiting. It can and must be promoted from the city, particularly from the great capital which contains in its immense districts almost half of the country's population and is the animating center for all of national life, creating in it the first revolutionary guerrilla activity centers.

In the city it is relatively easy to find a refuge and even real defense zones in places where vigilance is reduced. While it is not possible to have large units, on the other hand, small units of fighters can be concentrated in the place where they want them or at any given point. The populous cities provide proper conditions for communication and liaison, using public services which the bourgeois state must organize and maintain.

The members of the public forces are almost 50 percent tied down with the protection and defense of fixed objectives. The city always offers a solution to the logistic problem; supply networks are not needed; victuals are almost within hand's reach and the guerrilla finds it easy to reach out and help himself to them.

The urban guerrilla is a man who "works by day" and fights by night. He lives a "normal" life which covers his criminal activity. He does not have to move to a zone hostile to him but acts in his own environment, which he knows and to which he is accustomed. Nevertheless, adaptation to terrain in the urban guerrilla has its specific laws and requires sacrifices and discipline: it is the apprenticeship phase, of the adoption of security rules, accidents, the first clashes, the first negligence and the first errors. Suddenly it pushes many of the militants into clandestinity, which is not as heroic as it seems when viewed from outside.

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* Vivian Trias "Roots, Apogee and Frustration of the National Bourgeoisie," OUR TIME, Montevideo, 5 May 1955; "Stagnation and Internal Crisis of Uruguayan Bourgeoisie," OUR TIME, July 1957, Mario Benedetti, "Postcript 1963" (in "The country of the Straw Tail," editorial Arca, Montevideo, 1957); Ricardo Cetrulo "Crisis of Values: The End of an Era," PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO, Montevideo, 1968; Ariel Collazo "Uruguay is not an Exception," PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, Havana July 1967, cit; Juan Carlos Zaffaroni "Uruguayan Youth Before the Political Ideology of Camilo Torres," CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION, Buenos Aires, April 1968; Carlos Quijano "Reasons for a Crisis," MARCHA, 9 May 1969, and so forth.

The MLN-T discarded the action of democratic political parties and legal methods

Action in mass fronts does not differ from the views of the other Latin American seditious movements similarly influenced by the communist theory of the guerrilla.

It acknowledges that the unions are the main form of mass organization and that the National Convention of Workers [CNT] is the highest degree of expression that the Uruguayan worker movement has had up to now.[6] In it there are united in struggle the workers, laborers and employees of key sectors of the bourgois state, with which they have had many confrontations.[7] But to dissolve them there is no other route than violence, which must be undertaken with a revolutionary perspective that will radicalize the struggle and force the bureaucratic sectors of the Uruguayan Communist Party to declare itself or to stay in the rear like a "caboose."

Although of less importance than the worker class, the student masses are another sector which must be necessarily cultivated and attracted to subversion.

140. The MLN-T also maintains that it should not be necessary to wait for all objective and subjective conditions to be present before fomenting revolution but that they must be created through armed struggle because revolutionary actions are what generate revolutionary situations. These and other well-worn Marxist principles on which the seditious organization bases its theory and tactics do not mean that the rural guerrilla should be discarded. On the contrary, it should also be promoted and in practice it will be attempted, as will be seen later. However, the first basic step, the revolutionary outbreak caused by the characteristics of the country and the conditions under which it lives and which allow the progressive creation of new guerrilla activity centers until it can reach the interior, is the urban guerrilla, and so forth.[8]

FOOTNOTES

1. "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," New York, Harper, 1957.

2. Donald G. Brennan, "Disarmament, Arms Control and National Security," Barcelona, Seix Barral S.A., 1964, Vid., also, the excellent contributions collected in this work by J. B. Wiesner, R. R. Bowvie, R. Fisher, A. Kahn, E. Teller, H. A. Kissinger, T. C. Schelling, A. Doak Barnett and R. S. Leghorn, etc.

3. "On the Struggle for Peace," Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1956, p. 40.

4. "On War, the Army and Military Science," Ministry of Defense Edition, Berlin, 1959.

5. "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1959, p. 231.

6. See CNT Declaration of Principles and Statutes, Law Student Center, Biblioteca Sindical, Talleres Graficos de la Comunidad del Sur, Montevideo, 1967.

7. In only the 15 months between January 1964 and March 1965, there were 657 stoppages, strikes and occupations of factories by employees, private and public. (Statements by the interior minister of the time, Adolfo Tejera, EL PAIS, 27 April 1965) See also, Book II, Chapter I, 1, c, Union Crisis, and IV, 3 Dissolution of the CNT, etc.

8. See Chapters VI and subsequent chapters where those aspects are explained more extensively.

IV. Events
1. Objectives of Latin American Subversion
2. Events and Ideas
3. Chronological Listing of Some Important Events

EVENTS

1. Objectives of Latin American Subversion

141. Without regard to the nuances and variants inherent to each country, Latin American subversion shows common general characteristics in all of them resulting from its identical origins and purposes.

As is documented by preceding chapters, the primary objective of the Latin American subversive movements under the inspiration and guidance of Marxism-Leninism is none other than that of breaking up democratic societies and their governments so as to take power and install communism.

In one way or another all those movements pursue the immediate disintegration of law and order to erode the confidence of the people in the democratic system founded on freedom and tolerance. They steal, kidnap, dynamite and murder until the authorities are forced to restrict individual liberties and crush aggressions in order to safeguard order.

However, by adopting these measures the authorities win for themselves the enmity of the common citizen, who turns against the government. At least this is the reaction that the very small but very determined and active groups expect. If that reaction does not take place, they seek it through provocations and harassments of all types, particularly through accusations, great publicity campaigns, exacerbated criticisms and censures based on the law they wish to destroy against the violation of freedoms which these restrictions imply and against the authoritarianism that the government arrogates to itself by imposing them.

142. An important collateral role on a world level is played here by the international procommunist organizations, previously established or created for the purpose everywhere under various front disguises, which loudly complain against, and are falsely horrified, at the "tyrannical oppression" which the government in question is exercising over its people. A paradox of the perennial bad faith and unfairness of communist tyranny, insuperably defined by this famous demand: "I demand, in the name of your principles, a freedom that I shall thereafter deny you in the name of mine."

Government offices at all echelons, publicity organs and representative organizations are thus covered by a systematic shower of charges made by a variety of organizations and persons from different countries and in all

inflections repeating those things that subversive information and propaganda are spreading against the government.

Limitation of public freedoms, restrictions of the press, union freedoms, persecution of innocent leftist groups, political prisoners and tortures, are all classical charges that are used and systematically exploited in these subtle campaigns of the psychological war that international communism is mobilizing against the "fascist" government in power. Its purpose is no other than that of creating and expanding, through a gigantic publicity campaign, a world mentality of reproach against the government and one of tacit sympathy for subversive which is capable of undermining the confidence of the forces that confront it and weaken them.

These campaigns, in which consciously or unconsciously the newspapers and news agencies collaborate by repeating the continuous lies, are many times originated in, or have influenced, international organizations, including the United Nations where communism and its henchmen maneuver with ease.*

143. The example of the Cuban revolution and the tireless activity displayed by the Castro-communist government to ignite and fuel revolution in Latin American countries, as was seen, gave a powerful emotional and material impetus to subversion throughout the continent. Revolution Cuban style, the waging of armed struggle, the long hair and whiskers of Fidel, Guevara style guerrilla warfare, the proliferation of secret armed bands, differentiated by three or four-letter abbreviations which they used as slogans, all methods embraced by sycophants in a unity around the mystique and surrender to an important adventure for never-clearly-defined objectives and ambitions, quickly became the vogue in all countries of the continent and captured the imaginations of youths and adults, particularly in the upper classes, intellectual fellow travelers, and student, church and artistic groups. It was the fanatical almost religious feelings that communism inspires in its faithful and which it needs in order to prosper.

Wrapped in an aura of this new rebellion, intellectually imbued with the prejudices of the class struggle which Marxist doctrine uses to serve the hegemonic strategy of communism, these movements subtly avail themselves of the economic, political and social conditions of each country, using common slogans of anti-imperialism and anticolonialism, abolishment of the exploitation of man by man, erradication of slavery and poverty, elimination of lackey and servile oligarchies, annihilation of reactionary and gorilla

* Among many, the closest example is offered by the decision of the 60th meeting of the ILO in Geneva in June 1975 to allow the PLO to attend as an "observer." At the same meeting, the representative of the Latin American Workers Permanent Congress for Trade Union Unity [CPUSTAL] attacked Uruguay and supported the CNT and the "heroic struggle it wages, facing the most brutal repression, persecutions and tortures," and so forth.

militarism, national liberation, confrontation of imperialist violence with proletarian violence, the unleashing of revolution with weapons in hand, angry rejection of bourgeois pacifism, legislative and electoral procedure reforms.

Youth in particular will be the favorite objective of the catechization exercised by these insurgent movements, with all the attractions of a new and amusing activity. Youths, who under other circumstances would have had a place in the annals of common crime, see themselves rerouted toward political struggle which offers them the supplementary seduction of safe and profitable remanticism.

144. One driving force will galvinate all these Latin American rebellious and seditious movements: an anti-United States hate and resentment, an irrational, deep hate and resentment against the United States of America, against the "gringos and everything, and against everything of the United States in general, which makes very obvious the responsibility of communism as the source of the inspiration and promotion of such movements, a resentment and hate which, moreover, none of them try to deny but rather all of them loudly acknowledge and proclaim.

Education centers, universities, professorial bodies, unions, state services, churches, journalism, politics, expressions of art and culture--already very disintegrated by the divisive actions accomplished by national communist parties for years--are profoundly contaminated by the uncontainable revolutionary frenzy. Everything is invaded by the new insurgence organized on a continental level, the primary and most important slogan of which was coined in the Castro-communist slogan of the LASO: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution."

The objective of all the Latin American revolutionary movements is to seize power; their intention is the installation of socialism; their main tactical instrument is the guerrilla, the driving force is hate for the enemy.

It is a calculated, cold, inhuman hate, the class hate of dialectic materialism against the "imperialism" embodied by the United States, the living symbol of all vices and evils in creation.

General Kuo Hsing-fu, creator of the new method of military indoctrination of the Chinese communist army, says: "In the struggle against the enemy there is no compassion. If our bayonet breaks in hand to hand combat, we shall fight with sticks, stones, hand and teeth."

And Che Guevara, the ideolog of Castro-communist guerrilla warfare, maintains: "Hate is a factor of struggle; intransigent hate against the enemy, which drives a person beyond the natural limits of the human being and turns him into an efficient, violent, selective and cold killing machine." "All our action is a war cry against imperialism and a clamor

for the unity of all people against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America...How bright and near we could see the future if two, three, many Vietnams were to flourish on the earth's surface with their share of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, with the obligation this would imply for it of having to disperse its forces under the attack of growing hate of the peoples of the world."[1]

145. These clamors and shouts of hate were even adopted in conferences of cultural nature[2] and Nixon himself personally felt the evidence of this feeling, prepared and exacerbated by communism, during his trip which as vice president he made to Latin America in 1958. Particularly in Lima, when he visited the University of San Marcos, and in Caracas, the hostility of communist agitators shows how aversion to the United States and "North American" imperialism among the students and people was orchestrated and managed.[3]

The reason for the existence of this hate has an obvious political explanation, which under the deluge of propaganda and the artifices of psychological warfare, tends to be forgotten: communism knows that the only power, the only force capable of standing up to it and defeating it, and which as a result stands in its way in its march to world conquest, is the United States. Therefore, the United States is its mortal enemy and any way of eroding its power, decreasing its prestige and undermining its resistance is good. What better way of attaining this goal than by creating a feeling of hate that turns people against the United States everywhere?

That action is the key that rules all the international policy of communism, in the fronts of struggle and in world diplomatic forums. That action is what explains the profound reasons for the constant confrontations which for more than 50 years the world has witnessed as if it were a spectator when in fact it is its own future that is in play.

Latin American subversion is only a localized episode in the Western Hemisphere of a tension that covers all regions of the planet in a process that it has undergone up to now in various phases, all of them favorable to Marxism-Leninism; in the future the planet will necessarily have to pass through others, it not being possible yet to foresee the results. What can be predicted, on the other hand, is that the final, the least desirable thing that could happen to the hemisphere and the world, would be to fall to communist barbarity because it would be the same thing as subjecting man once more to the shadows from which he emerged through thousands of years of efforts.

146. Communist revolution, Castro-communist guerrillas, those are the two explosive ingredients that can do no less than explode, and they did explode, setting fire to the continent in all four directions.

How did that Latin American explosion take place?

To outline the general picture of that conflagration through the principal, specific events that took place is precisely the purpose of the present chapter.

The communist principle that the ends justify the means, stolen from Machiavelli and based on the illusion that Marxist doctrine will change morality,* is the reason and calculation behind every domestic and foreign communist action. It is also the golden rule of the Latin American revolution promoted by the Castro regime and the most cherished basis of the principles which govern subversion and the guerrillas, the principal instruments of revolution.

Traditional concepts and vocabularies lose all their meanings: rapine and robbery mean "expropriation;" attacks and housebreaking are "raids;" kidnapping is not a violation of the physical and moral liberty of the human being but a legitimate means for extortion and blackmail; self-financing of the revolution, obtaining concessions or negotiating the release of imprisoned criminals in exchange for the release or the life of the kidnapped persons. Murder becomes "execution," and one of the basic objectives of every guerrilla member is to "liquidate" the commanders and subordinates of the armed forces and police. The criminals who attack, steal, kill or dynamite in this fashion are not criminals but political fighters to whom agreements and customs on the humanization of war are fully applicable by every right. The very label of holdup man, robber,

* "Devotion to communism--behavior fitting to the needs of constructing the communist society--is the moral behavior of the people. We judge the moral picture of a man by considering whether his actions are in keeping with that which is necessary for the construction of communism." (Communist Morality, Moscow 1963, edit. Molodaya Gvardiya). One of the many sophisms of communist theory, as shall be seen, which self-interestedly merges official morality, which the system imbues with the pragmatic content of its own materialistic philosophy, with the ethics that lead human beings to act constantly in keeping with the eternal values of goodness and virtue and for which reason, they never change.

criminal or terrorist is no insult to anyone. One the contrary, as Marighella says: "It is a title of pride which ennobles anyone." This is the doctrine, those are the objectives, those are the tactical instruments and weapons of Latin American subversion.

All that remains is to see the main events into which this organized form of aggression is translated throughout the continent.

2. Events and Ideas

147. It is not the purpose of this book to study subversion in each Latin American country. The need for the reader to have before his eyes a sufficiently clear and comprehensive picture of some of the most significant incidents of continental subversion that will allow him to evaluate and judge for himself the points of similarity and the connotations that they have with the process of Uruguayan subversion, forces us, nevertheless, to provide at least a somewhat orderly narration of those events. In a few cases, and for the same reasons, the chronology also includes references to incidents that took place in other non-American countries, which because of their direct links to the case in point, cannot be omitted.

148. The truth is that all the problems of Latin American economy, sociology and politics in the period examined are a matter for analysis and discussion in the light of the importance that subversion attributes to them. It is not that these discussions and analyses did not exist before, as did the events and questions that were the topics of them, but because subversion renews them, updates them and aggravates them in keeping with its own purposes. The views and conclusions that those analyses produce, change in the general course of ideas and events, affecting one and the other, reactivating them, intermingling them and causing their reciprocal interaction.

Like any other social phenomenon, subversion is necessarily influenced and conditioned by the play of events and ideas, which after all make up the natural ingredients of history. It is that vast and subtle field of public discussion, which like events themselves, contributes to providing a proper panoramic view for appreciating them and evaluating them with equanimity.

Public news, articles and commentaries of the daily press, the communiques, publications, speeches, meetings and conferences, international news, studies, works on theories, doctrines or criticism here and there, which events arouse among impartial and disinterested observers and researchers or among the partisans or accomplices of subversion, help to find the key to unravel the meaning of those events and to understand the logic of their happening and their relationship.

Such a wealth of informative material also allows one to discern the support and encouragement, covert or overt, that is provided to subversion and its protagonists, as well as to pinpoint the harmonious orchestration of the communist, procommunist, progressive or seditious choir, domestic and international, that guides and cheers them on. At the same time, it provides a solid and incontrovertible base for the affirmations, observations and conclusions that must be drawn from these events. It facilitates a deeper analysis and makes possible the confirmation or correction of those conclusions.

149. In the list that follows, the events and publications cited are placed according to the date on which they were produced. When for some easily understood reason (frequently the case in books and pamphlets), it is not possible to indicate the date, the month is given and if it is not possible to give the month, the year is given at the beginning.

A like method is employed in Chapter XIV with the chronology of Uruguayan subversion, consultation of which at the same time as that of the list of Latin American events and vice versa would be of extreme usefulness to the reader.

3. Chronological View of Some Important Events

150. The following list is in the order in which events occurred with an indication of the year, day, month and country. The numerical sequence on the margin is for the purpose of individualizing them and making it possible to cite them in the aforementioned indexes. The sequence is headed by the number of this paragraph followed by the corresponding number: 150/1, 150/420 and so forth.

The listing, it is repeated, is not exhaustive but is a sort of example, which explains why there are omissions of events and situations, which if included would make this book too long and alter its structure and purpose.



Castro enters Havana

1 1959-- 1 Jan--CUBA--Fulgencio Batista, up to this time president of the republic, abandons the island, overthrown by the guerrilla movement headed by Fidel Castro, who from his hideout in the Orients Province mountains ordered a general strike, including in the publication of dailies and magazines, which paralyzed the entire country.

2 31 Jan--VENEZUELA--Fidel Castro, chief of the victorious guerrilla movement in Cuba, made a speech at the University of Caracas in which he proposes the creation of a revolutionary organization for the countries of the Caribbean zone and he affirms the need for taking revolution to the Dominican Republic subjected to the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina.

3 7 Feb--CUBA--The Fundamental Law which replaces the 1940 Constitution and establishes the bases for the new institutional regulation of the country* is passed.

4 18 Apr--PANAMA--An armed expedition, of which many members are soldiers of the Cuban revolutionary army, landed at "Nombre de Dios" Beach and are overcome by the Panamanian National Guard.

4[1] May--ARGENTINA--Juan Jose Arevalo, "Anticommunism in Latin America," Buenos Aires, Palestra.

5 28 May--CENTRAL AMERICA--Transport No 508 of the Cuban Air Force transports a shipment of weapons with which guerrilla operations are initiated against Nicaragua.

6 5 June--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Authorities confirm the participation of the Cuban charge d'affairs, Juan Jose Diaz del Real, in conspiracies against the government, which leads to his hasty flight from the country.

7 8 June--CUBA--The government recreates the news wire agency AGENCIA INFORMATIVE PRENSA LATINA AMERICANA S.A.--created initially in Argentina by Gen Juan D. Peron--which is destined to become the continental and world news agency of the Cuban government.

8 10 June--HAITI--The government expels Cuban Ambassador Antonio Rodriguez Echazabal for participating in subversive activities.

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* This law will be changed some 16 times from its passage until 1960, when the communist character of the Castro regime was already publicly known.

9 14 June--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Cuban expeditionary forces transported by Cuban military aircraft landed at Constanza and Puerto Plata under the command of Delio Gomez Ochoa and Enrique Jimenez Moya, members of the Cuban Revolutionary Army.

10 14 August--HAITI--Cuban forces land at Les Irois under the command of Henry Fuentes, alias "El Argelino," a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Army.

11 28 September--HONDURAS--Authorities confirm that Cuban Ambassador Silvino Sorhegui participated in subversive activities.

12 24 October--PANAMA--Authorities confirm that Cuban Ambassador Jose Antonio Cabrera Vila and Cuban agent Gregorio Ortega are responsible for inciting the peasants of Chiriqui to mobilize to march on the Canal.

13 Nov--CHILE--The first Congress of Women of America is held in Santiago under the auspices of the International Federation of Democratic Women.

14 December--PERU--Insurgent groups attack U. S. plantations and companies, among them the "Cerro Pasco Corporation."

15 1960-- ARGENTINA--Leland H. Jenks, "Our Colony of Cuba," Buenos Aires.

16 BRAZIL--J. F. de Camargo, "Economic Demography," Libreria Progreso, Bahia.

17 CHILE--Hernan Ramirez Necochea, "The History of Imperialism in Chile," Santiago.

17[1] UNITED STATES--Joseph Novak "The Future is Ours, Comrade," New York, Doubleday & Co. Inc.

18 UNITED STATES--Robert Strauzs-Hupe, William Kintner, James Daugherty and Alvin Cottrell, "Protracted Conflict," University of Pennsylvania, Foreign Policy Institute.

18[1] 1960-- FRANCE--Giuseppe Boffa, "Le Grand Tournant (de Stalin a Khrouchtchev)," Paris, Maspero.

18[2] 8 Jan--ARGENTINA--Fidel Castro, "The Cuban Revolution," Buenos Aires, Palestra.

19 27 Jan--BOLIVIA--The press accuses Cuban Ambassador in La Paz, Jose Tabares of organizing and participating in subversive activities.

20 15 Mar--ECUADOR--Authorities discover the intervention by Cuban Ambassador Mariano Rodriguez Solveira in a campaign of agitation to provoke conflicts in Peru.

21 April--JAMAICA--The Cuban consul is expelled after his connections with agitator Rastafarians Claudis Henry are confirmed.

22 19 April--GUATEMALA--The government confirms the participation by Cuban Ambassador Antonio Rodriguez Echazabal in the organization of disturbances and riots and it breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba.

23 May--PERU--In a flight to Buenos Aires via Peru, Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado leaves a shipment of automatic weapons at the Lima airport, which are subsequently distributed among extremist elements of that country by the Cuban embassy in Peru.

24 6 June--PARAGUAY--The government declares the Cuban charge d'affaires, Hector Gallo Portilles, "persona non grata."

25 11 July--NICARAGUA--The government verifies that Cuban Ambassador Quintin Pino Machado is helping the guerrillas operating in the country and it breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba.

25[1] 18 July--CUBA--The magazines CARTELES, VANIDADES and BOHEMIA are confiscated. Administrative and editorial personnel of these magazines seek asylum in various embassies accredited in Havana; among them is Miguel A. Quevedo, friend of Fidel Castro and collaborator in his government from the beginning, whose last editorial the authorities prevented from being published.

26 22 July ARGENTINA--Police authorities seize a Cuban diplomatic pouch containing subversive material and instructions sent from Havana to Argentine terrorist cells.

26[1] 24 July--VENEZUELA--An attempt is made to assassinate President Romulo Betancourt under circumstances during which the car that was carrying him to view an armed forces parade in Caracas was blown up by means of radio signals which caused another car loaded with explosives parked along the route to explode.

27 26 July--CUBA--A rally to commemorate the revolution is held in Santiago, Oriente Province, in which Fidel Castro urges the people to assume the commitment of turning "the Andes Mountain Range into the Sierra Maestra of the American Continent."

28 VENEZUELA--Cuban Charge d'affaires Guillermo Leon Antich heads a demonstration which stones the cathedral of Caracas and he participates in the riots that take place in the city the same day.

29 August--CUBA--The Federation of Cuban Women [FMC] is created in Havana under the auspices of the International Federation of Democratic Women [FIMD].

30 VENEZUELA--Cuban Charge d'affairs Guillermo Leon Antich is accused of distributing $400,000 to finance a conspiracy against the government.

31 PERU--The government accuses the Cuban embassy of financing the insurgent movement of Cerro de Pasco.

32 27 August--CHILE--The authorities seize propaganda and weapons introduced clandestinely from Cuba on an aircraft that had brought aid to earthquake victims.

33 September--PERU--Authorities seize two tons of Castroite propaganda consigned to the Cuban embassy.

34 1960-- 2 Sept--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech in the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana in which he reaffirms his trust that Latin America will march united and will win against U. S. imperialism, and he ratifies in the name of Cuba "before Latin America and before the entire world, as a historic pledge, its irrevocable choice: Fatherland or Death."

35 PUERTO RICO--The government expels Cuban Consul in San Juan, Angelica Cruz Espinosa for activities against the country's security.

36 Oct--PARAGUAY--Authorities seize a shipment of Castroite propaganda from Cuba at the Limatambo airport.

37 3 Oct--ARGENTINA--Cuban Ambassador Americo Cruz Fernandez is expelled when it is confirmed that he participated in a subversive plot.

38 23 Oct--PERU--Authorities discover links between the Cuban embassy and the guerrillas operating in the mountains, which leads to the flight from that country by Cuban ambassador Luis Ricardo Alonso Fernandez.

39 Nov--USSR--The conference of 81 communist parties of the world is held in Moscow in which the use of the "liberation movements" and antiwestern nationalisms existing in some countries would be adopted as a new political line of international communism. The declaration approved by this conference is an open call to a general offensive by the communists of the world in favor of plans of world conquest. It urges attacks against all noncommunist governments and the intensification of the class struggle. It

points out the United States as the "main support of present-day colonialism" and as "the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism." It points out the importance of having communism spread "its work in the unions and cooperatives, among peasants, youth, women, sports organizations and unorganized sectors of the population." Referring to youth it says: "There are now new opportunities for attracting the generation of youths to the struggle for peace and democracy and for the great ideals of communism," and so forth.

39[1] 8 Nov--MEXICO--Georg Schwarzenberger, "The Policy of Power," Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica.

40 13 Nov--GUATEMALA--Guerrilla groups occupy Puerto Barrios and Zacapa under the leadership of army officers Marco Antonio Yon Sosa and Luis Turcios Lima.

41 December--PERU--Cuban exiles seize secret documents of the Cuban embassy in Lima which show the interference by the embassy in subversive activities in Peru.

42 December--EL SALVADOR--The authorities accuse Cuban Charge d'affaires Roberto Lasalle del Amo of financing subversive activities in the country.

43 3 December--COLOMBIA--The senate requests that the government order the immediate departure of Cuban Ambassador Adolfo Rodriguez Veiga from national territory.

44 8 December--BOLIVIA--Cuban Ambassador Jose Tabares is expelled from the country after he was accused by the press on 27 January of engaging in subversive activities.

45 15 December--VENEZUELA--Authorities seize a shipment of weapons on a coastal region and at an abandoned airport.

46 30 December--CUBA--Law No 901 is passed, which creates the Cuban Institute for Friendship with People [ICAP], an instrument for communist infiltration of Latin America.

47 31 December--PERU--The government breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba.

48 1961-- ARGENTINA--Helio Jaguaribe, "Bourgeosie and Proletariat in Brazilian Nationalism," Buenos Aires, Coyoacan.

49 CUBA--Harvey O'Connor, "The Empire of Petroleum," Havana.

50 CHILE--Ricardo Lagos Escobar, "Concentration of Economic Power, Its Theory, Chilean Reality," Santiago.

50[1] UNITED STATES--Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, "Questions and Answers of Communism," Boston, St. Paul Editions.

50[2] UNITED STATES--Oscar Lewis, "The Children of Sanchez, Autobiography of a Mexican Family," New York, Random House (Vintage Books).

51 PRC--Mao Tse-Tun, "Selected Works," Peking.

52 1961-- FRANCE--"Fidel Castro Speaks" Paris, Maspero.

53 FRANCE--"Le Droit a l'Insoumission," Paris, Maspero.

54 FRANCE--Andre Mandouze, "La Revolution Algerienne par les Texts," Paris, Maspero.

55 MEXICO--Ana Maria Flores, "The Magnitude of Hunger in Mexico," Mexico.

56 January--PANAMA--The government declares Cuban Ambassador Jose Antonio Cabrera Vila "persona non grata."

57 4 January--HONDURAS--Cuban Consul in Puerto Cortez Edelberto Diaz Alvarez is expelled when it is confirmed that he intervened in the agitations in the banana zone.

57[1] ARGENTINA--Joaquin Coca, "The Conspiracy," Buenos Aires, Coyoacan.

58 20 Jan--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech from the presidential palace in which among other things he bitterly censures the "worms" as agents of imperialism and he claimed the right of Cubans of creating guerrillas in Latin America: "It is strange," he says, "that imperialism resorted to guerrilla warfare, a tactic which we the Cuban revolutionaries created in America," and so forth.

59 26 January--COLOMBIA--Senator Alfonso Munoz Prado charges that in the zone of the coffee plantations of Caldas the Cuban embassy organizes a subversive campaign.

59[1] February--SPAIN--J. F. Kennedy, "Strategy for Peace," Barcelona, Plaza and Jones.

60 11 February--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech in Havana in which he says that "Cuba feels it has the right to encourage revolution in Latin America."

61 19 March--COLOMBIA--Senator Lizardo Ospina accuses the Cuban Charge d'affaires, Antonio Prisco Porto and the third secretary of the embassy, Blanca Diaz Collazo, of financing the guerrillas operating in Antioquia.

62 14 Mar--MEXICO--The Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, financed by the Cuban government is held in Mexico.

63 19 March--ECUADOR--Authorities publish photocopies of correspondence between Cuban Ambassador Roberto Lasalle del Amo and the Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa Garcia on the progress of subversion in El Salvador.

63[1] 28 March--HONDURAS--Authorities reveal the seizure of Cuban propaganda and uniforms in the northern zone of the country, distributed by personnel of the Cuban consulate at Puerto Cortez.

64 April--BRAZIL--Authorities accuse the Cuban embassy of distributing books by Mao Tse-tung and Ernesto Guevara de la Serna.

65 April--CUBA--Cuban expeditionaries, enemies of Fidel Castro, try to land on the island to invade it and are captured at the Bay of Pigs.

66 18 April--MEXICO--Communist agitators financed by the Cuban embassy provoke disturbances in Puebla and Morelia.

67 1 May--CUBA--"RADIO HAVANA" inaugurates its transmissions abroad by shortwave using the Spanish, English, French and Portuguese languages.

68 May--CUBA--The Congress of Central American Students is held in Havana.

69 May--CUBA--The VII Congress of the International Students Union is held in Havana under the slogan "Latin America Against Yankee Imperialism."

70 19 May--BOLIVIA--Authorities discover links existing between insurgent groups of Bolivia and the Cuban Charge d'affaires, Mauro Garcia Triana.

71 2 June--VENEZUELA--Authorities seize 500 Czechoslovak submachineguns and Castroite propaganda in an abandoned airport.

72 13 June--CHILE--Authorities confirm the financing and organization of riots against the visit of U. S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson by the Cuban Charge d'affaires in Santiago, Jose Raul Viera Linares.

72[1] 1961-- 22 June--ARGENTINA--Roberto Ares Pons "Uruguay, Province or Nation," Buenos Aires, Coyoacan.

73 23 June--BOLIVIA--Cuban Charge d'affaires Mauro Garcia Triana is expelled for participating in subversive activities.

74 28 June--MEXICO--Authorities seize more than three tons of Castro-communist propaganda consigned to the Cuban embassy in Mexico, at the Mexico City airport.

74[1] 30 June--ARGENTINA--Oscar Wais, "Latin America," Buenos Aires, Iguazu.

75 July--CUBA--The preparatory meeting for the Congress of Women of America to be held the following year is held in Havana.

76 July--CUBA--The meeting of Latin American Union Leaders is held in Havana.

77 12 July--PANAMA--Authorities seize the Cuban embassy plans for causing disturbances on 26 July.

78 26 July--PANAMA--The Cuban Charge d'affaires fires on an anti-Castro demonstration.

79 28 July--CHILE--Cuban Ambassador in Santiago Juan Jose Diaz del Real departs hastily for Havana when his participation in subversive activities is discovered.

80 August--CUBA--The II Meeting of Latin American Workers is held in Havana.

81 August--CUBA--The Congress of Writers and Artists is held in Havana.

82 21 August--MEXICO--Authorities at the Mexico City airport seize four tons of communist propaganda to Cuban embassies in Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay.

83 25 September--CUBA--Agreements for the development of the fishing industry and the construction of the Havana Fishing Port are signed with the USSR.*

84 October--COSTA RICA--Armando Villanueva del Campo, "Democratic Parties--Revolutions in Indo-America" COMBATE No 18, Sept-Oct, San Jose, Costa Rica.

* This leads to Cuba becoming a Soviet base for espionage and subversion with extensions to the entire continent.

85 October--USSR--The XXII PCSU Congress is held in Moscow in which the political line of using the "wars of liberation" established by the Conference of 81 Communist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960 is consolidated.

86 November--CUBA--The V World Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions is held in Havana.

87 4 November--ECUADOR--The government orders the expulsion of Cuban Charge d'affaires Pedro Martinez Perez for intervention in subversive activities.

88 21 December--CUBA--Fidel Castro, leader of the revolutionary movement and Cuban prime minister, declares officially that Cuba is "a communist state, an advocate of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine."

89 1962-- ARGENTINA--Gino Germani, "Politics and Society in an Era of Transition," Buenos Aires, Paidos.

90 ARGENTINA--Gregorio Selser, "Diplomacy, the Club and Dollars in Latin America," Buenos Aires.

91 UNITED STATES--Robert J. Alexander, "Communism in Latin America," New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press.

92 UNITED STATES--Theodore Draper, "Castro's Revolution, Myths and Realities," New York, Praeger.

92[1] UNITED STATES--Richard M. Nixon, "Six Crises," New York, Doubleday and Company Inc.*

93 FRANCE--Giuseppe Boffa, "The Phases of the Russian Revolution," Paris, Maspero.

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* Among others, this book refers to the well-known case of Alger Hiss, Department of State employee and former adviser to President Roosevelt, an undercover communist infiltrated into the state administration and guilty of espionage for the USSR, an affair aired in 1948 by the House of Representatives un-American Activities Investigating Committee of which Nixon was a member, and so forth.



The Colombian Government has not warned the people about the red danger.

94 FRANCE--Cercle Taleb-Moumie, "Fidel Castro or Tshombe?" Paris, Maspero.

95 MEXICO--Jose Luis Cecena, "The Monopolies in Mexico," Mexico.

96 MEXICO--Theodore Draper, "Castro's Revolution," Mexico.

97 USSR--Dolores Ibarruri, "The Only Road," Moscow, Publications in foreign languages.

98 January--CUBA--The V Congress of the International Organization of Journalists is held in Havana.

99 January--CUBA--The Latin American Cultural Congress is held in Havana.

100 January--VENEZUELA--Guerrilla activities take place in the states of Falcon and Zulia (which then spread to Anzoategui, Coro, Barinas, Guarico, Monagas, Miranda and Yaracui) and the naval bases of Carupano and Puerto Cabello, infiltrated by Castro-communism, rise up in arms.

101 2 February--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech before a crowd at the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana in which he harshly attacks the presidents of Venezuela and Colombia, Romulo Betancourt and Lleras Camargo, and encourages subversion in the former and in Guatemala.

102 4 February--CUBA--The "Second Declaration of Havana, of the Peoples of America and the World" is approved by the "National General Assembly of the People of Cuba," gathered at the Plaza de la Revolucion is approved. In it, among many other things, that "the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution"* is proclaimed.

103 CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a long speech in the foregoing gathering in which he attacks imperialism.

104 23 February--CUBA--The Conference of Peoples is begun in Havana.

105 1962-- 18 March--CUBA--An anti-Castro clandestine organization reveals "the plans for communist subversion in Latin America and the intensive military training and indoctrination to which some 1500 Latin Americans are being subjected at the 'Camilo Cienfuegos' school city and in the Sierra Maestra at the Superior Center of 'Minas del Frio.' These students will later organize and lead guerrilla movements in their respective countries," etc.

106 March--UNITED STATES--The OAS Council, in keeping with Resolution II of the VIII Consultation Meeting in Punta del Este, appoints the Special Security Consultation Commission against the subversive activities of international communism.

106[1] 27 Apr--ARGENTINA--Carlos M. Rama "Social Revolution in the 20th Century," Buenos Aires, Palestra.

107 30 Apr--UNITED STATES--The special commission on security of the OAS presents a general report on the intentions, plans and methods of the international communist offensive and the way in which this offensive is taking place in America, making recommendations for counteracting it, watching it, and preventing it.

108 July--CUBA--The Congress of Women of America is held in Havana.

109 9 July--USSR--The V World Congress for Disarmament and Peace is held in Moscow organized by the World Peace Council.

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* This statement, now known as the Declaration of Havana, ends with the expression "Fatherland or Death, We Will Win. The People of Cuba." By a resolution "of the people of Cuba," adopted at this same rally, it must be translated "into the main languages and distributed throughout the world," asking "all the friends of the Cuban revolution in Latin America that it be disseminated extensively among the worker masses, the peasants, students and intellectuals of the fraternal countries of this continent."

110 12 July--NICARAGUA--The Civil Guard reveals the discovery of clandestine landing fields used by Cuban aircraft for supplying the guerrillas.

111 September--CUBA--The sessions of the First Congress of the Cuban Federation of Women are inaugurated in which the Second Congress of Women of America to be held soon is approved.

112 September--SPAIN--Bernard Lefevre, "The West in Danger," Barcelona, Acervo.

113 October--CUBA--The Seminar on Sports in Latin America is held in Havana.

114 October--CUBA--The Latin American Music Festival is held in Havana.

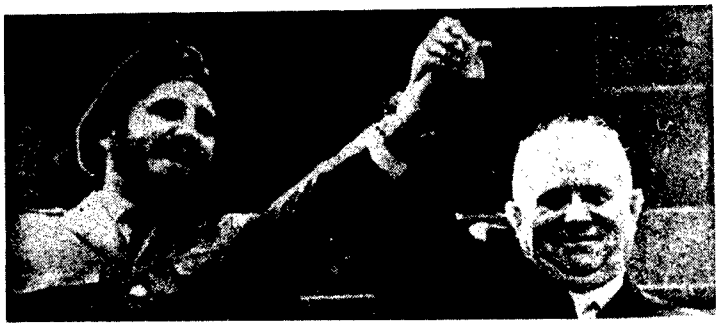
115 22 October--UNITED STATES--President Kennedy reveals the existence in Cuba of a Soviet nuclear rocket base for ICBM's which threatens the survival of the American Continent.*

116 27 October--FRANCE--The WFTU attacks the foregoing revelation by President Kennedy and urges the United Nations to "halt this aggression by the United States which threatens world peace."

117 14 Nov--INDIA--The Calcutta daily, the HINDUSTANI STANDARD, reveals the WFTU to be a communist political front organization "because having criticized real or alleged colonialism it has not found a word to say about the notorious and naked aggression of China against India. This shows in its true light what world communism is seeking and what its worker front, the WFTU, is trying to accomplish: subversion and annexation of the world a piece at a time," etc.

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* See the book by Daniel and Hubell in which the so-called October Crisis is described in detail and the existence of nine Soviet bases installed in Remedios, Sagua la Grande, Guanajay, and San Cristobal, denounced by President Kennedy in his famous speech, is documented. From them they could fire nuclear rockets capable of devastating almost all regions of the Western Hemisphere. James Daniel and John Hubbell, "Strike the West," New York, 1963. Also see the charge made in 1971 by Cuban newsman Francisco de Varona, according to which there remain on the island at least 11 missile bases in the following places: Mica, in the Bay of Banes, Oriente; Nuevitas, in the province of Camaguey; Bartolome, on the highway of Yaguajay, 13 kilometers from Caibarien; Base Machado near the town of Marti in Corralitos in the province of Havana; Loma de Analfe, on the northeastern coast of Pinar del Rio Province; La Guatana, on kilometer 8 of the highway from Pinar del Rio to the fishing port of La Coloma; La Siguanesa on the Isle of Pines; Carapachibey, south of that island; and the General Headquarters of Division 50 in the center of Oriente Province.



Khruschev hand in hand with Castro

118 20 November--SWITZERLAND--The International Jurists Commission publishes a report titled "Cuban and the Rule of Law," in which it documents violations of human rights in that country during the 1959-1961 period.

119 23 November--UNITED STATES--The naval blockade imposed on Cuba by the U. S. government because of the presence on the island of a soviet nuclear rocket base, revealed on 22 October, is begun.

120 December--German Democratic Republic--The IV Congress of the FIMD is held in Berlin.

121 December--BRAZIL--Authorities seize a clandestine shipment of Cuban weapons consigned to Francisco Juliao, leader of the Brazilian Peasant Leagues.

122 1963-- FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY--Boris Goldenberg "Latin America and the Cuban Revolution," Cologne, Kiepenheur and Witsch.

123 ARGENTINA--Luis C. Alan Lescano "Imperialism and Free Trade," Buenos Aires.

124 ARGENTINA--Economic Commission for Latin America, "Postwar Development of Latin America," Buenos Aires, Solar-Hachette.

124[1] ARGENTINA--Kenneth Goff, "Psychopolitics," Buenos Aires, Orden Nuevo Publishers.

125 ARGENTINA--Diego Montana Cuellar, "Colombia, a Formal Country and a Real Country," Buenos Aires, Platina.

126 ARGENTINA--Harvey O'Connor "The World Petroleum Crisis," Buenos Aires.

127 ARGENTINA--Ottocar Rosarios, "Communist China Versus the Soviet Union," Buenos Aires.

128 BOLIVIA--Amado Canelas, "X-Ray of the Alliance for Backwardness," La Paz.

129 BRAZIL--Jossue de Castro, "Geography of Hunger," Sao Paulo.

130 COLOMBIA--Alonso Moncada Abello "An Aspect of Violence," Bogota, Promotora Colombiana de Ediciones y Revistas.

131 CHILE--Oscar Bermudez, "History of Nitrates from their Origins Until the War of the Pacific," Santiago.

132 CHILE--Manuel Cabieso Donoso, "Venezuela, Okey! Origins and Objectives of Armed Struggle," Santiago, Ediciones de Litoral.

133 SPAIN--Rafael Calvo Serer "Configuration of the Future," Madrid.

134 SPAIN--Florentino Perez-Embid "Monsignor Jose Maria de Balaguer y Albas, Founder of the Opus Dei," First Secular Institute, Barcelona, Planeta.

135 SPAIN--Jacquelini B. de Celis "Pressure Groups in Contemporary Democracies," Madrid, Tecnos S.A.

136 UNITED STATES--Ernest Halperin "Castro and Latin American Communism," Cambridge, Massachusetts, Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies (International Communism Project C/63-15).

136^{1} UNITED STATES--James Daniel-Hohn Hubbell, "Strike in the West," New York, Holt, Rinchart and Winston, Inc.

136^{2} UNITED STATES--James Monaham-Kenneth Gilmore "How the Kremlin Took Cuba," New York, Farrar, Staus and Co., Inc.

137 UNITED STATES--Mark Mancal, "Perennial Conflict" "Problems of Communism," Washington.

138 FRANCE--N. Boukharine-E Preobrajenski "The ABC's of Communism," Paris, Maspero.

139 FRANCE--Fidel Castro "Cuba and the Crisis of the Caribbean," Paris, Maspero.

140 FRANCE--Nguyen Kien "South Vietnam After Dien Bien Phu," Paris, Maspero.

141 MEXICO--Rene Dumont, "Live Land, Problems of Agrarian Reform in the World," Mexico, ERA, S.A.

142 MEXICO--Victor Urquidi "Economic Viability of Latin America," Economic Culture Fund.

143 SWITZERLAND--Raul Sosa Rodriguez "Structural Problems of the International Economic Relations of Latin America," Geneva, Droz.

144 7 January--CUBA--The Congress of America takes place in Havana.

145 11 January--CUBA--The Second Congress of American Women begins in Havana. Its sessions are characterized by a bitter struggle between the Soviet Union and China.

146 16 January--CUBA--Fidel Castro closes the Second Congress of American Women with a long speech in which he attacks imperialism, the United States, and calls for communist subversion in American countries and urges Latin American revolutionary leaders to train experts who will lead the people to revolution with the proper methods of struggle, and so forth.

147 4 February--TANGANYIKA--The sessions of the Third Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Conference begin in Moshi. Cuba sends this conference an invitation, which is accepted, to hold another conference in Havana of the three continents: Asia, Africa and Latin America.

148 11 February--TANGANYIKA--The Third Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Conference ends its sessions which began 4 February, approving 27 resolutions among which is one which recommends the creation of "united national fronts" in all nations "that have not yet freed themselves of colonialism."

149 22 February--MEXICO--Authorities at Mexico City Airport seize a large quantity of Cuban propaganda being transported by the delegates who attended the Second Congress of American Women held in Havana in January.

150 25 February--CUBA--The rationing of clothing, footwear and fuel is ordered. To explain it, Deputy Prime Minister Raul Castro declares: "There are difficulties in our country. The fact that no one has starved to death is due to the help of the Soviet Union."

151 March--BRAZIL--The Continental Congress of Support for Cuba is held in Niteroi.

152 1963-- March--CHILE--The government expels the second secretary of the Cuban Embassy, Alfredo Garcia Almeida, for using forged documents to cross the Chile-Peru border when he tried to reach the site of the wrecked Bolivian Lloyd Aereo aircraft in which Cuban diplomatic couriers Enrique Valdes and Juan Molem had been killed.

153 28 March--BRAZIL--Deliberations of the Continental Congress of Solidarity with Cuba convoked by the World Peace Council* begin in Niteroi with the slogan "Week of hate for the United States."

154 18 April-PRC--Vice Prime Minister Ho Lung declares in Peking that China will give its support to the invitation made by Cuba to the AAPSO Conference last 4 February.

154[1] May--MEXICO--William O. Douglas, "Manifesto of Democracy," Mexico, D.F., Center of Social Studies and Documentation.

155 8 May--CUBA--Ernesto Che Guevara "Passages from the Revolutionary War," Havana.

155[1] 30 May--SPAIN--Wolfgang Leonhard "The Kremlin Without Stalin," Madrid, Taurus.

156 19 June--CUBA--Celebration of International Children's Day begins in Havana.

157 24 June--USSR--Deliberations of the V Congress of the FIMD begin in Moscow under the title "International Women's Congress."

158 29 June--USSR--The aforementioned congress holds its final plenary session in which the so-called "Appeal to the Women of the World" is approved.*

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* World Peace Congress. International communist front organization of long and hypocritical history founded in Paris in 1949. The sessions of the Congress in Niteroi were characterized by the clash of the two different lines, that of the Soviet Union and China, as was seen in Chapter I, represented by Carlos Prestes, the docile instrument of the former, and the chief of the Peasant Leagues, Francisco Juliao, supporter of the revolutionary tactics of the latter.

* The sessions of this congress were marked by the bitter dispute referred to in the preceding footnote, with the USSR prevailing through maneuvers profusely disseminated.

159 2 July--NORTH KOREA--Pyongyang Radio charges that the International Women's Congress held in Moscow was directed by the Soviets "in an undemocratic manner within an atmosphere of scandalous false accusations, disorders and coercion," and so forth.

160 17 July--BRAZIL--The Seminar of the Underdeveloped World sponsored by Cuba is held in Salvador.

161 26 July--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana in which he says there is a correlation of forces favorable for the revolution that is presently taking place in the other countries of Latin America and that it is the duty of all revolutionaries to take advantage of these conditions to unleash it with the support of the USSR and other socialist countries.

162 CHILE--The National Assembly of Friends of Cuba is begun.

163 August--BOLIVIA--The senate agrees unanimously to request the government to declare Cuban Charge d'affaires Roberto Lasalle del Amo persona non grata.

164 28 August--COLOMBIA--Authorities discover a vast Castro-communist plot at the Cartagena naval base and seize documents and lists of those implicated.

165 September--BRAZIL--The Latin American Workers Central meeting is held in Rio de Janeiro.

166 CUBA--Ernesto Che Guevara "The War of Guerrillas: A Method," "CUBA SOCIALISTA," No. 25 Havana.

166[1] 1963-- 30 September--ARGENTINA--Vance Packard "Hidden Forms of Propaganda," Buenos Aires, Sudamericana.

167 November--BOLIVIA--The counsellor of the Cuban embassy in La Paz, Jose Raul Viero Linares, is expelled from the country for espionage.

168 VENEZUELA--Authorities seize around three tons of weapons brought from Cuba on the peninsula of Paraguano.

169 14 December--VENEZUELA--Authorities seize weapons of Belgian make which were in the hands of Venezuelan guerrillas. Many of them have the unobliterated Cuban markings.

169[1] 23 December--MEXICO--J. Edgar Hoover "Communism, Study and Revelations," Mexico, Letras, S.A.

170 1964-- GDR--Vitorio Codovilla "Die Durchsetzung Ideen des Marxismus-Lininismus in Latinamerika," "Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus," Berlin-Prag (OST), Nr. 8.

171 ARGENTINA--Gustavo Beyhaut, "Contemporary Roots of Latin America," Buenos Aires.

172 ARGENTINA--Jose Luis de Imaz "Those Who Command," Buenos Aires, Eudeba.

173 ARGENTINA--Peter Paret-Hohn W. Shy "Che Guevara, Guerrilla and Antiguerrilla," Buenos Aires, Jorge Alvarez.

174 BRAZIL--Celso Furtado "Dialectics of Development," Rio de Janeiro, Fundo de Cultura.

174[1] BRAZIL--Fernando Pedreira "Civilian and Military in the Process of the Brazilian Crisis," Rio de Janeiro, Jose Alvaro Editor.

175 COLOMBIA--German Guzman Campos, Orlando Fals Bordo, Eduardo Umana Lima "Violence in Colombia: Study of a Social Process," Bogota, Ediciones Tercer Mundo.

175[1] CHILE--Jacques Chonchol "Development of Latin America and Agrarian Reform," Santiago.

175[2] SPAIN--G. A. Wetter-W. Leonhard "Soviet Ideology," Barcelona, Editorial Herder.

176 UNITED STATES--"While America Sleeps...A Study of Castro-Communist Subversion in the Western Hemisphere," Miami, Revolutionary Unity Movement.

177 UNITED STATES--National Planning Association "The Development of Latin American Private Enterprise," Washington.

178 UNITED STATES--Irving Pflaum "Arena of Decision, Latin American Crisis," New York.

179 UNITED STATES--Dudley Seers, Andres Bianchi, Richard Jolly, MaxNolff, "Cuba, the Economic and Social Revolution," Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

180 FRANCE--Rene Dumont "Cuba, Socialism and Development," Paris Le Seuil.

181 FRANCE--Jean Baby "A Better World, (A Marxist Search)," Paris, Maspero.

182 FRANCE--Fidel Castro "Phases of the Cuban Revolution," Paris Maspero.

183 FRANCE--Leo Humbermann, P.M. Sweezy "Where Goes Latin America?" Paris, Maspero.

184 FRANCE--Rosa Luxemburg, "Strike of the Masses, Party and Union," Paris, Maspero.

185 MEXICO--Fernando Carmona--"The Tragedy of Latin America, The Case of Mexico," Mexico.

186 MEXICO--Jesus Silva Herzog "History of the Expropriation of the Oil Companies," Mexico.

187 PERU--Hugo Blanco--"The Road of Our Revolution," Lima, Revolucion Peruana.

188 1964-- January--CUBA--"The Path of Armed Struggle in Venezuela," REVOLUCION No 5, Havana.

188[1] 3 January--MEXICO--Gwendolen M. Cortes, John H. Herz "Government and Politics in the 20th Century," Mexico, Limusa Wilex S.A.

189 9 January-PANAMA--Riots resulting in dead and injured take place.

190 24 January--BRAZIL--The Latin American Meeting of Public Officials is begun in Brasilia. It is attended by representatives of Uruguay Pedro Mora, Alejandro Constanzo, leader of the State Civil Service Organizations Confederation [COFE] and Luciano Da Silva, leader of the ODEOM [expansion unknown] and of the Uruguayan Workers Center [CTU].

190[1] February--CUBA--Francisco Vargas "Fifteen Days in the Jungle With Douglas Bravo, Commander in Chief of El Falcon," REVOLUCION No 6, Havana.

191 March--ARGENTINA--Authorities seize Belgian weapons, sold to Cuba and introduced clandestinely by air from Havana, in the Province of Salta at a guerrilla camp under the command of Cuban Revolutionary Army members Hermes Pena and Raul Davilà.

192 March--ARGENTINA--The blowing up of a 12-story building in Buenos Aires placed the police on the track of subversive plans which allowed them to find a large quantity of weapons stockpiled in the capital for an armed uprising.

193 March--BRAZIL--There is a rebellion by marines who have been infiltrated by communist propaganda from Cuba.

194 March--CHILE--The Latin American Youth Congress is held in Santiago.

194[1] March--MEXICO--N. H. Mager, Jacque Katel "Conquest Without War," Mexico, Novaro, S.A.

195 April--BRAZIL--Helder Camara, "The Bishop in his Diocese, the Church and the World," pastoral letter of greeting on taking his post as Archbishop of Recife.

196 BRAZIL--Kingsley Davis "Latin America's Place in the World Demographic History," LATIN AMERICA, No 2, Rio de Janeiro.

196[1] 16 April--CZECHOSLOVAKIA--The Conference of the International Union of the Trade Unions of Public Service Officials takes place in Prague (a communist attempt to consolidate the state union leadership in noncommunist countries) and is attended by Uruguayan delegates Carlos A. Gomez, leader of AEBU [expansion unknown] and Luis Alberto Iguini Ferreira, leader of COFE.

197 16 May--PUERTO RICO--Authorities charge that the "Authentic Puerto Rican Armed Movement" has been receiving weapons through a Cuban aircraft that landed in Ponce and which committed acts of sabotage, dropping flammable materials on sugarcane fields.

197[1] June--ARGENTINA--Gregorio Selser "Alliance for Progress, the Low Born," Buenos Aires, Iguazu.

197[2] 10 June--MEXICO--Fulgencio Batista "Paradox," Mexico, Botas.

197[3] 19 June--MEXICO--Harry and Bonaro Overstreet "The Iron Curtain, Where the Offensive of Freedom Begins," Libreros Mexicanos Unidos.

197[4] 30 June-MEXICO--Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union "Soviet Colonialism in Theory and Practice," Mexico, Libereros Mexicanos.

198 July--ARGENTINA--Authorities discover a Castro-Communist espionage network which has infiltrated the communications services of the army.

199 4 July--COLOMBIA--Seventeen peasants under the command of Fabio Vazquez initiate guerrilla warfare in the country.*

* This movement was to become the nucleus for the ELN.

199[1] 1964-- 21-26 July--UNITED STATES--The IX Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers held in Washington agrees to expel Cuba from the inter-American system.

200 26 July--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the gathering at Santiago de Cuba, Oriente Province, commemorating the anniversary of the revolution, in which he expresses his support for guerrilla activities of the National Liberation Front [FLN] in Venezuela, he points out the increase in subversion everywhere, forecasts the defeat of imperialism and attacks the president of the country, and so forth.

200[1] 30 July--MEXICO--Adam B. Vlam, "New Characteristics of Soviet Totalitarianism," Mexico, Limusa Willy.

201 August--ARGENTINA--Authorities seize machineguns and uniforms which came from Cuba in the area near Ezeiza Airport.

201[1] 20 August--ARGENTINA--Carleton Beals "Latin America--World in Revolution," Buenos Aires, Palestra.

202 August--MEXICO--C. Wright Mills, "Power, Politics, People," Edition prepared by Irving L. Horowitz, Translation by Julieta Campos, Economic Cultural Fund, Mexico.

202[1] 7 August--MEXICO--Aleksandr Kaznocheev "Inside a Soviet Embassy," Mexico, Novaro, S.A.

202[2] 31 August--MEXICO--Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "The Strategy of Deceit," Study of Communist Tactics in the Entire World, Libreros Mexicanos Unidos.

203 November--COLOMBIA--Guerrilla leader Fabio Vazquez goes to Cuba.

204 December--CUBA--The Conference of Latin American Communist Parties is held in Havana.

205 1965-- ARGENTINA--Franklin de Oliveira "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Brazil," Buenos Aires, Iguazu.

206 ARGENTINA--Philip Reno "The Drama of British Guyana. A People From Slavery to the Struggle for Socialism," MONTHLY REVIEW selections in Spanish, No 17-18 Buenos Aires, Jan-Feb.

207 ARGENTINA--Jose Maria Rosa "The War in Paraguay and the Argentine Montoneras," Buenos Aires.

208 ARGENTINA--Ottocar Rosarios "Red China, Leader in Latin America?" Buenos Aires Emece Editores.

209 ARGENTINA--Torcuato di Tella "Socialism in Argentina?" Buenos Aires, Jorge Alvarez.

210 ARGENTINA--Carlos L. Yegros, "University and Students," Buenos Aires, Libera.

210[1] BRAZIL--Rui Faco "Bandits and Fanatics," Rio de Janeiro.

211 BRAZIL--Jose Stacchini "Mobilization of Daring," Sao Paulo.

212 BRAZIL--Mauricio Vinhas de Queiroz "The Multibillionaire Groups," SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE MAGAZINE, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Jan-Dec.

213 BRAZIL--Nelson Werneck Sodre, "Military History of Brazil," Rio de Janeiro.

213[1] MEXICO--Angel Gonzalez Fernandez "Defeatism and Contradictions of Fidel Castro Ruz," Mexico, ediciones Ataque.

214 CUBA--"Martyrs of Moncada," REVOLUCION, Havana.

215 CHILE--Mario Vera, Eleno Catalan "Crusade of Copper," Santiago.

216 CHILE--Julio Silva Solar, Jacques Chonchol "Development of the New Society in Latin America," Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, Chile.

217 SPAIN--Romano Garcia "Oppression or Revolution," ZYX, Madrid.

218 UNITED STATES--Theodore Draper "Castroism; Theory and Practice," New York, Praeger.

219 UNITED STATES--John Gersassi "The Great Fear in Latin America," New York.

220 UNITED STATES--Adolfo Gilly "The Guerrilla Movement in Guatemala," MONTHLY REVIEW May and June, New York.

221 1965-- UNITED STATES--Ernst Halperin "Nationalism and Communism in Chile," Cambridge, The MIT Press.

222 UNITED STATES--Ernst Halperin "The Peaceful and Violent Road, A Latin American Debate," Cambridge, MIT (International Communism Project, C/65-23).

223 FRANCE--Pierre Jalee "Plunder of the Third World," Paris, Maspero.

224 GREAT BRITAIN--Boris Goldenberg, "The Cuban Revolution and Latin America," London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

225 HOLLAND--Call to international provotariat. Provo Anarchist Movement.*

226 MEXICO--Pablo Gonzalez Casanova "Democracy in Mexico," Mexico, Era.

226[1] CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech on the 6th anniversary of the revolution in which he specifically refers to the critical economic situation of the country and what his government has done since it came into power. In the course of his speech, 1962 is declared "the year of agriculture," etc.*

227 4 January--BOLIVIA--The military junta headed by Gen Rene Barrientos reveals a conspiracy in which units of Carabineros were to mutiny on the night of 2 January.

228 4 January--BRAZIL--The police close the Teatro Popular Brasileno in Sao Paulo, which is under the direction of poet Solano Trinidad, for having contributed to subversion.

229 5 January--BOLIVIA--The government will shortly expel a group of civilians and military personnel arrested on the morning of 4 January after the discovery of the plot discovered yesterday.

230 BRAZIL--Authorities accuse Brazilian Communist Party leader Lincoln Oest and nine other Brazilians of being involved with nine Chinese, of whom seven are members of a trade mission and two are newsmen of the HSINHUA NEWS AGENCY, in acts of espionage and subversion.

231 COLOMBIA--The communist party urges the people to make of 1965 a year "of the most ample and combative solidarity with the guerrillas of Marquetalia and other zones."

232 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION publishes the list of Venezuelan delegates who have arrived in Havana to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Revolution. It contains members of the FLN and the paper reports that the FLN representative, German Lairet, said in his speech that "the people of Venezuela have already taken up arms and have rebelled in the mountains of Falcon, Miranda, Sucre and Monagas" and explained "how the peasant masses have been joining this struggle."

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* From "provocation," "provocateurs" a youth movement which began in Holland some years ago, the precursor of the discontent of the new generations in the world.

* A critical analysis of this speech is contained in the book by Angel Gonzalez Fernandez, quoted in 213[1] above.

233 CHILE--A bomb explodes in the doorway of the Chilean-U. S. Cultural Institute in Santiago.

234 VENEZUELA--The chief of the FLN, Pedro Medina Silva, sends a letter from the mountains of "Libertador" to the people denouncing the behavior of the army toward the people of Lara, Falcon, Miranda, Portuguesa, Brinas and other regions of the country.

235 6 January--VENEZUELA--Leaders of the communist party make statements from San Carlos Prison to TASS correspondent Servando Garcia Ponce in which they express their confidence that a broad revolutionary front will be created for defeating the interior forces.

236 7 January--ARGENTINA--A dynamite attempt against a U. S. company in a central part of the capital is thwarted.

237 COLOMBIA--A guerrilla group of the National Liberation Army [ELN] occupies the town of Sinacota, department of Santander for almost two hours, killing four policemen and two soldiers, robs the agricultural bank, gathers the people and reads them proclamations signed by Carlos Villarreal and Andres Sierra (aliases of Fabio Vazquez and Victor Medina, respectively) and it broadcasts a "manifesto to the Colombians" (known later as the "Manifesto of Sinacota") in which they explain the general line of the guerrilla movement.*

* This was the first public action by the ELN and through which it became known officially.



New political banditry



Colombian soldiers put out fires set by political outlaws and they retrieve bodies from Sinacota.

238 7 January--VENEZUELA--There is a clash between regular army troops and FALN guerrillas in the region of the state of Barinas, Francisco Mantilla, owner of a ranch, and others being killed.

239 PANAMA--University students make a procession to the cemetery and a meeting at Plaza Santana in commemoration of the incidents of 9 January 1964, parading with signs that say "Out with the Yankees."

240 13 January--BRAZIL--The vice mayor, four councilmen and the secretary of the municipality of the town of Osorio are arrested for fomenting a rebellion in the state against the government. Also arrested is Colonel Atila Escobar of the military brigade for complicity in subversive acts.

241 PANAMA--A student demonstration parades before the U. S. embassy in Panama City near the Canal Zone. A U. S. flag is burned.

242 18 January--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that the situation in Santo Domingo appears to be on the point of boiling over and that there are rumors of the possibility of a general strike.

243 20 January--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Troops are held in their quarters in expectation of possible incidents among the armed forces, of which several officers and junior personnel, apparently implicated in a conspiracy to overthrow the chief of the national police, Gen Belisario Peguero Guerrero, sought refuge last night in the San Isidro Air Base.

244 26 January--COLOMBIA--Guerrilla groups active in the mountains killed two members of the army near the town of Dolores, Department of Tolima.

245 28 January--VENEZUELA--An attempt with dynamite on the life of President Raul Leoni was unsuccessful only because of failure of the timing mechanism of the explosive device.

246 VENEZUELA--A bomb destroys the oil pipeline of the Mene Grande Oil Company near Cerro Grande. The police discover five more bombs, which if they had exploded would have halted the entire crude oil pumping system.

247 30 January--VENEZUELA--The underground newspaper of the FALN, PUEBLO Y REVOLUCION, lists the successes of the guerrilla in the country and the losses inflicted on the government.

248 2 February--PUERTO RICO--Deposed Dominican Republic president Juan Bosch exiled here, goes to San Jose, Costa Rica, to sign a pact with Antonio Rosario, president of the Social Christian Revolutionary Party, to organize a democratic front against the military government that overthrew him.

249 5 February--COLOMBIA--A group of the ELN occupies the town of Papayal, department of Santander, kills two police agents and leaves propaganda manifestos.

250 6 February--VENEZUELA--The communist party makes a review of political activity in 1964 and points out, among other things, that it had achieved the creation of the FNO [National Opposition Front].

251 9 February--PERU--Students from the "Revolutionary Student Front" meet in the park of the University of San Marcos and demand the nationalization of the petroleum industry. In Cuzco and Puna they demand "freedom for political prisoners."

252 PERU--Electrical workers decree a general strike.

253 1965-- 12 February--VENEZUELA--An FALN guerrilla group attacks a military patrol vehicle between Cabure and San Luis. One soldier was killed and two wounded. In the past few days the town of San Luis was the object of two guerrilla attacks.



San Martin Avenue in Caracas after one of the riots: organized and directed mobs attacked the authorities.

254 13 February--COLOMBIA--The Colombian-U. S. Cultural Society building in Bogota is attacked by a group of persons who shout slogans against the United States.

255 16 February--ARGENTINA--Disturbances occur when a student demonstration protesting against the war in Vietnam clashes with the police.

256 CHILE--A U. S. flag is burned in Plaza Victoria in Valparaiso and the U. S. Consulate in Concepcion has its windows broken during the night and its walls splashed with black paint in protest against "U. S. aggressions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."



Extremists burn vehicles in Caracas: in the background is the national observatory.

257 1965-- 18 February--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Members of the Dominican Popular Movement throw stones and cans filled with paint at the U. S. embassy.

257[1] 21 February--Black leader Malcolm X is murdered in the United States.

258 24 February--ALGERIA--Ernesto Guevara makes a speech at the Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian Solidarity held in Algiers in which he maintains that there is no frontiers in the world in "this struggle to the death against imperialism," etc.

259 1965-- 25 February--GUATEMALA--Armed groups attack civilians, police and military. The government imposes a state of emergency.

260 25 February--VENEZUELA--Members of the army clash with FALN guerrillas in the states of Falcon and Lara.

260[1] March--ARGENTINA--Jean Meynaud, Alain Cancelot "Political Positions," Buenos Aires, Universitaria.



In Bogota, police dogs keep the demonstrators at bay.



In Cali, demonstrations by striking trade unionists are directed by agitators.

261 March--COLOMBIA--The ELN, over the signatures of Fabio Vazquez and Victor Medina, publishes its declaration-program establishing the political foundation for the movement. Written by Jaime Arenas Torres, it consists of a brief introduction and 12 points which refer to: the taking of power by the popular classes, agrarian revolution, economic and industrial development, rent plans and urban reform, creation of a system of popular loans, national health plan, highway reorganization, incorporation of the Indian population into the economy and culture, freedom of thought and religion, independent foreign policy and creation of a permanent people's army.

262 5 March--COLOMBIA--An oil pipeline of the Richmond Petroleum Company is blown up.

263 PANAMA--A U. S. Army supply dump in Corozal, Canal Zone, is burned.

264 16 March--HONDURAS--Student leader Alfredo Medrano, of the Liberal Party is pointed out as one of the leaders of the guerrilla groups active in the country.

265 1965-- 17 March--COLOMBIA--Catholic Priest Camilo Torres Restrepo reveals to a small number of persons the "platform of the United Front" for the purpose of "uniting all Colombian popular circles on specific objectives." The platform deals with "motives" and "objectives," of which there are 10: urban reform, nationalizations, fiscal policy, international relations, social security and public health, family policy, army and the rights of women.

266 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION publishes an article in which it points out the strengthening of the guerrilla in Venezuela, listing 7 actions: occupation of the town of Pinto de Punceres, state of Monagas; attacks on the towns of Cabure, Pueblo Nuevo and Pecaya; wounding of a soldier in San Francisco; several soldiers wounded in los Evangelios, department of Petit; killing of three soldiers in a clash between Mucurusa and Arauco; death of five officers in San Luis, capital of the district of Bolivar; and the killing of four soldiers and capture of a military vehicle in Quitaragua.



Barricades in Argentina. The Chinese theories are put to the test on the continent.

267 18 March--HONDURAS--It is reported that since 16 February there have been guerrillas active in the mountains near Yojoa Lake.

268 19 March--GUATEMALA--The Guatemalan Labor Party [PGT] reports on guerrilla actions carried out by the Luis Turcios group, who occupied farms and towns of Sampur and Panzos in the zone of Alta Verapaz; and the guerrillas of Antonio Yon Sosa, who killed peasants for informing on the guerrillas.

269 28 March--BRAZIL--Guerrillas clash with army forces in a zone near Foz Iguazu, state of Parana on the border with Paraguay and Argentina.

270 2 April--BOLIVIA--Oil workers of Cochabamba, Sucre, Camiri and Santa Cruz remain on a strike which began the previous week.

271 GUATEMALA--Bombs explode in the capital.

272 9 April--ARGENTINA--Incendiary bombs are thrown against the front of the Coca-Cola Company in Mendoza.

273 BRAZIL--Guerrillas attack the police station of Allandar in the state of Paraiba and steal weapons.

274 10 April--MEXICO--The magazine POLITICA reproduces the text of the speech by Fidel Castro on 13 March past and comments on its international repercussions.

275 11 April--COLOMBIA--The ELN executes by firing squad its former member Esteban Rios, who days before had deserted from the movement together with Florencio Amaya.

276 13 April--VENEZUELA--A group of guerrillas from the Jose Leonardo Chirinos Front occupies the town of Piedra Grande, near the city of El Pedregal, state of Falcon. They cut telegraph and telephone wires and explain the program of the FALN at a meeting in the main square.

277 21 April--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports on various ceremonies to be held in Chile in the Chilean-Cuban Culture Institute and in the building of the Newspaper Vendors Union of Chile in Santiago "to commemorate the victory by the Cuban regime in the action at the 'Bay of Pigs'."

278 VENEZUELA--A clash takes place between Army forces and FALN guerrillas in the mountains of Tocuyo, state of Lara. Two soldiers were killed and two wounded.

279 22 April--CHILE--Student riots in the streets of Santiago cause many injuries and damage 10 percent of transportation vehicles.

280 23 April--CHILE--To avoid damage by students, transportation companies halt all services in Santiago.



Disturbances in the Dominican streets continue to embitter the political atmosphere.

281 24 April--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--An insurgent movement is begun with weapons brought in clandestinely from Cuba.*

282 1965-- 26 April--DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--The military triumvirate that had governed the country is overthrown. A group of persons attacks the building the anticommunist daily PRENSA LIBRE and those of several political parties linked to the triumvirate, which were set on fire. Col. Francisco Caamano appears at the Palace of Government accompanied by Col. Vinicio Fernandez to force the members of the triumvirate to resign.

283 27 April--PERU--Some 2,000 peasants armed with their working tools occupy the land of the "Tomco" plantation in the department of Cuzco.

284 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Thousands of Dominicans armed by the young military men who support former president Juan Bosch, burn homes and companies in Santo Domingo and barricade the Duarte Bridge, preventing passage of tanks from their base. The Student Federation and the 14 June Movement broadcast constant appeals by radio for "the people to go out into the streets in support of the military men who overthrew the triumvirate." The U. S. Defense Department reports that it will evacuate U. S. citizens who may be in the Dominican Republic.

285 VENEZUELA--Guerrilla groups attack general headquarters of the staff of the military council of Maturin, the capital of the state of Monagas and they take the town of Azagua in Monagas mountains.

286 1965-- April--COLOMBIA--A guerrilla group attacks police headquarters in San Antonio, Department of Huila and they steal weapons.

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* This situation remains for 3 months in a veritable chaos in Santo Domingo. The "dumping" provoked by the sugar production increase in Cuba in 1964 served the Castroite and communist agents as a means for agitating the peasants and workers of the sugar zones in the Dominican Republic through the "Peasant Brotherhoods." Radio Havana maintained an intensive campaign of propaganda and subversion inflaming Dominican insurgency throughout the crisis and prior to its outbreak. A concentration of 20,000 armed men was established by the Cuban Government in the northern zone of Baracoa, Oriente Province, ready to go into action. The quick decision by the OAS to send the International Peace Force to Santo Domingo, a force made up of troops from Brazil, Costa Rica, United States, Paraguay and other American countries, permitted the rescue of the Dominican Republic from chaos and prevented it from falling into the power of Castro-communism.



Guatemalan guerrillas supplied by Cuba through Honduras.

287 CHILE--The Chilean Communist Party makes a call for solidarity with Cuba for the objective of strengthening the liberation movements in Latin America, Spain and Vietnam.

288 UNITED STATES--At 2100 President Lyndon B. Johnson announced by radio and television that he ordered the landing of 400 Marines in Santo Domingo to protect the lives of U. S. citizens residing in the Dominican Republic.

289 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--The young military men who overthrew the triumvirate give up the idea of returning former president Juan Bosch to power and they agree to a ceasefire and the creation of a new Military Junta to take charge of the government. The foreign press lists and comments on the bloody incidents of Santo Domingo.

290 VENEZUELA--Armed peasants invade six farms in the districts of Turen and Esteller, state of Portuguesa and they subdivide them into parcels to be worked.

291 29 April--PUERTO RICO--More than 600 U. S. citizens evacuated from the Dominican Republic arrive in San Juan.

292 30 April--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION devotes a page to the events of Santo Domingo under the title "The heroic struggle of the Dominican people for their sovereignty."

293 UNITED STATES--Cuba denounces "The criminal Yankee invasion of Santo Domingo" before the United Nations.

294 May--BRAZIL--Adurson de Barros "Rise and Fall of Miguel Arraes," Rio de Janeiro, Ecuador.

295 1965-- May--CUBA--In his speech commemorating May Day at the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana, Fidel Castro says that "no country and no group of countries have the right to prevent any people from making the type of revolution they believe proper," and he proclaims the right of the revolutionary movements of applying "the revolutionary strategy of the people, of the revolutionary movements and the communist parties of the entire world."

296 3 May--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana in which he harshly attacks "The Yankee invasion in the Dominican Republic" and says "it is necessary to cut off the hands of imperialism somewhere" and acridly censures the governments of Argentina and Venezuela for sending contingents of troops to make up the Inter-American Peace Force, and so forth.

297 UNITED STATES--President Johnson states his determination not to permit "the Dominican Republic to become another Cuba."

298 5 May--ARGENTINA--Three incendiary bombs cause damage to a service station of the Esso Company in Avellaneda, Buenos Aires.

299 ARGENTINA--Incendiary bombs are thrown against the Ford Company building in Buenos Aires.

300 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says: "Uruguay and France accuse the United States at the United Nations; Cuba denounces the clumsy Yankee maneuver at the OAS; another 5,000 marines expected on Dominican coasts."

301 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--Col Francisco Caamano asks Latin American nations to recognize his new government.

302 6 May--BOLIVIA--Student demonstrators stone the USIS offices in La Paz and destroy one of its automobiles as a protest against the Santo Domingo intervention.

303 CHILE--Student groups stoned the U. S. Consulate building in Santiago as a protest against the Santo Domingo intervention.

304 ECUADOR--A pickup parked in front of the U. S. Consulate in Guayaquil is burned. Nearby vehicles were damaged.

305 VENEZUELA--Youths armed with submachineguns attacked the U. S. embassy in Caracas and break windows. At the same time, groups of students attacked the building of the U. S. company "General Tire" in protest against the Santo Domingo intervention.

306 12 May--ARGENTINA--Disturbances take place in the city of Rosario when the police clashed with students protesting against the intervention in Santo Domingo and for the sending of troops to that city.

307 14 May--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION devotes three articles to the Dominican Republic crisis titled: "Aerial Bombing of Santo Domingo," "Caamano Orders: Fire on the Invaders," "The Gringos are to Blame Say the People."

308 15 May--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says in a front-page article: "Yankees shell Dominicans with Artillery."

309 CUBA--Fidel Castro declares in a speech his preparedness to resist "imperialism" and publicly reveals the supply of weapons he has been supplied by the Soviet Union: "We have weapons provided to us gratuitously by the USSR."

310 17 May--CUBA--Italian Communist Party leader Mario Alicata and a delegation from his country land in Havana. He declares to the press: "The first duty of a revolutionary: a united front against imperialism."

311 18 May--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "The fighting in the streets of Santo Domingo intensifies. Invader forces repelled once more. Thugs of the traitor Wessin* sow terror."

312 CUBA--At a graduation exercise at the Fifth Basic Course for Officers of the Matanzas Naval Officers School Fidel Castro criticized the Inter-American Peace Force and attacks the Argentine and Venezuelan governments for sending forces to join it, and so forth.

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* Elias Wessin y Wessin, Dominican general who headed the forces which overthrew President Bosch.

313 19 May--BOLIVIA--A general workers strike is called in protest against the exiling of former vice president and miner leader Juan Lechin.

314 CUBA--Fidel Castro says at a rally in Matanzas: "They cannot intervene here, not because the OAS protects us but because our weapons protect us." "We are well prepared against surprise." "Let them not be mistaken."

315 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC--The chief of operations of the Constitutionalist Forces, Col Hector Lachapelle, declared: "Santo Domingo will burn if the 45,000 Yankees confront us."

316 20 May--BRAZIL--An aircraft flies clandestinely over Rio de Janeiro and drops propaganda leaflets against the Castelo Branco government.

317 VENEZUELA--Incendiary bombs are thrown against the U. S. company "Stan Dhome" in Caracas, starting a fire.

318 VENEZUELA--A demonstration burns two U. S. flags and a picture of President Johnson in the city of Cumana, capital of the state of Sucre.



The would be terrorists cause as much repudiation as panic among the Venezuelans.

319 21 May--VENEZUELA--Clashes take place between army forces and FALN groups in the hamlet of Maria Diaz, state of Falcon and in the surrounding mountains near Maturin, state of Monagas in which several soldiers were killed and wounded.

320 22 May--COLOMBIA--The National University Federation [FUN] organized a tribute to Father Camilo Torres Restrepo at the University campus on the occasion of his trip to Louvain under a scholarship from the Superior School for Public Administration to obtain a doctorate in sociology, and at which time his "United Front Platform" is discussed.

321 23 May--VENEZUELA--FALN groups attack the towns of Corozal and Buenos Aires.

322 24 May--BOLIVIA--Clashes take place between miners and army forces.

323 BOLIVIA--Four railroad bridges are blown up, interrupting train services to Argentina.

324 BOLIVIA--Deaths occur in a demonstration in La Paz.

324[1] CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION publishes the text of a note sent by the Venezuelan Communist Party "To the People of Venezuela" in the newspaper TRIBUNA POPULAR.

325 25 May--ARGENTINA--Explosive bombs are thrown at the buildings of the Elena Rubenstein and National Lead Companies in Buenos Aires.

326 COLOMBIA--Archbishop Cardinal Concha of Bogota publishes a communique in which he states that "there are points that are incompatible with the doctrine of the Church in the program of political and social action presented to the undersigned by Father Camilo Torres."

327 26 May--BRAZIL--Incendiary bombs are thrown against a military post and the Legislative Assembly of Porto Alegre, state of Rio Grande do Sul, from a moving vehicle.

328 COLOMBIA--Two bombs explode in the central zone of Bogota, destroying walls and windows of some buildings.

329 GUATEMALA--The U. S. embassy building is machinegunned from a moving automobile, killing a policeman who guarded it.

330 VENEZUELA--A student demonstration tours Caracas in protest against U. S. intervention in Santo Domingo and causes disturbances which result in one death and several injuries.

331 27 May--VENEZUELA--A student demonstration stones the General Electric Company offices and those of the Avensa Airlines and sets fire to the former in Caracas.

332 VENEZUELA--An attack similar to the foregoing takes place against the U. S. company Sears Roebuck in Maracay, capital of the state of Aragua.

333 28 May--BOLIVIA--Bombs explode and there are shootings early in the morning in the worker districts of Villa Victoria, San Pedro, Chijini, Tembladerani and Munay in La Paz and the city is left without lighting.

334 COLOMBIA--Priest Camilo Torres Restrepo sends a letter to Archbishop of Bogota asking which are "the points that Your Eminence believes incompatible with the doctrines of the Church?"

335 CUBA--In commemoration of the battle of El Uvero, Sierra Maestra, Oriente Province, Fidel Castro made a speech against "imperialism" and its "intervention" in the Dominican Republic.

336 29 May--PANAMA--An incendiary bomb is thrown against the Pepsi Cola bottling plant. This makes three attacks against this company this same week.

337 30 May--COLOMBIA--The archbishop of Bogota answers Father Camilo Torres' letter of the 28th: "You know perfectly well the teachings of the Church with respect to the points dealt with in your program...from the beginning of my priesthood I have been absolutely convinced that the pontifical directives prohibit priests from intervening in political activities and in technical questions and practices of social action matters themselves."

338 1 June--VENEZUELA--Clashes take place between army troops and FALN elements when the former enter the mountainous region of Barlovento in the northern part of the country.

339 2 June--ARGENTINA--Explosive bombs are thrown against two U. S. company buildings in Buenos Aires as a protest against the inter-American military action in Santo Domingo.

340 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says that during the past 48 hours "guerrilla activities against government forces of Venezuela have intensified in the states of Lara, Miranda and Anzoategui."

341 3 June--BRAZIL--Enio Silveira, writer of the book "New History of Brazil," published during the government of Joao Goulart and withdrawn because it was considered subversive, is arrested in Rio de Janeiro.

342 COLOMBIA--There are clashes between army troops and guerrilla groups in the Bajo Pato region between the departments of Huila and Tolima.

343 CHILE--Bolivian miner leaders Federico Escobar Zapata and Zenon Barrientos Mamani, accused of participating in the clashes at the Siglo Veinte, Huanuni and Catavi mines, crossed the border and asked for asylum from the government of Chile.

344 4 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION publishes an article signed by Juan Sanchez relative to the situation in Bolivia with photographs which show miners armed with rifles during the strike in that country.

345 UNITED STATES--The United Nations meets again to consider the case of Santo Domingo at the urgent request of the USSR which reiterates that "U. S. crimes continue to exist."

346 VENEZUELA--Incendiary bombs are thrown at the Coca Cola Company plant in the city of La Guaira.

347 5 June--PERU--Bombs explode in the Oritlon and Club Nacional night clubs.

348 8 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION publishes information on the events in the Dominican Republic under the headlines: "Cuba Urges the Caamano Government be Recognized;" It also asks for a ceasefire and withdrawal of the Yankees in Santo Domingo."

349 GUATEMALA--Bombs explode in the Costa Rican Consulate building and in the homes of Pedro Julio Garcia and Alvaro Contreras, director and editor respectively of the daily PRENSA LIBRE, and in the oil storage area of a railroad company.

350 10 June--VENEZUELA--An ambush by guerrillas of the Simon Bolivar Front of a military transport causes 18 casualties in dead and wounded on the Los Humocaros highway.

351 11 June--PERU--Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR] military groups under the command of Luis de la Puente Uceda occupy the Santa Rosa mine in the zone of Andamarca, department of Junin and steal food, dynamite and vehicles, and blow up the Maraimiyoc and Canchapalaga bridges on the Concepcion-Satipo highway to cover their withdrawal.

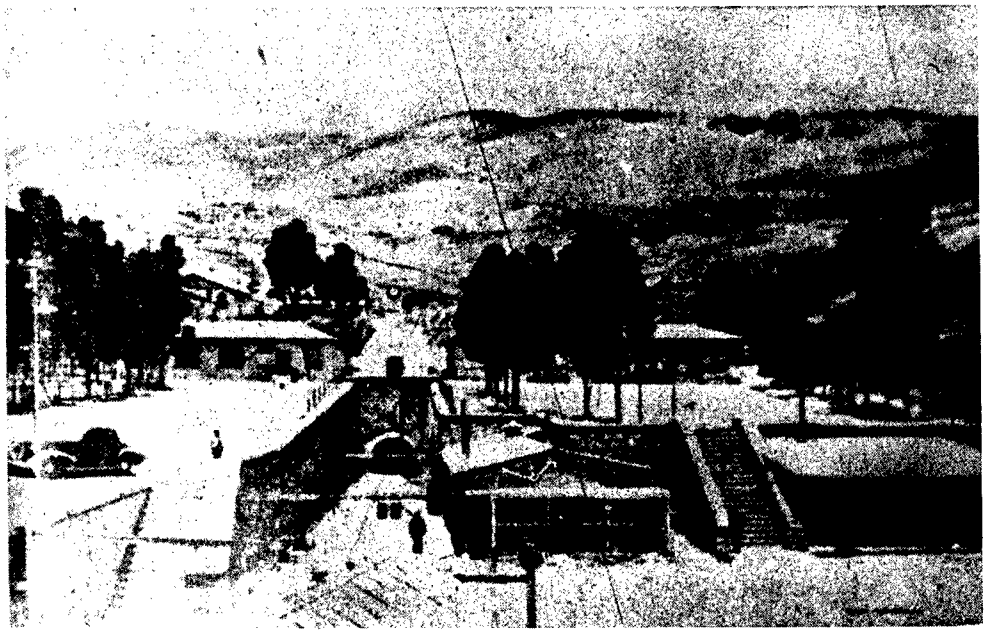
352 12 June--BOLIVIA--The president of the CTC [expansion unknown], Alejandro Ramirez, reports in La Paz on the organization of "an international proletarian movement of solidarity with the Dominican workers in their struggle."

353 15 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION comments on the situation in the Dominican Republic and declares: "'Quisqueya yes, Yankees no;' 'Caamano sure, hit the Yankees hard,' say the Dominican people; 'Not one step backwards,' shout the people in chorus at a public ceremony; they commemorated the 14th of June."

354 16 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION comments on the situation in the Dominican Republic: "Twenty-one dead, among them two children, because of Yankee aggression;" "They attack a patriot zone;" "Heavy fire from bazookas and mortars;" "Meeting at the United Nations today;" "Maneuvers continue."



Thousands of peasant indians, directed by communists, march through Cuzco.



Siglo XX Mine: a prison for foreigners kidnapped by Bolivian trade unionists.

355 CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the Chaplain Theater at Miramar, Havana, on the fourth anniversary of the Ministry of Interior in which he refers contemptuously to the Inter-American Peace Force and attacks the "reactionary" and "gorilla" governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

356 18 June--COLOMBIA--The archbishop of Bogota makes a statement in which he says that "Father Camilo Torres has deliberately alienated himself from the doctrines and orientations of the Catholic Church. It is enough to open the Encyclicals of the sovereign pontiffs to become aware of this and reality. It is a much more lamentable reality when Father Torres preaches a revolution, even if it is violent, to seize power at a time when the country is undergoing a crisis brought about in large part by violence and which the country is about to resolve after great efforts. The activities of Father Torres are incompatible with his priestly status and even with the ecclesiastical habit he wears."

357 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says on the events of Santo Domingo: "The Yankees are preparing an operation to annihilate the Constitutionalists. Three days of land and sea attacks. Plans 'Tiger' and 'Puma' for imposing solutions by force."

358 19 June--VENEZUELA--Six soldiers are killed in a clash between members of the army and guerrillas.

359 20 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the Dominican situation: "'We shall not give an inch,' says Caamano." "Cuba reiterates that the United States is preparing to strike the final blow."

360 21 June--CUBA--The same daily reports: "General strike throughout Santo Domingo in support of Caamano. The Constitutionalists are opposed to disarming civilians. Caamano said: 'The support of the people halted the barbarous attempt to crush our country.'"

361 22 June--COLOMBIA--Three unknowns make an attempt on the life of the minister of public health Gustavo Romero in Bogota. He is not hurt.

362 PERU--MIR guerrillas attack the "Alegria" ranch in the zone of Andamarca, steal weapons and explosives and capture Capt Antonio Beramendi and other members of the army.

363 23 June--PERU--MIR guerrillas of the "Pachacutec" detachment clash with the police in Jatunhuasia, department of Junin.

364 24 June--COLOMBIA--The Sears department store in the city of Pereira is burned and partially destroyed.

365 24 June--COLOMBIA--Father Camilo Torres sends a letter to the archbishop of Bogota in which he requests he be granted "reduction to lay status and exemption from my obligations as a member of the clergy."

366 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "Caamano expounds points for a solution to the OAS. He said that an agreement must satisfy the desires of the Dominican people. One of his conditions establishes elections within 6 to 9 months."

367 25 June--COLOMBIA--The archbishop of Bogota decrees the reduction of Father Camilo Torres "to a lay status under the terms of the Pontifical grant requested."

368 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says: "Caamano ratifies his position. He will not accept any arrangement that means a betrayal of the people."

369 PERU--A manifesto of the MIR "Pachacutec" detachment signed by Luis de la Puente Uceda calls on the population to armed struggle.

370 26 June--COLOMBIA--The priest Camilo Torres Restrepo joins in the armed revolutionary struggle.

371 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the situation in the Dominican Republic: "Thirteen dead in San Francisco de Macoris as the people rebel."

372 28 June--PERU--Former Colombian priest Camilo Torres arrives in Lima to give several lectures at the University of San Marcos. He is enthusiastically received by university and worker sectors.*

373 29 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the crisis in the Dominican Republic: "Constitutionalist forces take to the mountains. They attacked San Francisco de Macoris and Pimentel. U. S. helicopters pursue the patriots."

374 30 June--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION declares: "Dominican guerrillas attack. The Cuban United Revolutionary Socialist Party [PURSC] and the Chilean Communist Party issue communique. It is necessary to give support to the people of Santo Domingo."

375 VENEZUELA--Army forces clash with FALN guerrillas under Fabricio Ojeda in the mountainous area dividing the states of Trujillo and Portuguesa. Six soldiers were killed and several wounded.

376 FRANCE--The VI World Peace Congress, National Independence and General Disarmament is held. It is organized by the World Peace Council.

377 2 July--PERU--MIR groups attack a police-military patrol in Yahuarina causing 12 casualties. Among the guerrilla leaders were Hugo Ocampo, Jaime Martinez, Gilberto Velandro, Marco Villar, Guillermo Lobaton and Hugo Torres Bendazu.

378 3 July--COLOMBIA--The ELN urban network murders Florencio Amoyo, deserter from the guerrilla, at the clinic in Bucaramanga where he works.

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* During his stay in Peru, his "United Front Platform" was published.

379 COLOMBIA--Former priest Camilo Torrest returns to Bogota. He is received joyfully at the El Dorado Airport, leaving that same day for Bucaramanga and from there to San Vicente for the purpose of meeting with guerrilla leaders.

380 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "Aggression against the Dominican Republic. Total halt in OAS negotiations."

381 CUBA--The same daily publishes an article covering an entire page on the guerrilla in Peru with photographs of some of its leaders, among them Luis de la Puente Uceda, secretary general of the MIR, Hugo Blanco and Estenio Pacheco.

382 9 July--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says: "Ceasefire in danger. Vigorous warning from Constitutionalists in the Dominican Republic."

383 12 July--GUATEMALA--Police official Feliciano Salazar is murdered in the hospital where he is being treated after an attempt on his life the week before.

384 26 July--CUBA--Fidel Castro made an angry speech in Santa Clara, Las Villas Province, on the 12th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, in which he refers to subversion throughout the continent, he praises the virtues of the guerrilla as a revolutionary weapon, urges the other American states to imitate the example of Cuba and forecasts that the OAS, imperialism and the military classes will burst into pieces.

385 28 July--COLOMBIA--Heliodoro Ochoa, member of the ELN urban network, murders a police agent in order to steal his machinegun.

386 29 July--VENEZUELA--Guerrilla groups of the "Manuel Ponte Rodriguez" Front under the command of Alfredo Maneiro, blow up four oil pipelines of the U. S. Mene Grande Oil Company near Anaco, state of Anzoategui.

387 30 July--GUATEMALA--Three individuals make an attack with firearms on the deputy chief of the intelligence service, Alberto Barrios. He is not hurt.

388 VENEZUELA--A 100,000-barrel oil tank belonging to the Texas Oil Company is blown up at the Puerto La Cruz refinery 200 kilometers from Caracas.

389 2 August--CUBA--Basketball coach Raul Canosa flees from the island and declares on his arrival in El Salvador: "There are no amateur athletes in Cuba anymore. All of them receive salaries from the National Institute for Sports, Physical

Education and Recreation [INDER] and the sports delegations which travel abroad first receive intensive sessions in political indoctrination for several months during which they remain sequestered and those athletes who do not show a complete identification with the regime are eliminated from the teams."

390 4 August--PERU--Army troops and guerrillas fight a battle in the central region of the country with three casualties on each side.

391 CHILE--Manuel Larrain E., bishop of Talca and president of the Latin American Bishops Council [CELAM] issues the pastoral "Development: success or failure in Latin America," in which he denounces a threat "that the Latin Americans know better than the atomic bomb: the material and spiritual underdevelopment of the people who make up the so-called Third World," for whom it is "the war for today and for tomorrow," and so forth.

392 8 August--PERU--Guerrilla groups clash with police in the district of Alca and Pucuta in the Central Highlands, killing four officials.

393 9 August--COLOMBIA--Jose Dolacio Duran Nova, liaison agent for the ELN, is captured.

394 PERU--MIR guerrillas attack a police post in San Francisco, department of Ayacucho and kill nine soldiers.

395 10 August--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the situation in the Dominican Republic: "Caamano rejected plan imposed by the OAS."

396 11 August--CUBA--The secretary general of the FMC, Asea de los Santos, presents Elizabeth Tortosa de Faria, wife of the secretary general of the Venezuelan Communist Party, Jesus Faria, "the arm band of the 26 July Movement" worn by Vilma Espin de Castro in the Sierra Maestra.

396[1] 11 August--UNITED STATES--Four days of disorders by blacks begin in the city of Watts, Los Angeles.

397 12 August--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION says: "Dominican demonstration against the OAS."

398 13 August--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "Caamano demands an urgent U. N. meeting. He denounces the plan the OAS wishes to impose. The path of negotiation is dangerous."

399 15 August--COLOMBIA--There are clashes between elements of the ELN and army troops on the road leading from San Vicente to Barrancabermeja at the point called "Cruz de Mayo," community of Yarima, with four soldiers and one guerrilla being killed.

400 17 August--PERU--Clashes take place between revolutionary groups and army troops in the departments of Junin and Ayacucho.

401 18 August--COLOMBIA--A bomb explodes in an oil pipeline of the Texas Petroleum Company in Barrancabermeja.

402 PERU--An army detachment is ambushed by guerrillas of the MIR in Kubantia. One soldier is killed and another wounded.

403 23 August--COLOMBIA--The chief of the ELN urban network, Jose Manuel Martinez is arrested in Bogota. This leads to the seizure of a large amount of documents and correspondence proving that Camilo Torres is working in liaison with the organization which he intends to join shortly.

404 26 August--COLOMBIA--The first number of the weekly FRENTE UNIDO directed by Camilo Torres appears. In its editorial he explains "why I am not participating in the elections."

405 28 August--ECUADOR--A bomb is discovered in the Ecuadorean-U. S. Institute in Guayaquil.

406 30 August--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the events of the Dominican Republic: "Patriots are fired on. Brazilian troops abetted by marines open fire. They denounce the provocation. U. S. discredit."

407 31 August--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the situation in the Dominican Republic: "'We will take the war to the entire country,' warns Caamano. Imbert and his puppet junta resign."

408 PERU--Police defuse four bombs placed on a bridge in the zone of Huamachuco department of La Libertad.

409 1 September--BOLIVIA--Workers of the Catavi and Siglo Veinte mines begin strikes. In turn the students organize protest demonstrations.

410 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on events in the Dominican Republic: "Caamano and the OAS sign agreement. Hector Garcia Godoy will be sworn in as president on Friday the third."

411 PERU--Guerrillas dynamite mountains.



Violence in Bogota provoked by the bank employee's strike. For the first time women employees participated in the stoppage.



They flee from Cuba in every type of boat.

412 2 September--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION referring to the Dominican Republic, reports: "Parties in conflict sign 'Reconciliation Document': the Constitutionalists, members of the OAS and the appointed provisional president Hector Garcia Godoy."

413 3 September--COLOMBIA--A soldier and a civilian are killed and one officer wounded in a clash in the department of Guajira.

414 COLOMBIA--The universities are occupied as a step prior to going on strike. Student leader Jaime Arenas declares that "unity of action" is necessary.*

415 1965-- CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "The Dominican people demand the immediate withdrawal of the invaders. Hundreds of demonstrators toured the streets of the Constitutionalist zone. Garcia Godoy will assume the presidency today."

416 PERU--New clashes take place between official forces and members of the guerrilla near Santa Teresa, zone of Quillabamba.

417 COLOMBIA--Clashes take place between army troops and guerrillas in the sector of Planadas, Central Highlands, zone of Marquetalia, with 15 soldiers wounded.

418 4 September--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "Violent attack by Caamano against Yankee government: 'We swear we will fight to withdraw the invaders.' Godoy assumes the presidency. End of the act of the Dominican drama."

419 PERU--Several bridges and roads are dynamited.

420 6 September--PERU--The MIR issues a manifesto calling on the people to expand the guerrillas signed by Luis de la Puente Uceda and Guillermo Lobaton as chief of the central front; Ricardo Godea as chief of the southern front; and Gonzalo Ugasco as chief of the northern front.

421 7 September--COLOMBIA--A grease plant is blown up.

422 CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the Dominican situation: "Tension between Garcia Godoy and dissident military officers. Wessin threatens a new aggression against the people."

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* Arenas was a companion of the priest Camilo Torres in leading the FUP.

423 8 September--COLOMBIA--There are clashes between army troops and guerrilla groups in the El Pato region which result in seven deaths, three soldiers and four guerrillas.

424 10 September--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports on the Dominican situation: "Wessin arrested and deported."

425 VENEZUELA--There is a clash between FALN elements and military personnel in a zone 13 kilometers from El Tocuyo. Three soldiers are wounded.

426 11 September--COLOMBIA--The government institutes a curfew in several regions of the department of Tolima.

427 1965-- 14 September--COLOMBIA--Curfew is extended to nine municipalities of the department of Huila.

428 CHILE--The daily LA NACION of Santiago publishes an interview by newsman Otto Boye Soto with former Colombian priest Camilo Torres.

429 16 September--COLOMBIA--A general strike affects the entire country.

430 17 September--COLOMBIA--The first national meeting of students, workers and peasants takes place in Medellin which is attended by Camilo Torres as a special guest, and at which the unity proposed by him is broken.

431 18 September--COLOMBIA--New clashes take place between army troops and guerrilla groups in the department of Huila as a result of which two officers are killed and several wounded.

432 21 September--BOLIVIA--The government declares a state of seige as a result of the incidents caused by the National Revolutionary Movement [MNR].

433 COLOMBIA--Nine policemen are injured in disturbances in Baranquilla.

434 25 September--CUBA--The daily REVOLUCION reports: "The USSR demands a halt to Yankee aggression. Against interference in the Dominican Republic. Statement by Gromyko at the U. N. General Assembly."

435 28 September--COLOMBIA--The ELN captures two officials of the anti-malaria campaign who it tries as government intelligence agents.

436 2 October--COLOMBIA--An official army bulletin states that from last 22 August to 22 September there were 12 clashes with guerrillas.

437 3 October--COLOMBIA--Troops are alerted as a result of the urban transportation strike.

438 CUBA--At the ceremony of presentation of the communist party of Cuba Central Committee at the Chaplin Theater in Marianao, Havana, Fidel Castro reads the farewell letter from Ernesto Guevara in which he says: "Other lands of the world require the presence of my modest efforts...struggle against imperialism wherever it is...; wherever I go I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary and I shall act as such."

439 7 October--CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes a half page illustrated with photographs on the guerrilla in Peru, which, it says, is operating in Junin, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica and Piura, and it announces the opening of a new front in the region of Ayabaca near the border with Ecuador.

440 8 October--PERU--There are guerrilla attacks against army supply installations, and other clashes.

441 12 October--GUATEMALA--Two bombs explode, one in the Guadalupe district and one in a business establishment near RADIO FABULOSA.

442 PERU--Military installations near Satipo are attacked by guerrillas.

443 15 October--PERU--Guerrilla groups occupy an hacienda in the mountainous zone of Cilcabamba in Cuzco and they steal weapons, supplies and other materials.

444 18 October--COLOMBIA--Camilo Torres departs clandestinely from Bogota to join the guerrillas in the Jose Antonio Golan front.

445 20 October--COLOMBIA--A series of strikes begins.

446 COLOMBIA--Army **troops** and guerrilla groups fight in the Andean zone of the department of Tolima.

447 COLOMBIA--Three soldiers are killed and four wounded in the regions of Marquetalia and Rio Chiquito.

447[1] 21 October--CUBA--At the ceremony held at the Pedro Marrero Stadium in Marianao, Havana Province, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the creation of the Cuban youth movement and the

inauguration of the First National Sports Competitions, Fidel Castro says: "We shall not only be able to carry out these aspirations but we shall even be able to help other people. We will be able to send technicians to other countries as they become liberated or as they request them. Because the number of countries that ask us for doctors, agricultural technicians, and technical help in general is growing more and more. For that great historical national and international mission our youth must be prepared."

448 GUATEMALA--The Guatemalan Labor Party [PGT] holds blitz meetings in some factories and distributes leaflets on its 16th anniversary.

449 PERU--Students of the Federico Villarreal national university hold a demonstration demanding the "release of political prisoners and the immediate halt to repressive measures."

450 22 October--BRAZIL--The rector of the university requests the closure of the University of Brasilia after professors and students went on strike because of the dismissal of sociology professor Roberto Decio las Casas.

451 COLOMBIA--Drivers of the entire country join the transportation strike.

452 23 October--GUATEMALA--Guerrilla groups attack army troops in the department of Izabal and kill two soldiers.

453 PERU--Guerrilla leader Luis de la Puente Uceda is killed in a clash with army troops.

454 24 October--VENEZUELA--There are clashes between army troops and guerrilla groups in the state of Carabobo.

455 25 October--ARGENTINA--The Seventh Congress of the Argentine Student Federation is held in Buenos Aires to ratify solidarity with Cuba and in favor of relations with that country.

455^{1} 27 October--MEXICO--R. N. Carew Hunt "Theory and Practice of Communism," Mexico, Diana.

456 29 October--CUBA--The daily GRANMA devotes half a page to the clashes of Rio Chiquito, Colombia, and publishes photographs of an armed guerrilla group headed by Manuel Marulanda Velez.

457 30 October--PERU--Bombs explode in different parts of Lima.

458 PERU--The daily LA PRENSA receives a declaration from the "Urban Militias" of the MIR announcing that previous attacks were "the prelude to revolutionary war in the cities."

459 31 October--BRAZIL--The priest Francisco Laje, sentenced by a military court to 38 years in prison for subversive activities among the peasants, seeks asylum in the Mexican embassy.

460 COLOMBIA--One hundred people are killed and some 200 injured as a result of an explosion at the central market of Cartagena which resulted from a fire at a fireworks establishment.

461 VENEZUELA--An FALN group attacks a military camp in the state of Lara. One soldier is killed and several wounded.

462 November--UNITED STATES--"Luis de la Puente Uceda, the Revolution in Peru: Concept and Prospects," MONTHLY REVIEW, No 26, New York.

463 1 November--MEXICO--There is an explosion in the gas pipeline in the state of Tabasco with tons of persons killed.

464 3 November--PERU--Bombs explode in various parts of Lima.

465 4 November--PERU--Groups of persons attack members of the police with stones in Lima.

466 5 November--COSTA RICA--Authorities confirm that 100 scientific works sent by the University of Moscow to that of Costa Rica are actually subversive literature.

467 VENEZUELA--Guerrilla groups of the FALN attack the Bolivar and Paez Barracks, the Aragua Air Base and the Military Intelligence Service in Maracay, state of Aragua.

468 9 November--COLOMBIA--Jaime Arenas, former university leader, Marxist-Leninist and a collaborator of Camilo Torres, is arrested.

469 12 November--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports on the accident that resulted in the deaths of an entire Peruvian Army patrol in the eastern region of the Andes, presenting the news as if it were the result of a guerrilla action.

470 PERU--Three bombs explode in various districts of Lima, one of them in the Peruvian Cultural Institute.

471 13 November--GUATEMALA--Clashes take place between army troops and guerrilla groups at Izabal and Zacapa.

472 PERU--Another guerrilla front is opened in the zone of Cirialo, organized by the ELN with the name of "Javier Hearud" and commanded by Hector Bejar.

473 14 November--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the graduation exercise for 400 doctors and 26 dentists at Pico Cuba, Sierra Maestra, Oriente Province, in which he proclaims that Cuba "does not want peace with imperialism and wherever it exists, it will be against it."

474 20 November--BRAZIL--A bomb explodes near the OAS offices in Rio de Janeiro.

475 21 November--CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes an article signed by Isabel Lopez, Venezuelan revolutionary, titled "Fifteen days with the guerrillas in El Falcon," in which she narrates episodes of the guerrilla in Venezuela.

476 22 November--COLOMBIA--There are clashes between regular troops and guerrillas in Ataco. Three officers are killed.

477 23 November--CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes an article with photographs in which appear the members of the Venezuelan FLN on a mission to Havana. They are Hector Perez Marcano and Hector Marcano Coello, who speak before the television cameras and radio in a "special" program.

478 PERU--Military personnel of the army clash with guerrillas in the mountains of Huancayo.

479 25 November--PERU--A "National Coordinating Command" for the MIR and ELN guerrilla movements is created.

480 26 November--PANAMA--A worker-student demonstration is held in support of the general strike.

481 PERU--Military personnel travel on the Ene River to Ocopa Port near which there have been clashes between the army and guerrillas.

482 1 December--PERU--Guerrilla groups attack an hacienda near Villabamba capital of the department of Convencion.

483 2 December--CUBA--Fidel Castro made a speech at the graduation exercise for teachers from the Makarenko Teachers Institute and the celebration of the end of course of the Ana Betancourt Peasant Women's School held at the Pedro Marrero Stadium, Marianao, Havana Province, in which he refers to the works and triumphs of the revolution. He refers to its heroes, has words

of remembrance for Guevara, who is "absent," and attacks the OAS.

484 7 December--PERU--Eight bombs explode in different parts of Lima, among them military establishments and U. S. companies.

485 PERU--Military forces clash with guerrilla groups of the MIR under the command of Guillermo Lobaton in the mountains of Villabamba.

486 PERU--One of the chiefs of the guerrilla, Maximo Velando Galvaez, is killed.

487 8 December--CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes the photograph of Peruvian guerrilla Luis de la Puente Uceda on its front page and refers to the Peruvian Army communique announcing his death without either affirming or denying the events.

488 PERU--Guerrilla groups and army troops clash in the Villabamba mountains.

489 9 December--COLOMBIA--The latest number of FRENTE UNIDO published by Camilo Torres appears. This is the fourth copy.

490 CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes the photograph and a biography of the Peruvian guerrilla Luis de la Puente Uceda and says that "the thugs murdered him."

491 CUBA--The aforementioned daily publishes news from Lima on the death of guerrilla Maximo Velando and comments that "he was possibly murdered."

492 13 December--PERU--University students demonstrate in protest against the arrest of student leader Aurelio Saavedra Serrano and two other students.

493 16 December--BOLIVIA--University students hold a 24-hour strike in support of the 2-week strike by the state medical service doctors.

494 GUATEMALA--Guerrilla groups make several attacks on army troops.

495 GUATEMALA--The government offers $25,000 reward for the capture of Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] chief Luis Turcios.

496 18 December--ARGENTINA--Bombs explode in the capital of the province of Tucuman and several offices of sugar mills are held up.

497 19 December--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that Enrique Amaya is replacing Luis de la Puente Uceda as the leader of the guerrilla detachment "Pachacutec" which will continue its operations.

498 21 December--GUATEMALA--A shootout takes place between army troops and civilians collecting funds for the guerrillas.

499 24 December--GUATEMALA--Military commission Horacio Menendez is murdered in the town of Jutiape by members of the FAR.

500 1965-- 29 December--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that the Lima magazine CARETAS named guerrilla Luis de la Puente Uceda as man of the year in Peru.

501 FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY--Robert F. Lamberg "Latin American Populism, An Up To Date Political Survey," Bad Gosberg (Study and Report of the Friederich-Ebert-Stiftun Research Institute).

501[1] ARGENTINA--Justo P. Briano "American Geopolitik and Geostrategy," Buenos Aires, Plemar.

502 ARGENTINA--Alberto Baltra Cortes "Problems of Latin American Economic Underdevelopment," Buenos Aires.

503 ARGENTINA--Victor Flores Olea "Socialism and Politics in Latin America," Buenos Aires.

504 ARGENTINA--Francois Houtart and E. Pin. "Christians in the Latin American Revolution," Buenos Aires, Guadalupe.

505 ARGENTINA--Felipe Varela "Against the British Empire," Buenos Aires.

506 ARGENTINA--David Wise-Tomas Ross "The Invisible Government," Buenos Aires.

507 BRAZIL--Werner Baer "Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil," Rio de Janeiro, Zahar.

508 BRAZIL--Golbery de Couto e Silva "Geopolitik of Brazil," Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Jose Olimpio.

509 BRAZIL--Mario Pedrosa "The Brazilian Option," Rio de Janeiro.

510 COSTA RICA--E. Lizano F. "The Problem of Foreign Investments in Central America," MAGAZINE OF THE CENTRAL BANK OF COSTA RICA, September.

511 CUBA--Regis Debray "Castroism--The Long March of Latin America," Lectures on Philosophy, University of Havana Philosophy Department, Havana.

512 PRC--Quotes of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Publications in Foreign Languages.

513 SPAIN--Octavio Fullat Genis "Revolutionary Brazil," Barcelona, Nova Terra.

513[1] SPAIN--Jean Lacoutre "Vietnam Between Two Peaces," Madrid, Tecnos S.A.

514 SPAIN--Enrique Ruiz Garcia "Latin America: Anatomy of a Revolution," Madrid.

515 SPAIN--Jean Toulat "Hope in South America," Barcelona, Estela.

516 UNITED STATES--Milorad M. Drchkovitch "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs," Stanford, The Hoover Institution.

517 UNITED STATES--Ernst Halpering "Peking and the Latin American Communists," Cambridge, MIT, (International Communism Project, C/66-5).

518 UNITED STATES--Edwin Lieuwen "The United States and the Challenge to Security in Latin America," Ohio.

519 FRANCE--Mehdi Ben Barka "Option Revolutionanaire au Maroc," Paris, Maspero.

520 FRANCE--James Boggs-Robert Williams "Revolution in the United States?" Paris, Maspero.

521 FRANCE--Vo Nguyen Giap "War of the People, Army of the People," Paris, Maspero.

522 FRANCE--Albert Paul Lentin "The Tricontinental Struggle (Imperialism and Revolution After the Conference of Havana) Paris, Maspero.

523 FRANCE--Hugo Neira "Castroism in the Peruvian Andes," "PARTISANS," No 26-27, Paris.

524 FRANCE--Raymond Vernon "The Dilemma of Mexico," Paris, Les Editions Ouvrieres.

525 FRANCE--Malcolm X "Black Power," Paris, Maspero.

526 MEXICO--Sidney Dell "Experiences of Economic Integration in Latin America," Mexico.

526[1] MEXICO--Isaac Eutscher "Trotsky, The Armed Prophet," Mexico, Era S.A.

527 1966-- PERU--"The Guerrilla in Peru and its Repression," Lima, Ministry of War.

528 2 January--Fidel Castro said at the rally held at the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana "...and as far as we are concerned, here before our people and in the name of our people, what we do not hide is that any revolutionary movement in any part of the world can count on the unconditional and determined help of Cuba."

529 2 January--CUBA--The daily GRANMA lists the members of the Dominican delegation to the Tricontinental Conference: Jesus Gonzalez of the Constitutionalist Movement, Ladislao Molina of the FUAC [expansion unknown], Guillermo Soler of the Dominican Popular Movement [MPD], and Antonio Sanchez of the 14 June Movement.

530 3 January--CUBA--The deliberations of the AALAPSO Conference (Tricontinental) begin in Havana.

531 4 January--COLOMBIA--The ELN distributes the proclamation of Camilo Torres "to the Colombians," on the first anniversary of the seizure of Sinacota.*

532 10 January--FRANCE--French televisions shows the documentary "Five Columns Into One," filmed among Colombian guerrillas by French movie maker Jean Pierr Sargent.

533 GUATEMALA--A military patrol is attacked by guerrilla groups. Four soldiers are wounded.

534 14 January--COLOMBIA--There are clashes between the army and guerrilla groups in the departments of Mela, Huila and del Valle, zones of los Laureles, Cedra and Santa Rosa de Topia, respectively.

535 CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that the Federation of Peasants and the Federation of Women of Chile, the Ecuadorean-Cuban "Eduardo Torres" Association of Quito, The PEP [expansion unknown] and the National Liberation Movement [MLN] of Mexico, the Municipal Committee of Veracruz and the Costa Rican writer, Carlos Luis Fallas, hail and support the Tricontinental.

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* This proclamation is also signed by Fabio Vazquez and Victor Medina "in the mountains, January 1966."

536 CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes the statements by Peruvian Roberto Garcia at the Tricontinental that "there is no other alternative in Peru than armed struggle."

537 GUATEMALA--A guerrilla group occupies the subprefecture of police in San Agustin Acasaguastlan in the department of El Progreso.

538 15 January--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that the strike in the Dominican Republic by telephone workers in protest against the dismissal of five union leaders is continuing.

539 CUBA--The same daily refers to an article in PRAVDA of Moscow signed by Colombian peasant leader Baltasar Fernandez on the guerrilla in his country. In it he declares that in September 1964, in the first conference of guerrilla detachments in the southern zone, the guerrilla general staff was created for the southern bloc and that a second national meeting will be held soon.

540 16 January--CUBA--The 27 Latin American delegations that attend the Tricontinental Conference create the Latin American Solidarity Organization [LASO] with headquarters in Havana, specifically charged with handling subversive tasks in the American continent. They agree to hold the first conference in 1967, and so forth.

541 CUBA--Closing the Tricontinental, Fidel Castro says: "We likewise understand that the links established, the bonds that have been created between movements which struggle against imperialism in the world, and the organizations that have been created, will play an undeniable role in support of solidarity and the increase in the revolutionary struggle. That is why we say and proclaim that the revolutionary movement in any corner of the earth can count on Cuban fighters. In many other countries of America there are conditions for revolutionary armed struggle. This struggle has been taking place for some time in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia. And in Latin America there will be not one, not two, not three countries fighting alone against imperialism..."

542 17 January--ARGENTINA--Three sugar centrals of Tucuman remain occupied by workers demanding wage increases.

543 22 January--VENEZUELA--Workers of the iron and steel company begin a strike against the dismissal of workers.

544 26 January--ARGENTINA--The Electrical Services Administration reports that the latest power failures in Buenos Aires were caused deliberately.

545 PANAMA--A demonstration of protest against reductions in salaries of teachers for days not worked during the strike takes place. Nine persons arrested and sentenced to 30 days in jail.

546 27 January--COLOMBIA--Colombian army officers meet with Venezuelan officers to consider the best way to combat guerrilla actions.

547 29 January--COLOMBIA--Six army soldiers are killed in the department of Huila and three are wounded when the truck they were riding struck a mine in the road.

548 February--SPAIN--Oleg Penkovsky "The Penkovsky Papers," Plaza & James S.A., Editores, Barcelona.

549 1 February--VENEZUELA--President Leoni accuses Cuba of promoting the guerrilla in his country.

550 2 February--PANAMA--Several unions declare themselves on a state of alert after the arrest of urban transport union leaders.

551 UNITED STATES--The OAS resolves to create a special commission to study and prepare a report on the deliberations, conclusions and plans of the Havana Tricontinental Conference.

552 3 February--COLOMBIA--An ELN ambush under the command of Ricardo Lara in the town of San Rafael kills one soldier and wounds another.

553 5 February--ARGENTINA--Bombs explode in various parts of Buenos Aires including the CGT building.

554 6 February--ARGENTINA--Two attacks on Mendoza railways are made.

555 8 February--MEXICO--Armed bands sow terror in San Luis Potosi.

556 PARAGUAY--A bomb explodes which sets the La Vencedora cigarette plant on fire.

557 9 February--COLOMBIA--Army and guerrilla clashes in Marquetalia: six soldiers killed and three wounded.

558 9 February--CHILE--The Fifth National Congress of Communist Youth of Chile begins.

559 GUATEMALA--A guerrilla group burns nine light airplanes of a crop spraying company in the department of Escuintla.

560 10 February--CUBA--The daily GRANMA publishes a message sent by the Colombian Communist Party to Fidel Castro in which it says that the struggle of the Cuban people is an example for all the peoples of America, which encourages them in their struggle for national liberation.

561 11 February--CUBA--The same daily reports that five persons were killed and at least three others injured in Santo Domingo "when the police and occupation forces attacked popular demonstrations today. Today's violence started when the strike ordered by labor union sectors and students began in protest against official repression."

562 1966-- 12 February--VENEZUELA--Acts of sabotage take place against Shell Company installation in the Bachanquero oil fields.

563 13 February--COLOMBIA--There are clashes between army troops and guerrilla groups in the department of Tolima.

564 COSTA RICA--A bomb explodes in the electric power distribution station for San Jose.

565 15 February--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that "Bombs were thrown at interventionist soldiers in Santo Domingo, wounding six. The capital and main cities of the country remain paralyzed by the general strike."

566 GUATEMALA--Two motorized service policemen are killed when they were attacked by unidentified persons.

567 16 February--COLOMBIA--Father Camilo Torres Restrepo is killed in a clash between a guerrilla group and army troops at Patio Clemento, Santander. "He was the most important figure produced by the Colombian revolution," said his collaborator Jaime Arenas.

568 18 February--ARGENTINA--A bomb explodes in front of the Buenos Aires daily LA NACION building.

568[1] March--ARGENTINA--Gerald W. Johnson "Communism: American Point of View," Buenos Aires, La Tecnica Impresora SACI.

569 13 March--CUBA--Fidel Castro makes a speech at the University of Havana in which he harshly attacks the president of Chile, Frei, calling him a "liar" and a "political hack." He attacks the OAS, "that rubbish from which Cuba was fortunately expelled," and he

declares the need for spilling as much blood as is necessary to "make" or "defend" the revolution, etc.

570 14 March--MEXICO--Guillermo Carnero Hoke makes an appeal in the daily LA PRENSA to save the life of Peruvian guerrilla Hector Bejar who was captured by the army.

570[1] 15 March--MEXICO--Irving Louis Horowitz, "Revolution in Brazil," Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economico.

571 15 March--VENEZUELA--There is a guerrilla ambush of a military patrol in the state of Portuguesa. Twelve are killed.

572 16 March--COLOMBIA--The ELN places bombs in a park in Bucaramanga where a ceremony is going to take place at which the commandant of the 5th Army Brigade, Col Alvaro Valencia Tovar will officiate.

573 CHILE--A strike begins.

574 CHILE--Groups of students throw incendiary and tar bombs at the offices of the U. S. and USIS in Santiago.

575 21 March--CUBA--The daily GRANMA reports that "Via agreements of the First Tricontinental Conference, the Alliance of Costa Rican Women collected money to be sent to the victims of Yankee aggression in Vietnam."

576 26 March--ARGENTINA--Demonstrations against the war in Vietnam take place in Buenos Aires.

577 27 March--ARGENTINA--A bomb is thrown in Avellaneda against the offices of a U. S. company and propaganda leaflets are left against intervention in Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

578 28 March--ARGENTINA--Bombs are thrown at the buildings of Remington, Coca Cola and the First National City Bank buildings in Buenos Aires.

579 GUATEMALA--Two bombs explode in central cities of the capital.

580 29 March--ARGENTINA--Personnel of Aerolineas Argentinas and the construction union go on strike.

581 31 March--ARGENTINA--Incendiary bombs are thrown at buildings of the Argentine-U. S. Institute and the First National City Bank in the city of Mendoza.

582 1 April--BRAZIL--Bombs explode in the city of Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco as the 2nd anniversary of the overthrow of former president Joao Goulart is commemorated.

583 3 April--PERU--A clash between peasants and police resulting from the occupation of a ranch in the department of Apurimac leaves three dead and six injured.

584 5 April--PERU--The press reports on the opening of another guerrilla front between the departments of Apurimac and Ayacucho.

585 VENEZUELA--There is a clash between army forces and a guerrilla group.

586 8 April--COLOMBIA--New clashes between the army and guerrilla elements in the department of Chaparral, leaving four soldiers dead and one wounded.

587 PERU--There is a clash between police and guerrillas in the region of Huincho, department of Apurimac.

588 9 April--VENEZUELA--FALN guerrillas attack the El Vigia army barracks near Caracas.

589 11 April--COLOMBIA--A court martial begins in Pamplona, Nord-Santander, before which 21 members of the ELN, among them Jaime Arenas, are being tried.

8908

590 12 April--NICARAGUA. A guerrilla group attacked a district in San Isidro, Matagalpa department, and killed two soldiers.

591 VENEZUELA. A radio station was secretly brought into the town of Nirgua, state of Lara, from which the FALN [Armed Forces of National Liberation] exhorted the people to engage in armed struggle.

592 13 April--VENEZUELA. Urban groups of the FALN attacked police patrols in the district of Catia and in the "23 January" workers' quarter of Caracas, and killed two officials.

593 1966--14 April--PERU. The police arrested the newspaper man and leader of MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], Ricardo Gadea.

594 1966--VENEZUELA. FALN groups took over the town of Niquitao, state of Trujillo, and captured the municipal judge, the prefect, and two policemen.



Spurred on by agitators, Chilean rural workers take over private ranches.



...and they even burn the Argentine flag.

595 17 April--VENEZUELA. They set fire to a thousand hectares of sugar cane, three homes, and the electric, telephone, and telegraph installations in Cumacocoa, 450 kilometers east of Caracas.

596 21 April--ARGENTINA. The police searched for a cargo of arms in Isla Gaspar, as well as for various leaders of UTAA [Artigas Sugar Workers Union], of Uruguay.

597 22 April--COLOMBIA. Members of the urban network of the ELN [National Liberation Army] attacked the airport of Bucaramanga, killed a police officer, and stole a suitcase containing a big amount of money.

598 COLOMBIA. A student demonstration hurled Molotov cocktails against the United States Embassy and the Jockey Club, in Bogota.

599 PERU. Chiefs of Peruvian guerrillas were hunted in Ecuador and Colombia.

600 PERU. Student groups occupied the main building of the University of San Marcos in protest against the appointment of Rector Luis Alberto Sanchez.

601 24 April--ECUADOR. Several Peruvian guerrillas were arrested, including Gonzalo Fernandez Gasco and Elio Portocarrero.

602. ECUADOR. The authorities located an arsenal which Peruvian inhabitants, residing in Peru, kept in the border zone.

603. May--ARGENTINA. W. W. Rostow, "Strategy For a Free World" ("Estrategia para un Mundo Libre"), Buenos Aires, TROQUEL.

604 FRANCE. Vo Nguyen Giap-Bui Lam-Le Van Luong-Hoang Quo Viet-Nguyen Luong Bang, "Accounts of Vietnamese Resistance" ("Recits de la Resistance Vietnamienne") (1925-1945), Paris, MASPERO.

605 3 May--GUATEMALA. Three bombs exploded in various sections of the capital.

606 4 May--NICARAGUA. A guerrilla group ambushed a patrol in the department of Leon, Quezalquaque zone.

607 6 May--PERU. Three bombs that were hurled from a moving vehicle exploded in Lima.

608 7 May--GUATEMALA. Baltasar Morales, minister of information, and Romeo Augusto de Leon, president of the Supreme Court, were kidnapped. The kidnappers demanded the release of 21 prisoners in exchange for the freedom of the two kidnapped men.

609 8 May--BRAZIL. The government investigated the extent of the Caparao guerrilla in the state of Minas Gerais.

610 9 May--ARGENTINA. General strike throughout the country.

611 11 May--GUATEMALA. Guerrillas kidnapped from their home and killed Alberto Castaneda, Enrique Franco, Indalecio Ventura, and the latter's two children.

612 12 May--HONDURAS. The PC [Communist Party] of Honduras called on workers "to join the country's struggle."

613 PERU. The police discovered an arms and ammunition dump in the city of Anta and arrested many persons involved in terrorist activities.

614 13 May--ARGENTINA. There was a student demonstration--with slogans against "imperialism."

615 14 May--GUATEMALA. Guerrillas killed a policeman and injured another.

616 VENEZUELA. A dynamite charge blew up the installations of the Tovar radio control tower, in the state of Merida, the very day that its inauguration was to take place.

617 18 May--GUATEMALA. Members of the FAR [Front for Renewed Advancement] clashed with army soldiers, killing a captain and two soldiers.

618 22 May--NICARAGUA. There was a demonstration of Fine Arts students, who were on strike.

619. 24 May--VENEZUELA. Members of the FALN shot at Army Commander Gladioso Octavio while he and other soldiers were travelling in a light truck.

620 1966--28 May--GUATEMALA. Hector Menendez de la Riva, leader of PID [Democratic Institutional Party] and vice president of congress, was kidnapped by a FAR group.

621 29 May--GUATEMALA. The FLN, in a message signed by Hector Perez Marcano and Omar Cardenas, offered to "defend Cuba," in answer to an appeal from TRICONTINENTAL.

622 3 June--ECUADOR. The press reported on the existence of guerrillas in the country.

622[1] 10 June—ARGENTINA. UNESCO, "Demographic, Economic, Social and Educational Situation in Latin America" (" Situacion Demografica, Economica, Social y Educativa de America Latina"), Buenos Aires, SOLAR/HACHETTE.

623 10 June--GUATEMALA. The FAR proposed the release of Baltasar Morales, the kidnapped minister of Information in exchange for the guerrilla fighter, Jose Maria Ortiz Vides.

624 11 June--ARGENTINA. A bomb burst in the headquarters of the Radicalismo del Pueblo [People's Radicalism] political party, in Buenos Aires.

625 11 June--VENEZUELA. The left won in the university primaries.

626 17 June--ARGENTINA. A bomb exploded in the Palace of Justice, Buenos Aires.

627 ECUADOR. The home of Jose Federico Ponce, president of the Supreme Electoral Board, was machine gunned.

628 19 June--GUATEMALA. Hector Menendez de la Riva escaped from his kidnappers.

629 HONDURAS. A group of students hurled bombs at the University of Honduras, in Tegucigalpa.

630 22 June--GUATEMALA. A bomb exploded in the home of Juan de Dios Aguilar, former presidential candidate.

631 26 June--GUATEMALA. Bombs exploded in the Honduran and Nicaraguan embassies and in an automobile dealer's firm in the capital.

632 29 June--GUATEMALA. Army soldiers and guerrilla groups clashed. Fourteen soldiers were killed.

633 GUATEMALA. Guerrillas killed Sabino Carleto, chief of police, and Teodoro Ambrosio; cut telephone and telegraph wires; and carried out other acts of sabotage in Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Jutiapa, and Chimatensanto.

634 VENEZUELA. Some young people, armed with machine guns, attacked the home of Jose Echenique, leader of the PAD [Authentic Democratic Party] and stole weapons.

635 19 July--COLOMBIA. An ELN group, selected specifically for training and preparation in guerrilla tactics, left for Cuba.

636 7 July--PERU. The police discovered a plot to provoke simultaneous revolts in various localities and took possession of an explosive factory and four clandestine arsenals.

637 9 July--ARGENTINA. Bombs exploded during the anniversary celebrations of Argentine independence.

638 11 July--PANAMA. A canal bridge was dynamited.

639 16 July--PANAMA. Student groups stoned radio and TV broadcasting stations.

640 23 July--BRAZIL. A bomb exploded in a restaurant in Brasilia, where a note, accusing President Humberto Castelo Branco, was left.

641 VENEZUELA. The Central Matildo sugar mill was destroyed by a bomb.

642 24 July--NICARAGUA. A Student group burned a United States flag in Managua.

643 26 July--CUBA. Cuban intellectuals addressed an open letter to Pablo Neruda, Chilean communist poet, criticizing his attendance at the Pen Club Conference in New York and his visit to Fernando Belaunde Terry, president of Peru, and saying: "For us, Latin Americans, for us, people of the Third World, the way to true coexistence and true elimination of war (cold or hot) is through national liberation struggles, through the guerrillas, not through impossible conciliation."

644 1966--26 July--CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech in Havana, in which he said that the enemies were trying to counter the revolution and that none of the Latin American guerrilla movements had yet seized power which, he said, was the only way open to the revolution. He repeated previous attacks against Frei, president of Chile, with whom the Chilean revolutionaries residing in Cuba differed radically, etc.

645 CUBA. The magazine, BOHEMIA, conducted an inquiry among various intellectuals to determine what they meant by "revolutionary literature."

646 27 July--BRAZIL. In Recife, an attempt was made on the life of Marshal Arturo Costa e Silva, which resulted in the death of

Elson Regis, administrative secretary, and Tomas de Aquino, airport guard, and in injuries to Colonel Silva Ferreira and more than 20 other persons.

647 COLOMBIA. The ELN, FGCTR [expansion unknown] group killed the police inspector of the Marta region and ambushed an army patrol that came to recover the body, which resulted in the death of an officer, four soldiers, and one guerrilla.

648 NICARAGUA. Three bombs exploded in Leon.

649 A train carrying military troops was derailed as a result of railway sabotage.

650 29 July--CUBA. The IV CLAE [Latin American Students Congress] Meeting was held in Havana, with the motto, "for the anti-imperialist unity of Latin American students," and the OCLAE [Continental Organization of Latin American Students] was established, with headquarters in Cuba.

651 30 July--GUATEMALA. The FAR rejected a government ultimatum and stated that its objective was "to overthrow the government."

652 31 July--NICARAGUA. The students took over the Journalism School of Managua.

653 PANAMA. A bomb exploded at the entrance to the University of Panama.

654 6 August--BRAZIL. Antonio Batista Fragoso, bishop of Crateus, Ceara, published a letter, entitled "The Silent Church" ("La Iglesia del Silencio"), regarding the conflict between some northeastern soldiers and Helder Camara, bishop of Recife. Bishop Fragoso's letter supported the bishop of Recife: "D. Helder is the voice of the church. There can be no silent church in Brazil," etc.

655 7 August--COLOMBIA. There were clashes between army soldiers and guerrillas of the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] in the Cordillera Central and in the towns of Aipe and Giron.

656 9 August--VENEZUELA. Salvador Iturbe, revolutionary leader, was arrested.

657 11 August--VENEZUELA. Guerrillas occupied a group of houses in the district of Apure, in Caracas.

658 13 August--BRAZIL. A bomb exploded in the home of Colonel Ferdinando Carvalho, in Rio de Janeiro, who was presiding over the committee that was investigating the activities of the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party].

659 COLOMBIA. Two soldiers were injured in Santander when ambushed by guerrillas.

660 14 August--BRAZIL. Lack of understanding between soldiers and priests since 1964, Rio de Janeiro, JOURNAL DO BRASIL.

661 14 August--COLOMBIA. Information from Bogota stated that Leoni, president of Venezuela, would ask for integration into "a common front," in order to prevent subversion on the continent.

662 GUATEMALA. The police broke into a house and rescued Jose Antonio Delgado, who had been kidnapped some time before.

663 16 August--VENEZUELA. A bomb damaged a pipeline.

664 18 August-ARGENTINA. Students and the police clashed in the city of Cordoba.

665 19 August--CHILE. Students took over the Technical University of Talca.

666 1966--GUATEMALA. The FAR stated that it would shortly open up new guerrilla fronts.

666[1] 20 August--MEXICO. Lewis Hanne, "Do the Americas Have a Common History?" ("Tienen las Americas Una Historia Comun?"), Mexico, DIANA, S.A.

667 20 August--VENEZUELA. An ambush by guerrillas resulted in the death of a soldier and injuries to others in Las Gallinas, state of Lara.

668 21 August--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, reported new centers of Venezuelan guerrilla activity in Sierra Carina, state of Falcon.

669 GUATEMALA. Pedro Cardona, retired colonel, was killed by the FAR.

670 23 August--GUATEMALA. Army Lieutenants Carlos Humberto Torres and Julio Cesar Flores were shot to death.

671 24 August--BRAZIL. The city of Sao Paulo was in darkness when an explosion in a textile factory took place; one person was killed and five were wounded.

672 PERU. A group of guerrillas derailed the train that was travelling from Oraya to Huancayo and carrying police personnel.

673 26 August--ARGENTINA. The police of Jujuy reported the arrest of a group of persons in the wooded area of the department of Santa Barbara, believing them to be guerrillas. But other sources indicated that it might be a question of students from the province of Mendoza who had set up camp in the Arenas area.

674 27 August--BRAZIL. Bombs exploded at various points in the city of Curitiba, state of Parana.

675 28 August--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published a communique from the permanent secretariat of the OCLAE, denouncing "the repressive activities of the Ongania government against the students of the Argentine Republic and called on all Latin American students to actively mobilize in a show of solidarity with the Argentine comrades."

676 29 August--CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech in Havana, in which he stated that Cuban international policy was in complete accord with the Latin American revolution, and against imperialism.

677 29 August--CHILE. Student groups burned a United States flag in front of the USIS building in Santiago.

678 31 August--COLOMBIA. Student disturbances occurred during a strike at the universities of Antioquia and Medellin.

679 September--FRANCE. Americo Pumaruma, "Revolution, Insurrection, Guerrillas in Peru," ("Revolucion, Insurrection, Guerillas au Perou"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 30, July-September.

680 MEXICO. A Cuban fisherman unloaded weapons on Mexican coasts.

681 2 September--GUATEMALA. The FAR freed Baltasar Morales and Romeo Augusto de Leon, kidnapped this past 4 May.

682 4 September--GUATEMALA. The FAR stated that it killed Jose Sinesio Vanegas.

683 6 September--CHILE. There was a PS [Socialist Party] gathering in the vicinity of the Portuguese Theater, where Socialist Senator Salvador Allende reported on his recent visit to Cuba.

684 7 September--BRAZIL. A bomb exploded in the War Department, Rio de Janeiro.

685 MEXICO. Ten members of the Central de Campesinas Independientes and their leader, Fidel Casas, were arrested for subversive activities.

686 8 September--ARGENTINA. Twenty-four hour student strike.

687 1966--CUBA. Sergio Mendez, Mexican bishop of Cuernavaca, stated: "There are times in the history of countries when violent revolutions are completely justified and may be totally permissible." When questioned about Camilo Torres, Colombian priest who was involved in guerrilla activities, he said: "I think that his position probably expresses the desire of many Christians, including priests and bishops, for reforms in the existing unjust social structures in many countries throughout the world."

688 12 September--GUATEMALA. A bomb that was thrown against the building of the School of Economics exploded.

689 14 September--NICARAGUA. University students in the city of Trujillo threw Molotov cocktails at the North American Cultural Institute and at the lottery building and demanded the repeal of the Military Code of Justice.

690 16 September--VENEZUELA. Gabriel Jose Paez, chief of the police department, was the victim of an attempt by five members of the FALN.

691 17 September--ARGENTINA. A bomb that was thrown from a moving automobile exploded near the home of Luis Botet, rector of the University of Buenos Aires.

692 19 September--ARGENTINA. A bomb exploded in the Avellanda branch of the Bank of Boston, causing considerable damage.

693 ARGENTINA. Another bomb, which was dismantled by the police before going off, was found in the home of Cesar Bennetti Aprosio, dean of the School of Mathematical Sciences, of the University of Litoral.

694 21 September--ARGENTINA. A student march was dispersed by the police in the city of Rosario.

695 ARGENTINA. Another student march took place in Cordoba in protest against the administration that was installed by the military government in the universities of the country.

696 22 September--BRAZIL. Student disturbances in Brasilia resulted in the destruction of the USIS premises.

697 BRAZIL. There were student riots in Rio de Janeiro, in Goiana, capital of the state of Goias, and in Sao Paulo, where the students voted for an indefinite strike as a protest against government policy.

698 24 September--BRAZIL. The police entered the premises of the university, Rio de Janeiro, in order to put an end to the disturbances caused by about 500 students, several of whom were arrested.

699 BRAZIL. More student riots took place in Recife, Goiana, Salvador, and Pernambuco.

700 26 September--VENEZUELA. Alfredo Jose Seijas, legal adviser in the police department, was killed in the suburban district of Macaraguay.

700[1] 30 September--MEXICO. K. Nkruma, "Neocolonialism, Last Stage of Imperialism" ("Neocolonialismo, Ultima Etapa del Imperialismo"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

701 2 October--GUATEMALA. Luis Augusto Turcios, chief of the FAR, died in an automobile accident.

702 JAMAICA. A bomb exploded in a movie house in the capital. Two persons were injured.

703 3 October--BRAZIL. Preventive security measures were adopted throughout the country in view of student protest actions announced by the UNE [National Student Union] against the election of Marshal Arthur Costa e Silva to succeed Castelo Branco.

704 4 October--BRAZIL. A student demonstration took place in Rio de Janeiro as a protest against the election of Marshal Costa e Silva.

705 GUATEMALA. The assistant to the military commissioner of the city of San Pedro, department of Jalapa, was killed by the FAR.

706 HONDURAS. Students demonstrated against the army, and the student association distributed a manifesto requesting "the immediate release of political prisoners and cessation of the persecutions endured by the people."

707 JAMAICA. The government declared a state of emergency in the western zones of Kingston and St. Andrews where other violent activities had taken place in recent months.

708 5 October--ARGENTINA. More student protest demonstrations were held against the government in Cordoba.

709 1966--BRAZIL. Bombs exploded in Rio de Janeiro in front of the buildings of the War Office and of the Treasury Department and in the home of the minister of Foreign Affairs.

710 5 October--CUBA. The government decreed a day of mourning for the death of the Guatemalan guerrilla fighter, Luis Augusto Turcios.

711 8 October--ARGENTINA. The police arrested various labor union leaders because of preparations for a strike by retail workers who wanted an increase in salary.

712 GUATEMALA. In an interview with the press in Sierra de Minas, Cesar Montes, leader of the FAR, stated that "armed struggle will continue as the only way to a triumphant revolution."

713 9 October--GUATEMALA. A bomb exploded in the "Radio Fabulosa" station, which was partially destroyed.

714 10 October--GUATEMALA. A bomb exploded in the military detention quarters, bringing the number of dynamite attacks in recent days to 11.

715 VENEZUELA. The police discovered and dismantled a powerful bomb found underneath a bridge, between Valencia and Bejuma, some 140 kilometers southeast of Caracas. While working on the bomb, some FALN guerrillas shot at them, without resultant injuries.

716 11 October--GUATEMALA. A bomb exploded in the offices of the daily, EL GRAFICA, located next to the government palace.

717 13 October--ARGENTINA. Workers in Tucuman initiated a 24-hour strike, for the purpose of obtaining higher pay.

718 14 October--PERU. A group of university students occupied the premises of the National University of San Marcos. They demanded the release of former student leader Licurgo Pinto, brought to trial as a guerrilla.

719 16 October--COLOMBIA. An ELN group was annihilated in Sangilito, municipality of Sinacata.

720 COLOMBIA. A member of the urban ELN organization of San Vicente attacked and wounded Army Lieutenant Gabriel Rodriguez, who captured his assaulter.

721 17 October--ARGENTINA. There were clashes between members of the pro-Peron faction and the police in downtown Buenos Aires, on the occasion of the 20th accniversary of the freedom of their leader.

722 26 October--ARGENTINA. Bombs exploded in the National Secondary Teachers College in Buenos Aires; the school is part of the university.

723 November--ARGENTINA. Wolfgang Leonhard, "Son of the Revolution" ("Hijo de la Revolucion"), Buenos Aires, PLAZA & JANES S.A.

724 ARGENTINA. Gregorio Selser, "Conflict in the Church in Colombia" ("Conflicto en la Iglesia de Colombia"), Buenos Aires, POLITICA INTERNACIONAL, No 81.

725 7 November--COLOMBIA. Jose Luis Pantoja, MRL [expansion unknown] deputy in the Santander Assembly, was killed in Bucaramanga by the ELN.

726 21 November--CUBA. The OCLAE appealed for continental support of subversion in Venezuela.

727 28 November--UNITED STATES--OAS [Organization of American States]. Resolution of approval for the report of the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II, Nos 1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers concerning the Tricontinental Conference in Havana.[23]

728 1966--8 December. ARGENTINA. Bombs exploded in the port and in an office of the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], Buenos Aires.

728 ARGENTINA. Bombs exploded in the city of Rosario.

730 VENEZUELA. The PAD [Authentic Democratic Party] publicly attributed responsibility for the increase in revolutionary activities in the country to the government of Cuba.

731 9 December--VENEZUELA. Four police officers who were in a bar in the district of Sarria, in Caracas, were machine gunned from a moving automobile.

732 14 December--ARGENTINA. The CGT initiated a 24-hour strike in behalf of dockers, railway workers, and sugar workers, and as a protest against the socio-economic policy of President Ongania's government.

733 ARGENTINA. Various bombs exploded in Buenos Aires after the start of the strike and some busses were burned by groups of strikers.

734 VENEZUELA. In two parallel actions, members of the FALN killed Army Commander General Francisco Astudillo Suarez and wounded chief of Army Staff Brigadier General Roberto Morean Soto.

735 15 December--VENEZUELA. Members of the army and of the police entered the Universidad Central de Caracas. Shots were exchanged with students. One soldier was killed and Humberto Hernandez, a student, was wounded.

736 16 December--VENEZUELA. Revolutionary members killed J. Barreto Mendez, retired army lieutenant, in his home.

737 17 December--MEXICO. The National Headquarters of Democratic Students of Mexico denounced the intervention of the army in the Universidad Central de Caracas "as a savage attack against autonomy."

738 VENEZUELA. President Leoni stated that he was assuming complete responsibility for the university break-in.

739 18 December--VENEZUELA. The home of Francisco de Venanzi, former university rector, was broken into.

740 VENEZUELA. The police ordered the evacuation of the University Hospital and arrested eight students who were interned there, including Jose Rafael Zanoni, Henry Solorzano, and Juvencio Fulgar.

741 VENEZUELA. For the fourth consecutive night, army and police squads patrolled the streets of Caracas.

742 CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published a study by Felix Pita Astudillo, entitled "Venezuela: the New Nature of the Struggle" ("Venezuela: el nuevo caracter de la lucha"), in which he stated that the establishment of the FLN--FALN [National Liberation Front--Armed Forces of National Liberation] general command marked a new course for the revolutionary activities that had apparently been in check during the first months of the Leoni government. He admitted to sabotage operations in camps and murders in the cities. He stressed that the guerrilla made a mockery of the government which, according to the minister of Defense,"had been liquidated." He said that, from the economic viewpoint, a foreign investor would think twice before taking

risks in a country where there are no capital guarantees and where bourgeois stability is like "a bit of straw." He said that, from the strategic viewpoint, a new phenomenon was occurring--the country's people in general were joining the guerrillas.

743 28 December--VENEZUELA. The authorities declared that the fate of the president of the Federation of University Centers and also of the students who were arrested would be decided by the pertinent courts, and that implementation of the new university law was already under study. The new law was to place the five universities of Venezuela under governmental control.

744 1967--RFA. Robert K. Furtak, "Kuba und der Weltkommunismus," Cologne, WESTDEUTSCHER VERLAG.

745 RFA. Robert F. Lamberg, "Politik und Gewerkschaften in Uruguay," Bad Godesberg. (Studien und Berichte aus dem Forschungsintitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stftung).

746 ARGENTINA. Francois Bourricaud, "Power and Society in Contemporary Peru" ("Poder y Sociedad en el Peru Contemporaneo"), Buenos Aires, SUR.

747 1967--ARGENTINA. Dardo Cuneo, "Behavior and Crisis in the Enterprise Class" ("Comportamiento y Crisis de la Clase Empresaria"), Buenos Aires.

748 ARGENTINA. Atilio Garcia Mellid, "National Revolution or Communism" ("Revolucion Nacional o Comunismo," Buenos Aires, THEORIA.

749 ARGENTINA. Norberto A. Habegger, "Camilo Torres, the Guerrilla Parish Priest" ("Camilo Torres, El Cura Guerrillero"), Buenos Aires, PENA LILLO.

750 BRAZIL. Osny Duarte Pereira, "Ferro e Independencia. Um Desafia a Dignidade Nacional," Rio de Janeiro.

751 COLOMBIA. German Guzman Campos, "Camilo. The Guerrilla Parish Priest" ("Camilo. El Cura Guerrillero"), Bogota, SERVICIOS ESPECIALES DE PRENSA.

752 COLOMBIA. Orlando Fals Borda, "Subversion in Colombia. Appearance of Social Change in History" ("La Subversion en Colombia. Vision del Cambio Social en la Historia"), Bogota, TERCER MUNDO.

753 COLOMBIA. Education Department of the CELAM [Latin American Bishops Council], "The Mission of the Catholic University in Latin America" ("La Mision de la Universidad Catolica en America Latina"), Bogota, CELAM.

754 CUBA. Federico Brito, "Venezuela, XX Century" ("Venezuela, Siglo XX"), Havana.

755 CUBA. Regis Debray, "Revolution Within the Revolution?" ("Revolucion en la Revolucion?"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

756 CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Fidel Castro, "Colombia in the Struggle," ("Colombia en pie de la lucha"), Prague, PAZ Y SOCIALISMO.

756[1] SPAIN. Wilfred Burchett, "Bombs Over Hanoi ("Hanoi Bajo las Bombas"), Barcelona, EDIMA S.A.

757 SPAIN. Enrique Dussel, "Hypothesis For a History of the Church in Latin America," ("Hipotesis para una Historia de la Iglesia en America Latina"), Barcelona, ESTELA, I.E.P.A.L.

758 SPAIN. Institute of Sociological and Pastoral Studies, "Sociological Analysis of Spanish Catholicism" ("Analisis Sociologica del Catolicismo Espanol"), Barcelona, NOVA TERRA.[36]

759 UNITED STATES. Herbert S. Dinerstein, "Castro's Latin American Comintern," Santa Monica, California, RAND CORPORATION.

760 UNITED STATES. Herbert S. Dinerstein, "Soviet Policy in Latin America," Madison,Wisconsin, THE AMERICAN POLICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, No 1.

761 UNITED STATES. Robert H. Dix, "Colombia, the Political Dimensions of Change," New Haven, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

761[1] UNITED STATES. Oscar Roberto Fiallo, "Communism, Its Denials and Its Contradictions" ("El Comunismo, sus Negaciones y sus Contradicciones"), U.S.A.[25]

762 UNITED STATES. Andre Gunder Frank, "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America," New York, MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS.

763 UNITED STATES--OAS. Special Consultative Committee on Security: "Against the Subversive Action of International Communism," Washington, D.C., THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION.

764 UNITED STATES. Andres Sudrez, "Cuba; Castrism and Communism, 1959-1966." Cambridge, Mass., THE MIT PRESS.

767 1967--FRANCE. Paul Bairch. "Analysis of the Economic Evolution of the Third World, 1900-1966," ("Diagnostic de 1'Evolution Economique du Tiers Monde, 1900-1966"), Paris.

766 FRANCE. Regis Debray, "Essays on Latin America" ("Essais sur 1'Amerique Latine"), Paris, MASPERO.

767 FRANCE. Meri Franco-Lao, "Enough! Declarations of Commitment and of Revolt in Latin America" ("Basta! Chants de Temoignage et de Revolte de 1'Amerique Latine"), Paris, MASPERO.

&ç* FRANCE. Michel Gutelman, "Socialized Agriculture in Cuba, Training and Prospects" ("L'Agriculture Socialisee a Cuba, Enseignments et Perspectives"), Paris, MASPERO.

769 FRANCE. "The People of Quebec, A Firm Decision" ("Parti Pris, Les Quebecois"), Paris, MASPERO.

770 FRANCE. Bertrand Russell, "Nuremberg For Vietnam!" ("Nuremberg pour le Vietnam!", Paris, MASPERO.

771 FRANCE--LASO. "First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization; Havana, August 1967" ("Premiere Conference de l"organization Latinoamericaine de Solidarite; La Havane, aout 1967"), Paris, MASPERO.

772 GREAT BRITAIN. Claudio Velez, "The Politics of Conformity in Latin America," London, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

773 MEXICO. Ernesto Che Guevara, "Revolutionary Work" ("Obra Revolucionaria"), Mexico, ERA.

774 MEXICO. Ernesto Che Guevara, "Che's Diary in Bolivia" ("El Diario del Che en Bolivia"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

775 MEXICO. Eduardo Galeano, "Guatemala, An Occupied Country" ("Guatemala, Pais Ocupado"), Mexico, NUESTRO TIEMPO.

776 PERU. Roger Mercado, "Peru's Guerrillas. The MIR: From Ideological Preaching to Armed Action" ("Las Guerrillas del Peru. EL MIR: De la Predica Ideologica a la Accion Armada"), Lima, FONDO DE CULTURA POPULAR.

777 PERU. Victor Villanueva, "Hugo Blanco and the Rural Rebellion" ("Hugo Blanco y la Rebelion Campesina"), Lima.

778 VENEZUELA. Orlando Araujo, "Operation Puerto Rico Over Venezuela" ("Operacion Puerto Rico sobre Venezuela"), Caracas.

779 VENEZUELA. Romulo Bentancourt, "Toward a Democratic and Integrated Latin America" ("Hacia America Latina Democratica e Integrada"), Caracas, SENDEROS.

780 January--ARGENTINA. The Cuban motor fishing boat, "Guasa," smuggled men and weapons to the coasts of the country.

781 2 January--ARGENTINA. The Central Committee of the PC sent a message to Fidel Castro, congratulating him on the success of the Cuban revolution and on his manifestation of solidarity for the countries that are fighting for their independence.

782 CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech on the anniversary of his seizure of power, in which he sent a fraternal message of support and solidarity to the guerrilla fighters of Venezuela--Luben Pekoff, Prado, and other Falcon fighters; to El Bachiller, of Colombia; Fabio Velazquez and his FLN comrades; to Marulanda and to Cesar Montes, Turcio Lima's deputy in the FAR; and to Guevara, "wherever you are, and to your comrades."

783 3 January--ARGENTINA. The weekly, NUESTRA PALABRA, organ of the PC, devoted its editorial to the eighth anniversary of the Cuban revolution, example "of the first Latin American socialist country to have an impact on the countries of the continent that see in it their own path."

784 5 January--ARGENTINA. The Railroad Union stated that it would go on a 24-hour strike to protest the new regulations approved by the government concerning railway service.

785 8 January--ARGENTINA. Thirty dockers took over the headquarters of the CGT of Bahia Blanca by force.

786 10 January--CUBA. The OCLAE called a meeting to discuss student activities in Latin America, with special reference to imperialist penetration of universities, education, and culture.

787 11 January--CUBA. Argentine writers David Vinas and Julio Cortazar, members of the Board of Contributors to the magazine, CASA DE LAS AMERICA, and other members of said committee,

signed a declaration issued in Havana, warning the union of Latin American writers against the plans of Yankee imperialism.

788 1967--15 January--ARGENTINA. The Coordinating Committee of the FULNP [expansion unknown] demanded the freedom "of the political prisoners that the government of General Alfredo Stroessner was holding."

789 FRANCE. Manuel Castillo, "The Guerrillas in Peru" ("Les Guerrillas au Perou"), Paris, EST & OUEST, No 375, 1-15 January.

790 16 January--CUBA. "Meeting With Ruben Dario" ("Encuentro con Ruben Dario"), Latin American Intellectuals' Day, began in Veradero.

791 19 January--COLOMBIA. An ELN group stole 50 army uniforms.

792 24 January--ARGENTINA. Bombs were thrown into the homes of high officials of Tucuman while the police were actively engaged in guarding manufacturing centers and public buildings as a result of disturbances caused by sugar workers over payment of wages and salaries.

793 28 January--ARGENTINA. The police seized communist literature in the headquarters of the Buenos Aires publishing firm, LA ROSA BLINDADA, including a compilation of speeches by Fidel Castro.

794 ARGENTINA. Shots were fired at the home of Geronimo Vinti, a former Peron deputy.

795 29 January--ARGENTINA. A bomb exploded in a downtown street in Buenos Aires, where leaflets protesting the measures "of the Tucuman government against workers" were left behind.

796 February--CUBA. The discussions of the Meeting of Latin American Women commenced in Havana under the auspices of the LASO [Latin American Solidarity Organization]. The main theme was the incorporation of women into the subversive struggle of the American continent.

797 February--CUBA. The government published 100,000 copies of the book, "Revolution Within the Revolution?" ("Revolucion en la Revolucion?") by Regis Debray, French communist and Castroite theorist.

798 COLOMBIA. The Bishops Meeting on the "Presence of the Church in the Latin American University World" and the Seminar of

Experts on the "Mission of the Catholic University in Latin America," convened by CELAM, began in Buga.

798[1] 1 February--MEXICO. Brian Crozier, "The Turbulent Southeast Asia" ("El Turbulento Sudeste Asiatico"), Mexico, NOVARO S.A.

799 13 February--ARGENTINA. Four bombs exploded in the military arsenal in the vicinity of the city of Rosario.

800 14 February--ARGENTINA. There were four explosions in an army munitions depot in Fray Luis Beltran, province of Santa Fe.

800[1] 14 February--CUBA. Regis Debray, "Revolution Within the Revolution?" ("Revolucion en la Revolucion?), Havana.

801 15 February--COLOMBIA. Publication of the first issue of FRENTE POPULAR, official organ of the United Front, commemorating the first anniversary of the death of Camilo Torres Restrepo, former guerrilla priest.

802 16 February--ARGENTINA. The army took over the radio and television broadcasting stations.

807 27 February--COLOMBIA. The FGCTR, of the ELN, took possession of the town of Vijaqual, after overcoming four police officers, stole weapons, and carried out acts of propaganda.

808 1967--19 March--VENEZUELA. Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of the minister of Foreign Relations of Venezuela, Ignacio Iribarren Borges, was abducted. His body was later found with three bullets in his back.

809 4 March--ARGENTINA. A bomb exploded in front of the home of Vicente Arriagada, prefect of Puerto de Bahia Blanca.

810 6 March--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published statements made by Elias Manuilt Camero, member of the FLN--FALN directorate, taking responsibility for the kidnapping and murder of Julio Iribarren Borges.

811 9 March--COLOMBIA. The "Jose Antonio Galan" MLN [National Liberation Movement--Tupamaros] front attacked the paymaster's train on the Magdalena line at a place called Montayas. The chief, five policemen, and three civilians were killed.

812 12 March--CUBA. "The Struggle Against Bureaucracy: Decisive Task" ("La Lucha Contra el Burocratismo: Tarea Decisiva"), Havana, GRANMA.

813 13 March--BRAZIL. National security standards were established. (Decree No 314).

814 13 March--CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech commemorating the attack on the presidential palace, in which he referred to the accusation of the government of Venezuela regarding Cuban intervention in their domestic affairs and the internal schisms in the Venezuelan PC, and again proclaimed Cuba's solidarity with the Latin American guerrillas and its firm determination "not to re-establish relations with any of the puppet governments that had broken off relations on orders from North American imperialism," etc.

815 15 March--ARGENTINA. The premises of the railroad association of Junin, which had been subjected to social agitation for days, was destroyed by fire.

816 16 March--ARGENTINA. Bombs exploded in front of the buildings of the Buenos Aires dailies, LA PRENSA and LA NACION.

817 18 March--COLOMBIA. Some FARC members ambushed some army soldiers.

818 20 March--CUBA. Radio Havana said that "the purpose of Lyndon Johnson's conference with the presidents of the countries that are members of the OAS is to strengthen the repression against the Latin American countries."

819 CUBA. The information bulletin of the above mentioned radio said that the Paraguayan Committee for Tricontinental Solidarity maintains that "the so-called summit conference of American presidents will be another frustrated imperialist attempt to impede the Latin American process of national liberation."

820 23 March-CUBA. The organizing committee of the LASO Conference called on all national committees to express their repudiation of the Conference of American Presidents, to be held in Punta del Este, and to organize public protests.

821 26 March--COLOMBIA. Mario Menendez Rodriguez, Mexican journalist for the Mexican magazine, SUCESOS, who was covering a press report on guerrilla leaders in Colombia, was arrested and interrogated by the military intelligence service.

822 27 March--BOLIVIA. Armed groups of pro-Castro communists initiated guerrilla activities in the southern zone, regions of Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, where the sugar and petroleum

establishments are located, quickly spreading the report that Ernesto Guevara would command these groups.

822[1] 27 March--BOLIVIA. The government implemented a state of siege to oppose the guerrillas.

823 28 March--ARGENTINA. The magazine, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION, dedicated its most recent issue to Camilo Torres Restrepo, Colombian priest who died in guerrilla combat in the mountains of his country.

824 April--ARGENTINA. Daniel Guerin, "Anarchism" ("El Anarquismo"), Buenos Aires, PROYECCION.[26]

825 1967--April--CUBA. Ernesto Guevara de la Serna, "To Create Two, Three...Many Vietnams is the Watch-Word," a document addressed to the Secretariat of the AALAPSO [Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization].

826 3 April--BOLIVIA. Some unidentified persons fired on the quarters of the "Capitan Ustarez" regiment and threw a bomb at the building of the daily, EXTRA, in La Paz.

827 5 April--BRAZIL. The authorities reported the presence of guerrilla groups in the mountainous region of the state of Minas Gerais, known as "Monte Bandeira," and in the state of Espiritu Santo.

828. 7 April--ARGENTINA. A petard exploded near the elevated platform of the monument to General San Martin, in Buenos Aires, where it had been announced that President Ongania was expected to be.

829 9 April--BOLIVIA. The Frenchman, Jules Regis Debray, adviser to Fidel Castro, and Argentine Ciro Bustas, were taken prisoners.

830 10 April--COLOMBIA. From information based on statements made by Mario Menendez Rodriguez, Mexican journalist who was arrested some days before, the army located a guerrilla hideout and seized numerous important documents.

831 11 April--BOLIVIA. Jesus Suarez Gayol, Cuban army captain and former vice minister of the sugar industry in Cuba, died in guerrilla combat in Iripili, near Nancahuazu.

832 12 April—BOLIVIA. Eliseo Reyes Rodriguez, Cuban army captain, died in guerrilla combat in Mezon.

833 FRANCE. Marcel Niedergang, "The Cuban Way: Neither Moscow, Nor Peking" ("La Via Cubana: ni Moscu, ni Pekin"), Paris, LE MONDE.

834 13 April—COLOMBIA. The following members of ELN[27] urban network were arrested at the Barrancabermeja airport: Claudio Leon Mantilla, Jairo Gonzalez, Gloria Afanador, and Alirio Romero.

835 14 April—ARGENTINA. The National Argentine Committee of LASO issued a statement in support of the Bolivian guerrillas and of repudiation "of illegitimate imperialist intervention and that of its lackeys."

836 CUBA. The ececutive secretariat of AALAPSO issued a statement condemning "North American intervention and the utilization of the gorilla governments of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil, and the repression of the revolutionary movement of Bolivia."

837 CUBA. The Organizing Committee of the First Conference of LASO issued a statement similar to the above.

838 CUBA. The magazine, BOHEMIA, commemorated subversive expansion in Latin America: "The southern cone of the continent vibrates as if suddenly all the volcanoes of the Andes had become animated. Insurrection flourishes in the Cordillera and in the woods. The sepoy regimes, worn out with fear, look for guerrillas everywhere, and are frightened even at the sound of wind. No less than seven countries—Paraguay, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru—keep their soldiers in combat readiness, in some cases for direct action, and in other for prevention, keeping a lookout for border violations," etc.

839 15 April—MEXICO. Francisco de Assis Grieco, "The Alpro and the Development of Latin America" ("La Alpro y el Desarrollo de America Latina"), LETRAS S.A.

840 16 April—CUBA. The AALAPSO, published an advance special supplement to the magazine, TRICONTINENTAL, containing an article by Ernesto Guevara on subversion and guerrilla warfare in Latin America. In this article Guevara said that Latin America is a continent where "conditions are propitious for a guerrilla struggle."

841 1967--CUBA. The magazine, VERDE OLIVO, contains an article entitled "Paraguay, an Enormous Prison" ("Paraguay, una enorme Carcel"), in which it dedicated a full commentary against the Paraguayan government and stated that there has been constant interference in the government--officially since 1956--by experts of the Yankee Department of State, etc.

842 17 April--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published a complete text of the document by Guevara to the secretariat of the AALAPSO, entitled "Message from Ernesto Guevara de la Serna to the Tricontinental" ("Mensaje de Ernesto Guevara de la Serna a la Tricontinental").

843 CUBA. The UMP [expansion unknown] censured the Meeting of American Presidents in Punta del Este, and "denounced" the Paraguayan government of General Alfredo Stroessner.

844 18 April--BOLIVIA. Guerrilla activity took place in the northern part of the country, in the vicinity of the town of San Andres.

845 19 April--CUBA. Solidarity With Latin American Countries Week was initiated in Havana.

846 CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech on the occasion of the celebration of the 6th anniversary of Playa Giron, enlarging on the successes of the guerrillas in Venezuela and Bolivia. He speculated on the possibility of opening a new guerrilla front in the northern part of the latter country. He attacked Venezuelan President Leoni, who, he said, was "the laughing stock of the Punta del Este Conference when he said that the Venezuelan guerrillas were an invention of the press," and added: "For the revolutionary movement throughout the world, for those who oppose imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Commander Ernesto Guevara's message is of far-reaching importance.

847 20 April--ARGENTINA. Luis Mercier Vega, "Mechanisms of Power In Latin America" (Mecanismos del Poder en America Latina"); translation by Roberto Bixio, Buenos Aires, SUR.

848 20 April--ARGENTINA. A bomb exploded in Buenos Aires in a building where many officials of various foreign embassies resided.

849 27 April--CUBA. Law No 1203, of this date, created the Cuban Accounting Institute, an official organ responsible for the business operations of Cuban communist propaganda and publicity.

850 4 May--BOLIVIA. A photo was published of Jules Regis Debray at the gateway of the Muyupanga prison.

851 CUBA. The permanent mission of the FLN--FALN [National Liberation Front--Armed Forces of National Liberation] of Venezuela, in Cuba, published a statement supporting the Bolivian guerrillas.

852 CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, reported: "Bolivian guerrillas declare,'Our sacrifice is urgent and necessary.'"

853 5 May--ARGENTINA. The police discovered a clandestine arsenal in an apartment in downtown Buenos Aires; seized machine guns, rifles, pistols, ammunition, and explosives; and arrested Alberto Gonzalez, occupant of the property.

854 8 May--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published a photo entitled "Nancahuazu, zone of the first Bolivian guerrilla activity."

855 5 May--CUBA. The same daily published the statements made in Havana by Ariel Collazo, Uruguayan deputy of the MRO [Oriental Revolutionary Movement], according to which " Uruguay is no exception," since "the overall principles of the armed struggle are applicable to us," etc.

856 CUBA. The magazine, SIEMPRE, reviewed the activities of the guerrillas in Bolivia.

857 9 May--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published a account entitled "The Bolivian Guerrillas Clashed Again With the Barrientos Army."

858 10 May--FRANCE. President De Gaulle intervened in behalf of Jules Regis Debray, taken prisoner in Bolivia.

859 11 May--CUBA. The OCLAE exhorted students to urge the immediate release of Debray and his companions.

860 VENEZUELA. Douglas Bravo, chief of the Venezuelan guerrilla, sent a message of solidarity to the Bolivian guerrillas.

861 1967--12 May--CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, reported: "Latin American organizations urge the chief of the Bolivian government to free Regis Debray. Cuban organizations urge a worldwide campaign of protest."

862 CUBA. The Union of Paraguayans residing in Cuba and the ICAP [Cuban Institute for Friendship With Peoples] issued an invitation to commemorate the independence of Paraguay on the 14th of this month.

863 13 May—CUBA. The UNEAC issued a communique asking for the immediate release of Regis Debray and of the other journalists, Carlos Alberto Fructuoso, an Argentine, and Andres Rodd, an Englishman, prisoners in Bolivia.

864 14 May—CUBA. The daily, EL MUNDO, of Havana, on the occasion of the commemoration of the independence of Paraguay, stated: "There have been dictatorial governments in the country in the past and today unfortunately the country is suffering under one of the worst."

865 15 May--COLOMBIA. High military chiefs of 16 American countries met in Bogota to review the present status of the guerrilla war and the appropriate means of combatting it.

866 17 May—ARGENTINA. The authorities disclosed the extinction of a pro-Castro communist organization which, operating from Uruguay, forged certificates of cancellation of public debts of the Argentine government, checks, and money; and the arrest of Orlando Ramon Zavada, Juan Carlos Trozolino, and Pedro Ahumada, who had war weapons, false passports, and false identity documents. The money from the forgeries was to pay for the expenses of the Castroite agents who were operating with the guerrillas in various Latin American countries.

867 ARGENTINA. The security measures introduced by the authorities at the northern border, as a result of the appearance of the guerrillas in Bolivia, are directly supervised by the commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie.

868 CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, announced "another encounter of Bolivian guerrillas with government soldiers."

869 24 May—CUBA. The pamphlet entitled "What the LASO Is" ("Que es la OLAS") was discussed in all the CDR's. It was especially prepared by the Organizing Committee of the First LASO Conference.

870 25 May—ARGENTINA. Members of the Argentine JC [expansion unknown] threw bombs in a downtown part of Buenos Aires.

871 29 May—ARGENTINA. Numerous petards exploded in the Palermo area, Buenos Aires, where members of the Federation of the JC placed propaganda posters and posters censuring the government.

872 30 May—CUBA. The representative of the Paraguayan PC in Cuba, Felix Moreno, protested the detention in Bolivia of the

French journalist, Jules Regis Debray; condemned the threats of Venezuela against Cuba; and called for "unity of anti-dicatatorial forces and the formation of combat and guerrilla groups to overthrow the military dictatorship and the assassination of Stroessner."

873 June--FRANCE. June--FRANCE. Hector Bejar, "Balance Sheet of Guerrilla Warfare in Peru" ("Bilan d'une Guerrilla au Perou"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 37, April-June.

874 FRANCE. "Cuba and Castroism in Latin America" ("Cuba et le Castrisme en Amerique Latine"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 37, April-June.

875 June--FRANCE. Rafael H. Gaviria--Galarca Moeschamp, "The Struggle in Colombia" ("La Lutte en Colombie"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 37, April-June.

876 1 June--BOLIVIA. The military command reported in La Paz that there was guerrilla activity about 60 kilometers northeast of Nancahuazu.

877 2 June--BOLIVIA. Army Commander Antonio Sanchez Diaz died in Iquira, in guerrilla action against army soldiers.

878 7 June--BOLIVIA. There were clashes between soldiers of the regular army and guerrillas of the ELN in the vicinity of Rio Grande.

879 1967--9 June--CUBA. Remigio Cuesta, a Cuban baseball player, fled from the Castro regime and, upon arriving in the country of asylum stated: "There is no free, democratic sport in Cuba. In order to engage in sports, one must be a member of the regime and the teams are utilized, especially abroad, for political purposes."

880 14 June--BOLIVIA. Colonel Roque Teran, chief of the fourth army division, reported in the daily, PRESENCIA, on the most recent encounter with ELN guerrillas.

881 16 June--CUBA. The executive secretariat of the AALAPSO initiated the publication of the magazine, TRICONTINENTAL, in Havana--in Spanish, English, and French.

882 19 June--BRAZIL. Helder Camara, Bishop of Recife, called for a conference in Sao Paulo, on the need for universal solidarity,

in which he compared "the world that is called Christian and the socialist world and the developed world and the underdeveloped world. One must not confuse, he said, "conflicts of economic interests with religious wars or ideological struggles." He asked: "How long will Latin America accept the imposition that its sister, Cuba, be excommunicated" Those who rebelled in Cuba wanted only so much to be delivered from underdevelopment and misery," etc.

883 24 June--VENEZUELA. Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel, a Venezuelan involved in countering Cuban interventionist activity and guerrilla and subversive infiltration of Venezuela and other American countries, declared to the OAS committee in Caracas that he was investigating the denunciations made by President Raul Leoni against the Castro regime.[28]

884 26 June--VENEZUELA. "Extreme violence in Guatemala" ("Violencia Extrema en Guatemala"), Mexico, VISION.

885 27 June--BOLIVIA. There were clashes between army soldiers and members of the ELN in the Florida zone, north of Rio Grande, about 60 kilometers from Valle Grande.

886 28 June--BOLIVIA. In a press conference at the Centro Antiguerrillero of Camiri, Jules Regis Debray stated, or at least gave the impression, that he had seen Ernesto Guevara in Bolivia.

887 July--CUBA. Ariel Collazo, "Uruguay Is Not An Exception" ("El Uruguay No es una Excepcion"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO.

888 July--SPAIN. Members of the religious order of the Society of Jesus established the Faith and Secularity Institute as an autonomous adjunct to the Pontifical University of Camillas, for the purpose of studying and promoting an effective dialog between Christian and non-Christian (Marxist) interpretations of life and of obtaining cooperation between Christians and non-believers with respect to the task of achieving a more humane world. Father Alvarez Bolado, S.J., of known "progressive" inclination and closely tied in with Marxist members, was made administrator.

889 FRANCE. Orlando Albornoz, "Student Political Activism in Venezuela" ("Activismo Politico Estudiantil en Venezuela"), Paris, APORTES, No 5.

890 19 July--MEXICO. Mario Menendez, Press report with Fabio Vazquez, commander-in-chief of the ELN of Colombia, Mexico, sucesos, No 1778.

890[1] 12 July--UNITED STATES. The black population caused disturbances in Newark, New Jersey.

891 18 July--CUBA. The Latin American Journalists' Seminar on New Agencies, sponsored by the UPEC [Union of Cuban Journalists], the IOJ [International Organization of Journalists], and the Cuban press agency, PRENSA LATINA, began in Havana.

892 21 July--BOLIVIA. Questioned by a journalist regarding whether or not "Che" Guevara was with the guerrillas in Bolivia and if he had seen him, Debray replied: "I do not know anything about 'Che' Guevara."

893 1967--26 July--CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech in Santiago de Cuba, in the square of the Jose Marti district, formerly San Pedrito, to commemorate the XIV anniversary of the attack on the Moncada district. He said that the LASO "has defeated the dream of the imperialists" and reiterated his solidarity with the Latin American revolution and his strong desire that "all who are here" fight for it, etc.

894 31 July--CUBA. The sessions of the First LASO Conference were begun, in accordance with the decision made on 16 January 1966.

895 August--NICARAGUA. Guerrilla cells have emerged in the country.

896 7 August--BOLIVIA. Repression by the army of the guerrillas have resulted in four dead for the army up to now.

897 3 August--BOLIVIA. Armando Gutierrez Granier, bishop of La Paz, issued a pastoral letter regarding the guerrillas, in which he recalled Isaiah, for whom "peace is the result of justice," and added: "It is useful to think about this. As long as our country lives in misery, with inadequate salaries that cannot meet human and domestic needs, as long as work insecurity persists, with resultant constant anguish, not knowing if there will be bread tomorrow for oneself and one's family, there will always be persons ready to listen to agitators and even to become committed to the tragic venture of the guerrillas.

898 10 August--CUBA. Fidel Castro made the closing speech at the First LASO Conference and, among other things, said: "No one has any illusions that any country of this continent will win power peacefully...We rejoice...that the ranks of the revolutionary movement are being expanded; that revolutionary organizations are multiplying; that the Marxist-Leninist spirit is

forging ahead, that is, Marxist-Leninist ideas; and we experience profound satisfaction with the statement in the final resolution of this conference that the revolutionary movement in Latin America is oriented toward marxist-leninist ideas...", etc.

899 15 August—BOLIVIA. The army reported the discovery of a great quantity of weapons hidden by the guerrillas southeast of Santa Cruz, in the vicinity of Nancahuazu. There were mortars, rifles with telescopic sights, radios, and other war equipment.

900 25 August—BOLIVIA. Another clash between army soldiers and members of the ELN in the Taperillas zone, about 30 kilometers from Nancahuazu.

901 1967—31 August—BOLIVIA. The following died in Vado del Yeso in guerrilla action against army soldiers: Commanders Juan Vitalio Acuna and Gustavo Machin Hoed de Beche, Lieutenant Israel Reyes Zayas and Medical Lieutenant Octavio de la Concepcion y de la Pedroja—all belonging to the Cuban army.

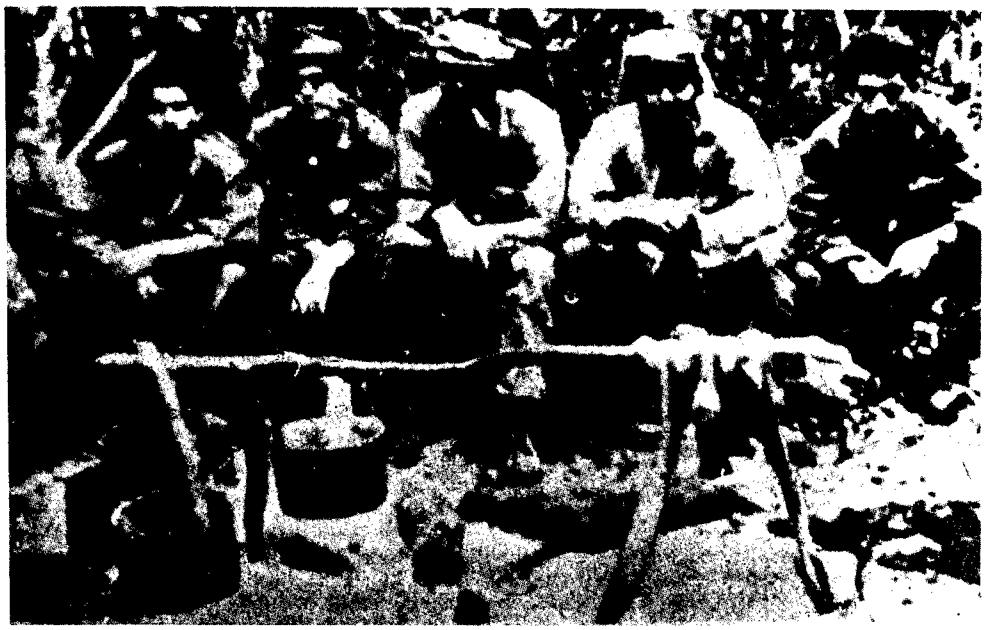
902 September—BOLIVIA. The authorities showed the press two passports found in the vicinity of Camiri, issued on 2 and 22 December 1966 by the chancery of Uruguay, in the names of Ramon Benitez Fernandez and Adolfo Mena Gonzalez, both documents bearing the same photo. The Bolivian authorities have no doubt that the photo is of Ernesto Guevara.[29]

903 FRANCE. "Latin America, Guerrilla Solidarity" ("Amerique Latine, Solidarite—Guerrillas"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 38, July-September.

904 4 September—BOLIVIA. Official army information reported a clash with guerrillas of the ELN last Friday, in Masicuri, a locality situated between Camiri and Santa Cruz, in which two soldiers were killed and ten others wounded.

905 5 September—NICARAGUA. The National Guard reported the death of two guerrillas, Oscar Danilo Rosales Arguello and Eulalio Lopez Davia, members of the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front].[30]

906 11 September—BOLIVIA. The government reported that it would soon recommence an energetic campaign against the guerrillas who were operating in the southeastern part of the country.



According to the Bolivian Government, Guevara is the guerrillero in the middle.

907 14 September—CHILE. Carlos Altamirano, socialist senator and LASO leader, lost his privileges because of "insults to the president of the republic and his defence of the guerrillas," according to a decision of the supreme court, revoking the judgment of the appellate court that the infraction be dismissed.

908 20 September—VENEZUELA. The authorities reported the discovery of forged notes amounting to 17 million bolivars (about 37 million dollars), to finance the guerrillas in Venezuela and Colombia; and the arrest of Jose Ramon Noguera, who disclosed the details of the falsification.

908[1] 22 September—UNITED STATES. The OAS censured Cuba for promoting the guerrilla in Venezuela.

909 22 September--NICARAGUA. The National Guard reported that the guerrilla activity, which was still continuing in six very high hills (Pancasan, La Quinada, Cerro Colorado, Cano de Mula, Quirragua, and El Silencio), resulted in about 15 casualties in the department of Matagalpa. Six were foreigners.

910 30 September—NICARAGUA. The authorities announced that there no longer were any guerrillas throughout the north and that there was peace in the country.

911 8 October—BOLIVIA. The following died in guerrilla action against army soldiers in Higueras, between Valle Grande and Camiri: the Argentine-Cuban revolutionary, Ernesto Guevara, Captains Orlando Pantoja and Alberto Fernandez Montes de Oca,[31] officers Aspuru, Nelson and one of his sons, all in the Cuban army, as well as two other Cubans whose names were not known and who were identified by the nicknames of "Miguel," and "Tuma."

12 9 October—BOLIVIA. It was officially reported in La Paz that about 2,000 soldiers of the 4th and 5th divisions of the army were narrowing the area of guerrilla activity.

913 10 October--BOLIVIA. An armed forces high command communique referred to a clash last Sunday with guerrillas, about 8 kilometers northeast of Higuèras. Four soldiers were killed and another five were wounded.

914 11 October—BOLIVIA. Official sources stated that it appeared that there was confirmation of the death of Ernesto Guevara, on the 8th of this month, in a confrontation with army soldiers, 8 kilometers northeast of Higueras, between Valle Grande and Camiri.

915 15 October—CUBA. Fidel Castro appeared before radio and television cameras in Havana to officially announce the death of Ernesto Guevara in Bolivia, and warned that the fate of the guerrilla movement in this country—and therefore on the rest of the continent where there were still some subversive nuclei—would have to rely mainly on itself.

916 CUBA. It connection with the death at the front of the ELN of Bolivia of Commander Ernesto Guevara, "whose indefatigable activity is an example of conviction and revolutionary heroism which must everlastingly endure," the Council of Ministers decided: "that the national flag will be raised at half mast for 30 days and all public shows will be completely suspended for 3 days;" and "the 8th of October will become known as 'Heroic Guerrilla Day,' in national commemoration of the day of his heroic fall in combat."

917 24 October—CUBA. The preparatory seminar of the Cultural Congress of Havana took place in Havana. Its final declaration stated: "The proletariat, the rural people, and the other revolutionary popular classes are the historical heirs to the best cultural traditions. Only through the seizure of political power and the implementation of a socialist revolution, headed by those classes, will it be possible to develop to the utmost, without the former obstacles of class struggle, a genuinely national, extensive, and rich culture," etc.

918 30 October—ARGENTINA. Gregorio Selser, "The Memory of the Guerrilla Fighter"("El Guerrillero en el Recuerdo"), Buenos Aires, POLITICA INTERNACIONAL, IX year, No 93.

919 November—ARGENTINA. "Manifesto of the Bishops of the Third World," Buenos Aires, PROPOSITOS. "Some bishops add their voice to that of Paul VI...in order to attract attention to the peoples of the Third World proletariat of our day. The revolutions which support the rights of man..uphold the values proclaimed by the gospel, to which the church must attest. The church does not wish to be bound to moneyed imperialism...as shown by the example of some bishops...and as required by the christian vocation of service for the common good. No bishop should be bound to social privileges or to money. In a united christian community...the priests and bishops are united with the people. The church affirms the social assignment of property..in accordance with the requirements stated by the church fathers, by San Basilio el Grande, in particular.

Christianity expresses solidarity with all those who seek to establish a more just society...with respect to the dignity of man and his work...which too many Christians in past centuries, both in the East and the West have forgotten, in favor of social systems inherited from paganism. Our words are inspired by the work of God, which asks for courage...and common action, especially on the part of laymen. Since the relationship with God exists, and is shared by the majority, we have the duty to share...and the public authorities must eventually use their power to do so—by means of expropriation...And there is need of a worldwide authority to promote such distribution on a worldwide basis. Those who are exploited must unite to preserve justice...in the hope of a better world." The following signed the manifesto: Helder Camara, archbishop of Olinday Recife, Brazil; Jean Baptiste de Mota e Alburquerque, archbishop of Vitoria, E.S., Brazil; Georges Mercier, bishop of Laghouat, Sahara, Algeria; Michel Darmacier, bishop of Wallis e Futina, Oceania; Armand Hubert, apostolic vicar of Florencia, Colombia; Severino Mariano de Aguiar, bishop of Pesqueira, Pernambuco, Brazil; Frank Franik, bishop of Split, Yugoslavia; Francisco de Austregesilo de Mesquita, bishop of Afogados de Ingazeira, Pernambuco, Brazil; Gregoire Haddad, assistant "melquita" bishop of Beirut, Lebanon; Manoel Pereira da Costa, bishop of Campina Grande, Paraiba, Brazil; Charles van Melckebeke, bishop of Ning Hsia, China; apostolic visitor in Brazil; Jacques Grent, bishop of Tual, Maluku, Indonesia; and David Picao, bishop of Santos, Brazil.

920 6 November--COLOMBIA. Herminio Jose Ruiz, doctor and former university administrator who joined the guerrilla in August 1965, died in a clash with regular army soldiers.

921 1967--7 November--ARGENTINA. From an auto parked at Avenida de Mayo, almost at the corner of Peru Street, in the city of Buenos Aires, a tape recorder broadcast the stanzas of the International and a call for "attention, attention, citizens: today is the 50th anniversary of the glorious Soviet revolution...," etc., until the police intervened and removed the tape recorder.

922 17 November--BOLIVIA. Jules Regis Debray and Ciro Bustos, captured during the early part of this past April, were sentenced to 30 years in prison by a court of justice.

923 1968--RFA. Camilo Castano, "Und sei es mit Gewalt, Die Revolution in Guatemala," Wuppertal, HAMMER.

924 RFA. Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, "Lateinamerika--Ein zweites Vietnam? Texte von Douglas Bravo, Fidel Castro, Regis Debray, Ernesto Che Guevara u.a. Beinbek bei Hamburg, ROWOHLT.

925 RFA. Jean Larteguy, "Guerrillas oder der vierte Tod des Che Guevara," Gutersloh, BERTELSMANN SACHBUCKVERLAG.

926 RFA. Hans Jurgen Puhle, "Politik in Uruguay. Einige Bemerkungen zum uruguayischen Parteien und Verfassungssystem," Hannover, VERLAG f. LITERATUR u. ZEITZESCHEHEN.

927 RFA. Ricardo Rojo, "Che Guevara--Leben und Tod eines Freundes," Frankfurt, FISCHER.

928 ARGENTINA. "E. Che Guevara; Complete Works" ("E. Che Guevara; Obras Completas"), Buenos Aires, DEL PLATA.

929 ARGENTINA. Regis Debray, "Latin American Essays" ("Ensayos Latinoamericanos"), Buenos Aires, LA ROSA BLINDADA.

930 ARGENTINA. "Diary of a Colombian Guerrilla Fighter" ("Diario de un Guerrillero Colombiano"), Buenos Aires, FREELAND.

931 ARGENTINA. Hugo Gambini, "Che Guevara," ("El Che Guevara"), Buenos Aires, PAIDOS.

932 ARGENTINA. Rogelio Garcia Lugo, "Against Foreign Occupation," ("Contra la Ocupacion Extranjera"), Buenos Aires.

933 ARGENTINA. "Ernesto Che Guevara; Complete Works" ("Ernesto Che Guevara; Obras Completas"), Preface by Gregorio Selser. Buenos Aires, EDICIONES DEL PLATA.

934 ARGENTINA. Mariano Baptista Gumicio and others, "Guerrilleros and Generals Over Bolivia" ("Guerrilleros y Generales sobre Bolivia"), Buenos Aires.

934[1] ARGENTINA. Dan Lacy, "Problems and Prospects of Mass Communication" ("Problemas y Perspectivas de la Comunicacion de Masas"), Buenos Aires, TROQUEL.

935 ARGENTINA. Leonard C. Lewin, "Undesirable Peace?" ("La Paz Indeseable?"), Buenos Aires, TIEMPO CONTEMPORANEO.

935[1] ARGENTINA. Vance Packard, "The Artisans of Destruction" ("Los Artifices del Derroche"), Buenos Aires, SUDAMERICANO.

936 ARGENTINA. Jorge Abelardo Ramos, "History of the Latin American Nation" ("Historia de la Nacion Latinoamericana"), Buenos Aires.

937 Carlos Nunez, "The Tupamaros: Armed Vanguard in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros: Vanguardia Armada en Uruguay"), Buenos Aires, FONDO DE CULTURA POPULAR.

938 ARGENTINA. Ramon Horacio Torres Molina, "Armed Struggle in Latin America" ("La Lucha Armada en America Latina"), Buenos Aires, TERCER MUNDO.

939 ARGENTINA. Ismael Vinas-Eugenio Gastiazoro, "Management and Employees" ("Economia y Dependencia"), Buenos Aires.

940 BOLIVIA. Edgard Millares Reyes, "The Guerrillas, Theory and Practice" ("Las Guerrillas, Teoria y Practica"), Sucre, IMPRENTA UNIVERSITARIA.

941 BRAZIL. Jose Comblin, "Notes on the Basic Document for the II General Conference" ("Notas Sobre el Documento Basico para la II Conferencia General de la CELAM").

942 BRAZIL. Octavio Ianni, "O Colapso do Populismo no Brasil," Rio de Janeiro.

943 BRAZIL. Luciano Martins, "Industrializacao, Burguesia Nacional e Desenvolvimento," Rio de Janeiro.

944 COLOMBIA. German Guzman Campos. "Violence in Colombia. Descriptive Section" ("La Violencia en Colombia. Parte Descriptiva"), Cali, PROGRESO.

945 COLOMBIA. Gustavo Lagos and others, "Multinational Investments For the Development and Integration of Latin America" ("Las Inversiones Multinacionales en el Desarrollo y la Integracion de America Latina"), Bogota.

946 CHILE. Chilean Trade Union Confederation, "Latin America, A World To Win" ("America Latina, un Mundo que Ganar), Santiago.

947 CHILE. Ricrard Gott, "The Guerrilla Experience in Bolivia," ("La Experiencia Guerrillera en Bolivia"), Santiago, ESTUDIOS INTERNACIONALES, No 1.

947[1] CHILE. Hugo Neira, "The Andes: Land or Death" ("Los Andes: Tierra o Muerte"), Santiago, ZYX.

947[2] 1968--RPCH. V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, Higher Form of Capitalism" ("El Imperialismo, Fase Superior del Capitalismo"), Peking, EDICIONES EN LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS (Foreign Language Publications).

948 RPCH. Mao Tse-tung, "Selected Works" ("Obras Escogidas"), Peking, EDICIONES EN LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS, 1st edition, IV Ts.

949 SPAIN. K. Hermann, "Students in Revolt" ("Los Estudiantes en Rebeldia"), Barcelona, RIALP.

949[1] SPAIN. Gilles Martinet, "Marxism in Our Day" ("El Marxism de Nuestro Tiempo"), Barcelona, PENINSULA.

950 SPAIN. Andres Sorel, "Introduction to Cuba" ("Introduccion a Cuba"), Madrid, ZYX.

951 UNITED STATES. Eduardo Galeano, "Uruguay, Promise and Betrayal," in REFORM OR REVOLUTION?, published by Petras and M. Zeitlin, New York.

952 UNITED STATES. William R. Garner, "The Sino-Soviet Ideological Struggle in Latin America," JOURNAL OF INTER-AMERICAN STUDIES, No 2.

953 UNITED STATES--OAS. Security Council Committee: "Study of the Diary of Che in Bolivia" ("Estudio del Diario del Che en Bolivia"), Washington, D.C.

954 UNITED STATES. James Petras—Maurice Zeitlin, "Latin America, Reform or Revolution? A Reader," New York, FAWCETT.

955 UNITED STATES. Frederick B. Pike, "The Modern History of Peru," New York.

956 UNITED States. "Subversion in Latin America" ("Subversion en America Latina"), Miami, FEDERACION IBEROAMERICANA DE ESCRITORES.

957 FRANCE. Daniel Artigues, "The Opus Dei in Spain" ("El Opus Dei en Espana"), Paris, RUEDO IBERICO.

958 FRANCE. "With Douglas Bravo in the Venezuelan Guerrilla" ("Avec Douglas Bravo dans les Maquis Venezueliens"), Paris, MASPERO.

959 FRANCE. Fidel Castro, "Cuban Revolution! 1953-1962" ("Revolution Cubaine! 1953-1962"), Texts selected and introduced by Louis Constant, Paris, MASPERO.

960 FRANCE. Che Guevara, Works, I: "Recollections of the Revolutionary War" ("Souvenirs de la Guerre Revolutionnaire"), Paris, MASPERO.

961 FRANCE. James Forma, "Freedom Will Come Out of a Cruel Situation" ("La Liberation Viendra d'Une Chose Noire"), Paris, MASPERO.[32]

962 FRANCE. Francisco Juliao, "Cambao (The Yoke)(The Hidden Face of Brazil"), "Cambao (le joug) (La Face Cachee du Bresil"), Paris, MASPERO.

963 FRANCE. Claude Julien. "The American Empire" ("L'Empire Americaine"), Paris.

964 FRANCE. "The Regis Debray Trial" ("Le Proces Regis Debray"), Paris, MASPERO.

965 FRANCE. Stanley G. Payne, "The Military and Politics in Contemporary Spain" ("Los Militares y la Politica en la Espana Contemporanea"), Paris, RUEDO IBERICO.

966 FRANCE. Nicos Poulantzas, "Political Power and Social Classes" ("Pouvoir Politique et Classes Sociales"), Paris, MASPERO.

967 FRANCE. Luis Mercier Vega, "Technique of Countering the Government. The Guerrillas in South America" (Technique du Contre-Etat. Les Guerrillas en Amerique du Sud"), Paris, PIERRE BELFONT.

968 FRANCE. Jesus Silva Herzog, "The Mexican Revolution" ("La Revolution Mexicaine"), Paris, MASPERO.

969 FRANCE. Ruben Vazquez Dias, "Bolivia in Che's Time" ("La Bolivie a l'Heure du Che"), Paris, MASPERO.

970 FRANCE. Ludwig Feuerbach, "The Essence of Christianity" ("L'Essence du Christianisme"), introduced and translated by J. P. Osier, Paris, MASPERO.

971 GREAT BRITAIN. Malcom Deas, "Guerrillas in Latin America: a Perspective," London, THE WORLD TODAY, No 2.

972 MEXICO. Alonso Aguilar—Fernando Carmona, "Mexico, Wealth and Misery," ("Mexico, Riqueza y Miseria"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

973 MEXICO. Pierre Jalee, "The Third World in the World Economy" ("El Tercer Mundo en la Economia Mundial"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

974 MEXICO. Sergio Nicolau, "Direct Foreign Investment in the Countries of the LAFTA" [Latin American Free Trade Association] ("La Inversion Extranjera Directa en los Paises de la ALALC"), Mexico.

975 MEXICO. Rodolfo Stavenhagen--Fernando Paz Sanchez--Cuauhtemoc Cardenas--and Arturo Bonilla, "Neolatifundium and Exploitation" ("Neolatifundio y Explotacion"), Mexico, from Emiliano Zapata to ANDERSON CLAYTON & CO.

976 1968--MEXICO. Arturo Uslar Pietri, "Is There a Future for the Youth of Venezuela?" ("Tiene un Porvenir la Juventud Venezolana?), Mexico, CUADERNOS AMERICANOS, March-April.

977 PERU. Enrico Soto Leon Velarde, "The Guerrilla Fighters" ("Los Guerrilleros"), from Kullash to Ernesto Che Guevara, Arequipa, NUEVA ERA.

978 USSR. "The National Liberation Movement," Publisher, NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY. (V. Zagladin, "The October Revolution and World Revolutionary Progress"--"La Revolucion de Octubre y el Proceso Revolucionario Mundial;"V. Tiagunenko, "World Socialism and the Nature of the Revolutionary Liberation Struggle"--"El Socialismo Mundial y el Caracter de la Lucha Revolucionaria de Liberacion;" A. Iskenderov, "The Marxist Theory and the National Liberation Movement"--"La Teoria Marxista y el Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional;" E. Zhukov, "World-Historical Progress and the Leninist Theory of Socialist Revolution"--"El Proceso Historico-Mundial y la Teoria Leninista de la Revolution Socialista'" K. Ivanov, "The October Revolution and the Destiny of Nations"--"La Revolucion de Octubre y el Destino de las Naciones;" I. Shatalov, "In a Single Revolutionary Avalanche"--"En un Solo Torrente Revolucionario;" B. Miroshnichenko, "International Achievement of the Soviet Planning Experiment"--"Alcance Internacional de la Experiencia Sovietica de Planificacion; G. Proojorov, "The Bonds That Resulted From the October Revolution"--"Los Vinculos que Nacieron de la Revolucion de Octubre").

979 VENEZUELA. Rodolfo Quintero, "The Petroleum Culture" ("La Cultura del Petroleo"), Caracas.

980 VENEZUELA. Domingo Alberto Rangel, "The Progress of Contemporary Capitalism in Venezuela" ("El Proceso del Capitalismo Contemporaneo en Venezuela"), Caracas.

981 VENEZUELA. Aldo E. Solari, "Students and Politics in Latin America" ("Estudiantes y Politica en America Latina," Caracas, MONTE AVILA.

982 January--BRAZIL. Antonio Batista Fragoso, "The Gospel and Social Justice" ("Evangelio y Justicia Social"), NOTICIAS DA IGREJA UNIVERSAL, DOCUMENTS, 68/05.

983 4 January--CUBA. The Havana Cultural Congress was opened in the capital of the island.

983[1] 5 January--ARGENTINA. Franz Neumann, "The Democratic State and the Authoritarian State" ("El Estado Democratico y el Estado Autoritario"), Buenos Aires, PAIDOS.

984 8 January--BRAZIL. The National Security Council was established (Decree No 348).

985 12 January--CUBA. The Havana Cultural Congress closed. Its main declaration proclaimed that Latin American colonial and neocolonial dependency can be overcome only "through armed struggle" and that "revolution is the cultural means par excellence for an underdeveloped country," etc.

986 CUBA. Fidel Castro made the closing speech at the above mentioned congress. Referring to the sectarianism of certain revolutionary organizations, he said: "It's a paradox of history: at the same time that sectors of the clergy are turning into revolutionary forces, there are sectors of Marxism that are becoming ecclesiastical," etc.

987 16 January--COLOMBIA. An FGCTR guerrilla group attacked a military patrol, killed three soldiers, and took their equipment.

988 19 January--FRANCE. Marcel Niedergang, "Violence and Terror" "(Violence et Terreur"), Paris, LE MONDE.

989 25 January--COLOMBIA. Army soldiers clashed with an FGCTR group in the municipality of Giron, killing five guerrilla fighters, including Ivan Calderon Tarazona, a university student.

990 30 January--CHILE. Diego Montana Cuellar, "Strategic Problems and Tactics of the Revolution in Colombia" ("Los Problemas Estrategicos y Tacticos de la Revolucion en Colombia"), PUNTO FINAL, No 47.

991 February--BRAZIL. The priests of the parish of Nossa Senhora dos Pobres, of Sao Paulo, published a complete analysis of the "Evolution of Relations Between the Church and the State in Brazil," in which they indicated the harmonious relations and the conflicts, the activities and events in 1967, the student

crisis in August of this year, reactions and consequences, social problems, etc., NOTICIAS DE IGREJA UNIVERSAL, Nos 46, 47.

991[1] February--UNITED STATES. Oscar Lewis, "La Vida [Life]. A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty--San Juan and New York," New York, RANDOM HOUSE (VINTAGE BOOKS).

992 27 February--CHILE. Mario Monje, "Divergencies Between the Bolivian PC and Che Guevara" ("Las Divergencias del PC Boliviano con Che Guevara"), PUNTO FINAL, No 49.

993 March--MEXICO. Robert F. Lamberg, "The Development of the Castroite Line Since the Tricontinental Conference" ("La Formacion de la Linea Castrista desde la Conferencia Tricontinental"), FONDO INTERNACIONAL, No 31, January-March.

993[1] 1968--2 March--UNITED STATES. A report by the presidential committee regarding civil disorders was published.

994 2 March--ITALY. Cornelio Negro. "The Student Revolt" ("La Revolucion Estudiantil"), UMANITA NOVA.

995 28 March--BRAZIL. Disturbances occurred in the university "Calabouco" restaurant, Guanabara, resulting in one student killed and about twenty more wounded.

996 30 March--COLOMBIA. Another FGCTR group, commanded by Pedro Solano, suffered misfortune during the night, in Cano Iguana, municipality of Rio de Oro, because of drunkenness.

997 April--CUBA. "Statement by the FAR of Guatemala," ("Declaracion de la FAR de Guatemala"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, No 15.

998 April--CUBA. Orlando Fernandez, "Status and Prospects of the Guatemalan Revolutionary Movement," ("Situacion y Perspectiva del Movimiento Revolucionario Guatemalteco"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, No 15.

999 April--CUBA. Ricardo Gadea Acosta, Luis de la Puente: "In the Peruvian Manner" ("A la Medida del Peru"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 41, January-April.

1000 April--CUBA. Julio del Valle, "Guatemala Under the Sign of War," ("Guatemala Bajo el Signo de la Guerra"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, No 15.

1001 April--CUBA. M. A. Yon Sosa, "Brief Historical Notes on the 13 November Revolutionary Movement" ("Breves Apuntes Historicos del Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, No 15.

1001[1] 30 March--MEXICO. Louis Althussen and others, "Polemics on Marxism and Humanism" ("Polemica Sobre Marxismo y Humanismo"), Mexico, EDITORES S.A.

1002 19 April--BRAZIL. Students organized protest actions against the government in various localities in the country.

1003 2 April--ARGENTINA. Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "The Uruguayan Youth Confronted With the Political Ideology of Camilo Torres" ("La Juventud Uruguaya frente al Ideario Politico de Camilo Torres"), Buenos Aires, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION.[33]

1004 8 April--SWITZERLAND. The sessions of the Conference on Marxism and Christianity, promoted by the World Council of Churches, started in Geneva. Julio de Santa Ana Sommaruga, a representative of the Evangelical Churches of Uruguay, was a Uruguayan delegate. While there he maintained, among other things, that "class differences cannot be eliminated without struggle," and that "humanization is the same as revolution," and that "we christians...must bring out the relationships between the truths of Jesus Christ and the truths of Marxism," etc.

1005 10 April--BRAZIL. About 15,000 siderurgical factory workers in Belo Horizonte went on strike to protest a salary freeze.

1006 May--BRAZIL. The clandestine daily, O GUERRILHERO, published statements by Carlos Marighela, communist leader, exhorting leftist militants to armed struggle against the military government.

1006[1] 3 May--FRANCE. Students provoked disorders that caused the closing of the Sorbonne. The disorders became general and the entire remained paralyzed.

1007 1968--6 May--ARGENTINA. Statement by Carlos Maria Cafferata, bishop of San Luis, and 32 other priests.

1008 16 May--ARGENTINA. Letter from the bishop of San Luis to the governor of this province, in response to the remarks made in the 6 May declaration.

1009 27 May--GREAT BRITAIN. Richard Davy, "Lesson From the University Insurgence: Violence Produces Results" ("Leccion de la

Insurgencia Universitaria. La Violencia da Resultado"), London, THE TIMES.

1009[1] June--FRANCE. Student disorders took the country by surprise.

1010 June--FRANCE. "Workers, Students, a Single Struggle" ("Ouvriers, Etudiants, un Seul Combat"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 42, May-June.

1010[1] 4 June--UNITED STATES. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles.

1011 8 June--BREAT BRITAIN. John Gale, "Another Sorbonne in Cambridge?" ("Otra Sorbona en Cambridge?"), London, THE OBSERVER.

1012 ITALY. Piero Noveli, "Portrait of Daniel Conh-Bendit" (Retrato de Daniel Conh-Bendit"), GIORNALE DE SICILIA.

1013 12 June--FRANCE. H. Jerome, The 22 March Movement, University of Nanterre. Exposition given in Milan, Italy, on the French student insurgency.

1014 20 June--BRAZIL. Student disturbances took place in the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Numerous participants were arrested.

1015 FRANCE. Sulvanet Nihilno, The May Revolution. Conference in Carrara, Italy, concerning the conflicts in France of the working class and of students against the Gaullist government.

1016 26 June--BRAZIL. At the request of a delegation representing students, priests, professors, and intellectuals, the government gave permission for a big demonstration in Rio de Janeiro "in behalf of public and personal freedom."

1017 July--BRAZIL. Candido Padim, "The Doctrine of National Security in the Light of the Doctrine of the Church" ("La Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional a la luz de la Doctrina de la Iglesia"). (Work Document of the IX General Assembly of the National Conference of Brazilian bishops.

1017[1] July--FRANCE. Carlos Banales Guimaraens, "The Armed Forces in the Uruguayan Crisis" ("Las FFAA en la Crisis Uruguaya"), Paris, APORTES, No 9.

1018 19 July--ITALY. Domenico Demma, Dutschke: "Implementation of Revolutionary Socialism" ("Replanteo del Socialismo Revolucionario"), UMANIDAD NOVA.

1019 2 July—CHILE. "Thirty Questions To A Tupamaro" ("30 Preguntas a Un Tupamaro"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1020 CHILE. "Tupamaros: Origin of Armed Struggle in Uruguay" ("Tupamaros: Germen de Lucha Armada en Uruguay"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1021 5 July—GREAT BRITAIN. "Dessa Trevisan, suburb of Belgrade in the power of students," London, THE TIMES.

1022 16 July—BRAZIL. About 3,000 workers in Osasco, in the vicinity of Sao Paulo, went on strike and took over six factories. The government declared the strike illegal and arrested 61 workers.

1023 18 July--VENEZUELA. Open letter to Paul VI from members of the CLASC [Latin American Federation of Christian Trade] and of the FCL [Latin American Peasnat Federation], representing "five million workers, laborers and farmers, men, women, and young people in all Latin American countries—from all those who wish to loyally join in the task of making revolutionary changes," etc.—on the occasion of the forthcoming visit of the Pope to this continent, a visit which gives hope to all the downtrodden.

1024 August--COLOMBIA. A group of the Simon Bolivar Front, of the ELN, ambused a military patrol, killing two subofficers and three soldiers.

1024[1] 3 August—BRAZIL. Student disturbances took place throughout the country.

1025 11 August—CHILE. "In Behalf of a Church That Will Serve the People" ("Por una Iglesia Servidora del Pueblo"). (Document published as a result of the occupation of the Cathedral of Santiago by 200 laymen, 9 priests, and 3 nuns.)

1026 CHILE. Statement by the vicars of the Archdiocese of Santiago, declaring the acts perpetrated during the above mentioned occupation as unjustified, both in substance and form.

1027 1968--13 August--CHILE. Statement by Raul Silva Henriquez, Cardinal of Santiago, announcing the suspension "a divinis" of the priests who occupied the cathedral on the 11th of this month.

1028 THE VATICAN. L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO condemned the occupation of the Cathedral of Santiago de Chile.

1029 14 August--CHILE. Statement by the Permanent Episcopal Committee condemning the above mentioned occupation.

1030 15 August--CHILE. Letter from the priests who participated in the above mentioned occupation to the cardinal of Santiago, in which they said that their "solidarity with the laity" had been limited to manifesting "the need to urge the implementation of the new paths that the church had established in the Vatican Council." They asked for derogation of the suspension "a divinis," and apoligized, etc.

1031 16 August--CHILE. A statement from about 60 laymen and priests of Valparaiso said that "the Chilean church is in a state of agitation" because "the men who believe in Christ are seeking a radical change in church and social structure. Already Camilo Torres has rebelled in Colombia; the Maryknoll priests have protested in Guatemala; bishop Podesta, in Argentina...; Helder Camara leads and encourages us from his disturbed diocese of Recife; in Santiago there was evidence of a diverse attitude and of a deep christian revolt this past Sunday, on the 11th...We, a group of Catholics in the diocese of Valparaiso, understand the great struggle of the Latin American christians for a young church," etc.

1032 18 August--BRAZIL. There were three simultaneous explosions in Sao Paulo, one of them in front of the premises of the security office(DEOPS) [State Department of Political and Social Order], which a conspiracy against the government was discovered.

1033 21 August--GREAT BRITIAN. "Uruguay, Between Tupamaros and Autonomy" ("Uruguay: Entre Tupamaros y la Autonomia"), London, THE ECONOMIST.

1033[1] 27 August--ARGENTINA. Jean Cau, "Open Letter to Leftist Intellectuals" ("Carta Abierta a los Intelectuales de Izquierda"), Buenos Aires, EMECE.

1034 27 August--CHILE. Carlos Nunez, "The Coup That Does Not Dare Be Named" ("El Golpe que no osa decir su Nombre"), Santiago, Punto final.

1034[1] September--ARGENTINA. Juan D. Peron. "The Peoples' Hour" ("La Hora de los Pueblos"), EDITORIAL NORTE.

1035 6 September—COLOMBIA. Reports of the committees of the II General Latin American Episcopal Conference, assembled in Medellin, and closing message to the peoples of Latin America, "to orient once more the work of the church toward eagerness

for reform and service," (Reports and Documents of Committee No 1 at the second plenary session (Accomplishments--Doctrinal Foundation--Plans for Development of a Social, Informed, and Consciencious Clergy); Closing Document of Committee No 1 (Peace: The Latin American Situation and Peace--Tensions Between Classes and Internal Colonialism--International Tensions and External Neocolonialism--Tensions Between the Countries of Latin America--Reality--Problems of Violence in Latin America--Pastoral Conclusions); Closing Document of Committee No 3 (Education: Characteristics--Humanist and Christian Nature of Education); Closing Document of Committee No 4 (Youth: Situation--Basic Criteria For a Pastoral Orientation--Pastoral Recommendations); Closing Document of Committee No 5 (Pastoral For the Masses: Situation--Theological Principles--Pastoral Recommendations--General--Specific: artists and men of letters, university professors--students--economic, social groups; military authority--political authority); Closing Document of Committee No 8 (Poverty of the Church; Latin American Reality--Doctrinal Motivation--Pastoral Orientation). Among other things, the "closing message to the peoples of Latin America" said that Latin America "seems to be living under the tragic sign of an underdevelopment that not only keeps our brothers from enjoying material goods, but even their own human fulfillment. There is a coupling of hunger and misery, widespread disease and infant mortality, illiteracy and marginal achievement, profound inequalities in income and tensions between social classes, the outbreak of violence and scant participation of the people in management for the common good...In this Way of the Cross of our peoples there is a new development: a rapid and widespread awareness of the situation, especially by the forsaken human groups, which are the most numerous. This awakening is characterized by a conscious desire to participate in the benefits of civilization and culture, as well as by a desire to be decisive members of their own history," etc.

1036 1968--2 October--PERU. The Revolutionary Junta published the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Government," when the military took over the government.

1036[1] 2 October--MEXICO. Student groups clashed with the police in Mexico City.

1037 3 October--PERU. Statute of the Revolutionary Government. (Decree No 17063).

1037[1] 8 October--MEXICO. Elias Condal, "Structural Image of the Gorila" ("Imagen Estructural del Gorila"), Mexico, NUESTRO TIEMPO.

1038 10 October--BRAZIL. Charles Chandler, North American captain, was killed in Sao Paulo by a terrorist group.

1039 CHILE. "Guatemala--Another Vietnam" ("Guatemala--Otro Vietnam"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1040 16 October--BRAZIL. The XXX National Congress of the UNE took place in a secluded area in the vicinity of Sao Paulo. Its main leaders had ties with movements favoring armed struggle. Then included: Wladimir Palmeira, leader of the demonstration of this past 26 June; Jose Dirceu, student leader in Sao Paulo; and Luis Travason, former president of UNE.

1041 November--FRANCE. "International Conspiracy" ("Complot International"), Paris, PARTISANS, No 44, October-November.

1042 5 November--CHILE. Maximo Humbert, "Guerrilla in Argentina. The Truth About the Insurrectional Nucleus of Taco Ralo" ("Guerrilla en Argentina. La Verdad sobre el Foco Insurreccional de Taco Ralo"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL, No 67.

1043 12 November--CUBA. Jose Diaz, "Uruguay: Liberation or Surrender" ("Uruguay: Liberacion o Entrega"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.

1044 25 November--PERU. The secretary of the treasury issued an exposition on "The Present Economic Situation" in this country.

1045 3 December--CHILE. Maximo Humbert--Hermes Diego, "The New Argentine Left" ("La Nueva Izquierda Argentina"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL, No 69.

1046 5 December--PERU. The prime minister and minister of war issued an exposition on the "Features of the Economic-Social Policy of the Revolutionary Government."

1047 6 December--BRAZIL. Carlos Marighella, communist leader, reiterated previous exhortations to "armed struggle by the people against the military power...The basic principle is to launch such a great number of revolutionary actions that both in the cities and in the countryside the enemy would have to convert the political situation of the country into a military situation...; our organization was established to implement a revolutionary line with guerrilla warfare as its strategy...The revolutionary groups, known for their combativeness and their initiative, are the spinal column of this organization...The guerrilla is the political framework of the revolution," etc.

1048 13 December--BRAZIL. A new institutional proceeding was promulgated; congress was dissolved; and constitutional guarantees were suspended; student and labor leaders were arrested.

1048[1] 26 December--ARGENTINA. Regis Debray, "Latin American Essays" ("Ensayos Latinoamericanos"), Buenos Aires, LA ROSA BLINDADA.

1049 COLOMBIA. The second War Council that judges members of the ELN met in Bogota.

1050 31 December--CHILE. Patricio Garcia, "Chileans Are Fighting In the Venezuelan Guerrilla" ("Chilenos Combaten en la Guerrilla Venezolana"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL, No 71.

1051 1969--ARGENTINA. Carlos D. Aznarez--Jaime E. Canas, "Tupamaros, Che's Downfall? An Objective Analysis of the Uruguayan Reality" ("Tupamaros, Fracaso del Che? Un Analisis Objetivo de la Actualidad Uruguaya"), Buenos Aires, ORBE.

1052 ARGENTINA. "Communism In Uruguay" ("El Comunismo en el Uruguay"), Buenos Aires, Y.P.P.

1052[1] ARGENTINA. Horacio Gonzalez Trejo, "Time of Vilence" ("Tiempo de Violencia"), Buenos Aires, CARLOS PEREZ EDITOR.

1052[2] ARGENTINA. Hebert Marcuse, "Culture and Society" ("Cultura y Sociedad"), Buenos Aires, SUR.

1052[3] ARGENTINA. Georgios Grivas, "Guerrilla Warfare" ("Guerra de Guerrillas"), Buenos Aires.

1053 1969--BOLIVIA. Sergio Amaraz Paz, "Requiem For a Republic" ("Requiem para una Republica"), La Paz.

1054 COLOMBIA. Mario Arrubla, "Studies On Colombian Development" ("Estudios sobre el Desarrollo Colombiano"), Medellin.

1055 CHILE. Celso Furtado. "The Latin American Economy From the Iberian Conquest To the Cuban Revolution" ("La Economia Latinoamericana desde la Conquista Iberica hasta la Revolucion Cubana"), Santiago.

1056 CHILE. Labarca Goddard. "Chile Invaded" ("Chile Invadido"), Santiago, AUSTRAL.

1056[1] SPAIN. Donghi Halperin, "Contemporary History of Latin America" ("Historia Contemporanea de America Latina"), Madrid, ALIANZA.

1057 SPAIN. Joseph M. Pinal, "New Paths of the Church?" ("Nuevos Caminos de la Iglesia?"), Barcelona, PENINSULA.

1057[1] SPAIN. Raymond Marcellin, "The Public Order and Revolutionary Groups" ("El Orden Publico y los Grupos Revolucionarios"), Madrid, SAN MARTIN.

1057[2] SPAIN. Jacques Bergier--Bernard Thomas, "The Secret Oil War" ("La Guerra Secreta del Petroleo"), Barcelona, PLAZA & JONES.

1058 UNITED STATES. Irving Louis Horowitz, "Latin American Radicalism. A Documentary Report on Left and Nationalist Movements," New York, RANDOM HOUSE (VINTAGE BOOKS).

1059 UNITED STATES. D. Bruce Jackson, "Castro, the Kremlin and Communism in Latin America," JOHN HOPKINS (STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 9).

1060 UNITED STATES. Jaime Suchlicki, "University Students and Revolution in Cuba, 1928-1968," Coral Gables, Florida, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI PRESS.

1061 UNITED STATES. Michael Tanzer, "The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries," Boston.

1062 FRANCE. Miguel Arraes, "Brazil: The People and Power" ("Le Bresil: Le Peuple et le Pouvoir"), Paris, MASPERO.

1063 FRANCE. Hector Bejar, "The 1965 Peruvian Guerrillas" ("Les Guerrillas Peruviennes de 1965"), Paris, MASPERO.

1064 FRANCE. Pierre Frank, "The Fourth International, Contribution to the History of the Trotskyite Movement" ("La Quatrieme Internationale, Contribution a l'Histoire du Mouvement Trotskyste"), Paris, MASPERO.

1065 FRANCE. Alain Gheerbrand, "The Rebellious Church in Latin America" ("L'Eglise Rebelle d'Amerique Latine"), Paris, SEUIL.

1066 FRANCE. Ernest Mandel, "The Socialist Reply to the American Challenge" ("La Reponse Socialiste au Defi Americain"), Paris, MASPERO.

1067 FRANCE. Pierre Jalee, "Imperialism in 1970" (" L'Imperialism en 1970"), Paris, MASPERO.

1068 FRANCE. Barrington Moore Jr., "The Social Origins of Dictatorship and of Democracy" ("Les Origines de la Dictature et de la Democratie"), Paris, MASPERO.

1069 FRANCE. Emile Poulat, "Integrity and Integral Catholicism" ("Integrisme et Catholicisme Integral"), Paris, MASPERO.

1070 FRANCE. Saverio Tutino, "The Cuban October" ("L'Octobre Cubain"), Paris, MASPERO.

1071 MEXICO. "Debray and the Latin American Revolution" ("Debray y la Revolucion Latinoamericana"), Mexico, NUESTRO TIEMPO (LATINOAMERICA HOY).

1072 MEXICO. Antonio Garcia, "The Constellations of Latin American Power and Development" ("Las Constelaciones del Poder y el Desarrollo Latinoamericano"), Mexico, COMERCIO EXTERIOR, November.

1073 MEXICO. Loree Wilnerson, "Fidel Castro, From the Reform to Marxism-Leninism" ("Fidel Castro, de la Reforma al Marxismo-Leninismo"), Mexico, LETRAS.

1074 MEXICO. John Womack Jr., "Zapata and the Mexican Revolution" ("Zapata y la Revolucion Mexicana"), Mexico.

1075 PERU. Francois Bourricaud--Jorge Bravo Bresani--Henri Favre--Jean Piel, "The Oligarchy in Peru" ("La Oligarquia en el Peru"), Lima.

1076 VENEZUELA. M. A. Falcon Urbano, "Development and Industrialization of Venezuela" ("Desarrollo y Industrializacion de Venezuela"), Caracas.

1077 VENEZUELA. Francisco Mieres, "Oil and the Venezuelan Structural Problem" ("El Petroleo y la Problematica Estructural Venezolana"), Caracas.

1078 January--MEXICO. Jean Larteguy, "The Guerrilla Fighters" ("Los Guerrilleros"), Mexico, DIANA.

1079 2 January--CUBA. Carlos Nunez, "Los Tupamaros: Armed Vanguard in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros: Vanguardia Armada en Uruguay"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.[34]

1080 1969--4 January--CUBA. Anibal Quijano, "Contemporary Rural Movements in Latin America" ("Los Movimientos Campesinos Contemporaneos en America Latina"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO No 24.

1081 11 January--ARGENTINA. The press indicated that the attack on the Escobar branch of the Banco de la Nacion Argentina, which resulted in the robbery of 72 million Argentine pesos, proved that there were Trotskyite cells in the country that were tied in with Uruguayan insurrectionists.

1082 12 January--CUBA. "The Sinacota Manifesto" "(El Manifiesto de Sinacota"), Havana, GRANMA, Weekly Summary.

1083 28 January--CHILE. Manuel Cabieso Donoso, "Chile: The Vote or The Rifle" ("Chile: El Voto o El Fusil"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL, No 73.

1084 CHILE. Luis Carrera, "Marighella, The Armed Prophet of Brazil" ("Marighella, El Profeta Armado del Brasil"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL, No 73.

1085 February--CUBA. "Revolution" ("Revolucion"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

1086 February--FRANCE. Carlos Begue, "The Tupamaros in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros en Uruguay"), Paris, MUNDO NUEVO.

1087 March--FRANCE. Horacio Daniel Rodriguez, "Regarding the Tupamaros Movement"("Acerca del Movimiento Tupamaros"), Paris, MUNDO NUEVO.

1088 11 March--CHILE. Carlos Jorquera Tolosa, "The Lesson of Peru" "La Leccion del Peru"), PUNTO FINAL, No 76.

1089 14 March--BRAZIL. The government abrogated the electoral mandates and suspended the political rights of 92 parliamentarians for a 10-year term.

1090 15 March--HOLLAND. J. van Wansbeek, "Uruguay, The End of Utopia" ("Uruguay, El Fin de Utopia"), Amsterdam, ACCENT, No 11.

1090[1] 9 April--UNITED STATES. Students occupied a Harvard University building.

1091 21 April--RFA. "Uruguay: Guerrilleros Stern mit T," Hamburg, DER SPIEGEL.

1092 25 April--MEXICO, "Uruguay" Vietnamaros," Mexico, SP.

1093 May--ARGENTINA. There was a popular uprising in the city of Cordoba, subsequently known as "el Cordobazo."



Uruguayan Deputy and First Secretary of the CPU Rodney Arismendi closes the International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties, in Moscow, 17 June 1969. EL POPULAR, Friday Review.

1093[1] May--ARGENTINA. Carlos Nunez, "The Tupamaros: Armed Vanguard in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros: Vanguardia Armada en Uruguay"), Buenos Aires, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION.[35]

1094 May--FRANCE. "Communism in Uruguay" ("El Comunismo en el Uruguay"), Paris, ESTE & OESTE, Nos 126, 127.

1095 May--FRANCE. Marcelo de Andrade, "Reflections on the Theses of Regis Debray" ("Considerations sur les Theses de Regis Debray"), Paris, LES TEMPS MODERNES.

1095[1] 15 May--UNITED STATES. Student riots took place in the public park of Berkley, California, resulting in the death of one student.

1096 28 May--MEXICO. "And Now the Guerrilla in Uruguay" ("Y Ahora la Guerrilla en Uruguay"), Mexico, SIEMPRE.

1096[1] 20 May--MEXICO. David Cooper, "The Dialectics of the Liberation" ("La Dialectica de la Liberacion"), Mexico, EDITORES S.A.

1096[2] June--ARGENTINA. Victor Villanueva, "New Military Mentality in Peru" ("Nueva Mentalidad Militar en Peru"), Buenos Aires, REPLANTEA.

1097 June--GDR. The VII World Assembly of the Forces of Peace, organized by the CMP [Expansion unknown], took place in Berlin.

1098 ARGENTINA. Luis Mercier Vega, "The Guerrillas in Latin America. The Technique of Countering the State" ("Las Guerrillas en America Latina. La Tecnica del Contra-Estado"), Buenos Aires, PAIDOS.

1099 June--BRAZIL. Carlos Marighella made another statement regarding the rural guerrilla: "...Our revolutionary struggle will be long; it will require the participation of everyone. It is a pitiless struggle against American imperialism and the military dictatorship in Brazil...It is necessary to continue the urban guerrilla, to fight, to fight in the countryside... This year will be the year of the rural guerrilla...Let us do everything for the unity of the Brazilian people," etc.

1099[1] 19 June--USSR. The International Conference of the World Communist and Workers Parties closed in Moscow. Rodney Arismendi, Secretary General of the PCU, who made the closing speech, presided over the conference.

1100 1962--22 June--FRANCE. "Uruguay: The Tupamaros: Guerrilla Fighters or Justiciaries?" ("Uruguay: Guerrilleros o Justiciers?"), Paris, LE MONDE.

1101 July--FRANCE. Nelson Amara V., "The Language of the Cuban Revolution" ("Las Frases de la Revolucion Cubana"), Paris, APORTES, No 13.

1102 July--ITALY. Franco Pantarelli, "The Tupamaros in Uruguay" ("I Tupamaros in Uruguay"), Florence, NOTE DI CULTURE.

1103 July--PERU. "Features of the Social-Economic Policy of the Revolutionary Government" ("Lineamientos de la Politica Economico-Social del Gobierno Revolucionario"), Lima, the daily, EL PERUANO.

1104 28 July--PERU. Message to the nation from Field Marshal Juan Velasco Alvarado, President of the Republic of Peru, on the 148th anniversary of National Independence, Lima, National Information Office; the daily, EL PERUANO.

1105 August--COLOMBIA. Members of the ELN ambushed army soldiers in the region of Rio Guayabiti, killing 10 soldiers.

1105[1] August--SPAIN. Herbert Marcuse, "The Unidimentional Man" ("El Hombre Unidimensional"), Barcelona, SEIX BARRAL S.A.

1106 13 August--BRAZIL. "Uruguai: O Terror Fica Confuso," Rio de Janeiro, VEJA.

1107 20 August--GREAT BRITAIN. "The Tupamaros," London, THE ECONOMIST.

1107[1] 7 September--BRAZIL. The kidnapped United States Ambassador to Brazil was exchanged for 15 insurgents.

1108 8 September--BRAZIL. A combined group of the ALN [National Liberating Action] and of the MRB [expansion unknown] movement kidnapped Burke Elbrick, United States Ambassador to Brazil and, in exchange for his release, demanded the publication in all dailies of a manifesto to the nation and the release from prison of 15 insurrectionist members of various clandestine groups. The government consented to this latter demand, and sent the following to Mexico by plane: Gregorio Bezerra, Wladimir Palmeira, Jose Ibrahim, Luis Travessos, Jose Dirceu, Onofre Pinta, Maria Augusta, Ricardo Zaratino, Ricardo Villasboas, Rolando Fratti, Joao Leonardo, Argonauto Pacheco, Flavio Tavares, Ivens Marchetti, and Roberto Zanconato.



Brazilian guerrillas are exchanged for kidnapped diplomats.

1109 9 September--BRAZIL. Institutional Act No 14 was promulgated, extending the death sentence and life imprisonment--up to now applied only in the case of a foreign war--to cases of domestic, revolutionary, or subversive war.

1110 1969--21 September--UNITED STATES. Malcolm Browne, "City Guerrillas Worry Uruguay," New York, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

1111 29 September--UNITED STATES. Marysa Gerassi, "Uruguay's Urban Guerrillas; The Tupamaros," New York, THE NATION.

1112 15 October--MEXICO. Jose Natividad Rosales, "Symbol of Rebellion" ("Simbolo de Rebeldia"), SIEMPRE, No 851.

1113 17 October--VENEZUELA. Luis Segui Gonzalez, "Immigration and Its Contribution to Development" ("La Inmigracion y su Contribucion al Desarrollo"), Caracas, EDITORIAL ARTES.

1114 30 October--BRAZIL. The authorities arrested Fernando and Ivam, priests of the monastery of the Hermanos Dominicos (Dominican Brothers) in Sao Paulo, and obtained the route to the hiding place of Carlos Marighella, chief of the presently most important clandestine group.

1115 CUBA. "Ten Years of Revolution" ("Diez Anos de Revolucion"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

1115[1] 30 October--MEXICO. Ruy Mauro Marini, "Underdevelopment and Revolution" ("Subdesarrollo y Revolucion"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

1116 4 November--BRAZIL. Carlos Marighella, communist chief of the ALN, a policeman, and a passerby were killed in Sao Paulo in an urban encounter with the police while Marighella was en route to an interview with a Dominican priest.

1117 7 November--"The Tupamaros in the Funeral Procession" ("Los Tupamaros en el Cortejo de la Muerte"), Buenos Aires, VISION.

1118 December--ARGENTINA. "The Rockefeller Report" ("El Informe Rockefeller"), Buenos Aires, MERCADO, No 22.

1118[1] 7 November--SPAIN. Herbert Marcuse, "Ethics of the Revolution" ("Etica de la Revolucion"), Madrid, TAURUS.

1118[2] 30 November--ARGENTINA. Sablecorvo, "Argentina and Peru: The Blow of the Revolution" ("Argentina y Peru: El Golpe de la Revolucion"), San Juan EDITORA DE TEMAS NACIONALES.

1119 ARGENTINA. James D. Atkinson, "The Policy of Subversion" ("Politica de la Subversion"), Buenos Aires, TROQUEL.

1120 17 December--COLOMBIA. The War Council in charge of the trial of the members of the ELN pronounced judgment against 215 defendants.

1120[1] 15 December--MEXICO. German Guzman Campos, "Father Camilo Torres" ("El Padre Camilo Torres"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

1121 1970--ARGENTINA. Miguel Gazzera--Norberto Ceresole, "Peronism, Self-criticism, and Perspectives" ("Peronismo, Autocritica y Perspectivas"), Buenos Aires, DESCARTES.

1121[1] ARGENTINA. Raul Rodriguez Leles, "Who, If Not?" ("Quien Si No?"), Buenos Aires, QUINTARIA.

1922 1970--BRAZIL. Ruben Medina, Desnacionalizacao, Crimen Contra Brasil?" Rio de Janeiro, SAGA.

1123 BRASIL. "Os Tupamaros e as Ligas," Recife, JORNAL DE COMERCIO.

1124 CUBA. Jose Diaz, "Liberation or Surrender" ("Liberacion o Cesion"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 1/1969.

1125 CUBA. Maria Esther Gilio, "The Tupamaro Guerrilla" ("La Guerrilla Tupamaro"), 1st edition, Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

1126 SPAIN. "The Great War, 1914-1918" ("La Gran Guerra, 1914-1918"), Preface by Pierre Renouvin, Madrid, ALIANZA.

1127 UNITED STATES. L. Delwart, "The Future of Latin American Exports to the United States; 1965 and 1970," New York.

1128 UNITED STATES. Jose Diaz--Carlos Nunez, "The Tupamaros, Urban Guerrilleros Warfare in Uruguay," New York, THE LIBERTAD GUARDIAN.

1128[1] UNITED STATES. George Jackson, "Lonesome Brother; The Prison Letters of George Jackson," CORWARD MC CANN.

1128[2] UNITED STATES. James Michener, "Kent State: What Happened and Why," New York, READER'S DIGEST PRESS--RANDOM HOUSE.

1128[3] SPAIN. Henry A. Kissinger, "American Foreign Policy," Barcelona, PLAZA & JANES.

1129 FRANCE. Charles Bettelheim, "Transition Towards a Socialist Economy" ("La Transition vers L'Economie Socialiste"), Paris, MASPERO.

1130 FRANCE. Jean Daubier, "History of the Proletariat Cultural Revolution in China" ("Histoire de la Revolution Culturelle Proletarienne en Chine"), Paris, MASPERO.

1131 FRANCE. Daniel Guerin, "Popular Front, Unsuccessful Revolution" "Front Populaire, Revolution Manquee"), Paris, MASPERO.

1132 FRANCE. Ernesto Che Guevara. "Socialism and Mankind in Cuba" ("Le Socialisme et l'Homme a Cuba"), Paris, MASPERO.

1133 FRANCE. Andre Gunder Frank. "The Development of Underdevelopment; Latin America" ("Le Developpement du Sousdeveloppement: l'Amerique Latine"), Paris, MASPERO.

1134 FRANCE. A. Neuberg, "Armed Insurrection" ("L'Insurrection Armee"), Preface by Eric Wollenberg, Paris, MASPERO.

1135 FRANCE. K. S. Karol, "The Guerrilla Fighters in Power. The Political Itinerary of the Cuban Revolution" ("Les Guerrilleros au Pouvoir. L'Itineraire Politique de la Revolution Cubaine"), Paris.

1136 FRANCE. Karel Kasik, "The Dialectics of Substance" ("La Dialectique du Concret," Paris, MASPERO.

1137 FRANCE. Karl Liebknecht, "Militarism, War, Revolution" ("Militarisme, Guerre, Revolution"), Paris, MASPERO.

1138 FRANCE. Michel Lowy, "The Thinking of Che Guevara" ("La Pensee de Che Guevara"), Paris, MASPERO.

1139 FRANCE. Harry Magdoff, "The Age of Imperialism" ("L'Age de l'Imperialisme"), Paris, MASPERO.

1140 FRANCE. Ernest Mandel, "Anthology of Control by Labor" ("Anthologie du Controle Ouvrier"), Paris, MASPERO.

1141 Carlos Marighella, "Freedom Action" ("Accion Libertadora"), Paris, MASPERO.

1142 FRANCE. "Memoires of a Bolshevist-Leninist" ("Memoires d'un Bolchevik-Leniniste"), Paris, MASPERO.

1143 FRANCE. Ricard Ramirez, "Letters from the Tuagemalan Front" ("Lettres du Front Guatemalteque"), Paris, MASPERO.

1144 FRANCE. Victor Serge, "What Every Revolutionary Must Know About Repression" ("Ce que Tout Revolutionnaire Doit Savoir de la Repression"), Paris, MASPERO.

1145 MEXICO. Jose Luis Cicena, "Mexico Within the Imperial Orbit" ("Mexico en la Orbita Imperial"), Mexico.

1146 MEXICO. Carlos Guzman Bockler--Jean Loup Herbert, "Guatemala: A Historical-Social Interpretation" ("Guatemala: Una Interpretacion Historico-Social"), Mexico.

1147 MEXICO. Octavio Ianni, "Imperialism and the Culture of Violence in Latin America" ("Imperialismo y Cultura de la Violencia en America Latina"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

1148 MEXICO. Miguel Torres, "Tupamaros, Violence or Justice?" ("Tupamaros, Violencia or Justicia?"), Mexico D.F., COSTA AMIC.

1149 MEXICO. "The Tupamaros" ("Los Tupamaros"), Mexico, PUBLICACIONES N 1.

1150 PERU. "Two Rebels: Camilo Torres and Carlos Marighella" ("Dos Rebeldes: Camilo Torres y Carlos Marighella"), Lima, MACHU PICCHU.

1150[1] PERU. Roger Mercado. "Life, Betrayal, and Death of the APRA [American Revolutionary Popular Alliance] Movement" ("Vida, Traicion, y Muerte del Movimiento Aprista"), Lima, FONDO DE CULTURA POPULAR.

1150[2] RPCH. Mao Tse-tung, "Six Military Manuscripts by the President" ("Seis Escritos Militares del Presidente"), Peking, EDICIONES EN LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS.

1151 1970--VENEZUELA. D. F. Maza Zavola, "Population Explosion and Economic Growth" ("Explosion Demografic y Crecimiento Economico"), Caracas.

1152 January--UNITED STATES. John D. Martz, "Doctrine and Dilemmas of the Latin American 'New Left,'" Princeton, New Jersey, WORLD POLITICS, January.

1153 January--CUBA. The magazine, TRICONTINENTAL, reproduced the propaganda pamphlet left behind by Che Guevara, commando of the MLN-T, on 8 October 1969, during "Operation Panda," entitled "Tupamaros: Sermon on Insurrection and Resistance" ("Tupamaros: Predica de la Sublevacion y la Resistencia").

1154 5 January--ARGENTINA. Alphonse Max, "Tupamaros and The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America" ("Tupamaros y la Guerrilla Urbana en Latino America"), Buenos Aires, CORREO DE LA TARDE.[36]

1155 12 January--ARGENTINA. German Rozenmacher, "The Hunter of Tupamaros" ("El Cazador de Tupamaros"), Buenos Aires, SIETE DIAS.

1156 February--CUBA. Mario Benedetti, "Uruguay At a Decisive Moment" ("Uruguay en Un Instante Decisivo"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO.

1157 February--CUBA. Carlos Marighella, "Mini-Manual On the Urban Guerrilla Fighter" ("Minimanual del Guerrillero Urbano"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL No 16, January-February.

1158 February--VENEZUELA. Carlos Nunez, "The Tupamaros: Armed Vanguard in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros: Vanguardia Armada en Uruguay"), Caracas, REVISTA DE REVISTAS.[37]

1159 3 February--MEXICO. Luis Guillermo Piazza. "Tupamaros in Uruguay: Irreconcilable Enemies" ("Tupamaros en Uruguay; Enemigos Irreconciliables"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1159[1] 16 February--FRANCE. Student disorders took place throughout the country.

1160 March--BRAZIL. In an internal document of this date, the ALN approved Carlos Marighella's "Minimanual del Guerrillero Urbano" in these terms: "We consider as completely valid the basic principles of the strategy and of the revolutionary tactics elaborated by comrade C.M. We also order all comrades to study them in depth. Some will take the responsibility of forming a small coordinating cell that will contact comrades of the guerrilla as soon as possible...The revolutionary war of the Brazilian people will succeed. ALN, March, 1970."

1161 March--CUBA. Sergio Dimas, "Uruguay 69: Economic Stagnation and Political Bankruptcy" ("Uruguay 69: Estancamiento Economico y Bancarrota de los Politiqueros"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO.

1162 4 March--CUBA. "Uruguay: The Tupamaros in Action" ("Uruguay" Los Tupamaros en Accion"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.

1162[1] 6 March--GUATEMALA. Guerrilla fighters killed a United States diplomat.

1162[2] 12 March--UNITED STATES. Government offices were bombed in protest against the war in Vietnam.

1163 13 March--RFA. "More Secret Attacks by the Tupamaros" ("Nuevos Golpes de Mano de los Tupamaros"), Frankfurt/Main, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG.

1163[1] 15 March--BRAZIL. A consul general of Japan to Brazil was killed.

1163[2] 20 March--ARGENTINA. Simone de Beauvoir, "The Long March" ("La Larga Marcha"), Buenos Aires, LA PLEYADE.

1164 24 March-BRAZIL. The daily, JORNAL DO BRASIL, published the 10 security measures recommended by the police authorities as a defense against subversive acts.

1165 31 March--CHILE. Orlando Contreras, "Operation Ransom of the Tupamaros" ("Operacion Rescate de los Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1165[1] 31 March--GUATEMALA. The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Guatemala was kidnapped by guerrilla fighters and then killed.

1166 April--ARGENTINA. "Indalecio Olivera: The Fight of a Tupamaro Priest" ("Indalecio Olivera: El Combate de un Cura Tupamaro"), Buenos Aires, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION.

1167 April--ARGENTINA. Eduardo Tarreche, "Uruguay 1969: Balance Sheet of Revolutionary Activity" ("Uruguay 1969: Balance de un Ejercicio Revolucionario"), Buenos Aires, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION.

1168 1970--CUBA. "Uruguay: "The Tupamaros In Action" ("Uruguay: Los Tupamaros en Accion"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 17, March-April.

1169 14 April--CHILE. Luis Martirena, "Tupamaros: Assault of the Century in Uruguay" ("Asalto del Siglo en el Uruguay"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.[38]

1170 28 April--CHILE. Carlos Nunez, "The Executioners' Turn" ("El Turno de los Verdugos"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL. [39]

1170[1] 30 April--UNITED STATES. Student demonstrations at State Kent against the war in Vietnam resulted in the death of four students.

1170[2] 3 May--FRANCE. Student disturbances occurred in the University of Nanterre.

1171 12 May--ARGENTINA. Roberto Garcia, "Interview With Defense Lawyers of Arrested Tupamaros; Tupamaros Accounts, III" ("Entrevista con Abogados Defensores de Tupamaros Presos; Historias con Tupamaros, III"), Buenos Aires, PERISCOPIO (Special report).[40]

1172 22 May--ARGENTINA. The security services published a communique denouncing a meeting that was attended by leaders of various guerrilla movements of the continent, "in a border country."

1172[1] 27 May--FRANCE. Disturbances provoked by students in Paris resulted in the dissolution by the government of four extreme leftist student groups.

1173 29 May--ARGENTINA. General Eugenio Aramburu, former president, was killed. He had been held up to now by terrorist groups.

1174 ARGENTINA. General Francisco Imaz, minister of interior, claimed that the above mentioned murder was the result of one of the decisions made at the meeting that was denounced on the 22nd, which allegedly took place in the department of Canelones, Uruguay.

1175 30 May--MEXICO. Joaquin Andrade, "Uruguay: Guerrillero Delirium of Soldiers" ("Uruguay" Delirio Guerrillero de Militares"), Mexico, PRENSA LATINA.

1176 June--MEXICO. Ramiro Reynaga, "Tupamaros," Cuernavaca, Mexico.

1176[1] 5 June--BRAZIL. Student demonstrations in behalf of prison reforms were followed by reports of torture of arrested persons.

1177 7 June--VENEZUELA. "Uruguay; You, Too, Brutus?" ("Uruguay; Tu Quoque Brutus?"), Caracas, REVISTA DE REVISTAS.

1178 8 June--CUBA. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Tupamaros: A Guerrilla Without Chiefs" ("Tupamaros: Una Guerrilla sin Jefes"), Havana, JUVENTUD REBELDE.

1179 10 June--MEXICO. Luis Martirena, "Uruguay: The Right Is Worried" ("Uruguay: La Derecha esta Preocupada"), Mexico, PRENSA LATINA.

1179[1] 11 June--VRAZIL. The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Brazil was murdered.

1180 12 June--MEXICO. Jorge Onetti, "Torture As a Consequence" ("La Tortura como Consecuencia"), Mexico, PRENSA LATINA.

1181 16 June--CHILE. A Uruguayan insurgent carrying sterling pounds obtained from a robbery at the Mailhos estate was arrested.

1182 20 June--UNITED STATES. Jose Diaz--Carlos Nunez, "Diggin' the Tupes," New York, "LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE.

1182[1] July--CHILE. Ariel Dorfman, "Imagination and Violence in America" ("Imaginacion y Violencia en America"), Santiago, ED. UNIVERSITARIA S.A.

1183 7 July--CHILE. "Uruguay" Tupamaros Gave the Police a Truce" ("Uruguay: Tupamaros dieron una Tregua a Policia"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.[41]

1184 1970--8 July--CUBA. Mario Benedetti, "Raul Sendic: Symbol of a Transformation" ("Raul Sendic: Simbolo de una Transformacion"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS, Supplement.

1185 18 July--MEXICO. Carlos Alonso, "Tupamaros," Mexico, SUCESOS.

1186 21 July--CHILE. Urban Guerrilla: "War Participation of Tupamaros" ("Guerrilla Urbana: Parte de Guerra de Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.[42]

1186[1] 24 August--UNITED STATES. The Military Research Planning Building of the University of Wisconsin was destroyed by bombs.

1187 26 July--COLOMBIA. Roberto Irala, "Uruguay, A Disconcerted Country" ("Uruguay, Un Pais Desconcertado"), Bogota, EL CATOLICISMO.

1188 CUBA. Fidel Castro made a speech on the occasion of another anniversary of the Cuban revolution, in which, after greeting the delegates of various communist countries, he announced the imminent arrival of representatives of the Tupamaros.

1189 2 August--ARGENTINA. The daily, LA RAZON, of Buenos Aires, again published the version perviously published this past 22 and 25 May, concerning a meeting of guerrillero leaders in the department of Canelones, Uruguay, and attributed its convocation to the Tupamaros, mentioning the presence of the FARO [Revolutionary Workers' Action] of Uruguay ;the MIR, of Chile; the ELN, of Bolivia, on orders from "Chato" Peredo (brother of Inti, one of Guevara's lieutenants); the ALN, of Brazil, on orders from Lamarca, heir to Marighella; the FALN, of Venezuela, on an order from Douglas Bravo; the ELN, of Colombia; and Argentine representatives of the Montoneros; the FAR; and the FAP [Federation of Peronist Groups].

1190 FRANCE. Philippe Labreveux, "Tupamaros Demanded the Release of Political Prisoners; After the Kidnapping of Two Diplomats in Uruguay," Paris, LE MONDE.

1191 FRANCE. Marcel Niedergang, "The Tupamaros, A Rigorous Organization" ("Los Tupamaros: Une Organization Rigoureuse"), Paris, LE MONDE.

1192 THE VATICAN. The OSSERVATORE ROMANO said that this crime constituted a cynical and cruel response which violated the guarantees, acknowledged as sacred, of the diplomatic mission."

1193 3 August--MEXICO. Isabel Hernando, "The Tupamaros Out In The Open" ("Los Tupamaros al Descubierto"), Mexico, EL UNIVERSAL.

1194 9 August--THE VATICAN. In his Sunday sermon from the balcony of Castel Gandolfo, Pope Paul VI characterized the demand of the Uruguayan rebels for the release of the kidnapped persons as "vile blackmail."

1195 10 August--BRAZIL. Itamaraty referred to the death of Dan A. Mitrione at the hands of the Tupamaros, which occurred at dawn today in Montevideo, as a "barbarous, cold-blooded, and premeditated crime..." "It increases the danger that Aloysio Mores Dias Gomide will also be murdered."

1196 UNITED STATES. President Nixon said that it was "a despicable act that decent, honest men throughout the world must condemn."

1197 UNITED STATES. U-Thant, Secretary General of the UN, described the murder as "a murder that must evoke universal condemnation."

1198 UNITED STATES. Secretary of State William Rogers said: "We are outraged by the lack of humanity of these murderers."

1199 1970--UNITED STATES. "Senseless Killing in Uruguay," New York, NEW YORK TIMES: "Only the mentally ill could see in the murder of this father of nine children in Indiana a weakening of the capitalist system or the advancement of social revolution in the Americas. Through the indiscriminate murder of officials whose duty it is to maintain order, the Tupamaros for some time now have thrown overboard the aureole of "Robin Hood" for the attainment of which they had worked overtime at the beginning of their kidnappings, bank robberies, and armed petty larceny. This murder has revealed them as sadistic bullies, with the same kind of fascist mentality that raised Hitler to power."

1200 MEXICO. "Kidnappings For Ransom" ("Secuestros para Chantajear"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1201 11 August--MEXICO. Ambassador Bautista Ochoteco said: "There is no large-scale agitation in Uruguay," Mexico, EL DIA.

1202 MEXICO. Edmundo Contreras, "Who Are the Tupamaros and What Are They Seeking?" ("Quienes Son Y que Buscan los Tupamaros?"), Mexico, EL UNIVERSAL.

1203 MEXICO. "Vertiginous Political Career of Mitrione" ("Carrera Political de Mitrione"), Mexico, EL DIA.

1204 12 August--UNITED STATES. "Uruguay's Tupes: Mitrione Dies, White House Cries," New York, LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE.

1205 UNITED STATES. Julio Hernandez, "Tupamaros Assault a Garrison; Step-by-Step Account," New York, LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE.

1206 MEXICO. Ricardo Garibay, "Dictatorships, Terrorism, Revolution" ("Dictaduras, Terrorismo, Revolucion"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1207 MEXICO. Froylan M. Lopez Narvaez, "Uruguay At Present: Terror" ("Uruguay Ahora: De horrores"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1208 MEXICO. Enrique Maza, "The Birth of Freedom: Self-defeating Violence" ("El Nacimiento de la Libertad: Violencia Contra-producente"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1209 MEXICO. Pedro Ramirez Ocampo, "From the Tupamaro to the Gorila; Kidnapping and Murder" ("Del Tupamaro al Gorila; Secuestro y Homicidio"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1210 15 August--MEXICO. "Uruguay: Tupamaros and Kidnappings" ("Uruguay: Tupamaros y Secuestros"), Mexico, OPOSICION.

1211 16 August--MEXICO. Anastasio Serafin, "Infamous Murders; Marginal Commentaries" ("Infames Asesinatos; Comentarios al Margen"), Cuernavaca, CORREO DEL SUR, March.

1212 15 August--GREAT BRITAIN. Ricardo Gatt, "Why the Jokers Turned Wild," London, THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

1213 17 August--RFA. "Uruguay: Tupamaros, Hundert Samurai," Hamburg, DER SPEIGEL.

1214 MEXICO. Mario Guzman Galorza, "Uruguay: In the Best of Worlds?" ("Uruguay: En el Mejor de los Mundos?), Mexico, EL DIA.

1215 MEXICO. "Uruguay: Days of Infancy" ("Uruguay: Dias de Oprobio"), Mexico, TIEMPO.

1216 PARAGUAY. Uruguayan and Argentine agitators were arrested when they attempted to bring weapons into the country.

1217 21 August--MEXICO. Alfonso Trueba, "Uruguay: The Tupamaros" ("Uruguay: Los Tupamaros"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1218 22 August--MEXICO. Luis Ochoa Mancera, "Will They Assassinate the Kidnapped Victims Tomorrow?" ("Asesinaran Manana a los Secuestrados?"), Mexico, EL SOL DE MEXICO.

1219 MEXICO. Luis Suarez, "The Terrorism of the Tupamaros: Mirror of the News" ("El Terrorismo de los Tupamaros: Espejo de Noticias"), Mexico, EL HERALDO DE MEXICO.

1220 23 August--MEXICO. Pablo Pacentini, "Uruguay Under the Tupamaros; Hours of Violence" ("Uruguay Bajo los Tupamaros; Horas de Violencia"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1221 MEXICO. "Revolution or Dictatorship" ("Revolucion o Dictadura"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1222 25 August--CUBA. "Tupamaros in Action" ("Tupamaros en Accion"), Havana, GRANMA, Weekly Summary.

1223 26 August--CUBA. "The Tupamaros Issue a Statement Against the Uruguayan government" ("Emiten Tupamaros Proclama Contra el Regimen de Uruguay"), Havana, GRANMA.

1224 MEXICO. Mario Monteforte Toledo, "Behind the Tupamaros, History" ("Detras de los Tupamaros, la Historia"), Mexico, SIEMPRE.

1225 28 August--ARGENTINA. Juan Carlos Fernandez Perna--Oscar Giardinelli, "Tupamaros: Behind Its Screen" ("Tupamaros: Detras de sa Pantalla"), Buenos Aires, SEMANA GRAFICA.

1226 ARGENTINA. Juan Carlos Fernandez Perna, "A Tupamaro talks for you. An intimate chat with a Tupamaro. Exclusive disclosure. The exchange is about to be a reality." Buenos Aires, SEMANA GRAFICA.

1227 1970--ARGENTINA. S. Hernandez, "The Man of Action?" ("El Hombre del Golpe?"), Buenos Aires, SEMANA GRAFICA.

1228 ARGENTINA. Froylan Lopez Narvaez, "MLN Tupamaros: How and Why" ("MLN Tupamaros: Como y Por que"). How the organization works; how a guerrilla comes into being; what it takes to become a member of the movement; what his motive is; past, present, future--everything is here. Buenos Aires, SEMANA GRAFICA.

1229 MEXICO. Julio G. Smith Foyo, "Latin America. Firm Hand Against the Terrorist Challenge" ("America Latina: Mano Dura Frente al Desafio Terrorista"), Mexico, VISION.

1230 30 August--CUBA. Paulo R. Schilling, "Brazil: A New Genocide" AGENCIA LATINA, DIRECT FROM CUBA, August 30/70, 23.

1230[1] September--FRANCE. Jesus Infante,"The Prodigious Advent of the Opus Dei. Origin and Development of the Holy Mafia" ("La Prodigiosa Aventura del Opus Dei. Genesis y Desarrollo de la Santa Mafia"), Paris, RUEDO IBERICO.

1231 1 September--CHILE. Jose Ricardo Eliaschev "Europe Judged The Tupamaros Thus" ("Asi Vio Europa a los Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1232 CHILE. PRENSA LATINA, "Pentothal For the Prisoner" (Pentothal para el Prisonero"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1232[1] 1 September--CHILE. Mario Benedetti, "Raul Sendic: Symbol of a Transformation" ("Raul Sendic: Simbolo de una Transformacion"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1233 1 September--CHILE. Daniel Waksman Schinca "Uruguay, The Secrets of the Tupamaros" ("Uruguay, Los Secretos de los Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1233[1] 2 September--MEXICO. Julio Camarero "The Secret of a Correspondent" ("El Secreto de un Corresponsal"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1234 2 September--MEXICO. Ivan Illich, "The Silence of Paul VI; Open Letter From...to His Holiness" ("El Silencio de Paulo VI; Carta Abierta de...a Su Santidad"), Mexico, SIEMPRE.

1235 5 September--CUBA. "The Law of Torment" ("La Ley del Tormento"). Report of a leader of the MLN-T to the management of the magazine, TRICONTINENTAL, on tortures in Uruguay, Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 54, 55.

1236 6 September--MEXICO. Pablo Piacentini, "Nationalist Militarism; Uruguayan Outlook" ("Militarismo Nacionalista; Perspectiva Uruguaya"), Mexico, EXCELSIOR.

1237 9 September--MEXICO. Francisco Martinez de la Vega, "Terrorism, Ineffective Weapon; the Guerrilla Is the Motive Force of Dictatorship" ("El Terrorismo, Arma Ineficaz; la Guerrilla es Motor de la Dictadura"), Mexico, SIEMPRE.

1238 10 September--CUBA. "Tupamaros: Letter to the Military" ("Tupamaros: Carta a los Militares"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 54, 55, September-October.

1239 13 September--FRANCE. Aldo Santini, "The Samourai of Uruguay" ("Les Samourais de l'Uruguay"). The Tupamaros no longer are the "Robin Hoods" they were in the beginning. Last month, for the first time, they killed. "But all revolutionaries, they say, were treated as bandits at first..." Paris, LE NOUVEL OBSERVATOIRE.

1240 15 September--CHILE. Julio Huasi, "Tupamar," Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1241 CHILE. Orlando Contreras, "Tupamaros: The Strategy of Time" ("Tupamaros: La Estrategia del Tiempo"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1242 18 September--CUBA. The Tupamaros would release one of the foreign kidnapped victims if the Uruguayan press would publish the manifesto of that organization, Havana, GRANMA.[43]

1243 UNITED STATES. "Unanswered Question About a Tragedy; Death of a Policeman," New York, COMMONWEAL.

1244 20 September--PORTO RICO. Mario Benedetti, "The Tupamaros; Raul Sendic: Leader of the People and Prisoner of War" (Los Tupamaros; Raul Sendic: Lider del Pueblo y Prisionero de Guerra"), San Juan de Puerto Rico, CLARIDAD.

1245 1970--27 September--BRAZIL. Letter dated in Rio de Janeiro from Dilma Borges Vieira[44] to Aparecida Gomide, wife of the Brazilian consul who was kidnapped in Montevideo by the MLN-T, in which she made a parallel between the suffering that, as wives, they both endured.

1246 CUBA. The daily, GRANMA, published the "manifesto of the MLN-T mentioned by this Uruguayan sedicious organization in its communique of this past 17 September, entitled "The MLN-T launches a manifesto to Uruguayan public opinion."[45]

1247 28 September--FRANCE. Isabelle Alvarez, "The Challenge of the Tupamaros" ("Le defi des Tupamaros"), Paris, AFRICASIA.

1248 September--OCTOBER. UNITED STATES. Alberto Baeza Flores, "From the Coup in Prague to the Coup in Chile" ("Del Golpe de Praga al Golpe de Chile"), New York, ESPANA LIBRE.

1249 October--FRANCE. Marysa Gerassi, "Urban Guerrilla in Uruguay" ("Guerrilla Urbaine en Uruguay"), Paris, LES TEMPS MODERNES.

1250 8 October--CUBA. Leopoldo Madruga, "Tupamaros and Government: Two Powers in Conflict" ("Tupamaros y Gobierno: Dos Poderes en Pugna"), Havana, GRANMA.[46]

1251 UNITED STATES. Lisandro Salazar, "We don't want people to think we're Santa Claus." Interview with a Tupamara, New York, LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE.

1252 12 October--MEXICO. Ernesto Mayans, "Uruguay" The Innumerable Tupamaros" ("Uruguay: Los Inombrables Tupamaros"), Mexico, D.F., INFORMATION ECONOMICA.

1253 15 October--MEXICO. Daniel Gianelli, "The Tupamaros: Who They Are, How They Act, Their Objectives" ("Los Tupamaros: Quienes Son, Como Actuan, Que Objetivos Tienen"), Mexico, D.F., SENAL.

1253[1] 17 October--MEXICO. Rosa Luxemburgo, "Mass Strike: Party and Labor" ("Huelga de Masas, Partido y Sindicatos"), Mexico, GRIJALBO S.A.

1254 22 October--MEXICO. Daniel Gianelli, "The Tupamaros: 'The struggle is being fought throughout the continent,' warn the conspirators," II, Mexico, D.F., SENAL.

1255 26 October--VENEZUELA. Rene Dumont, "Is Cuba Socialist?" ("Cuba, Es Socialista?"). Is the revolution becoming militarized? A constructive critique of Fidel Castro's government. Caracas, TIEMPO NUEVO.

1255[1] 26 October--VENEZUELA. Arthur London, "The Confession" ("La Confesion"); in the mesh of the trial in Prague," Caracas, MONTE AVILA.[47]

1255[2] November--ARGENTINA. Abraham Granillo Fernandez, "Communist Peace or Continuation of the War by Other Means" ("La Paz Comunista o la Continuacion de la Guerra por otros Medios"), Buenos Aires, CIRCULO MILITAR.

1256 November--ARGENTINA. Vivianne Koestler,[48] Press Report of Fly and Dias Gomide in the Tupamara prison, Buenos Aires, PANORAMA.

1257 2 November--UNITED STATES. Ricardo Cetrulo, "The City as Battlefield: a Global Concern," New York, TIME.

1258 12 November--ARGENTINA. The magazine, CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION, of Buenos Aires, published an MLN-T communique establishing the six conditions that would permit the initiation of negotiation with the government and in which there is also reference to the death of agitators "Diocles" and "Pablo" during the explosion in the Bowling Club of Carrasco this past 27 September: "Diocles died instantly," said the communique; "Pablo was murdered." This reference had already been made public on this past 5 October.[49]

1259 17 November--UNITED STATES. Richard o'Mara, "Uruguay--Ahead and Falling Behind.." Detroit, THE SUN.

1259[1] 30 November--SPAIN. Charles De Gaulle, "Algeria, in: Memories of Hope; Reform" ("Argelia, en: Memorias de Esperanza; La Renovasion"), Madrid, TAURUS.

1260 2 December--MEXICO. Edhardo del Rio, "The Tupamaros" Mexico, LOS AGACHADOS. POSADA.

1261 22 December--CHILE. Roman Vera, "Yankee Intelligence Versus the Tupamaros" ("Inteligencia Yanqui contra los Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1262 1971--ARGENTINA. "Tupamaros Actions" ("Actas Tupamaros"), Buenos Aires, SCHAPIRE.

1263 ARGENTINA, Alain Labrousse, "The Tupamaros, Urban guerrilla in Uruguay" ("Los Tupamaros, Guerrilla Urbana en el Uruguay"), Buenos Aires, TIEMPO CONTEMPORANEO.

1264 ARGENTINA. James Marshall, "Swords and Symbols" ("Espadas y Simbolos"), Buenos Aires, GROQUEL.

1265 ARGENTINA. Jorge Florez McGregor, "The Network and the Scissors. The Means of Social Communication in Argentina" ("La Red y La Tijera. Los Medios de Comunicacion Social en la Argentina"), Buenos Aires, ABC.

1265[1] ARGENTINA. Santiago Senen Gonzalez, "Labor Unionism Since Peron" (El Sindicalismo Despues de Peron"), Buenos Aires, GALERNA.

1266 BOLIVIA. "University Autonomy and Childish Extremism" ("La Autonomia Universitaria y el Extremismo Infantil en Bolivia"), La Paz, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND SPORTS.

1267 CHILE. Work document of the "Days On the Participation of Christians in the Establishment of Socialism," elaborated by the Pastoral Committee, EVANGELIO, POLITICA Y SOCIALISMO.[50]

1268 CHILE. Coordinating committee of the "Days On the Participation of Christians in the Establishment of Socialism;" reflexions on the above mentioned work document.[51]

1269 UNITED STATES. Pholippe Schmitter, "Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil," Stanford, STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1269[1] SPAIN. Antonio Frascaroli, "The GPU [expansion unknown] and the NKVD [expansion unknown]" ("La GPU y la NKVD"), Barcelona, EDITORIAL DE VECCHI, PUBLICACIONES REUNIDAS S.A.

1270 FRANCE. Alain Labrousse, "The Tupamaros", Paris, SEUIL.

1271 FRANCE. Drizdo Lovosky, "The Red Labor Union International" ("L'Internationale Syndicale Rouge"), Paris, MASPERO.

1273 MEXICO. Paul A. Baron--Paul M. Sweezy, "Monopolist Capital" ("El Capital Monopolista"), Mexico.

1273 MEXICO. Eduardo Galeano, "The Open Veins of Latin America" ("Las Venas Abiertas de America Latina"), Buenos Aires, SIGLO XXI.

1274 MEXICO. Fernando Enrique Cardoso, "Ideolcgies of the Industrial Bourgeosie in Dependent Societies (Argentina and Brazil)" ("Ideologias de la Burguesia Industrial en Sociedades Dependientes (Argentina y Brasil)", Mexico.

1274[1] MEXICO. Isaac Deutscher. "Trotsky, The Exiled Prophet" ("Trotsky, El Profeta Desterrado"), Mexico, ERA S.A.

1275 January--CUBA. "Tupamaros: If There is Not a Fatherland for Everyone, There Is Not a Fatherland for Anyone" ("Tupamaros: Si No Hay Patria para Todos, No Hay Patria para Nadie"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 58.

1276 January--CUBA. "The AALAPSO in the IX Council of OSPAA [expansion unknown]" ("La OSPAAAL en el IX Consejo de la OSPAA", Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 58.

1277 MEXICO. Ernesto Mayans, "Tupamaros: Policy of the Downtrodden" ("Tupamaros: Politica del Oprimido", Mexico, CIDOC, CUADERNO No 60.

1278 2 January--BRAZIL. Aparecido Gomide, "No One Can Stop Me From Saving My Husband" ("Ninguem pode impedir que eu salve meu marido"), Rio de Janeiro, MANCHETE.

1278[1] 4 January--FRANCE. Judges, students, and police demonstrated against each other.

1279 8 January--UNITED STATES. U-Thant, Secretary General of the UN, deplored the kidnapping of Geoffrey Jackson, British Ambassador to Uruguay, by a sedicious organization.

1280 UNITED STATES. The Department of State expressed its concern over the above mentioned kidnapping.

1281 THE VATICAN. Pope Paul VI expressed similar concern.

1282 GREAT BRITAIN. The Foreign Office announced its willingness to negotiate directly with the Uruguayan insurrectionists for the release of Ambassador Jackson.

1283 10 January--GREAT BRITAIN. THE OBSERVER attributed the version that the government would exert pressure to obtain the release of Ambassador Jackson to diplomatic sources.

1284 11 January--GREAT BRITAIN. The Foreign Office stated that a British security expert would travel to Montevideo in connection with the kidnapping of Ambassador Jackson.

1285 13 January--MEXICO. Jorge Timosi--Manuel Cabier, "Upon Arrival in Chile in Freedom, Debray Talks to SIEMPRE" (Al Llegar a Chile en Libertad, Debray Habla para SIEMPRE," Mexico, SIEMPRE.

1286 18 January--UNITED STATES. "Uruguay: Machine Gun in the Lettuce," New York, TIME.

1287 MEXICO. "A Pawn in the Game of Chess: Uruguayan Panorama" ("Un Peon del Juego de Ajedrez: Panorama Uruguaya"), Reproduced from THE ECONOMIST, of London, 16 January 1971.

1288 25 January--MEXICO. Ernesto Mayans, "The Leninist Chess of the Tupamaros" ("El Ajedrez Leninista de los Tupamaros"), Mexico, INFORMACION LATINOAMERICANA.

1289 3 February--CUBA. Pedro Pablo Rodriguez, "The Concept of National Liberation in Jose Marti" ("La Idea de Liberacion Nacional en Jose Marti"), Havana, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO.

1289[1] 10 February--MEXICO. Francisco Posada, "The Revolutionary Movement of the Common People" ("El Movimiento Revolucionario de los Comuneros"), Mexico, SIGLO XXI.

1290 March--UNITED STATES. Clark L. Stevens, "There Are No Blueprints," New York, THE REALISTS, The Last Supplement to the WHOLE EARTH CATALOGUE.

1291 FRANCE. Claude Kiejman, "The Tupamaros Rely On the Dissatisfaction of Public Opinion" ("Les Tupamaros s'Appuient sur le Mecontentement de l'Opinion"), Paris, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE.

1292 FRANCE. "Military Violence in Brazil" ("La Violence Militaire au Bresil"), Paris, PAU DE ARORA; MASPERO.

1293 1971--FRANCE. Finardo Pumaruma--Letts, "Peru: Socialist Revolution or Caricature of Revolution?" ("Perou: Revolution Socialiste ou Caricature de Revolution?"), Paris, MASPERO.

1294 4 March--MEXICO. Pancho Zapata, "Tupamaros, University, Church" ("Tupamaros, Universidad, Iglesia"), Mexico, RUMBO.

1294[1] 4 March--Puerto Rico. Student riots caused the closing of the University of Puerto Rico.

1294[2] 18 March--ARGENTINA. Labor union and student acts of violence paralyzed normal activity in Cordoba.

1295 28 March--COLOMBIA. Jaime Arenus, leader of the ELN, died in Bogota.

1296 29 March--FRANCE. Alain Labrousse, "Elections or Revolution?" ("Elections ou Revolution?"), Paris, AFRICASIA.

1297 13 April--CHILE. Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, "The Mathematical Kidnapping of the Tupamaros" ("Matematico Secuestro de los Tupamaros"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1298 CHILE. Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, "Political Patronage Burns or the Emptiness of Power" ("Las Papas Queman o el Vacio del Poder"), Santiago, PUNTO FINAL.

1299 16 April--CHILE. "Statement of the 80." A group of 80 priests who live with the working class and who are led by Gonzalo Arroyo, Alfonso Baeza, Martin Garate, Esteban Gumucio, Juan Martin, Santiago Thipssen, Sergio Torres, Ignacio Pujadas, and Pierre Dubois, analyze "the present progress that Chile is experiencing at the beginning of the establishment of socialism; they affirm "the hope that the masses feel at the coming to power of the popular government and its determined action in favor of the establishment of socialism," feeling "committed to this process that is underway, to the success of which they wish to contribute, since, as Christians we do not see any incompatability between Christianity and socialism. Just the opposite. As the cardinal of Santiago said last November, "there are more values in socialism than in capitalism" and therefore "it is necessary to destroy the prejudices and the distrust that exist between Christians and Marxists," giving their support to "the measures that lead to the social appropriation of the means of production, such as nationalization of mineral resources, socialization of banks and industrial monopolies, acceleration and development of agrarian reform, etc."

1300 18 April--PUERTO RICO. Guillermo Cabrera, "Isn't a 38 All the Same to You?" ("No le es igual un 38?"). Interview of a journalist who spoke with Tupamaros. San Juan de Puerto Rico, CLARIDAD.

1301 20 April--THE VATICAN. World Justice. The Vatican Plan For the Third Sinod. The plan points out that "world justice" is the "main" problem of the present world society, the most serious and urgent, to which young people in particular are sensitive, because "they deeply feel the burden of the injustices that obstruct a balance in society;" it describes"the actual

status of justice in the world;" considers "justice in the light of the gospel," examines "some of the church's teachings," traces the "lines of action" (spreading the Christian doctrine, daily application, new efforts with respect to education, promotion of solidarity actions), and extends "a word of hope." "The situation requires a new man, with strength equal to the enormous task of reform: changes in the style of living, in the way of solving problems, perspectives in which problems must be placed—a man, that is, who is prepared to widen his horizon and to embrace man—all of mankind."

1301[1] 21 April—TRINIDAD—TOBAGO. Outbreaks of black power occurred in Trinidad.

1302 1971—22 April—CHILE. Statement of the Episcopal Conference: "With respect to the statement of a group of priests, published and discussed recently...it is our duty to explain. A priest, just as any other citizen, may have a political choice; but he must not, under any circumstance, give this choice a moral endorsement of a clerical nature. Therefore, following the traditional line of the Chilean church, embodied in Cardinal Caro and Monsignor Manuel Larrain, we have emphasied, and again emphasize, to our priests that they abstain from taking partisan political positions publicly. The opposite would mean returning to a clericalism that has been surmounted and that no one wants to see again:" besides, the situation might influence "our evaluation of the priests to whom we refer, and our esteem for the apostolic work which they are performing, along with many others, in the midst of the working class," etc.

1303 24 April—CHILE. The daily, EL MERCURIO, of Santiago, published the letter of the priest, Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., promoter, organizer, and president of the "First Meeting of Christians For Socialism" in which he expressed his satisfaction at the convocation of the above mentioned meeting, summoned by the so-called "Group of the 80."

1304 May—CUBA. "Uruguay: National Liberation Movement. Plan of the Revolutionary Government of the MLN" ("Uruguay: Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional. Programa de Gobierno Revolucionario del MLN"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.

1305 CUBA. "Uruguay: Armed Struggle or Electoral Process?" ("Uruguay: Lucha Armada o Salida Electoral?"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.

1306 SPAIN. Mario Vargas Llosa resigned from the Executive Committee of the Cuban magazine, CASA DE LAS AMERICA, of which he had been a member since 1965, accusing Fidel Castro's government of being "Stalinist," right after the self-criticism of the Cuban

poet, Herberto Padilla, at the time of his one month's imprisonment in Havana.

1306[1] 5 May--UNITED STATES. Demonstrations against the war paralyzed the city of Washington.

1307 13 May--HUNGARY. The deliberations of the CMP began in Budapest. The following attended as delegates from Uruguay: Oscar Maggiolo, rector of the university, and Walter A. Perez and Carlos Garcia Dobal, secretaries of the Uruguayan Peace Movement.

1308 14 May--THE VATICAN. Apostolic letter from Pope Paul VI to Cardinal Roy, on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the publication of the Rerum Novarum Encyclical.[52]

1309 31 May--MEXICO. Maruja Echegoyen, "In Cell 10" ("En la Celda 10"), "If I could return to 8 January." Mexico, EL HERALDA DE MEXICO.[53]

1310 June--ARGENTINA. Mario Ferzetti, "The Voice of the Valiant" ("La Voz de los Valientes") (Dissension in Russia), Buenos Aires, INTERCONTINENTAL.

1310[1] June--ARGENTINA. Jean Francois Ravel, "Neither Marx, Nor Jesus" ("Ni Marx, Ni Jesus"), Buenos Aires, EMELLE.

1311 6 June--CUBA. Sonia Pacheco Agraz, "Like a Fish in Water" ("Como el Pez en el Agua"), Havana, GRANMA, Weekly Summary.

1311[1] 22 June--ARGENTINA. Dario Canton, "The Policy of the Argentine Military; 1900-1971" ("La Politica de los Militares Argentinos; 1900-1971), Buenos Aires, QUETZAL.

1312 31 July--MEXICO. "Tupamaros, Documentary Anthology" ("Tupamaros, Antologia Documental"), Cuernavaca, Mexico, CIDOC, CUADERNO No 60, Ernesto Mayans, editor.

1313 1971--29 August--UNITED STATES. Eudacio Ravines, "At Last Uruguay Is Countering Subversion" ("Por Fin el Uruguay Cierra la Puerta al Negocio Subversivo"), Miami, DIARIO DE LAS AMERICAS.

1313[1] September--ARGENTINA. Marta Harnecker "Concepts of Historical Materialism" ("Los Conceptos del Materialismo Historio"), Buenos Aires, EDITORES S.A.

1314 September--CUBA. "AALAPSO" ("OSPAAAL"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL.

1315 September--FRANCE. Manuel S. Castillo, "Christian Democracy and Revolution in Chile" ("La Democracia Cristiana y la Revolucion en Chile"), Paris, ESTE & OESTE, No 151.

1316 September--FRANCE. Lucien Laurat, "Western Economy As Seen By Moscow" ("La Economia Occidental Vista por Moscu"), Paris, ESTE & OESTE, No 151.

1317 September--FRANCE. "Peking and Latin America: A New Policy" ("Pekin y America Latina: Una Nueva Politica"), Paris, ESTE & OESTE, No 151.

1318 September--FRANCE. "The Role of Latin America in Moscow's World Strategy" ("El Papel de America Latina en la Estrategia Mundial de Moscu"), Paris, ESTE & OESTE, No 151.

1318[1] 17 September--BRAZIL. Decline of the urban guerrilla in the country was reported.

1319 October--ARGENTINA. "The Solzhenitsyn Case," ("El Caso Solzhenitsyn"), Prologue and translation from the Russian by Irina Astrau, Buenos Aires, INTERCONTINENTAL.

1320 October--MEXICO. Omar Costa, "The Tupamaros", Mexico, ANCHO MUNDO.

1320[1] 31 October--Peru. H. Cornejo Chavez "Right and Revolution" ("Derecha y Revolucion"), Lima, Official daily, EL PERUANO.

1321 November--CUBA. "AALAPSO", Havana, TRICONTINENTAL 66, UNIDAD DEL INSTITUTO DEL LIBRO.

1322 December--SPAIN. Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena, "My Dead Friends" ("Mis Amigos Muertos"), Barcelona, PLANETA.

1323 December--UNITED STATES. Zhores A. Medvedev--Roy A. Medvedev, "A Question of Madness." Translated from the Russian by Ellen de Kadt. (The story of an extraordinary episode of "repression-by-psychiatry" in Russia today), Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

1323[1] December--ARGENTINA. Luis Benvenuto--Luis Macador--Nicolas Reig--Jose Enrique Santias--Carlos Real de Azua--Angel Rama--Carlos Martinez Moreno, "Uruguay Today" ("Uruguay Hoy"), Buenos Aires, EDITORA ARGENTINA.

1324 5 December--GDR. The CMP met in Berlin. Walter A. Perez, of the Uruguayan Peace Movement, was a Uruguayan delegate.

1325 25 December--UNITED STATES. Eudocio Ravines, "The System of Hybrid Economy Will Drag Uruguay Down to Disaster" ("El Regimen de Economia Hibrida Arrastrara al Uruguay al Desastre"), Miami, DIARIO DE LAS AMERICAS.

1325[1] 1972--ARGENTINA. "The Bolsheviks and the October Revolution" ("Los Bolcheviques y la Revolucion de Octubre"), Buenos Aires, CUADERNOS DE PASADO Y PRESENTE.

1326 CUBA. "Women in the Cuban Revolution" ("La Mujer en la Revolucion Cubana"), Havana, EDIT. LA HAVANA.

1327 CUBA. Marcio Moreira Alves, "Um Grao de Mostarda," Havana, EDIT. LA HAVANA.

1328 CHILE. "The Tupamaros In Action" ("Los Tupamaros en Accion"), Santiago de Chile, PLA.

1329 SPAIN. Juan Vallet de Goytisolo, "Something On Topics of the Day" ("Algo Sobre Temas de Hoy"), Madrid, SPEIRO.

1330 UNITED STATES. Charles D. Corbet, "Latin America, The Army and the Politicians," MIAMI UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1330[1] FRANCE. Georges Sorel, "Reflexions on Violence" (Reflexions sur la Violence"), Preface by Claud Polin, Paris, MARCEL RIVIERE & CIE.[54]

1331 January--ARGENTINA. Aurelio Sallairai, "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion and World Subversion" ("Los Protocolos de los Sabios de Sion y la Subversion Mundial"), Buenos Aires.

1332 1972--6 February--FRANCE. "Behind the Legend of the Tupamaros" ("Detras de la Leyenda de los Tupamaros"), Paris, L'EXPRESS.[55]

1333 March--FRANCE. Maria Esther Gilio, "The Tupamara Guerrilla" ("La Guerrilla Tupamara"), Translated from the Spanish by Mathilde et Albert Bensoussan, Paris, CALMANN-LEVY.

1334 3 March--CUBA. "Message to the Christians of Latin America," addressed by representatives of the clerical group, "the 80," to Latin American people, exhorting them "to revolutionary violence, for the purpose of promoting a radical change in the political and social system of the continent," etc.

1334[1] 14 March--ITALY. Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, proprietor and manager of a large Italian publishing concern, was found dead in the vicinity of Milan.

1335 23 April--CHILE. The work of the congress of "Christians for Socialism" was begun in Santiago. The "Concluding Document" of this congress stated:... We have adopted the well known words of Che Guevara, which have been coming to mind these past days, for our own: "Christians must positively choose revolution, especially in our continent where Christian faith is so important among the masses; but Christians cannot expect to impose their own dogmas on the revolutionary struggle, nor proselytize in favor of their church. They must come without trying to evangelize Marxists and without the cowardice of hiding their faith in order to join them. The day that Christians have the courage to make a total revolutionary commitment the Latin American revolution will be invincible; because, up to now, Christians have allowed their doctrine to be a reactionary instrument."

1336 25 April--CUBA. At a meeting of the Confederation of Cuban Workers in the amphitheater in Havana, Jesus Montane, minister of communications and member of the Central Committee of the Cuban PC, and Hector Ramos Latour, secretary general of the Confederation of Workers and also member of the above mentioned committee, referred to the blows recently dealt by the Uruguayan government to the MLN-T and to the aid that Cuba tried to give it through Chile, Peru, and Argentina.

1336[1] 15 May--UNITED STATES. The governor of Alabama was wounded during an assassination attempt.

1337 6 June--ITALY. Luigi Sommaruga, "Feltrinelli Was Financing German Tupamaros" ("Feltrinelli Finanziava Tupamaros Tedeschi"), The subversive network included South America, Sardinia, Paris, and Berlin. Rome, IL MESSAGERO.[56]

1338 10 June--VENEZUELA. The Venezuelan police considered the possibility of Cuban participation in the kidnapping of the rich industrialist, Carlos Dominguez, which occurred this past Thrusday. The kidnappers demanded a ransom of $1,135,000.

1339 15 June--CHILE. "Tupamaros in Chile" ("Tupamaros en Chile"). "The communists suddenly became worried over the trouble that the making of the film, "State of Siege," in Chile could cause within the Uruguayan government, since the Tupamaros and also Dan Mitrione would be praised in it; which resulted in their militants not taking part in the film," etc.

1340 23 June--BRAZIL. The meetings of the Department of Social Action of the CELAM began in Rio de Janeiro. In concluding its work, CELAM issued a document relative to the "critical--and to a certain extent decisive--moment in which the church in Latin America is living," and in which it gave a detailed account of how both capitalism and Marxism, each on its own, were trying to use the church. It summarized the plans of the Congress of "Christians for Socialism" that took place in Santiago de Chile this past April; and it made a series of recommendations and suggestions to counter Marxist infiltration of the church in Latin America and "to hasten the process of social, Christian, and human change, which each day gives evidence of being increasingly urgent and no longer postponable, and which stems from the very heart of the gospel itself," etc.

1341 1972--24 June--SPAIN. Eugenio Montes, Seizure of an international band of counterfeiters of dollars and credit documents. The two main persons who were arrested were a Spaniard and an Argentine. Madrid, ABC. (This is a reference to the activity of the Italian police in Rome. The article stated: "...It is surmised that some of the forged passports were intended for persons involved in clamorous political matters. There are some indications that South American Tupamaros were clients of these counterfeiters:, etc.

1341[1] July--ARGENTINA. Leon Trotsky, "History of the Russian Revolution" ("Historia de la Revolucion Rusa"), Buenos Aires, GALERNA.

1342 July--FRG. Robert F. Lamberg, "Die Gerrilla in Lateinamerika, Theorie und Praxis eines Revolutionaren Modells," Munich, DEUTSCHER TASCHENBUCH VERLAG, GmbH & Co. KG.

1342[1] July--MEXICO. J. Gregory Oswald--Anthony J. Strover, "The Soviet Union and Latin America" ("La Union Sovietica y la America Latina"), Buenos Aires, LETRAS S.A.

1342[2] 7 July--ARGENTINA. Jorge Nelson Gualco, "Southern Cone, Choice of a Destiny" ("Cono Sur, Eleccion de un Destino"), Buenos Aires, COMPANIA GRAL. FABRIL EDITORA.

1343 8 July--SPAIN. "The Days of Christian Faith and Social Change in Latin America," convened by the Missionary Institute of Biarritz, of the Mercedarian Missionaries, began its work in the San Jose College and Religious Home of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, in the Escorial. The purpose was to incorporate

Spanish priests and nuns who were going to America into the subversive movement. More than 350 delegates and the staff of the Latin American Marxist clerical revolution attended these meetings. Jose Luis Segundo, a Jesuit, and Hector Borrat, director of the magazine, VISPERA, represented Uruguay. The "theology of liberation" was one of the main themes, according to which hristians are morally obliged to join, without specific contributions, the continental Marxist revolution, a revolutionary commitment that leads to an intensification of faith and frees one from the moral and emotional barriers that prevent one from participating in the class struggle and revolutionary violence, etc.

1344 8 July--GUATEMALA. " The Tupamaros." This discusses the action of the FFCC against sedition in Uruguay and states: "For the first time in a long time the Tupamaro guerrilla had to surrender one of its favorite weapons to the enemy: initiative," etc. IMPACTO.

1345 10 July--VENEZUELA. Frank Martin, "The Tupamaro Failure" ("El Fracaso Tupamaro"), Caracas, EL UNIVERSAL. This is the last in a series of three communications, published on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, in which it is maintained that "the theory of the focal point did not at any time succeed in spreading its revolutionary fire beyond the bounds of its own clandestine organization," etc.

1346 12 July--RPCH. "Uruguay's Political and Economic Crisis and the People's Struggle" ("Crisis Politico y Economico de Uruguay y Lucha del Pueblo", Peking, PEKIN INFORMA, No 27.

1347 12 July--PORTO RICO. Jorge Estellano R., "Uruguay: The Difficult Pacification. Remoteness of The Great National Agreement and Nearness of the Escalation of the Violence of the Tupamaros" ("Uruguay: La Dificil Pacificacion. Lejania del Gran Acuerdo National y Proximidad de la Escalada de Violencia de los Tupamaros"), San Juan, LA HORA. Referring to insurrection, this article states: "The state of war has been a harsh blow for the MLN. Day after day, their hiding places that are located now in the interior are discovered and hundreds of their members arrested. This situation could signify a change in attitude of ideologists with respect to a prospect of peace, which has been mentioned, even in Parliament, etc.

1348 18 July--CHILE. A Tupamaro left Chile to assassinate a politician in Uruguay. (The reference is to Samuel Blixen Garcia), EL MERCURIO.

1349 6 August--ARGENTINA. Juan Carlos Porta, "The Tupamaros Speak!" (" Los Tupamaros Hablan!"), CLARIN. This published the terms of the interview held in Piriapolis "with important members of the MLN," in which they stated that "Uruguay 1972 is a coos" and that "the popular war is an event from which there is no turning: a confrontation to the death," etc.

1350 1972--7 August--CHILE. Three terrorists--two Chileans and one Uruguayan--became completely blind when a bomb that they were preparing exploded. The Chileans were Porfirio Diaz Arencibia, a student, and Marcos Arencibia, owner of the house in which the bomb was produced. The Uruguayan was Jose Ernesto Surra Spadea. The following lost one eye: Casdida Leda Rodriguez Catalogne, also an Uruguayan, and Luis Aldunate Mozo, a Chilean university student. Two other Chilean students suffered wounds and multiple injuries. The Uruguayans were members of the MLN. They arrived in the country in 1970. They were preparing the hand made explosives in the vicinity of the "Ventanas" copper refinery which they were planning to attack, etc.

1351 14 August--FRANCE. Philipe Labreveus, Pursued by the Uruguayan forces of repression, the Tupamaros for several months suffered a series of serious reverses, Paris, LE MONDE.

1352 17 August--UNITED STATES. The NEW YORK TIMES commented on a Worldwide Opium Study," prepared by a work group, the Cabinet Committee For International Control of Narcotics," which stated that organized offenders, including the Mafia and French-Corsican groups, control the bulk of the great amount of illicit traffic that goes through Latin America, destined for the North American market. The 111-page study is a complete analysis of the subject and states that a minimum of 200 tons of illegal opium were available on the international market in 1971 and that, in addition, "there doubtless were considerable stocks of crude and refined opium, basic morphine, and heroin in the hands of cultivators who process it or of traffickers." It added that "It is believed that French heroin enters South America, in particular through Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and a great part of the traffic to the United States goes through Panama, which for some time has been serving as a convenient place for replenishment and transshipment," etc.

1352[1] 19 September--MEXICO. F. F. Darling, "Social Conscience and Background" ("Consciencia y Medio Ambiente"), Mexico, PAX.

1352[2] 5 September--RFA. A Black September group interrupted the XX Olympic Games, attacking the Israeli team and holding some of its members as hostages.

1353 October--CUBA. Diogenes Arruda Camara, "Action. Records for History" ("De Pie. Actas para la Historia"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 32.

1354 October--CUBA. "The Southern Beast" ("La Bestia del Sur"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 32.

1355 CUBA. Marcio Moreira Alves, "Neither Order, Nor Progress" ("Ni Orden ni Progreso"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, No 32.

1356 CUBA. "Ticontinental Under Way: The Law of Torment" (Tricontinental en Marcha: La Ley del Tormento"), It denounced supposed "tortures" inflicted on insurgents by the Uruguayan forces of repression. TRICONTINENTAL, No 32.

1356[1] 19 October--ARGENTINA. A concentration of rural workers, organized by the Union of Formosan Rural Women's Leagues, met in the city of Formosa, to express their opposition to the system of agrarian exploitation.

1356[2] November--ARGENTINA. Francisco C. Weffort and others, "Theory, Methodology, and Policy of the Development of Latin America" ("Teoria, Metodologia y Politica del Desarrollo de America Latina"), Buenos Aires, EDIC. FLASCO.

1356[3] Dcember--ARGENTINA. Theotenio Dos Santos, "Socialism or Fascism" ("Socialismo o Fascismo"), PERIFERIA S.R.L.

1357 November--CUBA. David Carrasco, "The North American Military Presence in Panama" ("La Presencia Militar Norteamericana en Panama", Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, Boletin No 80.

1357[1] CUBA. "Guerrillero Fronts. The Argentine Guerrillas Speak" ("Frentes Guerrilleros: Hablan los Guerrilleros Argentinos"), Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, Boletin No 80.

1358 CUBA. Eduardo Galeano. "A Gigantic Road Appears" ("Nace Una Carretera Gigante", Havana, TRICONTINENTAL, Boletin No 80.

1358[1] 5 December--GDR. The CMP met in Berlin. Walter A. Perez, of the Uruguayan Peace Movement, attended as a delegate from Uruguay.

1359 ARGENTINA. Bebe Balve--Roberto Jacoby--Miguel Mrumis--and others, "Street Fighting, Class Struggle" ("Lucha de Calles,

Lucha de Clases"), Buenos Aires, LA ROSA BLINDADA.

1359[1] ARGENTINA. F. H. Cardozo--E. Faleto, "Dependence and Development in Latin America" (Dependencia y Desarrollo en America Latina"), Buenos Aires, SIGLO XXI.

1360 1973--ARGENTINA. Julio Godio, "The Fall of Peron" ("La Caida de Peron"), Buenos Aires, GRANICA.

1360[1] 1973--ARGENTINA. Leon Trotsky, "School For Revolutionary Strategy" ("Una Escuela de Estrategia Revolucionaria"), Buenos Aires, EDIC. DEL SIGLO.

1361 CUBA. Antonio Caso, "The Subversives" ("Los Subversivos"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

1316[1] SPAIN. Jose A. Mareno, "The People in Arms. Revolution in Santo Domingo" ("El Pueblo en Armas. Revolucion en Santo Domingo"), Madrid, TECNOS.

1362 UNITED STATES. "Now They Talk of Tupamaros Ideals" ("Ahora Hablan de los Ideales Tupamaros"), Miami, DIARIO DE LAS AMERICAS.[57]

1363 GREAT BRITAIN. Geoffrey Jackson, "People's Prison," London, FABER AND FABER.[58]

1364 GREAT BRITAIN. Rober Moss, "Marxist Experiment", London, DAVID AND CHARLES, NEWTON ABBOT.

1365 USSR. The World Peace Congress, organized by the CMP, met in Moscow. Ruben Yanez, professor at the University of Montevideo, attended as a delegate from Uruguay.

1365[1] 3 January--MEXICO. Bernard B. Fall, "On The Revolution. Writings of Ho Chi Minh" ("Sobre la Revolucion. Escritos de Hochi-Minh"), Mexico, EDITORES S.A.

1365[2] 12 January--ARGENTINA. Charles W. Anderson--Fred R. von der Mehden--Crawford Young, "Problems of Political Development" ("Problemas del Desarrollo Politico"), Buenos Aires, LIBERA.

1365[3] February--ARGENTINA. "Elections and Political Parties in Argentina. History, Interpretation, and Balance Sheet. 1910-1966" ("Elecciones y Partidos Politicos en la Argentina.

Historia, Interpretacion y Balance. 1910-1966", Buenos Aires, EDITORES S.A.

1365[4] March--ARGENTINA. Vo Nguyen Giap, "Reports on Vienam" ("Relatos de Vietnam"), Buenos Aires, ABRASEAS.

1365[5] 12 March--MEXICO. James David Barder, "The Political Citizen" (El Ciudadano Politico"), Mexico, EDITORES ASOCIADOS.

1365[6] 18 March--MEXICO. Brian Crozier and others "We Will Bury Them" ("Los Enterraremos"), Mexico, EDITORES ASOCIADOS.

1365[7] 24 March--ARGENTINA. Vo Nguyen Giap, "Revolutionary Armed Forces and People's Army" ("Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias y Ejercito Popular").

1366 21 May--ARGENTINA. "Uruguay: The Barrages of the Armed Forces" ("Uruguay: Las Barreras de las FFAA"), Buenos Aires, CLARIN, (CLARIN, FASANO, AND THE BOOK BY AMODIO).

1367 24 May--ARGENTINA. "Uruguay: The Dead Calm Before the Violent Jolt" (Uruguay: La Calma Chica antes del Sacudon"), Buenos Aires, PANORAMA.[59]

1368 27 May--ARGENTINA. The law concerning amnesty for those who were prosecuted and imprisoned for political, social, labor union, and/or student reasons was published, etc.

1368[1] June--ARGENTINA. Marta Harnecker, "Basic Concepts of Historical Materialism," (Los Conceptos Elementales del Materialismo Historico"), Buenos Aires, SIGLO XXI.

1368[2] June--ARGENTINA. Juan D. Peron, "The Peoples' Hour" ("La Hora de los Pueblos"), Buenos Aires, EDICIONES ARGENTINAS.

1368[3] June--ARGENTINA. Leon Trotsky, "Military Article" ("Escritos Militares"), Buenos Aires, AMAICHA.

1368[3a] 1973--June--CUBA. Filomena Grieco--Carlos Rovira, "Uruguay, Friday, 14 April 1972" ("Uruguay, Viernes 14 de abril de 1972"), Havana, CASA DE LAS AMERICAS.

1368[4] 19 June--ARGENTINA. Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, "The Plunder of Bolivia" ("El Saqueo de Bolivia"), Buenos Aires, CRISIS.

1368[5] 5 June--ARGENTINA. Eduardo Machicote, "Brazil", Buenos Aires, CIENCIA NUEVA.

1368[6] 15 June--ARGENTINA. Leon Trotsky, "The Spanish Revolution" ("La Revolucion Espanola"), Buenos Aires, YUNQUE.

1368[7] 25 June--ARGENTINA. Frank E. X. Davie "Theory of Human Community" ("Teoria de la Comunidad Humana"), Buenos Aires, TROQUEL.

1368[8] 25 June--ARGENTINA. Juan D. Peron, "Peron Doctrine" ("Doctrina Peronista"), Buenos Aires, MACACHA GUEMES.

1369 July--VENEZUELA. "The Subversive Influence of Drugs" ("La Influencia Subversiva de las Drogas"), Caracas, ESTE & OESTE, No 169.

1370 10 July--FRANCIA. Jose Baxter Denaro, Argentine terrorist,died in Paris as a result of a plane accident.

1370[1] 27 July--ARGENTINA. Hector J. Campara "The Peron Revolution" ("La Revolucion Peronista"), Buenos Aires, EDITORIAL UNIVERSITARIA.

1370[2] 30 July--ARGENTINA. Omar Torrijos, "The Panama Conflict" ("La Batalla de Panama"), Buenos Aires, EDITORIAL UNIVERSITARIA.

1371 August--CHILE. "Christian Faith and Political Implementation" ("Fe Cristiana y Actuacion Politica"), a document approved by the Chilean Episcopal Conference (CECH), in which the Catholic hierarchy of Chile condemns the "Christians for Socialism" movement and prohibits "priests and other religious personnel from belonging to this organization, and also from carrying out the type of activity--in any form whatsoever, institutional or personal, organized or spontaneous--that we have denounced in this document."[60]

1372 9 August--ARGENTINA. "Manifesto of the MLN to the People," ("Manifiesto del MLN al Pueblo"), Buenos Aires, MILITANCIA, No 9.[61]

1372[1] 13 August--ARGENTINA. Salvador Allende, "The Chilean Revolution" ("La Revolucion Chilena"), Buenos Aires, EDITORIAL UNIVERSITARIA.

1372[2] 16 August--ARGENTINA. Juan Velasco Alvarado, "The Peruvian Revolution" ("La Revolucion Peruana"), Buenos Aires, EDITORIAL UNIVERSITARIA.

1373 1973--September--ARGENTINA. Leaders of the MLN-T held a clandestine press conference with journalists of LE MONDE, of Paris and the daily, EL MUNDO, and the magazines, YA and MILITANCIA, of the above mentioned capital, in which they acknowledged having received severe military blows, having continued propaganda activities, and finding themselves in a period "of an accumulation of forces in which political activity and military actions cannot be separated from the class struggle." They made retrospective evaluations; considered that "the critical support to the FA was right;" that today in Uruguay "a fascist political system rules, in which the Armed Forces play a counterrevolutionary and mercenary role as servants of imperialism and reaction,"etc.

1374 IRAQ. The OIP met in Bagdad. Ruben Acasuso attended as a Uruguayan representative.

1375 9 September--ARGENTINA. The press stated that the guerrilleros might be financing their activities by dealing in drugs, and referred to the arrest of "Papa" Ricord, in the United States, to the deaths by spectacular shooting of Lucien Sarti, in Mexico, and of the Uruguayan, Mario Denis Fernandez (or "Condemine"), in Paris, and to the prosecution of Francois Chiape, indicating possible ties between seditious organizations and drug traffickers, etc.

1376 3 October--ARGENTINA. Joint statement of the ERP [Revolutionary People's Army] and the MLN-T, in which they postulated "ever more close and fraternal" relations between the two seditious organizations.

1377 8 October--ARGENTINA. The FAS [expansion unknown] paid homage to Che Guevara in Buenos Aires. The MLN-T sent a statement of adherence, recalling the insurgents who died on 8 October 1969 in the Panda action, etc.

1378 15 October--ARGENTINA. Nelson Wernek Sodre, "Brazil, X-ray of a model" ("Brasil, Radiografia de un Modelo"), Buenos Aires, ORBELUS.

1379 15 October--BULGARIA. The VIII Congress of the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions] convened in Varna. The following attended as Uruguayan delegates: Mario Acosta and Forcelino Martinez, of the CNT, and Jose Francisco Todelo, of the Metallurgical Union.

1380 16 October--CHILE. Carlos Oviedo Cavado, "Introduction" of the document, "Christian Faith and Political Implementation," its broad aspects having been approved by the Ordinary Plenary Assembly of the Chilean bishops this past 6-11 April, in Punta de Tralca, and elaborated in definitive form in August.

1381 19 October--ARGENTINA. J. Leo Cefkin, "Contemporary International" ("Internacional Contemporanea"), Buenos Aires, TROQUEL.

1382 21 October--ARGENTINA. Four members of the MLN-T (two of them fugitives from justice)--Luis Arturo Sienra Mata,[62] Lidia Elena Biere Diaz,[63] Mario Pagola Nicolini, and Mirta Susana Pedrozo Silva--hijacked a Boeing 737 from the federal Argentine Airlines, and arrived in the Bolivian city of Yacuiba with five hostages on board, where they demanded the necessary means to proceed to Cuba.

1383 25 October--USSR. A meeting of the World Peace Congress, organized by the CMP, was held in Moscow. The following attended as delegates from Uruguay: Julia Arevalo de Roche, of the FIDEL, Maria Amalia Passilivaro de Jovert, of the Women's Liberation Movement, Enrique Pastorino, of the PCU and the FSU, Jose Francisco Toledo, of the Metallurgical Union, Vivian Trias, of the PS and former deputy, Arturo Balinas, armed forces retired general, and Jorgelina Martinez Vecchio, of the Textile Workers' Congress.

1384 November--ARGENTINA. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, "Class Information" ("La Informacion de Clase", Buenos Aires, SIGLO XXI.

1385 November--VENEZUELA. Brian Crozier, "Cuba, Satellite of the Soviet Union" ("Cuba, Satelite de la Union Sovietica"), Caracas, ESTE & OESTE, No 171.

1386 5 November--MEXICO. Saul B. Cohen, "Geography and Background of America" ("Geografia y Medio Ambiente de America'), Mexico, EDITORES ASOCIADOS S.A.

1387 20 November--ARGENTINA. "Tupamaros, Record of Events/2, Three Tupamaros Escapes. Operations Estrella, Abuso, and Gallo" ("Actas Tupamaros/2, Tres Evasiones de Tupamaros. Operaciones Estrella, Abuso, Gallo"), Buenos Aires, DISTRIBUIDORA BAIRES S.R.1

1388 December--ARGENTINA. "The Tupamaro, Organ of the MLN-T" ("El Tupamaro, organo del MLN-T"), Year 1, Ng 1.[64]

1389 1 December--ARGENTINA. Uruguayan university deans,fugitives from justice in Buenos Aires, held a press conference, in which they discredited their country.

1390 15 December--ARGENTINA. Miguel Bakunin, "Revolutionary Tactics" ("Tacticas Revolucionarias"), Buenos Aires, PROYECCION.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Message from Guevara to the Tricontinental, cit.

2. Cultural Congress of Havana, Chapter II, Nos 77 and 78.

3. Richard M. Nixon, "Six Crises," New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962.

[Footnotes 4-22 were indicated by asterisks and were given on the same page on which they appeared]

23. The report is an exhaustive, historical record of the new instrument of communist intervention and aggression instituted by the Tricontinental on the initiative of the Soviet Union, Red China, Cuba, and other communist and some noncommunist governments that are cooperating with this movement. The report consists of an introduction and five chapters, as follows: 1) Background and preparations of the Tricontinental; 2) The Tricontinental Conference; 3) Later events (proclamations, declarations, and subversive events resulting from the Tricontinental; 4) Conclusions; and 5) Recommendations. The anticipated significance of this report, the conclusions of which have been fully confirmed with the passing of time, is still completely valid now.

24 It reproduces the final documents approved at the meeting held in Buga on 12 February of this year.

25. The flagrant contradictions between communist theory and reality, seen from communist files, themselves, were explained in detail by Imre Nagy, who presided over the Hungarian government as prime minister when the revolution started on 23 October 1956. ("Communist Contradictions"--"Contradicciones del Comunismo"; Buenos Aires, EDITORIA LOSADA, 1958; translation by C. Viola Soto). As Frederick A. Praeger points out in the annotation of the North American edition, the tragic irony of this book resides in the fact that Nagy's "liberation" program with respect to the Soviet plan, known as the "new course," even

though presented in communist language and backed by communist texts, "is clearly in contradiction to all communist reality, but Nagy--executed on 17 June 1958 by the puppet government of Hungary--did not realize this." In his study, Nagy discusses agriculture, his specialty, industrialization, foreign policy, and communist police terrorism.

26. Printed in Montevideo by the COMUNIDAD DEL SUR GRAPHICS SHOPS.

27. A few days later the following were also arrested: Enrique Granados, Pedro Caver Parra, and Jorge Moreno. Jorge Moreno succeeded in escaping, a severe blow to the urban organization of the movement. This occurred in San Vicente, in Barrancabermeja, and in Bogota, where Medardo Correa, Francisco Munoz, Hernando Garcia, Sergio Parra, and Pairo Varquez Castano were apprehended.

28. This very complete and detailed declaration eloquently documents the role carried out by Cuba with respect to Latin American subversion. In one of the passages of his long testimony, Marcano said: "Each Latin American country--Mexico, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, etc.--has a front, with a permanent delegate who interviews all those who, through communist and allied parties, go to Cuba. No one enters Cuba unless he is vouched for."

29. Hugo Gambini, in "Che Guevara," (Buenos Aires, PAIDOS), stated that he allegedly arrived in Montevideo by plane, proceeding from Brazil, and that here "he changed his identity to that of Adolfo Mena."

30. Rosales Arguello was a professor at the Universidad Autonoma de Leon.

31. Montes de Oca had the following in his possession: Uruguayan passports Nos 12918, in the name of Raul Borges, and 12394, in the name of Antonio Garrido.

32. In this book, Forman, founder of the SNCC [expansion unknown] and minister of foreign affairs of the "Black Panthers," explains the responsibility of the black movement in the United States and their ties abroad.

33. This Uruguayan Catholic priest maintains here that "the people cannot obtain power through the electoral procedure." "I do not say that this is always true everywhere, but I do say that here and now there is no means other than armed struggle." "The Latin American proletariat knows very well that it now has no social power, no political power, except in Cuba. Here, in our country, the dominant minority has a thousand legal ways of tricking workers and, if necessary, will do it illegally...Power must be wrested from that dominant minority and given to the people. That is revolution. Revolution is power in the hands of the people. It is a people with weapons. It is popular militias," etc.

34. In this article, the above mentioned member of the MLN-T traces the history of the organization, of the emergence of the UTAA, the conduit workers' marches, the deterioration of the government, the theory and practice of the movement, its strategy, etc.

35. This article was reproduced in TRICONTINENTAL this past 2 January.

36. Published two months later in a separate edition, in Montevideo, by INTERDOC.

37. See note No 1093.

38. This refers to the assault perpetrated against the Mailhos Company.

39. This comments on the assassination of Inspector Hector [middle name illegible] Charquero.

40. The contents of the interview with lawyers Alejandro Artucio, Maria Esther Gilio, and Carlos Martinez Moreno were published.

41. This refers to a long account in the Cuban news agency, PRENSA LATINA, which reproduced and commented on: 1) the letter that the MLN-T "distributed to the policemen who refused to accept orders from superiors; it clarified the reason for granting the truce to the forces of repression"; and 2) the letter "sent to Doctor Carrace Hernandez, the lawyer who defended the interests of the insubordinate policemen in his petition to the government, etc.

42. This reproduces the description made by the MLN-T, itself, of the attack on the navy, perpetrated this past 29 May, with details on the weapons and other equipment stolen. The article is based on the account sent from Montevideo by the Cuban agency, PRENSA LATINA, etc.

43. GRANMA published the communique of the MLN-T of 17 September 1970 concerning the exchange conditions of one of the two foreign kidnapped diplomats.

44. Wife of Mario Alves de Souza Vieira, journalist and member of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, whose body was not delivered to her by the Brazilian authorities.

45. See the above mentioned date in Chapter XIV, 2, Chronology.

46 Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, under the pseudonym of Leopoldo Madruga, published in this article a long "interview" with "Urbano—Marcos Mauricio Rosencoff. The article in question was actually by Rosencoff, who appeared as the interviewee. Showing off, he described himself as "...this calm man...young, but unusually mature...who,

after the capture of Sendic and other leaders...along with other comrades rose to the highest level of the MLN directorate. He then interjected how "intelligently" the organization was being conducted. He explained its strategic line in the matter of kidnappings and the dissidence within the government between the "flexible" and the "firm" with respect to exchange, the position of some political sectors which "are trying somehow to bring the country to a certain stabilization on the basis of negotiation with the MLN," the "negotiations" of the then Minister of Education and Culture, Carlos Fleitas, with "our captured leaders," and who"obviously could not act without the consent of the government," etc.

47. Graphic description of the horrors of the communist prisons of Kolodeje and Ruzyn at the time of the so-called "conspiracy against the Czechoslovak State," in 1951, recalls the 1936-1939 Moscow criminal trials under Stalin. The author, who was Czechoslovak vice minister of Foreign Relations, said, with a certain amount of ingenuity when referring to the tortures of the communist security services: "I had always thought that those methods should be severe in order to be effective, but also more humane than those in the prisons of the bourgeoisie, and in accordance with socialist legality. I am outraged at the reality that I am encountering. Brutality. Bestiality. Inhumanity. But I still do not know what awaits me... I am far from believing, at this time, that the security police can make anyone confess anything, about himself or others..." With no less ingenuity London dedicated this pathetic document "to all those who are continuing the struggle to restore a humane aspect to socialism..." (Pp 17, 25.)

48. Pseudonym.

49. See this date in Chapter XIV, 2, Chronology.

50. The document considers the following points: "Christians and History," "The Present Challenge," "Christians and Socialism," "The Criteria for Choice," "The Common Task: Struggle for Christian Values."

51. These "reflexions" consider some "particularly positive, ambiguous, or controversial aspects," of the above mentioned work document, through the following points: "Inadequate Analysis of the Historical Progress of Chile," "Incorrect Analysis of Socialism and Marxism," "The Image of the Church," "The Option of the Church," and "The Reguirements of the Gospel."

52 The letter of the Sovereign Pontiff makes a universal appeal for greater justice. It considers "new social problems," "basic aspirations and ideological currents" (among them, the "historical development of marxism," with respect to which it warns that "it would be illusory and dangerous to accept the elements of marxist analysis

without knowing their relationships with its ideology and to participate in the class struggle and its marxist interpretation without realizing the type of totalitarian and violent society to which this process leads") and "christians in the face of these new problems." And it ends with a "call to action," for which christian organizations, in their various forms, have a collective responsibility. "Without replacing civil institutions, they must express, in their own way and through their own individuality, the specific requirements of christian faith for a just, and consequently necessary, transformation of society."

53. This article discusses the interview of Ambassador Jackson in the above mentioned cell of the "people's prison." Its title refers to the persistent question of Miss Echegoyen concerning whether the victim hadn't really wanted to be imprisoned, or hadn't wanted something out of the ordinary to occur, to which the interviewee replied:"...No; I would have been very happy to continue living as before...It I could turn the clock back to 8 January and continue my route to the office, I would do so very willing, thank you, madam..." (Geoffrey Jackson, "People's Prison" op cit., p 215).

54. The first edition of this classic on violence--whose author, Jules Guesde, Mussolini and Lenin said was a "monstrous intriguer"--came out in Paris in 1908.

55. Advance discussion of several passages of the book by Maria Esther Gilio, "La Guerrilla Tupamara," "which is to be published soon by the CALMANN-LEVY publishing house.

56 This article maintains that the Italian insurrectionist, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, also German insurrectionist Andrea Baader, Guevara, and Debray "were the four cardinal points of an "international guerrilla" that the European and South American police destroyed after three years of persecutions and shooting in the setting of the Bolivian jungles and the great European metropolises.

57. This refers to the statements of the Minister of Interior, made yesterday in the Permanent Legislative Committee, and says:"For the first time the government expressed a different viewpoint with respect to Tupamaros extremists, judging that they had an ideal or a reason for their rebellious action." It adds that, during an interruption, Deputy Heladio Fernandez Menendez said in contradiction that he saw in the minister "an opposition leader;" Hugo Batalia, deputy of the FA [Broad Front], "said he looked with other eyes on what the minister said and that he at least deserves critical support. He added that, for the first time, the Executive has termed the Tupamaro a man--right or wrong--and not a 'Mafioso' or a criminal,"etc.

58. Appendices 1 and 2 contain interviews held by Leopoldo Madruga and Maruja Echegoyen with Geoffrey Jackson during his imprisonment. Maruja Echegoyen lives in England and personally knew Jackson through the Uruguayan Embassy in London, according to the latter's explanation.

59. The remark is based on an interview by Juan Manuel Francia, an Argentine journalist, with Federico Fasano Mertens, during which many references were made to a book by Hector Amodio Perez.

60. This declaration of the Chilean bishops makes a thorough doctrinal examination of the above mentioned marxist movement, according to the following IV parts: I, "Introduction" (which analyses the "political pressures on the church" and the "mission of the laity and of the church"); II. "The Christians For Socialism Group" (which analyses the anxieties and positive contributions," the "unjust accusations against the church," "The Church and the Politician," "The Church Is Not Neutral in the Struggle for Justice," the "Faulty Concept of the Gospel and the Church," "Evangelical Love and Class Struggle," "Love God and Love the Poor," "Christian Understanding of the Poor Differs From the Marxist Evaluation," the"Division Within the Church and Its Pastoral Consequences," and "Ban on Belonging to Christians for Socialism"); III. "Other Christian Groups (which analyses the "Political Use of the Church," the "Diversity of Applications of the Christian Social Doctrine," and "Respect for the Diversity of Political Choices," and the "Desire of the Hierarchy"), and IV. "Concluding Reflections." This document is signed by: the president and secretary of the CECH, Archbishop of Santiago Cardenal Raul Silva Henriquez, and Assistant Bishop of Concepcion Carlos Oviedo Cavada respectively.

61. This publishes the manifesto issued in Montevideo this past July by the seditious Uruguayan organization.

62. "Ramon."

63. "Nenucha."

64. Printed clandestinely in Buenos Aires.

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[Continued in Part II]