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LETTER DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1967 FROM THE ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS

In the absence of the Secretary General and in accordance with paragraph 15 of resolution III, adopted by the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to transmit to you, for the information of the Security Council, copies, in English and Spanish, of the Final Act (Doc. 71 Rev.), and copies of the reports of Committees I and II of the said Meeting of Consultation (Doc. 22 Corr.2 and Doc. 26 Corr.).

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) William SANDERS  
Assistant Secretary General

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ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
**TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.

1967



Doc. 71 (English) Rev.  
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FINAL ACT OF THE  
TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
CONVOKED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FIRST PART OF ARTICLE 39 AND WITH  
ARTICLE 40 OF THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

FINAL ACT OF THE  
TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
CONVOKED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FIRST PART OF ARTICLE 39 AND WITH  
ARTICLE 40 OF THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, convoked in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, was held at the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., from June 19 to September 24, 1967.

The Meeting was convoked through a resolution of the Council of the Organization of American States adopted on June 5, 1967, which read as follows:

WHEREAS:

On June 1, 1967, the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, addressed a note to the Chairman of the Council, by which his government requested that a Meeting of Consultation be urgently convoked, in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, to consider "the serious situation confronting the member states of this Organization as a consequence of the attitude of the present Government of Cuba, which is carrying out a policy of persistent intervention in their internal affairs with violation of their sovereignty and integrity, by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in the territory of various states, with the deliberate aim of destroying the principles of the inter-American system";

The Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, has provided the information on which that request was based; and

Article 39 of the Charter provides that "The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be held in order to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States, . . ."

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To convoke, in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics to consider the said situation.

2. To appoint a committee of nine members, to be designated by the Chairman of the Council, to make recommendations regarding the agenda, date, place, and regulations for that meeting.

3. To inform the United Nations Security Council of the text of this resolution, in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the operative part of the resolution transcribed above, the Chairman of the Council, on that same day, appointed the delegations of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela to make up that committee, which later elected the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, as its chairman.

At the meeting of the Council of the Organization held on June 15, 1967, this committee submitted a report on the agenda, date, place, and regulations for the Meeting (Doc. 5), and a resolution was adopted in which the following agenda was proposed for the Meeting, which agenda was approved by the opening plenary session held on June 19, 1967:

1. The situation confronting the member states of the Organization of American States as a consequence of the attitude of the present Government of Cuba, which is carrying out a policy of persistent intervention in their internal affairs with violation of their sovereignty and integrity, by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in the territory of various states, with the deliberate aim of destroying the principles of the inter-American system.

In the same resolution adopted on June 15, 1967, the Council set June 19, 1967, as the opening date for the Meeting and designated the Pan American Union as the place for it.

The deliberations of the Meeting were governed by the Regulations of the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs prepared by the Council of the Organization on March 1, 1951, and approved by the Meeting with certain transitory provisions applicable to it.

The Meeting was attended, from June 19 through September 21, 1967, by special delegates of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs (Doc. 17), and beginning September 22, 1967, the following members of the Meeting, listed in the order of precedence established by lot, participated:

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| ECUADOR | His Excellency Julio Prado Vallejo<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| CHILE   | His Excellency Gabriel Valdés S.<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs   |



|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| ARGENTINA                 | His Excellency Nicanor Costa Méndez<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship                              |
| COSTA RICA                | His Excellency Fernando Lara Bustamante<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs                                      |
| COLOMBIA                  | His Excellency Germán Zea Hernández<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs  |
| URUGUAY                   | His Excellency Héctor Luisi<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs  |
| THE DOMINICAN<br>REPUBLIC | His Excellency Fernando Amiana Tió<br>Secretary of Foreign Affairs  |
| VENEZUELA                 | His Excellency Ignacio Iribarren Borges<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs                                      |
| GUATEMALA                 | His Excellency Emilio Arenales Catalán<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs                                       |
| PERU                      | His Excellency Edgardo Seoane Corrales<br>Minister of State in the Office of Foreign<br>Affairs             |
| MEXICO                    | His Excellency Antonio Carrillo Flores<br>Secretary of Foreign Affairs                                      |
| HAITI                     | His Excellency Fern D. Baguidy<br>Ambassador, Representative of Haiti on the<br>Council of the Organization |
| BOLIVIA                   | His Excellency Walter Guevara Arze<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs   |
| PANAMA                    | His Excellency Fernando Eleta A.<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs   |
| PARAGUAY                  | His Excellency Raúl Sapena Pastor<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs  |
| BRAZIL                    | His Excellency José de Magalhães Pinto<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs                                       |
| TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO       | His Excellency A. N. R. Robinson<br>Minister of External Affairs  |
| THE UNITED STATES         | The Honorable Dean Rusk<br>Secretary of State   |

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| EL SALVADOR | His Excellency Alfredo Martínez Moreno<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs  |
| HONDURAS    | His Excellency Tiburcio Carías Castillo<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| NICARAGUA   | His Excellency Lorenzo Guerrero<br>Minister of Foreign Affairs         |

His Excellency José A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, also attended the Meeting.

As established in the Regulations of the Meeting, the Secretary of the Council of the Organization of American States, Dr. William Sanders, served as Secretary General of the Meeting, and the Secretary General of the Organization appointed Mr. Santiago Ortiz as Assistant Secretary General of the Meeting.

In accordance with the Regulations of the Meeting, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States installed the opening session on the afternoon of June 19, 1967. At this session, His Excellency Eduardo Ritter Aislán, Special Delegate of Panama, was elected President of the Meeting. Also, the agreements reached at the preliminary session with respect to the Agenda and Regulations of the Meeting and the membership of the Committee on Credentials and the Coordinating and Drafting Committee were ratified.

At the same opening session, a resolution was adopted, authorizing appointment of a committee "to go to Venezuela to gather additional information and to make such verification as it considers advisable of the events that took place in Venezuela and that were denounced by the government of that country...." Committee I was composed of the special delegates of Costa Rica (Chairman), Peru (Rapporteur), Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and the United States.

At the plenary session held on July 10, 1967, the Meeting resolved to establish an eight-member committee (Committee II), to prepare a report on events related to the so-called Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference that had occurred since the report of October 24, 1966, presented by the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Committee II of the Meeting of Consultation was composed of the special delegates of Peru (Chairman), Trinidad and Tobago (Rapporteur), and Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the United States.

Committee I, appointed at the opening session, was in Venezuela from June 23 to 27, and on July 26, 1967, at the third plenary session of the Meeting, it presented its report on the events that had occurred in that country.

At the fourth plenary session, held on August 2, Committee II, established by the resolution of July 10, presented a report on events related to the so-called Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference that had occurred since the report of October 24, 1966, represented by the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization.

In accordance with the Regulations, the Meeting appointed a Committee on Credentials, composed of Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay. It also appointed a Coordinating and Drafting Committee, made up of Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, and Trinidad and Tobago.

In accordance with the transitory provisions of the Regulations, a General Committee was established, made up of all the members. His Excellency Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, Special Delegate of Colombia, and His Excellency Ramón de Clairmont Dueñas, Special Delegate of El Salvador, were appointed Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively, of the General Committee. Later, when Mr. Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, Special Delegate of Colombia, ceased to represent his country at the Meeting, His Excellency Eduardo Roca, Special Delegate of Argentina, was elected Chairman of the General Committee.

At the meeting of the General Committee held on August 3, there was general agreement that most of the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states would be willing to attend the Meeting personally beginning September 22, 1967.

On that date, a new preliminary session was held, attended by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, at which agreement was reached on the new officers of the Meeting. At the Fifth Plenary Session, held on the same day, His Excellency Héctor Luisi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, was elected President of the Meeting.

At the tenth meeting of the General Committee, held on September 23, 1967, His Excellency Nicanor Costa Méndez, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Argentina, was elected Chairman of the Committee, and His Excellency Alfredo Martínez Moreno, Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, was elected Rapporteur.

At the same meeting, the General Committee also formed a Working Group made up of the delegations of Costa Rica (Chairman), Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, and Venezuela, which undertook a study of the various drafts and resolutions presented and submitted its conclusions to the General Committee.

This Final Act of the Meeting was signed at the closing session, which took place on September 24, 1957. This session was addressed by His Excellency Walter Guevara Arze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, who spoke on behalf of the delegations, and His Excellency Héctor Luisi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, President of the Meeting.

As a result of its discussions, the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs adopted the following resolutions:

I

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

CONSIDERING:

The note dated June 1, 1967, addressed by the Representative of Venezuela to the Chairman of the Council of the Organization and in the statement made by the Special Delegate of Venezuela during the plenary session held today,

RESOLVES:

1. To authorize its President to appoint a committee to go to Venezuela to gather additional information and to make such verification as it considers advisable of the events that took place in Venezuela and were denounced by the government of that country in its note dated June 1, 1967, to the Chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States, which was considered at the special meeting held by that Organ on June 5.
2. To request the American governments and the Secretary General of the Organization to cooperate with the Committee, which will begin to work as soon as it has been constituted.
3. That the Committee shall render a report to the Meeting of Consultation as soon as possible.
4. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of the text of the present resolution, in accordance with the provisions of Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

II

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

RESOLVES:

1. To establish an eight-member committee to prepare a report on events related to the so-called Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference that have occurred since the report of October 24, 1966, presented by the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
2. To authorize the President of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation to designate the states that should compose the aforementioned committee.
3. To request the Secretary General of the Organization to give the committee the assistance it needs to achieve the objective stated above.

III

WHEREAS:

The report of Committee I of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs states among its conclusions that "it is clear that the present Government of Cuba continues to give moral and material support to the Venezuelan guerrilla and terrorist movement and that the recent series of aggressive acts against the Government of Venezuela is part of the Cuban Government's continuing policy of persistent intervention in the internal affairs of other American states by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in their territories";

Committee II of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, responsible for preparing a report on events related to the so-called First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, stated that the so-called First Latin American Solidarity Conference, held in Havana from July 31 to August 8, 1967, "represents a further step in the efforts of communism and other subversive forces in the hemisphere to promote, support, and coordinate guerrilla, terrorist, and other subversive activities directed against established governments" and gives "testimony once again to the efforts of the Government of Cuba to control and direct these subversive activities in our hemisphere";

During the course of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation the Government of Bolivia has presented evidence of intervention by the Government of Cuba in the preparation, financing, and organization of guerrilla activities in its territory;

The difficult social and economic conditions under which the peoples of Latin America live serve communism as a means for arousing the internal subversion that distorts the legitimate longings of our countries for justice and for change;

The affirmation that the democratic system is the proper path for achieving the desires of the Latin American peoples must be supported by suitable actions and programs that will promote the structural changes necessary for progress and for the strengthening of the system;

Economic cooperation among the American states to speed up and harmonize development is essential to the stability of democracy and the consolidation of the inter-American system in the face of the subversive aims of international communism;

Respect for and observance of human rights constitute a basic universal as well as inter-American juridical principle essential to the effective security of the hemisphere; and

In spite of this, in practice events occur that are incompatible with the system of protection and guarantee that all countries are obligated to establish in behalf of the individual,

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

RESOLVES:

1. To condemn forcefully the present Government of Cuba for its repeated acts of aggression and intervention against Venezuela and for its persistent policy of intervention in the internal affairs of Bolivia and of other American states, through incitement and active and admitted support of armed bands and other subversive activities directed against the governments of those states.

2. To request the states that are not members of the Organization of American States and that share the principles of the inter-American system to restrict their trade and financial operations with Cuba and sea and air transport to that country, especially transactions and transportation conducted through state agencies, until such time as the Cuban regime ceases its policy of intervention and aggression, and to indicate to them that the granting of state credits or credit guarantees to private firms conducting such transactions cannot be viewed as a friendly gesture by the member states of the Organization; and to this end to recommend to the member states that, individually or collectively, they reiterate this position to the governments of those states.

3. To request the governments that support establishment of the so-called Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAFSO) to withdraw their support or adherence from that organization, and also from the "Second Tricontinental Conference," scheduled to be held in Cairo in January 1968; to denounce these activities as contrary to the sovereignty, peaceful relations, and social and economic development of the peoples; and to declare that support by countries outside the hemisphere to activities conducive to subversion in Latin America jeopardizes solidarity among the developing countries, the increasing importance of which is particularly reflected in the efforts being made to reorganize international trade on more equitable bases.



4. To express to the states that are not members of the Organization of American States that support the Government of Cuba the serious concern of the member states of the Organization, inasmuch as that support tends to stimulate the interventionist and aggressive activities of the Cuban regime against the countries of the Western Hemisphere, and since the cause of peaceful relations will be jeopardized so long as those activities continue; and to this end, to recommend to the governments of the member states of the Organization that they carry out joint or individual representations directed to the states that support the Government of Cuba, to manifest this concern to them.

5. To recommend to the governments of the member states of the Organization of American States that they apply strictly the recommendations contained in the first report of the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of July 3, 1963, relative to the prevention of propaganda and of the movement of funds and arms from Cuba and other illegal sources to other American countries, as well as to the strengthening of controls on travel to and from Cuba in order to prevent the movement of subversive persons, and that they coordinate more effectively their efforts aimed at preventing such movements and shipments.

6. To recommend to the governments of the member states of the Organization that, in accordance with their domestic legislation, they adopt or intensify, as appropriate, measures of vigilance and control on their respective coasts and borders, in order to prevent the entry into their own territory, or the exit, of men, arms, or equipment coming from Cuba and intended for purposes of subversion and aggression.

7. To recommend to the member states of the Organization that, in accordance with their constitutional and legal provisions, they maintain, within their territory, the most strict vigilance over the activities of the so-called Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) and its national committees.

8. To recommend to the member states of the Organization the application, where necessary, of all the recommendations contained in the Report of the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, on the so-called First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference and its Projections ("Tricontinental Conference of Havana"), dated November 28, 1966.

9. To recommend to the governments of the member states that they take such steps as they deem pertinent in order to coordinate, among neighboring countries, the measures of vigilance, security, and information set forth in paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 8 above.

10. To recommend to the governments of the member states that they decline to ship any governmental or government-financed cargo in any vessel that, following the date of this resolution, has engaged in the shipment of cargo to or from Cuba, and that, in addition, the governments of the member states take the necessary measures to prohibit the supply of fuel to any such vessel in their ports, with the exception of cases in which shipments are made for humanitarian purposes.

11. To reaffirm that the maintenance of order and of internal and external security is the exclusive responsibility of the government of each member state, without prejudice to its reiterated adherence to the principle of collective and mutual security for the preservation of peace, in accordance with the treaties on this subject.

12. To express concern that the growth rates of the developing countries of Latin America and the degree of their participation in international trade are not equal to the corresponding rates of growth and expansion of trade of the industrialized countries of the world, and that this situation could result in new and more acute social conflicts that Castro-communism could use to advantage to provoke or intensify subversion and violence and to upset the course of development of the hemisphere.

13. To reaffirm that the principal means of achieving security and prosperity in the hemisphere is development by peaceful and democratic methods, and that the subversion promoted by Cuba disturbs that process.

14. To reiterate its conviction that economic and social development can and should be achieved only within a system that respects democracy and human rights, and on the basis of actions and programs that will coordinate domestic efforts with international cooperation, to satisfy the undeferrable aspirations and needs of the peoples of the Americas.

15. To instruct the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to transmit to the Security Council of the United Nations the texts of this resolution and of the reports of Committees I and II of this Meeting of Consultation, in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

IV

WHEREAS:

Article 34 and the first paragraph of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations read as follows:

Article 34. The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

Resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly states the following in paragraphs 1 and 2 of its declarative part:

1. No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements are condemned;

2. No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights or to secure from it advantages of any kind. Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State;

and

Under auspices of the present Government of Cuba, the so-called Latin American Solidarity Organization (IASO), meeting recently in Havana, passed resolutions and adopted agreements to promote subversive movements in the Latin American countries,

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the member states of the Organization of American States that they bring to the attention of the competent organ of the United Nations the acts of the present Government of Cuba that run counter to the provisions cited of Resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly.

2. To request, in like manner, of the countries of the Latin American group in the United Nations that are not members of the Organization of American States, that they cooperate in the implementation of this resolution.

The foreign ministers meeting here reaffirm the dedication of their governments to the cause of economic and social development of their peoples, within a framework of freedom and democracy, and declare that their efforts in this direction will not be deterred by the aim of any state or organization to subvert their institutions--an aim that those meeting here unanimously repudiate.

VI

WHEREAS:

This Meeting of Consultation was convened in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization; and

The preparation of the Final Act of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation in the four official languages requires careful coordination which cannot be accomplished satisfactorily in the limited time available,

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

RESOLVES:

1. To prepare the Final Act to be signed in only one of the official languages of the Meeting.
2. To recommend to the Council of the Organization of American States that it constitute a committee of four of its members who will represent the four official languages of the Organization to coordinate the texts of the Final Act in the other three official languages.
3. To authorize the Council to approve those three texts, which shall be considered official texts of the Final Act and shall become integral parts of it as it is signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
4. That all the official texts of the Final Act shall be equally authentic.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.

1967



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Doc. 22 (English) Corr. 2  
26 July 1967  
Original: Spanish

REPORT OF COMMITTEE I  
OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION  
OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Presented in accordance with the  
resolution adopted on June 19, 1967)

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE I  
OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION  
OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Presented in accordance with the  
resolution adopted on June 19, 1967)

I. ESTABLISHMENT AND ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

On June 1, 1967, the Representative of Venezuela on the Council of the Organization of American States, Ambassador Pedro Paris Montesinos, addressed a note to the Chairman of that organ, requesting, on behalf of his government, the convocation of a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization, to consider "the serious situation confronting the member states of this Organization as a consequence of the attitude of the present Government of Cuba, which is carrying out a policy of persistent intervention in their internal affairs in violation of their sovereignty and integrity, by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in the territory of various states, with the deliberate aim of destroying the principles of the inter-American system" (Appendix 1).

On June 5 the Council considered this request and, after receiving the information provided by the Representative of Venezuela as a basis for it, convoked the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (Appendix 2).

At the opening plenary session, held on June 19, the Meeting of Consultation adopted the following resolution:

The Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

CONSIDERING:

The note dated June 1, 1967, addressed by the Representative of Venezuela to the Chairman of the Council of the Organization and the statement made by the Special Delegate of Venezuela during the plenary session held today,

RESOLVES:

1. To authorize its President to appoint a committee to go to Venezuela to gather additional information and to make such verification as it considers advisable of the events that took place in Venezuela and were denounced by the government of that country in its note dated June 1, 1967, to the Chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States, which was considered at the special meeting held by that Organ on June 5.

2. To request the American governments and the Secretary General of the Organization to cooperate with the Committee, which will begin to work as soon as it has been constituted.

3. That the Committee shall render a report to the Meeting of Consultation as soon as possible.

4. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of the text of the present resolution, in accordance with the provisions of Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The President of the Meeting of Consultation appointed the following countries to make up the Committee: Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and the United States.

The Committee was installed on Wednesday June 21 and elected Ambassador Fernando Ortuño Sobrado, Representative of Costa Rica, as Chairman and Dr. Andrés A. Aramburú, Representative of Peru, as rapporteur.

The Committee considered it would be useful to have the assistance of two military advisers, and suggested that they be designated by Colombia and Peru.

The member countries of the Committee were represented by the following persons:

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Colombia           | Minister José Camacho Lorenzana<br>Adviser: Brigadier General Alejo<br>Sánchez O'Donoghue |
| Costa Rica         | Ambassador Fernando Ortuño Sobrado<br>Adviser: Mr. Alfonso Guardia                        |
| Dominican Republic | Ambassador Enriquillo A. del Rosario  |
| Peru               | Dr. Andrés A. Aramburí<br>Adviser: Colonel Leonidas Rodríguez Figueroa                    |
| United States      | Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz<br>Advisers: Dr. Ward P. Allen<br>Mr. Richard A. Poole         |

The Secretariat was composed of the following persons:

Mr. Santiago Ortiz, Secretary  
Mr. Modesto Lucero, Special Assistant  
Mr. Mario Barraco Mármol, Assistant  
Mr. Donald Barnes, Interpreter

Arrangements for the Committee's trip to Venezuela were made at the session at which it was installed, in coordination with the Representative of Venezuela.

The Committee left for Venezuela on Friday June 23 and arrived that night at Maiquetía Airport, where it was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ignacio Iribarren Borges, officials of the Foreign Ministry, and diplomatic representatives of the member countries of the Committee. It returned to Washington, D.C., on Tuesday, June 27. A chronological account of the activities of the Committee is given in Appendix 3.

II. PRESENTATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA  
WITH REGARD TO ITS DENUNCIATION

The Government of Venezuela has made an analysis of the policy of intervention and aggression of the present Government of Cuba as a factor disturbing to the democratic institutions and the economic and social development of the Latin American nations and, in particular, of the projections within Venezuelan territory of that policy.

The Government of Venezuela considers that the subversive action and the policy of the present Government of Cuba against its country and other American states violates the principles of international law, of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Charter of the Organization of American States, and, specifically, Resolution 2131 (XX) of the United Nations General Assembly.

It points out that the Cuban regime began its policy of incitation to insurrection in Venezuela in 1961, and that it became more aggressive in 1963, with the landing of arms carried out on the Peninsula of Paraguaná, which gave rise to a condemnatory resolution of the Ninth Meeting of Consultation; that at the Tricontinental Conference of Havana international communism decided to strengthen its subversive action against the American countries by intensifying guerrilla and terrorist activities and the provision of arms and money for the proliferation of such activities with the purpose of upsetting public order and the democratic institutions of the American countries; and that the directives given by that conference are being carried out and are stimulated and directed by the Cuban Government.

In its presentation the Government of Venezuela points out various acts of aggression by the Government of Cuba against the Venezuelan state, defined as "acts of indirect aggression," such as the guerrilla training of Venezuelan personnel in Cuban territory, the provision of arms to subversive groups that act in Venezuela, and the uninterrupted campaign from Cuba via press and radio, inciting to violence in Venezuela, the principal outlets for which are the official newspaper Granma, Radio Havana Cuba, and the "Prensa Latina" new agency. The Government of Venezuela cites as one result of this incitation to terrorism the assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges and "acts of direct intervention" in the internal affairs of Venezuela on the part of the Cuban regime, and specifically mentions the landing made on the beaches of Machurucuto, on May 8, 1967, of Venezuelan guerrilla fighters under the direction of officers of the Armed Forces of Cuba.

Finally, the Venezuelan Government believes that the subversive movement in the country would not exist if it did not have the unquestionable aid and encouragement it receives from the Cuban regime.

The position of the Government of Venezuela on the Cuban attitude was presented to the Committee by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Defense of Venezuela and detailed in the statement made by the President of Venezuela, Dr. Raúl Leoni (Appendix 4) and in the memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered on June 26 (Appendix 5).

### III. EVALUATION OF THE FACTS

The Committee of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation, in fulfillment of the mission entrusted to it by the resolution adopted by the meeting on June 19, 1967, and after receiving extensive documentation and information from the Government of Venezuela, proceeded to interrogate prisoners; to examine the captured material; to make an inspection of the beaches of Machurucuto; and to interview civilian and military personnel both at the landing place and in Caracas.

The evaluation of these facts and the conclusions of this report are based on the information obtained during the Committee's visit to Venezuela, which has been compared to and augmented by other sources.

#### A. Landing of men and arms in Machurucuto

The intervention of Cuba and its support of subversive and terrorist activities have taken most direct form in the landing of men and arms from Cuba to participate in guerrilla and terrorist actions against the Venezuelan Government and people. This is a continuing policy of direct intervention. The responsibility of the Government of Cuba for the clandestine shipment of a large quantity of arms in November 1963 to be used by the so-called Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional--FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) in subversive operations against the Government of Venezuela was clearly established in the report of February 12, 1964 (Doc. C-i-658) of the Investigating Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation.

As an example of another act of this type, the Government of Venezuela presented to the Committee information concerning the clandestine landing of guerrillas from Cuba, which occurred on July 24, 1966, on the beaches of Tucacas, in Falcón state, with the objective of joining the FALN guerrillas operating in the mountains of that state. In this regard, it is significant that in the December 10, 1966, issue of the magazine Sucesos there is an article written by the editor, Mario Menéndez Rodríguez, in which he tells of his stay with the guerrilla group, and which contains statements by Lubén Petkoff, the leader of the landing, and which gives details on the landing that coincide with the information given the Committee by the Government of Venezuela.

The principal fact that gives recent and specific proof of the events denounced by the Government of Venezuela before the Council of the Organization was the carrying out of a landing operation on Venezuelan beaches by a group of Venezuelan guerrillas coming from Cuba, transported by Cuban personnel.

To verify the aforementioned denunciation, during its stay in Venezuela the Committee carried out the following activities: (a) an examination of the documentation and oral information presented by the Government of Venezuela, including signed statements by Cuban prisoners and a motion picture in which the prisoners made oral statements; (b) interrogation of the surviving Cuban prisoner; (c) examination of the captured material; (d) an inspection of the beaches of Machurucuto; and (e) interviews with the civilian and military personnel in the landing zone.

As a result of these activities the Committee was able to determine that:



During the first days of May 1967 a motorship sailing from Santiago de Cuba and manned by a Cuban crew transported 7 Cubans and 9 Venezuelan guerrillas equipped and armed in Cuba to the coast of Venezuela--an operation that was duly prepared, aided, and trained in Cuba.

When the motorship reached Venezuelan waters off the beaches of Machurucuto, Miranda state, in the early hours of the morning of May 8 (Appendix 6), the landing operation was made in two "Zodiac" launches, with a capacity of 15 persons each, manned by the 7 Cubans mentioned.

One of the launches that transported and landed the Venezuelan personnel was unable to return to the motorship because of high waves and the crew, the Cubans Antonio Briones Montoto (chief of the operation), Manuel Gil Castellanos, and Pedro Cabrera Torres, had to try to swim ashore. What happened to Gilberto Pico of the same crew is not known. It is probable that the other launch, whose mission was to stay close by in the water to tow the first one, returned to the motorship with its three Cuban crewmen.

On May 11 Antonio Briones Montoto was killed on the beach of Panapo (Machurucuto) during the "Operation Track Down" conducted by Army personnel of the zone. That same day Manuel Gil Castellanos and Pedro Cabrera Torres were captured while they were traveling as passengers on a truck headed for Caracas.

Cabrera Torres committed suicide on June 2 in the prison cell in which he was confined, leaving Manuel Gil Castellanos as the only survivor of the above-mentioned Cubans.

The equipment and arms captured constitute part of the basic elements needed to conduct a commando operation of this kind, which is evidence of preparation, direction, and support by technical military personnel. Among the weapons found was a Soviet-designed AK automatic rifle, made in North Korea. A list of the material captured is given in Appendix 7.

The Venezuelan military authorities have been able to determine, as a result of the interrogations conducted, that the Cubans that conducted the transportation are military personnel, part of Special Unit 20-2-70 of the Dirección General de Inteligencia--DGI (General Intelligence Administration) of Cuba, and that they were carried aboard the Cuban motorship "Sierra."

From the signed testimony of Gil Castellanos and of Cabrera Torres, from the film made of the television program on which they made statements, and from the organization and execution of this operation of a military nature, and the material used, the Committee concludes that the Cuban personnel that participated in the landing were actually members of the Cuban Armed Forces and were directed by the Government of Cuba. Although Gil Castellanos changed his earlier testimony, to deny to the Committee his military affiliation, he stated that he had received military training in the militia and that he was an official of the Cuban Government and confirmed having participated in the preparation and execution of the operation for infiltrating Venezuelan guerrillas.

With regard to this subversive expedition to Venezuela, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba issued a statement that was published in the May 18 issue of the newspaper Granma, official organ of the

Communist Party of Cuba. The statement identifies Briones, Gil, and Cabrera with a mention of their revolutionary background, although it endeavors to deny they were members of the Cuban Armed Forces at the time of the landing. Nevertheless, the statement does say: "But let no one say that we are interested in escaping any responsibility." In referring to Briones' death while aiding Venezuelan revolutionaries, it also says, ". . . our party and our people make common cause with his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist, and heroic act" and that "we are giving and we shall continue to give aid, whenever it is requested of us, to all the revolutionary movements that are struggling against imperialism anywhere in the world" (Appendix 8).

B. Acts of terrorism and sabotage: Assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges

In addition to guerrilla actions, the frequent acts of terrorism and sabotage in Venezuela by these same subversive organizations, the FALN and the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria - Movement of the Revolutionary Left) are well known. They use various methods and forms in attacks against individuals and public and private property. These acts include the assassination of government officials, members of the Armed Forces and the police, farm workers, and other private citizens; attacks on farms, private homes, business establishments; and the destruction of oil pipelines and other public and private installations.

One of the terrorist acts that most aroused public opinion was the assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, the former Social Security Director, which is now under investigation by Venezuelan authorities.

On March 1, 1967, Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges was kidnapped from his home in Caracas. His body was found two days later in a place close to Caracas; Venezuelan authorities reported that his death had been caused by three gunshots and that there was evidence that he had been tortured. The Venezuelan authorities likewise stated that they found near the body a FALN leaflet threatening death to persons connected with the Venezuelan Government. The Committee studied the documentation presented by the Venezuelan Government and examined articles and photographs pertaining to this act.

This crime has the characteristics of the "selective terrorism" employed by international communism as a means of intimidating the people so that they will lose confidence in the authorities and the forces of order. The responsibility of the FALN for this act of terrorism has been admitted in statements on the matter made in Cuba by Elías Manuitt Camero, representative of the FLN-FALN in Havana, which he signed as President of the National Committee thereof, and which were published in the newspaper Granma on March 6, 1967. Manuitt stated: "For these reasons, as announced in leaflets circulated in Caracas, our movement decided to apply revolutionary justice to Julio Iribarren Borges, a high-ranking figure of the Government" (Appendix 9).

C. Training in Cuba of subversive and terrorist elements

The tactic of the Cuban Government to bring to Cuba large numbers of persons from other countries of the hemisphere to indoctrinate and train them in techniques of subversion and terrorism has already been denounced in official reports of the Organization of American States. In 1963 the

Investigating Committee of the Council of the Organization acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, in referring to the acts of intervention and aggression committed against the Government of Venezuela, established that among the manifestations of this Cuban policy against Venezuela was the training in subversive activities of all kinds of numerous Venezuelan citizens who have travelled to Cuba for this purpose.

The Venezuelan authorities have expressed to the Committee their preoccupation with the Cuban Government's continuing policy of training Venezuelan citizens in the techniques of subversion and guerrilla warfare and sending them to Venezuela to mount a campaign of subversion and terrorism against the Venezuelan Government.

The documentation presented and the statements made to the Committee during its visit to Caracas, reveal the persistent and organized method the Government of Cuba uses to train Venezuelans and persons from other American countries in guerrilla warfare tactics, in the use of explosives and arms of all types, in the handling of communication equipment, in the techniques of infiltration and espionage, etc. For this purpose, the Cuban Government operates schools in various localities on the island specializing in diverse aspects of subversive activities, including field training in so-called "rural schools."

As an example, the Committee obtained information on this type of training from its interview with the Venezuelan citizen Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel, who stated that he had been a member of the Frente de Liberación Nacional--FLN (National Liberation Front) and of the Fuerzas

Armadas de Liberación Nacional--FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), as well as of the Cuban and Colombian communist parties. This witness stated that he had gone to Cuba in 1960, operating within the framework of the Cuban governmental organization and of the Communist Party of Cuba, and that he received thorough training in a broad range of activities in order to equip him for leadership, with the final objective of conducting subversive operations in Venezuela.

The witness added that part of his training consisted of active participation in a military unit made up mainly of Venezuelans and Colombians which fought for over three months in the campaign against anti-Castro guerrillas in the Escambray mountains in the first months of 1961. He also said that he later received instruction and training in the following: theories of Marxism-Leninism; organization of underground resistance, infiltration, and guerrilla and counter-guerrilla tactics; the assembly and instruction in firing of arms of various kinds; the making and use of dynamite grenades, Molotov cocktails, detonators, etc., with special emphasis on the techniques of blowing up oil pipelines; logistics and first aid; topography, photography; radio construction, operation, and repair, including jamming methods; radio telegraphy and cryptography; the use of hiding places for making indirect contacts and for delivering arms, explosives and money, and the use of international post boxes for indirect coded correspondence and Soviet style codes (including a tiny code book of such codes given to the Committee); falsification of documents and of handwriting; make-up; imitation of dialects and phonetics; espionage, counter-espionage,

"checking" and "counter-checking" and other security measures, which included various methods of self-defense (Appendix 10).

The Venezuelan authorities made available to the Committee written interrogatories with other Venezuelans who had occupied important posts in the FLN-FALN or in the MIR. These persons, too, admitted receiving training in Cuba in political theory, guerrilla tactics, use and maintenance of arms and explosives, radio communications, first aid, espionage and security techniques, and so forth, before being infiltrated into Venezuela, either clandestinely or with false passports, to undertake their subversive activities.

D. Clandestine organization and espionage

On the basis of the investigation carried out by the Venezuelan authorities and the information they provided, the Committee verified that there exists in Venezuela a carefully trained organization whose purpose is espionage, clandestine communication, and infiltration in general, that is supported and encouraged by the present Government of Cuba and that maintains contact with similar organizations and subversive elements in other American countries.

In this respect, the same witness mentioned in part C, reported that from 1960 to 1966 he had performed various jobs in the militia and in intelligence and subversive activities of the Cuban Government and Communist Party of Cuba, and also in the FLN and FALN of Venezuela, and that he had also acted as coordinator in Europe and in this hemisphere of Latin American clandestine messengers and had been an information officer in the Department of International Security of the Cuban Government. Later, he

referred to his participation in the interconnections and relations of the Cuban Communist Party and of the Cuban Government with various communist groups and individuals in Venezuela and other parts. He reported in detail on the instructions and funds transmitted for use by the MIR and FLN and on the establishment of direct communications with those groups in Venezuela and Cuba. He also mentioned Cuban efforts to obtain secret information on Venezuela and trips he had made for subversive purposes between Cuba and Venezuela and through other countries of Latin America and of western and eastern Europe, revealing the points of clandestine contact in many countries. Moreover, he reported on Cuba's interconnections with communist machinations in other American states.

The interrogatories of other Venezuelan witnesses, referred to in the preceding section, give similar accounts of international trips and clandestine contacts.

They also give evidence of the close connection between Cuban, Venezuelan, and international subversive organizations; that is, the FALN and the MLK in Venezuela, the Dirección General de Inteligencia--DGI (General Intelligence Department) of the Cuban Government, the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC), and communist parties and agents in Europe and in other Latin American countries. These interrogatories also indicate the provision of funds by the DGI to the FALN and to the MLK, another form of the assistance and support given by the Government of Cuba.

A further element in the international network of subversive activities is the relationship of the Venezuelan subversive organization to the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) and



the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), which resulted from the Havana Tricontinental Conference of January 1966. Both the FALN and the MIR, as well as the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV), participated in that conference as components of the Frente de Liberación Nacional (FLN), and the FLN-FALN and the MIR missions in Cuba are closely connected with the Havana headquarters of both AALAPSO and LASO. It is interesting to note that Américo Martín, commander of the MIR, was arrested by the Venezuelan authorities while en route to Cuba to participate in the First Solidarity Conference of LASO, scheduled to begin in July 1967.

E. Propaganda campaign directed from Cuba against the American governments

Cuba's hostile and systematic propaganda campaign against the Government of Venezuela--cited by the OAS Investigating Committee Report of February 18, 1964, as one of the major acts of Cuban intervention and aggression against Venezuela--has continued without pause. Cuban propaganda ceaselessly attacks the democratic Government of Venezuela and incites and supports communist rebellion and terrorism directed against the Government and people of Venezuela and of other countries of the hemisphere.

Cuban propaganda takes numerous forms, among which are the following: (a) statements by Fidel Castro and other high Cuban governmental and communist party authorities; (b) broadcasts carried over Radio Havana, Radio CMQ, and other government-owned networks, and daily programs on Radio Havana especially directed against Venezuela; (c) broadcasts of statements of Venezuelan subversive leaders, including the so-called permanent representatives in Havana of the FLN-FALN and the MIR, and guerrilla

leaders operating in Venezuela; (d) broadcasts over Radio Havana of statements from the Havana headquarters of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) and of the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), both of which, like the Cuban Government, voice support of communist revolution and subversion in Venezuela and elsewhere in Latin America; (e) Cuban newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets which give full publicity to this same type of propaganda, especially the newspaper Granma, official organ of the Cuban Communist Party; (f) the news agency "Prensa Latina," which serves as an agent of the Cuban Government in spreading tendentious news and propaganda; (g) clandestine pamphlets distributed in Venezuela and other countries, including the publications of LASO and AALAPSO, printed in Cuba.

In connection with radio broadcasting, it should be mentioned that Radio Havana short-wave broadcasts are beamed throughout the Americas, and that the Committee has learned from other information that for about two months a new medium-wave station has been in operation in Oriente Province, with a potential of 150,000 watts, reaching the entire Caribbean area.

Other examples of this hostile propaganda campaign are Castro's speeches of January 2, March 13, and April 19, 1967, the second devoted almost entirely to Venezuela. In these speeches he violently attacks the democratic Government of Venezuela, criticizes those orthodox Venezuelan communists who no longer support the tactic of violent revolution, urges more effective and energetic action on the part of revolutionaries, and expresses full support for the Venezuelan guerrillas

and specifically for their leaders Douglas Bravo, Lubén Petkoff of the FALN, and Américo Martín of the MIR. He also proclaims support for the guerrillas operating in Colombia, Guatemala and Bolivia, and advocates communist revolution in all those American states that have broken relations with Cuba.

#### IV. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

For some years, Venezuela has been one of the principal objects of the communist subversion directed and supported by the present Government of Cuba. In this regard, the Report presented February 18, 1964, by the Investigating Committee appointed by the Council of the Organization of American States acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, states the following:

2. This support of subversion, which generally takes the form of political aggression, has had positive application in the Republic of Venezuela, the primary objective in Cuba's policy of expansion and ideological penetration in the hemisphere. The vast natural resources of Venezuela, its strategic importance in the hemisphere, and its status as a democratic country were factors that motivated the present Government of Cuba to make use of the subversive action of organizations that employ force and violence to overthrow that democratic government.

As indicated in the data and information given in the preceding paragraphs of this report and also as deduced from the information provided to the Committee by the Government of Venezuela, it can be said that in Venezuela guerrilla action continues to be carried out by the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional--FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), and the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria--MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), which operate with Cuban support in various parts of the country, particularly in the mountains, and combine their actions with urban subversion, acts of terrorism, and sabotage.

The guerrilla groups that operate in Venezuela have members that are duly armed and trained for this kind of subversion and that maintain contacts with similar groups in other American countries.

With regard to the support the present Government of Cuba gives to armed subversion in Venezuela, Fidel Castro said in his speech of January 2, 1967:

This is the reason for our message of solidarity and encouragement to the revolutionary combatants of Latin America, our message of solidarity to the heroic fighter Major Douglas Bravo, whose determined, firm, and profoundly revolutionary act helped to save the Venezuelan revolution from crisis, our message to Lubén Petkoff, to Prado, to all the guerrilla fighters of Faicón and of the Bacniller mountains.

On May 13, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba issued a statement in which it said:

Indeed, we are giving and we shall continue to give aid, whenever it is requested of us, to all the revolutionary movements that are struggling against imperialism anywhere in the world.

Before presenting its conclusions, the Committee also wishes to refer to the acts that form part of Cuba's policy of aggression not only against the Government of Venezuela but also against other countries of the inter-American system, the same acts that were considered in the detailed report the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs prepared on the Tricontinental Conference of Havana (Doc. C-i-769 Rev.), which was transmitted to the governments of the American states on November 20, 1966. In the conclusions to the report it is stated that:

The Tricontinental Conference has pointed out, more than ever before, the existence of the interventionist policy of the communist powers and their allies, which is in reality a policy of aggression and support for subversive and armed movements aimed at overthrowing established governments, weakening the inter-American system, and destroying the economic and social development of the people of the Hemisphere.

In referring to the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) and to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), which were created by the Conference, in the report it was stated that:

These organizations represent a serious threat of increasing activities in execution of the aggressive decisions taken at Havana.

It was also stated that "the present Government of Cuba," which offered Havana as headquarters for the Conference and for the two organizations, "continues to be the principal focus and agent in the subversive and interventionist campaign sponsored by the communist powers against member states of the Organization of American States."

## V. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the information and documentation received from the Government of Venezuela and other sources and the inquiries which the Committee made in Venezuela, the Committee has reached the following conclusions:

1. It is clear that the present Government of Cuba continues to give moral and material support to the Venezuelan guerrilla and terrorist movement and that the recent series of aggressive acts against the Government of Venezuela are part of the Cuban Government's continuing policy of persistent intervention in the internal affairs of other American states by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in their territories.

2. In the execution of this policy, Venezuela continues to be one of the principal objectives of the present Government of Cuba.

3. In this policy, that Government continues to use open and clandestine methods, such as:

- a. The training in its country of nationals of various American countries to undertake guerrilla, terrorist, and espionage activities in other countries of the hemisphere, by organizing special schools for training in subversive tactics;
- b. The clandestine supply of arms and material and the provision of funds in support of such activities in Venezuela as well as in other American states;

- c. A constant campaign of subversive propaganda, using various communication media, directed against the Government, institutions and leaders of Venezuela and of other American states;
- d. The operation of clandestine networks for facilitating communications and espionage as well as the movement of persons, propaganda and funds;
- e. The transportation and landing of men and arms to support guerrilla activities.

4. A particularly dramatic example of this policy was the landing on Venezuelan soil on May 8, 1967, of nine Venezuelan guerrillas, trained and equipped in Cuba, for the purpose of augmenting the guerrilla group of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). It is clear that this landing was planned and executed under the direction of the Government of Cuba and with the participation of members of the Cuban Armed Forces.

5. One of the most serious acts of terrorism that have taken place in Venezuela is the murder, on March 3, 1967, of Mr. Julio Iribarren Borges, which Elías Manuitt Camero, permanent representative of the Frente de Liberación Nacional - Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FLN-FALN) to the Government of Cuba, openly acknowledged in Havana to be the action of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN).



6. The various forms of support that the Government of Cuba continues to give to the guerrillas in Venezuela are a decisive element that enables these organizations to continue to carry out their activities of terrorism and subversion.

July 24, 1967

Fernando Ortufio Sobrado  
Ambassador, Representative of Costa Rica  
Chairman of the Committee

Andrés A. Aramburú  
Representative of Peru  
Rapporteur

José Camacho Lorenzana  
Representative of Colombia

Enriquillo A. del Rosario  
Ambassador, Representative of the  
Dominican Republic

Sol M. Linowitz  
Ambassador, Representative of the  
United States of America

**APPENDICES**

NOTE DATED JUNE 1, 1967, FROM THE AMBASSADOR,  
REPRESENTATIVE OF VENEZUELA, REQUESTING THE  
CONVOCAION OF A MEETING OF CONSULTATION<sup>1/</sup>

REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA  
DELEGATION TO THE COUNCIL OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
Washington, D.C.

OEA-65-0408

June 1, 1967

Excellency:

I have the honor to address you to refer to the serious situation confronting the member states of this Organization as a consequence of the attitude of the present Government of Cuba, which is carrying out a policy of persistent intervention in their internal affairs in violation of their sovereignty and integrity, by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in the territory of various states, with the deliberate aim of destroying the principles of the inter-American system.

A situation that threatens inter-American peace and constitutes an obstacle to the economic and social development of the hemisphere has tended to grow more serious, since the holding in January 1966 of the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, also known as the "Tricontinental Conference of Havana," which established the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), for the purpose of fomenting subversion, terrorism, and civil war in the hemisphere.

His Excellency  
Doctor Eduardo Ritter Aislán  
Chairman of the Council of the  
Organization of American States  
Washington, D.C.

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1. Published as Doc. 2 Corr. of the Meeting

My government has publicly denounced new acts directed against its sovereignty and territorial integrity, consisting in the recent landing of an expedition of commandos with assistance and support that have been publicly acknowledged by the Government of Cuba.

For all these reasons, and in accordance with instructions from my government, I ask you to convoke a special meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States, as soon as possible, for the purpose of urgently convoking a Meeting of Consultation, in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, to consider the said situation and decide upon the measures that should be taken for the maintenance of peace among the member states and the security of the hemisphere.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(s) Pedro Paris Montesinos  
Ambassador  
Representative of Venezuela

CONVOCAION OF A MEETING OF CONSULTATION  
OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Resolution adopted by the Council of the Organization of American States  
at the special meeting held on June 5, 1967) 1/

WHEREAS:

On June 1, 1967, the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, addressed a note to the Chairman of the Council, by which his government requested that a Meeting of Consultation be urgently convoked, in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, to consider "the serious situation confronting the member states of this Organization as a consequence of the attitude of the present Government of Cuba, which is carrying out a policy of persistent intervention in their internal affairs with violation of their sovereignty and integrity, by fostering and organizing subversive and terrorist activities in the territory of various states, with the deliberate aim of destroying the principles of the inter-American system";

The Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, has provided the information on which that request was based; and

Article 39 of the Charter provides that "The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be held in order to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States. . . ,"

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To convoke, in accordance with the first part of Article 39 and with Article 40 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics to consider the said situation.
2. To appoint a committee of nine members, to be designated by the Chairman of the Council, to make recommendations regarding the agenda, date, place, and regulations for that meeting.2/
3. To inform the United Nations Security Council of the text of this resolution, in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

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1. Registered as Doc. 3 of the Meeting.

2. The Chairman of the Council designated the Representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela as members of this committee. At its first meeting, the committee elected the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, as chairman.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIVITIES  
OF THE COMMITTEE IN VENEZUELAFriday, June 23

- 5:30 P.M. The Committee departed from New York
- 10:00 P.M. The Committee arrived at Maiquetia Airport. It was received by Minister of Foreign Affairs Ignacio Iribarren Borges and other high officials of the Ministry as well as by diplomatic representatives of the countries that make up the Committee.

Saturday, June 24

- 9:00 A.M. The Committee interviewed Foreign Minister Ignacio Iribarren Borges at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also present were the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Reinaldo Leandro Mora, and the following officials of the Foreign Ministry: Dr. Raúl Nass, Director General of the Ministry; Dr. Rafael Armando Rojas, Director of International Policy; Dr. Demetrio Broesner, Adviser on International Policy; and Mr. José Luis Martínez, Chief of the Department of International Organizations. After a broad exchange of views on the problem that motivated Venezuela's denunciation, for the consideration of which the Venezuelan authorities offered the Committee every facility, it was agreed that in the afternoon the Committee would receive information and documentation from the Ministry of the Interior.
- 4:00 P.M. At its office in the Hotel Avila, the Committee received Dr. Reinaldo Leandro Mora, who proceeded to deliver documentation to the members of the Committee.
- 5:00 P.M. The Committee heard testimony from the Venezuelan witness Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel.

Sunday, June 25

- 10:30 A.M. At the San Carlos military headquarters the Committee interrogated the Cuban prisoner Manuel Gil Castellanos. It was received there by Colonel Pedro M. Díaz Paredes, Chief of Staff of the Garrison of the Federal District, Miranda State. Before the interview, Major Antonio Zuloaga, who interviewed the prisoner at the time he was captured, gave the Committee an explanation of the background of his capture.

4:00 P.M. The Committee was received at the Ministry of National Defense by the Minister, General Ramón Florencio Gómez, who was accompanied by General Rizques Iribarren, Chief of the Joint General Staff; General Carlos Soto Tamayo, Director of the Office of Military Advisers to the President; General Heraclio Anzola; and Colonel Germán Balda Cantisani, Legal Adviser of the Ministry.

At this place, and after hearing a statement made by the Minister of National Defense and Colonel Alberto Rangel Rosas, Commandant of the Caribbean Detachment, on the events that occurred at the beach of Machurucuto, the Committee inspected the material captured by the Venezuelan authorities.

At its meeting held later for study of the documentation and other matters, the Committee decided it would be advisable for a delegation to go the following day to the beaches of Machurucuto, the landing place, to make a first-hand inspection and obtain information from witnesses, and that in the morning, divided into two groups, it would continue the interviews with other prisoners. Later, it was informed that it would be received by the President of the Republic at 11:00 A.M. of the following day.

Monday, June 26

- 8:00 A.M. A delegation made up of General Alejo Sánchez, Mr. Alfonso Guardia, Mr. Richard Poole, and Colonel Leonidas Rodríguez Figueroa left for the beaches of Machurucuto. They were accompanied by Mr. Santiago Ortiz.
- 9:00 A.M. A delegation made up of Ambassadors Fernando Ortuño Sobrado and Enriquillo del Rosario, Dr. Aramburú, and Dr. Allen visited the San Carlos military headquarters, where it interviewed Venezuelan prisoners arrested by the government for subversive activities.
- 9:00 A.M. A delegation made up of Ambassador Linowitz and Minister Canacho interviewed the Venezuelan witness Manuel Celestino Marcato Carrasquel.
- 11:00 A.M. Visit to the President of the Republic, Dr. Raúl Leoni.
- 4:00 P.M. Press conference.

6:00 P.M. Meeting of the Committee. It was decided to repeat the Committee's request to the Foreign Ministry for additional information on certain points.

It was requested that an official of the Military Intelligence Service be present, so that the Committee might obtain additional information in relation to the documentation presented by the Ministry of National Defense.



STATEMENT MADE BY DR. RAUL LEONI, PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA,  
ON JUNE 26, 1967, DURING THE VISIT PAID TO HIM BY  
THE COMMITTEE OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION

I wish to thank you for coming here, in compliance with the request made by the Government of Venezuela to the Organization of American States on June 1. I understand that you have already received sufficient information from representatives of the various government agencies whom you have interviewed, which will serve to justify our denunciation and to complete the investigation that you have begun as directed by the OAS.

I consider our request to that Organization fully justified because not only the defense of Venezuela but also the defense of the democratic interests of all the American countries threatened by the intervention of communist Cuba are involved.

The acts of intervention by the Government of Cuba in the internal politics of Venezuela have been going on for a long time. Initially, after the triumph of Castro's revolution, which proclaimed freedom and respect, relations between the two countries were very cordial. Later, when Cuba abandoned democratic principles to join another political system, it began to manifest its hostility toward the Government of Venezuela.

The Government of Venezuela previously found it necessary to present a denunciation to the OAS, invoking the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, when a shipment of arms was discovered on the Paraguana Peninsula. This action culminated in the resolution of the Ninth Meeting of Consultation condemning the intervention of Cuba in the internal affairs of Venezuela.

That resolution, however, has not had the effect desired. The Government of Cuba has continued to intervene in the internal affairs of Venezuela, and the recent landing on the beaches of Machurucuto fully confirm this. This interventionist policy is applied not only toward this country, but also toward others of the hemisphere, and the spokesmen of the Cuban Government have repeatedly stated their intention of supporting revolutionary movements in various American countries.

In the case of Venezuela, we have evidence that Cuba has given aid and training to members of Venezuelan extremist parties, so that they may return to Venezuela and conduct all kinds of subversive activities, especially in the northern part of the country. The Ministry of the Interior has evidence regarding many of these Venezuelans who came from Cuba. There can be no doubt whatever as to intellectual aggression as is evident from publications in the Cuban official press, copies of some of which surely have been given to you.

Final evidence of the other kind of aggression is found in the landing on the beaches of Machurucuto in which Venezuelans and Cubans participated. When captured by the Venezuelan authorities, the latter spontaneously mentioned their participation in this act and declared their political and military affiliation.

I want to emphasize that there are few armed insurgents in Venezuela and that if it were not for the direct support they receive from the Government of Cuba, their activities would be eliminated. From that country, they receive funds and materials to continue their subversive action. Here there were a few foci of internal subversive activity and of street action, which are disappearing, thanks to the civic action of the government. Nevertheless, owing to the intervention of the Cuban Government, Venezuela has seen all kinds of communist subversive action, ranging from propaganda to terrorism.

The most abhorrent manifestation of terrorism was the assassination of the brother of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, because it was an act that was against Venezuela's entire democratic tradition and demonstrated the intervention of ideologies foreign to this country. This act could not be explained in any way, especially since Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges did not participate in politics. His activities as an honest professional worker were well known; his only work with the government from a public post had been in the Venezuelan Institute of Social Security, and recently he had been replaced by another official. The only reason for this deed was to focus public attention on the existence of revolutionary forces in this country; it cannot be explained in any other way, because Dr. Iribarren was a man who was very well known and respected.

I consider that many of these subversive activities are possible because there is a bridge between the island of Cuba and the mainland. From Venezuela, Venezuelan extremists, as well those from other countries, reach Cuba directly from our hemisphere and from some European countries with which the Government of Cuba maintains relations, to receive instructions and antidemocratic training. An effective measure on the part of the international organizations and of friendly countries would be to eliminate these facilities that Castro has had the use of so far for his plans of subversion and intervention.

The problem of the existence of subversive elements in other countries in the hemisphere represents an additional danger for Venezuela, because of the political and economic interrelation between all the Latin American countries. The governments of our countries have agreed upon certain cooperative measures against Castro-communist subversion.

I hope that the Organization of American States, with the information that it has been able to compile here, will be able to undertake a study of this problem--a problem that is not Venezuela's alone, but one of all of Latin America--and that it will take appropriate steps to enable us to work in peace. Venezuela respects the right of self-determination of peoples, and therefore we ask that our right to govern ourselves be respected. The OAS cannot betray itself and go against one of its own basic principles, which is that of nonintervention, but it should seek a way to guarantee the right of peoples to live in democracy and peace. That is our aspiration. For that reason our purpose when we lodged our complaint was very broad, and, conscious as we are of the dangers that exist, we believe that the OAS should devise formulas that will help to assure the attainment of the aspirations expressed. This time we have not asked for the application of the extreme measures provided for in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, because in our opinion to do so would further increase the dangers of the disturbance of world peace. For that reason and out of respect for the principle of self-determination, which is fundamental in our foreign policy, Venezuela has never considered plans of unilateral political or armed intervention in Cuba, and any idea along that line should be discarded.

This is the opinion of the Government of Venezuela, and it is the same one that must have been expressed by the Venezuelan ministers of foreign affairs, interior, and defense.

REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## MEMORANDUM

FROM: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela

TO: The Chairman of the OAS Investigating Committee

SUBJECT: Direct and indirect aggression by the Cuban Government  
against the sovereignty and integrity of Venezuela

DATE: June 26, 1967

Introduction

The Government of Venezuela has addressed the Organization of American States to inform it that the Government of Cuba continues to pursue a policy of intervention and aggression against Venezuela and other countries of the Latin American area. The Venezuelan Government considers that this policy of the Cuban regime violates the general principles of international law, the principles of the Charter of the UN and of the Charter of the OAS, and very specifically, Resolution 2131 (XX), adopted in 1965 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified by it in December 1966. Venezuela further considers that the interventionist and aggressive policy of the Cuban regime represents a threat to inter-American and world peace and is a disturbing factor that tends to obstruct the planned social and economic development of the Latin American nations. For these reasons, it requested the governments of the member states of the OAS, through their respective ministers of foreign affairs, to establish the bases of a coherent policy, designed to counteract more efficiently the indirect and direct aggressions of the Cuban regime and to neutralize the interventionist action of Castroism. In raising this issue, the Venezuelan Government reaffirmed its opinion that the common action of the Latin American countries to defend themselves against Castroism should not take the form of an ideological "crusade" or of a battle against the brother people of Cuba; rather, it should be simply a resistance against an interventionism that is just as reprehensible as one under an opposite ideological banner would be.

Following is a summary of the principal facts and events that have motivated the Government of Venezuela to address the Organization of American States.

### Background, 1960-1963

During 1959, a climate of friendship and understanding prevailed between the democratic Government of Venezuela and the revolutionary Government of Cuba, inasmuch as the administration of Dr. Fidel Castro seemed inclined to maintain itself within the bounds of democratic, national revolution and to respect the sovereignty and individualities of other peoples.

Beginning in the middle of 1960, the Cuban regime started to alienate itself from that of Venezuela, manifesting its sympathy toward opposition groups within our country. By the end of the year, the Cuban authorities had expressed their conviction that the Venezuelan Government was adopting "reactionary" positions and deserved the most severe criticism. Notwithstanding this, Venezuela maintained its normal relations with Cuba and continually made evident that it favored defending the sovereignty and integrity of that country against any foreign threat.

During 1961, the Cuban regime began its policy of inciting insurrection in Venezuela. On several occasions, leaders of Venezuelan groups of the extreme left visited Havana to receive encouragement and support in an oppositionist struggle that by then had already exceeded constitutional limits and was expressing itself through acts of violence. Because of several incidents of this kind and of repeated, highly virulent verbal attacks by Castro, Venezuela severed diplomatic relations with the Cuban Government at the end of 1961.

In the meantime, the Castro regime had announced that it had joined the Sino-Soviet bloc and had proclaimed its intention of fomenting revolutions, similar to the Cuban one throughout Latin America. As is known, this attitude led to the holding of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, in Punta del Este, in accordance with Article 6 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and to the exclusion of the Cuban regime, beginning in January 1962, from participation in the inter-American system. In October 1962, the "missile crisis" made Cuba the focus of an extremely serious international situation.

During the second half of 1963, the Venezuelan Government discovered on the coast of Falcón state a large quantity of arms that had come from Cuba. These were intended for urban and rural terrorists whose aim was to prevent the holding of the December elections and to provoke chaos in the country. Venezuela requested convocation of the Organ of Consultation, in accordance with Article 6 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. An investigating committee of the OAS came to our country to verify the facts denounced, and its report was the basis upon which the Ninth Meeting of Consultation, held in July 1964, condemned the Cuban Government and, in accordance with Article 8 of the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, applied measures for the collective breaking of diplomatic, consular, and economic relations. It also warned Cuba that, if these acts of intervention and aggression were repeated, the member states of the OAS preserved their right to individual or collective self-defense.

Indirect aggressions, 1964-1967

As will be noted, from 1960 to 1963, Castroist policy with respect to Venezuela became increasingly more hostile and violent, developing from the simple verbal attacks of the year 1960 into indirect aggression, represented by the training of Venezuelan terrorists in Cuban territory and by the supplying of arms to subversive groups operating in Venezuela.

The normal holding of the December 1963 elections and President Leoni's subsequent policy of internal pacification were severe blows for the Venezuelan insurrectionary movement, which had failed completely in its endeavor to mobilize the masses or even to gain a foothold among the poorer people of the country. In 1964 there began to become evident within the Venezuelan movement of the extreme left a growing dissension between those who obstinately insisted upon rebuilding the guerrilla movement--then almost moribund as a result of the energetic action of the national Armed Forces and internal demoralization--and upon continuing the "long war," and those who thought it advisable to return to legal political action and to the "struggle of the masses," with a view to achieving "democratic peace" and a "democratic and patriotic government." This dissension within the Venezuelan movement of the extreme left reflects not only factors pertaining to the country's domestic situation, but also the impact of the international struggle between the Soviet Union and communist China. Fidel Castro, whose regime endeavors to follow "Chinese" policy without alienating itself from its alliance with the Soviet Union, was inclined and is still decidedly inclined to support adherents of the "hard line," or of the fighters to the death. He also shares the Chinese view that intervention in the internal affairs of other countries is justified when such intervention is "revolutionary" or "anti-imperialist."

With regard to Venezuela, Castroist disdain for the principle of nonintervention and nonaggression showed itself in 1964 and 1965 by means of an uninterrupted campaign through the press and radio, inciting violence in Venezuela. "Granma," Radio Havana, and the Prensa Latina news agency continually presented Venezuela as a country subjected to a "tyranny" that "the people" fought against heroically. Any isolated terrorist act was presented as a "popular" revolutionary act. A permanent mission was installed in Havana, with a quasi-diplomatic status, of the FLM-FALM clandestine organization, considered as an authentic "representative" of Venezuela. Pedro Medina Silva and Elix Manuitt Camero, former officers of the Venezuelan Armed Forces, involved in armed uprising against the constitutional government, were the chiefs of the aforesaid "missions."

On October 3, 1965, Prime Minister Fidel Castro proclaimed the determination of his regime to continue to give aid to the insurrectionary movements in Latin America: "We are responsible to the revolution and we are responsible for giving aid to the revolutionary movement, to the extent of our power, and we assume this responsibility and its consequences and risks. This has been the case for seven years and we know that as

long as imperialism exists and there are exploited and colonized peoples, we shall continue to run those risks and shall continue to assume that responsibility calmly."

On July 26, 1964, Dr. Castro expressed himself in the following terms:

That the Government of Venezuela should convcke the people of Caracas, convoke the students, convoke the workers and rural workers, and give them rifles and, afterwards, ask how long that government will last.

The truth is that it is a government frightened by the increasing force of the revolutionary movement, because, although the imperialists do not speak of this, the truth is that the revolutionary movement led by the glorious ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF VENEZUELA (applause) is growing, it is becoming increasingly stronger, it has numerous guerrilla bases that could not be crushed by the pro-imperialist and corrupt government that succeeded the equally pro-imperialist and corrupt government of Betancourt.

Constant indirect aggression against Venezuela and other Latin American countries was institutionalized in January 1966, as a result of the meeting in Havana of the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference (Tricontinental Conference), and the formal establishment of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) and its affiliate, the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). In closing the Conference on January 15, Prime Minister Castro said:

We believe that in this hemisphere, in the case of all or almost all its peoples, the struggle will take on the most violent forms. And when this is realized, the only proper thing is to prepare for the time when the battle comes. Prepare.

The agreements and resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference strongly indicate the need for assisting constant revolutionary war in the countries of the three continents. As opposed to the "orthodox" communist line, the ideas of diversity of forms of struggle and of peaceful coexistence of different regimes are excluded. To the note of protest addressed to the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council by the representatives of the Latin American countries, Dr. Castro replied with a formal statement: "The Revolutionary Government of Cuba adheres completely to the agreements approved by the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference." During the Twenty-first Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador of Cuba to the United Nations expressed the same opinion (see Lavalle Report). Thus, constant indirect aggression against Venezuela and other Latin American countries was not only institutionalized on a theoretically nongovernmental level, but received the formal approval of the Government of Cuba.

Incitement and verbal attacks against the Venezuelan constitutional order continued. There are also indications of landings on the Venezuelan coasts, possibly with Cuban assistance, of subversive elements coming from the island. On July 25, 1966, rural workers in El Morrocoy (Falcón state) said they had seen 19 armed bearded men wearing olive green uniforms, who were going from the coast towards the mountains. Two other rural workers were kidnapped by the said group and obliged to serve as guides. The armed men arrived in a green launch equipped with two 50-horsepower motors, and rings and wire cables, which lead one to suppose that it was lowered from a mother ship.

In his speech delivered on January 2, 1967, Prime Minister Castro was especially aggressive against the government and the political and social system of Venezuela. He proclaimed the need for continuing on the road of armed struggle and said:

This is the reason for our message of solidarity and encouragement to the revolutionary combatants of Latin America; our message of solidarity to the heroic fighter Commander Douglas Bravo, whose determined, firm, and profoundly revolutionary action helped to save the Venezuelan revolution from crisis; our message to Luben Petkoff, to Prado, and to all the guerrilla fighters of Falcón and of the Bachiller mountains.

On March 3, 1967, the body of the former Director of Social Security of Venezuela, Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, who had been kidnapped several days before was found. In regard to the kidnapping, the "poetic" commentary of the CMQ news report from Havana was as follows: "It was a masterly kidnapping [Luis Manzoni told me yesterday] and he proposed another kidnapping: to kidnap Raúl Leoni."

On March 6, the official newspaper of the Cuban regime, "Granma," published a statement by the Venezuelan citizen Elías Manuitt Camero in his capacity as representative in Cuba of the FLN-FALN. Manuitt wrote that the assassination of Julio Iribarren was an act of "revolutionary justice" and that his organization was the author of the deed. He also warned that other crimes of the same kind would be committed in reply to the Venezuelan government's "repression." Manuitt's statement, and the fact that the official organ of the Cuban regime had published it in an obviously approving manner, caused a wave of indignation and repudiation among all sectors in Venezuela, including the "orthodox"-line Communist Party.

On March 13, Prime Minister Fidel Castro delivered a long speech in which he made a detailed analysis of Venezuelan domestic politics from the fall of the dictatorship (1958) to the present. He called the democratic leaders of the country traitors and renegades, insulted President Leoni, and also violently attacked the Communist Party of Venezuela. He attacked it because it had criticized the people who assassinated



Iribarren Borges and because it advocated the use of nonviolent methods of struggle. He stated that the only valid and correct way to fight the Venezuelan regime consisted in armed struggle. This speech produced reactions not only in the democratic sectors but also even in the Communist Party of Venezuela, which accused Castro of intolerable interference in the internal affairs of the country and of setting himself up as the "arbiter" of the Latin American revolution. (Even before these occurrences, the CPV had expelled from its ranks the ultrawarlike group of Douglas Bravo, which was unconditionally backed by Castro.)

Venezuela believes that there is no precedent in the history of our century for a chief of government's intervening so barefacedly in the internal politics of a country with which his is not in a formal state of war. Nor is there any precedent for the publication in an official newspaper of praise of a personal crime and incitations to other crimes of the same kind in another country. The fact clearly becomes even more serious, from the point of view of international law, when it is considered that the transgressing state is a member of the United Nations.

#### Direct aggression

Finally, on May 8, 1967, the Castro regime went on from institutionalized and official, but still indirect, aggression to direct aggression, by causing the landing on the eastern coast of Venezuela, near the town of Machurucuto (Miranda state), of a group of officers and soldiers who were members of the regular armed forces of Cuba. According to statements made by the two members of the group who were captured, the following Cuban nationals participated in that expedition:

Lieutenant Antonio Briones Montoto, First in Command  
of the Operation

Lieutenant Pascual Martínez Gil, Second in Command  
of the Operation

Lieutenant Manuel Gil Castellanos, Third in Command

Lieutenant Arturo Martínez Escobar

Lieutenant Eladio Guerra González

Civil Topographer Gilberto Picco

Militiaman Pedro Cabrera Torres.

They disembarked from a mother ship on two French-manufactured rafts with a capacity of from 12 to 15 equipped men. Each raft carried two portable radios, 4 rifles, and special equipment for amphibious commando operations, used for clandestine infiltration. The Venezuelan authorities

succeeded in capturing part of this material, including one of the rafts, an A-K rifle made in North Korea, and other items. A package was also found containing \$10,000 and 500 bolivars.

One of the invaders, Antonio Briones Montoto, was killed by Venezuelan troops in a fray on May 11. Two of them, Pedro Cabrera Torres and Manuel Gil Castellanos, were captured. When they were interrogated, they confessed that they belonged to the regular armed forces of Cuba and had been sent to Venezuela with the mission of landing Venezuelan guerrillas coming from Cuba. In their own hand each wrote a statement to this effect and signed it. They indicated the names of their Cuban companions, as shown above. And they said that the mother ship of the expedition had sailed on April 29 from the maritime terminal of Havana, reaching Santiago de Cuba on May 1, whence it sailed on May 3 for Venezuela.

Later, the prisoner Pedro Cabrera Torres committed suicide in his cell. Manuel Gil Castellanos, upon being interrogated by a judge about his companion's suicide, stated, among other things, that he and Cabrera had not suffered any physical mistreatment on the part of the Venezuelan military authorities.

On May 13, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, presided over by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in his capacity of First Secretary of the Party, issued a statement in which it attempted to deny that the two Cubans captured by the Venezuelan Armed Forces were regular members of its country's army. In contrast, it expressed its solidarity with the act of the captured Cubans and its determination to continue to back actively foreign insurrectionary movements: "Indeed, we are giving and we shall give aid, whenever it is requested of us, to all the revolutionary movements that are struggling against imperialism anywhere in the world."

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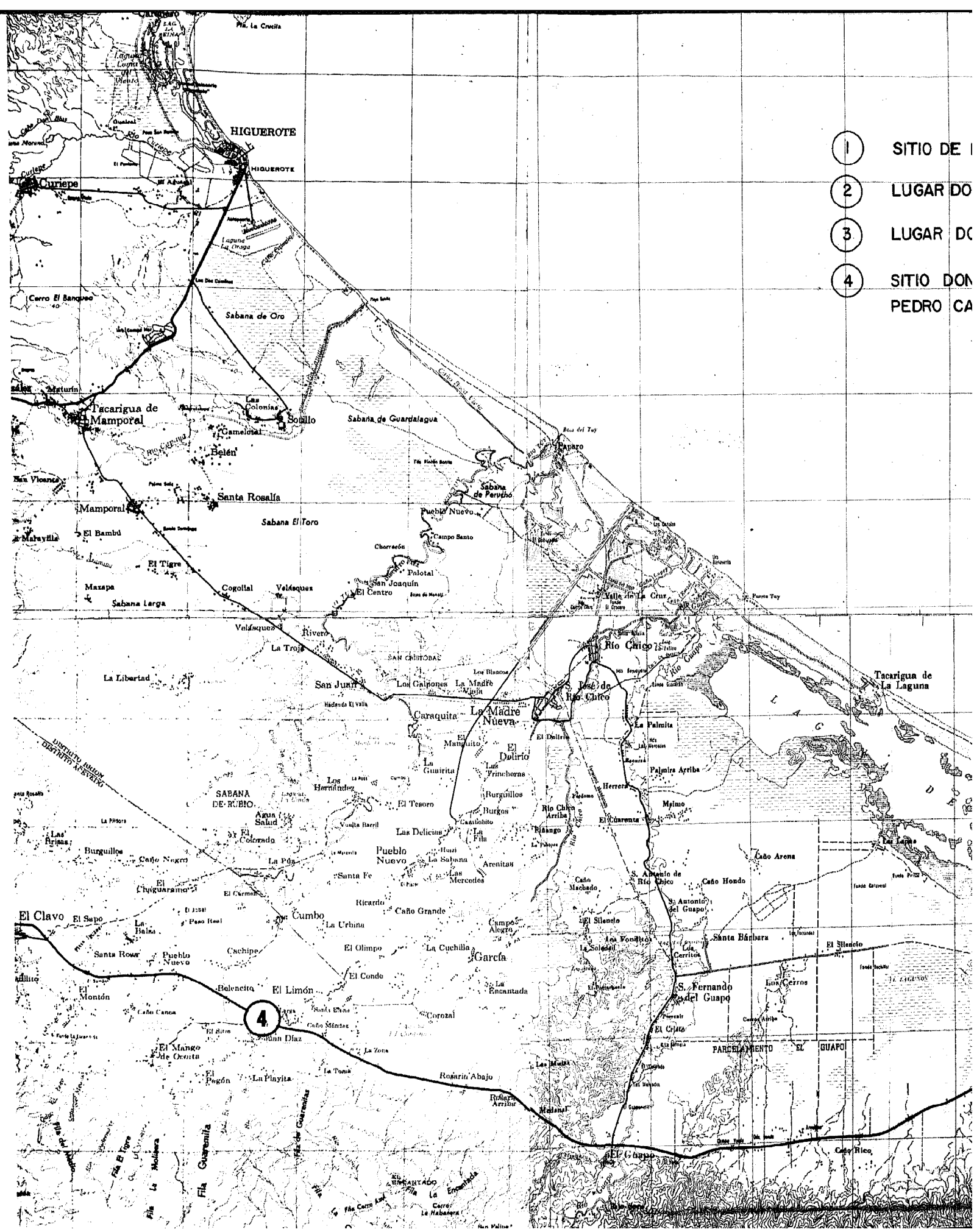
In conclusion, Venezuela is of the opinion that the policy carried out toward it by the Cuban regime has been evolving from extraofficial indirect aggression to institutionalized and official indirect aggression, and finally to direct aggression. The Venezuelan Government submits to the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation for consideration all the facts enumerated, as examples of a general Castroist policy of intervention and aggression against the inter-American community. It feels that a general and coherent policy of ever more evident intervention and aggression should be counteracted by an equally general and coherent policy of defense of the right of each people of the Americas to build a better future in accordance with its own inclinations and its own national idiosyncrasy. In order to allow the Foreign Ministers of the Americas the greatest latitude in determining this policy, it has preferred to request the convocation of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation in accordance with Article 39 and 40 of the Charter of the OAS, instead of on the basis of Article 6 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

MAP OF THE MACHURUCUTO LANDING AREA

Key

1. Landing site.
2. Place where the encounter occurred in which First Lieutenant Briones Montoto was killed.
3. Place where the body of Lt. Briones Montoto was buried.
4. Place where Second Lieutenant Gil Castellanos and Militiaman Pedro Cabrera Torres were captured.

Colonel Rangel Rosas



- ① SITIO DE I
- ② LUGAR DO
- ③ LUGAR DO
- ④ SITIO DON  
PEDRO CA

4

REFERENCIA

O DE DESEMBARCO

SAR DONDE HUBO EL ENCUENTRO, PERDIO LA VIDA EL 1er. TTE. BRIONES MOXTOTO.

SAR DONDE FUE ENTERRADO EL CADAVER DEL TTE. BRIONES MOXTOTO.

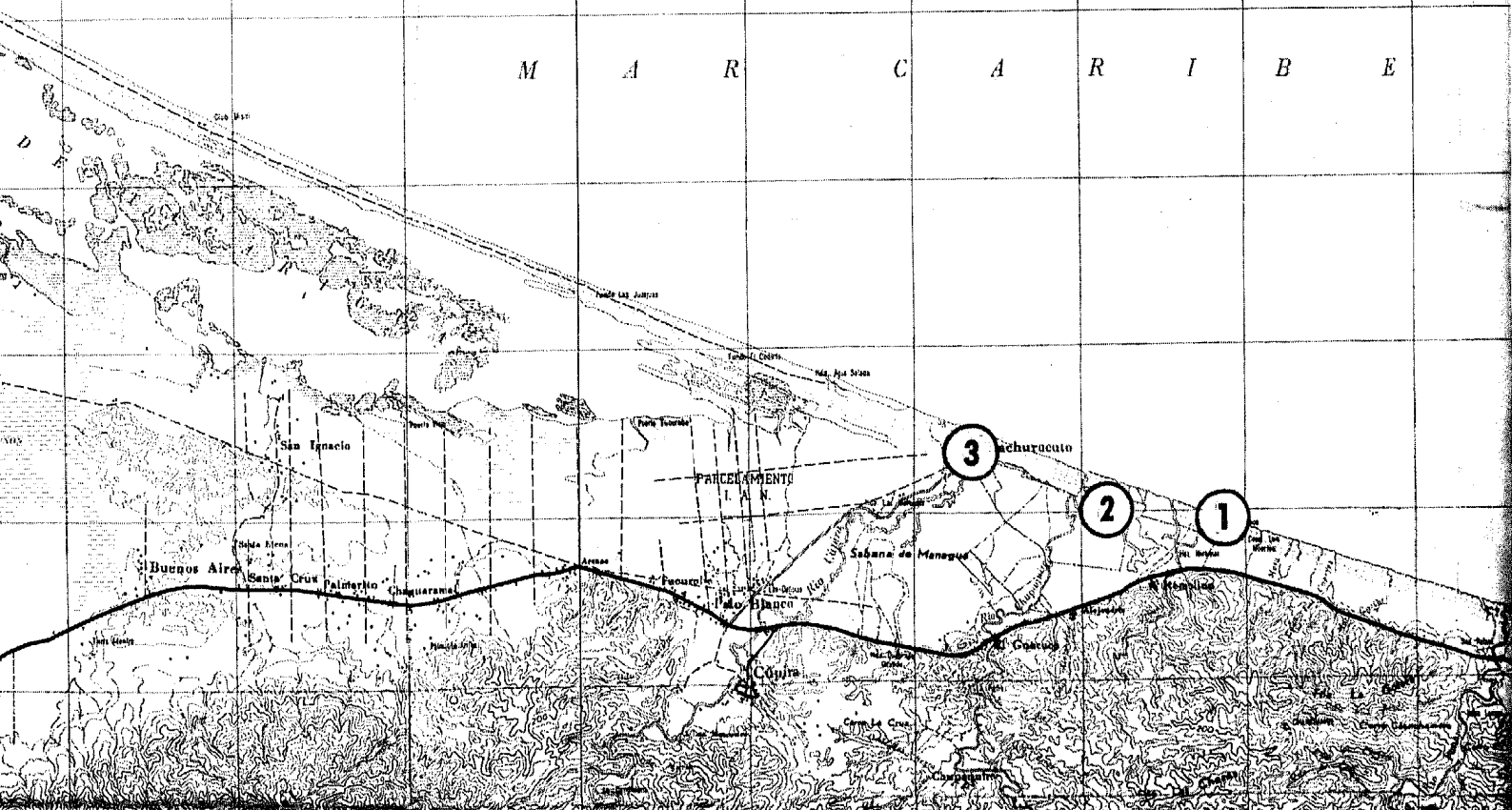
O DONDE FUERON CAPTURADOS EL 2do. TTE. GIL CASTELLANOS Y EL MILICIANO

ORO CABRERA TORRES.

RANGEL ROSAS  
CNEL.

de  
una

M A R C A R I B E



LIST AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF MATERIAL  
CAPTURED ON THE BEACHES OF MACHURUCUTO

REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA  
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE - ARMY  
BASIC ELEMENTS COMMAND  
SECTION II

LIST OF MATERIAL CAPTURED FROM BANDITS IN THE  
"NAVAL LT. PONCE LUGO" OPERATION, BETWEEN THE CHUPAQUIRE  
AND PANAPO RIVERS, IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF MAY 9, 1967

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Quantity</u> | <u>Description</u>   |
|------------|-----------------|--|
| 1.         | 1               | Two-tube Neupren rubber boat, with 4 compartments each tube. Trademark ZODIAC 92 Courbrevie. Type 5450. Capacity, 15 persons. Length, 5.84 meters; width, 2.30 meters. French manufacture. |
| 2.         | 1               | Johnson Super Quiet outboard motor. Serial No. 378644-D2. 60 H.P.  |
| 3.         | 1               | Lifejacket.  |
| 4.         | 1               | Radio transmitter, Trademark NATIONAL. Serial No. 10091. Japanese manufacture.   |
| 5.         | 1               | Frogman's waterproof suit for landing, consisting of: 1 jacket, 1 trousers, 1 cartridge belt, 1 pair boots, 1 pair boots covers, 1 pair stockings, 1 beret and one pouch with cartridges.  |
| 6.         | 1               | Gasoline tank.   |
| 7.         | 3               | Green hammocks with mosquito netting.  |
| 8.         | 3               | Green field equipment packs with harness.  |
| 9.         | 3               | Complete canteens (cans and covers).   |
| 10.        | 1               | Waterproof tent.   |
| 11.        | 1               | Map of El Bachiller region.  |
| 12.        | 1               | Blue sweater with fringe.  |
| 13.        | 307             | 7.11 mm. cartridges.   |
| 14.        | 1               | Pair campaign boots, of Mexican manufacture.   |
| 15.        | 1               | Cartridge belt.  |

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Quantity</u> | <u>Description</u>   |
|------------|-----------------|--|
| 16.        | 12              | Plastic pouches with cartridges.                                 |
| 17.        | 14              | Patches (rubber).  |
| 18.        | 2               | Portable MC MURDO lanterns.                                      |
| 19.        | 1               | 1.5 volt lantern battery, of Chinese manufacture.                |
| 20.        | 1               | Roll of nylon cord.  |
| 21.        | 1               | Roll of sisal rope.  |
| 22.        | 1               | AK-47 rifle. Serial No. 2669. 7.62 mm. North Korean manufacture. |
| 23.        | 7               | Vials of anti-snakebite serum.                                   |
| 24.        | 15              | Alka-Seltzer.  |
| 25.        | 8               | 10 ml. ampules of distilled water.                               |
| 26.        | 10              | Percodan tablets.  |
| 27.        | 6               | Anti-diarrhea tablets.   |
| 28.        | 1               | Bottle of Scott's Emulsion.                                      |
| 29.        | 1               | Envelope with Vitamin C tablets.                                 |
| 30.        | 1               | Envelope with anti-diarrhea tablets.                             |
| 31.        | 2               | Packages of gauze.   |
| 32.        | 1               | Case with toothbrush and toothpaste.                             |
| 33.        | 1               | Case with anti-snakebite serum.                                  |
| 34.        | 4               | Vials of VI-SYNERAL vitamin.                                     |
| 35.        | 2               | Packages of sausage.   |
| 36.        | 2               | Jars of cooking oil.   |
| 37.        | 9               | Curitas adhesive bandages.                                       |
| 38.        | 1               | Jar of glue.   |
| 39.        | 2               | Envelopes of sugar.  |



| <u>No.</u> | <u>Quantity</u> | <u>Description</u>                          |
|------------|-----------------|---|
| 40.        | 2               | Books of matches.                           |
| 41.        | 4               | Bottles of iodine.                          |
| 42.        | 3               | Bottles of liquid oxygen.                   |
| 43.        | 1               | Bottle of tablets for purifying water.      |
| 44.        | 1               | Bottle of PFIZER tablets.                   |
| 45.        | 1               | Bottle of PRO-BANTHINE tablets.             |
| 46.        | 2               | Bottles of ointment.                        |
| 47.        | 1               | Red cotton scarf.                           |
| 48.        | 1               | Striped scarf.                              |
| 49.        | 1               | Pair green stockings.                       |
| 50.        | 1               | "STAR" pistol, 9 mm., Serial No. DK-703542. |
| 51.        | 4               | Cartridge pouches.                          |
| 52.        | 1               | Watch, trademark ROLEX.                     |

MONEY:

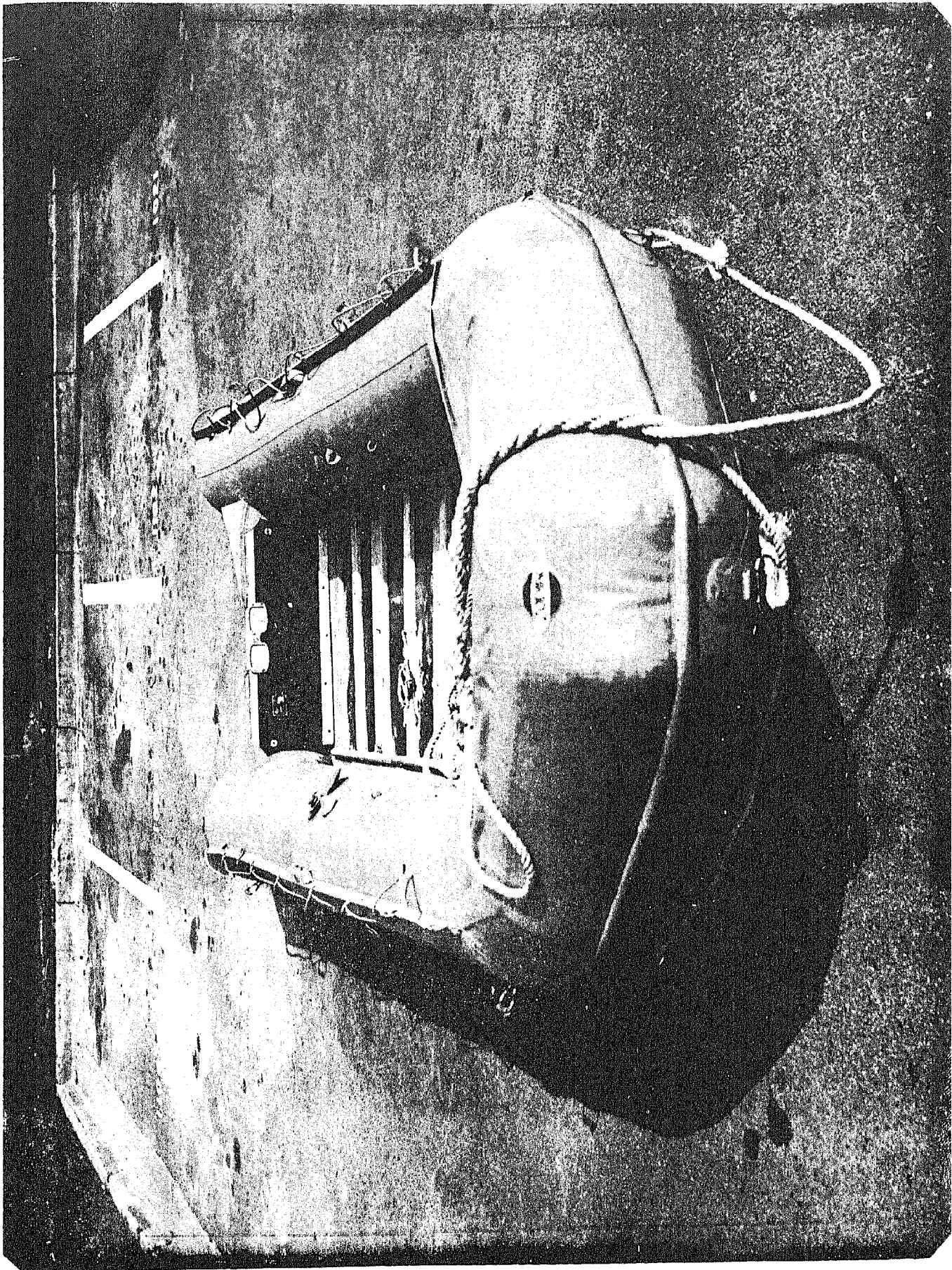
\$9,700 in \$50 bills.

1,455 bolivars in bills of various denominations.

Caracas, May 11, 1967

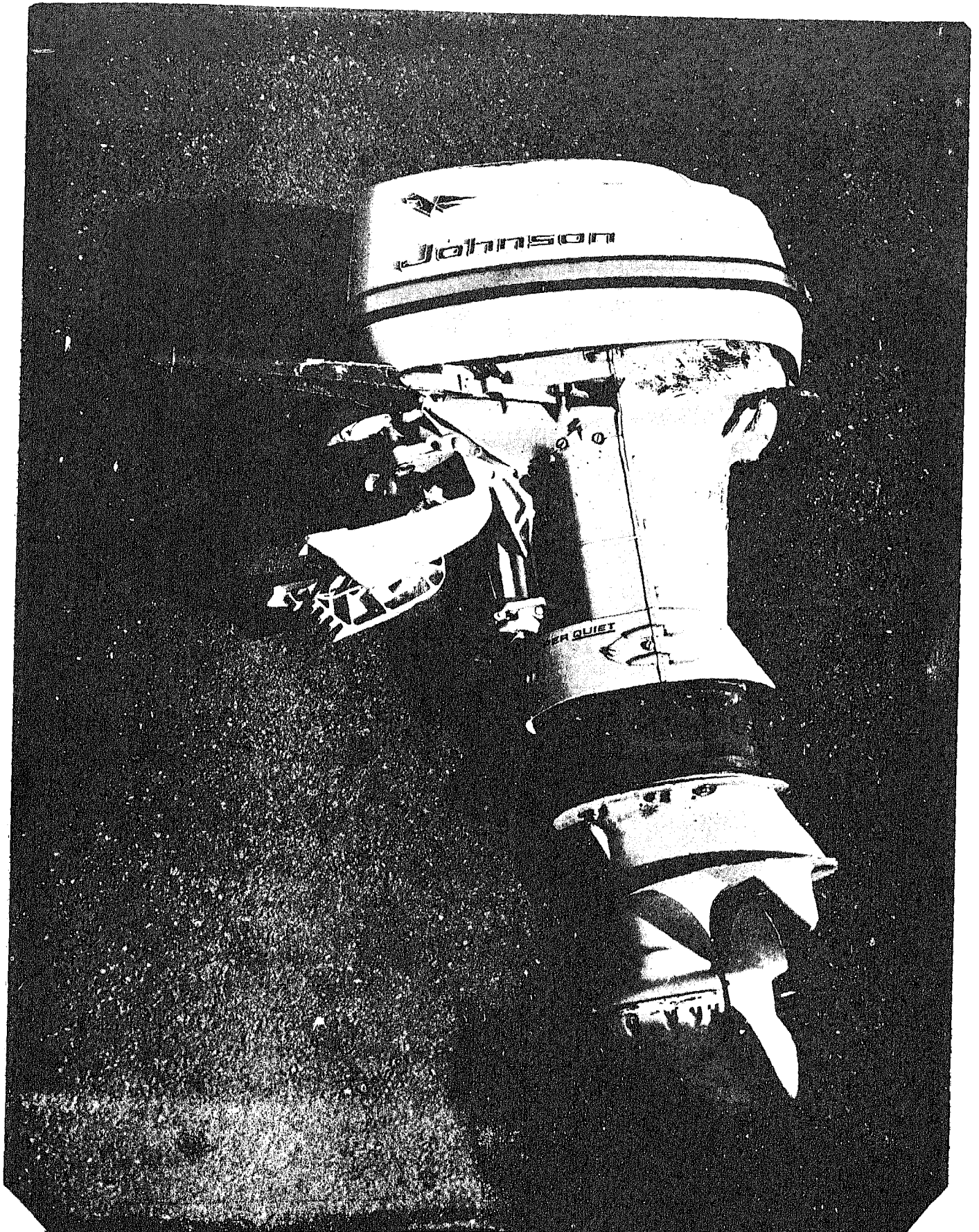


Complete campaign equipment used for a commando operation by Venezuelan and Cuban personnel.

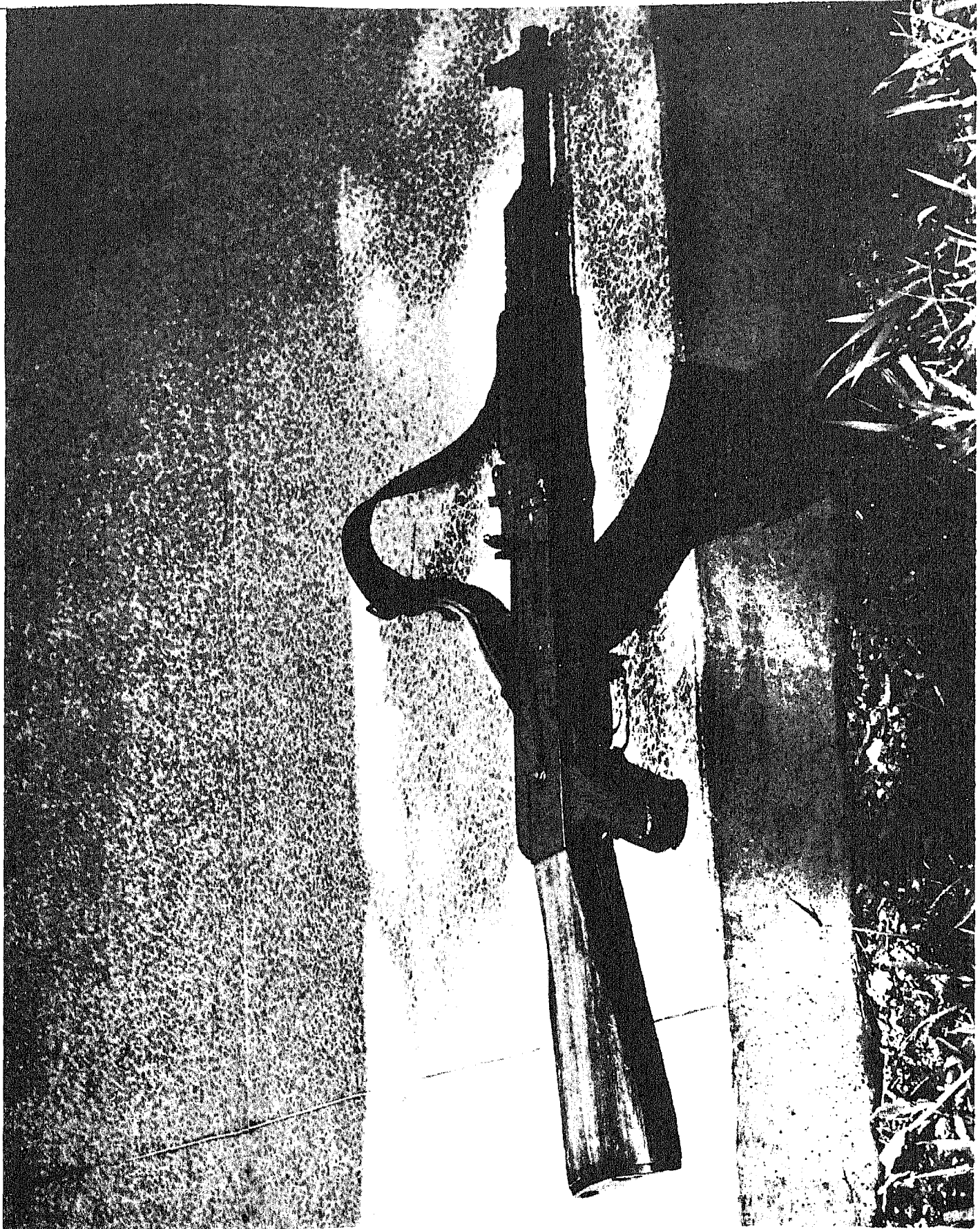


Another view of the "ZODIAC" raft, of French manufacture, used for commando operation by Venezuelan and Cuban personnel.





View of the motor, trademark "Johnson," belonging to the raft used for a commando operation by Venezuelan and Cuban personnel, found on the Venezuelan coast.



AK rifle, manufactured in North Korea. A semiautomatic rifle, 7.62 mm., used in a commando operation by Venezuelan and Cuban personnel.

APPENDIX 8

STATEMENTS BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

(Translated from the Spanish text published in the  
newspaper Granma on May 18, 1967)

As our people has been able to learn from cables released by all the international press agencies--cables that have been published verbatim by our newspapers--the lackey government of Venezuela, following evident instructions of its masters in Washington, is trying to unleash an hysterical campaign of violence, aggression, and war against our country.

They are speaking in such really shameful terms as naval and air blockade, ultimatum, collective armed attack, economic boycott of the countries trading with Cuba, and so forth. This means that they are threatening and trying to intimidate our country in the crudest fashion.

What has caused this fit of belligerent hysterics, these frightful threats, and these outrageous cries of war?

Is it perhaps that the "illustrious" rulers of Latin America are getting excited about supporting the Dominican people, who are still under the occupation of the Yankee soldiers? Are they demanding a halt to the occupation of the Panama Canal and punishment for the massacre committed not long ago against the people of that country by U.S. soldiers?

Are they condemning the barbaric and brutal air raids on North Viet-Nam and the genocide being committed against the people of South Viet-Nam? Are they protesting against the United States for the impudent participation of its Special Forces in the repression of the revolutionary movements in Latin America? Are they demanding the closing of the military schools that have been set up in Panama and the United States itself by imperialism in order to train thousands of butchers of the oligarchic armies in the technique of pursuing and exterminating revolutionary fighters?

Are they demanding that the territory of the Guantanamo Naval Base be returned to Cuba--territory from which, from time to time, they fire on our soil and murder Cuban sentries?

Are they condemning, even though belatedly, the Girón invasion, which was organized by the Central Intelligence Agency with bases in Nicaragua and Guatemala? Are they condemning the bombing of our cities by Yankee planes bearing Cuban markings, or the pirate attacks coming from the bases established around Cuba, or the thousands of infiltrations, or the mass parachuting of arms to supply counterrevolutionary groups, or the other misdeeds of this kind that the Yankee imperialists have been carrying out uninterruptedly against Cuba for eight years?

Are they demanding that imperialism immediately cease the criminal and cowardly economic blockade of a Latin American country--a blockade that is being carried out in violation of all international and human laws and with the repugnant complicity of all the Latin American governments, with the honorable exception of Mexico?

No! These and many other deeds of **this** kind are not important. They are absolutely unworthy of being taken into consideration.

What incites their fury and their hysterics is the report of the presence of three Cubans--one of whom was killed and two arrested--when, as is stated, they were helping a group of eight Venezuelan revolutionaries return to their country. These are precisely some of the Venezuelan revolutionaries who have been fighting for years to liberate their country from the tutelage and exploitation of the Yankee monopolies. For that, they are murdered--*ipso facto*--when they fall into the hands of the repressive police of the regime. That, indeed, is reason to urge them to demand an immediate, fulminating, and exterminating action against Cuba.

This is the philosophy, the concept of right and international law, the ethics, and the rules that the imperialists want to impose on the world.

The curious thing is that when these saintly men speak of war against Cuba, they are thinking of a war that must be fought by the Yankee army, navy, and air force. In other words, they think in cowardly fashion about what in their opinion would be a simple and easy genocide of our people by the imperialists. This is what lies behind the melodramatic boastings of Señor Leoni. Moreover his statements contain a series of lies. None of the three Cuban youths he mentions belongs to the regular army of Cuba.

Antonio Briones Kontoto: 27 years old. When almost an adolescent, he participated actively in the clandestine struggle against Batista. Afterward, he served in several fields of the revolution, but he never belonged to the regular army of Cuba.

Manuel Gil Castellanos: 25 years old. Because of his age, he could not participate in the guerrilla warfare, and he was never a member of the regular army of Cuba. Like Briones, he engaged in other revolutionary activities.

Pedro Cabrera Torres: 29 years old. He comes from a rural family. He was a member of the army for a little over one year between 1961 and 1963, when he left it.

It is also false that a Soviet-made rifle coming from Cuba could have been seized, because all weapons of the kind that the USSR has supplied the Republic of Cuba are perfectly registered and controlled by the army's Ordnance Section, and none of them has disappeared.



Concerning all the statements contained in the official declaration, they cannot show anything but the testimony attributed to persons who are absolutely at the mercy of their jailers, whose lack of scruples and brutal methods are well known.

But let no one say that we are interested in escaping any responsibility. It is neither necessary to invent any lie nor to prove any truth when it comes to the aims pursued by imperialism and its repressive policy against the Cuban revolutionary movement. Yankee imperialism constitutes a system that is trying to impose itself on the world, using for this purpose the most draconian and pitiless methods. Imperialism is waging a war to the death against the revolutionary movement of the entire world. Our people have known very intimately, in their own flesh, the results of this imperialist design since the very day--after a long and heroic struggle--when we achieved, for the first time in four centuries of history, the right to direct our own fate and to forge our future. We are fighting unceasingly, and shall continue to do so, against criminal imperialism and against all its accomplices and lackeys.

The loathsome comedy played by the Organization of American States is superfluous because imperialism has never needed excuses to commit its crimes. Nor does the Cuban revolution need to ask its permission or pardon to fulfill its duties of solidarity with all the revolutionaries of the world, including the Venezuelan revolutionaries, because the justification for the action of the revolutionaries lies in the very existence of imperialism.

The fundamental objective of the imperialist strategy in the contemporary world is very clear: to smash the liberation movements by repressing them through the most brutal and violent use of military power, to make colonies once again of the countries that recently acquired their independence, to establish in the world conditions of absolute privilege for its economic interests, and to brutally impose itself on all mankind.

In order to carry out its bloody policy of repression against the revolutionary liberation movements in the underdeveloped countries, Yankee imperialism has tried to establish a strange right, that is, the right to intervene militarily with its armed forces and to unleash destructive and pitiless wars against small and weak countries and to smash them one at a time. In Santo Domingo, with an army of 40,000 men, the imperialists bloodily stifled the country's revolutionary movement without needing any pretext or the agreement of the OAS, from which they later impudently requested the go-ahead. Almost 1 million soldiers of various nationalities are waging a genocidal war against the people of South Viet-Nam. Yankee soldiers are militarily occupying South Korea and part of the territory of Laos, and they are barbarically bombing the soil of North Viet-Nam and the liberated zones of Laos. They threaten Cambodia and North Korea with their aggression, and they maintain the protectorate of Taiwan with their squadrons.

In order to carry out these villainies, they used the military bases established in territories of several countries in all the continents --sometimes kept by force, as happens with the occupied territory of Guantanamo. Some of these bases, such as those in Thailand, participate directly and actively in these acts of aggression.

Imperialism internationalizes its repressive wars by using soldiers of various nationalities, as it did in Korea and as it presently does in South Viet-Nam with the participation of South Korean, Thai, Philippine, New Zealand, and Australian soldiers, or as it did in Santo Domingo with the subsequent participation of Brazilian, Costa Rican, Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Paraguayan soldiers, or as it wants to do through its attempts to establish an international force against Cuba and the liberation movements of this continent by using the OAS.

In the judgment of Yankee imperialism, all these deeds are legitimate --they are moral. It is its assumed right to practice piracy and crime in all corners of the world--Korea, Viet-Nam, the Congo, Laos, Cuba, and Santo Domingo.

No nation can feel secure, because tomorrow Yankee imperialism may unleash new aggressions in Korea again, or in Cambodia, Syria, the UAR, Algeria, or Cuba, just to cite a few cases.

The CIA's plots and the reactionary coups d'etat such as those in Brazil and Argentina in Latin America, Ghana in Africa, Indonesia in Asia, take place uninterruptedly. Directly or indirectly, the activity of the Yankee imperialists today affects all nations in all continents.

Even Western Europe is being colonized economically more and more by Yankee imperialism.

Millions of European workers work to increase its profits. Monopolist Yankee capital acquires ever larger participation in many of the principal industries and, Yankee capitalists acquire this increase in participation, not only with dividends received from Europe by exploiting British, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Belgian, Dutch, and other workers but also, as some financial authorities have said, with the banking resources of these nations, since their monetary exchange is in large part U.S. bills, while the gold remains in U.S. coffers. In all European enterprises in which Yankee participation is a majority or is decisive, they impose over the sovereignty of each nation the policy of the U.S. Government. None of these industrial enterprises, regardless of the nation in which they are located, will buy or sell any products from or to nations like Korea, Viet-Nam, China, or Cuba--nations on which Yankee imperialism has imposed its draconian economic blockades. Moreover, they exercise all kinds of pressures over the rest of the national industries by threatening them with economic reprisals to make them participate in their criminal policy. They do the same thing with banking, trade, and shipping enterprises.

Nor does the United States hide its objective of using economic relations to penetrate, weaken, demoralize, corrupt, and divide the socialist

countries of Europe. There is not a single act of Yankee international policy that is not based on this morality, on this policy, on these strategic objectives.

The army coup promoted by the United States in Greece demonstrates that not even Europe is immune to the schemes used by Yankee imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But it is in the small and militarily weak nations of the so-called third world that imperialism's policy shows itself more savagely aggressive and belligerent.

There is no system that can provide guarantees to these nations against imperialism's vandal acts. Even the United Nations has not provided the peoples with the least security. Far from it, generally it has been an instrument to validate the crimes and misdeeds of Yankee imperialism. It cannot be any other way, since in this organization, the same law that imperialism has imposed on the world represented there governs.

This fact is all too clear, especially, for those regions of the world that more directly feel the heavy hand of imperialism and that have been compelled to wage, under difficult conditions, a resolute and determined struggle against imperialism. This struggle determines our international policy.

Therefore, we, the Cuban revolutionaries, have not signed and shall not sign any agreement on the cessation or banning of nuclear tests or against the proliferation of weapons of this kind, such as those agreed upon under the auspices of the United Nations, although at the present stage of our technical development this means nothing but a position taken as a matter of principle.

The Yankee imperialists are not only continuing to develop their nuclear weapons, they are also developing, at full speed, deadly instruments of chemical and bacteriological warfare. What result can renunciation by the peoples of the development of their means of defense have other than to facilitate for the imperialists the ideal conditions under which they can subject the world to their terror and blackmail? Until there exists for all mankind a system that will give the peoples, without exception, equal, effective guarantees of security, without privileges for anyone, the right of the nations threatened by imperialism to develop their means of defense, whatever they may be, cannot be renounced.

This is why we refuse to accept any international UN force, which would serve only as one more instrument of aggression in the hands of the Yankee imperialists.

This is why we refuse to accept the right of the United States to impose, as occurred in the October crisis, its decision on what kind of weapons our constantly threatened country should possess. Even less would we consent to the inspection of our territory, because this would amount to endorsing the right of the aggressors to decide on what weapons its future victims should or should not possess.

This is why we consider that it is not only a moral, revolutionary duty, but a vital necessity for the peoples of the world of today, faced by the imperialist policy of repression and internationalization of punitive wars against the revolutionary movements, to encourage and to increase to the maximum solidarity with, and help for, the revolutionaries who, in any part of the world, are fighting or are ready to fight against imperialism.

Some people believe that the adoption of a consistent, resolute, revolutionary policy toward imperialism would lead inexorably to a nuclear conflict. This is to suppose that the Yankee imperialist are suicidal. The Yankee imperialists are powerful, but they are neither invincible nor suicidal. The road which, by the laws of history, will lead to the solution of the conflict between the interests of this imperialism and those of the rest of mankind is the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. In the face of this struggle, the imperialists' conventional, chemical, bacteriological, or nuclear weapons will be useless.

To defeat imperialism is not to defeat the U.S. people or the U.S. nation. The small groups who control Yankee monopolistic capital are a tiny minority in the United States. The people of the United States--the immense majority--consist of millions of workers in industry, farmers who cultivate the land, intellectuals, and students. Among this millions are considerable groups of the Negro population who are fighting arduously for their rights.

Very seldom is it taken into account that the people of the United States are one of the great victims of Yankee imperialism. It is the people who, to a great extent, pay with the sweat of their toil and the blood of their sons, for the unjust, repressive wars of the imperialists. Recently, the Pentagon declared, perhaps trying to answer the revolutionary rallying cry of Maj. Ernesto Guevara, that it is in a position to wage simultaneously several wars similar to the war in Viet-Nam.

This is what the Pentagon thinks, but it is not what U.S. mothers think. It is not what the U.S. Negro population, deprived of the most elementary rights, thinks. Nor is it what the workers who work for a living or the immense majority of students and U.S. young people can logically think. This assertion by the Pentagon may be true as a quantitative expression of the sum total of its technical resources, but it is very far from being true in terms of human, moral, and political resources. These are not enough to win in even one country--Viet-Nam--far from being enough to wage several Viet-Nam type wars. Such a road

would lead to an awakening of unpredictable dimensions in the conscience of the people of the United States. Therefore, in this contemporary development of history, the peoples fighting for their liberation and the people of the United States will be coming increasingly close to one another. They will be called upon one day to live in sincere peace and friendship over the ruins of an imperial policy that can only try to survive by resorting to crime and the genocide of entire peoples.

The question for the peoples presents itself as follows: either they must surrender to imperialism or resist and fight. In all periods of history to resist and fight implies facing the risks that resistance and struggle involve, just as to surrender means simply to surrender.

Fear of nuclear blackmail leads to an inexorable result--surrender without resistance and without struggle against imperialism. So the fiction and the lie that the imperialists are ready to commit suicide becomes for them a much more effective weapon than their atomic arsenal.

If we want peace, this peace must reach all peoples equally. In the world of today, scourged by an empire whose claws extend to all the continents, the concept of peace can be honest only if it is universal. In the same way, the concept of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems, if it does not guarantee equally the integrity, sovereignty, and independence of all countries, large and small, is essentially contrary to the principles of proletarian internationalism. What peace do the Vietnamese enjoy? What kind of coexistence is that practiced by the U.S. Government with that country? The men, women, old people, young people, and children die there daily--victims of the most modern military techniques. They see falling on their country so many bombs that they soon will exceed the total weight of the bombs dropped on Europe during World War II--their combined destructive power is greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What do the words peace, European security, peaceful coexistence, and other similar idyllic phrases mean to them?

Our party and our people, therefore, do not reject their revolutionary responsibility before the world, nor will they flee from combat, with its consequences and sacrifices, in whatever form and in whatever field imperialism may decide to initiate it against us.

They accuse us of wanting to subvert order in this hemisphere, and we do indeed proclaim the historic necessity that the peoples subvert the order established by imperialism in Latin America and in the rest of the world. They accuse us of preaching the revolutionary overthrow of established governments in Latin America, and we do indeed believe that all the oligarchical governments of gorillas, in uniform or out of uniform, servants of imperialism and accomplices in its crimes, must be swept away by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. They accuse us of helping the revolutionary movement, and indeed we are giving and we shall continue to give aid, whenever it is requested of us, to all the revolutionary movements that are struggling against imperialism anywhere in the world.

We shall never accept the status quo that imperialism wants to impose on mankind, nor its draconian laws nor its unscrupulous huckster's morality. Our right is the right of peoples to emancipate themselves from exploitation and slavery. It is the right of mankind to rebel against the aggressions and crimes of imperialism, the principal bulwark of reaction in the world.

Our laws are the laws of the inevitable revolutionary development of human society. Our morality is the morality of revolutionary fighters, one of whose most inescapable and sacred principles in the world of today is international solidarity.

What we shall do against the threats looming over our country today is to redouble our defensive effort without abandoning our arduous and increasingly successful work on the path of the cultural, technical, and economic development of our country under the present conditions of economic blockade and, if it should be necessary, even under conditions of total blockade, because at this stage no force in the world will be able to destroy our revolution.

The Yankee imperialists and all of their accomplices in the aggressions against Cuba will have to accept the consequences of their acts.

It in no way surprises us that the corrupt, servile, clique of men who have sold out their country and now rule in Venezuela should incite imperialist war against our people, because for several years they have been making war against the people of Venezuela, and their impotence to crush the revolutionary movement explains their desperation.

Today they are asking for imperialist intervention against Cuba. Tomorrow they will ask for the intervention of the Marines in Venezuela itself.

If the report is true that the young Cuban Antonio Briones Montoto was killed by two bullets in the head and lies buried 60 meters from the beach in the Machurucuto cemetery because he wished to help the Venezuelan revolutionaries, our party and our people make common cause with his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist, and heroic act. To give one's life to serve the Venezuelan revolution not only fits in with the purest Marxist-Leninist concepts, but it also fits in with the finest traditions of Bolívar and the Venezuelan nation, whose sons fought and died for the independence of many other sister peoples of this hemisphere. Bolívar once wished to fight for the independence of Cuba. Let those who incite the imperialist war against our homeland cease to invoke his name! Between the peoples of Venezuela and Cuba there will never be war. It does not matter what the OAS and its master decide in Washington. Fatherland or death! We shall win!

(Signed) Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

STATEMENTS BY MAJOR ELIAS MANUETT ON THE EXECUTION  
OF IRIBARREN IN CARACAS<sup>1/</sup>

The Government of Raúl Leoni, in a new example of its increasing weakness and fearfulness over the numerous blows that the revolutionary forces are dealing it, has just decreed a new suspension of constitutional guarantees, taking as a pretext the recent execution of Julio Iribarren Borges.

Recently, on the occasion of the disappearance and the murder by the Acción Democrática government of the revolutionary leaders Andrés Pasquier and Felipe Malaver, the National Command of the FLN-FALN of Venezuela issued a statement to the effect that for each combatant of the revolutionary movement murdered by the government the patriotic forces would respond by applying revolutionary justice to three representatives of the government, accomplices in the repression and the misery now being experienced in our country, which is governed by traitors in the service of the Yankees.

In the cases of the various missing persons from the revolutionary movement--who it has later been established were murdered by the government--appeals to the country's ordinary courts, requests for information on the whereabouts of these persons, and statements to the press by the mothers or wives of the missing have been of no avail.

For these reasons, as announced in leaflets circulated in Caracas, our movement decided to apply revolutionary justice to Julio Iribarren Borges, a high-ranking figure of the government, an accomplice in the deception and outrages committed against Venezuelan workers through the compulsory social security system, which he directed until a few days ago, and in which he also carried on espionage and informer work for DIGEFOL.

Many innocent workers and social security officials have been jailed as a result of the espionage and informing Iribarren Borges carried on in that agency as one more agent of DIGEFOL.

After each execution, the murderers of the tyrannical government find support for their laments among their followers and even among those who try to present themselves as being neutral or in the opposition, but the people support and salute each of these actions.

There will continue to be war to the death against the enemies of our people, directly or indirectly involved in the situation Venezuela is experiencing. Leoni's repressive measures will be useless, as will the

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1. Translated from text published in Granma, Havana, March 6, 1967.

new suspension of guarantees, the arrests, the tortures, and the murders. The people of Venezuela are no longer defenseless. They have a vanguard that is armed, firm, responsible, and determined, which will at all times protect them, avenge their deaths, and lead them to final victory, which means their definitive and total independence.

**FIGHT ON TO VICTORY OR DEATH!**

**Major Elias Manuitt Camero  
President of the National Command of  
the FLN-FALN of Venezuela  
Havana, March 4, 1967**



STATEMENTS TO THE COMMITTEE BY THE VENEZUELAN WITNESS,  
MANUEL CELESTINO MARGANO CARRASQUEL, ON JUNE 24, 1967

(This interview is appended to this report  
for purposes of information)

CHAIRMAN (speaking to Mr. Marcano): I would like to explain, or confirm, what you may already know: that this is a Committee of the Organization of American States, made up of the Delegates of Colombia, United States, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica; that we came to Venezuela to gather information on certain facts that the Venezuelan Government has denounced with respect to intervention and infiltration by guerrillas. Among the evidence offered to us were your statements, which we understand you are making of your own free will.

MR. MARCANO: Yes, indeed.

CHAIRMAN: We wish to advise you that we would seek to use your statements for that purpose, and for that reason if there is anything you may say and believe we should not use, please advise us, because if you wish to communicate to us something of a confidential nature you may be sure that we will not use any of the statements you do not want us to use or that you believe may harm you. On that understanding, and knowing that you are doing so of your own free will, I would like to hear what you have to say. Before you begin, I ask your permission to record your statements.

MR. MARCANO: (Agreed)

MR. MARCANO: I wish to confirm that my statement to the Venezuelan Government, after having been abroad, was absolutely voluntary, and that there was no pressure, quite the contrary.

The statement I am going to make to you will be as full as possible, because, as a Venezuelan, I am greatly concerned over what is actually happening, since I personally went through a series of experiences such that I myself, in view of the advance and level I attained, have been able to see, as a Venezuelan, the series of risks our country is running.

Perhaps later, as things are said, you will note that we are going to have to clarify a certain contradiction with regard to that last position regarding the concern I have as a Venezuelan.

I have permitted myself to make these guiding suggestions because it is an account, which I am going to make as concise as possible, of seven years, of how I came into this movement.

First, and I think I must say this, I do not believe there is anything, except for my three little girls, Venezuelans, who are in Cuba as

hostages, practically, that might mislead you. I tell you this as a complete Venezuelan. I shall tell you everything I have done. You may have my assurance, as a man, as a Venezuelan, and as a human being, that in my statements there will be no fallacies, nothing abominable, no calumny, no, no. I shall tell the absolute truth. And I will tell you who I am, just so as to see how far we can go with regard to this statement. My name is Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel, Venezuelan, born in Barcelona, state of Anzoátegui. I am forty-three years old, was born on November 29, 1923; my identification card number, as a Venezuelan, is 45301. My occupation: I have been an accountant/auditor; I graduated from a national academy directed by a Puerto Rican, Professor Espada. I was a radio announcer for various Venezuelan broadcasting stations for many years, and my last activities, before joining the armed insurrection, were in cinematography. I came to have a motion picture business. Now I will list the functions I came to perform within the insurrection movement, not only Venezuelan but Latin American. These things--in view of the position of the CAS Committee you represent, as an investigatory agency--could be verified, because I shall give even the passports and everything I used during my travels in Europe.

I was first a member of the National Revolutionary Militia of Cuba (1960-1962); I fought with Battalion 331 in the Escambray Operations between 1960 and 1961--I spent three months there. I was the military leader of the Venezuelan Brigade. There were other well-known Latin Americans in that Brigade, as I can explain later. I was President, during that same period, of the Disciplinary Court of the Escambray Militia; I was political Commissar of the military zone of Nuevo Vedado, in Havana, attached to the Second Section of District 4 of the Province of Havana. I was also a lecturer at the Cuban-Venezuelan Institute until 1964. Here are some of the more important data: I was a student at the War College. I received military training in intelligence and counter-intelligence. I was Coordinator in Europe and America of the clandestine Latin American couriers; I was acting national leader of the Marxist-Leninist party of Colombia; national Chief of the Second Section of the FALN, of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) and international liaison with international organizations. In October 1966, while outside the country, I was appointed Special Agent, or rather Information /Intelligence/ Officer of the International Department of Security of Cuba, having been told that I had been admitted as a member of the Cuban Communist Party, despite my being a Venezuelan and not having enlisted in the Venezuelan Communist Party. At just that time, they gave me to understand that the Party, in view of my intelligence, wisdom, and skill shown by my never having been arrested, the Venezuelan Party had "lent" me to the Cubans so that I could work in the international espionage network in Latin America. This, precisely, is where my national and patriotic conscience revolted. Yes, I had read all about proletarian internationalism, but when Captain Almeida, whom I shall mention later, known as Arana, who is the one who, under Major Pifeiro--Barbaroja (Redbeard)--controls the entire Venezuelan front, told me in that meeting that I would have to devote myself first to clearing myself of a charge, since I had been

denounced in circumstances unknown to me, I later understood that that was a clever way of getting me out of the country, to then make me this proposal, and that I would have as an immediate task to try to legalize myself by any means, to clear myself of the charge through the venality of some official; that I was already being sought as Chief of the Second National Section of the MLR; that I would have to obtain papers of various nationalities. He told me that in Mexico City, in the presence of the First Secretary of the Embassy of Cuba, Mr. Manuel Cepeda, known as Reginaldo, in October 1966; that I had to obtain papers of any Latin American nationality--false or otherwise through the venality of officials; that once I was in Venezuela I had to send tactical maps of the Venezuelan coasts, of the most important sites. . . of the military bases, of the most vulnerable points from the military standpoint; to make an extensive report in view of the penetration and infiltration that I could accomplish, in view of the means, since I had to work totally isolated from the party with new means, an apparatus created for this; and that I would have to use the Foreign Office, through any subterfuge, to draw up a list of the names of Venezuelan diplomatic representatives who could collaborate with them abroad in any way. That disturbed me deeply, because it went beyond all bounds. I told them that when I returned to Venezuela; I explained that although I felt a certain solidarity, I could not, as a Venezuelan, allow that to convert me into an agent of communism in my country, and that I would not do it. That caused me to return to Venezuela by my own means; I tried to think of what person I could seek out in greatest confidence and find out what guarantees he could offer me; I sought out Dr. Carlos Andrés Pérez and told him that I did not consider myself to be a simple, vile traitor who was going to negotiate his freedom. I was disillusioned by a great number of things, but when I saw the intervention, that it was no longer a matter between Venezuelans, and that the situation was changing and there were certain divergencies within the insurrection movement of Venezuela, I told him that I did not want to be thrown out of my country and that I did not want to leave without all this information being put to the service of my country. That was in October of last year.

Now I shall also tell you the pseudonyms I used in my clandestine activities: In Venezuela, I was called Comandante Guillermo and Comandante Carlos; in Colombia, Don José and Fernando Romero. In Cuba, I am known as Yaguará, and Tribunal was the last name they gave me.

I had to cover espionage not only in Venezuela, but also especially the. . . network as far as Chile and the various South American countries. About the year 1948 I was in Argentina with a motion picture company, Paramount Pictures, for which I worked for many years.

In trips through Europe and Latin America, I used a Bolivian passport; I had to take a two-month training course to learn how Bolivians talk, their history, their national anthem. That was when I left Cuba for the first time, in 1964, using a false passport. I also traveled as Antonio Rodríguez, with a Venezuelan passport, also false.

The countries I traveled to in connection with the Venezuelan insurrection movement were: Cuba, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, France, Holland, England, Belgium, Portugal, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Colombia, and Mexico.

Now I will tell you about the courses I took in Cuba, so that I can then explain how I became involved without having worked for the Communist Party until 1960, through this whole process.

I took courses in guerrilla and counter-guerrilla tactics, theory and practice; assembling and disassembling short and long weapons, automatic and semiautomatic weapons, especially some of the ones that were easiest to acquire, especially "Springfield," "Garand," "Fals," M-1, "Mendoza" machine guns, as well as the Mexican, the 30 and 50 caliber; theory and practice of firing long and short weapons; security measures; then rapid firing, which they call "Mexican defense." In explosives I was given a course that covered home-made bombs using chlorate, grenades, booby traps, "Molotov cocktails" of various kinds--including wickless--detonating wicks, blasting caps, calculation of charge. . . They put a great deal of emphasis on blowing up oil pipelines. You may ask me whether I took part in any action. No cadres at that level were ever allowed to participate in low-level actions--only in national coordination. They feel that a specialized cadre has to be taken good care of. Then in topography: I took a course in mapmaking and mapreading, including reading of tactical maps, contour lines, intersection, reception, scientific orientation and practice with the compass, and other methods used in guerrilla warfare.

As for logistics, I took a course in organization, coordination, and structure in supply, production, solidarity, and health. I gained experience in handling American and Chinese bazookas, mortars, practice in firing and setting them up. In radio, how to operate transmitting and receiving equipment, theory, and repairs; construction of equipment of up to 90 watts, construction and measurements of antennas, and measures to jam radio direction finders. Military radiotelegraphy on the basis of the Code and conventional codes. Theories of Marxism-Leninism; study of texts of political philosophy, Soviet and Chinese literature, etc. Check and countercheck. To go as far as these courses at this level, . . . I can make a balance: We began with 150 persons. After three months we numbered 50. Later the number was 10. Apparently they made a series of observations with regard to the ability and ductility of each individual. . . and when I saw the intelligence measures--for. . . I was no adolescent--I said, "But why is this?" Then they told me, "No, you people as an embryo of power have to be preparing the conditions of a security apparatus in Venezuela; if we Cubans are always attacked through our immense coasts, you are going to have problems later on. And you have to create the technical conditions for a true security corps. And then so that you people can communicate with the. . . the permanent delegation in Cuba: not with us, with Cuba, because it is your revolution and you are the ones who have the obligation of pushing it forward."

As you will see, or have just seen, this thing was something different. This. . . intelligence: checks and counterchecks. It impressed me very much, because I had friends who had participated in the resistance against Pérez-Jiménezism, and it was done in a very crude way, no? And the technical elements now being used in Venezuela and throughout Latin America--one must take much care. They are working to counter the technical services of the CIA, no?

Checks and counterchecks by squares, by blocks, by householder, in planes, ships, cars, buses, technical systems of the parabolic receiver. Then direct personal contacts, with all appropriate security measures. It is very important that I tell you this, so that you may see how rigorous these courses are.

We all know that it is very difficult for the resistance groups that are in exile to move about in Cuba because the Defense Committees are an important factor as sources of information for all organizations that control the security of the state. A person was given the course and they sent him out into the streets to act as a counterrevolutionary, and then the G-2 and International teams would go out to look for him. Later meetings were held in which the person who was the object of the check would make criticisms of those who had let themselves be seen.

The hiding places for making indirect contacts, places where it would have been possible to leave explosives, arms, money; the international post boxes for indirect correspondence on the basis of cryptography with codes, tables, security measures--and I do not know whether the Minister turned over to you the Soviet code that they gave me in Mexico, which has gammas for protection of messages. Then the security, the technical handwriting, technical measures, invisible ribbons and developing. Military tactics, plus knowledge of guerrilla tactics. Underground organization and structure at various levels. Photography, artistic principles, especially in developing and microfilm; with a 35 mm. camera we succeeded in making the print. Infiltration. First aid course. Reloading of ammunition in case there was action in the mountains. And speaking generally, in addition to knowledge of all this, I acquired other knowledge, such as the falsification of documents, make-up, tailoring, simulation of dialects, phonetics, etc. This with regard to identity.

I am going to give a brief account of how I arrived in Cuba. Up to 1960--there are the files of the Ministry of the Interior--I never had anything to do with politics. I was preoccupied with radio, journalism, and motion pictures.

In 1958 I was Vice President of a motion picture company, Venezuela Filmica Industrial. At that time, after the fall of General Pérez Jiménez, the owner of a newspaper chain, Miguel Angel Capriles (like various countries of Latin America, Venezuela was living, after the overthrow of Pérez Jiménez, in an exuberance of freedom and the Cuban revolution was not regarded as being so radical as it is now seen to be) called me to tell me that a Cuban, Pepe Suárez, had a film. He had 5,000 or 4,000 feet of film, developed in a very elementary fashion, of that famous documentary made by Hernández Guayo; at the invitation of Fidel a number of newspapermen went; they made the journey and there they made the aforesaid documentary. This man told me in the El Conde Hotel: "Here is an opportunity, and they recommended you to me as the person to handle this deal. I will sell you this film for 10,000 bolivars; you will see how fast it will bring in the money because there is curiosity to know what is happening in the Sierra Maestra." I disliked all this so much that I went to Gramovén--to the 26th of July Movement, and told Mr. Del Rial about the proposal. He was very much disturbed, and we went to the Hotel, pretending that he was a partner of mine, and when he confirmed the offer, Mr. Del Rial told him that he was going to take the film from him, and in fact, after threatening him, he did take it. We took it, and then a group of Venezuelans from a company and I jointly edited the documentary on the Sierra Maestra, and thus learned about Ché Guevara, Cienfuegos, etc. With this the March from Bolívar to the Sierra Maestra began.

In 1959, when I was in another motion picture company working with newsreels of the Ministry of the Interior, I was invited to Cuba--from the 7th to the 9th--and I was one of the first Venezuelans to go there. Because I had edited the film I was in Operation Truth, and afterward I returned to Venezuela, and here the documentary involved me in problems, since here there were definite positions against its being shown. As I said, in 1959, after Operation Truth, I became acquainted with Fidel, Camilo Cienfuegos, and Ché Guevara; there was a flood of friendship and cordiality toward the Venezuelans. It happened that I returned to Venezuela, and the situation became a little difficult for me. There were intrigues of a personal type, and my company was attached. Then a proposal came from Cuba for me to go to work at the Instituto del Cine Cubano Cuban Motion Picture Institute. In that offer I saw a means

of learning, of capitalizing, of directing my efforts toward motion pictures, and on May 15, 1960, I left Venezuela in the vessel Virginia de Churruca with my former mistress, a Cuban girl born in Santo Domingo, who had left her birthplace at the age of two years and had come to Venezuela in 1950. Then she made use of her nationality and we went to Havana with our three children. When I arrived there the offer that had been made to me was not fulfilled, and I found that there was a fairly serious unemployment crisis in that first half of 1960. Later I managed to get a small job as radio news editor--for \$80. The situation was very precarious, and this led my companion to join the revolutionary militia in the Capitol. In three months she was an expert in weapons; and suddenly, after being in such a precarious situation, I was thinking of returning to Venezuela and I sent a letter to Dr. Ramón Velázquez. I did not receive a reply. They suddenly took me to the Hilton, telling me: "You people have no reason to be having a hard time," and I was reminded of my cooperation on the documentary, although there had been no commitment.

In October of that same year a Venezuelan leader--Simón Saez Mérida, Secretary General of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, a dissident group of Acción Democrática, arrived at the hotel. When Pérez Jiménez fell from power, he was Secretary General of Acción Democrática. All of us began to meet together. There was a great euphoria; there was talk about revolution everywhere, and talk about the fact that conditions in Venezuela were different. There were many of us Venezuelans in December. Members of the Communist Party were arriving, and this can be noted: they attached themselves to the Escalante Socialist Party. In their opinion Fidel was an adventurer with good intentions; he was the leader of a democratic bourgeois revolution that had been supported in the rural areas by the landless people. The MIR people joined in with the 26th of July Movement, and then there was a certain tenseness; the Communists were always isolated. This was called to our attention, and we were told that we had to cooperate; I was asked whether I was serving in a party, and when I said no, I was told "that is dangerous, revolutions are dangerous, you must define your position." At a meeting with Fidel we proposed to him to make a trip on behalf of the literacy campaign from San Antonio to Cabo San Martín, and he answered: "Why don't you take advantage of the guerrilla warfare experience here and use it for the Venezuelan revolution?" Already things were such that one could say neither no nor yes. Then, at the beginning of January 1961, General Eisenhower's Administration ended; the friction of the early days of 1961 developed, things became tense, and a group began to spring up in the Escambray. We assembled the following group: Alberto Galíndez, a

Venezuelan (his real name is Juan Páez Díaz); Miguel Tanus, a Lebanese who had lived for a long time in Venezuela; Elías Cabrera, an independent, producer of television programs, Disneyland; Rito Rafael Chiari, who said he belonged to the Youth of the Communist Party; Oscar Cedeño; Arturo Alvarez Vegas; Carlos Mendoza Tovar; Carmen Ocaño; Astrid Fisher, a television and radio performer, at present under arrest in Venezuela;... Del Mar, a Venezuelan who had come from California; and I, Manuel Celestino Marcano Carrasquel.

At 4 A.M. on January 11, 1961, Commander Fidel Castro Ruz said to us: "We are going to the Escambray." We left, accompanied by two Colombians, Tancredo Errante M. (?), of the Colombian Communist Party, and Luis Sánchez, also a member of the Colombian Communist Party, leader for the Atlantic Coast; Carlos Luis Falla, a Costa Rican who led the war in 1948 against former President Figueres. A representative of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, one from Guatemala, and another from Paraguay, a trade unionist, also went.

At 9 o'clock in the morning they took us to... . Fidel said that no regular army could check the guerrilla nucleus. When we arrived there, Fidel handed us over to Major Delminio Escalona, former commander in charge of operations in Escambray, who had been commander of the guerrillas in the organizations in the Pinar del Río sector at the time of the revolution. Then he told him: "Here are the Venezuelans. Put them in a dangerous spot. They have no experience. If possible, send them off alone and chase them until they return to Venezuela to face President Betancourt." The man from Guadeloupe moved back. Fidel insulted him. The Guatemalan said that he agreed with proletarian internationalism, but that he wanted to die in his own country. The Paraguayan said that his front was the trade union. Not so the Colombians, who said: "We will stay." They assigned us to the 331st Battalion. Then came Carlos Luis Falla, a Costa Rican who, I am told, died last year. He was a man of great prestige, because he had been very active in the Socialist camp. He was a personal friend of President Betancourt said nothing bad of him, and had great respect for him.

We were with the battalion during January, February, March and the first few days of April. Some rose to field leaders, others to platoon leaders; one of the Colombians could not because he was sick. They called me Political Commissar of the Battalion; then I was Commissar of the Disciplinary Tribunal. We were told that we were not an international brigade like the one in Spain, but that we should capitalize on that experience for what the Party proposed to do. Some of us belonged to no party; we were told: "You must be careful; this is a very dangerous revolution."



Mobilization began in April. Do you want me to explain how the operation went? They speculated a great deal about it.

(Marcano then drew a map, and began to explain.)

In the first week of April, we returned to the hotel in Havana. I must emphasize now that Carmen Ocaño had been making progress. She was a provincial leader of the Cuban women. She had become a theoretician.

Fidel took me to a meeting. Carmen Ocaña, Oscar Cedeño, Astrid Fisher, and I were there. He said to me: "Where are the 20 men that Sáez Mérida promised to send here for training?" They urged me to telephone Venezuela to ask for 20 agents--abusing the good faith of a person.

On the march, which we had hoped they would make with us because we had gained anti-guerrilla experience, the bombardment of Havana, on April 14 or 15, took place. We all attempted to get into the various battalions. On the 17th, a national emergency was declared, and we saw no more of Fidel. The Committees of Defense began to arrest everyone. There was a massive arrest of nearly 120,000 people. We were taken to Castillo del Príncipe, and put in the cellars. It was awfully crowded there. The women were taken to the general prisons. Because we were Venezuelans, they wanted to lynch us. First they took us to the Sports Stadium and called us worms. We met a leader from Peru, a collaborator of Ché Guevara, who had been picked up by the Committee of Defense, and Major Benítez, director of Granma.

On May 1 of that year, the big meeting was held. The guests all began to arrive. We were in prison for 10 days. Then they let me go. Fidel tried to make it up to us by saying that it was a shame that we had to go through such a terrible trial, but at the same time we should feel great satisfaction as revolutionaries. In short, the group was completely demoralized.

Afterwards, everyone had to go his own way. Only Miguel Tanus, Eloy Cabrera, and Arturo Alvarez Vegas returned to Venezuela at that time. ... Del Mar was expelled from Escambray because he had attempted to rape a battalion nurse. The rest of us were waiting for Sáez Mérida to return. I must say that I did not understand how we could have been victims of such humiliation, of that unjust imprisonment. When Sáez Mérida arrived, he told us that what had happened was deplorable. "You cannot return to Venezuela. Infiltrate the Committees of Defense. Besides, the Revolutionary Government has reported over United States radio stations that you Venezuelans and Colombians have been condemned to 30 years' imprisonment"--a reference to those in Escambray.

They gave me instructions to work at the Instituto del Cine for 120 pesos a month. They gave me a completely furnished apartment in Nuevo Vedado. The children were interned at Santa María del Mar. In the meanwhile, my mistress had been continuing her courses. About 1963, or already in 1962, I made a statement that I wanted to return to Venezuela. I asked to return because I know that my mistress had become very distant--she was becoming dehumanized. At that time, they told me: "Do you want to go to Venezuela? What help can you give us?" I replied: "Solidarity; the positive side of the revolution." "You will have to speak to Major Piñero." A Mr. Polo came to see me and took me there to learn to assemble and disassemble weapons. There began the torture of courses in the morning, afternoon, and evening. I knew nothing at all of my mistress. I stress this business about my mistress because she has always considered me a weakling. Well, I did not know what she was doing, nor she what I was doing. So the atmosphere became rather difficult to take until the time of my trip in 1964, after conversations with Major Piñero, that is, Barbaroja, Chief of the Cuban International Security Department, who is in charge of all the Latin American fronts. In each country, there is a representative and contact, with his assistant. In the case of Venezuela, Piñero has Captain Arana, who has a second in command called Gary. The apparatus is so ironclad that the leaders who go for courses do not talk with the Party; there are talks with Fidel, in general; but this is the apparatus that manages everything. That is how it happens with Piñero. After we had taken several courses, all concerned with blowing up pipelines, Fidel told us that it was very important for us to see the opportunities in the East; that the largest pipelines in Venezuela were there; that we had to fight there, to create difficulties for the government; that it was necessary and even indispensable for us to blow up supply trucks to give the impression that the Government could not maintain order; to give the impression that we were organized. The parties there, [he said,] operated separately, despite the fact that the Cuban-Venezuelan Solidarity Institute had been formed. The Conference of Peoples then was held. A large-scale mobilization took place.

Finally, on March 11, 1964, I was to leave with a Bolivian passport, under the name of José Escobar Espinoza. My instructions were as follows: to leave with a Cuban passport from Havana via Gander for Prague. There a Czech woman, with the pseudonym of María, received us. She had worked at the Czech Embassy in Uruguay for many years. She took the Cuban passport from me and from another Venezuelan, Carlos Méndez Tovar, who also was carrying a Cuban passport, and that was where they gave us Bolivian passports. They gave me instructions to place scouts along the Colombian-Venezuelan border, because Pompeyo Márquez's men had disappeared; to travel from Prague to Rome, assume a cover, go to Turin as a former salesian student, which I was, but appearing as a Bolivian

to get a letter, return to the Vatican at Rome and ask for the indulgences to be countersigned at the Hotel Tequendama. Following instructions, in Barajas, Madrid, I sought a flight to New York, which continued on to Peru, and, then as a Bolivian, I entered La Paz. According to my instructions, I was to make contact with Mr. Vieira of the Colombian Communist Party. I was to telephone an architect who had gone to the Architects' Convention in Cuba, Luis Espinoza, and tell him I was a Cuban because the Colombians did not understand the Venezuelan insurreccional line; then they would have to help me; but I should be careful because he could betray me. That is just what happened. I arrived at the Tequendama, made the emergency call, and the man hung up the telephone. I tried all the emergency numbers and they all failed me. Using Mr. Tancredo Errán, one of the two Colombians, I called another emergency number, and got in touch with a Colombian, Juan Martínez, present underground Secretary General of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The Colombians were setting up a Marxist-Leninist Party in the District of Bogotá; they had done so on the Atlantic Coast. The leaders were Pedro Arboleda and Carlos Arias. These men found out that I was a Venezuelan, and asked me how it was possible for me to go seeking help, and run the risk of their killing me: "We have a guerrilla career and we will stop at nothing." They held me and told me: We may or may not help you, but we have a problem: on March 26, 1964, we carried out the first meeting after reorganization. The ideologist Paulino García, a Spaniard, a veterinarian who ran a newspaper called España Democrática in Bogotá, and was opposed to "Carrilloism," the soft line of Spanish communism (he is now being held in Madrid), was detained in April of last year in Spanish territory; at the time, he was the ideologist, the brains of the Party. We sent that gentleman, who is a newspaperman, in January of this year, and we must show the Cubans that we are the ones who need assistance, and that we have one difficulty: the venality of an army officer who, for a bribe of 40,000 pesos, will let us pass the troops. You must return to Cuba, support that newspaperman, who is a prisoner and is considered an agitator; we are going to help you do your work, if you go to Havana with the same passport. I wanted to make the Cubans trust me to see if I could recover my daughters.

I went to Mexico with the instructions they gave me. In the El Dorado Airport they prepared for me an apparatus that impressed me. At the airport there were about 40 people waiting to see if I could leave. That matter of the denunciation of the Colombian communists was a reality; on the day after the telephone call when they hung up on me there were big headlines in the Bogotá papers: "Dangerous Castro-Communist Agent Pursued by Colombian Police." But it blew up; they seized a Venezuelan leader, Martín J. Ramírez, whom they confused with me. At the airport, a porter was the last to address me: "Comrade, have a good trip and carry out your mission." Perfect coordination. I arrived in Mexico, and from there went directly to Cuba. They took me to the house of Almeida, of that Mr. Arana, who told me: "Like any fighter just beginning, you are a coward." I spent 15 days making my report, including all the data that I had memorized, and afterwards they congratulated me, saying: "You have done a good job and have proved that you are a Special Agent; you are a member of the MIR, and you are going to Venezuela." I remained three months longer. There the situation with respect to my daughters became critical because...the little one said to me, in response to the cover story that I had given in March, that I was going to study electrical ...electronic engineering in the Soviet Union...she said to me...so that you may see the degree of dehumanization this goes to...she said to me, "Father, up to what age do people have to go on studying? I said to her, "Well, always, because of the restlessness of science, of technology...one always has to study." And she said to me "And up to what age do I have to study?" "Well, at least until you are twenty." She said to me, "And who is going to make the revolution? Don't you believe that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution? It makes me very much ashamed when in the boarding school where I am as the one responsible for discipline they ask a certain Yarida who she is..."

- Who is your mother?
- Trina, the guerrilla fighter.
- Where is she?
- In Falcón, Venezuela, fighting for socialist freedom.
- Who are you?
- I, the daughter of DOUGLAS BRAVO.
- And who are you?
- NORELSA MARCANO.
- And your father?
- MANUEL MARCANO.

-- And where is he?

-- In the Soviet Union studying electrical and electronic engineering."

To make a long story short, I returned in July after taking supplementary courses, with the consent of Américo Martín, Secretary General of the MIR. They sent me again, by the same route, accompanied by Medina, a major in the MIR, who had participated in the kidnapping of Anzuátegui, and Stefan Nubel Adler, a member of the Communist Party. I went from Havana via Gander to Prague with a false Venezuelan passport: I went to London; acted as courier between Amsterdam and London, and then went to Jamaica. By means of a small bribe to the Colombian consul, I obtained a 10-day visa for Colombia and entered that country via Barranquilla. There is something very important about these couriers: there is a smuggler on the Atlantic coast of Colombia known as Luis Pérez Lupe, who controls almost all the smuggling and is a member of the M.R.L. He suggested establishing liaison with Aruba through Nelson Sosa, who works at the Aruba customhouse and who could go to the Venezuelan coasts with its launch.... I am telling you these things to show you just how these very dangerous things operate. Next, I entered via Maicao, with people of all kinds: smugglers, thieves, and drug and white slave traffickers, using something known as the "green road." They stopped me, but I passed myself off as Colombian, and then the Venezuelan authorities deported me to Colombia. I entered again. They gave me a letter for the Secretary of Government of the State, and he gave me a letter for the police and financial assistance so that I might reach Caracas and the Nuevo Circo. When I was received by the Party, I was appointed Chief of the Second Section, and my instructions began, organizing logistics and all those things relating to information and communications, and the first team to establish communications with Cuba, in the Miranda zone, was installed with Astrid Fisher. Then it was halted, because Cuba had a Soviet technician, and despite the skill of Astrid Fisher's, a Venezuelan now detained by the Venezuelan Government, they told her not to continue transmitting, for they had detected the signal in the United States (there followed a very technical explanation and drawings. . .).

The internal apparatus of the Party began to expand, and I began to see things such as dishonesty in the administration of funds.

It was my job to coordinate the March 1965 plenum. The Cubans called me to talk in Paris to Gary, second in command, to Arana, aide to Major Barbaroja. At that time, they gave me \$10,000, paid my expenses, and gave me instructions for expanding an apparatus, outside the Party, in order to establish as an embryo of power a security apparatus to take charge of the whole Venezuelan border at the time of seizing power. I did not want to form that apparatus, for I began to realize that if I were outside the discipline of the party they could expel me. As a Venezuelan, furthermore, I did not see the situation clearly. I went back, coordinated the plenum of 79 leaders that was held in Caracas; the military command was excluded

from there because there were impasses; and I had one member thrown out of the Central Committee of the Partido de Izquierda Revolucionaria for misuse of funds and certain rather dishonest things in very low circles.

This was precisely what I had to do in August 1965, what I replied when they asked me if I knew CAMILO TORRES, already dead, and it was around that time, in August of '65, that I got AMERICO MARTIN out by banana boat--a route that I followed on a later trip in July '65. . . by "Checkpoint Charlie" of the British in Berlin.

This ship is very important. It sails from Santa Marta. They are ships of the banana line. They are French. . . in Santa Marta, on the Colombian east coast. They have room for five or ten passengers and make a run directly to Hamburg. So it is a rather important clandestine corridor, because with a falsified passport, as AMERICO MARTIN did that time, one reaches Hamburg, then goes to Frankfurt, puts on a little tourism cover, and then goes to Federal Berlin. There is no control at the British "Checkpoint Charlie". . . almost all year long. The only requirement there is to present a passport, they remove from it the marks of the Federal Republic, give it the marks of the Democratic, and then they make one carry the identification papers of that zone. Once in the Democratic Republic, that man made contact with the Embassy of Czechoslovakia, they gave him a visa, and he traveled to Prague. From Prague he went to Cuba.

On the last trip I made, Mr. Arana and I had a meeting in Madrid; the assignment they were going to tell me about was so important that they told me to go to Plaza España in Madrid. I realized I had counter-intelligence agents after me; we threw them off the track and in the Parque Retiro we made an agreement to see each other in Paris. When we reached Paris he had noted that they had opened his baggage, despite his diplomatic passport. They traveled with diplomatic visas, and one with no protection. He met me at Orly and said: "We cannot see each other here. Try to enter Democratic Germany." It was not possible. Then Govin, the Secretary of the Cuban Embassy at Paris obtained a Czech visa for me. I went to Zurich. I waited for a plane of the CHECSA airline and went to Prague. We spent the night, and I told him that the Party wanted to know where the 250,000 dollars Fidel Castro had promised Américo Martín for the leftist revolutionary movement on a trip in '64 were. He replied: "We have given them to the FLN which is controlled by the Communist Party. However, tell the leftist movement that Fidel is going to send it \$25,000 a month regularly from his funds."

There they gave instructions for kidnaping Manuel Artime.

Allow me now to recapitulate and conclude my statements:

Military training. Mine is a special case with 27 courses. Three children being held as hostages, openly, because my mistress returned to Venezuela, where she was arrested and then released, completely dehumanized, having forgotten the children. Direct participation by Fidel, when

he took us to the Escambray so that we might be given instruction in order to inflame us to fight against President Betancourt. On that occasion, he took us there himself. I have already described how that group was composed, in January 1961. Our group, I repeat, was composed of Alberto Galíndez, Miguel Tanus, Elías Cabrera--that young man died in Oriente because he arbitrarily executed three students and then another commando shot him and the Party had to intervene--Rito Rafael Echarry, Oscar Cedeno, Arturo Alvarez Vega, Carlos Méndez Tovar, and Fortuna Ferreguz del Mar, including Carlos Ruiz Fallas, Tancredo Errán, a Colombian, as also Luis Sánchez, a Colombian from Barranquilla. Afterwards De la Puente, who died in Peru, joined us. Then in 1961, our group of 20, as I have already told you, made an unwise call to Caracas, asking for agents, at which time Sáez Mérida was asked to send them. Those gentlemen arrived and participated in the first outbreak in 1962. In 1964, around the time of my first trip, around March 11, a group was being formed in Cuba, which was also made up of Colombians and Venezuelans. Among them was Montero, a boy, the son of Spaniards, called "el españolito," who died a short time ago in the Bachiller mountains, here in Venezuela. Similarly, Simón Méndez Tovar, Dagoberto, also died, he on June 6 in the Bachiller mountains. We have the case of Stefan Nubel Adler, a member of the Communist Party of Venezuela who has not been arrested and is still around here; Raúl, a boy, the son of Spaniards, whose mother lives in Mexico and who was also confined; also a Mexican named Popoca, a member of the Youth of the Communist Party; a Colombian journalist, Chief of the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Army of National Liberation)--this man had a rather disagreeable problem, which I do not wish to indicate, of sexual deviation, but nevertheless he took a course with a group of Colombians there in that same group of guerrillas. His name is something like Laborda. And also an Ecuadorian, a member of the Communist Party, surnamed Gandhi. That group was prepared in advance and some Ecuadorians remained there.

The Venezuelans who took courses were, to my knowledge, in addition: Simón Sáez Mérida; Fabricio Ojeda, who has died, Américo Martín; Jorge Villalobos; Enrique Acosta; Edgard Pulico Pacheco; Roberto Hostos Poleo; Stefan Nubel Adler, whom I mentioned, Wismer Medina, del Anzoátegui; Pedro José Franco, pilot; Mirna Linares, an attorney; Iván Escarrá, Lino Martínez, Enrique Golding, Baudilio Lollo, and a university student surnamed Alcalá, with courses similar to mine, military subjects from the Escuela Superior de Guerra de Estado Mayor, War College, Staff logistics, intelligence, and counterintelligence.

I consider that the contributions of money are an intervention because they were made not on a basis of solidarity but with specific instructions, to constitute a Party-level apparatus for laying down the basis for the time when it will be possible to seize power.

First assistance in Paris: \$10,000, end of February 1965;  
personal delivery

Second assistance: \$5,000 in March or April; sent in "sausage"  
for our front. The university students used it for their election  
campaign.

Third assistance: \$4,600 given to me by Arana in Prague in  
July 1965;

Fourth assistance: \$5,000, in July 1965, in Mexico, to  
Carlos Méndez Tovar;

Fifth assistance: \$5,000, in Mexico, in September 1965;

Sixth assistance: delivery in Cuba to Carlos Méndez Tovar in  
January 1966 of \$1,500 and other expenses;

Seventh assistance: delivered in Mexico, personally, when Arana  
gave me guidance with the consent of the Venezuelan party,  
MIR: \$6,000.

These are amounts that add up to a total of \$37,500, specifically  
for that infiltration front. The \$25,000 per month materialized from  
that time in the form of specific direct aid Fidel has given from his  
funds to the MIR, since they wanted to avoid that kind of friction,  
because the Communist Party was imposing conditions on the MIR, and  
everything became accentuated since the Beltrami case involving  
\$300,000.

There they gave me the following instructions: It was a known fact  
that in March 1965 the MIR plenary group had decided to send a delegation  
to Europe, made up of Hostos Poleo, Américo Martín, Dr. Delgado Lozano,  
and Peña Badel, the leader of the MIR, and Fidel had these gentlemen  
told that they were not to solicit funds in any socialist country in  
Europe, that they were only to solicit solidarity; that they were the  
only ones who were permitted to give money. They told me that if there  
was a possibility of purchasing arms...; that a Mr. Castro had had arms  
buried away since the time of Castro León; that they were prepared to  
give \$250,000; and that those arms were still in the state of Miranda.

The radio signal, the instructions that they gave me, they also gave  
to everyone who took these courses in intelligence and in Marxist-Leninist  
doctrine allied with the Cubans; they say that when an attack on Cuba  
occurs, at five in the afternoon, after a record of "Siboney" is played,  
they are going to give numbers in code by the code that I already said I  
gave to the Minister, indicating what vulnerable points of the interests  
of the United States were to be attacked as a protest against the aggres-  
sion against Cuba. This has been a standing arrangement, through Radio  
Havana, since 1964.



The kidnapping of Manuel Artime, who participated in the Playa Girón invasion. Instruction were given me, through Arana, in Prague, for the Party to observe, in accordance with the internal conditions in the country, the possibility of kidnapping him on one of his trips to Venezuela, taking him to the Bachiller mountains to soften him up, getting some statements out of him, and then transferring him to the Isla de Margarita, where he would be given sedatives and then taken to Cuba.

Then the installation of radio equipment. The installation was made by Astrid Fisher. The first communication occurred in March 1965. They celebrated with much rejoicing the achievement of this communication, until they were given orders to stop in order to send out the radio signal.

Then, espionage infiltration with natives. What they did with me. They keep on working on developing a person in domestic matters, and then transfer him over to international matters, and since one conducts himself like a native of his own country, he can get into places where a Cuban or someone of another nationality could not.

As regards the instructions, the obtaining of documents of any nationality of the Latin American countries has all the earmarks of intervention, whether the documents are false or obtained through taking advantage of the venality of some official.

As regards the matter of obtaining tactical maps of Venezuelan objectives, strategic military sites, etc., it made me terribly indignant for it would be treason to the native country, as well as my being asked to draw up a list, by infiltrating the Venezuelan Foreign Ministry, of possible venal or sympathizing diplomats who might be useful to them. I consider it a crime against my country.

Likewise they wanted us to penetrate the Inter-American Defense Board, through our cadres, to see if they planned a possible attack on Cuba or if they had anything to do with guerrilla training camps in Venezuela. They said that in Tinaquillo, Yaracuy state, and some parts of Oriente there were concentrations of exiled Cuban counterrevolutionaries to send against Cuba.

There you have the venality of the government officials and the labor unionists of the Central de Trabajadores of Venezuela.

Strategic information, too. They also told us that the tactical information was important to the current struggle in Venezuela but that we were to send the strategic information to them.

The creation of an apparatus in Venezuela made of Venezuelans outside the Party militants, that is, an espionage network, using subterfuge, to say that they belonged to the FALN, or were involved in smuggling or narcotics, but to set up the apparatus.

Instructions in Prague. Delegations: Do not ask anyone but us for instructions; we are the only ones that can give you financial aid.

And now, the Venezuelan front. Who controls it? I maintain, and this can be verified with any other Venezuelan or Latin American--that Major Pifeiro has an apparatus that operates even above the level of the Cuban Communist Party. Because all the party's secrets are there and because Fidel anticipates the presence there of Escalante-ism, the revisionists, and at a specific moment they might find out about or oppose any kind of international aid that would endanger the consistency of the Cuban revolution. . . as has occurred in the past.

Every Latin American country, Mexico, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, etc., has a front, with a Cuban permanent delegate and an assistant who talks with everyone who, through the Communist and allied parties, go to Cuba. No one enters Cuba unless he is sponsored.

(A BRIEF RECESS)

QUESTION: What other knowledge do you have of other Cuban diplomats?

MR. MARCANO: In October of last year we had difficulty making contact. I was told that López, the Press Attaché of the Embassy of Cuba in Mexico, had been declared persona non grata by the Mexican Government because he had been caught passing weapons to Guatemala. There is a very significant thing in connection with Cuba: in the files, with the information I have given for the Ministry of the Interior, there is handwritten note by him giving me instructions.

QUESTION: That is, the activity of the Cuban diplomat in Mexico is widely known?

MR. MARCANO: It is known. Just as it was in the case of Govin, who is no longer in Paris. They have no confidence in diplomatic representatives. The diplomat can "go over the hill," as they say, at any given moment, and then they have persons of confidence located in the commercial attachés' offices.

QUESTION: Could you give us some details about the War College?

MR. MARCANO: The so-called War College is more than anything else a school of guerrilla, military, and anti-guerrilla tactics and intelligence training, given in the mountains, in the vicinity of Havana, and above all in the Province of Oriente and in Pinar del Río. Those are the places best suited for it, not the Escambray. It has cost them a great deal to set up these rural schools. In the Sierra Maestra anti-guerrilla training and guerrilla tactics are given. Now all of the training in intelligence is done in Havana by very young professors or teachers, who in their turn have had courses with the Czechs and Soviets. As for the Chinese, great penetration, great force, and great pressure are to be noted in regard to the Chinese question, but one has to be very sensitive to things in order to be aware of it, because they have it all very much concealed; it is very difficult to approach a Chinese instructor. On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Soviets have a helicopter school in the Pinar del Río area, with women translators. I know of the specific case of Spanish girls, orphans of the civil war in Spain, who were sent to the Soviet Union to study and who are now being used as translators. Almost all of them are graduates in the humanities and they are living in Havana. They are members of the Party and are registered with the same strictness as in the Soviet Union. At least in the firing range in the central part of La Cabaña, marksmanship with shoulder weapons is practiced, and in the Havana range they teach what I just described as Mexican defense--rapid firing that enables a person standing with his back to you, at the first impact, in two seconds, to grab his weapon, cock it, fire, and put himself in the correct position. All this is taught regularly in Havana. Of course, it is done under great security precautions, so that there will be no mix-ups. They do not do it in groups. The rural courses are given in groups, often mixed groups from different countries.

QUESTION: Are they continuing to receive students regularly?

MR. MARCANO: Yes, indeed. Don't forget that the scholarship students who went from Peru and Colombia--those boys have grown in the last three years and, in addition to receiving instruction in ideology and political development, are useful, first and principally because they always said that in the Communist Parties in Latin America the best agrarian, labor, student, and intellectual groups had become known to the enemy, and it is very difficult to manage and promote insurrection with them. Then they work in the reserves of the Party with unknown people. Alejandro Gómez was a boy who took part in a Youth Congress in 1960. He wrote a song against the United States: Cuba, yes! Yankees, no! And when the Youth Festival was held in Helsinki he went there and entered at the moment Fidel entered; that was three years afterwards. Fidel said to him: "Well, Alejandro, when are you going to exchange the accordion for a rifle."

I left in July 1964 and all that matter of the Tricontinental and OLAS has come up in the last couple of years. Américo Martín was going to that conference, according to the reports. For my part, I was establishing various contacts, hoping that an opportunity like this would come up. Then came the statements of the Tricontinental; that is very clear. Furthermore, Fidel approved that horrible crime, which is another of the things that cannot be disregarded: the assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of the Foreign Minister. Any Latin American country, any country in the world, and any human being would be moved by such a cruel and distasteful thing. Furthermore, the leaders of those parties have a great responsibility for those young boys whom they have traumatized, because those boys are things of value that our countries had. All the young people wanted to rise in rebellion and shoot; that is the Party orientation. There never was any political explanation of the reason for an act of insurrection, and they fell to doing indiscriminate things, like burning, a very Latin type of thing. They just took a man out of the Venezuelan plains of the Andes and burned him. There is the case of Sears, attacking a nonpolitical thing, attacking a center of work, which affected the working class. There is the case of killing policemen in order to obtain arms. All these things have been errors that move me. The delegate of Venezuela at the Tricontinental, Pedro Medina Silva, is still secretly in the country.

My activities in Colombia put me in touch with Pedro Vásquez, Carlos Arias, and Arboleda. They said that a Marxist-Leninist group had been set up all along the Pacific Coast, comprised of the Espartaco group of Chile; of a new Communist group, not Trotskyist, in Peru; Ecuador was set up; they had already begun in Colombia in 1964; and in Brazil and Bolivia. On that occasion, when I accompanied Américo Martín on his trip of August 1965, from Santa Marta by way of Hamburg, which I have already mentioned, he had a conference with Arboleda, which the leftist revolutionary group was invited to attend. This is very important: the Marxist-Leninists of Colombia said that they did not want anything to do with the Venezuelan Communists; that their ties must be only and exclusively with the leftist revolutionary movement; and that they wanted to cling to the movement of

the Marxist-Leninist groups all over South America, these being the parties that were going to face the revisionist line of the pro-Soviets.

Now with respect to the weapons, I am going to tell you, because in the trip I made through Colombia in 1964-65 I had occasion to see that in Leticia weapons are obtained quite easily. I do not believe that any effort is required to obtain arms in the traffic on the Amazon toward Manaos. Pedro Vázquez also informed us, through me for the Party in Venezuela and for the Cubans, that they had a factory where they were even making machine guns. There is nothing special about this, because here our government took over a site called Garabato, where there was a factory that rather specialized in that type of weapon.

Now with regard to dissemination, other than the broadcasting of ideological and psychological material over Radio Havana, I wanted to mention--and I know this to be true because I was in Mexico last year and I brought with me several issues of the magazine Sucesos of Menéndez, the newspaperman, who was in Venezuela and was recently in Colombia, as those reports have been paid for by the Cubans, by the Cuban Embassy in Mexico, and furthermore they are paying for all the publications of Política and a little Sunday newspaper, the name of which I do not remember. They subsidize those publications there in Mexico; it is the same as in France and other places. They have a great many press organs.

My passages through Mexico have been secret.

It seems to me that they have a fairly extensive network. It is known that Juliao is in Cuernavaca and this Mr. Cepeda is constantly making trips to Cuernavaca. Mr. Cuenca, a Central American Unionist, has been living in exile in Mexico for many years. His daughter, Benny, is the present liaison with the Guatemalans, with the Yon Sosa group, since the death of Turcio; and I confirm the fact that Mr. López, Press Attaché, was caught running arms over the Mexican border and was declared persona non grata; this was published by the Mexican Press.

I was with De La Puente, Chief of the rebel APRA (AR), for six months. I did not know Lobatón personally but I heard him referred to. Similarly, I never got to know Hugo Blanco, because he was not there.

The freeing of Douglas Bravo (?) had a great deal to do with the Cubans.

There is something that is important, and that is that during my trip in December, Manuel Cepeda gave me some instructions that were being sent to me by Arana. Those instructions were transcribed and I passed them on to the Minister; they contained the instructions about me. They congratulated me on having legalized my situation again in Venezuela; they said that I would have a very important task to do, and that, together with my second in command, Carlos Mendez Tovar, we were to go to Europe; that

I should remain in order to bring out two travelers whom they had in Prague, two cubans who were coming to Venezuela, and that one of them --and this they told me very confidentially--was Ché Guevara.

QUESTION: What do you believe could be done, internally or externally, to cause the Cuban government to give up its aggressive and interventionist policy in Latin America?

MR. MARCANO: It is no secret to anyone that, despite Sino-Soviet differences, through pressure exercised against the Soviet Union this action can perfectly well be paralyzed. I think that from the internal standpoint what is being done in Cuba is very difficult; internally underground work is very difficult because of the mass defense and organization that those men have; added to the urban reform and the literacy campaign, which any system could regard as positive, all this makes underground work quite difficult to carry out. Now, with respect to the measures, it is well known that after Cuba was expelled from the OAS, Cuba did nothing to reform its attitude. I believe that it would have to be on the basis of pressure, since it is very difficult through diplomatic channels. Furthermore, one notes the winds of change. Last year, 1965-66, Fidel attacked the Chinese. He was already marking out a soft, pro-Soviet line. This was protested by all of Latin America. The Marxist-Leninist groups said that he was a traitor, a revisionist, a capitulator. Then, furthermore, Ché Guevara disappeared following his return in 1964 from Moscow and Algiers. He arrived in Havana and then disappeared from public view. Now, again, we see Fidel adopting a more radical line when he takes under his responsibility a thing that caused consternation to all of us, including those of us who were in the movement; that is, such a horrible act as the death of the brother of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. And things like that. And backing the dissidents of the Communist Party, when those of the Communist Party are trying to straighten things out with the so-called Democratic Peace --which is another maneuver--and he confirms that; that is to say, that he has done a complete tactical turnabout. I believe that in the international field, in dealing with the Soviets at a very high level, it is possible that these men may succeed in moderating this constantly aggressive position. Because the solidarity there may be with revolution in the Latin American countries, and not only the American countries but Africa as well, is one thing, and constant pressure, direct aggression, is another thing.

With respect to the code, after processing the numbered message with the gamma table a protection layer is put on the black part. The intelligence services could explain it perfectly, and one can add without carrying over. The messages are deciphered by the red part. It is such a sensitive thing that a match, a cigarette, makes it disappear. The gammas for receiving the message; that is, the coded message is received, the little red points are put in groups of five, then it is put on the table, and that is all. The same applies to sending messages. It is a matter of

high-level espionage. The international security, intelligence, and counterintelligence departments may use a code such as this through electronic methods. It is feasible nowadays with the techniques there are for this sort of thing. That was given to me in October 1966; it was when they told me that I was already an agent; then I decided to come to Venezuela to resign.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.

1967

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE II  
OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION  
OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Presented in accordance with the resolution  
adopted on July 10, 1967)



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DRAFT REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP OF COMMITTEE II  
OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION

At its second plenary session, on July 10, 1967, the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs appointed a Committee to prepare a report on events related to the so-called "Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference" that have occurred since the report of the Special Committee to study Resolutions II.I and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation, dated November 25, 1966.

The President of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation proceeded, as authorized by the resolution of July 10, to appoint the following states to the Committee: Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United States.

The Committee's first meeting took place on July 12, at which time it was installed by the President of the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation. The Special Delegate of Peru, Ambassador Juan Bautista de Lavalle, was elected Chairman; the Special Delegate of Argentina, Ambassador Eduardo A. Roca, was elected Vice Chairman; and the Special Delegate of Trinidad and Tobago, Ambassador Sir Ellis E. I. Clarke, was elected Rapporteur.

The Committee held several meetings in which it carefully considered the report of the Special Committee to study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation; information from the press and radio of Havana and of other cities of participating countries, and information from other sources.

This report contains: (i) a summary on the background of the "First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference"; (ii) then records the most important subsequent developments attributable to the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization and to the Latin American Solidarity Organization and also contains information relating to the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference; and, finally (iii) sets forth the conclusions drawn from the facts confirmed.

## I

### THE SO-CALLED "FIRST AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE"

(Summary of events until November 1966, as outlined in the report of the Special Committee, dated November 25, 1966)

#### 1. Background and participants

The First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference ("Tricontinental Conference") was held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966. The hosts were the Government and Communist Party of Cuba. The Conference was jointly sponsored by the communist-dominated Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), with headquarters in Cairo, and by Latin American communist parties and subversive groups under Cuban leadership. One of the purposes of the conference was to find a formula for associating the Latin Americans with the AAPSO.

Five hundred and twelve delegates from 82 countries and territories participated, in addition to groups of observers from eastern European countries and from international communist-dominated organizations.

Individual "guests" also participated. Of the 82 delegations, 55 were members of the AAPSO and 27 came from countries and territories of Latin America and the Caribbean.

In theory, this conference was not governmental, but it is obvious that it was inspired and supported by the governments of Cuba, the Soviet Union, Communist China, the United Arab Republic and others. (The four countries mentioned had the largest and most active delegations.) The large majority of the delegations were not, in fact, governmental in nature, and represented mainly communist and extremist opposition parties or groups, communist and other seditious groups, including guerrilla groups. Nevertheless, in view of the participation of government officials or representatives of official parties, certain delegations were plainly official or officially sponsored, especially in the case of the Soviet Union, Communist China, Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea, North Viet-Nam, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Ghana (former regime), Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville), Tanzania, Syria, and Cambodia.

## 2. Decisions

In spite of the Sino-Soviet, Sino-Cuban and other disputes that arose, the Conference was able to agree on 73 resolutions, whose central theme was (1) the struggle against "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by U.S. imperialism" and against their "lackeys" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and (2) the encouragement and support of subversion and rebellion, including all kinds of assistance--moral, political, financial and material, including arms and munitions--to "national liberation movements" in the three continents, especially those

that are struggling "with arms in hand" to overthrow existing governments. The targets of the attacks include more than 70 independent countries and certain international and regional organizations, including the OAS. There was special emphasis on Viet-Nam and the Latin American countries, practically all of which came under attack. Those most frequently mentioned were Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

Two permanent organizations grew out of the Conference: (1) the first, created by resolution of the Tricontinental Conference itself, is the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), composed of 82 members and with temporary headquarters in Havana; (2) the second, created at a meeting of the delegations of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, held January 16, 1966, the day after the close of the Tricontinental Conference, is the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), composed of 27 members. It is the equivalent in this hemisphere of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). As in the case of the AAPSO, the "national committees" (some in exile) serve as member organizations and agents of AALAPSO and LASO in the respective countries and territories.

The definitive structure and permanent headquarters of AALAPSO and the relationship among these three overlapping organizations will be determined at the Second Tricontinental Conference, to be held in Cairo in January 1968 by invitation of President Nasser. The definitive organization of LASO will be determined at the "First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference," which will begin in Havana in late July 1967.

The resolution of the Tricontinental Conference that created AALAPSO listed as some of the objectives of the new organization the following:

"To unite, coordinate and encourage the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, headed by U. S. imperialism."

"To give effective support to the national liberation movements in the three continents, using all the means within its reach."

"To support the revolutionary struggle, as an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the peoples before imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism."

"To organize the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents and serve as a permanent link among the different movements which are members of the organization."

"To take charge of the implementation of the measures adopted at the First Tricontinental Conference."

The general objectives of LASO are set forth in the official communiqué that was published on January 16, 1966, the date of its establishment, which stated that "the Latin American Solidarity Organization will use all means within its reach to support the liberation movements" and that "it will give firm support to the liberated countries of the three continents" and "link its action and that of the participating organizations to the activities of the Tricontinental Organization."

### 3. Developments subsequent to the Conference (up to November 1966)

After the conference, and in accordance with its decisions, two permanent organs of AALAPSO were established in Havana: the Executive Secretariat and the Tricontinental Committee on Viet-Nam. The most important of the two, the Executive Secretariat, is headed by Osmany Cienfuegos of Cuba, who is Secretary General of AALAPSO. This body

includes 12 other secretaries, four for each continent, and the necessary staff. The Executive Secretariat is in charge of implementing the conference's decisions and making preparations for the Second Tricontinental Conference. In the case of LASO, and also in accordance with the decisions of its constitutive meeting, a nine-member Organizing Committee was established with headquarters in Havana, presided over by Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado of Cuba, Secretary General of LASO. Although its official functions were "to ensure the widest, most equitable representation of the revolutionary forces of each country" and to make preparations for the 1967 Solidarity Conference, the Organizing Committee and its personnel also act as provisional secretariat of LASO.

From their inception, the Executive Secretariat and the Committee on Viet-Nam of AALAPSO and the Organizing Committee of LASO have cooperated closely with the Cuban Government in the publication of manifestos that have stressed the objectives of the Tricontinental Conference, encouraged subversive movements in the three continents, and called upon the "national committees" of the respective countries to carry out the decisions of the Conference and the instructions from their headquarters in Havana.

In November 1966, the Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO published a statement announcing that the governments of Cuba and North Korea had responded favorably to its request for the establishment, in their territories, of schools for training political cadres to assist revolutionary movements.

Preparations for the Solidarity Conference of LASO advanced to the point where the Organizing Committee in October 1966 announced the site (Havana) and the draft agenda for the Conference, and set the date for July 1967.

Meanwhile, the communist-dominated Fourth Latin American Students' Congress (Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudiantes--CLAE), which took place in Havana in July and August 1966, created a new Latin American Continental Organization of Students (Organización Continental Latinoamericana de Estudiantes-OCLAE), closely connected to AALAPSO and LASO, and called for the holding of a tricontinental conference of students. Both the Conference and the Permanent Secretariat of OCLAE, located in Havana, joined AALAPSO and LASC in making statements inciting armed insurrection, expressing solidarity with the guerrilla movements of Latin America and of other countries, and calling for militant action by students in the Latin American countries.

## II

### DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO NOVEMBER 1966

Although it would be difficult to differentiate between the activities of AALAPSO and LASO and those of their affiliated organizations with regard to the common subversive activities in which they are all engaged, it is useful, for purposes of clarity, to set forth the activities of each of them and to mention separately the preparations for the so-called "First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference."

#### 1. Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO)

AALAPSO's activities are largely reflected in the activities of its Executive Secretariat, which operates as the principal executive organ



of the organization and has express powers to implement the decisions of the Tricontinental Conference. (Appendix 2.)

AALAPSO has given significant emphasis to forging organizational links with affiliated groups in Africa and Asia. A delegation from the AALAPSO Executive Secretariat headed by Osmany Cienfuegos attended the Eighth Meeting of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) in Nicosia in February 1967, in observer status.

At that meeting, which was boycotted by the Chinese communists and dominated by the Soviet Union, the AAPSO Council encouraged the "struggle against imperialism" in Latin America and also advocated the holding of the Second Tricontinental Conference. Thus, among other resolutions, it adopted the following:

(I)

"The Council has taken note of the complete cooperation between the Permanent Secretariat of AAPSO and the Provisional Tricontinental Executive Secretariat in Havana, and calls upon the Permanent Secretariat of AAPSO to extend its full cooperation for the convocation of the Second Tricontinental Conference.

"It recommends that the cooperation should be continued between the Havana Secretariat and the Cairo Secretariat and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the United Arab Republic, the host country, to ensure the efficient convocation of the Conference and to create conditions conducive to its success."

(II)

"The eighth Afro-Asian Solidarity Council session: hails the cooperation that actually has been realized so far, between the movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, waging the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, greets the valiant struggle of the Latin American peoples against the onslaught of U.S. imperialism.

"The struggle of the three continents' peoples is inseparable, and the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples must oppose the world imperialist front by a solid united front with the aim of frustrating the world imperialist strategy and realizing the objectives of national liberation and complete genuine independence."

The Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO, in accordance with the decisions of the Tricontinental Conference, is making preparations for the Second Tricontinental Conference, to be held in Cairo in January 1968, at the invitation of President Nasser. At this Conference the definitive structure and the permanent headquarters of AALAPSO are to be decided upon.

As part of the preparations for this Conference, an AALAPSO delegation headed by Carlos Lechuga Hevia, Deputy Secretary General of AALAPSO and former President of the Cuban National Council of Culture, visited the following Asian countries: North Korea, the Pathet Lao-held area of Laos, Cambodia, the U.S.S.R., Mongolia, Pakistan, and Japan. Other AALAPSO delegations visited countries of Africa and the Near East, among them, the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Mali, and Guinea. In some sympathizing states such as North Korea, Syria, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mongolia, and the U.S.S.R., the AALAPSO delegations were received by high officials of the government or of the official party. In the other countries they talked only with representatives of local AAPSO national committees, most of which also serve as national committees of AALAPSO. The delegations explained the purpose and operations of AALAPSO, obtained information, press articles, photographs, and motion picture films on wars of national liberation to use them in AALAPSO propaganda, sought outlets for AALAPSO propaganda material, and asked for financial and other support from their hosts. As a rule, the delegations made public announcements of support on current issues of importance to their hosts and called for world-wide solidarity among revolutionaries. For example, Carlos Lechuga Hevia stated in Pyongyang on April 18, 1967:

"The struggle of the Korean people for the cause of the reunification of the country is a link in the international anti-United States struggle. The Tricontinental Peoples' Solidarity Organization will actively support this struggle. A revolutionary should not consider the victory of revolution in his country as the completion of his revolutionary duty. Our organization resolutely maintains this stand."

As for the establishment of schools for training political cadres, mentioned in Chapter I of this report, the Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO has sought the enrollment of future revolutionaries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It has not been announced whether new and distinct AALAPSO schools for the training of these cadres have been created or whether the schools for subversion already existing in Cuba and North Korea have been put under its aegis, in fact or in name, for the purpose of stimulating and aiding recruiting. Nevertheless, it is well known that in the Cuban schools for training guerrillas instruction is given not only to personnel from Latin America but also to personnel from African countries. Furthermore, there are Cuban instructors in guerrilla training centers in some African countries.

As media of publicity and propaganda, AALAPSO publishes two magazines, Boletfn Tricontinental and Tricontinental, and the Tricontinental Committee of Support to the People of Viet-Nam publishes the magazine For Viet Nam. In addition, AALAPSO's steady stream of communiqués, declarations of solidarity, and general and specific statements are carried in Granma, the official newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, by Radio Havana, and by other communications media of the Cuban Government and Cuban Communist Party.

Boletfn Tricontinental and Tricontinental contain "news" from the guerrilla fronts, articles on guerrilla leaders and movements, and appeals for the support of revolutionary governments and solidarity with

"anti-imperialist" rebels. A typical Boletín Tricontinental had the following features listed in its table of contents: World Solidarity with the Dominican People; The Revolutionary Struggle in Guinea (Bissau); The Struggle for the Reunification of Korea; May First: Day of Solidarity and Struggle; Viet-Nam: Escalated Aggression; Political Prisoners in South Africa; Message to the U.S. People; Imperialist Military Bases; The Yankee "Inter-American Peace Force"; Rhodesia: Concentration Camp; Yankee Aggressions in Southeast Asia; and Tricontinental News, including items on the Tricontinental "struggle" in Rhodesia, Ghana, South Africa, Nigeria, Viet-Nam, Pakistan, Laos, Indonesia, Thailand, Puerto Rico, Peru, Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, the United States, Ecuador, Colombia, and Guatemala.

AALAPSO's philosophy, as taken from its own statements, is that the destruction of the moderate governments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is the key step on the road to social and economic development. It claims that now is the time to take up arms and that the best support to the guerrillas now in the field is the initiation of similar campaigns in all countries. Osmany Cienfuegos, Secretary General of AALAPSO, sounded this note in his statement on the first anniversary of the founding of AALAPSO: "The best solidarity that can be offered to those fighting the imperialists, colonialists and neocolonialists is to fight them in all fields." On this same occasion, Walterio Fierro of the Chilean Socialist Party and delegate to the Tricontinental Conference stated, "AALAPSO has consistently denounced the gorilla military regimes who have the role of guarding imperialist domination and has promoted fighting solidarity with peoples

who resolutely oppose them, especially liberation movements fighting with weapons in hand in Venezuela, Guatemala, and Columbia."

AALAPSO's themes of violence and intervention can be seen in the following review of its activities, which was published in the January 9, 1967, issue of Granma, the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party:

"Now, one year since the formation of this organization, it can be affirmed that the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the three continents has become stronger, although the imperialist enemy has not ceased in its attempts to subdue the desire of the fighters for liberation. Not only have activities been increased, but also the revolutionary movements on the three continents have strengthened their ties through exchange of experiences; the prospects for struggle, therefore, have become clearer and more precise. The work of AALAPSO has terrified the chief enemy of the people. The reaction of imperialism and the imperialist satellites to the resolutions of the First Tricontinental Conference is proof of the justness of the line of AALAPSO. The imperialists fear the vast campaign of solidarity of the organization, the creation of a school for forming tricontinental political cadres, the call to the people of the world to repudiate aggression against North Viet-Nam with action that directly affects the Yankee embassies and properties throughout the world, etc.

"Last year was one of victories: In Latin America, the guerrillas have planted themselves with roots so deep that they cannot be pulled up from American soil. Overcoming crisis, forging the conscience for the new way of developing the revolution, the fighters for liberation in Latin America have presented their credentials. Guatemala, Venezuela, and Colombia are flames in a historically irreversible process to consume the positions of imperialism, despite the dramatic losses suffered in the loss of guerrilla chiefs Fabricio Ojeda, Luis Turcios, and Camilo Torres. In Africa, although the imperialists have resorted to all methods to finance reactionary regimes and place in power by military coups new and docile peons, the spirit of Patrice Lumumba emerges in the victorious guerrillas of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique.

"In Asia, the culminating point of the revolutionary struggle, the people of Viet-Nam are exemplary in their daily resistance to air aggression in the North and in dealing defeats to invaders in the South. As a seed that cannot be stopped, rebellion flourishes in Laos, Thailand, Korea, Cambodia, the Phillipines, etc. And behind this fulfilling of its historic commitment morally and materially supporting the fighters for liberation, AALAPSO celebrates its first anniversary--an anniversary full of success and with triumphant prospects for the future."

An important AALAPSO document is the letter allegedly from Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "To the Peoples of the World through the Tricontinental." This letter was presented at a press conference on April 16, 1967, by Osmany Cienfuegos, Secretary General of AALAPSO. Cienfuegos said that Guevara had written the letter in response to AALAPSO's request for contributions to the magazine Tricontinental by the world's most outstanding revolutionary leaders. The letter was published in a special edition of Tricontinental with the full endorsement of AALAPSO, and the plaudits from Fidel Castro in his speech on April 19, 1967, and also of the LASO Organizing Committee. (See Appendix 5.)

The lengthy letter, which reviews the world revolutionary situation with special emphasis on Viet-Nam, uses AALAPSO propaganda themes and reveals the dependence of AALAPSO thinking on the Cuban Communist Party line forged by Castro and Guevara. Its call for the creation of "two, three, . . . many Viet-Nams" is reminiscent of Fidel Castro's remark on December 18, 1966, that "imperialism" will be defeated in Viet-Nam "when instead of one Viet-Nam there will be in the world two Viet-Nams, three Viet-Nams, four Viet-Nams, five Viet-Nams."

The letter mentions and endorses the armed struggles being waged in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, "the first outbreaks in Brazil," and the "new figures. . . now tenaciously and firmly reorganizing the guerrilla movement" in Peru. It concludes that "almost all countries" of the continent "are ripe" for armed struggle. The letter denies that Latin America can win freedom without fighting and calls for the creation of "international proletarian armies. . . so that dying under

the banner of Viet-Nam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos, Colombia, Bolivia, or Brazil. . . will be equally glorious and attractive for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a European. "

Finally, it calls upon the people of Latin America to rise up against their governments, to destroy "the repressive structure of the ruling oligarchies," to start the battle, which "will be a long, fierce struggle, in which your fronts will be the guerrilla shelters, the cities, the fighters' homes--where easy victims will be sought out from their families--rural populations massacred, villages or towns destroyed by enemy bombing."

## 2. Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO)

The Latin American Solidarity Organization is composed of an Organizing Committee (Appendix 4) headquartered in Havana and "national committees"<sup>1/</sup> that originated in the 27 Latin American and Caribbean delegations that participated in the Tricontinental Conference and the founding meeting of LASO. A LASO pamphlet states that one additional "national committee," that of Surinam, has subsequently joined the organization.

The Secretary General of LASO continues to be Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado, who also presides over the Organizing Committee, which serves as a provisional secretariat of LASO, and who is at the same time a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. The Organizing Committee, in turn, subdivides into two further committees, one of which is responsible for

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1. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

propaganda activities, including the publication of the magazine OLAS, and the other of which is responsible for the charter functions of the Organizing Committee, that is, the preparations for the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, which is scheduled to be held in Havana from July 31 to August 8, 1967, and which will determine the definitive form of LASO.

The National Committees vary in importance and their membership ranges from the official representation of Cuba, through political parties and factions or dissident groups of some importance in their countries, to parties or groups lacking importance or political base that in some cases exist in name only. The present membership of the National Committees can be classified in three groups: (1) in some cases they are composed of a single party, as in Cuba (Partido Comunista de Cuba - PCC), Guyana (Peoples' Progressive Party - PPP), and Puerto Rico (Movimiento Pro Independencia - MPI); (2) in other cases they were formed from already existing "fronts" composed of communist parties and other extremist parties and groups, as in Chile (Frente de Acción Popular - FRAP), Mexico (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional - MLN), Uruguay (Frente de Izquierda de Liberación - FIDEL), and Venezuela (Frente de Liberación Nacional - FLN); (3) in most cases, however, these groupings were formed for the sole purpose of making up the delegations to the Tricontinental Conference and, afterwards, of constituting the National Committees of LASO, likewise with the participation of communist parties and other extremist parties, groups, and individuals.

As stated in Chapter I, the purpose of LASO is to coordinate national subversive movements that are attempting to overthrow existing governments in



Latin America and also to support similar movements and the communist or sympathizing governments in Africa and Asia.

The statements issued by LASO to promote and support subversion in Latin American states are published not only by LASO organs but also by information media of the present Cuban Government and, particularly, are broadcast to the rest of the hemisphere by Radio Havana. On April 16, 1967, LASO made an appeal for support of the guerrilla warfare in Bolivia that broke out in March of 1967:

"The peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia and Bolivia, by fighting for their national liberation, offer the highest possible expression of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the fraternal people of Viet-Nam, who, in the front lines of the fight being waged by the national liberation movement, firmly stand up to the barbarous actions of Yankee imperialism.

"The Bolivian people will unconditionally continue the road of revolutionary warfare against the oligarchic government, faithful servant to the interests of United States imperialism and its policy of oppression and exploitation.

"The LASO Organizing Committee expresses its support and militant solidarity with the Bolivian guerrilla movement and hails its decision to take the road of revolutionary warfare, certain that only with the defeat of Yankee imperialism and the puppets of the national oligarchy will the Bolivian people attain their desire for liberty and national independence."

.....

"The LASO Organizing Committee calls upon the peoples of the world and especially of this continent to support the Bolivian people in their struggle and give them all possible aid in order to speed up the development of the revolutionary war and bring it closer to total victory, thus contributing to realization of the Latin American Revolution."

.....

Also, on April 23, 1967, LASO expressed again its support of the guerrillas in Colombia and attacked the governments of Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela.

LASO's views on intervention in the affairs of the sovereign states of Latin America were also brought to light when the Venezuelan authorities, on May 11, 1967, captured members of the Cuban armed forces who were participating in a landing of guerrilla fighters in Venezuela. When the Venezuelan Government announced the details of this operation, the Cuban Communist Party issued a statement admitting that it was not avoiding any responsibility and stating that the Party was in absolute solidarity with those who took part in the landing and that it would continue to support all those who take part in this kind of struggle.

LASO swiftly came to the support of the Cuban Communist Party with the following communiqué on May 18, 1967:

"The Organizing Committee of LASO believes it necessary to establish its position toward the statement by the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party issued May 18, 1967, in view of its importance in regard to the future of the revolution in Latin America.

"The Organizing Committee of LASO espouses the firm stand adopted by the Cuban Communist Party because it represents the reassertion of our people's international traditions of freedom.

"To hypocritically accuse Cuba of intervention is to pass judgement on a man like Bolívar who never recognized any frontiers other than his patriotism and militant and effective solidarity.

"Our peoples will never recognize this as intervention and will close ranks to halt aggression threatening the Cuban revolution."

The Government of Cuba strongly attacked the Meeting of American Chiefs of State that took place from April 12 to 14, 1967, in Punta del Este, and both AALAPSO and LASO joined in. On March 23 LASO stated:

"The Latin American Organization of Solidarity denounces the declared aims of the Punta del Este conference to stimulate continental "cooperation," economic "development," and a so-called "Latin American common market" as no more than cynical attempts to conceal a three-fold plan of aggression against Latin America and, above all, against Cuba; marshalling the aid of the Latin American oligarchies in the Yankee aggression against Viet-Nam; and deepening its economic plunder of the peoples via the force of economic 'integration.'

"The peoples' reply to this meeting of executioners will be the OLAS Conference in July and increased revolutionary struggle. The second war of continental independence has begun, and no one nor anything can halt it."

### 3. First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference

LASO's most important task since its foundation has been the organization of the upcoming LASO Conference in Havana, which was scheduled to meet from July 28 to August 5, 1967, and which, pursuant to a last-minute postponement, will take place from July 31 to August 8, 1967.

This conference, in which delegations sent by National Committees from many Latin American and Caribbean nations are to participate, will seek to bring about hemispheric revolutionary coordination and serve, according to Radio Havana, as the "popular, revolutionary counterpart of the Buenos Aires foreign ministers' conference and the Punta del Este presidential conference."

The Conference will discuss methods of subversive struggle in Latin America; the common action of all subversive movements to obstruct present individual and collective efforts of the Latin American countries to achieve their economic and social development; and an effort will also be made to coordinate the armed struggle in Latin America with that taking place in other parts of the world. The draft agenda is as follows:

" I. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA

- a. The experiences of the distinct forms of revolutionary struggle. Armed insurrection in the process of national liberation for Latin America
- b. The consideration of the specific struggles of the working class, the peasantry, the student body, the intellectuals, and other progressive sectors as far as they concern the processes of national liberation
- c. The eradication of all forms of colonialism in Latin America

" II. COMMON POSITION AND ACTION AGAINST POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTERVENTION AND ECONOMIC PENETRATION AND THE IDEOLOGY OF IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

- a. The political and military intervention of Yankee imperialism in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. Imperialist policy of repressive coordination against liberation movements; the Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Peace Force, the Central American Defense Council; bases, missions, and other military treaties
- b. The imperialist economic policy of penetration, subjection, and exploitation of the Latin American countries. Their mechanisms of control: financial resources and foreign commerce
- c. The policy of ideological penetration of imperialism in the socio-cultural order as part of its continental strategy. The struggle against all forms of discrimination in Latin America
- d. Reformist policy as a means to attenuate social conflicts and divert the people from their true path: political and economic independence
- e. The oligarchic and coupist policy of open repression against the national liberation movements, to continue the exploitation of the Latin American peoples
- f. The need of all the Latin American revolutionary movements to reach a common strategy to defeat the continental strategy that imperialism has traced in its eagerness to maintain its domination over the Latin American peoples

"III. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES  
WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

- a. Anti-imperialist solidarity in Latin America
- b. More effective help to people who mount armed struggle against imperialism and colonialism
- c. Support to the Negro people of the United States in their struggle against racial segregation and the defense of their rights to equality and to liberty
- d. Defense of the Cuban Revolution: struggle against the economic blockade, isolation, and other forms of Yankee imperialist aggression against the Cuban Revolution

"IV. STATUTE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (LASO)"

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The national delegations to the First LASO Conference will have available to them the results of a survey on the general situation in all the countries of Latin America, which will enable them to evaluate the possibilities of the various forms of revolutionary struggle, including armed insurrection. The LASO Organizing Committee began this survey by sending an extensive questionnaire to all its National Committees, asking them to describe the cultural, economic, political, social, and other aspects of their countries. The replies are being studied, according to Aluizio Palhano, Brazilian member of the Organizing Committee, by 500 persons in Havana (Granma, January 23, 1967). In view of the slogan of the Conference, "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the Revolution," it is obvious that this survey is to be used to prepare plans for insurrection in each of the nations of Latin America. According to Palhano, "This preparatory work is not merely a radiograph of Latin

America; it is also a sociological and political appraisal, with the one central theme of anti-imperialism."

The delegations that will consider the agenda at the Solidarity Conference will be composed of extremist groups which in many cases operate outside the law, some in frank insurrection, while others are composed of members of communist and allied extremist political organizations that are established within the law of their respective countries. The National Committee of each country was responsible for selecting these delegations. Notwithstanding, to ensure the representation of groups faithful to the extremist objectives of IASO, the Organizing Committee stated in February 1967 and repeated several times that members of the National Committees should be chosen on the basis of five requirements. They must: 1) Be anti-imperialist; 2) Have a unitary view; 3) Be representative; 4) Support the resolutions of the first Tricontinental Conference; and 5) Accept the foundations on which the Latin American Solidarity Organization is based. The Organizing Committee added that the "future importance of this meeting. . . coincides with the strengthening of the guerrilla national liberation movement on our continent."

Preparations for the Conference and selection of the delegations resulted in the reorganization of some National Committees. This period coincided with Fidel Castro's strong criticisms of orthodox Latin American communist parties for adhering to the Moscow line, which tends to espouse the "via pacifica" as a tactic in Latin America. For example, in his address of April 19, Castro bitterly attacked the Communist party of

Venezuela for not supporting the guerrilla and terrorist actions of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) in that country.

Some orthodox communist parties have been embarrassed by the emphasis given by LASO--which follows the Cuban line--on armed insurrection as the principal means of achieving revolutionary objectives. In Venezuela, for example, the orthodox Communist Party has separated from the National Liberation Front (FLN), which constitutes the National Committee. Likewise, in Brazil it is reported that the two communist parties have been expelled from the National Committee.

Nevertheless, although most of the orthodox communist parties follow the tactic of the "via pacifica," they try to maintain their participation in LASO, so as not to be isolated from their fellow revolutionaries. One solution to the dilemma, which corresponds to that accepted by some other communist parties, is the one advocated by Rodney Arismendi, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Uruguay and member of the Uruguayan Delegation to the Tricontinental Conference. This consists in supporting armed rebellion, but taking into account the particular situation of each country. Arismendi stated in a speech on June 2, 1967, not long after returning from a trip to Moscow:

"And the revolution in Latin America will, predictably, be armed. This is so because of the situation of dependence on imperialism that threatens our people with intervention and that is already intervening; because of the advanced nature of our revolution, in which the social forces are defined and confront with great weight the progressive groups and in which the national bourgeoisie can no longer lead in the revolutionary process even though it may go along with this or that part of specific phases of the revolution; because the class struggle is acute and because triumphant revolution can be nothing more than a prologue to socialist revolution; because all the contradictions will become even more acute, greater, and more intense; because of the degree to which counterrevolution is organized.

"Of course, when we state this general hypothesis, it is well to point out that this does not mean that we have abruptly resorted to the revolutionary mouthings that our people and the peoples of Latin America are so tired of. No, the revolutionary process is determined by each people, mutually influenced, and presupposes the requirement of certain historic conditions. The revolutionary processes in each country are strictly conditioned by their particular interrelationship, although each is part of and conditioned by the general processes. But, also, the fundamental path of revolution must not be confused with the means to be used at each moment or with all the means to be used." (El Popular, Montevideo, June 9, 1967.)

In addition to the delegations appointed by the National Committees members of LASO, the Organizing Committee has announced that it has invited as observers, among others, representatives of communist countries, of communist-dominated world organizations,<sup>1/</sup> of AALAPSO, the Tricontinental Committee of Support to Viet-Nam, OCLAE, the Viet Cong (FLNVS), and various individual sympathizers.

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1. World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), World Peace Council (WPC), World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), International Union of Students (IUS), Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), International Organization of Journalists (IOJ).



Finally, it would be worthwhile to quote a statement made on July 12 by Radio Havana, the official broadcasting station of the Government of Cuba, regarding the activities of LASO and the purposes of its First Solidarity Conference and reiterating, on the eve of the Conference, the objective of fomenting and supporting subversion and armed insurrection in the countries of Latin America.

"LASO speaks a firm language, without nuances of any kind, a revolutionary language with one sole purpose: the revolution.

"There is nothing about LASO, its activities and objectives that the OAS need investigate.

"All these questions are well known. The fact that the peoples must subvert the order established by imperialism is a historic necessity for our hemisphere, and this conviction is one of the premises of LASO.

"Therefore, the First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization proclaims that the duty of every revolutionary is to make Revolution. Under this fervent slogan, the most urgent problems of the hemisphere will be discussed in Havana from July 28 to August 5, but principally, the planning of a global strategy to fight against Yankee imperialism in this hemisphere."

### III

#### CONCLUSIONS

The facts set forth in the preceding pages are the basis of the following final conclusions that this Committee presents in fulfillment of the Resolution adopted on July 10, 1967, by the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

The facts as analyzed fully confirm the conclusions presented in the Report of November 25, 1966 of the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs on the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference and its Projections.

Subsequent to the publication of the above report the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) and the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), both established as a result of the Tricontinental Conference, have continued to pursue the objectives for which they were created: to incite to rebellion and to support armed and subversive movements in the three continents.

During this period both organizations have unceasingly extolled, by direct action and through propaganda, subversion, guerrilla action and terrorism and have proclaimed the support of movements that are engaged in subversion in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and that undermine the governments' efforts for economic and social development.

Both entities have also devoted considerable effort to matters of organization, in order to prepare their definitive structure and to strengthen their national committees in each country, to carry out their programs and instructions and coordinate the activities of the various extremist groups in countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The two organizations use their national committees to transmit information that could encourage insurrection in the three continents. And AALAPSO has blatantly announced the establishment of schools for training revolutionary groups.

The Government of Cuba and the Communist Party of Cuba occupy key positions in both AALAPSO and in LASO. The highest ranking officials of both organizations, the Secretaries General of AALAPSO and of LASO, are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Havana is the present headquarters of both organizations. The subversive action of AALAPSO and of LASO to a large degree reflects the policy of violence of the Cuban Government. Cuban news media report extensively on the activities of both organizations and produce voluminous propaganda supporting their objectives.

The First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, scheduled to take place in Havana from July 31 to August 8, 1967, represents a further step in the efforts of communism and other subversive forces in this hemisphere to promote, support, and coordinate guerrilla, terrorist and other subversive activities directed against established governments.

The objectives and preparation of this Conference give testimony once again to the efforts of the Government of Cuba to control and direct these subversive activities in our hemisphere.

July 30, 1967

Juan Bautista de Lavalle  
Special Delegate of Peru  
Chairman of the Committee

Eduardo A. Roca  
Special Delegate of Argentina  
Vice Chairman of the Committee

Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa  
Special Delegate of Colombia

Enriquillo A. del Rosario  
Special Delegate of the  
Dominican Republic

Francisco Linares Aranda  
Special Delegate of Guatemala

Ramón de Clairmont Dueñas  
Special Delegate of El Salvador

Solomon S. Lutchman  
Alternate Special Delegate of  
Trinidad and Tobago

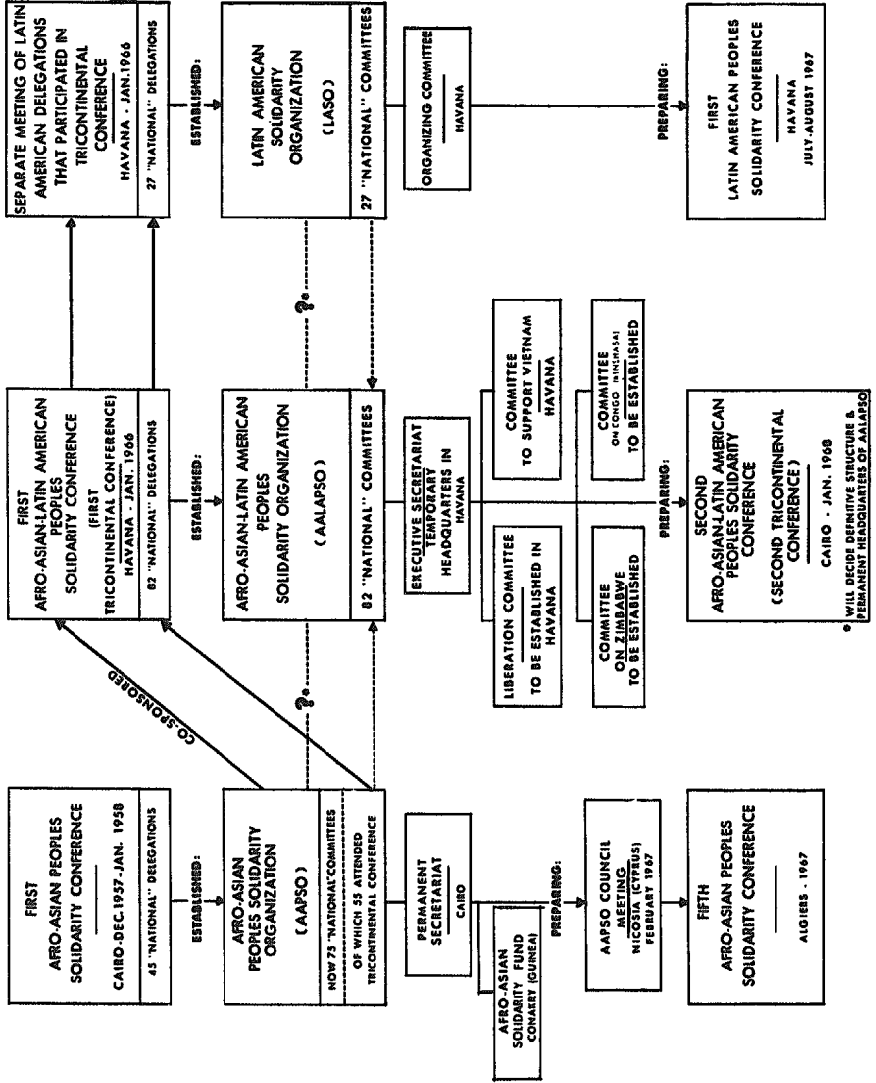
Ward P. Allen  
Alternate Special Delegate of the  
United States

**A P P E N D I C E S**

CHART

This is the same chart, brought up to date, that was included as an appendix to the Report of the Special Committee to Study Resolutions II.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs on the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference and its Projections (Doc. C-i-769 Rev.).

# CHART



MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE AFRO-ASIAN-  
LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (AALAPSO)<sup>1/</sup>

(Include alternates)

SECRETARY GENERAL: Cuba

Osmany Cienfuegos Gorriarán (Secretary General of the AALAPSO), former Minister of Construction of Cuba; Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC); attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

Joaquín Mas Martínez (Assistant Secretary General of AALAPSO), member of the Cuban Union of Young Communists (UJC); member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY); attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

Carlos Lechuga Hevia (Assistant Secretary General of AALAPSO), former President of the Cuban National Council of Culture; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

AFRICA:

Portuguese Colonies

Abilio Duarte, member of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)

Congo-Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville)

Michel Mongali, Secretary General of the Executive Council of the National Council of Liberation of the Congo (CNL); CNL Representative in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

Guinea

Mami Kouyate, Chargé d'Affaires of the Guinean Embassy in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

United Arab Republic

Kemal Bahaa El Din, identical with Mohamad Kamal Bahaa El Din, a journalist, Assistant Secretary General of the Egyptian Afro-Asian

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1. Names called from Havana press and radio; identification added.



Solidarity Committee and Assistant Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) who attended the Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966; and possibly also identical with Ahmed Baha Al-Din, editor-in-chief of the Dar Al Hilal Publishing House which supported Communist candidates in the elections of March 1965.

A&IA:

North Korea

Kim Ryon Giu, identical with Kim Yong Kyu, Counselor of the North Korean Embassy in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Pakistan

Ras Masud Hussain, member of the Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan; Vice First Secretary of the Pakistan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Syria

Ali Alkhash, or Ali Al-Khash, chief editor of the Damascus daily newspaper, Al-Thawrah, Ba'ath Party, Government-owned.

South Viet-Nam (NFLSV, i.e. Viet Cong)

Hoang Bich Son, Chief of the National Front for Liberation of South Viet-Nam (NFLSV) "diplomatic mission" in Havana; reported to have attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966 although not on official credentials list; also serves on AALAPSO Tricontinental Committee for Support to the People of Viet-Nam.

LATIN AMERICA:

Chile

Bernardo Araya Zuleta, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh); former head of PCCh National Labor Commission.

Puerto Rico

Narciso Rabell Martínez, head of the permanent mission of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Filiberto Ojeda, member of MPI

Dominican Republic

The following individuals served as acting members while awaiting the arrival of the permanent member:

Manuel Arias López, member of the "Dominican Revolutionary Movement," probably identical with the pro-Castro 14th of June Revolutionary Movement (MR-14J.)

Jacobo Cabrera, member of the "Dominican Revolutionary Movement."

Antonio Isa López, member of the "Dominican Revolutionary Movement"; member of the Dominican Communist Party (PCD).

Venezuela

Héctor Pérez Marcano, representative in Havana of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); also an FLN representative in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966. (Possibly returned to Venezuela with the group of guerrillas than landed on the beach of Machurucuto on May 8, 1967.)

Héctor Marcano Coello, physician; member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV); Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) representative in Havana; also National Liberation Front (FLN) representative in Havana; member of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966. (No confirmation that he is still on the Executive Secretariat.)

Silvia Morenc, member of the FLN mission in Havana; also member of the Organizing Committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO).

Iván Urbina, member of MIR.

MEMBERS OF THE TRICONTINENTAL COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT TO  
THE PEOPLE OF VIET-NAM OF THE AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN  
PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (AALAPSO)<sup>1/</sup>

(Includes alternates)

CHAIRMAN: Venezuela (FLN)

Héctor Pérez Marciano, representative in Havana of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); National Liberation Front (FLN) representative in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966; possibly also served as member of the AALAPSO Executive Secretariat. (Possibly returned to Venezuela with a group of guerrillas that landed on the beach at Machurucuto on May 8, 1967.)

Alfredo Fuente, member of FLN.

ASIA: North Korea

Zi Sun Jon (Yi Son-Chon), attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Kim Chen Nam (Kim Cheng Nam), attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Kim Ryon Giu, identical with Kim Yong Kyu, Counselor of the North Korean Embassy in Havana; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

AFRICA: Congo-Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville)

Gabriel Yumbu, of the Supreme Council of the Congolese Revolution; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966. (No confirmation that he is still on the Viet-Nam Committee.)

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1. Names culled from Havana press and radio; identification added.

**LATIN AMERICA: Cuba**

**Melba Hernández Rodríguez, President of the Cuban Committee for solidarity with Viet-Nam; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.**

**Arnol Rodríguez Camps, former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, possibly transferred to Ministry of Sugar Industry; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.**

**NORTH VIET-NAM (DRV)**

**Tran Danh Tuyen, alternate member of Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party; Vice President and Secretary General of the Viet-Nam Federation of Trade Unions; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.**

**Ngo Mau, North Vietnamese Ambassador to Cuba.**

**SOUTH VIET-NAM (NFLSV, i.e. Viet Cong)**

**Hoang Bich Son, Chief of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam (NFLSV) "diplomatic mission" in Havana; reported to have attended the Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966, although not on official credentials list; also serves on AALAFSO Executive Secretariat.**

**Huynh Van Ba, member of the NFLSV "diplomatic mission" in Havana.**

MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE  
LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (LASO)<sup>1/</sup>

(Includes alternates)

Cuba

Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado (Secretary General of LASO), member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC); director of Casa de las Américas; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966; also attended Latin American Congress of Students (CLAE), Havana, July-August 1966.

Brazil

Aluizio Malhano Pedreira Ferreira, exiled Communist; formerly Secretary General of the National Confederation of Workers in Credit Institutions (CONTEC) of Brazil; formerly Vice President of the General Command of Workers (CGT); attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Colombia

Manuel Cepeda Vargas, Central Committee member of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC); Secretary General of Colombian Communist Youth (JCC).

Guatemala

Oscar Edmundo Palma Alarcón, Representative in Cuba of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) and the Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT), which is the Communist Party.

Guyana

Lall Bahadur (also Lalbaichan Lalbahadur), student; Cheddi Jagan's Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) representative in Cuba; attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966; also attended Latin American Congress of Students (CLAE), Havana, July-August 1966.

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1. Names culled from Havana press and radio; identification added.

Mexico

Daniel Molina Alvarez, leftist student leader; member of the Communist-front Popular Socialist Party (PPS); member of the staff of Política, a Marxist monthly magazine.

Peru

Jesús Maza (or Masa) Paredes, associated with the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN); attended Havana Tricontinental Conference, January 1966.

Uruguay

Oscar Cabrera, not further identified.

Leopoldo Bruhera, member of Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU); representative in Cuba of the Left Liberation Front (FIDEL).

José Jorge Martínez Fontana, journalist; member of FIDEL.

Venezuela

Silvia Moreno, member of the mission to Cuba of the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Venezuela; also serves on AALAPSO Executive Secretariat.

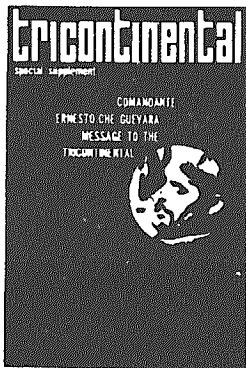
# Granma

Havana, April 23, 1967  
Year 7 Number 17



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CUBA

## Major Ernesto Guevara's message to peoples of the world through the Tricontinental



© The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America will start to publish the "Tricontinental" magazine in the month of June; it has requested the collaboration of outstanding revolutionary leaders of the world

Major Ernesto Che Guevara was included among the first collaborators, and to this effect has sent our organization an article for publication. Due to the content of this article; the clarity with which it approaches problems of vital importance for the revolutionary movement; its vigorous denunciation of U.S. imperialism's policy of sending U.S. soldiers to repress revolutionary movements of liberation in any part of the world where they may arise, as has been done not only in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic, but also in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia, countries in which large numbers of "Green Berets" have already appeared; and also because of the article's strong appeal to the people to give a fitting answer to this criminal policy, the Executive Secretariat of the OSPAAAL has decided to give publicity to this outstanding message to the peoples of the world from the heroic and legendary fighter, without awaiting publication of the first issue of its magazine.  
Executive Secretariat of the  
Organization of Solidarity of  
the Peoples of Africa, Asia and  
Latin America  
OSPAAAL  
Havana, April 16th, 1967.

*Now is the time of forges and the time of light.*

José Martí

**T**

WENTY-one years have already elapsed since the end of the last world conflagration; numerous publications, in every possible

language, celebrate this event, symbolized by the defeat of Japan. There is a climate of apparent optimism in many areas of the different camps into which the world is divided.

Twenty-one years without a world war, in these times of maximum confrontations, of violent clashes and sudden changes, appears to be a very high figure. However, without analyzing the practical results of this peace (poverty, degradation, increasing exploitation of enormous sectors of humanity) for which all of us have stated that we are willing to fight, we would do well to inquire if this peace is real.

It is not the purpose of these notes to detail the different conflicts of a local character that have been occurring since the surrender of Japan, neither do we intend to recount the numerous and increasing instances of civilian strife which have taken place during these years of apparent peace. It will be enough just to name, as an example against undue optimism, the wars of Korea and Viet Nam.

In the first of these, after years of savage warfare, the Northern part of the country was submerged in the most terrible devastation known in the annals of modern warfare: riddled with bombs; without factories, schools or hospitals; with absolutely no shelter for housing ten million inhabitants.

Under the discredited flag of the United Nations, dozens of countries under the military leadership of the United States participated in this war with the massive intervention of U. S. soldiers and the use, as cannon fodder, of the drafted South Korean population. On the other side, the army and the people of Korea and the volunteers from the People's Republic of China were furnished with supplies and technical aid by the Soviet military apparatus. The U. S. tested all sorts of weapons of destruction, excluding the thermonuclear type, but including, on a limited scale, bacteriological and chemical warfare.



in Viet Nam, the patriotic forces of that country have carried on an almost uninterrupted war against three imperialist powers: Japan, whose might suffered an almost vertical collapse after the bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; France, that recovered from that defeated country its Indo-China colonies and ignored the promises it had made in harder times; and the United States, in this last phase of the struggle.

There have been limited confrontations in every continent although in Our America, for a long time, there were only incipient liberation struggles and military coups d'état until the Cuban Revolution sounded the alert, signaling the importance of this region. This action attracted the wrath of the imperialists and Cuba was finally obliged to defend its coasts, first in Playa Girón, and again during the October Crisis.

This last incident could have unleashed a war of incalculable proportions if a U.S.-Soviet clash had occurred over the Cuban question.

But, evidently, the focal point of all contradictions is at present the territory of the peninsula of Indo-China and the adjacent areas. Laos and Viet Nam are torn by civil wars which have ceased being such by the entry into the conflict of U. S. imperialism with all its might, thus transforming the whole zone into a dangerous powder keg ready at any moment to explode.

In Viet Nam the confrontation has assumed extremely acute characteristics. It is not our intention, either, to chronicle this war. We shall simply remember and point out some milestones.

In 1954, after the annihilating defeat of Dien-Bien-Phu, an agreement was signed at Geneva dividing the country into two separate zones; elections were to be held within a term of 18 months to determine who should govern Viet Nam and how the country should be reunified. The U. S. did not sign this document and started maneuvering to substitute the emperor, Bao Dai, who was a French puppet, for a man more amenable to its purposes. This happened to be Ngô Đình Diem, whose tragic end — that of an orange squeezed dry by imperialism — is well known by all.

During the months following the agreement, optimism reigned supreme in the camp of the popular forces. The last redoubts of the anti-French resistance were dismantled in the South of the country — and they awaited the fulfillment of the Geneva Agreements. But the patriots soon realized there would be no elections — unless the United States felt itself capable of imposing its will in the polls, which was practically impossible even resorting to all its fraudulent methods. Once again fighting broke out in the South and gradually acquired full intensity. At present the U. S. invading army has increased to nearly half a million troops, while the puppet forces decrease in number and, above all, have totally lost their combativeness.

Almost two years ago the United States started systematically bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in yet another attempt to overcome the resistance of the South and impose, from a position of strength, a meeting at the conference table. At first, the bombardments were more or less isolated occurrences and were represented as reprisals for alleged provocations from the North. Later on, as they increased in intensity and regularity, they became one gigantic attack carried out by the air force of the United States, day after day, for the purpose of destroying all vestiges of civilization in the Northern zone of the country. This is an episode of the infamously notorious "escalation."

The material aspirations of the Yankee world have been fulfilled to a great extent, despite the unflinching defense of the Vietnamese anti-aircraft artillery, of the numerous planes shot down (over 1,700) and of the socialist countries' aid in war supplies.

This is the sad reality: Viet Nam — a nation representing the aspirations, the hopes of a whole world of forgotten peoples — is tragically alone. This nation must endure the furious attacks of U. S. technology, with practically no possibility of reprisals in the South and only some of defense in the North — but always alone.

The solidarity of all progressive forces of the world with the people of Viet Nam today is similar to the bitter irony of the plebeians urging on the gladiators in the Roman arena. It is not a matter of wishing success to the victim of aggression, but of sharing his fate, one must accompany him to his death or to victory.

When we analyze the lonely situation of the Vietnamese people, we are overcome by anguish at this illogical fix in which humanity finds itself.

U. S. imperialism is guilty of aggression — its crimes are enormous and cover the whole world. We already know all that, gentlemen! But this guilt also applies to those who, when the time came for a definition, hesitated to make Viet Nam an inviolable part of the socialist world; running, of course, the risks of a war on a global scale — but also forcing a decision upon imperialism. The guilt also applies to those who maintain a war of abuse and maneuvering — started quite some time ago by the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp.

We must ask ourselves, seeking an honest answer: Is Viet Nam isolated, or is it not? Is it not maintaining a dangerous equilibrium between the two quarrelling powers?

And what great people these are! What stoicism and courage! And what a lesson for the world is contained in this struggle! Not for a long time shall we be able to know if President Johnson ever seriously thought of bringing about some of the reforms needed by his people — to iron out the barbed class contradictions that

grow each day with explosive power. The truth is that the improvements announced under the pompous title of the "Great Society" have been poured down the drain of Viet Nam.

The largest of all imperialist powers feels in its own guts the bleeding inflicted by a poor and underdeveloped country; its fabulous economy feels the strain of the war effort. Murder is ceasing to be the most convenient business for its monopolies. Defensive weapons, and never in adequate number, is all these extraordinary Vietnamese soldiers have. — besides love for their homeland, their society, and unsurpassed courage. But imperialism is bogging down in Viet Nam, is unable to find a way out and desperately seeks one that will overcome with dignity this dangerous situation in which it now finds itself. Furthermore, the Four Points put forward by the North and the Five Points of the South now corner imperialism, making the confrontation even more decisive.

Everything indicates that peace, this unstable peace which bears the name for the sole reason that no world-wide conflagration has taken place, is again in danger of being destroyed by some irrevocable and unacceptable step taken by the United States.

What role shall we, the exploited people of the world, play? The peoples of the three continents focus their attention on Viet Nam and learn their lesson. Since imperialists blackmail humanity by threatening it with war, the wise reaction is not to fear war. The general tactics of the people should be to launch a constant and a firm attack on all fronts where the confrontation is taking place.

*In those places where the meager peace we have has been violated, what is our duty? To liberate ourselves at any price.*

The world panorama is of great complexity. The struggle for liberation has not yet been undertaken by some countries of ancient Europe, sufficiently developed to realize the contradictions of capitalism, but weak to such a degree that they are unable either to follow imperialism or to start on their own road. Their contradictions will reach an explosive stage during the forthcoming years — but their problems and, consequently, their solutions are different from those of our dependent and economically underdeveloped countries.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation comprises the three underdeveloped continents: America, Asia and Africa. Every country has also its own characteristics, but each continent, as a whole, also presents a certain unity. Our America is integrated by a group of more or less homogeneous countries and in most parts of its territory U. S. monopoly capital maintains an absolute supremacy. Puppet governments or, in the best of cases, weak and fearful local rulers, are incapable of contradicting orders from their Yankee master. The United States has nearly reached the climax of its political and economic domination; it could hardly advance much; any change in the situation could bring about a setback. Its policy is to maintain that which has already been conquered. The line of action, at the present time, is limited to the brutal use of force with the purpose of thwarting the liberation movements, no matter of what type they might happen to be. The slogan "we will not allow another Cuba" hides the possibility of perpetrating aggressions without fear of reprisal, such as the one carried out against the Dominican Republic, or before that, the massacre in Panama — and the clear warning stating that Yankee troops are ready to intervene anywhere in America where the established order may be altered, thus endangering their interests. This policy enjoys an almost absolute impunity: the OAS is a suitable mask, in spite of its unpopularity; the inefficiency of the UN is ridiculous as well as tragic; the armies of all American countries are ready to intervene in order to smash their peoples. The International of Crime and Treason has in fact been organized. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisies have lost all their capacity to oppose imperialism — if they ever had it — and they have become the last card in the pack. There are no other alternatives; either a socialist revolution or a make-believe revolution.

Asia is a continent with different characteristics. The struggle for liberation waged against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments, whose ulterior evolution has brought about, in some cases, the reaffirming of the primary objectives of national liberation and in others, a setback towards the adoption of pro-imperialist positions. From the economic point of view, the United States had very little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes benefited its interests; the struggle for the overthrow of other neocolonial powers and the penetration of new spheres of action in the economic field is carried out sometimes directly, occasionally through Japan. But there are special political conditions, in Asia, particularly in Indo-China, which create certain characteristics of capital importance and

play a decisive role in the entire U. S. military strategy.

The imperialists encircle China through South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, South Viet Nam and Thailand, at least.

This dual situation: a strategic interest as important as the military encirclement of the People's Republic of China and the penetration of these great markets — which they do not dominate yet — turns Asia into one of the most explosive points of the world today, in spite of its apparent stability outside of the Vietnamese war zone.

The Middle East, though geographically a part of this continent, has its own contradictions and is actively in ferment; it is impossible to foretell how far the cold war between Israel, backed by the imperialists, and the progressive countries of that zone will go. This is just another of the volcanoes threatening eruption in the world today.

Africa offers an almost virgin territory to the neocolonial invasion. There have been changes which, to some extent, forced neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when these changes are carried out without interruption, colonialism continues in the form of neocolonialism with similar effects as far as the economic situation is concerned.

The United States had no colonies in this region but is now struggling to penetrate its partners' fiefs. It can be said that following the strategic plans of U. S. imperialism, Africa constitutes its long-range reservoir; its present investments, though, are only important in the Union of South Africa and its penetration is beginning to be felt in the Congo, Nigeria and other countries where a sharp rivalry with other imperialist powers is beginning to take place (non-violent up to the present time).

So far it does not have great interests to defend there except its assumed right to intervene in every spot of the world where its monopolies detect the possibility of huge profits or the existence of large reserves of raw materials.

All this past history justifies our concern over the possibilities of liberating the peoples within a moderate or a short period of time.

If we stop to analyze Africa we observe that in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola the struggle is waged with relative intensity, with particular success in the first and with variable success in the other two. We still witness in the Congo the dispute between Lumumba's successors and the old accomplices of Tshombe, a dispute which at the present time seems to favor the latter, those who have "pacified" a large area of the country for their own benefit -- though the war is still latent. In Rhodesia we have a different problem: British imperialism used every means within its reach to place power in the hands of the white minority, now in control. The conflict, from the British point of view, is absolutely unofficial; this Western power, with its habitual diplomatic cleverness -- also called hypocrisy in plain language -- presents a facade of displeasure before the measures adopted by the government of Ian Smith. Its crafty attitude is supported and followed by some Commonwealth countries, but is attacked by a large group of countries belonging to Black Africa, even by some that are still docile economic vassals of British imperialism. Should the efforts of Rhodesia's black patriots to organize armed rebellion crystallize and should this movement be effectively supported by neighboring African nations, the situation in that country could become extremely explosive. But for the moment all these problems are being discussed in such innocuous organizations as the UN, the Commonwealth and the OAU. Nevertheless, the social and political evolution of Africa does not lead us to expect a continental revolution. The liberation struggle against the Portuguese should end victoriously, but Portugal means nothing in the imperialist field. The confrontations of revolutionary importance are those which place at bay all the imperialist apparatus, though this does not mean that we should stop fighting for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies and for the deepening of their revolutions. When the black masses of South Africa or Rhodesia start their authentic revolutionary struggle, a new era will dawn in Africa. Or when the impoverished masses of a nation rise up to rescue their right to a decent life from the hands of the ruling oligarchies.

Up to now, army putsches have followed one another; a group of officers succeeds one another or replaces rulers who no longer serve their caste interests and those of the powers who covertly manage them — but there are no great popular upheavals. In the Congo these characteristics appeared briefly, generated by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing strength in the last few months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive. The points of friction are not only Viet Nam and Laos, where actual fighting is going on, but also Cambodia, where a direct U. S. aggression may start at any time, Thailand, Malaya and, of course, Indonesia, where we cannot assume that the last word has been said, despite the annihilation of the Communist Party of that country carried out by the reactionaries when they took power. And also, naturally there is the Middle East.

In Latin America armed struggle is underway in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia and the first uprisings are appearing in Brazil. Other foci of resistance appear and are later extinguished. But almost every country of this continent is ripe for a type of struggle that, in order to achieve victory, cannot be content with

anything less than establishing a government of a socialist nature.

On this continent, for all practical purposes, only one tongue is spoken (with the exception of Brazil, with whose people those who speak Spanish can easily make themselves understood, owing to the great similarity of both languages). There is also such a great similarity among the classes of the different countries, that an identification exists among them, as an "international American" type, much more complete than that of other continents. Language, customs, religion, a common foreign master, unite them. The degree and forms of exploitation are similar for both the exploiters and the exploited in many of the countries of Our America. And rebellion is ripening swiftly.

We may ask ourselves: how will this rebellion come to fruition? What type will it be? We have maintained for quite some time now that, owing to the similarity of national characteristics, the struggle in Our America will achieve, in due course, continental proportions. It will be the scene of many great battles fought for the liberation of humanity.

Within the overall struggle on a continental scale, the battles which are now taking place are only episodes — but they have already furnished their martyrs, who will figure in the history of Our America as having given their necessary quota of blood in this last stage of the fight for the total freedom of Man. These names will include Major Turcios Lima, the priest Camilo Torres, Major Fabricio Ojeda, Majors Lobatón and Luis de la Puente Uceda, all outstanding figures in the revolutionary movements of Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru.

But the active mobilization of the people creates new leaders; César Montes and Yon Sosa raise the flag of battle in Guatemala; Fabio Vázquez and Marulanda in Colombia; Douglas Bravo in the western half of the country and Américo Martín in El Bachiller direct their respective fronts in Venezuela. New uprisings will take place in these and other countries of Our America, as has already happened in Bolivia; they will continue to grow in the midst of all the hardships inherent to this dangerous profession of the modern revolutionary. Many will perish, victims of their errors; others will fall in the hard battle ahead; new fighters and new leaders will appear in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. The people will produce their fighters and leaders in the selective process of the war itself — and Yankee agents of repression will increase. Today there are military "advisers" in all the countries where armed struggle exists, and the Peruvian army, trained and advised by the Yankees, apparently carried out a successful action against the revolutionaries in that country. But if the foci of war grow with sufficient political and military wisdom, they will become practically invincible, obliging the Yankees to send reinforcements. In Peru itself many new figures, practically unknown, are now tenaciously and firmly reorganizing the guerrilla movement. Little by little, the obsolete weapons which are sufficient for the repression of small armed bands will be exchanged for modern armaments and the U. S. military "advisers" will be substituted by U. S.



soldiers until, at a given moment, they will be forced to send increasingly greater numbers of regular troops to ensure the relative stability of a government whose national puppet army is disintegrating before the attacks of the guerrillas. It is the road of Viet Nam; it is the road that should be followed by the peoples of the world; it is the road that will be followed in Our America, with the special characteristic that the armed groups may create something like Coordinating Councils to frustrate the repressive efforts of Yankee imperialism and contribute to the revolutionary cause.

America, a forgotten continent in the world's more recent liberation struggles, which is now beginning to make itself heard through the Tri-continental in the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, the Cuban Revolution, has before it a task of much greater relevance: to create a Second or a Third Viet Nam, or the Second and Third Viet Nam of the world.

We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism — and it must be defeated in a great world confrontation. The strategic end of this struggle must be the destruction of imperialism. Our part, the responsibility of the exploited and underdeveloped of the world, is to eliminate the foundations of imperialism: our oppressed nations, from which they extract capital, raw materials, cheap technicians and common labor, and to which they export new capital — instrument of domination —, arms and every kind of article, submerging us in absolute dependence.

The fundamental element of this strategic end is, then, the real liberation of all peoples, a liberation that will be brought about in most cases through armed struggle and will, in Our America, almost certainly have the characteristic of becoming a Socialist Revolution.

In envisaging the destruction of imperialism, it is necessary to identify its head, which is no other than the United States of America.

We must carry out a general task which has as its tactical purpose drawing the enemy out of his natural environment, forcing him to fight in places where his living habits clash with the existing reality. We must not underrate our adversary; the U. S. soldier has technical capacity and is backed by weapons and resources of such magnitude as to render him formidable. He lacks the essential ideological motivation which his bitterest enemies of today — the Vietnamese soldiers — have in the highest degree. We will only be able to triumph over such an army by undermining its morale — and that is accomplished by causing it repeated defeats and repeated punishment.

But this brief scheme for victory implies immense sacrifice by the people, sacrifice that should be demanded beginning today, in plain words, and which perhaps may be less painful than what they would have to endure if we constantly avoided battle in an attempt to have others pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

It is probable, of course, that the last country to liberate itself will accomplish this without armed struggle and that people may be spared the sufferings of a long and cruel war against the imperialists. But perhaps it will be impossible to avoid this struggle or its effects in a global conflagration and the last country's suffering may be the same, or even greater. We cannot foresee the future, but we should never give in to the defeatist temptation of being leaders of a nation that yearns for freedom but abhors the struggle it entails and awaits its freedom as a crumb of victory.

It is absolutely just to avoid all useless sacrifice. For that reason, it is necessary to study carefully the real possibilities that dependent America may have of liberating itself through peaceful means. For us, the answer to this question is quite clear: the present moment may or may not be the proper one for starting the struggle, but we cannot harbour any illusions, and we have no right to do so, that freedom can be obtained without fighting. And the battles will not be mere street fights with stones against tear-gas bombs, nor pacific general strikes; neither will they be those of a furious people destroying in two or three days the repressive superstructure of the ruling oligarchies. The struggle will be long, harsh, and its battle fronts will be the guerrilla's refuge, the cities, the homes of the fighters — where the repressive forces will go seeking easy victims among their families —, among the massacred rural population, in the villages or cities destroyed by the bombardments of the enemy.

They themselves impel us to this struggle; there is no alternative other than to prepare it and decide to undertake it.

The beginnings will not be easy; they will be extremely difficult. All of the oligarchies' power of repression, all of their capacity for brutality and demagoguery will be placed at the service of their cause. Our mission, in the first hour, will be to survive; later, we will follow the perennial example of the guerrilla, carrying out armed propaganda (in the Vietnamese sense, that is, the propaganda of bullets,

of battles won or lost — but fought — against the enemy). The great lesson of the invincibility of the guerrillas will take root in the dispossessed masses. The galvanizing of national spirit, preparation for harder tasks, for resisting even more violent repressions. Hatred as an element of struggle; relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of man and transforms us into effective, violent, selective and cold killing machines. Our soldiers must be thus; a people without hatred cannot vanquish a brutal enemy. We must carry the war as far as the enemy carries it: to his home, to his centers of entertainment, in a total war. It is necessary to prevent him from having a moment of peace, a quiet moment outside his barracks or even inside; we must attack him wherever he may be, make him feel like a cornered beast wherever he may move. Then his morale will begin to fall. He will become still more savage, but we shall see the signs of decadence begin to appear.

And let us develop a true proletarian internationalism, with international proletarian armies; let the flag under which we fight be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity, so that to die under the flag of Viet Nam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazil — to name only a few scenes of today's armed struggle — be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a European.

Each drop of blood spilled in a country under whose flag one has not been born is an experience for those who survive to apply later in the liberation struggle of their own countries. And each nation liberated is a step toward victory in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.

The time has come to settle our discrepancies and place everything we have at the service of the struggle.

We all know that great controversies agitate the world now fighting for freedom; no one can hide it. We also know that these controversies have reached such intensity and such bitterness that the possibility of dialogue and reconciliation seems extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is useless to search for means and ways to propitiate a dialogue which the hostile parties avoid. But the enemy is there; it strikes every day, and threatens us with new blows and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary union, will earn the people's gratitude.

Because of the virulence and the intransigence with which each cause is defended, we, the dispossessed, cannot take sides with one or the other form of manifestation of these discrepancies, even if we at times coincide with the contentions of one party or the other, or in greater measure with those of one part than with those of the other. In time of war, the expression of current differences constitutes a weakness; but as things stand at this moment, it is an illusion to hope to settle these differences by means of words. Time will erase them or give them their true explanation.

In our struggling world, all discrepancies regarding tactics and methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives should be analyzed with the respect that the opinions of others deserve. Regarding our great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism via armed struggle, we should be uncompromising.

Our aspirations to victory may be summed up thus: total destruction of imperialism by eliminating its firmest bulwark: imperialist domination by the United States of America. To carry out, as a tactical method, the gradual liberation of the peoples, one by one or in groups; forcing the enemy into a difficult fight far from its own territory; liquidation of all of its sustaining bases, that is, its dependent territories.

This means a long war. And, we repeat once more, a cruel war. Let no one fool himself at the outstart and let no one hesitate to begin in fear of the consequences it may bring to his people. It is almost our sole hope for victory. We cannot elude the call of this hour. Viet Nam is pointing it out with its endless lesson of heroism, its tragic and everyday lesson of struggle and death for the attainment of final victory.

There, the imperialist soldiers encounter the discomforts of those who, accustomed to the vaunted U. S. standard of living, must face a hostile land, the insecurity of those who are unable to move without being aware of walking on enemy territory, death to those who advance beyond their fortified encampments, the permanent hostility of an entire population. All this provokes internal repercussions in the United States and propitiates the resurgence of a factor which was attenuated in the full vigor of imperialism: class struggle even within its own territory.

What a luminous, near future would be visible to us if two, three or many Viet Nams flourished throughout the world with their share of death and their immense tragedies, their everyday heroism and their repeated blows against imperialism obliging it to disperse its forces under the attack and the increasing hatred of all the peoples of the earth!

And if we were all capable of uniting to make our blows more solid and more infallible so that the effectiveness of every kind of support given to the struggling peoples were increased — how great and how near that future would be!

If we, those of us who, on a small point of the world map, fulfill our duty and place at the disposal of this struggle whatever little we are able to give: our lives, our sacrifice, must some day breathe our last breath in any land, not our own yet already ours, sprinkled with our blood, let it be known that we have measured the scope of our actions and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat, but that we are proud to have learned from the Cuban Revolution, and from its maximum leader, the great lesson emanating from Cuba's attitude in this part of the world: "What do the dangers or the sacrifices of a man or of a nation matter, when the destiny of humanity is at stake?"

Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism, and a call for the peoples' unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America. Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand be extended to take up our weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory.



etc

## "WHAT IS LASO?"

(Pamphlet published by the Organizing Committee of LASO)

### FOUNDATION AND PURPOSES

The anti-imperialist delegations of the 27 Latin American nations that attended the First Tricontinental Conference founded the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) on January 16, 1966, in Havana, Cuba.

As stated in its constitution, its aims are to unite, coordinate and give impetus to the struggle waged by all the exploited peoples of Latin America against U.S. imperialism.

### AALAPSO AND LASO

AALAPSO, the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization, was created by the First Tricontinental Conference, whereas LASO was created at a special, exclusive meeting of Latin American delegations taking part in its debates.

They are two different and totally independent organizations. Neither is organically or functionally subordinate to the other. Although they were established almost at the same time and at the same place and set up their headquarters in the same country, they could have been established at different times and places and could have chosen different headquarters sites.

The international climate created by the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and that of other colonialist powers for dominating all the backward countries of the world by fire and sword, and the need for the underdeveloped, colonialized, and dependent peoples to help each other effectively, to coordinate their efforts in the national liberation struggle, to support liberated countries, and to give a united reply to imperialist aggression and defeat its aims--all this made necessary and possible the creation of these two organizations.

AALAPSO seeks to unite, coordinate and give impetus to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in the sphere of three continents. LASO seeks the same thing on one single continent: Latin America. Therefore the relations between the two are those of fraternal support and cooperation.

### THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

On January 16, an organizing committee was appointed, made up of the delegations from Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Guyana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Its basic tasks are to orient the work of the new organization in cooperation with the national committee of each

country, and to organize the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference.

The internal structure of the Organizing Committee is not based on permanent secretariats, but rather on working groups that exist only until the tasks assigned them are accomplished. Immediately thereafter, new groups are created to carry out new tasks. Only the General Secretariat, headed by the representative of the Cuban National Committee, Haydée Santamaría, and the working group for the LASO bulletin are permanent.

The Organizing Committee holds a weekly plenary meeting at which the decisions of the working groups are approved, disapproved, or modified. It is attempted to obtain unanimous resolutions at all times, but if this is not possible, a resolution may pass with a two-thirds majority. Thus far it has not been necessary to apply this rule for basic decisions.

The Organizing Committee has accomplished the following tasks, among many others:

Early this year it modified the composition of the national committees of the great majority of the organization's member countries and consulted them as to the date of the Conference, the criteria to be followed in creating and revamping the national committees, the topics on the agenda, and other proposals they might make.

On this basis, it selected the month of July 1967 for the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, and it has prepared the draft agenda and regulations for the Conference and draft statutes for the Organization.

It has promoted investigation of the economic, social, political, and cultural conditions of the continent, for the purpose of providing the Conference with sufficient information for making judgments. This investigation is to be conducted by the national committees to the best of their ability.

#### THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

The national committees represent the anti-imperialist sectors that are most active and that have the most extensive and deepest roots among the people of each Latin American country. They are composed of one or more truly anti-imperialist, representative, and unitary organizations that accept the General Declaration of the First Tricontinental Conference and the organic bases of LASO.

The starting point for the formation of each national committee was established by the International Preparatory Committee of the First Tricontinental Conference. Thus, in principle, the national committee of a specific country is composed of the organizations that were invited to participate in that conference.

## THE DYNAMISM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

However, some important organizations were not invited to the First Tricontinental Conference, and some others that did not meet the entry requirements may have been invited. It is also true that some political forces that were taken into account have ceased to exist and that additional ones may follow that course. Some organizations merged, and others may do so in the future, and new popularly supported anti-imperialist movements have appeared.

These realities have determined the dynamic character of the composition of the national committees. No organization may belong in perpetuity to the national committee if it loses the qualities that made possible its admission. Moreover, organizations that acquire those qualities must be admitted. The national committees must always represent the most active anti-imperialist sectors, and those with the most profound and extensive roots among the people in each of the Latin American countries.

The dynamic character of the national committees is also a characteristic of LASO and is its contribution to the international revolutionary institutions.

The first review of the national committees was carried out in accordance with this basic criterion. Today their composition is determined by the results of that work and no longer only by the decisions of the International Preparatory Committee of the First Tricontinental Conference.

## ADMISSION TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Any anti-imperialist organization wishing to form part of the national committee of its country presents its application for admission simultaneously to the national committee concerned and to the Organizing Committee of LASO. In its application, it indicates that it meets the requirements for admission. Once this application is received, the national committee, after verifying the applicant's qualifications, informs the Organizing Committee as to whether or not it favors its admission.

If the national committee's opinion on the applicant is unanimously favorable, the Organizing Committee, after making its own determination of the applicant's qualifications for admission, recognizes the addition of the new organization as a member of the national committee. If there is a difference of opinion, the Organizing Committee decides for itself.

The same procedure is followed for expelling an organization that no longer meets the necessary requirements for belonging to the National Committee. Request for such action must come from the organizations making up the national committee or from the Organizing Committee itself.



## POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, OR MASS ORGANIZATIONS?

Basically, the national committees are made up of anti-imperialist political organizations, since they are organizations that now perform political functions and will continue to do so.

In particular cases, however, mass organizations may belong to the national committees when, besides meeting the requirements for admission, they include essential sectors of the population, contribute toward attracting new political forces to the national committee, and help to develop and consolidate the unified bases of work of the organizations that compose it.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

The fact that political organizations basically make up the national committees does not in any way limit the work of these committees. When they hold public meetings, demonstrations, conferences, and round tables, and when they issue publications, or conduct other activities, they act in the same way as regular political organizations. They take advantage of the influence that each of them has in mass organizations to promote their work. Solidarity campaigns are organized directly by the national committee, separately by each of the organizations that composes it, or by the mass organizations in which they have influence. Likewise, they establish solidarity committees or other forms of organization to achieve their objectives, all in accordance with the existing situation of the anti-imperialist organizations in each country. The difference between the national committee and the organizations through which it does its work is the same as that between the political organizations and the mass organizations.

From an organizational standpoint, the national committee is also flexible. When possible, it functions through periodic meetings of the delegates of each of the various organizations that make it up. But also, when the situation of clandestineness or repression obstructs organic functioning, it functions through contacts or liaison with the member organizations.

## FOUNDING COUNTRIES OF LASO

The agreement to establish the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) was adopted by the national committees of the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guadalupe, Guatemala, Guyana, French Guiana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Surinam (Dutch Guiana) joined later.

## PROSPECTS FOR LASO

The Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) and the National Committees that make it up conduct and must conduct in the future an intensive campaign for the unity of the anti-imperialist movements in each of our countries. They must prevent sectarianism from causing the havoc that is familiar in Latin America and division between anti-imperialist organizations from flourishing. With their practical activity, they must instill the conviction that only the firmest unity will make the anti-imperialist movement in each country strong.

But also, they must demonstrate with their policy that only by unifying, coordinating, and giving impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle in all the Latin American countries, and giving each other mutual support and solidarity--especially to the peoples engaged in armed struggle--can an effective reply be given to the hemisphere-wide strategy for domination on the part of U.S. imperialism.

By getting to know each other, helping each other, coordinating and giving impetus to scattered efforts in the anti-imperialist struggle, our peoples will find the road to victory.

If the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) and the National Committees that make it up progress in the fulfillment of these tasks, the prospect for our struggle is a future of joint struggle and solidarity, a future of success for our present efforts.