THE NAME INTI PEREDO became known to many of us only when we read Che Guevara’s *Bolivian diaries*. In these diaries he spoke approvingly of the Peredo brothers who fought with him in the ill-fated struggle to liberate Bolivia from the tyranny of capitalism. One of the five survivors of the guerrilla band was “Inti”, whose real name was Guido Peredo Leigue. Inti was born in Trinidad, Bolivia on April 30, 1938. He was a student at the Juan Francisco Velarde and “Sixth of August” schools in Trinidad and at the Bolivar and Hugo Davila schools in La Paz. He was active in the Bolivian Communist Party after the age of twelve and was first leader of the Pioneers, then Director of Youth and finally First Regional Secretary in La Paz. He married Matilde Lara in 1963 and had two small children when he was killed. After escaping capture by government forces and their U.S. masters he fought throughout the Bolivian campaign with Che.

Inti and the group he led were helped by communist and other sympathisers to evade the government forces, who devoted especial attention to his capture as they knew that after their murder of Guevara Inti would become head of *Army of National Liberation* and continue the struggle. As one of the few survivors and the man who had saved his troops from capture Inti was “an undisputed political personality in the eyes of those comrades who share his ideals”. It was rumoured in 1968 that he had fled to Eastern Europe. In fact he carried on the struggle started by Che and was interviewed in late 1968 by an Italian journalist while leading the *Army of National Liberation*. Several times the Bolivian government reported that he had finally been killed, but only on 9th September 1969 was their report true. Five days before his death he broadcast the following message translated into English for the first time, to the Bolivian people. His place has now been filled by another man for revolutionary struggle will never stop while oppression rules.

This last message is of great value for those trying to evolve an adequate revolutionary strategy. The success of the revolution in Cuba provoked much study of the methods used there, methods which defied
the long established strategies of the communist parties of Latin America. Che Guevara, one of the architects of the Cuban revolution, developed the tactics used in Cuba into a manual on guerrilla warfare (available in Penguin). He believed that the methods used in Cuba would prove successful in all Latin-America and put his belief into practice in the Bolivian enterprise. This attempt to apply similar methods to those used in Cuba did not meet with success, but whether this was due to some basic unsuitability of his methods or to more short-term mistakes was not clear. A number of observers, especially the communist parties of Latin America, drew the conclusion that his methods were unsuitable, and of course, reactionary observers like Daniel James ridiculed Guevara’s romanticism and attempt to set himself up as another authority on guerrilla warfare, like Mao or Giap. The following article indicates that those in the struggle did not agree. But, as we will see in a future issue of ALR devoted in part to Latin America the deaths of Peredo and continuing failure of Che’s method have led to radically different approaches being adopted, not only by Debray but by activists like Marighela.

Without wishing to distort Che’s theory of What is to be Done too much, I think that its essence was this: 1) Popular forces can win a war against the army; 2) It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making a revolution exist; the insurrection can create them; 3) In underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting (Guerrilla Warfare, Penguin, p.13). So the ploy was to set up a guerrilla base (foco) in inaccessible territory and start attacking the existing State. The resultant conflict would make clear the nature of the State in its Leninist sense and polarise the two antagonistic supporters and opponents of capitalism in a way that no civil debate could ever do. The defeats of groups following these precepts have led first to Debray’s early demand that the guerrillas be subordinate to the party and secondly to that of Carlos Marighela (see ALR forthcoming) that the main battle should not be waged among ideologically backward sections of the community (the peasants) but rather in urban centres.

Readers may themselves draw their own conclusions about the relevance of the various proposals for Australia. They should not dismiss out of hand the notion that revolutionary action should come after a long work of conversion by propaganda. What these writers are all saying is that actions convert the populace much faster than words.

Alastair Davidson

TO THE BOLIVIAN PEOPLE

THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION [ANL] turned to the Bolivians to tell them the truth — as is and always will be its political and moral practice — about the events which are interesting the country. We have been forged from the people and we must render them an account for our acts. So, at this time of redefinition and struggle to the death we turn to them. For almost a century and a half the people have tried to carry further
the struggle for freedom started by Pedro Domingo Morillo, Padilla, Lanza, Camargo, Moto Mendez, Munecas and finished successfully, but in its first phase only, through the work of Bolivar and Sucre. Unhappily political power passed into the hands of a servile oligarchy, which then alienated sovereignty until it ended in its present state—Bolivia transformed into one of the many colonies of the United States.

The guerrilla foco of Nancahuazu, set up by Ernesto Che Guevera, was a sublime and heroic appeal to the ideals of the founders of the republic; it was the continuation of the Bolivian struggle and its transcendence as a new man, of whom Che was the living prototype, arose. It is for this reason that he was opposed with hate and cruelty by the imperialists of the United States and their native lackeys who filled the roles of executioners of their own brothers, helped by traitors in revolutionary garb and by the passivity of honest sections of the populace. That foco caused a polarisation in Bolivia between those who struggled for our true independence on one hand, and the sold-out, traitors and false revolutionaries on the other. It is right to state that an important part of our population was deceived by the false redeemers who instead of launching the attack on the real enemies, united themselves in chorus with the police and assassins, who, to repay them for their cowardice, made the concession of what they themselves have called “a democratic parenthesis”, a parenthesis which exists for them only, since the populace has continued to be subject to bayonets.

The defeat of our first stage of guerrilla warfare should cause bitterness and shame among those honest men who did not join in it, for various reasons. Their duty at the present time is to give total support to the struggle in which so many patriots have fallen, to gather up the banner of Che and to follow his example. He has shown us the way to fight in the mountains. Up to a month ago, the ANL was, for many, a ghost which moved around Bolivia. The slaves of imperialism were faithful and continued to hand over our basic national riches without punishment, to massacre innocents, and to transfer the mines into nazi-style concentration camps and encourage fratricidal massacres among peasants. The traitors enjoyed what they thought had been the guerrilla’s Waterloo.

The reformists spoke of revolution while they deceived the populace by participating in the gigantic farce of castrated democracy, preparing as accomplices the straw elections which will impose a duty of timeliness, already designated the new Latin-American style democracy. But the most aware sections of the people were working in secret with selflessness and devotion for
the formation of a new guerrilla foco. The ANL is not a ghost. It lives, and is ready to take up the struggle in the mountains. The ANL is the exploited people itself, once again reunited under the international banner of Che to fight until victory.

The epoch in which the forces of repression could arrest, torture and murder revolutionaries without being punished has definitely ended. Now the people have their own vanguard which will fight. Now the executioners know that they risk paying with their own lives for the arrest of one of our comrades, and if, thanks to their greater strength at present, which is transitory, they prevail, they will find that they have on their hands a corpse which will live for ever in the history of our struggles as an example of purity, honesty and love for this land, destined to become the motive force of a struggle for the liberation of the continent.

The reality of a true revolution has provoked a counter-blow; the unification of the local forces of imperialism, of the reformists and the false revolutionaries, which when faced with danger have taken off their masks and have formed the grotesque crew who defend the system of oppression. But the reality of a true revolution has provoked and will continue to provoke the ironclad consolidation of the best sections of our people around the ANL. If the majority of our fighters have not fallen it is because the people are protecting them. If their miseries do not grow then it is because they are surrounded by the warmth of the people. The ANL is a danger for imperialism, because the people march with its vanguard and because they have faith in it and because they have a growing hope that it will succeed. Those who die like Maya (Vita Valdivia, A.D.) or who fall fighting heroically like Victor know that they have behind them a people who are becoming more aware, ever more aware, of their duty and in a not far off day they will redeem freedom and power from the hands of the usurpers. Now those who fall know that wherever death surprises us it will be welcome, because our war cry will fall on receptive ears. Other hands will stretch out to take up our arms. Other men will hurry to intone the funeral chant with a sound of machine gun blasts and new victory and war cries.

Almost on the eve of the second anniversary of the murder of our heroic commander, the revolutionary scene in Bolivia has become enormously enriched. The traitors have been identified and will not escape the punishment of the people. The reformists cannot hide their bourgeois ideology any more. The traitors and reformists are allied with the lackeys of imperialism, traitors and reformists are allied with the forces of repression to demand harsher punishment for the guerrillas who are endangering the papier-mache democracy through their actions. The traitors and reform-
ists continue to bemoan the fact that the freedom struggle is able to alarm the imperialists and their lackeys and deprive them of a little “liberty”. The history of Bolivia is full of massacres, often under the pretext that there were preparations for guerrilla war. Without having to go far into the past, we remember that the “gorillas” found pretexts for massacring the people in May 1965. Trade unions were liquidated by decrees backed up by the force of bullets. In the month of September of this year, no preparations for guerrilla warfare were known, yet the mines were the scene of the most terrible massacres in our history. Hundreds of workers, women and children were barbarously murdered. The massacre of San Juan needed no similar pretext because the guerrillas were in the mountains and could have been fought up there.

In 1968, all remnants of guerrilla forces were considered destroyed, the university students throughout the country suffered a severe repression and ferocious persecution . . . and no pretext was needed for the surrounding of the mines with a military cordon. The fact is that the enemy plays the “free democratic game” up to the point where this game does not interfere with its security. When this point is reached no pretext is needed for the destruction of democratic forces. Once these are liquidated, they can return to the “free democratic game”. There are those taken in by the free democratic game who are content with the charity handed out as palliatives. These are artists at serving the system and making the people sleep, inducing them to believe in the free democratic justice conceded by the enemy. They do not understand, or through cowardice do not wish to understand, that these crumbs of liberty are allowed only insofar as they don’t place in danger the security of the system.

Playing the game of this imperialist policy means making compromises with the enemies of the populace and disarming the people ideologically. Making the people believe that they are not ready to take power, means becoming the agent of imperialism whether you are aware of it or not. Revolution is not made by declarations in conferences. Revolution is made through struggle, replying to the barbarous violence of the enemy with revolutionary violence. Revolution is not made through begging for or defending pretended liberties which have never existed.

Revolution is made through giving your life if necessary, as Maya did, and as dozens of other comrades have done, opening up a path with their blood which the people are ready to follow. Revolution is made by replying to fire with fire, as Victor did, like a worthy soldier in our army. What sort of a democracy can we talk about when the President, Siles Salinas, is a political
prisoner who governs with the authorisation of General Ovando, the principal jailer, designated as the oppressor of Bolivia by imperialism? What sort of democracy can we talk about when we fix the presidential election of a general, wasting State money in a shameful fashion? What sort of democracy can we talk about when the agents of the political police (DIC) act like bandits, thieve, enter houses, arrest innocents, torture them and hold them under arbitrary arrest for months and years? What sort of liberty can we talk of when the foreign policy of this country is directed by the US State Department? Of what sort of democracy can we talk when Parliament is reduced to a puppet show which General Ovando moves as he wishes with the hidden help of the so-called opposition? What sort of liberty can we talk of when economic policy is directed by the International Monetary Fund, The World Bank and International Development Bank? What sort of liberty can we talk of when education at all levels is controlled by USAID and IDB or the Rockefeller or Ford Foundations? What sort of liberty can we talk of if the mines are turned into concentration camps, surrounded by bloody bayonets to secure an unhuman exploitation? The mines are death camps, where the workers suffer day after day, where babies and women suffer from acute malnutrition, where the lowest wages in the world are received, for unhuman hours of exploitation, while soldiers receive the highest wages in the country? The mines are death camps where the slightest protest is met with the murdering and cowardly machine-gun of the military, because the enemy needs no reason for beating, when it can, the shoulders of the workers.

What sort of liberty can we speak of when the peasants are used like sheep by corrupt leaders and pushed into fratricidal murder; obliged to support presidential candidates or constrained with violence to back those who massacre them. They are deprived of the most elementary sense of dignity. What sort of liberty can we talk of when thousands of peasants emigrate every year to nearby countries in search of work to survive? Witnesses of this immense tragedy are the canefields of the Argentine, the phosphate mines of Chile, and the rubber plantations of Brazil. What sort of liberty can we talk of when the civil servant is blackmailed into enrolling in the party having its turn in power, into attending meetings of support for the "gorillas" and obliged to sign congratulations and best wishes which offend his dignity?

What sort of liberty can we speak of when poor children, that is, the majority of Bolivian children, must leave school to do adult work so that they can have a crust to eat? What sort of liberty can we talk of when the sons of workers and peasants cannot go to study at the university because they lack the economic means
to do so? What sort of liberty can we talk of when people shoot, club and throw tear-gas against university students who demonstrate to ask for modest improvements and when university autonomy is reduced to its minimal expression because the universities are mortgaged to the IDB, USAID and foreign foundations? What sort of liberty can we talk of where students who have finished middle school are rejected by the university because of lack of space or lack of teachers and money? What sort of liberty can we talk of if professional men with university qualifications cannot find work and have to migrate to the United States or to Europe or, if they find work, the developed countries attract them away with the offer of higher salaries, thus saving on the trouble of their technological training? The brain drain is another of the thefts of imperialism which damage us.

What sort of liberty can we talk of? The liberty to organise unions? They have been destroyed with violence and those which are allowed to survive have to subject themselves before the threats of the decrees of May which have established the amounts and methods of trade union struggle. Economic claims are suffocated in blood. We are not opposed to trade union organisation or of the economic struggle, but we are sure that this is not the way to reach power. Only palliatives will be won which will prolong the ability of the people to suffer a little longer. The definitive solution is a change in the system and the ANL offers this solution. Revolutionary conditions in Bolivia have developed because a strong section of the people which is ever growing, is beginning to understand who are the enemies and who constitute their own vanguard. Sectors of opinion in the Catholic Church who have traditionally had a passive if not reactionary role, together with other sectors, are drawing close to the people and, coming to grips with their poverty, have understood the need for change and while attempting to institute it with reforms have been persecuted, accused and calumniated.

This is carrying them towards the great revolutionary stream in which all the people who really want the freedom of Bolivia and Latin-America will find themselves. This catalysing function is carried out by the guerrilla foco, which even before it showed itself in the mountains was already having evident effects. It is the guerrilla foco which has made the people aware, which is uniting them on the same road which it maps out to reach their objective: war; and it is the foco which protects them and stimulates them. The unity of the authentic revolutionaries is advancing with giant steps. So we see our future as Che forecast it: near and great.

The ANL, founded by Che in the flame of the struggle at
Nancahuazu knew victories and defeats, but it has always conserved and will always maintain the spirit which our leader taught us all. The ANL is not a "so-called" organisation, as some maintain. The ANL exists, it lives in the breasts of the people. The meeting in the Churo pass was not the last and has not destroyed us. The blow was hard, above all because we lost the most complete revolutionary of our time. However, in this historical phase, and today, things have taken place which have made the conscience of Latin America shiver.

The enemy gave its victory cry too soon; our army was not crushed, and we have never given up our sacred undertaking to return to the mountains. This is the truth and the Bolivian people must know it. Those who doubt our preparedness to return to the struggle are trying to deceive the populace to hide their own cowardice. This guerrilla struggle, which we will begin at the opportune moment, will not stop until Bolivia and all America are free of all oppression. Thus the duty of every revolutionary at this moment of definition is to enter decidedly into the ranks of this struggle, without hesitation and so hasten victory. But nobody should have any illusions. This is a long and cruel struggle and will assume very violent and bloody characteristics. These two conditions are imposed by the enemy who will never give up his spoils without a struggle. The guerrilla struggle, however, is the only hope for victory, and we will wage war, not because we have the mentality of warmongers, but because — as Che said — our enemies push us into such struggle. There is no other solution but to prepare for it and decide to undertake it.

When in July 1968 I released a manifesto explaining to the people the scope of struggle and the causes of its victories and its defeats, many thought it marked an "honorable withdrawal". Once again they were mistaken. To abandon the struggle is cowardice which history will punish inexorably and the men formed by Che will not treat or surrender. The open enemies and the hidden ones, those who applauded the death of Che, those who forecast the end of the guerrilla struggle, those who, believing us dead, began to slander us, are now trembling. We are here, organised in our best cadres and we will begin the struggle again. The most recent happenings have shown this. We have suffered a few setbacks but the people will return to make their victories in the mountains and cities of Bolivia and Latin America vibrate. The people of Bolivia have a great responsibility before history, since the struggle in our country, through Bolivia's political and geographical situation, has an enormous influence on this part of the Continent. This struggle will speed up action in other countries and for this reason the nearby "gorillas" will come to
do battle on our own terrain. But the Bolivian people, conscious of its duty, will not fail in their undertaking.

Bolivia which launched the first cry of freedom in America against the Spanish yoke, could count for her freedom on the help of all the patriots of the Continent. The consolidation of the process of emancipation depended on the freedom of Bolivia. Bolivar and Sucre were the major protagonists of that epoch. In the new and final liberation of America, Bolivia could again count on the most lucid person which the continental revolution has produced, Che and the band of heroes of various nationalities who accompanied him into the ranks of the ANL. North American imperialism will not give up her positions easily. She will employ all the means at her disposal to crush us, as she is doing in Vietnam, but in the same way as that people has done, our own will be able to defeat their own oppressors.

The balance sheet of recent events must be judged serenely. The ANL is no longer a ghost which wanders through Bolivia, it is the hope of the people and the instrument of their liberation; their army which assumes the defence of the exploited and the oppressed. This reality must be measured in all its greatness. It is true that we have made mistakes and, as is the duty of every revolutionary, we must recognise them and correct them. But it is sure that they are also mistakes that are made while working, errors into which those who are advancing fall, mistakes that are made by people who are not only spectators. It is also true that in wars battles are lost without the loss of the war. It is possible that the enemy will again defeat us, but this will not mean our destruction. The death of Murillo, Padilla, Warnes, was not the death of the arms of patriots. The murder of Che has not led to the death of the revolution. While honest and courageous men exist in America the victory of the revolution is guaranteed.

It is true that we placed too much trust in ideologically weak sectors; this weakness in work allowed the enemy to penetrate us, allowed spying and betrayal; the painful encounters in which we lost cadres of great value have made us take up the correct path. However, the guilty will not be able to avoid the punishment which they deserve. The traitors and spies will be executed as Honorato Rojas was for his cowardly and miserable actions. The same fate awaits the police who beat, torture or use any violence whatever towards comrades who have maintained a worthy and honest demeanour. But it is also true that events have been exaggerated. Some have tried to show that we were tied to certain parties. The ANL has no treaty or agreement with any party. "Documents of great value" have never fallen into the hands of the police as the Ministry for Internal Affairs announced euphoric-
ally. It is false that they found in Victor's possession documents which contained evaluations of the capacity of the combatants. There are no messages in the hands of the government. It is false to say that a large amount of war material was lost. We lost only a part and we won it back in a fight. Scandalistic manoeuvres tend only to demoralise the people, but they have not succeeded because the people at present is protecting us and entering into the struggle with greater fervour than ever.

Some people have wanted to speculate about the participation of foreigners in our army. What a paradox! The employers of CIA condemn a foreign intervention. The ANL, educated in the purest spirit of internationalism, accepts in its ranks revolutionaries of any origin whatsoever, provided that they wish to struggle with arms for the liberation of our people. Revolutionaries who fight or who will fight in Bolivia have not come to exploit anybody, and will not carry away the wealth of our land. They come to give their own blood, if that is necessary, for the liberation of our people which will also be the liberation of their respective peoples. For this reason the participation of fighters of other nations in our army is not only a right, but the duty of all revolutionaries, as it has always been and as the struggle for independence and the present struggle have legitimated it. Cuba has been accused of organising our movement, and for this reason false or forcibly extracted statements about "links" which are not believed by anyone have been adopted. If the Island of Freedom can be blamed for anything, it will be for the example which emanates from its firm revolutionary position.

They have tried to blame the ANL for a series of dynamite blasts which happened recently, matters clearly perpetrated by the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and the army, as a method of work. The ANL is not a terrorist organisation. The reprisals and replenishing actions of our army in the future will be confirmed in precise communiques, where the reasons for each action will be explained.

We are entering the road of a new historical stage. The battle which began at Nancahuazu was briefly interrupted and has begun again. The road is long and full of sacrifice. We are ready to give our little bit, the only thing we have: life. We must win the freedom of Bolivia and happiness for our people. We have faith in our final victory because behind us there begins to arise a people which has been oppressed for a century and a half, but which now sees on the horizon the instrument of their liberation.

People of Bolivia: to the Struggle. To the mountains. Victory or death.

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