

URBAN GUERRILLAS IN ARGENTINA: A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. INTRODUCTION

URBAN INSURGENCY HAS BEEN USED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS in many areas of the developed and less developed world during the past decade. In Latin America, this trend toward expanded urban guerrilla warfare has been most pronounced in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. In the three nations, revolutionary forces have rejected completely the concept of the primacy of guerrilla activities based in the countryside, a theory adapted to the Latin American environment by Cuba's Ernesto "Che" Guevara and French Marxist Régis Debray. Instead, attention has been focused on organizing and developing guerrilla and terrorist operations in such population centers as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Córdoba. (For a discussion of factors leading to the development of urban insurgency in Latin America see "The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America: A Select Bibliography," LARR: 9: 1).

Brazil's Carlos Marighella understood the importance of terror and urban guerrilla warfare as instruments of contemporary revolution and he was one of the first Latin Americans to appreciate fully the revolutionary potential awaiting exploitation in the area's metropolitan centers, vis-à-vis the countryside. Putting his theoretical concepts into practice, Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*, a document translated into several languages since its publication in 1969, has become a handbook for urban insurgents in many areas of the world, including Latin America. Within Brazil, the city-centered guerrilla movement founded by Marighella and developed rapidly by his followers during the late 1960's and early 1970's, illustrated clearly the impact urban terrorism could have upon the political structure of a nation. Following Marighella's precepts, as well as those of the Spanish exile and guerrilla theoretician Abraham Guillén (*Estrategia de la guerrilla urbana*, 1966), Uruguay's *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional*, better known as the *Tupamaros*, also attracted international attention during this same time. In contrast to the research efforts expended on these two nations, however, Argentina's developing urban insurgency, which began in the late 1960's and accelerated rapidly during the 1970's, was accorded relatively little attention. While such highly competent observers as João Quartim (1971), Richard Gott (1971), Robert Moss (1970, 1971), Ernesto Mayans

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(1971), and Arturo Porzecanski (1973) have probed in some depth the strengths and weaknesses of Brazilian or Uruguayan revolutionary groups, no similar effort has been devoted to identifying and evaluating the political goals and operational techniques of parallel organizations in Argentina.

In assessing the impact of guerrilla activity upon the Argentine political scene, in particular its effect upon the Peronist organization, *Movimiento Justicialista* (MJ), analyses similar to those carried out for Brazilian and Uruguayan guerrilla groups would be most useful. The need for studies of this type, which are now conspicuous by their absence, is particularly apparent in view of the close linkages existing between a number of Argentine guerrilla organizations and the *Movimiento Justicialista* itself. Continued operations by these guerrilla elements, as well as governmental countering actions, have done much to exacerbate existing divisions within the MJ between younger, radical elements grouped in *La tendencia revolucionaria* and older more orthodox Peronists centered in the labor movement. This situation has become even more complex and in need of analysis since the death on July 1, 1974, of General Perón.

In order to provide a starting point for research on urban terrorism and insurgency in Argentina, this article attempts to identify the basic source materials which provide a view which is as definitive as possible of the political orientation and programs as well as the military tactics and operations of the five significant guerrilla groups active in-country since 1968: the *Montoneros*, the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias*, the *Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas*, the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo*, and the *Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación*. In addition to entries on these organizations, other bibliographic sections include chronologies relating to terrorist incidents and operations during the 1968–1974 time span, and information about collaboration between revolutionary elements in Argentina with similar groups in Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, and Uruguay. A separate section contains materials identifying and describing the relationships existing between guerrilla organizations and those radical Peronist groups forming *La tendencia revolucionaria*. Entries on this faction have been included since it functions primarily as a recruiting base and political support apparatus for the *Montoneros*. Within the limitations described above, it is hoped this bibliographic effort will encourage and possibly facilitate the in-depth research regarding urban insurgency in Argentina which is needed.

II. CHRONOLOGIES

It is extremely difficult to obtain a reasonably accurate assessment of the development, scope, and intensity of urban terrorism in Argentina without basic statistical information. Data relating to the number and type of terrorist acts carried out within a given time frame, the identities of the guerrilla groups involved, and estimates as to the damage done are essential. In contrast to neighboring Uruguay, where the excellent studies of Antonio Mercader and Jorge de Vera (1969), Ernesto Mayans (1971) and Arturo Porzecanski (1973) contain a significant body of this information, no similar materials are available for Argentina. Buenos Aires news-

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papers such as *La Nación*, *La Razón*, *La Opinión*, *El Clarín*, and *El Mundo* generally follow a careful policy of not identifying the guerrilla organizations involved in most terrorist acts. Governmental publications are equally non-informative in this area as are news magazines such as *Confirmado*. Accordingly the accumulation of data concerning operations conducted by specific insurgent groups during a given period of time is most difficult. Normally, information of this type can be assembled only through an issue-by-issue review of the Argentine press and a comparison of the data found with foreign press sources such as the Spanish news agency EFE or Agence France Presse in order to obtain the identities of the groups involved. Both news services provide rather complete coverage of Argentine terrorist activities and, in most cases, attempt to identify those organizations involved in specific acts of terrorism.

At present, the only chronology of major terrorist incidents available from an Argentine source is a three column news item prepared by the *La Nación* staff in early 1974 (Item #9). Unfortunately, this item focuses on attacks against military units and personnel, ignoring similar activities in the civilian sector. A less detailed report, wherein the emphasis is on operations within the civilian community, is contained in the August 1973 issue of the Mexican magazine *Progreso* (Item #5). Finally, a late 1973 EFE dispatch printed in the Madrid daily *Arriba* (Item #6) provides some statistics on the kidnappings carried out during the last half of 1973, the groups involved in these operations, and total ransoms paid. Other statistical and chronological materials, such as those contained in the *Washington Post*, *Washington Star-News*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*, are fragmentary.

Considering the paucity of even general statistical data regarding terrorism and urban insurgency in Argentina, the development of basic chronologies detailing those operations conducted by individual guerrilla groups would be one useful starting point for drawing together the materials needed for an in-depth probe into the overall terrorist/insurgency problem.

1. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Argentine Police Hit Kidnap Ring. *Washington Star-News*. Washington, D.C. (Jan. 7). A-7. General information on kidnappings which took place in 1973, as well as some of the significant ransoms paid. (Information is at variance with data reported from the same source in Item #8).

1. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Ford to Pay Guerrillas \$1 Million for 'Protection' in Argentina. *Washington Post*. Washington, D.C. (May 24). A-1. Information on the kidnappings during the period May 1972–May 1973; also indicates that more than 200 persons have been abducted in Argentina since 1968. Data on ransoms paid in 1972–1973 also included.

3. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Guerrillas Blamed in Slaying. *Washington Star-Post News*. Washington, D.C. (Nov. 23). A-5. Although focusing on the slaying of Ford Motor Company executive John Albert Swint, portions of the article contain fragmentary statistics on the number of terrorist acts carried out in Argentina since January 1973. The data appear exaggerated.

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4. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Gunmen Kill American in Argentina. *Washington Post*. Washington, D.C. (Nov. 23). A-1. Notes more than 160 kidnappings in Argentina during 1973. In these operations, over twenty million dollars in ransoms have been paid.
5. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 No cesan los secuestros en Argentina. *Progreso*. México, D.F. (Aug.). 21-23. useful, although incomplete, chronology of significant terrorist operations in Argentina between 1971 and August 1973. Individuals and groups involved are identified as are the amounts of ransom paid.
6. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Se crea el consejo nacional de seguridad. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Dec. 23). 14. In addition to outlining the counter-terrorist functions of the new National Security Council, the article also provides useful statistical data, broken down by individual terrorist groups, about the organizations responsible for the 139 kidnappings in Argentina (and the more than \$11,000,000 in paid ransoms) which took place between May 25 and December 1, 1973.
7. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Terrorismo argentino. *ABC*. Madrid. (May 20). 23. Useful review of recent terrorist operations, containing fragmentary statistical data.
8. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Two Die, Two Seized in Argentina. *Washington Star-News*. Washington, D.C. (Jun. 26). A-7. This UPI report summarizes recent terrorist operations in Argentina and updates statistical information on the 60 kidnappings carried out between January 1 and June 1, 1973.
9. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Una larga lista precede al episodio de Azul. *La Nación*. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 21). 5. The only reasonably detailed chronology available regarding significant guerrilla attacks against Argentine military installations and personnel during the period 1968 to date. Unfortunately, the terrorist units responsible for individual operations are not listed. A final section also includes significant kidnapping and assassination activities against leading governmental, labor, and police personnel.
10. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 U.S. Firm Pays \$14.2 Million Ransom. *Washington Post*. Washington, D.C. (Mar. 14). A-1 Reports that 12 foreigners and more than 170 Argentines were kidnapped in 1973 by guerrillas or criminal elements following guerrilla operational techniques. Additional information is provided concerning the 14.2 million dollar ransom paid by Esso Argentina for release of refinery head, Victor Samuelson.
11. GOODSSELL, JAMES NELSON
1973 Terrorism Nags Argentine Inauguration. *Christian Science Monitor*. Boston. (May 25). 2. Notes that during the past two months eleven military leaders and businessmen have been killed as well as 21 Argentine and foreign businessmen kidnapped: describes in some detail the terrorist problem facing the new Argentine government.
12. MASSA, PEDRO
1970 Intensa actividad de los comandos terroristas. *ABC*. Madrid. (Sept. 20). 25. Useful summary of urban terrorist operations between late 1969 and September 1970. General statistical data on incidents are provided.

III. LA TENDENCIA REVOLUCIONARIA

After his return to Argentina in June 1973, and assumption of the presidency less than five months later, General Perón's actions as chief executive widened divisions already existing within his Movimiento Justicialista. In broad terms, the most serious of these divisions exist between those radical youth groups forming *La tendencia revolucionaria* (LTR) and the old line *burocracia sindical* of the organized labor movement. (Items # 47, 48). Anticipating a program of rapid political and economic change, many young Peronists became almost totally disenchanted with the chief executive's conservative policies. Perón's support of the *acuerdo social* between management and labor; his refusal to move against foreign economic interests in Argentina; his purge of suspected Marxist elements within the *Juventud Peronista* (JP), and the forced resignation of eight JP national deputies for refusing to support more vigorous penalties against terrorism and other anti-regime activities, all combined to isolate the JP from the president. (See Items #16, 20, 25, 28, 29, 32, 42). This isolation and growing distrust between Perón and an expanding youth segment of his movement was accelerated by the president's ill-concealed disenchantment with youth in general. His published remarks to a Madrid journalist, "*El futuro es de la juventud, pero no el presente,*" did little to bridge the gap between the two groups. (Item #20). Considering the vital role played by many young Peronists in the guerrilla campaigns against the military governments ruling Argentina between 1966 and 1973, as well as the motive force provided by youth in developing the campaign for Perón's return to Argentina, many young people felt betrayed by their former leader. (See Item #48).

The gap between youth elements in LTR and the chief of state had grown since early 1974. Despite a series of January and February 1974 meetings designed to reconcile differences between Perón and members of LTR, no progress was made in this direction. (Items #21, 27). Instead, positions hardened. Groups forming LTR congealed into a solid front consisting of the Montoneros, the *Juventud Peronista Regional* (particularly groups in Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Córdoba, and Santa Fe), the *Juventud Trabajadora Peronista*, *Juventud Universitaria Peronista*, *Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios*, *Grupo Evita*, and the *Movimiento Peronista Villero*. In direct support of these organizations are radical labor elements such as the *Movimiento Sindical Combativo* led by Augustín Tosco in Córdoba. (See Items #19, 27, 36).

While the February 1974 governmental intervention of Córdoba Province was carried out to halt disorders resulting from conflicts between liberal Governor Ricardo Obregón Cano and police officials, this action also brought LTR elements into direct conflict with federal forces. (Items #18, 34, 40). The subsequent removal of Obregón Cano and his indictment by President Perón on charges of permitting the spread of subversion in Córdoba and the development of that province into a springboard for the expansion of subversion throughout Argentina further alienated the LTR and its component organizations. (Items #19, 24, 40). Following, as it did, the earlier removal of Buenos Aires Governor Oscar Bidegáin for similar reasons

(sympathy toward LTR elements), these actions further widened the gap between radical Peronists and the president. This gap was opened even more by the follow-on February 1974 federal police raids, led by President Perón's personal *Seguridad Federal* appointees Alberto Villar and Luis Margaride, on the national headquarters of the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista in Buenos Aires, offices of the Juventud Peronista Regional in that same city, and the editorial offices of *El Mundo* and *El Descamisado*, the latter a semi-official organ of LTR and the former daily newspaper which had shown sympathy toward radical Peronism. (Items # 13, 15, 26, 30, 38, 39). The LTR response to these official actions was the March 13, 1974, meeting of 45,000 radical young Peronists in Buenos Aires' Atlantic Stadium. During this assembly, Montonero and other youth leaders made slashing attacks against the government and its policies. Of particular interest was the fact that this gathering was attended by a number of older Peronists long affiliated with the *Confederación General del Trabajo*, such as Andrés Framini, Avelino Fernández, Sebastián Borro and others. (See Item #22)

Counterattacking quickly, on March 20 the government launched *Operación Rastrillo*. Arresting more than 120 officials of LTR, its component organizations and the Trotskyite Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, the federal police made an almost clean sweep of the leadership of the violence-prone groups in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area. Similar police raids were conducted against LTR organizations in provincial centers such as Córdoba and Resistencia. (See Item #17). The immediate impact of this activity, as well as continuing governmental opposition to LTR, hardened guerrilla-radical youth resistance to Perón and drove together such ideologically divergent groups as the Montoneros and the ERP. (See Items #16, 18).

Despite increasing LTR, Montonero, and ERP opposition, President Perón continued his attack against these organizations. In a May Day (1974) address to an estimated 250,000 persons in Buenos Aires, the chief executive delivered a slashing attack against the ERP, LTR, and Montoneros, virtually reading the latter two organizations out of the Justicialist Movement. Responding to this verbal attack, LTR and Montonero members attending the May Day celebration, estimated at one-third of the total crowd, unfurled anti-Peron banners and left the meeting. Infuriated by this "act of disrespect" toward the president, the Superior Council of the Justicialist Movement met on May 18 and censured LTR and the Montoneros for their sectarian attitude and distortion of reality as well as their disloyalty to President Perón and the Justicialist Movement.

Equally significant in sharpening tensions between orthodox elements of the Justicialist Movement and the radical LTR- Montonero faction was the May 14 appointment by Perón of Alberto Villar and Luis Margaride to positions as chief and assistant chief of the National Police. Selected earlier by the chief executive for posts in the *Seguridad Federal*, both Villar and Margaride have extensive backgrounds in counter-terrorist operations, having served in this capacity under the military government of General Lanusse. (Items #15, 43). In addition, both officials were instrumental in developing Operación Rastrillo and bringing it to a successful conclusion.

Thus, their elevation to the top two posts in the National Police was another source of agitation to LTR and Montoneros.

While LTR and its component organizations still remain tenuously within the overall structure of Peronism, it seems extremely questionable that such an affiliation can continue. As pointed out some time ago by an editorial writer for the English language Buenos Aires *Herald*, unless radical Peronists can find some way to work within the limits of Peronism, they ultimately must move toward violence-oriented organizations such as the ERP. (Items #18, 45). At present, this seems to be precisely the direction in which the Montoneros and LTR are headed. Able to mobilize an estimated 45,000 militants in Buenos Aires alone, the danger to Argentine governmental stability resulting from such a shift in loyalties on the part of young Peronists is obvious.

Although a substantial amount of rather fragmented data is available on LTR and its components, no effort has been made to collate this information into definitive and in-depth studies on either LTR or its affiliated groups. In view of the unity displayed by this organization, its steadfast opposition to orthodox Peronism, and its close links to the guerrilla movement, including the Trotskyite ERP, it would seem that studies of LTR would be a useful starting point in any examination of urban insurgency and terrorism in Argentina.

13. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Argentina: Cultural Revolution. *Latin America*. London. 8:9:66-68. Excellent summary of governmental and right-wing Peronist attacks against various Buenos Aires facilities of the *Juventud Trabajadora Peronista* (JTP) as well as the Buenos Aires newspaper *El Mundo*, known for its sympathy toward LTR. In these operations 37 persons were arrested and another 12 killed during the period January 15-March 1. In view of such repression, the article indicates increasing numbers of young Peronists are moving to join the ERP, an organization whose membership has increased from 4,000 to 8,000 in six months.

14. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Argentina: Guerrilla under the Throne. *Latin America*. London. 7:24:190-191. Outstanding analysis of the conservative-radical split within Peronism and of the factors which led to this development. Revolutionary organizations are identified and their ideological views outlined.

15. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Campaña contra la juventud izquierdista. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Feb. 23). 16. Detailed summary of police operations against local facilities of the JTP in Buenos Aires, the national headquarters of the JTP, and offices of the *Juventud Peronista Regional*. These operations were directed by Seguridad Federal officers Alberto Villar and Luis Margaride, personally appointed to their positions by President Perón. (See also Items # 26, 30, 39, 43).

16. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Centrist Peronism. *Herald*. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 7). 6. Excellent editorial comments in detail on the schisms within Peronism, and President Perón's seeming inability to draw radical and conservative elements into a unified force under his control.

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17. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Ciento veinte detenidos en Buenos Aires. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 21). 15. Good summary account of 'Operación Rastrillo' involving the arrest of LTR and ERP leaders in metropolitan Buenos Aires by the *policía federal*. Similar operations were carried out in other Argentine provinces.
18. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Córdoba Barometer. Herald. Buenos Aires. (Mar. 5). 6. Useful editorial evaluation of revolutionary elements and developments in Córdoba. The writer indicates that unless revolutionary Peronists are able to find a place within that movement, they will be driven outside Justicialism toward increasingly violent forms of political activity.
19. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 El nuevo gobernador anuncia elecciones. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 2). 18. In addition to announcing new provincial elections, this article contains governmental allegations of collusion between former provincial governor Ricardo Obregón Cano and radical labor elements (Agustín Tosco of the Movimiento Sindical Combativo) as well as Montonero units.
20. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 En busca de la pacificación. Visión. México, D.F. 41:13:20-23. Assesses divisions within the Peronist Movement. Particularly interesting are Peron's comments concerning his disposition to ignore radical youth elements in building a new Argentine government.
21. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 La reunión de la juventud con Perón. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 31). 2. An excellent supplement to Item # 27. It also provides a clear view of divisions within the Juventud Peronista and illustrates the similarity in views between the Montoneros, the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista and the Juventud Universitaria Peronista.
22. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Mass Mobilization for Popular Reform. Latin America. London. 8:11:82-84. Interesting report on the March 11, 1974, meeting in Buenos Aires' Atlantic Stadium attended by 45,000 LTR supporters. Montonero and Juventud Peronista speakers vigorously attacked the government, calling for popular reform and an end to police repression.
23. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Perón con dirigentes guerrilleros. Arriba. Madrid. (Sept. 8). 6. Report on the September 7 meeting between Perón and Mario Firmenich and Roberto Quieto, leaders respectively of the Montoneros and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias. Discussions highlight disagreements between president-elect Perón and Peronist guerrilla leaders regarding the role these organizations, and young Peronists in general, should play in the new Argentine government.
24. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Perón condena a Obregón. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 5). 19. A detailed report on President Perón's official communiqué condemning former Córdoba governor Obregón Cano for straying from the path of the Justicialist revolution, for tolerating subversives within his administration, and for permitting Córdoba to become a focal point for the projection of subversion throughout Argentina. This official action marked Perón's most severe criticism to that date of the radical left, particularly LTR.

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25. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Perón y el orden público. ABC. Madrid (Jan. 27). 14. Excellent analysis of problems that faced General Perón in his efforts to eliminate Marxist influences from the Peronist Movement. Attention is focused on the impact of Marxism within the more radical sectors of Peronism.
26. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Peronist Left Wing under Actual Fire. Herald. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 27). 1. Summary of governmental attacks against JTP facilities in Buenos Aires. Comments on bombings and the use of bazookas and heavy machine guns in these operations. (See also Item # 15).
27. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Recibió Perón a jóvenes del justicialismo. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 1). 1,3. Detailed article about the groups supporting and opposing the February 1 meeting with General Perón at Olivos. Particularly noteworthy is the listing of Peronist organizations, the ideological outlook of each, and their leaders. The opposition of LTR to Perón is examined in depth.
28. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Renunciaron ocho diputados de la JP. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 25). 1,5. This excellent report concerns the resignation of eight Buenos Aires Juventud Peronista deputies from the National Congress under pressure from President Perón. Splits existing within the Juventud Peronista between moderate elements and LTR are evaluated. (See also Item # 42).
29. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Ruptura del sector "izquierdista" del Peronismo con la Frente Justicialista. Ya. Madrid. (Feb. 11). 7. Provides a good summary of divisions within the Peronist Movement, particularly the split between LTR and the regular party structure.
30. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
 1974 Tiroteo frente al diario El Mundo. Arriba. Madrid. (Feb. 24). 28. An EFE news service report concerning the February 23 attack, by right-wing Peronist youth organizations, against the leftist Buenos Aires daily *El Mundo*, a publication which has provided editorial support to radical Peronism, particularly those organizations in *La tendencia revolucionaria*. (See also Item # 15).
31. CARCEDO, DIEGO
 1973 Inminente enfrentamiento con el terrorismo izquierdista. Arriba. Madrid. (Jan. 5). 18. Examines schisms in the Peronist Movement between some elements of the youth wing and older, more orthodox leaders of the Confederación General del Trabajo. The impact of Marxism on the youth sector is evaluated.
32. ————
 1973 Perón declara la guerra a los grupos Marxistas. Arriba. Madrid. (Oct. 3). 18. Excellent editorial analysis of Perón's October 2 instructions to Justicialist leaders directing a purge of all Marxist influences within the movement. The problems involved in implementing these instructions among Peronist youth sectors are examined.
33. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE
 1974 Justicialist Congressional Bloc Seeks Campora Ouster. FBIS. 6:34:B-8. Contains text of an EPE radio dispatch, and underlines the strong dissent evident within the Peronist Movement. Activities by conservative Peronists to oust former president Cámpora from the movement because of his support for radical youth groups such as the Juventud Peronista and the Montoneros are examined.

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34. _____
1974 Montonero, JP Reject Cordoba Province Intervention. FBIS. 6:49:B-5. Based upon an EFE news report, this article details Montonero and Juventud Peronista objections to governmental intervention of Córdoba Province. Calling for mobilization against governmental activities, the Montonero and Juventud Peronista communiqué is particularly critical of conservative labor and police activities in Córdoba.
35. _____
1974 Peron Meets with Youth Leaders, Condemns Terrorism. FBIS. 6:28:B-1. This TELAM report contains a summary of comments made by President Perón in his February 7 meeting at Olivos with members of the Peronist youth. The president's remarks were particularly critical of LTR. (See also Item # 27).
36. _____
1974 Peronist Youth Protest Arrest. FBIS. 6:55:B-1. Containing portions of a March 19 Buenos Aires LATIN news agency dispatch, this article provides an excellent overview of the groups involved in LTR. Indicating the March 16 arrest of Montonero leader Mario Firmenich has opened an unbridgeable gap between orthodox and radical Peronists, the report outlines in detail the organizations involved in the left-right split within Peronism.
37. _____
1973 Peronist Superior Council Begins Youth Reorganization. FBIS. 6:230:B-3. This brief TELAM dispatch reports activities by the Peronist Superior Council to reorganize the Peronist youth movement in order to reduce the influence of LTR elements.
38. _____
1974 Peronist Youth Magazine Office Raided. FBIS. 6:17:B-8. Details of the January 23 police raid on the offices of *El Descamisado*, semi-official organ of LTR and Montoneros. A number of magazine officials were arrested. (See also item # 41).
39. _____
1974 Police Raid Peronist Working Youth Headquarters. FBIS. 6:39:B-2. Reporting the contents of a February 22 EFE radio report, this article provides excellent information on the February 21 Federal Police raids on headquarters of the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista in Buenos Aires. The schism between LTR and orthodox Peronism is outlined clearly. (See also Items # 26, 30).
40. _____
1974 Reuter Reports Rebellion. FBIS. 6:41:B-1. This valuable February 27 Reuters dispatch examines in considerable detail the Córdoba police revolt against Provincial Governor Obregón Cano. Left and right wing factions in Córdoba are identified.
41. KANDELL, JONATHAN
1974 Leftist Magazine Closed by Peron. New York Times. (Apr. 10). C-10. Noting the recent closing of *El Mundo*, a pro-LTR newspaper, as well as the termination of *El Descamisado*, a leading magazine of LTR, this article provides a good summary of efforts by Perón to purge all radical elements from the Peronist Movement.
42. MASSA, PEDRO
1974 Fisuras en el peronismo por causa de la violencia terrorista. ABC. Madrid. (Jan. 26). 25. The widening breach between younger radical sectors and older orthodox members of the Peronist Movement is examined in detail. The impact of radical

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opposition to Perón's reform of the Penal Code as well as the protest resignation of eight JP deputies to the National Congress from Buenos Aires Province are also evaluated. (See also Item # 28).

43. _____
1974 Intento de asalto a la delegación de policía de la ciudad de Resistencia. ABC. Madrid. (Jan. 30). 23. Subtitled *Diálogo directo de Perón con las agrupaciones juveniles justicialistas*, this article focuses on the violent opposition of Peronist youth to the strengthening of police efficiency through the appointments of Alberto Villar and Luis Margaride to posts in the Seguridad Federal. Both individuals were involved in violent operations against Peronist guerrilla groups during the Lanusse government. (See also Item # 15).
44. _____
1974 Perón explícito: "solo justicialistas en el movimiento justicialista." ABC. Madrid. (Feb. 2). 27. Excellent article by the Buenos Aires correspondent of ABC outlining the disenchantment of major sectors in the JP with the moderate political and economic policies of Perón.
45. PETERSON, CLIVE
1974 Dealing with Terrorism. Herald. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 25). 6. This editorial pictured Perón as anxious to quell political violence but willing to employ extra-legal measures in this activity if needed. The writer contends such actions will simply breed further terrorism.
46. PRIETO, DANIEL
1973 La experiencia de los años. *Visión*. México, D.F. 42:3:22-24. Analysis by *Visión's* Buenos Aires correspondent of the divergencies within the JP. The views of moderate and extremist elements are outlined in detail as is the close relationship existing between Peronist guerrilla cadres and LTR.
47. _____
1974 Las divergencias de un partido. *Visión*. México, D.F. 42:9:18-21. Survey of the varying ideological tendencies in the Peronist Movement with particular emphasis on the outlook of those radical youth groups encompassed within LTR. (See also Items # 27, 36).
48. _____
1973 Quizás en el futuro. *Visión*. México, D.F. 41:15:24B-24H. Another excellent analysis by *Visión's* Buenos Aires correspondent of growing Marxist influences within the JP as well as developing divisions between action-oriented guerrilla groups—FAR and the Montoneros—and the older Peronists. The examination of the *choque interno* within Peronism is particularly good.

IV. MONTONEROS

Developed as the military arm of *La tendencia revolucionaria*, the Montoneros are closely allied in their political outlook with such radical Peronist groups as the Juventud Peronista, the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista, and the Juventud Universitaria Peronista. (Items # 21, 27). On October 12, 1973, the Montoneros, under the leadership of Mario Firmenich, merged with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias; the new organization retained the name Montoneros. (Item # 71).

Representing a blend of radical Peronism and Marxism, the goals of the Montoneros are the creation of a nationalist and socialist Argentina, a just and equitable

distribution of the nation's wealth rather than political freedom, control of the labor union machinery by younger elements, and the elimination of foreign economic interests from the nation. As certain Montonero leaders have pointed out, these objectives are not necessarily in accord with the development plans stated by then President Perón. (Items #54, 56, 61, 66).

The scope and intensity of Montonero activities have varied with Argentina's evolving domestic situation. In one of the most dramatic acts staged by any Argentine guerrilla group, the Montoneros kidnapped and later executed former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu on June 1, 1970. (Item #60). The following year witnessed only sporadic acts of Montonero violence; however, since then the group has engaged in a variety of urban guerrilla actions. In late December 1971, the organization held up an armored car in Buenos Aires. Less than a month later, on January 3, 1972, fifteen Montoneros staged an abortive attack on the small city of Zárate. Three months later, several members of the organization shot and killed the chief of intelligence for the Argentine Third Army when he resisted a kidnap attempt. (Items #49, 50, 65).

Contesting the government's ability to maintain order, Montoneros have conducted some of their more recent operations in conjunction with members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (see Section VI) and other Marxist guerrilla groups. Montonero members joined forces with the ERP as well as with the now inactive Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación (FAL) in the May 1973 occupation of Tucumán airport. Four months later these same Peronist forces carried out operations against various targets in Buenos Aires, including the United States Embassy. In a subsequent joint operation with the ERP, the Montoneros made an attempt to destroy the Argentine-Chilean rail line near the border town of Potrerillo (population approximately 200) in Mendoza Province. At a February 1974 meeting in Mendoza between guerrilla leaders from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay, Montonero and ERP officials also discussed plans for joint activities and mutual support. (Items #52, 53, 55, 57)

The continuing involvement of the Montoneros in violent urban guerrilla operations has drawn a repressive response from Argentine security forces. In addition to the March 16, 1974, arrest of Montonero leader Mario Firmenich for participation in the execution of former President Aramburu, the Montoneros also were a priority target for governmental security forces during the March 1974 'Operación Rastrillo' in Buenos Aires and various provincial cities. (Items #17, 36). Because these repressive measures were initiated by the Perón government against an organization still formally affiliated with Peronism, the Montonero reaction—at least in some areas—has been a gradual movement away from the ranks of Peronism into the extremely violence-prone ERP. (Item #13)

As in the case of *La tendencia revolucionaria* and the Argentine urban guerrilla movement in general, little detailed information and no in-depth studies are available on the Montoneros. At present, the best available data on the organization is that contained in those articles appearing in the London-based publication *Latin*

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America (Items #49, 50), the short item set out in the *Annual of Power and Conflict* (Item #62), and the biased but more detailed pieces in the December 4 and 5, 1970, issues of *Granma* (Items #64, 664). In view of the important position of the Montoneros as a vanguard organization within the revolutionary branch of Peronism, it would seem that greater attention should be devoted to an examination of this organization as one approach to a better appreciation of the entire Argentine urban guerrilla phenomenon.

49. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1972 *Argentina: A Revolutionary Problem without Solution?* *Latin America*. London. 6:2:14–15. Excellent overview of the Argentine urban guerrilla movement, focusing on the Montoneros but also providing useful data on operations and tactics of various other groups including the FAR.

50. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Argentina: Guerrillas Launch New Offensive*. *Latin America*. London. 7:15:114–116. Describes in detail an April 1973 rash of kidnappings and assassinations by Montoneros, FAR, and ERP.

51. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1971 *Argentina: Revolutions within the Revolution*. *Latin America*. London. 5:43:337–338. An exceptional analysis of the major guerrilla groups operating in Argentina. Significant operations are described and personnel figures indicated for each group.

52. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Atentado contra trenes*. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Jan. 6). 15. Concise summary of techniques used in the abortive Montonero-ERP effort of January 5, 1974, to destroy the Argentine-Chilean rail line near the border town of Potrerillo, Mendoza Province.

53. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Atentados terroristas*. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Sept. 30). 15. A summary of several Peronist guerrilla operations carried out on September 19, 1973, against various targets in Buenos Aires, including the United States Embassy.

54. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Further Split in Peronist Youth Ranks Occurs*. *Herald*. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 2). 7. Excellent report on moves by important JP elements to align themselves with the Montoneros and thereby force a total reorganization of the JP. Useful information concerning the goals of revolutionary Peronism.

55. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Nuevos incidentes en la Argentina*. *ABC*. Madrid. (May 29). 35. The joint occupation of Tucumán airport by 400 armed members of the Montoneros, FAL, and ERP.

56. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Posición de Montoneros y Juventud Peronista*. *La Nación*. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 2). 14. Based on comments made by Montonero leader Mario Firmenich during a press conference with other JP officials, this article examines in some detail the ideological differences between various JP elements. Firmenich describes Montonero objectives as the creation of a nationalist and socialist state.

57. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Presuntos planes del terrorismo americano. *La Nación*. Buenos Aires. (Apr. 4). 2. A comprehensive report on a February 1974 meeting in Mendoza between guerrilla leaders from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay. Individuals representing groups from the indicated nations are identified, including Montonero leaders Firmenich and Quieto, ERP official Santucho, and JP leader Dante Gullo. Plans for joint operations and mutual support are outlined in some detail.
58. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Su hora de triunfo. *Visión*. México, D.F. 41:20:22-23. Brief but excellent summary of factors within the Justicialist Movement which have led to fighting between Peronist guerrilla organizations and other Peronist groups.
59. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Saturday Sidelight. *Herald*. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 9). 6. Editorial commentary on the views of right wing Peronist groups as reflected in the columns of the publication *Caudillo*. The views of these groups are contrasted with those of the Montoneros.
60. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE
1970 Commentators Analyze Argentine Kidnapping. *FBIS*. 6:107:0-1-2. A *Prensa Latina* commentary on tactics used by the Montoneros in kidnapping and executing former Argentine President Aramburu. Commentators assess the impact of urban terrorist operations on governmental stability. A useful Cuban view of the significance of urban guerrilla warfare.
61. _____
1974 Firmenich, Quieto Speak at Rally in Buenos Aires. *FBIS*. 6:57: B-4. An excellent summation of Montonero objectives and operational tactics as stated by leaders Firmenich and Quieto. Particularly noteworthy is the former's acknowledgment of Carlos Alberto Caride's association with the Montoneros. (For additional information on Caride see Items # 71, 72).
62. INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT
1971 Annual of Power and Conflict. 1971. London. A brief summary of the origins, development, and significant operations of major Argentine guerrilla groups. Particularly good coverage on the Montoneros.
63. LOPEZ-LOZANO, JOAQUIN CARLOS
1973 Perón se sucede a si mismo. *ABC REPORTAJE*. Madrid. (Sept.). An excellent examination in this special edition of ABC concerning problems in the Peronist Movement between younger radicals and old-line CGT labor leaders. Included is a brief but useful description of the Montoneros, FAR, and ERP.
64. MADRUGA, LEOPOLDO
1970 Argentina: Con las armas en la mano. *Granma*. Havana. (Dec. 4). 8. An excellent overview of urban guerrilla operations in Argentina from the late 1950's through November 1970. Useful descriptions of major Argentine guerrilla groups, including the Montoneros and the FAR.
65. PRIETO, DANIEL
1970 Remedio radical para la gran enfermedad. *Visión*. México, D.F. 38:18:32-41. Pp. 34 through 37 of this outstanding article represent one of the best available analyses of the factors responsible for the formation of Peronist guerrilla groups. Their urban terrorist strategy is examined in some detail as is their relationship to orthodox elements within Peronism.

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66. SUAREZ, HECTOR VICTOR

- 1970 Montoneros: el llanto para el enemigo. Granma. Havana. (Dec. 5). 7. A thoroughly detailed, although strongly biased, article on the origins development, and growth of the Montoneros. Includes information on their political objectives, guerrilla strategy, and operational tactics. Relationships between the Montoneros and other guerrilla elements also are covered.

V. FUERZAS ARMADAS REVOLUCIONARIAS—FUERZAS ARMADAS PERONISTAS

The origins of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias date back to approximately 1966 when that organization was created to support the guerrilla efforts of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia. Founded by Carlos Alberto Caride, who previously had established the Movimiento Juvenil Peronista, the FAR's original Marxist orientation gradually gave way to increasing Peronist influences following the death of Guevara in 1967. (Item #71). In this fusion of Marxist and Peronist ideologies, however, the FAR never became attached to the person of Perón as did the Montoneros during their earlier years. In this connection, FAR spokesmen have claimed the group's political views probably are more closely aligned with those of Marxist organizations than with radical Peronist groups such as the Montoneros. (Item #67).

Violent confrontations between the FAR and the Argentine government began in July 1970. During that month, in its first significant operation, FAR units occupied the city of Garín (population about 10,000), some 26 miles from Buenos Aires. Holding the city for over an hour, FAR members robbed a bank, seized the local branch of the National Telecommunications Enterprise, and overpowered a local police post. Fruits of the operation included over \$8,500 in cash, numerous weapons, and a number of police uniforms and credentials. (Items #67, 73, 74, 79). In the following year, during April 1971, FAR guerrilla intercepted an Argentine Army convoy near Pilar in Buenos Aires Province, killed the convoy officer, and hijacked numerous weapons and a considerable quantity of ammunition. (Item #62). Later that same year, Diego Ruiz Frondizi, nephew of former President Arturo Frondizi and a militant FAR member, was killed during an unsuccessful attack on an armored car in the capital. (Item #75). In February 1974, the FAR again gained national attention with the arrest of the organization's founder, Carlos Alberto Caride. Caride was apprehended with several reported members of the Uruguayan Tupamaros for involvement in an alleged plot to assassinate President Perón, his wife, visiting President Bordaberry of Uruguay, and Argentine Social Welfare Minister José López Rega. (Items #71, 72, 77). Previously, FAR leaders had merged their organization with the Montoneros in an *acta de unidad* consummated on October 12, 1973. In this merger the FAR lost its separate identity and FAR leader Roberto Quieto became a political officer in the Montoneros under the leadership of Mario Firmenich. This amalgamation of radical Peronist organizations was severely criticized as a merger of Marxist groups in a large newspaper advertisement sponsored by the 62 *Organizaciones*, representing orthodox Peronism. (Item #68).

The third and at one time major Peronist guerrilla group, the FAP has been inactive in recent years. Representing a militant brand of Peronism without direct

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links to then President Perón himself, the FAP have an ideology which can best be described as eclectic. (Item #62). Particularly active during 1970, one of the more interesting operations conducted by this group was against the residences of members of the United States Air Force Mission in Argentina. During November 1970, FAP members entered the houses of mission personnel, held those in residence as hostages, took the personal possessions of the officers, and then fled. These possessions were later turned over to Buenos Aires news media with the warning that such operations marked the beginning of activities against Americans in Argentina. (Item #69).

As in the case of all other Argentine guerrilla groups, the FAR and FAP have been ignored by authors writing in detail on the urban insurgent movement in Latin America. As a result, available data consist of a few rather short newspaper or journal articles. The better of these may be found in *Análisis* (Item #67), in the various issues of the *Yearbook on Latin American Communist Affairs* (Item #79), and in the January 17, 1971, issue of *Granma* (Item #79).

67. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1970 Untitled. *Análisis*. Buenos Aires. (Aug. 4–10). 16–17. Excellent summary of the organization, development, and recent operations of the most significant Argentine urban guerrilla groups. The political goals and ideology of each group are indicated as well as linkages between the various organizations.

68. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 A los marxistas Quieto y Firmenich. *El Clarín*. Buenos Aires. (Oct. 22). A slashing attack by the 62 *Organizaciones* on the Marxist inclinations of Mario Firmenich and Roberto Quieto, in an almost full page newspaper advertisement. Quieto was the former chief of the FAR and now serves as a Political Officer in the Montoneros.

69. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Atentados anti-norteamericanos. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Nov. 21). 13 A report of FAP operations against the homes of members of the U.S. Air Force Mission in Argentina as well as the residences of the Agricultural Attaché and a North American engineer. These operations represent the first deliberate targeting of U.S. military and diplomatic personnel by Argentine terrorist groups.

70. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1970 Atentos contra tres militares norteamericanos. *ABC Madrid*. (Dec. 29). 20. Summary of the techniques used by FAP units to gain access to the homes of U.S. Air Force Mission members in Buenos Aires.

71. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Caride detenido. *Arriba*. Madrid. (Feb. 14). 16. Report on the role of FAR-Montonero member Carlos Alberto Caride in the alleged attempted assassination of Perón and members of his retinue. (See also Item # 72). Detailed background information is provided on Caride, including his role as founder of the FAR.

72. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 El organizador del atentado contra Perón pertenece a la izquierda peronista. *Ya*. Madrid. (Feb. 14). 9 Provides a description of the purported plot to assassinate Perón, his wife, Social Welfare Minister José López Rega, and Uruguayan President Bordaberry during the latter's February 1974 visit to Buenos Aires. Caride and several alleged Tupamaros were arrested in connection with the alleged plot. (Items # 61, 71, 77).

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73. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1970 Escalada terrorista. ABC Madrid. (Aug. 1). 15. Valuable summary of the late-July FAR attack against the city of Garín, 26 miles northwest of Buenos Aires. Information on insurgent tactics, particularly the use of disguises to gain access to key areas of the city.
74. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1970 Garín: Ningún indicio de los extremistas. El Clarín. Buenos Aires. (Aug. 2). 31. Account of the strategy, tactics, and weaponry used by the FAR in their July 1970 occupation of the small city of Garín. (See also Items # 73, 74).
75. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE
1971 Frondizi's Nephew Killed in Battle with Police. FBIS. 6:47:B-2. A Reuters dispatch reports the death of FAR militant Diego Ruiz Frondizi, son of Colegio Nacional professor Ricardo Frondizi and nephew of former Argentine President Arturo Frondizi. The young FAR member was killed in an abortive assault against an armored truck of the Banco del Norte y Delta Argentino in Buenos Aires.
76. _____
1970 Information Released on Hospital Raid. FBIS 6:155:B-1. A Radio El Mundo report examining ties between the FAP and Cuba, including guerrilla training provided to selected members. Information also is reported on FAP links with student and faculty members at the El Litoral National University.
77. _____
1974 Police Communique on Plot Against Peron. FBIS. 6:33:B-2. Extensive article quoting the text of a TELAM dispatch reporting an abortive coup attempt by former FAR leader Carlos Alberto Caride and several Uruguayan Tupamaros against the Perón government. Information on collaboration between Argentine and Uruguayan revolutionaries is rather comprehensive as is data concerning the discovery of a substantial FAR arms cache.
78. RATLIFF, WILLIAM E. (ed)
1971-72 Yearbook on Latin American Communist Affairs. Stanford. 1971-72. Published by the Hoover Institution, these yearbooks contain a description of Argentine guerrilla groups, particularly the FAR.
79. SUAREZ, HECTOR VICTOR
1971 FAR with Che's Weapons. Granma. Havana. (Jan. 17). 9. An informative article based on an interview with a FAR leader. Useful information is provided on FAR strategy and tactics as well as linkages between that group and other Argentine guerrilla organizations.

VI. EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO

Without question, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo has been the most active urban guerrilla organization in Argentina. Created in late 1968 or early 1969 when a militant faction split off from the *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores* (PRT), an organization affiliated with the Trotskyite Fourth International, the ERP stresses the armed versus the peaceful path to power. Originally known as *El Combatiente*, this militant group assumed the named Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo at a gathering held during the summer of 1970. As in the case of most other Latin American revolutionary organizations, the ERP has undergone various organizational

and ideological changes since its inception. By early 1974, the original ERP had split into three separate factions: (a) a group led by Mario Roberto Santucho and composed of orthodox ERP members closely linked politically with the PRT; (b) a particularly violence-prone faction known as the ERP-22 Agosto; and (c) a small group known as the Red Faction. Despite ideological differences as well as varying relationships with Peronist guerrilla groups, the Fourth International, and Castro's Cuba, all three ERP factions were united in their efforts to overturn the Perón government and replace it with a Marxist regime.

The first well publicized terrorist operation conducted by the ERP was the September 18, 1970, attack on a Rosario police station which resulted in the shooting of two policemen and the loss of numerous weapons. (Item #124). This action was followed, in early 1971, by the kidnapping of Swift executive Stanley Sylvester. In a "Robin Hood" type gesture, the ERP obtained as ransom for Sylvester \$60,000 in clothing, food, and other items which were distributed to needy families in Buenos Aires. (Item #113). Since the successful abduction of Sylvester, the ERP has carried out numerous kidnappings of U.S. and Argentine businessmen as well as governmental officials and military personnel. On May 22, 1973, the Ford Motor Company bowed to ERP extortion demands and agreed to provide one million dollars in food and hospital supplies for the poorer sections of Buenos Aires rather than have the ERP continue its terror operations against personnel of that firm. (Item #2). Despite the payment, on November 22, 1973, an ERP unit assassinated John A. Swint, General Manager of Transax, a Ford subsidiary in Córdoba. (Items #3, 4). Less than eight months later another American executive, John R. Thompson, president of Firestone Argentina, was abducted by the ERP and held for a ransom reportedly totalling three million dollars. The largest ransom ever paid to an Argentine terrorist group was collected by the ERP in March 1974 when Esso Argentina paid 14.2 million dollars for the release of its refinery director, Victor Samuelson. Despite the ransom payment, Samuelson was not released until the end of April. (Items #10, 85).

In endeavoring to publicize its strength and the relative weakness of the Argentine government, the ERP has directed many of its terrorist operations against high-ranking military and political figures. Among the more significant ERP assassination operations have been those resulting in the deaths of General Juan Carlos Sánchez (April 10, 1972); Vice Admiral Emilio R. Berisso (December 28, 1972); Admiral Hermes Quijada (April 30, 1973); retired naval officer Emilio Horacio Larrera (September 5, 1973); and José Rucci, a leader in the Confederación General del Trabajo. Abductions of officials by the ERP have included those of former Chief of Naval Intelligence Admiral Agustín Alemán (April 1, 1973); Gendarmería Nacional Lt. Colonel Jacobo Nasif (April 26, 1973); Army General Staff officer Colonel Florencio Emilio Crespo (November 7, 1973); and Army Lt. Colonel Jorge Alberto Rivero (March 29, 1974). (Items #103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 115, 116, 118, 126, 127).

One of the best examples of the ERP's boldness, as well as its organizational and planning ability, was the January 19–20, 1974, attack against the Azul military gar-

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rison, some 150 miles southwest of Buenos Aires. Assaulting the headquarters of Armored Cavalry Regiment C-10, more than 60 ERP guerrillas were involved in this operation. Wearing military uniforms, and using Army vehicles, the attackers occupied portions of the post, killed the garrison commander and his wife, wounded at least five other army personnel, and kidnapping Lt. Colonel Jorge Roberto Ibarzábel, second in command of Regiment C-10. (Items #83, 97, 123)

In addition to the Azul attack, the ERP carried out a number of other assaults against Argentine military and governmental facilities during 1973. These included the February 18, 1973, attack against the headquarters of the *Comando de Comunicaciones 141 de Córdoba*; a March 26, 1973, assault against the Atucha atomic power station (Item #50); and the September 6, 1973, operation against the headquarters of the *Comando de Sanidad Militar* in Buenos Aires. Although this latter assault was repulsed, it resulted in the death of Lt. Col. Raúl J. Duarte Ardoy. (Item #99).

The development of particularly violent ERP operations, which have been so evident in the 1972–1974 time span, can be traced directly to the combination prison break and jet hijacking which began on August 15, 1972. In this operation 25 imprisoned guerrillas of the ERP, FAR, and the Montoneros escaped from Rawson Penitentiary near Trelew in southern Argentina. Six prisoners, including ERP leader Mario Roberto Santucho, escaped to Chile in a hijacked jet, with the assistance of four outside accomplices. The remaining 19 escapees were recaptured and placed in Trelew's Naval Prison. They remained there until August 22 when 16 were killed by Marine or Naval personnel. The so-called "Trelew Massacre" generated strong public reaction and was directly responsible for the particularly violent tactics adopted by the ERP as well as Peronist groups such as the Montoneros. (Items #87, 114).

Although substantially more information is available regarding the ERP and its activities than about other Argentine urban guerrilla groups, the data are fragmented and consist primarily of news articles. As in the case of the Montoneros, Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, and the smaller Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas, no effort has been made to probe the background of these organizations in order to obtain a better appreciation of the Argentine guerrilla movement. Without such in-depth studies, this movement will remain, as it is today, a largely unknown phenomenon.

80. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Untitled. Estrella Roja. Buenos Aires, (Nov. 28). 1. In a front page communique, the ERP, in this, its official publication, claims credit for the November 7, 1973, kidnapping of Argentine Army General Staff officer Colonel Emilio Crespo. (See also Item # 111).

81. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Abandonan herido al diplomático norteamericano secuestrado en Córdoba el viernes santo. ABC. Madrid. (Apr. 14). 22. A relatively detailed EFE report on the kidnapping of United States Information Service official, Alfred Laun, on April 12, 1974.

82. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1972 Admiral Killed in Argentina. Washington Post. Washington, D.C. (Dec. 28). A-13. Brief account of numerous terrorist bombings, kidnappings, and shootings

includes commentary on the ERP assassination of retired Admiral Emilio R. Berisso, who had been previously involved in planning antiterrorist operations for the Argentine government.

83. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 *Agora sob o antiterrorismo*. Veja. São Paulo. (Jan. 30). 28–29. Provides excellent detail on the strategy, tactics, and operations of the ERP units involved in the January 19–20, 1974, assault on the Azul military garrison. Particular attention is devoted to the disguises used by the raiders to gain access to the post.
84. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 *Argentina: asaltos y atentados*. Arriba. Madrid. (Jan. 10). 16. A useful article identifying several prominent foreign business personnel kidnapped by the ERP in late 1973–early 1974, including Víctor Samuelson of Esso Argentina, Charles Hayes of McKee-Tesca, Douglas Gordon Roberts of Pepsi Cola International, Enrique Anderson of the Bank of London, and José Ludvig of Papelera Schornik.
85. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 *Argentina: condiciones de los secuestradores de Samuelson*. Arriba. Madrid. (Dec. 13). 18. Outlines ERP ransom demands (ten million dollars in food for the poor, or cash) in exchange for the release of Esso Argentina executive, Samuelson, who was kidnapped on December 6 while at lunch in the Buenos Aires suburb of Cámpora. (See also Item # 122).
86. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1972 *Argentina: Games Theory*. Latin America. London. 6:12:100–101. Excellent article about the ERP kidnap-murder of Fiat Argentina director, Oberdan Sallustro, in mid-April 1972. Useful information is provided on the rationale for this act as well as the number of ERP operatives involved. Statistics also are included on the total ERP guerilla strength.
87. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1972 *Argentina: Kill, Kill, Kill!* Latin America. London. 6:35:273–274. A fine account of the Trelew affair, including a commentary on poor governmental reporting of the incident.
88. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1971 *Asalto a la emisora de TV de Córdoba*. Arriba. Madrid. (May 30). 12. This EFE dispatch describes the spectacular ERP capture of the University of Córdoba television transmitter. Techniques used to gain access to the facility are discussed, as is the material which was broadcast by the guerrilla group. For information about a similar ERP operation several years later, see Item # 90.
89. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 *Atentado terrorista contra dos directivos de la Ford*. ABC. Madrid. (May 23). 40. The EFE dispatch outlines tactics used by the ERP in its May 21 assassination efforts against two Ford executives in a Buenos Aires suburb.
90. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 *Atentóse contra una emisora en Córdoba*. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Mar. 17). 1, 12. A report, in some detail, on guerrilla violence in Córdoba, particularly that sponsored by the ERP. Included is information on the ERP capture and use of Córdoba radio transmitter La Voz del Pueblo. (See also Items # 88, 114, 125).
91. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 *Atraco en la Universidad de Córdoba*. Arriba. Madrid. (Jun. 30). 15. A brief but informative account of tactics used by a three-member ERP unit in a June 28 assault on the administrative offices of the Universidad de Córdoba.

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92. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Businessmen Hit Ford Deal with Guerrillas. Washington Star-News. Washington, D.C. (May 25). A-7. UPI report outlines the reactions of the North American business community in Argentina to the Ford decision to provide one million dollars in food and medical equipment for the poorer sections of Buenos Aires. The payment was in response to an ERP threat to continue kidnapping operations against Ford personnel, similar to those which resulted in the death of one executive and the serious wounding of another. (See Items # 2, 89).
93. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Diéronse detallas sobre un secuestro aclarado. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 6). 4. Reports on the arrest of several ERP members involved in the kidnapping of Pepsi Cola International executive, Douglas Gordon Roberts, as well as the recovery of a substantial portion of the ransom payment. Heavy caliber weapons, communications equipment, and hand grenades were confiscated as a result of the arrests.
94. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Dos extremistas muertos por la policía. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 2). 18. A report of police discovery of a significant ERP munitions factory/weapons cache in the González Cátan area of Buenos Aires.
95. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 El Ejército del Pueblo (ERP). Arriba. Madrid. (Sep. 27). 15. An excellent article examining the organization, operations, equipment, leadership, and origins of the ERP. Useful information also is provided on kidnappings and attacks against commercial and government facilities carried out since 1969 by the ERP.
96. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Explosiones de bombas en cadena en Córdoba. Ya. Madrid. (Mar. 5). 10. A detailed examination of the 17 bombings carried out by ERP militants on March 4, 1974, against the Córdoba cathedral, the police station, and various other targets. Also reported is the discovery and contents of one of the largest ERP weapons/supply cache found to date in Argentina, which included anti-aircraft machine guns and a complete field hospital.
97. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1974 Fallado ataque extremista a un cuartel en Azul: muertos y heridos. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 21). 1. Tactics, attack routes, weaponry, and other facets of the ERP assault against the Azul garrison are described in this detailed article. Virtually this entire edition of *La Nación* is devoted to reporting various aspects of the Azul operation. Also covered is General Peron's January 21 radio address to the nation indicating a "hard line" governmental approach to terrorist operations.
98. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 La Ford custodiada. Arriba. Madrid. (Dec. 7). 18. A summary of these protective security measures initiated by the Gendarmería Nacional for employees of Ford Motor Company facilities in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and in Villa Constitución in Santa Fe Province. The security measures, initiated at the direction of General Perón, were implemented following the late November ERP directed assassination of Ford Transax director, Swint, in Córdoba.
99. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)
1973 Un grupo terrorista asalta una dependencia militar en Buenos Aires. Arriba. Madrid. (Sep. 6). 16. An EFE report outlining in detail the tactics used by ERP

terrorists in a September 7 assault against the Argentine Army's Comando de Sanidad Militar headquarters in Buenos Aires.

100. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Guerrilla Vow Argentine Fight. Washington Star-News. Washington, D.C. (Jun. 28). A-4. UPI dispatch reports comments by ERP leader Roberto Santucho indicating that his organization plans to continue kidnapping foreign business personnel in Argentina. The status of 13 kidnap victims in ERP hands also is reviewed.

101. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Hubo procedimientos contra extremistas. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 2). 1, 14. One of the best analyses of the weaponry used by the ERP urban terrorist units. It reports the results of Policía Federal investigations in Buenos Aires and describes a variety of guerrilla weapons from machine guns to demolition devices. Guerrilla tactics also are discussed.

102. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1971 Importantes detenciones de elementos extremistas. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 13). 4. Reporting the text of a communiqué issued by the ERP, the article states in detail the objectives, goals, tactics, and operational techniques of that organization. Useful background information on the ERP's birth, growth, and development also is provided.

103. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 El jefe de un regimiento de Buenos Aires, puesto en libertad por los guerrilleros que le secuestraron. ABC. Madrid. (Apr. 1). 29. This EFE dispatch noted the abduction by the ERP on March 29, 1974, of Argentine Army Lt. Colonel Jorge Alberto Rivero, a member of the military tribunal investigating persons allegedly involved in the January assault on the Azul military garrison. The article notes Rivero was released on April 1 following interrogation. (See also Items # 109, 110).

104. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Kidnap Vehicles Traced. Washington Star-News. Washington, D.C. (Jan. 5). B-8. A useful summary of the status of four foreign businessmen kidnapped by the ERP and held for ransoms exceeding six million dollars.

105. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 Mensaja al país del General Perón. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Feb. 5). 1. Contains the text of General Perón's February 5 address launching a fight against ERP terrorists as well as Peronist youth elements critical of his programs.

106. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 No se ha comprobado que Alfred Laun sea un agente de la C.I.A. ABC. Madrid. (Apr. 16). 41. Describes the background of kidnapped U.S. official Laun and notes that his abduction was the seventh of a U.S. official in Latin America during the last five years. It also reports the discovery of an ERP printing facility.

107. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 La policía descubrió un refugio de extremistas. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Jan. 25). 1, 5. A detailed report, including photographs, provides valuable information on a newly discovered ERP "People's Jail" in the San Francisco Solano area Buenos Aires. Kidnapped Argentine officer Emilio Crespo and other ERP detainees were kept in this facility. Weapons discovered included rifles, machine guns, submachine guns, and explosives. Military type uniforms were also found.

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108. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Reparación del Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo en Argentina*. Arriba. Madrid. (Sep. 6). 16. This account of ERP activities includes information on the group's September 4 execution of former naval official Emilio Horacio Larrera. At the time of his death, Larrera was director of an investigative firm which the ERP alleged was engaged in repressive operations.

109. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Secuestran al coronel de una regimiento de guarnición en Buenos Aires*. ABC. Madrid. (Mar. 31). 24. An excellent summary of significant ERP operations, particularly kidnappings and assassinations, conducted during the fall of 1973 through early March 1974. Included is a discussion of guerrilla tactics as well as the techniques used in the late-March abduction of Lt. Colonel Jorge Alberto Rivero, second in command of the Patricios Regiment (Infantry) in Buenos Aires. (See also Items #103, 110).

110. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Secuestran en Argentina un coronel del ejército*. La Prensa. Buenos Aires. (Mar. 31). 1. Reports the capture by the ERP of Lt. Colonel Rivero in Buenos Aires on March 29, 1974. Notes that Rivero was the third upper-level Army official captured by the ERP in less than five months.

111. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Secuestran un coronel en La Plata*. La Nación. Buenos Aires. (Nov. 8). 1, 12. A report of the November 7 kidnapping of Argentine Army Colonel Emilio Crespo by the ERP. In a communiqué released to the press, the ERP charged Crespo with collaborating with the United States because he had attended a training course in the U.S. (See also Item #80).

112. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Situación expectante en Córdoba*. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 7). 16. A report on ERP guerrilla tactics in Córdoba, particularly its use of a wedding party as a cover for an operation against the local police station.

113. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Trotskyite Guerrillas Playing Robin Hood to Argentine Poor*. Washington Post. Washington, D.C. (Jun. 20). A-20. Includes a summary of the origins, major activities, and present philosophy of the ERP. Information also included on Mario Roberto Santucho's capture and imprisonment in 1971 and his subsequent August 1972 escape from jail.

114. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1974 *Violencia en Córdoba*. Arriba. Madrid. (Mar. 17). 15. A useful summary of ERP operations in Córdoba Province, including assaults against the radio transmitter *La Voz del Pueblo* (see also Item #90) as well as bombings of the Instituto Argentino Norteamericano, the Banco del Interior, and various government and police facilities.

115. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *El comandante argentino Nasif, liberado tras mes y medio de cautiverio*. Ya. Madrid. (Jun. 6). 10. Describes the release of Lt. Colonel Jacobo Nasif of the Gendarmaría Nacional who had been held for more than 40 days after being abducted in Córdoba on April 26, 1973.

116. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 *Argentine Admiral Slain in New Terrorist Raid*. Washington Post. Washington, D.C. (May 1). A-20. A good summary of the terrorist-related developments in

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Argentina prior to Cámpora's inauguration on May 25, 1973. The article notes the assassinations of retired Admiral Hermes J. Quijada and another admiral were related to their activities in the navy at the time of the Trelew incident in August 1972.

117. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1973 Argentine Guerrilla Chief Says He Will Defy Campora. Washington Post. Washington, D.C. (June 29). A-28. This excellent and relatively detailed article examines at length the strength, philosophy, and organization of the ERP. The division of the ERP into three factions is described, as is the June 27 press conference of ERP leader Santucho in which he indicated his resolve to defy President Cámpora and continue guerrilla activities.

118. DIUGUID, LEWIS H.

1973 Kidnapped Admiral Freed in Argentina. Washington Post. Washington, D.C. (Jun. 8). A-9. Following by a day their kidnapping of British financier Charles Lockwood on June 6, 1973, the ERP released Admiral Agustín Alemán, who had been held prisoner since April 1, 1973. The release came after Alemán admitting wrongdoing in the death of the 16 imprisoned guerrillas at Trelew Naval Base in August 1972.

119. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

1973 Arms Cache. FBIS. 6: 237: B-3. A report on the February 18, 1973, ERP assault against the Comando de Comunicaciones 141 de Córdoba. The report also describes a police raid which disclosed a large quantity of weapons stolen in this assault.

120. _____

1974 Demonstrations, Bombings Reported in Cordoba Province. FBIS. 6:54: B-7. This EFE communique includes useful information on the tactics used by the ERP in its March 14 firebombing and propaganda operations in the city of Córdoba.

121. _____

1973 ERP Scores Concessions to Bourgeois Peronism. FBIS 6: 2: B-2. Commenting on an article in the ERP organ *El Combatiente*, this report indicates ERP members are urged to conduct an all-out struggle against bourgeois elements within Peronism. However, the ERP indicates it will continue to cooperate with revolutionary Peronist organizations in terrorist operations.

122. _____

1974 Esso Pays 14.2 Million for Samuelson's Release. FBIS. 6: 51: B-2. A detailed LATIN news release on the ransom payment for Esso Argentina executive Victor Samuelson. ERP ransom demands are detailed.

123. _____

1974 Military Communique on Attack. FBIS. 6: 14: B-3, B-4. This report on a Buenos Aires *Radio Splendid* broadcast provides useful data on the ERP attack against the Azul military garrison. Techniques used to gain access to the post are evaluated.

124. _____

1970 New Revolutionary Organization Reported. FBIS. 6: 190: B-4. An excellent editorial report, drawn from a variety of sources, regarding the first publicized operations of the ERP, particularly the September 18 assassination of two police officials in Rosario. Political goals of the ERP are discussed.

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125. _____
1970 Police Discover Terrorist Cells in Buenos Aires and Mendoza. *FBIS*. 6: 202: B-2. Quoting a Radio Quito 'La Voz de los Andes' transmission, this article outlines operations by the ERP in Buenos Aires and Mendoza. Of interest are portions of the report regarding the seizure of a radio station and the broadcast of a tape eulogizing "Che" Guevara. For somewhat similar ERP propaganda tactics, see Items #88, 90, 114.
126. GOODSELL, JAMES NELSON
1972 Slayings Undermine Lanusse Election Plan. *Christian Science Monitor*. Boston. (Apr. 13), 8. An excellent summary of the political ramifications of the ERP assassinations on April 10, 1972, of Fiat executive Oberdan Sallustro and General Juan Carlos Sánchez, then one of Argentina's top six officers and commander of the Second Army Corps in Rosario.
127. _____
1973 Terrorism Major Woe for Peron. *Christian Science Monitor*. Boston. (Sep. 28). 3. An excellent discussion of the effects produced by the ERP assassination of CGT leader José Rucci.
128. MOSS, ROBERT
1972-73 Latin America. In: *Annual of Power and Conflict*. 1972. London. Published by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, the contribution of Robert Moss provides a brief survey of guerrilla operations in Latin America. Good coverage is given to Argentina and the ERP in particular.

VI. FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LIBERACION

Although much less active and substantially smaller than the ERP, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación (FAL) share the Marxist background and violence-prone orientation of that larger organization. Formed from elements in the Revolutionary Communist Party, an organization established in January 1968 by radical youth groups within the orthodox Argentine Community Party who were opposed to the peaceful struggle tactics of that group, the FAL and its parent body strongly supported a campaign of urban terrorism designed to destroy the Argentine government. (Items #51, 67, 78).

Characterizing itself as a Marxist-Leninist organization, the FAL advocates the nationalization of "imperialist" enterprises in Argentina, the development of a pronounced class struggle between the proletariat and the wealthy classes, the organization of income credits for middle and lower class groups, and the termination of all foreign business operations in Argentina. (Items #51, 67, 78). Although inactive since late 1973, the FAL traditionally has worked closely with the ERP in terrorist and propaganda activities. In view of these close linkages, and the greater size of the ERP, it is possible the FAL may have been absorbed into that group (Item #51) in somewhat the same manner the ERP is drawing to itself disaffected members of radical Peronist groups (Item #13).

Significant FAL operations began in 1970 with the abduction of Paraguayan Consul Waldemar Sánchez. (Item #130). This action was followed by the development of guerrilla centers in Buenos Aires (Item #131); the robbery of the Buenos

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Aires-Rosario mail train (Item #133), an operation which netted the FAL over twelve thousand dollars; and the assassination of the Buenos Aires Deputy Police Chief for political matters. (Item #135). Subsequent operations of the group have been very spasmodic and, as indicated, since late 1973, it appears to have become dormant or its membership has been absorbed into the ERP.

As is readily apparent from the quite sketchy data available on the FAL, this is perhaps the least explored of any Argentine urban terrorist organization. No detailed studies have been prepared relating to the FAL nor has any in-depth effort been initiated to develop bibliographic materials on the organization. As a result, the best available examination of this organization remains the article by Héctor Víctor Suárez in the December 27, 1970, issue of *Granma*. (See Item #136).

129. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1972 Blast Rips U.S. Hotel in Argentina. *Washington Post*. Washington, D.C. (Oct. 17). A-3. A brief report of the FAL attack against the Sheraton Hotel in Buenos Aires, an assault which killed one U.S. citizen and seriously injured two others.

130. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

1970 Toman como rehén a un cónsul paraguayo. *La Nación*. Buenos Aires. (Mar. 25). 1. A brief communiqué of the FAL accepting responsibility for the abduction of Paraguayan Consul Waldemar Sánchez. The communiqué indicates that this act marks the initiation of an assassination campaign against the managers of U.S. firms in Argentina.

131. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

1970 FAL Activities. *FBIS*. 6: 208: B-2. A detailed report, based on an EFE dispatch, of police actions against a FAL guerrilla center in the Morón district of Buenos Aires. Weapons, military uniforms, guerrilla manuals, and various types of explosives were found.

132. _____

1971 FAL Raid. *FBIS*. 6:15: B-2. A summary of the FAL operation against the Buenos Aires Citizen's Registry Office in Itauzaingo during which a substantial number of identity documents, marriage licenses, and other types of identification papers were taken.

133. _____

1970 Guerrilla Train Robbery. *FBIS*. 6: 191: B-1. Outlines the techniques used in the FAL robbery of the Buenos Aires-Rosario mail train which resulted in the FAL capture of more than twelve thousand dollars.

134. _____

1974 Kidnapped Gunsmith. *FBIS* 6: 5: B-5. Quoting a dispatch from EFE, this report indicates the FAL was responsible for the December 22, 1973, abduction of Buenos Aires gunshop owner Angel de Bonis. De Bonis was released following ransom payments on January 3, 1974.

135. _____

1970 Terrorists Shoot Deputy Police Chief. *FBIS* 6: 222: B-4. A detailed report broadcast by San José Radio Reloj regarding the November 15, 1970, FAL assassination of Buenos Aires Deputy Police Chief Osvaldo Sandoval. Sandoval was the Assistant Chief of Police for Political Affairs.

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136. SUAREZ, HECTOR VICTOR

- 1970 FAL: Marxism in a Holster. *Granma*. Havana. (Dec. 27). 5. A valuable article on the background, organization, tactics, and strategy of the FAL. Also included is information on the political outlook of the organization.

VIII. COORDINATION BETWEEN GUERRILLA GROUPS

Throughout its history, the Argentine urban guerrilla movement has witnessed a significant degree of cooperation and collaboration between terrorist groups holding widely separated ideological positions. Thus, the Montoneros, FAR, FAP, ERP, and FAL have all joined forces at one time or another in anti-government operations. (See Items #16, 18, 23, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57). What has not been so obvious, however, are moves toward collaboration between Argentine terrorists and similar groups in neighboring Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, and Chile. Following an initial 1970 report of such collaboration (Item #142), additional information has been developed indicating the organization of a formalized coordinating body to direct revolutionary operations in the five nations. Heretofore informal exchange agreements (Item #138) have been replaced by a formal structure designed to facilitate the passage of men and material from one nation to another, across international boundaries. (Items #57, 137, 138, 140, 141). The most recent data available on this subject, contained in the April 4, 1974, issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* (Item #51), indicate a *Junta de Coordinación* has been established to synchronize liberation movements in the five nations, to integrate the revolutionary armed forces of these states into a single military machine, to coordinate the subversive and terrorist battle with economic and political conditions particular to each nation, and, finally, to mobilize available forces for priority operations in Argentina and Chile.

While it is obviously too early to assess the impact of these coordination arrangements between the revolutionary forces of the five nations, a move toward collaboration, if successful, would obviously increase substantially the internal threat posed by terrorist activities in each state. In evaluating the overall impact of terrorism within Argentina, further exploration into the possibility of such cooperative arrangements between revolutionary elements in the five nations would seem interesting and fruitful.

137. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1974 Guerrillas of Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Argentina Link Up. *Washington Post*. Washington, D.C. (Feb. 15). A-25. This short article describes an underground news conference of the ERP wherein a spokesman for that group announced agreement between Argentine terrorists and those in Uruguay, Chile, and Bolivia to work together.

138. (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

- 1974 Terrorist Link in Latin America. *Washington Star-News*. Washington, D.C. (Feb. 15). A-14. A brief news item supplements information contained in Item #137. According to the report, Domingo Mena, a spokesman for the ERP, stated that previous collaboration between Argentine, Chilean, Bolivian, and Uruguayan terrorist groups had been on informational level and limited to an exchange of

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ideas. Henceforth, cooperation would be at the operational level and involve the transfer and exchange of personnel and equipment.

139. FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

1974 East German, Frenchman Arrested for Subversive Activities. FBIS. 6: 67: B-2. According to a La Tercera de la Hora broadcast from Santiago, Chile, an East German citizen was arrested in Córdoba for providing guerrilla instruction to Argentine revolutionaries. The instructor reportedly was affiliated with the Palestinian Liberation Movement, particularly the Black September Organization. A French national with similar affiliations and engaged in similar activities also was arrested.

140. _____

1974 Guerrilla Groups Condemn Peronism. FBIS. 6: 36: B-3. An EFE dispatch from Buenos Aires, the text of which is quoted in this article, indicates a revolutionary coordination junta composed of members from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay reject the "third position" advanced by General Perón in the same manner they reject "U.S. and Soviet imperialism." A Particularly strong attack is made against the bourgeois reformism of Perón.

141. _____

1974 Latin American Guerrilla Groups to Coordinate Actions. FBIS. 6: 36: B-3. Reporting the contents of a February 13, 1974, LATIN radio dispatch, this item summarizes a joint announcement made by Argentine, Bolivian, Uruguayan, and Chilean revolutionaries establishing a Revolutionary Coordinating Board to direct the "joint struggle" against imperialism. Meeting clandestinely in Argentina, the groups agreed to pool their resources and support one another in unified guerrilla operations.

142. _____

1970 Los Principios Describes Guerrilla Meeting in Cordoba. FBIS. 6: 169: B-1. Reporting the contents of an Agence France Presse dispatch, this article indicates that guerrilla leaders from Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay held a 12 hour meeting in Córdoba to consider the development of a joint operational strategy as well as to organize mutual support mechanisms and communications nets between the groups involved.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

Within Latin America, the past decade has witnessed a substantial increase in urban insurgency and terrorism. Particularly evident in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, this activity represents an almost complete break with traditional revolutionary patterns which saw rural areas as the focal points for insurgent operations. Now these activities centered in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. The net result of this change in locus has been a significantly increased impact by revolutionary groups on the national government and its policies. While developments of this type in Brazil and Uruguay have been examined in some detail by numerous competent observers, a parallel interest in the Argentine situation has not been evident. There, no scholarly effort has been devoted to an ordering of relevant materials nor to the much more demanding task of developing in-depth studies regarding the overall insurgent movement and its component parts. In short, the rather

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significant revolutionary situation in Argentina remains almost totally unexplored. Considering the unique position occupied by some of the revolutionary elements as an integral part of the Peronist Movement, as well as the impact they can have upon post-Perón Peronism and, in turn, on national stability, it would appear that careful research efforts focused on urban terrorist and guerrilla groups in Argentina are long overdue.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT
TERRORIST INCIDENTS, 1969–1974

As pointed out previously, the development of chronological information on terrorist operations in Argentina is an important step toward a fuller understanding of the intensity and extent of such activities. In an effort to encourage additional research into this phenomenon, the following listing is provided as an overview of the problem during the period 1969–1974. Where significant information on a particular terrorist incident is found in an item listed in the bibliographic portion of this article, reference is made to that item. In all other cases, source documentaton is listed. Abbreviations used for terrorist and other organizations are identical to those found in the text of the article.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Terrorist Group</i>	<i>Description of Incident</i>
June 30, 1969	Unknown	Assassination of CGT leader Timoteo Vador. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974).
Dec. 29, 1969	Unknown	Attack on the 7th Infantry Regiment, La Plata. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974).
Mar. 24, 1969	FAL	Kidnap of Paraguayan Consul Waldemar Sánchez in Ituzaingo. (ANSA News Service, Buenos Aires, Mar. 26, 1970).
Mar. 24, 1970	ERP	Substantial arms cache in Luján Section, Buenos Aires, seized. Included jeeps painted in military colors, uniforms, molds for military insignia, Air Force uniforms, weapons, ammunition, surgical equipment. (ANSA New Service, Mar. 24, 1970).
Apr. 5, 1970	FAL	Attack on Headquarters of Patricios Infantry Regiment, Campo de Mayo, Buenos Aires. (<i>Análisis</i> , Buenos Aires, August 4–10, 1970).
June 1, 1970	Montoneros	Execution of former Argentine President Pedro Aramburu. (Item # 60).
July 1, 1970	Unknown	Occupation of the small city of La Calera, Córdoba Province. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974; <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , Aug. 10, 1970).
July 31, 1970	FAR	Occupation of the small city of Garín, Buenos Aires Province. (Items # 73, 79).
Aug. 6, 1970	Unknown	Assassination of Major Hugo Tamagnini, Inspector of Police, Tucumán. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974).
Aug. 9, 1970	FAP	Attack on Italian Hospital, Santa Fe. (El Mundo Radio Net, Buenos Aires, Aug. 10, 1970).

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Terrorist Group</i>	<i>Description of Incident</i>
Sep. 12, 1970	Unknown	Son of the Assistant Director, <i>El Clarín</i> , Buenos Aires, kidnapped. (FBIS: 6: 178: B-2).
Sep. 18, 1970	ERP	Rosario police station attacked. Two police personnel shot and weapons taken. (Item #124).
Sep. 24, 1970	FAL	Buenos Aires to Rosario train attacked. \$12,188 dollars taken. (Agence France Presse, Sep. 26, 1970).
Oct. 21, 1970	FAL	Chilean industrialist Jorge Yarur Rey and family robbed in Buenos Aires. Jewels and personal documentation taken. (EFE, Madrid, Oct. 22, 1970).
Oct. 27, 1970	Unknown	CGT leader José Alonso assassinated in Buenos Aires. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974).
Nov. 2, 1970	Montoneros	Jockey Club, Buenos Aires, robbed of 7 million pesos. (<i>La Prensa</i> , Buenos Aires, Nov. 3, 1970).
Nov. 2, 1970	Montoneros	Occupation of the small town of Ensenada. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jan. 21, 1974).
Nov. 15, 1970	FAL	Assassination of Buenos Aires Deputy Police Chief for Political Affairs, Osvaldo Sandoval. (Item #135).
Nov. 20, 1970	FAP	Detonation of explosive devices outside home of U.S. Agricultural Attaché. Entered residences of members of the U.S. Air Mission in Argentina. (<i>Arriba</i> . Madrid. Nov. 21, 1970).
Dec. 29, 1970	FAR	Attack on the Air Force Branch of the Bank of Córdoba, Córdoba. (<i>Confirmado</i> . Buenos Aires. Jan. 13, 1971).
Jan. 15, 1971	FAL	Citizen Registry Offices, Ituzaingo, raided. Identity documents, stamps, and official seals taken. (<i>La Prensa</i> . Buenos Aires. Jan. 16, 1971).
Jan. 24, 1971	FAP	Bank of Galicia in Banfield robbed. Several police officers killed. (FBIS: 6: 22: B-5).
Jan. 24, 1971	ERP	Police officer in Buenos Aires held up. Uniform and weapons taken. (<i>La Prensa</i> . Jan. 25, 1971).
Jan. 29, 1971	FAR	Five terrorist bombings in the city of Córdoba. Four banks among the targets. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 30, 1971).
Feb. 1971 (day unknown)	ERP	Robbery of an armored truck in Córdoba. \$342,000 dollars taken. This was the largest robbery in Argentine history. (<i>Christian Science Monitor</i> . May 26, 1971).
Mar. 9, 1971	FAR	Diego Ruiz Frondizi, son of Richardo Frondizi and nephew of former Argentine President Arturo Frondizi, killed in an attack on an armored car of the <i>Banco del Norte y Delta Argentino</i> in Buenos Aires. (Item #75).
Mar. 28, 1971	ERP	<i>Televisión Universidad de Córdoba</i> in Córdoba held for approximately 15 minutes by a commando group. Anti-government materials broadcast. (<i>ABC</i> . Madrid. Mar. 30, 1971).
Mar. 30, 1971	ERP	Robbery of a mail train in Rosario. Over \$117,000 taken. (<i>Yearbook on Latin American Communist Affairs</i> . Stanford. 1971-72).
Apr. 11, 1971	FAP	Twelve terrorists seize a police station near La Plata. Police personnel are killed and weapons as well as police documentation taken. (FBIS: 6: 71: B-1).

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Terrorist Group</i>	<i>Description of Incident</i>
Apr. 29, 1971	FAR	Army column intercepted near Pilar in Buenos Aires Province. Convoy officer, 1st Lt. Mario César Asúa, killed. Numerous weapons taken. (Item #62).
May 23, 1971	ERP	Mr. Stanley Sylvester, executive in <i>Industrial Británico de Carne Envasada</i> and honorary British Consul in Rosario, kidnapped. Ransomed for \$60,000. (<i>Progreso</i> . México, D.F. Aug. 1973).
July 28, 1971	FAP	Assassination of retired Army Major Julio R. Sanmartino, director of prisons in Córdoba. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Jan. 3, 1972	Montoneros	Abortive assault on the city of Zárate by 15 guerrillas. (<i>Latin America</i> . London. 6: 2: 14-15).
Apr. 10, 1972	ERP	Assassination of General Juan Carlos Sánchez, Commander, Second Army Corps, in Rosario. (Item #126).
Apr. 10, 1972	ERP	Kidnapping and murder of Fiat Argentina director Oberdán Sallustro. (Item #86).
Apr. 30, 1972	Unknown	Attack on the Subprefecture of the South Docks, Buenos Aires. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
May 18, 1972	Unknown	Two bus loads of Air Force personnel attacked in Córdoba. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
May 27, 1972	Unknown	Attack against the 601st Communications Group in Ciudadela. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
June 12, 1972	Unknown	Attack on the <i>Batallión de Arsenales de Berisso</i> , Buenos Aires. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Aug. 15, 1972	ERP FAR	Escape of 25 imprisoned guerrillas from Rawson Penitentiary near Trelew. Most escapees recaptured and later killed in the August 22, 1972, "Trelew Massacre." (Items #87, 114).
Sep. 5, 1972	Montoneros Unknown	Julio van de Panne, President of Phillips Argentina, kidnapped and ransomed for \$500,000. (<i>Progreso</i> . México, D.F. Aug. 1973).
Oct. 16, 1972	Unknown	24-story Sheraton Hotel in Buenos Aires attacked. One U.S. citizen killed and another wounded. (<i>Washington Star-News</i> . Washington, D.C. Oct. 17, 1972).
Dec. 22, 1972	Unknown	Ronald Grove, British industrialist, kidnapped in Buenos Aires and later ransomed for \$1.1 million. (<i>Progreso</i> . Aug. 1973).
Dec. 24, 1972	Unknown	Manuel Pando, Argentine industrialist, kidnapped and ransomed for \$300,000. (<i>Progreso</i> . Aug. 1973).
Dec. 26, 1972	Unknown	Louis Serafín Guerrero, Secretary of the CGT Metal Workers affiliate, assassinated. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Dec. 27, 1972	Unknown	Vicente Russo, Director General of Operations for Standard Electric of Argentina, a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, kidnapped and ransomed for \$100,000. (<i>Progreso</i> . Aug. 1973).
Dec. 27, 1972	ERP	Vice Admiral Emilio B. Berisso, retired, assassinated in Lomas de Zamora. (Item #82).
Feb. 2, 1973	Unknown	Assassination of Lt. José M. Nacarratto, Army intelligence officer. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Feb. 14, 1973	Unknown	CGT leader Luis A. Bianculli killed. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).

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Date	Terrorist Group	Description of Incident
Feb. 18, 1973	ERP	Attack on the Headquarters of the <i>Comando de Comunicaciones 141 de Córdoba</i> . Weapons and ammunition taken. (Item #119).
Mar. 26, 1973	ERP	Assault on the Atucha atomic power station. (Item #50).
Mar. 31, 1973	Unknown	Bombing of the <i>Comando de Armada</i> , Buenos Aires. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Apr. 1, 1973	ERP	Retired Admiral Augustín Alemán, former Chief of Naval Intelligence, kidnapped in Buenos Aires. Released June 7, 1973. (Item #118 and <i>Washington Post</i> . Washington, D.C. June 8, 1973).
Apr. 2, 1973	Unknown	Anthony R. DaCruz, Executive of Eastman Kodak in Argentina, kidnapped. Released on April 7 after payment of ransom totalling \$1.5 million. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Apr. 3; 8, 1973).
Apr. 3, 1973	Unknown	Gerardo Scalmazzi, Argentine manager of the First National Bank of Boston, kidnapped. Released April 4 after ransom payment. (<i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , Apr. 7, 1973).
Apr. 5, 1973	Montoneros	Assassination in Córdoba of Colonel Héctor Irizarren, Chief of Intelligence, Third Army. (Item #50).
Apr. 5, 1973	Unknown	Daughter of General Manuel Pomar, Commander, 10th Infantry Brigade, kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Apr. 6, 1973).
Apr. 15, 1973	Unknown	Military aircraft at San Justo burned. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Apr. 17, 1973	FAR	Attack on Civil Registry office in San Justo. Documentation taken as well as stamps and government seals. (<i>Arriba</i> . Madrid. Apr. 18, 1973).
Apr. 17, 1973	ERP	Attack on maintenance shops for police vehicles in Buenos Aires. Vehicles burned. (<i>Arriba</i> . Madrid. Apr. 18, 1973).
Apr. 24, 1973	ERP	Ten men and a woman attack <i>Vienticinco de Mayo</i> clinic in Buenos Aires suburb of Avellaneda. Medicines and surgical instruments taken. (<i>Arriba</i> . Apr. 25, 1973).
Apr. 24, 1973	ERP	Explosives, including 30 dynamite sticks, as well as weapons and propaganda materials found in Las Jarillas area of Córdoba. (<i>Arriba</i> . Apr. 25, 1973).
Apr. 26, 1973	ERP	Gendarmería Nacional Lt. Colonel Jacobo Nasif kidnapped in Buenos Aires. Released June 5, 1973. (Item #115 and <i>ABC</i> . Madrid. June 6, 1973).
Apr. 30, 1973	ERP	Admiral Hermes Quijada assassinated by ERP member Víctor Fernández Palmeiro in Buenos Aires. (Item #116 and <i>Arriba</i> . July 7, 1973).
May 19, 1973	Unknown	José Dalle, Buenos Aires textile manufacturer, and his three sons kidnapped. (<i>ABC</i> . Madrid. May 20, 1973).
May 19, 1973	Unknown	Valentín Alsina, Director of <i>Industrias Metalúrgicas</i> , kidnapped. (<i>ABC</i> . May 20, 1973).
May 21, 1973	ERP	Two Ford Motor Company executives attacked as they left the Ford factory in Gen. Pachecho area of Buenos Aires. One executive, Luis Giovanelli, died on June 25 from wounds received. (<i>Washington Star News</i> . June 26, 1973; Items # 89, 2).

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Terrorist Group</i>	<i>Description of Incident</i>
May 21, 1973	Unknown	Oscar Castells, manager of Coca Cola bottling plant in Córdoba, kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . May 24, 1973).
May 23, 1973	ERP	Dirk Klosterman, Secretary of the Auto Mechanics Union, CGT, assassinated in Buenos Aires. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974; <i>Washington Post</i> . May 23, 1973).
May 23, 1973	ERP	Aaron Beilinson, Argentine executive, kidnapped. Released 10 days later after payment of reported \$1 million ransom demand. (<i>Washington Post</i> . June 4, 1973).
June 6, 1973	ERP	Charles A. Lockwood, British executive with the firm of <i>Roberts, Meynell y Compañía</i> , kidnapped. (Item #118).
June 18, 1973	ERP	John Thompson, Director of Firestone operations in Argentina, kidnapped. Released July 6, 1974, after payment of a ransom reported as \$3 million. (<i>Arriba</i> . Madrid. July 12, 1973; <i>Washington Post</i> . July 7, 1973).
June 18, 1973	Unknown	Jan Kurt Gebhardt, West German manager for Silvania, S.A., kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . June 20, 1973; <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> . June 21, 1973).
June 20, 1973	ERP FAR Montoneros	Twenty killed and 300 wounded or injured in gun battle at Ezeiza Airport, Buenos Aires, while awaiting arrival of Gen. Perón from Spain. (<i>Washington Post</i> . June 21, 1973).
June 26, 1973	Unknown	Mario Baratella, Vice President of the Bank of Italy in La Plata, kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . June 27, 1973; <i>Progreso</i> . Aug. 1973).
June 28, 1973	ERP	Attack on administrative offices, Universidad de Córdoba. IBM equipment, typewriters, and other materials taken, valued at 25 million pesos. (<i>Arriba</i> . June 30, 1973).
June 29, 1973	ERP	Occupation of a school for adults in the General Paz section, Córdoba. Lectures given to students and propaganda materials provided to them. (<i>ABC</i> . Madrid. Jul. 1, 1973).
July 2, 1973	Unknown	Raúl Bernancini, Argentine Assistant Manager of the Buenos Aires Branch of the First National City Bank of New York, kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . July 3, 1973).
July 25, 1973	Unknown	Ramón Villalba, labor leader of the textile workers, CGT, assassinated in Resistencia. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Aug. 28, 1973	Unknown	Marcelino Mansilla, Regional CGT Secretary in La Plata, assassinated. (<i>La Nación</i> . Jan. 21, 1974).
Sep. 5, 1973	ERP	Emilio Horacio Larrera, retired naval official, assassinated. (Item # 108).
Sep. 6, 1973	ERP	Attack on Headquarters of the <i>Comando de Sanidad Militar</i> in Buenos Aires. Lt. Colonel Raúl J. Duarte Ardoy killed. (Item # 99).
Sep. 19, 1973	Montoneros FAR	Guerrillas target United States Embassy in Buenos Aires. (Item # 53).
Sep. 21, 1973	Unknown	David George Haywood, accountant for the Argentine subsidiary of the British American Tobacco Company, kidnapped. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Sep. 24, 1973).
Sep. 25, 1973	ERP	José Rucci, Secretary General of the CGT, assassinated in Buenos Aires. (<i>Ya</i> . Madrid. Sep. 26, 1973).
Sep. 26, 1973	Unknown	Enrique Grinberg, leader in the Peronist youth movement, assassinated. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Sep. 27, 1973).
Sep. 27, 1973	ERP	Police officer assassinated in Corrientes. (<i>Arriba</i> . Sep. 28, 1973).

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Oct. 5, 1973	ERP	Ruben Contini, high level police official in Buenos Aires, assassinated. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Oct. 6, 1973).
Oct. 12, 1973	Montoneros	Cooperative agreement (<i>acta de unidad</i>), signed between Montoneros and the FAR. (Item # 68).
Oct. 20, 1973	FAR	
Oct. 20, 1973	ERP	Three men and a woman hijacked a Boeing 727 of <i>Aerolíneas Argentinas</i> en route from Buenos Aires to Salta. The aircraft was diverted to Yacuiba in Bolivia. (<i>Arriba</i> . Oct. 20, 1973).
Oct. 21, 1973	Unknown	Karl Schmidt, Manager of Swissair in Buenos Aires, kidnapped. (EFE. Madrid. Nov. 29, 1973).
Oct. 23, 1973	Unknown	David W. Wilkie, President of the Argentine subsidiary of American Oil Company, kidnapped. Wilkie was released three weeks later after payment of a reported \$3.5 million ransom. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Dec. 7, 1973).
Nov. 7, 1973	ERP	Colonel Florencio Emilio Crespo, Army Infantry General Staff officer, kidnapped in La Plata. Released on May 15, 1974. (<i>Ya</i> . Madrid. Nov. 8, 1973; Agence France Presse. May 15, 1974).
Nov. 21, 1973	Unknown	Senator Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen wounded in Buenos Aires by the explosion of a bomb in his car. (FBIS: 6:226:B-3).
Nov. 22, 1973	ERP	John Albert Swint, Director of Transax, a Ford Motor Company subsidiary in Córdoba, assassinated in that city. (<i>Washington Star-News</i> . Nov. 23, 1973).
Nov. 23, 1973	Unknown	Austrian industrialist Jacobo Marinott kidnapped by three armed guerrillas in Buenos Aires. (<i>ABC</i> . Madrid. Nov. 24, 1973).
Nov. 28, 1973	ERP	Ford Motor Corporation personnel threatened with death if they remain in country. Twenty-two executives and families departed. (<i>ABC</i> . Dec. 1, 1974).
Dec. 6, 1973	ERP	Victor Samuelson, manager of Esso Argentina refinery, kidnapped. Released Apr. 29, 1974, after the payment of a \$14.2 million ransom. (Item # 85).
Dec. 8, 1973	ERP	Argentine businessman Oscar Lavezzari, chairman of the board of Domingo Marimón, S.A., automobile dealership, kidnapped in Córdoba. (<i>Washington Star-News</i> . Dec. 9, 1973).
Dec. 18, 1973	ERP	Three guerrillas attacked the Civil Registry office in Córdoba, taking official documents and stamps. (<i>Arriba</i> . Madrid. Dec. 19, 1973).
Dec. 20, 1973	Unknown	Charles Hayes, executive with McKee Tecsa, kidnapped in La Plata. (<i>Progreso</i> . Aug. 1973; <i>Arriba</i> . Jan. 10, 1974).
Dec. 22, 1973	FAL	Buenos Aires gunshop owner Angel de Bonis kidnapped. Released Jan. 3, 1974. (Item # 134).
Jan. 2, 1974	Unknown	Italian manager of an Argentine paper manufacturing firm kidnapped in Buenos Aires. (FBIS:6:3:B-10).
Jan. 4, 1974	ERP	Douglas Gordon Roberts, executive in Pepsi Cola International, kidnapped outside his home in the Buenos Aires suburb of Martínez. (<i>Washington Star-News</i> . Jan. 5, 1974; <i>La Nación</i> . Feb. 3, 1974).
Jan. 5, 1974	ERP	Abortive attempt to destroy rail line between Argentina and Chile near the border town of Potrerillo, Mendoza Province. (Item # 52).
Jan. 5, 1974	Unknown	Four armed guerrillas attack a factory in Rosario seizing one million pesos. (<i>Arriba</i> . Jan. 6, 1974).

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Jan. 8, 1974	Unknown	Fishing industry executive Francisco Ventura kidnapped in Mar del Plata. (<i>Arriba</i> . Jan. 10, 1974).
Jan. 19, 1974	ERP	Assault by a 60-70 man force on the C-10 Regiment in Azul, 232 kilometers south of Buenos Aires. Colonel Arturo Gay, regiment commander, killed and the second in command, Lt. Colonel Jorge Roberto Izarzábal, kidnapped. (<i>Arriba</i> . Jan. 22, 1974: Items # 83, 123).
Jan. 26, 1974	Unknown	Numerous terrorist bombings in Buenos Aires and Bahía Blanca. (FBIS: 6:19:B-7).
Feb. 2, 1974	Unknown	Reported guerrilla attack against Mariano Moreno Air Base. 1,500 police mobilized. (EFE. Madrid. Feb. 3, 1974).
Feb. 12, 1974	Montoneros ERP	Guerrilla leaders join representatives of Brazilian, Bolivian, Chilean, and Uruguayan revolutionary units to plan coordinated urban terrorist war. (Item # 57).
Feb. 13, 1974	Montoneros FAR	Several guerrillas, including FAR founder Carlos Alberto Caride, arrested in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate President Perón, his wife, visiting President Bordaberry of Uruguay, and other Argentine officials. (Items # 71, 72, 77).
Feb. 21, 1974	Unknown	Enrique Nyborg Andersen, director of the Argentine affiliate of Lloyds International Exchange Bank of London, released after kidnapping. (FBIS:6:52:B-7).
Feb. 23, 1974	ERP	Retired naval official Mario Reduto kidnapped. Reduto headed alleged para-police group. He was found dead in Zárate on March 14, 1974. (<i>Washington Post</i> . Mar. 15, 1974).
Mar. 3, 1974	ERP	Commando unit in Córdoba killed two policemen. (FBIS:6:43:B-3).
Mar. 10, 1974	Unknown	Headquarters of the Metal Workers Union in Buenos Aires damaged by several bombs launched from a homemade mortar. (TELAM. Buenos Aires. Mar 10, 1974).
Mar. 11, 1974	FAL	Dr. Daniel Lafont kidnapped near Buenos Aires. Released Mar. 15, 1974. (FBIS:6:56:B-10).
Mar. 11, 1974	Montoneros FAR La Tendencia Revolucionaria	45,000 supporters of <i>la tendencia revolucionaria</i> met in Buenos Aires Atlantic Stadium to attack Peronist Government. (Item # 22).
Mar. 16, 1974	ERP	Detonation of six bombs in Córdoba as well as an attack on the radio transmitters of <i>La Voz del Pueblo</i> . Bombs placed at the <i>Instituto Argentino Norteamericano</i> , the <i>Banco del Interior</i> , and local police stations. (<i>Arriba</i> . Mar. 17, 1974).
Mar. 25, 1974	Unknown	Enrique Mendelsohn Alemán, owner of a metallurgical facility, kidnapped in Lomas del Palomar. (FBIS:6:61:B-8).
Mar. 25, 1974	Unknown	Brazilian industrialist Jorge Oscar Wahelich killed in Buenos Aires while resisting a kidnapping attempt. (FBIS:6:59:B-2).
Mar. 29, 1974	ERP	Juan Alberto Rivero, second in command of the Patricios Infantry Regiment, Buenos Aires, kidnapped. Rivero was involved in opposing ERP attack on the <i>Comando de Sanidad Militar</i> in September 1973. (<i>Arriba</i> . Mar 31, 1974: Items # 103, 109, 110).

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Apr. 4, 1974	Unknown	Roberto Francisco Kleber, chief of personnel in the mechanical section of Fiat-Concord, the Argentine branch of Fiat, was kidnapped and assassinated. (FBIS:6:61:B-1).
Apr. 12, 1974	ERP	Alfred Laun, United States Information Service official, kidnapped in Córdoba. Released, wounded, 15 hours later. (Items 81, 106).
Apr. 18, 1974	ERP	ERP members distributed food and other goods to persons located in the poorer sections of Buenos Aires and Córdoba. (FBIS:6:79:5).
Apr. 27, 1974	ERP	Unsuccessful attack by several terrorists on the 6th Brigade Arsenal in Mendoza. (FBIS:6:83:B-1).
Apr. 28, 1974	ERP	Assassination of Jorge Vicente Quiroga, former judge on the anti-terrorist Federal Penal Chamber. (<i>Herald</i> . Buenos Aires. Apr. 29, 1974).
Apr. 29, 1974	ERP	Extremist Claudio Alberto Luduena, who was sought in connection with the abduction of Alfred Laun, was shot in Buenos Aires. (TELAM, Buenos Aires. Apr. 29, 1974).
Apr. 30, 1974	ERP	Juan Martín Guevara, 31 year old brother of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, arrested by police in Córdoba carrying forged documentation as well as ERP propaganda materials. (LATIN. Buenos Aires. Apr. 30, 1974).
Apr. 30, 1974	ERP	Attack on a highway police post in Tucumán. One policeman wounded and radio transmitters taken. (FBIS:6:85:B-4).
May 6, 1974	ERP	Ricardo García, advisor to Ceramics Union, assassinated in Córdoba. (FBIS:6:89:B-5).
May 27, 1974	Unknown	Carlos Lozano, biochemist, killed in a kidnap attempt in the Las Rosas area of Córdoba. (<i>Arriba</i> . May 28, 1974)
May 27, 1974	ERP	Terrorist units in Buenos Aires rob U.S. citizen of \$52,000 in currency and valuables. (<i>Arriba</i> , May 28, 1974)
May 29, 1974	Unknown	Guerrilla units occupy the small town of Evita, Buenos Aires Province. (<i>Arriba</i> , May 30, 1974)
May 31, 1974	ERP (Probably)	Small city of Acherai, Tucumán Province, seized by 15 heavily armed guerrillas. Acherai is 43 kilometers from Tucumán. (FBIS: 6:105:B-3)
May 31, 1974	Unknown	Three militant socialist labor leaders shot to death in the General Pacheco sector of Buenos Aires. Twenty armed men entered union headquarters, killing the labor officials. (<i>ABC</i> , Madrid, Jun. 1, 1974)
Jun. 1, 1974	Unknown	Pacifico Claudio Tittarelli, Buenos Aires business executive, kidnapped and ransomed for five million dollars. (<i>ABC</i> , Jun. 2, 1974)
Jun. 3, 1974	ERP (Probably)	Units of Buenos Aires Metropolitan Police and security forces find arms cache, the largest yet discovered in Argentina, containing over 100,000 rounds of .45 and .38 caliber ammunition; fifty 7.65 caliber machine guns; 20 FAL machine guns; 200 one-fourth kilo blocks of TNT as well as mortar and bazooka shells. (<i>La Nación</i> , Jun. 4, 1974)
Jun. 9, 1974	Unknown	Administrative Secretary of the Union of Workers and Employees of the Paper and Carton Industry of Bernal executed in Bernal. (FBIS:6:117:B-2)

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Jun. 12, 1974	ERP	Announcement by ERP on June 12 that a rural guerrilla front will be opened in Tucumán Province. An additional announcement by the ERP indicated five million dollars, a part of the ransom obtained for the release of Esso Argentina director Victor Samuelson, had been provided to Uruguayan, Chilean, and Bolivian insurgent groups. (FBIS:6:115:B-10)
Jun. 14, 1974	Unknown	Buenos Aires resident and Mercedes Benz engineer kidnapped. (FBIS:6:118:B-8)
Jun. 16, 1974	Unknown	Port Workers union leaders shot to death in Gregorio de Laferrere section of Buenos Aires. (FBIS:6:117:B-2)
Jun. 24, 1974	Unknown	Eight bombs detonated between six and twelve in the evening at the Bank of London, the Bank of America, and the Coca Cola Bottling Company, as well as in several Argentine firms, all located in Buenos Aires. (FBIS:6:123:B-1)