

15 Sept 1972

Approved For Release 2000/09/14 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000400150001-4

## ASSASSINATION LEGACY

On April 15, 1972, WO predicted that "Teddy Kennedy would remain on the sidelines during the coming Presidential Election, regardless whether the Democratic Convention in Miami will want to draft him or not." WO continued: "Back in 1963 shortly after President Kennedy's assassination, Robert F. Kennedy, while he was still Attorney General, conducted his own investigation of the death of his brother. That private investigation, which ran parallel with the official inquiry into the magnicide conducted by the Warren Commission, was featured by trips to this country by an Inspector Hamilton, former Chief Inspector of Scotland Yard, Hamilton . . . had been retained by Bobby to help unravel the real truth about the murder of JFK. . . . Hamilton zeroed on the fact that the assassination of John Kennedy had occurred very shortly after his brother Bobby had made some preliminary moves of taking direct, personal control of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, whose leadership he blamed for the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Hamilton, following the *'cui prodest'* ('whom does it benefit?') reasoning, reached the conclusion that Bobby's move to seize control of the CIA had something to do with murder of his elder brother. . . . Teddy has become convinced of the correctness of Hamilton's conclusion, and, furthermore, considers it to have been further vindicated by Bobby's own death—which occurred within a matter of days after he threw his hat into the presidential ring and was on the way to putting himself in the position to take over the free-spending, powerful cloak-and-dagger agency."

When in the spring the Presidential campaigns of Muskie and Humphrey faltered, Teddy Kennedy weakened under pressure and permitted his cohorts to stealthily start his Presidential campaign, but was abruptly stopped by the attempted assassination of George Wallace. The Wallace assassination plot followed almost exactly the pattern of the Kennedy assassinations.

Teddy was scared. He told his courtiers to desist from all efforts to secure his presidential nomination, but to continue bluffing that he was potentially available in order that he could exercise more power at the National Convention.

Teddy wanted McGovern nominated because he was the weakest candidate, most likely to be defeated and thus leave the door wide open for Teddy in 1976. Teddy knew that both Soviet Russia and Israel are anxious to have Nixon re-elected and that any candidate who would seriously jeopardize Nixon's re-election would be a disaster for the

The Soviet KGB and the CIA both conduct schools for assassins and frequently complement each other, as in the instance of Che Guevara where the KGB set up the Argentine-born revolutionist for the CIA to ambush him.

WO on June 15, 1968, reporting on the Guevara assassination, stated: "the killing was done by agents of our own Central Intelligence Agency, sometimes called 'Murder Unlimited' . . . Guevara was 'fingered' for the CIA by the Soviet police (KGB)."

The equally murderous Israeli secret political police are also specialists in political homicide and frequently work in cooperation with CIA and KGB.

The public opinion polls have constantly indicated that Kennedy could defeat Nixon.

In the interim between now and 1976 Teddy intends to ingratiate himself with both Moscow and Tel Aviv, and be the anointed Communist-Zionist successor of Nixon in the White House.

STATINTL

7 JUL 1972

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## LETTER FROM SANTA CRUZ

*Although General Torres and his Communist colleagues  
have been overthrown, there's not a chance,  
says the author, that Gulf will get back its oil fields.  
And he explains why*

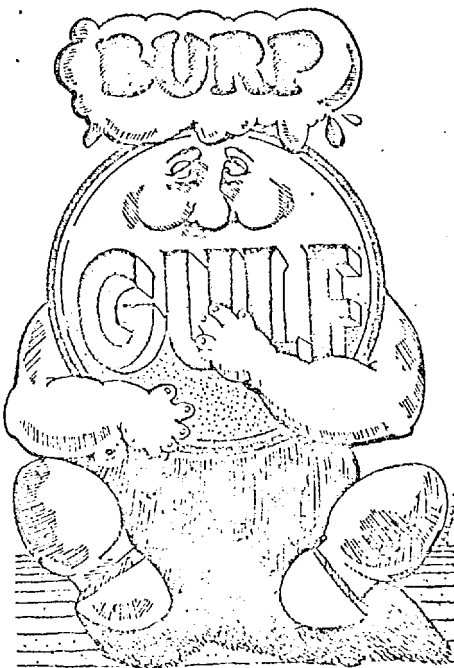
STATINTL

## The New-Left Rightists in Bolivia

SELDEN RODMAN

As an Old Bolivian Hand who had visited the West's highest country three times without ever seeing its tropical lowlands, I had more than one motive for starting my fourth trip in Santa Cruz. The city is only an hour's flight across the Gran Chaco from Asunción, Paraguay, where I was staying. And it had been the scene not only of the military conspiracy under Colonel Hugo Banzer Suárez that had ousted General Juan José Torres and his Communist colleagues last year, but of the oil and gas installations of the Gulf Oil Company whose expropriation on October 17, 1969 by the Ovando regime led directly to the Marxists' takeover under Torres a few months later. I wanted to find out, before proceeding to Cochabamba and La Paz, what the conservative lowlanders thought of the takeover and how it had affected them. I wanted to see the oil fields and ask the workers whether they wanted Gulf back. And finally I wanted for once to avoid the altitude sickness that had always laid me low on landing at La Paz's 13,500-foot airport; everyone assured me that by creeping up gradually by way of Cochabamba I would "outwit" the *soroche*.

Santa Cruz is Bolivia's "frontier" city. In an undeveloped region as big as Texas, it is surrounded by unexplored jungles, Amazon-type rivers, fertile fields for growing year-round crops—not to mention immense mineral and petroleum deposits. Its citizens—like those of Guayaquil in Ecuador or San Pedro Sula in Honduras—deeply resent being exploited by the "drones" of the highland capital, and pride themselves on an enterprising individuality that they never tire of comparing with the pioneer spirit of nineteenth-century America. Their pro-



vincial capital has none of the Hispanic art-treasures of cities like Sucre and Potosí in the Andes to the west, but its people are warm and hospitable and more than once have threatened to make common cause with Brazil or Argentina unless permitted reasonable autonomy.

### *Gulf and the Cruzeños*

I spoke first with a leader in the business community who told me that things had been really booming in Santa Cruz when the nationalization of Gulf was announced. "Everybody was stunned, and all of us, from landowners to taxi-drivers, suffered. Land values fell 50 per cent. For a year and a half not a drop of oil was exported. Delay in completing the pipeline for natural gas has cost Bolivia \$100 million in revenue from Argentina. And of course the termination of any further exploration—there is no Bolivian capital to finance this—will have incalculable effects once the present wells are pumped dry. But far worse than the expropriation of Gulf—which many applauded for nationalistic reasons and because the company was unpopular except with those on its payroll—was the American acquiescence in the Communist takeover by Torres which followed. Your ambassador never opened his mouth. We felt abandoned. We felt you had no interest in saving your allies. The Russians, in contrast, were generously financing the student organizations that burned your buildings. And they promised Bolivia a \$27-million loan—which even the Banzer government will no doubt accept, if no obvious strings are attached to it."

I asked him why Gulf had been so disliked. "Their public relations were terrible," he replied. "They staffed their headquarters with people from the mountains, ignoring the intense hostility. They wrote a letter to the local dentists to see who would bid the lowest for serving Gulf. They never joined the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce though invited to repeatedly. Their executives were not friendly types, like your AID officials, for example; at parties they didn't mix with the Bolivians. Finally, Gulf was too efficient, too automated; perhaps it should have padded its payroll a little to include more Bolivians. So in spite of the good

# A Short History of CIA Intervention in Sixteen Foreign Countries

*In July, 1947, Congress passed one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the history of America in peacetime. The National Security Act of 1947 created The National Security Council, the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the United States Air Force and, not least of all, the CIA. This act provided the Agency with five principal duties:*

- 1. To advise the National Security Council on matters concerning intelligence.*
- 2. To make recommendations for the coordination of such intelligence matters.*
- 3. To correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to national security and disseminate it to other government departments.*
- 4. To perform "such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally."*
- 5. To perform "such other functions and duties as the NSC would direct."*

*In 1949 Congress passed the Central Intelligence Agency Act, allowing the agency to disregard laws that required disclosure of information concerning the organization, to expend funds without regard to laws and regulations governing expenditures with no other accounting than the Director's vouchers, and to make contracts and purchases without advertising.*

*With such unprecedented authority, with unlimited access to money, with liberty to act without regard to scrutiny or review by either civilian or governmental organizations, the CIA has become a self-contained state. One observer ranks the CIA as the fourth world power, after the U.S., Russia, and China.*

*Partly because of the CIA's special "secret" status and partly because of the laziness of the press, the total history of CIA intervention in foreign countries has never been reported. What you read instead are fragments—an attempted bribe in Mexico last July, an assassination in Africa last November.*

*What emerges here is an atlas of intrigue but not a grand design; on the contrary, the CIA's record is as erratic and contradictory as that of any bureaucracy in the Federal stable. But you do begin to comprehend the enormous size of the CIA and its ruthless behavior. The rules permit murder, defoliation and drug addiction for political ends. Look at the record:*



# Latin America Communists stress freedom upsurge

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—Representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, meeting jointly last September on common Latin American problems, issued the following declaration:

(1) Latin America is witnessing a new turn in the historic struggle of our peoples to free themselves of the yoke of North American-imperialism and of the backward anti-national oligarchies.

The dominant feature throughout the continent is the upsurge of the freedom struggles and the pronounced turn to the left by the broad masses of the people.

New patriotic sectors, feeling the national dignity of their countries wounded by the plunder carried out by imperialism, join with the struggles to free the working class—which give growing evidence of maturity. These include peasants, students, middle strata, especially the progressive intelligentsia.

The new situation of our continent is producing important changes in the Church and is developing the national and social conscience of various sectors of the Armed Forces.

## Victory in Chile

Ten years after the heroic Cuban Revolution, which signaled a profound qualitative change in the continental situation, the process of revolutionary advances entered a new stage of development with the extraordinary victory of Popular Unity in Chile. The Chilean people have fully recovered their sovereignty, are making themselves masters of their mineral riches which had been in the hands of foreign monopolies, are deepening the Land Reform and improving their living conditions. Their victory and achievements, which are laying the foundations for socialism, constitute a great encouragement for the entire continent, as also are the structural transformations won by the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic, democratic movement of Peru and which are expressed in the measures adopted by the Peruvian government.

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The growing antagonism between Yankee imperialism and the people and government of

Panama, the sharp struggles of the Uruguayan people and the formation of the Broad Front, the growing mass struggles and the development of united movements in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Costa Rica and the other countries of the continent, the resistance of the noble Brazilian people to the sinister fascist-like military dictatorship despite the country's reign of terror, the growing opposition to Stroessner in Paraguay, are all facts proving the existence of an irreversible process.

Imperialism and the oligarchies act together against the peoples of Latin America. Faced with this, the understanding of the common destiny of the people's forces on the continent is spreading.

## Imperialist counterattack

(2) Imperialism is not resigning itself to its defeats. Faced with the rising tide of democratic people's struggles in Latin America, especially in the south of the continent, Yankee imperialism—with the support of the most reactionary governments, particularly that of Brazil which seeks to transform its country into an armed camp against our peoples—tries by every means to force a change of direction, as was made evident in Bolivia. The fascist coup d'etat was inspired, financed and carried out by the CIA with the help of the gorilla band that governs Brazil, the fierce pro-imperialist dictatorship of Paraguay and of some sections of the extreme Right in Argentina.

Once more it has been demonstrated that Yankee imperialism is the chief enemy.

The Bolivian fascists—though they will not be able, in the last instance, to halt the yearnings of the people—have caused much blood of workers, peasants, students, democrats and patriots to flow. There, persecutions, torture and assassinations are the order of the day.

## Call for protest

We call upon the peoples of our countries, the people's organizations, their enlightened leaders, the intellectuals to demonstrate their most energetic protest against the monstrous crimes of the Banzers and Selichs. Once more we call for

solidarity with the Brazilian, Paraguayan, Haitian, Argentine, and Dominican patriots suffering under outrageous and terrible regimes. And we express our determination to intensify the campaign for the freedom of the outstanding progressive leader of the United States, Angela Davis.

## CIA plots exposed

(3) The fascist coup in Bolivia has brought out clearly to our peoples the magnitude of the Yankee conspiracy, the sinister plots of the CIA have remained exposed. After Bolivia, its poisoned arrows point at the advanced regime in Peru; against the Andes Pact; against the Salta Declaration made after the Alende-Lanusse talks—which undermined the so-called "ideological frontiers" and sharpened the crisis in the OAS—with the aim of installing in Argentina a dictatorship ready to draw up plans with the rulers of Brazil to serve the designs of the Yankee monopolists and, above all, against the revolutionary process in Chile whose victories are already reinforcing the confidence of the peoples in their own power.

Neither has Yankee imperialism renounced its aim of assaulting Cuba, island of freedom and socialism. Finally, its repressive designs point against the Uruguayan people and against all the peoples advancing in struggle for liberation.

(5) The Communist Parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay all urge all patriots, regardless of philosophy or belief, to unite so as to fight decisively to ward off this grave threat hovering over the peoples of Latin America without the slightest trace of defeatism. The depth of the continental process and of the crisis of Yankee domination in Latin America, and the heightened consciousness of our peoples and their combativeness, create the conditions for new victories and for each people finding its own way in the framework of a Latin America whose dominant feature is a process of change in the correlation of forces favorable to the advanced and anti-imperialist sectors.

—From El Siglo, Chilean Communist daily (Oct. 11.)

# Peaceful changed noted

## Rebellion in Bolivia lingers for student

By QUINTON SMITH

Correspondent, The Oregonian

CORVALLIS — The Willamette Valley campus of Oregon State University is a long way from—and a peaceful change from—La Paz, Bolivia, according to Peter Isaacson, a Ph.D. candidate in geology here.

He was in La Paz last August when the revolution broke out.

"Soldiers started appearing on street corners, carrying machine guns, so we decided to head south and get away from the trouble," Isaacson said.

Indians and rebel army troops, under Col. Hugo Banzer Suarez, were attempting to overthrow the pro-Communist government of Gen. Juan Torres who was supported by loyal troops, miners and students.

Isaacson, 25, and his wife, an Argentine graduate student, were studying fossils of the Devonian period. With them was Belarmino Antelo, an Argentine.

### Miners encountered

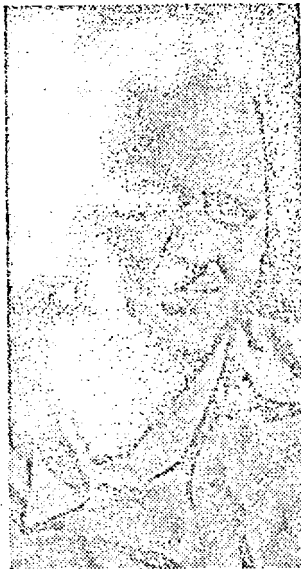
After slipping out of La Paz, the three headed to Oruro, 120 miles to the south. Along the way they kept encountering truckloads of miners heading north.

"Big eight-ton trucks packed with miners. They had dynamite stuck in their belts and were carrying carbines," Isaacson recalls. "We were stopped by them in one of the small mining towns. They were trying to recruit people to go with them to La Paz and shoot Indians."

At that time Isaacson and his wife, Laurie, admitted to being a little frightened.

The revolution started in the province of Santa Cruz, on Bolivia's eastern border, which wanted to secede to Brazil. Also in Santa Cruz were several exiled leaders and the insurrection quickly caught fire.

The Nationalist Popular Front, as the rebels called



PETER ISAACSON

themselves, started the revolt to "keep the country from falling to the Communists."

Just outside Oruro, which had been the scene of fighting between miners and rebel army troops, the Isaacsons were stopped again.

"They stopped a bus ahead of us," the 25-year-old student said. "There must have been 2,000 of them just milling around."

But the Isaacsons for some reason were ignored.

The geologist was glad they didn't look like typical American tourists.

"If they would have found out we were Americans there would have been trouble. Our Argentine license plates on our truck really helped."

Although travelling south away from the major areas of the revolution the party still had to avoid the centers of many towns.

"Each town was trying to decide whether it would support the president or not," Isaacson said. "The people would be at the center of town having a sort of pep rally."

He explained the emotional fervor of the Bolivians something many Americans aren't aware of.

"The people really get involved with politics. They either want to support or overthrow someone."

Pushing south for another 18 hours to the provincial mining town of Potosi, the group chose a "fortress-like" hotel.

Students at the university in Potosi were fighting that night and had managed to blockade the main sections of town. The Isaacsons and Belarmino Antelo slipped out of town early the next morning.

### Students impress

"In Bolivia the students are a very powerful political body and as it turned out in this case are also militarily powerful. Armed with dynamite and guns they are indeed a power to be taken seriously," Isaacson said.

According to Isaacson the students were particularly riled because they thought the revolution was being financed by the United States' CIA.

All the universities in Bolivia are closed until the government irons out what they consider this student problem.

While continuing south from Potosi that day the group learned that President Torres had sought asylum in the Peruvian embassy in La Paz.

Under the new regime, Col. Banzer Suarez has welcomed Americans to Bolivia and the Isaacsons plan to go back next summer and continue their research.

STATINTL

E - 242,928  
S - 284,097

OCT 17 1971

For Junta

## Expelled Pastor Says Bolivians Blame CIA

✓ The Bolivian peasantry blames the CIA for the August military junta by right-wing Army Col. Hugo Banzer, an expelled Bolivian pastor and district co-ordinator for the Methodist Church said this week.

✓ The Rev. Jaime A. Bravo, a 29-year-old Aymara Indian born in Bolivia, told a press conference in Kirby Hall at Southern Methodist University that rumors among the Bolivian masses credit the CIA with engineering the overthrow in August of the five-month-old government of Gen. Juan Jose Torres.

The young Methodist minister was arrested, held incommunicado and taken before would-be firing squad during the coup.

But Bishop Mortimer Aria, the Bolivian Methodist bishop, negotiated Bravo's release on the condition that he leave Bolivia. He arrived in Miami in late August, and is now on a speaking tour of the U.S.

✓ **ALTHOUGH BRAVO** would not attack CIA connections to the new regime, he said his pastoral activities among impoverished Indian peasants earned him a "Red" label.

He said the right-wing government pins the title to any nonconformist who has influence with the masses.

The influence which he commanded, Bravo said, was the result of Christianity helping the Bolivian man "liberate himself from oppression."

Bravo described his area in Bolivia, Montero, which is north of Santa Cruz, as an

emerging sector of the country. He said peasants there are abandoning primitive ways of existence and siezing upon educational benefits and agricultural advances offered by church organizations.

**BECAUSE THE** church has taken an interest in the peasants and "liberated him from aleination," Bravo said, the pastor or priest there commands influence among the people.

Bravo said 70 per cent of Bolivia's population lives in poverty, and he claims conditions under Banzer will remain at a status quo because his right-wing attitudes do not allow change.

What is actually happening day-to-day in Bolivia was called an "impossible task" to describe by Bravo.

"The only thing this one can be sure of there is uncertainty," he said.

Bravo said his expulsion has a one-year time limit, after which time he plans to return to the Montero village and continue his pastoral duties.

# Coup in Bolivia Led by the CIA, Cuban Charges

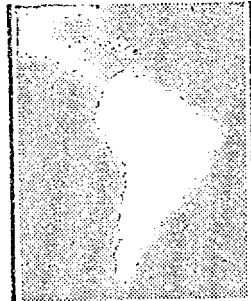
Compiled by Our Latin America Staff

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

--- Cuba has accused the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency of engineering the recent coup in Bolivia that replaced left-leaning president Juan Jose Torres with a right-of-center regime headed by Col. Hugo Banzer.

Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon claimed that the coup had been carried out with the support of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay.

"Fascism has momentarily triumphed in Bolivia," Cuba's U. N. ambassador told the General Assembly.



AROUND THE  
AMERICAS

He also said that Cuba will never rejoin the Organization of American States and reaffirmed the Castro government's "solidarity with the revolutionary combatants who fight in every corner" of Latin America.

E - 214,519  
S - 257,936

OCT 13 1979

## Exiled Cleric Says

# Bolivians Feel CIA Aided Coup

Bolivians believe their country's Aug. 18 military coup was engineered by the American Central Intelligence Agency, according to an exiled Methodist minister who escaped a firing squad shortly after the revolution.

The Rev. Jaime A. Bravo, who served as pastor and district coordinator for Methodist church work in the Montero and Santa Cruz area where the coup began, addressed the Perkins School of Theology Tuesday at Southern Methodist University.

"The rumor among the people is that the CIA took part," he said during a press conference. He said it is also rumored now in his country "community vigilante" groups acting there were trained in Brazil through CIA support.

The diminutive 29-year-old minister was jailed less than 10 days after the military takeover, he said, "because I was a voice that spoke for the masses in their efforts for progress."

He said his work and that of the church hit a snag when they began to investigate the "political aspects of the social conditions prevailing there."

The Rev. Mr. Bravo spent four and a half days in a Bolivian jail before a local bishop helped gain his release on the condition he leave the country for one year.

During his time behind bars, he said, a group of armed civilian volunteers marched him and several of his friends before a mock firing squad "to humiliate us and make fun of us."

"They made a joke in order to frighten us," he said, "and they did it twice."

With the help of an interpreter, the Rev. Alfred T. Grout, pastor of the Dallas Emanuel United Methodist Church, the Rev. Mr. Bravo explained how the Methodist church is helping the poverty-stricken country in areas where the government has been inactive.

He said in contrast to the right-wing military government, the church now has social programs in health, literacy, agriculture and community development.

"Either you're part of the status quo there," he said, "or you're part of those who want to make a change in society."

The Rev. Mr. Bravo said the ultimate hope of Bolivians "is that South American will become one country in a family of states."

"In Bolivia it's impossible for you to know what's going to happen," he said. "The only thing you can be certain about is uncertainty."



NEW YORK, N.Y.  
POST

EVENING - 623,245  
WEEKEND - 354,797

OCT 13 1971

### Cuba Puts CIA In Bolivia Coup

Cuba has charged that the Central Intelligence Agency executed the recent coup in Bolivia with the support of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay.

The Ambassadors of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia angrily denied the accusations in the UN yesterday and made countercharges. The U. S. remained silent.

"Fascism has momentarily triumphed in Bolivia," Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon Quesada told the General Assembly. He said also that his country will never rejoin the Organization of American States.

# C.I.A. To Seize Power

The Central Intelligence Agency has a \$14 million fund and a specific timetable to seize power in six Latin American countries where U.S. influence has been rapidly declining, according to the San Francisco Chronicle Foreign Service.

Thayer Waldo of the Chronicle's Mexico City news bureau, claims that CIA director Richard Helms personally gave the green light for the project which calls for the coordinated use of both the ballot box and military force to achieve the program's ends.

The CIA, Waldo reports, is organizing its drive with the aid of a Latin American "brain trust" that ranges the gambit from conservative military officers and Catholic Church leaders to a moderate Socialist. The "trust" is united by the belief that recent developments in the six countries are increasing the sphere of influence of the communist world.

Despite official denials, Waldo says that CIA money was behind the recent takeover by a fascist colonel in Bolivia, who seized power last month from a leftist regime there. Similar action—over the next 18 months—is planned for Peru, Argentina and Chile, probably in that order. In Uruguay and Columbia, the international plotters hope to achieve their ends through the ballot box, using force only as a last resort, Waldo reports. (EARTH NEWS)

The Washington Merry-Go-Round*Ex-CIA Man Tells Secret War Effort**By Jack Anderson*

A former insider has charged that the Central Intelligence Agency has provided the President with the military wherewithal to wage his own private wars around the world and is geared to fight still new clandestine wars.

In a confidential memo to Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) former CIA official Victor Marchetti makes these allegations:

• The White House has used "vague phraseology" in the law to build up a vast military arsenal and paramilitary force. Past presidents have ordered the CIA to wage secret wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America without the traditional constitutional safeguards and congressional oversight.

• The CIA "has bought and sold air transport companies all over the world" from the Congo to Nepal, so the President could mount paramilitary operations almost anywhere. Marchetti claims one such company, Air America, "has grown so large, owning more aircraft than most major U.S. airlines, that it was a source

of embarrassment within the agency. A senior officer had to be assigned the full-time job of keeping an eye on George Dole (the founder) in the hope of cooling his fantastic business success in the Far East."

• Southern Air Transport, a Miami-based firm, is also fingered by Marchetti as a CIA subsidiary. "The sole purpose for the existence of SAT," he asserts, "is that the CIA be ready for the contingency that some day it will have to ferry men and material to some Latin American country to wage a clandestine war."

*Fire Fighters*

Marchetti also identifies Rocky Mountain Air of Phoenix as "one of the more colorful companies owned by the CIA." This outfit specializes, he says, "in training and air-lifting paratroopers, ostensibly for fire fighting purposes." But he then points out that the CIA has no need of fire fighting capability "unless it is to put out military brushfires south of the border."

• The CIA's "air capabilities, its warehouses full of unmarked military supplies in the Midwest, a secret demolition training base in North

Carolina, even a secret airbase in Nevada, and its connections with international arms dealing firms," Marchetti charges, give the President a formidable, secret war-making capability.

A CIA spokesman acknowledged that Marchetti formerly held a position of trust at CIA headquarters. He resigned several months ago to write a novel, "The Rope Dancer," based on his CIA experiences. But he abandoned fiction recently to write a detailed background memo for Congressman Badillo, who has introduced legislation to restrict the CIA to intelligence gathering and to prohibit clandestine wars.

Declares Marchetti: "Airports and huge supply bases were secretly established up-country, close to the action. Arms and material were delivered by the boatload from the CIA's warehouses in the Far East and the United States.

"Guerrilla chieftains were recruited to lead the Meos, who would actually fight the war for the CIA. The government of Laos was placated and finessed into turning things over to the CIA opera-

tors who could conduct the conflict.

*Swashbuckling Agents*

"The chief of station—the CIA's top post in the field—during the crucial mid-60s, was \_\_\_\_\_. His previous assignment had been Berlin, where he announced to the CIA contingent there upon his arrival that he intended 'to tear down that blankety-blank wall.' He was transferred to Laos before he had the opportunity to carry out his threat, in part because of his ferociousness.

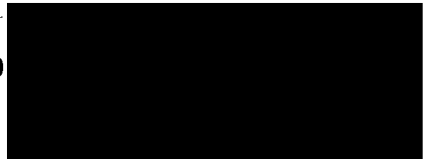
"He has been succeeded by \_\_\_\_\_, former chief of station in the Belgian Congo. When things grew quiet there, he once dropped everything for a clandestine foray into the French Congo in hope of tracking down Che Guevara.

"He failed. But his fellow operators a couple of years later eventually caught up with the revolutionary in Bolivia.

"These are the kind of men who have led the CIA in Laos, and the CIA has led the U.S. into another humiliating, inextricable international dilemma."

Bell-McClure-Syndicate

STATINTL



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BLUEFIELD, W. VA.  
SUNSET NEWS-OBSERVER

E - 5,552

SEP 13 1978

## Laird On Latin America

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird's testimony about United States support of the military element in Latin America is not heartening in itself. It is even less so when considered in light of reports that the Central Intelligence Agency is playing a clandestine role in attempts now under way to overthrow the governments of several Latin American countries.

A censored transcript of hearings conducted by the House Appropriations Committee last March reveals that Laird and other high Pentagon officials portrayed the military as "the only cohesive group" in many Latin American countries. Laird denied that U. S. training programs encourage military takeovers, saying that the training "is aimed at maintaining internal security and stability. . ."

The secretary of defense did acknowledge, however, that "intervention by the military when it judges that the government has failed has been a widely accepted reaction in Latin America." Widely employed, at any rate; "acceptance" may not be quite the apt word to describe situations in which those who do the judging and the taking over have most of the firepower.

The judging and taking over, it seems, also is helped along by the CIA in some cases. Thayer Waldo of the San Francisco Chronicle reports that in the recent Bolivian government upset "CIA money, training and advice was liberally given to the rebel strategists who masterminded" the overthrow. He writes that the CIA also is reportedly engaged in aiding an international group of Latin Americans bent on similar coups in Peru, Argentina and Chile. This, as well as Laird's inclination to rely on army men for stability in Latin America, should be the subject of further congressional inquiry.

# Behind the coup in Bolivia

*Prensa Latina*

La Paz, Bolivia

Seven well-preserved World War II tanks have perhaps decided Bolivia's political destiny—at least for now.

Gen. Juan Jose Torres, whose government had been pushed leftward by Bolivian popular forces, was overthrown by a rightist military coup Aug. 21. The tanks may have made the immediate difference.

During his 10 months in office rightist maneuvers were a potential threat to his regime, but for months he resisted the popular demands for weapons to create a people's military force to combat the increasing threat of fascism. This mattered more than tanks, of course.

The armed forces opposed the creation of a popular military force. Torres believed his chiefs of staff who said their loyalty was assured if he didn't give arms to the people. To the workers who wanted arms he warned that they should not push him, or the military would be frightened. Perhaps the mistake of the left was to have waited on Torres.

When Torres finally decided to give some arms to people of La Paz at noon Saturday, Aug. 21, it was too late. The workers and students who gathered in Miraflores stadium who received weapons obtained 10, 20 or at most 30 cartridges.

## 24-hour "loyalty"

On Saturday morning, the army commander, Gen. Luis Reque Teran, visited Torres to ask for his resignation. Only 24 hours earlier the army commander had come to the presidential palace to proclaim his absolute loyalty. On Saturday, Gen. Teran was answered by Maj. Reuben Sanchez, commander of the "Red" battalion, who said that it was they who were giving an ultimatum to the fascists.

But already virtually the entire country had been taken. The loyal forces of the capital which had held for 48 hours were beginning to crack. At that moment only the "Red" battalion could fight. The people barely had any arms and blood started to flow in La Paz that afternoon. The Castrillo regiment and cadets were holding for the fascists the small but strategic Lakaicota hill which was above the Miraflores stadium. But meter by meter, the popular forces began to recover the hill, despite strafing on three or four occasions by the air force and by 8 p.m. it was held by the revolutionaries after much blood had been shed.

The Castrillo regiment began to retreat and urgently requested reinforcements. For a moment it appeared that the army headquarters would be gained by the revolutionaries. Torres then made a radio broadcast, saying that a revolutionary victory was near and that it would be achieved more certainly with the participation of all the people.

But a short time later, the Tarapaca regiment which had remained inactive during the afternoon went over to the side of the fascists. Seven of their tanks cleared the way straight to the presidential palace. Something strange happened. Approved For Release 2000/09/14 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000400150001-4  
armor had taken everyone by surprise or the revolution-

ary forces had not been prepared to stop the tanks as they passed through the neighborhoods where the 1952 popular victory had been won. For reasons still not known, the roads had not been blown up, there were no barricades and there had been no Molotov cocktails thrown against the tanks. Thus they passed unharmed without firing a single shot directly into the city where they started using their powerful cannons.

## Tanks arrive

Fifteen minutes before the arrival of the tanks, Torres had abandoned the presidential palace for an unknown destination, leaving a lieutenant and six soldiers behind. When the tanks arrived at 9 p.m. they met with no resistance. Except for the arrival of the seven tanks, the dawn might have brought a victory to the revolutionary forces who had improved their positions during the night.

Another element important to the fascist victory was the taking of Oruro. Naively, a demonstration of miners was announced there on Aug. 20. But the 2nd division and the rangers jumped ahead of the miners, occupied the city and all access roads from the mines. Oruro had great strategic importance because it prevented the miners from advancing toward La Paz, 200 miles away. On Aug. 21 the miners managed to recover a portion of the city in a bloody battle with the Andean regiment, but the decisive events were taking place in La Paz and the miners couldn't reach it.

Col. Hugo Banzer, who led the rightists and assumed control of the government, has been an adherent of the policies of Rene Barrientos. When a person of this outlook announces that it will be no longer possible to talk about the right or left in Bolivia but only nationalism, then it is clear that he is placing himself on a powderkeg.

There is evidence that the hand of the CIA was involved in Banzer's putsch. Forty-eight hours before the Santa Cruz uprising, where Banzer's forces began their coup, the U.S. embassy in La Paz instructed its personnel and all American citizens residing in Bolivia to store food and not to leave their homes for the next few days. The conclusion is obvious unless one is a believer in clairvoyance.

[Another indication of U.S. involvement was reported in the Aug. 29 Washington Post in a dispatch from Santa Cruz by Lewis H. Diuguid. According to the report, a U.S. Air Force Major, Robert J. Lundin, supplied Banzer's forces with his own radio system after their communications lines to the capital broke down. Nominally, Lundin's assignment is that of a pilot trainer, although he is said to have been in touch with the plotters for the past six months. The report also states that Banzer, soon after he had been exiled to Argentina, crossed the border back into Bolivia and met with Lundin in Santa Cruz.]

The U.S. had already openly threatened Bolivia. During the last meeting of foreign ministers of the OAS William P. Rogers told

continued

his Bolivian counterpart: "You have overstepped the mark. I must tell you that we intend to overthrow Torres." The Bolivian minister replied, saying that Roger's calendar was behind the times, that the American embassy no longer ruled in Bolivia.

#### CIA maintained apparatus

Unfortunately that was not true, for the CIA had maintained an apparatus intact within the Bolivian administration. In May agents of the Interior Ministry surprised American diplomats involved in a conspiracy with top leaders of the National Revolutionary Movement (NRM), but the incident did not go beyond a rude exchange of letters between Torres and the U.S. ambassador.

The Americans had good friends on the frontier in Brazil and Paraguay. In July a former Bolivian Interior minister told Prensa Latina he expected a little Bay of Pigs invasion or incursions from Brazil and Paraguay by adherents of the MNR, the Falange and exiled military men like Banzer, who would start a coup possibly in Santa Cruz. A careful man, the former minister only mentioned exiled military officers who were conspiring. He did not mention those on active duty although he must have known who they were.

Two plotters are known to have entered Bolivia several times from Paraguay and Brazil to make contact with Col. Andres Selich, commander of the Santa Cruz rangers and Gen. Jaime Mendieta, commander of the Cochabamba 5th division and other anti-communist officers. Also, in July Gen. Luis Teran, army commander, met with Victor Paz Estenssoro in Lima. Selich, Mendieta and Paz all sided with rightists.

Undoubtedly the Nixon administration and its camp followers in Brazil and Paraguay felt increasingly discomfited by the developing Bolivian revolutionary forces. Confronted by three independent nations, Chile, Peru and Bolivia and with Uruguay potentially moving out of the U.S. orbit, perhaps the Nixon administration felt that the tide was turning toward national liberation which the U.S. regards as a dangerous virus. On Aug. 21 the U.S. gained a victory in Bolivia comparable to an earlier one in Guatemala. But Banzer has no support other than he can obtain by repression and this will be resisted by the Bolivian people.

## The Latest Bolivian Coup

The embittered, xenophobic radicalism of the last decade in Bolivia is a product of the mountains, where poverty is most intense and industry is largely mining. By its nature, mining originally meant heavy investments by large foreign corporations with their labor concentrated in isolated company towns. The struggle over nationalization simply substituted the government itself as the target of the miners' wrath. Recent Bolivian governments, under a succession of generals, had come increasingly under the influence of the miners' unions and their allies among the students and the clergy. La Paz, where one such government recently fell, lies at an altitude of 13,000 feet within sight of the central spine of the Andes. Santa Cruz, where the coup was organized, is several hundred miles to the east on the plains. The population is less dense there, and incomes are substantially higher.

Bolivia's new regime says that it intends to reestablish a cordial relationship with the United States, but beyond that announcement its political direction is not very clear. The losers, following tradition, accuse the United States of having initiated the coup. In this case, they point out, a U.S. Air Force major had been holding conversations with the exiled Bolivian colonel who is now his country's new president. (In Washington, the State Department is currently diluting its blanket denials with earnest promises to try to find out what really happened.) On present evidence, the major's rather vague role did not require La Paz to show much gratitude to the United States; now that the incident is public knowledge, the United States is likely to get even less.

There is more to Bolivian politics than CIA plots and palace skirmishes. The revolution of 1952 was probably the most profound ever carried out in South America. For the 12 years that followed,

presidential terms began and ended in orderly elections. But then the original revolutionary party fragmented and the succession of generals began. A coup in 1964, another in 1969, another in 1970, preceded the coup two weeks ago. The most interesting element in the latest government is the reappearance of the old revolutionary party in the cabinet. There is clearly an attempt here to return to the last effective formula for stability.

But stability is going to be a very relative term in Bolivia. We all like to think that economic growth means civic peace, but the evidence runs hard to the contrary. While Bolivia is still the poorest of the South American countries, it is growing less poor and such a journey upward is never smooth. It will be particularly difficult for Bolivia because its economy is also the extreme example of dependence upon a single product—tin, the price of which fluctuates wildly—for its foreign exchange.

Bolivia remains an embarrassment to all of the foreign missionaries' competing theories of political uplift. When the romantic revolutionaries of the Cuban school landed, they expected the peasants to pour down out of the hills. In fact, the peasants drew back suspiciously and the government's troops hunted down Che Guevara. The Soviets, in their cautious way, have been offering a smelter here and a factory there for some time but, at least for the moment, they haven't much to show for it. As for the United States, since the early 1950's it has spent hundreds of millions of dollars in aid for Bolivia. If that money has brought a somewhat better life to some of Bolivia's people, it still has not generated anything approaching democracy. To build a tradition of responsive government takes a great deal more time than the United States, with the optimism of the rich, ever expected two decades ago.

## South America Coups

STATINTL

## CIA Master Plan Seen

By Thayer Waldo  
Chronicle Foreign Service

## Mexico City

The violent toppling of still another Bolivian regime is seen by knowledgeable sources here as part of a far-reaching movement, backed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to seize power in a total of six South American republics.

Although it has been officially denied, CIA money, training and

advice was liberally given to the rebel strategists who master-minded over-

throw of Bolivia's leftist President Juan Jose Torres.

Similar action is reportedly planned over the next 18 months in Peru, Argentina and Chile, probably in that order. In Uruguay and Colombia, it is felt that attempts will be made to achieve the goal through the ballot box, with force reserved as a last resort.

Because the Bolivian political situation has been chronically chaotic throughout its history — the latest coup was number 187 in 146 years of independence — that republic was given top priority on the international planners' timetable.

## EX-PRESIDENTS

The "brain trust" of this sweeping Latin American scheme includes four former presidents of the countries involved — all but one also ousted from office — prominent Catholic church leaders and conservative officers in the armed services' commands of each nation.

Their common aim is to prevent spread of Soviet and Communist Chinese penetration in that area, following a sharp decline in U.S. States influence there over the past several years.

CIA collaboration was sought by Peru's ex-president, Fernando Belaunde Terry, with the consent of his colleagues in the movement. Although it remains to be clarified whether President Nixon was consulted personally, there can be no doubt that CIA Director Richard Helms got the green light at top administration level.

## PARTIES

The plotters seek to establish center-left, non-Communist regimes within the respective countries, relying chiefly on the leaders and programs of Social Democrat or Christian Democrat parties.

However, since they must also count on the aid of military men who are in many cases extreme political rightists, personally ambitious, or both, success in attaining those ends is at best uncertain.

The Bolivian developments offer a clear case in point. Former president Victor Paz Estenssoro of that landlocked Andean republic, a moderate Socialist, is a "brain trust" member; the main purpose of the revolt there was to let him return from seven years' exile in Lima and take over the presidency again.

## FALANGE

But Colonel Hugo Banzer, backed by the fascist-oriented Bolivian Falange, had himself sworn in as chief executive before Paz could set foot on home soil.

During Paz's two periods in office, his Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Falange were bitter foes. Although they joined forces to help topple Torres, a voluntary surrender of power by one to the other is now considered most unlikely.

Observers believe that similar frustrations are apt to

crop up in at least three of the other target republics. It is regarded as most probable in Argentina, where the planners hope to put ex-president Arturo Frondizi back in office and keep former dictator Juan Peron out.

Uruguay and Colombia, however, represent the greatest risks, for prime reliance in both countries is to be placed on the electoral process.

## ELECTION

The Uruguayan constitution forbids two consecutive presidential terms, but supporters of President Jorge Pacheco Areco are pressing for an amendment which would let him run again in November — with the country's present "state of emergency" measures maintained during the balloting.

They reason that traditionally conservative farmers and cattlemen will join the business community in voting for Pacheco against Liber Sergegni, the fiery ex-general who wants to nationalize industry and banking. And police power under the emergency decree is expected to keep leftist demonstrators off the streets.

The gamble will be even greater in Colombia, where a 16-year "co-existence" pact between the republic's two major political parties runs out in 1974.

There the CIA has taken the initiative, insisting on support for independent leftist Alfonso Lopez Michelsen over the objections of many who wanted to back respected former president Alberto Lleras Camargo.

## ROJAS

But the man to beat, everyone admits, is aging General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who ruled Colombia with an iron fist for 4½ years during the 1950s. Exiled, then tried and condemned for malfeasance in office, Rojas won a supreme court reversal of his conviction and made a stunning comeback, almost win-

ning the presidency last year.

The CIA view is that the ex-dictator must be defeated at all costs, and the CIA picked Lopez because he would let himself be put in office via a coup, if necessary, while Lleras would not.

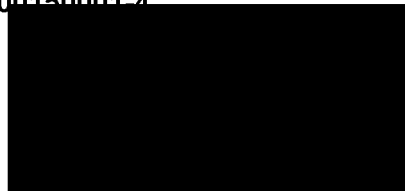
Last but by no means least is Chile. The Marxist government of President Salvador Allende was voted into power, whereas the Bolivian, Peruvian and Argentine regimes are all de facto. For that reason, Chile is last on the plotters schedule.

They believe that another year and a half of Allende's socialization program will have alienated enough Chileans to make his ouster from office both practical and popular.

Allende's immediate predecessor, Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, would be the replacement. He, too, belongs to the international movement's "brain trust."

Well informed sources report that the CIA has committed a \$14 million fund to this six-nation project, with close to a million of it already spent in helping to finance the Bolivian rebels.





East Berlin, Berliner Zeitung, German, 31 Aug 71, p 2

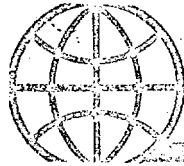
CIA  
Bolivian Section



Sir, the first to congratulate have arrived.

31 AUG 1971

STATINTL



## Editorials

### CIA still at work

Few will doubt the reports that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had a hand in the overthrow of the Torres Government in Bolivia by a reactionary cabal closely linked to U.S. imperialist interests.

It was an operation in keeping with the role of this U.S. agency which maintains its own 30,000-strong army in Laos, its own airlines, has intrigued in South Vietnam since the 1950s, organized an invasion of Cuba and otherwise played the role of hangman of progress, national-liberation struggles and socialism.

Its role in the hunting down of Ernesto Che Guevara and his companions in the mountains of Bolivia is well-attested.

The very same 800-man unit trained by U.S. Special Forces (Green Berets) which murdered Guevara joined Col. Hugo Banzer in his military putsch to overthrow the Torres Government.

The spider sitting in this web of subversive conspiracy against the Torres Government was U.S. Air Force Major Robert J. Lundin, whose private, special-purpose radio connection to the U.S. Embassy in La Paz is reported to have been used by the putschists. U.S. companies in Bolivia are reported to have bankrolled the gang who promised to undo the reforms the Torres Government had undertaken with the support of students, workers and masses of the people.

This imperialist-inspired coup is a warning. There is not letup in the plotting against socialist Cuba.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism's efforts to block the advance of the people's national independence struggle in Chile has intensified the subversive activities of the CIA there.

A grave responsibility rests upon the U.S. workers of hand and brain, white, black and brown, on the masses of people, because it is the imperialism of our country which plots against the liberties of other peoples.

29 AUG 1971

## U.S. Major Had Role in Bolivia Coup

By Lewis H. Diuguid

Washington Post Foreign Service

SANTA CRUZ, Bolivia, Aug. 28—Conversations here make it clear that a U.S. Air Force major serving as an adviser to the Bolivian air training school in Santa Cruz played a role in last week's coup d'etat.

However, it was not possible to determine whether this role was actually important to the coup's success.

The U.S. Air Force officer, Maj. Robert J. Lundin, sources here said, had been in close contact with the plotters over the past six months.

Further, a local ham radio operator confirmed that when the plotters were in military control here in Santa Cruz, and their lines of communication to the capital, La Paz, broke down, they switched to a separate radio system of Maj. Lundin's.

Maj. Lundin normally uses the radio system to report to the U.S. embassy, 300 miles away in La Paz, although nominally his sole assignment here is as a pilot trainer.

In La Paz, left-wing supporters of the ousted president, Gen. Juan Jose Torres, charge that he fell as a result of U.S. intervention. They offer no proof, but the allegations include a charge that U.S. companies in Bolivia bankrolled the coupmakers (American investment in Bolivia is estimated at less than \$11 million), that the embassy or embassy personnel bribed forces that could have saved Torres and, of course, the ever-blooming claim that the CIA took part in the coup.

One means of measuring the U.S. role, if any, in the coup would be to know the content of Maj. Lundin's talks with the plotters, but this could not be determined with certainty.

Planning for the coup began not long after Col. Hugo Banzer, the new president—said to be the third chief executive from Santa Cruz among the nearly 200 presidents in Bolivia's chaotic 150 years of independence—failed in a January attempt to overthrow Torres.

Banzer was called to Asunta, where he began to plot with soldiers and civilians who

are convinced that Torres was leading Bolivia toward a Communist dictatorship.

Banzer appears to have come and gone across the Argentine border with impunity. Early on, he met with Maj. Lundin, according to a responsible source in a position to know.

Maj. Lundin is said to have been pessimistic of the plot's chances at that time and to have given it no encouragement.

### Important Ally

Banzer and leaders of the two traditionally antagonistic political parties drew together and won a most important ally: the 800-man ranger unit 15 miles north of here in Montero.

This unit was trained by U.S. Special Forces Green Berets at the time of the guerrilla insurrection led by Ernesto (Che) Guevara and several other Cubans near here in 1968.

The rangers are an elite arm of the generally inept Bolivian army. There are no longer American advisors with the rangers, and Maj. Lundin appears to be the only U.S. military man in this vast and lightly populated lowland of eastern Bolivia.

As the plotters consolidated support, rumors thickened in Santa Cruz that a coup was afoot. In the last weeks it was well known that the fugitive Banzer was in the city. Santa Cruz has about 100,000 people. Strangers are always noted, and few secrets can survive in its tropic atmosphere.

Among the people Banzer met with at this time was Maj. Lundin. Banzer's presence in Santa Cruz was almost certainly known to Torres, but inexplicably he did not move to have him captured until 10 days ago, when the plot was ready to be sprung.

Santa Cruz, itself, played a role. A demonstration by the women of this frontier town, and a bomb blast on the plaza injuring many of Santa Cruz' most prominent citizens happened. This seems to have provided the initiative that eventually resulted in the overthrow of Torres.

The subsecretary of justice was sent to Santa Cruz, and between 2 and 6 a.m. on Aug. 18, about 30 prominent citizens were arrested. They included Banzer, but scarcely any other major plotters.

One of those shaken out of bed was businessman and honorary Peruvian Consul Juan

Franco Suarez, 59. "There was a list of 100 citizens to be captured," he said. "It included the assistant manager of the First National City Bank and a former rector of the university. We were not plotters."

Many of those arrested were jailed in the crumbling adobe prefectorate on the town plaza, and it was announced that they would be taken to La Paz.

Their wives turned out in force before the prefectorate, local seat of the highly distrusted central government. Churchbells pealed in the cathedral next door, calling out the protest.

### Banzer in La Paz.

Col. Banzer and a few others were spirited to La Paz in a small plane, but in the afternoon the prefect buckled to the shouts of the women—now several hundred in the square—and he released the prisoners.

The women had threatened to "attack" if he did not turn the prisoners loose, though apparently they had no arms. In return for his freedom, businessman Franco Suarez stood on a truckbed and asked the crowd to disperse, "But they did not want to," he said later.

Shots are alleged to have been fired on the women from the university building, which is also on the square. By then, the plotters had set their troops in motion. The rangers arrived from the north and invaded the university. The town was in the hands of the plotters, backed by the traditional leadership, with only the students and one main union and a few Torres loyalists in active opposition.

Troops in other provincial cities began lining up with Santa Cruz on Friday. Short-wave radio owners listened avidly as the orders went out from here according to plan.

A huge crowd gathered in the plaza and the plotters met in the prefectorate. Supporters were jammed in an office outside the prefect's when a bomb, apparently planted in a desk drawer, exploded.

Among at least 20 people injured was the sister of Mario Gutierrez, chief of the Bolivian Socialist Falange party and now foreign minister. Her leg was blown off.

### Rooftop Snipers

According to those supporting the coup, the bomb's effect was magnified by firing on the plaza

from snipers on the rooftops. The rangers returned the fire, and all witnesses agree that for 10 minutes, a substantial part of Santa Cruz's upper class was prostrate on the plaza with bullets whizzing overhead.

Figures on the dead and wounded run to extremes. Torres supporters say that eight students were lined up and gunned down in the prefectorate as planters of the bomb.

The new prefect, retired Capt. Gustavo Melgar, denied this in an interview. He said that four attackers were killed, including two Cubans. (This charge that Cubans, along with Chileans, had recently filtered into the university student body is widely repeated here, though no one could provide proof.)

Prefect Melgar said that the Cubans' documents were in the custody of military investigators.

With the bomb blast on Friday, attributed by all authorities to the leftist opposition, any conservative doubters here rallied to the coupmakers.

On Saturday came the critical question of whether troops in La Paz would rally also. One major unit stayed with Torres, and street-fighting broke out in earnest on Saturday afternoon.

An ad hoc airlift by pro-coup air force personnel was assembled here, and the rangers were being loaded aboard for the attack on La Paz loyalists when word came that the last main unit had swung over.

Banzer had lost his status as a prisoner, it is not clear just how, and on Sunday he was sworn as president.

Here in Santa Cruz a purge of leftists began. Some allege that several were killed outright, but this is unproven.

Most estimates of overall casualties run to 50 dead and three times as many wounded.

Two American churchmen, Maryknoll priest the Rev. Frederick Zierden and former priest Richard Ramsay, were jailed until Monday and then released on the condition that they leave the country.

Yesterday, Jaime Bravo, a Bolivian and coordinator in eastern Bolivia for the Methodist Church, was released from jail and taken to the capital. Church sources say that he—like most major Torres

Continued

HOUSTON, TEX.  
CHRONICLE

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AUG 28 1971

## Bolivia plagued by instability

Bolivia has a new government—the South American country's 57th in 146 strife-filled years as a republic. The one safe inference to be drawn from this recent military coup is that nearly \$500 million of U.S. aid pumped in there since the revolution of 1952 has failed to accomplish its purpose—to bring about relative peace and political stability in the land-locked country.

This instability carries over to the new regime of Col. Hugo Banzer Suarez. It haunted and finally brought down his predecessor, Gen. Juan Jose Torres, a non-Marxist, leftwing nationalist, who seized power in October, 1970, from a short-lived rightwing military junta, which, in turn, had overthrown President Alfredo Ovando Candia, another army general who had vacillated from the political right to the political left and back again.

This brief review of recent political history in Bolivia gives a clue to the political situation there today—by any standard, unstable.

A case can be—and will be—made that the Banzer coup was engineered by U.S. Ambassador Ernest Siracusa. There will be charges from the left that the CIA was involved; that the coup was the result of pressure from the military regimes in two neighboring countries, Brazil and Argentina; that the coup was an unnecessary reaction by rightwing Bolivian nationalists to the left-leaning governments in two other neighboring countries, Peru and Chile.

More than anything else, however, the Banzer government appears to be just another chapter in Bolivia's tempestuous political life. The plotting of political mischief is a full-time occupation for many Bolivians. Their political persuasions vary from Marxist to fascist and touch most of the bases in between.

While Col. Banzer may have the support of the majority of the military at this time, his predecessor, now enjoying political asylum in the Peruvian embassy in La Paz, has the support of leftwing elements within the armed forces, the powerful trade unions, leftist students and various other revolutionary groups, nearly all fiercely anti-United States. And that's a formidable power base—the kind from which government coups are launched in Bolivia.

STATINTL

MILTON VIORST

## It's Still the Old Dollar Diplomacy

Before Bolivia's left-wing government was overthrown in a nasty civil war the other day, its official radio maintained that the right-wing rebels were financed and directed by the CIA.

Unfortunately, the claim—whether or not it's true—is inherently plausible. Latins have no trouble believing it. They continue to see the Yankee giant to the north as a power anxious to dominate them and to exploit them economically.

Yet American influence in Latin America is rapidly eroding. A decade ago, Washington snapped its fingers and the Organization of American States responded. That era is over.

Blame Cuba. The United States showed, at the Bay of Pigs and during the missile crisis, that all its power was not enough to overthrow Fidel Castro. The outside world— not only Russia, but our own allies— would not permit it.

Since that time, Castro has shown that, despite Washington's dire warnings, he was incapable of subverting the rest of the region. His few attempts were pitiful failures. In recent years, he has not even tried.

Now there is a major move afoot within the OAS to lift the sanctions imposed on Cuba at American instigation in the early 1960s. President Nixon's overture to China makes such a move appear all the more logical.

Though the United States,

working hand in hand with the notorious right-wing dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay, has so far managed to thwart the effort, the Latin monolith which Washington so long dominated is clearly breaking up. Cuba's return to normal relations with much of the continent probably is only a matter of time.

It is strange that the Nixon administration fails to see the meaning of the trend. Far from trying to replace suspicion with confidence it persists in the same old strong-arm tactics—and is now making them even worse.

For that, we can presumably thank Secretary of the Treasury Connally, chief protagonist of the "get tough" approach to policy making, both foreign and domestic.

Connally is the direct heir to Tom Mann, the fellow Texan whom President Johnson named in 1964 to dismantle the Alliance for Progress. Johnson and Mann, both pals of Connally, effectively ended the only experiment in good relations with Latin America that we've tried since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now Connally proposed to turn the United States government into a collection agency for American corporations that are owed money for property nationalized by Latin regimes.

It's touching that the Nixon administration feels a duty to protect the interests of Ameri-

cans abroad. Why doesn't it put on some pressure to get releases for the kids who are rotting in jails all over Europe for minor drug offenses?

The answer is that old dollar diplomacy works one way—for the profits of Yankee corporations. That is what, in its crudest form, the Nixon administration is now practicing.

What Connally has done is to make America's diplomatic interests the hostage of the corporations which represent to Latins the worst of Yankee economic exploitation.

The situation has become most critical in Chile, where the elected Marxist government has been slow to offer compensation for nationalized American mines.

The companies are claiming up to \$1 billion. The property is worth a fraction of that—or about what the Nixon administration gave away to Lockheed last month.

American law gives Chile six months to begin negotiations before the invocation of sanctions. Chile has not shown bad faith, and, at worst, the matter could be taken to international courts.

But that's not good enough for Connally.

He has directed the Export-Import Bank to refuse the Chileans a \$21 million loan to buy American commercial jets—which will force them to buy the planes from the Russians.

That's not a "tough" policy. It is a vindictive and self-defeating one which uses the government as an enforcer for big business. It confirms everything rotten the Latins say about us.

Whether or not we're using the CIA in Bolivia, we are still using bullying tactics in Latin America—and they're just hastening the erosion of any healthy influence we retain there.



## Bolivian fascists massacre students

LA PAZ — Bolivian troops supported by warplanes and tanks attacked the San Andres University in La Paz on Monday, killing about 25 students and wounding scores of others, according to informed sources. The university was the last stronghold of resistance to the fascist counter-revolutionaries who ousted President Juan Jose Torres on Monday.

Two U.S.-built F-51 Mustang fighters bombed and machine-gunned students behind barricades at the university. The bombs destroyed the top story of the 15-floor main university building, then U.S.-built tanks were brought up and fired into the barricades while Bolivian "special forces" troops, trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, tried to shoot their way into the university grounds. Students were armed with rifles and sticks of dynamite provided by Bolivian miners. The battle lasted for more than an hour before the students were forced to surrender. Several hundred students were seen being marched off by the troops under guard, but nothing has been heard of them since. Some sniping was reported still going on in La Paz on Tuesday.

# Fascist coup leader new Bolivia president

Daily World Combined Services

Colonel Hugo Banzer, leader of Bolivia's fascist military revolt, swore himself in as President of the South American republic yesterday and said he would not rule as part of a junta.

Ousted President Juan Jose Torres was reported safely inside the Peruvian Embassy in La Paz, the Bolivian capital.

The official death toll in the four-day fascist revolt against the Torres government stood at 112 yesterday, 101 of them workers and students who rallied to Torres' defense in fighting for the capital. Hundreds of wounded, students and peasants were taken to La Paz hospitals.

Banzer said in a brief speech from the balcony of the Presidential Palace: "I am not a man of speeches. I am a man of action, and I will let my actions speak for me." The fascist leader told the Bolivian people: "I am not going to offer you anything."

It was Banzer's arrest 10 days ago in Santa Cruz, 330 miles southeast of La Paz, that set the stage for the fascist uprising against Torres' progressive government. Banzer, 45, had been exiled in Argentina for plotting against the regime, but he returned illegally to Santa Cruz. The city is a notorious rightist stronghold and center of strength of the Falange Socialista Boliviana (FSB) Party, which backed the revolt.

The fascists got widespread support from Bolivia's armed forces, including the Air Force, of which Torres had been the commander. Analysts said that the military was extremely dissatisfied with Torres, who had announced plans for creating a people's army based on workers and peasants a short time ago.

#### CIA's men lead off

Speculation about involvement of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in the fascist revolt was general throughout Bolivia and the rest of Latin America on Monday and drew strength from the fact that the first military unit to go over to the fascists, was the CIA-trained and financed Bolivian range.

Col. Andres Selich, commander of the Rangers, led the Bolivian forces which tracked down Cuban guerrilla fighter Ernesto "Che" Guevara in 1967. Selich at that time was himself under the command of Cuban gusano CIA agents. On Monday, Banzer appointed Selich the new Minister of the Interior, giving him control over Bolivia's police and intelligence forces.

Appointed Foreign Minister in the new fascist regime was Mario Gutierrez, head of the FSB. It was Gutierrez who provoked a mob in Santa Cruz last week to burn down a radio station owned by the miners' trade union, release Banzer from jail, and organize to march on La Paz. The slogan Gutierrez used for the revolt was "Death to Communism!"

#### Torres made target

The Bolivian fascists and their U.S. supporters believed that Torres was "Communist" because he nationalized mining interests owned by big U.S. firms, ousted the U.S. Peace Corps, and depended for support on a loose-knit "people's alliance" of workers, peasants and students. Torres had also developed normal diplomatic and trade relations with a number of socialist countries.

In its last broadcasts, the La Paz radio under Torres' government control on Sunday attacked the CIA for staging the revolt.

The radio laid the plot against Torres to U.S. Ambassador Ernest Siracusa, who is now on leave in the U.S. Siracusa was mobbed by angry Bolivian students when he first took up his post in La Paz and was accused by them of being the chief CIA agent in the Andes region of South America. At an earlier post Siracusa held, in Lima, Peru, mass student demonstrations had been held in protest against Siracusa's presence in the country, for the same reasons.

24 AUG 1971

## CIA target in Latin America

In its 10-month tenure of office the government of Gen. Juan Jose Torres Gonzales had nationalized U.S.-owned mining properties, had ousted the U.S. Peace Corps as subversive of Bolivia's independence, and had won the enmity of the nation's exploiting classes.

The Torres regime was overthrown because U.S. monopoly interests wanted it overthrown, organized its overthrow, and paid for it. No one will doubt that the whole array of U.S. government agencies was involved, from the Defense and State Departments to the CIA. ✓

Far more is involved. The main target of U.S. imperialism in Latin America — after socialist Cuba — is the popular-democratic regime in Chile.

U.S. imperialism sees the continued existence of the Allende government in Chile as encouragement to the anti-imperialist forces throughout the continent. It hopes by its prolonged blockade of Cuba to cripple the first land of socialism in this hemisphere.

The certain attempt of U.S. imperialism to impose a Bolivia pattern of counter-revolution on other parts of Latin America calls for the immediate and sharpest protest by all U.S. peace, trade union, and progressive forces.



# Bolivian Rebellion Spreads to La Paz

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 21—

Hundreds of armed miners and troops loyal to Gen. Juan José Torres Gonzalez, head of Bolivia's left-wing regime, occupied combat positions against rebel army troops in this capital today.

Small weapons fire broke out and dynamite exploded around the army's general command headquarters as troops of the Colorados Battalion, loyal to General Torres, sought to assault the walled compound. The Castrillo Regiment, which reportedly has joined the army rebels, is the main unit at the headquarters.

Answering repeated appeals broadcast over the official radio network, thousands of workers and students filled the plaza in front of a soccer stadium, where announcers said that arms would be distributed.

Radio Condor, which is in the Government network, said fighting had also broken out in Oruro, where miners reportedly attacked Ranger units occupying that city, 150 miles southeast of here.

The loyal army of the Colorados Battalion were ordered by their commander, Maj. Ruben Sanchez, to occupy positions surrounding the general army staff headquarters in the central Miraflores District and to block access to the city from the military college on the outskirts.

## Troops in Position

The army rebels seeking to oust General Torres control all important cities except the capital.

General Torres took over the presidency last Oct. 7 during an earlier military crisis.

Since then, under pressure from the left-wing student and union groups, the government has nationalized mines owned by interests in the United States, has ousted Peace Corps members from Bolivia, and has

allowed students to seize United States cultural centers here and in provincial capitals.

However, General Torres has kept a commitment made by his predecessor, Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia, to pay \$80-million in compensation for nationalization of the Gulf Oil Company's petroleum and natural gas properties in Santa Cruz.

As a result, Bolivia has recently obtained \$40-million in loans from the World Bank and InterAmerican Development Bank to complete construction of a gas pipeline from Santa Cruz to Argentina.

Since General Torres took over, the Soviet Embassy in La Paz has grown rapidly and various Soviet projects in mining and oil exploration have been approved.

While General Torres met with his ministers and high military commanders at the Murillo presidential palace, the Bolivian Central Workers Union appeared to have taken over control of radio broadcasts and of the resistance movement.

"This is the fight to the finish against the fascist counter-revolution," said a labor union communiqué over the radio. It called on peasant organizations in the dry, high plateau around this city to march on the capital in support of General Torres.

The official radio also issued instructions for peasants to march on Santa Cruz in the eastern lowlands, where the revolt against General Torres

began, and cut off water supplies, electricity and block the airport.

Eleven persons have reportedly been killed in fighting in Santa Cruz, where the army occupied the university and union headquarters.

Dynamite explosion shook this city as the loyal forces were deployed. One explosion damaged a firearms store, which was sacked for pistols and shotguns after the explosion.

Representatives of the Press Workers Union, who said they wanted to avoid "distortions" abroad through press dispatches, arrived at cable offices and demanded that articles be approved by them before being transmitted in a form of unofficial censorship.

The official radio broadcasts said the army revolt had been financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and attacked Ambassador Ernest Siracusa by name.

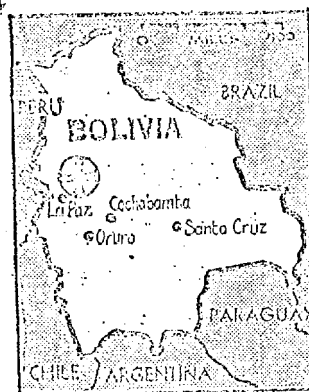
## Oruro Is Strategic

Mr. Siracusa, who had been on leave, returned here this afternoon from the United States.

The movement began in Santa Cruz in the eastern tropical lowlands and the military garrisons of Cochabamba, in the central valley region, and Oruro, heart of the mining region, joined the rebels.

The key to the military situation appeared to be Oruro, where two army regiments were facing armed militiamen from the state tin mines at Catavi, Juanuni, and Colquiri.

Enrique Miralles, director of the newspaper La Patria of Oruro, said in a telephone interview that rebel ranger troops had entirely occupied the city and controlled local radio sta-



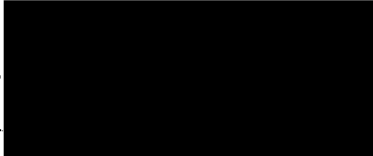
The New York Times Aug. 22, 1971  
Miners and troops loyal to Government massed to defend La Paz (cross).

stations, which ordered civilians to remain in their homes.

The only armed conflict reported until early today was in Santa Cruz. Many Government supporters in Santa Cruz, Cochabamba and Oruro were reportedly under arrest and a curfew was declared in those cities.

In this capital, the marketplaces, with colorfully dressed Indian vendors, and most shops along the central streets were doing business normally. At construction sites, workers were at their building tasks and city transportation was normal and active.

11 JULY 1971



WALTER SCOTT'S

# Personality Parade

STATINTL

*Q. Is it true that our Peace Corps has been thrown out of Bolivia, and if so, for what reason—immorality?—L. Titus, Dallas, Tex.*

*A. Left-wing Bolivian students insisted that U.S. Peace Corps members be expelled on the grounds that they included drug addicts, and spies for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.* ✓

**BOLIVIEN**

**Neuer Putschversuch  
und ein Rausschmiß**

Zum dritten Mal innerhalb acht Wochen haben reaktionäre Kreise Boliviens versucht, durch einen Putsch die Regierung Torrez zu stürzen. Der jüngste Putschversuch, in den Vertreter zwei reaktionärer Parteien sowie rechte Militärs verwickelt waren, wurde von Organisationen der Arbeiter und Studenten aufgedeckt. Das zeigt, welche Rolle die Gewerkschaften, andere Arbeiterorganisationen und die Verbände der Jugend im heutigen Bolivien spielen.



Präsident Torrez

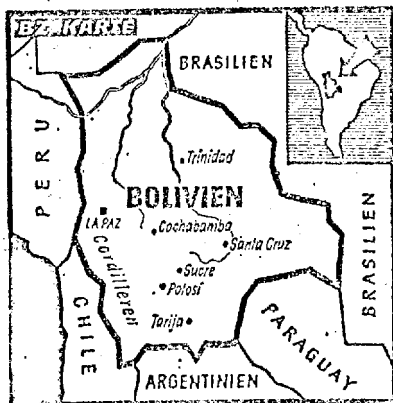
Die Fäden der Putschisten führen unmittelbar zur Botschaft der USA in La Paz: Die CIA und die amerikanischen Konzerne sind die Drahtzieher. Ihre konterrevolutionäre Aktivität gegen Bolivien wächst in dem Maße, in dem die Regierung

des Landes den antiimperialistischen fortschrittlichen Kurs schrittweise weiter verwirklicht. Die Todfeindschaft eines der größten amerikanischen Konzerne, der United States Steel, hatte sich der Präsident bereits mit der Verstaatlichung der Zinkgruben eingehandelt. Sie gehörten dem USA-Konzern.

Der Haß Washingtons steigerte sich, als die Regierung einer Forderung der Arbeiter und Studenten folgend, das sogenannte Friedenskorps der USA aus Bolivien hinauswarf. Die Arbeiter und Jugendlichen hatten darauf hingewiesen, die Leute des „Friedenskorps“ seien Rauschgift Händler, Rauschgift-süchtige und CIA-Spitzel. Vor allem letztere Anschuldigung ist in Dutzenden von Ländern, wo das „Friedenskorps“ sein Unwesen treibt, als absolut den Tatsachen entsprechend bestätigt wor-

den. In 60 Staaten der Welt mit 113 Millionen Dollar im Rücken leistet das „Friedenskorps“ Agentenarbeit für den USA-Imperialismus. Besondere Aktivitäten entwickelt es in Afrika, wo es u. a. in das Schulwesen eindringt, um ideologische Diversion zu betreiben. Während des Bürgerkrieges in Nigeria traten die als Friedensengel getarnten USA-Agenten offen für die Separatisten ein. Über das „Friedenskorps“ wurde diesen Waffen geliefert.

Mit dem Rausschmiß aus Bolivien hat Präsident Torrez eine gefährliche Quelle der Konterrevolution verstopft. Jetzt droht die USA-Presse, dies würde die Beziehungen der USA zu Bolivien weiter verschlechtern. Die Regierung des lateinamerikanischen Staates geht trotz dieser Drohungen ihren Weg weiter. Einen notwendigen und richtigen Weg, denn bislang war Bolivien das zweitärmste Land in dem von Armut mehr als gestrafften Südamerika.



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MAY 3 1971

# Hugger-mugger in the

## Did Bolivia's president die, or was he killed?

## And was there a secret Israeli arms deal? *Andes*

By Georgie Anne Geyer  
Daily News Foreign Service

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Even for Bolivia, a 14,000 foot-high country of rarefied air and even more rarefied sheanigans, the plot was bizarre.

Since March 14, the story that has obsessed this little Andean Indian country is one that has one president killing another one, both of them involved in a \$50 million contraband arms deal with Israel, and five remaining unsolved murders linked to the whole scandal.

As one foreign diplomat says, wearily, "It's James Bond without James Bond."

The question of "proof" has hardly hit anyone, so enamored are the Bolivians by the breathless mysteries of the case.

In a way, that has become irrelevant. In a Latin sense there is "proof" — that is, there is the personal "testimony" that is "legal" under Latin American Roman law. In fact, so many people are now coming forward to "testify" in this case that there is danger of a trampling at the gates.

But the original "testifier" complicates the plot, too. For no one really seems to know much about the German, Gert Richard Heber, who started the whole thing.

But none of this has stopped unsinkable Bolivia, where strange things happen with the ease of commonness. Already the plot has taken on the contours of truth in the cold brisk mountain air, and a high-level governmental commission has decided that the plot is, in fact, true.

But what is most bizarre is . . . it might just really all have happened.

In this case, the only thing that makes it all a little less credible in this nationalistic and xenophobic country, is that no one has blamed the whole thing on the CIA yet.

WHAT IS BEHIND IT ALL? Is it just "another bit of Boliviana," as one shocked but cynical foreign diplomat put it, or a true scandal with deep and twisted roots?

First of all, in analyzing this strange saga of Bolivian-style regicide, murder, arms deals and Swiss bank accounts, the analyst must take into account Bolivia itself. It is a strikingly beautiful, but grindingly poor country of some 3 million persons, mostly Indians, where the pristine mountains rise in pinnacled whipped cream peaks and where the tables all have three legs.

La Paz, at 14,000-feet the highest capital in the world, lies like a reclining gray monster in a great, saucer-like indentation of the great altiplano of the Andes — that great, shadowy, mysterious high plain where the Incas wove and webbed the great empire.

It has never been an easy country to rule. By the time the dashing, Steve Canyonesque Gen. Rene Barrientos took over the country in 1966, it had already seen two military revolutions and its pulse was still going strong.

President Barrientos whizzed around the country in his helicopter, speaking Quechua, the native Indian language, to the peasants, and generally giving Bolivia a good popular government.

Then, on April 27, 1969, Barrientos suddenly plunged to a burning death in a horrible accident which occurred when his doughty helicopter fell from the skies immediately after taking off from a peasant meeting.

NOW THE WHOLE WEIRD PROGRESSIONS of events begins. Barrientos was succeeded by Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia, a dried-up, ulcerous little man totally unlike him. He had none of Rene's charm and it was hard for him to keep the naturally fissiparous country together.

Moreover, the country was almost immediately swept by a series of strange and awful murders. In October, 1969, Jorge Soliz, a popular peasant leader, was murdered. In February, 1970, Jaime Otero Calderon, a prominent La Paz lawyer and journalist, was killed. Then, on March 14, 1970, one of the most inexplicably horrible things happened. . . .

The Alexander family was long known as one of the most outstanding families in Bolivia. Mr. and Mrs. Alfredo Alexander ran Hoy and Ultima Hora, two muckraking newspapers, and their children were doctors, diplomats and editors in a country where the illiterate, superstitious Indians still wave palm branches to scare the rain away.

That March 14, a still unknown messenger delivered a package to their beautiful home, telling their servant it was a "gift from the Israeli embassy." When the couple unwrapped it in their upstairs bedroom, the bomb inside exploded, blowing them both to bits and blowing the roof off the house with its enormous force.

EVEN LA PAZ, WHERE THE FIRST SIGHT pointed out to tourists is a lamppost outside the presidential palace where presidents traditionally have been hung (in anger), was shocked. Clearly, there was something very strange going on in the country, even for Bolivia.

In whispers, with glances now thrown cautiously over backs, Bolivians kept insisting to each other that all these horrors must be, after all, related.

But nothing came out except rumors until, suddenly, last month a largely unknown young German man named Gert Richard Heber came forward and offered to put everything together.

Recently, the Alexander children sat in their Hoy office on a mountainside in downtown La Paz and recalled the grisly tale which now has become the obsession of their lives.

"DURING THE DAYS SINCE our parents' death, we have received many hints as to the motives for the murders — from high places, but from people who did not want to be involved," said Mrs. Berta Alexander de Alvestegui, a handsome, buxom woman dressed all in black, with a black shawl draped over her ample shoulders.

continued

28 March 1971

# Guerrilla Movements In Latin America

By Richard Gott.

Illustrated. 626 pp. New York:  
Doubleday & Co. \$10.

By NORMAN GALL

Books like Richard Gott's "Guerrilla Movements in Latin America" seem part of a widening conspiracy to make gypsies like me feel a deeper respect for the sanity and coherence of bourgeois values.

Gott's volume is a very spotty and biased survey of the recent guerrilla movements in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia that is less the work of a reporter or scholar or able polemicist than of a cheerleader. Like so many other uncritical enthusiasts of guerrilla warfare in Latin America, Gott shows little knowledge or concern for conditions in the field. The only chapter that even begins to offer a worthwhile discussion of these insurgencies is the one on the insurrection in Bolivia. This seems to be the only country where Gott has benefited from firsthand observation.

The book begins in the city of Santa Cruz in the Bolivian Oriente, where Gott and another British journalist covering the 1967 Che Guevara guerrilla insurrection are beckoned by a mysterious man to his table at a sidewalk cafe. "I have news for you," the man says. "Che has been captured, but he is severely wounded and may not last the night. The other guerrillas are fighting desperately to get him back, and the company commander is appealing by radio for a helicopter so they can fly him out." The reporters hired a jeep and made it to the jungle town of Vallegrande, where "the CIA agent in the company of Bolivian officers tried to have us thrown out of town. But we were equipped with sufficient credentials to show that we were bona fide journalists," and were allowed to stay to see Guevara's body flown in, strapped to a helicopter, and to cable the first news of the guerrilla leader's death.

This was a scoop of which any reporter could be proud. But the book that follows on-the-scene reports for The Manchester Guardian. It shows only the

shantiest knowledge of the countries it covers, and is densely mined with both innocent errors and blood-curdling distortions of fact. Beyond this, the author has done neither the scholarly research nor the reportorial legwork needed to achieve a meaningful synthesis of what happened over the past decade, when guerrilla insurrection was almost synonymous with revolution in Latin America.

Dealing with Venezuela, for example, Gott gingerly writes, "On 1 October [1955] the Venezuelan Congress finally decided to withdraw parliamentary immunity from members of the Communist party and the M.L.R. [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria]. Twenty-three Congressmen from these two groups were arrested. Two days later the Supreme Court upheld the decision to suspend the two organizations." But Gott chooses not to mention that this repression came in response to an urban terror campaign in which the guerrillas killed at least one traffic policeman daily over a period of several months.

This campaign was climaxed on Sept. 29, 1953, by murders on a crowded Sunday train en route to the amusement park of El Encanto. As girls were talking to the policemen standing guard between the cars, the train entered a long tunnel. When the train emerged from the tunnel, five policemen had been shot to death and three other policemen, two women and two children critically wounded. The El Encanto murders gave the Government the chance it had been waiting for to deprive the M.L.R. and the Communists of the parliamentary immunity they had used while waging a campaign to force cancellation of the 1953 elections. Internal guerrilla documents are full of self-criticism on how the terror campaign was alienating sectors of the public originally sympathetic to the insurrection.

Time and again, Gott seems to be themselves. Such biased sifting of the facts not only distorts reality, but also vulgarizes the extraordinary

drama and complexity of these events. The book does not even mention such important undercurrents as the Communists' highly successful campaign of proselytism in Venezuelan jails and universities during the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship (1952-59), a campaign that in 1960 led to the formation of the M.L.R. Or the old Hatfield-and-McCoy-type feud between the Bravo and Hernandez clans in the mountains of Falcón State onto which was grafted the guerrilla foco led by Douglas Bravo. Or the curious symbiosis between the urban guerrillas and the Caracas underworld, so much like that in Paris during the anti-Nazi Resistance and in Algeria's anti-colonial war.

Unfortunately, Gott does not begin to use the rich accumulation of Venezuelan guerrilla documents, or to research the leftist press and Caracas daily newspapers or even to interview ex-combatants of the guerrilla movements, nearly all of whom have returned to normal daily life in Caracas and are quite accessible. Instead, in all its chapters this book is heavily larded with quotations from the canned leftist press published outside the countries discussed, which interpret these struggles in the meanest Marxist doggerel.

One of the omissions of this book on "Guerrilla Movements in Latin America" is its failure to discuss the only successful one of these uprisings, that of Fidel Castro in Cuba's Sierra Maestra, which is the most documented and publicized of them

all. I believe that any serious analysis of the Cuban movement will show that Castro's later insistence on the primacy of rural guerrillas in the Cuban and other Latin American revolutions was in part a self-serving adulteration of history to justify consolidation of his one-man rule. At the time this involved denial of the critical role of the July 26 Movement's urban guerrilla apparatus, much of which turned against Castro in the early 1950's.

During the two-year uprising against Dictator Fulgencio Batista, who dominated Cuban politics for nearly 25 years, the July 26 underground struck the most telling blows against the dictatorship. This provoked Batista into responding with such savage repression that the dictator was soon isolated politically with his astounding genius for propaganda, could make himself into a remote but unifying national symbol

STATINTL

STATINTL

## The Bolivian Guerrilla

The Diary of Che Guevara  
edited by Robert Scheer.  
Bantam, 192 pp., \$1.45 (paper)

Bolivia a la hora del Che  
by Rubén Vázquez Díaz.  
Siglo Veintiuno: Mexico, 1968.

The Great Rebel: Che Guevara in Bolivia  
by Luis J. González and  
Gustavo A. Sánchez Salazar,  
translated by Helen R. Lane.  
Grove, 254 pp., \$7.95; \$1.45 (paper)

The Complete Bolivian Diaries of  
Ché-Guevara and Other Captured  
Documents  
edited by Daniel James.  
Stein & Day, 330 pp., \$6.95

Nacahuasu, La Guerrilla del Che  
en Bolivia  
by José Luis Alcázar.  
Era: Mexico, 1969.

Bolivia bajo el Che  
by Philippe Labreux.  
Replanteo: Buenos Aires, 1968.

The Death of a Revolutionary:  
Che Guevara's Last Mission  
by Richard Harris.  
Norton, 219 pp., \$5.95

John Womack, Jr.

The campaign "El Che" Guevara commanded in Bolivia in 1966-67 was a heroic project. It was only in part Fidelista, to reverse the long series of guerrillero defeats in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, and thereby reassert the validity of Fidelista strategy in Latin America (and Fidel's independence from the Soviet Union). It was in its ambition characteristically Guevarista, conceived not from a Latin American's concern for his own continent but, after the massive US intervention in Indochina, from a Latin American's concern to share the fate of the "victim of aggression" on all continents, to accompany the most tormented "to his death or to victory." The aim, as Guevara expressed it to the Tricontinental Conference, was "to create a second or a third Vietnam. . ."

The stakes were immense, as much larger than another Fidelista revolution as the provocation of US intervention in Latin America was beyond

regular Fidelista strategy. To fight guerrillas in Latin America as well as in Indochina, the United States would have to institute a dictatorship at home, which would eventually collapse, and to disperse its armed forces abroad, which would eventually disintegrate. With the center of international capitalism in ruins, "new men" of comradely spirit could then build socialism in peace. The risks were also immense, culminating in the chance that the United States, in desperation, would resort to nuclear weapons. But they were the risks that Guevara welcomed as the moments of truth, and that he could move his comrades to accept.

If we—those of us who on a small part of the world map fulfill our duty and place at the disposal of this struggle whatever little we are able to give, our lives, our sacrifice—must someday breathe our last breath in any land not our own yet already ours, sprinkled with our blood, let it be known that we have measured the scope of our actions. . . .

Bolivia was Guevara's best prospect in Latin America. In comparison with other countries it did not present the disadvantage of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Argentina, where Fidelistas had already suffered defeats; or that of Ecuador and Paraguay, too vulnerable to repression; or that of Chile, too stable; or that of Uruguay, too urban; or that of Brazil, the prize, but no place for Spanish-speaking guerrilleros to operate.

On its own terms Bolivia was in poor political condition, ripe for subversion. After a popular revolution in 1952 Bolivians had gone through major reforms, which many of them came to cherish as their dearest rights—universal suffrage, nationalization of mines (the country's main industry), dissolution of large estates and distribution of land to peasants, militia of organized workers and peasants, national confederations of industrial and rural unions (under Trotskyist and Communist direction), participation of workers in the management of mines. Altogether this had been Bolivia's "National Revolution." But in the early 1960s the party that had enacted the

olucionario (MNR), had broken into factions, and in 1964 had fallen from office under a military coup. The new junta had preserved some reforms, like universal suffrage and the peasants' titles to their plots of land. But the United States, on which Bolivia depended heavily for grants and loans, had insisted on cuts in "social justice" for the sake of "economic development." And the junta had duly purged the unions, dismissed workers from management, frozen wages, ordered big layoffs, massacred striking miners, opened previously public agencies to private investment, and loudly invited American capitalists into the country. In mid-1966 it had its chief, General René Barrientos, elected to the presidency.

Barrientos could count for domestic support only on the army, a couple of petty parties that could not otherwise enjoy office, and a few pet peasant unions. He had in opposition all other political factions, which were badly divided along ideological, tactical, and personal lines, but which were still organized, well armed, used to the concepts of socialism and anti-imperialism, and sorely intent on regaining power. To win, the guerrilleros did not need to mount a peasant rebellion or sustain a lengthy guerrilla, neither of which has ever been an effective procedure in Bolivian politics, but only to wreck the army's reputation in some ambushes, which would bring down the government and allow friendly leftists to take national office.

Moreover, if the guerrilleros won in Bolivia, they had superb prospects for subversion elsewhere. Landlocked into the continent, Bolivia had around its borders five countries that together comprised over half the Latin American population. To the southwest the guerrilleros would let Chile be—the Christian Democratic government there would be strong and sympathetic to them anyway, because they would weaken Bolivia as a national state. To the northwest, however, the guerrilleros could certainly infiltrate armed

continued

# An Interview with Antonio Arguedas: the CIA in Bolivia

STATINTL

Antonio Arguedas Mendieta was the chief of police and intelligence for Bolivia during the unfolding of the tragic drama which saw Che Guevara's destruction and the slow, silent murder of Bolivian sovereignty by the American Empire. At its conclusion, he committed two acts of great consequence for Bolivian revolutionaries:

The first of these was Arguedas's key role in the eventual publication of Che's Bolivian diary. Risking the power and prestige of his position, and three times nearly losing his life, Arguedas smuggled the CIA-captured diary to Fidel Castro.

Secondly, Arguedas took Che's hands from the CIA and Bolivian intelligence teams, and hid them in the peaks of the Las Yuncas mountains. One day, when both he and Bolivia are free, he will return and present them to Che's wife.

Joe Shea interviewed Arguedas in Mexico City where he is now in exile. The Student Advocate will print this interview in three parts. This is the first of the series.

My name is Antonio Arguedas Mendieta; I am 42 years old and my present profession is a lawyer. I was born in La Paz, Bolivia, on the 13th of June, 1928.

Q. How did you get the diary of Che Guevara?

A. The diary of Che Guevara was delivered to me with a great number of documents relating to the guerrilla war in Bolivia, by Mr. Hugo Muray who, officially, held the position of Director of Public Security in Bolivia, but who, in reality, was the sub-chief of the Central Intelligence Agency that operated in my country. Mr. Muray's boss was Mr. Thomas Hazlett, who officially held the position of first secretary of the Embassy of the United States of America. Actually, he was a high-ranking agent of the CIA.

Q. Why did you give the diary to Fidel Castro? And, for no money, correct?

A. The situation is the following. I was a worker in the factories and the mines. Then, I worked as a radio/telegraph operator, flying in the planes of the military Air Force, and I got to know all of my country. At the same time that I was a radio/telegraph operator in the Air Force, I was taking courses in order to receive a degree in political science at the Major University of San Andres in La Paz.

The fact of being a university student, and at the same time being in continuous contact with the government bureaus, so that I examined all the people in my country, made me perceive many realities. Under the circumstances, the President, Paz Estenssoro, had taken a turn to the right, and initially, Dr. Paz and the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario) regime formed a

revolutionary popular party. But because of a series of circumstances starting in the year 1953, the political regime fell into an orbit of more strict dependence with respect to the United States. A division was created among the popular groups, unions, and students. They initially responded to the MNR government and the bureaucracy of the party. In the year 1954, the contradictions in the heart of the party and the government were already very great, and a group of officials began to reveal themselves as being opposed to the internal situation of the country.

General Barrientos, being in charge of the Air Force, realized the political juncture and, in alliance with General Ovando and almost all the officials, brought about a military coup in order to relieve Paz Estenssoro of his power. In those days, as I was a member of the Air Force, I participated in this coup and, for my part in the preparation of this coup, I was named Sub-Secretary of Government. The Ambassador of the United States in Bolivia, Mr. Henderson, notified the government of General Barrientos that my place in the government was poorly looked upon by the government of the United States, and that I should quit as soon as possible.

General Barrientos and General Ovando called me to a meeting and explained to me that unless I would resign my functions in the government, the United States would suspend all of its economic, military, etc., aid to my country because the United States' source of information had acknowledged that I was a very active Communist. Because of this fact, I felt obligated to resign my high position. But, then I spoke to Col. Edward Fox of the United States Air Force, and he indicated that he personally thought --

Q. Who was Edward Fox?

A. He was the chief of the United States Air Force operating in Bolivia.

Q. But he was not with the CIA?

A. No. He spoke to me and said to me my problems could be resolved because he personally thought the things they had said about me were false, and that he would put me in touch with another man -- who was a civilian -- another North American. He put me in touch with Mr. Larry Stormfield.

Q. Who is he?

A. He was the chief of the CIA in Bolivia. He spoke with Mr. Stormfield, and he told me that the information the United States government had was very much against me. And, therefore, very much against the military group that brought

STATINTL

# Changes Come in Andes

By Lewis H. Diuguid

Washington Post Foreign Service

LA PAZ--The skyscraper headquarters of the 12,000-student university here is one of the few impressive buildings in Bolivia, the poorest of the Andean republics.

The bullet-pocked doors through which one enters the tower of the University of San Andres are a reminder of recent crossfire between left- and right-wing student factions. In the lobby an exhibit of bas-reliefs featured a sinous Che Guevara raising a rifle skyward. Interspersed were posterart caricatures of Uncle Sam and denunciations of the CIA.

To one side, students bent over books in the library. Others, carrying arms, occupied a nearby research institute owned by American Dominicans. The students said it was serving U.S. imperialists.

A few days earlier, University Vice Rector Rolando Costa, 41, had addressed an assembly held to honor Nestor Paz, who had starved to death among a band of students bent on emulating Guevara's guerrilla example. Guevara was killed in Bolivia in 1967 as he tried to implant armed revolution.

## Dialogue Sought

At the assembly, Costa called for a Marxist-Christian dialogue; he represented the Marxists.

Nestor Paz, like most of the unsuccessful guerrillas, was a Revolutionary Christian Democrat. He wrote in his diary:

"Would that my capacity to love should grow apace with my capacity as a guerrilla."

Said Costa: "Probably we in this hall will agree that the guerrilla is not the only model, but personally I have no doubt that the armed struggle is the only road to liberation."

The social pressures that reach extremes in Bolivia are present throughout South America, producing the left-wing experiments in government and Bolivia, the new Andean left.



SALVADOR ALLENDE  
... "pragmatic Marxist"

These same pressures are transforming such venerable institutions as the church, universities and newspapers.

In Bolivia, though the institutions tend to have more continuity than the government, they can be as volatile as the volcanoes.

Bolivians have a poignant faith that their rugged land's undetermined resources are limitless.

The university, thoroughly dominated by Marxists, has long taught that foreign interests prevent Bolivia from reaping those riches.

In the chaotic days of last October, students demonstrated against then-President Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia, and they required guarantees from his successor, Gen. Juan Jose Torres—the current president—that he would not turn right as Ovando allegedly did.

Students had occupied the Bolivian-U.S. binational center (they still hold it) as well as the church's Institute for Studies and Social Action, which once received an AID loan.

The Bolivian Catholic church protested the seizure of the institute—one of the few times the bishops have taken public issue with the government. Forced to choose between students and the church, Gen. Torres decreed that the building should become part of the university, but that the center be used by the government—by the government.

In Bolivia as elsewhere, many young priests agitate for revolutionary change. Few Bolivians become priests, and probably a majority of these clerics are foreigners.

Several months ago, Gen. Ovando expelled three foreign priests accused of abetting insurrection.

His successor, Torres, has permitted the three priests to come back to Bolivia. Since their return, they have joined a campaign to have the papal nuncio expelled for allegedly interfering in Bolivian affairs.

The church has influenced another Bolivian institution, the press. It owns *Presencia*, the daily newspaper that led the campaign for nationalization of Gulf Oil Co.'s investments.

*Presencia's* editor, Alberto Bailey Gutierrez, editorialized insistently against the firm and ran frequent exposes intended to show that Gulf was acting against Bolivia's interests.

On the strength of his efforts, Bailey was appointed information minister in Ovando's cabinet. He was on hand when troops broke into the Gulf offices after nationalization.

Among press laws decreed during Bailey's tenure was one that turned newspapers' Monday editions over to the papers' shop unions—a step, which, like other restrictions, was aimed mainly at muffling opposition to the government from the largest-circulation paper, the conservative *El Diario*. Soon the union-Mondays experiment was superseded.

In October, *El Diario* was invaded by students and turned over to its workers, silencing Bolivia's one effective conservative voice.

*El Diario*, now seems to alternate between representing the views of the government and those of the government's more radical elements, and only haphazardly to present the news.

Air of Chronic Chaos  
To the visitor, this instability of the nation's few nongovernment institutions, accompanied by strikes and

government crises, gives Bolivia an air of chronic chaos.

But anthropologist Richard W. Patch, who has studied Bolivia for years, takes the view that the country is gradually consolidating. He noted, for instance, that the critical integration of the Indian majority as participants in the society is occurring at a quickening pace.

Patch pointed out that before dawn, when the Indians rise for work, the radio stations have begun to broadcast heavily in Aymara and Quechua instead of Spanish—which signifies that the Indians now earn enough to interest advertisers.

Some recent Bolivian events seem distorted shadows of the military transformation of Peru, next door. The pattern for Bolivia's nationalist coup and its takeover of Gulf came from Peru, where a year earlier—in October of 1968—military technocrats had seized power and nationalized the unpopular International Petroleum Co.

As Bailey dogged Gulf in the La Paz daily *Presencia*, Augusto Zimmerman of Lima's *El Comercio* had writhed daily of the sins of IPC and the need to confiscate it.

Zimmerman is now press secretary for the President, Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado. It is said that Zimmerman played a major role in the workers' takeover of the rightist *Expreso*—it now roughly represents the left wing of the government—and in formulation of a feared press law.

Editors say the effect of the law is to impose self-censorship. They feel prohibited from printing certain opinions—from suggesting, for instance, that a division might exist within Peru's military leadership.

In Lima, the traditional family-owned paper typical of Latin capitals is *El Comercio*. But despite the fact that the paper is uncommonly nationalist, which fits the approach of the military leadership, the tacit alliance between the government and *El Comercio* almost broke down over the press law.



[GUERRILLA RADIO SILENCE]

It is not unusual for a government to deny any success, much less any reality, to a guerrilla movement opposing it. Batista, for instance, let out continual rumors that Castro was smashed to smithereens when he wasn't, and the reports of Che Guevara's death in Bolivia were greatly exaggerated at least a dozen times before the CIA could deliver a corpse to match the story.

The pattern of obfuscation in the United States is different. It allows for screaming and hollering about the terrible violence that is coming down on this country, and then degenerates into a blubbery debate about whether violence, in general, is cherry, lemon or lime or even American at all. Since the Administration raising the issue of violence is itself the largest practitioner of that trade both at home and abroad, that would seem to give the boot to the question. But there is a talented vice president on the prowl whose opprobrious rhetoric keeps the confusion alive by speeches to Rotarians and other Bedouins and know-nothings across the Gaza strips of the midwest and southwest.

Despite all the official and unofficial outrage at H. Rap Brown's assertion that violence was as American as cherry pie, the National Commission on The Causes and Prevention of Violence took some 350,000 words last year to say that, in fact, was the case, and that nonviolence was not exactly in the mainstream of how Americans got things done. The only thing new is guerrilla violence, which has never occurred in the United States before, but that revelation is apparently being saved for another commission.

Thus the central reality of violence in society has become the new American cliché. But most people don't bother to differentiate among the kinds of violence—right wing, left wing, government, criminal, and just plain demented—instead they lump all violence into one burdensome rock for this age where Armageddon takes place on prime time.

This tendency, promoted by the government, has delayed any declamatory awareness of the massive development in the United States of the specifically calculated violence of modern guerrilla warfare. But if the bombings continue this fall at the current hurricane pace, it is only going to take someone to say it is so and guerrilla warfare will become a catchword of the 1970's along with women's liberation and the mini skirt. Whether it will be as easily popularized and assimilated is entirely another question.

While the government's semantic holding action against guerrilla war is already slipping, it does remain true that certain realities, especially unpleasant ones, take a long time to penetrate the American consciousness—a phenomenon social critic John Jay Chapman referred to as the "habitual mental distraction" of Americans. It is now getting to the point, however, where it won't require the services of a computer to project a war out of the rapidly multiplying attacks of guerrilla terrorism and sabotage. March 1970, for example, was a typical month

without any major civil unrest or campus or ghetto riots. During March there were 62 left wing guerrilla actions against targets in 17 states, among them:

Selective Service Headquarters in Urbana, Illinois, Colorado Springs and Boulder, Colorado were fire-bombed. The Minnesota Selective Service Headquarters in St. Paul was heavily damaged when sprayed with black paint in a freak sneak attack.

Time bombs were discovered at Army installations in Oakland, Brooklyn, and Portland.

A Post Office was dynamited in Seattle, the Federal Building was firebombed in Champaign, Illinois, and a courthouse blown up in Cambridge, Maryland.

Firebombings and arson attacks caused light-to-extensive damage at eight colleges, and physical attacks on buildings and security guards took place at the University of Puerto Rico and Loop City College in Chicago. During the same period, six high schools were bombed and two damaged by arson.

Guerrilla attacks against police took place in Richmond, Calif., Chicago, Billings, Mont., Detroit, Boulder, Colo., and Cleveland. Dynamite, firebombs and sniper fire were employed in the actions.

In Manhattan, the IBM, General Telephone and Mobil Oil buildings were bombed, and incendiary devices were set off in Bloomingdale's and Alexander's department stores. During the month there were 17 bombing attacks against corporations and banks in eight states.

The geometric progression of such actions tells the story: the 62 guerrilla actions in March, 1970 were roughly double those of March of the previous year when 39 attacks took place against schools, federal installations, police and corporations. In March of 1968 there were only 14 attacks; in 1967 there were four; and two such instances occurred in March of 1966 and 1965.

It is surmisable that the administration does not require this magazine to tell it that guerrilla warfare is going on in the country. It should not strain even the competency of the FBI to uncover such shocking statistics. But just who is going to tell the people is something else. The government doubtless has its own reasons for maintaining radio silence about the guerrilla war, but its semantics at times become strained. President Nixon, deploring violence in September in a major address at landlocked, conservative Kansas State University, went to awkward extremes to avoid the use of even the adjective "guerrilla" (except to refer to the "Palestinian guerrillas," which was all right, apparently, because that was out of town.) In describing American bombers and snipers, the President instead variously employed the descriptive labels "disrupters," "a small minority," "destructive activists," "small bands of destructionists," "acts of viciousness," "blackmail and terror," and "assaults which terrorize."

One reason for the Administration's compulsive evasion of the term is that it just sounds so bad. Guerrilla war psychologically is in the "It-can't-happen-here" category for America. And the admission of the existence of guerrilla warfare would prompt a

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## Castro, Guevara Pal, Survives 3 Years in Jail, Has 27 to Go

MIAMI, Fla., Nov. 22 (UPI).

—Three years ago Regis Debray, young Marxist Frenchman who won a place among New Left heroes for his exploits with Argentine-Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, was sent to prison in Camiri, Bolivia.

He is still there, and it looks like he will stay there, despite constant rumors he soon will be freed.

A Bolivian military tribunal sentenced Debray in 1967 to 30 years in prison for guerilla activity. But few people thought he would serve his term.

### FRIEND OF CASTRO

Debray, a friend of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, is a fervent admirer of the late Che Guevara and author of a book on revolutionary theory. He is a living martyr to the New Left.

Debray's admirers are divided on whether he will live out his sentence or whether he will be released by a new regime in politically turbulent Bolivia. Governments don't last long there.

There also was talk of a prisoner exchange, possibly with Cuba.

Last month, the Bolivian government of President Alfredo Ovando fell to a right-wing group, and that regime, in turn, fell to the army and Gen. Jose Torres, himself a self-styled revolutionary.

The Torres takeover sparked new speculation that Debray would be freed.

### HAVANA ACCUSATIONS

Radio Havana broadcasts, monitored in Miami, accused right-wing elements in Bolivia of plotting with the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to assassinate Debray. The confusion caused by the coup and counter-coup.

More recently, the new Bolivian Army commander, Gen. Luis Reque Teran, told reporters in La Paz that Debray might be swapped for Cuba's best known prisoner — Maj. Hubert Matos.

Matos, one of Castro's trusted aides, was convicted of treason in 1959 and has been in a Cuban prison for the last 11 years.

Nothing has come of that swap.

Debray still remains in his makeshift prison cell at an army facility in Camiri, the town where he was convicted. The cell also houses Argentine pointer Ciro Bustos. The pair was arrested in the village of Muyapampa on April 20, 1937, while trying to leave the country after a 43-day sojourn with

Guevara's hard-luck and already doomed guerilla band.

The only event in Debray's life, in the three years since his sentencing, was his marriage in 1968 to his Venezuelan sweetheart, Elizabeth Burtos, herself a militant leftist. The slender, attractive Mrs. Debray is allowed to visit occasionally with her husband.

Radio Havana reported she found him suffering an ulcer and receiving no medication but pain killers. She complained of his food and called on Gen. Torres to grant him amnesty.

Debray was convicted of murder and received Bolivia's maximum sentence, 30 years. But his actual guerilla role was that of courier and propagandist. According to his own diary, Guevara told Debray he was a more effective propagandist outside Bolivia than a guerilla warrior, and Debray agreed to leave.

### TRIAL PROSECUTION

The prosecution at his trial said he was guilty of guerilla leadership and connected him with helping plan two guerilla raids in which 17 army men and a civilian were killed. In Bolivia, the planners are as responsible as the murderers.

A myth has grown around Debray's guerilla role. His thin, slightly hunched figure, his flowing blonde mustache and his piercing eyes enhance his dramatic image.

His supporters argue that he only went to Bolivia to interview Guevara and was railroaded by the military. They say his only real offense was outlining the attack on imperialism in his book, "Revolution in the Revolution?"

His enemies, including the prosecutor, call him a murderer and guerilla mastermind.

### RISES TO PROMINENCE

Ironically, his imprisonment has catapulted him from obscurity to prominence. Young American revolutionaries are said to cherish his book, although it deals only with Latin American guerilla movements and scorns those who would transplant revolutionary technique from country to country without alterations to fit the area.

The book's theme, though, shows Debray's implacable hatred for imperialism and his conviction that revolutions are made with guns, not words. As a symbol for that approach, Debray may be as effective in his Camiri prison cell as in Paris or Havana giving revolutionary seminars.

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STATINTL

# On the campus front: what prospects for peace?

STATINTL

None, says William Worthy, veteran reporter and analyst

By William Worthy

*William Worthy, correspondent of The Baltimore Afro-American and a former Nieman Fellow, was in Vietnam the year before and the year after the French defeat at Dien-bienphu. Seven years later, (1962) in Midstream magazine, he predicted disaster for this country in Vietnam.*

"We must recognize that the young in many areas of the world today are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo . . . They will prevail. They will achieve their idealistic goals one way or another. If they have to pull governments tumbling down over their heads, they will do it . . ."

Robert F. Kennedy, 1964

"The future comes with the same degree of violence which is used against it." — Barrows Dunham in "Heroes and Heretics"

A decade ago, in the tense period leading up to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, reporter Laura Berquist of Look magazine was interviewing Che Guevara in Havana. Despite Washington's tightening of the economic noose, Fidel Castro had not yet taken his country into the Soviet camp, and he was still making speeches critical of communism.

Miss Berquist wanted to know how far to the left the Cuban revolution was going to go.

Che's reply was direct: That question should be directed "to your own government in Washington. The

Cuban revolution will go as far to the left as it is pushed."

In the minds of Middle Americans banking on the thousand new FBI agents, the National Guard and stiff new laws to repress campus upheavals, the history of revolutionary Cuba since Che's remark should give pause.

Hard-nose counter revolutionary solutions seem to have dubious long-term effectiveness in this final third of the twentieth century. For another six or seven years the Cuban government held open the door for normalization of relations with the United States. But around 1967, as a result of the war in Vietnam, Castro finally decided there could be no reconciliation with the colossus to the North until, as he put it, there is a complete change in our system.

AM I implying that rebellious college youth, at some point in the 1970s, will in large numbers give up entirely on the land of their birth? Any thoughtful answer requires a sober backward look at the extraordinary, cumulative and accelerating record of passionate violence and turbulence on and off campuses, in three years:

Just this year, from January 1969 to the end of 1970, 333 bombing incidents occurred in the United States,

according to the Department of Justice. Campus bombings numbered 25, with an additional eleven near a campus or in a college town. The figures do not include arson (by which many ROTC and other campus military buildings have been destroyed), or attempted arson or attempted bombings.

In July, the chief deputy attorney general of California told a Senate subcommittee that the rate of bombings in his state alone had risen, since June, to nearly twenty a week. Leftists, he said, had stolen five tons of explosives from a California dam construction site over a period of years without the contractors being aware of it, while right-wing Minutemen had stolen 1400 pounds of dynamite from a construction site in 1965.

Last spring, when students firebombed a Bank of America branch near the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, policemen seized 94 pounds of military C-4 plastic explosives and 39 grenades from residents in the area.

SINCE October, 1967, 432 war protestors have admitted responsibility for 29 separate draft board raids in which over one million non-duplicated draft files have been destroyed. During the same period, a growing number of top-drawer corporations with military contracts, IT&T, and Standard of New Jersey, have been hit with

disruptive and records-destroying actions.

Most recently, eight persons not only destroyed all I-A draft files in Rochester, New York, but also invaded, at night, the hitherto sacrosanct offices of the FBI and the US Attorney. (Five years ago, what American, young or old, would have even thought of a political raid on Mr. Hoover's "awesome" precincts? The fact that the unthinkable is now frequently happening is perceptively analyzed in a brilliant piece on the new youth culture and consciousness in the September 26 issue of The New Yorker.) The raiders, who were caught by the merest chance when a cop on the beat happened to pass the Federal Building, obtained lists of informers and information on FBI procedures against the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary groups.

PRIOR to the September 26 release of the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Chairman William Scranton met with a limited group of correspondents and revealed that the commission believes that out of seven million students on the country's campuses, a million are demonstration-minded, and that the trend is to "steady growth" in the number of dissenters. The commission complained in its report to Mr. Nixon that "an increasing number (of students), not terrorists themselves, would not turn even arsonists and bombers

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# WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## BOLIVIA

Gen. Juan Jose Torres, who gained the presidency in a military coup last month, refused to allow former interior minister Antonio Arguedas to return to Bolivia from exile in Cuba. Arguedas, who sent the 1967 field diary of Che Guevara to Cuba, maintains a CIA plot forced him to leave his country. . . . A report in Muhammad Speaks said more than half the children born in Bolivia die before their fifth birthday and more than 40% of the population is stricken with tuberculosis.

STATINTL

## THAILAND

The pending transfer of U.S. B-52 bombers from Okinawa to Thai bases was denounced by "The Voice of the People of Thailand" radio. . . . The Bangkok regime has admitted CIA planes presently taking off from Takli base to bring arms, military supplies and provisions to mercenaries in Laos. . . . Time magazine estimates some 280 U.S. "phantom" jets are based in Thailand and South Vietnam and said the U.S. has lost 7316 planes and helicopters in nearly 10 years of war in Southeast Asia. . . . Direct investment by U.S. groups in Thailand has reached some \$2 billion, with over 150 U.S.-owned companies, factories, banks and offices established in the country. Dominated sectors of the economy are finance, oil extracting and refining, tin refining, rubber processing and textiles. "In addition," according to Hsinhua, the China news agency, "U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalists are dumping large quantities of commodities in Thailand, bringing about an unprecedented deficit in the latter's foreign trade."

# U.S.-Aided Social Studies Center Stirs Political

## Storm in Bolivia

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Oct. 15—The Bolivian Institute for Studies and Social Action—a social science institute established with the aid of the United States Government, operated by Dominican priests and currently occupied by Marxist students armed with machine guns—has become the center of a political storm that could prompt civil war in Bolivia.

The issues pit Castroite Marxists against Conservatives, affect the Roman Catholic Church and raise charges of espionage and intrigue.

Marxist university directors and Bolivian guerrillas charge that the institute is an agency of the United States Government. Militants charge that over the years the institute has been given a clandestine radio transmitting station from the United States Army, and \$2-million in shares from the Gulf Oil Company.

The institute, which was founded in 1963 by the Chicago Province of Dominican Fathers has been a major political issue here in the last year. The building that houses the institution was built with the help of a \$118,000 grant from the United States aid mission here. It adjoins San Andres Higher University, which is dominated by Marxist extremists.

### Leftist Heads University

The rector of the state-supported university, Dr. Oscar Prudencio, is an extreme leftist, whose anti-United States views closely reflect those of many of the 12,000 students.

Students seized the institute building last April, but the police dislodged them after an hour. However, students armed with guns and explosives seized the building again on Oct. 6 during the turmoil in which Gen. Juan José Torres came to power as President.

Their rector, Dr. Prudencio, announced yesterday that the institute had been seized "for not having served the interests of Bolivia," and that the university would not consider giving it up.

General Torres, whose accession to power resulted partly from the violent support initially given him by the students, seemed disposed to meeting university demands.

Two American priests—the Rev. Edward Cleary and the Rev. James Burke, both of Chicago—remained in their quarters at the institute able to come and go, but constantly under the watch of armed students and not permitted to receive visitors.

### Protest by Bishop

The Most Rev. Jorge Manrique Hurtado, Archbishop of La Paz, and the Most Rev. Armando Gutierrez Granier, president of the Bolivian Episcopal Conference, have both protested to the new Government about the seizure of the institute but to no immediate effect.

"I wish it were true that we had received all the money they say we did," Father Burke said.

"The United States aid mission paid for the building of our headquarters, but the Dominicans themselves purchased and improved the property, which is now worth more than \$250,000," he said. "In 1967, we received a \$32,000 grant from the Alliance for Progress for teaching projects. We have received money from the Schmidt Foundation in Chicago for teaching, from Oxfam, the English Relief Organization, and so forth."

"We also have been paid for specific research or teaching contracts, in some cases requested by the Bolivian Government," he continued. "But none of this income has covered our expenses, and the Dominicans have always had to make up the difference."

"We received \$2,000 from Gulf, not \$2-million. I can say categorically that neither we here nor the Dominicans in Chicago have even one share of Gulf Stock," he said.

"As for our radio," he continued. "It was a very good one costing about \$1,000. We used to use it to communicate with our centers in other Bolivian cities and with the home office in the United States.

"But I wish we never had had that radio, although we bought it ourselves. The stu-

dents—seeing the antenna in the back of the building and later, when they seized the place, they found the call-sign book used by all ham radio stations—assumed some kind of C.I.A. activity was involved."

Church sources expressed hope that the Government might decide to expropriate the institute and pay the organization.

"With the funds from that, however small," Father Burke said, "We could perhaps build a new headquarters, preferably

a shack far from the university, which would be less conspicuous than this beautiful building."

Projects of the institute have included courses for peasant women on how to feed their families for less than 80 cents a day, as well as courses for doctors and public administrators.

The institute frequently has made sociological studies and opinion polls in remote parts of Bolivia, virtually unknown even to the La Paz Government.

# Left coup takes over in Bolivia

By Richard E. Ward

Left-leaning Gen. Juan Jose Torres came to power in Bolivia last week. In the process, he blocked a rightist putsch with the support of the workers' movement, armed peasants and leftist students.

The events confirmed one of Che Guevara's last statements after his capture by CIA-supervised units of the Bolivian army in 1967—regardless of his fate, the revolution in poverty-stricken Bolivia would continue to live.

CIA intrigues in Bolivia continued to the present. On October 4, the army chief, Gen. Rogelio Miranda, closely linked to the U.S. and reactionary Argentinian circles, moved to oust President Alfredo Ovando Candia. Although a majority of top military officers are rightists, Miranda's move was opposed by Torres, who was backed by the popular movement and a majority of the armed forces, including the Air Force and even some top-ranking officers.

President Ovando, a general who himself took power in a September 1969 coup, initially tried to make a deal with the rightists as he had done on previous occasions during his year in office. The Papal Nuncio also tried to smooth things out by arranging a meeting between Ovando and Miranda on October 5. Apparently the U.S. embassy and the rightists would not be satisfied with partial measures and Ovando resigned the following day.

## One-day junta

Miranda first proclaimed himself president but quickly thought the better of it and decided to name a three-man junta instead. He must have thought that popular opinion would more readily be calmed if he pulled the levers from backstage. Miranda's junta lasted barely one day. Denouncing the junta as "colonialist and fascist," Torres took command of the military forces loyal to "revolution" and the junta collapsed in the face of the strong opposition.

The popular movement appears to have been decisive in bringing Torres to power on October 7. The previous day, the Bolivian Workers Central called upon its members to take to the streets to prevent troop movements and militant student groups declared their support for a Torres government that would be left and nationalist with worker and student participation.

Since Ovando took power last year, he has been confronted by opposition on the right and left. Ovando walked a tightrope that finally snapped as he gave in to right-wing pressure and adopted increas-

ingly repressive measures. During the last four months, Ovando removed Torres from his command and forced two leftist ministers to leave the government.

Because one of Ovando's first moves was the nationalization of Gulf Oil's Bolivian properties in October 1969, he had been considered by some observers as a left nationalist. But this action was primarily aimed at calming the left, which protested strongly this summer when Ovando agreed to pay \$78 million in compensation to Gulf, despite large Bolivian claims against Gulf for unpaid taxes that had been pending prior to Ovando's coup.

## Pressure from Oil companies

After the nationalization, Gulf began to sabotage the Bolivian oil and gas industry to force Ovando to come to terms. Gulf removed the blueprints from the country for a gas-separation plant it was constructing and organized a worldwide blockade of Bolivian oil products. Ovando caved in to pressure from Gulf, the Argentinian junta and the World Bank. A pipeline had been under construction with World Bank and Argentine support between Argentina and the Bolivian gasfields. Business Week magazine boasted January 3 that the Bolivian national oil company would never be able to exploit the seized properties.

Ovando's solution was to make an agreement with Hispanoil, a Spanish company of joint state and private ownership. Under the new arrangement with Hispanoil, a Gulf associate, Gulf was to refine the oil, Hispanoil would market it and Argentina would be given a larger quota of Bolivian natural gas.

Despite his willingness to cooperate with foreign investors, Ovando was considered unreliable and the CIA went into high gear after he became president. According to Alberto Bailey, former Information Minister under Ovando, the CIA has been planning a rightist coup since last December.

During the past year, CIA-backed rightist elements assassinated some student leaders, pressured Ovando to remove liberal nationalist officials that they called "Tupamaros," encouraged government repression and occupied the university with rightist terrorists.

## Guerrilla movement reconstituted

In part, the left responded by a renewal of the guerrilla movement. During the summer, two centers of guerrilla activity developed, one student-led and the more younger brother of Inti and Coco Peredo. former leaders of the Bolivian National Liberation Army and comrades of Che

Guerrillas kidnapped two German employes of a U.S. mining concern this summer, successfully obtaining the release of 10 political prisoners in exchange for the Germans. At the end of July, eight guerrillas of the Peredo group were killed, summarily executed after their capture, according to some reports.

Four of the eight guerrillas were prominent students, including Adolfo Quiroga Bonado, president of the Bolivian University Federation. There was widespread agitation after the government refused to return the bodies of the slain guerrillas to their families.

The student movement gained sympathy from workers, especially tin miners, also victims of government violence when they had demonstrated for improvement of their conditions. The miners are suffering from pay cuts and unemployment under U.S.-promoted measures to improve the "economic health" of the mining industry.

## Ovando was compromised

Ovando kept moving to the right but not fast enough for the U.S. embassy and the Bolivian oligarchy, known as the "Rosca," or screw. Ovando had no sympathy for the left and he sought to maintain power by throwing a few crumbs to the populace. The rightists correctly judged that Ovando had compromised himself and his fence-straddling game was up. However, they misjudged the strength of popular movement.

Torres began his rule by promising a government responsive to worker, peasant and student demands. The new cabinet is comprised of "moderates," half of whom are military men, but Torres is aware that he owes his position to the popular will and it is likely he will steer a more leftward course than his predecessor.

In the days since Torres moved into the presidential palace in La Paz, workers and students have seized control of Bolivia's reactionary newspapers and placed them under workers' control, U.S. agencies in Oruru and Cochabamba have been sacked, armed civilians have released political prisoners from jail and university students have proclaimed October 8-15 as a week of homage to the memory of Che Guevara.

Obviously sensing that the upheaval is deeper than last year's dress rehearsal, Washington suspended U.S. economic and military aid to Bolivia after the chief U.S. cronies took refuge in foreign embassies in La Paz.

Torres' political future can only be assured if he meets the pressing demands for political and social justice and if he moves toward the establishment of a popular regime which will enable the masses to defend themselves against

17 OCT 1970

## U.S. Calm as Bolivian Hostility Grows

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Oct. 16—In the face of growing anti-American terrorism and assaults on United States property condoned by the La Paz Government, the United States has decided to turn the other cheek toward Bolivia.

During the last week or so, more than \$36,000 in damage has been inflicted on United States Government property in La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Sucre and Trinidad. United States Information Service centers in most of these places have been heavily damaged or wiped out.

The work has been carried out by well-armed student guerrillas supported by important sectors of the Government.

The students expect to be able to retain some of the buildings they occupy by force, notably the Bolivian-American Bimaterial Center in La Paz. The new President, Gen. Juan José Torres, meeting with university leaders, assured them their demands would receive "favorable attention."

### No Action by Regime

So far, Government authorities have done nothing to move against the student guerrillas, whatever the offense.

Student militants took over the only nonleftist newspapers in the country, which now are being run by Marxist cooperatives. Needless to say, little good is being printed about the United States in any of them.

Student raids have hurt individuals as well as national institutions.

Last week, student militants in La Paz, armed with pistols and machineguns, moved into the house used by United States Marine Corps embassy guards.

Pistols were trained at the marines, while the raiders sacked the house. They left after changing their own clothing for new civilian suits owned by the marines.

Last year, the defunct government of Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia, heavily pressed by Marxists, nationalized assets of the Gulf Oil Company. It seems likely that American-owned mines here also will be nationalized.

If the Marxists eventually have their way, there will be no indemnification for any of this, although President Torres has promised to see that Gulf is reimbursed.

One by one, organizations in which United States citizens have had key roles have been eliminated in Bolivia. Last December, for example, the Ovando Government expelled the pro-American Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, charging it was a front for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Student and labor organizations are pressing hard to finish the job. They want the Peace Corps, which has about 120 volunteers in the country, eliminated from Bolivia. And they want every other vestige of United States influence, cultural or otherwise, expunged.

Leftists in and out of the Government stop short of demanding an end to diplomatic relations with Washington or aid from the United States, however.

The new Torres Government made it plain through channels that it was hoping for speedy recognition by the United States. In fact, Washington was among the first dozen countries to recognize the Torres regime, before most of the Communist bloc had done so.

Washington, also, has done

nothing so far to cut off aid to Bolivia or to threaten La Paz with any kind of economic sanction.

Since the revolution of 1952, Bolivia has received more than \$450-million in aid from the United States, which is still flowing at the rate of about \$1-million a month.

Despite the hostility La Paz has shown to United States companies, notably Gulf, Bolivian officials are counting on American development assistance.

### Minister Seeks Credit

The new Minister of Energy and Hydrocarbons, Enrique Mariaca, is going to Washington this weekend to negotiate credit with both the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The money involved will be mainly American.

Apart from political considerations, Americans living in Bolivia are in constant danger of assassination by dynamite explosions or gunfire.

The United States Ambassador, Ernest V. Siracusa, has adopted a policy of closing the Embassy here whenever demonstrations or attacks seem imminent or likely. Officials and their employes are forced increasingly to live under siege.

"I hope the soft touch turns out to be worth it," the proprietor of a small, American-owned business said. "It sure wasn't worth it in Cuba, and South America seems more like Cuba every day."

# No peace on the

STATINTL

## Campus front

By WILLIAM WORTHY

### I. The Violence

A decade ago, in the tense period leading to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, reporter Laura Berquist of *Look* magazine was interviewing Che Guevara in Havana. Despite Washington's tightening of the economic noose, Fidel Castro had not yet taken his country into the Soviet camp and he was still making speeches critical of communism.

Miss Berquist wanted to know how far to the left the Cuban revolution was going to go.

Che's reply was direct: That question should be directed "to your own government in Washington. The Cuban revolution will go as far to the left as it is pushed."

In the minds of Middle Americans, banking on the thousand new FBI agents, National Guard and stiff new laws to repress campus upheavals, the history of revolutionary Cuba since Che's remark should give pause. Hard-nosed counter-revolutionary solutions seem to have dubious long-term effectiveness in this final third of the Twentieth Century. For another six or seven years the Cuban government held open the door for normalization of relations with the United States. But around 1967, as a result of the Vietnam war, Mr. Castro finally decided there could be no reconciliation with the colossus to the North until, as he put it, there is a complete change in our system.

Am I implying that rebellious college youth, at some point in the 1970's, will in large numbers give up entirely on the land of their birth? Any thoughtful answer requires a sober backward look at the extraordinary, cumulative and accelerating record of passionate violence and turbulence on and off campuses, in the short space of three years:

1. This year, there have been nearly 340 bombing incidents in the United States, according to the Justice Department. Campus bombings have numbered 26, with another dozen near a campus or in a college town. The figures do not include arson (by which many Reserve Officers Training Corps and other campus military buildings have been destroyed), or attempted arson or attempted bombings.

2. In July, the California chief deputy attorney general told a Senate subcommittee that the rate of bombings in his state alone had risen, since June, to

nearly 20 a week. Leftists, he said, had stolen 5 tons of explosives from a California dam construction site over a period of years without the contractors being aware of it, while right-wing Minutemen had stolen 1,400 pounds of dynamite from a construction site in 1965.

3. Last spring, when students fire-bombed a Bank of America branch near the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, policemen seized 94 pounds of military C-4 plastic explosives and 39 grenades from area residents.

4. Since October, 1967, 432 war protesters have admitted responsibility for 22 separate draft board raids in which more than a million nonduplicated draft files have been destroyed. During the same period, a growing number of top-drawer corporations with military contracts, including Dow Chemical, General Electric, International Telephone & Telegraph and Standard Oil of New Jersey, have been hit with disruptive and records-destroying actions.

5. Most recently, eight persons not only destroyed all I-A draft files in Rochester, N.Y., but also invaded at night the hitherto sacrosanct offices of the FBI and the United States Attorney. (Five years ago, what American, young or old, would have even thought of a political raid on J. Edgar Hoover's "awesome" precincts? The fact that the unthinkable is frequently now happening is perceptively analyzed in a brilliant article on the new youth culture and consciousness in the September 26 issue of *The New Yorker*.) The raiders, who were caught by the merest chance when a beat patrolman happened to pass the federal building, obtained lists of informers and information on FBI procedures against the Black Panther party and other revolutionary groups. After being held in \$100,000 bail each, the eight are being rushed to trial this month. The government obviously does not want the defendants touring campuses and discussing the fruits of their raids.

### II. The Students

Prior to the September 26 release of the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Chairman William Scranton met with a group of correspondents and revealed that the commission believes that of seven million students on the country's campuses, a million are

demonstration-minded, and that the trend is to "steady growth" in the number of dissenters. The commission complained in its report to President Nixon that "an increasing number [of students], not terrorists themselves, would not turn even arsonists and bombers over to law enforcement officials."

To the dismay of many middle-class

Mr. Worthy, a correspondent of the *Baltimore Afro-American* and a former *Nie-man Fellow*, is a free-lance journalist who has been published in *Esquire*, *Ebony*, *Ramparts*, *Christian Century*, *Mainstream* and *Life* magazines.

The future comes with the same degree of violence which is used against it.

—Barrows Dunham in "Heroes and Heretics."

parents, their sheltered children can leap from a generally conservative position to bomb-throwing activism during one short academic year.

Not all students or others being hotly pursued by the police and FBI know the route into, or avail themselves of, underground escape channels. Revolutionary violent acts are "decentralized," locally planned and autonomous; there is no national directorate or national coordinating apparatus. But there does exist an effective North American network for hiding and protecting revolutionaries and for getting them out of this hemisphere to countries "where the FBI can't go," as Pete Seeger put it in his 1962 song about Robert Williams's flight from North Carolina to Cuba.

In the case of revolutionaries, including Weathermen, who are opposed to going into exile, the FBI has a poor track record; their "wanted" pictures remain on Post Office walls month after month, certainly a strong encouragement to others inclined toward revolutionary violence. The country is so large, youth and student disaffection is so vast that, after dramatic and well-publicized bombings, one has the distinct impression in most cases that the FBI doesn't know for whom to look. The three White Panthers soon to be tried for the 1968 bombing of a Central Intelligence Agency office in Ann



DES MOINES, IOWA  
TRIBUNE

E - 113,781  
OCT 8 1970

## Left-Wing Military Regime in Bolivia

Gen. Juan Jose Torres, who emerged as the leader of Bolivia's military government after a brief military face-off, is a left-wing nationalist who may test the restraint and wisdom of U.S. diplomacy.

Torres and the military and civilian leaders around him are admirers of the military junta which seized control of neighboring Peru two years ago. The Peruvian junta nationalized an oil field and refinery of a Standard Oil Co. subsidiary. It bought up estates of large landholders and redistributed them to peasants. It has fiercely maintained its claim to 200 miles of ocean off its shores. A similar combination of socialist changes and exaggerated nationalism may be expected in Bolivia.

Bolivia, with a per capita income of only \$121, is the poorest country in Latin America, with the exception of Haiti. About 70 per cent of its area lies in the humid, densely vegetated western margin of the Amazon Basin and contains some of the last unexplored territories on earth.

The days of brutal military dictatorship run by ignorant and corrupt generals appear ended in Bolivia and Peru, as elsewhere. The "new military" takes education, economics and national planning seriously.

The seizure of power by Torres is the climax of a struggle which began 18 months ago after popular President Rene Barrientos Ortuno was killed in a helicopter crash. The civilian vice president who succeeded Barrientos was ousted a year ago in a military coup led by Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia.

After last year's coup, and the nationalization of Gulf Oil Corp. properties, there were rumors in La Paz of a conservative counter-coup backed by the United States. The rumor triggered demonstrations by students, workers and peasants. A left-wing Bolivian official said the government had found a Central Intelligence Agency "center of operations" in La Paz.

This purported U.S. activity is difficult to evaluate. If the CIA were planning a coup, it wouldn't admit it. The story could have been manufactured to bolster support for the military regime.

Any CIA activity certainly would be a mistake. Russia already is encouraging closer diplomatic and commercial ties with Peru and Bolivia. A punitive U.S. policy toward the new Bolivian government merely would drive it into closer relations with the Soviet bloc.

# Underlines Repression of Press

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE  
Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 18—Twenty-five Bolivian policemen, including three lieutenants, entered the office of a local newspaper this week and roughed up its staff in an incident that underlined the violence and repression that have been directed against the Bolivian press in recent months.

On July 9, Horacio Alcazar Penaranda, news editor of La Presencia, was kidnapped by a group of young men believed to be army officers, and released a day later. The kidnapers lectured their prisoner continuously on their political views, which were understood to coincide with those of President Alfredo Ovando Candia.

Last month, Elmo Catalan, a Marxist journalist from Chile who apparently was working with Bolivian guerrillas, and his wife were found murdered near the city of Cochabamba.

## Correspondent Expelled

The Government expelled Gonzalo Lopez Munoz, correspondent for The Economist and Business Week, on March 27 after having briefly jailed him as a spy. Twelve days earlier, Alfredo Alexander, editor of the newspaper Hoy, and his wife were killed by a bomb thrown into their home.

On Feb. 21, the leftist military Government decreed that all newspapers would regularly print commentary by employees as well as editors. The law was intended to help the journalists of the extreme left, who dominate the powerful Bolivian Federation of Journalists.

In this week's incident, the policemen, in uniform but apparently acting without authorization, entered the office of La Jornada and reportedly demanded that reporters and editors go out in the street with them to fight "man to man."

In the free-for-all that ensued no one was seriously hurt, but the incident resulted in a 24-hour protest strike that left La Paz without newspapers yesterday and the threat for a wider strike that would close all the nation's newspapers and broadcasting stations.

Shortly after the incident Government officials said that the policemen involved had all been arrested and that the assault was "deeply regretted."

The day before the incident, La Jornada and other newspapers here published an article saying that a national policeman had been shot to death after having raped a girl. The criminal affairs section of the police department confirmed the account.

a co-director of the newspaper, one of the police officers leading the group into the building demanded to know who had written the article. When informed that the directors were responsible for all material in the publication, the officer reportedly grabbed a cartoonist, Clovis Diaz, by the shoulders and began shaking him.

Mr. Clovis then pushed the policeman to the floor, and general fighting began, in which even a woman delivering coffee to the newspaper offices was roughed up. The fighting stopped when officers of the criminal affairs division appeared.

"We believe the government was not responsible for this attack," Mr. Cordoba said. "However, if these policemen are not dealt with, the newspaper and radio strike will certainly be carried out. We demand security and things have gone much too far."

The Cabinet reportedly met on the problem later in the week.

## Staff Members Threatened

"This is not the first time La Jornada has had violent trouble," Mr. Cordoba said. "Some years ago our printing machinery was dynamited, and many of our staff members have been threatened."

Antonio Arguedas, the former Bolivian police chief who smuggled the diary of the late guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara to Cuba, returned to Bolivia from exile last year and worked for a time for La Jornada. He took refuge at the Mexican Embassy here after he was wounded by machine-gun fire from an unknown assailant.

Mr. Arguedas eventually obtained a safe-conduct pass to go to Mexico, and recently moved to Cuba.

"The new terrorism we are seeing in Bolivia is not traceable to any one group," Mr. Cordoba said.

"Some of it is merely to settle personal grudges," he said. "Some of it is caused by well-known terrorist organizations. With respect to the Catalan murder, it is hard to say."

Last month the chief of the National Police said that the United States Central Intelligence Agency, was responsible for the Catalan murders. "In Bolivia we seem to have a kind of psychosis about the C.I.A. and its affairs," Mr. Cordoba said.

"At any rate," he added, "we have reason to worry about the various secret societies now in political groups, and so forth. Many of them are extreme right-wing cells. These are hard for Bolivian newspapermen to

STATINTL

22-28 May 1970

STATINTL

## CIA AT VAN NUYS AIRPORT

SUE MARSHALL

For several years, Van Nuys Airport has been the takeoff point for high and low aerial reconnaissance missions over Latin America and Africa operated by the Central Intelligence Agency.

This information was made public two weeks ago by a former pilot for Mark Hurd Airways, who does not wish his identity to be revealed. According to this man, Mark Hurd Airways is a CIA front operating under the guise of a corporation which works under contract to the Department of Agriculture making aerial maps.

One of the major tasks Hurd has undertaken in the past years has been to compile an extremely detailed topographical map of the Bolivian highlands, using infrared photography and electronic instruments. This map was responsible for the CIA being able to pinpoint Che Guevara's guerrilla band and finger him for assassination.

Hurd was busted from Bolivia in 1968, one year after Guevara's death, when its secret base was discovered by the Bolivian government, but this fact went largely unnoticed in the newspapers.

Mark Hurd Airways has its

main office in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and its west coast office in Goleta at 5760 Dawson Avenue, phone number (805)967-1261.

Staff members at the Valley Peace Center, which is located near Van Nuys Airport, have been aware of suspicious-looking unmarked aircraft taking off from there for a long time.

"Hurd's office is located behind the National Air Guard, and they have all sorts of barricades and sentries," commented a Peace Center spokesman. "Every now and then a strange, unmarked jet will take off and land, and sometimes we see U-2s, which are big, black things."

Valley Peace Center conducted leafletting of the National Air Guard offices last week, and have tried to make the story public, but although reporters appeared and took copious notes, not a word of the news has appeared in the press.

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

22 May 1970

## *U.S. hires death*

MOSCOW — "The latest exposure of CIA activities in Chile, Bolivia, Peru and other Latin American countries show one of the aspects of the U.S. policy of 'partnership' with Latin America," said a recent news article in the Soviet newspaper Izvestia.

"IF THERE is anything new in Latin American policy of the U.S.," writes political columnist Busland Tuchnin, "it is only that the American monopolies have to act in that area of the world much more carefully and cautiously than they did during the days of 'gunboat diplomacy'. Anti-imperialist feelings have now reached such a level that armed intervention can lead to real revolutionary explosion."

TARENTUM, PA.  
VALLEY NEWS-DISPATCH

E - CIRC. N-A

MAY 7 1970

## Exchange student says Many Bolivians believe visitors are CIA agents

Most Bolivian students, a young Armstrong County exchange student says, are convinced Americans who visit that South American country are agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The Armstrong County girl, Ruth Marie Noel, of Kittanning, told Leechburg Rotarians Tuesday night that many Bolivians also believe that U.S. commercial interests exploit Bolivians. That's the reason, she said, that they can justify Bolivian nationalization of U.S. interests there, such as Gulf Oil. She also said most Americans in Bolivia simply aren't trusted.

Miss Noel spent nine months of last year in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, as an exchange student under a Rotary International exchange program. She lived with a Bolivian family and attended a Bolivian school.

Bolivian Indians, she said, are the only people there who wear bright native clothing. Most others dress much the same as Americans.

She said there are many dirt streets in Santa Cruz, that animals are allowed to roam freely through the countryside and in the cities and that there is almost no inter-city telephone service. Communications often are by "ham" radios and she spoke with her mother three times over a "ham" connection.

Although Bolivia is a poor country, she said there is not much outright starvation because of the abundance of fruit and other readily available food. She said bread is abundant and cheap. She said most of the male poor in Santa Cruz work in the sugar cane fields while

the women work as domestics for the wealthy. There is almost no middle class.

Miss Noel is the daughter of Robert Noel, a deceased former president of Leechburg Rotary Club. She was a guest at the meeting of Daniel McLanahan. She will enter Wilson College in September.

The club also reported further progress toward its auction of household goods on Saturday, May 23, at Veterans Memorial Field. Articles now are being picked up by the club and are being stored for the sale. Anyone wishing to donate articles for sale may call any club member. The president is Dr. Arthur Dupstadt.

STATINTL

CLEVELAND, OHIO  
PLAIN DEALER

M - 409,414  
S - 545,032

# Flashing Eyes Hide Cuba's Dark Motives

Cubans are beautiful. A girl looks stylish even in outdated clothing, and with make-shift cosmetics she accomplishes wonders in eye makeup.

The ideas behind those flashing Latin eyes are far from beautiful, however, by Western eyes. For in every Cuban head Fidel Castro has implanted the thoughts of revolution.

Nobody can escape the continual scorn heaped upon the Batista dictatorship which

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Second of a Series

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Fidel overthrew. The Wall of the Martyrs in Havana was long used as a shooting gallery by firing squads that rubbed out anti-Castroites and former Batista followers.

**EXECUTIONS ARE NOW** carried out behind the high walls of La Cabana fortress. Officials proudly point out that the

economy-minded Cuban Red Cross visits a condemned man a half hour before he is to be put to death and drains off most of his blood, leaving just enough for him to walk to the wall.

But if it's Down with Batista it's Up with Che. Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Fidel's revolutionary pal and a national hero, met his death in Bolivia, where he was trying to form a Castrolike Communist force. And Cubans now believe Che was executed through operations organized by America's CIA.

Castro's home, also the Cuban party's headquarters, is the center for the Tricontinental Communist Offensive. Delegates from many countries assemble there to study the newest techniques in guerrilla warfare, sabotage and assassination.

Yes, Cubans are beautiful—up to a point.

# The Secret Team and the Games They Play

by L. Fletcher Prouty

"The hill costumes of the Meo tribesmen contrasted with the civilian clothes of United States military men riding in open jeeps and carrying M-16 rifles and pistols. These young Americans are mostly ex-Green Berets, hired on CIA contract to advise and train Laotian troops." Those matter-of-fact, almost weary sentences, written late in February by T.D. Allman of *The Washington Post* after he and two other enterprising correspondents left a guided tour and walked 12 miles over some hills in Laos to a secret base at Long Cheng, describe a situation that today may seem commonplace to anyone familiar with American operations overseas, but that no more than 10 years ago would have been unthinkable.

To take a detachment of regular troops, put its members into disguise, smuggle them out of the country so that neither the public nor the Congress knows they have left, and assign them to clandestine duties on foreign soil under the command of a non-military agency—it is doubtful that anyone would have dared to suggest taking such liberties with the armed forces and foreign relations of the United States, not to say with the Constitution, to any President up to and especially including Dwight D. Eisenhower. Indeed, the most remarkable development in the management of America's relations with other countries during the nine years since Mr. Eisenhower left office has been the assumption of more and more control over military and diplomatic operations abroad by men whose activities are secret, whose budget is secret, whose very identities as often as not are secret—in short a Secret Team whose actions only those implicated in them are in a position to monitor. How determinedly this secrecy is preserved, even when preserving it means denying the United States Army the right to discipline its own personnel, not to say the opportunity to do justice,

was strikingly illustrated not long ago by the refusal of the Central Intelligence Agency to provide witnesses for the court-martial that was to try eight Green Beret officers for murdering a suspected North Vietnamese spy, thus forcing the Army to drop the charges.

The Secret Team consists of security-cleared individuals in and out of government who receive secret intelligence data gathered by the CIA and the National Security Agency and who react to those data when it seems appropriate to them with paramilitary plans and activities, e.g., training and "advising"—a not exactly impenetrable euphemism for "leading into battle"—Laotian troops. Membership in the Team, granted on a "need to know" basis, varies with the nature and the location of the problems that come to its attention. At the heart of the Team, of course, are a handful of top executives of the CIA and of the National Security Council, most notably the chief White House adviser on foreign policy. Around them revolves a sort of inner ring of Presidential staff members, State Department officials, civilians and military men from the Pentagon, and career professionals in the intelligence services. And out beyond them is an extensive and intricate network of government officials with responsibility for or expertise in some specific field that touches on national security: think-tank analysts, businessmen who travel a lot or whose businesses (e.g., import-export or operating a cargo airline) are useful, academic experts in this or that technical subject or geographic region, and, quite importantly, alumni of the intelligence service—a service from which there are no unconditional resignations.

Thus the Secret Team is not a clandestine super-planning board or super-general staff but, even more damaging to the coherent conduct of foreign affairs, a bewildering collection of temporarily assembled action committees that respond pretty much ad hoc to specific troubles in various parts of the world, sometimes in ways that duplicate the

STATINTL

**Bolivia's conflict with the United States****LAURENCE WHITEHEAD**

ON 27 April 1969, as he was taking off in his helicopter from the little Andean village of Arque, President Barrientos failed to notice the telegraph cable above him. The helicopter struck the cable and exploded. He was killed instantly. After more than four years as ruler of Bolivia, the Air Force General who destroyed the country's revolutionary party (the MNR) and its powerful miners' unions, and who ordered the assassination of Che Guevara, was removed from the scene. A train of events had begun which was to lead to a major defeat for U.S. policy in Latin America, in a country which seemed to have become one of Washington's most reliable satellites.

A weak Government under Vice-President Siles Salinas took over. But real power was clearly exercised by the Army commander-in-chief who had partnered Barrientos ever since the two seized power in 1964, General Ovando Candia. On 26 September, Ovando ousted the weak civilian regime, annulled the elections scheduled for 1970, and began implementing a series of radical measures. The American oil company, Gulf Oil, was nationalized, restrictions were imposed on capital movements, the Army was withdrawn from the mining camps, the State mining bank was given a monopoly over mineral exports, and a press campaign against the Americans was launched. As the regime gained confidence it appeared to move further to the left. Ovando started talking of the important contribution Che Guevara had made to the Bolivian revolution. He expressed willingness to trade with Cuba—which would be the first breach in the American-imposed blockade since Castro's Government was expelled from the Organization of American States in 1962. At the end of December a confidential report prepared for the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was leaked to the Bolivians. It described Ovando as 'an opportunist without ideology or political convictions', and warned of Communist influence in his Government. The Bolivians replied accusing the Americans of fomenting subversion and describing the report as characteristic of the 'infantile' approach the U.S. had to Latin American problems. 'They accuse any government of communism which puts the interests of its country above those of the great imperialist U.S. corporations, which have already stripped our countries of so much riches, leaving us poorer than ever,' said the Minister of Information.

Mr Whitehead is a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford. He spent a year in Bolivia on an ODI Fellowship in 1967-8.



## LETTER FROM QUITO

# Peace Corpsman into Organization Man

JOHN ROTHCHILD

**Q**UITO, ECUADOR. Peace Corps volunteers still trek to the far edges of the New Frontier, but now they come heavily armed. Their weaponry is the accumulated psychic sediment of eight years of existence. They are supported by voluminous reports and surveys that can tell them what to look for, what to hope for and what to avoid. They are given specific jobs already mapped out before they arrive, and are thus saved from the frustration of trying to create a job out of some lonely nights in the mountains. They cannot, without clashing with their superiors, decide that the best development job is no job at all, something that old volunteers decided frequently and freely. The hard questions about the value of development have already been answered for them by their programming officers. Their job is to do it.

All this does not mean that new volunteers cannot be pioneers. But the task will be more difficult. The Peace Corps has become a safe place for the technicians, specialists and families that Joseph Blatchford, new Peace Corps Director, plans to recruit. These new volunteers will have to make the same cultural adjustments as the old ones did. Their jobs, however, are supposed to be reminiscent of work back home. They will be backstopped, staffed, projected, funded, integrated with local agencies and well-structured. That is the goal toward which the Peace Corps is steadily working.

In the beginning, volunteers were in the same condition as those people they were supposed to help. They were ignorant of the mechanics of the villages where they were sent (often having chosen their sites by pointing a finger at a map); their efforts at development were more often bumbling stabs at some symbolic project like a soccer field or latrine than reasoned contributions to long-term change. Volunteers had neither the means, the knowledge, the funds nor the presumption to try

anything that would classify as important in combating the growing poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. Like the world's poor, volunteers were caught between vague hopes of doing something grand and the growing dark realization that nothing grand was possible.

Volunteers, like most of the marginal people of the Third World, had been left alone to do what they liked, partly because the Peace Corps had faith in the ultimate value of volunteer effort, and partly because very few people in the United States had any idea how to begin planning grass-roots development programs in foreign countries. The Peace Corps was a bureaucratic attempt at participatory democracy.

The organization was seen as ambivalent by volunteers. On the positive side, it permitted them freedom. In a world where the individual had largely been supplanted by committees, and everything from love to agriculture was done in groups, the return to a hand-made culture was a rare chance to get away and do your thing, not just help do somebody else's. Although the organization advertised itself as an opportunity for young Americans to get involved in the world's problems, for many of its early members it was just the opposite—a chance to escape for two years into a personally meaningful culture. Poverty may have been a duty but, in some ways, it was also a privilege.

On the other side was the tremendous pressure to solve problems that go beyond an individual's capacity. Although volunteers were just medics of capitalism, field workers who could bring economic cripples back into the Melting Pot, and not social architects replanning the whole system, the pressure was on them to do major surgery. There were too many wounded. Even ten thousand volunteers in the field could not make a significant

tion to stopping the population boom, solving the hunger crisis, or alleviating the health problem. The system was having a hard time soaking up all the marginal people.

The urgency of world problems brought volunteers out of the world of individual effort and non-programmed freedom. They began asking the bureaucrats to provide more help in looking for something better than chicken coops and soccer fields. The bureaucrats in turn were pestered from two sources, the U.S. Congress, which wanted more development for its \$100 million a year, and the host countries, which were tired of seeing volunteers "not doing anything." Some countries, like Tanzania and Malawi, have already kicked the Peace Corps out, and there are significant moves in other places, like Chile, to do the same. Friendship had not been a very effective development tool. The volunteers now are asked to be less free and more important.

The Peace Corps has responded to these pressures in a traditional manner: Its organization has not developed the world, so Peace Corpsmen will develop the organization. Volunteers will no longer just bumble around the mountains. Their jobs will be programmed as part of a large-scale country plan. More of them will work in teams oriented toward a specific job, like well-drilling, rather than toward a single village or community. A greater attempt will be made to plug into host country development organizations, rather than working independently of them. More connections will be made with other development arms, such as AID and privately funded organizations, to provide a larger economic base and technical integration of long-range projects. Multilateral projects with recognizable results—such as bridges and roads—will be undertaken by the Peace Corps. Volunteers will have been reduced from merely wheels to cogs.

**I**N THE NEW, developed Peace Corps world, memorandums will probably have more impact than mannerisms. The volunteer's success or failure will no longer depend on his judgment of it, and his goal will be to reach far more people than he can know. The Peace Corps, in fact, while increasing the number of projects, will

GUARDIAN  
11 April 1970

# Guerrillas on the move in Latin America

By Alfredo Hopkins  
Special to the Guardian

Mexico City

The revolutionary movement in Latin America has consolidated itself after a number of setbacks in the 1960s and now appears headed for new victories in this decade.

The recent progress of the revolution in this hemisphere furthermore makes a complete lie out of the U.S. propaganda that the death of Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia meant the end of the armed liberation struggle in Latin America.

At this time, there is hardly a single geographical area south of the Rio Grande that doesn't have an armed guerrilla movement consolidated among the people or in the process of formation. Although the strategy and tactics vary from area to area, the goal is the same: the expulsion of imperialism, the overthrow of the native oligarchies and the development of revolutionary socialism.

In addition to the armed struggles going on since the early 1960s in Guatemala, Venezuela and Colombia, there are guerrilla groups operating in Nicaragua, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and even Chile.

In Mexico a number of youths and the influential editor of "Por Que?" have been jailed on charges of bombing a number of public buildings and conspiring to form "guerrillas" to overthrow the government. The charges against Mario Menendez Rodrigues, the editor, are probably false but students associated with the 1968 student revolt contend there are several guerrilla groups forming in rural areas.

In Guatemala the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes and the Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre united forces after FAR broke with the reformist Guatemalan Communist party in 1968. Now it has reorganized its forces, developed its own ideology and tactics and— in the face of deteriorating economic conditions and ferocious repression—it is ready to face a probable showdown in the next few years that may lead it to victory.

## Election advances situation

Ironically the situation has been advanced by the election March 1st of Colonel Manuel Arana Osorio, a collaborator of the late dictator Castillo Armas who was put into power in the 1954 CIA-United Fruit Company invasion and coup that ousted the progressive regime of President Jacobo Arbenz. Arana is said to have been one of the forces behind the creation of paramilitary fascist-type organizations during the present regime of Julio Cesar Menendez Montenegro and claims to have "exterminated" the guerrillas in Zacapa, his military zone. (Some observers say many more innocent peasants than revolutionaries were killed in the operation.)

Furthermore Arana came to power in an election in which more than 50 percent of the registered voters abstained—that is, with a mere 42 percent of the 546,589 votes cast. Some 50,000

FAR victory within four years.

## Border war diverts pressure

The border war between Honduras and El Salvador has taken some of the pressure off critical internal problems in both countries for the moment. But it is significant that in 1967 numerous militants left the reformist Communist party to form a new group dedicated to the need to initiate an armed struggle for national liberation.

In Nicaragua the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional has consolidated in the countryside after a few years of operation, carrying its message to the peasants and engaging in occasional battles with the Somoza dictatorship's armed forces. Last year it was attacked by the combined forces of Somoza and the Costa Rican national police. Its survival is the assurance of its popularity. The FSL bases its program on anti-Somozaism rather than anti-imperialism, in as much as the people see Somoza as the main enemy.

In January of 1970 the press revealed that three "guerrillas" had been arrested in Panama and despite the rigorous press censorship imposed by the military regime that came to power in the wake of Rockefeller's visit. There have been persistent rumors of guerrilla operations, some of which are believed to be associated with deposed president Arufo Arias. The proximity to the U.S. Canal Zone colony and numerous U.S. anti-guerrilla warfare centers makes the struggle in Panama of particular importance.

In Colombia a Catholic priest recently joined the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional, thus filling the place of the late Father Camilo Torres. To the northwest the Ejercito Popular de Liberacion has been organizing peasants into co-operatives, protected by the usually invisible guns of a growing peasant army that recently claimed to have shot down an army helicopter, a la Vietnam.

The oldest Colombian group, the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas, located to the south of Bogota, completes the

encirclement of the capital by rebels. Although FARC has gone through a period of decadence due to attempts by the revisionist Communist party to disengage it from the struggle (in favor of the "peaceful road to power" by elections), it remains entrenched among the peasants in the area.

For its part the Colombian Catholic church is undergoing a virtual internal civil war, with the Galconda group openly advocating socialism and the hierarchy continuing to side with the oligarchy. On the eve of presidential elections in which the Liberal-Conservative oligarchical alliance is being seriously threatened by the demagogical campaign of ex-dictator Rojas Penilla, the government has ordered a month-long closing of virtually all of the country's universities.

In Venezuela the "pacification" program of Christian Democrat Rafael Caldera has turned out to be a complete failure and the two guerrilla movements are dedicated to continue the struggle, despite the repeated stories that they have been "liquidated"

Continued

NEWS

MAR 30 1970

M - 19,563

S - 30,788

William Giandoni:

# Bolivians Shocked By Bombing Deaths

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Bolivia may well be the most politically turbulent country in Latin America, but even Bolivians were shocked by the wanton bombing that cost the lives of a prominent newspaper publisher and his wife.

Alfredo Alexander Jordan, 63, publisher of the sprightly tabloid Hoy, white-haired father of seven children—including daughter Teresa who is Bolivian ambassador to the Organization of American States—was the “grand old man of Bolivian journalism.”

His newspaper was attractive, with liberal use of color photographs and the best sports section in Bolivia. Like all Bolivian dailies it kept a close eye on the military government that has been running the country since last Sept. 26 and voiced its displeasure with the government's mistakes but Hoy's criticism was generally mild and constructive.

True, Alexander had taken a leading role in formation of the Newspaper Publishers Association that was established following the government's recently decreed restrictions on the press. But Alexander's was considered the voice of moderation in the group, which included conservative as well as leftist papers.

Bombings are not unknown in Bolivia. Miners long have been accustomed to settling serious differences by hurling sticks of dynamite at each other. And, in recent years, students and other activists often throw charges of black powder at their targets.

But the way that Alexander and his wife were killed involved a new, more sophisticated, and more cowardly technique.

According to police investigators, early Saturday morning, March 14, a messenger, wearing a visored cap and dark glasses, knocked at the door of the Alexander residence and informed a male servant that “the Embassy of Israel sent me with this present. Be careful. Deliver it personally.”

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The only unusual circumstance was the hour, around 7:30 a.m. But Alexander, a man of letters and a former diplomat, had many friends and it was not unusual for them to send gifts.

The servant took the package up to the Alexanders' bedroom. Alexander, just finished showering, opened the envelope that accompanied the package, read its contents and commented “They are my friends . . .” He handed the package to his wife. “How nice,” she said “They have brought us another gift.”

The servant had just returned downstairs to finish preparing breakfast when an explosion shook the building.

The blast destroyed the Alexanders' bedroom and killed them instantly. All the windows in the house were blown out. A yardwide hole was torn in the sloping tiled roof of the home. It was about 7:45 a.m.

\*\*\*  
Few were the clues that police had to go on. From the servant's sketchy description of the messenger, Minister of Government Col. Juan Ayoroa issued orders for detention of a known terrorist.

Investigators quickly determined that the Israeli Embassy had nothing to do with the package. The National Liberation Ar-

my, the terrorist group of which the suspect was a member, denied involvement and sought to throw suspicion on the government itself.

But Bolivians who pay attention to the political and ideological line of the daily press doubted it. Hoy, Alexander's paper, had followed a balanced editorial policy. One of his competitors said: “It would have made more sense had they gotten me or one of the others.”

The wanton killings made no sense to any serious observer.

The leftist students charge that “the CIA” was to blame was quickly dismissed. The U.S. Intelligence Agency has been a favorite whipping-boy of Bolivian leftists.

As a result of the bomb deaths the government reimposed the death penalty in Bolivia.

(Copley News Service)

WASHINGTON OBSERVER NEWSLETTER  
15 Mar 1970

The Pentagon has received unevaluated reports of preparations for large-scale insurgency and terrorist activities in Guatemala; Castro's Cuban saboteurs are training and equipping Guatemalan guerrillas known as the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), whose objective is to disrupt the presidential elections in March by encouraging violence among contesting factions thus creating chaos in the country. Plans call for assassinations and kidnappings of U.S. Embassy officials. . . . Soviet provocateurs are infiltrating Hong Kong to settle permanently, according to U.S. military intelligence. . . . A CIA center has been uncovered in Bolivia. The Bolivian government discovered in a raid that a downtown business office in La Paz was a CIA front; the CIA has even infiltrated the Bolivian secret service. CIA interference in Bolivian affairs has been a hot issue since 1967. . . . Iraq has executed a total of 37 alleged Zionist and CIA co-conspirators. . . . France has scrapped its own strategic nuclear missile program in order to concentrate industrial facilities and skills in manufacturing armaments for both Arabs and Israelis. . . . The State Department is negotiating a treaty to open Swiss banking establishment for inspection of American citizens' accounts by U.S. Internal Revenue Service agents.

15 FEB 1970

## INTERPRETATION

Bolivian Regime Aims  
Its Verbal Guns at CIA

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Latin America Writer of The Star

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is a prime target of leftists throughout Latin America but nowhere is the anti-CIA phobia wilder and more paranoid today than in Bolivia.

"It must be the altitude here," growled one American who says the CIA has been functioning under tight White House control ever since the Bay of Pigs affair.

Ambassador Ernest Siracusa, who arrived here less than two months ago, was immediately labeled by government officials and Bolivia's indefatigable wall painters as the chief of all CIA operations in Latin America.

Yet Siracusa is a respected career Foreign Service officer who is known to prefer the traditional tools of diplomacy to the cloak and dagger.

Bolivia's remote capital appears to be the last place a

super-spy would elect to set up shop, assuming that such a functionary exists.

The CIA undoubtedly has agents in Bolivia but there apparently are fewer here today than in 1967 when Ernesto (Che) Guevara was caught and slain by the Bolivian army.

If the CIA or the U.S. Embassy were as powerful here as some Bolivians believe, they probably wouldn't have idled about while the new revolutionary regime seized control of the nation and then expropriated properties of the American Gulf Oil Co.

Yet Minister of Information Alberto Bailey Guitierrez, former editor of the newspaper *Presencia*, said, "The CIA has always been powerful in Bolivia and it is still very strong." Bailey has been tilting with the CIA windmill for the last five years but last month's "disclosures" were the most fantastic.

The government of Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia raided an empty house in the capital and then called in the press to view the "evidence." Government spokesmen triumphantly displayed a couple of typewriters and an old tape-recorder and contended they had just broken up a CIA center for communications and wiretapping.

La Paz newspapers dutifully printed pictures of the "evidence" and also a baffling picture of a telephone pole.

To observers, this heavy-handed performance was a farce because the center was established for and used by the government of Gen. Rene Barrientos and Gen. Ovando in the days when Che Guevara was a feared fugitive. It was primarily designed to detect confederates of Che in La Paz and was discontinued after Guevara's death.

Americans helped Barrientos and Ovando set up the communications center just as the U.S. armed and helped train the troops who wiped out the Cuban band. But it was abandoned and all sophisticated equipment was removed more than 18 months ago.

STATINTL

# Bolivia probes CIA operation

STATINTL

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Col. Juan Ayoroa, Bolivian Minister of Interior, has announced that a board of inquiry will probe activities of a CIA network here following disclosure that officials of his Ministry were implicated in the network. These officials, said Col. Ayoroa, had been active in the 1967 campaign against Che Guevara.

In 1968, Antonio Arquadas, Minister of Interior in the government of Rene Barrientos, the president who was killed in a helicopter crash in April, 1969, had made charges against the CIA, but Barrientos had rejected these charges.

The Paris newspaper Le Monde, reports that there is alleged to be a connection between these charges and the recent CIA activities, said to be organized against the present regime by Barrientos followers.

Prensa Latina reports that two high officials of the U.S. Embassy in La Paz suddenly left the country.

The state Department in Washington has claimed that they went on routine business, but the Bolivian authorities tie it in with the investigation of the CIA.

However, the Ministry of the Interior has not yet appointed any members to the Board of Inquiry.

Col. Ayoroa is limiting the probe to compiling material gathered by an earlier commission investigating CIA espionage.

He says that the departure of the U.S. diplomats is "related to newspaper (financial) speculation." He also announced the discovery of a center bugging government telephone wires. This discovery, he declared, accelerated the diplomats' departure.

## Peru bars foreign control of press

LIMA, Peru — The Peruvian government of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado has decreed that foreign shareholdings in the press must pass to Peruvian control, especially those in U.S.-controlled papers. The decree prohibits foreign interference in the information media. It is reported by

Sergio Pineda in Prensa Latina.

Priority is given to unions, cooperatives, and printing industry workers in acquiring these shares.

The General Confederation of Labor, the Communist Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and many other union and student organizations support the decree. The reporters and other workers of two large Lima dailies are preparing to take over.

In the Leftist magazine, Oiga, the owner-editor has been attacking the decree in editorials, while inside the paper the staff has supported it in articles, features, and letters.

The press in Peru has been dominated by North Americans and other foreigners. Pedro Beltran Espantoso, landlord and a friend of President Nixon, is the owner of La Prensa and other news media. Manuel Ulloa, an associate of Gov. Rockefeller in the Deltec Corp., publishes Expreso and Extra, newspapers.

Two others of the four largest dailies are owned by German and Italian interests (Correo) and by a Peruvian banker (La Cronica).

Ulloa is linked to three radio networks and Pan-American TV, in which CBS has a large bloc of sharee. The Cuban counter-revolutionary Goar Mestre fronts here for CBS.

The big papers interlock also with five big banks.

Over 80 percent of the advertising in the press is controlled by such U.S. firms as J. Walter Thompson and McCann Erickson.

Many do not buy newspapers in Peru because they cannot afford to, and six million are illiterate.

Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba has stated that the armed forces in Peru are playing a revolutionary role in Peru and that new political processes are developing there.



8 FEB 1970

## U.S. AND BOLIVIA MEND RELATIONS

Thaw Discerned in La Paz  
Despite Gulf Oil Seizure

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Feb. 7—With Bolivia in the throes of her spectacular annual carnival, even leftist Government officials and representatives of Bolivia Gulf Oil Company are drinking and laughing together.

A pronounced thaw has developed in relations between United States and Bolivia. Officials of the two nations appear to be cooperating more effectively than at any time since the military coup of Sept. 26, and possibly in years.

American officials are still less than delighted with a military dictatorship and fears that the current government will move farther to the left have not disappeared.

On the Bolivian side, officials are not entirely convinced that the United States intends to stay out of internal political affairs.

But some outstanding problems seem on the way to at least partial resolution.

The main one is the nationalization of the Bolivia Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation.

The dispute, which had been in the making for years, came to a boil last fall over rights to natural gas in eastern Bolivia. On Oct. 17, the new Bolivian Government seized Bolivian Gulf outright.

On Oct. 30, E. D. Brockett,

chairman of Gulf Oil Corporation, called for imposition of the Hickenlooper Amendment, which bars United States aid to any nation that seizes American property without compensation.

Gulf imposed sanctions of its own, the most serious of which was to deprive landlocked Bolivia of its access to the world petroleum market.

The new United States Ambassador to Bolivia, Ernest V. Siracusa, arrived here on Nov. 30. Leftist elements charged that he was a ranking officer of the C.I.A.

But negotiations have resulted in changes.

La Paz has assured Washington that it intends to compensate Gulf for the expropriated property, although Bolivia and Gulf are far apart on how much should be paid.

Negotiations are in progress on an agreement by which a company owned by the Spanish Government would go into partnership with the Bolivian petroleum monopoly. The Spanish Government, in effect, would assume much of Gulf's former role in prospecting and the exploitation and marketing of Bolivian oil.

These negotiations are reported to have the active support of Gulf, which would play an important behind-the-scenes role.

Meanwhile, things seemed to be going so well that Ambassador Siracusa referred to the Gulf appropriation in a speech Jan. 29 and said that "at this time, this case presents no present problem to the governments of the United States and Bolivia.

In the same speech, Mr. Siracusa reiterated the position of President Nixon that "a major effort will be made to reduce the appearance of pa-

ternalism which had sometimes been associated with past American efforts."

He spoke of the new American relationship with Bolivia as a partnership, but said that private investment would have to play a much more important role than foreign government assistance in Bolivian development. In this connection, he pointedly warned that private investment was not attracted to countries where the risks seemed inordinate.

President Ovando publicly thanked Mr. Siracusa recently for his help in securing a loan to buy a jet transport plane for the national airline.

The President also gave a speech last week thanking the United States for a computer that has made it possible to process land titles in the agrarian reform program at the rate of 360 an hour.

But Bolivia's domestic political and economic problems seem likely to create difficulties for relations with the United States.

President Ovando, a career army officer of conservative tradition, has not yet entirely persuaded leftist elements here and abroad that he is an authentic revolutionary.

On the other hand, there are persistent rumors of military dissatisfaction with the President. A projected cut in the military budget is likely to make matters worse.

Meanwhile, most Bolivians will be spending a week or so dancing, drinking chicha and pisco by the barrel and watching dancers representing St. Michael chase armies of devil dancers from the plazas and streets.

"If only our real problems could be chased away so pleasantly," a government official observed.

STATINTL

27 JAN 1970

**Bolivian Denial**

Bolivian Interior Minister Juan Ayoroa denied that some U.S. diplomats had left the country at the government's request after the government announced it had uncovered a CIA "operations center" in La Paz, the capital.

Ayoroa called the reports of forced departures "journalistic speculation." Newly appointed U.S. Ambassador Ernest Siracusa would not speak to anyone. Press Attache John Higgins said merely that "some diplomatic personnel have left the country but only on regular business."

In Washington, State Department officials said there had been no expulsions but added that a few embassy officials may have left as part of normal rotation.



THE WASHINGTON POST  
24 JAN 1970

## Bolivia Reports Finding CIA 'Center' in La Paz

LA PAZ, Jan. 23 (AP)—The Bolivian government said today it has uncovered a downtown La Paz office run by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and that it will ask for the removal from Bolivia of any Americans involved in the CIA "center of operations."

Interior Minister Col. Juan Ayoroa said the office was discovered in the last few days and contained radio transmitting and telephone bugging equipment.

He said any employees in his ministry found to be involved with the CIA will be dismissed immediately and charges will be brought against them. He added he will ask the armed forces high command to set up a committee to investigate CIA activities in Bolivia.

Alleged CIA interference in Bolivian affairs has been a hot issue here since 1967. In 1968, former Interior Minister Antonio Arguedas said the CIA had even infiltrated the Bolivian secret service.

Ayoroa remarked today: "From what we have discovered, the denunciation made by Mr. Arguedas has a lot of truth in it."

Arguedas is now in asylum in the Mexican Embassy. He is charged with high treason while in office for giving Cuba a copy of the diary of guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara.

Arguedas claimed the CIA "controls all the mechanisms of the Bolivian state." He said he himself had been a CIA agent.

## Bolivians Say CIA Operated Office There

LA PAZ, Bolivia (AP) — The Bolivian government said yesterday it has uncovered a downtown La Paz office run by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and that it will ask for the removal from Bolivia of any Americans involved in the CIA "center of operations."

Interior Minister Col. Juan Ayoroa said the office was discovered in the last few days, and contained radio transmitting and telephone bugging equipment.

He said any employees in his ministry found to be involved with the CIA will be dismissed immediately and legal charges will be brought against them. He added he will ask the armed forces high command to set up a committee to investigate CIA activities in Bolivia.

The undercover office was reported found in the Sopocachi area of La Paz.

Alleged CIA interference in Bolivian affairs has been a hot issue here since 1967. In 1968, former Interior Minister Antonio Arguedas said the CIA had even infiltrated the Bolivian secret service.

Arguedas claimed the CIA "controls all the mechanisms of the Bolivian state," he said he himself had been a CIA agent.

Almost every recent demonstration by workers and students has included slogans demanding the expulsion of the CIA from Bolivia.