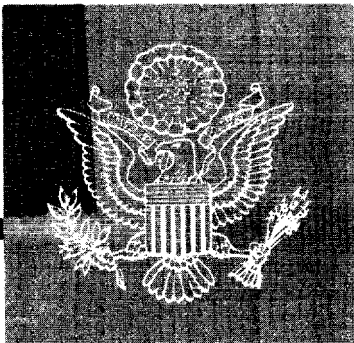


Intelligence Report

No. 6537

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF GUATEMALA AND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Communist Penetration of Czechoslovakia and Guatemala: Comparison and Contrast	1
II. Communist Penetration of Guatemala	2
III. Communist Penetration of Czechoslovakia	6

APPENDIX

A. Chronology of Communist Penetration of Guatemala	1
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I. Communist Penetration of Czechoslovakia and Guatemala:
Comparison and Contrast

Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia in February 1948 was preceded by a steady penetration of the most important spheres of national life. The following similarities with Guatemala may be noted: (1) Communists dominated the trade unions, press and public information activities, intellectual groups, and mass organizations; (2) Communists controlled the Ministry of Agriculture, which enabled them to use land distribution for political purposes and to exert a strong influence on the rural population; (3) Communists concealed their real aims behind a smoke-screen of nationalism and revolutionary social reform; (4) No important leader, political party or any large segment of the population was willing to oppose the Communists vigorously and directly.

In contrast to Guatemala where Communist penetration has been gradual, the Czechoslovak Communists achieved a dominant position from the very beginning of Czechoslovakia's liberation in 1945. The fact that four-fifths of the country had been liberated by the Soviet Army and that Czechoslovakia was almost completely surrounded by territory under Soviet occupation forced the London exile government of President Benes to agree to a disproportionate role for the Communists in the new Czechoslovakian government. The first Czechoslovak government established in April 1945 had 40 percent of its Cabinet posts occupied by Communists or crypto-Communists. The Provisional National Assembly was also heavily laden with Communists and obedient fellow travelers. In addition, the Communists secured control of the police and local government and gained enough influence over the army to render it ineffective as an anti-Communist instrument even if President Benes had decided to call upon it to resist Communist pressure in February 1948.

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2

II. Communist Penetration of Guatemala (1944 - 1954)

For the past ten years Guatemala has been subjected to Communist penetration. Since 1951, the year in which President Arbenz came to power, this penetration has proceeded at an accelerated rate. By militant action in support of the social and nationalist objectives of the Guatemalan Revolution of 1944, the Communists and their sympathizers have attained extensive and increasing influence within the government. The success of the Guatemalan Communists has been achieved through the personal influence of individual Communists and pro-Communists with the President and within the Administration political parties, through infiltration of the bureaucracy, through penetration and control of labor organizations, and through leadership of the agrarian reform movement. It has been reinforced by propaganda and front activities.

Government officials and other political leaders have been extremely tolerant of the Communists and willing to work with them. Under President Arbenz toleration has changed to open and official collaboration with the Guatemalan Communist Party which, since December 1952, has enjoyed legal status under the name of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT).

The growth of Communist influence in Guatemala dates from the leftist-nationalist Revolution of 1944, but it has accelerated since the Arbenz Administration came to power in 1951. Until 1950 the small group of Guatemalan Communists, as a party, operated largely clandestinely. Their sporadic attempts to organize a Party met with little or no success until 1949 when they held their First Party Congress, adopted the name of the Communist Party of Guatemala, and elected José Manuel Fortuny Secretary General. By 1950 the Party began to emerge from underground and by 1951 it was operating openly, despite prohibitions in the Guatemalan Constitution against political organizations of "an international or foreign character" or which act in subordination to a foreign government or political organizations.

The years between 1944 and 1951 which saw the transformation of the Guatemalan Communists from small clandestine groups into a full-fledged overt Communist Party also witnessed the spread of Communist influence in key social and political sectors. Government departments, the important non-Communist Administration political parties, press and radio, and professional and "mass" organizations were subjected to Communist infiltration in varying degrees. Of the "mass" organizations Guatemalan labor unions soon became a prime target for Communist activities. Communist success in this area strengthened overall Communist influence since it placed under their control the group whose political support became essential to the Administration as it moved further toward leftist and nationalistic extremes.

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Communist efforts to infiltrate Guatemalan labor came to a climax in 1951 with the formation of the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (CGTG). This confederation combined into a single organization under Communist domination the principal unions of the country, excluding certain rural unions. Many rural workers had been organized as the National Confederation of Rural Workers (CNCG) the preceding year under the leadership of Leonardo Castillo Flores who has since become strongly pro-Communist.

As the Guatemalan Communists moved their Party operations into the open and succeeded in gaining control of almost all organized labor in the country, they also made progress in other directions. Communists and pro-Communists appeared more frequently in government positions and some of them attained posts of great importance and influence. The strongly pro-Communist Enrique Muñoz Meany and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes served as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1947-1949) and President of Congress (1951-1952) respectively. Other Communists and fellow travelers won promotions in government service and strengthened their position in the official radio and press. Communists and sympathizers increased their influence in the non-Communist Administration parties and ran for office on their tickets. At the same time they founded and activated professional, youth, women's and "peace" Communist front organizations which, along with the CGTG, began to serve as effective outlets for Communist propaganda and instruments of Communist political action.

The emergence of the Guatemalan Communist Party as a full-fledged political organization and its spectacular success in the field of labor occurred subsequent to the coming to power of the Arbenz Administration. Indeed Communist success in unifying Guatemalan labor was won with the encouragement and aid of the Arbenz regime. The same may be said for other Communist advances in the period between 1951 and the present.

The Communists exploited the Agrarian Reform Law passed in June of 1952 to extend their penetration of Guatemalan society and to increase their political capabilities. They steered the law through Congress and have been most active in implementing it. Through their activities in this field the Communists hope to win mass support from among the unorganized peasantry.

The next step in the Communist pattern of penetration in Guatemala was to obtain for the Communist Party formal entry into the Administration party coalition and registration as a legal political organization. Entry into the government coalition took place in October 1952. Shortly thereafter the Communist Party changed its name to the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT) and registered as a legal party.

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Today, as active supporters of and collaborators with the Arbenz Government, Communists and pro-Communists continue to increase their strength and prestige. They can be found in all departments of government. Four of the fifty-six deputies in the national legislature are Communists and many other legislators are fellow travelers and crypto-Communists. At least one pro-Communist sits on the Supreme Court. The executive department from the office of the President to various ministries and the National Agrarian Department is honeycombed with Communists and sympathizers. Although the Communists have yet to gain a Cabinet post, two pro-Communists have held the post of Foreign Minister and one pro-Communist is at present Minister of the Interior. Communists and confirmed fellow travelers hold key positions in the Social Security Institute, the National Agrarian Department, and the Ministry of Labor. Moreover, the two top Communists, José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PGT, and Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, Secretary General of the CGTG, have ready access to President Arbenz. Pro-Communists also hold important diplomatic posts abroad and in the UN. Several are included in the Guatemalan Delegation to the forthcoming Tenth Inter-American Conference. The Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism of the President's office is heavily infiltrated by Communists and fellow travelers and so are the official press and radio.

Despite the formation and legalization of the Guatemalan Communist Party, Communists continue to occupy important positions within the non-Communist Administration parties. Four Communists or pro-Communists are currently serving on the Central Committee of the PRG and the pro-Communist Secretary General of this party, Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, was recently reelected to this post with the backing of the Communist clique. Confirmed fellow travelers are at present chief officers of the PAR and RN and many other pro-Communists may be found occupying influential posts within these organizations.

In 1953 both the CGTG and the CNCG affiliated with the regional Communist labor front CTAL and the world labor front WFTU. All key positions in the CGTG are held by members of the PGT. The CNCG is strongly influenced by the PGT. Moreover, Leonardo Castillo Flores, leader of the CNCG, recently returned from Moscow apparently a more confirmed fellow traveler than before he went. Finally, the Communists have expanded their control over labor by leading the government-supported agrarian reform program. The CGTG and the CNCG gained virtual control of agrarian reform machinery in June 1953 when Congress voted them two-thirds of the seats in the 21 Departmental Agrarian Commissions and one-third of the seats in the National Agrarian Council.

All the Communist front organizations, both professional and "mass", are at present extremely active in supporting the Arbenz Government in its struggle against alleged intervention from neighboring countries, including the US. They are providing effective machinery for the dissemination of Communist and official Guatemalan anti-US propaganda. In this endeavor they are aided and abetted by the government radio and press and by all the Administration parties.

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The last few years has seen a decided upswing in the number of Guatemalans who have travelled to the Soviet Orbit under Communist auspices. It is estimated that in the second half of 1953 nearly 50 Guatemalans travelled to the Orbit and of these about a dozen visited Moscow. Both Fortuny and Gutiérrez recently returned from rather extended visits in the Soviet Union. Upon their return, they accused the US of collaborating with certain Latin American countries in an alleged conspiracy against Guatemalan sovereignty.

The Communists in Guatemala have achieved their present influential position with the toleration and even the encouragement of the Guatemalan Government, especially that of President Arbenz who has shown a strong sympathy for them. Arbenz continues to be the key to the Communists' success. He evidently finds them a useful instrument of government in a regime which, despite authoritarian tendencies, desires to present a democratic façade to the world. Whether or not he fully appreciates the dangers of Communism, he apparently believes that he controls the Communist organization. There is still no doubt that, with the backing of the Army, Arbenz has the physical force to eliminate Communist ringleaders and incapacitate the Communist organization. However, Arbenz' program and militant following are by now so closely identified with Communism that he probably feels his personal political fortunes would be endangered by an effort to break with the Communist movement.

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III. Communist Penetration of Czechoslovakia (1945 - 1948)

The first Czechoslovak government established in April 1945 contained eight ~~Communists~~ holding cabinet posts, as well as two crypto-Communists, thus giving the Communists 40 percent of the cabinet seats. The Provisional National Assembly was also heavily occupied by Communists and obedient fellow travelers. The Communists seized practically all organs of local government, with their enormous powers over the everyday lives of the citizens. Since the first national election was not held until a year after the liberation, the Communists had an opportunity to solidify their position and to develop further organization and penetration schemes. The nationalization of industry decreed in October 1945 placed most of the nation's important industries in a position where political pressure from the trade unions and Communists in government could effectively control them.

In the political arena the Communists had seen to it that the pre-war conservative parties were not permitted to reorganize and that the few legal parties were bound to operate within the framework of an ostensible coalition, the so-called National Front. The Communists made no effort to conceal their Soviet connections and in fact used these connections to silence opposition. Communist control of the police and of the machinery for punishing wartime collaborators made it easy to subject outspoken anti-Communists to harassment at the very least and often arrest and indictment on trumped-up charges of collaboration. In the elections of May 1946 the Communists won 38 percent of the popular vote, more than twice as much as any other political party. Together with the Social Democrats, who had won 13 percent and were amenable to Communist manipulation, the Communists dominated the National Assembly. The new government formed as a result of this election contained a Communist Prime Minister (Klement Gottwald), a Communist Deputy Prime Minister, a crypto-Communist Deputy Prime Minister nominally representing the Social Democratic Party, and numerous cabinet ministers controlling such vital ministries as Interior, Agriculture, Defense, Finance and Information.

From the very beginning the Communists managed to keep alive the spirit of terror and uncertainty which the Germans had maintained during the six years of their occupation. The Czechs were morally exhausted by this time and were in no mood to expose themselves to danger by opposing the new totalitarians. A majority of the population sought to make peace with the Communists, either by outright joining of the Party or, at the very least, by remaining silent and impassive so as not to incur Communist disfavor. Normal law and order were never properly reestablished. The police operated independently of parliamentary and cabinet control.

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The trade union federation, operated by the Germans as a unified successor to the various pre-war unions under Communist, Social Democratic and National Socialist control, was taken over completely by the Communist Party. It was used to voice the most extreme demagogic appeals, partly to capture for the Communist Party the allegiance of the numerous and influential industrial laboring classes, and partly to bring pressure on the government and make it impossible for the pre-war administrative and managerial classes to maintain any control over business and industry. The Communists in the various factories were organized into an armed militia which served to intimidate anti-Communists in the factories themselves and also to create the impression in the population generally that the Communists were ready to use force to have their way. The ability of the Communist-dominated unions to paralyze an industry and indeed the entire country by strikes also served as a potent means of intimidating the national government and discouraging effective opposition by anti-Communists.

From the beginning the Communists got control of the Ministry of Information and Enlightenment. The state radio was entirely Communist-controlled and Communist control of newspaper licensing, newsprint allocation, and Communist determination of the professional qualifications of journalists made it very difficult for non-Communist parties to get their message across to the people. In addition, criticism of the USSR was totally prohibited. In practice this meant that criticism of the Communists was dangerous, since it could be construed by the Communist police and local administration as criticism of the USSR.

The principal psychological advantage enjoyed by the Communists was their successful pose as the most nationalist of Czech parties. They took the initiative in turning the selective expulsion of the Sudeten Germans into a brutal, mass expulsion and stressed that the Soviet Union was the best defender of Czechoslovak national interests against the perennial German menace. Since the West had failed to save Czechoslovakia at Munich and the Soviet Union eventually liberated four-fifths of Czechoslovakia, this argument was accepted more or less by all Czech parties. It was only one step from this to the Communist claim that they, having the closest tie to the Soviet Union of any political party, could best safeguard Czechoslovakia's national interests.

The Communists also masked their true program behind a program of revolutionary social reform, laying particular stress upon the industrial workers and the poorer peasants, but avoiding an open espousal of class warfare. The initiative was wrested away from the non-Communist parties and the latter were always kept off balance by trying to meet constantly increasing demands by the Communists and Communist-controlled mass organizations for wage increases, nationalization and other far-reaching measures which impeded the already difficult process of economic reconstruction.

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Communist control of the Ministry of Agriculture and of local government made it possible to control the redistribution of land, fertilizer, farm machinery, seed, credit, rations, apartments and other material assistance to citizens. Those who opposed the Communists found themselves systematically discriminated against by the Communist authorities. At almost every point in an ordinary citizen's daily life he was in contact with some Communist-controlled organization -- be it police, trade-union, or government bureau -- which used its powers to advance Party rather than public interests.

By the time of the final crisis in February 1948 the democratic parties and the population at large had made so many concessions to the Communists that it was too late to make an effective stand. President Benes had cooperated with the Communists from the very beginning as a matter of elementary national necessity. He had assumed, however, that the Soviet Union was interested only in Czechoslovakia's maintaining an unquestioning loyalty to the USSR in international affairs and that the Soviet Union was not determined to impose a Communist government on the country. He had also assumed that the Czechoslovak Communists would continue to play the parliamentary game by the traditional rules, despite their obvious contempt for democratic procedure and their gradual formation of almost a state within a state. The immediate occasion for the February crisis was a demand by the non-Communist parties that the Communist Minister of the Interior cease replacing non-Communist police officials with Communists. The Communists met this challenge with a show of force, including the massing of Communists militia and trade-union activists in Prague. The presence of the Soviet Army on all Czechoslovak frontiers but one, and the recent seizure of neighboring regimes by the Communists (Poland and Hungary) created an atmosphere of hopelessness. From the beginning in 1945 the Czechs had felt that they had been assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence and that no help would be forthcoming from the West, even if resistance were offered. As a result President Benes capitulated to the Communists' demands for a new government under their control and the population offered no resistance.

The Communist victory in 1948 was only the culmination of a series of surrenders which the democratic elements had made to the Communists beginning in 1945. The President and the non-Communist political parties never became effective rallying points for effective opposition to the Communists. They persisted in the illusion that the Communists would continue to share power with them. The population was unwilling to take risks and was all too ready to compromise to avoid trouble. The impetus for the final drive for power was probably supplied by the Soviet Union, since this was the time when Yugoslavia was about to break with the Kremlin and the Marshall Plan was just coming into existence. The strategic position of Czechoslovakia, together with its important uranium deposits, made it absolutely essential to Soviet interests that the country be firmly in the Soviet grasp.

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Appendix A

Chronology of Communist Penetration of Guatemala

1. Formation and Emergence of a Communist Party
2. Government Positions Held by Communists and Pro-Communists
3. Communists and Pro-Communists in Labor Organizations
4. Communists in Professional Organizations
5. Communists in "Mass" Organizations
6. Communist Infiltration of, and Influence in, other Political Parties
7. President Arbenz' Attitude toward Communists
8. Travel of Guatemalan Communists
9. Government Tolerance of Communist Propaganda
10. Foreign Communists' Visits to Guatemala
11. Attitudes toward and Relations with International Communism

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2.

Formation and Emergence of a Communist Party

- 1945 Two unsuccessful attempts made to organize Communist Party.
- 1947 Unsuccessful effort made to organize Communist Party under name of National Popular Vanguard.
- September 28, 1947 Democratic Vanguard, forerunner of Guatemalan Communist Party, founded.
- September 28, 1949 Guatemalan Communists held First Party Congress, adopted name Communist Party of Guatemala, and elected José Manuel Fortuny Secretary General.
- May 1950 Fortuny and nine others resigned from the Party of Revolutionary Action to form new group, Vanguard Communist Party, oriented on international Communist lines.
- May 1950 Upon resigning from the Party of Revolutionary Action, José Manuel Fortuny and nine others issued a statement which, in essence, was a full admission of complete loyalty to Marxism as fathered by Lenin-Stalin doctrinism, and as expressed in 1950 in the domestic and international policies of the Soviet Union. Thus: "In the camp of peace are the Soviet Union, the Popular China of Mao Tse Tung, the popular democracies of Europe and Asia, the liberating movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and the working class of all countries, directed by the Communist parties." "In the camp of the warlike imperialists are the monopolistic circles and the financial capital centralized in the United States ... England ... France and Italy ..." "The Soviet Union has as a fundamental basis of its international policy the possibility of pacific co-existence of the two systems over a long period." "... the USSR never will be an aggressor ..." "... the United States and ... the capitalistic countries are ... potential aggressors ..." "... the working classes ..." must "... organize ... for ... the fight against imperialism and reaction." "What our people demand is a vanguard party, a party effectively

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- of the proletariat, really revolutionary, free of any bourgeois or imperialist influence ..." "... we will ... fight for the immediate task of the democratic-bourgeois revolution ... in order to reach as an end the inauguration of socialism ..."
- June 1950 Communist-line Revolutionary Workers' Party of Guatemala founded by Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, who published manifesto outlining pro-Soviet objectives in virtually same manner that Fortuny group did.
- June 21, 1950 Newspaper Octubre founded by Communist Party of Guatemala led by José Manuel Fortuny.
- July 1950 Octubre first published openly.
- September 6, 1950 Communist indoctrination school named "Jacobo Sánchez", founded under direction of Alfredo Guerra Borges and Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez.
- April 4, 1951 José Manuel Fortuny began publicly signing documents as "Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala". Two Communist manifestoes appeared in the official press.
- June 21, 1951 Communist Party of Guatemala held first public ceremony attended by high government officials at which it announced intention to become a legally registered party.
- July 1951 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez admitted to press that he was a Communist.
- January 25, 1952 After trip to Moscow, Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez dissolved Revolutionary Workers' Party of Guatemala and joined the Communist Party of Guatemala headed by José Manuel Fortuny. Advised followers to do same.
- December 11-14, 1952 Guatemalan Communists held Second Party Congress, reelected José Manuel Fortuny Secretary General, changed name to Guatemalan Labor Party, reorganized party along Stalinist lines, and converted weekly Octubre into daily paper.

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- December 11-14, 1952 In presenting draft statutes of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party at the Second Party Congress, the Political Committee described them as "statutes of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class of our country" based upon "... principles with which Lenin enriched the Marxist doctrine in the creation of instruments capable of constructing the new society—more humane, more just, without the exploited and the exploiters ..."
- December 19, 1952 Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party registered by Guatemalan Government as legal party in Civil Registry.
- 1953 The Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party adhered to Soviet line. Thus, it endorsed accusation of Stalin government that "Jewish doctors" had plotted the death of certain Soviet leaders, reversed itself after Stalin's death in March by endorsing the new line put out by Beria that the doctors' confession had been extracted by "impermissible means", and finally reversed itself again by joining in Malenkov's accusations that Beria was a traitor.
- February 17, 1953 "Jacobo Sánchez" School reopened in keeping with Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party decision to expand educational program.
- May 16-17, 1953 In a policy report to the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, José Manuel Fortuny laid down a seven-point plan: (1) "The application of Agrarian Reform must be carried on"; (2) "Intensify the fight against foreign monopolies and increase the anti-imperialist sentiment of our people"; (3) "Denounce with greater insistence the counter-revolutionary activities of feudal imperialist reaction ..."; (4) "Give increasing support to the progressive measures undertaken by ... President Arbenz"; (5) "Improve the living conditions of the masses"; (6) "Cultivate and strengthen organic unity and united action of the working class"; and (7) "Tighten the alliance between the workers and the peasants." In this same statement, Fortuny added: "We Communists are the best defenders of democratic liberties here and everywhere."

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- August 8-9, 1953** Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party held National Conference on organization at which it claimed 100 percent rise in membership, or total of approximately 1,150 members.
- August 15, 1953** Communist organ Tribuna Popular published daily in place of former weekly Octubre.
- September 6, 1953** The Communist daily Tribuna Popular carried a cartoon depicting the United States as a claw over Guatemala and captioned "Leave or go home."
- November 20-22, 1953** For the first time, the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party elected its candidates mayors of several towns in countrywide municipal elections.
- January 19, 1954** According to the Communist daily Tribuna Popular, José Manuel Fortuny sent the following message to the US Communist newspaper Daily Worker: "Accept the warm salute of our Party on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of your newspaper, the valiant spokesman of the legitimate interests of the North American people, democracy, socialism, and peace"
- January 23, 1954** Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, Department of Escuintla Committee, held Lenin commemoration meeting in government-owned school.

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6.

Government Positions Held by Communists and Pro-Communists

1945 Abel Guenca Martinez, Salvadoran, appointed Secretary of Legation in Ecuador.

1945 Luis Cardoza y Aragón appointed Minister to USSR, Norway and Sweden.

1945 Carlos Manuel Pellecer accredited as First Secretary to USSR, Norway and Sweden.

1945 Rafael de Buen y Lozano served as Professor in Humanities in the University of San Carlos, the national university.

1945-1946 Alfonso Orantes served as Minister to Costa Rica.

March 1945 José Manuel Fortuny, now Secretary General of Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, elected a secretary of National Congress and appointed a member of its Committees on Foreign Relations and on Government, Labor and Social Security.

April 1945 Eliseo Martínez Zelada helped organize and served as Chief of President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

April 1945 José Manuel Fortuny appointed member of newly created Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

April 1945 to February 1946 Pedro Geoffroy Rivas served as an announcer for government broadcasting station, TGW.

September 1945 to September 1947 Enrique Muñoz Meany served as Minister to France.

1946 Julio Antonio Reyes Cardona served as a Sub-Secretary in Ministry of Economy and Labor.

1946-1947 Alfonso Orantes served as Minister to Panama.

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1946-1948 Carlos Manuel Pellecer made Secretary of Legation in Paris where he and Minister Muñoz Meany associated with various Communist groups. Travelled to Satellite countries.

February 1946 to June 1946 Pedro Geoffroy Rivas served as member of Board of Directors of government broadcasting station, TGW.

June 1946 Alfredo Silva Jonama served as Chief of Propaganda of government broadcasting station, TGW, of which he was later made Director.

October 1946 to 1947 Luis Cardoza y Aragón served as Minister to Colombia.

1947 Alfonso Orantes served as Minister to Ecuador.

1947 Abel Cuenca Martínez served as Press Attaché in San José, Costa Rica.

1947 Rafael de Buen y Lozano appointed adviser to Minister of Economy and Labor.

1947-1948 Alfonso Orantes appointed Minister to Venezuela.

September 1947 to September 1949 Enrique Muñoz Meany served as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

1948 Miguel Angel Asturias appointed Cultural Attaché in Argentina.

1948 Ricardo E. Alvarado held position in Ministry of Education.

1948 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1948-1949 Carlos Manuel Pellecer served as Chief of Traveling Cultural Missions sponsored by Ministry of Education.

1948-1949 Alfonso Orantes served as Ambassador to Chile.

1948-1949 Ignacio Humberto Ortiz employed by Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1948-1949 Manuel Pinto Usaga served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1948-1949 Alfredo Guerra Borges served as Editor in President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

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1948-1950 Natzul Aguirre Cook served in Protocol Section of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

February 1948 Víctor Manuel Gutierrez participated actively in Traveling Cultural Missions.

February 1948 to 1949 José H. Zamora appointed to President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

March 12, 1948 Alfredo Silva Jonama appointed Under Secretary in Ministry of Education.

April 1948 to January 1949 Miguel Angel Vásquez served as Chief of Publicity in Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

April 1948 Luis Cardoza y Aragón appointed Ambassador to Chile.

May to June 1948 Rafael de Bueny Lozano served as instructor in Civil Guard.

September 1948 to April 1950 Luis Cardoza y Aragón served as Minister to France.

1949 Eliseo Martinez Zelada served as First Secretary in Cuba.

1949 Miguel Angel Valladares employed by Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1949 Rafael de Buen y Lozano served as Professor of Biology in University of San Carlos, the national university.

1949-1950 Alfredo Guerra Borges served as Editor-in-Chief of official gazette, Diario de Centro América.

1949-1950 Alfredo Silva Jonama served in President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

1949-1950 Carlos Manuel Pellecer served as Secretary of Legation in France.

1949-1950 Antonio Ovando Sánchez employed in Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

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1949-1952 Humberto Alvarado served as employee in President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

January 1949 Virginia Bravo Lethelier served in various capacities in Ministry of Education, chiefly as vocational aids expert.

January 1949 Miguel Angel Vásquez served in Ministry of Education as chief editor of publications section.

January 1949 Alfredo Guerra Borges appointed Secretary of Embassy in El Salvador.

February 1949 Carlos Manuel Pellecer appointed Director of the Traveling Cultural Missions.

May 1949 Rafael de Buen y Lozano appointed teacher in Institute of Diplomatic and Consular Training.

July 1949 José Lion de Petre appointed Director of Institute of Diplomatic and Consular Training.

August 1949 José Méndez Zebadua appointed Director of National Petroleum Institute.

August 1949 to 1950 Alvaro Hugo Salguero served as Secretary of Embassy in Costa Rica.

September 1949 Héctor Morgan García appointed delegate to United Nations General Assembly.

November 1949 Eliseo Martínez Zelada served as Director of government broadcasting station, TGW.

1950 Ricardo E. Alvarado served as Private Secretary to President Arévalo.

1950 Enrique Muñoz Meany reappointed Minister to France.

1950 Rafael de Buen y Lozano served as Consultant for the Production Development Institute.

1950 Carlos René Valle employed by National Petroleum Institute.

1950 Virginia Bravo Letelier served as adviser to Minister of Education.

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March 1950 Ricardo E. Alvarado appointed Ambassador to Costa Rica.

March 1950 Humberto Alvarado made head of President Arévalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

April 1950 Alvaro Hugo Salguero appointed Private Secretary to President Arévalo.

May 1950 Miguel Angel Asturias appointed Counselor of Embassy in Argentina.

1950-1951 Virginia Bravo Letelier headed Department of Audio Visual Aid in Ministry of Education.

1950-1952 Octavio Reyes Ortiz employed by National Petroleum Institute.

1951 Héctor Morgan Garcia served as Minister of Education.

1951 Max Ricardo Cuenca Martínez employed in Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1951 Natzul Aguirre Cook served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1951 Bernardo Alvarado Monzón served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1951 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

February 1951 Bernardo Alvarado Monzón served as a member of Board of Directors of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

April 1951 Alfonso Solórzano appointed head of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

May 1951 Abel Cuenca Martínez appointed office manager of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

November 1951 Enrique Muñoz Meany appointed Chief of Delegation to United Nations General Assembly.

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1951-1953 Carlos Serrano served as editor of government subsidized Nuestro Diario.

1952 José Solís Rojas employed in Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

1952 Natzul Aguirre Cook employed by Guatemalan Aviation Company.

1952 Edelberto Torres headed Editorial Office, Ministry of Education, and taught in the University of San Carlos, the national university.

1952 Miguel Angel Valladares employed in Cultural Missions.

1952 Carlos René Valle employed by National Petroleum Institute.

1952 Oscar Benítez Bone, Minister to Panama, engaged in Communist activities which resulted in his recall being requested by the Panamanian Government.

1952-1953 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez and José Alberto Cardoza served, respectively, as Chairmen of Congress' Special Committee on Agrarian Reform and Special Committee on Revision of the Labor Code.

1952-1953 Julio Estrada de la Hoz served as President of Congress.

March 24, 1952 Jaime Díaz Rossotto appointed Secretary General of the Presidency.

March 24, 1952 Virgilio Zapata Mendía appointed member of National Electoral Board.

May 1952 Manuel Pinto Usaga appointed Consul in Mexico City.

July 1952 Leonardo Castillo Flores and José Luis Ramos appointed to National Agrarian Council, supreme policy agency of National Agrarian system.

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September 1952 Rafael Tischler appointed by National Agrarian Department as its representative to Directorate General of Fundamental Education.

September 1952 Raúl Leiva appointed Acting Director of the official radio station, TGW.

September 1952 Leonardo Castillo Flores, José Luis Ramos, Otto Raúl González and Max González served on National Agrarian Department delegation which distributed 44,000 acres of land to farm workers.

October 1952 Oscar Benitez Bone appointed Minister to Bolivia.

November 21, 1952 Raúl Osegueda appointed Foreign Minister.

1953 Alfonso Orantes served as President of National Electoral Board.

1953 Víctor Manuel Gutierrez served on faculty of the University of San Carlos, the national university.

March 1, 1953 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez and José Alberto Cardoza elected chairmen, respectively, of the Agrarian Reform and Labor Code Revision Committees of the National Congress.

April 1953 Carlos Alvarado Jerez serving as Director of official radio station, TGW.

July 1953 Eliseo Martínez Zelada appointed Ambassador to Bolivia.

July 1953 Roberto Alvarado Fuentes appointed Ambassador to Mexico.

July 1953 Miguel Angel Asturias appointed Ambassador to El Salvador.

July 31, 1953 Carlos Alvarado Jerez appointed Director General of Radio Broadcasting.

August 28, 1953 José Luis Ramos of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party was a member of the National Agrarian Council.

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September 1953 Carlos González Orellana appointed to UN delegation.

September 1953 Julio Estrada de la Hoz appointed to UN delegation.

October 1953 Hugo Barrios Klée appointed Deputy Inspector General of Labor.

October 9, 1953 Otto Raúl González served as representative of Directorate General of Statistics on National Agrarian Council.

October 9, 1953 Raúl Leiva served in President Jacobo Arbenz' Information Office as Chief of Press Section.

October 9, 1953 The following members of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party were employees of the National Agrarian Department: Waldemar Barrios Klée, Natzul Aguirre Cook, Marco Antonio Blanco, Florencio Méndez, Juan Rafael Vittorazzi, Rafael Tischler, Eugenio Arrivillaga Véliz, Roberto Bran Maldonado, Jorge Villavivencio Marroquin, and Eduardo Sosa Montalvo.

October 9, 1953 In National Agrarian Department some top officials, 13 of 20 inspectors and, at least, 12 of 350 other employees are Communists or Communist sympathizers. Guatemalan Labor Party, through General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers and National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala, exerts strong influence in implementation of Agrarian Law.

November 9, 1953 Four of 56 deputies in Congress are Communists — Víctor Manuel Cutiérrez, José Alberto Cardoza, César Montenegro Paniagua, Carlos Manuel Pellecer.

January 1954 Waldemar Barrios Klée appointed Acting Chief of National Agrarian Department.

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14.

Communists and Pro-Communists in Labor Organizations

- December 5, 1944 Confederation of Guatemalan Workers founded with help of Communists particularly from El Salvador.
- 1946 Labor indoctrination school, Escuela Claridad, established in the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers with Abel Cuenca Martínez as director.
- 1946 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez served as Secretary General of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers and of the Union of Educational Workers of Guatemala, and as a member of the Committee of Syndical Unity and of the Executive Committee of CTAL.
- January 1946 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez elected deputy on the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers-Party of Revolutionary Action ticket from the Department of Guatemala to the National Congress, in which body he took an active interest in labor problems.
- January 1946 Syndical Federation of Guatemala formed and became the largest Communist-controlled labor organization in Guatemala.
- 1946-1947 Manuel Pinto Usaga served as member of the National Executive Committee and Secretary of Organization and Propaganda for the Syndical Federation of Guatemala.
- December 1946 National Committee of Syndical Unity formed under Communist auspices to coordinate the activities of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, the Syndical Federation of Guatemala, and the Central Regional Federation of Workers. Emphasized line followed by World Federation of Trade Unions and Latin American Confederation of Workers.

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- 1947 Confederation of Guatemalan Workers joined praise of USSR with denunciations of US imperialism.
- 1947 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez organized the United Fruit Company union of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers.
- August 1948 Secretary General Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez stated that the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers would organize peasant communes.
- December 1948 Manuel Pinto Usaga of the Railway Workers' Union founded its Political Committee.
- May 1, 1949 May Day Parade demonstrated the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions and Latin American Confederation of Workers direction of Guatemalan organized labor. President Arévalo and government closely identified themselves with these May Day festivals.
- September 1949 National Committee of Syndical Unity at suggestion of Manuel Pinto Usaga advocated an agrarian reform program.
- December 18-19, 1949 Railway Workers' Political Committee adopted Communist-line policy statement.
- January 21-22, 1950 Manuel Pinto Usaga organized and became Secretary General of the National Political Committee of Guatemalan Workers.
- 1950 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez elected Secretary of Propaganda for the National Political Committee of Guatemalan Workers. In his keynote address at the national convention of workers' political committees, Gutiérrez clearly stated his belief in Communism.
- January 1950 Influenced chiefly by Manuel Pinto Usaga, the Syndical Federation of Guatemala affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Latin American Confederation of Workers.

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December 22, 1950 Communist-controlled Revolutionary Workers of Guatemala presented medals to President-elect Arbenz and to Minister of Communications and Public Works, Colonel Carlos Aldana Sandoval.

January 1951 Syndical Federation of Guatemala and Confederation of Guatemalan Workers urged their affiliates to collect assessment for annual contribution to the Latin American Confederation of Workers.

January 1951 Secretary General of the National Political Committee of Workers, Manuel Pinto Usaga, announced the organization's continued operation despite fact it was formed with sole purpose of participating in 1950 elections.

January 29, 1951 to January 29, 1953 Syndical Federation of Guatemala controlled by Secretary General Manuel Pinto Usaga and other Communists and fellow travelers.

May 1, 1951 Labor demonstration displayed anti-US and pro-Communist slogans.

May 10-13, 1951 Conference by World Federation of Trade Unions and Latin American Confederation of Workers with representatives of Latin American Land and Air Transport syndicates held in Guatemala City with participation of Communist labor leaders (including World Federation of Trade Unions Secretary General Luis Saillant and Latin American Confederation of Workers Secretary General Lombardo Toledano). Opening meeting attended by prominent officials of Guatemalan Government. In addition to usual denunciations of US and propaganda for peace, the conference urged unification of Guatemalan labor.

October 12-14, 1951 General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers embracing all labor organizations of any importance formed at labor congress in Guatemala City with help of World Federation of Trade Unions Luis Saillant and Latin American Confederation of Workers Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez

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- elected Secretary General and Communists placed in key positions. All speeches at Congress followed the Communist line. Messages of congratulations sent by President Arbenz and ex-President Arévalo. Attending this meeting were Minister of Communications and Public Works as Arbenz' official representative and President of National Congress. Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez elected Secretary General.
- March 1952 Communist-influenced labor and political organizations assured Administration of their support in face of anti-Communist demonstration.
- May 28 to June 1, 1952 José Luis Ramos elected secretary for training of National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala.
- June 1952 Diario de Centro América, government official newspaper, quoted Carlos Manuel Pellecer as saying that the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers had directed formation of committees of self-defense to fight shoulder to shoulder with authorities of the country "against the enemies of the Revolution."
- July 1952 The National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala announced that it had taken part in forming about 400 local Agrarian Commissions. The General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers continued to send propaganda squads into rural areas.
- September 1952 Pro-Communist Secretary General of the National Confederation of Rural Workers Leonardo Castillo Flores, expelled Amor Velasco de León which opened way for tighter control by Communists.
- June 18-20, 1953 Communists and Communist sympathizers made impressive gains in the Railway Workers' Union by winning elections for officers.

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- June 19, 1953 Communist-controlled General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers and Communist-oriented National Confederation of Rural Workers gained virtual control of Agrarian Reform machinery when National Congress voted them 2 of 3 positions on Departmental Agrarian Commissions.
- August 27, 1953 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez announced that the World Federation of Trade Unions had accepted affiliation of the Central Confederation of Guatemalan Workers.
- October 9, 1953 All key positions in the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers held by members of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.
- October 9, 1953 With pro-Communist Leonardo Castillo Flores as Secretary General, the National Confederation of Rural Workers is strongly influenced by the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.
- November 1953 Tribuna Popular, the Communist daily, reported that Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Carlos Manuel Pellecer and Víctor A. Leal were elected to the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
- December 1953 to January 1954 Labor organizations throughout Guatemala held a series of meetings to build up enthusiasm for the Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers.
- January 30, 1954 Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers offered President Arbenz support "in face of plans of imperialist intervention in connivance with traitors to Guatemala." Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez reelected Secretary General.
- February 1, 1954 The General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers distributed banners protesting "foreign intervention" which were flown over many cities and towns. At its headquarters in Guatemala City the red Communist flag flew beside the Guatemalan emblem.

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February 1, 1954

At the Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, Carlos Manuel Pellecer stated that Fascism, crushed in Europe, had risen again with renewed vigor in the United States.

February 2, 1954

The Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers proposed to the government that active diplomatic relations be renewed with the USSR.

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Communists in Professional Organizations

- January 1945 Syndicate of Guatemalan Educational Workers founded with help of Communists and Communist sympathizers, including José Manuel Fortuny.
- 1947 During or before 1947, Syndicate of Revolutionary Intellectual and Artistic Workers, a Communist-oriented syndicate of artists and intellectuals, was founded.
- February 1947 Intellectual organization, Saker-Ti, Association of Young Artists and Writers, founded by Communists.
- November 29, 1947 Syndicate of Guatemalan Educational Workers, led by teachers who are Communists or inclined toward Communism, was given legal status as a trade union of intellectuals.
- December 1949 Communist-oriented Syndicate of Guatemalan Educational Workers attacked educational program of Institute of Inter-American Affairs as being too US-influenced.
- January 12, 1951 Meeting of persons interested in "Peace" campaign held under auspices of Communist-oriented Syndicate of Guatemalan Educational Workers.
- October 9, 1953 Saker-Ti association operating as Communist front group.
- October 16-19, 1953 The Second Continental Conference of Democratic Lawyers held under auspices of Communist-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers. It attracted less than a score of foreign delegates. The government gave it strong support. Foreign Ministry assigned at least \$10,000 to help it. The entire Guatemalan Supreme Court attended as part of Guatemalan delegation.

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21.

Communists in "Mass Organizations"

- December 21, 1947 Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala, affiliate of Communist World Federation of Democratic Youth, founded by a group including several prominent Communists. It has been active among university students as a propaganda organ.
- September 1948 Guatemalan Committee for Peace and Democracy formed for the purpose of furthering "international peace, liberty and democracy." Several known Communists were among its founders.
- August 1949 National Peace Committee reactivated at meeting presided over by Communists and Communist sympathizers. This took place after the return of José Manuel Fortuny, Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, and Alfonso Solórzano from the First World Congress of Partisans of Peace. Pro-Communist Jaime Díaz Rozzotto elected Secretary General.
- 1950 Federation of Guatemalan Women founded with Communist help. Sra. de Arbenz, the President's wife, was a founding member of the organization.
- April 1950 New Committee of Partisans of the Peace organized by Communists and Communist sympathizers.
- February 12, 1951 Peace Committee stepped up publicity campaign.
- March 2-4, 1951 Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala held annual congress which was devoted to speeches in which the US was violently attacked and Communist "peace" line eulogized.
- April 20, 1951 Pro-Communist Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, delivered a strong Communist-line speech at a meeting in honor of the Second Spanish Republic in which he espoused the "peace" campaign.
- December 1951 First National Conference for the Protection of Children held in Guatemala City. It established Children's Welfare Council.

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1952 National Peace Committee sponsored showings of the film "Bacteriological Warfare in Korea", purporting to prove that the United States employed germ warfare during the Korean hostilities.

January 22, 1952 Democratic University Front founded primarily to further Communist ideology at University of San Carlos, the national university.

May 23-25, 1952 National Assembly for Peace held.

June 14, 1952 The National Peace Committee elected Alfredo Silva Jonama Secretary General.

February 1953 Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala sponsors "National Conference on the Rights of Youth."

October 9, 1953 Confederation of Secondary School Students, Communist front for high school students, was founded.

October 9, 1953 Pro-Communist Sra. Dora Franco y Franco is the Secretary General of the Federation of Guatemalan Women.

October 9, 1953 Secretary General of Democratic University Front is Cesar Augusto Calazi, a pro-Communist.

October 9, 1953 Communist Bernardo Lemur is Secretary General of Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala.

December 1953 Communist-incited mobs forcibly seized land and installations on 20 or more farms in Department of Escuintla.

December 1953 The Communist-controlled National Peace Committee announced that it had gathered 74,000 signatures in petition for negotiations between US, UK, USSR, France, and Communist China.

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July 24, 1953

Pro-Communist Jaime Díaz Rozzotto delivered a lecture sponsored by the Guatemalan Spanish Republican "Pro-Peace" Committee in which he made frequent references to the Soviet "peace" movement and other Communist objectives.

December 21, 1953

The official radio TGWA announced that: "the Youth Section of the Guatemalan Workers' Party is scheduled to meet on December 21 at Party Headquarters to honor the memory of the leader of the working class, Joseph Stalin."

February 4, 1954

The Communist-controlled Democratic University Front sent a message to President Arbenz expressing its repudiation of interventionist plans against Guatemala.

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Communist Infiltration of, and Influence in, other Political Parties

March 19, 1945

José Manuel Fortuny was active and far leftist member of Popular Front of Liberation on whose ticket he was elected to Congress.

1946 - 1949

José Manuel Fortuny joined the Party of Revolutionary Action, a pro-Government party, and occupied at various times a number of important posts: 1946 to early 1947, Secretary General; March 1947, Secretary of Acts; November 1947, Secretary General; 1949, Member of Political Committee; he also served as Secretary of Propaganda.

January 1946

Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez elected deputy to National Congress on Confederation of Guatemalan Workers - Party of Revolutionary Action ticket, from Department of Guatemala.

1947

Manuel Pinto Usaga elected on Party of Revolutionary Action - Committee of Syndical Unity ticket to National Congress.

October 1948

Carlos Manuel Pellecer, after return from Czechoslovakia, stepped into leadership role within Party of Revolutionary Action.

1949

Manuel Pinto Usaga elected Secretary of Labor Union Affairs for National Executive Committee of Party of Revolutionary Action and became a member of strategic Political Committee.

1949

Party of Revolutionary Action officials chosen in 1949 included such Communists as José Manuel Fortuny, Manuel Pinto Usaga, Héctor Morgan García, Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, and pro-Communist Augusto Charnaud MacDonald who constituted an influential element.

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25.

- March 9, 1949 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, member of Party of Revolutionary Action National Executive Committee in charge of Social Affairs, resigned in protest at Secretary General's decision not to let Party of Revolutionary Action be represented at Mexico City "peace" meeting.
- 1950 National Political Committee of Workers founded by Communists to support Colonel Jacobo Arbenz and congressional candidates in 1950 election campaign.
- July 1950 José Manuel Fortuny dismissed from National Electoral Board on grounds appointment was interim, expiring end of July. Dissenting Supreme Court judges, strongly backed by Party of Revolutionary Action - National Renovation Party organization and pro-Government newspapers, vigorously opposed dismissal on technical grounds.
- November 29, 1950 Party of Revolutionary Action ticket of congressional candidates included at least six individuals of well-known Communist or pro-Communist views.
- March 2, 1951 Pro-Communist Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Secretary General of Party of Revolutionary Action, served as President of the National Congress.
- April 20, 1951 Party of Revolutionary Action secured the appointment by Congress of Communist Alfonso Orantes, one of its members, to one of the three positions on the National Electoral Board.

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26.

June 1951 Agitation for formation of a United Democratic Front (Party of Revolutionary Action, Guatemalan Communist Party, Revolutionary Workers' Party of Guatemala) increased. Party of Revolutionary Action appointed a committee composed largely of Communists and Communist sympathizers to represent it in negotiations for the formation of this front.

June 5, 1951 Pro-Administration parties participated in Partisans of Peace meeting.

July 19, 1951 With assistance of Communists and pro-Communists, Alliance of Democratic Parties formed, composed of Party of Revolutionary Action, National Renovation Party, Popular Front of Liberation, and Party of National Integrity.

February 1952 39 members of the dissolved Communist-controlled Revolutionary Workers' Party of Guatemala joined the Party of Revolutionary Action. This move increased the strong leftist influence within the Party of Revolutionary Action.

June 1952 As principals in the establishment of Guatemalan Revolutionary Party as the "single revolutionary party," Alfonso Solórzano, Abel Cuenca Martínez, and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes showed themselves as favoring the continued use of the Administration parties for furthering Communist objectives.

June 1952 Roberto Alvarado Fuentes served as Secretary General of the Party of Revolutionary Action.

October 1952 Guatemalan Communist Party included with other pro-Administration parties in "Democratic Electoral Front."

November 1952 José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of Guatemalan Communist Party, endorsed as one of two "Democratic Electoral Front" candidates for Deputy from Department of Guatemala.

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- December 29, 1952 The "Democratic Electoral Front" of pro-Administration parties exhibited a bacteriological warfare film at a political rally held in Guatemala City.
- January 16-18, 1953 One Communist candidate of the pro-government coalition elected to Congress to give Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party total of 4 seats. Party of Revolutionary Action, which collaborated closely with Communists, controlled 22 seats after elections.
- February 6, 1953 Virgilio Zapata Mendía, a member of National Electoral Board and a leader of pro-Communist wing of the National Renovation Party, appointed by Congress to fill one of vacancies of four dismissed Supreme Court Justices.
- March 25, 1953 Party of Revolutionary Action issued a bulletin calling for Guatemala to withdraw from ODECA in view of Salvadoran proposal to discuss joint action against Communism on grounds that such action constituted intervention in Guatemala's domestic affairs.
- April 1953 Pro-Communist Jaime Díaz Rozzotto was serving as Secretary General of the National Renovation Party.
- April 1953 Pro-Communist Alvaro Hugo Salguero was serving as Secretary General of the Party of Revolutionary Action.
- October 1953 Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party sought to advance its popular front tactic by holding mass meetings in favor of creation of a strengthened "National Democratic Front."
- October 1953 Francisco Fernández Foncea, Secretary General of Party of Revolutionary Action said the party was a transitory party like other revolutionary parties all of which were destined to become part of the "great world Communist Party."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

28.

- October 1953 Julio Estrada de la Hoz, pro-Communist ex-President of Congress, was elected to be Secretary General of the Party of Revolutionary Action to succeed Francisco Fernández Foncea.
- October 9, 1953 Jaime Díaz Rozzoto, pro-Communist, Secretary General of the National Reform Party.
- October 9, 1953 Revolutionary Party of Guatemala headed by pro-Communist Augusto Charnaud MacDonald. On Political Committee are Alfonso Solórzano, Abel Cuenca Martínez, and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, all Communists or pro-Communists.
- January 15-17, 1954 The First National Congress of the Guatemalan Revolutionary Party reaffirmed its pro-Communist orientation by reelecting pro-Communist Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, Minister of the Interior as Secretary General with the backing of a Communist and pro-Communist clique. The party elected to its central Committee Communists and pro-Communists Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Abel Cuenca Martínez, Alfonso Solórzano, and Ernesto Capuano del Vecchio.

CONFIDENTIAL

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29.

President Arbenz' Attitude toward Communists

- May 1950 During 1950 Presidential campaign, Communist José Fortuny named campaign organizer for Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán.
- 1952 Guatemalan Communist Party representatives reported by press as sitting in on President Arbenz' political conference with representatives of other pro-Administration parties.
- January 31, 1952 By official decree President Arbenz transferred without compensation a building owned by the government to the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers.
- March 24, 1952 Arbenz appointed pro-Communist Jaime Diaz Rossoto Secretary General of the Executive Office.
- April 24, 1952 President Arbenz held a meeting of pro-government parties represented in Congress which include a Guatemalan Communist Party delegation headed by Communist José Manuel Fortuny. The presence of the Communists confirmed that the party was for all practical purposes a member, though not a signatory, of "The Alliance of Revolutionary Parties".
- January 1953 The administration, under pressure from Communists to hasten application of Agrarian Reform Law, showed inclination to meet their demands.
- March 1953 President Arbenz in Annual Message to Congress stated that he would not suppress Communism in Guatemala.
- May 1953 President Arbenz put weight of his prestige behind the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers by reviewing International Labor Day Parade and sitting on speakers platform while Victor Manuel Gutiérrez attacked the United States and praised the USSR.

CONFIDENTIAL

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30.

July 1953

Police arrested Luis Valladares y Aycinena Secretary General of the Unified Anti-Communist Party, the country's largest anti-Communist Party, for complicity in the March 1953 uprising in Salamá, Guatemala.

October 16-19, 1953

President Arbenz sent Communist collaborator Charnaud MacDonald, Minister of Interior, to convey his personal greetings to the Communist-sponsored Second Continental Conference of Democratic Lawyers held in Guatemala City.

December 16, 1953

President Arbenz admitted to U.S. Ambassador the presence of Communists and Communist sympathizers in the National Agrarian Department, Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, and the Directorate General of Radio Broadcasting.

December 16, 1953

President Arbenz expressed to U.S. Ambassador opinions that if there were a choice, it would be better for Guatemala to live under Communist domination than with the United Fruit Co.

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31.

Travel of Guatemalan Communists

- March 1948 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez attended the Third General ordinary Congress of the Latin American Confederation of Workers held in Mexico City.
- October 1948 Carlos Manuel Pellecer returned from Czechoslovakia.
- 1949 Carlos Manuel Pellecer visited Eastern Europe.
- 1949 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez was the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers' delegate to the Second World Federation of Trade Unions Congress at Milan, at which he was elected to the Executive Committee of the World Federation. He was also the delegate of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers and the Union of Educational Workers of Guatemala to the 1949 World Peace Congress held in Paris. He organized Guatemalan "pro-peace" committees of August 1949 and April 1950, both branches of the Communist-front, World Committee of Partisans of Peace.
- April 1949 José Manuel Fortuny was delegate to Paris World Peace Congress, after which he visited Iron Curtain countries for two months.
- June 1949 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Secretary General of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, left Guatemala to attend the Milan meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions on a diplomatic passport. Manuel Pinto Usaga and Jose Segnar traveled to Israel and fraternized with Israeli labor unions.
- June 1949 Manuel Pinto Usaga attended the Second World Federation of Trade Unions Congress in Milan at invitation of Vicente Lombardo Toledano.
- September 1949 Jose Manuel Fortuny, President of Guatemalan delegation at the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City, was made a member of over-all Directing Committee for Central America.

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September 1949 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez represented the Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala at the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City.

January 1951 Enrique Juárez Toledo, Guatemalan poet, attended Peace Conference in Poland.

June 1951 The Syndicate of Guatemalan Educational Workers accepted an invitation to send a delegate to Berlin Youth Festival.

July 1951 to
November 1952 Thirty-eight persons left Guatemala to attend Communist-sponsored international conference and 19 were to attend such meetings in December 1952.

July 1951 It was announced that six members of a Guatemalan delegation were to attend Berlin Youth Festival.

October 25, 1951 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez traveled to Europe, ostensibly to attend a World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Paris (or Berlin).

November 1951 Roberto Alvarado Fuentes and Luis Cardoza y Aragon attended World Peace Congress in Vienna.

November 1951 to
January 1952 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez attended the World Federation of Trade Unions Congress in Berlin after which he spent two months visiting the USSR and satellite countries, returning to Guatemala on January 9, 1952.

March 1952 Hemisphere Peace Conference at Montevideo attended by 6 Guatemalans including one residing in Buenos Aires and one in Chile.

April 1952 Two Guatemalans and one alien resident in Guatemala attended International Conference in Defense of Children held at Vienna.

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- May 1952 Alfredo Silva Jonama, a member of the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Communist Party, visited Moscow and attended preliminary meeting of the Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking.
- August-September 1952 One Guatemalan attended the International Students Union Council held at Bucharest.
- October 1952 The following Guatemalans attended the Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference: Juan Antonio Cruz Franco, Garmen Moran, Carlos Alvarado Jerez, José Alberto Cardoza, Francisco Galicia del Valle. Cardoza visited Moscow both going and coming.
- October 1952 Alfredo Silva Jonama returned from China, the USSR, and the Peoples Democracies.
- November, 1952 Augusto Cazali Avila, Secretary General of the Democratic University Front, returned from the August-September conference of International Students Union in Bucharest.
- November 7, 1952 Guatemalan National Committee for Peace named 4 delegates to World Congress of Peoples for Peace in Vienna: Sra. Elena de Barrios Klee, Director of Government's Normal School for Women, Pauline Ovalle, Director of Nuestro Diario, Captain Terencio Guillén, Governor of the Department of Escuintla, Joaquín Artiga de León, President of Peace Committee of the Department of Santa Rosa.
- December 1952 Thirteen Guatemalan delegates attended the World Federation of Trade Unions Social Security Conference, Vienna.
- 1953 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez attended the World Federation of Trade Unions Congress in Vienna.
- March 20, 1953 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez and two other delegates left Guatemala to attend the Conference of the Latin American Confederation of Workers held in Santiago, Chile.
- April 1953 Oscar Edmundo Palma of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party visited Moscow after attending the April World Peace Congress in Budapest.

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34.

June 1953 Guatemalan delegation to World Peace Council in Budapest included Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Paz Tejada, Major Marco Antonio Franco and Oscar Edmundo Palma.

June to December 1953 48 Guatemalans visited Soviet orbit during this period of which 11 went to Moscow.

July 1953 Oscar Edmundo Palma, Secretary of Propaganda for the National Peace Committee, attended the World Peace Council held in Bucharest.

August 1953 Guatemalan delegation attended World Youth Festival in Bucharest after which some members visited the USSR.

November 1953 Gabriel Camey, a farm union leader, visited the Soviet Union.

December 1953 Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, returned from Moscow at the head of the Guatemalan delegation which had toured the Soviet Union after attending the Third World Federation of Trade Unions Congress held in October in Vienna. The delegation consisted of Leonardo Castillo Flores, José Luis Caceró, of the Railway Workers' Union, José Luis Ramos, Vice Secretary for Agrarian Affairs of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, and José Luis del Cid, member of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers' Executive Committee.

December 1953 Humberto Hernández Cobos, Civil Registrar for Guatemala, flew to Vienna to attend the World Congress of Democratic Lawyers.

January 8, 1954 José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, returned from Moscow for which he had departed on November 5, 1953.

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35.

Government Tolerance of Communist Propaganda

- September 1949 Guatemalan official and pro-government press gave considerable coverage to Communist-inspired Mexican Peace Congress.
- May 1, 1950 May Day speeches by Communists José Manuel Fortuny and Manuel Pinto Usaga followed closely Communist-line.
- July 19, 1950 First anniversary of the suppression of the July 1949 revolt declared official holiday and public meeting held with speeches by representatives of pro-government parties. Organized labor leaders attended; Deputy Manuel Pinto Usaga attacked US in Communist-line speech.
- February 12, 1951 Official and semi-official press accelerated efforts to publicize Communist "peace" campaign.
- March 2-3, 1951 Annual Congress of Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala received generous publicity in official and semi-official newspapers which attacked US and supported the Communist line.
- March 8, 1951 Official and semi-official press publicized meeting sponsored by Minister of Education in which US was attacked and Communist "peace" line enthusiastically expounded.
- April 20-27, 1951 Official press aided accelerated "peace" campaign with daily coverage. Alfonso Solórzano, head of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, spoke at peace rally.
- May 25, 1951 Semi-official Diario de la Mañana devoted nearly two pages to preparations for the Third World Youth Festival in Berlin.
- June 1, 1951 Semi-official press carried eight column headlines saying "great enthusiasm" had been aroused for Berlin Festival among Guatemalan youth.

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36.

- November 1951 Pro-government newspaper, Nuestro Diario, showed close adherence to Communist line.
- January 1952 According to the official radio, Indochina is to be the next victim in the conflict between the great powers. The broadcaster defended the right of every state to be free and condemned the "capitalist nations" for holding on to their colonial possessions.
- April 1952 The Guatemalan official radio publicized preparations for the National Peace Assembly to be held in Guatemala City in May 1952.
- April 2, 1952 The official government newspaper, Diario de Centro America, carried a headline entitled "A Call for Peace to the People of America." Based on a resolution at the Montevideo peace conference, the call was for individual signatures in favor of a "peace" pact among the Big Five.
- May 23-26, 1952 In the official government newspaper, Diario de Centro America, the National Peace Assembly published resolutions denouncing the use of bacteriological warfare by American troops in Korea and condemning launching of aggressive wars in Korea. They further condemned the Inter-American Defense Treaty, the Atlantic Treaty, and the Japanese Peace Conference.
- June 24, 1952 Semi-official Nuestro Diario published the text of a letter addressed to the American Ambassador in Guatemala by 17 Communists and pro-Communists calling for termination of the "unjust and inhuman" war in Korea, where the "invading armies" were massacring defenseless Korean prisoners and using germ warfare against the population.
- June 1952 The four Communists and fifteen other deputies of the National Congress signed a "Declaration of Solidarity with the Korean People."

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37.

- July 12, 1952 The official government newspaper, Diario de Centro America, published what purported to be a statement by a Lt. John Quinn, USAF, confessing participation in germ bomb attacks against North Korea. Although an inconspicuous note at the end identified the article as a publication of the National Peace Committee, it was set up to appear as a factual news story.
- August 28, 1952 According to the independent press, the August 28 issue of Octubre was published in the government printing shop after being set up by members of the linotypists' union who at the same time were carrying on an illegal strike which had affected every press organ in the city.
- November 7-9, 1952 National Conference on Social Security, held under thinly-veiled Communist auspices, received support of the official press, the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, and the Ministry of Health.
- 1953 Under the sponsorship of the Partisans of Peace Committee, a bacteriological warfare film was shown in a public school by a government operator with government equipment.
- January 1953 Candidacy of Communist Jose Manuel Fortuny as one of two avowed Communist candidates for Congress received the full support of Administration parties and the official press.
- February 13, 1953 Official government newspaper Diario de Centro America devoted half a page to an article by Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Jorge Luis Arriola, and others on the importance of the National Youth Conference.
- February 20-22, 1953 Conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth held in Guatemala City in preparation for March Vienna conference of World Federation of Democratic Youth, supported by the official government newspaper Diario de Centro America.

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38.

Majority of sessions held in a government school building under auspices of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, the National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala, and other Communist organizations. Among those present and elected to a Presidium were: Julio Estrada de la Hoz, President of Congress; Jorge Luis Arriola, Minister of Public Health; Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, Secretary General of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers; and Rafael Tischler, Secretary General of the Syndicate of Educational Workers of Guatemala.

- September 28, 1953 Diario del Pueblo, organ of the Guatemalan Revolutionary Party, edited by Director of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security Communist Alfonso Solorzano, began publication.
- October 1953 Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party sponsored program over Guatemala City's station, Radio International.
- October 1953 The official gazette published a decree by which the government made available \$10,000 to the Communist-sponsored Second Continental Congress of Democratic Lawyers.
- December 16, 1953 President Arbenz admitted to U.S. Ambassador that government advertising helped to support Communist daily, Tribuna Popular.
- January 28-31, 1954 The Guatemalan Government lent its support to the Communist-controlled Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers in various ways: (1) Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, pro-Communist Secretary General of Presidency, sat on the Presidium at the opening session; (2) All sessions of the Congress, except the first, were held in government property; (3) The proceedings of the Congress were broadcast over the government radio station and published in the official and semi-official press; (4) The Secretary of Propaganda of the Presidency on January 28 devoted the government's radio program, The National Hour, to an act of homage to the Congress, and forced independent radio stations to carry the same program.

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39.

Foreign Communists' Visits to Guatemala

- 1947
The Arevalo regime formulated plans for entrance of 1,000 Spanish Republicans. The entrance and operation of Spanish Republicans in Guatemala have been a significant source of Communist influence. Officials in charge of immigration affairs are Communist-oriented. Several Spanish Republicans, some of undoubted Communist antecedents, have obtained employment in government either through intervention of officials such as Enrique Mugoz Meany or at personal request of Arevalo.
- July 1948
Vicente Lombardo Toledano held lengthy interviews with President Arévalo and Foreign Minister Enrique Mugoz Meany.
- April 1950
Guatemalan authorities allowed Communist Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, just returned from a trip to the USSR, to make a series of appearances before Guatemalan audiences.
- May 1951
Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Secretary General of Latin American Confederation of Workers, and Louis Saillant, Secretary General of World Federation of Trade Unions, attended Guatemala City Conference of Latin American Land and Air Transport Workers' Unions.
- June 1951
The well-known Chilean Communist, Cesar Codoy Urrutia, visited Guatemala.
- March 1952
Blas Roca, Juan Marinello, and Salvador Aguirre, leaders of Cuban Communist Party, visited Guatemala.
- December 11, 1952 to
December 14, 1952
Dionisio Encina, Secretary General of Mexican Communist Party, attended Second Congress of Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.
- October 9-27, 1953
Michael K. Samoilov, Commercial Attache of Soviet Embassy in Mexico, visited Guatemala and conferred with José Manuel Fortuny, Alfonso Solórzano, and Ernesto Capuano del Vecchio.

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Attitudes toward and Relations with International Communism

- 1946 Contact established between lesser Guatemalan officials and labor leaders with Soviet Embassy in Mexico.
- 1947 Communist Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez represented Guatemalan organized labor at Fourth Ordinary Congress of Confederation of Mexican Workers.
- September 1949 Communist Carlos Manuel Pellecer publicly supported Mexico City American Continental Congress for Peace.
- November 7, 1950 Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Secretary General of Party of Revolutionary Action, sat on speakers' platform at Communist celebration of Soviet revolution.
- November 7, 1950 Anniversary of the Russian Revolution celebrated for the first time in Guatemala. Huge success with representatives from organized labor and pro-Administration Party of Revolutionary Action, Popular Front of Liberation, and Party of National Integrity in attendance. Pro-Soviet speeches by José Manuel Fortuny, Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez and Luis Cardoza Aragón.
- November 20, 1950 Fortieth anniversary of Mexican Revolution celebrated; speakers were largely pro-Communists. Guatemalan Government represented by Cabinet Ministers Raúl Osegueda and Carlos Aldana Sandoval.
- January 25, 1952 Cominform's newspaper, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", published in Bucharest, summarized findings of Guatemalan Communist Party Central Committee on shortcomings of newspaper Octubre. This action confirmed acceptance of Guatemalan Communist Party by the international Communist movement as the authorized Communist Party in Guatemala.

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41.

- October 2, 1952 Guatemalan Communist Party sent message to Soviet Nineteenth Party Congress: "Our Party salutes the indestructible unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is a guarantee of the successful construction of a Communist society in your homeland, a beacon throughout this world for workers. Inspired by your example, we will intensify our struggle for the national independence and happiness of our people."
- November 17, 1952 Gita Sten, Propaganda Officer of the Polish Legation in Mexico City, arrived in Guatemala and was visited by Deputy Ernesto Marroquin Wyss and Elena Leiva de Holtz of the National Peace Committee.
- 1953 Guatemalan Labor Party leaders receiving flow of literature from Moscow and headquarters of various Soviet-controlled international organizations.
- 1953 Constant exchange of communications between Vienna, WFTU headquarters, and Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Secretary General of General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers.
- April 4, 1953 Guatemala withdrew from ODECA, thus adopting a course long advocated by Communists. The reason given was the proposal of El Salvador for considering Communist infiltration.
- July 1953 Cominform's newspaper, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", published article by Jose Manuel Fortuny.
- November 25, 1953 Four Administration parties, together with principal labor and "mass" organizations, issued a joint declaration against discussion of Communism at Caracas.

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42.

January 28-31, 1954

At the opening session of the Communist-controlled Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, Jose Luis Ramos, Communist member, read the following telegram: "Moscow, USSR. The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions fraternally greets the Congress of the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala. We wish the Congress success in its work for the ultimate improvement of the conditions of life and labor of the workers of Guatemala and for the strengthening of friendship and peace among all peoples. President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, N. Shvernik."

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SUPPLEMENT

NO. 26-54

NEWS
HIGHLIGHTS

Date JULY 21, 1954

GUATEMALAN
ISSUE
NO. 3

From: Patria Nueva [New Country], San Salvador, 28 January 1954

EDITORIAL

GUATEMALA AND COMMUNISM

What is happening in Guatemala is logically inexplicable. The government of Guatemala is permitting, promoting, and aiding Communism. According to Guatemalan constitutional law Communism should not even be permitted. An article of the Guatemalan Magna Carta outlaws Communism. However, the Communist Party is not only allowed to exist in the shadow of a false democracy, but its leaders are permitted to preach their doctrine and are aided in the work of propaganda, and Communists are given preference for public posts and in the granting of State benefits.

The government of Guatemala denies that it is a Communist regime. It claims to be maintaining a people's democracy and points to oppressive capitalist forces as the real enemies of redemption of the people and as the agency dedicated to the infamy of slandering the regime of Colonel Arbenz. But a long series of facts, which speak for themselves and need no proof, reveal the subjugation of the Guatemalan government to the international Red doctrine: the visits of Guatemalans to Russia, the support given to Guatemalan and foreign Communist leaders, the campaign of hatred fomented against the United States, which is pictured in propaganda as the oppressor and the all-devouring country.

Today, the entire world stands at a crossroad. The last world war which aspired to crush totalitarianism and to revive democratic doctrine became the progenitor of a totalitarian monster: the Red bear. The naive democracies did not see through the veil of democracy put on by Russia to obtain Allied aid. Thus today, all mankind, illusioned by war, defeated, though at first apparently triumphant, is facing two alternatives: one, represented by Russia, offers a false paradise of peace which hides a genuine hell of slavery; the other, represented by the democratic nations, offers respect for human rights.

Recently a Guatemalan military man formerly in the service of the government of Colonel Arbenz and now fleeing Guatemala publicly declared that President Arbenz is virtually a captive of the Communist Party and that the Agrarian Law had not served, as was alleged, to solve the predicament of the peasant, who is living in misery, but rather to distribute land -- cultivated land -- to members of the Communist Party.

In response to criticisms of the Agrarian Law, friends of the Red regime of Guatemala paint them as the reactionary cries of those who wish to keep the Guatemalan peasant in slavery. But how has that law been applied in Guatemala? Is it not true that the impulse to plunder grew in some who had been dispossessed and that they, like an avalanche, seized lands which represented years of sacrifice for the men who had cultivated them?

When it is desired to reform a country, when it is desired to cause it to progress, one may not, without betraying that same country, foment hatred among the social classes and subject oneself to an exotic doctrine in which the realities of the country do not find a place.

Guatemala is now passing through a tragic hour: the land of the quetzal, the bird which symbolizes freedom, is now the land of a Red crow which desires to devour it. And that the

Central America and for all of the Americas, which in this decisive hour have chosen the pathway of freedom. Guatemala is off the track and we do not understand how those now in command there fail to see the abyss which, with their own hands, they have opened at their feet and fail to realize that they are playing a card which means death for the Republic.

Those who travel through Guatemala report that hatred and despair permeate the very air which is breathed there, that many political figures are being persecuted, that one lives under the threat or in the actual web of conspiracy, that the fields are being leveled by multitudes goaded and deceived by the Red leaders, and that the red poison of Communism blemishes the land in that region of Central America.

Declared anti-Communists are persecuted. University students have suffered torture by the police. Embassies frequently receive the persecuted seeking asylum. Meanwhile it is claimed that peace prevails, that peace is desired, that peace is being courted. Actually, the seeds of tragedy are being sown with Red hands in Central America.

From: La Nacion [The Nation], Costa Rica, 14 February 1954

RED INFILTRATION IN GUATEMALA

Unsigned Article

If this fact should be confirmed we shall deplore it for the sake of Guatemala, which is worthy of a better fate, and for the sake of all the neighboring nations which will be threatened with contamination, says an editorial in the authoritative Mexican daily EXCELSIOR, commenting on the situation in Guatemala.

EXCELSIOR, the most important Mexican daily, last week published the following editorial comment on the Guatemalan situation.

THE ENIGMA OF GUATEMALA

The Guatemalan government's charge that a conspiracy is being directed against it with the aid of four American republics has elicited varied reactions. The charge has been noted with distrust because it seems improbable that such an unusual interventionist alliance would arise on our continent. In the United States, on the other hand, importance has been attached to it and it is even interpreted as a crude act of sabotage, probably inspired by Russia, against the coming Interamerican Conference at Caracas. The Guatemalan authorities are obviously endeavoring to lend their declaration every appearance of seriousness and it did not take a stroke of genius on their part to arrest two individuals accused of taking part in the dark conspiracy.

With this scandalous event a much debated question has again returned to the discussion forum: is Guatemala an outpost of communism in America? Every time this accusation was made the Guatemalan government hastened to deny it, asserting that the social reforms which it is putting into effect are certainly bold and advanced, but that they are in no way influenced by Marxist ideas. Nevertheless, those who have been in a position to inform themselves on the situation which prevails in the neighboring country to the south assure us that there are clear manifestations of communism -- at least on the part of some persons connected with the government -- and that the agrarian legislation of Guatemala is a true copy of Soviet collectivism, that the workers are being urged to destroy private property, that hatred of capital is a slogan emanating from official circles, and that even in the violent religious persecution a concerted plan with clear communist overtones can be detected.

Judging the matter calmly, it is evident that Red infiltration is in fact saturating this sister nation; the process of infiltration began as soon as Oumanskiy had been installed in Mexico as ambassador of Russia and in effect established a powerful agency of Red expansion which he managed with remarkable skill. It is necessary to recall the circumstances under which he lost his life. The airplane carrying the restless emissary and a group of select collaborators crashed on its way to Central America, which had undoubtedly been chosen as the ideal spawning ground for Red activities. In the remains of the crashed plane large amounts of money and propaganda material were found; it is easy to guess that these items were destined to lend strength to the larvae which now seem to have hatched.

Nothing should be feared more than an outpost of Russian penetration in the very heart of Spanish America. If this fact should find confirmation, we shall deplore it for the sake of Guatemala, which is worthy of a better fate, and for the sake of all the neighboring nations which will constantly be threatened by contamination.

From: Esto Es [This Is It], Mexico, 16 February 1954

THE CASE OF GUATEMALA OR THE SPECTRE OF THE RED CARIBBEAN

Mariano Montemayor

On the eve of the Caracas Conference a great scandal burst forth in the Pan American system.

The government of Guatemala announced a foreign conspiracy to invade its territory and to suppress the revolutionary regime which has been in power since December 1944. States like Costa Rica and Venezuela were directly accused of promoting or at least tolerating that attempt.

The United States was the target, openly or in a veiled manner, of very violent attacks. The congress decided to address the other American parliaments, making an appeal for solidarity in its struggle for national liberation against imperialism and the forces of reaction.

Sidney Gruson, New York Times correspondent, and Marshall Bannell, agent for the National Broadcasting Company, were expelled from the country, accused of engaging in subversive activities. The immediate protest of the Inter-American Press Association was rejected by the Guatemalan Foreign Office in a very stiff communique.

A young Franciscan priest, Salvador Buccellato, received orders to leave the Republic. The Minister of Foreign Relations, Guillermo Toriello, explained that this did not mean a change in relations with the Church -- from which the State has been separated since 1871 -- but that the government is not disposed to tolerate any campaign of defamation.

For all this, the artillery is no smaller in caliber and the firing is no less continuous.

The influential Republican Senator from Wisconsin, Alexander Wiley -- a friend of McCarthy -- accused Guatemala of being a hotbed of Communist conspiracy and a danger to the security of the Hemisphere. Ambassador John Peurifoy was called to Washington to report directly to President Eisenhower on the situation prevailing in that country of 108,000 square kilometers and a little over two and a half million inhabitants.

In diplomatic circles of the Union the statement of denunciation by President Jacobo Arbenz was interpreted as a means of obstructing the coming Conference of Foreign Ministers and a maneuver which was clearly Communist-inspired.

For some time now the United States had been regarding the Guatemalan situation with concern. In his speech of 14 October 1953, Assistant Secretary of State John Moore Cabot had stated: "Our relations with the government of Guatemala are not today what we would like them to be, or with the other governments of this hemisphere ... We find it difficult, for example, to be patient when, after having shed so much blood and spent so much of our substance in Korea for the preservation of the free world, the official Guatemalan newspaper follows the Communist line and accuses us of waging bacteriological warfare ... "

This prolonged tension has resulted now, as we have seen, in a violent and spectacular crisis.

Perhaps for many persons this crisis is expressed in a very simple outline: the Communists have taken possession of an island in an area which is vital to the security of the

United States. There is nothing more natural, then, than that the latter should react on its behalf and in its role as guardian of freedom in the western world. For others, however, things are stated in a completely opposite manner, but equally simply: a revolution which attempts to shake Guatemala loose from a prolonged lethargy and to liberate the people is threatened by capitalist imperialism and by the forces of reaction which do not tolerate the loss of their traditional privileges.

Except for purposes of calculated propaganda or for the disguising of hidden objectives, neither of the two explanations is admissible. The political intrigue is much more subtle and the values in play do not present such well-defined sides.

It is impossible, moreover, to separate the Guatemalan-United States conflict from the framework of the world forces in play. Today everything which is done or not done in politics has a direct or indirect relationship with values of a universal type and with the conflict existing at the very root of international society.

And it would not be fitting, in order to understand properly the struggle now going on, to overlook the particular conditions through which Latin America is passing, the teachings and experiences of a century of political history.

Let us begin, then, to penetrate below the surface of the raging episode. As always, the facts will serve as a sure guide.

AN AGITATED POLITICAL HISTORY

Like most Spanish American countries, Guatemala had an agitated political history after obtaining its independence. Constant struggles raged between the liberals and conservatives in that country as in its sister republics.

The problem of Central American unification was, moreover, an ever present issue and the acid test of attitudes and ideologies.

In 1839 the conservatives started a government which lasted until 1871. In that year the liberal revolution initiated by Juarez in Mexico reached Guatemala and gave rise to a new epoch. It was an epoch of agrarian reform, of expropriation of the property of the Church, of the Civil Code of Napoleonic origin, of divorce, of education for the laity, and of the attempt of General Justo Rufino Barrios to reconstruct the unity of Central America by force.

The year 1898 marks the beginning of the virtual dictatorship of a powerful landholding class of liberal lineage with the government of Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera. Then, in 1920 a civic movement, inspired by what today we would call a leftist liberalism, inaugurated a new period which the theorists of the present government, with a somewhat questionable terminology, term "progressive."

The world crisis of 1929-1931 opened the way for a man who would govern the country with an iron hand until 1944 -- General Jorge Ubico. For nearly fourteen years, with a typical Caribbean dictatorship (almost like the one portrayed in Tirano Bandera by Valle Inclan, or in El senor presidente by Asturias) the will of the boss, supported by the army, by the landholding class and by the United Fruit Company was imposed on a country beset with very serious social and economic problems. Let it suffice to recall that almost a majority

of the population is native, that the sources of wealth are almost completely represented by coffee and bananas, that (according to the agriculture and livestock census of 1950) 2.2 percent of the owners possessed 70 percent of the tillable land, another 22 percent possessed 20 percent of it, and 76 percent had only a very small and strangling 10 percent.

Ubico's regime did not settle any of these vital problems of the country; it was, moreover, the period of greatest splendor for one of the chief protagonists of the Central American history of this century, the previously mentioned United Fruit Co.

The company came to Guatemala in 1901 and signed a small contract with the government of Estrada Cabrera, but by 1904 it was installed in the richest area of the country all along the Motagua river.

From that time on it started a dizzy race for power with the elimination of its competitor, the Plantation Guatemala Limited, and with the amplifying contracts of 1924 and 1936.

Ubico's dictatorship exhausted the country. In its latter years there began to take shape an opposition movement -- disorganized, but no less powerful because of that -- which took particular hold among the youth and in which were noted marked leftist tendencies.

In June 1944 the pressure became unbearable for the old boss. He had to hand over the power to a military triumvirate, composed of generals Ponce, Pineda, and Villagra Ariza, and leave for Mexico.

The de facto government, which many accused in a short time of being a disguised continuation of Ubicoism, announced elections for December of that year.

The youthful elements which had undermined Ubico's foundations grouped themselves in a Popular Liberation Front. But a serious problem immediately presented itself to them. Who would be the presidential candidate? A man was lacking who would serve as a standard bearer, who would unite them and who would coherently define a direction and a program based on something more than intuition and emotion.

FROM THE LECTURE HALL TO POWER

That man was in Argentina and we believe we are not mistaken in affirming that to his personality, to his complex personality, are owing the virtues and hazards of the Guatemalan revolution.

Juan Jose Arevalo, since we are dealing with him, had been born in Taxisco, a town on the southern coast of Guatemala, on 10 September 1904. He was a normal school teacher in 1922. In 1926 he enrolled in the Law School. He traveled to Europe on a study mission, and in October 1927 he arrived for the first time in Buenos Aires. Here he studied at the Faculty of Humanities of La Plata with Alejandro Korn, Juan Mantovani, Romulo Carbia, Arturo Marasso, and many others. Here he married the Argentine schoolteacher Elisa Martinez in 1929.

Having returned to Guatemala with his doctor's degree and with his thesis on Pedagogia de la Personalidad [The Pedagogy of the Personality], Ubico appointed him chief official of the Ministry of Education. But right after an attempted revolution he abandoned

the position and returned to Argentina, where we find him in 1939 as assistant professor of educational science at the University of Buenos Aires and in 1941 as technical director of the San Luis Normal School.

The man who on 5 July 1944 received a telegram from the Popular Liberation Front offering him the presidential candidacy was, then, strictly a university career man with a marked intellectual vocation.

His training had been the typical normal school training. He was a rationalist in philosophy, a layman in religion, and a liberal in politics. A prolonged period of time spent with books and in the lecture hall as well as his impassioned practice as a teacher had left deep traces in his mind.

From his career as a whole Juan Jose Arevalo had derived a puritanical rectitude, a purified lay morality, and a firm conviction concerning the power of doctrine to govern reality. Arevalo was to believe always that the fundamental objective of politics was to define and that problems were worked out through their theoretical solution.

Romantic doctrinaires with impassioned temperaments have generally been the cause of complicated situations. In our judgment, Arevalo was no exception to this rule. And we shall now see why. On 17 August 1944 a Panagra plane took off from the El Plumerillo airport bearing the new candidate with his portfolio stuffed with speeches, proclamations, and plans.

The campaign was violent and it was soon obvious that General Ponce intended to continue in power.

The atmosphere was so agitated that on 15 October a group of leaders of the Front, headed by Arevalo, drew up a Manifesto of the United Front of Political Parties and Civic Associations. In this declaration of a political strike the opposition parties announced their refusal to participate in what they termed political comedy and they launched a most violent denunciation of the provisional government of General Ponce.

The manifesto was followed by a strike of teachers and students and Arevalo took refuge in the Mexican Embassy.

THE YOUTH BURSTS FORTH INTO PUBLIC LIFE

On 20 October at 0200 hours the tranquility of the colonial city of Guatemala was interrupted by cannon shots. The Guard of Honor, headed by Major Francisco Javier Arana, had mutinied against the provisional government of General Ponce.

At 1700 hours after overcoming a feeble resistance, a provisional government was set up, composed of Major Arana, Captain Jacobo Arbenz Guzman (the present president) and the merchant Jorge Toriello. The Provisional Junta gave the most absolute guarantees concerning the freedom which would accompany the elections in December.

As a result of them Juan Jose Arevalo was elected constitutional president. Guatemala began its revolution.

For the first time a government in Guatemala gave promise of following definite ideological orientation.

The results of this were not long in appearing. Guatemala broke off relations with Nicaragua shortly after Somoza's rise to power. With Ponce's death it

announced its intention of contributing to the demise of the dictatorships of the Caribbean, it urged a Federation of Central America Nations, restated its undeniable rights to Belize, affirmed the need for an end to the exploitation of the mass of the peasants by a feudal landholding class, timidly hinted at first (more clearly afterward) of its intention to revise the position of the United Fruit Company, made known in advance its interest in promoting the development of the country in all fields and the juridical direction of its institutional life. The final phrase of the manifesto on the political strike, "united we shall forge a new Guatemala," looked as though it were going to become a reality.

A THIRTY-NINE YEAR OLD PRESIDENT

Arevalo's government was succeeded by that of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, one of the heroes of the uprising of 20 October, a military man of great prestige, 39 years old, energetic, intelligent, patriotic, honest, but certainly somewhat naive. With him as president the revolution continued its course and entered the stage of more concrete fulfillment.

Guatemala affirmed the continuing right to the free and complete exercise of its national sovereignty. It brought about serious incidents with Great Britain concerning the question of Belize. But, above all, it began to alter the status of the United Fruit Company and resolutely faced the fundamental problem of agrarian reform.

On 16 July 1952 the Congress approved Law No 900 which decreed substantial modifications in the rural property system. Arbenz had promised it on assuming the presidency in March 1951 because "Guatemala needs land for its workers." The object of the reform, as the law states, is "to liquidate feudal property and the production relationships which cause it in order to develop the capitalist form of exploitation and capitalist methods of production in agriculture."

The opposition termed this reform "a decisive step toward communism." The Communists had actually been the most pronounced propagandists of that important measure.

The reform recognizes the following forms of holdings:

- (a) large units (landed estates), provided they are cultivated technically and do not maintain feudal work systems (in this category is the United Fruit Company, from which, nevertheless, 91,000 hectares were expropriated);
- (b) small property, less than 90 hectares;
- (c) the mixed enterprises of the State; and
- (d) the farm cooperatives.

Principally affected by the reform was the United Fruit Company, which was also ordered to increase the daily wages of its workers.

The company commenced a serious lawsuit against the government. Upon losing the suit it threatened to abandon the country.

The problem has still not been solved, but the government continues firm in its intentions to carry forward this reform through the National Agrarian Department, which is directed by one of Arbenz's trusted officials, Captain Alfonso Martinez, 31 years old.

A POOR SERVICE FROM MOSCOW

Recently Pravda stated that: "All party members south of the Rio Grande must follow the example of Guatemala, the Central American nation where Communists now control the Confederation of Workers, the system of social security, and the government radio and press, and where they have been successful in obtaining control of key positions enabling them to direct the agriculture of that country."

This indiscreet release by the Communist organ presents the question in all its crudity. Is the government of Guatemala, as the Department of State maintains, a Communist regime?

Formally the Communist Party of Guatemala is small. Its outstanding figures are: Victor Manuel Gutierrez and Victor Manuel Fortuny. They control nearly all the unions of the country through the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, the national radio, and the newspaper Nuestro Diario, which is directed by the deputy Paulino Avelle who recently attended the Congress for Peace at Vienna, and some key positions in the teaching field.

Guatemala was the only country to oppose inclusion of the topic "the penetration of Communism in the Americas" on the agenda at Caracas. All that would appear to confirm the current thesis.

However, in our judgment there is taking place in Guatemala a political and social phenomenon of a much more complex type, which constitutes one of the most salient characteristics of the present era in Latin America.

In order to have an adequate understanding of the panorama, it is not possible to ignore the special social and economic conditions of the country. That circumstance offers, primarily, a splendid field for the cultivation of any attitude which is Communist-inspired.

The obfuscation of the conservative classes, on the one hand, and the anachronism of liberalism, on the other, have facilitated, furthermore, throughout Spanish America and particularly in the part of it which has a large majority of Indians in its population, the growth of a Left of national liberation and of social redemption which, in spite of being anti-Communist, can be implemented perfectly by Russia.

Liberalism has had, throughout the world, and throughout history, a marked tendency toward the Left, we would almost say a Leftist complex. This helps us to understand how it is very possible for a genuine democrat, a noble spirit, but Utopian, like that of Juan Jose Arevalo to have been able to foster the growth of forces which when the proper time came turned out to be actually Communist.

The typical Right has, furthermore, abandoned in Guatemala, as in almost all of the Americas, the standards of national independence, of economic liberation and of social justice. Those standards, of great popular force, while drifting have been captured by a Leftist current, within which small minorities which are formally Communist are the ones which know definitely where they are going.

Surely the Guatemalan case will complicate the Caracas conference.

The conscience of Latin America has become much more sensitive during the last few years so that the voice of the Arbenz government cannot fail to provoke repercussions.

But, fundamentally, the problem of Guatemala points up a profound dilemma of Latin America. It shows the danger that Communism may be able to use for its own purposes the period of reform through which Latin America is passing, since today there are two world forces in play.

Time and events will tell whether Arbenz is a Communist or not, but in politics, between to be or not to be, there is a third area: it is that of being used.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

[Page 1]

The present president of Guatemala, Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, with his wife.

[Page 2, top]

Juan Jose Arevalo when he was president of the Central American Federation. Here we see him in San Salvador.

[Page 2, bottom]

General Ubico governed the Central American republic for fourteen years.

[Page 3]

Senator Wiley, the chief opponent of the Guatemalan regime.

[Page 4, top]

Upon arriving in Mexico the journalists Gruson and Bannell pose for the photographers.

[Page 4, bottom]

The Arbenz regime often organizes demonstrations such as this.

From: La Nacion [The Nation], 28 February 1954, Costa Rica

COMMUNIST ABUSES AND VIOLENCE IN GUATEMALA

The labor leader Ruben Villatoro reports from Mexico on some of the outrages committed by the communists with the support of the government.

Red influence in Guatemala will be one of the points on the agenda of the Tenth Interamerican Conference at Caracas due to commence tomorrow.

Editor's note. During the past weeks there has been increasing proof of the infiltration and influence of the communists in the government of Guatemala and, beginning tomorrow, Monday, this problem will be one of the chief items on the agenda of the Tenth Interamerican Conference at Caracas. The government of Guatemala denies that it is communist. On the other hand, North American journalists expelled from that country and several Guatemalans who have fled or have been expelled from their native land insist that the communist threat to the Americas is great in the light of recent events. The following article is the first of two written by Guatemalan citizens exiled to Mexico who state that Guatemala is falling into the hands of Red terrorists.

(By Ruben Villatoro, Manager of the Workers' Union of Guatemala.)

Tapachula, Mexico, 27 -- (INS). To fight for liberty in Guatemala today means exile or death. I was an active fighter in the Guatemalan Revolution of 1944. But I rebelled when I saw in the final hour of the Revolution that foreigners were being imported and given control of the principal public posts. I rebelled against the crew of catechizers who favored communism; I rebelled against those who were giving a different course to our Revolution -- that Revolution which had cost us so dearly in lives and blood and which we had launched with so many dreams for a better future for Guatemala. In the city of Quetzaltenango some of my friends and I started a national campaign against communism. The movement spread throughout the entire republic. The communists described us as "reactionaries" and "conspirators," and the government, in deference to communist wishes, began to persecute the leaders of the movement. Some were exiled and many were arrested by the police and tortured. But we continued to fight, placing great hopes in Colonel Francisco Arana, Chief of the Armed Forces and a bitter enemy of communism. Then Colonel Arana was assassinated. The people made its protestations heard and organized street demonstrations. The government ordered its troops to open fire; disguised, the troops killed, plundered, and burned. Grief and mourning descended upon hundreds of homes as a result of the continuous massacres. Panic increased among the people. Opposition against the government disintegrated. Then came the presidential elections in the autumn of 1952. The whole thing was a farce. The independent parties were persecuted, their candidates harassed, and their homes attacked. Colonel Jacobo Arbenz obtained the presidency. Under Arbenz the communists were permitted to join his party, violating the article of the National Constitution which prohibits the formation of political parties of an international or foreign character in Guatemala. This tyranny clearly indicated to me the path I was to follow. Together with several companions I founded the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala in order to fight the communist menace. Our ranks grew rapidly and the spirit of our guiding principles encouraged others to act. The strong trade unions met in emergency meetings and expelled their communist leaders. I and other leaders of the free workers were arrested, but the pressure exercised by the independent press and radio was so great that we were freed.

They arrived without official orders of prior notice, wearing civilian clothing and riding in ordinary automobiles; they assaulted us in our offices. Five of us were arrested and beaten; then they robbed us of 560 quetzales and took all our identification

papers and valuables. Then we were thrown into single cells. There, at 1400, I was bound and my hands were tied behind my back. I was led away through a series of narrow corridors. Someone lifted me on his shoulders and whirled me around several times in order to make me lose my bearings. Then I was thrown into a truck. Shortly afterward another man was thrown into the truck, moaning and sobbing. I could not see him and never found out who he was; they called him "major." Shortly thereafter my companions were brought to the police one by one; on seeing that we recognized each other by the sound of our voices, they ordered us to keep silent. We remained in the truck for about 5 hours before being returned to our cells. At midnight three policemen came; they blindfolded me and I was again led over a series of stairs to a room; all around me I could hear cries of pain. Once, when I thought I recognized the voice of a high police official, he began to interrogate me. He wanted me to confess to crimes I had not committed. (These are the same tactics which are being employed where communism has imposed its fatal doctrine.)

From: La Prensa [The Press], Wednesday, 10 March 1954, Lima

SUSPICIOUS RUSSIAN LOVE FOR GUATEMALA

Attention should be called to the enthusiasm of the Red press for Guatemala.

Eudocio Ravines

According to information, comments, and news in the press on the other side of the iron curtain and in the entire communist press of Europe, the situation in Central America is bordering on a state of war. According to these reports, some of which are tinged with sensationalism, this entire sector of the Western Hemisphere is on the point of being plunged into a convulsion because of the aggressive measures which its neighbors, leagued together, are plotting against the Republic of Guatemala.

These reports, repeated with insistence in Soviet and communist publications, would not need to be considered as more than just propaganda if it were not for the fact that a rather delayed echo of the Russian reports is reaching us from Guatemala.

The first report on aggression against Guatemala was made by the official organ of the Cominform on 20 November of last year. This paper, under the heading "For an Enduring Peace, For a People's Democracy," published in its issue of that date the following report.

"The Central Committee of the Labor Party of Guatemala recently held a meeting in which the report of Comrade Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Central Committee, was heard and discussed; the report dealt with the situation in the country, the threat of foreign aggression, and the creation of a broad, single democratic fighting front for progress and for national independence. The meeting adopted a message to the people of Guatemala urging them to fight for the creation of a single front of the masses in order to develop further the democratic revolution and to oppose foreign intervention."

As if obeying an order, the communist papers of France and Italy and of the countries converted into "people's democracies" denounced in sizzling language and with much ado the planned invasion of Guatemala, in which various countries of Central America and along the Caribbean Sea were to participate. According to the communist papers, the plan provided for an attack which would come from all sides, with the exception of Mexico.

On 14 December the leading communist daily of the world, the Moscow Pravda, treated the Guatemalan question with strange and suspicious zeal. It printed a sensational report on the "tremendous pressure of the press of the United States calling for armed intervention against Guatemala." In spite of the fact that the report referred to the press of the United States, Pravda did not give the name of any newspaper magazine, or other publication. Following the report, the communist organ added that "the reactionary governments of Central America, through the Organization of American States and through military alliances, have combined into an oppressor block directed against Guatemala." This block, asserts Pravda, has already begun its "activities." Everyone knows that complete calm has been reigning and continues to reign in Central America and on the beaches of the Caribbean. This reveals the character of the report and its grotesque interventionist nature.

But on 30 January of last year the government of Guatemala published an official communique in which it denounced "the plans for the invasion of its territory," the existence of "a vast plot for the purpose of overthrowing the regime by means of a foreign invasion, which was to be launched from several points at the same time, by land,

as well as by sea on the Pacific Coast." A few hours before, the communist leader, the President of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, made the same denunciation, accusing Nicaragua, San Salvador, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic of a conspiracy "to despoil Guatemalans of their social, economic, and democratic gains."

This is the first time that the sources of Latin American information have been transferred to the other side of the iron curtain. It is the first time that the official organs of the Cominform and the Russian Communist Party have shown such complimentary sympathy for a government which is not that of a satellite country.

The least perspicacious and the most indolent must have their attention aroused by the enthusiasm which the whole communist press is devoting to extolling the government presided over by Colonel Arbenz, for whom terms of praise are employed which have been reserved only for Mao Tse-Tung, Gottwald, and Wilhelm Pieck. No government of the Western World has ever merited the expressions which have been lavished with suspiciously excessive love on the government of Guatemala.

The thing that deserves our very serious attention and arouses the most justifiable suspicion is the fact that communist organs announce weeks and months in advance what the official communique of a Latin American government will say later.

The whole procedure from beginning to end constitutes grotesque intervention; it reveals the existence of a pernicious international intrigue in the heart of the American hemisphere; this intrigue willingly abetted by a government which, according to the communist press, has proclaimed its intention to disassociate itself from the defense of the continent. If this intrigue, which is already transparent and undeniable, is being developed independently of the ideology, the wishes, and the intentions of the Guatemalan rulers, that does not mean that it is not being transformed into a serious danger to all Latin America.

From: La Prensa [The Press], 11 March 1954, Lima

FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA

The unanimity of the Red press throughout the world gives away this intervention.

Eudocio Ravines

It is absolutely inconceivable, absurd, and most illogical that the Russian press, headed by the Pravda Moscow, the chief organ of communism, should devote such ample space, careful attention, and extreme praise to Guatemala, its government, and its political developments merely by chance, through sympathy, and absolutely disinterestedly.

All historical experience, all the teachings of the reality of the last third of a century speak categorically against such a notion. When Pravda emphasizes so benevolently and with such extraordinary demonstrations of friendship a topic such as the Guatemalan situation, we have a right to think that there is something behind this attitude.

Emphasizing the situation in Guatemala, the Moscow Pravda wrote recently: "From that moment (1944) the popular movement for democracy, for the improvement of living conditions, and for national independence began to grow. The progressive government presided over by Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo introduced democratic liberties and restrained the domination of foreign monopolies. In accordance with the will of the masses, the present government, presided over by Colonel Arbenz, successor of Doctor Arevalo, has declared that the national resources and the Guatemalan people will not be used in an imperialist war. The Guatemalan population, though not large, is conscious of its strength and knows that it is not isolated. The sympathies of all the peoples of the world, the growing forces of those who are fighting for democracy and peace, are with them."

There is not a single government in the entire Western World, not even the neutralist, recalcitrant government of Jawaharlal Nehru, which would have deserved the kind of comment Pravda keeps putting out with respect to the government of Guatemala. And there is no other government with which the communists have collaborated in the past that has merited such abundant approval of its whole policy, such laudatory approval, free of all criticism, free of all reservations, and of every kind of censure.

It is unquestionable that this expression of the torrent of Russian and communist sympathies is neither flattery, nor courtesy. It is the price the Russians are paying for collaboration in the Western Hemisphere which is precious and valuable to them. For Russia, the fundamental strategy of its whole policy consists in producing more or less basic ruptures with the United States. Guatemala and its government seem to be superbly accomplishing this purpose and for this reason both deserve praise, bouquets, and the promise of "the sympathies of the growing forces of those who are fighting for democracy and peace ..." We know what peace and democracy mean in the Soviet dictionary. This same meaning is attributed to Guatemalan action in the American Hemisphere.

In its analysis of the Guatemalan situation, Pravda points out three concrete instruments of the domination of the United States: the United Fruit Company, owner of more than 80,000 hectares of land used in fruit growing; the "International Railways of Central America," owner and operator of the only railroad in Guatemala; and

the "Electric Power Company." Pravda points out with emphasis and undisguised pleasure that the Government of Guatemala under Colonel Arbenz is concentrating its attacks against these enterprises, thus showing its resolution to fight "against Yankee imperialism."

It is indisputable that the countries of Latin America -- some to a greater, some to a lesser degree -- socially, politically, and economically are in urgent need of a progressive and technological agrarian reform which will introduce machinery and scientific methods of cultivation and bring about high production and prosperity for the country in general and for the peasants in particular. But it cannot be denied that any agrarian reform attempt, combined with the intervention, participation, or interference of the communists, would deprive the process of all semblance of reform and convert it into an instrument of national division, of waste of social forces, and of the enthronement of a foreign force in the life of the country which would permit such an error.

Pravda rejoices with good cause at the direct and active communist participation in the Guatemala agrarian reform. It boasts that this campaign has enabled the communists "to identify themselves with the masses of the people, transforming them into the leading political vanguard" and to operate in the fields as a "radicalizing factor."

Finally, Pravda raises the triumphant Russian cry, asserting that the government of Guatemala "will prevent the resources of the republic and the Guatemalan people from being placed at the service of imperialist wars." Everyone knows what this language means; it means that Russia is relying on a bridgehead in the Western Hemisphere for its further operations.

The agreement of the whole communist press of the West, in Italy, France, and Britain, with the line published on the other side of the iron curtain clearly demonstrates that there is direct foreign intervention, carried out by native and foreign agents, in the internal affairs of a Latin American country. The fact that the country is small does not diminish its significance. It suffices to recall how small Yenan in the China of Chiang Kai-shek was at one time. Very little time elapsed before that limited area and small population were transformed into a force which sapped the foundations of the Republic of China and brought the entire country into the Soviet orbit.

From: Diario Latino [Latin Daily], San Salvador, Undated

THE COMMUNIST LEADER ESTRADA DE LA HOZ WAS THE ONE WHO LAID DOWN THE
RULES AND WAS THE GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE GUATEMALAN DELEGATION AT CARACAS

ANTI-COMMUNIST DELEGATION WHICH WENT TO CARACAS
MADE INTERESTING STATEMENT TO US YESTERDAY

There came to visit us Attorney Luis Coronado Lira, who, together with Lic. Carlos Salazar, and Mr. Luis Aycinena Valladares, represented at the Tenth Inter-American Conference, held in Caracas, the voice of the opposition to the Guatemala regime, presenting a series of documents.

Attorney Coronado Lira states that the well-known Communist leader of Guatemala, Julio Estrada de la Hoz, trained in countries located behind the Iron Curtain, was the one who laid down rules and was the guiding spirit in the activity of the delegation headed by Foreign Minister Toriello Garrido.

ON A TRIP TO CARACAS

The man we interviewed stated that in going to Caracas they were motivated by no other intention than that of informing the delegations of all the countries of the Americas that the government of Arbenz was actually pro-Soviet, and of giving information concerning Communism in their country, based on authentic proofs, proven data, true facts, the testimony of honorable persons.

"And we are presenting an extract from that printed study," said Coronado Lira, "as well as the corresponding proofs."

THEY PRESENT CREDENTIALS

When he was asked whether they succeeded in presenting the proofs mentioned, he replied:

"Yes. We are greatly obliged to the officials of the Tenth Conference who honored us, since we were the only ones in opposition to governments represented at it who had the honor to be received, in an official ceremony, to deliver to the Secretary General, Dr. Ernesto Vallenilla, our credentials, statement, and documents, which remained there as historic evidence. We did the same with the Juridical and Political Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa."

We asked Lira whether there were delegates at Caracas from the opposition to other governments and he replied:

"Yes, of course. There was one anti-Peronist, another from the liberals of Colombia, opponents of the regime of Odria, and various others, among whom there stood out an opponent of the National Revolutionary Movement, whose president is the distinguished editor of the suppressed Bolivian daily newspaper La Razon.

ATTITUDE OF THE DELEGATION FROM GUATEMALA

Lira stated as follows, in connection with the attitude of the delegation from Guatemala, namely the distinction which they received at the Tenth Conference:

"First, there was great activity, frequent summoning to conferences, even to giving information respecting congratulations received; visits to all the newspapers and constant entertainment of the press boys. In spite of all that, the Caracan press, to which we are greatly obliged, especially to La Esfera, El Heraldo, Ultimas Noticias and La Religion, brought out in big headlines the interviews we gave, publishing our press releases daily, as can be proved from copies of those newspapers."

In fact, Lira placed before us copies of the newspaper mentioned, in which was recorded the attention given them at all times by the Venezuelan press.

"When confronted by that calamity," our informant went on to state, "the Guatemala Delegation sought protection from the security authorities, accusing us of being 'terrorists'".

A CALL FROM THE SECURITY AUTHORITIES

Because of the accusation on the part of the Guatemalan delegation of being "terrorists", the three opposition delegates were obliged to appear before the Chief of Security of Venezuela, Pedro Paz, who turned out to be a close friend of Coronado Lira, since they had conspired together, Lira against Arevalo of Guatemala, and Paz against Romulo Betancourt.

In view of the fact that these three attorneys had come to Caracas to wage a purely ideological battle, the security forces left them at peace.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The official delegates from Guatemala, in view of the failure of their effort, complained to the authorities about the press campaign which the three opposition delegates had started, and a Government official stated to them:

"Here there is freedom of the press and all may express whatever opinions they wish."

HOW THE GUATEMALEN DELEGATION FUNCTIONED

Our visitor said that the Guatemalan Delegation functioned in the now classical and typical Communist way. That is to say that a fourth or fifth delegate or adviser was the one who really gave orders, laid down rules, and was the guiding spirit, that is, Julio Estrada de la Hoz, a well-known Communist leader. Miguel Angel Asturias took care of correcting and putting material into Spanish, and Toriello Garrido, the foreign minister, was merely obliged to carry out orders.

CREDENTIALS WHICH THEY CARRIED

The credentials which Coronado Lira, Salazar and Valladares Aycinena carried were those from CEUAGE [Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos]

en Exilio -- Committee of Guatemalan University Students in Exile] of Tegucigalpa, FAGE of El Salvador, and CAGE of Mexico, which, together with the anti-Communist bodies operating within Guatemala, constitute the organized and unified opposition headed by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas.

TORIELLO'S RECEPTION

With respect to the reception which they gave to Foreign Minister Toriello Garrido in Guatemala upon his return from Caracas, the details of which we publish on this same page, Coronado Lira states:

"It is nothing more than a theatrical gesture on the part of the Reds to cover the greatest defeat suffered in the foreign policy of the Communist government of our country, since, as is now publicly known, the anti-Communist motion was approved by the overwhelming majority of 17 votes at a meeting of 20 nations in which two abstained from voting. The frequent trips of the roving ambassador Juan Jose Arevalo to Chile, Ecuador, Uruguay, Cuba, Haiti, etc availed nothing, since all of them, through their votes, condemned Communism.

"The failure of Toriello's efforts," Coronado Lira concluded, "to silence the representatives of the organized and united opposition in Caracas, so that we would not be received, shows forth in the speech which he made on his return when he said, 'Fellow countrymen, don't be deceived; the forces which sought to raise the standard of anti-Communism in Caracas, in order to destroy the Guatemalan revolution are alive; they are working day and night to overthrow the Government of President Arbenz!'"

From: Patria Nueva [New Country], 17 March 1954, El Salvador

RUSSO-Guatemalan RELATIONS

Unsigned Article

Russia, the Red power in Europe, has many problems; it must maintain the internal dictatorship of the so-called proletariat; it must hold in subjugation the European peoples which are said to be under a "people's democratic" regime; it must extend its dominions in Asia with the help of communist China; it must watch the Germans of the occupied zone; it must increase its war potential, etc. How could a power of this category dispassionately look upon a small Central American republic? How could Russia which has thousands of problems of its own, possibly be interested in the problem of a distant nation whose very name was certainly unknown to most Russians 20 years ago?

We ask this because Pravda, the official Russian daily, discusses Guatemala with such special interest as to raise questions in the minds of the most unsuspecting. Pravda states, "from that moment (1944) the people's movement for democracy, for the improvement of living conditions, and for national independence began to grow. The progressive government presided over by Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, who had assumed power, established democratic liberties and restrained the domination of foreign monopolies. In accordance with the will of the masses, the present government presided over by Colonel Arbenz, Dr. Arevalo's successor, has declared that the national resources and the people of Guatemala shall not be used in imperialist wars. The population of Guatemala, though not large, is conscious of its strength and knows that it is not isolated."

Persons who still believe that those who accuse Guatemala of being communist are the reactionary capitalists of Central America who seek to oppose the democratic gains realized by Guatemala, that it is slander to describe Guatemala as communist, that Guatemala is being made the victim of an international conspiracy which is painting it red in order to have a pretext to imprison the country, should meditate on these words of Pravda which reveal the truth about the international situation of Guatemala.

In Russia people speak of a popular Guatemalan movement for democracy with the absolute certainty that Guatemala, like Czechoslovakia and the other nations behind the iron curtain, is already a "people's democracy."

They speak of Dr. Arevalo establishing democratic liberties and thus applaud a fact which could certainly not evoke applause in Russia because there democratic liberties are absolutely unknown.

It is stated that Arbenz has declared that the people of Guatemala will never fight in an imperialist war; this statement makes it absolutely clear on which side Guatemala is in this hour of crisis for democracy.

It is stated that the people of Guatemala is not isolated; this means that Guatemala is being offered every kind of assistance by Russia and is being incited to maintain itself firmly as a Red satellite.

Guatemala is not alone, of course. How could it be alone? Guatemala is on the side of Russia. Russia encourages it, gives it instructions, and offers it assistance for the decisive moment.

Let those who still believe in the innocence of Guatemala meditate on these words quoted from Pravda and let them note how the truth becomes clear and evident in these words -- this undeniable truth that Guatemala is the Red bastion which the Russians have erected.

From: La Voz del Ejercito [The Voice of the Army], 3 April 1954

THE FOUL ASSASSINATION OF COLONEL ARANA WAS AN ACT
OF HIGH TREASON TO THE ARMY

Short of crushing the traditional virtues of the National Army, periods of dictatorship produced no progress and were marked by misgivings in regard to aspirations for personal improvement. Not a few Army leaders became executioners and the systems of discipline left no consideration for the soldier's affection for his home, for his mental anxieties, and for his just aspirations to excel.

Aside from the need for a patriotic defense of the rights and liberties of the people, the military establishment in carrying out the military action of the early morning of 20 October 1944 was chiefly motivated by a desire to reaffirm the high attributes of the Army and to satisfy honorable demands on behalf of its personnel for improved technical training based on the very important advances and modern equipment, for decent treatment and enhanced appearance of those in service, for increased pay and relaxation of mental anxieties, for equitable systems of promotion, reward, and punishment, in short, for reasonable provisions for service personnel and their families in accordance with length and quality of service. Like all fraternities, the army has the responsibility to protect the rights of its membership, especially those which flow from the life of sacrifice in military quarters and from the ways and means necessary for the effective functioning and advantageous employment of the military establishment.

Francisco Javier Arana Castro, who was then serving as a Major of the Army in the Guard of Honor, whose modest and exemplary life had distinguished him among his companions, was imbued with the above principles as few others have been. During leisure hours he indefatigably pondered the most diverse mental disciplines, thereby acquiring a degree of enlightenment very uncommon in a person who had little original education. Arana came to possess a thorough knowledge of men and events and his natural modesty was such that very few realized at that time that he, as though foreseeing his destiny, was acquiring knowledge and experiences, and was exploring possibilities. When the hour sounded for him to stake his life and his prestige in defense of the high interests of Guatemala, he was equal to the difficult circumstances. Thus he fully discharged his responsibility as a member of the triumvirate of the Military Junta which took over the government of the country. Afterwards, as Chief of the Armed Forces, he demonstrated capacity, upright honesty, lack of self-interest, and, above all, a spirit of sacrifice and devotion to the principles of the October Revolution. Even his death testifies to his soundness of mind, to his valor in the face of danger, to his eagerness to give even his life in order not to stain his clean record as a sterling example of the traditional and honorable military spirit of the Guatemalan soldier.

Accordingly his promotion to the Military High Command gave positive assurance to all the military men who knew him that soon the just aspirations of the Army would be fully satisfied. Did not Arana suffer personally from the deficiencies noted? Would he not be the best person to carry out those high aspirations, the most honorable person able to guarantee that the army would obtain all that was necessary to raise its status, to justify its task, to guarantee its existence? And so he was: from the time he became a member of the Junta of Government he encouraged the military establishment to identify itself with the people, with the youth, with the life of the citizenry, and to purge itself of the hardness and repression which it acquired during the dictatorship; that is to say, he helped people to view the military with the greatest sympathy as the guarantor of order, the defender of the national integrity, and the sentinel of the sovereignty of the people. And not only

that: laws and regulations were promulgated to modernize the services, to humanizing the discipline, and to create units abreast of modern armies and of the most advanced knowledge. Military equipment, barracks life, and psychological, physical, and technical training were improved. The permanent forces were deployed in newly created Military Zones to guarantee order and security throughout the national territory thereby assigning the armed force a purely technical function, removed from politics. Moreover, this plan provided for better installations to enhance barracks life. It would be lengthy to list everything that was done and much longer to list what was planned for a progressive, durable, and effective development. Is there anyone in or out of the military fraternity who does not realize this? Arana, we repeat, responded worthily, loyally, and capably.

Accordingly his assassination touched even the newest members of the Army. Thus he is still mourned and will never be forgotten. The Army suffered the greatest of losses, ascerbated by the fact that elements from its ranks participated in the repugnant and vile murder of the man who worked for their moral and material elevation. Thus the Army saw its future liquidated and its reputation soiled. This ignoble assassination was an act of high treason to the National Army.

From: El Comercio [Commerce], 9 April 1954, Quito, Ecuador

ARCHBISHOP OF GUATEMALA ASKS THE PEOPLE TO FIGHT
AGAINST COMMUNISM IN THAT COUNTRY

Declares that communist cells are multiplying under cover of social demands.

Abundant communist propaganda in educational institutions; mercenary teachers propagate doctrine.

Guatemala, 8. (UP). In a pastoral letter the Archbishop of Guatemala, Monsignor Mariano Rosell, urged Catholics to fight communism. He asserted that the people should rise "as one man against the enemies of God and country."

"Our fight against communism," he emphasized, "must have a Catholic and national orientation. Let us enter this fight against communism in the name of God, but never guided by petty political interests."

He added that "anti-Christian communism is pursuing its impudent advance in Guatemala and is attempting to insinuate itself by hiding under the cloak of social demands."

He recalled that "in 1946 we sounded a note of warning that communism was at our gates which were being closed to priests while the frontiers were being opened to the rabble of international adventurers, trained in the communist tactics of the Third International."

Continuing, he pointed out that "the official radio has broadcast incessant divisive teachings, attacks against the Church, and proclamations containing all the slogans of the Soviet Politburo," and that "the barracks are filled with communist literature and the professorial chairs in the educational institutions are held by mercenary teachers, while communist cells continue to multiply actively."

Subsequently, Monsignor Rosell maintained that the "so-called Soviet paradise is a concentration camp where, through the force of tanks and cannons, all are compelled to work for the State. Communist propaganda has penetrated to the farthest corners of Guatemala and in many places has sown a baneful seed which is germinating in the blood of our Guatemalan brothers."

"Who can extirpate it? Thanks to God, the whole people can root it out, if you Catholics, wherever you may be, with all the means at your disposal will oppose these teachings which are assaulting our religion and Guatemala; communism is assaulting our religion and Guatemala; communism is atheistic and antipatriotic."

He concluded by saying in his pastoral letter: "Our hopes are high in Guatemala, where the voice of the Church can still reach you and give you an anguished warning."

From: Ultimas Noticias [The Latest News], Quito, 12 May

BUT, IS THERE FREEDOM IN GUATEMALA?

"WE ARE REBELS BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF GUATEMALA SHED THEIR BLOOD TO DESTROY ONE TYRANNY WITHOUT KNOWING THAT BEHIND IT CAME THE OTHER ONE", SAY THE ANTI-COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF GUATEMALA.

Reproduced below is the leading editorial from the first number of El Rebelde [The Rebel], the organ of the Committee of Anti-Communist University Students of Guatemala, dated 23 November 1953:

We are rebels because we love freedom.

We are rebels because we do not wish to bow our heads.

We are rebels because rebellion was not born with us. Because rebellion has existed as long as there have been in the world strong, virile, free men who love freedom, who do not wish to bow their heads before tyrants, intruders, those who kill freedom and kill the spirit and kill the soul. Rebellion is an exact synonym for the struggle for freedom.

But, is there, perchance, no freedom in Guatemala? And we answer with another, with many other questions.

Can the country be free when it sees itself involved in a Communist conspiracy which is leading it to ruin?

Can that nation be free which sees all the strength of its youth led astray and wasted by Communist doctrines?

Can that country be free where public institutions are not in conformity with constitutional institutions?

Can that country be free where justice is meted out by a system of watchwords?

Can that country be free which sees part of its free and wholesome youth scattered among the fields of Central America without direction and without country?

Can that country be free in which part of its youth is rotting in the stinking cells of a filthy and unjust jail?

Can that country be free whose laws are trampled on by a Congress delivered over to Communism, except for a small group of honorable men?

Can that country be free whose economy is gasping its last breath while the Guatemalan puppets of the Red master give a horrible burst of laughter?

And to all these questions we must reply: no, no, no.

And it is because of this round and painful negative that today there arises a habit of rebellion, of this rebellion which is worthy of worthy nations. Of the rebellion which passes through the fields of Western Europe breathing forth glory and victory. Of

the rebellion which grips the spirits of those who fight throughout the world against international and materialistic Communism. Of the rebellion of the people of Guatemala in October 1944 when Guatemalan blood flowed in order to destroy one tyranny without knowing that behind it came the other one, much worse, more terrible, the tyranny red as to history, red with blood, and red in spirit.

It is against Communism that we rebel.

It is against the pestilence which has treacherously invaded us from the rear leaving Guatemala unaware of the danger.

We are rebels against Communism.

People of Guatemala, follow us in our triumphant struggle which began on glorious 20 October and which will end with the last Communist in Guatemala.

We are rebels. And if these rebels fall under the axe of Communist reaction like so many other rebels, there will always come behind us other rebels, other true Guatemalans.

From: El Pais [The Country], Panama City, 26 May 1954

THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY MEN FEAR THAT RUSSIAN MILITARY
MEN MAY DOMINATE THAT COUNTRY

A Latin American military man, upon passing through Panama from Guatemala, where he was until a short time ago, stated that "the conversations among military men of that country are almost completely reduced to a discussion of the weapons from Poland which recently arrived for the Government of President Arbenz.

"The majority of the Guatemalan military men," according to the officer in question, "appear very uneasy over the large quantity of arms received.

"The Guatemalan military men like to have at their disposal weapons which are superior to those which previously existed in hamlets and villages where the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers is organized", the informant said, and he added, "For the first time in three years the army of Guatemala is the most powerful organization in the country, and now Guatemalan military men have an opportunity to appear proud and have sufficient strength to deal with the leaders of the unionized workers.

"However, the officers of the army also find reason to be concerned about the arrival of the Polish arms. The fact that Guatemala is the only American country armed with Russian weapons is considered as irrefutable proof that there is an understanding with the Soviet. The Guatemalan military men fear that after the weapons may come Russian military missions and that they may later occupy a secondary level. They recall, to show their pessimism, what happened in Poland after World War II. They say that in Poland the military men of that country were supplanted by a Russian general, who was followed by colonels and later by majors and captains, who today control the battalions and troops of the Polish army. The Guatemalan military men have even reached the point of mentioning, sotto voce, the name of Rokossowski, who was the commanding general of the Communist armies during World War II and who later was designated Chief Advisor of the Russian army in Poland. This high military figure is at present Defense Minister of Poland and Malenkov's personal representative in that dominated country."

The Nation, Panama, 26 May 1954

Guatemalan Army Fears Russian Infiltration

Interest in Guatemala among military circles is focused on the recent shipment of Soviet weapons to that republic, according to a ranking Guatemalan army officer in an off-the-record conversation with a Central American newspaper reporter.

The denial by Guatemala that a shipment of weapons was received from Poland, following reports in the major newspapers of the world that a large shipment of Soviet arms had been unloaded in Guatemala from a Swedish ship, was received with interest by Guatemalan officers. Particularly interested were the officers detailed to guard the non-existent munitions. When shortly after the original denial, the Guatemalan Government reversed its stand and denounced saboteurs for attempting to destroy the newly arrived arms, interest among army personnel rose to a new high.

Reportedly, the Guatemalan army is very worried over the ramifications inherent in the receipt of large supplies of arms and ammunition from the Soviet orbit. The acceptance of Communist arms is considered by informed officers to be an open acknowledgement of the close ties between civilian lead-

ers of the Guatemalan government and Soviet diplomats. The fact that army officials were not informed of the weapons shipment until the munitions were actually in Guatemala is an important factor in the uneasiness among military men.

Fears have been aroused that the army is headed for the same path of Sovietization which has been observed among the labor movement headed by Jose Manuel Fortuny and Victor Gutierrez.

Previously, only members of the labor organizations were given Soviet weapons and it was assumed that the Communist leaders in Guatemala did not trust the army. Many officers feel that the mistrust was deserved and now fear that they will be replaced by Communists whose knowledge of military matters is somewhat overshadowed by their belief in the Marx-Stalin-Malenkov principles.

Wash. Evening Star

JUL 7 1954

Dealing With Guatemala's Reds

Although it has promised to respect the right of asylum, Guatemala's new anti-Communist military government has taken an understandable position in declaring that it will not grant safe conduct out of the country to any criminal members of the fallen Arbenz regime.

At the moment, Arbenz himself and about 1,000 of his followers—including members of his Communist "kitchen cabinet"—are holed up in a number of Latin-American diplomatic buildings in Guatemala City, with approximately half of them taking refuge in the Mexican Embassy. As long as they remain in that status, they will be untouchable, but if they apply for safe-conduct guarantees, they will not get them unless it is clear that they are not guilty of serious crimes. And quite a few of them, it seems, cannot hope to pass such a test.

This is so because the new government—a five-man military junta—has reported evidence indicating that within recent weeks the Arbenz regime, before being overthrown by the revolution led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, tortured and killed scores of anti-Communist Guatemalans. Quite obviously, if this is a fact, then certain of the former officials now enjoying asylum are guilty of atrocities that disqualify them for safe-conduct passes and make them eligible instead for rigorous prosecution and capital punishment.

In any event, the five-man junta has made clear that it is going to do its best to mete out severe penalties where severe penalties are due. And to that end, wholly apart from the 1,000 or so who have received asylum, it has rounded up and jailed at least 2,000 Communists and fellow-travelers in Guatemala. At the same time, however, as if to reassure the free world that there will be no excesses and that the innocent will not suffer, it has pledged that each case will be carefully investigated—in and out of the courts—to guard against the danger of hotheaded acts of vindictiveness or miscarriages of justice.

Given that assurance, and assuming that it will be lived up to, the Americas can count on an effective elimination of the Communist menace in Guatemala. And Guatemala itself, if its new government acts democratically to achieve much-needed economic reforms, will be able to strengthen its freedom and make real progress toward a good future.

N.Y. Times

JUL 11 1954

THE CASTILLO ARMAS REGIME

As was generally expected following the settlement in San Salvador at dawn of July 2, Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas has been chosen head of the anti-Communist junta in Guatemala. Seldom in recent Latin-American history has a revolutionary leader come to power with greater opportunity—and with graver problems. And seldom has his role been as important to hemisphere policy-makers in Washington. The whole world of the Good Neighbors will be watching the course of the provisional regime. For the moment the judgment of the other Americas should properly be withheld in the face of a series of questions. These include:

How soon will representative democratic government be restored? Has the large body of Guatemalan illiterates (perhaps 73 per cent) been permanently or only temporarily disfranchised? Will the promised drastic revision of the Arbenz agrarian law mean that all expropriations are voided or only that fairer remuneration is assured the former owners (including the United Fruit Company)? Will all the *parcelaristas* who received tiny plots of land in actual ownership from the Red-infiltrated regime be ousted—apart from the larger number who became mere sharecroppers on Government coop-

eratives instead of on large private estates?

In diplomatic terms, a delicate problem is building up over the hundreds of refugees in various embassies in Guatemala City—notably the Mexican. If Mexico insists that the traditional right of asylum be extended to its logical conclusion, will the former hard core of Moscow-trained Guatemalan Reds be permitted to go to Mexico? Or will a sort of collective Haya de la Torre case develop over the more than 1,000 asylum-seekers in the uncomfortable immunity of the embassies in Guatemala?

Not yet 40 years old, Castillo Armas is unquestionably a patriot and a man of deep-seated anti-Communist convictions. His Foreign Minister, Carlos Salazar, is a son of the Foreign Minister under Rightist dictator Jorge Ubico, whose overthrow in 1944, Secretary Dulles has wisely conceded, was "not without justification." Not the least of the Colonel's problems is to avoid the swing of the pendulum back to the Ubico days.

Norteamericanos may with all earnestness wish the slight, tired-voiced, bright-eyed little Colonel well. Because in very large measure how he does will affect the regard with which we ourselves are held by the other Latin Americans for years to come.

Wash. Post
JUL 10 1954

These Days By George Sokolsky

Communists Don't Give Up

IT IS IN the nature of the establishment of a universal state that a defeat must not be permitted to be accepted as permanent. The reason for this axiom is that defeats indicate bad planning, bad execution, incorrect analyses of conditions. Whereupon the countries on the periphery of empire look to their possibilities to make up for the failure quickly. Conversely, it was only after the United States was defeated in Korea that country after country became neutralist, which is a polite term for an increasing affinity for Russia, the degree not always measurable.

Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala put the finger on the United States as the author of his disaster. Therefore, in the logic of history, the United States in Guatemala won a victory over the Soviet universal state in its first major effort to establish a Communist country on the American continents. There has been previous abortive efforts.

ARBENZ said: "Workers, peasants, patriots, friends, people of Guatemala. Guatemala is undergoing a very hard trial. Two weeks ago a cruel war was unleashed against Guatemala; apparently no government is responsible for it. That does not mean we don't know who unleashed this aggression against our beloved country. The United Fruit Co., the United States monopolies, in connivance with United States governing circles, are responsible for what is happening to us."

He added:
"I say goodbye, my friends, with bitter sorrow, but still firm in my convictions. Preserve what has been so costly; 10 years of struggle, tears, and sacrifices of democratic gains. I have not been confuted by the enemy's arguments, but

by the material means for the destruction of Guatemala."

And he ended with a typical Russian Communist salute:

"With the satisfaction of a man who believes he has done his duty, with faith in the future, I say: Long live the October revolution! Viva Guatemala!"

The October revolution which Arbenz salutes is, of course, the seizure of power by the Communists in Russia under Lenin and Trotzky. By this salute, Arbenz acknowledges the source of his inspiration. By these words, as ritualistic as standard prayers, he declares himself a Marxist under the tutelage of the Kremlin.

NOW, THE strategic problem that faces the planners in the Kremlin is how to overcome the effects of this defeat.

1. Shall they institute a diversionary effort, such as eventuated in the Berlin airlift while they were conquering China?
2. Shall that diversionary effort be on the American continents or elsewhere?
3. Shall they undertake to

retake Guatemala by guerrilla warfare, by a state of constant revolution?

4. Shall they abandon the effort in Guatemala and develop a Soviet state in some other American country?

It is not to be forgotten that Guatemala is at least the fourth attempt to develop a Soviet state in the Americas. Constantine Oumansky tried Cuba and Mexico, where he failed, and died in an airplane crash. British Guiana was the next attempt and it failed because of the swift military action by the British. Guatemala was long in the making as a Communist base and all the evidence concerning it was amply reported to our Government by Richard C. Patterson, Jr., when he was our Ambassador to that country (1948-51). In fact, Patterson was relieved of his post because his reports were correct and therefore a nuisance. Guatemala is geographically a suitable place for a Soviet state, but the likelihood is that operations are already beginning in some other American country.

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Wash. Daily News

JUL 12 1954

Reds' Defeat Doesn't Mean They're Thru

Guatemala's Uneasy Truce Is Tailored for Moscow

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

Now that top Reds have been thrown out of Guatemala many here are likely to relax and forget the ticklish political situation in Central America. But not if they are familiar with communist strategy in the rest of the world.

The escape of all the key communist agents who manipulated the administration of deposed President Jacobo Arbenz was like stirring so many Red coals into the Guatemalan powder keg. The hasty and reluctant marriage of the regular army under Col. Alfego Monzon and the rebel forces of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas is no guarantee of a united front.

In the few hours before Col. Monzon took over from Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, bosom friend of Arbenz, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello fled to asylum in another Latin American Embassy. From there he doubtless will receive safe conduct beyond the frontier, from whence he will parrot the communist line against the "imperialist Yankees."

Labor bosses, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Manuel Pellecer and a half dozen more Soviet hatchet men,

took to the hills or slipped into Mexico. Having saved their own cowardly necks, they immediately tried to whip the illiterate peasants into a frenzy of revenge. Large numbers of these simple people already had been organized and given arms from the recent shipment from the Iron Curtain.

Those who remember how the old Nicaraguan rebel, Sandino, was able to hold out and harass the U. S. Marines for years, realize what a Latin American guerrilla war can be like.

NO LOVE LOST

Witnesses to the wedding of Monzon and Castillo Armas in San Salvador admit the match was not love at first sight. Each wanted to be boss. Even the President of El Salvador plus the Papal Nuncio had been unable to induce them to join hands. Only after U. S. Ambassador John Peurifoy flew in from Guatemala City were they persuaded to go thru with the ceremony.

Even so, it is only temporary, with a 15-day honeymoon. By then the two factions must choose a President. However willing the two principals might be to join in wresting the fatherland from the communists, their followers, at least their lieutenants, also have ambitions.

The officers in the Guatemala

City garrisons will remember the high pay and easy life under Arbenz, and that they threw over the pilot when the ship was sinking. Col. Armas' followers will not forget how they took to the mud and mosquitoes of the jungle and brought the capital's defenders to their knees.

INEVITABLE BITTERNESS

It is obvious that whatever the outcome of the "election," the losing side won't be happy.

Then there are the Reds in the mountains and remote villages. To drive them out and restore order among the peasants will require unity of purpose and a firm hand in Guatemala City.

Even this is not the most serious problem. The small fry officials of the communist-dominated labor unions, who had enjoyed so much power in the past two years cannot be brought around to reason overnight.

Add to several hundred former pro-Arbenz as well as neutral Congressmen and government officials who have been summarily dismissed. They will plot and counter-plot. The communist underground will attempt to incite them to sabotage the new regime.

IN PEACE A BITTER AFTERTASTE

Guatemalans count up brutality victims and tensely pursue Reds

Guatemala was peaceful last week, in the sense that the brief civil war was over and the anti-Communist rebels were celebrating their victory. But even the flush of their jubilation was muted by the tears women shed for their dead, the look of fear in the eyes of the children and the literal stench of death. The end of the

fighting made it possible to sense, in these pictures by LIFE's Leonard McCombe, the brutalities of a smalltime war which had bigtime ideological underpinnings. Makeshift graves gave up scores of Guatemalans shot or tortured to death in the last days of the pro-Communist Arbenz regime, and Guatemala City reeked with

what came to be called "Communist perfume."

The rebel chief, Castillo Armas, solidified his rule by taking over the presidency as vigilantes rounded up Communist sympathizers. Soon 2,000 were under arrest and Guatemalans could be fairly sure that, though a regime had ended, violence had not fully run its course.

G.S. Monitor

JUL 16 1954

Guatemala Police Arrest 4,000 in Drive on Reds

By the United Press

Guatemala City, Guatemala
Police announced that the new military junta government of Guatemala has arrested 4,000 persons on suspicion of Communist activity, 800 of them in Guatemala City alone.

"Each case will be investigated on its merits," the announcement said. "Those who are not guilty will be freed immediately."

N.Y. Times

JUL 16 1954

Guatemalan at Nicaragua Talk

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 15—Carlos Cheesman, an engineer, heads the Guatemalan delegation of three attending the aeronautical conference in Managua, Nicaragua. Diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, broken during the last month of the Administration of ousted former President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, were automatically renewed with Nicaragua's recent recognition of the junta headed by Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

Wash. Post

JUL 17 1954

Guatemalan Jails Overloaded with Reds

GUATEMALA, July 16 (AP)—Speedy investigation of an estimated 3000 alleged Communists, pro-Communists and suspected Communists jammed into Guatemala's jails was directed today by the ruling military junta.

The junta must act soon on 1200 petitions for freedom already received, and the problem of feeding the large number of prisoners is presenting difficulties. The expense comes at a time when the government says the treasury is empty.

N.Y. Times

JUL 20 1954

GUATEMALA LABOR BEING RESHUFFLED

**National Committee Working
to Root Out Red Control—
A.F.L. and C.I.O. Assist**

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 19—A national committee met last night to reorganize Guatemala's labor movement, which had been under Communist leadership. Fourteen unions were represented on the committee.

Also present were Serafin Romualdi of the American Federation of Labor, David Benedict of the Committee of Industrial Organizations and Raul Valdivia Perez of the Cuban Federation of Labor.

Last week, the governing junta issued a decree giving all labor organizations three months to elect new boards and clean out Communists. The new leaders must have no political ties with Communists, the decree emphasized. Unions that did not comply were to be declared illegal.

Before the revolution the Confederation of Labor, headed by Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Communist leader and former Congress-

man, controlled 500 labor organizations. It was affiliated with the Red-run World Federation of Labor and the Latin-American Confederation of Labor.

Señor Gutierrez is in asylum in the Chilean Embassy. Most of the other Communist leaders also fled to different embassies following the overthrow of the pro-leftist regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

The reorganizing committee elected as president Ruben Villatoro, who several months ago organized a free union representing thousands of workers who had refused to bow to Communist rule. He subsequently was forced to go into exile. He has appealed to all unions to join forces and cooperate with the committee.

Under the Arbenz regime and that of Juan Jose Arvado, labor congresses had invariably turned into Red rallies. Their main theme was "world peace" and the principal target "Yankee imperialism."

Louis Saillant, secretary general of the World Federation of Labor and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the Latin-American confederation, had visited Guatemala frequently and had presided at these rallies, which were celebrated with the acquiescence of the Government.

The Foreign Office announced today that the junta had been recognized by Chile, Argentine, Brazil, Colombia and Belgium. This brought to twenty-three the number of countries that had renewed relations with Guatemala.

~~SUPPLEMENT~~

NO. 24-54

NEWS HIGHLIGHTS

Date JULY 16, 1954

GUATEMALAN
ISSUE.
NO. 2

From: Boletin del CEUAGE (CEUAGE Bulletin), (Boletin de Estudiantes Universitarias Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio -- Bulletin of the Committee of the Anti-Communist Guatemalan University Students in Exile), undated, Tegucigalpa, Pages 5 and 6.

CRIME IN ACTION

THE RED PAGE

THE ASSASSINATION OF EDGAR LEMCKE

Unsigned Article

[PHOTO caption, appended]

CIVIC PROTEST AGAINST ATROCITIES

It was 19 July 1950 in Guatemala City, close to 1800. Unusual agitation pervades Central Park, Centenario Park, and the principal arteries of the city; the flow of people toward Sixth Avenue and the above-mentioned parks resembles a fast-flowing river rushing to sea; traffic is stopped by the crowd clogging the sidewalks and streetcar tracks. It is 1800 hours. Commotion suddenly gives way to impressive silence. A minute of silence. Nothing disturbs the quiet; in the distance the final peals of the cathedral bells are heard. One minute after 1800 a deafening wave of applause rings out. The people peacefully but energetically demand the resignation of renegade President Arevalo. The balconies of the Palace remain closed but high government officials line the windows and guns appear on the roof, prepared for massacre. Suddenly groups of gangsters armed with clubs emerge from the bowels of the government building and pounce on the defenseless demonstrators who react violently when they see old men, women, and children trampled down. A hand-to-hand encounter ensues and the attackers are forced to withdraw to the steps of the Palace.

At the same time the rifles and machine guns of the police open up on the people without regard for sex, age, or condition. The crowd pulls away and only the dead and wounded remain to write a bloody page in the history of the country.

The scene is repeated a few times. The people of Guatemala show the stuff they are made of.

Dr. Arevalo and his followers erect a throne of blood and grief but the people are determined to sacrifice themselves to the end.

The blood of innocent people and anonymous patriots runs through the main streets of Guatemala for days and days. Government forces use every means to prevent gatherings but each sunset brings more people together to protest against the Arevalo regime and demand justice for the cowardly assassination of Colonel Francisco Javier Arana.

However, the patriotic instigator of the movement of repudiation, Manuel Cobos Batres, a man of high civic valor who fought the ill-fated dictatorship of Attorney Manuel Estrada Cabrera in 1920, gives the order not to go ahead. There is disgust, indignation and popular demand for justice but civic spirit is no match for atrocities.

cont.

THE SHAMELESSNESS AND CYNICISM OF AREVALO'S FOLLOWERS

The Government scoffs at the people and accuses them of opening fire on the Palace, perfectly aware of the fact that the exact opposite was the case. Reprisals against businessmen who closed their stores during the minute of silence is the order of the day.

Not only 7 millimeter and .45 caliber bullets snuffed out the lives of innocent people; the crafty dagger (preferred weapon of the communists) was also directed against noble breasts and promising young Guatemalan writers succumbed to its fatal blows.

Edgar Lemcke, medical student, fluent orator with a sharp, agile mind, author of endless satire, jokes, songs, and parodies, loaded with incontestable truths on the deeds of the government and its representatives, added spice to the evenings of entertainment of university students celebrating the Feast of Dolores by depicting corruption in the Arevalo government with vivid rapid strokes. Lemcke was a champion of the right to strike, a good student, a man of letters, a keen, brave, impartial, sincere, and prudent critic despite his youth.

THE CRIME

He stood near the corner of Sixth Avenue and Eighth Street, watching events develop, when the mob (armed hoods of the National Palace, SAMF [Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero -- Railroad Action and Improvement Labor Union], railroad workers, road workers, and communist strong-arm groups) attack the demonstrators. The people strike back and repel the Palace goons who, seeing that they are losing ground pull out their guns and daggers. Suddenly a shot is heard: the bloody, lifeless body of Enrique Meono lies prostrate on the sidewalk. Communism has found another victim. A group of demonstrators run to his aid, but it is too late. Then follows a dastardly attack on a woman near Edgar Lemcke. Being a gentleman, he comes to her aid. A member of SAMF, tall, dark, husky, with a scar on his face, wearing denims, a leather belt, and a brown hat, and carrying a folded newspaper in his right hand, appears to recognize the student. He directs his newspaper towards Lemcke's chest and a knife hidden in the paper rips his heart -- a heart so sensitive, so full of youth and goodness.

Edgar knows he is about to die and tells his companions so. The assassin immediately disappears into the crowd after his infamous deed.

Everything happens with lightning speed and Edgar expires in the arms of his companions.

The streets are empty, the city is sad, families are grief-stricken.

IN THE UNIVERSITY AUDITORIUM

The student body, in grief and indignation is on its feet. Quickly the students assemble in the San Carlos University auditorium and unanimously agree to:

- (1) stand vigil over the deceased Lemcke who was assassinated by the savage hordes of Arevalism;
- (2) demand that the authorities cease these public outrages and punish the assassin who murdered Lemcke;
- (3) call a strike of all students until their demands are met.

cont.

Students equipped with a loudspeaker drive around in a jeep and invite people to attend Lemcke's wake and funeral. They are mobbed by police and taken to jail but pressure by the student body soon forces their release.

A committee of the AEU [Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios -- Association of University Students] takes the necessary steps to have Lemcke's body released from the General Hospital. At the moment the body is to be released, the male attendant on duty tells the student committee that the police forced their way in and took the body away. The committee immediately notifies the student president who recesses the assembly at the University so that the entire student body can search for the deceased. Finally, around midnight, news comes that the body was handed over to relatives who pleaded for it on the basis that they were related to the traitor Arevalo.

Students take turns at the wake and sit up all night with the body. The next day at 1000 the body is carried on the shoulders of the students to the university auditorium where it lay in state.

The many wreaths that were sent indicate the sympathy and high esteem of the Guatemalan people for the deceased.

FLORAL AFFRONT

An immense floral wreath arrives at the doors of the auditorium. Three students are there to receive it and when they learn that it is sent by Juan Jose Arevalo, President of the Republic and instigator of the crime, they become furious. Arevalo, in typical communist fashion, adds insult to injury by putting on a show of grief which he could never feel. But the students are fully aware of this diabolical burlesque from a man who exactly a year ago vilely ordered the assassination of Colonel Francisco Javier Arana commander of the nation's armed forces. The students take the wreath, erase the note on the card and substitute something more eloquent, head for the Palace, go up the steps and throw the wreath disdainfully at the feet of the surprised guards.

[PHOTO caption, appended]

In the evening the remains of Edgar Lemcke, carried to their final resting place on the shoulders of his comrades, were followed by long lines of university students in mourning.

PAZ TEJADA, TRAITOR

Carlos A. Paz Tejada, commander of the armed forces, promises to comply with the demands of the students if their strike, which had already spread to professional and business groups, were called off. Students, professional, and businessmen place credence in the words of the Chief of the Army and deal a death blow to the civic movement that was about to put an end to Arevalo's tyranny. Carlos A. Paz betrays his country, the people, the army, and his promise by tightening his bonds with international communism. "How could the government avenge the death of Edgar Lemcke when Paz was one of its trusted henchmen?" "How could the government chastise anyone who was ordered to murder a person who criticized the government?" That is the price paid for criticizing the government in Guatemala. That is how one is chastised for speaking his mind. That is how an end is put to freedom of thought and expression! Only the dead have no faculties of thought, feeling, or speech. To think that Edgar Lemcke was a distant relative of Juan Jose Arevalo! This is the respect communism has for the individual and the family. Who know, maybe this was the main reason for Arevalo's hatred.

This is another page of crime which the freedom-loving peoples of the Americas should know about and which we respectable Guatemalans shall never be able to forget.

over

PHOTO CAPTIONS

[Page 5, column 1 of original]

The body of Edgar Lemcke lies covered with blood on a Sixth Avenue sidewalk. A stab in the heart mowed down the life of this exemplary young man. After ordering his "liquidation," Arevalo had the gall to send a wreath of flowers to the funeral...

[Page 5, columns 3 and 4 of original]

Arevalo's "Peoples Democracy". Police and Communist strong-arm groups, armed with army equipment, fire mercilessly into a respectable crowd of people who were demanding an explanation of the assassination of Colonel Arana. Unarmed demonstrators flee for shelter against this unwarranted unleashing of brutal force by the henchmen of Arevalo's "Peoples Democracy."

[Page 6, columns 3 and 4 of original]

Victim of the Savage Hordes. A student being carried by his friends after being shot in the foot. One of the automatic pistols, which contributed to the merciless massacre of helpless people who were demanding justice and constitutionality, can be seen in the policeman's hand. The Red hordes and police caused blood to flow in the streets and bring grief to many Guatemalan homes; the people will never forget, nor will they ever forgive their executioners.

From: Boletin del CEUAGE [Boletin del Comite de Estudiantes Universitarias Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio -- Bulletin of the Committee of the Anti-Communist Guatemalan University Students in Exile], 20 October 1953, Pages 7-8, Tegucigalpa.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

THE RED WATCHWORDS AND THEIR APPLICATION IN OUR COUNTRY -- COMMENTARY

ON HIGHLY REVEALING DOCUMENTS -- ORIGINS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND

THE DECLARATION OF FERNANDEZ FONCEA

In this issue, on the anniversary of the revolution of October 20, 1944, which deposed the unpopular and self-perpetuating regime of Ponce, cancelling a whole political stage in our country, we shall study how the promoters of this movement were taken unawares by the Communist leaders, who took advantage of it to implant their ominous doctrine in our country.

The Communists, in order to act as they did after October 20, had precise instructions given to them -- surprising as it may seem -- as far back as 1926 by the Third International. These instructions and their application at the time of the fall of any tyrannical regime in the Americas are on record in the documentation in the possession of the Secret Investigation Service of Venezuela. A book was published with this documentation, which was completely destroyed when Romulo Betancourt rose to power in Venezuela, and only two or three copies were saved, one of which is in our possession because an eminent anti-Communist of the country of Bolivar placed it at the service of our struggle. In this article we shall comment on the instructions of the Communist Third International and the commentary by Romulo Betancourt on Venezuelan reality and on its subsequent application to our suffering country, taking advantage, as we have already said, of the revolution to the anniversary of which this issue is dedicated.

In a circular of the Third International of the year 1926 the Communist party had foreseen that upon the disappearance of any dictatorship in the Americas political parties would be formed which it classifies in different groups, according to the class interests, and it fixed the attitude of scorn with respect to some and infiltration with respect to others which the Communist leaders were to take. Let us listen to them: "First, there would be formed as group "A" a party composed of the large landed property owners, of the most retrograde levels of the bourgeoisie, of the bosses of the deposed regime and of the bosses of the church." As the Third International foresaw, with a political vision whose sagacity we are the first to acknowledge, upon the fall of the regime of Ubico the same Liberal Party continued, composed of the large landed property owners, the members of the bourgeoisie which it mentions, and the bosses of the old Liberal Progressive regime.

"Group "B", the party of: the bourgeoisie in general and the large landed property owners who had become bourgeois," for the concrete case of our recent past political history the Social Democratic Party would correspond to this party.

"Group "C", the party of: the small merchants and small proprietors, the middle and poor peasants, the part of the working class which had absorbed middle-class ideas through the influence of the bourgeoisie," that is to say, the groups which would be founded with the names of popular fronts and which, furthermore, would be composed, according to the Barranquilla plan and the leftist revolutionary grouping, of: first: "the working classes";

cont.

secondly: "the students, in view of the level of cretinization reached by the new generations of university students, making use of the fossilized students, deliberately utilizing certain literary forms with two objectives: getting the manifesto signed by students from outside who are afraid of frankly Marxist language, and above all so that this petit-bourgeois rhetoric will serve as a lubricant and the boys of the interior will receive the manifesto without reactionary demonstrations of violence." (Letter of instructions of Romulo Betancourt for his comrades of Venezuela, dated at San Jose, Costa Rica, 12 October 1935, which, together with the voluminous documentation which the book on which we are commenting contains, we shall be transcribing in future editions of our bulletin). Third: "the companions in exile who are not sufficiently radicalized"; fourth: "the commercial employees who are more or less prepared"; and fifth: "the Venezuelan women or companions of Caracas, to whom, in order to keep them from being frightened or from resisting with aggressive lack of understanding, as would be the case if an out-and-out revolutionary style were used with them, something is written, in order to deceive them, in a sentimental and at times patriotic tone, in the students' weekly at times, since with a little lubrication the thing will begin to penetrate them and thus we can inject into the people all of Marx and all of Lenin, the most vehement hatred for private property, and the keenest and most active desire to put an end to the capitalist regime without in any way using the word that reeks of sulfur (communism)." (Letter of Romulo Betancourt dated 9 February 1932.)

To this "C" group would belong, in the political events of our country subsequent to the fall of Ubico, the parties of the Frente Popular Libertador [Popular Liberating Front] and Renovacion Nacional [National Renovation] and there were in our midst the lower middle class persons already forseen, the lawyers Benitez, Ismael and Jose Mendez Zebadua, Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Augusto Charmaud MacDonald, Juan Jose Crozco Posadas, Carlos Leonidas Acevedo, Ramiro Ordenez, Professor Gerardo Gordilla Barrios, Francisco Guerra Morales, Francisco Fernandez Foncea, etc...

The working classes were represented by Pinto Usaga, Larios, Guillermo Ovanda Arriola, Humberto Gonzalez Juarez, Eliseo Martinez Zelada, etc.

The fossilized students with a "suitable degree of cretinization" were represented by the brothers Mendez Montenegro, Manuel Galich, Roberto Giron Lemus, the brothers Avila Ayala, Hiparco Argueta, the brothers Silva Falla, the brothers Garcia Manzo, Alfonso Bauer Paiz, Carlos Garcia Bauer, Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Alvaro Hugo Salguero, Eduardo Martinez Arenas, Luis Gomar, Emilio Zea Gonzalez, of whom many are still fossilized, others died and most of them had to cling to the 20th of October in order to obtain their professional title.

Clemente Marroquin Rojas, Miguel Garcia Granados, Miguel Prado Solares, the brothers Paz y Paz, etc. cover the third point, corresponding to "the companions in exile who are not sufficiently radicalized".

And among the women, Guadalupe and Maria Porras Guinonez, Consuelo Pereira, Virginia Bravo, Maria del Carmen Vargas, Consuelo Moran, etc. would be "the companions of Guatemala".

And finally group "D", the Communist Party. This Communist Party had orders not to collaborate with the "A" and "B" parties but to infiltrate the popular fronts which arose as the "C" party. With the latter they sought to be in harmony, which of course does not mean that the popular fronts are suddenly going to accept the inclusion of the demands in their programs. No. "Their program does not interest us," the Communists say. "We know a priori that there will be put into the manifesto: Democratic Republic, alternativeness, administrative morality, popular education, etc. The only thing we shall require is absolute, complete freedom to agitate for our minimum program, to publish manifestos and newspapers, to issue proclamations, in short, to win the masses by all ways and means imaginable

cont. 7

for our revolutionary Marxist ranks. It is a case of applying the tactical formula of Marxism which Parvis counseled in 1905 to the Russian Social Democrats: 'Attack together and march separately,' with Lenin's addition (which we shall keep in mind ourselves: 'Yes, but watching the ally like an enemy, seeing that the orientation is not confused'." (Betancourt letter of 6 June 1932.)

Within this Guatemalan Communist party we note as persons who infiltrated the "C" parties in order to follow the above instructions the following: Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, Jose Manuel Fortuny, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Jose Alberto Cardoza, Jose Luis Caceros, Raul Leiva, Abel Cuenca, Cesar Montenegro Paniagua, Amor Velasco, Julio Estrada de la Hoz, and others.

This Communist party would have as watchwords: first: "Abolition of the permanent army and of the police and replacement of them through the tyrant's fall ~~from~~ power, not the people in arms; second: To give no support to the sergeant or doctor who replaces him, to the one whom the capitalists and landed property owners support; third: To strive for the destruction of imperialism, which involves the confiscation and nationalization of the great imperialist enterprises, confiscation of the property of the tyrant, the members of his family, friends and henchmen; fourth: Sovereignty of the people; fifth: Dissolution of the Congress and immediate elections".

The Communist reasons for these watchwords are:

First: Sovereignty of the people, "because with the masses of the people controlled by the Communist party, since parties, however doctrinaire they may be, however much mass character they may have, always go where their leaders take them, and under these circumstances we shall make the turn to the extreme left at the opportune moment, with the assurance that the great mass of the party will follow us. That faint-hearted element of which Valmore Rodriguez speaks to me is cannon fodder which will serve to supply bulk for us, and it does not (underlined in the original) matter to me if it remains backward. The ballast is always cast off" (letter of 15 August 1932 from Romulo Betancourt to Valmore Rodriguez). Now we know why the Communist leaders in Guatemala are sure that the revolutionary parties which support Arbenz will always go where their leaders go, that is to say, where the Communists wish, and with respect to the turn to the extreme left, we believe that the opportune moment has arrived for making it, since they are now sure that the great mass of the revolutionary parties will follow them. This is the only way to explain the fact that the deputy Francisco Fernandez Foncea, speaking in the National Congress as Secretary General of the Partido Accion Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Action Party] said in the memorable session of October 5 of this year that "the revolutionary parties are transitory and will have to disappear and be absorbed into the world Communist party, and therefore I support above all the Communist Party of Gutierrez, of Pellecer, and of Cardoza, which is the firmest party, the best organized, the most patriotic, the most honest, and the most logical in the country". That declaration of Fernandez Foncea cost the PAR a division since a fraction of the party followed him and the other part disclaimed him. The latter would be, in the long run, the ballast to be cast off, according to the instructions of the formula.

Second: Dissolution of the Congress and immediate elections. "We Communists are not interested in the actual democratic process, we do not trust the results of an electoral solution, for the Peruvian experience is very significant; we know only too well that parliamentarianism, universal suffrage, and other demo-liberal foolishness are merely cover-ups for the bourgeois dictatorship; we are not interested in manifestos concerning the democratic republic, alternativeness, administrative morality, etc.; what interests us is absolute, complete freedom to agitate for our minimum program, to publish manifestos and newspapers, to issue proclamations, in short, to win the masses by all ways and means imaginable to our revolutionary Marxist ranks, making use for that purpose of the range

of tolerance, the honeymoon with the democratic freedoms which almost always follow the overthrow of dictatorships, and at the same time to prepare for the insurrection to gain the power and to establish the workers' and peasants' republic". (Same letter of Betancourt to Valmore Rodriguez of 15 August 1932.) The careful political observer who reads our paper will see the similarities in this Communist reasoning presented to the Reds of Venezuela to that applied by ours.

Third: Confiscation of the property of Gomez, the members of his family, and his henchmen, not because they wish thereby to make public life moral but because, as Romulo Betancourt says (letter to "Dear Baldy" of October, 1932): "Another point to discuss is that of the watchwords. The most doubtful is that of bringing up in the manifesto the question of the distribution to the landed property owners (after attacking them) only with respect to those of Gomez, members of his family and accomplices. I have the impression that this watchword would have much force and could be generalized since not even the most devout sacristans of private property will object to the expropriation of the property of Gomez. And it is obvious that that watchword if translated into accomplishment, would open the breach for the agrarian reform."

Here our readers have the antecedents of the confiscation of the property of Ubico and its flowing into the Agrarian Reform.

We believe we have proved that the watchwords of the Third International for the Communist parties with respect to their attitude and manner of acting upon the fall of the tyrants of the Americas have been carried out to the letter in our harassed Guatemala.

Is there anyone who doubts now that we are under a Communist regime?

[Caption under facsimile on page 7]: Final sheet of the "Barranquilla Pact" on which appear the signatures of Pedro Juliac, Mario Plaza Ponte, Valmore Rodriguez, Simon Betancourt, Ricardo Montilla, Carlos Pena Uzlar, Romulo Betancourt, P.J., Rodriguez Barroeta, Raul Leoni V., Juan J. Palacios, Rafael Angel Castillo, and Cesar Camejo.

[Caption under facsimile on page 8]: Facsimile of the signature, half signature, and manuscript letter of Romulo Betancourt, of the letters which are transcribed in this documentary.

[Caption under photograph of Francisco Fernandez Foncea on page 8]: ..."the revolutionary parties are transitory and will be absorbed into the great world Communist party..."

From: Boletin del CEUAGE [CEUAGE Bulletin], 19 December 1953, Pages 3-4

THE RED PAGE

ANOTHER UNIVERSITY STUDENT MISTREATED

Unsigned Article

Oscar Cobar Castillo, law student and managing member of the Committee of Anti-communist University Students of Guatemala, is another of the victims of Red oppression; although 8 months have passed since he was arrested, the judicial authorities are not processing the trumped up charges against him.

On 6 April of this year Oscar Cobar left his desk in the Second Hall of the Court of Appeals at 1800 and went home. Oscar was ignorant of the events which were soon going to unfold and in which he would be the principal protagonist.

HIS ARREST

As he left the building he was approached by several members of the Civil Guard who were in mufti, which is standard procedure in connection with illegal arrests.

They pressured him into allowing himself to be arrested and led away; but Cobar, a law student and employee of the Judiciary demanded that all the legal formalities be complied with before he would leave with Cruz Wer's policemen. Nevertheless, he was illegally and forcefully taken to the place of detention, in spite of the fact that he had certain privileges as employee of the Court of Appeals.

THE INTERROGATION

Although little is known about the interrogation to which Cobar Castillo was subjected, we shall make public the part that is known.

At the Civil Guard headquarters Cobar was subjected to criminal and unbearable torture. The police henchmen, glorying in their sadism, applied to him the prescribed tortures, such as suffocation in a trough of water, electric shocks, blows with a truncheon on the soles of the feet to the point of disfiguring them; all this was designed to force student Cobar to sign a document confessing to a crime he had never committed.

Cobar stubbornly refused for long hours. While glorying in the fortitude of spirit which has characterized the free men of Guatemala, he suffered the most criminal outrages. He passed constantly from a state of unconsciousness, to which he was reduced by blows and asphyxiation in water, to a state of semiconsciousness; nevertheless his reply was always negative.

He had moments of vacillation, but the consciousness of his innocence caused him to persist in the truth.

cont.

HE LOSES HIS REASON

In the face of his stubborn denial of all charges against him, the executioners became more and more hardened toward him, going to the extreme of employing medieval devices, one of which was cruelly used against him. They clamped a machine on him and tried to dislocate his elbow. The tortures continued, of course, in addition to the extremely painful device clamped to his body, until he lost mental control of all his subsequent actions. This happened in Quarters Number One of the Civil Guard of the capital.

HE SIGNS A DOCUMENT

In this lamentable state he was told to sign a document; this he did without ever being aware that he signed it.

The document in question, drafted at police headquarters by Cruz Wer, probably involved in the Salama movement, all the members of the Committee of Anticommunist University Students, as well as innumerable prominent members of the opposition, and particularly the Ambassador of the Republic of San Salvador to the Government of Guatemala, Colonel Alberto Funes. In this forcefully extracted declaration, they attempted falsely to implicate the Salvadorean diplomat for the simple reason that he is the representative of an anticommunist nation and in order to provide Guatemala with a pretext for breaking with ODECA [Organizacion De Estados Centroamericanos -- Organization of Central American States].

Among many other things, the phony document states that Ambassador Funes provided Cobar Castillo with 50 Solothurn machine guns which were used in the Salama revolt. (This lie could of course never be proved, since among the arms which the government says it seized, there were none of this make.)

AT SALAMA

Transferred to Salama on the following day, 7 April, Cobar was held incommunicado and was constantly molested. In this prison he likewise had no rest. It should be noted that Oscar Cobar arrived at Salama completely unbalanced in his mental faculties due to the torture he had been subjected to and from which he had not succeeded in recovering up to that time.

REGINALDO ARCHILA IN SALAMA

The expert torturer and professional executioner, Reginaldo Achila, was brought to the Salama prison in order to obtain confessions from the prisoners for "Judge" Reyes Flores. Oscar Cobar was tortured once more, except that this time he faced the immoral inquisitor Reyes, who was the one who wrote down the statements of the prisoners while they were being tortured in his presence.

It should be noted here that no lawyer of the Guatemala bar took charge of such barbarous proceedings as represented by this trial; the government, aware of the categorical refusal of decent lawyers, was obliged to look for a "lawyer" among the knaves and vagabonds of the country who were themselves under indictment by the authorities.

HE REQUIRES THE ATTENTION OF SPECIALISTS

Cobar Castillo, a man of weak constitution, could not stand up under this harsh

treatment; his health suffered and he became mentally disturbed, requiring the attention of specialists.

TRIAL DELAYED

On orders from the Communist Party, Reyes Flores is delaying the legal proceedings with the help of the Supreme Court of Justice.

The case was in preparation for 8 months; only recently did the prisoners' defense attorneys succeed in getting the trial started.

THE JUDGE NEVER GETS TO HIS OFFICE

In addition to all the anomalies in the provincial capital of Salama, it is of special note that the bailiff Reyes Flores gets to his office only accidentally, since his frequent sumptuous feasts take 2 weeks to prepare. These are the great men of a revolution which, at the cost of much blood, could have brought some good to the inhabitants of our fatherland.

EIGHT MONTHS OF PRISON AND
WHO KNOWS HOW MUCH MORE

Oscar Cobar Castillo has been detained in the Salama prison for 8 months; he is suffering every kind of discomfort because that dummy Reyes Flores confiscates all items which might comfort the prisoners. Although this trial should have been completed a long time ago, it is still in the process and no one knows how much longer it will run with judges as mercenary as Reyes Flores, the falsifier and executioner of Guatemala.

From: Pronto, Mexico, January 1954

BRUTAL FRAUD ON THE PEASANTS

THOSE "FAVORED" BY THE AGRARIAN REFORM ARE NOTHING MORE
THAN TENANTS OF THE STATE

A tremendous commotion has been raised by the spokesmen of Guatemalan Communism while trying to deceive world public opinion with their "chauvinist" propaganda (chauvinism being an exaggerated display of false patriotism) and pretending that the struggle being waged by them, the card-carrying Communists such as Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Fortuny, Pellecer, and their retinue, like the struggle being waged by the bashful communists planted in the Misgovernment of our country, such as Toriello, Arevalo, and company, is not a campaign to communize the country, and that they are merely trying to achieve an "agrarian reform to save Guatemala from Yankee imperialism and to give the peasants ownership of the land."

Within the country the Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist) has initiated a proselyting campaign among the peasant masses, calling on them to swell the ranks of militant Marxism and to join the fight for land. Nevertheless, the peasants have refused to listen to the song of the sirens, since they know perfectly well that the Communists' campaign is sheer demagogy and that an attempt is being made to use them as battering rams in the "anti-imperialist struggle", without any intention of giving them land, since communism is the enemy of private property. Therefore, the fundamental point of the so-called "agrarian reform" of the "New Guatemala" is to give the peasants the land in usufruct, but not as their property, since, we repeat, the Communists are the enemies of private property, the only owner, the only landlord, being in their eyes the state.

The few misguided peasants who are serving today in the ranks of the Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist) fail to realize that once the Communists achieve their true aims, which they dare not reveal, they, the peasants, will be thrown out of the party (in fact, even now they are discriminated against and are not permitted to attend the principal meetings), since the Communist Party is a class party, primarily of the working class, of the workers, and the ideologists of Marxism-Leninism have stated that the peasants can never make good communists because they are attached to the land and are incapable of producing in a socialist system, in view of their purely individualist make-up, throughout history.

This, in order to achieve their aims, the Communists are now carrying on a double deception: deception of the peasants, to whom they promise ownership of the land, without any intention of making good on this promise, in return for their assistance in destroying the wealth created by foreign and domestic capital on the coffee and banana plantations, the lumbering industry, etc., and a deception of the people in general by pretending that they are fighting to eliminate "Yankee imperialism", using the mask of chauvinism (exaggerated display of false patriotism), concealing their true intentions, which are to weaken the forces of democracy in order to enable their red masters to establish a "socialist soviet" dictatorship which will serve them as a bridge for putting an end to democracy in America and throughout the entire world.

Our Country will not find its salvation in such difficult times as these by turning its face toward the past; the only thing which we ought to use out of the past is the experience which our fratricidal struggles have left us. They have shown us that the hour has come to recover the rights of the people. Guatemala, as a country with a purely agricultural economy, must fix its attention on the rural problems.

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We have no need to imitate foreign solutions. What the country needs is for the land to produce more and more, and the way to achieve this is not to destroy the wealth that has been created but to use it in building up the country. In order to produce more, the Guatemalan peasant needs peace and quiet, security, and official support.

We think that the peasant can have peace and quiet when this demagogic wave of red agitation ends. He will have security when the land is turned over to him, not in usufruct, but as his own property, so that the work which he puts in on it will benefit him and his family first of all and then the country in general. And as for official support, it will have to be given to him in the form of easy credit that is both sufficient and timely, large and small irrigation projects, a supply of chemical fertilizers and insecticides, the setting up of many agricultural schools, and the introduction of farm machinery.

This is what we propose in order to improve the situation of the peasants, put into practice through the authority of an Agrarian Law based on the points contained in the Tegucigalpa Plan:

An Agrarian Law which will have as a fundamental point the division of the land under state ownership, turning it over to the ownership of the propertyless peasants as their family property, this ownership being made secure by official credit for the crops; a law which will protect the interests of the farm workers by setting high pay rates for them and giving them the right to education and medical assistance; protection for the plantations in order to increase production and thus attract the investment of domestic and foreign capital to farming activities.

This means a better life for the great mass of the Guatemalan peasants, and it is the only thing which will bring to the rural areas the security which is needed for increased work and production.

Thus the Tegucigalpa Plan will demolish the demagogic fakery of the Communists and will provide a patriotic solution for this problem, showing at the same time that the Guatemalan Revolution does not need foreign ideas and methods in order to bring happiness to the people.

From: Boletin del CEUAGE [Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio] -- [Bulletin of the Committee of Anticommunist Guatemalan University Students in Exile], Vol 1, No 25, 20 February 1954, Tegucigalpa, Pages 4 and 8

SOVIET INFILTRATION OF GUATEMALA

Unsigned Article

From the time preceding the fall of the government of General Jorge Ubico, Guatemala was the place the Kremlin in Moscow had picked as a base for communist infiltration of the Americas. The accession to power of Juan Jose Arevalo was Josef Stalin's victorious trump card.

Arevalo had been indoctrinated in Red classrooms; he drank water from the fountains of Soviet Russian life; his rejection of the country of his birth is sufficient proof that he had become adept in the Marxist and Leninist disciplines and that he was ready to implement them in his homeland, which he had betrayed.

The strengthening of the will of the worker and peasant masses was undoubtedly the first step in the proselytizing program and the doctor of humanities was the right man for the task which called for cajolery, deceit, and social disintegration.

He preached class struggle; he set workers against bosses; he caused unemployment; he fomented illegal strikes; he founded political labor unions; he promoted disregard for discipline and disorder in factories and offices; and when hunger, unemployment, and misery struck the homes of workers and peasants alike, he yielded to the leaders and agitators -- the apostles who were preaching the new ideas. In this manner Manuel Pinto Usaga, Arturo Morales Cubas, Victor Manuel Gutierrez and many others rose to the top; these men had for a long time been excess baggage and garbage. But now they were promising the city laborers and peasants riches, happiness, land distribution, a soft life, and unequalled fortune -- all in return for blind obedience and submission to the orders of the workers' leaders and to organizational discipline. In this manner were organized the workers' movement and the masses of workers and peasants who so far have not received one iota of what they were promised; the movement only served as steam roller and destroyer of national wealth and as stepping stone to power and riches for "hustlers," opportunists, usurers, and knaves. But all the while, in the name of the movement and with the help of its blink forces, the Communist Party of Guatemala was being organized; today it dominates the unwise and exploited peasants and city laborers, as well as the three branches of the government, the official bureaucracy, the so-called autonomous organizations; today it constitutes the nerve center of the internal and foreign policies of the country.

The process was relatively simple. The peasant and worker masses were ductile and malleable and the leaders, who had been trained in advance, founded the labor unions; then they grouped the unions into federations, and finally they combined the federations in the Confederation, which today is called the "Only Central"; in the cities it is called the CGTC [Confederacion General Trabajadores Guatemaltecos -- General Guatemalan Workers' Confederation] and is under the despotic and strict rule of Victor Manuel Gutierrez; in the country it is called the CNC [Confederacion Nacional Contecinos -- National Farm Laborers' Confederation] and is under the direction of the tireless iron curtain traveler Leonardo Castillo Flores.

The government of the republic sees to it that these workers' and peasants' or-

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15

ganizations collaborate closely under the threat of severe punishment, such as banishment, death, or jail which awaits those who dare try to set up free unions and federations; the government knows that this blind and irresponsible force is needed in the exercise of economic control throughout the country, that this control decisively influences national production and consumption, and that it facilitates political rule.

On the other hand, the revolutionary political parties -- the PAR [Partido Accion Revolucionario -- Revolutionary Action Party], the PRG [Partido Revolucionario Guatemalteco -- Guatemalan Revolutionary Party], and the RN [Renovacion Nacional -- National Renovation] -- aid and indorse the government; Arevalo and Arbenz rose from their ranks. All of these parties are nothing but subsidiaries of the Communist Party. The latter is listed in the Civil Register as PTG [Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo -- Guatemalan Labor Party], according to the official declaration to the full National Congress by Francisco Fernandez Foncea, one of the top leaders, who added that "all these revolutionary parties should necessarily merge with the Communist Party, the truest and most capable of all." So far these statements have not been withdrawn or denied.

Under these circumstances one can easily see that official government positions have been filled with men belonging to these groups and subsidiaries, all of whom are appendages of the Communist Party and that the latter pulls the strings in the government offices, in the offices of the presidential secretaries, in the autonomous organizations, in the publicity organs, in the Congress of the Republic, and in the courts of justice.

A brief list of personalities and political groups to which belong the men who hold important positions will support and confirm our assertions.

SECRETARIAT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC

Secretary General: Attorney Jaime Diaz Rozzotto (RN); Private Secretary: Humberto Gonzalez Juarez (PAR); Propaganda Secretary: Carlos Gonzalez Orellana (RN).

CABINET MINISTERS

Government and Justice: Attorney Augusto Charnaud McDonald (PRG); Foreign Relations: Attorney Guillermo Toriello (PGT); Communications: Colonel Carlos Aldana Sandoval (PGT); Public Education: Professor Mordoqueo Garcia Asturias (PGT); Finance: Raul Sierra Franco (RN); Public Health and Social Welfare: Julio Roberto Herrera (PAR); Agriculture: Nicolas Brol (Arbenz man); Economy: Roberto Fanjul (Arbenz man); Defense: Colonel Jose Angel Sanchez (Arbenz man).

AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS

INFOP (Instituto de Fomento de la Produccion [Institute for the Promotion of Production]); Director: Attorney Carlos Leonidas Acevedo (RN); President: Attorney Gregorio Prem Beteta (PAR).

IGSS (Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social [Guatemalan Social Security Institute]); Director: Attorney Alfonso Solorzano (PGT); Technical Adviser: Abel Cuenca (PGT).

GP (Instituto Guatemalteco de Petroleo [Guatemalan Petroleum Institute]); Di-

rector: Jose Mendez Zebadua (PGT).

JNE (Junta Nacional Electoral [National Electoral Council]); Officers: Edmundo Guerrero Castellanos (PAR), Oscar Jimenez de Leon (RN), Augusto Linares Letona (Independent).

DAN (Departamento Agrario Nacional [National Department of Agriculture]); Director: Waldemar Barrios Klee (PGT); Legal Adviser: Attorney Pedro Nobleau (Salvadorean) (PGT).

BAN (Banco Agrario Nacional [National Agricultural Bank]); Director: Attorney Alfonso Bauer (Rural PGT); Deputy Director: Marco Antonio Ramirez (PAR); Adviser: Ernesto Capuano (PGT).

RC (Registro Civico [Civil Register]); Registrar: Attorney Humberto Hernandez Cobos (PGT).

INDOCTRINATION AGENCIES

STEG (Sindicato de trabajadores de la Educacion [Union of Educators]); Executive Committee: Professor Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Professors Leonardo Castillo Flores, Obdulio Cabrera, Alejandro Silva Falla, Oscar Edmundo Palma, Mariano Blanco, Rafael Tischler, Mario Silva Jonama, and Raul Molina. (All of the above are members of the PGT.)

FRONT OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH DEMOCRATIC EXILES

Secretary General: Attorney Pedro Nobleau; secretaries and section chiefs: Roberto Castellanos Calvo, Jose Cordova Boniche, Ernesto Fiallos; Members: Armando Amador, Roberto Carias Delgado, Lilian Jimenex de Leiva, Juan Barreda, Efrain Melara, Rene Romero Miranda, Manuel Antonio Villalobos, Jose Angel Zepeda, Jose Ofelio Monterroso, Felix Panameno, Manuel Otilio Hasbun, Joaquin Azalear, Hipolito Tovar, Tula Alvarenga, Julia Mogica de Mazana, Jesus Avalos Pletiez, Candelario Marmol, Fernando Revueltas, Pura de Reveultas, Rafael de Buen y Lozano. (All of the above are affiliated with international communism.)

DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY FRONT

Secretary General: Ricardo Ramirez, BA; Directors: Guadalberto Caal, Mario Roberto Guerra, Marina Duran, Araceli Sandoval, Otto Penate, Luis Morales Chua, Julio Rene Estevez, Edelberto Torres, Mario Roberto Herrera, Obdulio Cabrera. (All of the above belong to the PGT.)

SAKER-TI GROUP

Secretary General: Jose Mario Lopez; Directors: Uberto Alvarados, Rafael Sosa, Miguel Angel Ceballo, Milian, Melvin Rene Borahona, Alberto Arankowaski, and Raul Leiva; Members: Attorney Miguel Angel Asturias, Attorney Alfonso Orantes, Attorney Otto Raul Gonzalez, Guillermo Grajeda Mena, Dagoberto Vasquez Franco, Augusto Monterroso Bonilla, Rafael Sosa, Augusto Cazalli, Rolando Calderon, Ernesto Fiallos Fonseca, Jorge Mario Garcia, Marco Tulio Urizar, Edgar Chen, Roberto Paz y Paz, Raul Santa Cruz Morales, Jose Alberto Quinonez, Otto Cabrera, Jose Alejandro de Leon, Salvador Melgar, Jose Maria

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17

Giron Lopez; Victor Oviedo Perez, Federico Garcia Marroquin, Hugo Carrillo, Joseph Castalleda. (All of the above are affiliated with the PGT.)

COMMITTEE ON LIVING COST STUDIES

Executive Committee: Attorney Jose Guillen, Dr. Manuel Noriega Morales, Antonio Iglesias, Francisco Fajardo, Javier Ramos, Victor Manuel Guitierrez, Jose Alberto Cardoza, Jose Luis Caceros, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Ciriaco Hernandez, Ester de Urrutia, Bernardo Lemus, Dora Francisco, Carmen de Amezquita, Morio Morales Vielman, Edgar Tuna, Maximina Valdes, Ricardo Ramirez, Francisco Silva Falla, Julio Estrada de la Hoz, Consuelo Pereira de Vasquez, Roberto Fanjul, Enrique Santa Cruz. (All of the above are affiliated with the various government parties and a few are simply Arbenz men without specific affiliation.)

NATIONAL JOURNALISTS' UNION

Secretary General: Jesus Alvarado Mendizabal; Directors: Mario Rivas Ramirez, Federico Zelaya Bokler, Elias Valdes, Ventura Ramos; Advisory Council: Medardo Mejia, Ricardo Barrios Galindo, Lorenzo Montufar Navas, Francisco Morales Cubas, Augusto Enrique Noriega; Members: Ruben Barrera Avila, Ovidio Rodas Corzo, Luis Barreda Rodriguez, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Carlos Rene Valle, Paulino Ovalle. (All of the above are affiliated with the PGT, PAR, PRG, and RE government parties.)

DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Executive Committee: Carlos Rene Dario Toledo, Otto Castillo, Carlos Enrique Duran, Julio Rene Estevez. (All of the above are affiliated with government parties.)

NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

Executive Committee: Attorney Antonio Cruz Franco, Attorney Raul Gonzalez, Attorney Alfonso Solorzan, Professor Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Jose Manuel Fortuny, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Raul Leiva, Jose Alberto Cardoza, Oscar Vargas Romero. (All of the above are affiliated with the PGT.)

HOUSE OF CULTURE

President: Attorney Alfonso Orantes; Directors: Luis Cardoza y Aragon, Humberto Alvarado, Guillermo Noriega Morales, Rene Arteaga, Dagoberto Vasquez, Raul Leiva, Roberto Diaz Castillo, Enrique Juarez Toledo, Amalia de Munoz Meany, Piedad de Diaz Rozzoto, Bernardo Garcia Zapata, Fernando Valdes Diaz, Enrique Noriega, Carlos Serrano, Alejandro Arevalo, Otto Raul Gonzalez, Pedro Guillen, Adelaide Foppa de Solorzano, Werner Ovalle Lopez, Luis Alberto Lavandeira, Humberto Hernandez Cobos, Ramon Amaya Amador, Enrique Torrez, Antonio Vidal, Humberto Ayestas, Jose Luis Avelar, Joseph Castaneda, Jose Arevalo Guerra, Porfirio Gonzalez, Luis Alberto Quezada, Hector Davila, Joaquin Marroquin, Dagoberto Vasquez, Juan Antonio Franco, Arturo Martinez, Guillermo Grajeda Mena, Hernando Orama, Roberto Ossaye, Rodolfo Torrez Galeotti, Roberto Diaz Castillo, Leonor Tejada, Jose Fernandez Doris, Antonio Fernandez Izaguirre, Feliz Servie Docoudray. (All of the above belong to government parties.)

cont.

GUATEMALAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Secretary General: Dora Franco; Directrices: Ester de Urrutia, Irma de Alvarado. Laura de Pineda, Victoria Moraga, Maria Jerez de Fortuny, Maria Castillo, Carmen Moran, Chony de Solorzan, Pilar Arroyo, Concha Castro de Mencos, Maria Vilanova de Arbenz.

CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC

In view of the manner in which elections are held in Guatemala, involving fraud, manipulation of ballot boxes and ballots, the 59 deputies who make up the Congress of the Republic are affiliated with the government parties, i.e., the PGT, the PAR, the PRG, and the RN. Only four deputies belong to independent or opposition parties.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION

The magistrates and judges of the judiciary are elected indirectly by popular vote; some are nominated for these posts by the Congress of the Republic and others are nominated by the Supreme Court; in revolutionary practice this means that the nominees are picked from among the membership of the government parties.

In view of the above evidence, which reveals how and to what extent communism has infiltrated the key posts of the administration, it is superfluous to debate whether Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, the President of the Republic, is a communist or not.

From: Boletin del CEUAGE [Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio] -- [Bulletin of the Committee of Anticomunist Guatemalan University Students in Exile], Vol 1, No 25, 20 February 1954, Tegucigalpa, Pages 7, 4, 8, and 10

COMMUNISM IN THE ARTERIES OF THE COUNTRY

Unsigned Article

The first paragraph of the second article of the Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala, theoretically in force since the time it was promulgated in March 1945, states that "sovereignty resides in the people who delegate its exercise to the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Branches, all of whom are on an equal level."

"What a pity that such great beauty is not true," we might quote the poet. In practice, the Judicial Branch is the black sheep of the family, the Legislative Branch is the procuress, and the Executive Branch is the heart and master of the situation. In fact, the leaves on the trees do not move without the tacit or expressed will of the man who pulls all the strings from the National Palace and who in turn allows himself to be managed by the native or foreign lackeys of Moscow.

It is impossible to establish how many men receive orders from beyond the iron curtain -- peremptory orders which are inexcusably carried out by these traitors. We shall therefore confine ourselves to branding with the torch of ignominy the three Manuels -- Fortuny, Pellecer, and Gutierrez. The temporary omission of others will not save them when the hour of justice arrives. These men were born in Guatemala but are expatriates by virtue of their conduct. Each time they return from their visits to the Kremlin, they stage persecutions of capital and of individuals and start afresh the fire which is threatening to engulf America.

Like the imbecile rabbits in the fable, who stupidly argued whether they were being chased by greyhounds or plain hounds, there are still people inside and outside Guatemala who wonder whether President Jacobo Arbenz is really a communist. They do so in spite of his daily actions and despite the fact that the tree is recognized by its fruits. Colonel Arbenz, the President of the Republic, is definitely a communist from head to toe. The fact that he is a communist is borne out by his speeches, his decisions, his public and private conduct, and his international contacts, as well as his phobia against nationwide anticommunism.

There has not been a single pro-Soviet meeting in Guatemala at which President Arbenz was not represented either by his wife or by the Chief of the Armed Forces. To all these gatherings he addressed his warm greetings; he also allowed his picture to be displayed alongside those of Lenin, Stalin, and Malenkov. By contrast, he did not even have the courtesy of excusing his absence from the Grand National Anticomunist Convention to which he was properly invited. He watched Red parades from the balcony of the National Palace and applauded vigorously, but he ordered the anticommunist marchers (those parading on 12 July 1951 and 12 July 1952) fired on, spilling the blood of defenseless patriots who were demonstrating for their ideals. Suffice it to say that the 1951 demonstration consisted of women; this will show up the evil soul of the man who, it seems, was not born of woman.

The torturing of countless victims by the National Police, and the interrogations on so-called anticommunist activities run by Attorney Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, the Government Minister, by Colonel Rogelio Cruz Wer, Director of the Civil Guard, and

by Colonel Jaime Rosenberg, Director of the Judicial Guard, reveal the communist attitude and spirit that moves and dominates these men; it also reveals the President's inclination to finish off the anticommunist movement, since all these transgressions against law and liberty must be known to him; he may even be the instigator and the man primarily responsible for these events. Likewise, the attacks against the "House of Liberty," headquarters of the "Committee of Anticommunist University Students," and against the PUA [Partido Unificacion Anticomunista -- Anticommunist Union Party], which were repeatedly incited by secret police agents, are irrefutable proof of the attitude of the Chief Executive against those bodies representing the public rejection of communism which is public enemy number one.

In the Congress of the Republic, the deputies listed as members of so-called revolutionary parties accept without objection the motions put forward by those of their colleagues who are officially affiliated with the Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist); they solemnly pay homage to the memory of Stalin and declare themselves to be in solidarity with the communist movements in other countries, even with the abortive movement in British Guayana; when Representative Francisco Fernandez Foncea, at the time Secretary General of the Revolutionary Action Party, declared that all revolutionary parties should merge with the Communist Party, no one protested and all the "revolutionaries" applauded vigorously. Finally, and this is most important, the laws they pass follow communist lines. An example is the Agrarian Reform, an unconstitutional and economically unsound measure, which on one hand jeers the landholding "feudalists" who are given a ridiculous low indemnification, and on the other hand deceives the "grantees" by waving expropriations in front of them which do not mean that they will become owners of the land taken away from the landholders, but only give them the right to work the land for profit; this measure is not strong enough to inspire love of country and cause an improvement in crops and cultivation. Similarly, the Lease Law, an ultra-demagogic measure, betrays capital and the people whom it deceives with false illusions; it does not solve the housing problem which is basically due to the shortage of apartments. There is a multitude of other laws which drive the people toward chaos; this chaos, as we all know, serves as the cauldron of communism.

And when the Congress of the Republic, the procuress of the Executive Branch, decapitates the Judicial Branch, removing the President of the Supreme Court and three other supreme court justices with utter disregard of the law and in the interest of President Arbenz, all the while looking toward Moscow, it is contributing to a coup d'etat which is typically pro-Soviet and which gradually opens the gates to agrarian sectarianism, so that there is no way of controlling the madness of those who would freely disrupt the natural land inheritance law. When the judicial officials become accomplices in administrative outrages, systematically rejecting appeals for aid in cases of flagrant violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- these scoundrels of justice, these open or concealed communists -- they recreate the Great Swindle of Soviet communism in Guatemala. Similarly, when the workers' judges arbitrarily accept as legal and just the strikes which will wreck the national economy, without consulting the law, they are merely paving the way for international communism. The communist virus is also found in the judicial structure of the country and is expressed in the sentences meted out in connection with the numerous disturbances provoked by Red elements who are thirsty for blood and easy enrichment. All these persons had to do was to show their membership cards in one of the official parties, which have different names to perpetuate the Great Swindle, and they would obtain release from jail while the prisons were being filled with honest people who are 100 percent anticommunist. The President of the Judiciary, the President of the Supreme Court, and about 20 other high judicial dignitaries, who lost their sense of shame, are mingling and rubbing elbows in the Hall of Public Trials of the Palace of Justice with professional Reds from other countries at a "Democratic Juridical Convention" which exchanged messages with the Central Committee of the Political Science Faculty

of Moscow.

Space does not permit a continuation of the proof that the communist sap feeds the three branches of the government. Suffice it to say that this is the case in Guatemala and that communism has infiltrated the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches, and the entire machinery of the government in order to assault the rest of Central and Insular America, to compromise continental security, to deliver the world of Columbus into the hands of the empire of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and to replace the Cross of Christ the Saviour with the hammer and sickle and with the cult of Stalin and Malenkov.

From: Boletin del CEUAGE (Boletin del Comité de Estudiantes Universitarias Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio [Bulletin of the Committee of Anti-Communist Guatemalan University Students in Exile]), March 1954

VICES OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN GUATEMALA

(Reprinted from Patria Nueva, San Salvador)

In a bulletin issued by the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Guatemala we read that the "Concepcion" plantation, located in the Department of Escuintla, in one of the wildest areas of Guatemala, was divided a short time ago. This plantation was one of the largest pieces of rural property which the Guatemalan Government acquired as the result of the fall of Estrada Cabrera and the confiscation of property of foreign nationals whose countries were at war with Guatemala during World Wars I and II. Colonel Jacob Arbenz Guzman, President of the Republic, several of his cabinet ministers, and various other high Guatemalan officials were present at the parceling of the plantation which was carried out, they say, in accordance with the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Law.

Actually, the division of a national plantation, as government rural properties in Guatemala are called, is not in itself a censurable act. When the State owns a piece of property it can, if it so desires, like any property owner, freely dispose of its ownership within the limits of the law. Nor can the Government of Guatemala be censured for putting into effect any law such as the Agrarian Reform Law when it is passed by a duly constituted legislative body. If any criticism is to be made in this case it should be leveled at the authors of the law and not at those who are required under the Constitution to execute it. However, there is in the account of the division with which we are concerned an item that should not pass without censure. The person who praises President Arbenz's partitioning of the land relates that among those benefiting from the partition are "six members of the Army of the Revolution." All beneficiaries may use but not own the land as long as they live. This is the item that cannot pass without criticism. In another official Guatemalan bulletin we read: "126 officers and 1,280 enlisted men will receive land in the Department of Escuintla." According to true constitutional doctrine, the Armed Forces are apolitical and essentially subservient. Now then, in order to carry out faithfully their lofty mission of defending the sovereignty and the supremacy of the law, the Armed Forces must be placed out of reach of bribery and flattery. Members of the Army should not accept grants or favors at the risk of betraying the confidence the Nation has placed in them by giving them arms, which are to be used only to serve national defense and justice. When the Army or members of it accept favors they undermine the very foundations of the state. Most of the evils that plague the people of Latin America find their origin precisely in corruption that has prevailed at different periods in the Armed Forces of these countries. During these periods bribery and flattery reached the Army just as much from the [portion of text missing] of those who are in power. What is happening now in Guatemala, the partitioning of land to the members of an army called "The Army of the Revolution" and not the Army of the Republic as it should be called, what is happening in these distributions is no more and no less, we say, than a bribing of the Armed Forces. It is plain bribery and nothing else, even though it is clothed in the sacrosanct mantle of the blessed Agrarian Reform Law. It is easy to see that the granting of land to members of the Army has as its object the gaining of the good will and sympathies of the Armed Forces towards the demagogic and communistic manner with which the Guatemalan Government is carrying out the Agrarian Reform. And this gaining of Army good will through gifts is common practice throughout the land of cocoa.

From: Boletin del CEUACE (Boletin del Comité de Estudiantes Universitarias Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio [Bulletin of the Committee of Anti-Communist University Students in Exile], 10 April 1954, Pages 7-8

FREEDOM HAS BEEN SACRIFICED IN GUATEMALA

In all social manifestations of human life, liberty, the most beautiful expression of men's understanding, has been strangled by the Government of Guatemala.

None of the essential features have been left to the citizens; the Government has laid hands on everything, destroying even the most honest and lawful initiative, assuming the form of a legitimate oppressor without consideration and without respect.

The conflict between people, wanting to keep their rights and liberty intact, and the State, voracious and irresponsible, has developed into a full-fledged struggle to the death, and it goes without saying that the people have suffered all the penalties and vicissitudes of such an unequal duel, because while they have in their favor only the abstract weapons of the Constitution, the Government has all possible advantages of the rough instruments of oppression for defeating and eliminating every trace of resistance.

Thus, it is possible to enumerate particular cases in which the Government has made its heavy hand felt in suppressing the voice of the great patriots who sought in one way or another to hold to their ideals and spirit by upholding and consecrating the things which the Constitution permits and authorizes.

RADIO PAX DEVOTED TO RELIGIOUS MATTERS

A priest, diligent and dedicated to his sacred mission, by dint of many efforts beyond his reduced means succeeded in organizing the construction of a radio station which was named "Radio Pax," and when it was finished purely religious programs from the heights of the Cerrito del Carmen were broadcast on its frequencies.

Former President Arevalo and Foreign Minister Lic. Enrique Munoz Meanuy did not like such activities and ordered its immediate cessation on the pretext that the site was government property, and later that the station had no license.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE NEWSPAPER LA OPOSICION [THE OPPOSITION]

With frightening shamelessness the Government officially placed in his home a metal case containing sticks of dynamite and various hand grenades in order to arrest him and then bring charges against him so as to stop the publication of his paper.

DIRECTOR OF THE WEEKLY PAPER LA PULGA FLOGGED

In broad daylight Jose Santos Lima, Director of the weekly humor magazine La Pulga was assaulted and almost lost his sight from the blows which he received on the head.

SUNDAY MASS PROGRAMS SUPPRESSED

On the frequencies of the La Continental radio station Masses were being broadcast

every Sunday from the following churches: San Sebastian, from 0800 hours to 0900 hours; from "La Recoleccion" from 1000 hours to 1100 hours, and from the Cathedral at 1200 hours.

With great regularity the station went on the air at these hours every Sunday, and those who were not able to attend Mass in church greatly enjoyed hearing in their homes the biblical passages and receiving there in spirit the benediction which every Christian so greatly needs.

Nevertheless, even this inoffensive haven of the soul was taken away from the Guatemalans when the owner of the La Continental station, Sr. Roberto Vizcaino Rubio, was jailed. Charges of political motivation were made, and he was accused of direct participation.

In spite of his sincere and energetic declarations, we know that they tortured him brutally and grotesquely, later deporting him to Honduras, where he is now living.

THE CASE OF OSCAR CONDE

For some years the program "Diario Radio Sucesos", directed by Sr. Oscar Conde, was in operation, and it was known for the originality of his interviews, recorded on magnetic tape.

Every day at 1230 hours the broadcast would begin, with its exchanges of opinion and valuable questions which the director submitted to numerous public officials, pertaining always to themes of great political interest, resolving its contents in a manner that irked the Communists installed in the government.

Recently, on the occasion of the Caracas Conference, Mr. Conde went to Venezuela to record the speeches of the delegates, and on Monday, 5 April, when the plane which was bringing him home landed he was immediately seized in a most outrageous and despicable manner.

EL REBELDE

In our last issue we published the series of outrages to which the director of El Rebelde [The Rebel], the publicity organ of the Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios [Committee of University Students] (CEUA) was subjected by the Civil Guard of Guatemala, who also held Br. Rodolfo Rehbolt in prison and suppressed the headline of the paper directed by him.

THE COMMUNISTS CERTAINLY CAN MAKE USE OF LIBERTY

The Communist element, which applauds and admires the administrative program of President Arbenz, enjoy all the privileges of the laws, including even those which deal only with abuses and crime.

BOLIVIAN COMMUNIST WITH RADIO STATION

Just arrived in Guatemala is a person known for his red activities, who, immediately after establishing contact with the Communist directors and several officials, introduced himself to Sr. Enrique Engel asking for space in the building at 6a. Ave. and 11 C. [Sixth

cont.

Avenue and Eleventh Street] in order to install a radio station.

The refusal of Mr. Engel only enraged his unwelcome guest, and the latter, after failing to obtain what he wanted, went to the El Prado building, property of the Hermanos Halfon [Halfon Bros.], who own the El Paje store, and by means of certain colorful and well practiced maneuvers took possession of the space which he thought suitable, in which he installed his offices and had furniture brought in.

Neither the Halffons nor the lawyer of the house were able to stop this action, and even though they have obtained an order for him to leave, he has failed to do so.

WHO IS THIS CHARACTER?

He answers to the name of Julio Martinez Arteaga, who is well known because of his efforts to establish the communist system in other countries.

He flaunts the title of lawyer, writer and organizer of radio programs.

He came to Guatemala with a Bolivian passport, although many people believe that he is a Colombian. He has visited many Latin American countries and has lived behind the iron curtain.

Arteaga seems to be very optimistic about the development of his sectarian labor in Guatemala, and the native communists have already begun to form a criminal circle around him, thinking that they have in him an unbribable director for perverted and revolting activities.

Saturday Evening Post · April 24, 1954

Red Beachhead in America

By DANIEL JAMES

WILL the Western Hemisphere become the scene of future Korea or Indochina? Is Latin America evolving into another Asia, with civil and international wars a likely prospect? These grim questions are posed by a fact known to hardly anyone in the United States: Communism is making such rapid advances south of the Rio Grande that it already controls one country and is coming close to dominating some others.

Preoccupied with hot and cold wars in Asia and Europe, we Americans have given little thought to what is happening in our own part of the world. We seem to have the comfortable feeling that violent struggles with communism cannot take place in our hemisphere. But while we have been trying to stop communism in the east and the west, communism has been sneaking up on us from the south. While we have been erecting defenses across the sea, the enemy has been outflanking us next door. Communist penetration of our Latin neighbors has now reached the point where it constitutes a distinct threat to our peace and security.

Two situations point up the threat. Last year, Moscow forces took over the government of British Guiana, a colony bordering Venezuela, our most important source of oil outside the United States. London was compelled to speed troops to oust the Red regime before it could consolidate itself. Today, the Central American republic of Guatemala is under communist domination. A very few hours from the Panama Canal and our New Mexico atomic plants, Red-ridden Guatemala is an object of increasing concern in the hemisphere.

British Guiana and Guatemala are deadly symptoms of a Red infection that is spreading among 175,000,000 people in twenty republics and eighteen colonies to the south of us. How serious that infection is was emphasized by John Foster Dulles when our Secretary of State, in his recent speech before the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, said that "if the international communist movement should come to dominate the political institutions of any American state, that would be a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of us all, endangering the peace of America and calling for appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties."

The inescapable fact is that Moscow is gradually acquiring two great "spheres of influence" in the Americas. One radiates out from Guatemala over Central America and the Caribbean; the other casts its shadow over the

these areas communism has embarked upon the most intensive effort it has yet made in the New World to establish regimes controlled by or favorable to it.

The same areas contain the bulk of Latin America's population, territory and resources, and many sensitive United States defenses. Should they become much more susceptible to communism or its unwitting ally, neutralism, we could be threatened with political isolation and the loss of major sources of strategic materials and key defense bases. Eventually, if we waited until the eleventh hour to act, we might find ourselves faced with the unpleasant prospect of violent intrahemisphere conflict.

Until perhaps five or six years ago, Moscow was meeting with small success in Latin America primarily because communism holds no real attraction for Latin Americans. That fact caused it to revise its approach drastically. If today the communists are gaining ground, it is because, following new Kremlin orders, they rarely preach communism.

Moscow took its cue from the Chinese Reds. For years, China's communists fooled the world by

masquerading as "agrarian reformers" and "national liberators." Promising land to the peasants and freedom from feudalism and imperialism to everybody, they grew in a dozen years from a tattered band isolated in remote Yen-an, North China, into a victorious army with Peiping their capital. Not till Mao Tse-tung enslaved China did free people begin to realize that Chinese communism was fundamentally no different from Russian.

In Latin America today, the communists are once more posing as "agrarian reformers" and "national liberators." Their goal, they tell Latin Americans, is not to create communist states, but to free all Latin nations from domestic feudalism and foreign imperialism. And once more, unhappily, too many unsuspecting people—facing, as the Chinese did, such seemingly insuperable problems as landlessness, inflation, illiteracy, poverty, tyranny and corruption—are following the Red pied piper down the "Yenan Way" to doom.

The first successful experiment in adapting Mao Tse-tung's formula to Latin American conditions is Guatemala, which in three years has been brought close to Red dictatorship. It all began, as it had in China, with a genuine nationalist revolution which overthrew a semifeudal regime and promised to usher in capitalist democracy. Guatemala's Reds called themselves "nationalists" and got in on the

hold through labor, they soon captured the nationalist parties forming the government, the Congress in which those parties comprise the majority, vital government agencies and such basic institutions as the judiciary. Now they also influence President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and, through him, domestic and foreign policy.

Pounding incessantly upon the need for agrarian reform, the communists pushed through Congress a law to break up unduly large and uncultivated landholdings and divide them among some 2,000,000 landless Indian peasants. The law became, in practice, a means of promoting communist revolution. The Reds used it to incite the peasants to seize and pillage land at will, to kill recalcitrant landowners and to inaugurate a reign of terror and chaos. These acts were instigated by underground cells known, appropriately enough, by such names as "Mao Tse-tung" and "Chou En-lai." These cells took over the local agrarian committees authorized by law and converted them into virtual soviets.

The chief victim of the Reds' drive was the United Fruit Company, of Boston, whose banana-growing operations had made it Guatemala's biggest landowner. All told, 400,000 acres of its property were expropriated—an act which may compel it to close shop and throw nearly 10,000 Guatemalan employees out of work. The communists meanwhile broadened their anti-United Fruit attack into a campaign to expel all large American companies from Guatemala and into a general propaganda offensive against the United States. This reached its height on last January twenty-ninth, when the Arbenz regime accused us of plotting to invade Guatemala.

Undeclared civil war rages in Guatemala today. Red-armed peasants in the highlands conduct bloody forays against "reactionaries." Police squads swoop down at night on suspected anticommunists. Officials threaten independent newspapers with suppression. Communist influence extends over an increasing area, including Guatemala's largest and richest department (state). If the Reds do not bid for total power before long, it will be largely because they fear that an openly communist government cannot survive without support from elsewhere in Latin America. Hence the Cominform is laboring mightily to create new, and, if possible, greater Guatemalas.

The biggest target happens to be the hemisphere's second largest country in extent and in population: Brazil. A subcontinent of 3,289,000 square miles and 54,000,000 inhabitants—nearly half of South America's area and people—Brazil has the biggest Communist Party in the Western Hemisphere. It totals, according to a report issued by a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, "under 60,000" members. The party itself claims 130,000. But what counts more than their numbers is that Brazil's Reds have infiltrated four vital national institutions: the army, the government, the labor movement and the press.

Brazil's resemblance to precommunist China is so marked that its

refer to Brazil as the "Latin American China." There are even "Soviet" enclaves and a Red capital. They lie within a great triangle running from Mato-Grosso State, in the west bordering Bolivia, eastward through Minas Gerais; thence northward along the San Francisco River to the junction of Pernambuco and Bahia states, where is located the communist capital of Juazeiro. This triangle contains most of Brazil's natural wealth. Its base rests upon Rio de Janeiro, the nation's capital, and São Paulo, its industrial heartland. The apex points at Natal, Allied wartime bastion on the Brazilian bulge. Much of this expanse is studded with Red strongholds in ideal guerrilla territory. From a similar fastness, Mao Tse-tung overran a subcontinent akin to Brazil.

The Brazilian Communist Party, unlike most Red parties, but uncomfortably like the Chinese, has military roots. Its leader, Luiz Carlos Prestes, was one of the famous *tenentes* (lieutenants) who, in 1930, spearheaded a revolution that made incumbent President Getulio Vargas a virtual dictator. In 1935, Prestes staged an army revolt that ignited a nationwide, but abortive, insurrection. Imprisoned thereafter, his popularity remained so great that upon his release years later he was elected a senator. In 1947 the Reds were outlawed and Prestes fled into the interior, where he has since been tirelessly preparing another revolution.

The Brazilian communists reportedly have a well-trained guerrilla force with plenty of arms. They had so thoroughly infiltrated the regular army that when a purge was ordered almost two years ago, Defense Minister Newton Estillac Leal, a Prestes intimate, refused to conduct it and was fired by President Vargas. Many Red sympathizers were discharged. But it is doubtful that the cleansing was complete.

At least three reserivist generals are considered fellow travelers. One, Gen. Felicissimo Cardozo, heads the Committee for the Defense of Petroleum, whose intense propaganda—built

around the Red-conceived slogan, "O Petroleo e Nosso!" ("The Oil is Ours!")—was instrumental in pressuring Congress last September into passing legislation prohibiting foreign exploitation of Brazil's oil resources and turning them over to the state. Since then, President Vargas has threatened to nationalize American and Canadian power companies, and the United States has become the No. 1 scapegoat of Brazilian politicians. In contrast, Soviet friendship is being cultivated. Brazil's top trade expert, João Alberto Lins de Barros, made an Iron Curtain tour which is resulting in a series of trade agreements "an inevitable consequence" of which, predicts Lins de Barros, will be diplomatic exchanges. In that event, Brazil will be flooded by Russian agents.

In a far-reaching move last summer, Vargas replaced his anticommunist Minister of Labor with João Goulart, who is his godson. Goulart became the leading aspirant for Vargas' job. He hoped to insure his nomination and election to the presidency in 1955 by wooing the powerful labor movement through its most influential grouping—the Communist Party. The CP started building a "mass base" for Goulart among the workers, while Goulart reciprocated by purging labor of communism's foes. Goulart's plans received a setback recently when army leaders forced his resignation, but he remains a power in Brazilian politics.

Meanwhile the CP has not been neglecting direct action. Exploiting Brazil's current inflation, it has been calling strike after strike. A Red-provoked walkout in March, 1953, shut down São Paulo's big textile industry and laid the groundwork for a projected general strike in that city which the communists intend—according to one Red labor leader I interviewed—to make nationwide. That could well become a dress rehearsal for revolution.

Brazilian communism is backed by a party propaganda apparatus rivaled on this side of the Iron Curtain only by those of the French and Italian Reds. It includes no fewer than five daily newspapers in as many cities, more than twenty periodicals and a publishing house. This machine brazenly flouts the anticommunist law. Thus Rio de Janeiro's communist daily, *Imprensa Popular*, printed a New Year's mani-

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esto by fugitive Red chieftain Prestes which openly called upon the army, trade unions and intellectuals to make a revolution.

Behind the alarming rise of communism and ultranationalism in Brazil lies the worst economic crisis in the country's history. It is marked by rising living costs, chronic power and machinery shortages, a depreciated currency and harsh business restrictions. Brazilian leaders frequently declare that large injections of foreign capital are needed—but just as frequently denounce foreign investors as "imperialistic" and frighten them off.

The Brazilian CP's new "Draft Program," printed in full on February 26, 1954, by the Cominform to emphasize its world importance, declares that Brazil cannot be "freed . . . by means of state or military coups, partial reforms or elections which leave untouched the present reactionary system" and boldly calls for an armed "democratic revolution of national liberation."

Bolivia, Brazil's landlocked neighbor to the west, narrowly escaped communism in April, 1952. A bloody revolution, led by the now-dominant Nationalist Revolutionary Movement in alliance with the Reds, overthrew a military junta that had been hindering the democratically elected president, Victor Paz Estenssoro, from taking office. Once in power, Paz nationalized the tin mines and instituted other revolutionary measures. The Reds tried to get Paz to declare a "workers' and peasants' government," but he, a true nationalist, rejected sovietism.

A year later the Reds attempted to push Paz onto the "Yenan Way" from below. Bolivia's peasants, like Guatemala's, are Indians who have been veritable serfs for four centuries. The Bolivian communists did exactly what their counterparts in Guatemala were doing at exactly the same time—incited the Indians to seize land, to loot, to kill, to create chaos. Economic conditions favored the Reds. A severe drop in world tin prices had slashed dollar income by more than 50 per cent. Red agitation and complications attending Paz's agrarian reform cut farm production. Starvation faced Bolivia's urban and mining populations. The specter of Red revolution loomed again.

At that point, Washington tabled earlier objections to nationalization and contracted for 10,000 tons of tin. Then we advanced \$8,000,000 worth of surplus foodstuffs which are forestalling famine in Bolivia right now, and \$6,000,000 in more food and in technical

assistance and equipment designed to raise farm output. Communism was staved off a second time.

But Bolivia is not yet out of the woods. She must find an outlet for the 28,000 tons of tin she will mine this year, and between eighty and a hundred million dollars to finance President Paz Estenssoro's long-range plan to reduce her dependence on tin by diversifying agriculture and increasing its yield.

Bolivia's southwestern neighbor, Chile, is in a similar fix. Copper, upon which Chile is overly dependent, has slumped in price. Unable to sell any of it for nine months to her best customer, the United States, for a variety of complicated reasons, she has meanwhile piled up an inventory of 150,000 tons and lost 60 per cent of her dollar revenue. These and other factors have resulted in soaring living costs, a falling peso, intensified wage demands and popular discontent.

Tempted to sell her copper to Russia, Chile is inhibited by fear of losing her American market and, in particular, by a mutual-defense pact with us which forbids the shipment of copper—a strategic metal—to the Soviets. But communist-nationalist pressure to sell to Russia is growing. The President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies himself, fellow-traveling Baltasar Castro, recently went to Moscow to pave the way for a deal. He is backed by a good third of the Chamber and a fifth of the Senate, as well as the 200,000-strong noncommunist labor movement and many respected public figures.

The copper issue is producing a sharp rise in anti-American feeling. On the basis of this, the Reds are building a new popular front. Last May, half a dozen parties joined in protesting successfully a government ban on the Santiago Red daily, *El Siglo*. In October, a larger communist-nationalist bloc defeated the candidate of President Carlos Ibañez del Campo in a crucial senatorial by-election. In January of this year, the front won an astounding victory when the Chamber of Deputies voted unanimously to "oppose unequivocally any aggression in Guatemala"—which echoed the fantastic Guatemalan charges against the United States.

If the communist-nationalist forces persuade Congress to authorize a copper deal with Russia, that will automatically kill the Chilean-American defense treaty—a major Red objective—and seriously strain Chilean-

American relations. It may also lead to a new drive to repeal the anticommunist law. The success of such a drive could prove disastrous to a government already staggering under a tremendous economic burden and successive political defeats.

Argentina, though not on the "critical list" with Brazil, Bolivia and Chile, nevertheless has a communist problem. Dictator Juan Domingo Perón's official doctrine, *justicialismo*, is a compound of fascist and communist ideas, and his totalitarian regime is a practical expression of them.

The Argentine Communist Party, with 30,000 to 40,000 members, is the strongest non-Peronist political force. Perón has stifled his democratic opponents, but not the communists, who function clandestinely for the most part, in any case.

Perón is now giving the impression of cracking down on the communists, having arrested a few minor ones and ordered others expelled from the General Confederation of Labor. But these gestures—designed to please the United States in the hope of obtaining capital to revive Argentina's economy—were preceded, characteristically, by a move highly beneficial to communism: the conclusion of a \$150,000,000 trade agreement with Russia. This pact, followed by similar ones with the satellites, has begun a disturbing trend in Latin America. Brazil has since emulated Argentina, Chile may do likewise, and Bolivia is thinking of it. Soviet trade emissaries have suddenly become active in other republics. While strictly economic Soviet-Latin American relations cannot appreciably affect our own trade, their extension into the diplomatic and cultural fields, apparently an inevitable concomitant, will open up vast opportunities for further Soviet penetration south of the Rio Grande.

The Kremlin's preparations for a grand offensive in Latin America are well advanced. While the United States is drastically cutting its foreign-service and informational personnel from Mexico to Argentina, the Soviet Union is pouring literally hundreds of new agitators into the field. They are being graduated from a school in Prague, Czechoslovakia, whose sole function is to train them.

Euphemistically called the Institute for the Study of Latin American Rela-

cont. over

tions, the Prague school enrolls 750 students at a time, most of them Latin Americans carefully drawn from the communist parties of Latin America and their labor and intellectual fronts. Each student is rigorously drilled in the theory and tactics of communist revolution, and the techniques of espionage and sabotage. However, it is not the institute's chief aim to produce spies and saboteurs, but experts at infiltrating noncommunist organizations and institutions and at leading or influencing mass movements, as the "Yenan Way" requires.

European communists are trained at Prague alongside their Latin comrades, with a view to their eventual assignment in Latin America as members of Iron Curtain trade or diplomatic missions—hence the significance of the Soviet economic drive in the south. In the country of assignment, the Europeans make contact with their Latin American fellow alumni. They form closely knit teams possessing the twofold advantage of having native roots and foreign backing. Most of the institute's graduates have been assigned to the two spheres of growing Red influence: the south-central part of South America and the Central America-Caribbean area.

Central America and the Caribbean are receiving special attention at Prague. Graduate agitators are being instructed to exploit such issues as American control of the Panama Canal, England's possession of British Honduras, and the United Fruit Company's area-wide interests. The reason for this attention is clear. Central America and the Caribbean command the main sea, air and land approaches to the continental United States from the south, and swarm with bases that form as integral a part of our national defense as the radar nets along the New England coast. Moscow aims to neutralize those bases by subverting the peoples surrounding them.

The nerve center of Moscow's Central America-Caribbean operations is Guatemala. From here, an endless stream of agents, money, arms and propaganda descends upon nearby republics and colonies. Inside Guatemala are headquartered an army of Latin American Red exiles, some of whom get paid by and ostensibly work for the Guatemalan government; they devote

their time to planning and organizing strikes, demonstrations and revolutions against their respective native governments. Guatemala's embassies in Latin American countries are often nests of Red intrigue.

The "little Cominform" in Guatemala, heeding Prague orders, has accorded top priority to the Panama Canal. To paralyze this indispensable waterway in time of war, it is attempting to turn the Panamanians against us in time of peace. Although Panamanian President José Antonio Rémon, an ardent friend of the United States, has just outlawed the communist People's Party of Panama, it remains a danger because it lurks behind a force impossible to outlaw: ultranationalism. Now quiescent, ultranationalism is rooted in Panama's resentment toward our Canal Zone government, which competes with Panamanian private enterprise and functions in general as a "state within a state"—which, Panamanians contend, violates their sovereignty. American and Panamanian diplomats are presently trying to resolve these issues through negotiation, and it is hoped that they will succeed. For if they don't, the ultranationalists, who in 1947 forced us to vacate valuable air bases in Panama, will demand the "internationalization of the Canal" and may thus precipitate a Suez-type dispute worth an army of saboteurs to the Soviet.

Guatemala is fostering unrest all over Central America. That was strikingly evidenced late in January, when the Arbenz regime accused Nicaragua and El Salvador—along with the United States, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic—of conspiring to invade Guatemala. The charge culminated a months-long communist propaganda barrage and followed the return of Guatemala's leading Reds from their latest trip to Moscow. Prior to that, Guatemala had caused considerable tension by withdrawing from the Organization of Central American States upon Red advice. She has since rejected pleas to rejoin the OCAS, making it impossible for it to act on many regional problems.

Guatemala is trying especially hard to create trouble in neighboring Honduras and British Honduras. The Honduran Liberal Party has been well supplied with funds and literature from Guatemala and espouses a Guatemala-like platform including "agrarian reform." A split in the dominant Nationalist Party may enable the Liberals to win this October's elections. In British Honduras, Guatemala and local efforts

agitation has grown so intense that the governor has just been granted emergency powers to prevent the colony from going the way of British Guiana and, in this case, joining Guatemala. Since the colonials are dissatisfied with London's rule, anything can happen. If either or both countries teamed up with Guatemala, Central America would boil over.

Moscow's Guatemala base is complemented by bases in Mexico and Cuba. The Soviet Embassy in Mexico reportedly guides the work of thirty-two Latin American cells. Mexico's Vicente Lombardo Toledano originally sparked the Guatemala operation when he organized that nation's first trade-unions and put local henchmen in charge. Mexican communism itself has lost ground in recent years, but manages to maintain two parties—one openly and the other covertly Red—and has re-established friendly relations with some leaders of the government party. Cuban communism, too, has fallen on lean days, particularly now that Fulgencio Batista has outlawed it. Still, with 50,000 dues-paying adherents and firm holds in important labor unions, it can hardly be considered a negligible factor.

The same forces are at work in the Caribbean colonies as in the republics. That is proved by British Guiana—which is politically part of the British West Indies, although situated in South America—where last April the Reds won a majority of legislative seats by applying the Yen'an formula. "National liberation" and "economic reform," plus superior organization—in the form of a "noncommunist" People's Progressive Party which attracted even some businessmen—and plenty of money proved an unbeatable combination in a land which abounds in poverty and ignorance. It required British troops to oust the Reds from office.

Conditions are so bad in many Caribbean colonies that Britain has had to use force before to quell subversion. In June, 1951, she dispatched soldiers to Grenada, one of the Windward Islands, to crush a general strike that seemed to herald a leftist revolt. Seven weeks later, Tommies were landed on nearby Antigua for the same reason. Jamaica, Britain's largest Caribbean possession, has often experienced bitter strikes and demonstrations. But communism's strongest colonial bastions are Martinique and Guadeloupe, which lie between Trinidad, a wartime Allied

base, and Puerto Rico, an important link in our defense chain. Four of the six representatives these islands send to the National Assembly of France are Reds.

What are the Kremlin's over-all aims in Latin America? It has two in simultaneous operation. One, long range, is to bring about the formation of communist states and incorporate them into the Soviet Empire. The second, of more immediate concern, is to turn all Latin America into an anti-United States camp in an effort to isolate and weaken us in the world struggle for freedom. In pursuit of that aim, Moscow has set its Latin sections these specific tasks:

1. To undermine our prestige. The intention is to evoke fear, mistrust and hatred for the United States by propagating the idea that we are "imperialists," "warmongers" and "reactionaries." These falsehoods even some educated Latin Americans seem to believe; conversely, they do not regard communism as dangerous. Whoever raises the communist issue risks being denounced as "interventionist," as the United States has been by Guatemala.

2. To destroy inter-American economic relations. The Reds, making "Wall Street" the symbol of United States "imperialism," have mounted a strong offensive to expel American business enterprises from Latin America. The purpose: to kill or disrupt inter-American trade. That, in turn, would dislocate many Latin-American economies and make them a relatively easy communist prey. It would also hit us hard, for 40 per cent of our total private investment abroad is in Latin America.

3. To cut off major sources of strategic materials. Latin America is a major supplier of ten out of twelve items listed by the President's Materials Policy Commission as essential to the United States in wartime. The Reds need not create communist or procommunist governments, but only neutralist ones, in countries producing big quantities of oil, iron, tin or copper, in order to cripple our defense output in the event of war.

4. To wreck inter-American defense plans. We have mutual-defense treaties with Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Peru. A basic purpose of these treaties is to encourage Latin Amer-

ican participation in hemisphere defense and relieve us of some of the burden. But the Reds want a defenseless or poorly defended hemisphere. Hence they are making every effort to keep more republics from signing defense pacts and to nullify—as they are attempting to do in Chile's case—the few that have been consummated.

5. To prepare for wartime sabotage. The communists, as noted earlier, are particularly active wherever we have actual or potential defense bases. Guatemala herself is but a short hop from the Panama Canal. Communism's sabotage program consists of two parts: the training of saboteurs at schools in Moscow and Prague, and the creation of an *anti-yanqui* or "sabotage atmosphere" among Latins in defense areas.

Considering that our Latin American neighbors are essentially freedom-loving and desirous only of improving their lot, and that deep down they admire and like the United States, can Moscow win them over to its evil designs? Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, after an official tour of Latin America, made a report to the President, his brother, in which he pointed out:

"The possible conquest [by communism] of a Latin American nation today would not be . . . by direct assault. It would come, rather, through the insidious process of infiltration, conspiracy, spreading of lies, and the undermining of free institutions. . . . Highly disciplined groups of communists are busy, night and day, illegally or openly, in the American republics. . . . While many persons may now think of Latin America as not being in the line of attack in the modern world struggle, success by the communists in these nations could quickly change all the maps which strategists use in calculating the probabilities of the future."

We must continue to work as hard as we can to stop communism in Korea, Indochina or any other part of Asia or Europe. But let us not, while doing so, neglect the urgent job of preventing Koreans or Indochinas from breaking out in our own hemisphere. The communists next door are not neglecting their job.

THE END

From: Patria Nueva, Salvador, 27 April 1953

REFUGEE SPANIARDS TORTURE SALAMA REBELS

Persons returning from Salama, where they went to visit relatives who had been taken prisoner, report that the latter told them that while they were being tortured in order to extract confessions from them about matters of which they knew nothing their captors applied physical torture. They said that their jailors wore alpargatas [fiber sandals] and that they used such expressions as "maldita sea tu estampa" (Damn your likeness"), from which they infer that they are from outside the country.

It is conjectured that participating in this infamous work are some Spanish refugees of low social condition, perhaps wretches with no other way of earning a living.

If this were an established fact, it would be a bad thing for the good name of the emigres who came to the country as refugees from the Spanish Republic.

This is somewhat difficult to prove, we know, but it must not be forgotten that when the river roars, it is because it is carrying something along in the current.

Cruz Wer Is Lying

The Director of the Civil Guard, Colonel Cruz Wer, has told the press that the report that prisoners were tortured in connection with the revolt at Salama is false. What he says deserves a hearing, but in public opinion considerable importance is to be attached to the cynicism with which denials are made that persons whom they saw being captured have been retained and then after being tortured are set at liberty with the statement that nothing has been done to them.

The Case of Luna Secaira

Senor Carlos Luna stated to the press that he had been subjected to infamous tortures, and the Director of the Civil Guard did not contradict this statement, a fact which shows that torture is being employed in the prisons of the country.

How can the public help having doubts?

As of the present 117 persons have been arrested, but there are still more citizens slated for arrest.

Our ambassador to Mexico has just told the press that "on 29 March the important centers of the Republic were attacked by armed men using foreign equipment, and it is known that they were expecting aerial assistance from outside the country."

What were these important centers of the Republic? Salama is not a place of any military importance.

(Taken from Mundo Libre (Free World), 17 April.

From: Pronto [Quick], No 6, 17 May 1954, Mexico, Page 1

CHILDREN TRAMPLED ON BY THE CIVIL GUARD

THEIR SERIOUS CRIME: LOVE OF COUNTRY AND PLEAS FOR

COMPLIANCE WITH THE LAW

The Red Government of Guatemala does not confine itself to torturing and killing defenseless adult citizens. Like a modern Herod, it now vents its fury on children and teenagers because these have become the voice of the spirit of Guatemala and are making strong propaganda against communism. We are reproducing word for word an article published on 6 May of this year in La Hora [The Hour], a Guatemalan newspaper. San Sebastian Academy, the school of the arrested boys, is an institution dedicated to giving a wholesome and Christian education to children of poor families. The "Number 32" in this report refers to the article of the constitution prohibiting communist activities in Guatemala.

The five students of San Sebastian Academy who were arrested on 27 April of last year declared that a sincere and spontaneous impulse, not a foreign order, moved them to manifest their rejection of communism by painting the number 32 on the streets of the city. At the same time they expressed their gratitude for the manifestations of sympathy extended to them by friends and the general public.

They stated that, "carried along by a spontaneous youthful impulse, we painted the number 32; we did so only in an effort to repudiate this horrible communism which is receiving official support; all of us are young and minors; but we are not infants; we are secondary school students; we know what we are doing and we know that this vicious system will ruin our morals and peace in our beloved country."

Carlos Mendizabal, Gilberto Samayoa, Carlos Uira, Adolfo Madariaga, and Luis Merida, all of whom made the above statement, added that they spent the entire night of the 27th seated "on the floor, crowded against the grating of the cell door, smelling nauseating odors and listening to a stream of obscenities from the other prisoners."

They added further: "Early in the morning we were ordered to help clean up the cell and empty the buckets; we had neither breakfast nor lunch, nor were we able to sleep; in this condition we were taken away in the morning of the 28th to be sentenced by the Fifth Peace Tribunal. There we were happy to see our grieving parents, several teachers, and many close friends who had come to cheer us up while we were making our grave declarations; at that time we were also able to eat some food our parents had brought; this was our first meal in 24 hours."

They concluded, saying, "for the rest of our lives we shall recall this horrible night, this night of our imprisonment, during which, regardless of our youth and the minor nature of our misdemeanor, we were treated like common criminals, and reviled and locked up without mercy. But after all, our consciences are clear because we know we did no wrong; we shall always hold our heads high, knowing that it is fitting to fight even unto death for so lofty an ideal as God and country."

May, 1954

THE CATHOLIC DIGEST

Reds Run Guatemala

A nation in our own hemisphere has a communist government worse than Russia's

By JIM BISHOP

THE SOVIET AIR GENERALS did not smile until spring. They control three air armies, 20,000 planes, but they were unhappy. The nearest they could inch to the U.S.—the enemy—was Anadyr Complex, just across Bering strait from Alaska. And their wall maps showed that to destroy Los Angeles with one nuclear bomb in one plane would require a 6,000-mile round trip. Too much. In the spring, these generals began to smile broadly, because their problem can be solved by little, friendly Guatemala.

All Guatemala has to do is to build a 10,000-foot airstrip. They won't have to put up a "Welcome, Soviet Union" sign because they've already taken care of that. The Russian TU-4 and the new high-winging jet bomber will do the rest. They can pour down from Siberia by sea, without ever being spotted by land radar in Alaska or Canada. They can, at the last minute, swing left and drop a hydrogen bomb on Seattle or Portland, or San Francisco or Los Angeles, and then turn out to sea again, head south, and land at Guatemala.

In the 2nd World War days, the U.S. called this a shuttle service. In the latter days of that war, we loaded with bombs in England, dropped them on Berlin, kept going east, and landed in Poland. Then our planes rested, reloaded, and flew back to England, dropping more stuff on Berlin.

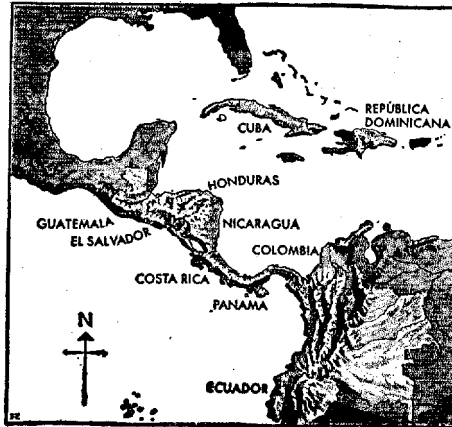
The Soviet generals remember the word *shuttle*. And, ever since little Guatemala told the world, last spring, and loves Uncle Joe, these men

have been smiling like Cheshire cats.

Know anything about Guatemala? Listen to a little story that illustrates the situation down there.

The women, in groups, left the meeting. The soldiers were waiting for them outside. The women did not seem surprised. Surprise showed only when the guns began their awkward coughing and some of the women, with parts of their faces blown off, began to fall. Abject terror took a little more time. So did panic.

The communists who run Guatemala were, in a sense, forced to



shoot the ladies. They had already cowed or cajoled the men. But the women, especially the literate women of Guatemala City, were not only voting anti-communist but they were preaching anti-communism as well. So their meeting place had to be surrounded by an army platoon and some of the women had to die.

The communists of Guatemala are: 1. small in number compared to the over-all population; 2. in complete control of the entire country, administratively and militarily,

3. a much more virulent type of communist than is found in Moscow. In effect, the Reds "own" Guatemala.

Our country is hated in many places now. But nowhere is it hated with the feverish fervor of the Guatemalans. In 1952, a man in Guatemala City was arrested for sedition because he sent a wire

A Pat on the Back

Moscow's official communist newspaper *Pravda* has warned the U. S. that Guatemala "is not alone in its struggle for independence from American imperialism." Referring to "progressive measures of the Guatemalan government," *Pravda* said, "The intrigues of reactionaries are being intensified against Guatemala. However, the people of Guatemala . . . realize that on their side is the sympathy of all the peoples of the world, the growing forces of the warriors for democracy and peace."

New York Times (27 Dec. '53)

congratulating President Eisenhower on his election. The proud moment for any Guatemalan boy is not the day that he is sent to Washington, D.C., to study at, let us say, Georgetown university. The proud moment comes when he is sent to Moscow for further study in communism.

What is Guatemala like? It is a thick slab of green pressed between Mexico and Honduras. It is an assortment of axle-breaking roads between mountain peaks. Most of its 3 million people are Indians who speak different dialects in different villages. They are an illiterate people who do not understand elections. When it comes time to vote, they will blandly ask the young communist election official

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where to make a mark, and will follow his advice.

It doesn't sound like much of a place. But it is the only country in the Americas where it can be truly said that the Reds rule the roost from top to bottom. Their front is Pres. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. He may not be a Communist party member, but it is not necessary that he be a card holder as long as he works for the communists. He is short, slender, and blonde, the antithesis of the true *Latino*.

His delegate in the UN does not vote as a friend of the U.S. Sometimes he votes against us. Often, when it looks as though we'll win anyway, he abstains from voting. The Guatemalan ambassadors to Columbia and Panama are *personae non gratae*: they intrigue against the lawful governments of those countries and, at the same time, try to spread the communist infection.

Guatemalan Reds boast that they are closer to real communism than the Soviets because they pattern themselves after the more merciless Chinese form of communism. The agrarian laws of Guatemala are much more severe on landowners than anything Moscow would dare to put into effect. After Guatemala imported the Mexican labor leader, Lombardo Toledano, to organize its workers along Soviet lines, he wrote a crowing letter, not to Vishinsky, but to "Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung." In it, he said. "We are little by little building a firm base of disciplined partisans, guided always by the precepts of our great leader, José Stalin, and animated by the brilliant example of the Chinese people."

When Arbenz ran for the presidency in 1952, only one man could be found to run against him, Colonel Arana, the army chief of staff. Like the thinking women of Guatemala City, Arana was an obstacle to the Reds. Obstacles must be removed, so Arana was sent on an inspection trip. When they ambushed him, it is doubtful that he ever knew what hit him. His

body spun in the dusty road as the steel slugs ripped through him. When the army chief was dead, his assassins stood over him and poured bullets into his body until his entrails slid out into the road.

Arbenz, of course, won the election. He probably would have won even if opposed, because the communists control all the *mestizo* villages throughout the country. Their only opposition comes from Guatemala City, and practically all of that comes from 10,000 women and the Catholic Church. Only a year and a half ago, five men went to jail because they asked the government whether free campaigning would be permitted. Luis Valladares, who went to prison for congratulating Eisenhower, faced a charge of "traitorously inciting the U.S. to intervene in the internal affairs of Guatemala."

Red control is fairly complete. No person may criticize the government publicly, privately, or even in a personal letter. The Reds control all press and radio outlets, also social security and education. The government sponsors a training school for communist labor organizers and agitators. A communist film which tried to prove that the U.S. waged bacteriological warfare on North Korea was distributed in Guatemala City. Conversely, a motion picture aimed against the communists, called *Red Menace*, is one of the few movies that are banned in Guatemala.

The best way to show power in Guatemala is to pick a quarrel with the most powerful foreigner. The American-owned United Fruit Co. was practically made to order for the Reds. It was the biggest business in the country. It paid native workers twice and three times the wages they could get anywhere else. It also provided free housing and free hospitalization for its employees.

Disputes were fomented between workers and company. Taxes were jacked up indiscriminately. Laws were passed preventing the company from taking care of the needs

of its workers. The courts became as abusive as the government. As

of now, United Fruit has continued its operations in Guatemala. But power pressure is being exerted to drive it out of the country. Pan American Airways is caught in the same squeeze.

In effect, Guatemala laborers have been tricked into fighting against their own best interests. Happy workers must be made unhappy because communism does not spread among the well-fed and the contented. It thrives on hunger and hatred, and both must be force-fed to the Guatemalans before they will turn, en masse, to communism.

The agrarian reform, unlike Moscow's, does not carve up big estates and deed them to the poor. It divides the land among the peasants, but keeps the deeds in the name of the government. In effect, the peasant, instead of working for himself, now works for the state. The government is his landlord. If he complains, plenty of other sharecroppers are waiting for an opportunity to work for the Red masters.

We Americans, as a nation, are fighting communism on the far sides of great oceans, spending our youth and treasure as though both were inexhaustible. But, when it comes to a malignant growth in our own stomach, we don't even ask for an X ray.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, MAY 17, 1954

Guatemalan Labor Agitators Stir Unrest in Honduras

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

Guatemalan communism apparently has succeeded in establishing a bridgehead in Honduras.

Labor agitators from Guatemala have quietly crossed the border and penetrated the Honduran labor movement.

Workers in Honduras, except in a few instances, have never been very strongly organized. Now, to the surprise of everybody, employes of the banana plantations have suddenly sprung a series of strikes that have completely paralyzed the United Fruit Co.'s vast operations.

In recent weeks, the Guatemalan government has seen fit to establish consulates in a number of small Honduran towns and seaports in the banana region. Yet there has never been any amount of business or travel between these communities and Guatemalan. Guatemalans would hardly be likely to import bananas. Certainly they would not buy them from hated Yankees. The government has now accused two of these officials of meddling in Honduran affairs and declared them personas non grata, but the damage has already been done.

For several days marauding bands, armed with machettes and some firearms roamed the towns and villages, in true communist fashion, along the Caribbean coast. Ostensibly their purpose was to prevent anybody from working, but their tactics and manner were terroristic. The government finally got enough troops into the principal centers to restore order, if not complete confidence.

As this is written, officials here say the situation is still "tense if not grave."

The outlook is doubly serious because Hondurans are in a bitter presidential campaign, with ruling

elements split between Conservatives, middle-of-the-roaders and so-called Liberals, with extremists at work among all of them. The elections are scheduled for October.

GALVEZ IS WEAKER

Observers agree that President Manuel Galvez, who for five years had maintained one of the most democratic and popular regimes in half a century, has lost considerable strength. Twelve months ago influ-

own supporters, began looking around for other havens of refuge. The more ambitious, along with leaders of the opposition, including the former president and strong man, Gen. Tiburcio Carias Andino, threw their sombreros into the ring.

Altho he had groomed and supported President Galvez as his successor, Gen. Carias had long since broken with the president.

On the other hand, one of Gen. Carrias' long time backers, fiery Gen. Abramo Williams, is opposing his old chief. Finally, the Liberals, who had not figured prominently in the last two elections, trotted out candidates for president and vice president.

WALKS OUT

This is the moment chosen by the instigators of labor unrest.

It all started one Saturday at the banana port of Puerto Cortez, at the supper hour when the dock workers stopped for their evening meal. Without warning, demand or even an indication of dissatisfaction, all hands walked off a ship scheduled to sail with a full cargo of fruit in the early morning, leaving it half loaded.

It spread from there. Hand bills mysteriously appeared in shops, on banana trains, on the porches of workmen's houses and even in hospital wash rooms, calling on everyone to stop work. Whole farms would become idle in a few hours. Eventually not a wheel turned nor a hand was lifted on any of the United Fruit Company's farms or at its seaports.

The entire procedure followed the well-known communist pattern. The same firm that has been chief target in Guatemala, was chosen

cont.

Secret Radio

Stings Reds

GUATEMALA CITY — Red Guatemala's political police today are scanning the jungle-wrapped borders with Mexico, Honduras, and British Honduras for a secret radio station—Voice of Liberation—that has stung the regime to fury.

It is the climax of a strange radio war that has been going on for months against President Jacobo Arbenz and his Red-dominated cabinet.

Until recently the government stamped out stations broadcasting criticism of the regime.

Two stations were invaded by gangs of masked men, who beat up the staff with pistols and then smashed equipment.

But suddenly the Voice of Liberation started up, moving from hideout to hideout, just across the Guatemalan borders.

At first the government tried to ignore the secret station. Now the order is, "Find it and silence it by any means."

ential elements in the military, in congress and among the general public, wanted him to ask for a change in the constitution permitting him to succeed himself. But he steadfastly resisted.

Under these circumstances many politicians, governmental employees and private individuals among his

as the first victim in Honduras. Native farms and business concerns were left completely untouched, at least for the time being.

SECRET ACTIVITY

Altho it had no inkling of the impending strike, the government had long been aware of clandestine activities by Guatemalans in Honduras. For over two years military officials in jungle and mountain outposts had been watching alleged agents from north of the border slip down into Honduras, while little groups of Hondurans traveled back and forth to Guatemala.

According to sources in Tegucigalpa Guatemalan agents, supposedly communists, would come south to recruit Hondurans to be trained in Guatemala and sent back to organize their countrymen.

One year ago this month this writer sent a story from San Pedro, Honduras, reporting a conversation with a governmental official, an army man since transferred, who described this operation. The officer displayed what he called "secret identification insignia" which one of his own intelligence agents had secured from a Guatemalan, including a tiny red star, supposedly carried by the higher ranking members of the communist fraternity.

At any rate, communist controlled or not, the first angry demonstration of labor unrest Honduras has experienced in many a year is now on. It bears every mark of being aimed directly at United States interests, and conforms to strategy followed by the communist labor leaders in Guatemala and elsewhere.

Wash. Post

MAY 21 1954

Communist Beachhead

The shipment of arms to Guatemala from the Polish-controlled port of Stettin ought to remove any lingering doubts that Guatemala is the beachhead for active Communist designs in the Western Hemisphere. The 2000 tons of arms, which arrived in Guatemala last weekend in a Swedish ship chartered by a British firm, are enough to upset the entire balance of power in Central America. The fact that the pier was surrounded by a cordon of soldiers and that the Guatemalan defense minister was on hand to supervise the secret nocturnal unloading makes eyewash of the explanation that the shipment was merely optical equipment. Nor, it may be safely assumed, is this quantity of armaments needed for purposes of keeping internal order.

Additional emphasis is given to a serious situation by the break in diplomatic relations between Nicaragua and Guatemala. This break had been building up for some time because of the Guatemalan plotting against the Nicaraguan regime. It also is significant that shortly after three Guatemalan consulates were established in neighboring Honduras a crippling general strike broke out; the consular personnel have been declared *personae non gratae* but the trouble remains. There are similar reports that Guatemalan agents are now attempting to foment strikes in Panama.

Some Latin Americans have taken the mistaken view that the United States concern in Central America has been merely to protect the interests

of the United Fruit Co. The naive explanation that Guatemala has been undergoing a social revolution similar to that experienced by Mexico after 1910 ignores, of course, the fact that there is now an aggressive foreign imperialism anxious to take over. The arms shipment ought to help dispel any such illusions. For the arms are entirely outside the pattern of normal defense, and far in excess of anything the United States has prepared to send under its assistance pact with Nicaragua or the proposed pact with Honduras. The shipment is not to be compared with the activities of the international freebooters who are continually making trouble in the Caribbean area.

No longer is it possible to believe that the Guatemalan government is merely a dupe. Acceptance of these arms denotes active complicity in a Soviet plot—and in the vicinity of the Panama Canal. What apparently is in the works is a repetition of the excursions of the Caribbean Legion, coupled with the export of subversion to neighboring countries. In the circumstances the Guatemalan action constitutes an unmistakable threat to the peace. It affords full grounds for the United States to bring the situation to the attention of the Organization of American States and to explore the possibilities of collective measures, including those provided under the Caracas resolution and the Rio treaty. The United States further must convince its neighbors that it means business. What is of the utmost importance for the entire hemisphere to understand is that the threat of Communist imperialism is no longer academic; it has arrived.

MAY 25 1954

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, MA

Communism in Latin America

Guatemala: An Object Lesson in the Hows; Whys And Wherefors of Moscow's Penetration

(This is the second in a series of five articles by A. T. Steele, who has just returned from an extended tour of South America.)

By A. T. Steele

As an object lesson in the hows and whys of Communist penetration in Latin America, the Republic of Guatemala (population 2,800,000) is unsurpassed.

Here is an almost classic example of Communist infiltration in an almost classic Central American setting.

Ten years ago, Guatemala was suffering from an oppressive military dictatorship of a kind familiar to Latin Americans. Most of the wealth of the country was concentrated in the hands of a small oligarchy of land-owners and merchants whose outlook had changed little since Spanish colonial times. Two per cent of the people, it was claimed, owned 70 per cent of the land. The gap between the rulers and the ruled was tremendous, and the middle class was small and unimportant. The majority of the people were Indians—poor, illiterate, looked down upon by the whites and metizos.

Dictatorship Ended

This dictatorship (of Gen. Jorge Ubico) was brought to an abrupt end in 1944. The people of the country got their first taste of freedom and democracy and liked it. In due course a rather fuzzy Leftist, Juan Jose Aravelo, was elected president. Meanwhile, a group of young radicals, mostly ex-students still in their twenties, were clandestinely organizing a Communist party in order to exploit the revolution to their ends.

As the 1950 elections approached, it looked like Maj. Francisco Arana, a moderate, was the man most likely to succeed Aravelo. This was more than the extremists could stomach. Arana was waylaid and murdered, and the history of Guatemala was thus profoundly affected. Capt. Jacobo Arbenz, an army officer of distinctly

Leftist leanings, was elected president. The Communists, who had helped campaign for him, came into the open for the first time immediately after Arbenz's inauguration in 1951.

Guatemala's history since then has been a story of steadily growing Communist influence. Today Communists dominate organized labor and are making a strenuous bid for the support of the rural population (mostly Indian) through active participation in the land reform program.

Reds Infiltrate

The Reds have also infiltrated deeply into Guatemala's social service system, the educational system and the propaganda services. They do not, however, control the government. They owe their success in large part to such influence as they may have with President Arbenz and other government leaders.

For the present, President Arbenz holds the key to the Guatemala political situation through his authority over the Army. If there has been any Red infiltration of the Army, it has not gone very deep, according to most observers.

Guatemalans, trying to convince outsiders that the Communist threat is being exaggerated, point to the fact there are no Communists in the Cabinet, and only four in the Guatemalan Congress. What they overlook is the influence exerted by the Communists through their participation in the high councils of the National Democratic Front, the ruling political coalition.

Number Debatable

Indeed, Guatemalan Communists exert an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. What those numbers are is debatable.

Almost certainly there are no more than 3,000 dues-paying Communists in the country, and the number may be considerably fewer. But they are hard workers and they know exactly what they want, which is more than can be said for the other parties.

For political reasons, the Communists find it more convenient to call themselves the Guate-

malan Labor party rather than the Communist party. Nobody is fooled. The organizational setup and the membership are strictly Communist.

The Communists are accomplishing in Guatemala what they would like to be accomplishing in other Latin American countries. They have achieved membership in a "Popular Front." They have spawned a variety of other Front organizations. They carry considerable influence in the government, without the necessity of making themselves too conspicuous. They have a growing "mass" following among workers and peasants. They are steering the official press and radio into increasingly anti-United States lines. In short, just what the Red "doctors" ordered!

Lines of Communication

The sprawling Communist organization in Latin America has not one head but many. But all channels of leadership lead eventually to Moscow and other capitals of Eastern Europe. There are many lines of contact. The Guatemalan setup provides a good illustration of how they work. For example, six of the eleven members of the political committee (politbureau) of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) party have visited Moscow on one pretext or another in recent years. Presumably this represents direct liaison between a local Communist party and the Russian Communist party on matters of high policy.

But much more frequent—and more open—are the relations between the Guatemalan Communists and the World Federation of Trade Unions (W. F. T. U.), which appears to be one of the main channels of contact between international communism and regional communism in Latin America.

In addition there are the various world "Front" organizations, each with its headquarters in Eastern Europe and each with its subsidiaries in all countries where the creation of such subsidiaries is not prevented by law. Among these Communist-dominated bodies are the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth,

the International Students Union and the International Women's Democratic Federation.

Develop Following

Through annual congresses—and a steady flow of propaganda material, the Communists find these agencies immensely useful in developing a world-wide following of fellow travelers and dupes.

The system provides a convenient device too for push-button propaganda on an international scale. Any appeal or protest from the world headquarters of any of these organizations, be it in Moscow, Prague, Bucharest or Vienna, evokes instantaneous echoes from the dutiful satellite organizations.

A training school in Eastern Europe provides courses in Spanish for Latin Americans wishing to make communism a career. For Communists in the field, the Cominform Journal ("For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy") is indispensable reading. It is the bible for the initiated. In its dull columns may be found round-the-world guidance on the latest convolutions of the party line.

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N. Y. Journal-American
MAY 26 1954

Guatemala--Red Operations Base

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IT is not casual that the Soviet Universal State selected Guatemala as a base for operations against the United States in the Americas. It is a populous country and the second largest in area in Central America. It lies on Mexico and the Hondurases. Its coastline touches both the Caribbean and the Pacific. Its influence can extend throughout Central America and into Mexico. It can be an excellent base to endanger the Panama Canal.

The country is rich in raw materials, bananas, hardwoods, chicle, sugar cane, cochineal, and coffee. Bananas became the principal item for export and most definitely affected the standard of living of the people, which was dreadfully low. The population consists of Negroes, Caribs and Indians and the various combinations of these races.

The principal commercial enterprise in Guatemala was the United Fruit Company, which, under the Agrarian Reform Law, June 17, 1952, was divested of about 240,000 acres by expropriation. The assets of the International Railway of Central America were seized as the result of a tax dispute in April, 1953. Other companies have been confiscated.

Cover for Communists

Guatemala is now in that state of the Communist development known as a People's Republic. This means a coalition of Left Wing political parties, in which the Communists are numerically not prevailing, but which they control anyhow by techniques developed in other countries. The leading party is called the Revolutionary Action Party (PAR), which has 25 out of 56 members in the Congreso Nacional. This used to be a cover for Communists like the American Labor Party in New York State. Most of the leading Communists are now in their own party, but this was done only to make it possible for the dominant party to be able to deny that Guatemala is a Communist country.

It is interesting to note that all political parties in Guatemala are either wholly Communist or have a Communist group within them. The most moderate of these is the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca. The

President of the country is Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, who was elected for a six-year term in 1950. Almost immediately after his inauguration in March, 1951, the Communists came out into the open, leaving the cover party, the PAR, and by December, 1952, established their own party, the Guatemalan Workers' Party, which was legally registered and is now a member of the government coalition. Not a single fact justifies the claim that this is not a Communist country except that in the Aesopian language of the Marxists it would be called a People's Republic.

Soviet Russia has since 1934 sought to establish a base of operations either in Cuba or in Mexico. In Cuba, the Communists encountered the opposition of General Batista, who suspended the functions of Congress and abolished political parties temporarily. Batista seized power on March 10, 1952 and will hold it until the next general election, which has twice been postponed. The Communists have not been able to work under Batista. In Mexico, the Communist parties are legal but not included in the government. The labor leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is generally regarded as the Communist leader not only of Mexico but of Latin America.

First Soviet Affiliate

The failure to establish a Communist base in Mexico, after the Soviet diplomat, Constantine Oumansky, was killed in an airplane accident in 1945, forced the Russians to develop another base. Other Central American countries were tried, but Marxism took hold best in Guatemala, which is now the first country affiliated with the Soviet Universal State in the Americas.

It represents a distinct threat to the peace of these continents because, pursuing a Marxist course, it must encourage revolutionary action among all its neighbors. Immediate trouble is to be expected in the Hondurases, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Venezuela. The most important next objective will be Colombia because of its proximity to the Panama Canal.

In the development of a revolution leading to the establishment of a People's Republic, arms are as essential as propagandists and penetrators into government. It must always be remembered that a confirmed Marxist, in whatever country, regards himself as belonging to the Soviet Universal State and not to his own country. Some may even be Russian citizens as are the Communist leaders in Korea. If Guatemala is to be the center of this operation, its operations in other countries will be supported by Marxists in those countries.

New York Journal-American
★ Thurs., May 27, 1954-

Best Test

THE BEST TEST of the legal and moral soundness of the case the United States has against Guatemala for importing arms from Communist countries is found in the support we are getting from other Latin American countries.

The Nicaraguan and Honduran governments have made defense agreements with us which substantially strengthen the Panama Canal in the face of the threat an unfriendly Guatemala, armed by the Communists for the specific purpose of raising that threat, unquestionably poses.

Equally significant is the readiness with which spokesmen of Mexico and Nicaragua, among others have made it clear that it is not the interest of the United States alone which is endangered but the peace and security of the whole hemisphere.

Nicaragua has taken the lead in the matter in a particularly welcome and effective way, by suggesting a conference of the Foreign Ministers of all the American nations to deal with the problem.

The Communists would be quick to say that such a suggestion, coming from the United States, would imply intimidation of the neighboring republics.

But with the Latin American countries which are the neighbors of Guatemala taking the initiative in denouncing the importation of Communist arms, not because it endangers the United States but because it also imperils them, the old and always fraudulent myth about North American imperialism is defeated by its own lack of logic.

The Good Neighbor policy could not bear better fruit than this rallying of Latin American nations to our side in a matter that tragically finds one of our neighbors lining up with our enemies.

E261835 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
June 26 1954 1704 GMT—E

(Single Excerpt)

Rio De Janeiro—the appeal which, according to Moscow radio, was addressed by the Guatemalan Government to the USSR asking the latter to defend its cause at the Security Council, considerably harms Col. Arbenz' Government, even among those who have favorable attitude toward him.

"Correio Da Manha," which has mistrusted the Guatemalan rebels from the very beginning and has criticized the United States position in an article today wonders why Col. Arbenz' Government did not request not ask Great Britain or France. The paper believes that, by requesting the good services of the USSR, Arbenz has irremediably compromised his cause, as "he has just shown that he places the problem within the framework of the cold war."

E260200 Paris AFP Radioteletype in English to the Americas
June 26 1954 0114 GMT—E

(Text)

Mexico City—the standing committee of the Congress against Soviet intervention in Latin America Friday addressed a message to the United Nations Security Council and the Inter-American Peace Commission, declaring that the conflict in Guatemala was not really an international problem affecting Honduras and Nicaragua but a genuine revolution.

The message stated that the conflict was a case of internal revolution against a tyrannical and unloyal Communist Government. It also said that intervention by the Security Council would only serve to "provoke disorder," and added that the organization of American states was alone fitted to act in American problems.

E290532 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to North America
June 29 1954 0242 GMT--E

(Single Excerpt)

Col. Castillo Armas, Chief of the Rebel Forces, has denounced the unconstitutionality of the transfer of power that made Col. Diaz the new Guatemalan President. He recalls that in case the President resigns, the constitution provides for the President of Congress to succeed him.

Castillo Armas therefore says the taking of power by Col. Diaz is usurpation and calls on the Governments of America and the world in general to break off diplomatic relations with the new Government.

"We are not fighting a man or a group of men, but an administration that represents the most tragic of all dictatorships, the Communist Dictatorship, Castillo Armas said. "The Governments of the civilized nations now have a unique chance to assert their faith in democratic principles and exercise their inalienable right to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong, civilization and barbarism, political shamelessness and juridical legality, disintegrating Communism and constitutional democracy."

E300555 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
June 30 1954 0407 GMT--E

(Excerpts)

Guatemala City--groups of men, women, and children are milling around the Foreign Legations and embassies in the Capital of Guatemala, where all the Communists are demanding asylum. More than 300 persons have taken refuge in the Mexican Embassy alone, and the Ambassador has had to rent a neighboring house in order to offer them shelter. The crowds here know nothing of the whereabouts of former President Arbenz.

The directors of former independent newspapers have resumed their posts after escaping from the police of the Arbenz Government.

E301950 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
June 30 1954 1814 GMT--E

(Single Excerpt)

Guatemala--the official newspaper "Centro America" and the semi-official "Nuestro diario" are being published under a new form adapted to the circumstances. The foreign editors who controlled these publications have fled along with their local (owners?) and have taken refuge in Diplomatic Missions, where some 1,500 persons have been given asylum.

Radio newscasts which Communist censorship suppressed on June 9 are to be restored and will not rpt not subject to censorship.

According to unofficial reports from the interior, in Tiquisate, in Thbanana-growing region, and in Escuintla, about 30 miles from the Capital, clashes have occurred between anti-Communist and Communist peasants.

EO21152 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
July 2 1954 0407 GMT--E

(Text)

Guatemala City--the Guatemalan Government Junta has declared "persona non grata" the Spanish republicans residing in the country. The Junta, moreover, has decided to dismiss its Ambassador in Salvador, the poet and writer Michel Angel Asturias.

EO21150 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
July 2 1954 0452 GMT--E

(Text)

Guatemala City--six frightfully mutilated bodies were presented to the press Thursday evening in the Capital's Anatomic Amphitheater. They are allegedly bodies of persons belonging to anti-Communist groups. According to preliminary medical examinations they have been dead for 4 days. They were discovered buried under a slight covering of sand.

EO22010 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
July 2 1954 1863 GMT--E

(Text)

Guatemala City--the juridicial advisers of the Government Junta received reporters July 2 and asked them not to disclose the criminal deeds committed under the previous regime, in order to avoid reprisals as much as possible. Photographs of massacres committed by the Communists will be taken off the show-windows by police order. The advisers pointed out that no bloody reprisal had yet been committed, and that the police held all the country under control to avoid any action prejudicial to the anti-Communist nationalist movement.

(Paris, AFP, July 2, 1954, 1863 GMT--E)

The Junta Delegation which attended the peace talks in San Salvador is expected about midday today, and big manifestations are prepared in its honor. All premises in Guatemala City are flying the nation's blue and white flag.

EO40044 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to The Americas
July 4 1954 0001 GMT--E

(Text)

Guatemala City--frantically applauded by the crowd, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, member of the Government Junta who returned from San Salvador on Saturday, was presented to his people on the big square of the Capital by Col. Elfego Monzon, President of the Guatemalan Junta.

Answering the applause, Col. Castillo Armas said, very moved: "I owe this homage which you are paying me only to your efforts and to the patriotism which you showed during the struggle. I did nothing more than accomplish my duty and interpret the will of the people."

The head of the Insurgents then said that the rights and freedoms of the people will be maintained. "I offer you," he said, "not rpt not words, but action." Accompanied by other members of the Government Junta and by the Chief authorities, Col. Castillo Armas then entered the Government house where he sang the Guatemalan National Anthem, which was picked up by the crowd.

EO52023 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas
July 5 1954.1947 GMT--E

(Text)

San Salvador—a note released by the Guatemalan Foreign Affairs Ministry reported today that the Salvadoran Government has recognized the Guatemalan Government Junta. The note further states that El Salvador will continue to have diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

On the other hand political circles here are waiting for the readmission of Guatemala to the organization of Central American States, which Guatemala left under the Arbenz Regime.

THE NEWS

Mexico, D. F., Tuesday, July 6, 1954

Guatemalan Who Lived Through "The Bad Times" Gives His Answer

How Did Relative Handful of Communist Gain Almost Complete Control of Guatemala?

(EDITOR'S NOTE—Communism ran riot in Guatemala until a few days ago, leaving its legacy of torture and death. How did it ever get a foothold at the very doorstep of the United States? The Associated Press sought the answer from a Guatemalan who has lived through "the bad time." He is Alvaro Contreras, a member of the staff of the newspaper Prensa Libre and a part-time correspondent of the Associated Press. He is 32 and was educated at St. John's College, in British Honduras, and at the University of Guatemala. Contreras and other Guatemalan newsmen were threatened with death after the June 18 revolt. Contreras took refuge in the Salvadoran Embassy and left it only when the Arbenz government fell.)

BY ALVARO CONTRERAS

bre, complete with hammer and sickle, voiced their propaganda. Red leaders were in congress, and the labor movement was getting a Red tinge.

Among those in the Arevalo cabinet who sensed the Communist danger was Colonel Alfredo Monzon, minister of the interior. He cracked down on the Communists, closing their school and newspaper, but was left out on the limb when Communist-influenced Congress censured him, and President Arevalo failed to back him up.

Now Monzon is head of the government junta which has displaced the Arbenz regime and put the Reds on the run. Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the "Liberation Army" which toppled Arbenz, is another leading member of the anti-Communist junta.

An aggressive Communist campaign for power began after the ambush assassination of Colonel Francisco Javier Arana and the subsequent election of Arbenz in 1950.

radio and press, infiltrated important government departments and made U. S. "imperialism" the whipping boy for all Guatemala's ills.

By 1951 the Communists had worked their way into control of the General Labor Federation and the Farm Workers Federation. The key job of secretary in both organizations was firmly in Communist hands.

The Communists' rapid strides alarmed a lot of liberty-loving Guatemalans even though the government appeared to see no danger.

of the small number of Guatemalans willing to be known as Communists, or pro-Communists. Despite the Communists' obvious subterfuge, the government ignored demands by anti-Communists that the new party be outlawed.

Reds Intensify Propaganda

Under the guise of a workers' party, the Reds intensified their propaganda. U. S.-owned companies in Guatemala were consistently attacked as arms of the "Yankee Imperialistic Octopus." The U. S. government itself was assailed in frequent diatribes in both Communist and government newspapers.

In 1953 the anti-U. S. campaign led to an effective ban by the government on the importation of Hollywood films through the medium of prohibitive tariffs. On screens of the capital's cinemas U. S. films gave way to Russian movies, heavily larded with Communist propaganda.

The influence of International Communism was evident in other ways. Guatemalan Communist leaders shuttled between this country and Moscow or its satellite capitals. Foreign Communists came to Guatemala to give advice and encouragement.

Increasing publicity on Communist activity in Guatemala practically ruined his country's once rich tourist trade, but it focused the Reds here in a spotlight which

posing as friends of the poor and enemies of U.S. "imperialism," devising fuzzy-minded government leaders who accepted the Communists' support and wound up as their prisoners; finally terrorizing and assassinating anti-Communists. Guatemalan Communists got by for a long time without arousing too much suspicion. The big majority of the inhabitants were illiterate and poverty stricken; the per capita income was the lowest in Central America (\$77 in 1949); a few families owned practically all the tillable land; a long and harsh dictatorship had throttled political development.

The overthrow of the dictatorship in 1944 ushered in the constitutional regime of Juan Jose Arvalo, who set out to correct the worst abuses in Guatemalan life. At the same time Communists began work on a small scale and without fanfare.

Open Marxist School

By 1949 the Communists had a Marxist indoctrination school in operation. Their newspaper Octu-

Arana Has Army Support

Arana had the army's support in his bid for the presidency. Bot Arbenz survived a bloody military revolt that followed the assassination and, with the support of the Communists, easily won the presidential election.

A marked tolerance for Communist activity characterized the Arbenz regime almost from the start. The Reds got their Marxist indoctrination school going again, edged into control of the official registration papers, an indication

Street Demonstrations

Thousands took part in street demonstrations clamoring for dissolution of the Communist Party in accordance with the constitutional ban on political groups with foreign ties.

In October, 1951, anti-Communists presented Congress a petition signed by 15,000 citizens and asking that the Communists Party be outlawed. The petition was pigeonholed. Communists by this time had some influence that even government party congressmen who had anti-Communist sentiments remained mute.

Nevertheless, the Communists deemed it wise to mask their official status by forming the "Guatemalan Workers' Party." There were only 1,500 signers of the party registration papers, an indication

the Reds here in a spotlight which

In a desperate attempt to save themselves and their Red-influenced government, Guatemalan Communists and police unleashed a reign of terror during the last two weeks of June.

Some 300 Guatemalans whose only crime was their opposition to Communism were killed without benefit of formal charges or trials. Many suffered brutal torture before being put to death.

How did a relative handful of Communists come close to complete domination of this Central American country and its three million inhabitants?

The answer lies in the classic Communist tactics of infiltrating labor unions and the government;

the Reds here in a spotlight which

the Reds here in a spotlight which

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the Reds here in a spotlight which

they did not lie. Communists drove Guatemala into an increasingly isolated position among the countries of the Western Hemisphere as a means of protecting themselves.

Guatemala, for example, was the foremost proponent of the plan to form the Organization of Central American States (ODECA) but refused to attend the initial meeting.

It charged that some member states were giving aid to conspirators against the Guatemalan regime. The real reason was the Communists' objection to the Agenda item proposing a study of means whereby ODECA could combat Communist infiltration in Central America. Guatemala subsequently withdrew from ODECA completely.

The same kind of Communist pressure was reflected in Guatemala's attitude at the inter-American conference in Caracas last March. It was the only country to vote against the U. S.-sponsored anti-Communist resolution.

Anti-Communist persecution increased constantly last year, especially after the government announced it had discovered a conspiracy in Salama. Romulo Reyes Flores, a pro-Communist judge in Salama, railroaded a number of anti-Communists to jail where they were tortured or killed or both. Last Friday the judge was executed by a firing squad for his role at Salama.

Anti-Reds Tortured

In January the government charged that Honduras and Nicaragua with the assent of the United States were preparing to invade Guatemala. This set off another wave of persecution and month after month increasing numbers of anti-Reds were jailed, tortured savagely and in many cases killed.

Apparently Arbenz long identified the anti-Communist movement as a threat to his government, but actually it was directed only against the Reds until the torturing, exiling and jailing reach-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 12--A)

ed the point where the public was convinced that only a new government could destroy the Communists.

Many anti-Communist Guatemalans generally feel that Arbenz still would be president and the country in good economic health had not he blindly supported the Communists. Until throttled by the Arbenz regime, the independent press constantly pleaded with the president for action against them, pointing out that the Reds were destroying the good results of the revolution in which he took a prominent part in 1944.

Persecution Reaches New High

In May, the government again saw itself the intended victim of conspiracies in neighboring countries and anti-Communist persecution reached a new high. More than 700 persons were rounded up and many of them cruelly tortured.

Arrests multiplied when Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas began his rebellion with the "Army of Liberation." Many anti-Communists took refuge in embassies and legations only to deliver themselves to the police after members of their families had been seized as hostages.

Guatemalans were thrown into jail simply because they had relatives in the anti-Communist movement. Government gunmen and Communists sacked the homes of persons who fled to escape arrest.

Homes owned by the family of an officer in the insurgent army were set on fire. A police bulletin attributed the fire to insurgent planes which raided the capital several times.

Slain in Cold Blood

After the start of the Castillo rebellion the killing of anti-Communists reached a peak. Most of them were slain in cold blood in prison cells.

One of the victims was Alfredo Abularach, arrested on a charge of having firearms in his home and assassinated behind prison walls.

The police explanation for his death: suicide.

Perfecto Villegas, a relative by marriage of Castillo, was tortured, shot and left in a street. He died in a hospital. The police bulletin read: Death due to injuries received by a hit and run driver.

Names of victims circulated only by word of mouth. Newspapers could print only what the police authorities told them to print. Shortly before being ousted as chief of the national police, Colonel Rogelio Cruz Wer told newspaper editors and columnists to support the government. Otherwise, he said, they would be seized and executed at the moment the insurgents reached the capital. (Cruz Wer has found refuge in Mexico).

Scurry For Cover

Communists and pro-Communists scurried for cover in various embassies as soon as President Arbenz resigned, fully realizing that the game was up.

Guatemalans, freed from the fear of Communists for the first time in years, look hopefully toward a future in which their economy is repaired and Guatemala has restored its reputation in the American family of nations.

EO82339 Paris AFP Radioteletype in French to the Americas, July 8, 1954, 2055
GMT--E

(Text)

DR. RAUL OSEGUEDA, who was Minister of Education under Arevalo, then in the Arbenz cabinet 14 months, and finally a Guatemalan Ambassador, notably in Cuba, is now in prison in the Capital.

A group of journalists have asked the Interior Minister to set Osegueda free and have offered to keep him at the home of one of them on their own responsibility if charges are brought against him. Pending an answer from the Minister, the journalists have been allowed to visit Osegueda in prison. He said he is very well treated and has often been visited by members of foreign embassies with whom he was on friendly terms.

Wash. Daily News

JUL 9 1954

Censorship in Guatemala Was Real & Terrifying

By CHARLES LUCEY

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

GUATEMALA CITY, July 9.—Even after many years in the newspaper business, freedom of the press can seem like something abstract, that's talked of mostly in resolutions adopted at editors' conventions.

But not after Guatemala.

The pro-communist Arbenz regime, which was tipped over here last week, pressed down on this little country, with cynical disregard of the right to speak and write and learn the truth, a censorship that kept it blindly ignorant.

For three weeks when all civil guarantees were suspended, until Col. Castillo Armas' revolution succeeded, Guatemala was spoon-fed.

Newspapers which freely had criticized communism and the Government were silenced. Every page of every issue had to be submitted in advance. Material the censors didn't like had to be killed, innocuous blather substituted.

Newspapers from the United States, Mexico and elsewhere were stopped at the border.

Correspondents here from outside could send out stories only by devious methods and at risk of police-state reprisal by the government.

Secret police were stationed at switchboards in American correspondents' hotels to check all conversations in Spanish and bar those in English.

Blackouts were pulled not only as defense against rebel air raids on the capital, but also to shut off electric power needed to run radios tuned to clandestine stations which were countering government propaganda.

Communiques issued by the government on the fighting, which all newspapers were required to print, told of victories of government troops in the field to the very day of the government's downfall.

U. S. correspondents did everything but float copy out over the Caribbean in empty bottles. Not all the devices can be disclosed without possible harm to certain people. But by a constant shifting from cable to phone to train and plane cou-

riers, stories of police-state arrests and the subsequent revolution were being sent to the United States from such diverse points as Panama, San Salvador, Tapachula, Mexico City, New Orleans and Miami.

Some reporters flew out of the country, filed stories, managed to get back in. Some friendly Americans leaving for home by plane—before plane service blacked out—took off looking like postmen starting their morning rounds. They carried newspaper copy that couldn't be cabled.

Censorship never was more capricious. Stories which were factual rather than merely parroting phony government communiques usually were cut to ribbons. Sometimes what would pass for one correspondent was blocked for another.

THERE was constant harassment of Guatemalan newspapers. Some independent editors who declined to write pro-government comment went into hiding, slept in different houses every night.

Just before the Arbenz government fell, Cruz Wer, a hated police official, warned editors Pedro Julio Garcia of Prensa Libre and Ramon Blanco of El Imparcial after summoning them to police headquarters:

"We may go out stiff (dead) but you will go out stiff first."

The editor of a small weekly, Jose Miranda, was jailed under filthy conditions for three weeks with other anti-communists because he had the courage to leave blank spaces in his paper where material had been killed by government censors.

At times editors of El Imparcial, largest and most influential paper here, were frustrated by failure of censors to act promptly on copy submitted. Hours would pass without even an indication of approval or rejection.

So with U. S. correspondents. Sometimes they would submit cable stories which came back neither rejected nor approved—they didn't come back at all.

The government barred all newspapermen from going to the fighting areas.

Cameras who tried to take pictures of bombed military installations here were fired upon.

Not until the revolution ended could editors breathe freely again and print what they wished. Suppression under many past regimes is an old story to them. But none was more vicious than this.

Wash. Evening Star
JUL 11 1954

Castillo and Guatemala

In electing Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas as its President, Guatemala's ruling military junta—now reduced from five men to three—has done the logical and expected thing. After all, as leader of the revolt that overthrew the Communist-infiltrated Arbenz regime, the colonel has been more in line for the office than any of his compatriots, and the fact that he has been placed in it by a unanimous vote indicates that he enjoys not only popular support but also strong army backing.

This makes it seem likely that the junta, under the colonel's direction, will be able to proceed in good order and on a stable basis to restore a normal way of life to Guatemala. Presumably, arrangements will be made in due course for a general election to supplant the present military rule with a new government—equally anti-Communist—in which Castillo most probably would still be President. In any event, the civil liberties suspended by Arbenz are scheduled to be reinstated this summer and there are good signs that the junta's members believe in the democratic process, with the proviso that the right to vote must be limited to those who can read and write.

As matters stand, therefore, it is more than probable—and Secretary of State Dulles has so intimated—that the United States will soon extend full recognition to the junta as a regime that has full governing control and is pledged to abide by its international obligations. Such recognition can hardly fail to strengthen President Castillo's appeal to his countrymen in whatever he may undertake to do in an effort to promote a good future for Guatemala.

N.Y. Times

JUL 14 1954

GUATEMALAN HOPES

Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, speaking publicly for the first time as provisional President of Guatemala, has outlined a program deserving encouragement. If the erstwhile insurgent leader can implement his words with democratic action, no one will be worse off in Guatemala save the Communists. He soberly notes that their doctrine "still lives in the shadows and many of its leaders are receiving new orders."

Colonel Castillo Armas wants his people to have "social justice, sustenance, education, employment, improved economy and respect for the human being." He wants the *campesinos* or peasants to benefit by an agrarian law that will give more of them land, rather than mere sharecropping jobs on Government cooperatives. He wants more housing and more schools—and fewer Communists in the educational system. He wants justice, up to the capital penalty, applied to the "criminals" of the Communist-infiltrated regime which he unseated.

Critics of Castillo Armas have not heretofore had occasion to doubt his sincerity; nor is it in question now. His difficulties will arise not from lack of goodwill, but from a multitude of technical, legal, social, financial, political and diplomatic problems. Latin-American leaders in the past have often suffered from a *falta de hombres*—a lack of the right men to share a complex job. Sometimes that has been why one man has taken over, to an extent that had to be deplored abroad and eventually resisted within.

But on the basis of his record and his words so far Castillo Armas merits no less than the goodwill and the best wishes of all the other Americans.

N.Y. Times

JUL 14 1954

Guatemala Regime Recognized by U. S.

By **WALTER H. WAGGONER**
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 13—The United States granted formal diplomatic recognition today to the new anti-Communist Government in Guatemala.

By forwarding the decision to Carlos Salazar, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, through Ambassador John E. Peurifoy, the State Department closed one of the most turbulent chapters of United States relations with Latin America in recent years.

Acute tension had developed here over the growth of a Central American Government, deeply infiltrated by Communists. United States concern was substantially reduced when the Guatemalan regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was overthrown June 27.

However, the true anti-Communist flavor of the succeeding regime was not known until three

days later, when a second shake-up in the ruling junta encouraged Secretary of State Dulles to declare that "at least one grave danger" to the hemisphere had been averted.

With the announcement of formal recognition, the United States has said in effect it is satisfied that the junta led by Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas is effectively ruling the country, has the support of the people and is willing and able to carry out international obligations.

These are the three normal criteria that the United States employs to determine whether a new government merits diplomatic recognition.

Mr. Dulles observed last Thursday that the criteria for recognition were being applied to the governing group in Guatemala. He added then that he hoped and expected to be able to grant recognition in the near future.

Establishment of diplomatic relations with a new Latin-American government often has been almost routine, regardless how the change was effected. Some experts have said the United States "counts to ten, and jumps." Washington customarily acts after ten Latin-American governments have recognized the new

regime.

11 Others Take Action

In the present case, eleven American republics had recognized the Guatemalan Government before the United States took that step. However, because of its intense interest in the Guatemalan revolution, the United States was not merely observing a routine. To a far greater degree than had been expected, it was expressing approval of the new regime.

This has opened the way for a new United States campaign to discourage other Governments in the hemisphere from submitting to Communist influence, as Guatemala did.

In his June 30 speech Secretary Dulles promised that the United States would "continue to

support the just aspirations of the Guatemalan people." He pledged this Government not only to fight communism on the political front but to help "alleviate conditions in Guatemala and elsewhere which might afford communism an opportunity to spread its tentacles throughout the hemisphere."

Latin America, in general, is not fully satisfied with the economic assistance it gets from the United States. Guatemala will now be eligible at least for United States technical assistance, loans and military aid agreements that other American republics share.

U. N. Asked to Drop Case

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., July 13—Guatemala asked today that the United Nations Security Council drop her case.

Carlos Salazar, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, informed the United Nations by cablegram that peace and order had been restored and that there was no reason for the case to remain on the Council's agenda.

The case had been put before the Council by the deposed regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, which charged a "foreign invasion."

Regime in Political Bid

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 13—The new Guatemala administration's first real political bid is an extraordinarily powerful one, in the opinion of observers here.

This bid was the public assurance given yesterday by Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, junta president, that small farmers would receive land parcels in fee simple. By this promise, it was said, the Government went far

toward severing the most effective remaining link between the politically potent peasants and the former regime, in which Communists dominated the land-reform administration.

Up to last March 1, 55,734 persons, most of them heads of families had benefited from the land-reform law, which went into effect June 17, 1952. Despite a in fee simple or in perpetuity, for up to forty-three acres of expropriated land, not a single instance of such a transaction had been recorded.

On the surface this would mean that 612,395 acres had been parceled to peasants either on a rental or crop-payment basis.

On a rental basis, the farmer could lease up to 660 acres for five to twenty-five years and pay 15 to 25 per cent of the crop annually as rent. Under crop payment, or the United States Fruit Company plan, the farmer could hold 1.73 to 86.5 acres for life for 3 per cent of his crop annually.

While these were the prevailing arrangements, the farmer was circumscribed by a set of rules, whose violation could invalidate his claim. These rules were used as powerful persuaders for those inclined to political independence.

Despite this leverage and the tendency to employ it, any peasant who came within the provisions of the reform law felt himself highly benefited in comparison with his former lot. His emotions on this point were strongly played upon in the period before and during the revolution. Members of the General Confederation of Peasants were armed, did patrol duty in rural areas and in some instances became the civil law.

N.Y. Times

JUL 15 1954

GUATEMALA AIDE NAMED

**Col. Miguel Mendoza Is Made
Director of Police**

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 14—Col. Miguel Mendoza, prominent member of Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas' liberation army, took office today as director of the police. Colonel Mendoza said he intended to sweep the police force clean of malignant elements and retain only honest and competent personnel.

The former police director, Rogelio Cruz Wer, and Jaime Rosenberg, former secret police director have been charged with tortures and mass execution of political prisoners during the last few weeks of the Arbenz Administration in Mexico City.