NATIONAL GUARDIAN 1/03/04 1972

Crisis envelops Uruguay

By Alfredo Hopkins
Special to the Guardian

Montevideo, Uruguay

A major political crisis is developing in Uruguay over the army's growing power.

President Juan Bordaberry brought in a new cabinet Nov. 1 after a furor developed over the arrest of Jorge Batlle, leader of a leading but rival faction of Bordaberry's Colorado party.

Batlle was arrested at the demand of the army for criticizing the military in a radio broadcast in which he lashed out at officers for trying to reopen a case in which he was acquitted of financial impropriety four years ago.

Last week, Bordaberry announced that the military courts would also take action against Sen. Wilson Ferreira, a leader of the opposition liberal Blanco party who ran against Bordaberry in last year's election. Ferreira was charged with "divulging a secret document" revealing a navy agreement with the foreign ministry on diminishing Uruguayan sovereignty over territorial waters.

That the military has managed to force charges against two of the country's leading politicians has provoked discussions of the army's greater power and some talk of a possible coup.

The army has not, however, been all that successful in destroying the Tupamaros guerrillas (MLN—National Liberation Movement).

Although the Bordaberry regime has claimed a great deal of success in its campaign against the Tupamaros, in private government officials are not so optimistic. The fascist bands, secretly operating with government support, are even less so.

In a recent editorial in "Azul y Blanco," newspaper of the ultra-right, they moaned, "We are losing the war precisely when we think we are winning it."

Since the Tupamaro assassination of several members of the government's Death Squad last April 14, and the regime's subsequent declaration of "war," 43 Tupamaros and 39 members of the government Joint Forces have been killed. Every now and then, however, so[illegible] streets by trigger-happy troops—and those deaths don't figure on the fatality lists. Nor do the cases of a Christian Democratic worker and a doctor, who were tortured to death. Nor the cases of "suicides" in prisons.

Everyday an average of eight "Tupamaros" are captured, bringing the total to 2550 officially. The Committee for the Families of Political Prisoners claims that up to 10,000 have been detained, many of them not Tupamaros but union leaders, students and "suspicious" persons.

Nearly everyone suspected of Tupamaro connections is tortured, although the more efficient methods are reserved for known revolutionaires. The methods are refinements of those used in Vietnam and Brazil: electricity, beatings, ice water baths, partial suffocation, prolonged periods of standing without food or water, fake executions, limb stretchings, and psychological harassment.

A number of the most important organizers of the guerrilla movement have been killed or captured: Jorge Alberto Candon Grajales, Horacio Carlos Novina Greco and Armando Hugo Blanco are dead. Luis Efrain Martinez Platero and Raul Sendic have been captured. The most sought Tupamaro now is Raul Bidegain Greissing.

Sendic was wounded and captured last Sept. 10 along with several others in a shoot-out at an abandoned store front on Sarandi street in the old city of Montevideo. The "founder" of the Tupamaros had led a rural guerrilla column near Rio Negro, which was virtually wiped out by the Joint Forces.

Move to countryside?

The fact that Sendic had been living in the countryside, coming to the city only occasionally to make contacts, indicated that he apparently supported the idea of developing a rural-based guerrilla war.

Some "legal" organizations are treated by the regime as if they were clandestine. The most important of these is the Broad Front which contested last November's elections. It consists of Communists, Christian Democrats, Socialists, independents and splinter groups from traditional parties.

For its part, the state realizes that its battle is not just against the "subversives," but is for self-preservation. Uruguay is in hock and the auction is selling it to the bankers and foreign debtors of this former "Switzerland of Latin America." This debt is about $700 million and somehow $270 million in interests, payments and mortgages must be scraped together—mostly from the same financiers—by May 1973.

Inflation is becoming a "way of life." It is running at 70 percent already this year and will likely hit 90 percent by Christmas. The International Monetary Fund tried to impose a limit of 20 percent for wage increases, but militant strikes have forced Bordaberry to grant 40 percent hikes. Nearly a million Uruguayans, more than one-third of the entire population, have left the country. In Montevideo alone, over 42,000 are unemployed and thousands of retired people who don't receive pensions are literally starving to death.

The GNP shrunk by more than 1 percent last year, but the 500 oligarchical families who rule the country didn't do so badly. They control nearly half of all agricultural land and, helped out by foreign investors, 74 percent of industrial capital. With Bordaberry, a cattle rancher, as president, a four-month restriction of meat sales has been imposed. Meanwhile, 1000 cattle a day are marched across the border and sold for three times the price in Brazil.

To sustain its positions and work out its new role in imperialism's new international division of work, the regime has had to resort to fascism. In a prelude to a proposed education law that would break up university autonomy, student participation in politics and put education under the direct control of the chief executive, fascist bands invaded schools, beat up students and professors, robbed or destroyed school property and shot and killed a leftist militant. Similar incidents are being trumped up in unions to give excuse for intervention in the Communist-dominated worker's movement.

These fascist bands obey the interests of diverse factions of the ruling class. Some are associated with ex-president Jorge Pacheco Areco, others operate out of the Ministry of Interior, others in the pay of the CIA, the Spanish Falange or even Brazilian or Paraguayan agents. When the Tupamaros kidnapped CIA agent Nelson Bardesio in February he gave them information about the Death Squad with which he was connected. Some of the exposed Squad members were later given refuge in the Paraguayan embassy.

The ultra-right is also calling for a counter insurgency type of coup to create something like the regime in Brazil. Hence, in an article calling for creation of a "Chief of Staff for Psycho-political War," an editorial in "Azul y Blanco" asserted that "it would be absurd to pretend that political, religious, cultural or union counterinsurgency actions can be carried out by the state's civil organisms."

Some military officers were said to be "negotiating" with the Tupamaros, with an end to the war in exchange for a Peruvian type social transformation. While both official and revolutionary sources mentioned this, it wasn't clear whether it was just a gimmick or if real talks had taken place. Senator Zelmar Michelini and many revolutionaries say that the Army is divided between "nationalist" and pro-imperialist factions.

In view of this complicated but critical social picture, all of the left agrees that fascism is the immediate enemy and that unity must be obtained to defeat it. Most also agree that peace is also necessary. But the meaning of peace and unity and how to obtain it is subject to a vigorous polemic.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
16 AUG 1972

Cuban line stays revolutionary

By Karen Wald

When unsuccessful right-wing attacks on the Cuban revolution began to be supplanted by so-called "left-critiques," a prevalent accusation against Cuba was that "Soviet domination" had caused the revolutionaries to abandon armed struggle and their previous open support for liberation movements.

K.S. Karol repeated the popular myth in his book Guerrillas in Power." "Castro was forced to turn his back on what had been his paramount objective until then: a continental revolution," Karol told his readers. "No fresh proclamations on the Latin American revolution have been issued since Che's death. . . "

Sell out?

The cause of this "sell-out" position, to Karol and to a number of other outside critics, was the Soviet Union. "The man in the street . . . and also the devout party member . . . could not help but wonder . . . whether Fidel's support of the Peruvian 'revolution' did not fly in the face of the OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) resolutions, and whether it was not time for Fidel to make it clear precisely how this new alliance with Russia was influencing his views on the Latin American revolution."

When I visited Cuba last year, everyone insisted that Cuba had not changed her policy. They suggested one look at Cuban policy statements, at Cuban actions, instead of the analyses offered by foreign observers. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the central committee, stated flatly: "The thoughi of the Cuban revolution about these questions has not changed. Our position is the same we have defended throughout the entire development of the revolution."

Over a year later, commenting on the recent OAS (Organization of American States) meeting, the editorial in Cuba's official daily newspaper, Granma, used almost the same words. Peru had tried to introduce a resolution ending the blockade of Cuba. Although it was defeated, seven of the member countries had voted for the measure, a sharp rebuke to U.S. domination of the organization. Expressing satisfaction that the measure had not passed, the U.S. representative added that the U.S. was "willing to lift the blockade of Cuba as soon as there are clear indications that Cuba is changing its policy (of 'intervention' in Latin America.)"

The Granma editorial called the U.S. statement hypocritical and diversionistic, trying to create confusion "when it insinuates that the Cuban government might change its policy, thus attempting to fan false rumors that the Cuban government may be studying a change of policy or contemplating talks involving compromises and transactions with imperialism.

"Even though Cuba's staunch position has been clearly stated a thousand times," the Granma editorial continued, "we will never tire of reiterating it as many times as necessary. The policy of the Cuban government has not changed and will never change. It is the imperialist government of the U.S. that must change its policy. Until it does so . . . Cuba will have nothing to discuss with the government of the U.S."

What is that unchanging policy of the Cuban revolution? Rodriguez summed it up in a speech to the International Organization of Journalists in January 1971: "It is true that when a people has a revolutionary consciousness and weapons . . . it has a guarantee of independence, but we also know that that guarantee will not be absolute until imperialism is defeated," he told the assembled journalists. He underlined the need for continental revolution, stating ". . . we understand that for us, the most important factor in that defeat is the development of the struggles of the peoples of Latin America for their independence and progress."

Commenting on events in Chile and Peru, Rodriguez observed: "It is understandable, then, why we are overjoyed with the triumph of Salvador Allende and Unidad Popular, achieved at this stage without the peoples having to take up arms. . . .

Armed struggle necessary

"We are pleased to see that the Government of Peru holds firmly to its nationalist positions, rejecting the intervention of imperialism and searching for its own roads to the solutions of its problems. . . " he went on, but quickly cautioned: "We would be very happy to know that the independence of Latin America could be achieved by roads such as those taken by Chile and Peru, without a need for armed confrontations, but a glance at the panorama of our America does not make that satisfaction possible. The military gorilla tyrannies continue to subsist and are maintained. We know full well that the roads to democracy are closed and that, as was stated in the Second Declaration of Havana, 'Wherever the roads to the exercise of democracy are closed to the people, there is no other way but that of armed struggle.' ".

Then, to make certain that people understood that Cuba's commitment was not just theoretical, Rodriguez concluded: "You can be certain, comrades, that just as we greet with joy the bloodless victories of our peoples and support all possibilities of such victories, so, wherever in Latin America or anywhere else in the world firm—firm!—hands take up the weapons left by the heroic guerrilla, there will be the support, the solidarity, and if need be, the presence of the Cuban people."

The Second Declaration of Havana, on support for armed liberation struggles, has been the cornerstone of Cuban foreign policy since the victory of the revolution. But lessons have been learned through the years and the outward expression of this policy does not always appear the same.

"We haven't by any means given up armed struggle," exploded one worker in an organization with direct ties to the liberation struggles abroad. "We've just gotten a hell of a lot more serious. We've been too generous with our blood and our lives before," he went on—an idea I was to hear repeated many times before I left. "The Cuban people have paid a very high price for our too hasty support of every group that picks up a gun. We can't afford to be romantic revolutionaries anymore, and we can't afford to support this type of revolutionary, either—all those people who don't lead anyone, don't represent anyone but declare themselves a militant vanguard organization and demand our help. And we've always given it, all too freely.

continued

WASHINGTON POST
13 AUG 1972

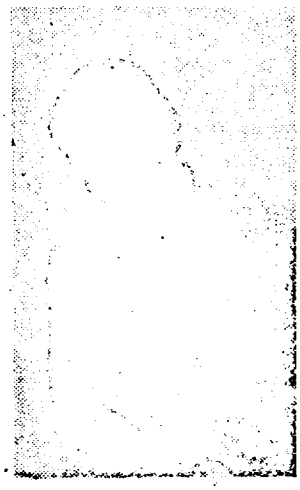
Costa Gavras: Beyond Labels

By Lewis H. Diuguid

SANTIAGO—"There is a lot of liberty in Chile," said Costa Gavras, the director of politically provocative movies. There was enough for him to film "State of Siege" here, but just barely.

Costa Gavras previously had infuriated the world's dictators, and particularly those of his native Greece, with "Z." Likewise, he insulted Stalinists and agitated other Communists with the showing of "The Confession."

Now "State of Siege" has convulsed all sectors of Chile's broad political spectrum. And the film is not quite finished as yet. And it does not have to do with Chile, anyway.



Costa Gavras

Gavras, at 39 the leader of the political film movement, offered an interview in ITT's Sheraton Carrera Hotel, a sanctuary from the slings of the Chilean right and the arrows of the left.

"State of Siege," he explained, is a story of neocolonialism, of advisers from rich countries who seek to impose their own systems and values on the countries they "aid." The events of the film derive roughly from the execution by Uruguay's Tupamaros of U.S. police adviser Dan Mitrione in 1970. Yves Montand, leading man in Gavras' previous movies, plays the approximate [illegible]

"But this is not *the* case of Mitrione," Gavras insisted. "We do not really know that case, although we know some of it. Montand is a high functionary who is kidnaped. But we use no names."

The locale is not defined, either, beyond its being in Latin America. But the movie had to be made somewhere. Chile, as the freest country with at least a rudimentary film industry necessary to support the production, was the only choice. But as the most highly politicized nation, it hardly turned out to be ideal.

Critics on the right maintained "State of Siege" was financed by the Tupamaros (most of the money is American). Uruguay's ambassador protested diplomatically. The left accused Gavras of unrevolutionary commercialism.

Part of the problem was that Gavras' politics do not fit under any of the ideological labels that define politics here.

Gavras said he has never associated with any movement, that his character would not permit it.

"My friends accuse me of being an aggressive independent. I don't know if a society can organize itself around people such as me, but . . ." He punctuated the phrase with a take-it-or-leave-it shrug that Santiago's half-dozen brands of socialists find so disconcerting.

"The trouble with political parties is that they deal in simplifications. None is as perfect as its advocates say."

What, then, is the basis of his own philosophy?

"The dignity of man, fundamentally. Justice. I cannot accept that some men go hungry. I cannot accept that some live very well while others live very poorly . . . I am not a Christian but I accept the ideal, 'to love thy neighbor as thyself.' All the enormous quantity of words today makes this ideal seem old-fashioned, but it is my philosophy."

[redacted]

Gavras, born Constantine Gavras, is a slight man, [illegible] laxed and intense. He grew up in postwar Greece, where the air was thick with the themes that would later dominate his films: Stalinism, anticommunism, U.S. aid, military rule, civil strife.

In 1953, Gavras left Greece for the Sorbonne in Paris. "But literature and philosophy did not get to the issues," he said. So after three years he turned to studies for television and the movies, and he then worked in those fields.

After 14 years in France, Gavras returned briefly to Greece in 1967—as it happened, just before the military coup. He had picked up the "Z" book describing the death of Greek rebel leader Lambrakis at the hands of the military, and the coup that soon followed gave it an instant relevance.

Argentina, whose military regime usually imposes a rigid movie censorship, was allowed to see "Z." Gavras explained that the film had just received a big reception at the Mar del Plata film festival and the distributor seized that moment to ask approval in Buenos Aires. It worked. Several Argentines who saw the picture said they felt it was describing their own dictatorship, the only incongruity being the fact that they were there seeing it.

According to Gavras, Donald Ruggof of Cinema Five in New York paid about $600,000 on the gamble that the show would succeed there. It did, bringing in $10 million.

With that, American financiers were interested in political movies. It was 1968, and the throttling of the Prague spring was on the public mind. Gavras and Montand turned to "The

continued

STATINTL

28 JUNE 1972

Latin America: Which road to power? (2)

By Barry Rubin

Second of two articles

A number of Latin American revolutionary groups, particularly in the urban and industrial southern part of the continent, have been able to synthesize armed struggle with mass organizing.

The Chilean MIR (which engaged in armed struggle during the Eduardo Frei administration, 1969-1970), the Uruguayan Tupamaros and several Argentinian groups—particularly the ERP-PRT (People's Revolutionary Army and its political leaderhip, the Revolutionary Workers party)—have managed to put down deep roots in the working class.

Thus while they engage in kidnappings, bank robberies and attacks on repressive police and military forces, they are not terrorist or Debrayist groups, with a political line guaranteeing their isolation from the masses, as they have been portrayed by the mass media in this country and by the revisionist Communist parties and Trotskyist groups.

They have consistently used both armed and unarmed actions not to attempt to launch an immediate assault on the state at this stage or to defeat the government in purely military terms, but to develop the political consciousness and level of revolutionary organization of the masses, especially of the working class.

Food trucks have been hijacked and the contents distributed to poor families, radio stations have been seized for revolutionary broadcasts and reactionary figures have been imprisoned in "people's jails" to show both the political illegitimacy and military vulnerability of the rulers.

Both Uruguay's Tupamaros and Argentina's PRT have origins in the workers' movement—among rice and sugar workers—and both have many members who are workers, shop stewards, and trade union officials.

The Tupamaros, founded in 1963, is the better known of these two groups in the U.S. It has taken a number of spectacular actions, such as the kidnapping of U.S. CIA agent Dan Mitrione and of British ambassador Geoffrey Jackson, the escape of 106 Tupamaros from the national penitentiary last September and the exposure of corruption within the country through the seizure of government and corporate documents.

During the campaign for the November 1971 elections in Uruguay, the Communist party, Socialist party, Christian Democrats and left sections of the bourgeois parties formed a "Broad Front," patterned after—but to the right of—the Chilean UP (Popular Unity) of Salvador Allende. The Tupamaros, although not supporting the Broad Front, declared a truce during the campaign so that the government could not use their activities as an excuse for suppressing the opposition. Nevertheless, the reactionary Juan Bordaberry was elected after a campaign full of fraud and harassment of the left.

In an attempt to smash the Tupamaros and the workers, who have waged several general strikes, Bordaberry declared a "state of internal war" April 15 giving the government military powers and eliminating democratic rights. A fierce struggle between the military and the Tupamaros has raged since then.

Liberation struggle in Argentina

The decisive political event in modern Argentinian history was the taking of power by Juan Peron in the elections of February 1946, following a military coup in 1944. Peron, an army officer who became Minister of Labor and Social Security in the military administration, was a brilliant political tactician. He built a massive power base among the workers and the poor and created a nationalist-populist movement, the Justicialists or as they are usually called Peronists.

The first years of Peron's administration brought Argentina a considerable, though temporary, degree of national independence from British imperialism, which had been severely weakened by World War 2. Real gains were made by both workers and women, led by Eva Peron. But in its later years the Peron regime ran into both economic problems and imperialist subversion and was overthrown by a military coup in 1955. Peron went to Spain from which he today directs much of the Peronist movement, which still leads the powerful union federation, the CGT.

After a period of civilian rule, the military again seized power in Argentina in June 1966. The economic situation continued to stagnate and took a qualitative turn for the worse in 1955 when foreign domination, this time U.S. imperialism, again gained the upper hand. During 1967-68, mass marches of hungry, unemployed sugar workers attacked municipal offices and seized sugar mills. A number of the old Peronist CGT bureaucrats were replaced by revolutionary workers.

The Revolutionary Workers party (PRT) was founded in 1964 by several diverse political groupings. At the time of the sugar workers marches, the PRT decided to embark on armed struggle; in July 1970 it founded the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). "With the foundation of the ERP," PRT leaders told Prensa Latina last January, "a military plan was drawn up whose main purpose was to make the organization, its program and objectives known to the masses. It was principally a period of armed propaganda."

The PRT, although associated with the Fourth (Trotskyist) International, has attempted to assimilate the thinking of the most advanced Marxist-Leninists around the world: "The PRT, which leads the ERP, defines itself ideologically as Marxist-Leninist and it assimiliates the teachings of revolutionaries from other countries among them those of Major Che Guevara, Trotsky, Kim Il Sung, Mao Tsetung, Ho Chi Minh, Gen. Giap, etc."

They also maintain relations with Peronist groups engaged in armed struggle in Argentina including the Peronist FAR, Monteneros (right-wing Peronists) and the FAP, largest of the three. At the same time, the PRT sees itself as a socialist "alternative to Peronism." In an interview in the January-February New Left Review, PRT leaders called Peronism, "an alliance of three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class. Ideologically, its policies are national-capitalist. The Peronist guerrillas . . . are the popular sector of the movement. . . . As the class struggle intensifies, Peronism will divide. . . . The revolution in Argentina will be made with Peronist workers, but the leadership will not be Peronist but socialist."

"Argentina," they said, "is capitalist and semi-colonial. The bourgeoisie is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism—there is no 'national' bourgeoisie to promote independent capitalist development, the fight is for socialism. The bourgeoisie cannot lead the revolution, only the working class can make the revolution."

Roots in workers' movement

Under the leadership of the ERP-PRT and other left forces the highly organized and class-conscious Argentinian workers have staged massive strikes and demonstrations. In May 1969 uprisings in the city of Cordoba took place against repression and declines in wages. Workers took over their neigh-

STATINTL

[redacted]

HOUSTON, TEXAS
POST

M - 294,677
S - 329,710
APR 20 1972

U.S. inflation could trigger revolution, soil expert says

Claude Fly, an agronomist who was held captive seven months by Tupamaro rebels in Uruguay, warned downtown Kiwanians Wednesday that inflation could cause revolution in this country as surely as poverty can cause it in Latin America.

He said the ruling oligarchy in many Latin American countries made off with as much as a billion and a half dollars a year, while 90 per cent of the population lives on from $70 to $800 a year.

In the U.S., Fly said, private, public and corporate debts total some $3 trillion while the country's net worth is only $2 trillion.

Latin American resentment of the U.S., he said, stems from U.S. investment there where companies reap profits ranging from 100 to 270 per cent.

Fly has been "lent" by the U.S. to 21 different countries to tell them how to use their soil.

He was on such a mission when kidnaped from his office outside Montevideo Aug. 7, 1970. Fly was kept in a steel wire cage with 15 inches of stand-up space where he was "suspended in time and space" for 208 days.

He said his regimen of mental and physical exercise impressed his rebel guards, who "thought they had a CIA agent but found they had a common old Aggie."

A heart attack Feb. 22, 1971 triggered his release after all other efforts failed, and Fly gives credit to prayer by himself and others. He was flown home March 28.

Touching on American firms in trouble in Chile, he said that any foreign company must be ready to leave Latin America within 15 to 20 years.

He said there was still room for firms that give as well as take.

TOPEKA, KAN.
CAPITAL
M - 66,164
CAPITAL-JOURNAL
S - 70,851
FEB 25 1972

Fly Recalls Kidnap Story In Manhattan

The Capital-Journal State Staff

MANHATTAN—Dr. Claude Fly felt a lot better when the Uruguayan rebels who kidnaped and held him 208 days last yeear relazide he was nothing like a CIA agent, "just a plain old Aggie."

When rebels ceased harassing him, he had a lot of time to think in the close confines of his basement cage. Thursday, Fly, a soil conservationist, shared some of his thoughts with Kansas State University students at a convocation.

Wednesday night was his time for reunion as he told old Manhattan friends from 20 years ago how it was to survive the kidnaping and a heart attack while captive.

Similarities Seen

After reiterating statements from Wednesday on how religious faith preserved his sanity and on the role U.S. business had played in degrading life for the common Latin American, Fly told students of similarities here and in South America.

Fly claimed the saddest result in Uruguay has been the destruction of one of the more viable middle classes in South America by an expensive, idealistic welfare program.

Receives Plaque

Fly predicted more dangers for the United States in the current turn of society against changes wrought by science and technology in areas like agricultural chemicals and space exploration.

Fly warned that scientists must assume some social responsibility to present their side of the story instead of being consumed in projects.

Thursday night in Manhattan, Fly was presented a plaque for his contribution to good land practices in Kansas by the Soil Conservation Society of America.

MIAMI, FLA.
HERALD DEC 6 1974
M - 380,828
S - 479,025

Jack Kofoed Says

Ingersoll Successor To J. Edgar Hoover?

RUMOR has it that J. Edgar Hoover will end his long and distinguished career as head of the FBI soon and be succeeded by John Ingersoll, head of the Bureau of Narcotics . . .

THE CIA has a bad press anywhere, and it's getting worse in South America. Its man Dan Mitrione, who was murdered in Uruguay, was generally regarded there as a torture specialist for the intelligence agency. True or not, that's the reputation of the CIA . . .

RAMPARTS
SEP 1971

Latin America: The Left on the Move

by John Gerassi [redacted]

IN OCTOBER 1967, WASHINGTON counter-insurgency experts were understandably jubilant. With the death of Che Guevara and the failure of the Bolivian revolutionary *foco*, they thought serious left-wing agitation in Latin America would end—at least for the forseeable future. In fact it did the very opposite. In Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, while Che's death did indeed lead to the abandonment of his continental theory of revolution, it also stimulated new revolutionary thought and groups, and brought the struggle in less than four years to dramatic and unexpected results. In all five of these countries today, the left is either on the road to power or in the process of consolidating actual victories. It is no longer trying self-consciously to mimic the Cuban experience, no longer courageously (but inopportunely) launching rural guerrilla adventures, no longer voluntaristically declaiming that the objective conditions for revolution need only the development of subjective leadership. Rather the left is now soundly grounding its strategy and tactics in local reality; and that reality, although it varies in all five countries, seems to exclude precisely the Che (Regis Debray) model of guerrilla *foco*.

BECAUSE OF THE TUPAMAROS' spectacular exploits, it is Uruguay which has received most publicity. Indeed the *Tupas* have repeatedly robbed supposedly impregnable banks and gambling casinos, assaulted police headquarters, kidnapped high government officials, captured official radio stations long enough to broadcast 12-minute manifestoes, and, in general, convinced the country's 2.9 million people that they are invincible—despite massive US counter-insurgency aid to the government. But most importantly, the *Tupas* have helped radicalize that population, so much so that today all liberal and left-wing forces are united in one formidable front and that has been *Tupamaros'* strategy from the beginning.

Organized by socialist party cadremen as early as 1961, the *Tupamaros*, which are armed forces of the clandestine Movement of National Liberation (MLN), never intended to seize power simply through violence. Their goal was, and is, to help build a mass political consciousness. Until 1963 their activity was limited to helping the non-unionized and exploited sugar workers of interior Uruguay to win bread-and-butter demands. Only when the government veered sharply to the right, broke relations with Cuba, installed press censorship and launched widespread repression did the *Tupas* begin their "retaliation." Although some of the money they stole went to help finance their own activities, much was distributed to the needy. By making public the official documents they seized in banks or ministries, the *Tupas* exposed government corruption and showed up the collusion existing between the rich, the USAID programs, and the elected officials. In exchange for the release of kidnapped officials, the *Tupas* forced the government to distribute food to the needy and, in one dramatic case, to build a free workers clinic, winning the population's admiration and a great deal of cooperation as well.

"From 1967 on," one *Tupa* told me in Montevideo last June, "we were strong enough to seize power. But what good would that have done? The gorillas [right-wing generals] in Argentina and Brazil would have descended on tiny Uruguay and crushed us. Besides, the people might have cheered us, but would not have fought for us. Our people have to learn that it is for themselves that they are fighting. They have to *want* power. That takes years of politicization. We have to wait." Waiting, of course, has been costly not only to the government but to the *Tupas* themselves. The police also are learning from the struggle, and, as it has been intensified, the *Tupas* have begun to suffer serious losses. Scores have been killed, and there are currently over 100 in jail, including Raúl Sendic, once a socialist party official and one of the original leaders of the MLN. Also, as US counter-insurgency experts have taken over command of the hunt, torture has become a standard part of the government's retaliation. That was why the *Tupas* executed Dan Mitrione, the CIA's super-sleuth, whose office was in Montevideo's police headquarters.

With general elections scheduled for this November, it is campaign time in Uruguay now. In the past, only two parties have jockeyed for power: the *Blancos* (Whites), by and large representing the landed population and the *Colorados* (Reds), strong especially in Montevideo, where half of Uruguay's people live. But now a third party will be on the ballot, a united front which is so vast that it has official support from Moscow to Rome, joining together under a single banner the Communist and Christian Democratic parties, as well as Trotskyists, anarchists, pro-*Tupamaro* militants, left liberals and dissidents from the two major parties. The *Frente Amplio* offers none of the usual "advantages" (pork barrel posts, concessions, contracts, etc.) in exchange for votes; presidential candidate, General Liber Seregni, who once ruled Montevideo's army but resigned when ordered to use his troops for repression, promises only hard times ahead. Yet in a few short months, and starting from scratch with neither the press nor the airwaves in its favor, the *Frente* has become the front-runner, so much so that there is a great deal of talk that Pacheco will cancel the election. "That is why we will not

continued

READERS' DIGEST
SEP 1971

Only disciplined faith and an unfeigned love for his fellow man enabled the kidnaped American to survive his captivity in the hands of these determined Uruguayan guerrillas

Claude Fly's Seven-Month Nightmare

BY PAUL FRIGGENS

IN THE morning of August 7, 1970, kindly, soft-spoken Claude L. Fly kissed his wife, Miriam, good-by and set out as usual for his laboratory office in the Ministry of Agriculture on the outskirts of Montevideo, Uruguay. The distinguished, 65-year-old U.S. soils expert had come to Uruguay at that government's urgent request. His mission: to help—as he had helped 21 other countries—that economically troubled nation of three million to improve its agriculture.

As he rode to work, Fly was mindful of the U.S. embassy's warning that three U.S. citizens had been assaulted in the preceding week by a band of urban guerrillas known as the Tupamaros. Two of the Americans escaped, but one, Daniel A. Mitrione, an Indiana police expert who, like Fly, was advising the government, had been kidnaped. Also abducted was Brazilian consul Aloysio Dias Gomide. But Fly was not unduly alarmed. "After all," he had said in casual conversation with a Uruguayan colleague, "what would the Tupamaros possibly want with an old soils man like me?"

At his laboratory, Fly plunged into a conference with his Uruguayan counterpart, Prof. Luisi De Leon. Abruptly at 9:40, five men in street clothes burst into the tiny office, drew guns and hustled Fly out a back door. The American struggled, but De Leon shouted: "Don't fight! They'll shoot to kill."

Outside, the guerrillas quickly blindfolded Fly, then bound him hand and foot. He was shoved into a large burlap sack and dumped into the back of a battered pickup truck. The kidnapers climbed into the cab of the truck and sped away.

Thus began for Claude Fly an incredible 208-day ordeal, and for Uruguayans another chapter in the Tupamaros' seven-year struggle to overthrow the elected government of their country. Just a week before, the Tupamaros (the name comes from an 18th-century Inca chieftain renowned as a leader of oppressed people against Spanish rule) had demanded that some 150 political prisoners be freed in exchange for Mitrione and Gomide. Immediately after Fly was hauled away, they telephoned a local radio station and warned: unless their demands were met the scientist faced the same fate—death—as did the other two.

"Malice Toward None." After a long, jolting ride over winding, cobbled streets, the bruised and exhausted Fly was half-carried, half-dragged, into an old, apparently abandoned building. There his captors stripped off the sack, removed blindfold and bindings, and shoved him through a hole into a dungeon-like hideout beneath the floor. "The space was only about three and a half feet deep," Fly recalls, "and I had to bend over to crawl to a blanket-covered cot in one corner. Then my kidnapers clamped a lid over the hole and left me to meditate on my fate in darkness and terror."

Fly had only recently recovered from viral pneumonia, and was soon shivering and coughing badly in the damp, chill hideout. The next morning, his guards pulled him from the hole and gave him a cot in the empty room above, plus his first meal—chunks of beef, potatoes and tea, heated over a blowtorch.

Sometime during his third night in captivity, again bound and blindfolded, Fly was removed to a second hideout, where he found himself padlocked inside a 4-by-6½-foot cage built of two-by-fours covered with strong steel-wire mesh. The sole furnishings were a lumpy cot and a bucket for sanitary facilities. There was barely room to walk, but he could stand. Fly stretched and flexed his taut muscles with relief.

Meanwhile, Uruguayan President Jorge Pacheco Areco had steadfastly refused to negotiate with what he called common criminals. Fly's family and friends found momentary relief in a handwritten note the kidnapers had delivered from the scientist to his fearful wife: "Please don't worry. I am well. Pray for me and wait. They give me enough to eat." But the good news proved short-lived, for at about the same time it was announced that the Tupamaros had executed Mitrione. He was found blindfolded and shot in the head and back, in a bloodstained car parked in one of the city's middle-class residential sections.

Unaware of the murder, Fly paced his wire cage and began to size up his captors. Until now, his knowledge of the Tupamaros had been scant, but he soon discovered that the guerrillas (perhaps 3000 all told) operated through cells or action groups. "Only one or two members in each cell knew anyone in another cell, so that if captured they could not reveal the hideouts of others," he says. "They never addressed each other by name, only by 'Comrade' or some similar term." Apparently they ran the gamut of Uruguayan life, from laborers to university faculty members to college-age young men and women to professional men. His guards were mostly middle-class young men and women of college age, with a few older, gangster-type leaders mixed in.

Fly was immediately accused of being a CIA agent, and grilled intensely. The terrorists produced as evidence the technical soils manual that Fly had just authored. They pored over its contents, seeking proof of espionage, but in the end it proved harmless, as did Fly's per-

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DENVER, COLO.
POST
APR 7 1973
E - 252,198
S - 344,155

Dr. Fly Denies Rumor He Was Agent of CIA

FORT COLLINS, Colo.—Dr. Claude Fly, who was held captive seven months by the Tupamaro guerrillas in Uruguay, said Wednesday there's no truth to reports that he was a Central Intelligence Agency agent.

"I'm a private citizen, and I was under contract to the Uruguayan government as a soil consultant," Fly said. He added that he didn't know how the rumor started. The reports first were published in underground newspapers in New York.

Fly spoke to members of the press at a news conference Wednesday morning. It was his first meeting with reporters since he was released and returned to Fort Collins March 28.

Fly said there were times during his captivity that he "thought my time was up." He said the guerrillas didn't abuse him physically, but movements he heard, including the rattle of machine guns less than three feet away from his cell, made him apprehensive.

Fly said he thought his release was a result of two factors: The guerrillas already had told him that he would be released shortly after the Brazilian counsel would be released, and only two days after they made that statement he suffered a heart attack.

The eighth day after the heart attack they left him at the hospital.

Fly said when the Tupamaros kidnaped him seven months ago, they came to his soil laboratory, walked in, blindfolded him and tied him up, put him in a pickup truck, and was taken to a place he thought might have been the cellar of an abandoned building.

He was later placed in a small cell. He said he didn't know what was going on in the outside world and only now is beginning to hear about the other kidnapings.

The political kidnapings in Uruguay haven't helped the cause of the Tupamaros, Fly said.

He said he plans to rest and recuperate before considering any future job. He said he wouldn't be interested in going back to Uruguay unless the political situation there improved.

He said he believes three things accounted for the leniency shown him by his kidnapers. First, he wasn't connected with the U.S. government or the CIA, or any other government agency. Second, the work he did toward bettering soil conditions was of such nature that it "benefitted all the people of Uruguay." Third, Fly said, "I tried to be a model prisoner. I gave them no trouble at all."

Not all reporters who attended the press conference were admitted into Fly's apartment. Those who weren't admitted listened to a tape recording of the interview.

Reporters who saw Fly said he looked well and appeared to be in fairly good physical condition.

WASHINGTON POST
7 APR 1971

Masses Spurn Tupamaro Zeal

By George W. Grayson

Associate professor of government at the College of William and Mary, Grayson specializes in Latin American politics and visits South America frequently.

TWICE IN LESS than two weeks, Uruguay's Tupamaro guerrillas have released kidnaped foreigners — one upon payment of ransom, and the other apparently because they feared they had a dying man on their hands.

On the night of Feb. 21, Aloysio Mares Dias Gomide, Brazil's consul in Montevideo, was let out of a car in the fashionable riverside section of the capital after more than 200 days captivity. His wife had sent the guerrillas $300,000 raised through television appeals.

Last Tuesday night, Tupamaros in a Volkswagen bus left Claude L. Fly, an American soils expert also kidnaped last summer, on a stretcher at the gate of the British hospital in Montevideo. He had suffered a heart attack several days earlier, and a heart specialist kidnaped to treat him was freed with him. Both were blindfolded.

Still held in a "people's prison" by the 1,000 young men and women of the Tupamaros, who also call themselves the National Liberation Movement (MLN), is Geoffrey M.S. Jackson, British ambassador to Uruguay, grabbed Jan. 8. A fourth prisoner is dead: the body of Daniel A. Mitrione, chief U.S. adviser to the Uruguayan police, was found in an abandoned auto Aug. 10 after President Jorge Pacheco Areco, a "no ransom" stalwart, refused to release 150 jailed Tupamaros in exchange for him. He had been shot twice in the head.

The abductors apparently killed Mitrione rather than the others because the Italian-born policeman knew more about their operations than any other American; he was believed to have urged the Uruguayan police to torture imprisoned Tupamaros, and he allegedly served as an FBI agent in the Dominican Republic at the time of the 1963 invasion, as adviser to the Brazilian secret police DOPS and as an intelligence agent, according to Julius Mader's potboiler "Who's Who in CIA."

Armaments First

CONVINCED THAT Uruguay's welfare state, with its "come back tomorrow" bureaucracy, [illegible] population and sagging, export-dependent economy, could never provide social justice for the masses, the middle-class MLN first struck against the system July 31, 1963, when it crashed into the rural Club de Tiros Suizo, a Uruguayan gun lovers' organization, and made off with 31 rifles and two carbines, most of which had been furnished by the army.

The guerrillas went on to bomb the offices of Bayer, a German chemical supplier of the Vietnam war, in August, 1965; burn the General Motors headquarters in Montevideo to protest Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's 1969 visit; "expropriate" $200,000 from Punta del Este's swank Casino San Rafael a few months later; steal the antenna of the anti-Castro Radio Ariel, and stage a holdup comparable to England's Great Train Robbery when they robbed the Banco de la Republica of millions of pesos in cash and jewelry last November.

These are only a few of the exploits of the Tupamaros, whose emblem is a "T" in a five-pointed star and whose name derives from Tupac Amaru II, a descendant of Inca royalty who was quartered by the Spanish in 1781 after he led an abortive uprising against them.

The Tupamaros have spurned the Castro-Guevara-Debray "revolution-springs-from-the-countryside" theory and share the ideas of Brazilian Communist Carlos Marighella, who wrote the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," which enjoins guerrillas to strike within cities, where most of the hemisphere's people, wealth and commerce is clotted. Marighella, killed in a police ambush Nov. 4, 1969, advocated formation of aggressive "firing groups" composed of "no more than four or five" persons who had prepared themselves physically through "hiking, camping and practice in survival in the woods, mountain climbing, rowing, swimming, skin diving, training as a frogman, fishing, harpooning and the hunting of birds, small and big game."

Ambush, sabotage, bombings, kidnapings and sniping are urged for urban terrorists, who should be adept at using "Molotov cocktails, gasoline, homemade contrivances," shotguns, revolvers and light machine guns (the INA 45-caliber is recommended). Especially urged is "the killing of a North American spy, of an agent of the dictatorship [illegible] cist personality involved in crimes and persecutions against patriots, of a stool pigeon informer, police agent or provocateur." Executions should be performed "by one sniper, patiently, alone and unknown, and operating in absolute secrecy and in cold blood."

The Tupamaros' kidnaping of foreigners has resulted in one death, that of Daniel A. Mitrione, chief adviser to the Uruguayan police, who was found shot last August.

A Widespread Following

A NUMBER of groups seem enamored of the Brazilian's ideas. Besides the MLN, Labor Solidarity, the Commandos of the R and the Eastern Revolutionary Armed Front have declared war on the Uruguayan government, according to the Chilean Jesuit monthly Mensaje. MR-8, National Liberation Action and the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, which in January exchanged Swiss Ambassador Giovanni Enrico Bucher for 70 "subversive" prisoners, torment Brazil's right-wing dictatorship. And the Revolutionary Leftist Movement (MIR) operates in Chile, where the election of Marxist President Salvador Allende has served to de-escalate but not halt the violence.

Terrorist acts have a number of objectives: to initiate the perpetrators as enemies of the system and heighten their sense of mission; to liquidate ranking police and military officials; to generate friction between the Latin American regime and that of the captive; to halt torture of prisoners; to [illegible] government between the soft- and hard-lin-

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ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT
5 March 1971

[redacted]

St. Louisan Will Fulfil Pledge to Fly's Kidnapers

[redacted]

By CHARLES STAPLES
Globe-Democrat Staff Writer

A St. Louis professor who helped free agronomist Claude L. Fly from Uruguayan guerrillas will go to Mexico in April to publicize the guerillas' manifesto so they won't arrange to kill nine of the professor's friends in Argentina.

Kenneth F. Johnson, professor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and a specialist in Latin American politics, formerly taught at Catholic University in Argentina. He corresponded with guerrillas in Argentina to arrange the release of the 65-year-old American soil expert held by Uruguayan guerrillas.

LATER JOHNSON was informed that if he did not publicize the manifesto, nine of his Argentinian friends would be slain.

Fly was kidnapped by the guerrillas Aug. 7. He was released Tuesday, 10 days after suffering a mild heart attack. He had been working on a soil survey for the country.

Johnson was sought out by Fly's family because of his Latin American connections, to help secure the victim's release. The professo corresponded with the Urguayan Tupamaros guerrillas through the Argentinian guerrillas, during a visit to Argentina in September.

He said the guerrillas, once convinced by him that Fly was not a CIA agent, only wanted to figure out a way to publicize their cause and release Fly as well.

Initially the guerrillas demanded the release of 150 political prisoners, which the government refused, Johnson said. They then said they would release Fly upon newspaper publication of their manifesto charging the right-wing government of President Pacheco Areco with suppression of the people.

THE PUBLICATION, was refused and the guerrillas then demanded a $1 million ransom for Fly. Johnson told the extremist group they would "ruin themselves in the eyes of the world" if Fly died because of the capture.

Johnson offered to exchange himself for Fly, or to arrange for Fly's son John to take the man's place as hostage.

Three weeks ago Johnson offered to publish the manifesto through friends at the France Press News Agency in mexico City if Fly was released.

He said his latest letter from the Urguayan guerrillas—via his Argentinian contacts—said if he did not carry out the plan nine of his friends in Argentina would be killed.

He said the manifesto would be sent to Mexico City and conveyed secretly to him in St. Louis.

"I want the CIA to leave it alone, because if they interfere with it, there will be nine people dead in Argentina."

He said the guerrillas mainly wanted publicity, and while he condemns the kidnapping and violence, he said, "as long as the U.S. keeps sending military aid down there the people will be oppressed."

DENVER, COLO.
POST

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S - 344,155
MAR 3 1971

Fly 'Link to CIA' Discounted

Articles in two underground newspapers contend that American agronomist Claude L. Fly may have been held captive by Tuparmaro guerrillas because he is an agent for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

However, official sources say this is untrue and that the story is a fake.

The Sept. 25, 1970, issue of Good Times, a newspaper published in San Francisco, stated:

"Though hunted, the guerrillas still hold two hostages kidnaped in early August, a Brazilian consul and the U.S. agricultural adviser, Claude Fly.

"They claim that Mitrione (Dan Mitrione, a former Richmond, Ind., police chief, who was training Uruguay officers under the sponsorship of the Agency for International Development's office of public safety, and who was kidnaped and killed) gave them a list of CIA agents operating in Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay. Fly is said to be the top director of these agents. It was this confession that led to his kidnaping a week after Mitrione's."

The Oct. 19, 1970, issue of "Liberated Guardian," an underground newspaper published in New York, takes up this theme. An article attributed to the North American Congress on Latin America states:

"According to an article in Marcha, a weekly Uruguayan paper, while tripping out on a little pentathol, Big Dan (Mitrione) spilled the names of several CIA agents in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay—and who happened to be the head pig in this merry entourage?

"You guessed it, that innocent agronomist, Claude Fly. Fly, supposedly a conservationist working for a Uruguayan firm, was really the CIA head for the region."

However, in Washington, D.C., a top aide to Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, who heads the Senate subcommittee on western hemisphere affairs, said the story is a fake.

Tom Dine, Church's legislative assistant, noted that the CIA doesn't have regions. He said also that to his knowledge, Fly isn't an agent.

Dine added, however, that the church subcommittee will look into Mitrione's involvement in Latin America. "The senator doubts that the office of public safety operates in the best U.S. interests," he said.

"The Case of Dan Mitrione" was discussed by the Rev. Louis M. Colonnesse, director of the Roman Catholic Church's Latin American bureau, in the October issue of World View. An aide said there appeared to be nothing to substantiate the CIA-link to Fly.

WASHINGTON STAR
11 NOV 1970

Two Captives In Uruguay Interviewed

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay (AP) — After weeks of silence, the Tupamaro guerrillas have again let some information filter out about the American agronomist and the Brazilian consul they kidnaped more than three months ago.

An Argentine news magazine published an interview with Claude L. Fly, the American soil analyst kidnnaped by the guerrillas Aug. 7, and Aloysio Mares Dias Gomide, the Brazilian consul abducted July 31.

Uruguayan police reported receiving a letter from Fly that said: "We are innocent victims of conflicting political forces within a foreign country in which there is growing hate for the U.S. business interests because of what they are doing or have done."

The letter was typed and stamped with the Tupamaros' emblem, a five-pointed star in a circle. Fly's wife said it appeared authentic.

The interview was by Vivianne Koestler of Panorama magazine. She said Dias Gomide expressed hope he might be released but also expressed fear he might be killed as was a third captive, Dan A. Mitrione, an American adviser to Uruguayan police. Mitrione was kidnaped July 31 and was slain after the Uruguayan government refused to free a large number of prisoners as ransom.

Miss Koestler said she asked Fly if he was a CIA agent, and he replied: "That's an absurdity." But she said he told her that some other technicans sent to Latin America "did not come as I have come."

Dias Gomide said he and Mitrione were in the same room for about five days at the beginning of their captivity but were separated by a dark curtain and unable to see each other.

"We were able to speak a word or two," Dias Gomide said. "He was wounded. I heard how they cured him."

When the Tupamaros kidnaped Fly, Dias Gomide and Mitrione, they demanded freedom for all convicts they considered political prisoners in exchange for the release of their captives. Later they said they would release one or both of the surviving hostages if the government would permit a guerrilla manifesto to be published in local newspapers. The government also refused this demand.

Mrs. Fly, who has appealed repeatedly for publication of the manifesto, said after reading the latest letter purportedly written by her husband: "We are back where we started. It is the same plea for publication of the manifesto."

ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST-DISPATCH

E - 333,224
S - 558,018
OCT 25 1970

The Ironical Case Of U.S. Hostage

By ROBERT SANFORD
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

CLAUDE L. FLY, an American soil expert, was kidnaped by guerrillas in Uruguay on Aug. 7 and has not been released. His forced captivity, plus the killing of another American, has brought a proclaimed state of siege in Uruguay. Numerous government officials have resigned and several critics of the government have been arrested.

An irony pervades the case. It is that Fly in no way fits the leftist stereotype of a Yankee imperialist agent. He is simply an agricultural expert whose work benefits all the people. He was engaged in a soil survey and analysis, a two-year project, and he was about eight months into it.

Those who have been involved in the case believe that the leftist guerrillas — called Tupamaros after an Indian name — quickly realized that they had the wrong sort of man for a political prisoner. Fly's friends believe that the Tupamaros would like to release him if they could find a way to do so and still save face. They have given terms: release of Fly in return for publication of an antigovernment manifesto in major newspapers and its broadcast on television and radio stations.

BUT THE situation remains at an impasse. The government, under President Jorge Pacheco Areco, refuses to deal with the Tupamaros and concentrates its efforts on trying to catch them.

Fly, 65 years old, was kidnaped a week after the Tupamaros kidnaped Daniel A. Mitrione, 51, an American adviser to police, and Brazilian consul Aloysio Dias Gomide, 41. Two days after Fly was taken hostage the guerrillas killed Mitrione. They made it known that Fly and the Brazilian were safe.

Originally, the guerrillas demanded the release of 150 so-called political prisoners. Pacheco refused, saying that the prisoners were common criminals. In Fly's case, then, the demands were reduced to the printing of the manifesto.

The Department of State did not press Pacheco to concede to the release of prisoners on the ground that it would only encourage more political abductions. But when the demands were changed, the United States Government tried privately to persuade Pacheco to comply.

THE U.S. ambassador spoke with Pacheco and wrote him a letter. There were communications at many levels, including a letter from President Richard M. Nixon to Pacheco.

State Department officials say that these communications made the point that the guerrilla demands no longer were extreme and even could be considered reasonable. There was bitter controversy in the Uruguayan government about what to do. In the end Pacheco and his no-deal policy won.

Complicating the issue, several of the newspapers in Uruguay said they would not print the manifesto even if ordered to do so. On the other hand, a few papers printed it. Fly's son, John, said he was told that two editors were jailed for printing it.

The United States mission in Montevideo placed film clips of a family appeal on television stations. Included were appeals from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and from an official of Afghanistan, where Fly had worked earlier.

THESE APPEALS reasoned that Fly was a valuable agricultural specialist whose work has helped improve the lot of all people and that he should be freed.

John Fly is a graduate student at Colorado State University, Fort Collins. He and a professor there, Duane Hill, have tried to enlist aid in getting Fly released.

In their efforts to get some sort of action they approached Kenneth F. Johnson, visiting associate professor in political science at the University of Missouri at St. Louis. Prof. Johnson's specialty is Latin American political movements. He has taught at the Catholic University of Argentina and has some acquaintances in opposition political forces there. John Fly and Hill asked Johnson to go to Buenos Aires — just across the river from Uruguay — and try to make contact with the Tupamaros. Johnson went there last month.

"Through friends in Buenos Aires I was able to get some messages through," Johnson said. "I believe I helped create an atmosphere in which it is unlikely that the Tupamaros will harm Fly. We have been concerned about his health. I offered [illegible] hostage. This was refused. I asked if they wanted money. They did not."

PROF. JOHNSON said he believed that he had secured assurance that the guerrillas would not harm Fly. On one occasion, he said, Tupamaros robbed a drug store and left word that they had stolen medicine for Fly. On another occasion they took over a theater, holding the audience inside, showed some slides giving their side of the Fly manifesto, answered some questions about it and then left.

Expenses of Johnson's trip were paid by a Colorado committee for Fly's release. Last week a Texas committee was formed (Fly was born in Texas) and Houston investor Paul E. Wise has offered to pay expenses for John Fly to go to Montevideo to join his mother, who has remained there, in making an appeal to the guerrillas. Wise has asked the White House that President Nixon intervene to try to free Fly.

Johnson, Hill and John Fly have become critical of the State Department. John Fly fears that the U.S. interest in his father has waned.

JOHNSON BELIEVES that the Fly case brings into question the general policy of U.S. aid to Latin America. He points out that in the nine years since the Alliance for Progress was begun, 13 constitutional governments have been overthrown and today in 11 Latin American republics military governments rule, supported by millions of dollars in American military assistance.

Claude Fly is an employe of International Development Services, a private corporation. His work for the Uruguayan government is financed by a loan from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Johnson says the image of the AID organization has been sullied by links with the Central Intelligence Agency. To many in Latin America, he says, the U.S. AID program seems to be simply support for the oligarchy. The democratic image of the United States is difficult to sustain, he says, when "we give full support to governments such as that in Brazil where basic human rights are denied and political prisoners are tortured."

BUFFALO, N.Y.
NEWS

E - 281,982

AUG 5 1970

Terrorists Release Uruguayan Judge, Still Holding Two

From News Wire Services

MONTEVIDEO Uruguay, Aug. 5 — Left-wing guerillas Tuesday night released a kidnaped criminal judge after a week's captivity but today still held a wounded United States security official and a Brazilian diplomat.

The Tupamaros urban guerilla organization, which abducted all three last week, freed Judge Daniel Pereira Manelli unharmed at a suburban crossroads and then rang his court clerk to tell him where he could be found.

Judge Manelli, who in recent months has handled nearly all cases dealing with Tupamaros, was kidnaped from his home July 28 by three armed guerillas who told his wife: "All we want is a long chat."

Swap Rejected

The Tupamaros Friday abducted Daniel A. Mitrione, 50, of Roswell, N. M., an employe of the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) and adviser to the Uruguayan government on security techniques, and Aloysio Mares Dias Gomides, 41, second secretary at the Brazilian Embassy and assistant consul general.

In a communique Sunday the guerillas demanded that the government release all jailed political prisoners — numbering about 150 — in exchange for the two diplomats' release. But the government rejected the swap as "extortion against the legally-constituted government."

Questioned About CIA

The judge said his abductors interrogated him "exhaustively" about his handling of cases involving Tupamaro members. He added that they had not informed him of the other two kidnapings.

The kidnapers charged that the judge was offered a bribe by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency to turn down appeals made by two jailed Tupamaros.

The U. S. and Brazilian governments today were reported pressing President Jorge Pacheco Areco to negotiate with the guerillas for the two men still held.