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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY Costa Rica

DATE DISTR. 29 Aug. 1951

SUBJECT Union Democratica Nacional

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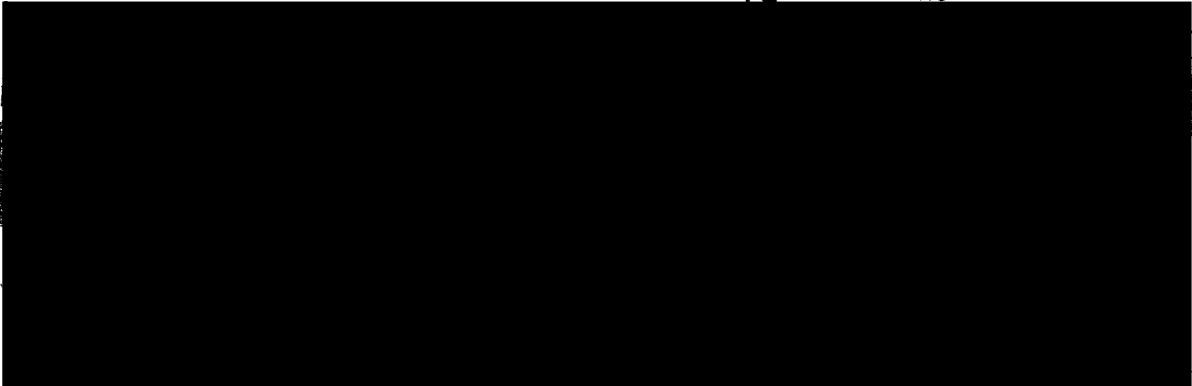
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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.



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1. The question of electoral representation of the illegal Partido Vanguardia Popular in the coming elections has long been a leading topic of discussion by the members of the Political Commission of the Communist Party. Recent letters intercepted by Costa Rican authorities have revealed conferences between Francisco Calderon Guardia and other high "Calderonista" leaders, with Rodolfo Guzman acting as liaison for the Political Commission of the Costa Rican Communist Party. The succession of press reports and flyers that have followed has confirmed that the plans discussed in the letters had been put into action immediately. In the opinion of source, sufficient progress has been made to warrant an analysis of possibilities from the Communist point of view.

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2. As stated in a letter written by Rodolfo Guzman from Mexico City, dated 16 July 1951, the political objective of the Vanguardia is to assist Francisco Calderon Guardia and a group of "Calderonista" leaders in planning and executing a program of unification and reintegration of the scattered followers of Dr. Rafael Angel Calderon Guardia, former President of Costa Rica. The former President is to support this movement by utilizing his powerful and numerous political contacts, but the party is to be headed by a more savory political leader. The program supported by Calderon Guardia is to be "modified on paper" in such a way that his party would appear to be receiving the voting strength of the Communists without being politically united. In short, the Political Commission of the Vanguardia prepared a number of points for this program, submitted them to Calderon Guardia's brother, Francisco (Paco), through Guzman. Paco, in turn, was to modify these points in presenting them to his brother for approval.

3. A chronological sequence of events indicates a fairly rapid organization on the part of the Communists. During the early part of July, Manuel Mora Valverde, president of the Vanguardia, sent a letter by courier to Francisco Calderon Guardia containing the essential points of a party unification program. On 10 July Guzman requested specific points for the program from the Political Commission, and received them within seven days. During this period a pamphlet was circulated by the Communist Party in the form of a manifesto calling for "Union Democratica Nacional," which conforms to the Calderonista-Communist strategy of not citing the unification arrangements made in Mexico. Source

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points out that this "Union Democratica Nacional" is not a coalition political party or a new group, it is merely a slogan or watchword to be used by the Communists and the Calderon group in rallying and unifying their electoral strength.

4. On 14 July 1951 Rodolfo Guzman wrote to the Political Commission of the Vanguardia in Costa Rica describing the difficulties the Communist Party in Mexico was having in registering in the Incripcion Electoral. He complained that although the Party was complying with all the requisites of the law, the Government and the reactionaries were bringing pressure to bear to impede their inscription. He mentioned a document published in El Popular and stated that the majority of the signers were followers of Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Guzman noted preparations for the coming convention of the Union General de Obreros y Campesinos de Mexico (UGOCM)* which are establishing important agreements between the friends of Lombardo and the Communist Party. The matter of bringing the two factions together is at present of prime importance to the Party. Guzman referred to the Vanguardia gold collection, which the Party has been trying to sell for the past year or more, and said that the matter was certainly not "progressing" favorably at all.
5. In fulfillment of Guzman's statement that it might be necessary to replace Calderon Guardia as head of the party, on 8 August La Hora carried in front page headlines the announcement that the chief of the Calderonista Party had been removed, followed by a simple statement that the action had been taken because of his unfavorable political chances.
6. In summation, source calls attention to the fact that, in spite of Communist Party declarations concerning the "split" with the Calderon Guardia group, in reality the Communists have managed to infiltrate and gain control of both factions. It is noted that Costa Rican Government officials seem to be convinced that the two are separated, and this may be of considerable political importance for Costa Rica in the days to come.

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