Chronology

1964

March 31–April 2	Revolution of March 31; military coup overthrows populist regime of João Goulart.
April 9	Institutional Act I institutes "revolutionary government."
April–July	Wholesale purges throughout military, unions, Congress, judiciary, civil service, state and local governments.
April 16	General Castelo Branco elected president by Congress.
May 9	Carlos Marighella injured in shootout with police.
July	Purges decline as regime consolidates; Carlos Lacerda, one of the initiators of the coup, goes into opposition.
October	Leadership of Brazilian Communist Party arrested; purge reinstituted.
November 26	Goiás Governor Borges ousted for subversion.
November 27	Two hundred jailed in Rio Grande do Sul for allegedly plotting leftist insurrection in conjunction with Borges and ex-deputy Leonel Brizola.

1965

March 17	*New York Times* reports 2,000 people in jail without charges.
March 27	Guerrilla raid on barracks in Rio Grande do Sul.
May 18	Bomb found in United States Embassy.
October 27	Institutional Act II; Castelo Branco dissolves political parties, increases executive powers,

	decrees appointment of judges and indirect election of future presidents.
1966	
February 5	Bombing of home of United States consul in Pôrto Alegre.
June 24	U.S.I.S. building in Brasília bombed.
July	Bomb at Recife airport kills 3; assassination attempt on General Costa e Silva; hundreds arrested.
September 15–23	Students demonstrate and clash with police in Rio.
October 4	Bombings of war, finance, and foreign ministers' homes.
December 1	A. P. Pimentel sentenced to 5 years in prison for attempted assassination of Castelo Branco in 1965.
December 10	Carlos Marighella and others resign from Communist Party Executive Committee.
1967	
Early 1967	Mario Alves and others found Revolutionary Brazilian Communist Party.
March 15	Costa e Silva becomes president; new Constitution inaugurated.
Early April	Rural *foco* in Serra do Caparão aborted; MNR and (allegedly) Leonel Brizola involved.
August	First OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) Conference held in Havana; Carlos Marighella is one of the Brazilian delegates.
August 1	Peace Corps office in Rio bombed.

August 20	One hundred seventy suspected guerrillas seized in Mato Grosso; led by Tarzan de Castro.
September 27	United States air attaché's residence in Rio bombed.
October 15	Five persons arrested for attempting to form guerrilla band in Amazonas.
December 30	Ten boxes of dynamite and 200 detonators taken from Cajamar cement company.
Late 1967	Marighella returns to Brazil and begins mobilizing ALN.

1968

January	Beginnings of several guerrilla groups: VPR in São Paulo and MR-8 in Niteroi.
March 19	United States Consulate in São Paulo bombed.
March 28	Edson Luis Soto, 16-year-old student, killed by police in Rio de Janeiro.
March 30	Student demonstration in Rio protests killing of students by administration.
April 15	French and Italian Bank armored car attacked; 100,000 NCr (New Cruzeiros) expropriated.
April 20	Conservative newspaper *O Estado do São Paulo* bombed by VPR.
April 23	Commerce and Industry Bank in São Paulo robbed of 110,000 NCr by guerrillas.
May 1	Governor Abreu Sodre stoned by mob in São Paulo.
June 20–21	Students clash with police in Rio and demonstrate in São Paulo and Brasília; 1,500 arrested.
June 22	São Paulo Army Hospital raided for weapons in first direct attack on army by the VPR.

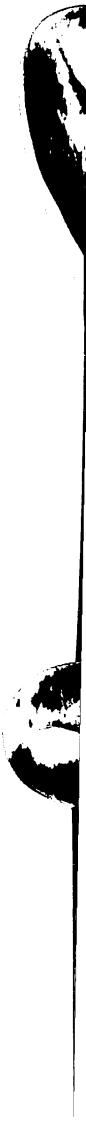
June 26	One hundred thousand students demonstrate in protest against repression.
June 26	Second Army headquarters in Ibirapuera bombed by VPR.
June 28	Nineteen boxes of dynamite and blasting caps stolen from Fortaleza stone quarry by VPR.
July	Students occupy University of São Paulo Philosophy Faculty; first death-squad attacks initiate backlash to 1968 turmoil.
July	Osasco metal workers strike, led by union head and VPR leader José Ibrahim; increased repression follows.
July 13	Peasant leader Manoel Conceição shot by police; he eventually loses a leg from gangrene.
August 10	Payroll train attacked; 110,000 NCr expropriated.
October	MR-8 *foco* in Paraná begun; first support action executed.
October 12	*United States Captain Charles Chandler assassinated by VPR in São Paulo.*
	Eight hundred students arrested for holding congress of outlawed National Student Union.
October 14	Seizure of 180,000 NCr from Bank of São Paulo.
October 27	Sears, Roebuck & Company store bombed.
November	Bank assault linked to Marighella and the ALN; realization by police of "subversive threat."
December 12	Congress balks at government demand for trial of Deputy Marcio Moreira Alves for insulting military honor; climax of a long "constitutional crisis."

December 13	*Costa e Silva closes Congress; Institutional Act V promulgated, giving president dictatorial powers.*
December 14–18	Hundreds arrested including 94 government party deputies, ex-President Juscelino Kubitschek and Carlos Lacerda.

1969

January 22	Planned action against IV Army Quitauna barracks uncovered, exposing VPR.
January 25	Captain Carlos Lamarca, with three noncommissioned officers and 70 automatic weapons, defects to VPR.
February 25	Expropriation of 120,000 NCr from Auxiliary Bank of São Paulo.
March	Residence of General Ademar de Rocha Santos bombed.
April	Monguagua Conference held to reorganize VPR and attempt merger with COLINA: initially there is little success, but soon after the two groups join to form VAR-Palmares.
May 1	Guerrillas seize São Bernardo radio station and broadcast message.
May 5	Seizure of 248,000 NCr from National Credit Bank.
May 27	Six guerrillas escape Lemos de Brito prison and become involved in MAR *foco*.
June	Operation Bandeirante launched nationwide to combat subversion.
June 22	Military police barracks attacked; weapons and ammunition expropriated.

July	Political parties reorganized by government decree.
July	Over 30 MR-8 members arrested.
July 8	Two theaters showing "The Green Berets" bombed.
July 18	$2.4 million taken from estate of politician Adhemar de Barros.
August	MAR guerrillas driven out of forests of Angra dos Reis, 200 miles south of Rio de Janeiro.
	Over 200 revolutionaries arrested during mid-1969.
August 15	Marighella speech read over Radio São Paulo during occupation by guerrillas.
September 4	*United States Ambassador Burke Elbrick kidnapped by ALN and MR-8; 15 prisoners exchanged for Elbrick.*
September 10	Institutional Act XIV decrees death penalty for subversion; first time death penalty has been decreed since 1891; some 1,800 persons arrested following Elbrick kidnapping.
September	Tarresopolis Conference results in split within VAR-Palmares; armed-struggle wing leaves and calls itself VPR again.
Late September	Thirteen ALN factories raided by authorities.
November 4	*Carlos Marighella trapped and shot to death.*
December 17	Shooting incident leads to discovery of PCBR urban guerrilla activity; campaign against PCBR begins.
1970	
January	João Domingues Palmares command (VAR) hijacks airplane to Cuba.



January	VAR hit hard by repression.
January 13	PCBR continues to face repression, culminating in arrests of Mario Alves (who dies under torture) and Apolonio de Carvalho.
February 20	Death of Antonio Raimundo de Lucena, VPR leader, during police raid.
March 11	Japanese consul Nobuo Okuchi abducted by VPR; 5 prisoners exchanged for Okuchi.
April 5	Curtis Cutter, United States consul in Pôrto Alegre, thwarts kidnap attempt.
April 21	ALN leader Juarez Guimarez de Brito killed in attempted kidnapping of West German Ambassador von Holleben.
April 21–May 31	Operation Vale de Ribeira mobilizes thousands of troops to eliminate VPR training camp headed by Lamarca.
June 11	West German ambassador kidnapped by Juarez Guimarez de Brito command of ALN and VPR; 40 prisoners released in exchange for him.
July 12	Eduardo Leites (VPR) arrested in attempted skyjacking to free prisoners.
July	ALN, MR-8, VPR, MRT begin merger into United Front.
August 12	Carlos Franklin Peiyao de Araujy (VAR) arrested.
September	PCBR joins United Front effort.
September	VAR suffers another split, led by Adilson Ferreira da Silva.
October 1–3	Operation São Paulo; police campaign against São Paulo guerrillas; 500 arrested, including most of VAR-Palmares, São Paulo branch.

October 23	*Joaquim Camara Ferreira, successor to Marighella as head of ALN, arrested and dies of "heart attack" in prison.*
November	Grandson of Marshall Lott savagely tortured; Lott kills army captain in revenge, and demands public trial; military quietly retires him.
November	Arms cache in São Paulo tombs discovered.
November 4–5	Operation Cage launched to preempt guerrilla actions commemorating Marighella's death; 5–10,000 people detained.
November 15	Elections: 30 percent of electorate abstain despite illegality of abstention; 55 percent cast blank ballots.
December 3	Education Minister Jarbas Passarinho admits to occasional use of torture in jails.
December 7	*Swiss Ambassador Giovanni Bucher kidnapped by Juarez Guimarez de Brito command of ALN; 70 prisoners released.*
December 8	Police announce deaths of 3 guerrillas, including Eduardo Leite (VPR).
December 10	Expropriation of 64,000 NCr from Itau-America Bank; police claim 9 of 14 commandos captured within 2 days.

1971

January 12	VAR-Palmares distributes food to slum dwellers.
January 20	Rubens Paiva (labor party ex-deputy linked to guerrillas) and family arrested; Paiva dies under torture.
February 6	Raids in Recife lead to captured documents and whereabouts of guerrillas, including Tarzan de Castro.

March 11	$35,000 expropriated from 3 private firms.
March 12	Five VAR-Palmares members arrested.
March 14	$13,800 seized from supermarket.
March 23	Marcio Leite Toledo (VPR) killed in São Paulo; links leading to Carlos Lamarca allegedly discovered.
April 5	MRT leader Devanir José de Carvalho arrested and killed.
April 14	Major Toja Martinez assassinated in Rio.
April 15	*Conservative industrialist Henning Albert Boilesen assassinated by MRT in retribution for death of Carvalho.*
April 18	Dimas Antonio Cassemiro of MRT killed.
April 23	MR-8 student cell at Rio de Janeiro Federal University broken.
May 1	Zilda Xavier Periera (ALN) escapes Pinel Hospital in Rio.
May 16	Two presses seized by guerrillas from printing press factory.
May 28	Five guerrillas from VAR-Palmares arrested.
	MR-8 cell broken up.
June 23	José Anselmo dos Santos, ex-navy corporal and leader of naval insurrection of March 26, 1964, allegedly dies in prison.
July 22	Guerrillas seize 350,000 NCr from bank.
July 24	João Carlos dos Santos, leader of group which kidnapped von Holleben, captured.
August 5	José Raimundo Costa (VPR) shot to death resisting arrest.
September 18	*Carlos Lamarca killed in Salvador, Bahia.*

1972

January 19	Alex de Paula Xavier-Pereira (ALN) killed.
January 23	Peasant leaders Manoel de Conceição and Luis Campos arrested.
April	Armed resistance begins in Amazonia State.
April 11	Antonio Caros Noguiera Cabral (ALN) killed in Rio de Janeiro.
April 29	Eighteen AP members sentenced to prison.
	Garage of Myers Craig (director of Brazilian Johnson & Johnson) bombed.
June 14	Luri de Paula Xaxier Pereira (ALN) killed, and two students arrested.
July 18	Trial of 55 VPR members in São Paulo.
August 2	Aloisio dos Santos Filhos (PCB foreign affairs committee) taken.
August 12	Fuad Saad (head of PCB foreign affairs) arrested.
September 22	Manoel de Conceição brought to trial.
September 25	Five thousand troops sent to Xambia, Amazonia in counterinsurgency action.
September 28	Police station in Garibaldi, Rio Grande do Sul, raided for weapons.
October 3	Seventeen AP and PRT cadres put on trial.
October 21	Nineteen urban guerrillas (MLN) arrested.
November 2	Two guerrillas (MOLIPO) killed in São Paulo shootout.
November 22	Twenty-two PCB members arrested in São Paulo.
December 3	João Felipe de Sampiao Lacerda (PCB) arrested; 6 other foreign affairs cadre taken soon after.
December 6	Six PCB members arrested in Campo Grande district of Rio de Janeiro.

December 8	PCB sections hit in Goiás and Rio de Janeiro.
December 11	Four Trotskyites arrested in São Paulo.
December 29	Six PCBR members killed and one captured including two National Command members.
1973	
January 5	Six bombings in Fortaleza, Ceara.
January 10	Sixth VPR member (including one Paraguayan) shot in one week near Recife.
January 11	Government announces arrests of 32 members of ALN splinter group MOLIPO in São Paulo.
	VPR denounces José Anselmo for defection; his information allegedly set up recent assassinations in Recife, plus others.
January 17	Nine leftists killed in Rio de Janeiro.
January 24	Ex-PCB deputy José María Crispim and daughter sentenced in absentia for association with VPR.
	Anatalia de Melo Alves (PCB) tortured to death in Pernambuco.
February 7	Rubens Berado, deputy and former vice-governor of Guanabara, killed by unknown assailants.
	British naval officer David Cuthberg assassinated in Rio.
February 21	Manuel Henrique de Olivera, Portuguese national and alleged police informer, executed by Aurora Maria Nacimiento Furtado command.
March 1	São Paulo police agent Octavio Gonzalves Moreira killed in Guanabara.

Questions of Organization by Carlos Marighella

The classic organizational statement by the founder of the National Liberation Action, stressing the need for initiative, mobility, secrecy, and intransigence in the face of the dictatorship. Written during the crescendo of urban guerrilla activity in December 1968, the statement is highly critical of the traditional Left and emphasizes the need for armed struggle.

Our organization was formed to apply a practical revolutionary policy with guerrilla warfare as its strategy. The principles of the organization should not be confused with those of the traditional political organizations of the Brazilian Left whose functions seem to include only establishing a meeting place for elaborating documents and occasionally conducting more or less bureaucratic tasks, dictated by the leadership and never put into practice.

The functioning of our organization, on the contrary, is based on freeing action in the revolutionary struggle, thus emphasizing the initiative taken by the groups that constitute our base. The small initial group of combatants is oriented toward construction of an infrastructure that will permit action, instead of worrying about building a hierarchical structure through meetings of delegates or the calling together of leaders of the old conventional parties.

The Initial Structure of Our Organization

Given these premises, our organization emerged, based upon a strategic and tactical sector which was dedicated to conducting secret work in the strategic area of guerrilla operations and initiating the clandestine formation of a guerrilla training center. This branch of our organization is mobile in character, since it functions in accord with the strategic interests and immediate tactics of the guerrilla and is subject to dismantling operations.

Our organization consists of this sector and of local revolutionary groups of two types:

1. groups derived from the transformation of old conventional organizations into revolutionary groups;

Carlos Marighella, *Teoría y Acción Revolucionarias* (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Editorial Diogenes, 1971), pp. 17–25. Translation by the authors.

Chronology[1]

1959–1962	UTAA (Artigas Sugar Workers Union) organized.
1962	
June 5	First UTAA march; 600 workers and families march from Artigas to Montevideo to protest conditions and demand land; marchers are fired upon from headquarters of Uruguayan Trade Union Confederation.
June 11	Raúl Sendic (UTAA) detained in Paysandú; released after several days in jail; he then publishes "Waiting for the Guerrilla" in *Época.*
1963	
July 31	*Swiss Rifle Club in Nueva Helvecia, Colonia, robbed of firearms; first armed action by the MLN.*
August 1	Police investigation of traffic accident leads to discovery of bolt from a rifle seized from the Swiss Rifle Club.
August 13	Eduardo Pinella killed in accident at work.
September 6	Police raid on FIDEL (Popular Union and Leftist Front) yields suspects claimed to be Socialist Party (PS) militants responsible for Nueva Helvecia action.
	Arms from Nueva Helvecia raid found in cache on bank of Rio Negro; 4 suspects arrested.
September 9	Police report that Sendic is in Brazil, that he planned to seize and distribute land and a sugar mill to the UTAA, and that he directed assault on Swiss Rifle Club without PS sanction.

[1] Unless otherwise specified, individuals and actions cited are assumed to be related to the Tupamaros.

	Police detain Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro, bank employee, for suspected subversive activities.
December 24	"Hunger Commando" seizes contents of food chain truck and distributes turkeys and chickens in Montevideo slums.
1964	
January 1	Customs office at Bella Unión, on Brazilian border, attacked; 11 rifles seized.
March 30	Mistaken for a smuggler, Sendic narrowly escapes arrest at Paysandú Airport.
April 25	Expropriation of 540 kilos of gelatenite from National Cement Company, on the outskirts of Pan de Azúcar, Maldonado.
June 11	Atalivia Castillo, Julio Vique, and Nelson Santana (UTAA) caught by police during expropriation of Banco de Cobranzas.
September 9	Government severs relations with Cuba; MLN bombs First National City Bank and offices of Moore-McCormack lines in Montevideo; two cars with diplomatic plates parked in front of U.S. Embassy firebombed.
September 10	Bomb explodes in garden of Brazilian ambassador.
	Houses of four government advisors firebombed.
October 14	Branch of Banco de Cobranzas attacked; 93,000 pesos seized; Julio Marenales Saenz and Oscar Andrade Gimenez arrested for bank robbery.
October 15	Police detain Jorge Maneras Lluveras for arming the commandos involved in Banco de Cobranzas action; suspect's vehicle yields arms cache.

December 16	Raúl Sendic, Anacleto Silvera, and Ramón Pedrozo detained at Monte Caseros, Argentina, for evasion of border post and possession of arms; Uruguay requests extradition.
December 31	Argentine police free Sendic and companions.
1965	
May 5	Violent repression of student demonstration against U.S. intervention in Dominican Republic.
May 6	Bombings of All-American Cable and Western Telegraph companies.
July 10	Brazilian Embassy in Montevideo bombed.
August 9	Warehouse of Bayer (West German chemical company) bombed for involvement in U.S. war in Vietnam; commandos identify themselves, for the first time, as Tupamaros.
October 7	National Council of Government adopts Immediate Security Measures to forestall impending demonstration of government employees; 40 people detained.
November 15	National Councillor Amilcar Vasconcellos denounces police repression, claims 250 political detainees being held.
November 18	Residences of Alberto Heber, member of the National Council, and his brother Mario Heber, president of the Chamber of Deputies, bombed.
1966	
January	First national convention of MLN.
February 2	Two armed men occupy Montevideo theater, seize 18 uniforms and 10 rifles used in plays; leaflets distributed signed by Tupamaros.

May 13	Banco de la Caja Obrera robbed of 301,000 pesos.
November 15	Subsecretary of Interior Dr. Rodolfo Canabal's house bombed.
November 22	Banco Popular in Paso de la Arena robbed of 642,000 pesos.
November 27	El Cazidor armory robbed of 63 weapons and 1,000 rounds of ammunition.
December 22	*Carlos Flores dies in shoot-out with police, becoming first Tupamaro killed in action; the ensuing repression damages the organization severely.*
	MLN training center discovered.
December 23	MLN target range and explosives range discovered by police.
December 26	MLN printing shop discovered by police.
December 27	Mario Robaina (MLN) and Silviera Regalado (Chief of Command, Radio Patrol), killed in shoot-out.
December 29	MLN base in Montevideo discovered in same building as bank previously robbed by Tupamaros; apartment had been rented to Violeta Setelich.

1967

January 1	Argentine national Silvio Halperín Burnstein arrested in Montevideo carrying a pistol, 1,000,000 pesos and incriminating letters; linked to Argentine Tacuara.
January 5	Police discover Tupamaro hideout; complete maps of Montevideo sewer system recovered.
January 6	Arrest orders issued for Tuparamos Heber Mejias Collazo, America Garcia Rodríguez, Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, and Héctor Amodio Perez.

January 12	MLN safe house discovered, revealing extensive intelligence documentation about Uruguayan armed forces; MLN internal documents also found.
January 23	U.S. Consulate in Montevideo bombed.
February 16	Abraham Guillén and Carlos Caballero Ferreira (Paraguayan exile) arrested for subversion; later released.
March 16	Fernando Bassini Campiglia, ex-medical student, identified as Tupamaro.
April 11	Lyndon Johnson arrives in Montevideo for Punta del Este meeting; anti-U.S. demonstrators clash with police.
April 12	Burroughs building bombed.
July 15	José Luis Nell Tacchi (Argentine exile) arrested for links to MLN.
August 29	President Gestido announces establishment of scholarships for police study in United States.
October 10	Emergency Security Measures enacted to deal with labor unrest.
November 16	Police announce arrest of Gustavo Inzaurralde (FSU and MLN); Inzaurralde linked to Joe Baxter and Tacuara.
November 29	Shoot-out between police and four Tupamaros at Shangrila bathing resort as police mistake Tupamaros for delinquents.
December 6	President Oscar Gestido dies of heart attack; Vice President Jorge Pacheco Areco succeeds him.
December 11	Firebombings of CUTCSA (Uruguayan Bus Company, Inc.) to protest fare increase; 6 buses destroyed.

December 12	One week after assuming office, Pacheco Areco closes down six leftist groups (Socialist Party, Movement of the Revolutionary Left, Uruguayan Anarchist Federation, Eastern Revolutionary Movement, Uruguayan Popular Action Movement, Epoca) following tactical alliance between them; two papers (*El Sol, Época*) closed down for printing MLN explanation of Shangrila confrontation.
1967	Uruguay experiences 700 strikes.
1968	
January 3	Five hundred kilos of gelatenite stolen from stone quarry at Pan de Azúcar.
January 18	Branch of Unión de Bancos de Uruguay (UBUR) assaulted; 2,400,000 pesos seized.
March	Second national convention of MLN.
May 1	May Day demonstration becomes violent, leaving one dead and fifty injured.
June 13	Pacheco Areco reinstates Emergency Security Measures to combat student and labor unrest.
July 1	Minutes before President Pacheco Areco is to deliver a radio speech, four MLN commandos bomb Radio Ariel.
July 26	Pedro Dubra involved in motorcycle accident, but manages to escape from hospital.
August 7	*Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, personal friend of President Pacheco Areco and director of UTE (General Administration of State Electric Power and Television) kidnapped by MLN, held for four days.*
August 9	Student Mario Toyos killed by police during search of student areas.

August 14	Student Liber Arce killed by police during demonstration.
September 10	Branch of BOLSA (Bank of London and South America) attacked; 5,000,000 pesos seized.
September 11	Branch of UBUR assaulted; 1,800,000 pesos expropriated.
September 12	Bombs explode in branches of Banco Mercantil, Banco de la Caja Obrera, and Banco Popular del Uruguay; leaflets with CAP insignia are left.
September 21	Students Susana Pintos and Hugo de los Santos killed by police during demonstration.
October 3	Arroyo Seco branch of Banco Commercial attacked; 3,215,600 pesos seized.
October 7	Expropriation of 11,800,000 pesos from branch of BOLSA.
October 8	Julio Marenales Saenz, Leonel Martínez Platero, and Carlos Rodriguez Bucos arrested in interior; four other suspected Tupamaros detained.
October 10	Identity cards and forgery equipment discovered in house of Rodríguez Candan, photographer.
October 13	Tupamaros Marenales Saenz, Martínez Platero, and Rodríguez Bucos denounce electric shock torture in Department of Intelligence and Liaison.
October 18	Minister of Industry and Commerce Jorge Peirano Facio, victim of triple sabotage; his residence, a bank he owns, and the stock exchange where he works are bombed.
	Branch of Sociedad de Bancos loses 5,890,000 pesos through armed expropriation.

October 24	3,427,400 pesos taken from La Paz branch of Banco Commercial.
October 28	Trotskyist Congress raided by police in Montevideo; 17 Uruguayans are arrested, 13 Argentines and 1 French national are deported for violation of internal security laws.
November 1	Branch of UBUR attacked and 3,329,000 pesos expropriated.
November 25	Theft of 255 kilos of gelatenite from construction company in Tacuarembo.
November 29	Armed expropriation of 6,250,000 pesos from Hotel Carrasco Casino in Montevideo.
November 30	Teresa Labroca Rabellino arrested; her apartment had allegedly been used as staging for Carrasco Casino operation.
December 10	Ismael Bassini Campiglia, Gabino Falero Montes de Oca, Pedro Dubra, Corina Devita de Cuadra, Jesus Manuel Rodríguez, Victoriario Aluear Leal, and the brothers Liber and Anibal Delucia Grajales arrested on estate north of Pando.
December 11	Branch of Banco Popular del Uruguay assaulted; 3,416,924 pesos seized.

1969

January 1	Tupamaros 22 December (1966) command recovers from Police Court arms confiscated during last two years.
January 3	Police break into house in Cerro; three machine guns, transmitter, six kilos of gelatenite taken.
January 9	Police raid house in Punta Corda; 28 rifles, 40 kilos of gelatenite seized.

February 7 — Tupamaros return 100 kilos of dangerously decomposed gelatenite to army bomb specialist.

February 14 — *Tupamaro Liber Arce group occupies Financiera Monty and seizes 17,792,633,250 Argentine pesos, 1,889,600 Brazilian cruzeiros, 324,250 Uruguayan pesos, 3 packets of Focier-Altamira-Monty stocks, and 6 accounting ledgers.*

February 16 — MLN releases leaflet explaining financial irregularities of Financiera Monty.

February 18 — Casino San Rafael hit for 55,000,000 pesos by Mario Robaina command of MLN.

February 25 — MLN releases second leaflet explaining Financiera Monty irregularities.

March 1 — Unexplained fire in Financiera Monty offices destroys crucial documents which could either prove or disprove MLN allegations of financial misdealings.

March 4 — Tupamaros announce impending return of part of money expropriated from San Rafael Casino; money is said to belong to workers and will be returned to same.

March 9 — Honario Alejandro Manuel Grieco Nieves, employee of San Rafael Casino, arrested for collaboration with MLN in Casino action.

March 13 — Bank in Fray Bentos loses 15,000,000 pesos from armed expropriation.

March 15 — Government dissolves Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party and closes its paper *Frente Orbero.*

March 18 — Prisoners Gabino Falero Montes de Oca and Corina Devita de Cuadra married in special ceremony in Punta Carretas Prison.

March 21	Jorge Ámilcar Manera Lluveras and eight other Tupamaros arrested.
March 23	Edelmar Ribeiro shot to death by police.
April 12	Three Tupamaros, Vetty Larrosa de Listre, her husband Julio Cesar Listre, and Julio Rocatagliatta, arrested (latter two were bank employees).
April 26	America Garcia Rodríguez and husband Carlos Heber Mejias Collazo, injured in bomb explosion outside Montevideo, manage to get treatment at hospital under assumed names and thus avoid detention.
April 28	Tupamaros seize 80 kilograms of .50 calibre machine-gun ammunition from La Paloma naval dockyard.
April 30	COPRIN (Commission of Prices and Income) building bombed by Tupamaros.
May 2	Three banks robbed; 4,000,000 pesos seized.
May 7	In 20-minute period, three banks are assaulted; 3,000,000 pesos are taken.
May 9	Three banks occupied; 6,000,000 pesos expropriated.
May 10,12,14	Attacks on food warehouses; large quantity of foodstuffs seized.
May 15	Tupamaros occupy Radio Sarandi station during broadcast of soccer game and transmit recorded message.
May 21	Heraclio Jesus Rodríguez Recalde captured.
May 22	Tupamaro commandos seize 66 firearms and 200 rounds of ammunition from armory located 50 meters from Central Police Department.

May 27	Expropriation of 13,900,000 pesos from branch of UBUR located next to Government House.
June 10	Hunger strike by Tupamaros in Punta Carretas Prison, protesting bad treatment.
June 20	Tupamaro commandos burn General Motors plant following Nelson Rockefeller's visit; MLN leaflets left at site.
June 21	MLN occupies downtown Montevideo radio station and broadcasts message protesting Nelson Rockefeller's visit.
June 24	State of siege instituted against strikers.
	Home of Senator and ex-Minister Manuel Flores Mora broken into by MLN; documents seized.
June 25	Acts of sabotage committed against homes of Minister of Foreign Relations Venancio Flores, Minister of Work and Social Welfare Jorge Sapeli, and Prosecutor Francisco Bayardo Bengoa.
June 27	General Motors plant in Penarol attacked; 500,000,000 pesos taken.
July 4	Policeman killed while resisting disarmament.
	Executive decree prohibits circulation of information regarding Tupamaros.
July 7	Tupamaros attack six police officers; policeman Garay Dama killed.
July 8	*Democracia* (previously *Extra*) publishes first issue; issues confiscated by police and offices closed.
July 16	IBM-360 computer and records of Banco Commercial destroyed by bomb.
July 26	Pectro Zabalza, Atalivia Castillo, Cesar Gerardo Longo, Natalio Dergan, and Roberto Emilio Manes are arrested in Montevideo.

July 31	Policeman killed guarding City Bank.
September 9	Publisher and bank president Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro kidnapped as insurance for striking bank employees; kidnappers later identified as Raúl Bidegain, Nestor Peralta Larrosa, Sergio da Rosa Silveira, and Juan Pablo Schroeder.
September 10	Clandestine radio station begins broadcasting every Wednesday and Sunday, issuing 5-minute statements.
	BOLSA robbed of 5,000,000 pesos.
September 11	UBUR branch assaulted; 1,800,000 pesos expropriated.
September 23	Numerous firearms, pieces of office equipment, and 200,000 pesos are seized from home of a judge.
October 2	Intendant of Salta loses 10,000,000 pesos through armed expropriation.
October 3	6,000,000 pesos expropriated from Banco de la Unión.
October 6	Manuel Antonio Ramos Filipini, a junior official in Ministry of Foreign Relations, placed on trial as Tupamaro.
October 8	*Pando operation: in commemoration of Che Guevara's death, MLN occupies town of Pando; police and fire departments attacked, communications severed, four banks expropriated for 81,000 pesos; during the retreat one column is intercepted by 1000 troops and Tupamaros Jorge Salerno, Ricardo Zabalza, and Alfredo Cultelli are killed; 16 others, including Eleuterio Fernandez and Lionel Martinez, are captured; bystander Carlos Burgueno and policemen Enrique Fer-*

	nandez Diaz also die from wounds inflicted during the action.
October 15	Six million pesos expropriated from clandestine money exchange house.
October 21	Garcia Rodriguez, her husband, Mejias Collazo, Jaime Machado Ledesmena, and two others are arrested.
November 1	Assault on police patrol car leads to death of Arturo Cardama Martinez and capture of Fermin Chapitel Bottini.
November 6	In Chamber of Deputies, Héctor Gutierrez Ruiz denounces the government for detaining 5,616 political prisoners since 1968.
November 12	Shoot-out: Indalecio Olivera da Rosa, ex-priest and Tupamaro, killed along with one policeman.
	Aguada branch of Banco de Montevideo suffers armed expropriation of 15,000,000 pesos by 10 FARO guerrillas.
November 15	Carlos Ruben Zambrano becomes first police official assassinated by MLN, in retaliation for his role as informer during Pando action.
November 21	Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro released after a donation of 7,500,000 pesos is made to the Caja de Auxilo del Frigonal and 7,500,000 pesos to a school.
November 25	7,000,000 pesos expropriated from Banco Popular.
November 26	Policeman Antonio Maria Fernandez killed in El Pinar while trying to detain José Alberto Lopez Mercao and Marcos Suarez Piriz.
December 1	Minister of interior forbids use of words related to Tupamaros.

	Two seminary students, Luis Samandu Sieria and Mario Caceres Martínez, and air cadet Fernando Bossio Guiterrez are arrested for planning a raid on Aeronautics Technical School.
December 4	Seminary student Luis Ernesto Fernandez arrested for planned Aeronautics Technical School raid.
December 7	MLN open letter to police announces forthcoming move toward aggressive policy.
December 11	Air Force Colonel Armando Muter is seriously injured by guerrillas in an assault on his house.
December 13	Expropriation of 26,000 ampules of penicillin from a laboratory.
December 26	380,000 pesos seized from Montevideo branch of Banco Francés e Italiano.
1970	
January	Raúl Bidegain and Nestor Peralta Larrosa are arrested in a park; they are promptly freed by the intervention of 10 armed guerrillas.
January 12	Violetta Maria Rogue Setelich is arrested.
February 5	Branch of Banco de Salta y de la Republica loses 20,000,000 pesos in armed expropriations.
March 8	Thirteen Tupamaro women prisoners escape from Women's Jail, including Jesse Arlette Macchi Torres.
March 9	Six Tupamaros seize 6,000,000 pesos from UBUR branch of Montevideo.
March 19	Tupamaros retrieve 10,000,000 pesos and documents from tunnel under police surveillance.
March 31	Guerrillas seize 6,000,000 pesos from UBUR branch.

April 5	Oracio Mailhos, tobacco magnate, robbed of 100,-000,000 pesos in gold ($400,000); documents taken.
April 7	Tupamaro safe house raided by police; six militants captured, together with documents, plans, arms, and explosives.
April 8	MLN releases to press photocopies of compromising documents seized from Mailhos estate; documents are annotated by an ex-employee of estate who helped engineer the action; later, a record fine of 587,000,000 pesos is levied against Mailhos for tax evasion.
April 13	*Police Inspector Héctor Moran Charquero, accused by MLN of torturing prisoners, is assassinated.*
April 14	Juan Almiratti is captured; he had earlier led Mailhos action.
May 29	*Navy training center and garrison occupied by Tupamaros; 421 weapons and 10,000 rounds of ammunition are expropriated; action is led by sailor Fernando Garin Lanieri.*
May 30	Fernan Pucurral Saenz de la Pena dies, Jorge Washington Puig Leivas and Antonio Bandera Lima (Brazilian) are arrested in a police raid; a potential people's prison is discovered.
May–June	Mauricio Cruz Ruiz Diaz arrested in Santiago, Chile carrying training manuals and 880 gold coins from the Mailhos action, presumably as aid to the Chilean MIR.
June	Republican Guard mutinies to demand special duty pay and right to wear civilian clothes for urban counterinsurgency; mutiny comes on heels

	of a warning to police to discontinue mistreatment of captured Tupamaros; Republican Guard is subsequently disbanded.
June 16	UBUR branch assaulted; 6,733,340 pesos seized.
June 23	Manager of Banco Palestino del Uruguay kidnapped; 18,000,000 pesos seized.
	Branch of Banco de Pan de Azucar robbed of 8,000,000 pesos by MLN unit.
June 30	Sayago branch of BOLSA occupied; 12,000,000 pesos expropriated.
July 1	Héctor Amodio Perez arrested.
July 4	Six incidents in 90 minutes, four police wounded, officer Armando Leses killed, one Tupamaro captured.
July 17	Media receives declaration from MANO (Eastern Armed National Movement) threatening reprisals against Tupamaros.
July 28	Judge Daniel Pereyra Manelli, head of Court of Proceedings of First Session, who had tried many Tupamaros, captured by MLN; freed August 5.
July 31	*Dan Mitrione (USAID public safety officer) and Aloysio Dias Gomide (Brazilian consul) abducted; Gordon Jones (first secretary, U.S. embassy) escapes kidnap attempt; MLN demands release of 150 political prisoners; government institutes state of siege.*
August 6	Branch of Banco Mercantil del Rio de la Plata relieved of 4,800,000 pesos by guerrillas.
August 7	United States agricultural expert Claude Fly kidnapped.

August 7	*Twelve thousand police and troops search Montevideo, sector by sector, for people's prison.*
	Police apprehend Raúl Sendic, Raúl Bidegain Greissing, Jorge Candan Grajales, Alicia Rey Morales, Edith Morales A. de Rodríguez, Nelly Graciela, Jorge Panzera, Luis Efrain Martínez Platero, and Asdrubal Pereira Cabrera; negotiations suspended.
August 9	*Dan Mitrione executed by Tupamaros.*
August 11	General Legislative Assembly votes to suspend personal guarantees for 20 days.
	Andrés Cultelli Chiribao caught by police.
August 14	Alejandro Otero (ex-police commissioner) states in Brazilian daily *Journal do Brasil* that Dan Mitrione "had used violent methods of repression and torture."
October 7	Deputy Ariel Collazo and Senator Zelmar Michelini read, in their respective chambers, an MLN document condemning the government; Tupamaros had demanded publication of same as condition for release of Claude Fly.
October 9	Tupamaro prisoners in Punta Carretas begin hunger strike to protest prison conditions.
October 29	Roberto Ron and Carlos Andrés Lopez killed in explosion at Carrasco Bowling Club.
October	Juan Carlos Larrosa shot and killed by police.
November 12	Tupamaros raid Banco de la Republica; $7,000,000 in jewels and $48,000 seized; action directed from inside by Daniel Ginovart.
December 4	Police claim to have searched 7,168 homes in counterinsurgency raids since beginning of year.

1971

January	*MLN announces support for Broad Front coalition in forthcoming elections.*
January 1	Government ends ban on use of the word "Tupamaros" in media.
January 6	MLN celebrates Day of the Kings by distributing toys and 1,000 litres of milk in Montevideo slums.
	MLN unit holds meeting in wrought-iron shop and reads manifesto; similar actions used over last two months.
January 8	*British Ambassador Geoffrey Jackson abducted.*
January 9	Government refuses to negotiate with MLN over Jackson's release.
January 10	"Armando Leses" Death Squadron bombs residence of ex-Deputy Arturo Dubra, the father of two Tupamaros and a Tupamaro defense attorney.
January 12	Personal liberties suspended for 40 days; extensive police-military search, house by house, of a number of Montevideo zones, for people's prison.
	Maria Teresa Labrocca Rabellino caught; police claim she masterminded attacks on Carrasco and San Rafael Casinos.
January 18	Police sergeant wounded; police captain's house raided by MLN; Lucia Topolanski captured.
January 27	Operation Fan begins, an attempt to search all homes in Montevideo for Geoffrey Jackson.
February 1	Jessie Arlette Macchi Torres caught.
February 6	Extensive search of Punta Carretas Prison for possible escape tunnel.

February 9	Rain washes out tunnel leading to Punta Carretas Prison.
February 10	Tupamaros seize 4,000,000 pesos from money exchange house.
February 21	Dias Gomide released; $250,000 ransom paid.
February 26	Six buildings owned by Pacheco Areco supporters bombed.
March 2	Claude Fly released.
March 4	Police capture MLN dossiers on 500 police officials and families.
March 6	Bombs explode in political clubs supporting Pacheco Areco.
March 10	Attorney General and Public Prosecutor Guido Berro Oribe abducted.
March 11	Guerrillas seize 210 wigs from Montevideo beauty parlor.
March 12	Minister of interior announces creation of special judicial tribunal for Tupamaros.
March 15	Pacheco Areco asks Congress to suspend personal rights once more to facilitate search for people's prison, Jackson, and Berro.
March 23	Berro released by MLN.
	Juan Pablo Miyra Bergeghi (Egyptian) caught by police.
March 26	Montevideo demonstration in support of Broad Front attended by 140,000 people.
March 30	Pereira Reverbel kidnapped again.
	Fifteen Tupamaros occupy plastics factory and lecture workers; unit detected, surrounded, and captured by police.

March 31	Government mobilizes 10,000 police, army, navy, and air force troops in search for Pereira Reverbel; thousands of citizens searched; minister of interior speaks of "virtual state of war."
April 1	General strike by CNT; demands of 400,000 strikers include salary increases and rehiring of discharged employees.
April 4	Government begins census of households to locate Tupamaros; special prison on Isla de Flores, in Rio de la Plata, established for Tupamaro prisoners; these actions follow cabinet shakeup and adoption of new hard line on April 2.
April 5	Government plans to initiate system to register everyone in Montevideo.
April 6	Cabinet shakeup; soft-liners Jorge Peirano Facio (foreign minister) and Cesar Borba (defense minister) replaced.
April 7	Fifteen rifles seized from artist; Police Inspector Washington Carrerras' home firebombed; United States Marine billet in Montevideo damaged by bomb.
April 13	Industrialist Ricardo Ferres Terra kidnapped.
April 14	Government reinstates censure of MLN-related information.
April 14–15	Army lieutenant arrested for being Tupamaro; MLN cell in army uncovered.
April 18	Spectacular gunfight leads to death of one Tupamaro (Luis Correa); two captured in chase following attempted assassination of Lieutenant Carlos de los Santos of the Metropolitan Guard.
April 21	Two kidnap attempts foiled; medical supplies stolen; one policeman killed and two wounded by MLN to avenge Luis Correa.

April 22	Forty weapons stolen from gun collector; two Tupamaros captured while hijacking taxicab.
May 2	Pereira Reverbel sentenced to life imprisonment by MLN; Ferres Terra given one year.
May 10	Radio Vanguardia broadcast interrupted by MLN communiqué denouncing Metropolitan Guard.
	Twelve offices of (Pacheco Areco's) Colorado Party bombed.
May 13	Ex-Minister of Agriculture and Cattle Carlos Frick Davies kidnapped.
May 14	Kidnapping attempt on industrialist Alfredo Deambrosis fails.
May 16	Tupamaro and policeman wounded in shooting incident when police discover Tupamaro unit distributing leaflets and propagandizing in movie theater.
May 19	Bomb damages residence of ex-Foreign Minister Jorge Peirano Facio.
	Four Tupamaros destroy movie projector, equipment, and copy of movie *Che*.
May 22	Government offers $50,000 reward for information on location of people's prison.
May 23	Maria Elena Topolanski captured.
May 27	Juan Almiratti Nieto escapes in transit to court from Punta Carretas Prison.
May 29–30	Violent clashes between rightist and leftist high school students in Montevideo.
June 3	Cabinet shakeup; retired General Danilo Sena appointed minister of interior.

	Attempted assassination of the chief of the Metropolitan Guard.
June 5	Bombing attacks by Tupamaros, including an assault on an auto carrying Rear Admiral Hispano Perez Fontana.
June 9	Home of Juan Almiratti's lawyer bombed by rightists.
June 10	Strike by 400,000 CNT workers to protest government's social and economic policies; industry, commerce, banks, transportation, media, universities, and high schools close down for 24 hours.
June 23	Attorney Alfredo Camban kidnapped and held two days for questioning by MLN.
July 10	Daniel Camilo Ginovart Tonelli arrested.
July 11	Homes of four police officials occupied by MLN.
July 12	Argentine industrialist Jorge Berembau kidnapped.
	MLN column (20 guerrillas; 3 bases) captured.
July 14	MLN rejects $1,000,000 ransom for Pereira Reverbel.
	State of siege cancelled by Parliament.
July 15	State of siege reimposed by Pacheco Areco.
	Bank of the Republic in Tacuarembo robbed; 330,000 pesos seized.
July 17	Raúl Bidegain Greissing escapes Punta Carretas Prison by exchanging places with his brother during a visit.
July 22	Ten bombings in Montevideo; MLN declares war on government and imperialists supporting it.

	Rightists launch bombing campaign with leaflets signed "Dan" (Mitrione).
July 23	MLN denounces plot to kill General Liber Seregni, presidential candidate of the Broad Front; MLN lists 43 rightist actions and warns it will match them "death for death."
July 27	Metropolitan Guard officer escapes MLN attack.
July 28	Radio Colonia attacked; radio's transmitters had allegedly been taken from MLN leaders in prison.
	Tupamaros demand 100,000,000 pesos be given to three textile unions for release of Jorge Berembau.
July 30	*Thirty-eight Tupamaros escape from Women's Prison.*
July 31	Oscar Burgueno Tupamaro-Hunting Command tortures and kills Manuel Ramos Filipini in its first action.
August 17	Attorney Carlos Maeso held by MLN for three days.
August 18	Industrialist Luis Fernandez Llado kidnapped.
September 1	Student Julio Cesar Sposito killed by police in demonstration.
September 5	Leftist students riot in university district during afternoon and evening.
September 6	*One hundred six Tupamaros, including Sendic, Maneras Lluveras, Marenales Saenz, Martínez Platero, and Amodio Perez, escape Punta Carretas Prison.*
September 9	Geoffrey Jackson released by MLN.

October 8	Two light aircraft skyjacked to distribute leaflets commemorating Pando action and Che Guevara's death; one action team captured.
October 22	Pereura Gonzalez (editor of rightist paper *El Día*) kidnapped by OPR-33; released 2 weeks later.
November 28	National elections; conservative Colorado candidate Juan María Bordaberry wins presidency.
December 5	General Liber Seregni, 55-year-old candidate of the Broad Front, duels General Pedro Ribas, 70-year-old candidate of Colorado Reformist Movement; Ribas had insulted Seregni, and a military court decided the solution.
December 19	Tupamaro command seizes 20 radios and transmitters from taxi company.
	Casino at Parque Hotel assaulted; $68,000 taken.
	CUTSA (Uruguayan Transport Company) occupied; MLN seizes 10,000,000 pesos.
	Police capture Héctor Alfredo Romero, eighteenth of Punta Carretas escapees recaptured.
December 22	Uruguayan Golf Club (located near Punta Carretas Prison) firebombed by December 22 group, a splinter from MLN; 60,000,000 pesos damage.
December 30	*Paysandú proclamation; Tupamaros Leandro Gomez column announces end of election truce and occupies facilities in city of Paysandú (airport, radio station, quarry, police station); other actions in northwestern region of country follow; first column level action.*
1972	
January 28	Ricardo Ferres Terra freed by MLN after nine month's captivity.

February 10	Police Chief José Pedro Macchi wounded by MLN.
February 12	Homero Farina (editor of *Acción*) kidnapped.
February 13	Assault on town of Socci, 60 kilometers from Montevideo.
February 21	Nineteen Tupamaros captured and arms cache discovered in Mercedes.
February 24	Nelson Bardesino, photographer and death squadron agent, kidnapped by MLN.
	Héctor Amodio Perez arrested in Montevideo and found to be carrying plans to the house of the president-elect.
March 1	Juan María Bordaberry takes office as president.
	Legislative Assembly votes to end state of siege.
March 3	MLN safe house uncovered in a cave in Espinillos, near Minas; Ruben Héctor Garcia Bianchimaro and eight others arrested.
March 19	General strike by CNT (National Workers Union) to protest government monetary policy.
March 26	Massive Broad Front demonstration in Montevideo.
April 12	Fifteen Tupamaros and several criminals escape Punta Carretas Prison, including Efrain Martínez Platero, Héctor Amodio Perez, Alberto Candan Grajales, Tabre Rivero Cedres, and Antonio Mas Mas.
April 13	One-day general strike in Montevideo by CNT.
April 14	*Tupamaros execute four persons associated with death squadron: Deputy Commissioner Delega and his secretary Alberto Leites, Navy Captain*

Ernesto Motto Benvenuto, and Armando Acosta y Lara.

Police raid in Malvín leads to deaths of Jorge Alberto Candan Grajales and Tabre Rivero Cedres; Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, Carlos Campora, and six others captured; another police action leads to deaths of several other Tupamaros and the arrest of several hundred, including Juan Almiratti Nieto; death toll of eight Tupamaros total.

April 15 — "State of internal war" proclaimed.

Senator Enrique Erro reads four documents from testimony of Nelson Bardesio into Senate record; Bardesio's revelations to MLN detail official support for death squadrons.

April 16 — Twenty attacks by right-wingers and death squads reported.

April 17 — *Seven members of Paso Molino branch of Communist Party shot to death by police during alleged search of Sectional No. 20 for Tupamaros; one communist later dies from wounds.*

April 18 — CNT general strike to protest deaths of communists and increased repression.

April 24 — Héctor Gutierrez Ruiz (president of Chamber of Deputies) kidnapped by MLN for one-day discussions with Nelson Bardesio on the subject of death squads.

José Alberto López Mercao and one other Tupamaro arrested in Treinta y Tres Department.

Seven Tupamaros arrested in Dolores near Espinillo forest; continued MLN activity reported in this area.

May 3	Nestor Peralta Larrosa and seven other Tupamaros captured in Flores Department.
May 11	Sergio Molaquero, son of an industrialist, abducted.
May 18	Four soldiers gunned down by MLN while guarding home of army commander-in-chief.
May 19	Mauricio Rosencoff arrested.
May 21	Field hospital discovered beneath ESTESU, Inc. (Technical Soil Studies, Inc.); operating room, X-ray machine, and vast quantities of medicine captured.
May 22	Ismael Bassini Campiglia, Conrado Fernandez Cabeles, and seven others arrested in raid on Spartacus ranch.
May 27	People's prison discovered and raided in Montevideo; Pereira Reverbel and Frick Davies freed; six Tupamaros captured.
June 4	Thirty-four Tupamaros captured in Durazno.
June 23	Joint Forces announce 16 arrests in Tacuarembo Department.
June 25	Seventeen Tupamaros captured in Durazno.
July 5	Joint Forces announce 30 arrests in Treinta y Tres Department.
July 7	Fernando Alberto Secco Aparacio, wealthy rancher and land owner, arrested for MLN connections.
July 15	Government announces 600–700 Tupamaros and supporters captured, 100 killed, and 70 safe houses uncovered since April 15, 1972.
July 25	*Colonel Artigas Alvarez (chief of Civil Defense force and brother of commander-in-chief of Joint*

Forces) assassinated, ending a period of truce and negotiations.

August 19 — Twelve Tupamaros arrested in Montevideo, including Lucia Topolanski Saavedra de Martinez Platero and Alberto Mujica Cordano.

September 1 — Raúl Sendic wounded and captured in Montevideo along with Xenia Itte Gonzalez and Jorge Bernardo Ramada Piendibeni.

October 5 — Seven December 22 Group members taken; according to police, the group is destroyed.

October 27 — Senator Jorge Batlle y Ordoñez arrested for insult to military; held for several days.

November 10 — Army post outside Montevideo assaulted.

November 24 — Abortive action against Radio Rural.

December 5 — Nineteen Tupamaros arrested.

December 7 — Hugo Rodolfo Castro Spino dies in custody of police; death called "suicide" by police.

Socialist Party's 37th Congress bombed.

December 12 — Ten CAT (Committee of Tupamaro Support) members arrested.

1973

January 18 — Strike by 60,000 public employees.

January 23 — MLN unit takes weapons from home of Joint Forces member; first action in several months.

February 8 — Army and air force commanders issue statement answering charges by Senator Vasconcellos and sharply attacking him; executive branch considers disciplinary action; military rebellion starts, aimed at removing Minister of Defense Frances.

February 9	Navy supports President Bordaberry against army and air force challenge; censorship of news enforced; sporadic fighting within military cabinet.
February 11	Negotiations lead to truce both between military and president and within military; the commander-in-chief of the navy, Admiral Juan J. Zorrilla, resigns.
February 17	Joint Forces announce capture of eight Tupamaros involved in the assassination of Colonel Artigas Alvarez.
February 23	COSENA (National Security Council) established.
February 24	Four Tupamaros escape Punta Carretas Prison, including Gabino Falero and Asudrubal Pereyra Cabrera.
February 26	Aborted attempt to kidnap ex-Minister of Interior Alejandro Rovira: one guard killed, one wounded, one Tupamaro wounded and captured.
March 29	CNT general strike attempts to topple Bordaberry.
April 24	Military initiates action against Senator Erro for collaboration with MLN.
May 7	Héctor Amodio Perez testifies for military against Erro.
May 14	Three thousand troops brought to Montevideo from interior.
	General William Rosson (commander of U.S. Southern Command in Panama) arrives in Montevideo.

June 18	Ernest Siracusa becomes U.S. ambassador to Uruguay.
June 20	Student demonstration; 230 arrested.
	Nine guards at Punta Carretas Prison indicted and dismissed for role in 1971 escape.
June 21	Chamber of Deputies declines impeachment of Enrique Erro.
June 25	Juan José Carozo and six other members of PCR arrested in Paysandú.
June 27	*Coup d'etat; Bordaberry closes Congress, abolishes Municipal Councils, and adopts military-civilian council of state as executive authority; arrest of opposition senators ordered.*
	CNT calls for revolutionary general strike to answer coup; economy soon paralyzed; military begins negotiations with CNT.
June 29	Strike continues as CNT-military negotiations fail.
June 30	CNT proscribed; 100 arrests at headquarters of bank employees association.
July 4	Two thousand women demonstrators dispersed by tear gas and water.
	Right to strike lifted.
July 6	Two thousand students demonstrate; Ramón Bardier (PS militant) shot to death by police in street fight.
	Agreement signed with Brazilian oil monopoly for short-term oil loans to conpensate for refineries shut down by strikers.
July 8	Student Walter Medina shot to death by police while putting up posters.

July 9	Fifteen thousand demonstrators clash with police; six shot and 100 arrested.
	Reports circulate that 600 persons are held in Cilindrom stadium for lack of other prison facilities.
July 16	Classes at university resume; popular resistance wanes.
July 20	Arrests announced of 25 PCR members in Soriano Department.
July 24	New labor law enacted: no more politics or political strikes; right to strike only on appoval of the government.

Thirty Questions to a Tupamaro

This interview gives the first systematic definition of the Tupamaros' political position. It was circulated internally in late 1967 and first made public in the Chilean journal *Punto Final* in mid-1968.

1. What has been the fundamental principle on which you have based the activity of your organization until now?

The principle that revolutionary action in itself, the very act of arming oneself, preparing, equipping, and pursuing activities that violate bourgeois legality, generates revolutionary consciousness, organization, and conditions.

2. What is the fundamental difference between your organization and other organizations of the left?

The majority of the latter seem to place their faith in making declarations and issuing theoretical statements about revolution in order to prepare militants and revolutionary conditions; they do not realize that fundamentally it is revolutionary action which precipitates revolutionary situations.

3. Could you give me any historical example illustrating the principle that revolutionary action generates revolutionary consciousness, organization, and conditions?

Cuba is an example. In place of the long process of forming a Party of the masses, a guerrilla *foco* of a dozen men was installed, and this deed generated revolutionary consciousness, organization, and conditions. Given the revolutionary fait accompli, authentic revolutionaries saw themselves as obliged to follow in its path.

4. Do you mean to say that once revolutionary action is launched the famous unity of the left can develop in the struggle?

Yes, the forces calling themselves revolutionary will find themselves obliged to choose between support or disappearance. In Cuba, the Popular Socialist Party[1] opted to support the struggle, which it had

Revolución y Cultura (Havana, Cuba), no. 21 (December 1970), pp. 22–27. Translation by the authors.

[1] The Moscow-line Communist Party.

prevent the ERP from taking Esso executive Victor Samuelson. During 1973, there were over 170 business kidnappings, leading to an exodus of 60 percent of all foreign businessmen.[12] On January 19, 1974, the ERP attacked the Azul garrison, killing one sentry, a colonel and his wife, and abducting another colonel, while losing two guerrillas. Stiffened repression then led to the resignation of eight leftist deputies and their expulsion from the movement. These events may indicate a general regrouping of left Peronist and guerrilla organizations outside the boundaries of official Peronism, as witnessed by the October 1973 merger of the Montoneros and the FAP.

12 *Time,* 14 January 1974, p. 25.

Chronology

June 4, 1943	GOU military coup, led by General Pedro Ramírez and including Colonel Juan Perón, seizes power; Perón serves as minister of war, minister of labor, and then vice president.
October 17, 1945	Colonel Juan Perón, temporarily jailed by GOU officers, is brought to power by a massive demonstration of *descamisados* in Buenos Aires.
1946–1951	First Five Year Plan: period of economic prosperity and nationalism; expropriation of railroads, urban transport, light and power utilities, telephones; minimum wages, 40-hour week, paid holidays and vacations for workers; IAPI created to channel agricultural profits into industrial sector.
1952–1955	Second Five Year Plan: period of declining economic prosperity, beginning of denationalization (e.g., Standard Oil and Armour and Co. granted concessions); decrease in agricultural production, wage stabilization, price readjustments; rising Church opposition.
1955	
September 19	Perón overthrown by military; General Eduardo Lonardi appointed provisional president.
November 13	General Pedro Aramburu assumes presidency.
November 14–17	Aramburu crushes revolutionary general strike by CGT (General Workers Confederation); unions promptly de-Peronized.
June 9, 1956	Peronist military revolt led by General Juan José Valle suppressed; Valle and 26 others executed.

May 1, 1958 — Arturo Frondizi, elected president by UCRI (Intransigent Radical Civic Union) with Peronist backing, assumes office.

December 1959 — Uturunco guerrilla movement suppressed in Tucumán.

1962

March — Frondizi allows Peronists to enter candidates in provincial elections; Peronists win in nine provinces; military forces Frondizi to "intervene" in five provinces to nullify Peronist victories.

March 30 — Military coup by *colorado* faction ousts Frondizi and installs José M. Guido as civilian figurehead.

August 23 — Felipe Vallese, militant Peronist Union leader kidnapped and executed by unknown group.

September — Military infighting between *azul* and *colorado* factions; *azules* triumph.

1963

April 3–6 — *Colorado* naval revolt crushed.

October 12 — Arturo Illia, president elect, takes office.

October 23 — Tacuara guerrillas, led by José ("Joe") Baxter, assault Policlinico Bancario, Buenos Aires; 12,000,000 pesos expropriated.

1964

March 4 — EGP, led by Jorge Masetti, defeated in mountains of Oran, Salta Province.

1966

June 28 — *Azul* military coup, led by General Juan Onganía deposes Illia; Onganía dissolves Congress,

	disbands political parties, packs Supreme Court, suppresses unions.
December 14	General strike: 80 percent of transportation, industry and commerce shut down.
1967	
January 1	Argentine citizen Silvio Halperín Burnstein arrested in Montevideo, Uruguay, carrying a pistol, 100,000 pesos, and incriminating letters from Argentine leftists addressed to their Uruguayan counterparts.
March 1	CGT "Plan de Acción" general strike begins; Onganía decrees six major unions illegal and freezes their accounts; strike fizzles.
	Police arrest two militants with Castroite literature and intelligence data in northern Santa Fe Province; the two are allegedly linked to a guerrilla training camp at Fortún Olmos, Santa Fe Province.
March 6	Guerrilla training camp at Fortún Olmos investigated by authorities; 100 students had allegedly received guerrilla training at the camp between November–December 1966.
May 8	Chief of Argentine Rural Guard reports Bolivian ELN guerrilla *foco* retreating toward Argentine border.
May 18	Police raid on apartment of Ramón Zavala yields weapons, ammunition, 60,000,000 pesos in counterfeit bonds, checks, and banknotes, 120 Paraguayan passports; subsequent arrests net five other militants with "vast underground links in Uruguay."
June 16	Six militants arrested in Córdoba; captured documents indicate formation of "terrorist

	cells" in urban zones, particularly Córdoba and Tucumán.
July 11	Troops sent to Bolivian border to thwart possible ingress of ELN led by Che Guevara.
July 21	Newspapers note unconfirmed reports of two guerrillas armed and dressed in battle fatigues in area of Tartagal, Salta Province.
July 24	Local airport at Tartagal, Salta, temporarily converted into military base; observation planes with photographic equipment scour region for guerrillas. U.S. military advisors present.
September 20, 1968	Police force captures FAP "October 17" detachment at Taco Ralo, Tucumán; 14 guerrillas arrested, 40 arrests follow throughout the country.

1969

May	Cordobazo: *Workers rebellion begins in Córdoba; 20 killed, including student Emilio Jauregui, as military occupies the city; revolt spreads to Rosario, Tucumán, Corrientes.*
June 26	FAR bombs nine "Minimax" (Rockefeller-owned) supermarkets shortly before Governor Nelson Rockefeller arrives in Buenos Aires.
June 30	ENR unit occupies Metallurgical Workers Union facility, tries Augusto Vandor for suborning workers' interests, and dynamites the building.
	President Onganía declares state of siege.

1970

January 3	FAP command occupies Villa Piolín in Buenos Aires, disarming guard and distributing toys to children.

February 1	FAP unit occupies Junior Officer section of Campo de Mayo garrison, Buenos Aires, taking arms.
March 17	Bombing of Misereo Plaza, Buenos Aires, by ERP.
March 24	Joaquin Waldemar Sánchez, Paraguayan consul, kidnapped by FAL command.
March 29	Waldemar Sánchez released.
April 5	Attack on Campo de Mayo military garrison by FAL commandos.
April 12	Felipe Vallese unit (FAP) occupies National Maritime Headquarters in Tigres; 15 machine guns, 4 rifles, and numerous pistols seized.
April 27	ERP unit attacks police station in Rosario.
May 22	FAP seizes 602 cases of dynamite in Buenos Aires.
May 29	Ex-President Pedro Aramburu kidnapped by J. J. Valle command (Montoneros).
June 1	*General Pedro Aramburu tried by revolutionary court for 271 crimes (including execution of J. J. Valle and 26 other Peronists); executed by Montoneros.*
June 2	President Onganía reinstitutes death penalty, banned since 1886, to combat guerrillas.
June 6	Horacio Wenceslao Orue, photographer, arrested as suspect in Aramburu affair.
June 8	Onganía deposed by military coup.
June 18	General Roberto Marcello Levingston sworn in as president in aftermath of coup.
	Two million pesos taken from Banco de la Provincia de Córdoba by FAL.

July 1	Town of La Calera occupied by 25 guerrillas from Eva Perón, Uturuncos, San Martín, and May 29th Montonero commandos; bank, telephone center, post office occupied; two guerrillas captured.
July 6	Perón endorses armed revolutionary action.
July 7	Emilio Masa (Montonero) killed.
July 9	Montoneros seize 28,000,000 pesos from Banco del Interior in Laguna Larga, Córdoba.
July 11	Mario Roberto Santucho, ERP founder, wounded by police but escapes from hospital.
July 21	Suspect in Aramburu slaying killed by police in Córdoba.
July 27	Radio Rivadavia seized by Eva Perón command (FAP).
July 30	FAR guerrillas occupy town of Garin; railroad and police station occupied, telephone lines cut, and money taken from banks.
August 8	FAL distributes truckload of poultry to poor in Córdoba.
August 24–27	PRT National Congress endorses armed line; ERP formally announces strategy of revolutionary warfare.
August 27	MRA team of twenty men seizes weapons and office equipment from police station in Córdoba.
August 28	José Alonso, secretary-general of Garment Workers Union, executed by guerrillas.
September 1	Occupation of Ramos Mejia branch of Banco de Galicia y Buenos Aires by Montoneros; 13,750,000 pesos seized.
September 16	Twenty-three bombings carried out in Buenos Aires and Córdoba by FAP.

September 18	Chiquito Barrios commando (ERP) raids police station in Rosario, seizing arms and killing two policemen.
September 24	Expropriation of 510,000,000 pesos by FAL Juana Azurduy group from El Rosarino train in transit between Rosario and Buenos Aires.
September 29	FAP expropriates 14 million pesos from Banco Alemán Transatlantico in El Palomar.
September 30	FAL seizes 8,000 census forms from school in Buenos Aires.
	Bombing of Ministry of Social Welfare and Municipal Housing Commission by FAP as reprisal for evictions in Martín Guemes housing development.
October 2	ERP bombs seven public buildings in Rosario.
	ERP attacks police station in Buenos Aires.
	FAP raids Villa Guemes: two guards relieved of weapons and uniforms.
October 6	FAL seizes surgical equipment from Mayo Clinic in La Plata.
October 13	FAL rural unit occupies police post in El Timbo, Tucumán; arms and uniforms taken.
	Ricardo Masetti group (FAL) broadcasts proclamation over occupied Córdoba radio station.
October 15	October 8 unit (FAL) skyjacks airplane in Rosario and leaflets city.
October 16	Facundo Quiroga unit (FAP) distributes milk to slum dwellers in Buenos Aires.
October 21	FAR attacks Córdoba police station, destroying a number of vehicles with flamethrowers.

October 25	May 29th commando (ERP) seizes 700,000 pesos from ENTEL (State Telephone Company) offices in Córdoba.
October 28	Emilio Jauregui group (FAL) assaults three police guards at U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires; weapons and uniforms taken.
November 2	Montoneros raid Córdoba Jockey Club; 7,000,000 pesos taken.
November 9	Montonero team seizes 4,000,000 pesos from railroad station in Córdoba.
November 12	General strike as labor demands return to electoral democracy.
November 14	Oswaldo Sandoval (subcommissioner of political affairs in Buenos Aires) assassinated by FAL Alejandro Baldu commando.
November 15	MRA Maximo Mena and Felipe Vallese cells raid two Córdoba police stations, taking arms and ammunition.
	FAL executes police inspector due to testify in trial of Aramburu defendant.
November 16	ERP takes 22,000,000 pesos from Banco Comercial del Norte in Tucumán.
	May 29th unit of ERP occupies railroad station of Juarez Gelman (Córdoba Province).
November 18	Bank of Galicia in Gerli robbed of 30,000,000 pesos by FAR unit.
November 19	Montoneros take weapons and communication equipment from INTI (National Institute of Industrial Technology) guard station in Córdoba.
November 20	ERP takes 60 wigs from store in Rosario.
November 21	FAL burns three yachts docked at Punta Chica.

November 23	ERP expropriates 16,000,000 from Banco de la Nación.
November 24	ERP rescues wounded comrade from Tucumán hospital.
November 26	ERP team distributes 200,000 pesos to student groups at Tucumán "to aid in their struggles."
November 27	Homes of three U.S. military attachés in Martinez raided by FAP; documents, weapons, uniforms taken.
November 28	Comandos Descamisados occupy movie theater in La Matanza; leaflets distributed and Peronist newsreel shown.
November 30	ERP May 29th unit gives away 2,500 liters of milk in Córdoba slums.
	María Pacheco group (FAL) seizes 8,000,000 pesos in raid on French Hospital.
December 4	ERP distributes 220 cases of milk in Tucumán slums.
December 7	Meat truck in Córdoba seized by ERP; contents distributed to poor in Barrio Avallaneda.
December 14	Montoneros occupy civilian registry in Bella Vista and seize a variety of documents.
December 15	Banco Comercial de la Plata relieved of 10,000,000 pesos by FAR; two policemen killed.
	Hilda Guerrero command (ERP) occupies LW3 Radio Station in Tucumán.
December 16	Three guerrillas found guilty of kidnapping and execution of Pedro Aramburu.
	Twenty guerrillas from Felipe Vallese unit (FAP) attack Rio Lujan police station in Escobar; one policeman killed, arms seized.

December 17	Documents taken from Caseros branch of Bureau of Motor Vehicles by FAL.
December 18	Spanish Consulate in Rosario raided by FAL; 300,000 pesos taken and building set afire.
December 20	Santa Fe police station occupied by ERP Cabral unit; arms and ammunition taken.
December 22	Fiat factory in Ferreyra, Córdoba, occupied by ERP; 1,000 workers given speech.
December 25	House of General Osiris Villegas (ambassador to Brazil) bombed by Montoneros.
December 28	MRA occupies offices of *Official Bulletin* in Córdoba and seizes equipment.
December 29	Chaco Peñaloza group (Montoneros) assaults president's house in Olivos, killing a guard.
	Bank of the Province of Córdoba attacked by FAR unit; FAR militant Raquel Liliana Gelin killed in shoot-out with police in Córdoba.
December 30	Montoneros seize 5,000,000 pesos from Córdoba post office.
1971	
January 2	ERP unit distributes milk and toys in Córdoba slum.
January 3	Guerrillas seize 14,300,000 pesos from the Banco de Credito Rural in the town of Transito, Córdoba.
January 5	Tejeda Pinto command (ERP) seizes mimeograph machine and typewriters from INTA (National Institute of Agricultural Technology) office in Salta.
	Montonero unit attacks marine post at Zárate, north of Buenos Aires.

January 12	Raquel Gelin unit (CARP) seizes uniform and weapon from a policeman in Rosario.
January 13	ERP unit expropriates a milk truck; contents distributed to slum dwellers in Santa Fe.
January 15	Raquel Gelin unit (FAL) expropriates numerous documents from Office of Vital Statistics, Ituzaingo, Buenos Aires Province.
January 15	Twenty-five hundred workers occupy Fiat Concord enterprise in Ferreyra, Córdoba.
January 17	Ángel Bengochea unit of ERP attacks police station in La Plata.
	ERP unit occupies the Cascallares Dam on the Reconquista River; weapon and uniform taken from policeman; guerrillas lecture the workers.
January 19	ERP unit expropriates cattle truck in Rosario; cattle distributed in slums.
January 22	ERP expropriates meat truck in Tucumán; contents distributed to slum dwellers.
	Ten FAP commandos expropriate 6,000,000 pesos, one machine gun, and three .45-calibre pistols after occupying Banco de Galicia in Banfield; policeman who resists is killed.
	María Pacheco unit (ERP) seizes meat truck in Tucumán.
	ERP seizes uniform and weapons from policeman in Córdoba.
January 28	Raquel Gelin unit (CARP) expropriates 4,000,000 pesos from flour mill in Rosario.
January 29	H. L. Diaz unit (GEL) expropriates 1,500,000 pesos from the Isla Maciel post office.

"Loyalty" unit (Montoneros) occupies Banco de Hurlingham in Villa Bosch; 14,000,000 pesos seized; policeman who resists is wounded.

General strike in Córdoba; seven bombs explode.

January 30 — ERP unit seizes weapons and uniforms of three policemen traveling in a bus in Córdoba.

February 1 — Nestor Martins unit (GEL) seizes 303,000 pesos and documents from Ministry of Agricultural Affairs in La Plata.

February 4 — FAP guerrillas take documents from vehicle registration office in San Fernando.

Camilo Gonzalez unit (ERP) occupies police station in San Felipe, Tucumán; weapons and uniforms expropriated.

ERP unit seizes money and documents from legal library in Córdoba.

February 6 — ERP Ángel Bengochea unit occupies sanatorium in San Isidro and expropriates medicines and medical equipment.

February 8 — Adolfo Bello unit (ERP) occupies police station in La Florida, Rosario.

ERP unit takes weapons and uniform from policeman in Córdoba.

February 11 — FAL unit expropriates 2,500,000 pesos from a notary's office in La Plata.

H. A. Diaz unit (GEL) expropriates money and government bonds from post office in La Tablada.

Eva Perón unit (Montoneros) bombs police station in Santa Fe.

February 12

Che Guevara and May 29th units of ERP execute largest theft in Argentine history, expropriating 121,000,000 pesos from armored truck of Bank of Province of Córdoba, in Yocsina, Córdoba.

February 14

ERP unit expropriates 34,000,000 pesos from Banco de la Provincia de Córdoba.

February 16

Strikes at Ika-Renault factory in Córdoba.

February 24

Che Guevara and May 29th units (ERP) distribute a water pump, water tank, overalls, tools, school supplies, slippers, blankets, medicines, milk, and ice boxes, in working-class sections of Córdoba; recipients given vouchers for goods.

Felipe Vallese unit (GEL) expropriates 670,000 pesos from bus terminal in La Plata.

ERP commandos donate 50,000 pesos to medical students' center in Rosario.

February 26

FAL unit expropriates 26,000,000 pesos from central post office in La Plata.

February 27

Raquel Gelin unit (ERP) donates 100 sheets of zinc to flood victims in Alto Verde quarter of Santa Fe; another ERP unit donates orthopedic leg to pensioned worker in Rosario.

February 28

ERP unit seizes truck loaded with 300 bags of sugar; contents distributed in slums of Córdoba.

March 1

Ángel Bengochea command (ERP) seizes milk truck in La Plata; contents distributed to poor.

ERP distributes lambs in slums of Rosario.

March 4

Benjo Cruz command (FAL) expropriates 21,600,000 pesos from La Plata racetrack.

Strike by workers protesting wages and citizens protesting appointment of new governor in Córdoba; rioting ensues, 300 arrested.

March 9

ERP unit seizes milk truck in Tucumán and distributes contents.

Oscar Corvalen command (ERP) occupies Tucumán Statistical Office; documents and equipment expropriated.

March 12

SITRAC and SITRAM Unions begin strike against Fiat in Córdoba.

March 15

Strike in Córdoba; 50 vehicles burned and a number of foreign businesses destroyed; $4,000,000 in damages estimated.

March 16

Montoneros unit occupies municipal police offices in Tucumán; documents and equipment seized.

March 18

Córdoba strike resumes and clashes with army continue; state of emergency decreed; Córdoba is declared a military zone and 3,500 troops occupy the city.

March 23

President Roberto M. Levingston deposed by a military coup; three-man junta led by General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse assumes power.

March 25

FAR command seizes documents from Vital Statistics Office in Buenos Aires.

Adolfo Bello command (ERP) seizes milk truck and distributes contents in Pueblo Nuevo, Rosario.

March 28

Felipe Vallese command (FAP) dynamites home of Pedro Gnavi, commander-in-chief of the navy.

ERP Ángel Cepeda command occupies television station in Córdoba; statement is broadcast and ERP emblem and protrait of Che Guevara are televised for one-half hour.

April 1 — Political parties legalized for first time since 1966.

April 2 — FAL unit occupies naval office in Córdoba; weapons seized from officer and office partially burned.

ERP command seizes meat truck and distributes contents in slums of Rosario.

April 3 — Ángel Cepeda unit (FAL) expropriates X-ray machine from clinic in Buenos Aires.

April 4 — FAR commandos occupy police station in Virreys, Buenos Aires Province, taking weapons and uniforms.

April 5 — Peso devalued.

ERP Emilio Jauregui command donates 16 beds and mattresses to urban migrants in Buenos Aires.

April 12 — Raquel Gelin command (MRA) expropriates 14,000,000 pesos from Banco del Interior, Córdoba.

April 13 — Eight ERP members arrested in Rosario.

April 14 — ERP Ángel Bengochea unit, in conjunction with Tupamaros, occupies home of Uruguayan naval attache; documents seized.

ERP bombs ENTEL (National Telecommunications Enterprise) building in support of striking telephone workers.

	ERP units bomb a number of police commissariats in Rosario; police club is machine-gunned; actions are a reprisal for torture of ERP prisoners.
April 18	Three ERP commandos killed by police.
April 19	ERP guerrillas attack police commissariat and place bomb at home of police commissioner in Santa Fe.
April 20	ERP units support occupation of empty bulding by fourteen poor families in Córdoba; building is christened with name of Ángel Cepeda, a youth killed by police.
April 22	Ángel Bengochea command (ERP) occupies offices of Parke-Davis Laboratory in La Plata and expropriates equipment.
April 27	Luis Blanco and Adolfo Bello units (ERP) place eleven bombs in United States business offices in Rosario.
	ERP unit of fourteen guerrillas occupies Nelson meatpacking plant in Santa Fe; earlier, the unit had occupied the home of the president of the corporation, expropriating a number of weapons.
April 28	ERP commandos seize a milk truck in Tucumán; contents distributed to poor.
April 30	Evita and Che Guevara units (FAR), some 30 guerrillas, expropriate 200 weapons from army truck; army officer killed.
May 3	Peso devalued.
	ERP bombs three foreign businesses in Buenos Aires.
May 12	Peronist General Eduardo Rafael Labanca leads abortive coup.

May 15	Buenos Aires court voids charges of statutory rape filed against Juan Perón, in absentia, in 1958.
May 19	Three ERP members arrested in Córdoba.
May 23	*Stanley Sylvester, honorary British consul and manager of Swift de la Plata packing plant in Rosario, kidnapped by ERP; Sylvester had laid off 4,000 workers in late 1970.*
May 31	Sylvester released by Luis Blanco ERP command after $50,000 in food and clothing is distributed by Swift and Company to the poor.
June 1	Montoneros Eva Perón, Fernando Luis, Abal Medina, and Carlos Gustavo Ramus commands occupy San Geronimo, town 500 kilometers north of Buenos Aires; 26 heavy arms seized.
July 7	ERP holds first revolutionary press conference.
July 15	Juan Pablo Maestre, marketing executive for Gillette and FAR leader, killed by death squad.
September 7	*Cristianismo y Revolución,* important leftist magazine, closed down by government.
September 27	Forty-eight Third World priests beaten and arrested at demonstration against repression in Rosario.
October 8	Attempted military coup against Lanusse by Peronist faction; Colonels Florentine Diaz Losa and Carlos Alejandro Garcia object to Lanusse's overtures to Perón and the possibility of a presidential election.
November 8	Police raid alleged FAR-ERP safe house in Córdoba and seize office equipment, masks, weapons.

November 24 — Army and police under General Juan Carlos Sánchez search 207 square block area for urban guerrillas in Córdoba.

December 13 — FAR commandos dynamite police station outside Buenos Aires.

1972

January 1 — Montonero unit attacks prefecture in attempted occupation of town of Zárate.

January 18 — Tortugas Country Club attacked by Montonero unit.

January 26 — Juan Pablo Maestre unit (FAR) seizes $6,000 in medical supplies from clinic in Rosario.

January 30 — CGT begins 48-hour strike in nation's major cities to demand release of political prisoners and salary increases.

March 17 — San Jorge Club (used by army officers for polo and horse racing) bombed by combined Montonero, FAR, and Descamisado guerrillas.

March 18 — Conservative leader Roberto Mario Uzal killed while resisting Montonero kidnappers.

March 21 — *Luis Pujales and Segundo Telesforo Gomez units (ERP) kidnap Oberdan Sallustro, General Manager of Fiat-Concord; freedom for jailed strikers, rehiring of workers laid off because of 1971 strike, release of 50 detained guerrillas, and publication of ERP communiqués demanded as ransom.*

March 24 — President Lanusse rejects ERP conditions for Sallustro's release and states: "I will not negotiate with common delinquents."

April 7 — General strike in Mendoza as citizens protest new electricity hike; three killed, more wounded,

and 700 jailed during four days of violence; governor resigns in protest against army brutality in strike suppression.

April 8 — Lanusse suspends application of new electricity increase.

April 10 — *General Juan Carlos Sánchez, commander of Second Army Corps, assassinated by Segundo Telesforo Gomez (ERP) and Juan Pablo Maestre (FAR) units in Rosario.*

Oberdan Sallustro executed after police discover people's prison; government had earlier prohibited payment of ransom; police jail four suspected kidnappers.

April 19 — Eduardo Coppo and Manuel Negrin, members of the ERP unit involved in the Sallustro kidnapping, caught by police in San Javier, Tucumán Province.

April 28 — ERP distributes candy and school supplies to school children in Buenos Aires.

July 26 — Commemoration of twentieth anniversary of the death of Eva Perón; twenty buildings bombed, primarily in Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and Santa Fe.

August 15 — *Twenty-five prisoners escape from Rawson Prison, Patagonia; prisoners flee to nearby Trelew Airport where one group commandeers plane to Chile while a second is captured by the military.*

Carlos Capuano Martínez, a member of Montonero unit involved in Aramburu execution, is killed in a police shoot-out.

August 22 — *Sixteen political prisoners are massacred by naval captors at Trelew; three others are seriously wounded.*

September 9	ERP seizes 500 kilograms of dynamite, detonators, and fuses from mine outside Córdoba.
November 14	Miguel Ángel Bustos, Montonero involved in the Aramburu affair, captured by police.
November 25	Juan Perón finds urban guerrilla warfare "a natural escape of oppressed peoples."
December 10	Ronald Grove, British director of Vestey Corporation, kidnapped by ERP.
December 12	Argentine security authorities claim that Mario Roberto Santucho and Enrique Haroldo Gorriaran Melo have entered the country from Chile.
December 14	Grove's employer pays $500,000 for the executive's freedom.
December 18	Tortugas Country Club, on outskirts of Buenos Aires, occupied and then razed by Montonero command.
December 26	Right-wing metalworkers leader Luis Guerrero wounded by guerrillas in attempted assassination.
December 27	Death penalty abolished.
December 28	Rear Admiral Emilio R. Berisso, intelligence officer, assassinated in reprisal for Trelew massacre by combined ERP-FAR-Montonero tactical unit.
December 29	Vincenzo Russo, ITT executive, kidnapped; released after ransom of nearly $1,000,000 is paid.
1973	
January 4	Fifty high naval officers sentenced to death by guerrilla organizations affected by the Trelew massacre (ERP, FAR, Montoneros).

January 10	FAR attacks railroad station in La Plata; money seized.
January 11	ERP unit holds up train in western Rosario.
February 7	Norman Lee, Coca-Cola executive, kidnapped by FAL.
February 16	Naum Kakabowycz, businessman, kidnapped; ransom of $1,500,000 demanded.
February 21	Norman Lee released after ransom of around $1,000,000 is paid.
February 25	Gerardo Scalmazzi, banker, kidnapped in Rosario.
March 8	ERP-22 de Agosto kidnaps Héctor Ricardo Garcia, owner of *Crónica,* a Buenos Aires newspaper.
March 30	Navy "Libertad" building in Buenos Aires bombed.
April 2	Rear Admiral Francisco Alemán, retired chief of naval intelligence, kidnapped in Buenos Aires by ERP.
	Courthouse in San Isidro attacked by FAL; 511 weapons taken.
April 2	Kodak executive Anthony de Cruz kidnapped near Buenos Aires by FALN; later released after $1,500,000 ransom is paid.
	FAL communiqué states that it is not enough to win power at the polls, that power is achieved through revolutionary warfare; need for agrarian reform, nationalization of monopolies and banks, amnesty for political prisoners is stressed.
April 3	Montoneros demand publication of information on repression by *Capital,* a Rosario newspaper.

April 4

Intelligence officer, Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren, killed while resisting kidnap by Marino Pujadas and Susana Lesgard units (Montoneros) in Córdoba.

Gerardo Scalmazzi released after $750,000 ransom paid.

April 7

Anthony de Cruz released after Kodak pays $1,500,000 ransom.

April 8

Víctor Brimicombe, British citizen and manager of Nobleza Tobacco Company, kidnapped on outskirts of Buenos Aires.

April 10

Industrialist Alberto Faena kidnapped by FAL.

Aborted assault on 141st Engineers Battalion in Santiago del Estero leads to arrest of four ERP members.

April 21

Town of Ingeniero Maschwitz, north of Buenos Aires, occupied by 60 ERP commandos in three groups; post office, railroad, and police stations attacked; communications equipment, arms, and ammunition seized.

April 25

National elections held; Héctor Cámpora, the Peronist candidate, is elected.

April 26

Major Jacobo Nasif, National Gendarmerie official, kidnapped in Córdoba by ERP.

April 29

Rodolfo Galimberti, Peronist Youth leader, removed by Perón after publicly urging creation of Peronist Youth militias.

Santiago Soldati, son of bank president, kidnapped in Buenos Aires; $1,500,000 asked for his release.

April 30

ERP executes Rear Admiral Hermes José Quijada, retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in Buenos Aires.

In response to Quijada execution, the military declares "emergency regions" in Federal Capital and Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Córdoba, Mendoza, and Tucumán.

May 18

Enrique Fridman, manager of Lanin Company, kidnapped by FAR.

May 22

David Kloosterman, Secretary General of SMTA (Union of Mechanics and Related Automotive Transport Workers) assassinated by ERP-22 de Agosto group in Buenos Aires.

Oscar Ricardo Castel, General Manager of Coca-Cola, kidnapped in Córdoba.

May 23

Aaron Beilinson, Babic Paving Company executive, kidnapped.

May 23

Ford Motor Company agrees to pay $1,000,000 to the ERP to prevent kidnapping of the president of Ford's Argentine subsidiary; the money is to be used to purchase powdered milk for children in slums, equipment for two childrens' hospitals, and 154 ambulances to be distributed in seven provinces.

May 24

FAR and Montoneros issue joint press communiqué stating loyalty to Perón and support of Cámpora; Cámpora urged to fulfill election promises and free political prisoners.

May 25

First group of political prisoners pardoned by Cámpora freed; 186 more to be released from Villa Devoto Prison, Buenos Aires, after Cámpora accedes to pressures from 60,000 protestors outside the prison.

Sheraton Hotel where United States Secretary of State William Rogers is staying is stoned by hundreds of Peronist demonstrators.

May 26 — Riot in Caseros Prison after prisoners hear of Villa Devoto release; sixteen prisoners released by presidential decree.

One hundred fifty-three prisoners freed from Rawson Prison.

May 30 — Central Security Command of *Justicialista* Movement threatens to kill ten leftists for each Peronist killed by guerrillas.

ERP, in two communiqués, calls for a "struggle for the socialist revolution," and denounces the Cámpora government for its connections with foreign monopolies and representatives of the national bourgeoisie.

Rolando Felipe Larraux, president of La Armonia Milk Enterprises, kidnapped; 20,000,000 pesos demanded for his release.

May 31 — ERP demands $500,000 for release of John Thomson, English manager of Golov Lopez y Carva textile company.

June 1 — ERP threatens action against executives of Otis Elevator Company unless $500,000 ransom is paid.

June 4 — ERP-22 de Agosto publishes two communiqués in *Crónica,* stating that it broke with parent ERP on May 21, 1973, over the issue of Cámpora's candidacy, which the 22 August faction supported.

June 5 — Supreme Justicialist Security Command in Rosario threatens to kill 21 leftists in its custody if

ERP does not release all its prisoners within two hours.

ERP frees Jacobo Nasif because of government release of political prisoners.

June 6 — Charles Lockwood, executive with Roberts Finance Corporation, kidnapped in Buenos Aires suburb.

June 7 — ERP releases Admiral Aleman after its demands, including the broadcast of an ERP communiqué, the publication of a letter, and the telecast of Aleman's interrogation, are met.

June 9 — Shoot-out between rightist and leftist Peronists at a funeral service commemorating the anniversary of the execution of J. J. Valle and 26 other Peronists; one killed, five wounded.

June 13 — Radical Civic Union leader Miguel Sullivan is kidnapped.

June 14 — Death Squadron in Córdoba announces it is collecting a file on "extremists" and in event of a police killing will execute the first extremist found.

ERP threatens reprisals if industrialist Juan Romero does not give $1,000,000 in medicine and medical equipment to hospitals; salary increase for Romero's workers is also demanded.

June 20 — Assassination attempt against General Juan Manuel Abal Medina, Secretary General of National Justicialist Movement.

Twenty killed and 200 injured in shoot-out initiated by CGT and other right-wing gunmen under orders of Perón's personal secretary Jorge Osinde, at Ezeiza Airport homecoming for Juan Perón.

June 21 — Luis Giovanelli, manager of Ford factory, mortally wounded during a kidnap attempt.

June 23 — John Thompson, president of Firestone of Argentine, kidnapped; $1,500,000 ransom demanded.

June 25 — Luis Giovanelli, manager of Ford factory in Pacheco, dies of wounds inflicted during guerrilla kidnap attempt.

June 26 — Córdoba: twelve persons kidnapped by guerrillas within a 24-hour period.

June 27 — *La Prensa* publishes an ERP communiqué which claims that Perón has defrauded the people and that there will be no truce; Osinde and Rucci of CGT blamed for Ezeiza incident.

FAP holds press conference in industrial sector of Buenos Aires; states that it will organize the working class from the bottom, "independent of bureaucrats and traitors," and that it will continue fighting against the oligarchy, torturers, and the armed forces; rejects Cámpora's demand that urban guerrillas lay down arms.

ERP unit intercepts milk truck and distributes contents to poor in Buenos Aires; leaflets left stating that the struggle for "democracy and freedom" must be intensified.

Montonero communiqué to "Public Opinion and Paramilitary Groups" says that the "time has come to give up the fighting and start the reconstruction the country needs"; ERP is warned to contact them for agreements and to surrender arms.

Peronist Armed Forces: Arms in Hand by Héctor Víctor Suarez

This interview, conducted in the heyday of FAP activity, traces the organization's evolution from rural to urban strategy. Importantly, it suggests an appreciation of the possibility of an electoral return of Perón and a redefined Peronism, at a future conjuncture to be prepared and precipitated by armed struggle.

Two men and a woman; a bitter-tasting maté which is passed around; and, outside, Buenos Aires, with the Federal Police going crazy looking for this organization, the Peronist Armed Forces (FAP), which have given a special "you-too-can-do-it" flavor to their activities. This morning they took 14 million pesos from the German Transatlantic Bank. They kidnapped the treasurer, disarmed a policeman, took the key from the administrator, and made off with the money. "It was a nice, clean operation, without a shot." They don't brag, but they are undoubtedly happy.

"Don't insist too much, because we aren't very theoretical," says one as he passes me the maté. "Neither am I." "What luck." But what can you do if it's your job to insist?

You call yourselves Peronists. What is your opinion of the Peronist movement?

We consider it to be a movement of national liberation. Starting in 1955, when power was lost, the Peronist movement in Argentina has tried to recapture it in one way or another. This explains the Resistance, the big strikes, the attempt at a coup d'etat by General Valle, and the link between trade union leaderships and the military.

And the pact with Frondizi?[1]

Yes, the pact with Frondizi was made because, under the circumstances, it offered our movement, a heterogeneous movement which had been banned, the best opportunity to engage in the electoral process and to negotiate for a program favorable to the General Confederation of Workers (CGT). It was a tactical decision taken by

Granma Weekly (Havana, Cuba), 3 January 1971, p. 4.

[1] Arturo Frondizi, the UCRI (Intransigent Radical Civic Union) presidential candidate in 1958; elected through a pact in which some 2 million Peronist votes were cast for the UCRI.