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COUNTRY Peru

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SUBJECT Activities of Communist Party of Peru during July 1948

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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.

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General Situation of Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

1. The PCP began the month of July 1948 with its meager strength further weakened by a division into two opposing camps: the recognized PCP and the group recently expelled from the Party by the Party Control Commission, centering around Juan P. Luna Salazar and his associates. During July, there was an important trial of strength between the two groups, neither of which scored a decisive victory, and neither of which showed signs of abandoning its position. The energy of both groups, therefore, was largely devoted to an inter-group struggle, thus virtually removing the Party from the national and international scene as a political force.
2. In the course of this struggle, several facts concerning Party affairs were brought to light. For example, the extent to which the Prado Government supported and subsidized Communist leaders for its own purposes was revealed. It is also noted that the Party admits that it has been unable to recover even one third of the position which it once held within organized labor. A picture of financial and organizational chaos was brought out during the discussions of the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee.
3. Although on 5 July Lima was placed under State of Siege, the terms of which forbade political meetings of any sort, the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee held its meetings at Party headquarters from 30 June through 13 July, without at any time being disturbed by the authorities.

VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PCP

4. The VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru was inaugurated on 30 June 1948 at 9 p.m. at PCP headquarters, Colmena 669, Lima.
5. Speeches were made at the inaugural session by Jorge del Prado, Secretary General of the PCP, and Manuel Ugarte Saldana, member of the Departmental Committee of Jumin, underlining the importance of the forthcoming plenary session changed with doing preliminary work for the III National Congress of the Party scheduled for 22 August 1948.
6. The VII Plenary Session held its first meeting the morning of 1 July and elected its "Praesidium", as follows, to preside over the session of the 25

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A
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members of the Central Committee:

Jorge del Prado (Lima)
 Sergio Caller (Deputy for Guzco)
 Jose Macedo Mendoza (Deputy for Carabaya)
 Manuel Ugarte Saldana (Huancayo)
 Abelardo Cabrejos Lamos (La Merced)
 Augusto Chavez Bedoya (Arequipa)
 Elicco Garcia (Lima)

The following Committee members were also present at this meeting:

Diego Farias (Lima)
 Alfredo Matthews (Lima)
 Edmundo Carranza (Lima)
 Alipio Orbegoso (Lima)
 Carlos Carcamo (Lima)
 Juan Lopez (Lima)
 Carlos Arbulu Miranda (Chiclayo)
 Jose Marcos (Lima)
 Teofilo Sosa (Lima)

Absent members of the Central Committee were:

Jorge Acosta
 Juan Barrio
 Claudio Paytampona
 Omar Zilbert
 Cesar Calderon
 Abelardo Salazar
 Carlos Guadalupe
 Simon Herrera Farfan
 Celia Flores

7. Of the "suplentes" or alternate members of the Central Committee, only Emilia Casas attended the sessions. With the single exception of Carlos Arbulu Miranda, no representatives from the north of Peru were present.
8. An immediate antagonism appeared to develop between the Lima members and those coming from outside the capital. Manuel Ugarte Saldana led the latter group and opened his attack by pointing out that in Lima, the nerve center of the country, where above all there should be organization and a high sense of responsibility, things were in a complete state of demoralization: the cells did no work; those few individuals who did meet lacked their "carnets" and seldom paid their dues; and many attended meetings only when they had some labor complaint for which they wished the backing of the Party.
9. Regarding organization, Ugarte stated that he thought comrade Farias, National Secretary for Organization, ought to be severely censured, for there were frequent cases in which members had come to Lima from outside the capital and been unable to see the National Secretary, either because he was out of town or simply not at work.
10. Regarding press and propaganda matters, Ugarte stated that Alfredo Matthews, Secretary of Press and Propaganda, was "an intellectual, nothing more," and that the negligent way in which he was carrying out his duties was causing the Party great harm and prejudice. That the Party newspaper Labor had been allowed to lapse and not appear for several weeks, said Ugarte, caused enemies of the Party to point out with some reason that the Party was "en plena decadencia".

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY25X1A


-3-

11. With reference to the incidents that led to the expulsion of the Luna group, Ugarte stated that the whole matter should have been studied more carefully and the proper propaganda line prepared. This would have put a stop to street gossip now circulating to the effect that the whole affair was merely a personal matter and a question of jealousy and the conflicting ambitions of one group against another, rather than a basic conflict of doctrine.
12. On the labor front, Ugarte stated that it was clear that all effort had been abandoned. He made the statement that the Party had not yet been able to recover even one third of the positions of control that they once held in labor unions, even taking advantage of the strong anti-Aprista attitude recently assumed by the Government. On the contrary, he pointed out, the Bus Drivers' Union, under Luna as Secretary of Organization, had succeeded in being heard by the Government, and the drivers' salaries stood a good chance of being raised. Even the reactionary press, such as *La Prensa*, opens its columns to Luna's reports and claims, because of the fact that within the union there is organization and there are fighting elements, he said, who are unlike some members of the present Central Committee.
13. With reference to the political line of the Party, the provincial group accused del Prado, Juan Barrio, Farias, and Garcia of formerly having acted openly in favor of the Prado Government. In this connection an "anonymous" letter, obviously drafted by Luna, was received in the midst of the sessions. The letter suggested that Ugarte ask certain members of the Central Committee who paid for del Prado's frequent trips to Arequipa during the Manuel Prado administration and that del Prado be squarely faced with the fact that he had received sums of money from the ex-President for this purpose.
14. The accused members of the Central Committee answered these attacks by admitting that they had collaborated with Prado. They argued, however, that the collaboration was only "in part" and that, furthermore, it was the Prado Government that had finally recognized the Communist Party as a legal political entity, thus enabling them to place four Communist deputies in Congress. Furthermore, they replied that the Party line "as laid down by Lenin and Stalin" permitted collaboration with any Government that would aid the Communist Party and defend it from the attacks of "the fascists, the reactionaries, and the imperialists".
15. After much fruitless discussion on the above point, it was agreed that the III National Congress should be charged with judging the acts of the present Central Committee and that the matter should be presented to the Congress in detail. It was agreed, however, that all Party officers should be "on duty" at all time, and that absence from one's post, particularly at this time, would be heavily censured.
16. At the request of Communist Deputy Sergio Caller, the attitude of the four Communist deputies toward the sessions of Congress was submitted to the VII Plenary Session, and fully approved. A statement was issued, dated 3 July, on the President's speech and printed in *Labor* for 5 July.
17. On Monday, 5 July, Abelardo Salazar arrived in Lima from Cuzco and attended the remainder of the sessions of the Central Committee. Salazar, ex-Secretary of the Departmental Committee of Cuzco and now editor of the Communist Party organ in that city, reported that the atmosphere in Cuzco was very tense and that he expected trouble shortly.
18. News of the outbreak of the Hlosa revolution was received in Lima the same day, and the VII Plenary Session, guided by Salazar, immediately decided that the

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CONFIDENTIAL

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25X1A

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-4-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Party line should be full support of the Government. Salazar telephoned that night to Rosas Ramos in Cuzco to convey the line and to give instructions that all possible aid and assistance should be given the authorities in case trouble similar to Puno and Juliaca were to break out in Cuzco. The Central Committee issued a policy statement to this effect on 5 July which was presented and distributed in leaflet form.

19. Resuming their discussions, the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee next took up the finances and administration of the Party newspaper, Labor. On this point Jose Reccio, the administrator of Labor, prepared and distributed to the members a balance sheet of the paper as of 1 January 1948 to illustrate his difficulties. He pointed out that if all the Departmental Committees were to pay their debts to Labor, it would have no trouble appearing regularly. Starting with only a few soles cash on hand in January, said Reccio, he had been obliged to run directly into debt. Part of the deficit he had recovered from sales of the paper, but most of it was still outstanding as debts, owed to him in turn by the Departmental Committees, and obliging him to borrow further or cease publication. Pointing out that an edition of four thousand copies cost seven hundred soles to print, Reccio suggested that the Party members be sent to the north and south to collect these back debts and to get additional funds from the provinces to ensure the regular appearance of the paper. The Central Committee agreed, and Reccio was instructed to leave for the south during the first week in August for this purpose.
20. Turning to straight Party finances, apart from Labor, the Committee examined the Party books and again found that the Departmental Committees owed substantial debts to the Party. For example, it was pointed out that the Departmental Committee for Cuzco, which prided itself on being the numerical center of Communist strength in Peru, was not only in debt to Labor for five hundred soles but also to the National Commission for Economy for "carnets" and "estampillas" to the extent of twelve hundred soles. Abelardo Salazar answered these figures by pointing out that the fault lay with the provincial committees, which in turn owed these sums to the Cuzco Departmental Committee, and he agreed that energetic measures should be taken to correct this serious situation. It was found that the provinces now owe four thousand soles in all, and it was determined to take immediate steps to rectify matters.
21. At the close of the sessions there was sharp discussion concerning a notion of Manuel Ugarte that the Central Committee of the Communist Party should be made up in the future entirely of "obreros" (workers) and that the Statutes of the Party should be amended to that effect, thus preventing the majority of the present Central Committee from succeeding themselves. Strong opposition came from the Communist deputies and other incumbent members of the Central Committee, who argued that both "intellectuals" and "obreros" should sit on the Committee. The notion was not carried, but postponed for final decision by the III National Congress.
22. The VII Plenary Session terminated on 13 July with the approval of a series of conclusions and resolutions, including three decisions of some importance:
 - a. It was determined that the III National Congress should be held in Lima, rather than Cuzco, as originally planned, on 22 August 1948;
 - b. Membership on the Central Committee was reduced to 19, rather than 25 members, as at present, pending the approval of the III National Congress; and
 - c. The Political Commission of the Party was modified to include only the following 9 members to serve until the III National Congress:

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25X1A

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-5-

CONFIDENTIAL

Jorge del Prado
 Eliceo Garcia
 Diego Farias
 Juan Lopez
 Jose Marcos
 Sergio Caller
 Jose Macodo Pendoza
 Alfredo Matthews
 Carlos Arbulu Miranda

Thus, Carlos Carcamo and Alipio Orbagoso were dropped from the Political Commission for their collaboration with Juan P. Lina.

Political

23. At the beginning of the month, the four Communist deputies took the position that they would attend the session of Congress, which they hoped would meet in regular session for 1948, and the four formed part of the group that agreed to meet for the preparatory sessions on 15 July.
24. Gustavo Gorriti, Communist Deputy for Camana, informed the Political Commission of the PCP on the evening of 20 July that a group of the Independent Deputies had agreed to attend Congress on 27 July to elect the "Mesa Directiva" for the legislative session of 1948, and to present a slate of candidates for the Governing Board.
25. Gorriti added that every vote was important and that it was essential that Juan Jacinto Paiva, Communist Deputy for La Convencion, then in Guasco, attend. Gorriti telephoned Paiva in Guasco to be sure to be in Lima the day before the vote and Paiva returned to Lima on 21 July, via Faucett Flight No. 50.
26. On 26 July Paiva reported to the Party that a group of the Independent Deputies, including the four Communists, had sent an ultimatum to the Celula Parlamentaria Aprista, expiring at 6:30 p.m., 26 July, in which they agreed to attend Congress on the condition that the Mesa Directiva of the Chamber of Deputies be entirely composed of "independientes". Paiva stated that the Apristas had accepted all their other terms, but, as was expected, there was no acceptance of this condition.
27. At the height of the crisis, an important meeting was held at the house of Gustavo Gorriti, Jiron Tomas Guido, during the afternoon and evening of 27 July. This meeting included Jorge del Prado, Secretary General of the PCP, as well as the Communist and other Independent deputies, and a manifesto stating their position was drawn up and signed by the four Communist deputies. The manifesto was forwarded to the Lima press the following day, but no newspaper accepted it for publication.
28. It was brought out at this meeting that a group of the Independents, in return for Communist support on the congressional issue, had agreed to support in Congress several points to be advocated by the Communists; namely, a renewal of diplomatic relations with the USSR, breaking relations with Franco Spain, and censure of the Government for sending a Peruvian Ambassador to Spain in the face of the recommendations of the United Nations.

XIV Lima Departmental Congress

29. The XIV Lima Departmental Congress, originally called for 1 August 1948, was later set for 15 August to enable delegates to attend the III National Congress immediately afterward.

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25X1A

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-6-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~III National Congress of the PCP

30. In accordance with the decision of the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee to hold the III National Congress of the Party in Lima on 22 August, plans were made to receive and house the delegates and to find a suitable meeting place for the week the congress was expected to last. About fifty delegates were expected from throughout the Republic, and it was hoped that the majority could be lodged with Party members and friends to avoid the expense of hotel accommodations.
31. Two meeting places were also being sought, first a theatre or movie house to hold the inaugural session of the congress, and, second, a suitable place, necessarily larger than Party headquarters, to hold the daily sessions.
32. On 23 July a memorandum was sent to the Prefecture of the Department of Lima, over the signature of the Secretary General, requesting permission to hold the congress.
33. On 26 July a typewritten letter was sent by Diego Farias G., Secretary of Organization, to all Party organizations, announcing plans for the congress, bases for the selection of delegates, etc.

Political Commission

34. The Political Commission of the PCP held a special meeting on 23 July to take measures in view of the fact that within the Department of Lima the largest group of members pledging themselves to Luna was reported to be in Huaral, Chancay, and Huacho. The Political Commission put into action a resolution which stated that the campaign of slander in which the Luna group was indulging should be fought everywhere it was discovered. It was therefore agreed that Jose Marcos and Julian Huanay should go to Huaral, Chancay, and Huacho the following day, 24 July, to hold conferences with members in those places and to explain to them the basic reasons underlying the expulsion of Luna and his followers.

Fraccion Universitaria

35. The division in the Party between the orthodox group and the associates of Juan P. Luna reaches down into the University student organization, where Luna has made a spectacular "catch" in persuading Jose Carlos Mariategui Ghiappe, the son of the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, to adhere to his group.
36. To combat this trend, the orthodox Fraccion Universitaria called an important meeting on 15 July, at which time they drew up and issued a bulletin. Signed for the Comite Reorganizador de la Fraccion Comunista Universitaria by four University students, the bulletin reviews Luna's attempts to split the Fraccion Universitaria and reiterates their determination to combat this Trotskyite attempt to sow confusion and destroy the true Party. There are no further reports concerning the progress of either group among the University students.

Movement of Prominent Communist Personalities

37. During the early part of the month, most prominent Communist Party figures were held in Lima by the meetings of the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PCP.
38. On 21 July, Communist Deputy Juan Jacinto Paiva arrived in Lima via Faucett from Cuzco. Juan Barrio was expected to arrive before 1 August, returning from his trip to the Departments of the south and center, where he has visited Cuzco, Puno, Huancavelica, Huancayo, and La Oroya.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-7-

39. On 24 July, Jorge del Prado traveled to Tielio to make a speech at the headquarters of the Sindicato de Mineros y Empleados, and to confer with Party members of the syndicate. The occasion for the meeting was the first anniversary of the foundation of the Sindicato on 22 July.
40. Also on 24 July, Carlos Arbulu Miranda left Lima at 7:00 by a bus of the Empresas Transportes Olano, traveling to the north at the orders of the Central Committee, and carrying instructions for Party members in Chiclayo, Piura, Trujillo, Talara, and Cajamarca. He was expected to be away for about two weeks, returning to Lima to undertake his new position in the Secretariat of Economy. In Cajamarca, Arbulu was to attend the Departmental Congress, held the early part of August. He had been instructed to influence the delegates to the congress to name anti-Luna delegates to the III National Congress. He was to do the same in other places visited in the north.
41. Juan Lopez, a member of the Central Committee, left early in the morning of 28 July for Tielio, for a meeting with Fabian Escudero regarding the naming of delegates to the Departmental Congress. He returned 30 July and left immediately for Chincha for the same purpose.

Correspondence and Contacts with Foreign Communist Elements

a. Channels of Communication

1. Correspondence has arrived in July at PCP headquarters from the Communist Parties of Mexico and Venezuela, addressed to Eliceo Garcia, Secretario Sindical Nacional of the PCP. Party officials are now receiving mail from abroad through Lima Post Office Boxes Nos. 2923, held in the name of Julian Huanay, and 1043, held in the name of Rosa Hurwitz.
2. The channel from Chile via Arica still appears to be open. A letter was received in July from Dr. Guillermo Caceres in Arica regretting his inability to attend the III National Congress of the Party. This letter was reportedly carried from Arica, Chile, to Tacna, Peru, by a truck driver or chauffeur bound for Arequipa, where the correspondence was forwarded by Chavez Bodoys by ordinary mail. This routing is supposedly designed to avoid Peruvian controls in Tacna, where the Communists believe an efficient Government censorship has been established.

b. Federacion Sindical Mundial

1. The PCP received during July a communication from the Federacion Sindical Mundial, announcing a series of meetings to be held this year under the auspices of the FSM. It is said that the meetings will be attended by non-Communists, as well as by Communist leaders. The list is as follows:

Congreso de la Juventud Obrero - 1 August 1948, Warsaw, Poland, (actual date: 8 to 15 August 1948).

Congreso de Intelectuales del Mundo - 20-22 August 1948, (Warsaw?), (actual date: 25 to 28 August 1948).

Congreso de Juventudes Democraticas - 22 October 1948, Poland.

Congreso Pro-Paz de La America Latina - date and place as yet undetermined.

Congreso de Obreros Petroleros - 20-26 September 1948, Tampico, Mexico.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A
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-3-
CONFIDENTIAL

Congreso de la Federacion Sindical Mundial - September-December 1948, Paris, France.

Congreso de las Juventudes Democraticas del Sur - August-September 1948, Montevideo, Uruguay.

c. Goinform

1. A communication from the Goinform was received at Party headquarters during the early days of July, setting forth the case of Yugoslavia. The communication arrived during the VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee, which promptly drew up its own "Declaration on Yugoslavia", dated 5 July 1948, supporting the action of the Goinform.
2. This Declaration, along with those of sixteen other Communist Parties throughout the world, has been mimeographed by the editors of Labor and placed on sale at Party headquarters and at the Party bookstore. The mimeographed pamphlet is dated 16 July 1948.

d. Spain

1. Ernesto Rojas received a communication from Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) reminding him that August 1948 is the Tenth Anniversary of the Proclamation of National Union made by the Spanish Communist Party of Spain, and asking that the date be properly observed by the Communist Party of Peru. As a result, Rojas has placed on special sale at the Party bookstore a pamphlet entitled "Jose Diaz, ejemplo de dirigente obrero y popular de la epoca Staliniana," written by Victorio Codovilla of the Argentina Communist Party, and printed by D.I.A.P., Moneda 702, Santiago, dated 1942.
2. The communication from La Pasionaria was received by Rojas at the Party bookstore, Negreiros, 563, but it is not known by what route it arrived.

e. United States

1. A letter was also received by the PCP from the Communist Party of the United States, signed in the margin by William Z. Foster, President, and Eugene V. Dennis, Secretary General, and dated New York 10 July 1948. It is not known whether this letter contained the "Six-point Program for the American People in the Electoral Campaign," which was published in Labor on 26 July 1948.

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