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STAT

# Study of corporate empires omits

# conquests

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**INVISIBLE EMPIRES, Multinational Companies and the Modern World**, by Louis Turner. Harcourt Brace Janovich, New York, 1971. 228 pp.

By VICTOR PERLO

This book, written by a young Englishman, can be used as reference for some facts and partial histories about multinational corporations. There is even one more or less valid, broad generalization:

"We shall argue in this book that the typical transaction in international commerce is no longer simply exporting or importing. Instead, it is increasing by the creation of manufacturing facilities owned by multinational companies."

Turner visited the offices of International Business Machines and was given some interesting facts which he retails to his readers:

IBM operates in 104 countries, with over 500 sales offices and production facilities. All this is centrally coordinated through 307 communication centers, via some 10,000 teletype messages daily — letters are obsolete. Some 2,500 executives have desk-top microfilm readers to get instantaneously any piece of information they need. It employs 24,000 research and development personnel in 26 laboratories, seven of them in Europe. One might add — it wasn't true yet when Turner wrote — that IBM now makes more profits from its foreign operations than from its U.S. operations, and more from its foreign operations than any other U.S. corporation.

Turner points out that IBM, despite its "multinational" character, is solidly U.S. in ownership, control, and management. Only 1.6 percent of the executives are non-U.S. citizens, which means that in all the far-flung establishments of IBM, the local workers have U.S. bosses.

But there is nothing in this book about the driving force behind IBM and the other multinationals. There is no realization that this is the modern expression of the need of monopoly capital to expand anywhere and everywhere, and especially to derive super profits from foreign operations, through payment of lower wages than in the home country and

through charging super monopoly prices after buying materials at prices below their value.

There is no examination, for example, of IBM's pricing policy, which in essence is to sell its products at about five times the factory cost of production! There is no mention of how "paternalistic," anti-union IBM engages in super exploitation of labor. Within the United States it signs contracts with service supply companies for laborers, cleaning per-

sonnel, etc., who are largely Black or members of other minority groups and get none of the benefits of IBM's "regular" employees. Outside the United States, it manufactures components in the U.S. puppet state of Taiwan, using workers paid one twentieth the U.S. scale.

Turner minimizes the importance and scale of international operations before World War II, and, in particular, omits the long-standing operations of the international oil trusts and cartels.

Incredibly, Turner doesn't even mention the multinational banks, which play a role in the international operations of monopoly capital quite comparable to their role within individual imperialist countries. Nor is there any systematic discussion — under any name — of the elaborate intertwining of imperialist government and private monopoly, of the manifold means of assistance derived from the home government by the multinationals in their drive to expand.

Turner notes the rapid growth of U.S.-owned multinational corporations in Europe since World War II. How did they get there? He attributes this to U.S. advantages in research, development and management. But he completely evades the main point:

The U.S. emerged unscathed and enriched from World War II, with an overwhelming advantage over its imperialist rivals in financial and material resources. Achieving military occupation and relatively permanent military bases in Western Europe, it imposed anti-Communist governments there. In effect, it made deals with the monopoly capitalists of Western Europe to thwart the socialist revolutions that were inevitable at that time in a num-

ber of these countries if the internal forces were permitted to settle the issue without outside interference. This resulted in an open door for U.S. capital and for U.S. military power to ensure the retention of privileges of U.S.-owned corporations, among other purposes.

Without this, all of the alleged "managerial superiority" of the U.S. corporate brass would have counted for naught.

Turner does tell of the espionage operations of firms such as Imperial Chemical, Monsanto, du Pont; the relations of some U.S. monopolies to the Central Intelligence Agency, and connections with military intelligence and armed interventions. As an example, he cites the role of the United Fruit Co., the Dulles brothers and the CIA in the 1954 overthrow of the progressive Arbenz regime in Guatemala.

But all this is in the past, says Turner. Twenty years ago, at the time of U.S. interventions in Iran and Guatemala, the apologetic professors were referring to the supposedly extinct imperialism of Teddy Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge. Now Turner simply updates the same transparent technique softened with sham naivete:

"This area is grossly understudied. The classic firms with intelligence links, like United Fruit, are relics of the 'bad old days of open dollar imperialism.' We need to know more about how the manufacturing newcomers to the world scene are conducting themselves."

Come now, Mr. Turner. What about ITT and Chile? What about the warfare of the Seven Sisters of international oil against Iraq? What about Union Carbide and Rhodesia? What about the U.S. sugar trust and the Marines in Santo Domingo? And above all, what about that most fierce and on-going genocidal warfare of U.S. imperialism, on behalf of Standard Oil, Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America, Ford Motors and McDonnell Douglas —

What Can Be Done  
At Foggy Bottom (2)

## OPERATION TOPSY

by John W. Tuthill

Everybody seems to talk—or write—about the bureaucracy, but, like the weather, nobody does anything about it. A faceless and pervasive force, it overwhelms people, and few ever confront it.

One man who did was John W. Tuthill, a career Foreign Service Officer who came to the simple conclusion that in Brazil, where he was appointed Ambassador in 1966, there were too many official Americans. His remarkable attack on the "system," or systems, had far-reaching consequences for it helped set in motion successive rounds of personnel cuts throughout the world—by both the Johnson and Nixon Administrations—which have actually resulted in an over-all reduction in U.S. officials overseas. Here, for the first time, Ambassador Tuthill tells his own story. He called his project "Operation Topsy," because, as he puts it, "it sought to deal with an organization that had not been constructed on the basis of a comprehensive decision of the U.S. government, but had 'jest growed.'"—The Editors.

Operation Topsy resulted in considerable budgetary and balance-of-payments advantage for the U.S. government. These benefits, however, were not the basic reason for its being. Operation Topsy came about because of a political judgment.

U.S. government personnel in Brazil had increased steadily since the spring of 1964, when the corrupt and ineffective Goulart regime was overthrown and General Castelo Branco was proclaimed President of Brazil. By mid-1966, there were 920 U.S. citizens, plus about a thousand Brazilian employees in the American mission.

This number did not include the 510 Peace Corps volunteers. While Operation Topsy was to involve all major U.S. government agency operations in Brazil including the professional staff of the Peace Corps, it did not include the volunteers. This was the only important exception to the cut in personnel, and it was based upon my conviction that a huge country like Brazil could easily absorb several hundred Peace Corps volunteers, who were engaged in useful work, often in remote parts of Brazil.

Castelo Branco, who was put in office by the military, nevertheless was an extraordinary head of government. Intelligent, trained to public service and of unquestioned integrity, his interest was to bring his country out of the disorder, the lack of growth, and the corruption that had existed during the immediately preceding years of the Quadros and Goulart regimes.

After years of corruption, drift and inflation (at rates up to and above 100 percent a year) the American government welcomed with enthusiasm—some thought with excessive enthusiasm—the Castelo Branco government. The result was a staggering expansion of the role and personnel of the American government between 1964 and 1966.

The U.S. government assured Castelo Branco of a very considerable increase in economic aid along the lines of the Alliance for Progress. Previously, U.S. aid had pretty much been limited to local "islands" within Brazil, in an effort to be of help to the Brazilian people, but at the same time, to avoid giving support to a corrupt and inefficient government. In addition—and this of course was more controversial—the U.S. government agreed to increase its military aid and implicitly to increase the number of military advisers in Brazil.

Like most governments, the U.S. government is hard to move. However, once the governmental mass begins to move, it is extremely difficult to change its direction. It is also almost impossible to prevent bureaucratic

Richard Barnet

## LETTER FROM RIO

"Fairly cruel but sensible policies"

*A few months ago, I would hear every week of some personal friend or acquaintance who had just been tortured. Many of my former students have been subjected to electric shock, beaten and had their bones broken by the police, and they killed my best friend in an interrogation session. But now you hear less about torture. There are not many people left worth torturing. —An intellectual critic*

*Of course the economic miracle will continue. This is a rich country with tremendous opportunities and we have found the way to develop. —A retired admiral*

THE BRAZILIAN REVOLUTION, which recently celebrated its eighth birthday, is a unique political phenomenon. Although Brazil is now run largely by the Army with the aid of the police, it is neither a conventional police state nor a traditional Latin American military government. Nor, for most of the people who live there, is it an "economic miracle." Between the torture rate and the growth rate there is a profound and subtle connection. The generals who hold Brazil in a more effective grip than exists in any government elsewhere in Latin America worship economic development. They are prepared to achieve it through a judicious mixture of official terrorism, modern techniques of propaganda and social control, and what former Minister of Economic Planning Roberto Campos calls "bucaneer capitalism."

In every conversation I had in Brazil, whether with generals, high government officials, corporation presidents, professors, or students, it was evident that police torture was much on their minds. One can gain an instant and, I suspect, reasonably accurate impression of some of the

major competing forces in Brazilian life by listening to what people say about torture.

The official government attitude concedes that some "excesses" may have occurred but insists that torture is not a policy. Indeed, Jarbas Passarinho, the Minister of Education, well over a year ago publicly denounced torture, and at least one brigadier general was transferred in mild disgrace because he had authorized the use of electric shock treatment on political prisoners. At the same time the generals with whom I talked took obvious pride in the "stability" that had been achieved by their "strong measures." "In 1964," one admiral said, "our country was on the brink of collapse: terrorism, bank robberies, Communists in the government, and a 94 per cent rate of inflation. The Revolution brought the discipline and order essential for economic progress."

There are signs that the rulers of Brazil are divided about the most effective techniques of social control. Some favor putting more emphasis on the rack, others on the TV tube. One indication of this tension is the history of the Revolution itself. The first generation of generals, who seized power in 1964, were, within the spectrum of Brazilian military politics, liberals. The first president, General Castelo Branco, though prepared to take strong action against any political activity identified as "subversion," looked forward to the relaxation of military rule.

The state elections of 1965 destroyed those hopes. The opposition candidates did too well; under pressure from the right-wing generals

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more authoritarian, and less concerned about maintaining a constitutional facade) Castelo Branco assumed extensive dictatorial powers. In 1968 a leftist movement began to grow in the universities, and there was a blight of bank robberies and urban terrorism that culminated in the kidnapping of the American ambassador. The government of Costa e Silva, in power since 1966, responded with the suspension of habeas corpus and the blatant use of torture.

I talked with a prominent banker and plantation owner who was enthusiastic about the tough measures the government had employed to curb inflation, defeat terrorism, and promote growth. For him there was no doubt that anyone who had suffered, any unpleasantness at the hands of the police deserved it. None of his friends had encountered the slightest trouble. He agreed that the government had been able to keep inflation down only by breaking the power of the unions and controlling wages. (There has been no legal strike in Brazil since 1964. The few illegal strikes were ruthlessly repressed.) "Foreigners don't understand that we need a strong government here. The people are not ready for your kind of democracy." At my suggestion that perhaps the government was now secure enough to return to a system of direct elections, he became agitated. "There won't be elections for a long time and there shouldn't be. The Communists would win." With only an official government party and an official opposition permitted and the Communist party illegal, his fears seemed irrational, but the emotion in his voice left no doubt that they were real.

For intellectuals, would-be political activists, and students, the police torture has succeeded in imposing a code of behavior. After almost four years of systematic sadism, the lines are now clear. No one in Brazil doubts that pain is a persuasive instrument of social control. Official terrorism has succeeded brilliantly for two reasons. First, the government has made it clear that it will resort to any methods, no matter how barbarous, to discourage associations it considers dangerous. It has used such spectacular methods as loosing a live alligator on a young woman who would not talk. The deterrent effect is obvious. People hide in their closest friends for fear that they will reveal

20 AUG 1972

# How a Revolution Didn't Take Place in Brazil

By RAGNAR LANGE

A Brazilian joke goes, "Cabral discovered Brazil in 1500 — Tad Szulc discovered the Northeast in 1960." Indeed, Szulc's front-page articles in the New York Times catapulted the area out of 200 years of obscurity into international renown. Szulc wrote of the shocking deprivation and inequities of the Northeast and described the rise of Francisco Juliao's Peasant Leagues. And he concluded with the warning that "the makings of a revolutionary situation are increasingly apparent."

Szulc's article found many avid readers, among them John F. Kennedy, who was just winding up his campaign for the presidency. After his inauguration, Kennedy dispatched Arthur H. Schlesinger Jr. to make a first-hand investigation of the situation in the Northeast. Schlesinger returned convinced that something must be done to prevent the area from falling prey to a Communist revolution. According to the domino theory, if Northeast Brazil went Communist, Brazil would go; and if Brazil went, Latin America would go; and if Latin America went . . . obviously, emergency action was indicated.

THE "EXPLOSIVE" situation there made the Northeast an obligatory stop-off on everybody's trip through South America. Within two years the list of visitors included George McGovern, Sargent Shriver, Edward Kennedy, Henry Kissinger, Ralph Nader and Yuri Gagarin. Unfortunately, none of them was able to offer a solution to the Northeast's problems.

Meanwhile, Francisco Juliao, Pernambuco lawyer turned peasant organizer, basked in the fame Szulc's articles had brought him. Enthusiastic throngs of farm laborers gathered to cheer him wherever he spoke and to give him assurances of their readiness for action. However, as it turned out, action was not Juliao's strong point. For

one thing, he lacked a program; for another, he was ideologically inconsistent, one day espousing violent methods and the next day eschewing them. The only point he made, absolutely clear was that if there were any violence, he didn't want to be involved.

Nevertheless, despite his ambivalence, there could be no doubt that Juliao was amassing considerable potential political power — potential because under Brazilian law illiterates could not vote, and in Northeast Brazil almost all peasants are illiterate. However, at this time there was a movement underway to enfranchise them and the various leftist parties set about courting Juliao in the hope of guaranteeing themselves the peasant vote, if it materialized.

Both the Brazilian Communist party and President Joao Goulart's Brazilian Labor party made overtures, but Juliao was carried away by dreams of a grandiose scheme for a nationwide peasant-worker alliance of which he himself would be "maximum leader." This plan put him on a collision course with Goulart, who had visions of filling the void left in Brazilian politics by the

suicide of his mentor, Getulio Vargas, by assuming the Vargas role himself. Goulart made Juliao a concrete offer, the exact terms of which never have been disclosed, and, when Juliao rejected it, Goulart turned on him with all the fury of an avenging angel.

Juliao did not fare much better with the Communists. He became entangled in the web of the Sino-Soviet dispute, and because he felt that the Brazilian situation more closely approximated the Chinese experience of revolution spreading from the countryside to the cities, he earned the undying enmity of the Moscow-controlled party leadership. His ideas were derided by the party's Central Committee as a manifestation of "leftist extremism — the infantile disease of communism."

By now, Juliao was facing yet another challenge. Among the stream of visitors to the Northeast had been a respectable number of CIA operatives. Having analyzed the situation as one in which the deep-seated influence of the Catholic Church could be used to turn the tide in favor of democracy, freedom and the status quo, the CIA proceeded

to lend unlimited assistance — financial, organizational and otherwise — to Church-sponsored unions. According to Joseph Page, the padres were so naive that they did not realize they were receiving CIA support. Be that as it may, the CIA funding soon enabled the Church-affiliated unions to make deep inroads into Juliao's Leagues. Alarmed by the growing power of the Catholic unions, Goulart moved to close them down through federal "intervention." At the same time, a group of young Trotskyists and a Maoist splinter group entered the competition to unionize Northeastern farmworkers. By the end of 1963, the situation in Pernambuco was one of utter chaos.

AGAINST THIS backdrop USAID and SUDENE, the Brazilian regional development agency, were trying to bring about some kind of economic miracle that would significantly alleviate the plight of the Northeastern peasants. Given the circumstances, it seems hardly surprising that their plans failed to produce any substantive results.

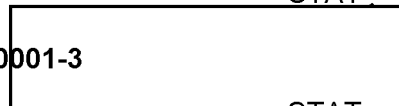
Nor does it really seem surprising

that the Brazilian Army finally tired of Goulart's ineptitude and decided to remove him from office. He had long since degenerated into a political demagogue of the worst variety, and Page's book amply demonstrates that the President's sympathies were with neither the workers nor the peasants but wholly with his own personal ambitions.

None of the Northeastern peasant organizations offered the slightest resistance to the military takeover. Following the coup, Juliao was seized and thrown into a dungeon where he was kept in solitary confinement for two months. He was freed on a writ of habeas corpus in September, 1965, and now lives in Mexico.

The lot of the Northeastern farm laborer today probably remains substantially unchanged from what it was 10 years ago. Or 100 years ago, for that matter. "The peasants," Page writes, "were imbued with a sense of fatalism toward the travails of their earthly life." Their feeling of hopelessness is obviously well justified.

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# BRAZIL: THE IMITATIVE SOCIETY



## E. BRADFORD BURNS

*Mr. Burns, professor of Latin American history at UCLA, has traveled extensively in Brazil during the past twelve years. He has written five books on that country, of which the most recent are Nationalism in Brazil (Praeger) and A History of Brazil (Columbia University Press).*

One hundred fifty years ago, Brazil broke its political ties with Portugal. While serving as regent of Brazil, Prince Pedro, the young Braganza heir to the Portuguese throne, unilaterally declared Brazil's independence. With most of the Western Hemisphere independent of Europe by 1822, Pedro had little choice. He could declare Brazil's independence and become its emperor, or he could stand by while the restive Brazilian elite declared their own independence and established a new government without the guiding hand of the Braganzas. The former course was obviously his preference, and the Braganzas ruled until the republic was established in 1889. Although nominally independent, Brazil changed little throughout most of the 19th century. True, a small Brazilian elite exercised political power in place of the Portuguese, but institutions, customs and social patterns remained much as they had been in the colonial past. Great Britain dominated the economic life of the new nation at least as much as Portugal had during the colonial period.

Fifty years ago, a group of writers, poets and artists, weary of Brazil's slavish imitation of European culture, gathered at the Municipal Theatre in São Paulo to proclaim their country's intellectual independence. During the "Modern Art Week" of 1922, they pleaded with their compatriots to forget the marble temples and Gothic churches of Europe and contemplate the lush vegetation and natural wealth of Brazil. They turned the eyes of the nation inward, an introspection which produced a series of fascinating studies of the Brazilian character and soul. A new type of writer—of whom Gilberto Freyre and Jorge Amado are best known in the United States—created a style, language and subject matter that were uniquely Brazilian.

Having achieved their new intellectual insight, the Brazilians became increasingly aware of their economic dependency. If Great Britain had dominated the economy in the 19th century, the United States did so after World War I. The great financial debacle in Western Europe and the United States in 1929 adversely affected Brazil and prompted the new government of Getúlio Vargas, the

man who, alive or dead, shaped Brazil in the 1930-64 period, to take measures to reduce Brazil's economic dependency. He increased governmental planning and participation in the economy. A steel company was founded in the 1940s; a national oil monopoly, Petrobrás, was authorized in 1953; a company to encourage and control the production of electrical energy, Eletrobrás, came into being in 1962, the same year in which the government promulgated a law to limit profit remissions abroad.

Those measures, taken to increase Brazil's political, intellectual and economic independence, were dramatically reversed after April 1, 1964. On that day the military swept into power, deposing the constitutionally selected President, João Goulart, and ending nineteen years of successful experimentation with democracy. Vocal and powerful elements of the upper and middle classes, fearing the Populist tendencies of the Goulart government, had called upon the military to put an end to further reform. The officers had intervened in politics before but customarily withdrew after a short time, leaving the government in civilian hands. Not so in 1964. The officers resolved to exercise power themselves and they have done so with increasing harshness ever since.

One of the most surprising results of these eight years of military rule has been the surrender of much of Brazil's independence of action and choice, so painfully won during the preceding decades. The originality characteristic of Brazilian political and intellectual life during the 1950s and early 1960s has disappeared, smothered by an official disapproval of trends prevalent in that period and denounced by an insecure middle class that is eager to imitate as superior whatever originates abroad.

With Brazil now exercising less independence of action than at any time in memory, it is ironic that in 1972 the nation lavishly commemorates 150 years of political independence. The irony has not gone unnoticed. What happened to a slogan posted on a wall in downtown Rio de Janeiro indicates that at least some Brazilians are aware of the absurdity of the commemorations: a vertical line drawn in the appropriate place in "Viva Independência" (Long live independence) transformed the meaning to "Viva In/dependência" (Live in dependency).

Nearly every aspect of Brazilian life feels the weight of the new dependency. In no realm is it more obvious or heavier than in foreign policy. Hardly had the military

## «ЛИНГВИСТ»-

По сообщению корреспондента ЮПИ из Вашингтона, «после получасового дружественного опроса» сенатская комиссия по делам вооруженных сил утвердила назначение генерал-майора Вернона Уолтерса на пост заместителя директора Центрального разведывательного управления США. Фактически он будет осуществлять непосредственное руководство управлением, поскольку директору ЦРУ Р. Холмсу, как объявлено, поручено наблюдение за всеми операциями американских органов разведки, включая спецслужбы Пентагона.

Уолтерсу 55 лет. 31 год он провел в военной разведке, из них 24 года за границей. В американской прессе Уолтерса принято именовать «лингвистом» (или «полиглотом») — он владеет французским, русским, немецким, испанским, итальянским, португальским и голландским языками и служил переводчиком Трумэну, Эйзенхауэру и Никсону. Впрочем, «хобби» разведчика не иностранные языки. Он «коллекционирует» военные перевороты. Вот несколько эпизодов из его биографии.

В начале 50-х годов он был назначен помощником военного атташе посольства США в Иране. После переворота, приведшего в 1953 году к свержению правительства Мосаддыка, в прессе мелькнуло сообщение о причастности к нему Уолтерса. Однако к тому времени, когда в 1954 году Иран ратифицировал соглашение с международным консорциумом, по которому иранская

## ЗАГОВОРЩИК

нефть надолго попала в руки американских и других нефтяных «королей», самого Уолтерса уже не было в Тегеране — он находился в Аргентине в качестве заместителя военного атташе. Проходит год, и вот группа генералов свергает президента Аргентины Хуана Перона, объявившего о своем намерении поставить нефтяные ресурсы страны под контроль государства.

Крупной вехой в карьере Уолтерса явилась бразильская «акция», на подготовку которой ушло без малого четверть века. Начало истории относится к годам второй мировой войны, когда в форте Ливенворс (штат Канзас) Уолтерс познакомился с одним бразильским офицером, бывшим в США для стажировки. Офицера звали Кастро Бранко. Вторая встреча произошла в конце войны в Италии, где подполковник Кастро Бранко был начальником штаба бразильского экспедиционного корпуса, а кадровый разведчик Уолтерс — офицером связи при Эйзенхауэре.

1 апреля 1964 года генерал Кастро Бранко, начальник генерального штаба сухопутных сил Бразилии, возглавил переворот, свергнувший президента Гуларта, который решительно проводил в жизнь лозунг «Нефть — наша (то есть бразильская)!» Полковник Вернон Уолтерс занимал в апреле 1964 года пост военного атташе посольства США в Бразилии. В том же месяце он был произведен в генералы...

И. СКИБА

2. «За рубежом» № 19.

continued

29 MAR 1972

**Around the World****More Documents**

RIO DE JANEIRO—American columnist Jack Anderson said in an interview published here that he had "stacks" of further documents showing involvement of the CIA and U.S.-based businesses in the affairs of other nations. "I am going to reveal them one by one," he said in the interview with Brazilian journalist Paulo Francis, published in the *Tribuna da Imprensa*.

# 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:*





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28 FEB 1972



## JACK ANDERSON

### **BRAZILIAN COUP —**

A secret intelligence report claims that five Brazilian air force officers were held under house arrest during President Melio Medici's recent visit to the United States.

The officers were detained to forestall a possible coup against the Brazilian strongman. The secret report claims that a clique of air force generals was attempting to gain support from ultra-conservatives to overthrow Medici. The report adds that the generals have little prospect of success.

# Is everyone in the CIA

By Dan Pinck

What do John Gardner, head of Common Cause; Richard Ellman, literary critic; Hugh Gregg, former governor of New Hampshire; Dong Kingman, artist; Leroy Anderson, composer; Eugene McCarthy, presidential candidate in 1968; George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and Everett E. Hagan, head of MIT's Center for International Studies and Daniel Ellsberg's boss—have in common?

Well, they're all loyal Americans and they all share space in a remarkable reference work called "Who's Who in CIA."

For at least a decade, broad areas of American intelligence operations have been known intimately by members of the press and by leading newspaper, magazine and broadcasting executives. Some of these people were in the service of the CIA themselves. Others presumably allowed members of their staffs to cooperate with and report to the CIA.

This information does not come from The New York Times or the Columbia Broadcasting System. It does not come directly from classified documents within the CIA. It does not come from a gossip column or a late-night news show. It does not come from the Rand Corporation.

It comes from a 605-page book titled *Who's Who In CIA* and subtitled *A Biographical Reference Work of the Officers of the Civil and Military Branches of the Secret Services of the USA in 120 Countries*.

Dan Pinck is a freelance writer, teacher and education consultant who lives in Belmont. Graphic art is by Herbert Rogalski.

*Who's Who's In CIA* was published in English, in 1968, by Julius Mader, 1066 Berlin W66, Mauerstrasse 69.

In his introduction publisher Mader refers to the United States' "disposal-subversionist war" and he writes that "the intelligence service in the USA is the largest and most influential in the imperialist world" and further observes that "the intelligence service of the USA has always been the domain of the fanatical enemies of democracy and a stronghold of the anti-communists." There's no doubt where Mader's sympathies lie. In his introduction he also notes those who helped him compile the book. These include Mohamed Abdelnabi, of Beirut, Lebanon; Ambalal Bhatt, of Bombay; Fernando Gamarro of Mexico City, and Shozo Ohashi, of Yokohama. There are 3000 entries in the reference work and they range from US ambassadors, artists and museum curators to the directors of Asian and Russian research centers at leading American universities to political affairs officers, cultural affairs officers and AID controllers at various US embassies overseas to employees of The New York Times and CBS. The listing is an impressive one and even allowing for errors that even intelligence services can make, it is likely a reasonably accurate accounting of certain leading operatives and associates of the CIA.

I bought my copy of *Who's Who in CIA* in a book shop in Georgetown, in Washington, D.C. for \$4.95. The bookshop is not a subversive one; its main fare is academia, fiction and literary biographies. It was bought because of my curiosity about intelligence services in general, an interest that began when I was in the OSS in China, as the nearest American to Hong Kong. A cursory sampling of names were recognizable to me, bearing out my own personal knowledge

In the intervening months I read the book through, and with the publication of the Pentagon Papers, it became a lively and fascinating resource and complement to the published secret documents.

In one embassy with approximately 55 staff members, for example, the book picked out one person as the CIA operative. Since that particular name was known to me it began to give a ring of authenticity to the entire listing. When it noted certain US officials that I had met on several tours in 16 African nations as being CIA-associated, the sense of authenticity grew firmer; when it listed the name of Dan A. Mitrione, who was kidnaped and killed in Brazil several years ago and who was identified at that time as an AID official, as an operative of the CIA, it's additional evidence that the work is as legitimate (and as nefarious) as it can reasonably be.

The book lists the operatives who have served throughout the world. The German Federal Republic leads the roster with 264 operatives. Monaco and Antarctica bring up the end of the list, with one each. In between: Ghana (14); the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (99); Mexico (90); Barbados (22); Ireland (17); Nigeria (32); France (141); Uganda (8); Vietnam (133); Ethiopia (24); Chile (42); and Hong Kong (71).

The book lists operatives in newspapers and magazines, including Time, Life, Fortune, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated, US News and World Report; in a number of industrial firms, including Bankers Trust, First National City Bank, Westinghouse, RCA, NBC, CBS, Gulf Oil Corp., Standard Oil Company, Bank of America, Litton Industries, Kimberley-Clark Corporation of Canada,

18 NOV 1971

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# LIEUTENANT OF IMPERIALISM

Brazil's military dictatorship and U.S. imperialism are partners in a deadly variation of the old Good Neighbor Policy. One Brazilian general calls it "a loyal exchange." It means that Brazil would help Washington control Latin America, and Washington would bolster the increasingly isolated Brazilian regime.

In an article written for Prensa Latina news service, Alberto Carotti maintains that the "exchange" resulted in Brazil playing a rear-guard military role in the recent fascist coup in Bolivia. Carotti says that evidence also points to the danger of Brazilian intervention in Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and Guyana, which border Brazil, and Chile, which doesn't.

Carotti's article follows, slightly abridged.

By Alberto Carotti

In 1957, the Montevideo weekly Marcha revealed a top secret document from Brazil's Higher School of War (ESG). The document was titled General Orientation of National Security Planning. It was a plan for imperialist control of Latin America.

Brazil would be U.S. imperialism's lieutenant in the "suppression or reduction of the foreign and domestic pressures which might threaten the national security" of Brazil and other South American countries.

What pressures? According to the ESG they are:

1. Communist pressure from within and outside the country, ostensibly directed at forcing Brazil to leave the Western bloc.

2. Socio-economic pressure by domestic and foreign groups "which are a threat to the country's social peace, prosperity, welfare and democracy."

3. Economic pressure by domestic and foreign trade unions "seeking to modify the economic policy of the government for their own purposes and thus jeopardize social peace."

4. Political pressure by national political groups at home or abroad whose interests were crossed by the "revolution" of 1964.

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

One can see that the so-called "security" of the dictatorship is disadvantageous all around — to the economy, the social structure, the domestic policy and the interests of other South American countries.

General Golbery Couto Silva gives the show away in his booklet Geopolitical Aspects of Brazil. He writes: "When opposition to the U.S. becomes unmistakably evident among our Latin American neighbors it is up to Brazil, partly because of her long standing friendship

with the U.S. but most of all because of the decisive resources at her disposal, to make a 'loyal exchange.' . . ." The "exchange" would be a mutual effort to subjugate Latin America and keep the Brazilian dictatorship in power.

Finally, the military government elaborated a detailed war plan which foresees every kind of threat against the security of so-called Western Civilization which "in this hemisphere is both democratic and Christian." The plan states: "If a government should adopt a Communist attitude, especially in Chile or Uruguay, this should be regarded as a threat against the U.S. and Brazil."

Commenting on the latter point, the ESG's document says: "Should Communism win power in some Latin American countries, or should the situation get serious in others through an intensification of the 'revolutionary war,' these countries will constitute strategic areas which could become liable to Brazilian military intervention. Such danger-spots are: the frontier with Uruguay, and this includes the Rio Grande Sur region; the frontier with Bolivia, in particular the Corumbacaceres zone; the frontier with Venezuela and Guyana; and the territories of Uruguay and Guyana." (Editor's emphasis)

The Popular Unity government in Chile thus becomes a frontier menace to the Brazilian dictatorship. This explains the great importance of the Bolivian frontier. It was no coincidence that the region around Santa Cruz of the Sierra was the mainspring of the fascist coup last August.

A report by General Osiris Villegas, who had been Argentina's ambassador to Brazil, revealed a "30-hour plan" directed against Uruguay by Brazil's military. Villegas' report, made at the request of his country's Foreign Ministry, was detailed in Marcha on August 23. The "plan" includes the following:

o The Uruguayan Armed Forces lack arms and men to neutralize or to delay a Brazilian military offensive; and although its population is extremely politicized they are unemotional and not technically prepared for a massive resistance.

o Guerrilla action can provoke some isolated disturbances, but it is not in a condition to attempt any counteroffensive against an army like Brazil's.

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

Because of the urgent needs for the expansion of Brazil, and bearing in mind the fact that the occupation of Uruguay would satisfy not only these needs but also of the country, it would be possible to consolidate the domestic

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OCT 27 1971

# Latin Churchmen Criticize U.S.

By BILL RIEMERMAN  
Staff Writer

United States "intervention for repressive Latin American right-wing governments" was sharply attacked by seven Latin American churchmen Tuesday.

The attack was led by Bishop Federico Pagura of the Methodist Churches of Panama and Costa Rica at a press conference at the Minneapolis meeting of the World Division of the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church. Bishop Pagura had ample support for the attack from church people from Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Bolivia and Brazil.

The church as an institution also was criticized sharply for its support of the status quo in the Latin American countries.

When asked what "committed Americans" could do to help the Latin churches fight for social justice, Bishop Pagura said, "Push your government to give us the freedom we need."

"It is no secret that your government is continually intervening in our internal affairs. Your government supports the privileged minorities and the vast majority of the people suffer."

Nestor Miguez, an Argentine theology student and youth adviser to the World Council of Churches, gave some examples of American intervention "against the people."

He noted that the United States in 1970 gave \$20 million in military aid to the Brazilian army holding a dictatorship which had "overthrown a constitutionally elected left-wing government."

He charged the Brazilian government with the worst repressions in Latin America, but noted that the U.S.

military aid budget for 1971 tripled its aid to Brazil (\$60 million).

Miguez said also that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) intervened in a right-wing coup in Brazil and is working now to topple a government of the left in Chile.

The Rev. Joel Gajardo, a theologian at Catholic University in Santiago, Chile, charged the U.S. government with looking at ev-

erything in terms of economics instead of "creating a more humanized society."

He noted that even this has its hypocritical aspects.

"Your government points at economic gains of right-wing governments and ignores the repression and other social costs," Gajardo said.

"But if a left-wing government makes economic strides your government is quick to find the social costs of such progress."

Gajardo also attacked the Organization of American States as "not a forum, but a place where we hear what the master (the United States) wants us to do."

The attack on the church as an institution was led by the Rev. Jaime Bravo, a Bolivian Aymara Indian pastor who was forced to leave his homeland during the recent coup d'etat.

Bravo said what is needed in South America is a theology of revolution — a revolution for the social reform implied in the gospel.

He said there are many good individual churchmen but that the church as an institution "supports the status quo — the establishment. It worries about buildings, carpets and curtains and forgets persons and human beings."

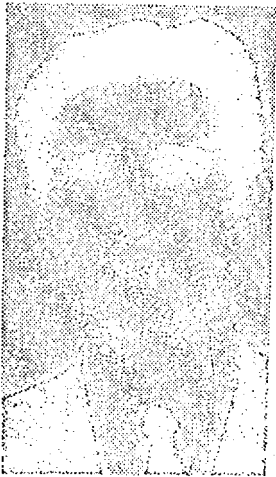
Bishop Pagura said he agreed with this assess-

ment of the church, but noted that in Latin America "a third church for the Third World" is being created as an all-denominational ecumenical movement "taking seriously the meaning and the consequences of the gospel."

This movement, the Bishop said, is in exile, meeting in secret. He described it as "the ecumenism of a church really committed."

All speakers agreed that the young people of Latin America are out of the church and deeply involved in politics.

30 MAY 1971



Carlos Lamarca  
AP photo

## CHARMED EXISTENCE

# Brazil's Top Terrorist Eludes Police—Again

BY LEONARD GREENWOOD

Times Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazil's top-ranked terrorist once again has slipped through security force dragnets, officials disclosed Saturday.

Security forces announced they had discovered the hideout of former Army Capt. Carlos Lamarca in a northern Rio suburb on May 13 and had been carrying out an unsuccessful manhunt for him ever since.

Lamarca had left before security forces reached his hideout. But they captured one of his chief collaborators, Alex Polari de Alverga, leader of a segment of the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, the terrorist organization that

kidnaped Swiss Ambassador Giovanni Enrico Bucher in Rio last December. Bucher was freed unharmed in January.

Lamarca has led a charmed existence in the years since he joined the terrorist movement. He is a colorful character and each narrow escape adds to the legend.

He also has a formidable reputation for toughness and discipline. Security officials say he personally led many of the attacks on military installations and the scores of bank raids that have netted the terrorists more than \$2 million in the past three years.

He is tall, athletic, hand-

some, and attractive to women.

Security officials said they found a large number of letters and documents in the hideout, indicating divisions and some bitterness between various groups of terrorists.

The papers related charges by other terrorists that Lamarca was an agent of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and that he had used large sums of money stolen in bank raids to keep himself and his exiled family in grand style.

Other documents found in the raid, the security men said, indicated Lamarca was worried about insinuations from other terrorists relating to his most famous escape last year.

The security men said the records showed Lamarca constantly was preoccupied with justifying his escape from the battle in which some of his colleagues were killed or captured.

Lamarca is reported to have escaped them by donning his military uniform and, with the aid of another terrorist, holding up an army vehicle and forcing the driver at gunpoint to drive through various checkpoints to safety.

23 FEB 1971

STAT vs

# Rio Torture Rumors Upset U.S. Personnel

RIO DE JANEIRO (AP)—  
The U.S. naval mission here is on the same floor in the Brazilian Navy Ministry as a room in which political prisoners claim to have been tortured.

One American assigned to the floor said recently: "I have been hearing screams and groans for about two years. I was frightened."

Other U.S. personnel were reported to have seen Brazilians being dragged to and from the interrogation room by Brazilian naval agents.

None, insofar as can be determined, has ever reported anything about it to U.S. Navy officials or the U.S. Embassy.

Adm. Clarence Hill, commander of the U.S. mission, said he knew nothing "about" this kind of thing.

## Silence Ordered

But after newsmen began making further inquiries of U.S. personnel there, Hill ordered them not to discuss the subject. The American who reported hearing screams and groans would no longer talk about it.

Leftists in Brazil have charged that agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency have been instructing Brazilian military men and police on modern methods of torture.

The U.S. Embassy has denied the charges and there is no independent evidence to substantiate them.

"But by what is probably only a misfortune in location," one American here commented, "the U.S. Navy is contributing to the spread of a myth harmful to the United States."

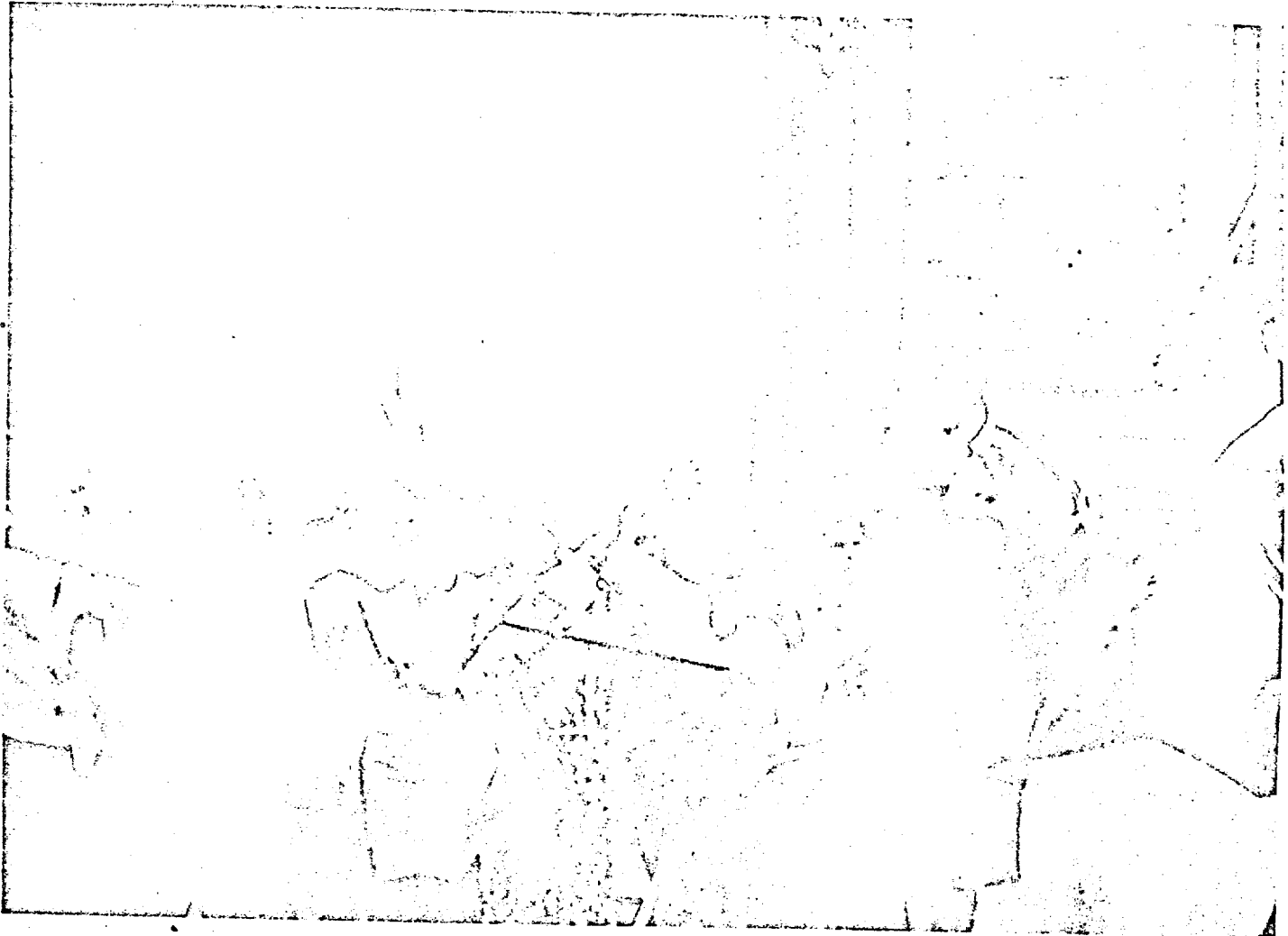
## can christians aid violence?

by Peter J. Riga

*The protest against the gift of \$200,000 by the World Council of Churches to revolutionaries in Africa raises a hard and embarrassing question. Can Christians use force on the international scene to defend justice and deny its use to*

Latin America and Southeast Asia).

This papal thrust is bold and powerful in view of the fact that officially-sanctioned torture — as reported by the UN — is on the increase all over the world (Vietnam, Brazil, Middle East). This offends against basic justice as a totally unconscionable invasion of the rights of the human person, even if done for reasons of furthering justice. The scholastic adage is as valid now as it ever was in times past: the ends and the means are of the same generic order. The end can be no more



*Africans struggling for justice? Father Peter Riga discusses the question especially from the angle of its relevance to American Christians. Father Riga teaches theology at St. Mary's College in California.*

In recent days, Pope Paul VI has deplored and denounced the use of violence and political terrorism as a means of social change. A few weeks ago (October 20, 1970) the Pope denounced both official torture (as practiced today in Brazil in an official capacity) and subversive violence and terrorism (practiced in practically all countries of

worthy or good than the means and if the means are murderous and unjust, what can be born of it but more murder and injustice? Whatever is accomplished by means of violence and murder will be, by its very nature, violent and murderous. The Pope is certainly on traditional ground here in moral ethics.

Moreover, it is good to see that the acts he denounces are specified as applying to particular governments today and not as generalities. Some would say that his protests are not specific enough

15 NOVEMBER 1970

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# How One Pleasant, Scholarly Young Man From Brazil Became a Kidnapping, Gun-Toting, Bombing Revolutionary

By SANCHE de GRAMONT

THERE had been showers in the afternoon, but winds off the sea blew the clouds away and the evening was cool and pleasant for São Paulo in March, with the reflection of the downtown neon against the sky casting a heavy pink pallor over the city at twilight. Breezes shook the palm fronds on the square where the four men waited, some of them reading newspapers, others gazing at the sky.

The men knew that at 6 o'clock on this evening of March 5, 1970, as on other weekday evenings, a black, chauffeur-driven Oldsmobile belonging to the Japanese consul would slowly turn a corner into the square, carrying the consul home from work. They had been studying the consul's route for several weeks, and it never varied. He was a man of punctual habits.

They had chosen the Japanese consul, a short, dumpy man in his 50's named Nobuo Okuchi, for three reasons. First, Mr. Okuchi is an important man in São Paulo, which boasts a Japanese colony of several hundred thousand. Second, the considerable Japanese investments in Brazilian industry are concentrated in the São Paulo area. Third, a Nisei named Shizuo who belonged to the same organization as the men waiting on the square, the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard (V.P.R.), had been arrested by the political police, and information had reached them that he was being tortured and would probably be executed.

At two minutes past 6, the black Oldsmobile turned slowly into the square. A Simca drove out of a side street to block its passage, and another car moved up behind it, immobilizing the consul's car. Two of the men ran to the second car, pulled a machine gun from the back seat, and set it up on the square so that its field of fire covered the street from which the consul's car had emerged. The two others opened the back door of the Oldsmobile and invited Mr. Okuchi to get out. The chauffeur was nervous. His fingers tapped the steering wheel as if he found it hard to resist blowing the horn. One of the men told him: "Stay quiet. This is a political kidnapping."

"I have no intention of resisting," the consul said. "Is this like what happened to the American Ambassador?" The man nodded. Passers-by strolling on the square quickly changed sidewalks when they saw the three cars in the street. The consul accompanied three of the men to the Simca and drove away with them. The other men put the machine gun back in the second car and drove off in a different direction. The operation had taken roughly five minutes.

The consul sat in the back seat of the Simca between two of

the men. One of them reached in his pocket and pulled out a roll of adhesive tape to blindfold the consul. They were taking him to a house in the suburbs. Only the driver of the car knew the location of the house. The other men kept their eyes shut so that they would not know where they had been taken if ever they were arrested.

Halfway to the house in the suburbs, the Simca met head on with a police car. The police saw the muzzle of a submachine gun protruding from one of its back windows, and drove away. As Ladislav Dowbor, the young Brazilian revolutionary who had organized the kidnapping, was to tell me later: "One of our advantages is that the police are not motivated against us. We are ready to give up our lives, but they are not."

Once inside a back room of the house in the suburbs, the consul's eyes were untaped. He was offered cigarettes. A hot meal was waiting for him on a table. Dowbor told the consul: "We are asking the Government for the release of five political prisoners in exchange for your release. We want the prisoners flown to Mexico. When they land in Mexico, you will go home."

"I was a captain in the navy during the war," the consul said. "I am used to hardship. You don't have to worry about me."

"We don't want you to think we are bandits. I am an economist. My friend here is a lawyer."

"Perhaps, but it is a terrible thing to be separated from one's family."

"Yes, but measure against that the amount of suffering that has come from torture. Under any circumstances, we consider it moral to hold you for a few days to save our friends. We feel justified in kidnapping you because there is no law in Brazil, the normal controls of government do not exist."

"This sort of thing could never happen in Japan," the consul said.

"Can you think of any other way we could solve our problems?" Dowbor asked.

The consul shrugged. It was clear that he did not agree. At the same time he felt that it was no time to be undiplomatic. "The Government

and listened to a biography of his life and consular career, illustrated with family snapshots. He asked his kidnappers to send word to his family that he was all right. His wife was notified that he would not be detained long. From the back room where he was kept, the consul could hear visitors in the front part of the house talking in excited tones about the kidnapping.

The consul had been abducted on a Thursday. Perhaps because the kidnappers' demands were modest the Government quickly agreed to release five political prisoners, including their Nisei friend and a mother superior, whose freedom the V.P.R. demanded as a symbol of all the jailed clerics in Brazil (nine Dominican fathers are still being held in Tiradente prison in São Paulo). On Sunday, the kidnappers received word that the five had arrived in Mexico. That night, two of the men drove the consul across town to the Paraisópolis residential section and stopped the car across the street from a taxi stand. The consul shook hands with his captors, jumped into a cab, and headed for home.

The kidnapping of the Japanese consul was not an isolated act, but part of a program of urban guerrilla warfare which has been adopted in the last three years by several Brazilian opposition groups. The 1964 military coup against President João Goulart's reform-minded Government apparently convinced these groups that social change in Brazil could not come about through peaceful means. Constitutional rights were suspended in 1964, and since then Brazil has been ruled by a succession of three generals. Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco died in 1967 and was replaced by Gen. Artur da Costa Silva, who died in office and was succeeded by his former secretary of police chief, Gen. Emilio Garrastazu Médici, who was elected to the office of president by a majority of Brazil's 230 generals.

Today, political opposition to the ruling junta can be divided between those movements that continue to believe in conventional methods like strikes, demonstrations, pamphlets and local elections, and those who argue that since the regime will not tolerate conventional methods of

SANCHE de GRAMONT, who lives in Tangier, recently visited Algiers, where he met the subject of this article. His novel, "Lives to Give," will be published next spring.

Top row, second from left: Ladislav Dowbor, 29, wanted by Brazilian

agent" responsible for "assault-robbery-murder of heads of families."

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There is no U.S. Ambassador  
to the Republic of Algeria  
but there is a chargé d'affaires.  
Then there is Eldridge Cleaver.

## Our Other Man In Algiers

By SANCHE de GRAMONT

ALGIERS. THE counselor of the Chinese Embassy, a short, square man named Wei Pao Chang with a thick mop of straight iron-gray hair, said he was sorry to arrive late at the reception. He had been to the airport to see off Algerian President Houari Boumediene, Mauretania-bound for a meeting with other African leaders. The reception was in a handsome villa with a garden in the hill suburb of El Biar. Two shining bronze plaques on the columns of the entrance gate showed a crouching panther and said: Black Panther Party—International Section.

The counselor of the Chinese Embassy briskly waved a fan the same color as his anthracite-gray Mao suit and made diplomatic small talk with the Black Panther ambassador to Algiers, Eldridge Cleaver, who towered above him. Cleaver and the half dozen other Panthers on hand wore a kind of uniform, too, short-sleeved blue shirts with shoulder straps and black slacks.

Wei Pao Chang said something in Chinese to his translator, who repeated it in French to Elaine Klein, an attractive American-born girl who works for the Algerian Ministry of Information, who put it from French into English for Cleaver, who gave his reply in English to Miss Klein, who put it in French for the Chinese translator, who gave Cleaver's reply in Chinese to Wei Pao Chang, who smiled.

SANCHE de GRAMONT lives in Tangier and frequently contributes to this Magazine. His novel, "Lives to Give," will be published next spring.

"We are glad you could come," Cleaver said.

Wei Pao Chang asked Cleaver about his recent trip to Asia with 11 members of antiwar groups from the United States. "How much time did you spend in Peking?" he asked.

"We do not wish to say," Cleaver replied, "because it might be written that we did not spend enough time to gain a correct impression, but we feel we did gain an impression."

"What did you see?"

"We saw the Red Guards, the university and a fantastic ballet performed by the women's section of the Red Guards."

"We are enemies to the death with the American government," said Wei Pao Chang, "because of its support of the puppet regime in Formosa, but we have great sympathy for the American people. We hope you will overcome the American monopolies."

"Right on," Cleaver said.

IN the United States, the Black Panthers are viewed in official quarters as a menace to society. They are harassed by police, and shot in battles with them. Many of their leaders are in jail or out on bail. Cleaver himself went into political exile in November, 1968, rather than go back to jail when his parole was lifted after he was involved in an alleged shootout with the Oakland, Calif., police.

But in Algiers, the Panthers are respected as one of approximately a dozen liberation movements accredited by the Algerian Government and provided with assistance and support in their task of overthrowing the governments in power in their respective

countries. "This," as Cleaver pointed out when he announced the opening of his new headquarters in mid-September, "is the first time in the struggle of the black people in America that they have established representation abroad."

The reception, attended by members of African and Asian embassies and high-ranking Algerian officials, marked an abrupt change of status for Cleaver, who in his year and a half of Algerian exile had many occasions to feel neglected. He and his wife, Kathleen, were given a drab, unheated apartment in the tacky suburb of Pointe Pescade. Cleaver was warned not to attract too much attention to himself.

Now, in their new quarters, Cleaver and his friends are the only Americans recognized by the Algerians, who broke off diplomatic relations with the United States several years ago. There is still a skeleton staff under a chargé d'affaires working out of what was once the American Embassy, but they now call themselves the American Affairs section of the Swiss Embassy. Last Thanksgiving, Cleaver attended a reception at the residence that houses the American Ambassador, when there is one, and said of the lovely Moorish villa: "Nice house you've got here. MY house." In a sense he was right.

Now that the Panthers have a house, they plan to maintain close contact with other liberation movements. They will provide a haven for American black exiles. They will organize the recruitment of black G.I.

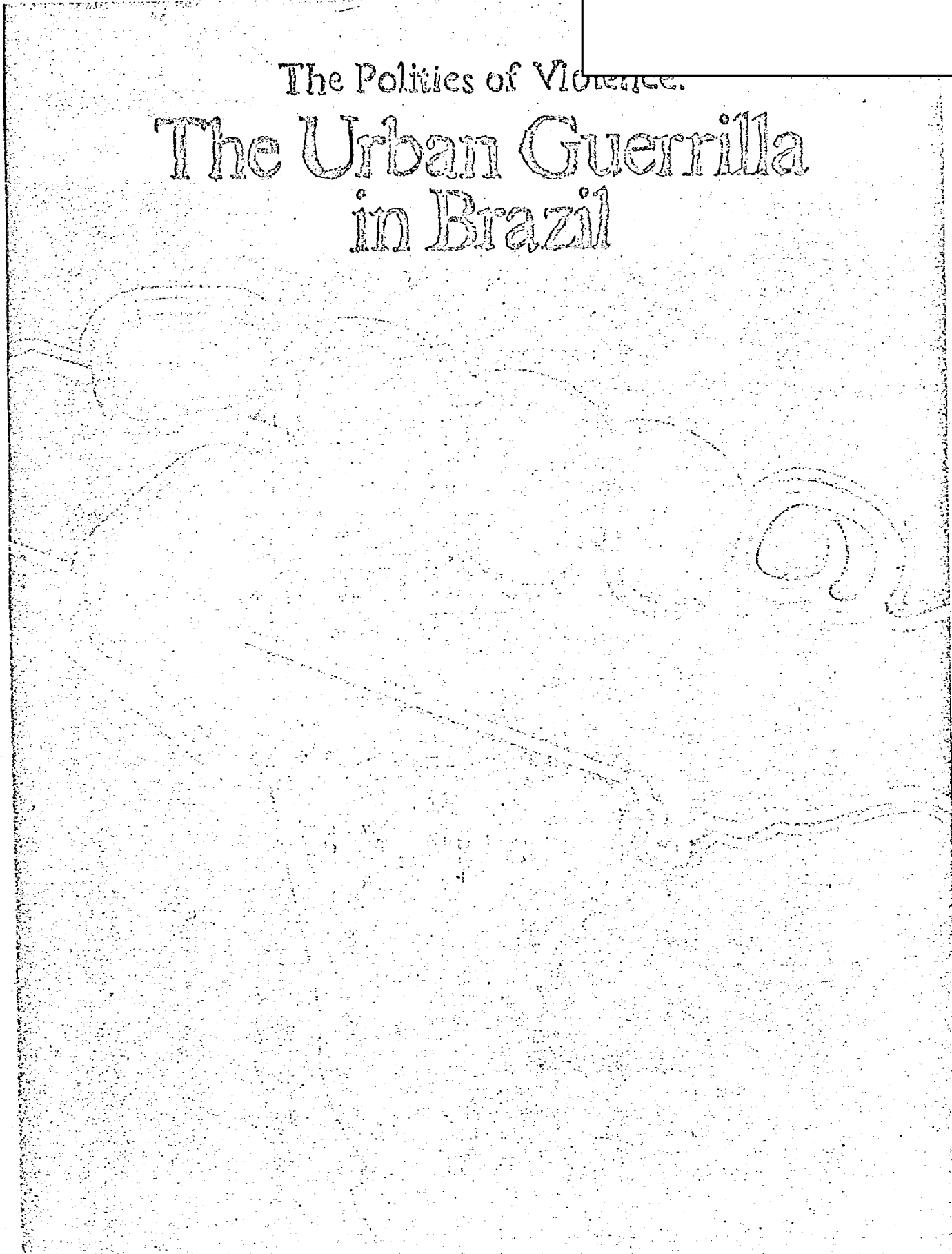
"Black Panther ambassador to Algiers" is the way Cleaver, who went there after fleeing the U.S. in 1968, thinks of himself, and here he entertains the counselor of the Chinese Embassy, Wei Pao Chang (in Mao suit), at a reception opening the Panther headquarters. The woman at left is an Algerian Government translator for the occasion. The photograph on wall is of Panther leader Huey Newton.

continued

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The Politics of Violence.

# The Urban Guerrilla in Brazil



# Brazil regime uses torture

# against political

The recent kidnapping of West German Ambassador to Brazil Ehrenfried von Holleben—who was freed June 16 in return for the release of 40 political prisoners, who are now in Algeria—has cast further light on the fascist regime of President Emilio Garrastazu Medici, the army general appointed by the military last year to preside over Brazil's 88 million people. The following article describes in detail the conditions under which the Brazilian left is forced to survive and why it has adopted the technique of kidnapping to free prisoners. The author is foreign editor of the Chilean newspaper *El Siglo*.

By Jorge L. Cabello A.  
*Prensa Latina*

Santiago de Chile, Chile

From the moment that Brazil's military took power on April 1, 1964, in a right-wing coup that ousted Joao Goulart, the country's progressive sectors began to be systematically persecuted.

Many Brazilians have been killed and thousands are imprisoned. Fascist organizations have been created, such as the Death Squad, which claims to exterminate "delinquents" but actually kills anti-government leaders and militants. The large landowners, the favorites of the regime and of the foreign companies, have undertaken the mass-scale slaughter of Indians with the aim of gaining their land. There is absolute censorship over the press.

Progressive people throughout the world have demanded the liberty of Brazil's political prisoners and the cessation of the killings. All types of organizations have expressed their condemnation of the military government.

What has most moved world public opinion has been the revelation of tortures savagely administered to the opponents of the military dictatorship: the workers, peasants, students, professionals, clergy and nuns who have been beaten in the jails of Brazil.

I recently contacted one of the victims of Brazil's military dictatorship—a 25-year-old student at Brasilia University and a leader of the National Union of Brazilian students (UNE). His name is Alduisio Moreira de Souza. Publication of the interview was somewhat delayed because it was conducted while Paranhos Fleury—founder of the Death Squad and creator of Operation Bandeirantes, the agency which coordinates military and political repression in Brazil—was on a visit to Chile. Alduisio Moreira is now in Europe for medical treatment and his story can be told.

## Torture

There are more than 15,000 political prisoners in Brazil. There are schools which teach torture methods. CIA agents allegedly help train torturers.

The torments inflicted on the prisoners are grotesque. Sexual abuses are specially reserved for women, carried out by men who can only be termed sexual maniacs. Other "treatments" for all prisoners include: the threat of being thrown alive into crocodile pits, throwing hungry snakes and rats into the cells with the prisoners, tying them down on iron tables and scraping their skins down to the bone with a surgical knife, beatings on the hands and feet, forcing prisoners to stand with their bare feet on the jagged tops of tin cans, electric shocks, water hoses under pressure directed into the mouth and nose of the prisoner with simultaneous blows on both ears until the eardrums are broken.

Pentothal is also used, the "truth serum" applied by the Nazis during World War II. Referring to this method, Alduisio said: "When the serum is administered, everything depends on your concentration. If you concentrate, you can resist, but if you concentrate with all your strength on one thing, then that's the only thing you'll talk about."

I had been warned to proceed with the interview with much tact and patience, since Alduisio was in a very nervous condition. He is a short, very thin young man with sharply defined features, jutting cheekbones, high forehead, light brown hair and a thick moustache. He was wearing a pair of old bluejeans and an old wrinkled jacket. He walked with difficulty and was silent throughout the trip to the place of interview.

Even after I had thought out my questions very carefully, it was difficult to begin the interview, finally facing him and his dramatic physical appearance.

## A great effort

I decided to ask him to talk about what he thought was most important. He began to speak with difficulty, in a trembling, badly modulated Portuguese, showing a little mistrust. Every word seemed to demand great physical effort.

Alduisio began by saying:

"I was arrested twice, on Aug. 19, 1968 and on Sept. 4, 1969. The first time I was accused of a bank robbery. Along with other companions from the UNE, I was in a car returning to Brasilia. We had been organizing and collecting funds to hold the UNE National Congress [Alduisio was the treasurer of the organizing committee]. We were arrested at a police road-block. I was separated from my companions and taken some place about 40 miles from Brasilia—a place that was completely isolated, near a river. First, they intimidated me and later, beat me. They told me they would drop the bank robbery charges if I revealed the place where the Congress was to be held. When I refused to answer them, they took my clothes off, grabbed hold of my genitals and began dragging me on the ground. They abused me sexually and told me they would drown me in the river. They showed me pictures of the bodies of many people they had murdered before, telling me they would do the same with me and nobody would know of it. As I still refused to talk, the officer in charge, federal police chief Lincoln Gomez de Almeida, showed me an order from the Ministry of the Army, authorizing that I be shot in secret. I was tied to a tree and a firing squad formed 15 feet in front of me. For the last time they asked me to name the place where the Congress would be held. I refused again and the order to fire was given. They aimed at me and fired. The bullets struck the tree I was tied to; more than thirty-five bullets."

## A tiny cell

"After that, they took me to a tiny cell. It was very damp and absolutely empty. They kept me there naked and without food for two days.

"Later, I was taken to the Department of Investigations and the Ministry of the Army where I was fingerprinted. (My photo was published in all the newspapers.)

"For a long time I had been suffering from ulcers. They passed through at the hands of the police

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## UOP Professor From Brazil Says CIA Debases Peace Corps

By MARJORIE FLAHERTY  
Of the Record Staff

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has debased the once beautiful Peace Corps, Dr. Florindo Villa-Alvarez, a Covell College professor from Brazil, charged yesterday in a chapel address at the University of the Pacific.

"CIA agents play the role of anti-Americans in the Peace Corps to find out what others think," Villa-Alvarez declared.

The educator, who once trained Peace Corpsmen, indignantly reported that "some of my former students at New York University are being used by CIA to try to penetrate Brazilian student groups . . . degrading work."

### 'WORST KIND'

Villa-Alvarez, who has worked on socio-economic projects in Latin America for the United Nations as well as for his own country, sees U.S. influence as "cultural colonialism—the worst kind."

Thoroughly disenchanted with American and Brazilian approaches to progress, Villa-Alvarez asserted businessmen in both countries think only of their own interests and have "manipulated technical assistance to disserve both countries."

Since the rise of the military regime, Brazil has become "a paradise for foreign investments," Villa-Alvarez declared. The regime invited "an invasion, a take-over of Brazilian industries," he said, and the subsequent "denationalization is tragic and frightening."

The government sought foreign money by offering special privileges to foreign businessmen, he added.

He said U.S. experts in Brazil

are involved in the shaping of "the right way of behaving" through programs in which "every course outline is checked for content." People are being labeled subversive and the climate in Brazil today is one of "cultural terrorism, medieval censorship and tortures," Villa-Alvarez claimed.

### '85 FIRED'

Pointing out that "85 outstanding scholars were fired last year in Sao Paulo alone," Villa-Alvarez said, "before they removed me I left the 'colony.'"

Reflecting his frustration, the professor, who has taught in the U.S., Brazil and other countries, said he officially "denounced" program perversions at every opportunity, and has even been praised for his efforts, but his reports have been shunted aside without action.

Warning that present tactics in South America "will raise radicalism against the United States," Villa-Alvarez "supported every word" of Dr. Richard Shaull, Princeton professor who declared at UOP Monday night that Latin America is ripe for revolution because there are no viable political alternatives for those who want reform.

Shaull also said the future of Latin America will be determined by what basic changes occur in the United States.

Villa-Alvarez, who has been associate professor of community development, sociology and cultural anthropology at Covell since September, noted that minorities in the U.S. are "claiming through violence what should have been given to them by right" but said he does not yet have a "complete grasp" of the local scene to enable him to discuss the social revolution here.