

MONTONEROS

1977 MATERIAL



Department of State

TELEGRAM

31 JAN 1977

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09/14/85  
MCT

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Coordinator  
Deputy Coordinator  
Assistant Coordinator  
Intern

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00675 272136Z  
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SY-05 OPR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-08 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 AID-05 MCT-01 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04  
SIL-01 /095 W

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R 271738Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8772  
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUENOS AIRES 0675

DEPT FOR ARA/ECA/ PANAMA FOR RSS

F.O. 11552: N/A

TAGS: ASEC, AR

SUBJECT: MONTONERD ATTACK ON GOODYEAR HOUSE

1. FRED ADEN, GOODYEAR CO. GENERAL MANAGER IN ARGENTINA, REPORTED THE FOLLOWING TO THE RSO: ON THE EVENING 25 JAN 77 IN HURLINGHAM (BUENOS AIRES SUBURB), THE MONTONEROS SPRAYED THE VACANT HOUSE OF GOODYEAR'S PRODUCTION MANAGER WITH 9 MM SUBMACHINEGUN FIRE AND DETONATED A TYPE OF PIPE BOMB. THE MONTONEROS LEFT LEAFLETS AT THE HOUSE, THE GOODYEAR PLANT, AND IN THE TOWN OF HURLINGHAM VOICING SUPPORT FOR THE WORKERS IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST THE CURRENT GOVT. THE PROPAGANDA DID NOT MENTION GOODYEAR SPECIFICALLY.

2. RSO COMMENT: THIS IS THE FIRST INCIDENT INVOLVING A MAJOR U.S. COMPANY SINCE THE SEPT.-DEC. 1976 INCIDENTS AT CHRYSLER. ADEN ADVISED THE RSO THAT THE COMPANY HAS BEEN EXPERIENCING LABOR PROBLEMS OF LATE AND FELT THE INCIDENT MAY BE CONNECTED TO THEM. POST WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR SITUATION TO SEE IF GOODYEAR HAS POSSIBLY BEEN TARGETED

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02

BUENOS 25625 272136Z

BY THE MONTONEROS,  
HILL

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OCT - 6 1976

### Montoneros Leader Escapes Police Raid

Reuter

BUENOS AIRES, Oct. 2—Mario Firmenich, leader of Argentina's Montoneros guerrilla movement, escaped from a police raid here that ended with the deaths of five of his men, sources close to the security forces said last night.

They said Firmenich slipped out of the besieged house last Wednesday shortly before a gun battle broke out between the guerrillas and members of the security forces.

An army communique said five top members of the Peronist guerrilla movement were killed and four were captured. Two security men were wounded.

Coordinator  
~~Deputy Coordinator~~  
~~Assistant Coordinator~~  
Intern -

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SEP 2 1975

**Argentine Sabotage**

**BUENOS AIRES**— Leftist guerrillas packed about 80 pounds of dynamite into a drainage ditch under an airport runway in Tucuman Thursday, then exploded it by cable from a nearby shanty as a plane load of border guards was taking off, unofficial sources said.

According to latest casualty figures, four of the 114 soldiers aboard the C-130 transport were killed and 25 were injured.

Anonymous phone calls to local reporters said the attack was the work of the Montoneros, a radical Peronist group that also took credit for an explosion that damaged a destroyer in La Plata last week.

~~Major  
Deputy Coordinator  
Staff Assistant  
Intern~~

Coordinator  
Deputy Coordinator  
Staff Assistant  
Intern

Montoneros

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Department of State

PAGE 01  
ACTION ARA-14

BUENOS 09763 221649Z

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BUENOS 09763 221649Z

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 W-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
HA-05 SY-05 MCT-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3849  
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 5158

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 9763

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT MOTHERS GROUP DISAPPEARANCES : "MONTONERO" DOCUMENT  
BECOMING INOPERATIVE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9715

1. WE SEE EVIDENCE THAT THE "MONTONERO PLOY" DESCRIBED REFTEL IS TO BE TREATED NOW BY GOA AS AN "INOPERATIVE" EXPLANATION OF THE FRENCH NUNS' DISAPPEARANCE.
2. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ON TUESDAY (12/20) THE PAPAL NUNCIO RECEIVED A FORMAL REPLY FROM THE PRESIDENTS OFFICE TO THE NUNCIO'S EARLIER INQUIRY REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE MISSING NUNS. THE HAND DELIVERED RESPONSE (WE WERE NOT TOLD WHO SIGNED ), REITERATED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERN REGARDING THE NUNS DISAPPEARANCE AND PROMISED THAT EFFORTS WERE UNDER WAY TO LOCATE THEM. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF MONTONERO INVOLVEMENT, THOUGH THE LETTER WAS DELIVERED THREE DAYS AFTER THE FIRST CORPS COMMUNIQUE.
3. THE PAPAL NUNCIO, MSGR. PIO LAGHI, CALLED ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON ON FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES. THE NUNCIO, REPORTEDLY, GEGAN HIS CONVERSATION BY STRONGLY QUESTIONING THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE "MONTONERO" LETTER WHICH MONTES DID NOT REBUT. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING THE NUNCIO STATED THAT HE COULD NOT SEND A REPORT TO ROME, ASSERTING THAT THE MONTONEROS WERE HOLDING THE NUNS FOR RANSOM, BASED ON NEWS STORIES; HE HAD TO RECEIVE AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION REGARDING THAT EVEN FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ADMIRAL MONTES DID NOT AFFIRM HIS INTENTION TO SEND A NOTE.
4. WEDNESDAY'S (12/21) ARMY CONTROLLED DAILY LA OPINION FRONT PAGED A STORY THAT MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR HARGUINDEGUY HAD TOLD THE VISITING REPRESENTATIVE (A MR GADOT) OF MR EDGARD FAURE, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH HOUSE OF DEPUTIES, THAT HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE KIDNAPPING OF THE FRENCH NUNS WOULD HAV A "HAPPY ENDING." AGAIN A HIGH OFFICIAL SEEMS TO HAVE DENIED HIMSELF AN OPPORTUNITY TO CITE MONTONERO INVOLVEMENT.
5. OTHER EMBASSY CONTACTS -- INCLUDING ESPECHE GIL AT THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTRY'S NORTH AMERICAN DESK AND RICARDO YOFRE, SENIOR CIVILIAN AT THE PRESIDENCY, HAVE SIMPLY CLAIMED UP WHEN WE RAISED THE RECENT ABDUCTIONS, RATHER THAN TAKING GOA OFF THE HOOK BY REPEATING THE FIRST CORPS' ALLEGATION.
6. MEANWHILE THE FRENCH EMBASSY HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN POINTING OUT A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN KIDNAPPED SISTER ALICIA'S LETTER AND THE MONTONERO'S DOCUMENT, BOTH OF WHICH WERE DELIVERED TO AGENCE FRANCE PRESS ON DECEMBER 17. SISTER ALICIA'S

LETTER STATES THAT SHE IS BEING HELD BY A DISSIDENT GROUP OF THE GOVERNMENT -- "UNGRUPE DISCIDANT AU GOUVERNEMENT ACTUEL". EMBASSY OFFICIALS POINT-OUT THAT THIS IS NOT A DEFINITION THAT WOULD PRECISELY FIT THE MONTONEROS. IN ADDITION, THE SYNTAX OF THE FRENCH AND THE SUBSEQUENT USE OF THE WORD "AQUI" ALONGSIDE THE FRENCH WORD "ICI" INDICATE TO FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICIALS THAT THE SISTER TRANSLATED THE LETTER INTO FRENCH FROM A SPANISH ORIGINAL.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE CONSIDERED REACTION HERE BY THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TO IGNORE THE "MONTONERO" LETTER. IF BY TACIT UNDERSTANDING THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TO REGARD THE MONTONERO LETTER AS "INOPERATIVE", IT WILL ENHANCE THE CHANCES OF LOCATING AND RELEASING OF THE DISAPPEARED NUNS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE MOTHER'S OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO.  
CASTRO

*Montoneros*

Declassified Case: 174- 82363 Date: 10-22-2013

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• Seven persons connected with David Gravier, Argentine banker who reportedly administered the finances of the Montonero terrorist group, were sentenced in Buenos Aires to prison terms ranging from four to 15 years.

*Montoneros*

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ACTION ARA-14

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 10-13 HA-05 /092 W  
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R 251227Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8723  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA. HE EMPHASIZED THAT MONTONEROS HAVE NOT AND WILL NEVER UNDERTAKE ARMED ACTIONS OUTSIDE ARGENTINA; THAT THEY HAVE NOT AND WILL NEVER HAVE CONTACTS WITH TERRORIST GROUPS IN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. THE MONTONEROS ARE NOW OFFERING A PLAN OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND ARE INVITING OPPOSITION FORCES TO JOIN IN A "FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION". ACCORDING TO SPOKESMAN, SINCE APRIL A NUMBER OF ARGENTINE POLITICIANS OF DIVERSE POLITICAL ORIENTATION HAVE JOINED MONTONEROS INCLUDING HECTOR MARTINEZ BORELLI, FORMER SECRETARY OF THE ARGENTINE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. NO ANSWER HAS AS YET BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE ARGENTINE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE MONTONEROS' INVITATION TO UNITE FORCES. RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF ARGENTINA ARE "FRATERNAL" DESPITE DIFFERENCES OVER OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF STRUGGLE. GARDNER

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ ROME 19304

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: MONTONEROS ACTIVITIES

REF: STATE 254716

*Montoneros*

Declassified Case: 100-82963 Date: 10-22-2013

1. SUMMARY: REPRESENTATIVES OF MONTONEROS HELD LLESS CONFERENCE IN ROME NOV. 22 DURING WHICH THEY SPOKE OF UTILITY OF FORTHCOMING WORLD FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP FOR THEIR CAUSE, DISCUSSED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ARGENTINA, EXPLAINED THEIR STRATEGY, DENIED CONNECTIONS WITH FOREIGN TERRORIST GROUPS, AND DENOUNCED CURRENT MILITARY REGIME IN ARGENTINA. END-SUMMARY.
2. REPRESENTATIVES OF MONTONEROS, LED BY "VICE-COMMANDER" VACA NARVAJA, HELD PRESS CONFERENCE ON OUTSKIRTS OF ROME NOV. 22. JOURNALISTS COVERING CONFERENCE WERE INVITED TO AN OFFICE IN ROME, HAD THEIR CREDENTIALS CHECKED, AND WERE TRANSFERRED BY BUS TO MORE REMOTE HALL FOR "SECURITY REASONS". IN ADDITION TO MEMBERS OF MONTONEROS "HIGH COUNCIL", SEVERAL LEFTWING ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS PARTICIPATED IN PRESS CONFERENCE. ITEMS COVERED WERE FOLLOWING:
  3. WORLD FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS: MONTONEROS SPOKESMAN DESCRIBED WORLD FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP TO BE HELD IN BUENOS AIRES IN 1978 AS OPPORTUNITY FOR OPPOSITION GROUPS BECAUSE JOURNALISTS COVERING GAMES WOULD SEE TRUE NATURE OF RULING MILITARY JUNTA. AT TIME OF SCHEDULING, MEMBERS OF JUNTA HAD EXPECTED THAT ALL OPPOSITION WOULD BE CRUSHED BY TIME GAMES TOOK PLACE. NOW, THEY ARE SEARCHING FOR PRETEXT TO CANCEL THEM AND ARE ALREADY DRAWING UP LISTS OF "UNDESIRABLE" JOURNALISTS WHO WILL BE DENIED VISAS.
  3. SITUATION IN ARGENTINA: SPOKESMAN DESCRIBED SITUATION IN ARGENTINA AS CRITICAL, CLAIMING THAT UNDER CURRENT REGIME 8,000 HAVE DIED, 5,000 DISAPPEARED AND 10,000 UNDER ARREST. INFLATION IS RUINING AT RATE OF 170 PERCENT; 2,000 SMALL ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN RUINED, AND PLANS ARE TO DISMISS HALF A MILLION WORKERS IN 1978. MONTONEROS CLAIM TO HAVE CARRIED OUT 300 "MILITARY ACTIONS" DURING FIRST HALF OF 1977. THERE HAVE BEEN STRIKES IN ALL INDUSTRIAL SECTORS INCLUDING A RAILWAY STRIKE WHICH HAS SEVERELY AFFECTED ALL TRANSPORT SERVICES, ESPECIALLY IN BUENOS AIRES. IN RESPONSE, THE JUNTA HAS TRIED TO REPRESS OPPONENTS THROUGH SHOOTINGS, ARREST, AND TORTURE. WORKERS HAVE ALLEGEDLY BEEN FIRED FOR "SUBVERSIVE STRIKES OR OTHER UNION ACTION.
  4. MONTONEROS STRATEGY: SPOKESMAN SAID THAT MONTONEROS HAVE HAD TO CARRY OUT AN ARMED STRUGGLE BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF ANY

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 272206  
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INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 MCT-01 SS-15 INR-07 SY-05  
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APPROVED BY AF/E: RPOST  
ARA/ECA: JBUMPUS  
M/CT: JEKARKASHIAN

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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NOFORN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, TZ, US, AR

SUBJECT: MONTONEROS' REQUEST TO OPEN OFFICE IN TANZANIA

1. TANZANIAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL HERE CALLED ON DESK OFFICER NOVEMBER 10 TO REPORT THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY HIS GOVERNMENT TO GET A READING ON THE ARGENTINE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT, MONTONEROS. OFFICIAL CLAIMED THAT MONTONEROS' REPS HAD CONTACTED PARTY IN DAR AND ASKED TO OPEN AN OFFICE THERE. EMBASSY OFFICIAL HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REPORT US REACTION ON POSSIBLE OPENING OF OFFICE.
2. BOTH EMBASSY HERE AND MFA IN DAR WERE UNHAPPY THAT THE PARTY HAD BEGUN CONTACTS WITH THE MONTONEROS. THEY FEAR FOR TANZANIA'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION: TANZANIA WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT BLACK LIBERATION GROUPS IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST THE MINORITY WHITE REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT TANZANIA DID NOT CARE TO BECOME A HAVEN FOR VARIOUS RADICAL TERRORIST GROUPS "AS LIBYA HAS DONE."
3. TANZANIA DESK OFFICER CONTACTED ARGENTINE DESK AND ON NOVEMBER 11 PASSED UNCLASSIFIED MATERIALS TO THE TANZANIAN EMBASSY REGARDING THE MONTONEROS. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE US CURRENTLY ENJOYS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA AND REGARDED MONTONEROS AS A RADICAL TERRORIST GROUP. EMBASSY OFFICIAL EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR OUR OPINION AND STATED THAT HE EXPECTED TANZANIA WOULD NOT PERMIT SUCH AN OFFICETO OPEN.
4. EMBASSY OFFICIAL STRESSED THAT CONTACTS WITH DEPARTMENT MUST REMAIN IN STRICT CONFIDENCE. HE ALSO STATED THAT BOTH THE EMBASSY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD DETERMINED THAT TANZANIA SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY DECISIONS WHICH MIGHT HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON ITS CURRENT EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. VANCE

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07  
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R 051548Z OCT 77  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1914  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY MADRID

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 4262

E. O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR, SW  
SUBJECT: MONTONEROS LEADER VISITS SWEDEN

REF: STOCKHOLM 4214 (NOTAL)

1. MONTONEROS GUERRILLA LEADER MARIO FIRMENICH MET WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN OLOF PALME ON OCTOBER 4 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED ON THE EVE OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN MADRID, WHERE THE ARGENTINE SITUATION WILL BE ON THE AGENDA. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, FIRMENICH ALSO HAD THE SPECIFIC GOAL OF ENLISTING SUPPORT FOR FORMER ARGENTINE PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA, WHO HAS BEEN STAYING AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES FOR ONE-AND-A-HALF YEARS AWAITING PERMISSION TO DEPART FOR MEXICO. PALME STATED THAT THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WOULD SEND TELEGRAMS TO THE UN AND THE ARGENTINE REGIME URGING RESOLUTION OF THIS CASE. HE SAID OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS WERE DOING THE SAME AND WAS OPTIMISTIC OVER CHANCES OF INFLUENCING ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER.
2. REGARDING DAGEMAR HAGELIN CASE (REFTEL), FIRMENICH SAID HE WAS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN SHE WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION, POINTING OUT THAT THOUSANDS OF ARGENTINIANS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED WERE NOT INVOLVED IN POLITICS. DISCUSSING NEXT YEAR'S PLANNED WORLD FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP IN ARGENTINA, HE STATED THE HOPE THAT GAMES WOULD BE TRANSFORMED INTO A "PLATFORM AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP," WHILE EXPRESSING HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH THOSE WHO DECIDE TO BOYCOTT THE SERIES AS A SIGN OF SOLIDARITY.
3. FIRMENICH STATED HIS ORGANIZATION DOES NOT INTEND TO CRUSH THE MILITARY REGIME IN A MIGHTY BLOW OR THROUGH CLASSIC GUERRILLA "LIBERATION" TACTICS. INSTEAD, IT INTENDS TO CONCENTRATE STRIKES ON THE REGIME AT ITS WEAK POINTS IN ORDER TO "TIRE, WEAR OUT AND SPLIT" ITS MEMBERS.  
KENNEDY-MINOTT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 224833  
ORIGIN ARA-14

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INFO OCT-01 10-13 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA: RWZIMMERMANN  
IO/HR: WHEWITT (PHONE)  
INR/RAR: JBUCHANAN (PHONE)  
M/CT: JJOHNSON (PHONE)

~~JK~~  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
USMISSION GENEVA

Montoneros

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 224833

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AR, PINT, SHUM, PINS

SUBJECT: PERONIST-MONTONERO MOVEMENT CONVERSATION WITH US

CHURCH LEADER  
REF: USUN 2979

1. DEPARTMENT APPRECIATED REFTEL INFORMATION.
2. WE DO NOT WISH TO ENCOURAGE ANY CONTACT WITH THE MONTONEROS. HOWEVER, BECAUSE IT IS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION THAT HAS OPENLY ADVOCATED, AND VERY OFTEN ENGAGED IN, ASSASSINATIONS, KIDNAPPINGS AND OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE EARLY 1970S TO FURTHER THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. VANCE

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Department of State

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5299  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
USMISSION GENEVA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2979

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: AR, PINT, SHUM, PINS  
SUBJECT: PERONIST-MONTONERO MOVEMENT CONVERSATION WITH US  
CHURCH LEADER

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF  
U.S. REPORTS TWO LONG, "INFORMAL, NON-OFFICIAL, PRIVATE"  
CONVERSATIONS, WITH KEY LEADERS OF MONTONERO PERONIST  
MOVEMENT (MRM). LEADERS CLAIM INTEREST IN OPENING  
DIALOGUE WITH USG, INSIST ON THEIR WILLINGNESS AND CAPACITY  
TO CEASE ARMED STRUGGLE ONCE FREE ELECTIONS AND OTHER  
CONDITIONS ARE MET AND PROFESS BELIEF IN MULTI-PARTY  
SYSTEM. END SUMMARY.

2. WILLIAM THOMPSON, STATED CLERK OF THE UNITED PRES-  
BYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE USA, AND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL  
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF THE U.S.A., CONTACTED MISOFF  
(AN OLD FRIEND) AND MET WITH MISOFF ON SEPTEMBER 8  
AT FORMER'S REQUEST. HE INFORMED MISOFF OF HIS IMPRESSIONS  
AND SUMMARY OF TWO MEETINGS THAT HE HAD IN GENEVA ON AUGUST  
6 AND 7 OF THIS YEAR WITH THREE LEADERS OF THE MPM:  
JUAN GELMAN, FERNANDO VACA NARVAJA, AND OSCAR RAUL  
BIDEGAIN (OFFICIAL MPM BIO SKETCHES OF THREE CONTAINED  
IN PAMPHLET POUCHED TO SCHIELE 10P SEPTEMBER 8:  
"RESISTER C'EST VINCRE: MOUVEMENT PERONISTE MONTONERO.")  
THOMPSON ASKED THAT, INsofar AS POSSIBLE, THE FACT OF  
THESE MEETINGS AND THE NAMES OF THE PARTICIPANTS  
BE PROTECTED. ALSO PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETINGS, AND  
THE KEY INTERMEDIARY, WAS THE REV. CHARLES HARPER,  
(AMCIT, PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER) AN OFFICIAL OF THE WORLD  
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

3. THERE THREE MEMBERS OF THE MPM ARE MEMBERS OF THE  
"SUPERIOR COMMAND" OF THAT PARTY, WHICH THEY CLAIM TO BE  
THE RESULT OF THE MERGER OF THE "AUTHENTIC PERONIST PARTY"  
AND THE MONTONEROS, AND WHOSE AIMS ARE SET FORTH IN THE  
PAMPHLET MENTIONED ABOVE, REFERRED TO AS THE "ROME  
DECLARATION". GELMAN AND BIDEgain ARE EXILES, AND  
EVIDENTLY NARVAJA LIVES MOST OF THE TIME CLANDESTINELY  
IN ARGENTINA. HE WAS INTRODUCED TO THOMPSON AS "SECOND  
IN COMMAND OF THE MONTONERO ARMY, AND SECRETARY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE SUPREME COMMAND." THE  
THREE CLAIMED TO BE SPEAKING INFORMALLY WITHIN THE GUIDE-  
LINES OF THE SUPREME COMMAND.

4. THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE MEETING IT APPEARS FROM  
THOMPSON'S REPORT WAS TO PROBE FOR MORE CONTACTS WITH  
THE USG, TO OFFER MPM'S VIEW OF THE PROCESS OF TRAN-  
SITION TO DEMOCRATIC RULE AND TO SUGGEST POLICIES  
AND ACTIONS TO THE USG THAT COULD PROMOTE THIS PROCESS.  
THE MPM IS NOT, ACCORDING TO THE THREE A "CLASSIC  
GUERRILLA MOVEMENT", BUT RATHER A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT  
THAT HAS RESORTED TO VIOLENCE ONLY AS A MEANS OF  
SELF-DEFENSE AND BECAUSE ALL OTHER MEANS OF POLITICAL  
ACTIVITY WERE BANNED. THE AIMS OF THE MPM ARE:  
TO GATHER TOGETHER ALL THE OPPOSITION TO MILITARY

RULE IN ARGENTINA, TO WORK FOR THE "POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY,  
ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE" OF ARGENTINA,  
AND THE PACIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE RETURN  
TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THE MPM LEADERS INSISTED  
REPEATEDLY TO THOMPSON THAT THEY FAVOR FREE ELECTIONS, THAT  
THEY RECOGNIZE THAT ALL POLITICAL PARTIES MUST BE FREE  
TO PARTICIPATE, AND THAT THEY ARE ONLY ONE (THOUGH THEY  
FEEL THEY ARE THE LARGEST) OF THE PARTIES. THEY TOLD  
THOMPSON THEY FEEL THAT THE YSG DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THEM  
THIS WAY, WHILE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS--TO WHOM THEY  
EVIDENTLY FEEL CLOSE--DO. THEY INSISTED THAT "THERE  
IS NO MILITARY SOLUTION TO ARGENTINA'S PROBLEMS; FREE  
ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY ARE THE ONLY SOLUTIONS." THEY  
DENIED WANTING TO DESTROY THE ARGENTINE ARMY, BUT SAID  
THEY HAD TRIED SEVERAL TIMES, INCLUDING THROUGH THE  
GOOD OFFICES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, TO  
DIALOGUE WITH THE ARMY, BUT HAD BEEN REBUFFED.  
IN SPITE OF THIS, THEY CLAIM THAT THERE ARE "MANY  
OFFICERS, ESPECIALLY JUNIOR OFFICERS" WHO DISAGREE  
WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES, AND MAINTAIN  
CONTACT WITH THEM.

5. THEY CRITICIZED THE IMMEDIATE PREVIOUS US AMBASSADOR  
AND AMBASSADOR BRADEN AS FAVORING A POLICY OF PATIENCE  
WITH AUTHORITARIAN RULE, AND EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECHES DURING THE CAMPAIGN AND  
SINCE THE ELECTION, AS WELL AS THE PLATFORM OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ALL SEEM TO THEM TO INDICATE A NEW  
POLICY. THE ESPECIALLY NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD  
CALLED FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN  
THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS, AND THAT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN  
POLICY SHOULD BE RELATED. IF THIS WERE SO, THEY CLAIMED,  
THE USG COULD SPEED UP THE PROCESS OF RE-DEMOCRATIZING  
ARGENTINA. BUT THEY EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT THE "OLD POLICY"  
OF "GIVING MORE TIME TO THE JUHTA" WAS REALLY COMPLETELY  
REVERSED, AND EXPRESSED AN EAGERNESS TO BE A PART OF  
SOME DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING WHAT US POLICY TOWARDS  
ARGENTINA SHOULD BE.

~~JK  
JS  
JD~~ JB

13 SEP 1977

*Montoneros*

Declassified Case: LW- 82363 Date:  
03-22-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 USUN N 02979 02 OF 02 130020Z  
ACTION ARA-14

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INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-05 MCT-01 PM-05 NSC-05  
SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03  
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5300  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
USMISSION GENEVA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2979

6. WHEN THOMPSON ASKED WHAT SPECIFICALLY US SHOULD DO, THEY REPLIED THAT US SHOULD MOVE TOWARDS ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AS WELL AS CUT-OFFS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THEY ALSO SAID THAT US NEEDS A CONSISTENT POLICY TOWARDS ALL DICTATORS, AND MENTIONED THAT THE US WAS MORE FOCUSED ON CHILE, IN THEIR OPINION, THAN ON ARGENTINA.

7. WHEN THOMPSON ASKED IF THEY WOULD CEASE GUERRILLA ACTIVITY IF THEIR CONDITIONS (SPELLED OUT IN THE AMPHLET) WERE MET, THEY RESPONDED, YES. WHEN ASKED IF THEY WERE ABLE TO ENFORCE THIS, THEY SAID YES, BUT THEY COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THE ERP, WITH WHOM THEY DO NOT YET HAVE "A TOTAL POLITICAL AGREEMENT." THEY ALSO SAID THEY DOUBTED THAT THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, AND THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE REPLACED BY THE MILITARY WITH OTHER MILITARY LEADERS BEFORE DIALOGUES COULD GET VERY FAR.

8. AS AN IMPORTANT ITEM THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE US SHOULD INCREASE PUBLIC PRESSURE FOR THE RELEASE OF FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA, WHICH THEY BELIEVE WOULD BE A GREAT STEP FORWARD TO CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH SOME SORT OF CIVILIAN-DOMINATED TRANSITION PROCESS COULD PROCEED.

9. THE THREE MPM LEADERS EMPHASIZED THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO CONTACT WITH RESPONSIBLE USG OFFICIALS, "ANY PLACE IN THE WORLD, ANY TIME," AND SAID THEY WOULD COME TO THE US IF INVITED." THEY WOULD LIKE THE FIRST MEETINGS TO BE RELATIVELY SECRET, THEY SAID.

10. THOMPSON OFFERED THE OPINION THAT THE THREE WERE SINCERE AND DEVOTED TO THEIR CAUSE. MAYBE THEY EXAGGERATE SOME TIME THEIR PARTY'S STRENGTH AND UNITY, BUT I WAS IMPRESSED WITH THEM AS MEN AND AS LEADERS". THOMPSON VOLUNTEERED TO MEET FOR A LONGER BRIEFING ON THESE CONVERSATIONS WITH OFFICIALS IN THE DEPARTMENT AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME, IF THERE IS INTEREST. (HE TRAVELS FREQUENTLY TO WASHINGTON.)

11. COMMENT: CHARLES HARPER IN GENEVA IS PROBABLY MUCH MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT ARGENTINE AFFAIRS, AND MUCH CLOSER TO THE MPM, IF FURTHER CONTACTS WITH MPM ARE DESIRED. HE IS CLOSE TO THOMPSON. END COMMENT.  
LEONARD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AUGUST 31, 1977

80D64  
8014655  
MCT Montoneros

Going Out With a Bang

A violent explosion which occurred in Buenos Aires on 25 August was caused by disillusioned Montoneros blowing up their weapons and supplies, according to the Argentine police. Leaflets found at the scene of the early morning blast stated that because the Montonero leadership had fled the country some of the remaining members had decided to abandon the struggle and destroy their armaments. The police were not able to apprehend those responsible for the explosion. [REDACTED]

FOIA(b) (3) - 50 USC 3024 (i) (1) - Intelligence Sources and Methods

MONTONEROS

1975 MATERIAL

MONTONEROS.

1976 MATERIAL

~~SECRET~~ (When Filled In)

*NOT 80064*  
*BY 14655*

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IN 133361

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CITE [Redacted]

DIST 17 DECEMBER 1976

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WARNING NOTICE-SENSITIVE  
INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [Redacted]

COUNTRY: ARGENTINA

✓ Coordinator  
Deputy Coordinator  
Assistant Coordinator  
Intern

SUBJECT: CREATION OF THE MONTONERO PARTY ON 17 OCTOBER 1976; RECENT TERRORIST INCIDENTS

[Large Redacted Block]

MONTONERO

DOCUMENT "EL MONTONERO", NUMBER 12, DATED 17 OCTOBER 1976.  
THE MONTONERO DOCUMENT STATES THAT THE "MONTONERO PARTY"

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WAS OFFICIALLY FOUNDED 17 OCTOBER 1976, PERONIST "LOYALTY DAY", AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTY IS MARIO F I R M E N I C H. THE PARTY IS TO BE THE CHANNEL FOR THE POLITICAL EXPRESSION OF THE MONTONEROS' CONCEPT OF PERONISM, AS WELL AS THE FOCAL POINT FOR THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (MLN) TO BE COMPRISED OF ALL ARGENTINE SECTORS WHICH ARE SEEKING A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. WHILE THE MONTONERO PARTY AND THE MONTONERO MOVEMENT ARE TO REPRESENT THE POLITICAL ELEMENT OF THE MONTONEROS, THE MONTONERO ARYM AND THE POPULAR MILITIAS ARE TO SERVE AS THE MONTONEROS' MILITARY ORGANIZATION. THE MONTONEROS POINT OUT THAT WHAT WAS FORMALLY KNOWN AS "PERONIST RESISTANCE" IS NOW REFERRED TO AS "MONTONERO RESISTANCE".

2. THE DOCUMENT STATES THAT ONCE THE POPULAR LIBERATION IS ACHIEVED IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONVERT THE SOCIETY IMMEDIATELY FROM A CAPITALIST SYSTEM TO SOCIALISM AS THIS WOULD RESULT IN ECONOMIC CHAOS. A TRANSITION PERIOD WILL THEREFORE BE REQUIRED, AND THE MONTONERO DOCUMENT LISTS TWENTY-SIX STEPS WHICH WILL BE TAKEN DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE G-2 IN SYNTHESIZING THE

5

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DOCUMENT ONLY MENTIONS ITEM NUMBER NINETEEN WHICH REFERS TO THE ARMED FORCES AND STATES THE FOLLOWING: "WE WILL TRANSFORM THE PRESENT ARMED FORCES INTO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PEOPLE WHICH WILL SERVE TO DEFEND THE POPULAR REVOLUTION. WE WILL ELIMINATE THE PRESENT DIFFERENCES OF SOCIAL CLASS WHICH PRESENTLY EXIST BETWEEN THE TOP MILITARY OFFICIALS, SUB-OFFICIALS AND THE TROOPS. THOSE NOW IN THE ARMED FORCES WHO ARE NOT GUILTY OF CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE OR OF TORTURE WILL BE ABLE TO SERVE WITH THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PEOPLE." THE MONTONERO DOCUMENT IS SIGNED "FIRMENICH, MENDIZABAL AND VACA NARVAJA".  COMMENT: THE LATTER TWO ARE PROBABLY HORACIO M E N D I Z A B A L AND FERNANDO V A C A N A R V A J A.)

E025x1

3.  VARIOUS TERRORIST INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE RECENTLY OCCURRED BY UNKNOWN PERPETRATORS. SOME OF THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL ARE THE FOLLOWING:

A. ON 21 NOVEMBER A BOMB WAS FOUND AT ONE OF THE SIDE ENTRANCES OF THE COLON THEATER. WHILE BEING

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DETONATED BY THE SECURITY FORCES AN INDIVIDUAL WAS INJURED.

B. ON 23 NOVEMBER THE CHIEF OF REPAIR SERVICES FOR THE NATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS ENTERPRISE (ENTEL) WAS SHOT AT BY AN UNKNOWN GROUP AND WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED.

C. ON 25 NOVEMBER TWENTY-EIGHT CENTRAL TELEPHONE CABLES WERE CUT.

D. ON 26 NOVEMBER A GROUP IN A PASSING CAR SHOT AT THE FEDERAL POLICE SUPERIOR SCHOOL.

E. ON 29 NOVEMBER A BOMB FOUND AT A FIAT AGENCY WAS DETONATED BY THE SECURITY FORCES.

F. ON 24 NOVEMBER A BOMB FOUND AT THE HOME OF A POLICE OFFICIAL WAS DETONATED BY SECURITY OFFICIALS.

G. ON 24 NOVEMBER TWO TUBES EACH CONTAINING 500 GRAMS OF GUNPOWDER WERE FOUND IN THE DOWNTOWN SHOPPING AREA.

H. ON 22 NOVEMBER A BOMB WAS DETONATED BY THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH HAD BEEN FOUND AT THE HOME OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE POSTAL SERVICE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS.



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CITE [Redacted]

DIST 11 NOVEMBER 1976

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ - WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE

INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Coordinator  
~~Deputy Coordinator~~  
~~Assistant Coordinator~~  
~~Intern~~

COUNTRY: ARGENTINA

[Redacted]

SUBJECT: OBJECTIVES OF THE MONTONEROS IN THEIR TERRORIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

EO25x1

[Large redacted area]

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MONTONEROS IN THEIR CURRENT FOURTH MILITARY CAMPAIGN WITH

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RESPECT TO THE ECONOMIC SECTOR ARE THE FOLLOWING: (1) SABOTAGE THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; (2) SABOTAGE THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY; (3) SABOTAGE THE ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS OF THE GOVERNMENT; (4) ENGAGE IN "RECOVERY" OPERATIONS TO OBTAIN WEAPONS AND SUPPLIES; (5) CARRY OUT PROPAGANDA ACTIONS DIRECTED AT THE BUSINESS/LABOR SECTOR.

2. THE MONTONEROS STATE THAT SABOTAGE IS TO CONSTITUTE THE CENTRAL ASPECT OF THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. ACCORDING TO THE MONTONEROS, SABOTAGE OPERATIONS PRESENT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO STRIKE BLOWS AT THE ENEMY AND CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY AN INSIDER IN A CALNDESTINE MANNER WITH A MINIMUM OF RISK. IN THE VIEW OF THE MONTONEROS, SABOTAGE OPERATIONS ARE ADVANTAGEOUS FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT AS THEY HELP PROVIDE PUBLIC PROOF THAT CONTRARY TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ASSERTION, THERE STILL EXISTS A VIABLE AND POTENT OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. ECONOMICALLY, SABOTAGE OPERATIONS ARE BENEFICIAL BECAUSE THEY STRIKE DIRECTLY AT THE ENEMY'S INTERESTS. MILITARILY, SABOTAGE OPERATIONS FORCE THE ENEMY TO DISPERSE THEIR TROOPS AND THUS WEAKEN THEIR POSITION. FURTHERMORE, THE MONTONEROS NOTE

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THAT AS THE COUNTERSUBVERSIVE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES THE MILITARY AND POLICE HAVE TO MAINTAIN THEIR RECRUITMENT WHICH ALLOWS THE MONTONEROS GREATER OPPORTUNITY FOR INFILTRATING THESE SECTORS.

3.  THAT WITH RESPECT

E025x1

TO THE SABOTAGE OF LARGE INDUSTRIES, THE PRINCIPAL TARGETS SHOULD BE MONOPOLISTIC ENTERPRISES WHICH HAVE BEEN DISMISSING OR SUSPENDING WORKERS WITHOUT PAYING WAGES. THE SABOTAGE ACTS THEMSELVES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT WITH PRIMARILY THREE OBJECTIVES IN MIND. (1) DESTROYING GOODS PRODUCED, SUCH AS STOCK ON HAND; (2) SLOWING DOWN OVERALL PRODUCTION; (3) CAUSING SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE FINAL STAGES OF PRODUCTION, INCLUDING RETAIL ASPECTS. THE MONTONEROS CAUTION AGAINST SABOTAGE OPERATIONS AT EARLIER PHASES OF PRODUCTION TO AVOID PUTTING PEOPLE OUT OF WORK WHO ARE EMPLOYED AT LATER PRODUCTION STAGES.

4. IN SABOTAGING THE ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE MONTONEROS STRESS THAT THE TARGETS SHOULD BE COMPUTERS, FILES, RECORDS, ETC. WHICH WILL CAUSE MATERIAL DAMAGE YET WILL NOT HARM EMPLOYEES OR ALIENATE

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THE POPULATION. "RECOVERY" OPERATIONS SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO OBTAIN A LARGE SUPPLY OF WEAPONS AND SUPPLIES AT ONE TIME, AND PROPAGANDA ACTIONS SHOULD BE RELATIVELY EASY AND LOW RISK OPERATIONS ENTAILING A MINIMUM OF TECHNICAL AND MILITARY INSTRUCTION FOR THE PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED.

5.



THE MONTONERO PLAN AGAINST ARGENTINE

MILITARY PERSONNEL.



THE PRIMARY

TARGETS ARE TO BE ACTIVE MILITARY OFFICERS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE RELATIVES, RETIRED PERSONNEL, MILITARY UNITS, MILITARY CLUBS AND MILITARY SOCIAL ACTION PROJECTS. THE OPERATIONS ARE TO INCLUDE BOTH KILLING AND HARASSMENT WITH THE LATTER INCLUDING THREATENING TELEPHONE CALLS AND LETTERS, THREATENING PACKAGES, SOME ACTUALLY WITH BOMBS, SOME WITHOUT, EXPLOSIVE DEVICES IN GIFTS OF FLOWERS, ETC. THE OVERALL OBJECTIVE IS TO PROVOKE FEAR AND CONFUSION AMONG THE MILITARY WITH LITTLE COST TO THE MONTONEROS.

E025x1

COMMENT:



THE MONTONERO

FOURTH MILITARY CAMPAIGN,



THE PRINCIPAL

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TARGETS WOULD BE THE ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES AND  
BUSINESS SECTOR

6.

COMMENT:

EO25x1

A PRINCIPAL

FEATURE OF CURRENT MONTONERO EFFORTS IS TO BRING ABOUT THE  
PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMON MAN IN TERRORIST AND DISRUPTIVE  
OPERATIONS. THE MONTONEROS STRESS THAT THESE OPERATIONS  
SHOULD BE IN ACCORD WITH WHAT IS FEASIBLE AND SECURE FOR AN  
INDIVIDUAL TO CARRY OUT, SUCH AS ACTS OF SABOTAGE AT ONE'S  
PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT, CALLING IN FALSE ALARMS TO CONFUSE AND  
DISPERSE THE SECURITY FORCES, SETTING FIRES, PLACING OBSTACLES  
IN ROADS, ENGAGING IN KILLINGS AND BOMBINGS IF POSSIBLE, ETC.  
THIS TACTIC OF INVOLVING THE PUBLIC IN TERRORISM AND  
HARASSMENT ACTIVITIES CONTRASTS WITH THE MONTONEROS' APPROACH  
BEFORE THE 24 MARCH 1976 COUP D'ETAT OF UTILIZING SPECIALLY  
TRAINED AND COMPARTMENTED MONTONERO UNITS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF TERRORIST OPERATIONS. THE PRESENT EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE  
THE AVERAGE MAN WHO, FOR EXAMPLE, MAY BE SUFFERING FROM THE

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ECONOMIC SITUATION, TO VENT HIS COMPLAINTS THROUGH AN ILLEGAL ACT OF TERRORISM OR HARASSMENT, WILL, FROM THE MONTONEROS VIEWPOINT, SERVE TO GENERATE GREATER POPULAR SUPPORT FOR AN ORGANIZED RESISTANCE MOVEMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT. IT HAS LONG BEEN THE MONTONEROS OBJECTIVE TO FIRST PROVIDE THROUGH ACTS OF TERRORISM THE ASSUMPTION OF A REPRESSIVE MILITARY REGIME WHICH, THROUGH ITS COUNTERSUBVERSIVE ACTIONS, WOULD GENERATE A POLARIZED SOCIETY FAVORING THE LEFT. THEN WITH CONTINUED PROVOCATION FROM THE RADICAL LEFT TO BOTH KEEP THE REGIME REPRESSIVE AND TO WEAKEN THE MORALE AND POTENCY OF THE SECURITY FORCES, THE MONTONEROS REASON THAT WITH TIME THE GOVERNMENT WILL BECOME SUFFICIENTLY DEBILITATED MILITARILY AND DISCREDITED POLITICALLY TO ALLOW THE MONTONEROS TO LEAD

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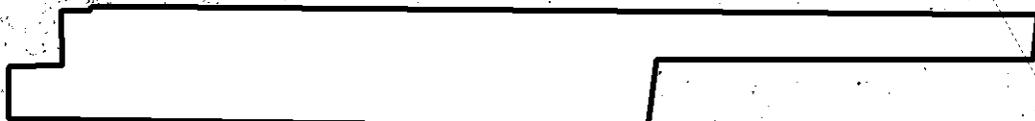
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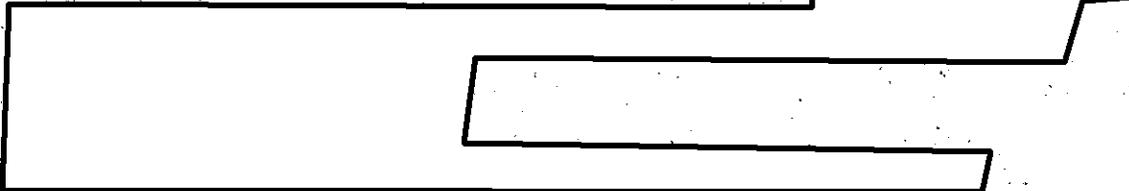
(classification)

THE LEFTIST SECTOR TO POWER. WHILE THE MONTONEROS AND RADICAL LEFT IN GENERAL ARE NOWHERE NEAR TO ACHIEVING THEIR GOAL OF TAKING CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY, IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT THE ATTAINMENT OF POWER IS THEIR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, AND THEY HAVE BEEN, AND APPARENTLY WILL CONTINUE, STADILY PURSUING THIS OBJECTIVE THROUGH POLICIES AND ACTIONS WHICH THEY CONSIDER TACTICALLY APPROPRIATE AT ANY GIVEN TIME.)



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CITE [REDACTED]

DIST 9 JANUARY 1976

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [REDACTED]

COUNTRY ARGENTINA

- Coordinator
- Deputy Coordinator
- Assistant Coordinator
- Intern - Hollander

SUBJECT CAPTURE [REDACTED] OF ROBERTO QUIETO, A TOP LEADER OF THE MONTONEROS

*d. Montenegro*

UNCODED

SUMMARY: ON 28 DECEMBER 1975 [REDACTED] OFFICIALS

CAPTURED ROBERTO QUIETO, ONE OF THE TWO TOP LEADERS OF THE MONTONEROS. WHILE THE FACT THAT QUIETO IS BEING HELD BY THE AUTHORITIES IS BEING TIGHTLY HELD, THE MONTONEROS REPORTEDLY ARE CONVINCED OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INVOLVEMENT AND ARE MAKING

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PLANS TO DEMAND QUIETO'S RELEASE. QUIETO IDENTIFIED THE LOCATION OF THE MONTONEROS MOST IMPORTANT WEAPONS CACHE WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RAIDED, CONSTITUTING THE LARGEST AMOUNT OF WEAPONS YET CONFISCATED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN ITS ANTISUBVERSIVE PROGRAM.

QUIETO [REDACTED] IS THE MONTONEROS' POLITICAL CHIEF AND [REDACTED] MARIO FIRMENICH, THE MONTONERO COMMANDER, IS CHIEF OF THE MILITARY APPARATUS AND IS HEADQUARTERED IN CORDOBA. ACCORDING TO QUIETO, THE ORGANIZATION HAS 150 MILLION DOLLARS (SIC) IN A SWISS BANK ACCOUNT AND 50 MILLION DOLLARS DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT ARGENTINA. QUIETO CLAIMED THAT AS OF THE TIME OF HIS CAPTURE THE MONTONEROS HAD NO PLANS TO ASSASSINATE OR KIDNAP ANYONE AND THAT THE MAIN EFFORT OF THE MONTONEROS IS TO PREPARE FOR THE LATE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. QUIETO SAID THAT THE MONTONEROS HAVE MEMBERS AND CONTACTS THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY. HE DOWNPLAYED THE TIES BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP), STATING THEY ARE MINOR. END SUMMARY.

1. ON 28 DECEMBER 1975 [REDACTED] OFFICIALS CAPTURED ROBERTO QUIETO, ONE OF THE TWO TOP LEADERS OF THE MONTONEROS. QUIETO WAS PICKED UP WHILE ON A BEACH IN MARTINEZ, AN EXCLUSIVE BUENOS AIRES SUBURB. WHILE THERE HAS

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[Redacted]

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BEEN PUBLIC SPECULATION THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE HOLDING QUIETO, HIS DETENTION HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED.

[Redacted]

THE MONTONEROS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS HOLDING QUIETO AND ARE MAKING PLANS TO DEMAND QUIETO'S RELEASE.

2. QUIETO HAS BEEN WELL TREATED AND HAS COOPERATED IN PROVIDING INFORMATION ON THE MONTONERO ORGANIZATION. OF SIGNIFICANCE WAS HIS IDENTIFICATION OF THE MONTONEROS' LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT ARMS CACHE LOCATED IN A WAREHOUSE IN VILLA BALLESTER, A SUBURB SLIGHTLY NORTHWEST OF BUENOS AIRES. QUIETO SAID THIS WAS ALSO WHERE THE MONTONEROS HELD JUAN AND JORGE BORN OF THE BUNGE AND BORN COMPANY WHO WERE KIDNAPPED BY THE MONTONEROS IN SEPTEMBER 1974 AND RELEASED IN JUNE 1975 FOR AN AMOUNT BELIEVED TO RANGE BETWEEN 30-60 MILLION DOLLARS.

B025x1

OFFICIALS SUBSEQUENTLY RAIDED THIS WAREHOUSE AND CONFISCATED THE FOLLOWING [Redacted]

[Redacted] 150 "HALCON" SUBMACHINE GUNS MADE IN ARGENTINA; NEW AUTOMATIC SHOTGUNS OF ITALIAN MANUFACTURE; FIVE "COLT" HEAVY

~~SECRET~~

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MACHINEGUNS; APPROXIMATELY 100 HAND GUNS, INCLUDING SOME U.S. MODELS; "FAL" RIFLES; HAND GRENADES; THREE MILLION ROUNDS OF SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION; ONE THOUSAND BARRELS FOR A TYPE OF SUBMACHINE GUN BEING MANUFACTURED BY THE MONTONEROS; A LARGE QUANTITY OF EQUIPMENT FOR CLEANING AND MAINTAINING SMALL ARMS; MONTONERO UNIFORMS AND A DETAILED FIELD MANUAL PROVIDING INSTRUCTION ON SMALL ARMS HANDLING, EXPLOSIVES AND GUERRILLA TACTICS.



3. QUIETO

IS THE MONTONEROS POLITICAL CHIEF

AND  MARIO F I R M E N I C H, THE MONTONERO COMMANDER, IS CHIEF OF THE MILITARY APPARATUS, MAINTAINING HIS HEADQUARTERS IN CORDOBA. BERNARDO M O L I N A S, ANOTHER TOP LEADER, IS IN ROSARIO AND IS IN CHARGE OF PROPAGANDA. QUIETO STATED THAT THE MONTONEROS HAVE BETWEEN 7,000-10,000 ACTIVE MEMBERS AND ABOUT 300,000 SUPPORTERS. THE ORGANIZATION MAINTAINS A SWISS BANK ACCOUNT CONTAINING 150 MILLION DOLLARS (SIC) WITH AN ADDITIONAL FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT ARGENTINA.  COMMENT:

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(classification): ~~S~~

IN 1974 THE NUMBER OF MONTONEROS WAS ESTIMATED AT 15,000 WITH  
2,500 OF THESE BEING ACTIVE COMBATANTS. CONSIDERING THAT THE  
MONTONEROS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN GROWING, THE 7-10,000 FIGURE  
CITED BY QUIETO MAY BE CORRECT FOR THE CURRENT ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP.  
THE 300,000 FIGURE IS PROBABLY MEANT TO INCLUDE THAT ELEMENT OF  
THE POPULATION WHICH IS NOT NECESSARILY ACTIVELY INVOLVED WITH THE  
MONTONEROS BUT IS SYMPATHETIC TO THE MONTONERO CAUSE.)

4. QUIETO SAID THAT AS OF THE TIME OF HIS CAPTURE THE  
MONTONEROS HAD NO PLANS TO KIDNAP OR ASSASSINATE ANYONE. HE  
STATED THAT THE MONTONEROS PRINCIPAL EFFORT IS DIRECTED TOWARD  
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AIMED AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS TO  
TAKE PLACE IN LATE 1976. IN ACCORD WITH THIS OBJECTIVE,  
QUIETO SAID THAT THE MONTONEROS ARE TRYING TO DEVELOP  
ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FROM THE LEGAL POLITICAL SECTOR, SUCH  
AS FROM JOSE ANTONIO A L L E N D E, A FREJULI SENATOR FROM  
CORDOBA. QUIETO SAID THAT ONE POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
THE MONTONEROS MIGHT SUPPORT IS OSCAR EDUARDO A L E N D E,  
PRESIDENT OF THE INTRANSIGENT PARTY; ANOTHER IS RAUL  
A L F O N S I N, OF THE CIVIC RADICAL UNION (UCR). QUIETO SAID  
THAT FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR C A M P O R A HAS ATTEMPTED VIA

UNCLASSIFIED SECTION

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(classification)

INTERMEDIARIES TO MEET WITH THE MONTONERO LEADERSHIP AND CULTIVATE MONTONERO SUPPORT FOR HIMSELF AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO QUIETO, THE MONTONEROS WANT NOTHING TO DO WITH CAMPORA. QUIETO STATED THAT IF THE MONTONERO CANDIDATE LOSES, THE MONTONEROS WILL ATTEMPT TO PROVOKE A MILITARY INTERVENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY BELIEVE WOULD RESULT IN A POLARIZATION OF THE POPULATION WITH THE PERONISTS JOINING THE MONTONEROS. QUIETO STATED THAT THE MONTONEROS DO NOT NECESSARILY WANT A MILITARY COUP D'ETAT AT THIS TIME; HOWEVER, SHOULD A COUP D'ETAT OCCUR, QUIETO SAID THAT THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF A MILITARY REGIME WOULD ALIENATE THE PEOPLE AND STRENGTHEN THE MONTONERO CAUSE.

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(classification)

5. QUIETO SAID THAT THE MONTONEROS HAVE MEMBERS AND CONTACTS THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY. HE STATED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE MONTONEROS ARE FURNISHED INFORMATION ON INTERNAL ARMY MATTERS AS A RESULT OF CLOSE CONTACT MAINTAINED WITH RETIRED GENERALS ERNESTO FEDERICO D E L L A C R O C E, FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES JOINT GENERAL STAFF; JOSE RAUL C A R C A G N O AND (FNU) T A R A T E A (PHONETIC). QUIETO STATED THAT MAJOR ROBERTO ENRIQUE B A U Z A, RECENTLY CHIEF OF SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE FOR THE PRESIDENCY WHO NOW HAS AN ASSIGNMENT IN SOUTHERN ARGENTINA, IS A MONTONERO, AND THAT COLONEL CESAR NARCISO D I A Z, ASSIGNED TO THE ARMY FIRST CORPS, IS INVOLVED WITH THE MONTONEROS. IN ADDITION, CARLOS M E N E M, GOVERNOR OF LA RIOJA PROVINCE, IS COOPERATING WITH THE MONTONEROS.

6. QUIETO SAID THAT THE TIES BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) ARE MINOR. ACCORDING TO QUIETO, THE ERP HAS DISTRIBUTED PROPAGANDA PORTRAYING A STRONGER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE ERP THAN IS ACTUALLY THE CASE IN ORDER TO BUILD THE ERP'S IMAGE, LURE RECRUITS FROM THE MONTONEROS AND CONFUSE THE AUTHORITIES. QUIETO SAID THAT THE

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MONTONEROS ARE NOT INVOLVED WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATING COUNCIL (JCR). [REDACTED] COMMENT: QUIETO MAY BE DOWNPLAYING THE MONTONEROS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ERP, BELIEVING THAT TO STRONGLY LINK THE TWO WOULD NOT ONLY FURTHER INCRIMINATE QUIETO IN TERRORIST AS OPPOSED TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, BUT ALSO DETRACT FROM THE MONTONEROS' IMAGE OF ITSELF AS A NATIONALISTIC POLITICAL ENTITY.)

B025x1

[REDACTED]

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ WARNING NOTICE-SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

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10 SEP 1975

*Coordinator*  
*Deputy Coordinator*  
*Staff Assistant*  
*Intean*

DIST 9 SEPTEMBER 1975

CITE [Redacted]

COUNTRY ARGENTINA

[Redacted]

*of Grp. Montoneros*

SUBJECT OBJECTIVES, OPERATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE MONTONEROS

E025x1

[Large Redacted Block]

SUMMARY: THE MONTONEROS' OBJECTIVES ARE TO PRECIPITATE THE DOWNFALL OF THE PRESENT ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND TO BRING ABOUT ELECTIONS IN WHICH THE MONTONEROS WOULD PARTICIPATE. THE MONTONEROS' CURRENT PRINCIPAL TARGETS ARE THE PARAMILITARY FORCES OF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, SINCE THE MONTONEROS ARE NOT PREPARED FOR DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARMY. AT THIS TIME A SPECIFIC TARGET OF THE MONTONEROS MAY BE LOCATED IN THE "GENERAL PACHECO" SECTION OF BUENOS AIRES. THEIR NEXT STAGE OF OPERATIONS, WHICH WILL BE SOMETIME AFTER LATE JANUARY OF EARLY FEBRUARY 1976, WILL

5 INCLUDE MORE INTENSIFIED ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE ARMED FORCES. MOST OF  
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2 THE FUNDS USED BY THE MONTONEROS TO CARRY OUT THEIR OPERATIONS ARE  
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OBTAINED THROUGH KIDNAPPINGS AND ROBBERIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MONTONEROS ARE TO FORCE THE PRESENT ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT OUT OF OFFICE THROUGH CONTINUOUS TERRORIST PRESSURE AND TO BRING ABOUT ELECTIONS IN WHICH THE MONTONEROS WOULD PARTICIPATE LEGALLY AS PART OF A LEFTIST FRONT. THE MONTONEROS EXPECT THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF SUCH A FRONT WOULD BE THE AUTHENTIC PERONIST PARTY (PPA), THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY, AND THE INTRANSIGENT PARTY. THE MONTONEROS EXPECT ALSO THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF SUCH A FRONT WOULD BE FORMER ARGENTINE PRESIDENT HECTOR C A M P O R A, WHO IS PRESENTLY LIVING IN MEXICO. ( [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE IDEA OF SUCH AN ELECTORAL FRONT PRESUPPOSES A GENERAL AMNESTY, AT WHICH TIME CAMPORA, ALONG WITH OTHERS NOW IN EXILE, WOULD RETURN TO ARGENTINA. THERE ARE MONTONERO MEMBERS IN MEXICO CITY WHO ARE IN CONTACT WITH CAMPORA.)

EO25x1

[REDACTED]  
(HEADQUARTERS COMMENT: 1) WHILE THE PPA HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS THE POLITICAL FRONT OF THE MONTONEROS, IT IS NOT KNOWN WHAT DEGREE OF CONTROL THEY EXERCISE OVER THE PPA.

[REDACTED]  
EFFORTS BY THE MONTONEROS TO FORM A STRONG POLITICAL

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BASE THROUGH THE PPA. 2) HECTOR CAMPORA'S EXILE FROM ARGENTINA HAS BEEN SELF-IMPOSED, AS HIS RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY BANNED BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARGENTINE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT HAVE NOT BEEN FRIENDLY TOWARD CAMPORA AND RIGHT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS WOULD POSE A THREAT TO HIS LIFE.)

2. TO BRING ABOUT THE FIRST OF THESE OBJECTIVES, THE MONTONEROS HAVE IMPLEMENTED A SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES WHEREIN TWO-QUARTERS OF THE YEAR ARE DEVOTED TO CARRYING OUT TERRORIST OPERATIONS AGAINST A SPECIFIED OVERALL TARGET. THE LARGE-SCALE ACTIVITY WHICH TOOK PLACE IN BUENOS AIRES ON 25 JULY 1975 WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN, WHICH SHOULD RUN THROUGH OCTOBER 1975. THE REMAINING TWO QUARTERS OF THE YEAR WILL BE USED FOR PLANNING, SELECTING SPECIFIC TARGETS AND ASSIGNING TEAMS AGAINST THEM, TRAINING CADRE, AND ACQUIRING WEAPONS AND MATERIAL.

3. THE CURRENT PRINCIPAL TARGETS ARE THE PARAMILITARY FORCES OF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, SINCE THE MONTONEROS ARE NOT YET PREPARED FOR DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARGENTINE ARMY. THE GROUP WILL RETALIATE, HOWEVER, WHENEVER THE ARMED FORCES BECOME INVOLVED IN REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE MONTONEROS. THE MID-AUGUST 1975 BOMBING OF AN ARGENTINE NAVY FRIGATE DOCKED IN BUENOS AIRES WAS AN EXCEPTION TO PRESENT TARGETTING. IT WAS UNDOUBTEDLY IN RETRIBUTION FOR THE DEATHS ON 22 JULY 1972 OF MONTONERO PRISONERS HELD AT TRELEW PENITENTIARY IN PATAGONIA. THE BOMBING WAS PROBABLY CARRIED OUT BY A SPECIAL GROUP KNOWN AS THE

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"BRIGADA BUZOS," WHICH IS MADE UP OF FORMER ARGENTINE NAVAL PERSONNEL AND DESERTERS. ONE MEMBER OF THIS GROUP IS C O L O M B R E S (FNU), ALIAS "BOINA VERDE," WHO CLAIMS HE AND OTHERS OF THIS GROUP RECEIVED U.S. TRAINING IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE WHILE THEY WERE ON ACTIVE DUTY IN THE ARGENTINE NAVY. COLOMBRES, WHO WAS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN THE ARGENTINE NAVAL SCHOOL UPRISING IN NOVEMBER 1972, WAS ARRESTED BY ARGENTINE POLICE IN MARCH OR APRIL 1975 AND IS STILL IN CUSTODY.

4. A SPECIFIC TARGET DURING THE CURRENT CYCLE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES MAY BE LOCATED IN THE "GENERAL PACHECO" SECTION OF BUENOS AIRES. IN JUNE 1975 A "BASIC COMBAT UNIT" (UBC) KNOWN AS "GENERAL PACHECO" OBTAINED 50 GRENADES FOR USE IN ITS AREA. THE GRENADES ARE THE TYPE TO BE USED WITH GRENADE LAUNCHERS.   COMMENT: ALTHOUGH AMERICANS PER SE ARE NOT KNOWN TO BE CURRENT PRIME TARGETS OF THE MONTONEROS, THE HOTEL CALIFORNIA, JUST OPPOSITE THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY IN THE GENERAL PACHECO SECTION, IS KNOWN BY THE MONTONEROS TO BE FREQUENTED BY AMERICANS AND WOULD BE A LOGICAL AMERICAN TARGET IN THIS AREA. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO SPECIFIC INDICATION THAT THE HOTEL IS OR WAS A TARGET.)

EO25x1

5. THE NEXT STAGE OF TERRORIST OPERATIONS, TO BEGIN AFTER THE NEXT PLANNING CYCLE WHICH SHOULD LAST FROM NOVEMBER 1975 TO LATE JANUARY - EARLY FEBRUARY 1976, WILL INCLUDE MORE SERIOUS CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE ARMED FORCES. THE MONTONEROS BELIEVE THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENT ESCALATION

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OF TENSION IN ARGENTINA BY THE FEBRUARY-APRIL 1976 "MONTONERO COMBAT SEASON" SO THAT THERE WILL BE DIRECT INTERVENTION BY THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES; THEREFORE, THE MONTONEROS NEED TO BE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH ARMORED VEHICLES. TOWARD THIS END THE MONTONEROS ARE NOW PREPARING ANTI-TANK AND ANTI-ARMORED VEHICLE DEVICES SUCH AS VIET CONG-TYPE MINES (NOT OTHERWISE DESCRIBED) AND ANTI-TANK GRENADES. THEY ALSO PLAN TO USE A SPANISH-TYPE 51MM MORTAR, BUT THEY ARE NOT YET CAPABLE OF USING IT.

[REDACTED] COMMENT: THE ARGENTINE PRESS REPORTED THAT UNIDENTIFIED TERRORISTS ATTACKED A POLICE OFFICE IN AVELLANEDA ON 4 SEPTEMBER USING BAZOOKAS OR ANTI-TANK GRENADES LAUNCHED FROM AUTOMATIC RIFLES. THE ATTACK CAUSED PROPERTY DAMAGE, BUT NO CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.)

6. MOST OF THE FUNDS USED BY THE MONTONEROS TO CARRY OUT THEIR OPERATIONS ARE OBTAINED THROUGH KIDNAPPINGS AND ROBBERIES. SOME OF THE MONIES THUS OBTAINED ARE INVESTED AND USED TO PURCHASE SHARES IN MAJOR ARGENTINE COMPANIES TO INSURE CONTINUING INCOME. OTHER INCOME IS PROVIDED THROUGH THE PURCHASE AND SALE OF REAL ESTATE. SUCH TRANSACTIONS ARE HANDLED BY LEGAL MEMBERS OF THE MONTONEROS, I.E., THOSE MEMBERS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED AS MONTONEROS BY THE AUTHORITIES. A LESS SIGNIFICANT SOURCE OF FUNDS COMES FROM MONTONERO MEMBERS THEMSELVES. THOSE WHO ARE LEGALLY EMPLOYED ARE REQUIRED TO CONTRIBUTE A PERCENTAGE OF THEIR INCOME TO THE ORGANIZATION. THE PERCENTAGE VARIES, DEPENDING UPON THE INDIVIDUAL'S FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. [REDACTED] COMMENT: SOME OF THE MONTONERO MONEY

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IS INVESTED ABROAD, BUT DETAILS ARE NOT KNOWN.)

[REDACTED]

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DIST 11 AUGUST 1975

Declassified Case: NW 52969 Date: 10-22-2013

12 AUG 1975

Coordinator  
Deputy Coordinator  
Staff Assistant  
Intern

COUNTRY ARGENTINA

[REDACTED]

SUBJECT RELEASE BY THE MONTONEROS OF CHARLES LOCKWOOD;  
OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE MONTONEROS.

[REDACTED]

2. CHARLES LOCKWOOD, A FINANCIER WHO WAS KIDNAPPED ON 31 JULY 1975 WAS QUIETLY RELEASED AFTER LOCKWOOD'S COMPANY PAID A RANSOM. COMMENT: THE AMOUNT OF THE RANSOM IS NOT KNOWN.)

[REDACTED] COMMENT: [REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

LOCKWOOD

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HAD BEEN KIDNAPPED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES (FAR), WHICH AT THE TIME OF THE KIDNAPPING WAS A FACTION OF THE MONTONEROS. THE FAR AND THE MONTONEROS HAVE SINCE SPLIT BUT THE FAR AGREED THAT THE MONTONEROS COULD KEEP ANY RANSOM COLLECTED FOR LOCKWOOD.)

3. THE MONTONEROS HAVE ALSO TAKEN CREDIT FOR THE THEFT OF OVER ONE HUNDRED "HALCON" WEAPONS AND PARTS FROM A FACTORY IN BANFIELD ON 28 JULY 1975.

[Large redacted block]

5. IN EARLY AUGUST 1975 THE MONTONEROS SENT LETTERS ADDRESSED BY NAME TO CERTAIN ARGENTINE FEDERAL POLICE COMMISSIONERS AND SUB-COMMISSIONERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE LETTERS STATED THAT IF IN THE FUTURE THE RECIPIENTS WILL ASSURE THAT ANY MONTONERO WHO IS ARRESTED FOR ANY REASON IS RELEASED IMMEDIATELY AND IS NOT

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TORTURED THEN THE MONTONEROS WILL GUARANTEE THAT THE RECIPIENTS WILL HAVE A SAFE AND TRANQUIL LIFE. THE LETTERS CONTINUE THAT IF THE RECIPIENTS CANNOT COMPLY WITH THIS REQUEST, THEN THEY SHOULD RETIRE IMMEDIATELY FROM THE POLICE SERVICE AND THEIR LIVES WILL NOT BE IN JEOPARDY. ON THE OTHER HAND, SHOULD THE POLICE OFFICIALS IGNORE EITHER OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED OPTIONS, THEN THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES. AMONG THE POLICE, THE LETTERS HAVE CAUSED BOTH EXTREME FEAR AND LAUGHTER.

6. 29 JULY 1975 WAS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP). THIS YEAR THE ERP CELEBRATED THE OCCASION BY EXPLODING FIVE BOMBS IN VARIOUS AREAS OF BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. THE BOMBS WERE NOT POWERFUL AND DID LITTLE DAMAGE. THE ERP ALSO FIRED ON A POLICE STATION SOME FIFTY KILOMETERS FROM THE CAPITAL, WOUNDING A GROUP OF POLICEMEN INSIDE. [Redacted] COMMENT: THE ERP TRADITIONALLY DOES NOT CARRY OUT SIGNIFICANT ACTS TO COMMEMORATE ITS ANNIVERSARY AND TO SECURITY OFFICIALS THIS YEAR WAS NO EXCEPTION. THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY/22 AUGUST (ERP/22 AUGUST) DOES, HOWEVER, TRADITIONALLY CARRY OUT SIGNIFICANT ACTS OF VIOLENCE IN CELEBRATION OF ITS ANNIVERSARY ON 22 AUGUST.

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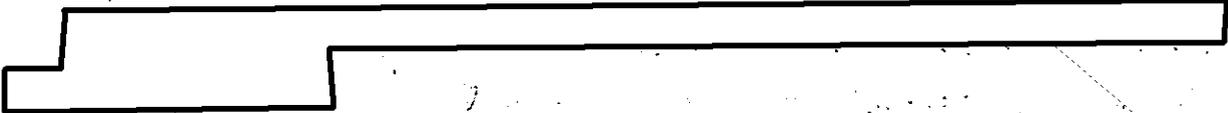
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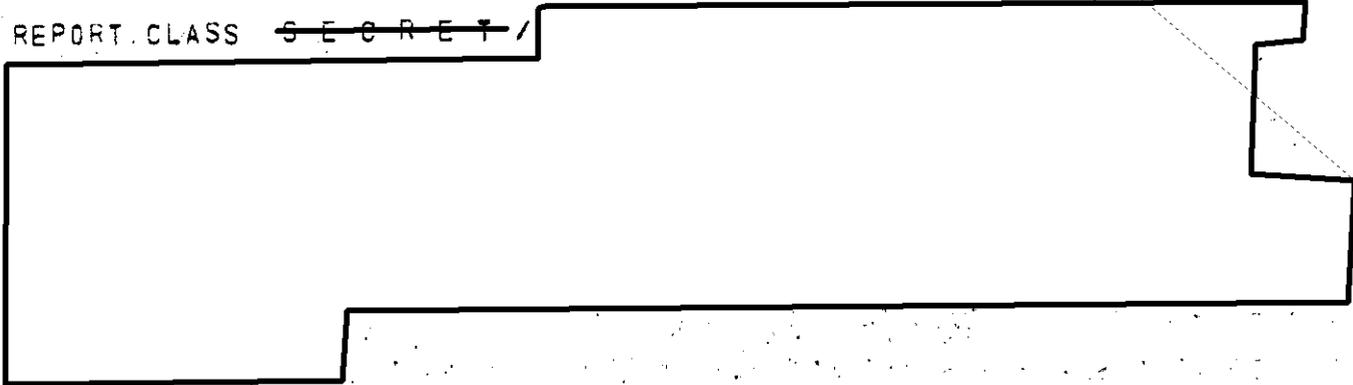
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DIST 5 APRIL 1975

7 APR 1975

Declassified Case: LW- 52969 Date: 10-22-2013

Coordinator  
Deputy Coordinator  
Staff Assistant  
Intern

COUNTRY: ARGENTINA

[REDACTED]

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF A HIGH-LEVEL MONTONERO MEMBER ON THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL CAPABILITIES OF HIS GROUP; RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE ERP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SUMMARY.

[REDACTED]

THE RCENT INCREASE IN TERRORISM BY HIS ORGANIZATION IS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE TWO BASIC OBJECTIVES: 1) TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES OF THE MONTONEROS FOR THE INEVITABLE, ALBEIT FUTURE, ARMED STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER IN ARGENTINA; AND 2) TO

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RESPOND IN KIND TO COUNTERTERROR OPERATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE MONTONEROS. [REDACTED] TERRORIST ACTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST U.S. EMBASSY PERSONNEL IN BUENOS AIRES AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S "REPRESSIVE APPARATUS" AS APPROPRIATE TO ACCOMPLISH THESE OBJECTIVES. [REDACTED] THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO JOIN WITH THE MONTONEROS IN THE LATTER ACTIVITIES, BUT THAT THE ERP IS NOW ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY CONCENTRATING ON GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN TUCUMAN PROVINCE. [REDACTED] THE GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT IS ERODING, WHILE THAT OF THE MONTONEROS IS INCREASING SUBSTANTIALLY. [REDACTED] ORGANIZATION IS SPONSORING THE AUTHENTIC PARTY IN THE MISIONES PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS AND STATED THAT THE OBJECTIVE IN THE ELECTIONS IS TO REDUCE THE GOVERNMENT'S VICTORY MARGIN TO AN EMBARRASSING LEVEL.

END SUMMARY;

EO25x1

1. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IT HAS BEEN THE MONTONEROS, NOT THE ERP, WHICH HAS CARRIED OUT THE BEST TERRORIST OPERATIONS IN ARGENTINA DURING THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. [REDACTED] THE LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVE IS TO DEVELOP THE MILITARY CAPABILITY

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OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE INEVITABLE, ALBEIT FUTURE, ARMED STRUGGLE WHICH WOULD PRECEED THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL POWER IN THE COUNTRY BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES. [REDACTED] THE MONTONERO LEADERSHIP IS NOT WORKING UNDER THE ILLUSION THAT THE ORGANIZATION NOW HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PRECIPITATE CIVIL WAR IN ARGENTINA OR EVEN TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF TERRORISM TO A POLITICALLY INTOLERABLE DEGREE, [REDACTED] THE MILITARY CAPABILITY OF THE MONTONEROS MUST NOT ONLY BE MAINTAINED BUT INCREASED, IF THE ORGANIZATION IS TO BE PREPARED FOR THE TIME WHEN CONDITIONS FOR ARMED STRUGGLE ARE PROPITIOUS.

EO25x1

2. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK [REDACTED] THE RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS BY THE MONTONEROS AGAINST POLICE UNITS AND PERSONNEL WERE PRIMARILY MOTIVATED BY THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A MILITARY CAPABILITY, RATHER THAN BASED ON PURELY REVENGE MOTIVES. HOWEVER, SINCE THE POLICE HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE EXTRALEGAL COUNTERTERROR ACTION AGAINST THE MONTONEROS, THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE POLICE ALSO INVOLVED THE RETALIATION ASPECT. [REDACTED] THE MONTONEROS ARE NO LONGER WILLING TO PERMIT THE MASSACRE OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP BY RIGHT-WING COUNTERTERROR UNITS WITHOUT AN

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APPROPRIATE RESPONSE AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE RECENT DECISION BY THE GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE A CAPTURED LEADER OF THE ARMED LIBERATION FORCES/CHE GUEVARA (FAL/CHE) IN EXCHANGE FOR A JUDGE WHO HAD BEEN ABDUCTED AS A "FUNDAMENTAL WEAKNESS" WHICH THE MONTONEROS PLAN TO EXPLOIT IN THE FUTURE.

[REDACTED] THE MONTONEROS WOULD CARRY OUT AN ABDUCTION FOR PRISONER EXCHANGE WHEN A MEDIUM OR HIGH-LEVEL MEMBER OF THE MONTONEROS IS CAPTURED. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THIS IS A REFERENCE TO THE ABDUCTION OF JUDGE HUGO ALFREDO BENEDICTO A N Z O R R E G U Y, WHO WAS RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY ON 5 MARCH 1975. THE KIDNAPPERS HAD DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF SERGIO S C H N E I D E R, A FAL/CHE LEADER, WHO WAS ALLOWED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA FOR PERU TWO DAYS BEFORE THE JUDGE WAS RELEASED.)

EO25x1

3. IN ADDITION TO ACTIONS AGAINST THE POLICE, THE MONTONERO [REDACTED] ORGANIZATION WOULD CONTINUE TO UNDERTAKE ABDUCTION/ASSASSINATION OPERATIONS AGAINST U.S. EMBASSY PERSONNEL IN ARGENTINA AS DEEMED APPROPRIATE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE ERP HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO CARRY OUT JOINT ACTIONS AGAINST EMBASSY OFFICIALS AND THE FORCES OF EXTRALEGAL REPRESSION, BUT THAT THE ERP IS NOW CONCENTRATING ITS EFFORTS

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TOTALLY ON THE GUERRILLA WARFARE STRUGGLE NOW UNDERWAY IN THE PROVINCE OF TUCUMAN. [REDACTED] THE MONTONEROS VIEW THIS ERP POLICY AS SECTARIAN, BELIEVING THAT THE STRUGGLE IN TUCUMAN, REGARDLESS OF ITS EVENTUAL OUTCOME, WILL NOT HAVE A SIGNIFICANT BEARING ON GOVERNMENT STABILITY. THUS, WHILE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE ERP REMAIN FRIENDLY, AND WHILE THE MONTONEROS HAVE GIVEN THEIR MORAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT TO THE GUERRILLAS IN TUCUMAN, THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS ERP ACTION RESPONDS TO THE REALITIES OF THE ARGENTINE POLITICAL SCENE AND THEY DO NOT INTEND TO SUPPORT THE VENTURE IN A MATERIAL WAY, SUCH AS PROVIDING PERSONNEL OR FUNDS FOR TUCUMAN. IN LINE WITH THE TOTAL COMMITMENT TO TUCUMAN, THE MONTONERO LEADER ADDED THAT THE ERP IS LIMITING ITS RECRUITMENT EFFORTS FOR THE MOST PART TO THE ACQUISITION OF NEW CADRES FOR MILITARY ACTIONS. [REDACTED] THIS WAS SHORTSIGHTED AND ULTIMATELY SELF-DEFEATING.

EO25x1

4. IN RELATION TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE MONTONEROS, THE MONTONERO [REDACTED] ORGANIZATION HAD RECENTLY HELD A NATIONAL MEETING, DURING WHICH A COMPLETE EVALUATION OF MONTONERO POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND PROGRESS WAS

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MADE. THE EVALUATION INDICATED THE THE ORGANIZATION HAD MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN BOTH LABOR AND PEASANT FIELDS SINCE 6 SEPTEMBER 1974, THE DATE WHEN THE MONTONEROS DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO GO UNDERGROUND AND BEGIN A FRONTAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. [Redacted]

THE EVALUATION CLEARLY INDICATED THE SEVERE MONTONERO LOSSES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES, BUT HE MAINTAINED THAT OVERALL SIGNIFICANT GAINS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. [Redacted] BASED ON THE INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION, A DECISION WAS MADE TO INCREASE THE NATIONAL DIRECTORATE BY FOUR INDIVIDUALS, I.E., FROM SEVEN TO 11 MEMBERS.

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5. [REDACTED] THE EVALUATION OF INCREASED MONTONERO POLITICAL STRENGTH, COUPLED WITH THE ANALYSIS THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S IMAGE IS STEADILY ERODING, HAD LED TO A DECISION BY THE MONTONEROS TO CREATE AND FINANCE THE AUTHENTIC PERONIST PARTY (PPA). THE LEADERS OF THE PPA [REDACTED] ARE PERONISTS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED AS BEING MEMBERS OF THE MONTONEROS OR THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY OF THE PERONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT; THUS, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE PPA WILL HAVE A WIDER VOTER APPEAL THAN WOULD OTHERWISE BE THE CASE. [REDACTED]

B025x1

ALL THE MONTONERO POLITICAL FORCES ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE PROVINCE OF MISIONES IN PREPARATION FOR THE 13 APRIL ELECTIONS IN THAT PROVINCE. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE MONTONEROS IN MISIONES, ACCORDING TO THE MONTONERO LEADER, IS NOT TO WIN THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, BUT TO ENSURE THAT THE GOVERNMENT FORCES DO POORLY. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE PPA WAS REQUIRED BY THE ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL TO DROP THE NAME PERONIST FROM ITS PARTY LABEL. FOR THIS REASON, IT IS RUNNING IN TH ELECTIONS AS THE AUTHENTIC PARTY. MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT THE GOVERNING FREJULI COALITION TO WIN THE MISIONES ELECTIONS, BUT THE EXTENT OF THE VICTORY MARGIN WILL BE REGARDED AS AN INDICATION OF GOVERNMENT STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS.)

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[Redacted]

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6.

[Redacted]

THERE ARE NO

DIVISIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL WITHIN THE MONTONEROS, NOR THAT THERE IS ANY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY WINGS OF THE ORGANIZATION.

[Redacted]

OCCASIONAL FRICTIONS, BUT

[Redacted] THESE WERE INEVITABLE AND GENERALLY WERE CAUSED BY A DIFFERENCE IN TACTICAL VIEWPOINTS DURING A CERTAIN PERIOD.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] FROM A STRATEGIC STANDPOINT, THE MONTONERO LEADERSHIP AND BASES WERE IN FULL ACCORD.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] DENIED THERE WAS ANY CONTACT BETWEEN LEADERS OF HIS ORGANIZATION AND MODERATES WITHIN THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT.

[Redacted]

THERE WERE GOOD

CONTACTS WITH CUBAN OFFICIALS IN ARGENTINA AND HE SPOKE ENTHUSIASTICALLY OF CUBAN REVOLUTIONARIES.

EO25x1

7.

[Redacted]

COMMENT:

[Redacted]

[Redacted] THE "RIGHTEOUSNESS" OF THE STRUGGLE IN ARGENTINA AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ULTIMATE SUCCESS.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] BOTH THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY WINGS OF HIS MOVEMENT POSSESSED SIGNIFICANT STRENGTH.)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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REPORT CLASS SECRET

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SECRET

27 July 1977

BACKGROUND ARTICLE

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How The Montoneros Struck It Rich

One of the most lucrative kidnappings of all times was staged by the Montoneros in Buenos Aires on 19 September 1974. While their abduction of the two Born brothers was, strictly speaking, an internal Argentine matter, the ransom which was paid has since then allowed the Montoneros to engage in numerous terrorist incidents which have been truly international in character.

According to information provided by leaders of the Montoneros, the planning of the operation against the Born brothers began during late 1973 or early 1974. The Montoneros decided that the firm of Bunge and Born, a multinational conglomerate, was guilty of exploiting its workers, was the "enemy" of small and medium size rural producers who were "bankrupted" by the company's monopolistic policies, and was "acting for its own benefit and profit and not in accord with the national interests of the countries where its businesses were established."

The Montoneros concluded that a kidnaping operation should be conducted against the Bunge and Born company and it should be developed as follows: (1) collection of information on the company itself and on its principal leaders; (2) surveillance of target individuals to establish weaknesses in their defenses; (3) selection of the ambush site; (4) selection of Montonero members to participate in the operation; (5) execution of the ambush itself with subsequent escape of the kidnapers; and finally, (6) announcement of a "trial" of those abducted and imposition of a "sentence" which would include a ransom payment.

The information section of the Montoneros provided the preliminary targeting information. After this initial survey and target analysis, which took several months, it was decided that Jorge Born, Jr., should be the major target of the abduction, since he was the third most important man in the firm and would be the one to direct it in the future. The two senior members of the company, Jorge Born, Sr., and Mario Hirsh, were not chosen because both were considered

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27 July 1977

too elderly. When it was observed that Jorge Born, Jr., was normally accompanied by his brother Juan, the Montoneros decided to kidnap both brothers.

The terrorists learned that the Born family lived in the Beccar section of the city, and traveled to their offices in the Federal District every day, Monday through Friday, with great regularity. Each morning a three-car caravan would leave the home, and after leaving children in one of the area's private schools, two of the cars would follow a fixed route to the Born offices. It was determined that the family had at its disposal a total of seven vehicles.

The route used by the Born family was over main streets which were normally choked with traffic and well-patrolled by police units. The kidnapers decided they would deal with this situation by blocking off a short section of the main avenue a minute before the Born vehicles arrived, detouring the Borns to a side street, and then reopening the route before police units discovered the trick. In searching for an obvious reason for a detour, the kidnapers discovered that workers were pruning trees along a section of the main avenue. The next step in this phase of the operation was the selection of the specific side street where the kidnapers could divert the Born vehicles and capture the two brothers.

Thirty Montoneros were chosen for the operation and they were divided into five teams. One team, consisting of three members, was to block the main avenue and then lift the barricade once the Born cars had turned. A nine-man team was to protect the blockaders and then move quickly to the kidnaping site and help protect that team. Two groups consisting of five men each (one dressed as a uniformed policeman) were to crash pickup trucks into the Born automobiles in a fake accident. A fifth team, with six men (including the overall operation leader), would actually kidnap the brothers. Finally, a two-man subteam would eliminate a gatekeeper on the escape route.

The attack was set for 19 September 1974. On that date, according to plan, the Born caravan was detoured onto the side street and the Montoneros' two pickup trucks collided with the Ford Falcons belonging to the Borns. The Montonero disguised as a uniformed policeman, plus six "plainclothes" Montoneros, succeeded in keeping the Borns' guards occupied,

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27 July 1977

ostensibly trying to arrest them in connection with the auto accident, while the six-man team removed the Born brothers from their car and led them to one of the waiting escape vehicles. The two Montoneros who had attacked the gatekeeper calmly walked away, leaving two smashed Ford Falcons, two pickup trucks, and five cars--with honking horns--which had been accidentally detoured onto the side street along with the Born caravan.

The Montoneros held a trial of the Born brothers and followed it with a sentencing. The sentence called for the following: a payment equivalent to \$60 million U.S. in cash to the Montoneros, with another \$1 million U.S. in goods to be distributed to specified sectors of the Argentine public; the personal involvement of the Born brothers in company/union negotiations in factories controlled by the Born family; placement of busts of Juan and Eva Peron in all Born factories; and finally, publication of leaflets throughout Argentina to let the public know that the distribution of the goods was made under pressure from the Montoneros as part of the ransom for the safe release of the Born brothers.

The ransom demands were met to the satisfaction of the Montoneros, and the Born brothers were released unharmed several months after the kidnaping. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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CITE [REDACTED]

DIST 31 MAY 1977

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ - WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE  
INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

COUNTRY: ARGENTINA

[REDACTED]

SUBJECT: INTEREST [REDACTED] IN DETERMINING

WHETHER THERE IS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE  
MONTONEROS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

[REDACTED]

1. THE GOVERNMENT'S CURRENT INVESTIGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA (PCA), A LEGAL PARTY, IS AIMED AT DETERMINING WHETHER THE PCA AND THE MONTONEROS ARE COORDINATING THEIR ACTIVITIES. AS OF LATE MAY 1977, LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE HAS

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BEEN DISCOVERED IN THIS REGARD.

2.

[Redacted]

INVESTIGATION

[Redacted] OF THE TIES [Redacted]

KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED

BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE PCA IN THE PAST. FOR EXAMPLE,

DURING THE PREVIOUS PERONIST GOVERNMENTS THERE HAD BEEN

SOME COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE ARGENTINE

LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN, A PCA FRONT, AND BETWEEN THE

PERONIST UNIVERSITY YOUTH (JUP) AND THE FEDERATION OF

COMMUNIST YOUTH (FJC), THE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS OF THE

MONTONEROS AND THE PCA, RESPECTIVELY. WHILE THE AUTHORITIES

HAVE DETERMINED THAT SOME CONTACT BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS

AND THE PCA STILL EXISTS, THEY DO NOT REGARD THE RELATIONSHIP

TO BE ONE OF SUBSTANTIVE COOPERATION. THE PCA, HOWEVER,

WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED.

[Redacted]

3.

[Redacted]

COMMENT:

[Redacted]

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IN 299336

[Redacted]

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(classification)

[Redacted]

INTEREST

AN INCREASED  
IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PCA

[Redacted]

THE PCA YOUTH

GROUP HAS BEEN INVOLVED WITH THE GUEVARIST YOUTH, THE YOUGH GROUP OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP).

[Redacted]

THE HEAD OF THE PCA IN BUENOS AIRES

PROVINCE BEING IS CONCERNED BY THE INCREASING NUMBER OF ANTI-PCA MEASURES BEING TAKEN AGAINST THE PCA IN THE PROVINCE BY THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL POLICE.)

[Redacted]

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ - WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

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[Redacted]

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MCT

6 April 1977

Argentina: Montonero's Financial Assets Seized

The Montonero's ability to carry out terrorist operations is likely to be severely curtailed as a result of the loss of about 85 million U.S. dollars of the group's funds to Argentine security officials. The Montonero official in charge of finances was captured by the security forces last February. During questioning he provided detailed information on the terrorist organization's financial structure, including the location of deposits in Europe.

Escorted by security officers, the former Montonero treasurer traveled to Madrid, where he withdrew \$14 million from a bank account. The group then proceeded to Geneva, Switzerland, where some \$50 million was taken from an account and stock certificates of an unknown value were removed from a safe-deposit box. The money from the Geneva account was given to the Argentine embassy in Bern which sent it to Buenos Aires by means of the embassy's diplomatic pouch. The \$14 million acquired in Madrid was carried back to Argentina by the group. As of late March \$1-2 million of the money obtained in Europe was missing, apparently taken by one of the security officials who went on the trip. Shortly after their return, the former Montonero led officials to a safesite in Cordoba where \$17 million was found and also to a site in Mendoza where \$4 million had been hidden.

Most of the Montonero funds were probably from its kidnaping activities. From the early 1970s until the end of 1975 the Montoneros, like other terrorist groups and bands of common criminals, engaged in kidnapings. Ransoms paid for the release of their victims were often quite high. The Montoneros reportedly received between \$30-60 million for the release of two businessmen, the Born brothers, in 1974. Tough security measures by the government as well as the departure of many non-Argentine business representatives who have been prime targets for kidnapers, has resulted in a sharp decline in the amount of ransom collected by the various Argentine groups.

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[Redacted]

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8 February 1977

Argentine Government Raid Nets Montoneros' Target Listing of Diplomats

Argentine security forces confiscated a card file labeled "Targets Under Study" during an operation in the greater Buenos Aires area against the Montoneros terrorist group in January 1977. The card file contained names of 11 current members and 16 former members of the U.S. mission in Buenos Aires, as well as the names of their wives.

Also listed were a number of current and former members of other embassies in Argentina, principally officers of the Israeli, South African and Japanese embassies and, to a lesser extent, of the Spanish and Brazilian embassies.

There is no information as to whether the file represented the total data on diplomats available at the raided site or whether there may have been additional information

[Redacted] For example, the cards did not include surveillance data or other details of the type which would indicate that there was a definite interest in any particular individual, nor can it be determined whether the listing was currently being maintained. The newest U.S. official on the list had arrived in Buenos Aires during July 1975.

This information provided further confirmation to that which the embassy has long known and acted upon, i.e., that the various Argentine subversive groups, including the Montoneros, maintain data on U.S. mission personnel on a continuing basis. This particular information represents the first listing which actually comes under the heading of potential targets; other listings have not been so labeled. Information obtained during October 1976 indicated that the Montoneros considered that the human rights issue, particularly in the U.S., was working to their advantage. (See the 26 October issue.) Consequently, in the interest of maintaining this advantage, Montonero leaders had decided that for the time being they would not direct terrorist actions against foreign diplomatic missions or their personnel in Argentina. They feared such acts would tend to weaken the Montoneros' position in the context of their being champions and protectors of human rights. It is unknown whether this continues to be the policy of the Montonero leadership.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

SECRET (When Filled In)

JAN 3

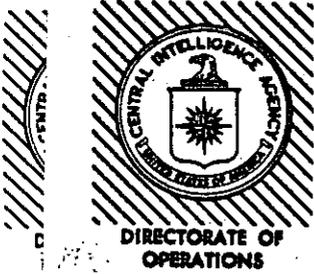
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DIST 30 DECEMBER 197

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ - WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE

SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [Redacted]

COUNTRY: ARGENTINA

[Redacted]

~~Coordinator~~  
~~Assistant Coordinator~~  
Intern ~~[Redacted]~~ **X**

SUBJECT: PENETRATION OF THE MILITARY SERVICES BY THE MONTONEROS.

[Large redacted block]

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2. [Redacted] AUTHORITIES ARE CURRENTLY HOLDING UNDER ARREST ARMY MAJOR OSCAR LAURENTINO COSTAS, WHO ADMITTED HE HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE MEMBER AND OFFICIAL OF THE MONTONEROS FOR SEVERAL YEARS. COSTAS, WHO WAS ASSIGNED TO THE ARMY SUPERIOR WAR COLLEGE IN BUENOS AIRES, [Redacted] HAD BEEN IN CHARGE OF PRODUCTION AND QUALITY CONTROL FOR A MONTONERO WEAPONS FACTORY IN

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VILLA DOMINICO IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. ON 8 NOVEMBER WHEN THE SECURITY SERVICES RAIDED THE FACTORY, COSTAS' BROTHER, JUAN CARLOS COSTAS, WAS FOUND INSIDE BUT KILLED HIMSELF RATHER THAN BE CAPTURED. HOWEVER, THE LATTER'S WIFE WHO ALSO WORKED IN THE FACTORY WAS CAPTURED AND PROVIDED INFORMATION WHICH SOON LED TO THE ARREST OF MAJOR COSTAS, AS WELL AS HIS FATHER. THE LATTER WAS ALSO A MONTONERO AND HAD BEEN USING HIS PRIVATE BUSINESS IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL AS A STORAGE AND DISTRIBUTION POINT FOR WEAPONS, MOSTLY HANDGRENADES AND ROCKETS WHICH WERE PRODUCED IN THE FACTORY.

[Redacted]

EO25x1

AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN STRICT MEASURES TO LIMIT KNOWLEDGE OF MAJOR COSTAS' INVOLVEMENT WITH THE MONTONEROS WHICH THEY CONSIDER POTENTIALLY DAMAGING TO THE ARMY'S IMAGE.

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IN 142579

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4. IN LATE NOVEMBER 1976, [Redacted]

[Redacted] OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL GENDARMERIA (BORDER PATROL) WERE ARRESTED WHEN IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT THEY WERE PROVIDING INFORMATION TO THE MONTONEROS REGARDING TERRORIST PRISONERS THEY HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO GUARD IN THE CAMPO DE MAYO MILITARY GARRISON. THESE INDIVIDUALS ALSO DELIVERED MESSAGES FROM THE PRISONERS TO THE MONTONEROS AND RECEIVED MONEY FOR THEIR SERVICES. [Redacted]

[Redacted] COMMENT: AS A GENERAL RULE GENDARMERIA TROOPS WOULD NOT BE ASSIGNED DUTIES AS DESCRIBED ABOVE SINCE THEIR MISSION IS ESSENTIALLY BORDER PATROLLING. THE GENDARMERIA HAS WORKED IN THE PAST WITH ACTIVE MILITARY FORCES IN THE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE CAMPAIGN, BUT THIS IS THE FIRST INSTANCE IN WHICH MEMBERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION HAVE BEEN REPORTED OPERATING AT CAMPO DE MAYO.)

[Redacted]

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WARNING NOTICE-SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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