



# tricontinental 69



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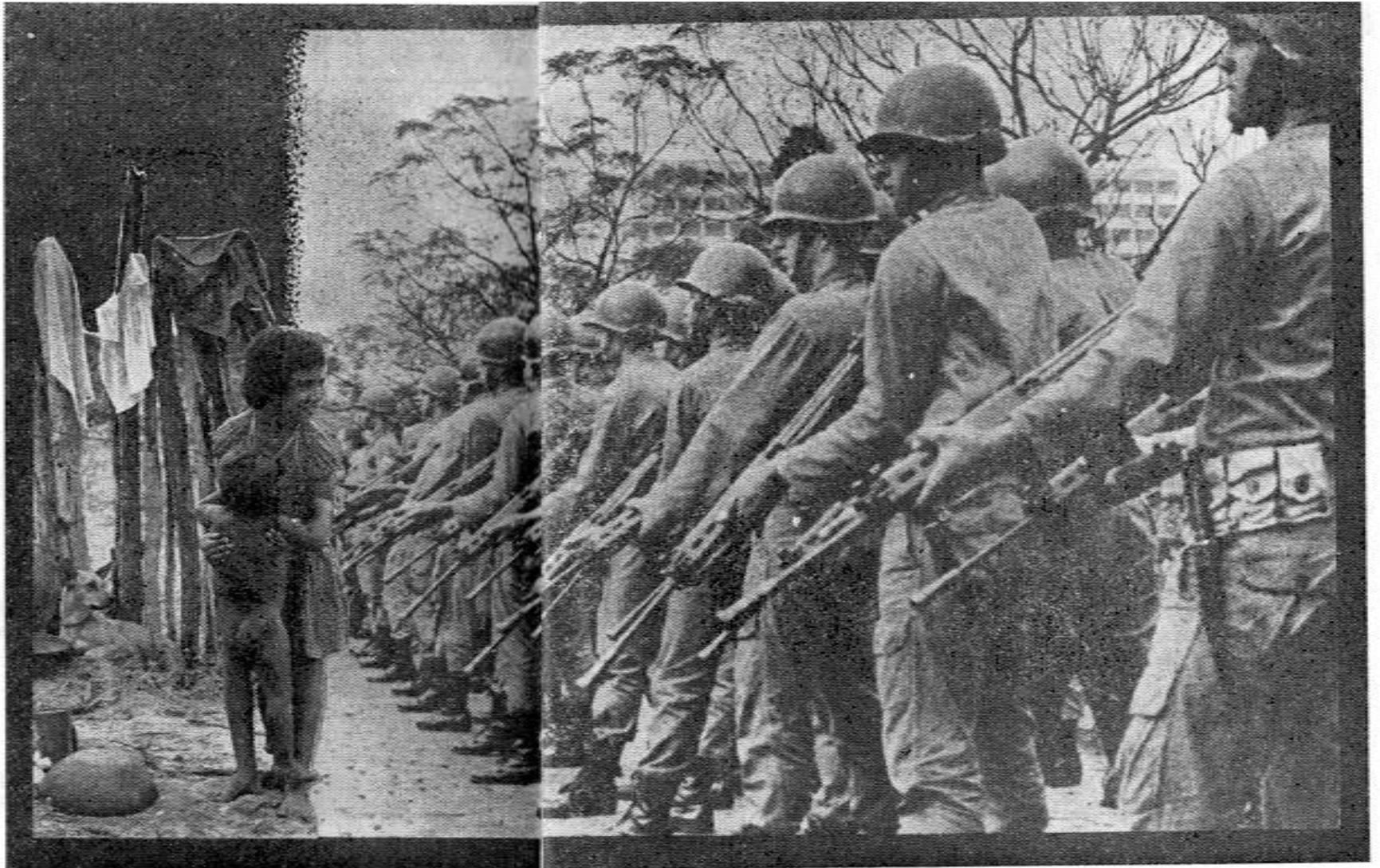
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# **BRAZIL:**

## THE 30-HOURPLAN

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**T**HE fascist golpe in Bolivia is related not only to interests of an international order but still more to Brazilian intervention. Latin-American relations with the United States are moving rapidly toward a showdown and regional alliances are being readjusted to the new situation.

The formation of a Pacific bloc which arose from nationalist and socialist trends as well as from the recent changes among the Argentine military who are seeking a nonalignment policy, pointed to such a complete isolation of the Brazilian dictatorship that even its Paraguayan stooges failed to give it their customary support.

It soon became evident that Brazil was determined to disrupt what to her was an unfavorable balance of power. And recent events in Bolivia—as the international press has revealed—point to Brazil's presence behind the reactionary offensive. This was the first time Brazilian subimperialism had really intervened in its most aggressive form—military pressure. After what went on in Bolivia nothing Brazil does in the future should surprise anyone.

In 1967 the document "General Orientation of National Security Planning" of Brazil's Higher School of War (ESG) had already been published. It was clear that the purpose of this school was to indoctrinate the Brazilian gorillas in geopolitical theory, following a thesis elaborated by General Golbery Couto Silva, based on what he called "a loyal exchange" between Brazil and the United States. According to this exchange Brazil was to associate with Washington in a scheme to guarantee the defense of the South Atlantic; in exchange the United States would reward Brazil with "an almost total monopoly of power in that area." Out of this association sprang the theory of ideological frontiers: Brazil as a privileged satellite had to assume "responsibilities" in continental politics.

## **THE SECURITY OF THE DICTATORSHIP**

The revelation made in 1967 by *Marcha* of Montevideo concerning the "national security planning" of Rio de Janeiro's ESG, caused a tremendous impact in public opinion. This top-secret document revealed among other things the prime objective of the Brazilian military, which was the "suppression or reduction of foreign and domestic pressures which threatened or might threaten the national security." What would these pressures be? According to the ESG:

- 1) *communist pressure*, from both within and outside the country, directed at getting Brazil to leave the democratic and Western bloc;
- 2) *socioeconomic pressure* exerted by groups both within and outside the country which are a threat to the country's social peace, prosperity, welfare and democracy;
- 3) *economic pressure* exerted by groups both within and outside the country, belonging to trade unions that seek to modify the economic policy of the government for their own purposes and thus jeopardize social peace;
- 4) *political pressure* exerted by national political groups residing in the country or abroad whose interests were crossed by the "revolution" [sic] of 1964;

5) *historical-political pressure* exerted by countries of the South Atlantic which are seeking continental hegemony and border changes.

At first glance one can see that the so-called "security" of the dictatorship is disadvantageous all round — to the economy, the social structure, the domestic policy, the interests of other South American countries and even to the "political exiles" themselves. To use "historical pressure" as an argument is nonsense, when it is clear that the US-Brazil association is simply attempting to disguise its fear of anti-imperialist action in Latin America.

General Golbery himself gives the show away in his booklet "Geopolitical Aspects of Brazil" when he writes: "When opposition to the United States becomes unmistakably evident among our Latin-American neighbors it is up to Brazil, partly because of her long-standing friendship with the United States but most of all because of the decisive resources at her disposal, to make a 'loyal exchange'...".

Finally, the military government elaborated a detailed war plan which foresees every kind of threat against the security, of so-called "western democratic and

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RIO DE JANEIRO, September 19 — THE EX-CAPTAIN OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY, CARLOS LAMARCA, CONSIDERED THE MOST OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY FIGURE IN BRAZIL AFTER THE DEATH OF CARLOS MARIGHELLA IN 1969 AND JOAQUIM CAMARA FERREIRA IN 1970, WAS ASSASSINATED BY THE POLICE LAST FRIDAY AFTER HAVING BEEN WOUNDED IN A GUNFIRE BATTLE. TRAINING INSTRUCTOR AND CHAMPION MARKSMAN OF THE ARMED FORCES, LAMARCA REJECTED PROSPECTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL MILITARY CAREER IN ORDER TO ENTER THE CLANDESTINE MOVEMENT IN 1969. HE ORIGINATED AND CARRIED OUT AN AUDACIOUS ACTION AGAINST THE ARMS DEPOSITORY OF THE IV REGIMENT WHERE HE WAS STATIONED. LATER HE WAS IN CHARGE OF GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN THE RIBEIRA VALLEY. IN THE SPRING OF 1970 HE SUCCEEDED IN EVADING AN ARMY ENCIRCLEMENT OF MORE THAN 20 000 MEN. POLICE AGENTS FROM THE FINGERPRINT DEPARTMENT CONFIRMED THAT LAMARCA AND THE WORKERS' LEADER OSASCO

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(SAO PAULO) JOSE SANTOS BARRETO WERE THE TWO REVOLUTIONARIES WHO DIED IN AN EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE WITH GOVERNMENT FORCES IN IPUPIARA, BAHIA. THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF THE REGIME INDICATES THAT LAMARCA WAS SURROUNDED BY A GREAT NUMBER OF AGENTS WHO, TOGETHER WITH ARMY TROOPS, PERSECUTED HIM FOR 40 DAYS AS A RESULT OF A BETRAYAL. IT ADDS THAT, WHEN LAMARCA AND BARRETO RESISTED THE ARREST ORDER, THEY WERE MORTALLY WOUNDED AND THAT, BEFORE HE DIED, LAMARCA WAS INTERROGATED BY THE POLICE. HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT THE AUTOPSIES REVEALED THAT LAMARCA HAD THREE SHOTS IN HIS HEART AND THREE MORE IN OTHER PARTS OF HIS BODY, AND BARRETO HAD EIGHT WOUNDS, REPRESENTS CERTAIN EVIDENCE THAT THE TWO REVOLUTIONARIES WERE ASSASSINATED AND THE PROBABILITY THAT THIS TOOK PLACE AFTER THEY HAD BEEN WOUNDED AND WERE OUT OF AMMUNITION.

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Christian civilization in this hemisphere." The plan states: "If any government should adopt communistic positions especially in Chile or Uruguay, this is to be regarded as a threat against the United States and Brazil."

Commenting on the latter point, the ESG's document says:

Should communism win power in some Latin-American countries, or should the situation become serious in others through an intensification of the "revolutionary war," these countries will constitute strategic areas which could become liable to Brazilian military intervention. Such danger-spots are: the frontier with Uruguay, and this includes the Rio Grande do Sul region; the frontier with Bolivia, in particular the Corumba-Caceres zone; the frontier with Venezuela and Guyana; and the territories of Uruguay and Guayana.

Consequently, it is to be noted that a Popular Unity government in Chile is considered a frontier menace to the national security of the Brazilian dictatorship. This explains the great importance given to the Bolivian frontier. It is no mere coincidence that the region around Santa Cruz of the Sierra was the mainspring

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SAO PAULO, September 21 — A TREMENDOUS FIRE OCCURRED TODAY IN THE PAVILLION OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE (USIS) LOCATED IN IBIRAQUERA PARK IN THIS CITY.

SAO PAULO HAS BEEN THE OBJECTIVE IN RECENT HOURS OF NUMEROUS ACTION ON THE PART OF ARMED ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE MILITARY REGIME, IN APPARENT RESPONSE TO LAST FRIDAY'S ASSASSINATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADER CARLOS LAMARCA. ON THE OTHER HAND THE POLICE TODAY INVESTIGATED ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALLS WARNING VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS THAT EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS WOULD BE PLACED IN THEIR PLANTS IF THEY CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN OF DISCREDITING LAMARCA.

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THUS THE CAMPAIGN HAS REACHED A PEAK SINCE HIS ASSASSINATION AND IT IS ADMITTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE DEATH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IS A HARD BLOW, THE ARMED OPPOSITION TO THE REGIME REMAINS ACTIVE.

SAO PAULO, September 23 — THREE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES AND TWO SOLDIERS WERE KILLED WHEN A DIRECT ACTION COMMANDO ATTACKED A MILITARY TRUCK IN THIS CITY.

THE ATTACK, DESCRIBED BY WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES AS ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT IN RECENT TIMES, TOOK PLACE IN A POPULATED SECTOR OF THIS CITY WHEN A REVOLUTIONARY COMMANDO AMBUSHED THE MILITARY VEHICLE.

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of the fascist coup last August. Note should be taken too of the special mention made of Uruguay. Not only is her frontier with Brazil considered to be a "strategic zone" of "Brazilian defense" but her territory is as well.

The revelation of the sinister "30-hour plan" by the international press (especially the Uruguayan and Argentina) proves without doubt that the doctrine of the ESG is to be applied in plans which are practicable and imminent.

The Argentine military are clearly aware of the danger. This can be seen by their diplomatic shifting of grounds toward the Andean bloc, which "...aims at reversing the regional alliances and has its immediate goal to end the understanding with Brazil."

## THE URUGUAYAN CRISIS

The Montevidean weekly *Marcha* has published information which shows that the doctrine of Brazilian security includes a contingency plan to cover the Uruguayan crisis. In its edition of August 23rd it comments on the report presented by the ex-Argentine Foreign Minister. Referring to this, the weekly says:

The plan is full of such minute details as to make one suspect that during the last years, Itamaraty [Brazil's Foreign Ministry] must have commissioned an ordinance map to be made of the entire Uruguayan territory. In addition to these data is the evaluation of the political, military and social conditions enumerated in the plan, as follows:

a) the Uruguayan Armed Forces lack arms and men to neutralize or to delay a Brazilian military offensive; and although its population is ex-

tremely politicized it is unemotional and technically unprepared for a massive resistance;

b) guerrilla action can provoke some isolated disturbances, but it is not in a position to attempt any counteroffensive against an army like Brazil's;

c) Uruguay's future political scene presents two possibilities: if the elections take place, either the triumph of the Broad Front or the triumph of the traditional party. But as the latter alternative would cause an upsurge of guerrilla war either alternative would be regarded as a danger and, in the opinion of the Brazilian authorities, would suffice to justify the invasion;

d) because of Brazil's urgent need for expansion, and bearing in mind the



**"...hatred for the exploiting class exists through love of the exploited."**

Brazil, May 1971

Dear children:

*I have to criticize myself for not having given greater importance to the correspondence with you. Until now, two years and four months of separation, I have received only one letter and I know that all those I sent did not arrive. This is very hard, but children, you can be sure that you are a strength for me.*

*In the letter I wrote last year, I mentioned the note that César sent me and Claudia's locks; they were in my wallet with me, but in the last battle in Ribeira the wallet fell out of my packet and the enemy got it. At the same time I lost your photographs, and those I was waiting for never reached me.*

*It makes me very happy to imagine that César is ten years old, and that you too, Claudia, are going to be nine — you must be very big and I want to see you. I want very much to talk to you, to hear many things and ask you lots of questions. I think I could help you more now and it makes me sad to know*

fact that the occupation of Uruguay would satisfy not only these needs but also constitute an economic boon to the eastern country, it would be possible to consolidate the domestic social peace of Brazil by increasing the number of businesses under Rio de Janeiro control;

e) moreover, the plan goes on to point out an aspect that could be to Brazil's advantage, which is the generalized anti-Argentine and anti-Buenos Aires feelings among Uruguayans. This could psychologically benefit both the short and long-term strategy of the Itamaraty.

The 30-hour operation, says *Marcha*, does not end here. A fair part of the text analyzes the repercussion of the invasion at continental and international levels. The operation must be accomplished in two days or rather within the period of 30 hours, in order to prevent an international diplomatic offensive from paralyzing the plan by obliging conciliatory measures and permitting the intervention of third parties.

Eight UH-1D helicopters, the same kind as already used by the United States in Viet Nam, have been recently taken to the Santa María Base, together with T-16 combat planes and L-42 observation craft. The transfer of these has been made so as to give support to the joint maneuvers of the Army, Air and Navy Forces which

*that you need me very much. But you must understand that the human being cannot be reduced to a simple reproducer, life does not consist only in raising children so that they can also raise children. As long as exploitation of man exists within humanity, revolutionaries must rise up and move the socialist revolution forward.*

*Your function, as Brazilians outside your country, is to prepare yourselves for the struggle here in Brazil. The Cubans are preparing themselves to construct socialism in Cuba. I don't want to divide people by nationality; everyone is a citizen of the world and has the same right to fight anywhere and must make his contribution to the revolution wherever he can best make it. Moreover, the revolution in Brazil is decisive for the eradication of imperialism in all Latin America and requires a great effort from all Brazilians. You have the right to struggle anywhere, but the first place a revolutionary has to consider is the place where he was born.*

*Your task now is to study a lot, understand Marxism profoundly, understand the entire class struggle throughout history and the present revolutionary movements throughout the world.*

*I don't know how you are, what your problems and preoccupations are and so it is difficult for me to write so that I participate in your lives. I think*

are being carried out from August of this year to next December in the southern province, to coincide with the elections in Uruguay.

### THE GUARDIAN OF THE CONTINENT

With the taking of power in 1964, the gorillas of the Atlantic started to develop their military potential. This is what they now refer to as the new "responsibilities and interests" of the guardian of the continent.

In the fifties military expenditure was between 14 and 17%; a little after the golpe, military expenditure had already risen to 40% of the national revenue. In 1965 Brazil took the step of purchasing arms from the United States at a value of 2.5 million dollars. In 1966 Brazil's purchases went up to 12 million, which included a squad of 100 A-41 tanks. In August 1966 the military government bought



of you a great deal as you were, and how beautiful it must be now to live with you — I imagine this but it is difficult to imagine what it's really like.

The revolution is hard to make, and Che said that we tend to be tough but that we can't lose our tenderness. The struggle thus goes on within each one of us, according to revolutionary practice. Many fall dead, many are arrested, some become cowards in the midst of violence, the capitalist garbage that exists in each one of us is continuously expelled and we go on changing, toughening, able to bear many sufferings. And we do not lose tenderness because hatred for the exploiting class exists through love of the exploited. This love is born of the consciousness of exploitation and injustice — we have nothing to fear since whoever loses tenderness, whoever does not love, lacks the conditions for being a revolutionary.

Mama's life must be hard because, actually, you don't live with her much of the time. I beg you to deepen your understanding as time goes on. But I have no doubt that just to be a part of your development is a great joy.

From this letter you realize how difficult it is to write after so much time so far away — but I am always thinking of you. And when things are difficult I dream about you; it is a defense mechanism of our minds that functions to sustain great tensions. But the dream is always something delicious, some-



thing about those moments we lived together. Then I wake up still dreaming of all the enchantment our life had, and I also think about you a great deal, and it is a mixture of joy and nostalgia, joy because you exist and such nostalgia for the slightest gestures, the words you spoke that remain recorded within me: the good day *tabita*, the conversations with Claudia and our special dialect, *da catanga das bruzos-danga do pazanga dela, ninha de quica*, and of so many things. I used your names as fighting names — César and Claudia; when I tell the comrades that you called me João, when we worked in the organization, they are very pleased. Whenever I can, I listen to Radio Havana or Peking, and whenever somebody comes I am full of questions, especially about Cuba. I don't any longer know what you want to study: Claudia wanted to be a doctor and César a soldier. How do you feel about it now?

Give mommy a great big hug and many kisses. I still hope to see you some day and forget all this nostalgia. Many kisses to all three of you and, with much love,

Papa  
[Carlos Lamarca]

Ousar lutar. Ousar vencer.

the Belgian patent to manufacture automatic FAL guns in Brazil. The chemical industries exploitable for purposes of war were also stepped-up. Among these were Dow Chemical, directed by Meira Matos, ex-general of the Inter-American Peace Force (IPF) in Santo Domingo, which exports napalm to the US forces in Viet Nam, and also manufactures gas and explosives. At the same time the industry of portable automatic weapons was developed by several firms, one of which, Itajuba (INA), now specializes in the manufacture of modern rifles and machine guns.

In 1967 a mixed company was created — the Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica (EMBRAER) — whose objective was to plan and create the Brazilian Air Force. The EMBRAER signed agreements with the Government totalling 100 million dollars, as well as with international companies such as the Italian Macchi, which guaranteed to make in Brazil an exact copy of its own jet Aermacchi. The Brazilians will name it Xavante. Toward 1972, there will be some 112 of these modern planes along the Argentine-Uruguayan borders. With this in view the air base of Santa Maria was created, which is the largest in South America and possesses the most important of Brazil's arsenals.

In addition, about 40 Regent planes — ELO — which form a special series made by Neiva Aeronautica, have been added to the 80 planes already in use by the Brazilian Air Force.

These planes are stationed either in the urban areas or along the strategic frontiers, and are for antiguerrilla training and use. The newspaper *Estado de São Paulo* goes so far as to compare the efficiency of the Air Force with that of the US Green Berets.

The Minister of Aeronautics, Brigadier Marcio de Souza Melo, gave his approval to the "National Airways Plan" for 1971-80 with an investment of 600 million dollars. Eighteen Mirages III E-L were purchased and are already being assembled near Brasilia. In addition to this two new national models, the T-25 Universal, an anti-guerrilla monoplane, and the T-25, for reinforcement, as well as the E-M 500 Amazonas with four turbines for the transport of troops are now being constructed.

The Italian factory, Costruzioni Aeronautiche Giovanni Agusta, will install the first Brazilian factory of helicopters for military use in the valley of the Paraíba river. It is probable that helicopters for civilian use will also be manufactured for export to the Latin-American market. Negotiations have also begun for the purchase of an unknown number of French Breguet planes, especially equipped for anti-submarine warfare and capable of flying a stretch of 18 hours.

At the Expo "Ejército-71" (Army-71) in São Paulo some of the latest models of armored cars, assault cars and transport equipment were presented along with cannons of 40,90 and 115 mm, radar, mortars, antiaircraft guns and all the other types of modern military accoutrement. The Brazilian press proudly boasts that "they are all national and have been made this year by the most prestigious Brazilian industries." Behind this boast lies an industrial military plan conceived after the military uprising of 1964. By the following year "through the authorization of the President of the Republic and of the Minister of Planning, the so-called Permanent Group of Industrial Mobilization (GPMI) was created. This group includes



the most industrialized companies of the region — São Paulo, Guanabara and Minas Gerais — and has the direct cooperation of members of the Armed Forces."

On returning from a trip to the United States in 1966 the president of the GPMI, Vitório Ferraz, declared in a press conference that Brazilian industry would make arms of various types besides munitions and war vehicles to collaborate with the United States in the war in Viet Nam. When he explained that for this purpose Brazil could count on having many plants for telecommunications and munitions in the country, Ferraz stated: "By collaborating in the extermination of the Vietcong [Brazil] will be able to solve the problems of having factories that are working below par and create 180 000 new jobs. Thus we will be simultaneously combating communism and our own unemployment problems."

Brazilian war-cries have also been heard on the atomic terrain. The director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said when speaking before the National Commission on Nuclear Energy that he considered it a good and feasible plan to form

multinational companies in Brazil for the installation of a generating plant of enriched uranium, which would open up a new line in the production



of this processed mineral, today limited to the United States and the Soviet Union.

The IAEA Director's chief worry was how to convert the installation used for pacific purposes into producers of atomic arms which would have as its main purpose that of transferring arms and atomic technology to countries which do not possess them. The Director of IAEA supported Brazil's refusal to sign the Treaty of Geneva on Denuclearization.

## THE ANTECEDENTS

Brazil's decision to participate in the Inter-American Peace force when Santo Domingo was invaded, was the first time Brazil broke with her old theory of self-determination which was very much insisted upon in her foreign policy of previous years.

Although the US General, Bruce Palmer, was the man really in control of the situation, the nominal command of the troops was given to General Meira Matos. The press, commenting on this measure, said that the command had been handed to Brazil in order to relieve somewhat the feelings of the excited Brazilians who were champing at the bit to invade Bolivia and Uruguay. The then President Castelo Branco made statements to the effect that he was ready to send troops to Bolivia in order to prevent an "extremist government" there in response to popular demonstrations in the mining districts which later ended in the massacre on the night of Saint John by the government of Barrientos.

At the same time it was announced that army maneuvers would be carried out along the Uruguayan frontiers by the Second Army. This was followed by a



denunciation in the Uruguayan press pointing to the presence of one thousand agents of the National Service of Information (SNI, a repressive organ which controls political life in Brazil), engaged in espionage activities in Montevideo. With the pretext that there were Brazilians in guerrilla training on Uruguayan territory, the Brazilian forces made several incursions into the eastern town of Rivera to "catch" the revolutionaries who took refuge there.

The continued threats made by Brazil against Bolivia and Uruguay with the pretext of having to "pacify" such regions were part of a plan to convert the IPF into a permanent and active force. During the meeting of the foreign ministers at the OAS assembly in 1966, Brazil was unanimously outvoted on this motion.

## **AND WHAT ABOUT OLD FRIENDS?**

"The Argentine revolution of 1966 joined the Brazilian revolution of 1964 in reinforcing the anticommunist campaign in South America." This is what the ESG stated in its "General Orientation of National Security Planning" addressed to its sister country. But the Argentine military of the so-called nationalist group has started calling Brazil its "historic enemy." A functionary of the National Council of Security (CONASE), Lieutenant Colonel Luis Perlinger, speaking of this "historic enemy" said:

Today there are 90 million inhabitants in Brazil and 24 million in Argentina. This means that within 10 years it is quite conceivable that the difference will be 108 million to 28 million, which implies a percentage of 4,5 Brazilians to every Argentine. Another cause for worry comes from the industrial production figures of each country. While Brazilian economic development

hurtles ahead, our economic process has slowed down to such an extent that some sectors are manifestly unproductive.

The Argentine publication *Panorama*, which is worried about the trend of Brazil's foreign policy, went so far as to call it "armored diplomacy." In its August 1971 number it published an all-round analysis of Argentine-Brazilian relations: "Today Argentina is practicing the foreign policy which suits its national interests and the regime it has. But seen from the Brazilian viewpoint it appears as a reaction to Brazil's economic growth."

*Panorama* summarizes an editorial in the official Brazilian newspaper *o Estado de São Paulo* and says:

- a) Brazil's economic growth has modified to its advantage the relation of forces on the continent;
- b) its neighbors' reaction is interpreted as a diabolical left-wing plot aimed at blockading Brazil which is a "western and Christian country" in outlook;
- c) thus isolated and blockaded, Brazil's only course of action would be to resort to arms;
- d) hence the first step to take is to reverse the situation in Uruguay, which is a buffer-state between the two big ones.

When the sharks quarrel it is always the little sardines that are the victims of the water's commotion. We have seen such cold-war happenings in the recent tussle for hegemony over the River Plata basin. Brazil has 50 projects for that region, of which 18 have been completed. Five are in construction, six are subject to litigation and 21 are under review. CONASE criticizes Argentina's hesitation and accuses it of using means that are scarcely diplomatic, instead of trying to prevent "the Brazilians from moving westward in search of an empire that does not speak Portuguese."

The Plata question went beyond the borders of the neighboring countries. Chile got involved in the problem when José María Pablo Pardo, the Argentine Foreign Minister, visited that country. He managed to get Allende to make a statement concerning the use of the frontier rivers, which helped to bring the two countries into a more amenable relationship.

General Mario Orsolini of CONASE can see that behind all this the United States has a hand in Brazilian policy and calls for "a closer alliance with Chile, Bolivia and Peru as the first step in the defensive front," and goes on to say that if this does not take place Brazil will be given the heavy industry while we (the Argentines) will again be relegated to the sidelines.

Another important factor in the relations between Brazil and Argentina is the prospect of the latter's dependency on the former. It is in this context that the trade of Argentine corn for Brazilian manufactured steel goods should be viewed. In the past five years the production of Brazilian corn increased from 225 000 tons in 1965 to 2.2 million tons projected for this year. This will diminish Argentina's exports by 54%. The fact that the Eximbank has obtained a loan of \$500 000 000

for Brazil's steel industry crystallizes the social division of the work in which Argentina will not be permitted to supply its own steel.

## FUNDAMENTALS

The aggressiveness of Brazilian policy is the result of the clash between the upsurge and the depression of the domestic market. The exportation of manufactured goods in particular is today one of the chief objectives of the technocrats. Latin America is just perfect for this kind of policy, in the same way as are other areas, such as South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, with which Brazil maintains "ideological frontiers" under the motto of "aggressive trade." The Treasury Minister very coolly stated that "Brazil is waging a war in foreign trade, that is to say it is endeavoring to replace other countries, by reducing their prospects."

For these plans to materialize it is necessary to have a "quiet and democratic" (that is, capitalist) Latin America. In the words of Hugo Bettleheim, ex-ambassador in Bolivia, who was expelled for conspiracy in that country:

I am frankly in favor of a form of intervention which the Brazilian imagination — so inventive of new formulas of political, social and economic coexistence among men — will be able to find for establishing relations between the nations, especially in the case of a family of nations like the Latin-American continent.

## WHO CAN OFFER MOST?

The fall of Juan José Torres has caused a fissure in the nationalist bloc of the Andean countries and has opened possibilities for the Brazilian offensive. Argentina, which under the guidance of Lanusse has adhered to that bloc, now sees the means of restraining subimperialist expansion diminishing. Moreover there is now a danger of jeopardizing the agreements on iron, gas, oil, pipelines and tin as well as of the support which had previously come from Bolivia against Brazil's claims in the Cuenca. Banzer now asks the question: Who can offer most? and answers: the one who needs most and can offer most. It will be no surprise if Bolivia changes partners and Brazil once again becomes its manager.

In their first press conference the Bolivian dictator and his Foreign Affairs Minister put forward the long-standing problem of an exit to the Pacific via Chile, which they referred to as a "sentimental and practical" one. In the plans of the new regime the clash with Chile is not only an immediate desire but also an anticipated provocation. Since Chile has a socialist government, without physical or ideological frontiers with Brazil, a stepping-up of latent conflicts is discernible. The result of this might be that Brazil would back diplomatically and perhaps militarily Bolivia's maritime claims. Are not the words spoken in June by the Brazilian Minister of Education, Colonel Jarbas Passarinho, somewhat significant: "The Andes are not impassable."?



tricontinental scene



# THE DIRTY WAR IN LATIN

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**W**ITH greater and greater frequency the police and armies of various Latin-American countries are putting on the gloves. Terror emerges from the shadows, strikes and returns to the darkness. The crime is an anonymous act. A man disappears, the ground swallows him up; the cadaver is located with torture marks on the body or it is never found. Or the man reappears alive — then exception acquires the impact of proof — after having been officially detained by the forces of repression. It is a technique for interrogation or execution that matches the methods of the "dirty war" previously taught by the North Americans in Viet Nam. There are others. For example, "counter propaganda." Police or soldiers disguise themselves as guerrillas and as such commit repugnant acts so that the radio transmitters, television channels and newspapers can mount a good scandal and soil the image of the revolutionaries who, in the eyes of public opinion, define the purity of their ends by their methods.

## A GIGANTIC LABORATORY IN GUATEMALA

In the years of 1966 and 1967 Guatemala served as an experimentation camp to put the "dirty war" into practice against the ascending revolution. The process did not end then, the systematic blood bath still continues. At present the parapolice and paramilitary groups are directly integrated into the government and they have thus lost certain of their "exotic" characteristics.

En 1967 various groups were operating. The army wanted, at all costs, to establish the peace of the cemeteries, the *Pax Americana*, and to this end it utilized the abundant aid of the United States in arms and special advisers. While a military "encirclement and annihilation" campaign against the guerrillas took place, a new law exonerated the members of the security bodies from penal responsibility for homicide; the police became the entire proof at trials, and the big landowners

by Eduardo Galeano

# AMERICA



were given the right to bear arms (and use them). In Gualan the fishermen stopped fishing because their nets were getting caught in the cadavers that flowed down the river. Throughout Guatemala right-wing armed bands operated with impunity and efficiency. They were the sons of the military and the police and they acted under their somber protection.

The New Anticommunist Organization (NOA) wrote in a press communiqué issued at the beginning of 1967, that it was operating "together with the glorious army of Guatemala." It had promised to pull out the tongue and cut off the left hand of all revolutionaries. The Organized Nationalist Anticommunist Movement (MANO), on the other hand, functioned in the police orbit. NOA, like MANO, frequently gave out confidential data available only to the army or the political police.

In the small villages, the terrorist groups were commanded by military commissions, authorities with much greater power than the mayors and who were directly designated by the army. There were villages in which there were no more men, as in Cajon del Río. The peasants of Piedra Pa-

rada were buried alive. Those of Agua Blanca de Ipala were shot in the legs and then burned. In the center of the square in San Jorge, the head of a rebellious peasant was nailed to a pole.

One entire floor of the Blue Cross building in the capital was occupied by the North American advisers to the Guatemalan police. They participated directly in the interrogations of prisoners. They operated, and continue to operate, behind the screen of the Agency for International Development (AID) and with funds from the rich Alliance for Progress. On the other hand, the training that the Green Berets gave the members of the army for the anti-guerrilla struggle included not only teaching torture techniques, but also the creation of "assassination teams" to intimidate and kill. These teams — NOA, MANO and others — also carried out counterpropaganda tasks. For example, they burned many peasant farms and assassinated children, littering their path with flyers of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) or the November 13th Movement (Movimiento 13 de noviembre). In the city they marked the doors of the condemned with black cross-



ses or sent them written threats. They killed those who didn't leave. Sometimes they committed the murder without forewarning, shooting people in the back. There was one occasion on which the government itself shed tears.

The soldiers took off their uniforms and so did the police. They took care of their work in "extra hours." The proof mounted. Three days after having been arrested by the police at the end of June 1967, Luis del Valle appeared tortured and dead. MANO claimed the execution. Rodolfo Gutiérrez, secretary of the government party

in El Jicaro, had disappeared. Thanks to the influence of some friends, the relatives of Rodolfo Gutiérrez had the Minister of Defense give them a letter to Colonel Carlos Arana, who was then Commander in the zone of Zacapa and is today President of Guatemala. Commander Arana, known as The Jackal of Zacapa, had Gutiérrez' relatives taken to the village of La Palma in Rio Hondo. After an hour, Gutiérrez was brought out of a concentration camp where the prisoners, before being assassinated, were subjected to interrogations and torture. Gutiérrez described his night-

mare. The camp was under the direction of a hundred well-armed civilians, among them Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Hondurans.

Something similar occurred with a friend of engineer Montano Novella. The latter was able to haul him out of the detention camp, which was in some other place in Zacapa, thanks to the presentation of a military safe-conduct. His friend thus returned from the inferno and described how he had seen two men castrated and a woman decapitated. A journalist, Julio Edgar García, was threatened with death because he had published forbidden information, with names; in the daily *El Gráfico*, he had revealed the data concerning a demonstration that the army had organized in Gualan along with the members of the terrorist organizations. Hundreds of cases could be cited. The brother of the guerrilla chief César Montes was tortured to death by NOA and his body appeared three days after he had been seized by the army. The governments wash their hands.

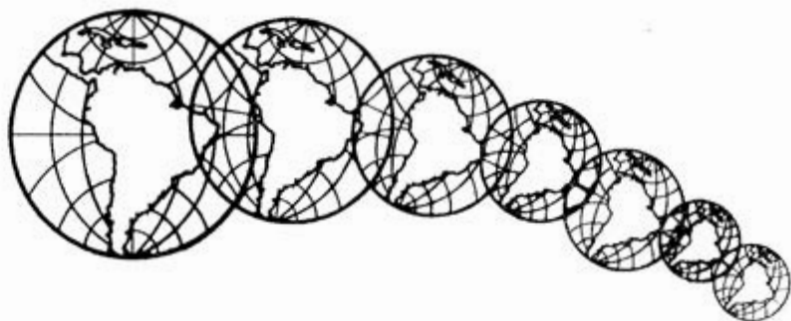
## THE TRACES OF TERROR

A woman's face with eyes reddened from tears, an empty chair, a splintered door, someone who won't return: in how many countries of Latin America is this spectacle repeated? The system, pursued by its own contradictions, turns to dirty war. Torture, kidnapping, death. In vain the families and friends of the victims wander from prison to prison, from bar-

racks to barracks: "What are you talking about? Who? Never heard of him. There's no news."

The "white bands" of the right have sown terror in the Dominican Republic at a rhythm similar to that in Guatemala. There too, the army's tracks have been visible. This surprises no one. In the Dominican Republic this is daily fare. But there are stories being recorded in countries that enjoy a very different kind of international prestige.

In the case of Mexico, for example, whose government party has successfully cultivated an image of stability and progress for external consumption. The slaughter of June 10, 1971, Corpus Christi Thursday, was offered to the world as the result of a battle between rival student groups. The scandal reached such proportions that the alibi was short-lived. The organization of the Hawks as a shock group under the previous government of Díaz Ordaz and the fact that its members were killers on state salary, was denounced. Not one of the Hawks was a student; the Hawks machine-gunned down their own wounded in the hospitals so they wouldn't talk. Several dozen dead, just how many is not known, were the losses of June 10. The students who came in peaceful demonstration defended themselves with rocks; the Hawks attacked with clubs and guns. President Echeverría made a couple of changes in administration and the Hawks were given a deserved rest. But shortly afterwards, the news agencies communicated to the world that the daugh-

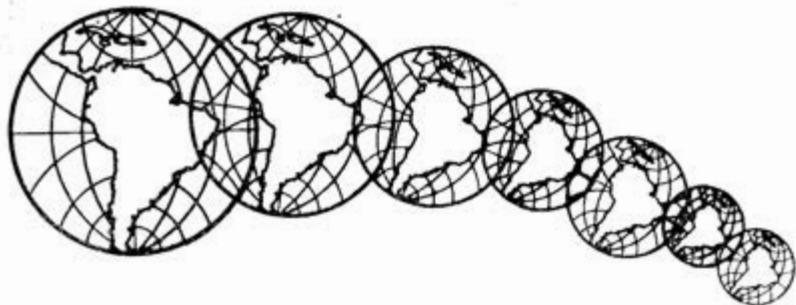


ter-in-law of Nobel Prize Winner Angel Asturias had disappeared. The world is not informed of the other disappearances that have also taken place. Rosario Sotomayor de Asturias was saved because of her association with a famous man. The police had officially denied that she had been arrested and the government had insisted that she was in no security service or body pertaining to the Ministry of the Interior. The disappearance of Asturias' daughter-in-law caused such a stir in the world that finally the miracle occurred: the Secretary of Interior announced that she was there. Then Rosario told how she had been blindfolded for three days in a house she was unable to recognize, subjected to interrogations for 15 hours a day concerning her activities and those of her husband, Rodrigo Asturias, in support of the Guatemalan revolution. "We are letting you go," they finally told her, "because if we don't we'll convert you into an international figure." The Secretary of Interior didn't explain the motives for his original denial.

## THE SKULL AND CROSSBONES

The Hawks are no exception. In Brazil the police organized salaried assassination teams, recruited from among their own ranks, to clean up delinquents in the country. At the end of 1968, it was also decided to use the Death Squadron for political ends. Squadron chief Sergio Paranhos Fleury, who is also one of the principal police chiefs of São Paulo, fired one of the four shots that killed the revolutionary leader Carlos Marighella. Numerous victims of torture related in their testimony that they had been given electric shock and clubbed in police cellars whose walls were decorated with the squadron symbols, the skull and crossbones.

US Senator William Proxmire denounced the use of US aid to finance the operations of the Death Squadron and the regime decided to wash its hands. Operations were begun to erase the tracks. There were policemen who couldn't believe it when they took their own comrades prisoners as members of the squadron. Some



fled mysteriously and were never heard of again. The chief, Sergio Paranhos Fleury, was on guard. When he was threatened with 150 years in jail or death, he confined himself to stating: "All that I did was done on orders of General Airosa, Chief of the General Staff of the Second Army." They didn't bother to take him prisoner.

## **EVERYTHING BEGAN WITH VALLESE**

In August 1962, a Peronist trade union leader, the metal worker Felipe Vallese disappeared in Buenos Aires. That same night, various members of his family, comrades and friends of Vallese were hauled out of their homes. They went through various commissaries and finally reappeared with the marks of torture. Not Vallese. The police knew nothing, the army knew nothing, the government knew nothing. Almost nine years later, in May of this year, 40 policemen were condemned

by the courts. Their culpability in the kidnapping and disappearance of Vallese had finally been proven.

In recent times, Argentina has suffered a new wave of kidnappings and disappearances. In March of last year, three persons tried to kidnap the Soviet diplomat Yuri Pivovarov. The diplomat hurled himself out of the moving car after having stripped a machine gun from one of the kidnapers. The weapon bore the police insignia. One of the kidnapers was the official subinspector Carlos Benigno Balbuena, of the Federal Police. He was working for an organization known by the same name as the one in Guatemala; MANO, Organized Nationalist Movement of Argentina. The parapolic organizations continued operating. Nine months later, the lawyer Nestor Martins and his client Nestor Centeno were kidnapped. No investigation was made. Dr. Martins defended the Peronist guerrilla prisoners and had denounced various cases of torture. His whereabouts have not been known since



December 16, 1970. Nor is it known where the militant worker Nestor Centeno is. Both are presumed to be dead. At the beginning of July 1971, the same thing happened to Marcelo Verd and his wife, in San Juan Province. Almost immediately afterwards, Juan Pablo Maestre and his wife, Mirta Misetich, disappeared in Buenos Aires. Both were militants in Peronist revolutionary organizations and university groups of the same ideology. A day later, Maestre's cadaver, with two bullet holes, appeared in a place called Las Palmeras. The forehead was bashed in and there were burns on the feet. The morning of the day on which the kidnapping occurred, a police commission had appeared looking for Maestre at his place of work and there the police collected his personal data. There are the testimonies of radio

buffs who heard over the frequency of the police radio, information about a search that took place in Amenabar Street where Maestre was captured. In the neighborhood commissary days before, they had received instructions from the Superintendent of Security to let him know whether Maestre frequented the house on Amenabar Street where the parents of Mirta Misetich live and at whose door the couple were kidnapped.

In September, the law student Luis Enrique Pujals disappeared. His lawyers immediately blamed the Executive Power. The university professor Antonio Caparroz also disappeared for several days in the hands of some civilians who trapped him at the entrance to his house and forced him to get into a car. Two days passed before the police declared that Caparroz

was being held in one of their substations. Prior to that Caparroz' house was broken into by the Department of Police Investigations of Antidemocratic Activities.

The Argentine parapolic groups are centered in the Unified Security Service (SUS), created at the end of 1969 at the inspiration of high-level members of General Onganía's government.

### THE HOUR OF HYSTERIA

In the Uruguay of the Tupamaros and the Broad Front, capitalism is living out its hour of hysteria. Fascist groups spring up in high schools, armed and protected by the police, and the Minister of Interior praises them on television. The parapolic force machine gun Broad Front offices and the homes of various left-wing militants, drop threats, place bombs, burn libraries, kidnap and execute. Not for nothing do the Uruguayan police occupy first place in 1971 on the list of US aid to Latin-American police departments. The groups have different names: one is called DAM in homage to Dan Anthony Mitrione, the North American adviser whom the Tupamaros sent to a better life and who taught the techniques of torture and repression to the Uruguayan police after having acted in the service of the CIA in Santo Domingo and Brazil.

At the end of July of this year, Manuel Ramos Filippini appeared dead on the rocky coast. This youth had been tried some time earlier for ties with the Tupamaros but was in freedom and living a normal life. His body had 12 bullet wounds and the arms were broken. Four individuals who said they were the police had hauled him out of his home in the early morning hours. Those who knew him

are certain that Ramos Filippini would not have left at this hour if he had not been shown a convincing police identity card.

Two weeks earlier Abel Ayala had disappeared. On the night of his disappearance, three men had arrived at the home of a student girl friend of his to whom he was to hand over a book; they asked for Ayala and went away. A month later, another youth, Héctor Castagneto, disappeared. Crime? Two older sisters were linked to the Tupamaros. The police answered his mother the same way they answered Ayala's family: "He must have gone underground." Each visit to the police was the occasion for a new humiliation: jokes, laughs, endless waiting, "the inspector cannot receive you."

Simultaneously there occurred the kidnapping of the lawyer for a textile enterprise: Carlos Maeso, victim of an extor-

tion attempt. He was liberated and finally three members of the political police confessed that they were the originators of the kidnapping along with two civilians. Enrique Fernández Albano was a personal friend of Dan Mitrione, and owner of a night club, who was able to bring his stereophonic equipment directly from the United States in the embassy's diplomatic pouch. The police, contrary to custom, did not distribute photographs of their arrested functionaries. In the operation a Maverick, the characteristic car of the Uruguayan political police, was used. Abel Ayala's student girl friend said that she would be able to recognize the three men who asked for him at her house if she saw them but the police did not permit her to see those responsible for the kidnapping of Carlos Maeso.

At the beginning of September the student Julio Sposito was beaten and shot by the police during a demonstration at the gates of the Medical Faculty. His assassination unleashed a wave of popular indignation and then, curiously, an anonymous assassination attempt was made a few hours later and two members of the Republican Guard wound up dead in a hospital. Many believe that this is a typical counterpropaganda method of the type the North Americans have taught for use in Guatemala, this time with the objective of dropping a smokescreen over the cold-blooded assassination of a student. And the truth is that motives for supposing this are not lacking. In the first place, shortly before the death of the two policemen, false flyers of left organizations appeared in the streets of Montevideo announcing vengeance. In the second place no investigation of the affair was made. In the third place, the Repub-

lican guard, a police body not engaged in repression, carries out routine activities which in no way could be made to simulate revenge. In the fourth place, the revolutionary organizations in Uruguay don't cultivate vengeance. In the fifth place the operation was planned down to the last detail, which removes the possibility for a reaction of spontaneous fury, and its authors left without touching an enormous sum of money which, at that moment, reached the hospital to pay for salaries, also removing the motive of expropriation. In the sixth place the left organizations denied responsibility for the fact and in Uruguay the left always declares its responsibility for what it does. And in the seventh and last place, the four daily newspapers that suggested there could be some other explanation for the strange episode were closed by the government, immediately, for eight days.

# ARGENTINA:

## THE GREAT MANEUVER

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**A**LEJANDRO Lanusse's victory over the recent rightist nationalist golpe with its epicenter in the Olavarría and Azul sections of Buenos Aires, was followed by an affirmation of the positions of the orthodox liberal group, which insured the conduct of economic policy in the months to come.

The military hierarchy headed by Lanusse patiently permitted the preparation of the golpe and dissolved it before it reached the point of military confrontation, achieving the surrender of the rebels but capitalizing with this action on the generalized antifascist sentiment of the immense majority of public opinion, winning it the support of the populist parties and organizations. The frustrated golpe by the colonels was accompanied by a regressive, aristocratic and antipopular nationalism and by a cavernous anticommunism

which gave the conspiring group a frankly fascist political shading. This sector lacked the homogeneity and cohesion to oppose the "liberal" group in the armed forces which controls the top commands.

On the other hand, its political objectives are not substantially different at the moment from those of the liberal group in that they seek only a new plan for the relationship with imperialism, and would possibly place greater weight on certain sectors of the middle and lower bourgeoisie and the state enterprises.

The defeat does not signify a definitive victory for the group known as liberal, since certainly the opposition of the nationalist colonels will continue to operate and could eventually reach the point of provoking new confrontations of this type in the future.



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BUENOS AIRES, October 24 — IN THE CITY OF ROSARIO THE CHE GUEVARA COMMANDO OF THE ARGENTINE LIBERATION FORCES (FAL), WHOSE ORIENTATION IS MARXIST, ISSUED A PROCLAMATION OVER A HIGH FREQUENCY NETWORK THROUGH WHICH A BROADCASTING ENTERPRISE PROVIDES MUSICAL SERVICES TO COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN THIS CITY.

ALSO IN ROSARIO, A COMMANDO OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP), THE OTHER MARXIST GROUP, PROCEEDED TO "EXPROPRIATE" AN AUTOMOBILE FROM A CENTRAL GARAGE, IN WHICH NOTICES ALLUDING TO IT WERE LEFT. SIMULTANEOUSLY TWO EXPLOSIONS WITH MEDIUM-STRENGTH BOMBS WERE RECORDED IN THIS URBAN CENTER IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF TWO ENTERPRISES BELONGING TO BIG MONOPOLISTIC GROUPS: ALBA PAINTS AND RIO DE LA PLATA MILLS.

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What has become clear since the golpe is that the liberal group has increased its influence. Lanusse belongs to this group, the chief exponent of concentrated capital and of the nation's establishment, but his position at the head of the government brought about the opposition of the ultras in liberal sectors because he did not apply a policy that would isolate the Peronists and more concentrated capital.

Lanusse developed the strategy of great national accord, destined to lead the Peronist bureaucracy and the radicalism of the people into a conditioned electoral

adventure with the objective of isolating the guerrilla and the revolutionary political and trade union tendencies and — at the same time — blocking the possible confluence of these groups with certain sectors of military nationalism.

To this end, he succeeded in stimulating a generally undefined climate as far as the points of government orientation are concerned, which served to extend the period for convoking elections and waste and weaken the popular parties; while, on the other hand, taking advantage of the pause to open a fierce offensive against



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A FAL COMMANDO ASSAULTED A ROCK QUARRY IN THE CITY OF CORDOBA ON TUESDAY, 12th, AND SEIZED A 900 KILOGRAM DYNAMITE CHARGE WHICH WAS TO BE USED IN THE WORK THERE.

IN THE PROVINCE OF TUCUMAN A COMMANDO OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY ASSAULTED THE OFFICES OF THE CIVILIAN REGISTRAR OF VILLA CARMELA, A SMALL VILLAGE NEAR THE CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE. ACCORDING TO A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED LATER, THE DOCUMENTS AND A TYPEWRITER EXPROPRIATED BY ERP "WILL BECOME PART OF AN INTELLIGENCE CELL OF THE ORGANIZATION."

IN CORDOBA, THE 29th OF MAY COMMANDO OF THE ERP ASSAULTED A LOCAL RAILWAY POLICE STATION AND EXPROPRIATED SIX 45 CALIBRE PISTOLS AND OTHER ARTICLES.

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the revolutionary militants and to disguise their action behind a mask of democracy.

The impossibility of maintaining the situation of expectancy over many months is due to the tight foreign resources available because of the fall in foreign exchange reserves and the impatience of the ultra liberal sectors (especially of Generals Alcides López Aufrano and Sánchez) who fear that in the interim the Peronists will gain greater prestige and

power. This impatience can be precipitated through some attempted golpe by the nationalist band, by the development of the guerrilla or the radicalization of certain populist sectors.

Thus Lanusse finds himself in between two opposing forces: the Peronist and radical bureaucracy, and the ultramilitarists supported by the establishment in their policy and by the latter and other nationalist variants among the militarists.

IN THE CITY OF PLATA A SERIES OF VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS TOOK PLACE BETWEEN STUDENTS OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, LOCATED IN THIS CITY, AND REPRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PROVINCIAL POLICE. THE STUDENTS HELD A MEETING IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING OF THE ENGINEERING FACULTY TO PROTEST, IN PARTICULAR, THE RECENT DETENTION OF FIVE COMRADES AND, IN GENERAL, THE EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION PRISONERS AND THE REPRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

AT FIRST, THE POLICE TRIED TO DISSOLVE THE MEETING USING TEAR GAS BUT THE STUDENTS DECIDED TO FACE UP TO THE REPRESSION, ERECTED BARRICADES, LIT BONFIRES WHICH MITIGATED THE EFFECTS OF THE GAS AND BEGAN AN INTENSE RAIN OF STONES AGAINST POLICE ELEMENTS.

IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS ARRESTED HAS RISEN TO SOME 240. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY IS SEEKING THEIR RELEASE BUT UP UNTIL NOW THEY REMAIN IN POLICE STATIONS.



## guerrilla fronts



**W**IDE is the map of the Colombian guerrilla and long is the road of its struggles, struggles of years.

At each bend of this road, at varied and distant points on this map of guerrilla geography, the indelible and still recent

the yoke of imperialism and of the sepy oligarchy.

### **The Guerrillas Resurge!**

For some time, almost two years after 1969, guerrilla guns were silent in certain

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# **COLOMBIAN GUERRILLA**

by Ricardo Andino

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marks of heroic sacrifices, brilliant triumphs but also some sad defeats remain.

The history of the Colombian guerrilla registers lives of inestimable valor lost.

Illustrious men have fallen in combat, men of great intellectual renown such as Camilo Torres Restrepo, first guerrilla priest of South America.

Unknown, humble, valiant heroes have also fallen, men and women of the people, consecrated to the revolutionary struggle, who offered their lives for the cause of national liberation in order to throw off

Colombian regions. From afar it was not easy to verify the causes of this silence.

The Colombian Government and the high military command sang of victory. They thought the silence in the former zones of struggle was the result of their apparatus and their costly campaign of supposed pacification.

The Colombian army, with weapons supplied by the Government of the United States and with the advice of the US military mission and some Israeli experts, applied the so-called civic-military action



to the peasant regions considered to be the rear guard of the guerrilla movements. Millions of dollars were spent on infrastructure works, on various services and in copious propaganda.

Surprisingly, at the end of last September, the absent guerrillas reopened fire between the valley of Upper Magdalena and the tiers of the central range of the Andes in the hilly zone of the departments of Huila and Tolima in the south-central part of Colombia.

On other guerrilla fronts very far apart, in the northeast and northwest, guerrilla actions had never ceased although a certain limitation in their activities was to be observed. The belief on the part of the Colombian high military command that it controlled the guerrilla focuses and had them enclosed and subjected to the inevitable process of extinction was false. A mirage.

The graduates of the Panama Canal zone or of Fort Tolemaida in the northeast of Tolima (International Antiguerilla School), the veteran experts in counter-insurgency, had forgotten that the guerrilla, armed with revolutionary ideology and supported by a politicized peasant rear guard, is unbeatable.

Moreover, it appears that the General Command of the Armed Forces of Colombia was very unprepared or at least very





confident of its apparent domination of the situation, when it again heard the voice of rifles and the staccato of machine guns in the woods and mountains of Colombia.

### Marching Toward Unity

Successive cables from Bogota transmitted by Prensa Latina provided news of the resurgent guerrilla over several weeks.

October 9. — The fourth anniversary of the assassination of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara in Bolivia coincided in Colombia with the expansion of the guerrilla struggle in seven of the 22 departments [provinces] of the country, and in the district of Caqueta on the slope of the Amazon valley.

A communiqué distributed clandestinely in Bogota on the same day, October 8, announced the formation of the movement known as the United Front of Guerrilla Action (FUAG), whose objective it is to coordinate the solidarity of the urban centers with the different guerrilla movements operating in the country: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN), Popular Army of Liberation (EPL); and the uprising of the Guahibo Indians.

Some days earlier the bulletin *Resistencia*, organ of FARC whose leader is Comandante Manuel Marulanda Vélez, was also circulated clandestinely. In this edi-

tion there was a late report on a general guerrilla conference held in April of this year and in which a call for unity was issued. *Resistencia* said:

The fourth guerrilla conference decided to trace the first lines of strategic order on the basis of a military plan that calls for attacks on the fundamental supports of the regime, such as the economy, transportation, communications and the Armed Forces.

We are part of the people who struggle for change, and therefore we have decided to increase armed guerrilla action, in which we are invincible because we have the support of the masses exploited by the pro-Yankee government.

We do not wish to fight with the democratic and progressive sectors of the Armed Forces, and on the contrary, call on them to join the rebel clergy, the struggling students, the fighting workers, the progressive intellectuals, the peasants, and all of us who suffer, who want a rich, proud, generous homeland and a just peace. Thus united, we will fight one and another battle until we win power!

### Colombia in a State of War

Another cable from Prensa Latina, on October 10, stated: "Colombia today is

under a virtual state of war, with the application of stringent measures of military control dictated by the government of Misael Pastrana Borrero in order to confront the new peak of guerrilla actions and student and popular protests."

At the end of October, the FARC guerrillas, spread over the south in four detachments, those of ELN in Santander and César, and another FARC force above the Magdalena Valley in the center, carried out three ambushes, five assaults, the occupation of four towns, the destruction of a helicopter, seizure of an oil camp, and engaged in several battles.

The army and the police suffered numerous losses (14 deaths among junior officers and soldiers, 18 wounded, 12 prisoners and 10 missing), while the official communiqués only mentioned the losses on the part of the guerrillas, without any confirmation.

The present military mobilization is the best equipped and the most extensive in the past 20 years. Of the 10 brigades of the army, seven have troops on maneuver or are maintaining special vigilance over vast mountainous and wooded zones at enormous cost and with very few results, in a territory whose area is approximately 40 000 km<sup>2</sup>.

### **The Guerrilla Map**

Separated by enormous distances, in very different regions, in distinct ranges

of the Andean orography, three different peasant guerrilla movements remain in arms, and in the Orinoco woods there is one Indian tribe.

The ELN, in whose ranks the priest Camilo Torres Restrepo fought, now has the Spanish priest Domingo Laín. Its commander is Fabio Vázquez Castaño, who works in the vast southern zone of Santander between the eastern range and the valley of the Magdalena, as well as the oil zone of Barrancabermeja.

The EPL includes various guerrillas displaced from the Upper Sinu, the Upper San Jorge, the Ayapel slopes and zones of the Lower Cauca, to the south of Córdoba and the north of Antioquia.

FARC is the oldest peasant movement. Its commander is Manuel Marulanda Vélez, who at different stages has fought for almost 20 years continuously against the army. He now has four fronts: the northeast of Caqueta, the southwest of Huila, south-east of Tolima and the northwest of Cundinamarca.

To appreciate the distances, it is enough to note that from Bogotá, the FARC is some 500 kilometers to the south and 300 kilometers to the northwest. The ELN is some 500 kilometers from Bogotá. The EPL is more than 700 kilometers from the capital. The distance between FARC and EPL alone is more than 1000 kilometers, and between ELN and FARC, more than 800 kilometers. Between ELN and EPL the distance is 300 kilometers.



appeals and messages



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# NASSER

EXTRACTS OF  
THE MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE  
SECRETARIAT  
TO THE SYMPOSIUM ON NASSER

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Dear Friends:

**W**E wish to thank the Afro-Asian Organization for the honor of having invited us to participate in this symposium on the fruitful life and revolutionary leadership of President Nasser.

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It fell to President Nasser to challenge and face up to imperialism during a historic period in which the awakening of our peoples had just begun.

The historic nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1952 ordered by President Nasser, not only caused panic among the imperialists, but also marked the definitive decline of the arrogant, merciless and omnipotent power of the British and French empires in the Middle East.

Yankee imperialism and its Zionist lackeys received the news of President Nasser's death with real rejoicing, intensifying their maneuvers against the Arab people, who are victims of their aggression and imperialist voracity. For a long time, Washington has been trying by every means possible to help its puppets in Israel and Jordan realize the theory of the "equilibrium of forces" included in the Nixon doctrine for the Middle East.

The Egyptian and other Arab peoples understand clearly that all these maneuvers and plans are directed toward crushing their victorious struggle for national liberation, dividing them and legalizing the criminal occupation of Arab territory by Israel in order to defend the strategic bases and interests of US imperialism in that region.

The Palestine people have every right to use whatever methods they consider necessary to achieve their legitimate aspirations and frustrate the ambitions of Zionism and imperialism, their consummate enemies.

Over the last 20 years the Yankees have suffered their most critical blows in Indochina. The strategies followed by Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon have been buried in the swamp of far-off Viet Nam. The United States war of aggression in Viet Nam has exposed all of imperialism's weaknesses. For the first time in the history of the United States, the empire of abundant material resources and armaments has been seriously defeated by a small country, causing numerous military, political and diplomatic difficulties.

The US imperialists have been occupying the southern half of Korea for over 26 years blocking the reunification of the country. Following the



notorious Nixon doctrine of making Asians fight Asians, they are using the Japanese militarists as their shock brigade in their aggression against Korea and to step up the aggressive maneuvers aimed at provoking a new war in Korea, thus creating an extremely dangerous situation in that region.

In Africa, colonialism beats its retreat before the advance of the liberation forces; the last bastions of colonialism, represented by the fighting people of what is called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, are the scenes of a heroic war whose end will be nothing less than the victory of these African peoples and the humiliating defeat of Portuguese colonialism and its sustainers, the imperialist powers of NATO, led by the United States.

The racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury — stigmas on the African continent — prove themselves impotent in containing the dignified struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, in spite of their barbarous and genocidal methods. The people and government of the Republic of Guinea, headed by President Sékou Touré, have exposed the criminal conspiracies of the US CIA and the regimes of Portugal, the German Federal Republic and other imperialist powers. For their part, the Congolese people continue their resistance against the imperialist coalition led by the United States in complicity with its puppet Mobutu.

Yankee imperialism faces a vigorous revolution in its own backyard; Latin America, inspired by the example of its founders, writes in blood its irrevocable determination to raze to the ground the results of Yankee imperialist domination.

The revolution in that region of the world is developing and consolidating through the will of its revolutionary vanguards and the determined struggle of the working masses. After 12 years of life, the Cuban Revolution led by Comandante Fidel Castro is further consolidated every day, and in the western hemisphere firmly maintains the banners of the national lib-



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eration struggle of the peoples of the world despite the barbarous blockade of the Yankee imperialists, and now no longer fights alone. At its side today is Chile and its Popular Unity Government headed by President Salvador Allende. Peru is continuing the normal development of the process of national consolidation and antifeudal affirmation that is taking place there.

A frankly fascist *golpe* overthrew the Bolivian Government in order to install a regime answerable to Yankee imperialism and its puppets in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. Now the people of Bolivia are advancing with more determination than before toward the conquest of revolutionary power, without hesitation or confusion. The example of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara and of the other fighters who have given their lives for the liberation of the Bolivian people vigorously moves the revolutionary struggle forward in Bolivia and other Latin-American countries. All the revolutionary forces of Latin America and the world have the responsibility for lending their moral and material support to the Bolivian revolutionaries in their struggle against fascism and for the liberation of their homeland.

The struggle of the Afro-American people contributes valiantly to the internal decomposition of North American imperialism, whose repressive forces daily commit the most repugnant and cowardly crimes against Afro-American leaders and fighters like the young professor Angela Davis, and George Jackson.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America resolutely support the struggle of our black brothers in the United States and offer our stimulus and help in this contest for their liberty.

Our epoch is the epoch of those who fight for their rights, for independence, liberty and peace. Our epoch is an epoch in which the exploited and oppressed are arising against the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and are obtaining great victories.

## A HEROIC TRADITION

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**T**WENTY-SIX year ago, on October 12, the independence of Laos was proclaimed, thus marking a glorious page in the history of the Laotian people. From that time up to the present, under the enlightened leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front, headed by President Prince Souphanouvong, the Laotian people, developing the tradition of a heroic, intransigent and unyielding struggle, have been fighting unceasingly and recording brilliant victories.

With the purpose of turning Laos into a neocolony and a military base, US imperialists have intervened and brazenly perpetrated aggression against Laos. They have established the Vientiane puppet administration as their instrument for carrying out "the special war" against the Laotian people, sabotaging independence, peace, neutrality and national harmony in Laos, thus violating systematically the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

Applying the "Nixon doctrine," the US Administration has sent Thai operational troops and Saigonese puppet troops under the command of US officers, into Laos to join Laotian rightist troops in perpetrating attacks against the liberated zone controlled by the patriotic forces.

In the face of these bellicose actions by US imperialists, the Laotian armed forces and people have smashed to smithereens all the enemy's maneuvers and military ventures and have achieved successive and important victories. Parallel to the military struggle, the Laotian Patriotic Front has spared no efforts to find a peaceful settlement to the Laotian problem. Thus, on June 22, 1971, the Laotian Patriotic Front submitted new peace proposals which may be summed up as follows:



To establish a cease-fire throughout Laotian territory that will include the end of US air raids in order to enable the interested Laotian parties to solve the problems of Laos.

Instead of giving a serious answer to the reasonable proposals of the Laotian Patriotic Front, the reactionary authorities of Vientiane, carrying out Yankee orders, have launched attacks against the liberated zone, thus escalating the war to a new stage.

The problem of Laos must be solved by the Laotian people themselves on the basis of the Laotian Patriotic Front's Five-Point Political Solution of March 6, 1971, and the Two-Point Proposal of June 22, 1971.

The OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat reiterates its unaltered position of full support to the just and heroic struggle of the Laotian people against the US imperialist aggressors and for the defense of their national independence and sovereignty.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the whole world, including the North American people, are firmly convinced that the Laotian people, united in struggle with Viet Nam and Cambodia, will oust the Yankee aggressors and their lackeys from the Indochina Peninsula.

The peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam will win!  
(Extracts of the appeal for solidarity with the people of Laos)

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## MILITANT COMBATIVITY

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ON THE 29th of October, 1965, two months before the celebration of the First Tricontinental Conference, El Mehdi Ben Barka, member of the General Secretariat of the National Union of Popular Forces (NUPF) and President of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, was kidnapped in Paris and then assassinated by the Moroccan regime. The kidnapping in French territory was made possible for the agents of Oufkir thanks to the active help of the French authorities, the French Foreign Documentation and Counter-Espionage Service (SDECE) and the North American CIA, concerned about the coming celebration of the First Tricontinental Conference in Havana which, as Ben Barka said, would bring together the two currents of the world revolution: that of the socialist revolution which began with the October Revolution and parallel to it that of the national liberation struggle.

French justice, which was responsible for bringing to light the whole truth surrounding the events, instead covered up and disguised those actually guilty, but could not prevent the Moroccan Minister of the Interior, the general assassin Oufkir, from being condemned to life imprisonment for contumacy. Nevertheless, he has continued as Minister, and has recently strengthened his position even more following the failure of the military coup of June 10, 1971, developments which confirm the forecast made by El Mehdi Ben Barka in 1962 in a report to the General Secretariat of NUPF which read:

The zealous care the royal palace has taken to maintain the army within closed boundaries has permitted a type of strongly armed



***This  
great humanity  
has said:  
enough! and has started  
to move forward***

feudalism to develop, penetrated by all kinds of external influences and hidden interests, without any possibility of control or safeguard. In this way the present regime, through its blindly antipopular policy, runs the risk of losing leadership of this instrument. [...] Thus the possibility exists that the pillar on which the regime thinks it is based, not only may be lost, but may become a danger to its own existence.

Unfortunately the lucidity of this analysis has not led the regime of Hassan II to reach conclusions in accord with the interests of the people, but on the contrary, since 1960 he has maintained a policy of repression, perpetrating conspiracies, kidnappings and assassinations, through which he has sought to destroy the progressive organizations of the country, which nevertheless remain firm and combative. This combativeness of the Moroccan revolutionary militants has been demonstrated once more during the trial of Marrakech staged by the reactionary Moroccan regime against 193 militants of the party of Mehdi Ben Barka — among them several combatants who fought in the ranks of the Palestinian resistance — who despite the death sentences imposed on several of them, adopted a principled attitude of denunciation against the authorities responsible for the tortures and maltreatment to which they are systematically and arbitrarily subjected in the prisons.

(Extracts of the appeal on the occasion of the VI anniversary of the disappearance of El Mehdi Ben Barka)

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