

ERNESTO 'CHE' GUEVARA: A RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY*

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A "CULT OF 'CHE' " HAS ARISEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN LATIN AMERICA since the death of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara in Bolivia on October 9, 1967. The principal followers of the cult are the radical intellectuals, students and workers in the Western Hemisphere. The selection of Che Guevara as a hero by these segments of society, and their subsequent use of his name to champion their causes, has attracted the attention of the general public to this controversial figure. This sudden awareness of Che has created a substantial demand for information about his life and ideas. To meet this demand, publishers in the United States and Latin America have literally flooded the market with literature about him. This body of literature can be divided into two broad categories. The first comprises works containing his spoken or written words. In the second category are those works which have been written about him. These broad categories can be subdivided into books and periodical articles.

This study analyzes the major published works written by Major Guevara or written about him, through the year 1969, which are listed in the attached bibliography. Some of the difficulties encountered in studying such a controversial figure from published materials will also be discussed. In addition, a quantitative analysis of the attached bibliography is presented.

The bibliography has been divided into four sections for reasons of clarity and to permit easier access to the information it contains. The sections are entitled 'Bibliography I' through 'Bibliography IV.' The first section lists nineteen books which were either written by Che Guevara or which contain collections of his numerous speeches and articles. Bibliography II lists books written about him. Periodical articles and speeches by Che are catalogued in the third section. Bibliography IV contains articles written about him.

Each of the four sections has been arranged in chronological order according to the date on which each entry was first published or the date on which an individual speech was first delivered. The reason for this arrangement, as opposed to the traditional alphabetical arrangement, is to allow the researcher who is interested in a particular time-period of Guevara's life to locate data more easily. This chronological arrangement also facilitates correlation of the

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works listed in the bibliography with contemporaneous world events. The evolution of Che's ideology and character may be more readily traced using this chronological sequence. Finally, the arrangement also facilitates a statistical analysis of the contents of the bibliography, presented in the following three tables.

TABLE I

Composition of the Bibliography by Place of Publication

Section	Total Entries	United States	Latin America	Entries		
				After Death	United States	Latin America
BIB. I	20	9	11	12	7	5
BIB. II	14	6	4	14	6	4
BIB. III	171	20	149	6	3	3
BIB. IV	347	155	148	241	98	110
TOTALS	552	190	312	273	114	122

TABLE II

Composition of the Bibliography by Year of Publication

Section	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
BIB. I			3		1	1	1	2	3 ^a	8	1
BIB. II									2 ^a	8	4
BIB. III	11	31	26	29	30	24	10	2	4 ^b	4	
BIB. IV	10	13	13	10	2	4	14	6	122 ^c	143	11
TOTALS	21	44	42	39	33	29	25	10	131	163	16

Note a. All five books were published after Guevara's death.

Note b. Two articles were published after Guevara's death.

Note c. Thirty-five articles were published prior to Guevara's death.

TABLE III

New York Times Articles About Che Guevara

Year	Number of Articles
1959.....	6
1960.....	15
1961.....	15
1962.....	5
1963.....	1
1964.....	10
1965.....	14
1966.....	9
1967.....	31 ^a

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1968.....	24
1969.....	3
Total number of articles	123
Total number since death	48

Note a. Twenty-one of these articles were published after Guevara's death.

Note: All of the above articles are not listed in Bibliography IV. If more information is desired, see the *New York Times Index*.

Several conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of the preceding three tables. In the twenty-three months (October 9, 1967 to September 9, 1969) following Che Guevara's death in Bolivia, approximately fifty percent of the entries in the bibliography were published. This figure does not include the numerous reprints of his earlier articles and speeches, which have appeared since his death. The remaining fifty per cent of the entries were published in the eight and one-half years prior to his death. His first article appeared in *Bohemia* (Havana) on January 11, 1959, and the first article about him appeared in the January 4, 1959, issue of the *New York Times*. The great disparity in the volume of publication prior to and after his death indicates that Che Guevara's "martyrdom" in Bolivia has been given more importance than what he accomplished during his lifetime. The propaganda value of his death and the bizarre circumstances surrounding it are apparently more newsworthy than his other achievements. Such a conclusion becomes more apparent when the number of books and articles about him (see Bibliography II and IV) published before and after his death is compared. Seventy-one percent (255 of 361) of these entries were published after his death.

Publishers in the United States have been responsible for only thirty-five percent of the total number of articles about Guevara, and for only forty-two percent of the articles published since his death. It should be emphasized that these percentages are close to the actual bibliographical total of published works because of the excellent indexes of publications available to a researcher in the United States. Coverage for Latin America and elsewhere is unfortunately not as complete. Inadequate indexing of foreign periodicals and books, and the relative unavailability of such indexes in the United States, are the principal reasons for incomplete coverage.

It is interesting to note in Table II that the quantity of publications between the years 1959 and 1965 was relatively evenly distributed. During the two year period of Che's "disappearance," from March 1965, after his return to Cuba from a world tour, to March 1967, when his presence in Bolivia was discovered, little was published. During the two years from April 1967 to April 1969, a vast number of articles was published. Table III also shows this increase in the rate of publication.

Three major problems are encountered in studying Che Guevara from published materials. The first problem was to determine what published materials exist. No bibliography was available. Catalogues which are available list only a handful of books by or about him. Periodical indexes are helpful in locating articles published in the United States and in a few foreign countries, but few for Latin America. Part of the difficulty in locating material about the revolutionary leader results from the fact that he is a contemporary figure, and the majority of the books and periodical articles about him have been published since his death. An added difficulty is the lack of adequate footnoting and other references in the literature that has appeared thus far. Only three works listed in this study, Hugo Gambini's *El Che Guevara* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1968), Jay Mallin's *Che Guevara on Revolution* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969), and Martin Ebon's *Che: The Making of a Legend* (New York: New American Library, 1969) contain a bibliography. Two magazine articles, Theodore Draper's "Five Years of Castro's Cuba" (*Commentary*, January 1964) and Jay Mallin's "Che Guevara: Some Documentary Puzzles at the End of a Long Journey" (*Journal of Inter-American Studies*, January 1968), contained footnotes listing additional information on Guevara. Two collections of his works, *Venceremos!* (New York: Macmillan, 1968) and *Che Guevara Speaks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), cited the sources for the selections contained in each work. In all, only seven entries in the bibliography out of a total of 551 contained references to additional material by or about Guevara.

The second problem in studying Che from published sources is to obtain the various books and periodicals one seeks. Because thirty-five percent of the total entries in this bibliography were published in the United States, it might be assumed that to obtain these items would not be difficult; but the opposite is true. Sixty percent of the material that has been published about him in the United States has appeared since Guevara's death. Most of the books listed are still unavailable in libraries that specialize in Latin American subjects. Periodicals are somewhat easier to obtain. The availability of foreign periodicals and books in the United States is very low. For example, Leónidas Lamborghini's *Coplas del Che* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones A.R.P., 1967), could not be located in any library in the United States. Only one library had Volume II of *Obras completas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Plata, 1968), and Volumes I and III were unavailable.

The third problem in doing research on Guevara in published materials arises from the controversial nature of his career. Most of the literature written about him is biased either for or against him; objectivity is rare. So too, one of the best sources of information about an individual should be his speeches and

writings, but in the case of the Argentine doctor such is not usually the case. Most of his speeches and articles were directed to particular audiences and were intended to produce a given reaction or had a propaganda objective. These articles and speeches must, therefore, be considered in the light of the circumstances surrounding them. They may not always reflect their author's true beliefs. For this reason his two books, *La guerra de guerrillas* (Havana: Departamento de Minfar, 1961), and *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria* (Havana: Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, 1963), are perhaps more revealing of his true character and beliefs than are most of his speeches and periodical articles.

The best insight into Che, in the author's opinion, may be found in his many letters. Some of these are contained in *Obra revolucionaria* (México: Ediciones ERA, 1967), *Cartas inéditas* (Montevideo: Editorial Sandino, 1967), and *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968). Other potentially good sources of information about his personality are books and articles by his friends, enemies, and others who had sufficient contact with him to know him well. Unfortunately, only a handful of such accounts have appeared thus far. Additional research must be accomplished and many of these individuals must be systematically interviewed before a true picture of Che can emerge. Ricardo Rojo's *My Friend Che* (New York: Dial Press, 1968) and D. M. Martin's article, "Memoir of the Young Guevara" (*New York Times Magazine*, August 18, 1968), are examples of the type of literature which is needed.

A few words should be said concerning the quality and lack of quality of the literature produced thus far about the revolutionary leader. Most of the writing seems to have been hastily done in an effort to beat competitors into print. The result of the rush to publish has been a large number of books and articles lacking objectivity and scholarly documentation.

There follows a discussion of the works listed in Bibliographies I and II. The speeches and articles listed in Bibliography III will not be analyzed because of space limitations, but some of them have been commented on by Mallin in *Che Guevara on Revolution*, and by the editors and authors listed in the first two sections of the bibliography. The articles listed in Bibliography IV will be treated collectively, with the exception of a few of the more important items, which will be briefly analyzed.

Of the twenty books listed in Bibliography I, only two were written by Che Guevara for publication. The two are *La guerra de guerrillas* and *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria*. *La guerra* reflects the influence of Mao Tse-tung and General Alberto Bayo on Mayor Guevara's concepts of guerrilla warfare. The work is also an analysis of the insurrectional phase of the Cuban Revolu-

tion. Although the Argentine revolutionary did not originate many of the principles of guerrilla warfare, he did adapt some of them to the Latin American environment. It is important for the scholar to know the views expressed in *La guerra* because they provide clues to the failures of recent guerrilla movements in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution was a unique occurrence, and the ideas expressed in *La guerra* should be considered in this light. Revolutionaries in other Latin American countries have ignored this fact; as a result, their attempts to follow the principles of guerrilla warfare laid down in *La guerra* have met with failure. One English translation of this work, *Che Guevara on Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Praeger, 1961), has been used by the United States Army as a handbook for anti-guerrilla training and warfare. A better translation, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), was published shortly after the Praeger version.

Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria is the account of Major Guevara's experiences during the insurreccional period of the Cuban Revolution. The narrative is based upon notes kept in his diary during the campaign. Originally, the nineteen chapters appeared in the Cuban revolutionary army newspaper *Verde Olivo* (Havana), as a series of articles published from February 26, 1961, to November 18, 1962. *Pasajes* is a valuable work not only because it gives the reader an insight into Che's personality, but also because it is the only historical account of the guerrilla phase of the Cuban Revolution written by a participant. Two editions of *Pasajes* have been published in the United States: *Episodes of the Revolutionary War* (New York: International Publishers, 1968), and *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1968). Of the two, *Episodes* is the most faithful to *Pasajes*, both in the arrangement of the chapters and in the translation. *Reminiscences* is a more complete work, however, since it contains thirteen chapters not found in *Pasajes*. The additional chapters are articles published since the appearance of *Pasajes*. Also included in *Reminiscences* are twenty-seven letters written by Guevara. Although no reference is made to the sources of the letters, they were originally published in *Cartas inéditas* (Montevideo: Editorial Sandino, 1967). The letters do not pertain to the Cuban Revolution and should not have been included in *Reminiscences*, but they do provide valuable insights into Guevara's personality. *Relatos de la guerra revolucionaria* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nueve 64, 1965), and *Apuntes de la guerra revolucionaria* (Montevideo: Nativa Libros, 1966), are other Latin American editions of *Pasajes*.

Four editions of Major Guevara's Bolivian diaries—his account was kept in two separate notebooks—have appeared thus far. The first version of the diaries was entitled *Diario del Che Guevara en Bolivia*; it was released by the Cuban Government in July 1968. The first edition published in the United

States was translated by the Cuban Government and published by *Ramparts Magazine* in their July 27, 1968, issue, which appeared on the newstands on July 3, 1968. This version was subsequently republished by Bantam Books under the title, *The Diary of Che Guevara—Bolivia: November 7, 1966 to October 7, 1967*. The *Ramparts* and Bantam editions include an introduction by Fidel Castro, which is interesting for its insights into the Argentine doctor's personality and the reasons for his defeat in Bolivia. The Bantam edition also includes a text of the diary in Spanish. Each of the three editions of the diary is, however, incomplete. Not only are thirteen of the daily entries missing, but there are also omissions of certain names and places. It is difficult to determine whether or not these omissions were intentional.

Shortly after the two editions appeared in the United States, the Cuban edition was published in Mexico by Siglo Veintiuno (1968) under the title, *El diario del Che en Bolivia*. This first Mexican edition dated July 5, 1968, contains the same errors of the Cuban edition. The second edition was dated July 18, 1968, but was unavailable. The third edition, dated July 31, 1968, added the missing entries: it also contains the texts of the messages between Fidel and Che, and several articles from *El Día* concerning the diaries.

The third version of the diary to appear in the United States was published by Stein and Day under the title, *The Complete Bolivian Diaries of Che Guevara and Other Captured Documents*. It is the only version of the diary recognized by the Bolivian government as being complete. The editor, Daniel James, has included his own sixty-nine page introduction as well as the diaries of three of the guerrillas who accompanied Che: Braulio (Lieutenant Israel Reyes Zayas), Pombo (Captain Henry Villegas Tamayo) and Rolando (Captain Eliseo Reyes Rodríguez). The latter three diaries are invaluable to an understanding of the guerrilla operations in Bolivia, and they provide evidence of Major Guevara's effectiveness as a guerrilla leader. The translation is much smoother than either the *Ramparts* or Bantam versions. The introduction by Daniel James is interesting, but he does not substantiate many of his statements. The principal weakness of this work is that it does not contain photostats of the original diaries or the name of the translator. Fidel Castro's introduction has been omitted, thus making it necessary to obtain the Bantam version in order to understand the Bolivian campaign more completely.

The remainder of the entries in Bibliography I are collections of Guevara's speeches, articles and letters. The most complete collection is *Obra revolucionaria*, published by Ediciones ERA (México, 1967). It contains *La guerra de guerrillas*, *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria*, and includes additional articles, as well as sixteen speeches, sixteen periodical articles, and fourteen letters. Six of the fourteen letters have not been published in any other work.

The principal defect of this collection is that references are not given for each of the items contained in the book, nor is a bibliography provided.

The three-volume work, *Obras completas*, published by Ediciones del Plata (Buenos Aires, 1968), is not the complete collection claimed by its title. Volume I contains *Pasajes*; a biography of Guevara by Gregorio Selser; and four articles on guerrilla warfare. The second volume contains three essays and the text of Guevara's speeches at Punta del Este (1961). Volume III contains seven speeches and articles, including his speech before the United Nations (December 1964). The sources for each entry have been included, but no bibliography has been provided.

The three collections of his works published in the United States are *Che Guevara Speaks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Ernesto Che Guevara* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); and *Che Guevara on Revolution* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969). Collectively they include fifty of the 171 entries in Bibliography III. *Che Guevara Speaks* contains twenty items; *Venceremos!* contains thirty-five; and *Che Guevara on Revolution* has fourteen items. There is some overlapping of items contained in each of the three works. Of the three collections, *Che Guevara on Revolution* is the most scholarly. Jay Mallin's introduction is generally excellent, although somewhat marred by editorializing in the concluding paragraphs. The translation is first rate, as is the extensive bibliography of Che's works as they appear in Cuban sources.

Venceremos! contains an excellent sampling of Guevara's more important speeches and writings, including *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria*. The subject matter of this collection can be divided into guerrilla warfare, economic theory and policy, socialism, capitalism and imperialism. John Gerassi's twenty-four page introduction is an interesting statement by an author who is a strong proponent of the fallen revolutionary leader. The source of each entry has been provided, although there is no bibliography. The principal defect is the quality of the translation, which lack continuity of style, a result of the fact that *Venceremos!* was prepared for publication in one month's time and almost every entry was translated by a different person. (The names of the translators are included in the book.)

Che Guevara Speaks ranks lowest in overall quality of the three collections, but it is, nevertheless, of value to a person who does not read Spanish, and it cites the sources for the selections it contains. Many of the entries are not complete, but the editor has made appropriate notations.

La profecía del Che (Buenos Aires: Escorpión, 1964), contains his speeches delivered at Punta del Este, Uruguay, to the Consejo Interamericano Económico-Social on August 8 and 16, 1961. Guevara's first speech denounces the motives of the United States "Alliance for Progress" while at the same

time it points out the achievements and goals of the Cuban Revolution. His second speech also attacks the Alliance and presents Cuba's reasons for not joining it. The speeches are contained in most of the collections of his works.

Ideología revolucionaria latinoamericana por Ernesto 'Che' Guevara (Montevideo: Editorial Sandino, 1966), contains three of his works: "Proyecciones sociales del ejército rebelde," "La guerra de guerrillas: un método," and "La experiencia de la revolución Cubana." The three works are contained in the three collections previously mentioned.

Cartas inéditas (Montevideo: Editorial Sandino, 1967), is a collection of twenty-seven letters including Che's farewell letter to Fidel Castro and his letter to *Tricontinental*. These letters (except his letter to *Tricontinental*) were subsequently published in *Reminiscences* (1968).

Bibliography II lists fourteen books about the revolutionary leader. Six of the books were published in the United States, four in Latin America and four in Europe. *Le testament politique de Guevara* (Zurich: Ferenczy Verlag, 1968); *Lateinamerika—Ein Zweites Vietnam?* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1968), and *Coplas del Che* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones ARP, 1967), were unavailable to this writer.

Ricardo Rojo's *Mi amigo el Che* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez, S.A., 1968), published in English as *My Friend Che* (New York: Dial Press, 1968) and in French as *Che Guevara: Vie et mort d'un ami* (Paris: Seuil, 1968), is a surprisingly objective work. Rojo was a close friend of the Argentine doctor and, like Che, he is decidedly anti-American. This account of the Cuban hero not only emphasizes his strengths, but it also points out his weaknesses. The book suffers from several errors of fact and from several statements unsupported by documentation. Nevertheless, Rojo's knowledge of the planning phase of the Bolivian guerrilla campaign is excellent and his book is essential reading for those who wish to understand Guevara. In addition, it contains excellent photographs and several important documents.

The best study of the revolutionary leader is Hugo Gambini's *El Che Guevara* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1968). The book is divided into ten chapters that discuss the various periods of Che's life from his early excursions through South America as a student to his death in Bolivia. The final chapter is devoted to the myth that has arisen since his death. The book is well documented and contains an excellent bibliography of Latin American periodicals and books. The bibliography gives thirty-nine citations of his speeches and writings and lists 150 articles and books written about him. Gambini presents a detailed account of the revolutionary's life and traces the developments of his ideas. The book is a contribution to a future corpus of objective and scholarly work about Major Guevara.

Jean Larteguy's *Les Guerilleros* (Paris: R. Solar, 1967), is a general study

of guerrilla movements in Latin America; however, two chapters out of a total of five are devoted to Che. The first chapter, "Che" Guevara: ou le mythe," and the last chapter, "Un tombeau pour Che Guevara," discuss his achievements and his death in Bolivia, respectively. This is a general work that lacks footnotes and a bibliography.

Rubén Vásquez Díaz's book, *Bolivia a la hora del Che* (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1968), attempts to analyze the Bolivian events on a day-to-day basis. The author narrates in diary form the reaction to the guerrilla's activities. Díaz's account is a useful supplement to the diaries of Che, Braulio, Pombo and Rolando. The author also attempts to analyze the actions and statements of the guerrilla leader from the remarks made in the latter's diary. The book does not contain a bibliography or extensive footnotes, but it is a useful interpretation of the insurrection in Bolivia.

Luis J. González's and Gustavo A. Sánchez Salazar's book, *The Great Rebel: Che Guevara in Bolivia* (New York: Grove Press, 1969), is another narrative about the Cuban-led guerrilla activities in Bolivia, by co-authors who are Bolivian journalists well acquainted with Guevara's last campaign. They were present when the army displayed Che's body, and at the trial of Régis Debray. To supplement their first-hand information, the authors relied heavily on Ricardo Rojo's book, *My Friend Che*, and on the diaries of Che, Braulio, Pombo and Rolando. Régis Debray's comments during his trial and afterwards are also cited. The book does not, however, analyze the reasons for the revolutionary leader's defeat in Bolivia or consider the possible repercussions of that failure. Although footnotes have been provided, there is no bibliography. Several valuable documents are contained in the appendix, including Major Guevara's death certificate.

Daniel James' *Che Guevara* (New York: Stein and Day, 1969) is one of the better works to be published thus far about the revolutionary leader, but it leaves much to be desired. The author clarifies many questions about Guevara's early life, his beliefs, and his death in Bolivia. Unfortunately, James leaves many more questions unanswered. His treatment of the time period from early 1960 to November 1966 is very sketchy (only 70 pages out of a total of 380.), whereas he devotes almost one-third of the book to the period since November 1966. The period of Che's Bolivian activities is discussed basically in a narrative form and is not an "in depth" study. The author suggests that Tania deliberately sabotaged the Bolivian operation, and that Fidel purposely neglected to support Che once the guerrilla phase had begun. James also hints that Guevara deliberately chose death rather than escape once he realized that the Bolivian gamble had failed.

The last chapter, 'Does Che Live?,' discusses Che's revolutionary ideas

in light of present conditions in Latin America and the possibility for future guerrilla uprisings. In addition, Guevara's views of revolution are compared to those of Trotsky and Nechayev.

A major weakness of this work is inconsistent use of documentation. At times the author provides extensive footnotes and at other times he leaves the reader in doubt as to the source or sources of his information. The factual information presented is generally accurate, but by no means complete. Several errors were noted. Example: on p. 195 James states that "Ricardo had no fewer than six aliases, but so far nothing is known of his real name." Page 49 of a special report published by the Pan American Union in December 1968, states that Ricardo's real name was Ricardo Aspuru (see item #139 in Bibliography IV).

The Appendix contains examples of Che's coded messages to Fidel and an explanation of the code system employed. Noticeably lacking from this work was a bibliography and a chronology, both of which would be of great use to a researcher.

Marianne Alexandre edited the collection of tributes to the fallen martyr, entitled *Viva Che!* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1968). These tributes take many forms: letters, poems, and essays. The work is highly favorable to the revolutionary leader, and is valuable because it demonstrates the effect of Che's personality on other individuals. In her introduction, the editor uses quotes by many individuals in an attempt to produce a composite likeness of his personality and ideas. Although this small book must be used with caution, it is worth reading and contains some excellent photographs.

Martin Ebon's book, *Che: The Making of a Legend* (New York: New American Library, 1969), is an excellent study. The author paints a revealing portrait of the revolutionist who became a legend in his own time. Two chapters are of special interest: Chapter Seven, "The R Memorandum," and Chapter Sixteen, "Did He Want to Die?" In Chapter Seven, Ebon reveals the existence of a so-called R Memorandum which states that Major Guevara underwent a mental and physical collapse after his return to Cuba in March 1965. Although Ebon has not included a reproduction of this document, he does make a strong case for its authenticity. Chapter Sixteen is an attempt to psychoanalyze the revolutionary leader. The reader may not agree entirely with the author, but the book is essential for those interested in Guevara's career. The author has also included a short, but good, bibliography.

Bibliography IV lists 347 articles written about Che Guevara and published in numerous periodicals throughout the Western Hemisphere and Europe. The list of those periodicals published in the United States is nearly complete, with the exception of newspaper articles. A number of articles from the

New York Times and other selected newspapers have been included, but the coverage is not complete. If additional information on newspaper articles on Guevara is desired, the reader may consult the available indexes. Approximately one-fourth of the articles listed attempt to analyze the Argentine revolutionary, but the articles are generally not well documented. Prior to his death, only three scholarly magazine articles were published about him in the United States. One is Theodore Draper's "Five Years of Castro's Cuba" (*Commentary*, January 1964); the other two are Paul Hoffman's "Whatever Became of Che?" (*New York Times Magazine*, April 10, 1966), and Daniel James' "Latin America: How Many Vietnams?" (*National Review*, September 5, 1967). After Guevara's death a number of significant articles appeared in the magazines just mentioned, as well as in *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The New Yorker*, *Ramparts* and *Evergreen*.

The best coverage of the Guevara outside the United States may be found in Cuban and Argentine periodicals. Cuban periodicals of note are *Verde Olivo*, *Granma*, *Bohemia*, *Casa de las Américas*, and *Tricontinental*. In Argentina, the most extensive coverage may be found in *Situación*, *Che*, *Siete Días*, *La Vanguardia*, *Usted*, *Así*, *La Prensa*, *Clarín*, *Primera Plana*, and *Política*. For coverage of the Bolivian insurrection, consult *Presencia*, *Ultima Hora*, and *Confirmando Internacional*.

Three items published after Guevara's death deserve special note. The first two, Jay Mallin's article "Che Guevara: Some Documentary Puzzles at the End of a Long Journey" (*Journal of Inter-American Studies*, January 1968), and Dolores Moyano Martín's article, "Memoir of the Young Guevara" (*New York Times Magazine*, August 18, 1968), were published in periodicals. The third item was a report prepared by the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Organization of American States (December 20, 1968). It is entitled "Study of the Diary of Che Guevara in Bolivia." The committee analyzed the diaries of Guevara, and Fidel Castro's introduction to the *Ramparts* and Bantam editions of the diary, with the intention of proving that Cuba was directly responsible for the guerrilla activities in Bolivia. Aside from finding Cuba guilty of attempting to foment revolution, the report also contains valuable documents, including the texts of the radio messages sent between Fidel Castro and Major Guevara. Also included are names, aliases, countries of origin and final disposition of all the guerrillas who participated in the insurrection in Bolivia. Several maps of the zone of guerrilla operations have been provided. The principal defect of the report is the failure to list the background and qualifications of the seven members of the special committee, thus leaving a residue of doubt as to the objectivity of the report.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY I

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