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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET *26 March 1954*

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer's check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registrar.

FROM:

RI/ANALYSIS

NO.

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TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
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1. <i>Quarters</i>				[]	RYBAT/PBSUCCESS BY HAND <i>engaged</i> 12 APR 1954 File under Communism in Guatemala. (a file) [] CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM RELEASE AS SANITIZED 2003
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ABSTRACT

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DISPATCH NO. _____

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CLASSIFICATION

C J 049

TO : Chief, WHD C
Attention: C J
FROM : Chief of Mission, C J

DATE: 26 March 1954

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational

SPECIFIC— Return of PBSUCCESS Documents

C The documents which were brought to C J by
J for the use of John I. Goodbourne
were carried by Goodbourne when he returned to Washington
on 24 March 1954 for personal delivery to C J at
Headquarters, with the single exception of the document
which accompanies this dispatch. A duplicate copy of
this document, made available by Goodbourne, is being
retained in the files of this Mission.

C J
Woodrow C. Olien

WCO:EPB
26 March 1954

- ③ - Headquarters, w/1 encl
as noted
- 2 - File

COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

A collection of studies on the
course and methods of Communist penetration

att to:
[] 104.

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

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THE ADVANCE OF COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

Foreword: The International Communist Conspiracy

The Communist movement in Guatemala is part of the world movement of Communist Parties. Each of the points mentioned below is concretely illustrated in the case of Guatemala, as indicated in the collection of studies assembled under this cover.

Both in doctrine and in tactics, the Communist movement is international. Essentially this movement is a conspiracy, global in character, and the creation of the Soviet Government of Russia. Manifestations of its world-wide character have always been present; only sometimes the labels change. The so-called dissolution of the Comintern organization no more dissolved the Soviet-directed conspiracy than does a change in the name of a local Communist Party.

There has never been the slightest relaxation of Soviet Russia's control of the Communist international movement. Sometimes the more apparent agencies for this control will vary to meet changing situations throughout the world. That is why Soviet-controlled international organizations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions are today infinitely more dangerous than the Cominform. Soviet objectives remain the same and the heart and the head of the international conspiracy remain in Moscow.

The nature of Communist infiltration within the free countries of the world follows an easily discernable pattern. Despite some variations adopted to meet specific local conditions, all Communist Parties follow this same general pattern in seeking to capture and subvert free social institutions and democratic governments. Whether they operate openly or clandestinely, they are an integral part of the world-wide Communist effort. The primary mission of Communist Parties, and all their subsidiary organizations, is the political, social, economic and psychological paralysis of anti-Communist states and coalitions. They adopt any method and exploit any situation--no matter how contradictory these may be to Communist ideology or to conditions within Communist-controlled countries--to achieve this mission.

Communists claim certain ideologies, but in no nation of the world, least of all those under Communist domination, has a majority of the people ever freely accepted these ideologies. The small political elite which is found to be all-powerful within a Communist state has achieved this domination only because of carefully conceived and cleverly executed tactics and techniques in the face of ineffective opposition. In all free countries of the world, the Communists are today seeking to gain popular

support not through pushing their own platform, but by espousing non-Communist ideas. Communism, thus disguised, strives to make people believe that Communism stands for the abolition of things that are bad. Whatever may be worrying a nation, the Communists promise that they will abolish the trouble. Communism as an ideology is strictly a creed for small militant and power-hungry groups. Communist successes stem largely from the effective application of their operational techniques.

These Communist operational techniques are designed to effect the greatest degree of control over the most important elements necessary to achieve political control within a country. It is not necessary to achieve strength in numbers. What is necessary for them is to be able to control and manipulate in such a way that their influence is assured and opposition effectively neutralized. This program can be carried out in so insidious a manner that those who have the most to lose actually become tools of Communist intrigue--either through ignorance, laziness or a desire to try to use Communist support for their own temporary advantage. Communist Parties in all countries have been taught to exploit these situations. This is as true in Iran, for instance, as it is true in France, or Iceland, or Guatemala. The pattern which Communist Parties are following today is also the same general pattern which the Communists found so successful in Czechoslovakia.

How do Communist Parties function as organizational weapons? There is the tight organization of the Party hierarchy itself with its small core of elite leaders trained by Soviet Communists and dedicated to the practice of those techniques which Moscow has learned can lead to power. Intelligence nets and systems are set up to service the necessarily clandestine requirements of Party and overall Soviet activities and to produce knowledge of the "enemy"--those who would oppose or who do not follow. A careful program of infiltration and penetration is undertaken with particular emphasis on rival organizations and on those agencies, institutions or groups concerned with security, propaganda, labor, education, etc.--spheres where a few well-placed Communists might be effective either in controlling and influencing or in neutralizing those who are many times more numerous than the Party's actual followers. Finally, the Communist Parties set up organizations, frequently with international connections, designed to make direct contact with the masses. Such organizations deal with labor, farmers, education, defense, veterans, women, youth, culture, public relations, propaganda, and, lately, even "peace." Given sufficient freedom in which to operate and faced with ineffective opposition, Communist organizational and operational techniques will confuse and corrupt until a nation can be brought under effective Communist control.

The small core of elite leaders at the heart of a Communist Party will be found traveling frequently to Moscow and their return to their own country generally heralds an acceleration or shift in local Party tactics and line. Their names will appear in the interlocking directorate of Party functionaries who are also sponsors of the myriad organizations which the Party pushes. The penetration and infiltration by Communists into rival organizations and

selected national agencies becomes evident through their efforts to force policy and personnel changes, nullify anti-Communist opposition and strengthen pro-Communist capabilities. It is as an organizational weapon applying operational techniques that a Communist Party hides its own platform and conceals its drive for power. Communists seek power through the exploitation of any issue and the discontents of any group. But it is not the solutions of these things they either want or desire--these are simply a way to power for the Communist elite who would further the objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

STATEMENT ON GROWTH OF COMMUNIST POWER IN GUATEMALA

25 February 1954

STATEMENT ON GROWTH OF COMMUNIST POWER IN GUATEMALA

The penetration and seizure of independent governments by agents of the international Communist conspiracy follows a recognizable pattern. The effectiveness of the Communist technique has been dramatically impressed upon the world in historic cases such as that of Czechoslovakia. The Communist plan, discernible in many countries of the world not yet within the power of Soviet Russia, is basically simple: to seize power through a series of steps that lead directly and progressively to this end. These steps include gaining control of organized labor; asserting direction over political parties and coalitions; seizure of key government agencies through which the power of the state can be directed to the ends of the conspiracy; the capture or creation of propaganda facilities; and the neutralization and eventual destruction of anti-communist opposition.

The communist plan is flexible in its application. It exploits every opportunity afforded by the coincidence of short-range Communist objectives with the objectives of local non-Communist political and social elements. Unfortunately, the masking of Communist intent behind local popular movements sometimes leads sincere non-Communists to scoff at those who point out that the implacable Communist purpose is eventual destruction of all opposition to Soviet world domination.

In Guatemala the pattern of international Communist penetration is unmistakable -- to all who have eyes to see. International Communist tutors appeared at the launching of the labor movement in Guatemala. Today organized labor in that country is under the control of their pupils, men who are today avowed Communists and whose names are among the best known of all the public figures in Guatemala. This handful of dedicated men, banded together in conspiratorial secrecy for years, have now forged an open Communist Party which has emerged with astonishing rapidity as the most virile and flourishing of the four allied political parties controlling the Government of Guatemala. These men also dominate the most potent social, political and economic program of the Government -- Agrarian reform; they have developed a powerful propaganda apparatus; they have fostered innocent-appearing youth, womens' and cultural organizations to echo their propaganda, to recruit and train workers for the movement and to establish further links with the interlocking world Communist network; and they have infiltrated a growing number of other Government offices.

LABOR

The organizations which were to incubate the Communist movement in Guatemala were launched in the period just following the 1944 overthrow of the Ubico-Ponce dictatorship. A teachers' association and a railwaymens' mutual benefit

mutual benefit society were transformed into the country's first labor unions, and with other fledgling unions were incorporated into the first national labor federation, the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG), in August, 1945.

The seeds of the future Guatemalan Communist Party were initially planted with the CTG. In establishing and carrying forward this organization it was necessary to draw on advisers on labor organization which Guatemala was unable to provide. Those who came forward were not from Western organizations, but largely Central Americans who had had associations with Communism. The principal foreign group consisted of Salvadoran exiles, including Miguel MARMOL Chicas, a Salvadoran Communist who is still associated with the local labor movement; Max and Abel CUENCA Martinez, brothers exiled from El Salvador in 1932 for Communist activities, the latter of whom is now a member of the Political Committee of the professedly non-Communist Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PRG); and Virgilio GUERRA Mendez, now a member of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) Political Committee. They were joined by Antonio OVANDO Sanchez, a leader of the pre-Ubico Guatemalan Communist Party who after a period in Moscow spent several years in jail in Guatemala under Ubico, and who is now an officer of the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG); and by Alfonso SOLORZANO Fernandez, the labor lawyer who had worked with Vincente LOMBARDO Toledano in Mexico.

These persons, who had had labor union organizing experience in other countries, served as the advisers to the young CTG, in which they quickly established an indoctrination school called the Escuela Claridad, with Abel Cuenca as director. Its ostensible purpose was to train labor leaders, but its Communist orientation soon became obvious. (Ovando Sanchez was quoted in 1950 as saying that he had begun to form the Communist Party in the Escuela Claridad.) The school had the close support of the schoolteachers' union, STEG, but its Communist orientation alarmed the SAMF railway union and certain other unions with the result that a factional fight split the CTG. The SAMF and other unions withdrew to form the Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (FSG) in January, 1946, and during the same month the Escuela Claridad was shut down by the Government as in violation of Article 32 of the Constitution, which forbids "political organizations of a foreign or international character".

Meanwhile, at the time the labor organizations were being created, Guatemala's revolutionary political parties were formed to support the presidential candidacy of Dr. Arevalo; the "students party" Frente Popular Libertador (FPL), and the "teachers party", Renovacion Nacional (RN). These two fused in 1945 to form the Partido Accion Revolucionaria (PAR) but later withdrew leaving the three parties in existence. Communist and Communist-oriented figures exerted an influence in the indoctrination of these political organizations in their first years. Among such persons were Edelberto TORRES Sr., the Nicaraguan Communist; Miguel Angel VASQUEZ, a Salvadoran Communist; Pedro Geoffrey RIVAS, a Costa Rican Communist figure; and Roberto ALVARADO Fuentes, a Guatemalan who had returned from Chile.

The Communist doctrines taught by the Escuela Claridad and by the Communist-oriented figures in the country took root in a group of quite young Guatemalans who years later formed the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Communist party; Jose Manuel FORTUNY, then a part-time law student and radio broadcaster; Bernardo ALVARADO Monzon, Alfredo GUERRA Borges, and Carlos Rene VALLE, who were students at the time of the 1944 revolution; Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ and Mario SILVA Jonana, young school-teachers. Carlos Manuel PELLEGER, Jose Alberto CARDOZA, a printer, and Antonio ARDON, a tailor, were in their mid-twenties.

It took three years after the October 1944 Revolution for this group to crystallize into a permanent Communist organization operating clandestinely within the "revolutionary" political movement, and seven years (until 1952) for the Partido Comunista de Guatemala (PCG) to emerge as the sole and recognized Stalinist-Communist party of the country. At first one group, led by Fortuny, was active within the leftist Administration parties, particularly the Partido Accion Revolucionaria (PAR). Fortuny was twice acting Secretary General and others of his group obtained places on the Executive Committee.

Meantime, another group led by Gutierrez and consisting of persons associated with the Escuela Claridad gradually came to dominate the labor movement. With the withdrawal of the SAMF from the CTG and the formation of the FSG in January 1946, the teachers union STEG remained as the most militant union within the CTG and came to dominate it. Gutierrez rose rapidly from the STEG Executive Committee to the STEG Secretary Generalship and to the Secretary Generalship of the CTG. That organization retained its original affiliation with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the CTAL when the great Western labor federations withdrew from the former on the grounds it was Soviet-dominated.

The Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (FSG), which had left the CTG in opposition to the Communist Escuela Claridad, came under the leadership of Manuel PINTO Usaga, a railroad man, and Jose Alberto Cardoza (today a leader of the Communist party), and gradually returned to the Communist viewpoint. In 1947 a Comite Nacional de Unidad Sindical (CNUS) was formed to lay the foundations for a new unified labor federation. By 1950 the FSG affiliated with the WFTU and the CTAL, and in October 1951 it was finally re-absorbed into the CTG to form the present sole labor federation of Guatemala, the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), under complete Communist domination.

During the years the CTG and FSG were veering toward their final merger, there was a further large influx of Communist visitors from abroad to help advance the ideological and organizational capacities of the local group. Among the were Cesar GODOY Urrutia, leader of the Chilean Communist Party,

who came

who came first in 1945; Pablo NERUDA, the Chilean Communist poet; Eduardo HUBNER, a Chilean; Virginia BRAVO Letelier, a Chilean Communist teacher; Blas ROCA of the Cuban Communist Party, Roberto MORENA, Brazilian Communist in the CTAL; Luis Enrique DELANO, Chilean Communist; Sixto FERNANDEZ Dozcel, Mexican; Vicente SAENZ, Costa Rican; Manuel MORA Valverde, Costa Rican Communist chief; and Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano, the powerful Mexican pro-Communist labor leader.

Louis SAILLANT, Secretary General of the international Communist-controlled WFTU, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano of the CTAL attended an international conference of the Communist-controlled Land and Air Transport Workers in Guatemala during May 1951, and worked with the local labor leaders for the achievement of labor unity. The plans of these two foreign Communist leaders came to fruition the following October, with the formal organization of the present Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG). Lombardo Toledano returned to Guatemala to deliver the principal addresses at the two open sessions of the organizational congress. Victor Manuel Gutierrez who was elected Secretary General of the CGTG as expected, stated in his speech on October 12 that the formation of the central labor organization was the direct result of the visits of Lombardo Toledano and Louis Saillant in May of that year and the fulfillment of the desire of the WFTU for labor unity as expressed in its previous assembly in Bucharest. The organizing congress voted a resolution thanking Jose Morera, Cuban secretary of the CTAL for his "valuable work in our country in which he put all of his experience and his great ability at the service of the unity of the Guatemalan workers". Morera had spent most of the time between May and October of 1951 in organizing the CGTG.

The CGTG held its Second National Congress January 28-30, 1954 in Guatemala City. It was attended by Giuseppe Casadei, Italian, and Rafael Avila, representatives of the WFTU, and Antonio Cabrera, Mexican, of the CTAL. The Congress was opened with the reading of the following telegram:

"Moscow, USSR. The Central Council of the 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".

The CGTG is to all intents and purposes under the control of the Political Committee of the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT), the Communist party of Guatemala. The key positions in the CGTG are all held by PGT members. Gutierrez, a member of the PGT Political Committee and the head of the PGT Central Committee's Labor Union Commission, is its Secretary General. Jose Alberto Cardoza, also of the PGT Political Committee, is First Vice Secretary General. Carlos Manuel Pellecer, another PGT Political

Committee

Committee member, is the principal Secretary for Labor Disputes of the CGTG. Virgilio Guerra, member of the PGT Political Committee, is Secretary of Organization; Cesar Montenegro Paniagua, member of PGT and deputy in Congress, is a Secretary of Labor Disputes; Antonio Ovando Sanchez, old-time Communist and member of PGT, is Secretary of Laws and Resolutions; Max Salazar, member of PGT, is Secretary of Rural Workers Relations; Jose Luis Ramos, member of PGT, is an additional Secretary of the CGTG.

With the exception of a very few independent local unions, the CGTG represents all organized industrial, transportation, and commercial labor in Guatemala, and has very considerable strength in agricultural workers unions. Its strength is estimated at around 100,000 members, a figure which compares significantly with the total of 225,000 votes cast in the last congressional elections in Guatemala and with the total of 415,000 votes cast in the 1950 presidential elections.

There has been no serious challenge to the Communist leadership of organized labor in Guatemala since Gutierrez and his group, with the aid of Communist advisers from outside, assumed control. A short-lived revolt last year against Communist control in the large railway workers union was readily put down, and its leader apparently forced out of the administration political party, Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PIRG), by Alfonso Solorzano, Abel Cuenca and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes. In October 1953 a tiny labor federation under the designation Union de Trabajadores Libres (UNTL) was formed, and challenged Gutierrez to justify his international communist affiliations. Gutierrez did not even deign to respond, and in January 1954 the leaders of the UNTL were arrested by the police and reportedly expelled from Guatemala without any charges being placed against them.

Allied with the CGTG is an organization of small farmers and tenants called the Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos de Guatemala (CNCG), led by Leonardo Castillo Flores, a former school teacher and associate of Gutierrez in the teachers union STEG. Castillo Flores has attended meetings of the WFTU in Europe, and the CNCG is affiliated with both the WFTU and CTAL. The CNCG consistently proclaims its solidarity with the CGTG on Communist-line themes, and in a speech to the CGTG Congress in January 1954 Castillo Flores declared that "although many wish to see the two central labor organizations of Guatemala divided, this will not happen for there is already too strong a support between the leaders and between the rank and file of both organizations ... we are convinced that the working class is our guide", thus endorsing the Communist theory that rural labor should be led by urban workers.

Resolutions adopted by the CGTG and CNCG consistently support the "peace" movement, solidarity with the WFTU and CTAL, and opposition to "imperialism", in the international field; in domestic affairs their resolutions emphasize the need for rapid realization of agrarian reform and firm unity with the "democratic" sectors against "intervention". These themes parallel those expressed by the Communist PGT party.

POLITICAL PARTIES

POLITICAL PARTIES

Although Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) has admitted that the party was founded on September 28, 1947, the existence of any Communist organization was denied until 1950, and practically all of those affiliated with the PGT today were until then active in the PAR, FPL, or RN. Gutierrez resigned from the PAR in 1949 and several months later formed a Marxist workers party called Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROO). Fortuny and ten others resigned from the PAR in 1950 and established a frankly Communist weekly newspaper entitled Octubre. On June 21, 1951, the first anniversary of the newspaper, a large public meeting was held attended by the principal political leaders of Guatemala to hear Fortuny formally launch the Partido Comunista de Guatemala. In November Gutierrez attended the WFTU Congress in Berlin, going on to Moscow. Upon his return to Guatemala in January 1952 he announced the dissolution of the PROO and advised its members to follow him into Fortuny's PCG. This obvious manifestation of the Kremlin's desires was confirmed by the appearance on January 25, 1952 in the Cominform newspaper "Form a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", published in Bucharest, of an article on Fortuny's Newspaper "Octubre".

During 1952 Fortuny and other members of the PCG were reported as participating in the Administration's political conferences along with representatives of the other parties. At the same time there was a further upsurge of contacts with the international Communist movement. Blas Roca, Juan Marinello and Salvador Aguirre of the Cuban Communist Party visited Guatemala. Mario Silva Jonama, member of the PCG Political Committee, left for Moscow and the preliminary meeting of the Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking, and Jose Alberto Cardoza attended the same Conference returning to Guatemala via Moscow. On October 1 the PCG sent a message to the Soviet Nineteenth Congress in Moscow, saluting it as a "beacon" and declaring the PCG to be "inspired by its example".

In December 1952 the PCG, responsive to the Nineteenth Soviet Congress recommendation to world communist parties to seek power under the nationalist banner, changed its name to the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT), and joined the PAR, PRO and RN in the "Democratic Electoral Front" in the January 1953 congressional elections. Its inscription as a legal political party was accomplished over anti-Communist protests that it was barred under Article 32 of the Constitution, which forbids political parties of "a foreign or international character".

In February 1953, the PGT reopened the "Jacobo Sanchez" school, a party cadre training unit which had been suppressed in 1950 by the Arevalo administration. By August 15, 1953, the party had collected some \$10,000 from its collection and launched a daily morning tabloid, Tribuna Popular. In the PGT drive to increase membership, the Party's first National Conference on Organization in August claimed a 200% rise in members since the December 1952 Congress.

With the

With the PGT thus emerging as an open and major political organization in Guatemala, a succession of events brought the organized anti-Communist opposition in Guatemala to virtual extinction. None of its important leaders remained free or in the country following "revelations" of alleged plots against the Government in March 1953 and January 1954. The PGT took the lead in protesting alleged "intervention" and in demanding suppression not only of opposition political activities but of the independent press in Guatemala.

As the PGT grew in strength and prestige, the non-Communist elements in the other Revolutionary parties found themselves unable to consolidate their forces to block the PGT's path to pre-eminence among them. While the PRG, RN and PAR have in turn been wracked by internal dissension and scandal, the PGT has suffered no such weakening, and the ideology and programs of the other parties have tended to become replicas of its own.

Thus, the Communist allegation that "anti-communism" is equivalent to Fascism finds acceptance among the other parties, which seconded the PGT in its attacks on the anti-Communist agenda items in both the ODECA and the Tenth Inter-American Conference. Communist success in gaining adherents to the international Soviet line among influential leaders of the revolutionary organizations is shown in the signature by 19 deputies of the administration bloc, including the four communists, of a message sent on June 23, 1953 to the President of North Korea, expressing "on the occasion of the second anniversary of the imperialist aggression against Korea, perpetrated June 25, 1950, our solidarity with, and sympathy for, the glorious and heroic Korean people against whom have been used the most infamous means of mass extermination, including bacteriological warfare."

The heads of all four Administration parties participated in a July 31, 1953 rally in Guatemala held under the auspices of the Communist-front National Peace Committee to celebrate the Korean armistice on the theme that it constituted a victory of the world "peace" movement over North American imperialism.

Carrying out the Moscow-directed tactic of espousing "national liberation", the PGT led the other parties during 1953 in an increasingly strident propaganda campaign against alleged foreign intervention, reaching a crescendo on January 29, 1954. On that day the Government announced discovery of an alleged plot, and the PGT almost instantly produced a carefully prepared manifesto, the first in a chorus of similar denunciations which were echoed in the world communist press.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

The Communist Party of Guatemala was well prepared for the advent of Agrarian Reform in that country. The party adopted Agrarian Reform as its central theme in 1952. When the Administration sent its agrarian reform bill to the Congress on May 9, 1952, it was referred to a Special Committee on

Agrarian Reform which contained 3 of the 4 Communists in the Congress, one of whom, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, was Committee Chairman. Whether or not the Agrarian Law was Communist-inspired, the Communists openly showed their interest in having the law adopted. Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party, took an active part in the Committee proceedings although he was neither a member of the Committee nor of Congress.

On June 15, 1952, two days before enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law, Fortuny presented a voluminous report on the subject to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, running to more than 30,000 words. The report endorsed the agrarian bill, and under the heading "Party Tasks" stated:

"Our party must undertake the struggle for agrarian reform as soon as possible and must carry our battle-cries to the rural masses, to the rich peasants, the poor peasants and the medium peasants, to the semi-enslaved mozos colonos, to the workers of the field, in order to encourage action from below which would lead to the application of a bourgeois peasant agrarian reform".

The Agrarian Law created, as instruments of Agrarian Reform, the National Agrarian Department, which is the central administrative agency; local Agrarian committees, which pass in the first instance on petitions for the expropriation and distribution of land; Departmental Agrarian Commissions, which are the first reviewing authority; and a National Agrarian Council which is the final court of appeal under the President. The law, as amended, provides that 60% of the local Agrarian Committees should be composed of representatives of the CGTG or CNCG; that one of the three members of the Departmental Agrarian Committee should represent the CGTG and another the CNCG; and that one of the nine members of the National Agrarian Council should represent the CGTG and two others the CNCG. As the CGTG is controlled by the PGT (its representative on the National Agrarian Council is Jose Luis Ramos of the PGT) and the CNCG is under Communist influence, Communist predominance in the local and departmental committees is thus guaranteed by the terms of the law.

In addition, the Communists have heavily infiltrated the National Agrarian Department (Departamento Agrario Nacional - DAN).

The Chief of the lands section of the DAN is Waldemar Barrios Mee, a publicly known Communist. He assumes charge of the Department in the absence of the Director. The Secretary General (Chief Clerk) of the DAN is Maria Jerez de Fortuny, wife of Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist PGT party. Four of the twenty Agrarian Inspectors are publicly avowed Communists, and another eight are probably members. In addition another dozen DAN employees are known members of the PGT.

The CGTG

The CGTG has been especially active among rural elements since Agrarian Reform was enacted into law on June 17, 1952, creating for itself a further key role by giving effective assistance to applicants for agrarian benefits. CGTG and PGT leaders such as Carlos Manuel Pellecer frequently played the dominant role at public Agrarian Reform ceremonies.

President Arbenz himself has described Agrarian Reform as "The most transcendental force in our economic and political life". Recognizing, as all Communists do, that agrarian reform is one of the most powerful instruments available to a small minority seeking state power, the Communists in Guatemala have gone far toward gathering this transcendental force into their own hands.

When the Communist seizure of the leadership of an agrarian reform or any other movement is made with the acquiescence of non-Communists, the latter are helping to seal their own doom, since the most elemental fact about Communism is that it uses its power for only one ultimate purpose -- destruction of all free institutions for the greater power and glory of the USSR.

PROPAGANDA

One of the first Communist objectives in Guatemala, as elsewhere, has been to gain control of public information media. The Government radio station TGW is under the direction of Carlos Alvarado Jerez, an avowed Communist; the official Government daily newspaper Diario de Centro America gives copious and favorable publicity to Communist-front activities and frequently reflects Communist-line viewpoints in its editorial columns; the more openly pro-Communist daily newspaper Nuestro Diario, reputedly subsidized by Government or administration party; the Communist-line Diario del Pueblo, organ of the administration party PRG, is directed by Alfonso Solerzano; and there is also the mouthpiece of the PGT itself, Tribuna Popular. Communist propagandists such as Paul Leiva are found in the Presidential Information Office (Secretaria de Propaganda y Publicidad).

Coupled with these are the Communist-front organizations which serve as sounding boards to echo and re-echo the Communist line, in addition to affording means for recruitment and training of promising material for the Communist movement and providing organizational and travel links with parent international Communist organizations. In virtually every case a PGT member will be found in a key post, usually Secretary General or Secretary of Organization.

The National Peace Committee (Comite Nacional de la Paz) is an affiliate of the World Peace Congress, and was founded in 1949 by Fortuny, after he, Gutierrez and Solerzano attended the First World Congress of the Partisans of Peace in Paris. The present Secretary General is Mario Silva Jarama of the PGT.

The Alianza de la Juventud Democrática de Guatemala (AJDG) is the Guatemalan branch of the International Communist World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). Its leading member is Huberto Alvarado, of the PGT.

The Frente Universitario Democrático is an affiliate of the Communist International Students Union (ISU) in Prague. Its Secretary General is Augusto Catali, of the PGT.

The Confederación de Estudiantes de Pos Primaria is a highschool students' organization which follows the PGT line and is favorably treated in its publications.

The Grupo Sabor-Ti de Artistas y Escritores Jóvenes is an intellectual youth group led by Huberto Alvarado and Hugo Barrios Klee of the PGT.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICES

The Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social (IGSS), a Government entity which has a large cash income for use in providing social security benefits, is under the direction of Alfonso Solorzano, an intellectual intimately associated with the early introduction and subsequent development of international Communist influence in Guatemala. He has placed persons of similar orientation in his organization, and lent it with its considerable resources to Communist ends, such as Peace committee activities.

In the Ministry of Education, the Nicaraguan Communist Edelberto Torres holds the post of Director of the Publishing House. Hugo Barrios Klee of the PGT is Deputy Inspector of Labor in the Ministry of Economy and Labor.

Communist infiltration of the corps of teachers in Guatemala can be readily deduced from the facts that Rafael Tischler, Secretary General of the teachers union STEG, is a member of the PGT, and that this union has been prominent in the Communist-line activities of the CCTG.

FURTHER ON INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

Although none of the members of the PGT Political Committee are known to have visited Moscow before the 1944 Revolution, there has since been a continual flow of PGT leaders to the Soviet capital. Pellecer was Secretary of Legation there in 1945 and went to Eastern Europe in 1949. Foranjo toured the "Peoples Democracies" in 1949 after attending the Paris Parliaments of Peace Congress and quite possibly took in the USSR on his tour. Gutierrez went to Moscow in December 1951; Silva Jomara and Jesse Alberto Cardona went through the USSR on their way back and forth to the June and

September Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conferences in 1952. Oscar Eduardo Palma, who is not on the Political Committee but apparently a leading party member, went there after the April 1953 meeting of the World Peace Congress in Budapest, and a number of Guatemalan youth and "peace" delegations have visited the USSR, China and the "Peoples Democracies" in 1952 and 1953.

Apart from these trips the PGT leadership is in contact with the main current of international Communism through participation in a variety of international conferences and congresses, sponsored by the WFTU, the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Students Union, etc. Fortuny, Gutierrez, Silva Johana and Cardona, as mentioned above, attended "Peace" meetings, while Gutierrez has attended the WFTU Congresses in Milan (1949), Berlin (1951) and was a delegate to the 1953 Vienna (WFTU) Congress. In addition to this attendance, there is a constant exchange of communications between the Vienna headquarters of the WFTU and Gutierrez as CGTG Secretary General, some of which are published in the press as WFTU messages of "solidarity" with various Guatemalan strikes.

There are also, as described above, the frequent visits of Latin American Communist leaders, the latest of whom was Dionisio Encina, Secretary General of the Mexican Communist Party, who attended the December 1952 PGT Party Congress.

Guatemala has become a focal point of Communism for neighboring areas. Miguel Marnet and Virgilio Guerra, the Salvadoran Communists, are at the moment active in the Guatemalan labor movement; Abel Cuernca, a Communist or at least a thorough going sympathizer, is active in political life; and fourteen young Salvadorans imprisoned in their country in September 1952 for Communist activities (though stating they are not Communists) arrived in Guatemala in August 1953 under the leadership of Manuel Otilio Harban, ex-President of the General Association of Salvadoran University Students. They were publicly welcomed by Gutierrez. The "Asociacion Democratica Salvadoreña", an exile organization, has its meetings advertised in the PGT's Tribuna Popular.

The Nicaraguan Communist and pro-Communist group is headed by Edelberto Torres, Sr., Amando Flores Amador (who sometimes signs as Amando Amador) and Alejandro Berruetez Alejandria, who is associated with the PRG. This group is involved in the "Movimiento de Nicaraguenses Partidarios de la Democracia", an anti-Somoza organization headed by Leonor Palacios Alfaro.

Leftist Honduran exiles have organized a Guatemalan affiliate of the "Partido Democratico Revolucionario Hondureño" which has sent out Communist-line manifestos to the press under the signature of R. Amayo Amador as Secretary General.

Several

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF GUATEMALAN INSTITUTIONS

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

25 February 1954

Communist Penetration of Political Organizations in Guatemala

The organizations which were to incubate the Communist movement in Guatemala were launched in the period just following the 1944 overthrow of the Ubico-Ponce dictatorship. In January 1945 a new teachers' union evolved into the Sindicato de Trabajadores Educacionales de Guatemala, (STEG). The railway workers union SAMF, successor to an earlier railwaymen's mutual benefit society of the same initials, came into being and in August the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala, (CTG), was founded as the country's national labor federation. Meanwhile the "students party", Frente Popular Libertador, (FPL), and the "teachers party", Renovacion Nacional, (RN), were being formed to support the presidential candidacy of Dr. Arévalo, who had returned from his exile in Argentina. These parties later merged to form the Partido Accion Revolucionaria, (PAR), then each withdrew leaving the three parties PAR, FPL and RN. (Through a series of inter-party shifts the FPL has since been replaced as one of the three professedly non-Communist administration parties by the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca, (PRG)).

In establishing and carrying forward the infant labor movement in Guatemala, use was made of the advice and assistance of new arrivals from abroad, mostly Central Americans, who promptly organized a Communist indoctrination school in the CTG called "Escuela Claridad". The CTG became divided over the issue of the school, and several unions split off to form the Federacion Sindical de Guatemala, (FSG), which led a separate existence until reunited with the CTG in October 1951 to form the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala, (CGTG).

Meanwhile the Escuela Claridad ceased operating, but the individuals who composed it have for the most part remained active in Guatemalan affairs. The principal foreign group at the beginning consisted of Salvadoran exiles, including Miguel Marmol Chicas, a Salvadoran Communist who is still associated with the Guatemalan labor movement; Max and Abel Cuenca Martinez, brothers exiled from El Salvador in 1932 for Communist activities, the latter of whom is now Secretary for Acts and Records of the present-day administration party Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca, (PRG); and Virgilio Guerra Mendez, now a member of the PRG political committee. They were joined by Antonio Ovar Sanchez, a leader of the pre-Ubico Guatemalan Communist Party who had fled to Moscow and is now an officer of the CGTG; and by Alfonso Solorzano, a labor lawyer who had worked with Lombardo Toledano in Mexico. Among other residents exerting influence on Guatemala's political organization in their first years were Edelberto Torres, Sr., a Nicaraguan Communist; Armando Flores Amador, also a Nicaraguan Communist; Miguel Angel Vasquez, a Salvadoran; Pedro Geoffroy Rivas, a Costa Rican Communist figure; and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, a Guatemalan who had returned from Chile where he had been involved in Communist activities.

Until 1950,

Until 1950, the end of the Arevalo administration, the existence of any Communist organization in Guatemala was denied, and practically all those now affiliated with the Communist (Labor) Party were until then active in the PAR, FPL or RN. In September 1949, Gutierrez, head of the CTG, resigned from the PAR. In May 1950 Fortuny left the PAR, of which he was then a member of the Executive Committee, along with nine others: Mario Silva Jonama, PAR Secretary for Propaganda; Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Secretary for Youth Affairs; Antonio Ardon, Secretary for Social Matters; Humberto Ortiz, Secretary for Rural Affairs; Pedro Fernandez and Alfredo Guerra Borges, ex-members of the political committee; and José Luis Ramos, Rogelio Lopez and Carlos Rene Valle. A month later, on June 21, 1950, this group brought out a newspaper entitled Octubre, whose initial sub-heading was "For a Great Communist Party, Vanguard of the Workers, the Peasants and the People". The following month Gutierrez founded a workers party called the Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG) for Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of political and labor leaders.

On September 6, 1950 Octubre announced the founding of an evening Marxist indoctrination school named "Jacobo Sanchez", after a Communist martyr. It was under the direction of Alfredo Guerra Borges, and Gutierrez, though not of the Octubre group, was an instructor. The school was soon shut down by Colonel Elfego Monzon, Arevalo's Minister of Interior.

Leaders of the Octubre Communists and of the PROG, together with the labor unions under their influence formed the Comite Politico Nacional de Trabajadores (CPNT) to work in the 1950 presidential and congressional elections. Among its successful candidates for Congress were Gutierrez and José Alberto Cardoza of the PROG, Humberto Ortiz of the Octubre Communists, and Cesar Montenegro of the FSG and SAMF, who was openly to join the Communist ranks.

On April 4, 1951 Fortuny signed a press statement as "Secretary General of the Partido Comunista de Guatemala", (PCG); this was the first known avowal that an organized Communist Party existed in Guatemala. A few weeks later he admitted publicly that the Communist Party of Guatemala had existed as a secret organization since September 28, 1947. On June 21, 1951, the first anniversary of the publication of Octubre, the party held a public rally, announcing it would seek to be registered as a recognized party under the electoral laws.

In July 1951, Gutierrez, head of PROG, admitted in a press interview he was a Communist. In November he attended the WFTU Congress in Berlin, going on to Moscow. Upon his return in January 1952, he announced the dissolution of the PROG and advised its members to join Fortuny's PCG.

On January 25, 1952, the Cominform newspaper "For A Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy" published in Bucharest, Rumania, carried an article summarizing the findings of the Central Committee of the PCG on the shortcomings of Octubre. The publication of this article, in effect confirmed the acceptance of Fortuny's PCG by the international Communist movement as the authorized Communist Party in Guatemala.

During 1952 the representatives of the PCG began to be reported in the press as sitting in on President Arbenz' political conferences with the representatives of the other Administration parties.

Early in the year there was a further upsurge in contacts with the international Communist movement. In March, Blas Roca, Juan Marinello, and Salvador Aguirre, leaders of the Cuban Communist Party, visited Guatemala. In late May, Mario Silva Jonama, member of the PCG Political Committee, left for Moscow and the preliminary meeting of the Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference in Pekin, returning in early October. In September, Jose Alberto Cardoza, who had followed Gutierrez in the PCG, attended the main Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference in Pekin, coming and going through Moscow. On October 1, 1952 the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Communist Party, acknowledging its inspiration by the "example" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sent the following message to the Soviet Nineteenth Party Congress, as published in the Guatemalan Communist paper Octubre of October 2, 1952, and as broadcast over the Soviet Home Service of the Moscow radio on October 15, 1952:

"Jose Stalin, Moscow:

The Communist Party of Guatemala greets with enthusiasm the 19th Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The vanguard of our people considers this Congress as a peace holiday for the Soviet people, for the directives of the new great Five Year Plan embody the peaceful goals of the Soviet peoples. 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 and a beacon throughout the world for workers. Inspired by your example we will strengthen for national independence and the happiness of our people. We wish many successes to the Congress and great victories to the invincible Party of Lenin Stalin.

The Central Committee of the Guatemalan Communist Party.

Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General."

In October 1952 the PCG announced it would hold its Second Party Congress in December. At the Congress the Party changed its name to

"Guatemala Labor Party" (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo - PGT); decided to make Octubre a daily paper; approved a set of statutes for the PGT modeled on the standard organization of the Stalinist Communist parties; elected Fortuny Secretary General at the head of a Political Committee of twelve and a Central Committee of 21 members; resolved to expand party membership; and confirmed its intent to register the party in the Civil Registry.

On December 19, 1952 the PGT was registered as a political party in the Civil Registry despite the protest of anti-Communist groups that both the Constitution and the Electoral Law specifically forbid "political organizations of a foreign or international character". It presented a list of 532 members, 32 over the minimum required to support its registration petition. The PGT then participated in the January 1953 Congressional elections as a member of the Administration's "Democratic Electoral Front". One of the PGT candidates, Pellecer, won in the Department of Escuintla and the other, Fortuny, lost in the Department of Guatemala, the opposition stronghold.

On February 17, 1953 the PGT reopened the "Jacobo Sanchez" school as a party cadre school. By August 15, the party had collected some \$10,000 from its cells and launched a daily morning tabloid, Tribuna Popular. In the PGT drive to increase party membership, the Party's First National Conference on Organization on August 8-9 claimed a 100% rise in the number of members since the December 1952 Party Congress.

Running its own candidates in municipal elections for the first time in November 1953, it elected mayors in the important town of Escuintla and in several other localities.

With the PGT thus emerging as an open and major political organization in Guatemala, a succession of events brought the organized anti-Communist opposition in Guatemala to virtual extinction. No opposition leader of stature remained free or in the country following the revelation of alleged plots against the Government in March 1953 and January 1954.

As leader of a Government party in good standing, Secretary General Fortuny of the PGT participates in the highest inter-party political councils. The principal Communist leaders of Guatemala, including Fortuny, Gutierrez and Pellecer, are intimately acquainted with the remaining political leaders of the country through years of association with them in politics.

The three professedly non-Communist Government parties, PAR, PRG and RN, are aggressive supporters of the nationalist and leftist goals

of the revolutionary movement which began in 1944. The PGT, claiming to embrace similar objectives has been the most insistent exponent of stronger unity of the National Democratic Front, stating in a manifesto published October 20, 1953:

"...there is already a political alliance among the PGT, PAR, PRG and RN; the CGTG and CNCG also participate in the meetings; but this alliance is not enough; there must be more cohesion and it must be broadened to include the peoples' and mass organizations, on whose foundations a true National Democratic Front can be based, namely a superior organic manifestation of the united front program."

There is no obvious difference on principle between the three revolutionary parties and the PGT which would hamper the forging of a stronger government coalition under PGT leadership. The degree to which the Communist viewpoint has been furthered among these coalition parties is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the signing on June 23, 1952 by 19 of the most influential coalition party deputies in the Congress, of a message of solidarity with Communist North Korea, then fighting the forces of the United Nations. The message and its signers were as follows:

"Guatemala, June 23, 1952.

"We democratic Deputies, members of the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala, convinced of the justice of the struggle for peace, which is in the hearts of millions and millions of human beings of all peoples of the earth, wish to express on the occasion of the second anniversary of the imperialist aggression against Korea, perpetrated June 25, 1950, our solidarity with, and sympathy for, the glorious and heroic Korean people against whom have been used the most infamous means of mass extermination, including bacteriological warfare, by the invaders who have not been able to break the spirit of combat and resistance of a people who fight for their liberty and for their national sovereignty."

(Signed) Julio ESTRADA de la Hoz, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, Fernando de LEON Porras, Francisco FERNANDEZ Foncea, Amor VELAZCO, Cesar MONTENEGRO Paniagua, J. Alberto CARDOZA, Fermin B. GARCIA, Alaric Alfonso BENNET, José F. DARDON, Ernesto MARROQUIN Wyss, Ignacio Humberto ORTIZ, Roberto ALVARADO Fuentes, Paulino OVALLE Herrera, Roberto GIRON Lemus, Humberto CABRERA, Jaime BARRIOS Archila, Alfonso FORTUNI and José Luis de LEON.

The extent of Communist influence in the leadership of the other political parties in power in Guatemala may be further judged from the following record:

On June 21, 1951 the Communist Party of Guatemala held its first public meeting in Guatemala. Secretary General Fortuny made a significant speech in which he announced the intention of the Party to enter into political life of the nation under its own identity. Among the personages seated on the platform at this important event, which took place beneath the large portraits of Lenin and Stalin in the standard Communist pattern, were the following:

Lic. Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, then Secretary General of PAR and President of the Guatemalan Congress; now Ambassador to Mexico and member of PRO;

Sr. Julio Estrada de la Hoz, then a member of PAR, now Secretary General of PAR and member of Congress;

Sr. Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, now Secretary General of RN;

Sr. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, then Secretary General of the Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala - PROG; now a member of the Political Committee of POT.

During the meeting congratulatory messages were read to the audience, including communications from at least ten members of the Congress belonging to the Administration parties.

Following the dissolution in January 1952 of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist party of Victor Manuel Gutierrez, PROG, a number of members of that organization followed Gutierrez into the Communist Party. Thirty-nine others who had received the same Communist indoctrination in the PROG returned to the PAR in response to a public invitation to do so.

On April 24, 1952 three delegates of the Communist Party, José Manuel Fortuny, Alfredo Guerra Berge and Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, joined with three delegates from each of the other principal political parties supporting the Administration, in a meeting held in the office of the President. The Secretary General of the Presidency, Sr. Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, informed the press that the object of the meeting was to inform the President of the program of the parties.

In June 1952 all of the then-existing political parties supporting the Government, except the Communist Party of Jose Manuel Fortuny,

joined to form a new single Administration party called the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PRG).

In July 1952, Jose Manuel Fortuny severely criticized the new PRG as an attempt, in the face of the "upsurge of the labor movement, the growth and development of the Communist Party,...to isolate the Communists both from the masses and from the leadership of the revolutionary movement".

A few days later, the PAR reconstituted itself, withdrew from the PRG, ostensibly because of differences with the other constituent elements of PRG over leadership of subordinate regional branches of the party. Former PAR members Solorzano, Cuenca and Alvarado Fuentes remained in the PRG. The Renovacion Nacional Party also withdrew from the PRG shortly after its formation. The PGT has made no further complaints about being "isolated".

At a meeting on October 3, 1952 the Communist Party nominated José Manuel Fortuny and Carlos Manuel Pellecer to run in the elections to Congress to be held at the end of the year. Sres. Alvarado Fuentes and Cuenca of the PRG attended the Communist Party meeting, and declared the PRG would support their candidacies.

In October 1952, the Communist weekly newspaper Octubre reported that a pact creating a "Democratic Electoral Front" had been signed between the PAR, the PRG, the RN, and the Communist Party. Under the pact, candidacies for congress seats were partitioned among the parties, the Communist Party being assigned two.

At the meeting of the RN at which Fortuny's candidacy was endorsed, he was introduced with warm praise by Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of RN. Also present at the meeting were Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Communist Secretary General of the CGTG labor federation, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary for Propaganda and Press of the Communist Party, and Sr. Carlos Rene Valle, an editor of the Communist weekly Octubre.

On November 18, 1952 Fortuny was formally endorsed by the PAR as a joint candidate of the Democratic Electoral Front for the forthcoming elections for Congress. He was presented at the meeting by the Secretary General of the PAR, Alvaro Hugo Salguero. Present on behalf of the RN party was Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary of the RN party, who was quoted in the press the next day as having stated that the Communist Party represented "the future of the Revolution in Guatemala" and as saying that the Communist Party was a "twin brother" in the struggle and that the RN would fight for Fortuny, whose enemies were those who "defend United States interests, the bloody imperialists, as Korea shows". The speaker for the PRG was Ernesto Capuano, who was

reported in the press as saying that the Communist Party was most in accord with historical reality. Other speakers were Sr. Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary of Press and Propaganda of the Communist Party and Sres. Ernesto Marroquin Wyss and Fernando Fernandez Fonseca, PAR deputies.

The PRG on November 30, 1952 formally agreed to inscribe Fortuny as a candidate. At the meeting, Roberto Alvarado Fuentes presided, Alfonso Solerzano defended Fortuny's candidacy, and Abel Cuenca played a leading role.

At a Communist Party Congress held December 11-15, 1952, and attended by Dionisio Encina, Secretary General of the Mexican Communist Party, Ernesto Marroquin Wyss of the PAR, and Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of the RN, the Communist Party of Guatemala changed its name to the Guatemalan Labor Party and took other steps preparatory to campaigning as a full fledged political party.

Twenty deputies belonging to the Administration parties, including the four Communist deputies, signed a petition to President Truman in December 1952 demanding clemency for the convicted Rosenberg spies, described in the petition as "innocent", in the standard Communist manner.

Immediately following reports that the Government of El Salvador intended to introduce an anti-Communist resolution at the September 1952 meeting of the Organization of Central American States (ODECA), José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala (PCG) made statements published in the Guatemalan press on August 7, 1952 condemning the reported proposal as follows:

"...the Salvadoran proposal on the supposed danger from 'international Communism' in Central America would constitute an act of provocation of Fascist coloration ...ODECA would thus become the executor...of resolutions ...which would force us to participate in the criminal aggression unleashed by imperialism against the peaceful peoples of Asia and soon to be extended to other countries."

On the next day the Administration party PRG followed the Communist lead with a statement interpreting the proposal to discuss Communist subversion in Central America "as a tool to repress freedom of thought and organization and to encourage sectarian strife which is incompatible with true democracy".

On March 25, 1953 the PAR issued a bulletin calling for withdrawal from the ODECA on the grounds the Salvadoran proposal to discuss joint action against Communism was intervention in Guatemala's internal affairs and a violation of its sovereignty. On the previous day, PGT deputy Carlos Manuel Pellecer had attacked ODECA for its "international imperialist intentions of intervening in our internal affairs."

On April 4, 1953 the Government of Guatemala notified the other member states of ODECA of its withdrawal from that organization, stating among other things that "In response to the consultation which my Government democratically conducted regarding the Central American Foreign Ministers' Conference, the democratic organizations have joined in demanding that the Government withdraw from the ODECA, in the belief that remaining in the organization at this time jeopardizes our sovereignty, the national independence and the free realization of the Guatemalan Revolution".

On March 9, 1953, 31 of the 54 deputies in the national Congress, all members of the PGT and other administration parties, signed the following cablegram to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: "The undersigned Guatemalan revolutionary Dputies, members of the democratic parties, send to the Government and the Soviet People our profound sympathy on the occasion of the death of the great leader Joseph Stalin, an irreparable loss for the universal movement for popular liberation and world peace".

On the motion of Communist deputy Victor Manuel Gutierrez, the Congress of Guatemala on March 12, 1953 by a vote of 30 to 4 adopted a resolution to observe a minute's silence in honor of Stalin, the late ruler of the USSR. Two days later at a meeting held under Communist auspices in a public school building further expressions of tribute were made. Among the speakers was Julio Estrada de la Hoz, a deputy former President of the Congress, and now Secretary General of PAR. Other speakers were Luis Cardoza y Aragon, former Guatemalan Minister to the USSR who has supported Communist causes in Guatemala, and Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.

On June 18, 1953 the co-Secretaries General of the PRG, Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, now Minister of Government and Roberto Alvarado Fuente, now Ambassador to Mexico, issued to the press a statement in which in the name of their party they denounced certain elements in the railway union SAMU for having made "public pronouncements which constitute a menace to the present democratic Government of the Republic, referring to themselves as genuine 'anti-Communist' forces, thereby recognizing at least their ideological ties and spiritual disposition predisposition in favor of the feudal and pro-imperialistic reaction which under the banner of "anti-Communism" constantly attacks the democratic institutions of the Revolution."

At a national congress in Guatemala City on July 11-12, 1953 the Partido Renovacion Nacional (RN) re-elected Jaime Diaz Rozzotte Secretary General in the presence of official representatives of the PGT, PAR, and PRG. The Communist-led CGTG sent greetings to the Congress.

On July 4, 1953 Guillermo Ovando Arriola, member of PAR and President of the Congress during its 1953 sessions, was elected President

of the Departmental "Peace" Committee for the Department of Guatemala. The Secretary Generalship of the Committee went to Otto Raul Gonzalez, a faithful Communist propagandist.

On June 18, 1953 the press reported that representatives of the parties constituting the National Democratic Front, (successor to the Democratic Electoral Front), the PAR, RN, PRG and the Guatemala Labor (Communist) Party, again consulted with the President, thus reaffirming Communist participation in the Administration political movement.

The heads of all four Administration political parties participated in a July 31, 1953 rally in Guatemala City held under the auspices of the Communist-front National Peace Committee to celebrate the Korean armistice on the theme that it constituted a victory of the world "peace" movement over North American imperialism. According to press reports, Secretary General Fernando Fernandez Foncea of the PAR condemned the attitude of the "imperialists who went to war as the only means of slowing down the fall of the capitalist system" and promised his party would continue to fight for peace. Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, speaking as Secretary General of the PRG, stated that further efforts on behalf of peace must be made to avoid continued exploitation of poor people by "great monopolies". Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of the RN, affirmed that the Korean truce represented another step toward arrival at a socialist world. Jose Manuel Fortuny of the PGT characterized the truce as a triumph of the Chinese and Korean peoples over the "American aggressors", a triumph of the "working classes" of all countries, and a triumph of the "Partisans of Peace" whose standard bearer was the Soviet Union. The speakers were members of the rally's presidium which also contained among its members Sr. Guillermo Ovando Arriola, PAR member and President of Congress; Sr. Mario Silva Jonama, Secretary General of the National Peace Committee, and Secretary of the Communist PGT; Major Marco Antonio Franco Chacon, ex-Governor of the Department of Guatemala and a PAR deputy who recently attended the Budapest "Peace" meeting; and Sr. Raul Leiva, local poet and Chief of the Press Section of the President's Information Office. It was decided at the rally to send a letter to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations calling for admission of Communist China to the UN Security Council. The letter was despatched the following day over the signatures of the leaders of the four political parties and heads of Communist-controlled labor and front organizations.

Independent newspapers in Guatemala on October 6, 1953 quoted Sr. Francisco Fernando Fernandez Foncea, Secretary General of the PAR

as stating

as stating on the floor of the Congress the previous evening that "The PAR is a transitory party like the other revolutionary parties, which are destined to disappear and become part of the great world Communist Party". He was further quoted as saying, in an interpolation during the course of a debate on housing, that "I support the PRG, which is now purging from its ranks four weaklings, but I support above all the Communist Party, the Party of Pellecer, Cardoza and Gutierrez, which is the most patriotic, the most honest, and the most logical in the country".

Sr. Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT), and Sr. Francisco Fernandez Fonseca, his ex-brother-in-law who was Secretary General of the Administration party PAR, published a joint statement on September 3, 1953 declaring "categorically that no friction or difference exists between our organizations".

Leading members of all Administration parties were prominent in a Communist-inspired Second Continental Congress of Democratic Lawyers held in Guatemala City October 16-20, 1953. The Conference was opened by Minister of Government Charnaud MacDonald, who is also Secretary General of the PRG; the Guatemalan delegation of 23 included Ernesto Capuano, PRG; Jose Humberto Hernandez Cobos, RN; Marcial Mendez Montenegro, PAR; Alfonso Bauer Paiz, PRG; Virgilio Zapata Mendia, RN; Alfonso Solorzano, PRG; and Julio Estrada de la Hoz, PAR.

In his speech to the Congress, Charnaud MacDonald denied that the October Revolution was Communist and declared "it is certainly not anti-Communist either, for that would be to serve nazism, fascism and falangism".

At a meeting held under auspices of Communist-line Spanish exiles to protest the recent U.S.-Spanish agreement on military bases, Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of RN was principal speaker, declaring that "the monstrous Yankee-Spanish pact lays bare a much more cynical aspect of the warlike fury of decadent capitalism and its unlimited contempt for the people".

In an interview carried in his own party newspaper, Diario del Pueblo, on November 5, 1953 Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, Secretary General of the PRG and Minister of Interior of Guatemala told an American correspondent that "no concern existed over Communist activities" and that "there is no problem such as Communism, either concerning penetration or dangerous internal activities".

Jorge Mario Urdiales, a member of the youth section of the PRG, returned in November 1953 from a trip to the USSR where with a number of other Guatemalans he had been a guest of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth from August 27 to September 12, after attending the Bucharest World Youth Festival.

Following front-page publicity in the Communist daily newspaper Tribuna Popular in November 1953 calling for "immediate solidarity" with one Cayetano Carpio, a Salvadoran arrested by the authorities of that country, thirty political leaders of Guatemala signed a telegram of pretest to President Osorio of El Salvador, published in the Communist newspaper on December 2. Among the signers were Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of the RN; Guillermo Ovando Arriola, PAR official and President of the Congress; Alfonso Bauer Paiz, PRG official, and ten deputies in the Congress including the four PGT deputies.

Communists and their propaganda organs in Guatemala have been the loudest in their denunciations of the Tenth Inter-American Conference agenda item on the penetration of international Communism in the hemisphere. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, one of the most notorious Communists in Guatemala, stated in a speech to the Second Congress of the CGTG on January 29, 1954: "Guatemala must go to Caracas where they are attempting to place our country on the bench of the accused, and there our country must convert that bench into a tribunal from which it valiantly denounces the defamatory campaign of which it is a victim". On February 12, the Guatemalan Government announced its decision to attend the Conference.

The PRG elected Jose Manuel Fortuny, head of the PGT, and Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, PGT Secretary of Organization, to the Presidium of the first congress of the PRG party, held in Guatemala City on January 15-17, 1954. These two were the only members of the Presidium who were not PRG leaders.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF GUATEMALAN INSTITUTIONS

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

25 February 1954

COMMUNIST CONTROL OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Communists have gained control of the Guatemalan labor movement not only by infiltration of the rudimentary labor associations that existed before 1944, but principally by means of a calculated drive to create strong organizations under Communist control and to enroll in these organizations the mass of hitherto unorganized industrial and agricultural workers.

Before the 1944 revolution, no labor unions other than controlled workmen's mutual aid societies existed. As soon as opportunity could be made under the new freedoms in the country, Communists trained in Moscow in the 1930's began planting the seeds of their future power. Abel and Max Cuenca Martinez, exiled Salvadoran Communists, Antonio Ovando Sanchez, a Guatemalan labor organizer schooled in Moscow, and others established the labor training school called Escuela Claridad, to teach Marxist principles. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary General of the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), Jose Luis Ramos and others who dominate the Guatemalan labor scene today received indoctrination there.

Close liaison was established from the beginning of this labor movement between the Guatemalan organizers and the leading Communist labor organizers of the Hemisphere. Beginning in 1945, such men as Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Blas Roca of Cuba, Roberto Morena of Brazil, and Cesar Godoy Urrutia of Chile have met frequently with the leaders of Guatemalan labor. Since 1948, Guatemalan leaders have themselves made numerous visits to Mexico, seat of the CTAL, and to Paris, headquarters of the WFTU, with subsequent excursions to Eastern Europe and Moscow.

Consolidation of the Guatemalan labor unions into a single main confederation, the CGTG, was accomplished by 1951, under close supervision of the CTAL advisers. Affiliation of the CGTG with CTAL and the World Federation of Trades Unions followed in 1953.

Organized labor today is a militant and significant political force in Guatemala. According to the Government Administrative Department of Labor, there were 100,000 members of the CGTG and the CNCG (Confederacion Nacional Campesina de Guatemala) officially registered with it in April 1953. These organizations themselves have claimed over 300,000 members between them. Comparing either figure with the total of 415,000 votes cast in the 1950 presidential elections and the 225,000 cast in the 1953 congressional elections, the importance of these organized groups becomes obvious.

The General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers (CGTG) represents every labor organization of importance in the country.

Among its more than 500 affiliated unions are the railway workers union, the teachers union, various government workers unions, industrial and commercial unions, and strong agricultural workers unions.

The National Peasant Confederation of Guatemala (Confederacion Nacional Campesina de Guatemala - CNCG) is composed of small landholders, tenant farmers, and some agricultural wage earners. The head of the CNCG, Leonardo Castillo Flores, acknowledged the leadership of the CGTG in a statement to the CGTG Congress held in January, 1954 in which he said that "although many wish to see the two central labor organizations of Guatemala divided, this will not happen for there is already too strong a support between the leaders and between the rank and file of both organizations. . . we are convinced that the working class is our guide", thus endorsing the Communist theory that rural labor should be led by urban workers.

The political nature of Guatemalan labor organization is well established. In 1948 the Secretary General of the large Federacion Sindical de Guatemala -- FSG, now one of the principal constituents of the CGTG, declared at a national convention that "the FSG affirms that syndicalism is eminently political; therefore it is necessary to intervene in domestic and international politics provided that it is considered that the interests of the workers are involved."

In 1950, representatives of the principal labor organizations set up a national political action committee, Comite Nacional Politico de Trabajadores, for the express purpose of directing labor participation in the elections of that year. The CNPT played a prominent part in the campaigning for the election of the president in November 1950 and in the congressional elections in December.

Leaders of the CGTG since its formation in October 1951 have urged political unity with other leftists. On May Day 1953, Victor Manuel Gutierrez in a typical statement made a plea for stronger unity among "the workers, peasants, small bourgeoisie and the patriotic groups within the national bourgeoisie."

In October, 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) called for the formal incorporation of the CGTG and CNCG into the "National Democratic Front", composed of the four Administration political parties PAR, PRG, RN, and PGT. The two labor federations previously had been informally participating in the Front's meetings.

The Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo or Guatemalan Labor Party, a local branch of the world Communist conspiracy, is in undisputed control of the CGTG, and therefore, of organized labor in Guatemala.

The office of Secretary General and every other key office in the CGTG is held by a member of the Communist Labor Party Pgt.

The Secretary General of the CGTG is Victor Manuel Gutierrez, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Guatemalan Labor Party.

After the October 1944 Revolution, Gutierrez started on his trade union and political career. In 1945 he became a founding member of the teachers' and educational workers' union (SETG), becoming its secretary General and representing the SETG on the Executive Committee of the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala CTG, founded early in 1945 as the first labor federation in the country.

The CTG established the Escuela Claridad labor training school, at which Communists indoctrinated labor leaders. This caused a quarrel in the CTG with the result that a dissident group withdrew from CTG to form the Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (FSG).

Gutierrez then rose to be Secretary General of the CTG which took on increasingly Communist orientation while the FSG also gradually came around to the Communist viewpoint. Both affiliated with the WFTU and Sr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano's CTAL, in Mexico City. Gutierrez attended the conference of Educational Workers and Teachers in Mexico City in 1946 as representative of the SETG, and the CTAL Congress there in 1948 as representative of the CTG, becoming a member of the CTAL Central Committee. In 1949 he attended the first World Congress of the Partisans of Peace in Paris with Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PGT, and Alberto Solorzano, in April, and returned to Guatemala, then went to Europe again to attend the WFTU Congress in late June and early May.

In May 1951 Sr. Lombardo Toledano and M. Louis Saillant, Secretary General of the WFTU, came to Guatemala to attend the Congress of Latin American Air and Land Transport Unions and a plan was drawn up to recreate a single Guatemalan Labor federation. This was established in October 1951 under the title of the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG) and Gutierrez was elected Secretary General, an office he still holds. In his personal quality he attended the

ANNEX B

CTAL Congress in Santiago, Chile in March 1953. The CGTG did not become affiliated with the WFTU and CTAL until August 1953.

Meanwhile Gutierrez had also been active in party politics. He was an early member of the Frente Popular Libertador (FPL) which along with the Renovacion Nacional (RN) formed the principal support which installed Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo as President in 1944. Gutierrez became a member of Congress from the Department of Guatemala and in 1946 took part in the enactment of the Labor Code. The FPL and the RN merged to form the PAR, and Gutierrez belonged to that party until September 1949 when he withdrew. In June 1950 he founded and became Secretary General of the Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG), a party designated to further the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist education of its members. On July 8, 1951 Gutierrez admitted openly (in a press interview) that he was a Communist.

In November or early December 1951 Gutierrez proceeded to Moscow after having attended the Berlin WFTU Congress as a "guest," the CGTG then not being affiliated. Upon his return in January 1952, he announced the dissolution of the PROG and advised its members to join the Partido Comunista de Guatemala (PCG) which Fortuny had brought into the open the previous year. In December 1952, when the PCG held its Second Congress and changed its name to the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo (PGT), Gutierrez was elected to the PGT Central Committee which in turn elected him to the Political Committee and made him chief of the Central Committee's Labor Union Commission.

In 1950, Gutierrez supported Arbenz' candidacy for the Presidency as Secretary for Propaganda of the Comite Politico Nacional de los Trabajadores and was himself elected to Congress from the Department of Guatemala on the ticket of the PAR and the RN but he later aligned himself with the Communist PCG and its successor the PGT. In 1952, he was Chairman of the Special Committee on Agrarian Reform which guided the Guatemalan Agrarian Reform Law of June 17, 1952 through Congress. He was re-elected to this chairmanship in 1953.

The First Vice Secretary General is Jose Alberto CAROZA, a member of the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.

His career after the October 1944 Revolution was dedicated primarily to trade union work. He was active in the Sindicato de Artes Gráficas (SAG) of which he is now Secretary General. He was an officer of the Federación Sindical de Guatemala (FSG) which was founded in 1946 as Guatemala's second labor union federation and eventually its Secretary for Propaganda (1949-50). In October 1951 when the FSG joined Gutiérrez' Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG) as the single and national labor federation, Gutiérrez became its Secretary General and Cardoza his Deputy as First Vice Secretary General. In 1952 he was listed as Business Manager of the irregular CGTG publication Unidad. In February 1953 Cardoza founded and became Secretary General of a printing trade workers' federation under the CGTG composed of his SAG and the linotypers' union SOL.

In party politics Cardoza emerged in 1949 as a member of the Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG) a Communist-type party newly founded by Gutiérrez. He became its first Vice-Secretary General. When Gutiérrez returned from Moscow, dissolved the PROG and joined Fortuny's Partido Comunista de Guatemala (PCG), Cardoza followed him. In December 1952, when the PCG held its Second Party Congress and changed its name to the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT), Cardoza was elected to its Central Committee which in turn elected him to the Political Committee.

Cardoza was elected to Congress as a Deputy from the Department of Guatemala in November 1950 for the term 1951-55. He was proposed by Sr. Fortuny's Comité Político Nacional de los Trabajadores but as this organization was not registered and could not put up candidates, he ran on the ticket of the administration parties. In Congress, Sr. Cardoza became, in the 1952 and 1953 sessions, Chairman of the Special Committee on Revision of the Labor Code.

While in Congress, Cardoza attended the September 1952 Peking "Peace" Congress, going and coming through the Soviet Union and the "People's Democracies."

Secretary of Organization is Virgilio GUERRA Mendez, member of the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party. (Salvador)

Virgilio Guerra, born in 1906 in Chalchuapa, El Salvador, is a carpenter and labor leader who is older and has more years of Communist service than any member of the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo's Political Committee. He is reported to have been involved in Communist activities in Salvador as far back as 1932 when General MARTINEZ shattered the Communist movement.

Following the October 1944 Revolution, Guerra came to Guatemala and emerged in 1945 in the Escuela Claridad, a Communist-oriented labor leaders' training school formed within the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG) and directed by Abel CUENCA, another Salvadoran driven from his country in 1932 for Communist activities. The Escuela Claridad was closed by government order in 1946 as a "political organization of a foreign or international character." In 1947, he was Secretary General of the Sindicato de Trabajadores en Madera y Vidrio, the carpenters' union affiliated with the CTG. In October 1947 the Arévalo Administration expelled Guerra, Cuenca and other foreign Communists and Communist suspects, but he soon returned to the country. He has since been expelled several times from El Salvador (1948, 1951).

Guerra remained active in labor union affairs, although he held none of the top offices. He was identified as Secretary General of the Wood and Glass Workers' Union in 1950 and has been active in the Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), the Communist-controlled national labor federation.

He was identified as an employee of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security in 1948 and 1949.

Secretary of Disputes is Carlos Manuel PELLECCER, member of the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.

After the June 1944 uprising which forced President Ubico out, Pelleccer appeared in Guatemala and was one of the founding members of the Frente Popular Libertador (FPL), one of the first of the leftist "revolutionary" parties. He participated in the October 1944 Revolution which swept out General Posada, Ubico's successor, and was elected as an FPL Deputy to Congress in December 1944 for the 1945-49 term. At this time he also became prominent in labor organization work on the Pacific coast.

His first round of radical activities in Guatemala was brought to an end in late Spring of 1945 when he resigned from Congress and went to Moscow as Secretary of the new Guatemalan Legation there. At the time he publicly denied being a Communist. The Mission at Moscow was short-lived and in late 1945 he was transferred as Secretary of the Legation in Paris where he remained until October 1948, sometimes serving as *Chargé d'Affaires*. There he engaged in such activities as touring the "peoples democracies" of Eastern Europe, planning for the transfer of Spanish Republican refugees to Guatemala, mixing in Paris Communist circles and giving 30,000 francs to the Czech Communist-led guerillas. There are indications that during this period of the Arévalo Administration he was deliberately being kept abroad because of his radical views.

Upon termination of his assignment to Paris in 1948, Pellecer went to a Warsaw youth conference as a representative of the Alianza de la Juventud Democrática de Guatemala (AJDG). Returning to Guatemala, he assumed the government position as Chief of Travelling Cultural Missions (1948-49) and resumed his political and labor activity. He became a Director of the PAR newspaper El Libertador and began organizing agricultural workers unions for the Confederación de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG). This was a period in which he made fiery Communist-line and anti-American speeches. He also became the PAR delegate to the National Electoral Board. He was sent back to Europe at the end of 1949 for a second tour as Secretary of Legation at Paris, but the French authorities refused to accept him and the British Government did likewise when it was proposed to send him to the London Legation.

Returning to Guatemala a second time in 1950 he continued his work as a labor leader, as an officer of the CTG. With Victor Manuel Gutierrez he worked for the establishment of a single labor union federation. When this was established in October 1951, he was elected Secretary of Conflicts, a position whose duties involve advising union locals in strikes and other labor disputes. Since then he has been involved in most of the principal labor disputes of the country, serving as adviser and in effect leader of the unions. He was named Director of the Editors Council of the CTG organ Unidad founded in 1952.

The exact moment that Pellecer became an avowed Communist has not been precisely established. His speeches took on a more and more overt Stalinist coloration in the later stages of his diplomatic career and his work for the CTG; he was sometimes referred to in the press as a Communist and did not apparently object. In February 1951 he addressed a public meeting in the name of Fortuny's "Octubre group" of Communists which at that time were organizationally separate from Gutierrez' PROQ. When the Octubre Communists held a public meeting on June 21, 1951 he was identified as a member of the Political Committee; when the Second Party Congress, which renamed the party the Guatemalan Labor Party, met in December 1952, he was elected a member of the Central Committee, which in turn elected him to the Political Committee.

Secretary of Rural Workers' Relations is Maximiliano SALAZAR.

Other members of the PGT in the CGTG leadership are: César MONTENEGRO Paniagua, Secretary of Labor Disputes, SAMF, Deputy in National Congress, Communist. Antonio OBANDO Sánchez, Secretary of Laws and Resolutions, STISS, Communist. (See Appendix one for list of officers of CGTG elected at the 1954 Congress.)

International contacts of the CGTG are with the Communists, rather with any free labor movement.

The CGTG is a member of the CTAL and of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), both of which are Communist-controlled international labor organizations.

The 1954 Congress of the CGTG was opened on January 28 with the reading of the following telegram from Moscow: "The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions fraternally greets the Congress of the Confederation of Labor 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. The President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, N. Shvernik".

The CGTG follows the authentic international Communist line without deviation.

For example, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, a principal leader of the CGTG opened an address to the 1954 Congress with the following statements: "Today the world is divided in two great camps; first, the camp of socialism and peace where men are building happiness and where exploitation, hunger, war and unemployment do not exist, where daily the workers improve their material and cultural levels. Facing this camp built by the intelligence and vigor of the workers is the destructive and tragic camp of capitalism and war, where a minority insatiably exploits the oppressed and persecuted workers, where culture is withheld from them, where their wages are reduced, where bread is denied them, and where they are thrown into unemployment". "Fascism, crushed in Europe by the world anti-fascist coalition, particularly by the Soviet people, was reborn with an unheard of vigor in the United States

The following excerpts from a CGTG circular notice to its affiliated unions on the case of the death of Stalin suffices to prove its ideology. "Our Confederation considers it its duty to express condolence for the irreparable loss of Comrade Stalin, founder with Valdimir Ilich Lenin of the First Socialist State of Workers and Peasants in the world, which is responsible for the definitive abolition of the exploitation of the working class and of the peasants by the capitalists and the landlords."

The Secretary General of the rural organization CNCG, Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, visited Vienna and Moscow in 1953 under Communist auspices. The CNCG joined the international Communist organizations WFTU and CTUL in September 1953.

On his return in 1953 from Vienna and Moscow, Castillo Flores described the Communist Third World Labor Congress in Vienna as "an event of great significance to the struggle of the working classes and peasants of the world", and described in glowing terms his visit to Moscow and the USSR.

Communist guidance of the CGTG and its predecessor organizations is apparent in the manifestos and resolutions which they have adopted and published. A sampling of them follows:

Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ' speech on May Day 1948 contained the following declaration:

"The National Liberation front in the same way that it struggles to break the chains of oppression which impede the development of our country must struggle against the theory of national isolation, and must make an alliance with the other oppressed peoples of America upon the principal of fraternal relations among them, which is a very different thing from the 'continental solidarity pacts' and from the 'hemispheric defense' which, in good Guatemalan, means delivering ourselves tied hand and foot to new masters."

The CGT May Day manifesto of 1948 stated as follows:

"The leadership of the imperialist camp is at the present time moving toward the United States, a country which has become strengthened after the war to the point where it constitutes one of the leading war powers, and whose great bourgeoisie, in order to succeed in its expansionist plans, carries out activities particularly aggressive in the military and strategic field, in the economic field and in the field of ideological warfare. In Europe and in Asia the United States through the Truman-Marshall plan is preparing its instruments to project its imperialist policy, but its plans collide with the inflexible resistance of the countries of the new democracy which have vigorously raised the banner of the defense of national independence and of the sovereignty of their own countries. The working class and the peasants, allied with the most important sectors, are playing in this sense a role of extraordinary importance in constituting the sentinels of democracy and of liberty, in bulwarks of peace and in

defense of the cause of national honor. These forces maintain their positions without conceding an inch and advance toward the conquest of new positions without being afraid of the noise which the agents of imperialism make with respect to the danger of war, which can only intimidate weak people, those who before taking up arms are defeated by the war of nerves. The people of the entire world do not want war. The workers of the entire world do not want war; the Soviet Union is a firm bulwark of peace. This indicates that the forces of peace grouped in the democratic and anti-imperialist camp are powerful and tenacious. This means that we must reinforce our faith and not allow ourselves to be defeated either by fear or by defeatism."

A statement issued in January 1949 by the Comite Nacional de Unidad Sindical (CNUS), a body organized in 1947 and consisting of the leaders of the CNU and the FSG included the following:

"(There must be) the recognition of the existence of the division of society into classes, and the international alliances of the enemies of the working class. Only by means of this recognition can one understand the reason justifying the international friendship existing among the workers of the world; the reason justifying the organisms designed to defend and to maintain this principle, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions and the CTAL; only thus can one understand the repudiation of those international organizations which betray the international friendship of the workers by putting these organizations in the service of the international capitalist interests, such as the CIT, which has turned out to be the biggest force in world labor organization. Only through the true appreciation of these facts, can one understand the reason that the central union must be affiliated with the WFTU and the CTAL, thus linking itself to the historic destiny of all the workers of the world in the building of an ever better world."

On January 28, 1949 the FSG adopted a resolution making the following points:

"1) to regard as an historical imperative the international relations of the working class with the Confederation de Trabajo de America Latina (CTAL) and the Federacion Sindical Mundial (World Federation of Trade Unions); and 2) the recognition of the division of society in classes, the working class having its own theory and orientation. To accept that the labor movement as a class is not the invention of anyone, but the result of the struggle with capital, for which it has its own revolutionary theory."

At the Third Congress of the CTG, held May 12-13, 1950, the CTG resolved that:

"The Third General Congress of the CTG, taking into consideration the important work for the maintenance of peace in the world that is being accomplished by the Committee of the Partisans of Peace, with headquarters in Paris, France, declares its solidarity with the Committee mentioned in all of its steps in favor of the highest interests of Humanity."

The Fourth anniversary meeting of the FSG on January 28, 1950 formally joined the CTAL and WFTU, international communist labor federations, adopting resolutions which stated in part that:

"CONSIDERING: THAT the CTAL urges a revolutionary alliance with progressive sectors in each country, this being an historic alliance in favor of liberty, democracy and the progress of our peoples against the forces of imperialism, which are bent on keeping us in a loose aggroupation of semi-colonial countries;..."

"CONSIDERING: THAT THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS is the superior organism which groups together all the workers of the world and follows the following basic objectives:

- a) To organize and unify within itself the Syndicates of the whole world, independent of racial, national, religious or political questions;
- b) To aid the workers to organize their syndicates wherever necessary, in countries which are less socially and industrially advanced..."

THEREFORE, RESOLVES:

1. TO AFFILIATE ITSELF WITH THE CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS OF LATIN AMERICA (CTAL), declaring that it will solemnly fulfill all engagements made by reason thereof; that it shall comply with its Statutes and Regulations; that it shall respect its Agreements and Resolutions; that it shall fight for its ends and objectives which constitute the aspirations and express the hopes of the Latin American workers.
2. TO AFFILIATE ITSELF WITH THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU), declaring that it will solemnly fulfill all engagements made by reason thereof; that it shall comply with its Statutes and Regulations; that it shall respect its Agreements and Resolutions; that it shall fight for its ends and objectives which constitute the aspirations and express the hopes of the workers throughout the world."

The Tenth General Assembly of the CTG, meeting on February 17-18, 1951 passed resolutions stating that:

"The Tenth General Assembly of the CTG,

1. Consistent with a pacifist line, and with its denunciations of all the maneuvers and acts directed towards favoring the bellicose threats of imperialism, begs the Government of the Republic to duly instruct the Minister of Foreign Relations to the effect that in the next meeting of foreign ministers, Guatemala energetically oppose the participation of our country in the plans for war being sponsored by the Government of the United States, refuse all contributions for the imperialist army and refuse to furnish any military bases to them, and that Guatemala also refuse to adopt the unworthy attitude of going to receive orders designed to 'assure the maintenance of the internal institutions of each country', since this means nothing else than to take measures to repress a movement for democracy and national liberty.

2. "Taking into account the threatening attitude of the Government of France in refusing to allow the World Federation of Trade Unions to maintain its seat in Paris, resolves to protest before that Government for this anti-democratic attitude, as well as to ratify its sympathy towards our world center, the WFTU."

A Congress of representatives of all important Guatemalan labor organizations met from October 12-14, 1951 to form an overall national labor federation under the control of Communists, the CGTG. Part of the work of the Congress was to pass resolutions, some of which called for:

1. Recognition of peace as "the central task of the labor movement";
2. Extension of greetings to the World Peace Council and the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace;
3. Direction to the Executive Committee of the CGTG to collect signatures demanding a five-power peace treaty;
4. Direction to the Executive Committee to send protests to the United Nations against the action of the Government of Yoshida in Japan for the "Matsukawa" trials;
5. Condemnation of the Government of Frio Socarras in Cuba for seeking to send troops to Korea, for closing the newspaper Boh and for other anti-labor acts.

The Final Statement of the CGTG Second General Congress which met January 29-31, 1954 included the declaration:

"Workers must march in the vanguard in the fight against foreign intervention and the aggressive acts prepared against our country by American imperialism, its lackeys in the Caribbean and in Central America and the traitors who sell national honor and sovereignty.

"The workers must zealously guard their unity, enlarge and strengthen it every day; consolidate their organic unity, always practice unity in action in the defense of their own and the national position; always practice union democracy; and strengthen the solidarity and unity of the Guatemalan workers with their brothers throughout the whole world working through the international central organizations, the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Latin American Confederation".

Officers of CGTG Elected during Congress
of That Organization
January 28-30, 1954

Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, Secretary General, Deputy in Congress, Communist.

José Alberto CARDOZA, 1st Vice Secretary General, SAC, Deputy in Congress Communist.

José Luis CACEROS, 2nd Vice Secretary General, SAMF.

Eustaquio HERRERA, Secretary of Propaganda, AEREOS.

German TOVAR, Vice Secretary of Propaganda, STETG.

Virgilio GUERRA, Secretary of Organization, Sindicato de Trabajadores en Madera y Vidrio, Communist.

Hermógenes MONTERROSO, Vice Secretary of Organization, AVIATECA.

Marco A. CUELLAR, Secretary of Culture, Sindicato de Trabajadores en Cementos, Secretary of Conflicts of FSO.

Guillermo Max GONZALEZ, Vice Secretary of Culture, SAC, Member Central Committee CTAL, Communist.

Carlos Manuel PELLEGER, Secretary of Disputes, Deputy in National Congress, Communist.

Francisco GONZALEZ, Secretary of Disputes, SACAG.

Francisco RUSTRIAN, Secretary of Disputes, O.P.

Ricardo MENCOS, Secretary of Labor Disputes, SAMF.

César MONTENEGRO Paniagua, Secretary of Labor Disputes, SAMF, Deputy in National Congress, Communist.

Antonio OBANDO Sánchez, Secretary of Laws and Resolutions, STIGSS, Communist.

René AQUINO, Vice Secretary of Laws and Resolutions, STAL.

Eduardo MENDIZABAL, Secretary of Foreign Relations, SAMF.

Rodolfo AGUILAR Gonzalez, Vice Secretary of Foreign Relations, USTPB.

Rafael SOLIS Barrios, Secretary of Finance, I.DEL C.

Mariano ARANA, Vice Secretary of Finance, SAG.

Max SALAZAR, Secretary of Rural Workers Relations, TEXTIL, formerly Secretary of Organization of CGTG, Communist.

Ceresmundo AYALA, Vice Secretary of Rural Workers Relations, STECAG.

Additional Secretaries

Victor A. LEAL, Agrarian Bank, formerly Vice Secretary of Organization of CGTG, Secretary General of FSG, Member of Central Committee of CTAL, Communist.

Narciso ESCOBAR, Public Health

Jerónimo BARRENO, FTDQ.

Florencio ULIN, Cantel.

Humberto SAMAYOA, Chocolá.

Victoriano RUIZ, F.T. De Rau.

Julio DIAZ H., SETUFCO.

C. Enrique MacDONALD, STIGSS.

Antônio LUCERO.

Fernando VALDES Diaz.

José Luis RAMOS, TEXTIL., formerly Vice Secretary of Agricultural Relations, CGTG, Communist.

Enrique GOMEZ, Pantaleón.

Antonio MOLINA, Texaco.

Concepción CASTRO de Meneses, TEXTIL.

Rafael DIAZ Ajá, Empresa Electrica.

José L. de LEON Aguilera, F.T. Del Cuera.

Armando TORRES, Sindicato Fosforero.

José Luis CINTO, Sindicato de Fábrica ONA de San Marcos.

Rafael MARIN Coronado, Sacatapéquez.

Consultative Council

Antonio Carlos OSORIO, Pilots.

Victor Manuel MONTES, STCA.

Guillermo LOBOS, Municipalities.

Ruperto GARCIA Turcios, STEG.

Gilberto SOBERANIS, SAMF.

Occupants of Presidium during Opening
Session of CGTG Conference on January 28, 1954

Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, Secretary General of CGTG, Communist.

Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, Secretary General of CNCG, PAR.

José Alberto CARDOZA, Deputy in Congress, Communist.

Rafael ESTRADA Monzon, President of pro-Communist Unión de Trabajadores
Cesantes (not connected with UNTL).

José Luis CACEROS, pro-Communist member of SAMF.

César MONTENEGRO Paniagua, Deputy in Congress, Communist.

Manuel PINTO Usaga, Guatemalan Consul General in Mexico, Communist.

José Luis RAMOS, Communist.

Guillermo OVANDO Arriola, CNCG, President of National Congress, PAR.

Rafael SOLIS Barrios.

Max GONZALEZ, Editor of CGTG paper Unidad, Communist.

Virgilio GUERRA, new Secretary of Organization of CGTG, Communist.

Mario MORALES Vielman, SAMF.

Marco A. CUELLAR, Secretary of Labor Disputes of FSG.

Gilberto SOBERANIS, SAMF.

Otilio MARROQUIN, Secretary of Organization of CNCG.

Narciso ESCOBAR.

Carlos Manuel PELLEGER, Secretary of Labor Disputes, CGTG, Communist

José Manuel FORTUNY, Secretary General of the Communist Party.

Julio ESTRADA de la Hoz, Secretary General of PAR.

Augusto CHARNAUD MacDonald, Secretary General of PRG.

Jaime DIAZ Rozzoto, Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic.

Giuseppe CASADEI, WFTU.

Antonio CABRERA, CTAL.

Rafael AVILA, WFTU.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF GUATEMALAN INSTITUTIONS

THE AGRIARIAN PROGRAM

25 February 1954

Communist Penetration of Agrarian Reform Program

The Communist Party of Guatemala was well prepared for the advent of Agrarian Reform in that country. The party adopted Agrarian Reform as its central theme in 1952. When the Administration sent its agrarian reform bill to the Congress on May 9, 1952, it was referred to a Special Committee on Agrarian Reform which contained 3 of the 4 Communists in the Congress, one of whom, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, was Committee Chairman. Whether or not the Agrarian Law was Communist-inspired, the Communists openly showed their interest in having the law adopted. José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party, took an active part in the Committee proceedings although he was neither a member of the Committee nor of Congress.

On June 15, 1952, two days before enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law, Fortuny presented a voluminous report on the subject to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, running to more than 30,000 words. The report endorsed the agrarian bill, and under the heading "Party Tasks" stated:

"It appears to me that we are lagging behind on the tasks of organization, agitation and propaganda which we set ourselves with respect to the agrarian reform, both at the Fifth Plenary Session held in February and in the resolutions of the Political Committee not long ago.

"Let Us Remember The Report of the Plenary Session.

"Our party must undertake the struggle for agrarian reform as soon as possible and must carry our battle-cry to the rural masses, to the rich peasants, the poor peasants and the medium peasants, to the semi-enslaved mozos colonos, to the workers of the field, in order to encourage action from below which would lead to the application of a bourgeois peasant agrarian reform. From now on we must unite ourselves and continue to increase our unity with the peasant organizations, paving the way for the organization of peasant committees which will be valuable instruments in the agrarian reform and, in many cases, will carry out the agrarian reform."

"How long is it, for example, since we proposed to organize peasant committees and what have we done? Have we anywhere established the foundations for these committees?

Have we

Have we selected the most alert and conscientious workers or peasants to constitute the core of these committees? We have not done so, neither has the bond with the present organizations been tightened. It is true that we have had a great deal of work with the anti-communist fight, in the preparation of May 1st, in the preparation of a National Peace Assembly, and with the Peasant Congress. But, I believe that we could have taken advantage of all these activities, linking the specific activity of each one with the task of agrarian reform, which was indicated at the Plenary Session as the primary task."

"AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

The Political Committee decided on the creation of a group of agitators and propagandists who would go out into the country, appropriately informed, for which purpose a course in ideological and practical preparation has been organized. This is the group that is to maintain the closest possible ties with the peasants and agricultural laborers' organizations and, therefore, this task must be undertaken as rapidly and as carefully as possible. It is necessary that the importance of this task be fully realized to encourage interest and recruits for the formation of this brigade of publicizers of the agrarian reform program, and that the demands of the peasants and the agricultural workers be encouraged."

The Agrarian Law created, as instruments of Agrarian Reform, the National Agrarian Department, the National Agrarian Council, Departmental Agrarian Commissions, and local Agrarian Committees. The Agrarian Department, (Departamento Agrario Nacional - DAN) is charged with responsibility for preparing the regulations for the application of agrarian reform, computing and paying indemnifications under the law, granting titles to new landowners and tenants and other administrative functions. The National Council and the Departmental Commissions administratively review expropriation proceedings and granting of property under the law. The local committees, among other things, inventory lands in their areas, keep registers of rural organizations and beneficiaries of the law, and process applications for land and award the use of land.

The law assigned 3 of the 9 seats on the National Agrarian Council to the CGTG and the CNCG. The Communist-led CGTG and the CNCG were each given one of the 5 seats on the Departmental Commissions, and they share 3 of the five seats on the local agrarian committees. The law was amended on June 19, 1953 to reduce the Departmental commissions to 3 members, consisting of the Departmental Governor, and one delegate each of the CGTG and CNCG, thus substantially augmenting their power at that level; and to permit the local agrarian committees to make a provisional distribution of land after its expropriation but prior to its final survey, an authorization obviously enhancing the power of the local committees.

In addition to their powerful influence in the Departmental and local agrarian committees, the Communists in Guatemala have taken the key positions in the National Agrarian Department.

The Chief of the Lands Section of the DAN is Waldemar Barrios Klee, a publicly avowed Communist. He assumes charge of the Department in the absence of the Director. The Secretary General (Chief Clerk) of the DAN is Maria Jerez de Fortuny, wife of José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist PGT party. Four of the twenty Agrarian inspectors are publicly avowed members of the PGT, viz., Natzul Aguirre Cook, Marco Antonio Blanco, Juan Rafael Vittorazzi, and Florencio Mendez. Another eight inspectors are probably members of the PGT. Other known Communists connected with the Department are Rafael Tischler, its delegate to the Directorate General of Fundamental Education; Eugenio Arrivillaga Veliz, Credentials Officer, Secretariat of the Department; Roberto Bran Maldonado, Registrar, Legal Office of the Department; Jorge Villavicencio Marroquin, Survey Chairman; Eduardo Sosa Montalvo, Computer.

The Communist-dominated CGTG of Victor Manuel Gutierrez and the fellow-travelling CNCG became especially active among rural elements as Agrarian Reform was enacted into law on June 17, 1952.

The CGTG announced in July 1952 it was printing thousands of forms on which petitions for land could be made, and it has since obviously succeeded in creating for itself a further key role in agrarian reform by giving effective assistance to applicants for agrarian benefits.

The Communists have taken advantage of opportunities to impress upon the public their importance in agrarian reform. José Luis Ramos, CGTG representative on the National Agrarian Council and a member of the Political Committee of the Guatemalan Communist Party, was one of the speakers, along with Captain Alfonso Martinez, head of the new National Agrarian Department, and Leonardo Castillo Flores of the CNCG, at the ceremonies making the first distribution of land on the Barcena government farm in 1952. Prominent Communist participation in public ceremonies concerned with Agrarian Reform has been continuous since then. For instance, at an official ceremony on August 22, 1953 at which the Government plantation "Concepcion" was formally handed over to farm workers, the following persons were among the speakers: Gabriel Camey, member of PGT and chairman of the local agrarian committee; José Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PGT; Victor Manuel Gutierrez, member of PGT and Secretary General of the CGTG; Carlos Manuel Pellecer, member of PGT and Secretary of Conflicts of CGTG.

President Arbenz himself has described Agrarian Reform as "the most transcendental force in our economic and political life". The Communists have gone far toward gathering control of this force in their hands, knowing it is the most powerful agency available to a small minority to create a significant popular following.

The growth

The growth of Communist power through successful seizure of leadership in a movement which during its present stage is defined by the Communists as the "bourgeois revolution" brings the Communists closer to their objective of a dictatorship of the proletariat. This objective, and the present Communist tactic of de-emphasizing it, is clearly indicated in the following passage from Fortuny's report on agrarian reform of June 14, 1952:

"The Political Committee of our Party stated that the Communists were in favor of 'the most advanced and complete agrarian reform which would effectively and definitively liberate the peasants and agricultural workers from all forms of oppression and exploitation'. This presupposes the abolition of feudal or bourgeois property on the land, or the nationalization of all the land, giving it to those who cultivate it and a step toward collective labor on the land and the socialization of the land and of agricultural production, and a scientific and mechanized agriculture.

"But this agrarian reform requires special conditions, in particular that it be effected in a revolutionary manner, and for this condition the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly supported by the great peasant mass, for the establishment of the democratic revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and the peasants is an essential requisite. Does this mean that the Party is fighting for the establishment of the power of the proletariat as an immediate issue? By no means. Does it mean that because of this, it must not support the democratic and progressive measures proposed by the Arbenz government, which attempt to liquidate servitude and to give part of the land to the peasants, opening the way for the capitalist development of Guatemala? By no means. Does it mean that we must not support with all our strength the immediate demands of the peasants and the agricultural workers? Not at all. The Communist Party is not now fighting for the step toward the power of the proletariat but, aware of historic conditions and because of those conditions, it must support whatever steps will lead to the definite liquidation of feudalism and the giving of part of the land to the peasants, and it must champion the present aspirations of the great peasant masses and the workers of the country which point to a rapid and less costly road toward bourgeois development in Guatemala."

"Lenin noted, in distinguishing the small bourgeois methods and the methods of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution:

'The small bourgeoisie, even the more radical- including the party of our social revolutionaries- foresaw not a class struggle after the bourgeois revolution but general prosperity and welfare. That is why they feathered their nests beforehand'. And he adds: 'The proletarian method consists only of sweeping away all medievalism, of clearing the road for the class struggle'.

"This means that we must not involve ourselves in the Guatemalan bourgeois revolution, that we cannot, that we must not join with any party or class that finds its aspirations and ambitions completely satisfied by this bourgeois revolution. And with respect to the agrarian question, if conditions exist for the elimination of feudal exploitation, it should not matter to us which form of exploitation is worse- feudalism or capitalism- because we equally reject all forms of exploitation and our goal is a society without exploitation, the Communist Socialist Society."

Illustrative of the "revolutionary manner" in which the Communists say that agrarian reform should be carried out and of their announced impatience with any merely bourgeois revolution, are the events which were widely reported in the local press as having occurred in the Department of Escuintla in December and January. According to these reports, Communist leaders of the CGTG, particularly Carlos Manuel Pellecer, took advantage of the strength of that organization in the Escuintla region to incite numerous disorderly peasant seizures of land which had not been duly applied for and apportioned under the terms of the Agrarian Reform Law. Coincidental with these reported violent invasions, the Communist newspaper Tribuna Popular carried out a propaganda campaign on the slogan "Hand over the land to the campesinos immediately". Communist-led rural mob action if carried on without hindrance could unquestionably lead to eventual development of a significant peasant movement disposed to violent action which would give the Communists even greater control over agrarian reform and accordingly over the state power.

Meanwhile, even as these signs of Communist-inspired agrarian unrest were being reported in Guatemala City newspapers, further examples occurred

of pro-Communist

of pro-Communist penetration of the Agrarian Reform organization itself. The official Diario de Centro America of February 3, 1954 announced that the designation of Cesar Augusto Cazali A. as the Representative of the Ministry of Economy on the National Agrarian Council in substitution for Elfrain Castillo Urrutia. Cazali, hitherto an employee of the National Agrarian Department, has been closely identified with Communism, though not known to be an admitted member of the PGT. He was a founder and first Secretary General of the Frente Universitario Democratica (FUD), the Communist-front students' organization which is affiliated with the International Students Union at Prague. He visited Rumania and Bulgaria during the summer of 1952 and later wrote articles praising the present political and economic systems in those countries for Guatemalan Communist publications.

Further reflecting the atmosphere prevailing on the Communist issue in the National Agrarian Department, the Communist newspaper Tribuna Popular on January 20, 1954 reported the appointment of a board to select an emblem for the department. The board consisted of Wenceslao Cordon, a publicly registered member of the PGT and an officer of the agrarian section of the CGTG; Humberto Alvarado, a registered member of the PGT and in charge of its Youth Commission; Otto Raul Gonzalez, a member of the National Agrarian Council who apparently has not yet publicly admitted PGT membership but who is a well-known Communist-line poet and publicist; and two others, one from the Communist-front intellectual group Saker-Ti, and the other a representative of the peasant federation CNGC.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF GUATEMALAN INSTITUTIONS

PUBLIC INFORMATION (PROPAGANDA)

25 February 1954

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

PROPAGANDA DEVELOPMENT

Communist propaganda development in Guatemala has followed the familiar international Communist pattern, adapted to the geographic, economic, cultural and political conditions of the country. It conforms to the basic tenet of Communist penetration, reaffirmed by Stalin at the 19th Soviet Communist Party Congress in October, 1952, of "identifying the party with as many popular aspirations and national traditions as possible." Eulogy of the Soviet regime has its part, but the dominant tone is set by attacks on propaganda targets carefully selected to build up antagonism and hatred toward free world influence, to discredit the leaders of nations opposing Communism, and to undermine domestic anti-Communist leadership. The Communist technique of identifying Communism with Nationalism is the most insidious masquerade that could be staged.

In the years immediately following the 1944 Revolution, Communist energies were mainly directed toward the basic tasks of organization and leader indoctrination, efforts which resulted in the firm entrenchment of trained Communists at the top of the national labor movement and the construction of a well-knit Communist party firmly interlaced with the allied parties of the Left. While these tasks were carried forward, the Communist hate campaign was also advanced, in the exhortations of such men as Manuel Fortuny and Victor Manuel Gutierrez even during the years they chose to deny or conceal their identity as Communists. It was effectively furthered by fellow members of the then hidden Communist party who acquired important places in the field of mass communication. For example, the man who is today Secretary for Propaganda of the PGT, Alfredo Guerra Borges, formerly held the posts of editor of the PGL newspaper "El Libertador", radio announcer on TGW, the Government radio station, and editor-in-chief of the government's Diario de Centro America, before he left public employment to become Director of the Communist paper Octubre and to help found the Communist party of Guatemala. Huberto Alvarado, today a leader of the PGT, was employed in the President's Office of Press and Propaganda from 1949 to 1952; Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Secretary of Organization of the PGT, before the emergence of that party similarly had held such posts as editor of the political party newspaper "El Libertador", editor of the daily newspaper "Diario de la Manana" and special reporter for the government's Diario de Centro America. Mario Silva Jonama, Secretary for Education of the PGT today, was a teacher until his promotion to Under Secretary of the Ministry of Education in 1948, shortly thereafter taking a position in the President's Office of Publicity and Propaganda. This he held until May 1950, the month he publicly avowed his Communist affiliation.

As these and other Communist leaders turned from journalism to management of the Communist party, they left others well qualified and well placed to carry on their work. Carlos Alvarado Jerez, an avowed Communist, remains Director of the National Radio Station TGW, and last July acquired the additional authority of Director General of National,

Broadcasting with jurisdiction over all the radio stations of the country. Medardo Mejia, a well known Honduran Communist, remains on the editorial staff of the Diario de Centro America. Raul Leiva, faithful propagandist for Communism, remains in the President's Office of Publicity and Propaganda, and a group of similar minded men advance the Communist line in the daily newspapers Nuestro Diario and Diario del Pueblo, the latter being the party organ of the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca.

In June 1950, the Communist weekly newspaper Octubre appeared, its first editions being distributed to a relatively few carefully selected readers. As the organization it represented gathered strength to launch itself as an open political party a year later, the propaganda task of Octubre broadened. On January 25, 1952, it earned the recognition of the Cominform organ called "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy," published in Bucharest, in an article offering criticism and guidance. In November 1952, Octubre's editor Guerra Borges wrote, "It cannot be denied that in the short life of the Communist Party of Guatemala important successes in propaganda have been attained. Propaganda is nothing other than to take to the masses the truth about their own situation, laid bare by the light of the science of the proletariat, which is Marxism-Leninism."

There had indeed been a marked increase in the volume of Communist propaganda activity beginning in 1951, much of it having to do with the so-called "peace" movement. This particular Communist creation has flourished with exceptional success in Guatemala, where it is heavily relied on as a device for the more subtle dissemination of Communist propaganda. The National Committee for Peace was organized as successor to some previous "peace" organizations in 1949 by Fortuny, Gutierrez and Solorzano after their attendance at the First World Peace Conference in Paris in April of that year. Its first Secretary General was Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, a leader of the RN political party with a record of consistent support of the Communist line.

In 1951 Guatemala's Communist party revealed itself publicly, giving heavy stress to the bogus "peace" theme, and in August 1952, Mario Silva Jonama of the PGT became Secretary General of the National Peace Committee, apparently assigned by the Party to stimulate and guide its activities. The PCG made "peace" its central theme in 1952, together with agrarian reform.

The "peace" slogans inspired by the Kremlin were nowhere more assiduously exploited for Communist benefit than in Guatemala, in manifestos and meetings generously publicized by the newspapers and radio facilities collaborating with the Communist party. The following example accurately describes the type of Communist propaganda effort which has become characteristic of Guatemala in recent years: On May 10, 1951, the pro-Government newspaper Diario de la Manana carried a manifesto addressed to the youth of Guatemala exhorting it to adhere to the Third World Youth Festival to be held in Berlin on August 5-19, emphasizing the "peace" theme and listing as its supporters the usual roster of Communist-front organizations and the youth sections of the

principal political parties. This festival was in fact a Communist-controlled demonstration held in East Berlin which was designed to promote the myth that world youth supported Stalinism. The host organization was the only youth group permitted in the Soviet Zone, the Communist replica of Hitler Youth, whose members are trained and encouraged to denounce to the police anyone, even their parents, who might say a word of criticism of the Soviet regime in East Germany. Nevertheless, the Diario de Centro America, the official daily, contributed a full page of its August 23, 1951 edition to a glorification of this Communist event by the Communist front Saker-Ti group of intellectuals. The peace theme was repeated over and over, and a note was published expressing best wishes for the Festival, signed by the following eleven Deputies of the National Congress: Julio Estrada de la Hoz, Jose Alberto Cardoza, Marco Antonio Villamar, Fernando de Leon Porras, Francisco Fernandez, Alfonso Fortuny, Cesar Montengro, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Jaime Barrios Archila, Ignacio Humberto Ortiz and Roberto Giron Lemus.

On November 5 the official Diario de Centro America reported the return of the Guatemalan delegation, headed by Huberto Alvarado, in the following enthusiastic terms:

"Their faces shone with health, still reflecting the happiness which they found in the popular democracies. Healthy in body and mind, they appeared as recent arrivals in a new latitude, in this case our middle-western world where life is so different from that which for some time they were experiencing in the countries of socialism and democracy of the people."

The Communists in Guatemala continued to be uniformly successful in gaining copious circulation of their propaganda in the pro-Communist press of the country under the "peace" tag. For instance, the Diario de Centro America on July 27, 1953, reported the signing of the Korean truce through a bulletin of the National Peace Committee which said in part, "the National Peace Committee in making known with joy and enthusiasm this news which is a triumph of the world peace movement, calls upon all Guatemalans who love peace to participate, as a sign of the joy that fills us, with all persons, democratic organizations, civic and beneficent institutions, political parties and the people in general, the Day of Celebration for the Signature of the Korean Armistice: Friday July 31". Virtually all of the top half of the front page was devoted to the activities of the "peace" movement and statements by its leaders, thus stressing the alleged connection of the Soviet sponsored "peace" movement with conclusion of the truce.

At the same time, the pro-Communist newspaper Nuestro Diario printed an article by Paul Leiva of the Presidential Press and Information Office in which, after referring to the warlike appetite of a "great power",

he said, "All the military might of that great power came into play * to try to humiliate and crush this small people: its powerful aviation, its infantry and navy sent across the seas - travelling thousands of miles - to make Korea a living Hell. But, despite those diabolical instruments of mass extermination, despite the napalm and bacteriological warfare, THEY FAILED. And they failed because the peoples of Asia were awakening, and there were some who were able to check those forces, offering their vigorous support to the nearly defenseless Korean people. Hundreds of thousands of young Americans are buried in Korea. That was the tragic price paid for so stupid an adventure. Most of them were led to the slaughter lulled by a Machiavellian propaganda which misled them and caused them to defend a hypothetical and ever more adulterated 'democracy'.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA EVENTS IN GUATEMALA

In 1949 and 1950 the Communists in Guatemala increased their capacity for propaganda output by continuing to develop the "front" of mass organizations. Within these organizations, with their small but active membership and their adherence to central Communist directives, proposals and protests are placed and agitated and reemerge in the form of actions, announcements and resolutions which are reflected in the press and radio.

The organization of mass groups was well developed but not completed in 1950. The following units were included in it:

- Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG)
- Comite Nacional de Unidad Sindical (CNUS)
- Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores de Guatemala (FSG)
- Comite Politico Nacional de los Trabajadores
- Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG)
- Octubre Group
- Saker-Ti Group
- Comite de Partidarios de La Paz
- Alianza Feminina Guatemalteca (AFG)
- Alianza de Juventud Democratica Guatemalteca (AJDG)

This list shows the extension of control over labor organizations which had occurred through creation of unification committees, as well as the open identification of labor organizations with political action.

During 1950 and the previous year the creation of the "peace" movement greatly increased Communist capacity to draw in and use numbers of non-Communists for the advancement of their propaganda.

During 1951 the list of Communist front organizations underwent some changes and the Communist party emerged as such. The organizations carrying on Communist propaganda were as follows:

- Comite Nacional de la Paz
- Alianza de la Juventud Democratica de Guatemala (AJDG)
- Alianza Feminina Guatemalteca (AFG)
- Confederacion General de Trabajadores (CGT)
- Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (FSG)
- Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG)
(CGT and FSG combined in October to form CGTG)
- Sindicato de Trabajadores de Educacion de Guatemala (STEG)
- Partido Comunista de Guatemala (PCG)
- Partido Revolucion Obrero de Guatemala (PROG)
- Saker-Ti Group

In 1951 an increase in the volume of Communist propaganda activities occurred, with particular emphasis placed on the theme of "Peace." Among the events were a Peace poster contest by the Saker-Ti; celebration of the 6th anniversary of the teachers union STEG with publication of more than a page of pro-"peace", anti-US articles by such Communists as Virginia BRAVO Letelier, Oscar Edmundo Palma, Victor Manuel Gutierrez and Rafael Tischler; other meetings on similar Communist themes were attended at various times during the year by the foreign Communists Jose MOJERO of Cuba (February 24), Alejandro LIPSCHUTZ of Chile (February), Salvador GARCIA Aguero and Juan MARINELLO of Cuba (March 20). Their speeches were quoted at full length in the Diario de Centro America and the Diario de la Manana.

On February 24, 1951 a meeting was held in the hall of the Communist "Jacobo Sanchez School" at which Jose Manuel Fortuny attacked the Conference of Foreign Ministers, the North Atlantic Pact, and the Rio de Janeiro Pact, contrasting the two treaties with the treaties between the Soviet Union and the "peoples' democracies," which, he stated, were designed to further peace.

On March 2, 3, and 4, at a Congress of the Alianza de la Juventud Democratica de Guatemala, the Communist-dominated youth organization, the rostrum became a sounding board for attacks on the United States and support of the Communist peace line. The event received considerable publicity in the government-controlled press and radio.

March 8 was marked by a celebration of International Women's Day. Although designated an act of homage to Guatemalan women, the speakers devoted themselves mainly to the themes of "peace" and "imperialism." On the same day the Diario de Centro America and Diario de la Manana gave generous space to anti-United States and pro-Soviet articles written by local women.

After these preliminaries, a public meeting was held on March 20 by the Comite Nacional de Partidarios de la Paz, the first such meeting avowedly organized by that group. It was attended by foreign Communists, as has been described. The most substantial gain won in the "peace" propaganda effort of that period was inclusion of a pledge to support the campaign in the platform of the Partido Accion Revolucionaria, then the most powerful political party in Guatemala.

The effectiveness of this propaganda campaign was increased by the support which it received in the official and semi-official newspapers.

As principal speaker at the opening session of a Congress for the Unification of the Guatemalan Labor Movement on October 13 of the same year, Vicente Lombardo Toledano defended the position of the USSR in an

address which was broadcast in extenso by the government-owned official radio, TGN. After saying that "one of the underlying aims of this unification movement is to defend our culture, teach democracy, and let nothing hinder our progress," Lombardo Toledano presented a definition of imperialism in relation to Communism which set the tone for later interpretations of this subject.

In order to attack Communism, one must understand just what Communism is, and I feel safe in saying that those who have attacked Communism do not know what it really is. Therefore, how can anyone who does not know what Communism is know what dangers it holds. What they have done is to confuse Communism with imperialism....

At another point in this address, Lombardo Toledano declared that "imperialism wants ... to suppress the rights of man." He then said that the "high chiefs of the anti-Communist campaign were not born in Guatemala ... they were born in Washington. If there were no anti-Communist campaign in Washington, there would be none in Guatemala, I assure you ... I also assure you that it would not exist in any other parts of the world."

The CTAL President also assured the Guatemalan workers that they would not be alone in their "struggle for unity", as their efforts had the support of the CTAL and "the glorious UFTU." He closed with a final phrase containing the current Communist countersign: "Death to imperialism and long live peace among the men and peoples of the world."

The peace movement remained the key motive for Communist propaganda in 1952. Diario de la Manana on February 28, 1952 published the first call issued by Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Victor Manuel Gutierrez and others, for the National Peace Assembly to be held May 23-26. The Alianza Feminina de Guatemala engaged actively in preparations and advance publicity for the event, all of which received wide publicity in the official and pro-government newspapers and over the official radio station TGN. On May 23 the Diario de Centro America devoted almost its entire literary and art page to peace topics. Nuestro Diario and La Hora also published announcements of a "peace Mass" arranged by members of the AFG, to which "all the Catholic people of the Capital" were invited.

From June 22 through June 28, 1952, the Communist mass organizations and the CGTG observed a week of "solidarity with the People of Korea." The plans were directed by the CGTG Executive Committee and sponsored by the CGTG, the AFG, the AJDG, FUD and Saker-Ti, all Communist front organizations. The program opened with publication in Nuestro Diario on June 28 1952 of a manifesto signed by 19 Deputies of the National Congress which

charged that the Korean people had been subjected "to the most infamous means of mass extermination, including bacteriological warfare."

The extent to which the official and pro-government press and radio gave publicity to this Communist-directed propaganda campaign was noteworthy. The official Diario de Centro America carried five releases by the Committee, while Nuestro Diario devoted equivalent space to news coverage and carried an editorial on Korea repeating the Communist versions of the conflict. The official radio station also carried much Korean material giving the pro-USSR interpretation of events. Standard propaganda themes were used during the week. The United Nations forces in Korea, particularly those of the US, were described as "imperialist aggressors," and in expressing "solidarity with the Korean people" the Communists in general omitted reference to the people of South Korea and the fact that those people were fighting alongside the troops of the United Nations. Invariably the references made to "solidarity" were coupled with denunciations of the alleged "use of bacteriological weapons" by the forces of the United States, and charges of "massacres of defenseless Korean and Chinese prisoners by American troops."

The Communist weekly Octubre on Sept. 11, 1952 reported that a germ warfare film was shown at an August 30 "peace" meeting of the AFG, held in the government-owned Dolores Bedoya School.

During 1952 and 1953 the official radio publicized the attendance of Guatemalan delegates to meetings of the World Peace Organization held in Europe and Asia. In February 1952, protests regarding the US treatment of the Rosenberg treason trial received space in the official press. In March, the death of Stalin became the occasion for a message of condolence from the "revolutionary Deputies" of the National Congress. It was signed by the President of the Congress, broadcast by the official radio and contained reference to the death of "the great leader Josef Stalin," as "an irreparable loss to the universal movement for the liberation of peoples and for world peace."

As the possibility of an armistice in Korea became apparent, the groundwork was laid by pro-Communist editorialists for a switch to a new point of agitation in which the acts of the USSR would be treated as benevolent while all United States policy and action were characterized as guided by "imperialism" and desire for war. The official radio carried on its home service broadcast on 11 May 1953, the statement that "there are those who are against peace because they derive benefits from wars.... These are the ones who are trying to combine the Indochinese and Korean problems so as to increase the impasse." The report went on to develop the idea that the Indochinese are "fighting for their freedom against foreign invaders" bent on denying their "right to self-determination."

In April, the Guatemalan General Confederation of Labor was again the vehicle for spreading propaganda on purely Communist matters having little or no relation to workers' interests. The affiliated unions were called upon to help pay for the transportation of Guatemalan delegates to the World Peace Conference, to address petitions for the pardon of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to the President of the United States, and to support the Communist-controlled national and international conference on "Defense of the Rights of Youth" and the Communist International Social Security Conference. Of six tasks for the Confederation for the year listed by Unidad, the Central Organ of the CGTG, four were concerned with matters outside the normal province of labor: 1) National Conference of Syndicates for the Defense of Peace; 2) National Conference of Syndicates for the study of problems of social security; 3) International Conference of Agricultural Workers and Foresters convoked in Vienna by the WFTU; and 4) Third Congress of the WFTU, to which a full Guatemalan representation must be sent.

Editions of various bulletins and organs of the CGTG, AFG, and other Communist-dominated mass organizations were brought out in June to coincide with the meeting of the National Peace Committee. The Secretariat of Press and Propaganda in the Presidency took full page space in several of them to publicize Government programs.

A Communist-line interpretation of expression of anti-Communist feeling was given over the government radio on May 15, 1953 and has appeared generally in Guatemalan pro-Communist press and radio broadcasts frequently since. In this propaganda, anti-Communism is identified with "reaction." Anti-Communism continues to be here, as elsewhere, Hitlerian agitation against public freedom," it was stated over TWG. The same day another broadcast of TGWA interpreted anti-Communism as "intervention": "For some years, there have been open enemies to the independent progress of our country.... The fight for our national independence can appear dangerous and pro-Communist only to the sworn enemies of our homeland...."

Continuing close relations between the Guatemalan local mass organizations and the main centers of world Communism have been publicized regularly in the government-owned press and radio. News of congratulations to the CGTG from the WFTU in June 1953, was reported by TGWA; travel and return of Guatemalans visiting Vienna, Paris, Budapest, Prague and Moscow, has been regularly reported by the government radio and press. Radio TGWA reported on June 5, 1953 that the WFTU, meeting in Paris, had sent congratulations to the CGTG on its "firm and vigorous attitude toward the threats of foreign interventionists...."

On June 27, TGWA reported that the General Confederacion of Guatemalan Workers had again called on affiliated unions to appoint delegates to a National Trade Union Peace Assembly, July 25. A new name had been

devised for the Peace propagandists. The official radio carried the report that CGTG leaders had reminded the unions that activity of this nature would "increase the strength of the democratic efforts of the popular forces."

Three resolutions adopted by the Guatemalan Department Peace Assembly which followed in July, were given ample publicity by government and pro-government press and radio. The resolutions passed by the Departmental Peace Assembly provided the Communist mass organizations with new propaganda themes, all of which supported international Communist objectives, namely, 1) alleged threats to national sovereignty, 2) advocacy of a Five Power peace pact and negotiation among the Great Powers, 3) organization and extension of the peace movement.

The campaign for Big Power Negotiations received support from radio TGWA and was promoted through the mass organizations by the National Peace Committee drive to obtain signatures to a petition for negotiations among the US, UK, USSR, France and "the People's Republic of China." Each component of the now well-defined "front" of Communist-dominated organizations pledged to obtain given numbers of signatures. It was claimed in Tribuna Popular of December 19 that 74,000 signatures had been obtained.

By December, however, after the truce in Korea it was evident that the peace movement was losing its appeal. The CGTG declared December 19 a "Day of Solidarity with the Viet-Namese People" in their "fight for liberation against the French invasion, supported, financed and guided by Yankee imperialism." The attendance was small, and the event of little interest compared with the CGTG's "anti-intervention" campaign, but once again illustrated the use of Communist-controlled Guatemalan labor and mass organizations for the ends of international Communism.

In August of 1953, the official radio announced that the CGTG would apply that week for admission to the Confederation of Workers of Latin America and the World Federations of Trade Unions.

The propaganda directors of the Communist mass organizations now turned their attention to a renewed drive to discredit the intentions of the US toward Guatemala and to interpret the situation of Guatemala vis-a-vis the US in terms favorable to international Communism objectives. Among these interpretations, some of the publications of the front organizations began turning statements so as to imply that the USSR had triumphed in the war in Korea and was being obstructed in its efforts to restore peace by US non-cooperation. TGWA on December 3, 1953, discussed Guatemalan relations with the OAS on the "National Hour" program, and announced that "all the political parties of the revolution and several civic organizations have issued a memorandum in support of their government for the

stand it took against the US proposal to discuss Communist infiltration in the Americas.... We, who represent the democratic organizations of our country, wish to state our position to the people and, at the same time, ask the people to give unstinted support to the government...."

During this period numerous acts of homage to the memory of the late Josef Stalin were organized by various units of the Communist mass organizations, and were publicized by Radio TGWA. On December 30, the local press reproduced an article from Moscow's Pravda supporting the Guatemalan Government. Pravda was quoted as saying that "Guatemala was not alone" in its struggle for independence.

In the weeks that followed, the mass organizations, the government radio and newspapers intensified criticism of the US and revealed the active communication between Guatemala and international Communism. On January 11 it was announced over TGWA that democratic Progressive Youth Alliance Committees were being formed, to meet every Sunday throughout Guatemala to select delegates in preparation for the Youth Festival scheduled for February 1954.

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

TRAVEL AND CONTACTS

25 February 1954

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

TRAVEL AND CONTACTS

Travel from Guatemala to Centers of International Communism

Since 1948 many travelers have gone from Guatemala to Communist-sponsored international meetings in distant parts of the world.

Funds to pay for these costly trips, formerly possible only for the rich, are believed to be supplied in large part by the international Communist organization. Local affiliates of the peace movement or WFTU have many times announced campaigns to collect funds to pay the expenses of delegates, but nothing further indicates that the campaigns actually take place. In one instance, early in February, 1953, a handbill was issued calling on the unions and labor federations to support the National and International Conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth and the International Social Security Conference and suggesting that each union communicate with the IGSS (Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social) headed by pro-Communist Alfonso Solorzano and request the IGSS to pay the travel expenses for Comrade Aguirre to attend the youth conference and Marco A. Cuellar the Social Security Conference. Whether the IGSS, an autonomous agency of the government, supplied funds as suggested is not known. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, secretary general of the CGTG, at one time came under attack for accepting one of these trips; he declared that his expenses to East Berlin had been paid by the WFTU, while those of his further travels to and within the Soviet Union were paid by Soviet labor organizations. The Guatemalan Government allows Gutierrez a diplomatic passport for this travel.

Gutierrez, Solorzano, Luis Cardoza y Aragon, Jose Manuel Fortuny, Leonardo Castillo Flores, and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes are the only members of what may be called the "senior" leadership of the Guatemalan Communist party and labor organizations who have made the Communist "grand tour" to Moscow and Eastern Europe. The utility to Moscow of direct contact with these leading Guatemalan Communists is obvious. The emphasis otherwise is put on youth. In selecting delegates or invitees, the Communists obviously hope that they may discover raw material for potential leadership. In this connection, the Bolshevik emphasis on the power of the vanguard and on the constant application of approved ideas is of interest. It has been applied many times in the advance of international Communism in Guatemala, but in nothing else more clearly than in the travel program.*

*Communist stress on political education "follows from the assumption that the masses will move spontaneously but that the direction in which they move will depend on the leadership. This elite orientation makes the training of leadership a decisive element in Communist organization." (P. Selznick, "The Organization Weapon," The Rand Series, McGraw-Hill, 1952, N.Y.)

Invitations to travel behind the Iron Curtain also are extended from time to time to the political exiles from other Latin American countries who live in Guatemala. Presumably the expectation of the ultimate sponsors of these journeys is that the exiles eventually will return to their own countries and become Communist agitators and organizers there. Interesting comparisons can be made in this connection: Antonio Ovando Sanchez, now somewhat of an elder counselor in the Guatemalan Communist-labor group, received training and indoctrination in Moscow as a youth, in 1940. Imprisoned for Communist activity in Guatemala, he was no sooner released, after the 1944 revolution, than he started working vigorously as a Communist organizer. Solorzano, now chief of the Guatemalan Social Security Institute, represents the exile group of the same generation. During the time of the Ubico government he lived in exile in Mexico, where he was a member of the Communist Party. After the 1944 revolution, he returned to Guatemala and began participating in Communist party and labor organization, although professing that he no longer had connections with Communism.

The recent travel of Guatemalan young men and women to Eastern Europe and Asia undoubtedly has advanced the interests of international Communism in Latin America. The beneficiaries of these trips spend one to three months traveling, are taken on carefully conducted tours, fed and entertained agreeably; most of them are from families unaccustomed to the luxury of travel, and they tend to return to their native country not only well indoctrinated but in an exalted state of mind. (Witnesses to the homecoming of one of the groups of Guatemalan travelers recently were surprised to observe that so many of them wore Russian overcoats and caps they appeared to be in uniform.) After the tour is finished the travelers, naturally feeling under obligation, tend to pay back the debt with fulsome praise, often in poetry, all of which redounds to the continuing propaganda advantage of the USSR.

There follows a chronological list of meetings abroad under Communist control which have been attended by representatives from Guatemalan organizations.

Contact and liaison were established between Guatemalan Communists and sources of outside advice and support from about 1945. The Guatemalan labor organizations became affiliated with CTAL and the WFTU. In the first years CTAL leaders from outside came to Guatemala. By 1948 the Guatemalans were beginning to travel themselves. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary General of the CGTG, attended CTAL meetings in Mexico in 1948. In July, 1949, he went with a group of CTAL officials from other Latin American countries to the WFTU meeting at Milan. He also attended, in April of that year, the First World Council of the so-called "Partisans of Peace", held in Paris. Also in 1949 he attended meetings of CTAL in Mexico and the WFTU in Berlin.

The series of group visits which developed beginning 1950-51, was preceded by a considerable sequence of contacts between Guatemalan Communists and sympathizers in Europe. Luis Cardoza y Aragon, at present one of the most active proponents of the Communist peace and youth movements, was of leftist inclination before he was appointed Guatemalan Ambassador to Moscow in 1945. Carlos Manuel Pellecer was already an eager, aggressive Communist propagandist at that time, when he was a Secretary of mission accredited to the USSR and the formerly free Baltic States.

Pellecer has been for some time a member of the General Council of the World Federation of Trades Unions, with Victor Albert Leal as his alternate. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary General of CGTG, is a member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and was a member of the Presidium of the Third World Congress of WFTU.

Gutierrez has been described as possibly the most conscientious world Communist in Guatemala. His appointment as a member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU can be taken, however, as based on his value as the dominant figure in an organized force-- the CGTG-- through which he can promote the advancement of Communism in Guatemala and other countries of Latin America. It has been noted elsewhere that the WFTU has indicated its signal interest in the CGTG by sending Giuseppe Casadei of its International Board of Directors to attend the Second National CGTG Convention.

There are no Guatemalans listed as officers of the World Peace Committee nor of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Dora Franco y Franco was a speaker at the Copenhagen Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Women, in 1953, and following the Congress the Guatemalan delegates were invited to visit the USSR.

Victor Manuel Gutierrez entered WFTU through the CTAL, attending meetings of the latter in Mexico beginning in 1948. In July, 1949, he went with a group of CTAL officials from other Latin American countries to the WFTU meeting at Milan. He also attended, in April of that year, the First World Council of the Partisans of Peace, held in Paris. In 1949 he attended meetings of CTAL in Mexico and of the WFTU in Berlin.

Jesse Manuel Fortuny and Alfonso Solorzano also traveled abroad in 1949, the year of initial activity of the "peace" movement. Solorzano, Fortuny and Gutierrez all attended the Paris meeting. Fortuny subsequently made a tour of the Soviet Satellite areas.

Gutierrez attended the Berlin Labor Conference of WFTU in 1951, and in December of that year went to Moscow.

As the drive to expand Soviet propaganda by means of the apurified peace movement was pressed forward in 1951, the stream of visitors going from Guatemala to Eastern Europe increased considerably. Guatemalan delegates attended international Communist front meetings thenceforward as indicated in the following list:

Chronology of Travel From Guatemala to Centers of International Communism

1951

Berlin Youth Festival, Berlin, August 1951--Edelberto Torres, Jr., active in Communist youth affairs, son of Nicaraguan Communist in exile in Guatemala; Octavio Reyes, Hugo Barrios Klee, leader of AJDG; Huberto Alvarado, youth leader of the Communist party, PGT.

World Peace Conference, Vienna, November, 1951-- Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, President of the Guatemalan National Congress; and Luis Cardoza y Aragon, Vice President of the National Peace Committee.

WFTU Conference, Berlin, November 1951--as stated above, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary General of the CGTG, was the only Guatemalan attending.

Hemisphere Peace Conference, Montevideo, March 1952-- this unsuccessful "cultural" congress, designed to support the peace movement, was attended by four Guatemalans.

1952

The International Conference in Defense of Children, Vienna, April, 1952, was attended by nine Guatemalan representatives.

The Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca sent Dora Franco y Franco, now Secretary General of AFG; and Lily de Alvarado, Salvadoran Communist, Esther de Urrutia, Elena Barrios Klee, Official of the National Agrarian Department. Max Salazar, Secretary for Farm Relations of CGTG, Victor Leal, Business Secretary of the CGTG, Joaquin Artiga de Leon; Paulino Ovalle, editor of government Nuestro Diario and Captain Terencio Guillen, Governor of the Department of Escuintla, also attended. Dora Franco was one of the Conference speakers. From Vienna she travelled to France, Italy, Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The Moscow Economic Conference, 1952, was attended by Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Jose Albert Cardoza, currently Vice Secretary General of CGTG and Mario Silva Jonama, editor of Octubre. Cardoza and Silva Jonama went on from Moscow to Peking to attend both the Preparatory and full dress Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conferences. The Preliminary Conference was held in June, the full dress Conference was also held in Peking, in September. The Guatemalan newspaper La Hora of June 5, 1952, asserted that prior to the Preparatory Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, Peking, Mario Silva Jonama, the leader of the delegation, went to Mexico where he received funds for the travel expenses of the delegates. The delegation from Guatemala included nine alien exiles. The full delegation for the September meeting was listed as follows: Otto Raul Gonzalez, leftist poet of Saker-Ti group, Srta. Atala Valenzuela, Secretary of Minutes of AJDG, Mario S. Jonama, Jose Guillen, Edelberto

Torres, Nicaraguan long known as Communist; Carlos Alvarado Jerez, director of radio station La Voz de Guatemala; Jose Alberto Cardoza, Communist deputy; Manuel Sanchez, pro-Communist in SANF; Waldo Chavez Velasco, Salvadoran; Juan Antonio Cruz Franco, President of National Peace Committee; Francisco Galicia del Valle, journalist; Leon Valladares, Nicaraguan psychologist; and Srta. Carmen Moran, teacher, Secretary of Children's Committee of AFG. Cruz Franco had the title of leader of the Guatemalan delegation; Carlos Alvarado Jerez was Secretary of the delegation.

The International Students Union Council, held at Bucharest, August - September 1952, attracted the following Guatemalans: Jose Rudolfo Aguilar Gonzalez, Felicito Alegria Herrera, Rigoberto Padilla, Napoleon Villacorta, Max Armando Villasenor Estrada. This was followed in December, 1952, by the WFTU Social Security Conference, attended by 13 Guatemalans, headed by Victor Manuel Gutierrez. Gutierrez returned to Guatemala after the conference but four weeks later, in January 1953, he returned to Europe and went on to Moscow. Immediately upon his return to Guatemala from Moscow he took the major political step of dissolving the PROG labor party which he had organized, and invited the members to go with him into the Communist party of Guatemala, of which Fortuny was and still is Secretary General. This action was in full accord with the Moscow party position calling for unified labor and party organizations.

Another World Peace Conference was held in Vienna, in December 1952, attended by four Guatemalan delegates.

1953

The World Congress of Democratic Women, held in Copenhagen in 1953 and the World Federation of Teachers' Unions meeting were attended by Dora Franco y Franco, Irma Chavez de Alvarado, and Elena Leiva de Holst of the AFG.

Two Communist-sponsored meetings in 1953 attracted large delegations from Guatemala, namely the Budapest meeting of the World Peace Council, 12-20 June, 1953, and the Bucharest youth meeting in August. They were attended by Marco Franco, Prof. Oscar Edmundo Palma, Secretary of Propaganda for Guatemalan National Peace Committee, director of STEG bulletin, member of Central Committee of the PGT and Colonel Carlos Paz Tejada, formerly chief of the armed forces.

A delegation numbering 20 members, and accompanied by a marimba band of ten players, went from Guatemala to the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students in Bucharest, 2-16 August 1953. The members were Felicito Alegrias, Noel Mejia Pallais, a reporter of Prensa Libre (non-Communist paper) and a member of the SNFG. The most important

members of this delegation were Hugo Barrios Klee, Julio Estevez, Secretary of Organization of FUD; Carlos Castaneda of the FUD publication; Carlos Enrique Dardon of the AJGD. Seven of those present went on to the USSR, including Estevez and Barrios Klee. One of the main results of this congress was a resolution setting a task for the Latin American affiliates to hold a "Festival of Friendship of the Youth of Central America and the Caribbean" during 1954.

In October of 1953, six Guatemalans attended the Vienna congress of the WFTU, including Gabriel Camey Ordonez, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Secretary General of the Farm Workers Confederation, CNCG, Jose Luis del Cid Garcia, Albino Garcia, Jose Luis Ramos Martinez, and Victor Manuel Gutierrez.

In December, 1953, a meeting of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers was held in Vienna. Two Guatemalans attended: Hernandez Cobos, Civil Registrar of Guatemala, and a member of the Political Committee of RN Party, and Ernesto Capuano, administrative chief of the National Agrarian Department, who acts as Administrator in the absence of the chief of the department.

A last visitor to the Soviet Orbit from Guatemala during 1953 remains to be mentioned: Gabriel Camey. Camey went to Moscow prior to the local elections in the town of Escuintla, one of the few towns of sizable population in Guatemala, and was elected in absentia, with the help of this well-organized political force interested in placing him in this position.

In January, 1954, the annual series of visits to world Communist headquarters was inaugurated with a visit to Moscow by Jose Manuel Fortuny and Victor Manuel Gutierrez.

TRAVEL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISTS TO GUATEMALA

The repeated visits of representatives of international Communism to Guatemala since 1945 and 1946 are common knowledge. In recent years it has been a frequent practice for the national party and labor group leaders to receive the visitors from outside at the airport and to form a committee to accompany them to the plane when they depart. These reception committees are usually made up of Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PGT; Carlos Manuel Pellecer, secretary of conflicts of the CGTG; Victor Manuel Gutierrez, CGTG Secretary General and PGT Deputy in Congress, together with various other figures in the Communist movement such as the "pioneer" member, Antonio Ovando Sanchez.

In chronological sequence, the travelers to Guatemala of outstanding significance in this connection have been noted as follows:

By 1946 Virginia Bravo Letelier, Chilean Communist, and Nela Martinez, Communist from Ecuador, were established as employees of the Guatemalan Ministry of Education. They organized the Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca-APG (Guatemalan Women's Alliance) and guided its affiliation with the World Federation of Democratic Women. Virginia Bravo made her office in the Ministry a meeting ground for visiting international Communists and worked to indoctrinate young professional women and to bring teachers into the structure of Communist organization. She has traveled in recent years between Guatemala, Mexico and Eastern Europe.

During 1946 and 1947, Cesar Gedeon Urrutia and Manuel Eduardo Hubner Richardson, Chilean Communists, came to Guatemala and spent much time in conference with members of the Guatemalan labor organizing group, of Saker-Ti, and the Octubre nucleus, still to be formed and come to public knowledge under the latter name. Cesar Gedeon Urrutia was in contact primarily with Victor Manuel Gutierrez and the labor leaders. Hubner Richardson, remaining in the country for protracted stays, became an intimate of the intellectual group and laid the groundwork for subsequent reception of the Chilean Communist poet, Pablo Neruda, spokesman for the Cominform.

On December 23, 1946, Blas Roca, one of the outstanding Communist labor leaders of Latin America, conferred with the leaders of the CTG and FSG. The Cuban Roca represented the CTAL in these talks. CTAL influence and pressure upon the Guatemalan unions to force their consolidation into large centralized federations, affiliate them with the CTAL and with the WFTU, became increasingly apparent from the time of Blas Roca's visit forward.

Vicente Lombardo Tola'sne of Mexico, President of CTAL, made a visit in July, 1948, after the work of organizing Guatemalan labor in the desired pattern had considerably advanced. This and other occasions later on became the opening for propaganda promoting international

Communist objectives and for the enunciation of Communist-line exhortations and pronouncements by Lombardo Toledano.

Roberto Morena, Brazilian Communist graduate of Moscow training courses in 1930, member of the Central Committee of CTAL, went to Guatemala in August, 1948, to initiate plans for Guatemalan participation in the Communist world peace movement. Before reaching Guatemala Morena had already conferred with Communists Lazaro Pena and Juan Marinello in Cuba. On September 8, 1948, he addressed a joint meeting of the directive boards of the CTC, and other groups which subsequently joined or were used in the peace movement propaganda.

Guatemalan writers, artists and intellectuals met at Morena's initiative on September 10, and organized the Guatemalan national committee for "Peace and Democracy" under the countersign of international Communism. Manuel Eduardo Hubner Richardson, the Chilean Communist, addressed the meeting.

Morena returned to Guatemala in November, 1949, shortly after he appeared as a speaker at the WFTU Congress in Milan. In Guatemala he was the guest of honor at the installation of the first executive committee of the Federacion Regional de Trabajadores Campesinos. This was the first organization of peasant and agricultural workers in Guatemala.

From 1949 through 1953, international Communist leaders visited Guatemala in a sequence illustrated below. In each case, their contact was directly with the nucleus of Communist political-labor leadership growing up in Guatemala around Victor Manuel Gutierrsz, Jose Manuel Fortuny, Carlos Pellecer and their associates.

Conferences of the local leaders, beginning July 3, 1949, with Cesar Godey Urrutia coincided with the launching of a drive to form a united front of political, labor, and mass organizations in the typical pattern of Communist penetration.

The year 1950 brought out in Guatemala, as elsewhere in Latin America, an intensified drive by international Communism for gains throughout the area. Cesar Godey Urrutia returned to Guatemala on January 12, accompanied by the Chilean Communist Luis Enrique Delano, the Mexican Sixto Fernandez Dozeal, and the Costa Rican Vicente Saenz, both also known for Communist adherence. They were joined a few days later by Manuel Mora Valverde, former secretary general of the Costa Rican Communist party, Vanguardia Popular, and Carlos Luis Fallas, also a Costa Rican Communist. Following the conferences held by these international Communists with the Guatemalan labor and political chiefs, a National Political Workers Convention was held, on January 21-22, 1950.

A review of the growth of the political and labor organizations responding to Communist program and direction, as shown in the Guatemalan press of the period, indicates that at each step in this process advisers from the CTAL were in Guatemala for consultation.

In May, 1951, Lombardo Toledano and Louis Saillant of the central directorate of WFTU came to Guatemala after a visit to Moscow, to participate in the CTAL Land and Air Transportation Congress. Although purporting to be an international convention, the principal resolutions adopted applied only to Guatemala, the first recommending a single union of all organized labor in Guatemala and the second, establishment of a political party of the working class.

Bias Roca, Juan Marinello, secretary general of the Cuban Communist party, and Salvador Aguirre were among the Communist organizers from other countries who came to Guatemala to give guidance to the local groups in 1952.

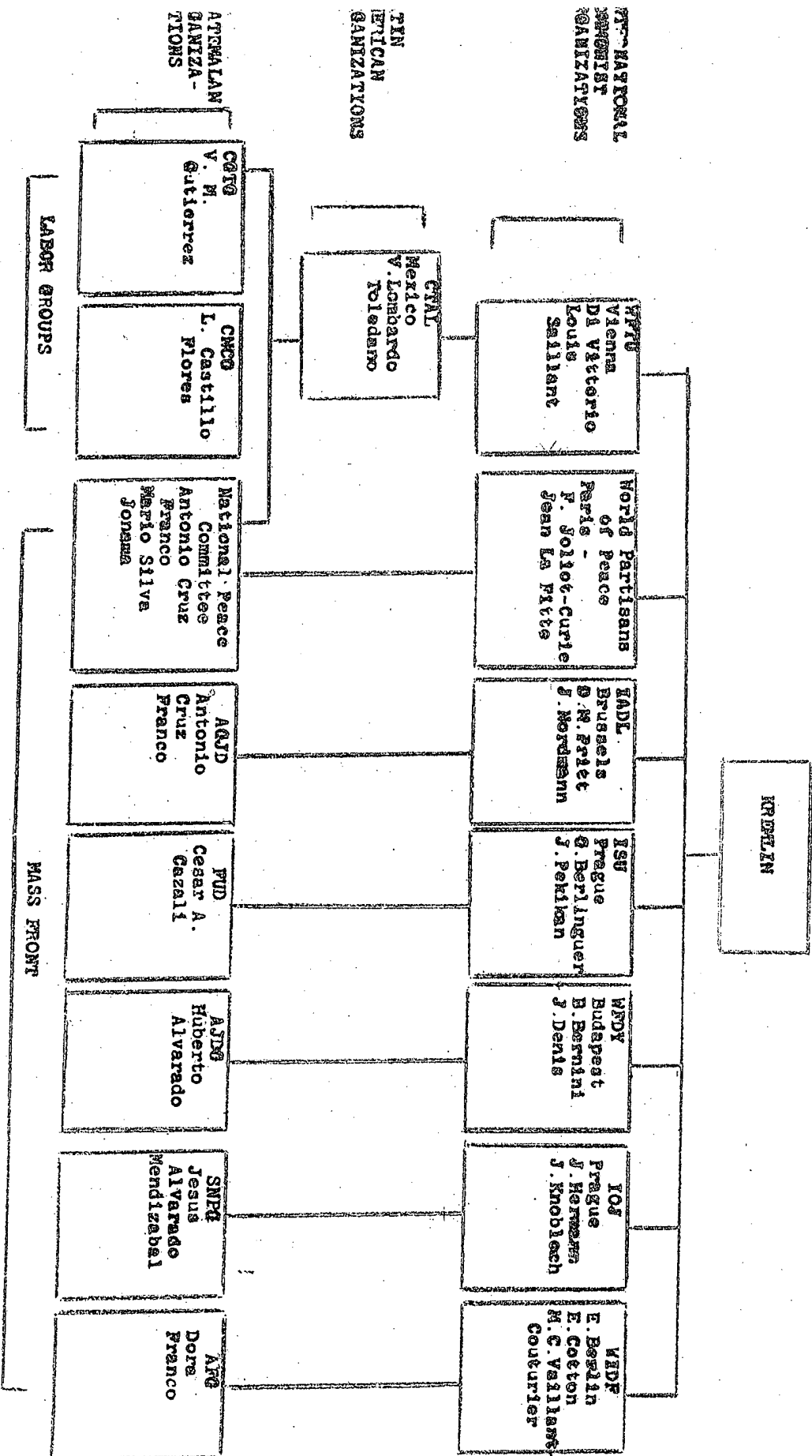
An important visitor in 1953 was Dionisio Encina, secretary general of the Communist party of Mexico, whose appearance coincided with preparations for the Second Congress of Guatemalan Labor.

The principal foreign delegate to the congress, however, was Giuseppe Casadei, member of the permanent staff of the WFTU Secretariat in Vienna. It is significant that the WFTU sent a high-ranking officer to the national labor congress of one of the smallest Latin American countries. This is the first instance where a permanent staff member has attended a national meeting in any Latin American country.

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNIST POWER IN GUATEMALA
THROUGH MASS ORGANIZATIONS

25 February 1954

GUATEMALAN LINKS WITH THE USSR THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS



**THE SOVIET-SPONSORED WORLD PEACE
MOVEMENT**

25 February 1954

THE SOVIET-SPONSORED WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

During the past six years the USSR has endeavored to strengthen its world position and to advance the penetration of international Communism in countries beyond its own area by capitalizing on the universal desire of all humanity for a peaceful, secure life and by representing itself to the credulous as a protagonist and protector of peace while accusing all non-Communists and all leaders of the Western powers, particularly the United States, of being warmongers and exploiters.

The machinery for advancing this propaganda drive on a world-wide scale was established in 1948 and became known as the International Committee of the Partisans of Peace. Since then the movement has been used as an instrument not only for disseminating propaganda, but also for exerting political pressures on the free world.

The summoning of a World Congress of Intellectuals, held in Breslau, Poland, August 25-28, 1948, set the stage for the commencement of this program. A permanent International Committee in Defense of Peace was set up. This committee, composed of 121 members, among whom were the Brazilian novelist Jorge AMADO and the Chilean poet Pablo NERUDA, was the parent organization of the so-called World Peace Movement. Paris was selected as temporary headquarters and subsequently became the permanent seat of the International Committee of the Partisans of Peace.

The purpose of the permanent committee was to coordinate propaganda and all activities described as aimed at the preservation and promotion of world peace, and against "a handful of self-interested men in America and Europe" seeking war.

It soon became evident, and since then has been abundantly proved, that the World Peace Movement is designed to support the day-to-day needs of Soviet policy and propaganda, to carry out a consistent policy of dividing and weakening the resistance of the free world to Soviet aggression.

In the long term, it is designed to induce world-wide support of Soviet policy as a whole and to recruit adherents to Communism.

The theory and practice of the World Peace Movement show that the basic maneuver--the exploitation of the love of peace to serve political ends--depends for its success on the ignorance and credulity of the non-Communists it seeks to exploit.

In constructing the machinery of international and national committees for this program, attention was first concentrated on building bases for organization and propaganda by means of meetings, conventions and congresses in many countries. From early 1949 to the present, Moscow has exerted heavy pressures on leaders of the movement for "concrete results."

The governing bodies of the movement are a World Congress, a World Peace Council and the Council's Executive Bureau. The supreme body is the World Peace Congress, which apparently convenes as circumstances dictate. The fifth World Peace Congress convened in Vienna, November 1, 1953.

Reports published by the Soviet Government and by agencies under its control, including the World Peace Council itself, have indicated that:

(1) Work for the "peace campaign" is the first priority of all Communist agencies throughout the world:

The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organization and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organizations. /Cominform resolution of November 29, 1949, still in force/

(2) The purpose of the Peace Movement is to strengthen the position of the Soviet Government. For instance, in a lecture on the World Peace Council given at the Communist Party Centre in Budapest, it was stated:

... the peace movement of invincible power has set itself the aim to frustrate the aggressive plans of the American and English Imperialists ... Comrade Stalin is a military command of genius.... The heroic Soviet Army is the most powerful sentinel of peace.

The policy of the World Peace Movement is directed by a small Executive Bureau of 46 members, issuing resolutions which are always adopted unanimously by the World Peace Council, some 300 strong.

Key members of the Executive Bureau are also key members of the other Communist international organizations. Thus Frederic Jean JOLIOT-CURIE, its chairman, is also president of the (Communist) World Federation of Scientific Workers; one of the vice-chairmen is Eugenie COTTON, president of (Communist) International Federation of Democratic Women. Bureau members include such figures as Louis SAILLANT, Secretary-general of the (Communist) World Federation of Trade Unions, Ilya EHRENBURG, Soviet propagandist, and KUO Mo-jo, vice-premier of the Chinese Republic.

Below the World Peace Council comes a series of national peace committees, composed largely of members of the Communist Party and faithful supporters of Soviet policy. These committees have three main functions:

(1) To further the aims of Soviet policy under the guise of "peace." On every international issue the national committee start from the basic assumption that Soviet policy is right, and everything opposed to Soviet aims is wrong.

(2) To organize "peace committees" in towns, streets and factories. In this connection Louis SAILLANT said at the Stockholm Conference of 1950:

One way to root the movement deep in the hearts of the people is to organize committees for the defense of peace at the place where men and women carry out their daily work....

(3) To organize, in conjunction with Communist Party members, peace organizations among scientists, artists, musicians, teachers and other intellectual workers, ostensibly independent of the World Peace Movement and designed to attract as many non-Communists as possible. This function was outlined in a directive in the Cominform Journal as early as November 1949:

Particular attention should be devoted to bringing together into the movement of the supporters of peace the trade unions, women's, youth, co-operative, cultural and educational, religious and other organizations, as well as scientists, writers, journalists, workers in the cultural field, parliamentary leaders who are in favor of peace and against war.

Such are the national networks, or "transmission-belts" to use the Communists' own terminology. But there are also functional networks, operating through the main Communist-dominated international bodies, such as:

The World Federation of Trade Unions
The World Federation of Democratic Youth
The International Union of Students
The International Federation of Democratic Women
The International Association of Democratic Lawyers
The International Organization of Journalists
The World Federation of Scientific Workers.

These bodies are required to support the peace movement fully, and they provide a useful alternative to the national networks for channeling directives down to the various professional and other groups in modern society.

The political aims of this close-knit "peace" movement cover the Communist states as well as the free world and are consistent throughout. In Russia and the Satellites the movement is an official propaganda agency designed to strengthen popular support for nationalist or militant aims.

The World Peace Movement has been progressively discredited and exposed as an instrument of Soviet policy, but as this has happened, new instruments have been created to carry out the basic policy in another guise. One of the new techniques is the "initiating committee." This was used in organizing the Moscow Economic Conference, to conceal its origins within the peace movement. Once the conference was over, however, the peace movement claimed credit for it.

Attention to cultural and educational affairs was prescribed by a directive issued through the Cominform to the peace campaign in 1949. Under such directives, movements, organizations and agitators have sprung up on a local basis, apparently unrelated to each other, ostensibly dedicated to the cause of peace as an end in itself, but really playing a positive role in the development of the Soviet propaganda campaign. Conforming with standard Communist tactics, these movements are usually composed of a Communist or peace movement nucleus surrounded by a number of persons disinterested in politics and unaware of the role they are playing in support of Russia's political warfare plan.

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA

LATIN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN
THE SOVIET SPONSORED WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

25 February 1954

LATIN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE SOVIET-SPONSORED WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

In the early postwar period many sincere, thoughtful Latin Americans, especially intellectuals, began seeking ways in which the people of the world could live together more amicably. Many of them viewed the early Communist-inspired peace meetings and the Partisans of Peace movement with hope and expected the declared aims to be seriously and objectively considered. A gradual awareness that the movement had been used primarily for the promotion of Communist ideology and the dissemination of Communist hate propaganda against the Western democracies subsequently caused many of these thinking people to withdraw their support.

The progress of the movement in Latin America has been impeded by the lack of support from prominent non-Communist liberals and by adverse political developments in various countries, which have gone hand in hand with growing awareness of the intent and danger of the international Communist conspiracy. Attempts to hold hemispheric peace conferences have been numerous but have met with little success. The First American Continental Congress for Peace, held in Mexico City, September 5-10, 1949, was not brought together until after many postponements.

Preparatory steps clearly anticipating the "peace" movement in Latin America were taken a year and a half previously, through the long-established liaison between Moscow and the labor unions affiliated in the Confederacion de Trabajadores de la America Latina (CTAL), which was soon to be integrated into the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions. In March, 1948, five months before the Breslau meeting of August, a groundwork for Latin American participation was laid at the Third Congress of the CTAL. At that meeting Roberto Morena, Brazilian Communist labor leader, introduced a resolution recommending that "the CTAL arrange a Congress representative of the organizations and persons of the democratic movement of Latin America." The resolution was passed and in September of that same year--one month after the Breslau Congress of Intellectuals--Morena delivered a CTAL document on the subject to Julio Gomez Robles, then president of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security and newly-elected president of the Guatemalan National Peace Committee. This action is the first known attempt to implement the Third Congress resolution.

Morena visited Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Uruguay in addition to Guatemala, to inform local Communists and sympathizers in each country of the decision to hold the American Peace Congress and to ask them to begin immediately the task of setting up local Peace Committees, to raise funds, to select delegates and to propagandize the forthcoming meeting. Not until the middle of June 1949, however, was an organizing committee functioning in Mexico City. This committee was composed of Maxine Wood, American Communist; Palamede Borsari, Brazilian Communist; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Cuban Communist; Narciso Bassols, Mexican Marxist; and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, CTAL president and Communist sympathizer. The committee worked in the offices of the CTAL in conjunction with Roberto Morena, Salvador Ocampo and Ladislao Carbajal, all known Communist Party members.

Because of lack of funds and inadequate preparation on the part of many national committees, the Congress was postponed until September. By mid-August, following the return of Lombardo Toledano and other CTAL officials from the WFTU Congress in Milan, the organizing committee moved into its own downtown offices. Luis Enrique Delano and Cesar Godoy Urrutia, Chilean Communists, had been added to the committee and work progressed more rapidly.

The Congress opened on September 5 with an estimated attendance of 3,000 delegates and sympathizers but without the presence of any important political figures. Ex-President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico at first gave provisional acceptance to an invitation to preside at the meetings, but subsequently declined. The congress encountered great difficulties in obtaining prominent non-Communist intellectuals to act as officers or patrons. Even the Czechoslovak and Polish Legations in Mexico sent semi-official representatives.

In the course of the week attendance dropped slowly as the interminable speech making went on. Numerous as they were, the speeches all showed remarkable similarity in attacks upon the U.S. and endorsements of the Communist formula for peace.

Besides the plenary sessions, there were three committee meetings of each of the 10 committees established to deal with the following subjects: interests of youth, writers, women, artists, education, workers and farmers and sciences; questions of mass communications, religion and ethics and victims of Fascism.

The most important committee was the Committee on Workers and Farmers Affairs. This committee was headed by Lombardo Toledano, and among its most important members were Lazaro Pena, Palamede Borsari, Adele Wilson, Salvador Ocampo, Enrique Delano, Cesar Godoy Urrutia, Javier Ramos Malzarraga, Agustin Guzman, Holland Roberts, George Kleinman, Roberto Morena, Jose Manuel Fortuny and Leon T. Palais. The committee's main conclusion was to recommend the organization, under CTAL control, of complete industries.

A second committee of interest was the Writers Committee, headed by Pablo Neruda. Other members were Dr. James G. Endicott, Miguel Otero Silva, Luis Pauling, Manuel Eduardo Hubner and Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez. The main decision of this committee was to use every means of propaganda and public press at the disposal for a vigorous "peace" campaign in the hemisphere.

It was generally agreed by the delegates that the peace movement in each country should be so set up that each peace committee or group would embrace representatives of the workers, farmers, middle class, intellectuals, artists and the professions. Subsequent public actions made it clear that the leaders of the peace front sought to avoid giving it a Marxist or Communist label and tried to keep it from appearing to be dominated or directed by the CTAL or the World Federation of Trade Unions.

An Executive Board of 26 members was appointed. Among the members were Guatemalan Communists Jose Manuel Fortuny, Pedro Geoffroy Rivas, and Victor Manuel Gutierrez.

The general framework of the Continental Cultural Congress, held in Santiago, Chile, in the spring of 1953, was probably inspired by the 1949 Vienna World Peace Congress, where great emphasis was placed on cultural exchange. More specifically, the Santiago Congress was an outgrowth of the Montevideo Peace Congress, where a resolution was adopted in favor of holding "an American conference of writers, artists and scientists to discuss the possible development of national cultures and inter-American cultural collaboration in relation to the preservation of world peace."

The Congress had a difficult time in organizing and met with little success in attracting support from non-Communist writers and artists. When the Congress finally met on 26 March, there was only a small group of already avowed Communists and fellow travelers present. Most significant of the resolutions passed was the plan to hold an Inter-American Lawyers Conference in Guatemala in 1953. This meeting was held in October, 1953.

In addition to national and hemispheric peace activities, Latin Americans in increasing numbers are traveling to each of the international peace conferences. About 60 delegates from Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica and all South America, with the exception of Bolivia, played their various appointed roles, together with 1,700 other delegates, at the Warsaw Congress 16-22 November, 1950. They were rewarded by the allotment of 24 of the 224 seats on the World Peace Council, which was established at that congress. Brazil's "four million" signatures were recognized by election of the Brazilian women's front leader, Branca Fialho, to the Bureau of the World Peace Council; and the Brazilian Palanque Borsari, reportedly in charge of peace activities in Latin America, was confirmed as one of the Bureau's 7 secretaries. Even more telling recognition from the Latin American point of view was the award of 2 out of a total of 12 international "peace" prizes and medals to their area, one to the Brazilian artist, Candido Portinari, and another to Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet who had been serving Communism in Middle America, Europe and India.

Latin American attendance in international peace conferences reached numerical highs at the Peiping and Vienna conferences, but a survey of lists of delegates does not indicate the acquisition of any prominent new names.

Concurrent with the increased activities of Latin Americans in the world peace movement has been a proportionate increase in attention paid to Latin Americans in international meetings and in statements made by noted world peace figures. High Communist appreciation was shown Pablo Neruda when he was included on the list of Soviet Prize Winners in 1953.

While these total numbers and special incidents give a superficial impression of success, the falseness of the Communist peace appeal has been perceived by the great majority of Latin Americans of distinction in letters and art whose support has been sought. The movement has enjoyed very little success apart from the propaganda service it has rendered to Moscow. There is little doubt that the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda and the Brazilian writer Jorge Amado work on the project now as a paying occupation more than as a cause. Both are employed by the Cominform.

Many distinguished persons who hopefully endorsed the movement at first withdrew from it as soon as its true purpose became apparent. Most of this has been done quietly, for the sake of avoiding recrimination, but the known instances are numerous. Martin Luis Gussman, publisher of the news weekly Tiempos of Mexico, and former Mexican Ambassador to the United States, can be named as one of these. Likewise Lic. Alfonso Reyes, Mexican writer and humanist, former diplomat and former President of the Colegio de Mexico. He declined to attend the 1950 peace meeting in Mexico City. His name was used nevertheless in program announcements. David Vela, the editor of El Imparcial of Guatemala City, protested against the use of his name without his consent, in an open letter published February 3, 1950.

This use of the names of distinguished persons, without their consent and on occasion without their knowledge, has been a fairly common practice. Gabriela Mistral, the renowned Chilean poet, made a public declaration that her name had been so used. Victor Bolade, popular Guatemalan athlete, has let it be known that his name continued to be used after he requested its removal from lists of sponsors. The difficulty of obtaining such a release from the Peace Committee is indicated by the fact that Eleazar de Carvalho, director of the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra, wrote the letter quoted below to the Rio de Janeiro Chief of Police and afterward released copies for further distribution.

Rio de Janeiro
July 14, 1952

Gen. Cyro Ropardense de Rezende,
Chief of Police of the Federal District

Dear General:

I am writing you this letter to inform you of the following:

I have been sought by an artist who asked me to sign my name in a list of adherents to the Continental Congress of Culture, and after hearing from him the strict artistic and cultural designs of the Congress, I could not refuse to put my signature on the list, in view of the artistic plans exposed to me. Afterwards, however, it came to my knowledge about the political purposes of that Congress, of which I was completely ignorant.

For that reason I wish to let you know that I am an artist, a fact of which the public is well aware, not earning any income outside of my profession and remaining completely apart from political questions, with which I am not associated, neither at present nor in the past. Therefore, I wish to declare annulled the referred signature, intending not only to be absent, but also to deny my concurrence to the Congress in view of its political designs as mentioned.

I hope you take into consideration what I stated and use it for whatever it stands, to prevent the possible exploitation of that signature by members connected with a certain political organization for the goal they have in mind.

I thank you very much for your attention, and remain,

Yours very truly,

(signed) Maestro Eleazar de Carvalho
Diretor Artistico da Orquestra Sin-
fonica Brasileira

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA
GUATEMALAN PARTICIPATION IN THE
LATIN AMERICAN AND SOVIET SPONSORED WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

25 February 1954

GUATEMALAN PARTICIPATION IN THE LATIN AMERICAN AND WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS

Guatemalans have played an active role in the international peace movement since its inception in 1948. The national movement was launched by CTAL leaders approximately one month after their attendance at the Breslau International Conference of Intellectuals and has since been identified closely with labor, political and cultural groups. It serves primarily as a channel of coordination and a means of disseminating Soviet line propaganda to those groups in Guatemala.

The major activities of the organization are circulating petitions for peace, holding national and local peace congresses, publishing statements that support the Communist line in the leftist and government press, publishing the periodical Por La Paz (edited by Otto Raul Gonzalez), showing films and supporting the activities of other Communist-front organizations.

The connection of the Guatemalan peace movement to the international movement was first made evident by Roberto Morena, Brazilian Communist labor leader who attended a labor rally in Guatemala City soon after his return from Breslau. He urged the formation of a peace committee in Guatemala, and Julio Gomez Robles, who was then chief of the Guatemalan Social Security Institute, was swept into the presidency. The first provisional peace committee was officially launched. It was short-lived, however, even though it reportedly received financial subsidies from the Guatemalan Government and from outside the country.

In early January, 1949, invitations to a select group were issued for a meeting to be held on January 31 at the home of Roberto Alvarado Fuentes. Gomez declined to attend and sent in his resignation. The meeting was held but an active organization failed to develop, despite the fact that Lombard Toledano stopped off in Guatemala en route to the MFTU conference to urge the leaders to speed up the organization of the committee and despite the support of Alfredo Guerra Borges, an official of the Department of Publicity of the Presidency of the Republic.

The second committee, formed in August, 1949, before the first Latin American Peace Conference in Mexico City in September, was no more successful than the first. It selected delegates to attend the continental conference, held a few meetings and faded out of existence. The 1949 committee meeting was presided over by Jose Manuel Fortuny, after he, Victor Manuel Gutierrez and Alfonso Solorzano attended the First World Congress of Partisans of Peace in Paris. Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, who later became secretary-general of the Presidency of the Republic, was elected first secretary general of the Guatemalan National Peace Committee. Fortuny was elected a member of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at the Paris meeting.

The third national committee, organized April 21, 1950, and named the Guatemalan National Committee for Peace, is the group still in existence. Its membership was headed by Miguel Angel Asturias, a leading poet associated with various leftist groups, and included the composer Jose Castaneda, who had been one of the Guatemalan representatives at the 1949 World Peace Conference in Paris. Other officers were Alfonso Solorzano, secretary general; Huberto Alvarado of the Presidential Office of Publicity, secretary of organization; Juan Antonio Franco, Secretary of organization; Fernando de Leon Porras, leftist poet, secretary of propaganda; Virginia Bravo Letelier, well-known Chilean Communist, secretary of finance. Among the roster of members were such well known names as Victor Manuel Gutierrez, and Antonio Obando Sanchez, a labor leader who had been indoctrinated in Moscow in 1930.

The remainder of 1951 was spent in shaping up the organization. First major undertaking was a rally held on April 27, 1951, to register the will for peace of the Guatemalan people. Several non-Communist speakers took part in attacks upon the United States, but the strongest and best delivered speeches were by such well known Communist leaders as Victor Manuel Gutierrez and showed clear evidence of following Communist international directives. Many non-Communists were willing to sign the peace petition, but later recanted publicly when they learned it was a Communist device.

During 1951 and 1952 the Guatemalan national committee was linked with the Latin American committee through Roberto Alvarado Fuentes and Luis Cardoza y Aragon, members of the continental planning committee for the 1951 Montevideo Conference. Alvarado at that time was president of the National Congress of Guatemala, and Cardoza y Aragon was in the diplomatic service. In March of 1952 the Guatemalan National Peace Committee participated in the not-too-successful Continental Congress held in Montevideo.

By 1952 non-Communists had caught on to the Communist dialectical use of the term "peace," so that new twists had to be devised to attract wide support for the movement. In May the committee attempted the technique of announcing, among other events of a three-day peace assembly, a peace mass which the Alianza Feminina Guatemalteca invited "all the Catholic people of the capital" to join. Amidst the controversy engendered by the Communist effort to capitalize upon a recently made pronouncement of the Pope regarding world peace, the Alianza--at the instruction of the Peace Committee--replied, "We are moved to this pious act by our fervent desire for peace and by the duty we have as women to struggle for the preservation of human values." The mass was never held, but the Communists succeeded in attracting some interest to their claims, often repeated since, of religious ration.

The next cause which the National Peace Committee supported was the observance of a week of "Solidarity with the People of Korea," June 22-28, 1952. The "solidarity week" was initiated by the Executive Committee of

the Communist-led labor confederation CGTG with a resolution on June 19, which directed the youth organization (AJDG), the women's league (AFG), the leftist university students' group, (FUD), the intellectual organization (Saker-Ti), the National Committee of Partisans of Peace and the organization of students of secondary schools (Confederacion Nacional de Estudiantes Post-Primaria) to appoint delegates to form a committee to take charge of the observances. This resolution was not in the form of a request or invitation but simply ordered these nominally independent organizations to appoint delegates to form the committee. The observances consisted of a repetition of distorted versions of Korean developments. Nineteen of the most influential members of the Guatemalan Congress joined in the affair by signing a manifesto of solidarity with the Korean people, subjected, according to the document "to the most infamous means of mass extermination, including bacteriological warfare." Films on bacteriological warfare in North Korea, which had been brought to Guatemala by two delegates to the Conference in Defense of Children in Vienna, were shown.

The Peace Committee, as well as other front organizations, introduced a new tactic when on June 25 they sent a committee to the United States Embassy and to the British and French Legations with written protests against the action of the United Nations in Korea. Oscar Edmundo Palma signed for the National Peace Committee.

The 1953 leadership of the National Peace Committee, elected on June 14, 1952, illustrates how the Communist Party maintains control. The president is Antonio Cruz Franco, a lawyer who was briefly on the Supreme Court in 1945, but the secretary general is Mario Silva Jonama, the PGT secretary of education. The vice-presidents of the Peace Committee are Luis Cardoza y Aragon, a leading Communist-line Guatemalan poet and critic who served as minister to Moscow in 1945; Gutierrez, PGT member and secretary general of the CGTG; Major Marco Antonio Franco Chacon, a leftist army officer and FAR deputy; Sra. Elena de Barrios Klee, principal of the "Elen" Government Girls' school where Communist-line meetings are held and wife of Waldemar Barrios Klee, PGT member and Chief of the Lands Section of the National Agrarian Department.

The other officers of the National Peace Committee include: Secretary for Organization, Marco Antonio Blanco, PGT member and inspector of the National Agrarian Department; Secretary for Propaganda Oscar Edmundo Palma, leading PGT member, officer of the teachers' union STEE and contributor in September 1953 of a first-hand account of "Soviet progress" to the party's journal; Secretary for Press Paul Leiva, head of the Press Section of the Presidential Information Office, as well as others equally high placed.

The national peace program of 1953 concentrated largely on extending the committee organization to the departmental (provincial) level and on carrying out instructions handed down by the international organization. In May 1953 a First Assembly for Peace was held in the Department of Escuintla in the government's federated school. Captain Terencio Guillen,

governor of the Department of Escuintla and president of the Escuintla Peace Committee, delivered the opening address. Considerable attention was given to the staging of this assembly. Many known Communists and sympathizers were on hand to speak on the peace theme: Carlos Alvarado Jerez, Oscar Edmundo Palma, Ester de Urrutia, Bora Franco, Lily de Alvarado, Raul Leiva. According to Octubre of May 28, the assembly unanimously approved resolutions condemning "foreign interventionist maneuvers in the internal affairs of Guatemala" and demanding respect for the sovereignty and independence of Guatemala, an end to the wars in other countries, a rapid and just conclusion of an armistice in Korea, an end to the armanent race, prohibition of the use of weapons of mass extermination, demilitarization of Germany and Japan and conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers. The international character of the majority of these resolutions, "unanimously adopted" by a small provincial committee in the interior, reflects the international Communist line rather than the interests or sentiments of the people of Escuintla. The assembly also approved resolutions calling upon the inhabitants of Escuintla to form additional peace committees. A large slate of officers was elected, with Governor Terencio Guillen as president.

Guatemala City became the scene of a Departmental Peace Assembly on 3-5 July, when 105 delegates gathered in plenary session. The usual list of speakers conveyed the usual slant to the usual audience.

Again in Guatemala City, on 19 September, the Department of Guatemala Peace Committee, headed by Guillermo Ovando Arriola, president of the National Congress, held a ceremony to inaugurate the national "Campaign for Negotiations" for which the National Peace Committee set a goal of 125,000 signatures on a petition for negotiations between the US, the USSR, the UK, France and Communist China to settle all outstanding international disputes. This campaign was undertaken in response to a resolution calling for such negotiations adopted by the World Peace Council in its Budapest meeting in April 1953. The ceremony was held in the Instituto Central de Varones, a government school. The speakers were Cruz Franco; Otto Raul Gonzalez, secretary general of the Departmental Peace Committee; Esther de Urrutia, secretary general of the Alianza Feminina (AFG); Hugo Barrios Klee, secretary of the Communist-controlled youth organization (IJDG), Hynor Pinto of the students' organization (FUD); and spokesman for the administration parties, PAR, PRG and RNI and for the Communist-led labor federation, CGTG. The government-owned Diario de Centro America gave favorable publicity to the campaign.

On two occasions in 1953 the Guatemalan Peace Committee joined with other national committees to claim success for their united efforts. In June they declared that the action of the Partisans of Peace, united by one common objective, had stopped the threat of a third world war; later they took credit for stopping the fighting in Korea.

Guatemalans have traveled to the various World Peace meetings. In many cases important political figures are among the delegations. When Roberto Alvarado Fuentes was president of Congress, he attended the 1951

Vienna Peace Conference; Mario Silva Jonama and Jose Alberto Cardoza, a member of Congress, went to the preparatory and full-dress Peking Asiatic and Pacific Conferences in June and September 1952; Lieutenant Colonel Paz Tejada, ex-chief of the Armed Forces (1949) and Major Mario Antonio Franco Chacon, PAR deputy, attended the Budapest meeting of the World Peace Council in June, 1953.

CHRONOLOGY OF PEACE MEETINGS

August 1948 - World Congress of Intellectuals - Breslau, Poland - elected a Committee to Defend the Peace, adopted a program to set up national branches and organize international "peace" meetings.

September 1948 - First Guatemalan Peace Committee formed.

March 1949 - Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace - New York.

1949 - Second Guatemalan Peace Committee formed.

20-25 April 1949 - World Congress of Partisans of Peace (1st World Peace Congress) - Paris - concurrent meeting in Prague.

5-10 September 1949 - Latin American Peace Congress - Mexico.

15-19 March 1950 - World Peace Committee of Peace Partisans Conference - (also called Bureau) Stockholm - from which emanated the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons.

17 May 1950 - Third Guatemalan Peace Committee formed.

June 1950 - World Peace Committee meeting in London.

16-18 August - World Peace Committee meeting in Prague.

3-5 and 15-18 October 1950 - "Preparatory Committee for 2nd World Peace Congress" (including most of World Peace Committee) met again in Prague.

16-22 November 1950 - 2nd World Congress of the Defenders of Peace. Warsaw (scheduled for Sheffield, England, but changed due to entry refusals). This 2nd World Peace Congress replaced the World Peace Committee by a greatly augmented World Peace Council.

10-11 January 1951 - World Peace Council Executive Committee - Geneva, Switzerland, also called Bureau of WPC.

21-26 February 1951 - Full Conference of the World Peace Council - Berlin, initiated signature campaign for 5 power peace pact.

5-7 May 1951 - Executive Committee of World Peace Council - Copenhagen, Denmark.

20-23 July 1951 - Executive Committee of the World Peace Council - Helsinki, Finland.

1-5 November 1951 - Plenary meeting of the World Peace Council - Vienna, Austria.

29 March - 1 April 1952 - Executive Committee of World Peace Council - Oslo, Norway.

23 May 1952 - Guatemalan Peace Assembly held - Peace mass scheduled but not held.

1-6 July 1952 - Special session of World Peace Council in Soviet Sector of Berlin.

2-13 October 1952 - Asiatic Pacific Area Peace Conference, Peiping.

5 December 1952 - Third World Peace Congress, Vienna.

5 May 1953 - Executive Committee Meeting of World Peace Council, Stockholm.

15 June 1953 - Fourth World Peace Congress, Budapest.

November 1953 - Fifth World Peace Congress, Vienna.

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA
COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF SOCIAL AND
CULTURAL MOVEMENTS-TWO CASE HISTORIES

25 February 1954

COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MOVEMENTS-
TWO CASE HISTORIES

1. Communist Tactics at the World Congress of Intellectuals, 1948

Communists have invariably used international gatherings as sounding boards for Soviet propaganda. Since 1945 a long succession of events has shown how Communists have organized and then subverted international congresses, particularly those of intellectuals, women and youth. To the distress of their non-political collaborators they have demonstrated the way in which a small group of hard-shelled Soviet Communists with definite objectives in mind can dominate the non-political group of well-intentioned and earnest delegates who are usually unorganized and without precise and concrete proposals. The Communist representatives, often in the guise of objective liberals, are fortified with a well defined program. The genuine liberals, even though constituting a majority, are usually equipped only with credulity and hope.

A prime illustration of such Communist tactics occurred in the World Congress of Intellectuals held at Wroclaw (Breslau), Poland, in August 1948. This meeting was attended by individuals from many countries, some of whom were earnest in their desire to further the cause of peace through frank discussion and concrete, practical proposals. The machinations of the Communists, however, particularly those representing the USSR, diverted the Congress toward other political ends.

The objectives of the Congress were announced by the chairman of the Polish sponsoring group, to be (1) exploring means of safeguarding principles of peace, (2) examining the problem of national cultures, (3) discussing the possibilities of international popularization of achievements in the realms of science and art, and (4) unifying the efforts of representatives of the cultural world with progressive social movements. The Communist delegates arrived, however, well prepared to harangue the Congress with Soviet propaganda alleging culpability of the western democracies and thwarted "peace efforts" of the Soviet Union.

It quickly became obvious that the gathering was not a balanced representation of international intellectual thought, since invitations had been extended almost exclusively to individuals who were accustomed to support or give tacit approval to the Soviet position on various questions. Moreover, while non-Communists outnumbered party members in the delegations attending the Congress, each group had a core of purposeful Communist leaders, together with a large number of fellow-travelers, who dominated their confreres.

At the outset of the general sessions, the technique employed in the election of officers insured Communist control of the meetings. After the welcoming speeches, the proposed executive council of the Congress and the rules governing the Congress were hurriedly approved by acclamation upon the motion of the chairman of the French organizing committee. The name of Jerzy Borejsza, one of Poland's ten leading Communists, was placed before the Congress and accepted for the post of Secretary-General, who by the rules of the Congress dictated the choice and order of speakers.

The first speaker, A. Fadeyev, Chairman of the Soviet Writers' Union, launched a vituperative attack against the Western nations. He then eulogized the USSR, its sympathizers, and its allies.

Fadeyev's polemics stunned a considerable portion of the audience, but his invocation of the Party line, his eulogies of the "achievements and beneficence" of the Soviet Union remained the dominant theme of the remaining sessions of the Congress. Only a few dignified, constructive addresses were made during the Congress. Most of the participants, following the lead of the Soviet representatives, took the floor only to rail against the United States and other democratic countries.

The organizers of the Congress had prepared a resolution for presentation to the Congress which they apparently passed by acclamation. This information leaked out, and several irate participants induced the organizers to draft a resolution in committee.

An international drafting committee, selected by the executive committee and dominated by Secretary-General Borejsza, thereupon worked out a resolution to be placed before the Congress. A draft, which emphasized the importance of the UN and UNESCO, was rejected by the committee in favor of Borejsza's resolution.

This meeting of intellectuals set the pattern for numerous international and national conferences that have followed. Although the meeting was designed to attract non-Communists and did succeed in associating with the Congress the names of many prominent individuals in the cultural and scientific world, after these persons had assembled in good faith, the assembly was used by the Communists as a platform for disseminating their propaganda to such an extent that nothing serious was ever accomplished toward advancing the announced aims of the Congress.

2. Communist Tactics at the Guatemalan Conference for Defense of Children, 1951

A striking example of the subversion of a social welfare conference for the purpose of converting it into a sounding board for Communist propaganda was shown in the case of the First National Conference for the Protection of Children (Defensa de la Infancia).

This conference met in Guatemala City December 12 to 21, 1951. The history of the sessions provides a clear case showing the way the Communist minority, under Moscow-directed leadership, has maneuvered the subversion of other Guatemalan national conferences and institutions.

First announcement of the conference was made on 22 September by the Alianza Feminina de Guatemala (AFG). This organization had recently been formed under direction of the international Communists Virginia Bravo Letelier of Chile and Nela Martinez of Ecuador. Because of the laudable announced aims of the conference, however, plus the fact that the AFG had not yet become widely suspect, the conference was endorsed by many prominent non-Communists such as the members of the Association of Pediatricians of Guatemala, the Mayor of Guatemala City, Martin Prado Velez, and a number of other citizens who were genuinely interested in child welfare.

The AFG had begun plans for the meetings far in advance. Later events showed that these plans were fully coordinated with preparations for the International Congress in Defense of Children held under international Communist auspices in Vienna, 1952.

The mainspring of the conference was Chilean Communist Virginia Bravo L. She had been given an executive position in the Guatemalan Ministry of Public Education in which she enjoyed financial security and full freedom of action. Through her instrumentality the Guatemalan government gave support to the conference. The sessions were held in the government school Instituto de Senoritas de Belen, and in the Ministry of Public Health. Dr. Carlos Gonzalez Orellana, the pro-Communist Sub-Secretary of Education presided, and on its closing day delivered an address in praise of the accomplishments of the body. Sra. Maria Vilanova de Arbenz, the wife of the President of the Republic, who had been induced by Virginia Bravo L. to become a co-founder of AFG, addressed the organizing committee on 10 December and the closing session of the conference on 21 December.

Support for the conference also was given by the Minister of Public Health, Dr. Carlos Tejeda Fonseca, and the Minister of Public Education, Dr. Mardoqueo Garcia Asturias, both of whom stated they would do everything possible to put the resolutions of the conference into practice.

With all this official blessing the conference got under way. At the first few sessions a number of deceptively innocuous resolutions were passed, such as calling for more parks for children, maternity and children's hospitals, milk for poor mothers, development of a Guatemalan dairy industry, an anti-malarial campaign. Discussions at first were largely technical and the Communists present apparently sought to avoid giving a political stamp to the proceedings.

Representatives of a UN commission, stationed in Guatemala to work on the improvement of public nutrition, attended the conference as observers. At the outset they hoped that something concrete would be accomplished. This optimism continued for the first four days of the sessions. After that time, step by step, it became clear that the Communists were in control of the affair and that other organizations could exert no effective weight even on the most non-political matters.

Debate took place on a resolution calling upon the General Assembly of the UN, then meeting in Paris, to undertake general disarmament, and calling upon the Guatemalan Minister of Education to incorporate "pacifist" sentiment in his educational policy. Sra. Rosa De Mora, the wife of a prominent local physician and well-known for the work she had done for a number of years in organizing a children's welfare society, stated that she favored peace but doubted the wisdom of injecting international politics into a Guatemalan child welfare conference. She was immediately followed on the floor by Federico Zelaya Bockler, who stated that the time had come for "the people to make the cliques who rule the great nations aware of their desires for peace." Carlos Alvarado Jerez repeated Zelaya's arguments. Haydee Godoy, well-known Guatemalan woman Communist organizer, and Carlos Manuel Pellecer successively launched into fiery addresses in favor of "peace." The resolution was railroaded through the conference in the form in which it had been proposed.

By that time the direction in which the conference was headed was obvious. Anyone who tried to keep the conference on the track of child welfare apart from politics was shouted down by the rabble rousers or refused recognition by the Chair. The shocked and bewildered moderates gradually ceased to attend the sessions several days before they closed.

Before adjournment, four permanent commissions were set up to carry on the work of the conference. With the voting strength now fully in control of the Communists, these commissions were staffed almost entirely with Communists or persons known to have supported Communist causes, as shown in the following list--affiliations and occupations are of the period of the Conference:

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNIST POWER IN GUATEMALA THROUGH MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The Communist plan for penetration and seizure of independent governments follows a series of steps that lead directly and progressively to the seizure of power. An initial step is to gain control of organized labor, which usually provides a base from which political power can be extended. A second step is to seek control of influential political parties through direct infiltration or through "popular front" envelopment, or both. A third step is the capture or creation of a propaganda apparatus with which to attack opposition and to prepare the people to accept the intended usurpation. A fourth step is the penetration and eventually the domination of key government agencies.

Of major importance to this program is the creation of the mass organizations which can be used to parallel Communist party activities or substitute for the party. The mass organizations may reach those potential and philosophical Communists who are reluctant to join an organization which they know to be foreign-controlled. They can substitute for the party if it is forced to go underground. Through mass organizations fellow-travelers and crypto-Communists are used to spread Communist-sponsored ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible to Communist penetration and to neutralize, corrupt, or even bring into the Communist camp the organizations or parties of which they hold key positions. By unifying and centralizing mass organizations, Communists render them easy to control and manipulate; professional agents and agitators of the Communist party who give full time to the organizations can far outdistance non-Communist participants who generally contribute only their spare time.

In Guatemala the Communists have followed the usual practice of creating politically oriented associations among the social and cultural groups into which society everywhere can most readily be divided. This is in accordance with the teaching of Lenin, as follows:

"The whole art of conspiratorial organization consists in making use of everything and everybody and finding work for everybody, at the same time retaining the leadership of the whole movement. . . The Committee should try to achieve the greatest possible division of labor, remembering that the various kinds of revolutionary work demand various capacities and that a person who is absolutely useless as an organizer may be invaluable as an agitator, or that a person who does not possess the endurance demanded by conspiratorial work may be an excellent propagandist and so on. . ."

The mass organizations in Guatemala, following this and other teachings of Lenin and Stalin, have been formed and moulded as centers for

* V.I. Lenin, in "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization" (1902). Lenin on Organization, Lenin Library, Daily Worker Publishing Co., Chicago, 1926, pp 124-125

Communist propaganda and agitation. The members are subjected to indoctrination in Communist theory; the resolutions adopted at their meetings serve as the base for propaganda to be disseminated outside, while the group organization serves as an institution for the discovery, selection and training of future Communist leaders. All this is fully demonstrated in the study courses and pronouncements on propaganda prepared by Victor Manuel Gutierrez and Mario Silva Jonama of the CGTG and the Guatemalan youth front. Mario Silva Jonama was quoted on this subject in the Communist newspaper Octubre of January 9, 1953, as follows:

" . . . the resolution. . . to increase the dissemination of truth concerning the Communists, the Party objectives, Marxism-Leninism and Party life, by means of better and more continuous propaganda must be taken in seriousness, . . . The propaganda policy of the Party should take certain things into consideration. Propaganda is intimately concerned with agitation on the one hand and education of the masses on the other. . . The Party grows through the introduction of a Marxist-Leninist awareness among the working class, the agricultural workers and the poor peasants as well as among the revolutionary intellectuals."

The unfolding of this systematic process of penetration in Guatemala and its close relationship with Moscow and the Cominform can be traced in the Guatemalan press and radio as it has come under Communist influence. This record shows how the statements, resolutions and protests organized and stimulated in the Communist mass organizations, taking their directions from Moscow through the International Peace Movement, the WFTU and the CTAL, consistently coincide with the main currents of Soviet planning and propaganda. At the same time, they drive with relentless repetition at those domestic themes calculated to arouse a nationalism which is taught to hate and fear all that is obstructive to the advancement of international Communism and to interpret, by any kind of twist of fact, all that stands in the way of this encroachment as obstructing Guatemalan national and popular aspirations.

The promise of an unrealistic Utopia is held out as already existing in the USSR. Every susceptibility is played upon to generate impatience with the situation in democratic societies. The statement of Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PGT, on the anniversary of the Russian revolution*, expresses this spirit of adulation and gratitude:

"On celebrating a new anniversary of the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the labor class, the peasants, the progressive men and the oppressed peoples of the world turn

*Octubre,

their eyes with warm sympathy and with gratitude toward the Soviet Union, the country of socialism which, like a lamp for the world, illumines the road for all humanity."

At another time, Fortuny said:

"We, the Communists, are the best defenders of democratic liberties here and everywhere. All the valorous struggle of the Communists throughout history and in almost all countries, is closely united with the denial or the attainment of the democratic liberties of the people in the countries which are and have been dominated by capitalism."*

In a serial report published in the magazine Mujeres, bulletin of the Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca, in June, 1953, the social and cultural life of women in Communist China is described glowingly. Captioned photographs compare the poorly paid toil of an Indian woman in Guatemala with a "beautiful view of the work performed today amid songs and smiles by the women and people of China."

On the death of Josef Stalin, Fortuny surpassed himself with praise for the Soviet chief:

"No liberator, from the Greeks to Bolivar, or from Buboeuf to Lincoln, can measure up to Stalin."**

It is frequently asserted by the Communists and especially the pro-Communists in Guatemala that theirs is a "national communism" not linked with the World Communist Party and the USSR. Mutual awareness of a direct relationship between Moscow and the PGT seemed indicated, however, in the following report from the Cominform Journal of January 16, 1953, in reference to the Second Congress of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT), held December 11-14, 1952:

"The great principled significance attached to the questions discussed at the Congress found expression in the report made by Comrade Jose Manuel Fortuny, General Secretary of the Party. Fortuny said that the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the USSR had demonstrated in practice the immense superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. But the victories won in building Communism in the Soviet Union did not come by themselves, said the speaker. "They came as a result of tireless work by the great Communist party of the Soviet Union, of the endeavors of the great Soviet people, as a result of the guidance of the great Stalin, leader and teacher of the Lenin-Stalin party, leader and teacher of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind."

** Octubre,

** Octubre, March 12, 1953

"Analyzing in detail the internal situation in Guatemala, the speaker pointed out that the working class should, as the leading social force, head the struggle against feudalism and imperialism, should organize an alliance with the peasantry, and, on this basis, build a united, patriotic front of all the social forces acting against feudalism and imperialism. .

"Comrade Fortuny pointed out that the Party can no longer be regarded as being in an 'embryonic' phase as was the case prior to the IV Plenum of the Central Committee held in January, 1951. The Party has increased its ranks almost fourteenfold in the past three years. But it is not yet a mass Party. ."

In the same speech, as quoted in the organ of the Guatemalan Communist party, Octubre, on December 18, 1952, Fortuny went somewhat farther in discussing the nature and future intentions of the party than indicated in the prudent selections of the Cominform Journal. He said:

"Now our Party can no longer be considered as an 'embryonic' organization, as we called it in January of 1951. . . Now we are a Party, numerically small and of little political development, but we are a Party of Leninist structure. Of course, we are still far from attaining the fullness of the Leninist Communist qualities; toward that end we have to and we must constantly surpass ourselves."

Comrade Fortuny had previously announced, as quoted in Nuestro Diario of June 22, 1951, that ". . . nothing shall impede the legalization of the Communist Party and that this party shall be the principal motor of the national democratic front which is proposed. . ."

The well-known Communist writer, Alfredo Guerra Borges, also spoke at the Second Congress of the PGT in terms which compromise the claim that the party organization in Guatemala is not linked to the Soviet Union or under "international direction". As quoted in Octubre of 26 December, 1952, Guerra Borges said:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and is the vanguard for all progressive humanity, forged by Lenin and Stalin upon the immovable fundamentals of creative Marxism-Leninism, upon the basis of the doctrine which shows to the workers the one sure path to liberate them from exploitation and to build a society without exploited nor exploiters, in a word, a Communist society. . ."

Mario Silva Jonama, youth leader and Party authority on doctrinal matters, made the following statements at the Second Congress of the PGT, reported in Octubre of December 18, 1952:

"Our patriotism is by no means incompatible with the affection with which the Soviet Union inspires us and the profound admiration we have for Comrade Stalin.

"The popular masses of Guatemala. . prior to 1944 did not have the opportunity of understanding the real meaning of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, of the content of Marxist ideas for the good of those same masses, or of appreciating the value and the spirit of sacrifice which characterized the first Communists in our country. ."

Another illuminating statement by Mario Silva Jonama appeared in Octubre of January 9, 1953:

"The content of the study organized in the Party should embrace, in consonance with the legal development of the Party and of each comrade, 1- fundamental and permanent materials such as the history of the Bolshevick Party of the USSR, the Communist Manifesto, questions of Leninism, etc."

The meaning of the PGT was further discussed by Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, in Octubre of December 4, 1952:

". . we have achieved the gift to our people of a party of a new type-- a Marxist-Leninist party, which has known how to win influence and authority. . .

Points of Similarity

The Guatemalan Communist party, at great distance from the rest of the Soviet world, and unsupported by any immediate possibility of Soviet economic or military pressure, seeks to develop a body of popular support. The Party has tried to identify itself with many of the aspirations and hopes of the Guatemalan people and has formed the institutions whereby it hopes an increasing number of citizens will develop a new, albeit twisted form of political awareness that leads them to identify themselves with the objectives of the Communist party.

Communist propaganda has sought to present agrarian reform as a Communist achievement. The Communists are further identified as seeking to help the worker, while any attempts at restraint are labelled as the work of an anti-revolutionary reaction.

In addition to supporting agrarian reform objectives, the Party has utilized nationalistic aspirations for industrialization, and painted the future benefits in rosy tones.

The political technique of promising a Utopian future is not new or limited solely to the Communist party. However, the party has used it with regularity and success. The final trick, in the present Russian satellite areas, has been in postponing the date of expected delivery on these promises until the Communist power position has grown so strong that the inevitable popular disillusionment can no longer hurt the party. This has not yet been revealed to the hopeful in Guatemala.

In Eastern Europe the "promises and common enemy" technique was used just as it now is used in Guatemala. In this period immediately after the war, the Communist power position in Eastern Europe was almost unassailable, for Russian troops were literally everywhere. Nevertheless the reaction of the as yet undemobilized western powers to a blanket seizure of authority by the relatively weak national Communist parties could not be wholly foreseen, and many of the Communist parties themselves were organizationally unready to assume power.

There was therefore a short period of what might be called limited violence during which varying forms of unstable coalition governments ruled the countries and the Communists strengthened their hands. For this period, which lasted until 1948 in Czechoslovakia, the Communists sought popular support and concentrated considerable effort on building up their propaganda machinery. Land reform, an issue with just as much appeal in Eastern Europe as in Guatemala, became a major "plank" for the Communists. Private ownership of small holdings was endorsed and any suggestion that the Communists really wanted collectivization was vigorously denied.

As in Guatemala, the Communists picked a villain and swung at it repeatedly and noisily. In Eastern Europe the villain was Germany, and particularly, the threat of a resurgence of German military and economic power.

In Eastern Europe and Guatemala the Communists have used the same kinds of outlets for publicizing their position and actions. Control of a large section of the press and radio facilities of the area has been sought and obtained. In Eastern Europe, the control now is of course complete. In Guatemala it appears to be growing tighter.

In both areas the Party has sought to bring a maximum part of the population into political activity and varying forms of mass organizations have been the instruments used. The youth groups, women's groups,

leagues of university students, labor organizations, have appeared under Communist sponsorship and control. In Eastern Europe these organizations now serve a policy function in addition to their avowed purposes, but in the early period of takeover they were organized comparably to the units that have been created in Guatemala. Communist doctrine is fed to the members who in turn pass some on to the rest of the population. The groups are able to conduct demonstrations for or against issues of interest to the Party and depending on the group used these demonstrations may range from the submission of resolutions to the mounting of demonstrations. The appeal of group activity is always great and these organizations bring in and hold by their specialized nature individuals who would ordinarily not bother with political activities and would not necessarily be Communist if they did.

Of these mass groups by far the most powerful and important, apart from the labor organizations, are: the Comite Nacional de la Paz (National Peace Committee), the Alianza de la Juventud Democratica de Guatemala (AJDG-- Alliance of Democratic Youth of Guatemala), the Frente Universitario Democratico (FUD-- Democratic University Front), the Alianza Feminina Guatemalteca (AFG-- Guatemalan Women's Alliance), the Confederacion de Estudiantes de Post Primaria (CEP-- Confederation of Post-Primary Students), and the Saker-Ti Group of Young Intellectuals and Writers.

These Guatemalan mass organizations all have certain common characteristics. They claim to be "non-partisan" organizations representing people without discrimination as to class, religion or political belief. On these grounds they take in a good many non-Communist opportunists who find in them an acceptable way of recording leftist zeal.

They have another characteristic in common in that they virtually always contain a PGT member, under the discipline of the Party Political Committee, in a key position, usually as Secretary General or Secretary for Organization.

Most of the mass organizations, moreover, share the characteristic of affiliation to a recognized international Communist organization, paralleling the affiliation of the CGTG to the CTAL and the WFTU.

Grupo Saker-Ti de Artistas y Escritores Jovenes

The Saker-Ti (The Dawn), organized in December 1947, is a Communist-controlled group of young intellectuals in which leading spirits are Huberto Alvarado of the AJDG, who is also chief of the PGT Cultural Committee, and Hugo Barrios Klee.

Like other mass organizations, the Saker-Ti seeks to exploit non-Communist liberal sentiment. The tactics of this group were exposed by Manuel Mario Herrera Lopez, former Saker-Ti Secretary of Organization, who resigned on January 2, 1953, and during the following July revealed the organization as a Communist front in a series of articles for the Guatemalan newspaper La Hora.

These revelations and others made in the statements of Saker-Ti members themselves are most illuminating in view of the fact that the group has in it a coterie of writers who have set the pace and determined the tone and provided definition for most of the Communist propaganda produced in Guatemala by the various front organizations and reproduced not only in their own organs but also in the official and semi-official press. This coterie includes the poet and former diplomat, Luis Cardoza y Aragon, Otto Raul Gonzalez, Raul Leiva, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Jaime Diaz Rozotto and Miguel Angel Asturias. Another member, Rafael Sosa, wrote the following statement on the future of Guatemalan literature as envisioned under the aegis of Saker-Ti in a preface to a volume of stories selected for prizes (Cuentos de Guatemala, Certamen Saker-Ti, 1952):

"The Guatemalan Revolution. . . must be carried into literature and art; it must be saved within those fields. It is necessary for us to take account of the point from which we start and the stage we are entering, a trajectory in which the reconquest of the land represents the dynamic factor of the Revolution. But to achieve this, there is only one road: the road of Socialist realism. Today we can no longer justify other methods or norms of literary work. . . Only within this norm will we be able to understand our social movement historically, to know that the force which accomplishes this movement is the force of the working class, each day further oriented toward its total liberation, toward scientific socialism, vanguard and youth of the world. . ."

A more specific statement on this subject was issued by Saker-Ti in publishing under the title "For a National, Democratic and Realistic Art" a report of its "First National Assembly", October 31, 1953. The following extracts are taken from the version published as No. 17, Ediciones Saker-Ti, 10 Nov. 1953:

After first deploring the fact that Guatemalan intellectuals have been slow in accepting the concept that art must conform to politics, Alvarado notes that "Guatemalan democracy. . . the development of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal attitude, together with the growth of the labor movement. . . brought our generation. . . to more correct conclusions. Daily contact with the workers, daily contact with the agricultural laborers. . . and the nearness of the labor movement made us see the profound error in which we found ourselves." Alvarado then goes on to say that the intellectual must understand the real situation:

"The working class must be our guide and master. . . The discovery of the reality and the fatherland is not simply the affirmation of nationality, but fundamentally the study of that reality and that fatherland. But study is not enough, because once this understanding has come, there must also come, as Karl Marx said genially, more than a century ago, 'the transformation' of this bitter reality into something beautiful and different.

"By various routes our generation came to know dialectic materialism, the most advanced and revolutionary philosophic system of our time. . . we were quick to join the dialectic currents. That step would save us definitively, because it would place us, first, in a correct political position, and second, it would put us in a position to understand clearly our artistic activity.

" . . . only by the study and application of revolutionary thought has it been possible for us to know to the bottom the reality of the world and of Guatemala, to go forward on a correct political line, and begin to understand the role and the ultimate purpose of art. . .

"The understanding of the art and culture of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and the Peoples' Democracies has played an important part in our ideological and artistic development. .

"The multiple teachings of Soviet culture have been of first importance for the development of our generation. . .

"Gorki, Ostrovski and the Soviet novelists in general; Maiakovski, Nazim Hikmet, Neruda, Shostakovich, Prokoffief, Aragon, Howard Fast, Guttuso and others, have been true masters for our generation. ."

Huberto Alvarado attended the Third World Youth Festival and subsequently toured the Russian satellite countries of Poland, Hungary and Rumania, in 1951. On returning to Guatemala, he wrote a report of

his travels entitled "Por el Nuevo Mundo", published in part in the magazine Revista de Guatemala. Observing the "pioneer children" in the countries he visited, he wrote, "the authentic, scientific, human vanguard of the world is growing up in these children; a new humanity.*"

"The artists of the popular democracies," he continued, . . . have found the great themes of our time in socialist society. . . It is an art for life, for the men who are constructing a human life, with enthusiasm and joy, here in this world, on this earth and in these streets. It is . . . the art of the century of socialism."

Casa de la Cultura Guatemalteca

The Guatemalan House of Culture is a private organization which claims to be dedicated to advancing artistic and scientific activities in Guatemala. It held a Book Fair in the exhibit hall of the Government's National Palace September 12-20, 1953, at which the most popular book stall, according to the press, was Libreria Futuro, which sold Communist publications, including Spanish-language books and pamphlets from Moscow.

Officers of the Casa de la Cultura Guatemalteca, according to Diario del Pueblo, October 13, 1953, are as follows:

President: Alfonso ORANTES, President of the National Electoral Council; member of the Political Committee of the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PRG); active in Peace Movement.

Vice President: Luis CARDOZA y Aragon, former Minister to Moscow; Vice President of the National Peace Committee.

Secretary General: Huberto ALVARADO, member of the Central Committee and chief of the Youth Commission of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT).

Secretary for Theater: Enrique JUAREZ Toledo, Communist-line political writer for pro-Communist daily Nuestro Diario.

Secretary for Records: Rene ARTEAGA.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Guillermo NORIEGA Morales, Secretary: Professor at San Carlos University
Brother of Manuel NORIEGA Morales, the President of the Bank of Guatemala.

Aurelia v. de MUNOZ Meany, widow of Enrique MUNOZ Meany, the former Minister to France.

Pierette de DIAZ Rozzotto, wife of Jaime DIAZ Rozzotto, the Secretary General of the Presidency.

*Revista de Guatemala, Vol. V, 1952, p. 109 et seq.

PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

Leopoldo CASTELLANOS Carillo, Secretary.

Bernardo GARCIA Zapata

Fernando VALDES Diaz, writer (1949) for the Government's Diario de Centro America; Secretary of Finance of Communist infiltrated SNPG, journalists' union.

Enrique NORIEGA, leftist journalist

Carlos SERRANO, Spanish Communist, Managing Editor of leftist Nuestro Diario.

Alejandro AREVALO, writer for leftist Nuestro Diario.

LITERARY COMMITTEE

Otto Raul GONZALEZ, poet, Secretary General of the Department of Guatemala Peace Committee; member of the National Agrarian Council.

Pedro GUILLEN, writer for leftist Nuestro Diario.

Alaide POPPA de SOLORZANO, wife of Alfonso SOLORZANO, Manager of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

Verner OVALLE Lopez, writer for Nuestro Diario.

Luis Alberto LAVANDARIA, Professor in Humanities Faculty of San Carlos University; instructor in IGSS Social Security School.

Humberto HERNANDEZ Cobos, Civil Registrar of Guatemala, member of the Political Committee of the Renovacion Nacional

Ramon AMAYA Amador, Honduran exile who attended the 1952 Asiatic and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking; writer.

MUSIC COMMISSION

Jose Enrique TORRES, Secretary: member of Saker-Ti, Communist artist and writer group.

Antonio VIDAL

Jose Luis AVELAR

Jose Perfirio GONZALEZ

Jose AREVALO Guerra, signer of "Peace petition"(1952); of call for National Peace Committee (1952); member of Saker-Ti.

Luis Alberto QUEZADA

Hector DAVILA, flute player, delegate to 1949 Peace Congress in Mexico.

Joaquin MARROQUIN, member of Saker-Ti

Jose CASTENEDA, leading composer, name appears in "Peace" movement activities.

Dagoberto VAZQUEZ, Secretary: Prize-winning portrait painter and writer, member of Saker-Ti.

Juan Antonio FRANCO, painter, member of Saker-Ti, active in Peace Movement.

Arturo MARTINEZ, member of Saker-Ti; active in Peace Movement.

Guillermo GRAJEDA Mena, on reception committee for Pablo NERUDA, Chilean Communist poet.

Fernando ORAMAS, Colombian wood-ether and painter, member of Saker-Ti; employee of Office of Information in the Presidency.

Roberto OSSAYE, leading modern painter; furnished drawing to Nuestro Diario protesting execution of the Rosenbergs.

Rodolfo GALLEOTTI Torres, Director of the Escuela de Artes Plasticas, participated in "Peace Movement"

MOTION PICTURE COMMITTEE

Roberto DIAZ Castillo, Secretary: Member of the Alianza de la Juventud Democratica de Guatemala (AJDG), Communist youth organization.

Leoner TEJADA, employee of Institut Francais.

Jose FERNANDEZ Doris, Spaniard expelled from Venezuela in 1952 for Communist activities; employee of Information Office of the Presidency

Antonio FERNANDEZ Izaguirre, member of Presidium of National Conference for the Defense of the Rights of Youth (1953)

Felix Servio DUCOUDRAY, Dominican exile, reportedly Communist.

Sindicato Nacional de Periodistas de Guatemala (SNPG)

The SNPG is a newspapermen's organization which incorporates most of the staffs of the leftist and the pro-Government press. Secretary General of the organization is Jesus Alvarado Mendizabal, who is a member of the Communist PCT. The SNPG is affiliated with the Communist-sponsored International Organization of Jurists.

Alianza de la Juventud de Guatemala

One of the mass organizations first formed in Guatemala in the post-revolutionary period was the Alianza de la Juventud de Guatemala (AJDG), established in 1947 as an affiliate of the Communist World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). Its objectives, stated in a manifesto widely circulated in the Caribbean area, were: (1) to fight for the maintenance of world peace, (2) to destroy the foci of fascism, (3) to eliminate racial discrimination, (4) to work for effective national economic liberation and (5) to work for industrial development.

From the beginning the AJDG apparently was part of the clandestine world Communist conspiracy. The organizing committee listed among its members Jose H. Zamora, a Salvadoran known for Communist activities in Guatemala, and Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, who later emerged as a pro-Communist leader. Zamora was ousted from the secretary-generalship in 1950 and proceeded publicly to accuse Mario Silva Jonama, Antonio Sierra Gonzalez, Octavio Reyes and Huberto Alvarado of forming a Communist group within the organization.

Since its formation the AJDG has worked closely with other front organizations, such as the Saker-Ti Group and Communist-led student groups. These three organizations often have members in common.

Guidance for AJDG activities is often provided by the CGTG, and cooperation is received from the AFG, CEP, University Democratic Front (FUD) and CNOG. The government press and radio consistently have given wide publicity to AJDG rallies, many of which have been held in government-owned schools. High government and congressional officials usually appear as members of the presidium at AJDG congresses.

The AJDG has held local and national congresses since 1948, most important of which was the National Conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth, in Guatemala City February 20-23, 1953, just prior to the International Youth Conference in Vienna. This congress was summoned by the Juventud Ferrocarrilera, an apparently Communist-oriented group within the railway workers' union SAMF. Later a Committee on Initiative Measures was appointed, including representation from the AJDG, FUD, CEP, CGTG, CNOG, Saker-Ti and AFG. The government's official press and radio gave ample publicity support.

The advance notices emphasized that the congress was open to "all Guatemalan youth without distinction of political ideas or religion." However, according to a set of rules announced before the congress, only representatives of invited organizations, from a select list, were to be recognized as delegates, and all presiding officers at the general sessions and at the committee meetings were to be chosen in advance by the committee.

The conference opened at the America theater and moved to the government-owned Girls' Normal School, Belen. Approximately 200 delegates attended. The presidium at the opening ceremonies consisted of Julio Estrada de la Hoz, then president of Congress, well-known for his close association with Communist leaders and affairs; Roberto Giron Lemus, Communist-collaborating first vice-president of Congress; Jorge Luis Arriola, minister of public health; Luis Cardoza y Aragon, pro-Communist poet at that time vice-president of the National Peace Committee; Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Communist deputy and secretary general of CGTG; Rafael Tischler, Communist secretary general of the national teachers' union STEG.

The permanent president of the conference was Julio Estevez. He was identified in the press merely as an economics student of the university, but he was in fact the secretary of organization of the Communist-dominated University Democratic Front, Guatemalan affiliate of the Communist International Union of Students. Estevez had been a member of the local preparatory committee for the 1951 Berlin Youth Conference and was elected secretary of finances of the Youth Committee for Peace in 1951. The permanent vice-president was Otto Raul Gonzalez, a writer of the Saker-Ti group who since then has represented the Presidential Secretariat of Press and Propaganda at several ceremonies in which land was given to farm workers under the Agrarian Reform Law and was a delegate to the Peking Peace Conference in 1952. The secretary general of the Conference was Hugo Barrios Klee, a delegate to the 1951 Berlin Youth Congress and a member of the Disciplinary Committees of both the FUD and the AJDG.

The agenda covered a wide range of economic, social and cultural subjects, and each delegate was limited to two five-minute speeches on each topic. Sixty resolutions were adopted, including a pledge of unrestricted support of the Agrarian Reform Law and numerous demands for the "democratization" of rural, secondary and university education. Association with the Communist peace movement was shown by unanimous adoption of a resolution stating, "It is necessary to maintain and consolidate peace, because without peace there can be no progress and because in war the first victim is youth."

On June 17, 1953, the official Diario de Centro America announced formation of a Preparatory Committee for Guatemalan participation in the Fourth (International) Youth Festival, to be held in Bucharest. The Preparatory Committee embraced representation from the Guatemalan AJDG, FUD, CEP, Saker-Ti and AEU. All of these organizations, with the exception of AEU (Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios) are Communist-oriented. The report on the local preparatory activities in the government's newspaper took a line markedly favorable to the international festival. "In Bucharest this year," it stated, "will gather thousands and thousands of youths with different political and religious beliefs

and there will be Catholic and Protestant youths, liberals and socialists, etc., but all, absolutely all, will be united by the single great desire for peace and friendship."

Twenty Guatemalan delegates, accompanied by a Marimba band with 10 players, attended the Bucharest Festival; seven of the Guatemalan delegates travelled to the USSR after the conference adjourned. Most significant development for the Guatemalans was the decision to hold a "First Festival of Central American Youth and Students for Peace" in Guatemala City in 1954, possibly in October.

As soon as the delegates returned from Bucharest, plans for the Central American Congress were announced. Nuestro Diario on November 18 reported that an Organizing Committee for the proposed festival had been appointed, with Hugo Barrios Klee as secretary general. The principal organizations behind the naming of the Organizing Committee were the AJDG, FUD and CEP. All of these organizations are affiliated with Huberto Alvarado's Youth Commission of the PGT. Other organizations participating in the naming of the committee were the youth sections of the PGT and of the PAR, as well as the CGTG, AFG, Saker-Ti, Casa de la Cultura Guatemalteca, Juventud Democratica Ferrocarrilera and the Asociacion de Estudiantes de Servicio Social. The newspaper also stated that the following organizations had agreed to take part: the youth organizations of the PRG and the RN, the youth club of the Guardia Civil (national police), the Association of Professors and Students of Fine Arts and the Students Association of the Rural Normal School.

The press announcements of such extensive affiliations tend to give an exaggerated impression of numerical strength in the AJDG, which precisely fulfils the intention of Communist use and development of propaganda. Preceding paragraphs show that about 200 delegates attended the February, 1953, conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth but that the official delegates were limited by close selection to a compact, controllable group. This, too, is standard practice within the international Communist conspiracy. Eight-column headlines and inflated news reports of such meetings, of which many examples exist in the Guatemalan press, serve both to conceal the fact of minority control and to discourage opposition by creating an illusion of mass strength far beyond reality.

A telling example of this practice was displayed when press reports described the "great enthusiasm" among Guatemalan youth for the Berlin Festival of Democratic Youth. Banner headlines and quantities of column space were given to the meeting at which the Guatemalan delegates were scheduled to report on the Berlin Festival and on their travels in the Soviet Orbit afterward. As a matter of fact, the returned travelers faced a thinly filled hall, with fewer than 100 people in the audience, nearly all of them known fellow-members of the AJDG.

Frente Universitario Democratico (FUD)

The Democratic University Front was founded on January 22, 1952. It is an affiliate of the Communist International Students' Union (ISU) in Prague. In the national university of San Carlos the FUD represents the Communists' efforts to propagate the Soviet line. It is in a minority position in the student body, out-numbered by the moderate Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios (AEU) and the Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anti-Comunistas (CEUA), leading student anti-Communist organization.

The Secretary General of the FUD is Cesar Augusto Cazali Avila, an employee of the National Agrarian Department and Secretary for Organization of the union of that Department's employees, and active in PGT circles. He attended the ISU meeting in Budapest in September 1952 and later toured several of the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe. He has written his travel experiences for the Communist Tribuna Popular. His signed statements never deviate from the PGT line.

The FUD Secretary for Organization and acting Secretary General when Cazali is absent is Julio Rene Estevez, who in the fall of 1953 visited the USSR and Communist China after attending the Third world Congress of Students at Warsaw in August.

Apart from the meeting in Bucharest which Cazali attended, the FUD has sent delegations to the 1953 World Youth Festival in Bucharest and the subsequent Student's Conference in Warsaw.

FUD publishes a monthly review, Nuestra Lucha, which adheres closely to the international Communist line.

Confederacion de Estudiantes de Post Primaria (CEP)

The CEP is a high school students organization which follows the Communist line closely and is favorably treated in PGT publications. The CEP probably serves as a good training camp for prospective PGT members.

Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca (AFG)
(Guatemalan Feminine Alliance)

The Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca, founded in 1947, was one of the first units of the structure of the Communist front of mass organizations in Guatemala. Two experienced foreign Communist women organizers, Virginia Bravo Letelier of Chile, and Nela Martinez Espinosa of Ecuador, brought about its formation with the close cooperation and guidance of the experienced Communists from outside Guatemala such as Lipshutz, Manuel Eduardo Hubner Richardson and Cesar Godoy Urrutia of Chile; and CTAL organizers with whom they had contact, such as Juan Marinello of Cuba and Roberto Morena of Brazil, at the same time were steering the organization of Guatemalan labor.

The objectives of the Alianza Femenina were painted in terms of broad general appeal well calculated to capture the imagination of Guatemalan women, especially teachers, who were eager to take up political and civic activities which had not been open to them under previous governments.

Both Virginia Bravo and Nela Martinez obtained appointments in the Guatemalan Ministry of Education, and Sra. Bravo's office and home were known as meeting places where members of the Grupo Saker-Ti, STEG and the Octubre circle, were in contact with the CTAL organizers and other foreign Communists. Virginia Bravo and Manuel Eduardo Hubner Richardson were old friends of Pablo Neruda in Chile and in Guatemala acted as advance agents for his appearance there to stimulate the advancement of the Communist "peace" movement.

The new women's organization at first was called Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca y Panamericana, but the last part of the title was gradually abandoned. Little effort was made to keep up the pretext of altruistic cultural and civic aims; efforts to keep the organization on that track were over-ridden. Those unwilling to conform to a frank pro-Communist orientation found themselves ineffective if not unwelcome, and the society soon settled down to a small hard-core group of collaborators who thenceforward showed themselves at all times willing and conspicuously energetic in supporting Communist-line objectives.

The AFG nucleus is connected with the hard-core minority leadership of international Communism in Guatemala by ties of marriage as well as ideology.

Lily de Alvarado, Director of the AFG bulletin "Mujeres" is the wife of Carlos Alvarado Jerez, Communist director of the National Radio TGW. Irma Chavez Castillo de Alvarado Monzon, AFG Secretary for Organization, is also chief of the Women's Commission of the PGT Central Committee. Elsa de Guerra Borges, wife of the PGT Secretary

for Propaganda, is the AFG Secretary for Propaganda. Although reportedly divorced, the couple continues political collaboration. Among the Counselors of AFG is Maria Jerez de Fortuny, third wife of the Secretary General of the Guatemalan Communist party, PGT. She was a protege of Virginia Bravo Letelier, received training under the latter's close supervision, and is now the Chief Clerk of the IGSS, Guatemalan Institute of Social Security. Another AFG Counselor is Sra. Pierrete de Diaz Rozzotto, wife of the Communist-oriented Secretary General of the Presidency and Secretary General of the RN party.

The AFG invariably is represented on the Presidium of Communist-front meetings, and is a useful Communist propaganda outlet because of the self-propelling fervor and initiative generated in the group through the leadership first of Virginia Bravo and now of Dora Franco y Franco, AFG Secretary General. The AFG has special competency and opportunity for penetration of the fields of grade school and rural teaching and social welfare.

The AFG has taken an active role in support of the peace movement generally, the International Congress on Child Welfare, and such specific Communist activities as the "Week of Solidarity with the Korean People".

Dora Franco and Irma Chavez de Alvarado Monzon sponsored showings of Soviet-made films on bacteriological warfare. Dora Franco was chief of the Guatemalan delegation attending the Congress of the Communist International Association of Democratic Women in Copenhagen, 1953, and the Vienna Conference on Child Welfare, 1952. In 1953, she returned on the same flight with Guatemalan delegates to the Sixth Congress of the Communist World Federation of Teachers' Unions (FISE) held in East Berlin, which was attended by Rafael Tischler, head of the Guatemalan teachers' union STEG. The AFG has close working relations with the leaders of STEG, and cooperates in advancing the objectives of the FISE Berlin meeting, namely, to promote the "peace campaign" among teachers, encourage teachers to foster programs against imperialism and colonialism; prepare teachers to accept propaganda from the USSR for distribution and use in the schools; promote separation of school systems from the influence of conservative groups and the church; propose higher standards of living for teachers; increase teacher membership in the WFTU.

It was the AFG that undertook to capitalize, for the benefit of international Communism, on the religious feelings of the Guatemalan people by sponsoring a "peace" mass, in February, 1952, as a part of the general Communist peace campaign. The Church authorities of Guatemala checked this attempt and it resulted in resignations of disillusioned non-Communist members of the Alianza. The origin

of the "peace" mass enterprise is of considerable interest as a demonstration of the policy enunciated by Lenin of using anything and anybody to gain the objectives of the international Communist conspiracy. Handbills issued by the AFG at the time tell the story clearly. They consist of a sheet reproducing a letter addressed to His Holiness the Pope by M. Frederic Joliot-Curie, leading figure in the World Partisans of Peace organization, asking a Papal statement on the question of world peace. The Papal statement is then quoted. A second piece of this literature consists of a printed handbill addressed to "Catholics who love peace." It reads as follows:

"Recently the Serene Pontificate has stated that the fear of a new war today causes the women of all faiths throughout the world to desire and work for peace. These words of His Holiness come to stir the deep sentiment of peace which inspires the women of Guatemala, confirming to us that the Holy Catholic Church has recognized the desire of millions of faithful who pray for the preservation of this most precious blessing of earth.

"The Holy Father, in calling upon us to be 'the messengers of peace' as he did at the Congress of the World Union of Catholic Women, asks us to struggle so that the horrors of war will not continue to prevent mutual understanding between the peoples...

"As a contribution to the effort for world peace, Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca invites all Catholics who believe in the peaceful co-existence of peoples to attend the mass which will be offered at the Church of Santo Domingo, on May 25, at noon, to carry their prayers for this noble hope.

"The Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca, in inviting you to this pious act, ratifies its adherence to the movement for peace and in particular the National Assembly for Peace which will be held 23-25 May, in as much as this assembly will be the expression of the will for peace of the Guatemalan people.

"Women, Catholics, attend the Mass at the Church of Santo Domingo at noon on May 25 and pray for peace!"

"Guatemala, May 1952.

Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca"

At the first National Congress of the Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca, held in the auditorium of a government-owned school, on December 1, 1953, Dora Franco y Franco asserted that the organization had multiplied its work three-fold during 1952 and now had fifty branches in twelve provincial departments as well as six in the capital. About 200 delegates attended the meeting at which these statements were made. Dora Franco also claimed that the organization had distributed 80,000 pieces of literature. In her speech she ridiculed several times any allegation that the Alianza was a "Communist" organization.

ALIANZA FEMENINA GUATEMALTECA

(Officers Elected November 28, 1953)

National Council

Dora FRANCO y Franco. Secretary General; delegate to Child Welfare Congress, Vienna, April 1952, World Congress of Women, Copenhagen, 1953; traveler to Soviet orbit; writer for Communist Tribuna Popular.

Carmen MORAN. Secretary for Children's Affairs; attended Asian-Pacific Peace Conference at Peking, 1952.

Esther de URRUTIA Vice Secretary General; delegate to Vienna Peace Conference 1952; active in local "Peace" movement.

Lily de ALVARADO Secretary of Propaganda; wife of Carlos Alvarado Jerez, Communist director of the national radio, TGW; delegate to Vienna Peace Conference, December 1952.

Victoria MORAGA Secretary for Culture; attended Asian Pacific Conference October 1952, Peking.

Elsa de GUERRA Borges Secretary of Propaganda; wife (reportedly divorced) of Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary of Propaganda of the Communist PGT, herself a PGT member.

Irma Chavez Castillo
de ALVARADO Monzon. Secretary for Organization; wife of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Secretary for Organization of the Communist PGT; herself head of the Women's Commission of the PGT; active in "Peace" movement.

Maria Jerez de FORTUNY. Secretary for Finance; wife of Jose Manuel Fortuny; Secretary General of the Communist PGT; herself Secretary General (chief clerk) of the National Agrarian Department (September 1953).

Escolina GARRIDO. Secretary of Finances of the
Peace Committee of the Department
of Escuintla (May, 1953).

Elsa ZAYAS

Haydee GODOY Arrellano Active in "Peace" movement and
other pro-Communist causes.

Consuelo de MARROQUIN

Celia CORTINA

Laura V. de PEREIRA

Silvia de MACIAS

Elubia de LEON

Lolita MORALES

Laura Mallol de BERMUDEZ. Chilean Communist-line employee
of the Department of Service of the
Guatemalan Institute of Social
Security; wife of Alejandro Bermudez.

Clara MORALES

Maximina VALDES Secretary for Organization of a
market women's union (May 1953),
speaker at Department of Guatemala
Peace Assembly, July 1953.

Esther Rubio de MELGAR. Secretary for Organization of teachers'
section of the Administration party
PAR (November 1952).

Concha Castro de MEMCO. Active in local "Peace" movement.

Hortensia HERNANDEZ Rojas One-time Secretary for Legal Affairs
of the AFG (1949).

Consuelo PEREIRA Active in "Peace" movement; des-
cribed in Communist Octubre as militant
member of leftist RN party making state-
ment that Russian people would carry
forward Stalin's struggle after his death
(March 1953).

Marta de MORALES

Josefina 'MARQUEZ

Helma CAMARGO

Adriana ZUNIGA Representative of the AFG at
National Peace Congress (May 1952).

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) is a comparatively small Communist-front organization composed exclusively of members of the legal profession. It is reported to have national affiliates in 43 countries. Of the national affiliates, at least 36 are Communist or Communist front organizations, 12 of which are in Communist-controlled countries. Since 1949 IADL leadership has consisted exclusively of Communists.

IADL was founded in Paris in 1946 ostensibly for the purpose of (1) promoting international solidarity among lawyers, (2) facilitating the development of international law, and (3) supporting the UN. Like other Communist front organizations of the early postwar period it attempted to disguise its pro-Soviet, anti-Western political orientation in order to secure non-Communist participation. Consequently, before 1948 the IADL included among its leaders and members a minority of non-Communist jurists who were attracted by the professed liberal design of the organization, but were without previous Soviet connections. At its Prague Congress in 1948 the IADL frankly emerged as a Communist front organization. When it became obvious that the IADL had no interest in non-partisan legal discussion and action, most of its non-Communist members resigned. In July 1950 the UN ECOSOC revoked the IADL's consultative status in category B on the ground that its activities had no real bearing on the work of the Council and that it was using its consultative status for propaganda purposes. Similarly, on July 29, 1950, the French Government issued an order suspending the right of the IADL to maintain its headquarters in France.

Since 1949 IADL meetings have followed the prevailing Communist line and have attempted to support and provide "legal" justification for the policies and actions of the world Communist movement. Thus all national IADL affiliates were urged to participate actively in the peace movement and to sign first the Stockholm "Peace" Appeal and then the Five Power "Peace" Pact Appeal. All portworkers and railway men were advised that it was lawful to impede the transportation of war material since it served to prevent war crimes and were urged to such efforts. The Communist-sponsored Second World Peace Congress' definition of "aggression" was approved by the IADL.

Prominent among the special activities of the IADL has been its support of bacteriological warfare charges against the United States. During March 1952 the IADL sent to the Far East an "Investigation Commission of US War Crimes in Korea and China" composed of eight pro-Communist lawyers. The "Investigation Commission" published its "Findings" on March 31, 1952. The "findings" allegedly provided "legal justification"

for Communist charges that US Armed Forces had been "guilty" of bacteriological warfare and other war crimes. The IADL Council Meeting in Vienna, April 16-18, 1952, was used exclusively as a sounding board for Communist charges that the US was guilty of bacteriological warfare and other war crimes in Korea and China.

Recently the IADL has turned its attention to the "defense of democratic liberties." This was the main theme of a number of its recently sponsored gatherings and fulfilled Stalin's behest at the 19th Communist Party Congress in Moscow, October, 1952, that the Communist movement "pick up...the banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms...to rally...the majority of the peoples."

Current activities of the IADL closely follow Soviet political patterns: various IADL meetings have charged that the Atlantic Pact and Western policies in Germany violated the UN charter and the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, respectively; the Japanese Peace Treaty was labelled a "war pact...that cannot be recognized as having any legal force"; another meeting decried the "constant violation of rights of the defense in US courts of law" while the Soviet "peace" campaign has had the continued support of the IADL. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers is thus a clear example of a typical postwar Communist front organization, organized to purvey a professional "legal" justification for the current Communist party line.

Asociacion Guatemalteca de Juristas Democraticos (AGJD)
(Guatemalan Association of Democratic Lawyers)

The Association of Democratic Lawyers is the most recently formed of the mass organizations in Guatemala. It traces its origin to a resolution of the Communist-sponsored Chilean Cultural Congress in Santiago in March, 1953, recommending that an inter-American congress of lawyers be held in Guatemala. The proposed congress was held in Guatemala City October 19-22, 1953, with a grant of \$10,000 from the Guatemalan Government to help defray expenses. One month afterward the AGJD announced its existence. Its president and most energetic worker is Antonio Cruz Franco, an ex-Supreme Court justice and also president of the National Peace Committee. A month after the existence of the AGJD was announced, it sent three delegates to the World Congress of Democratic Lawyers in Vienna, one of whom was Lic. Cruz. The AGJD is distinctly a minority group and does not include any important non-Communist lawyers.

First mention of this Communist-front organization was made on November 21, 1953, when Nuestro Diario stated that Cruz had announced the founding of the AGJD. Cruz reported that the organization still lacked statutes and an executive committee but would meet shortly to fill these blanks.

Although the AGJD is of recent origin, its creation evidently has been an object of Communist plans for more than a year. First indication of these plans was given in a resolution of the Santiago Cultural Congress, March, 1953, calling for the Continental Congress of Democratic Lawyers in Guatemala City within that year.

In the absence of a host organization to handle the arrangements necessary for an international congress, preparations had to be left in the hands of "volunteers." Most of the work was done by Cruz personally.

The Communist and pro-administration press gave much publicity to the Inter-American Lawyers Congress. The government decree granting \$10,000 to help with Congress expenses was published in the official Diario de Central America. But, despite favorable publicity and monetary assistance, the so-called Congress attracted fewer than 20 foreign delegates and failed to draw the participation of prominent non-Communists. Moreover, the "foreign" delegates were Salvadoran, Honduran and Nicaraguan political exiles living in Guatemala, who purported to represent their countries.

The congress also failed to create an illusion that the gathering was a non-partisan one interested solely in legal matters. Its Communist tone was constantly apparent. The numerous resolutions adopted were more political than legal in character. The principal resolution was the so-called "Charter of Guatemala" which pledged all lawyers signing it to "mobilize all their forces and capacities to the task of safeguarding liberty, peace and justice and defending the sovereignty of our country." Other resolutions concerned: "The Defense of the UN Charter Against Tendencies to Convert it into the Instrument of a Single Power"; "The Unanimity Rule in the UN as a Guarantee for Peace and Democracy"; the "Harmfulness of War Propaganda"; "A General Policy for Nationalization of Foreign Firms and Public Services"; "Liberty of Action for Political Parties"; "The Right of Defense Against a Judgment"; and "The Execution of the Rosenbergs, a Crime of the State."

The conference also endorsed a series of resolutions on "Democratic Liberties," drafted a protest to the US and British Governments about "violence" in British Guiana, declared the conference in favor of the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence and of the right of the Panamanian people to sovereignty in the Canal Zone and endorsed Guatemala's claim to Belize (British Honduras).

On December 27, 1953, three members of the newly formed group departed for Vienna to attend the World Congress of Democratic Lawyers. AGJD participation clearly links the embryonic group in Guatemala with the Communist-front International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL).

Delegates to the World Congress were:

Humberto Hernandez Cobos, civil registrar of Guatemala and member of the Political Committee of the left-wing party Revolucion Nacional.

Ernesto Capuano del Vecchio, official of the National Agrarian Bank, running mate of the Communist Jose Manuel Fortuny in the 1953 congressional campaign in the Department of Guatemala, and secretary for indoctrination of the leftist Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PRG)

Bernardo Tullio Garcia Zapata, Colombian Communist who had attended the 1953 "Second Continental Congress of Democratic Lawyers" in Guatemala.

These close links with the international Communist organization, plus the echo in the stated objectives of the AGJD of the principles laid down by the parent IADL, clearly indicate that AGJD, like all the mass organizations, is no more than a puppet dancing to the Soviet tune.

First Commission: Health and Child Problems

Director of Debates: Dr. Gilberto Burke, RN Deputy in Congress,
Secretary-Reporter: Dr. Rafael De Buen, Spanish Communist leader
in Guatemala,
Secretary of Acts: Jesus Alvarado, Salvadoran exile; Secretary General
of extreme leftist Sindicato Nacional de Periodistas
de Guatemala SNPG- National Syndicate of Journalists),
Secretary of Acts: Ventura Ramos, Honduran exile, Communist suspect,
active in the SNPG.

Second Commission: Educational and Cultural Problems

Director of Debates: Lic. Carlos Gonzalez Cebellana, Communist sympathizer,
Sub-Secretary of Guatemalan Ministry of Education,
Secretary-Reporter: Lic. Manuel A. Santos, member of pro-Communist
groups,
Secretary of Acts: Prof. Otilia de Balcarcel, one of the demonstrators
against ratification of Rio Pact by National Con-
gress in 1950; officer of National Peace Committee
1947,
Secretary of Acts: Prof. Rafael Tischler, pro-Communist Secretary
General of the teachers' union STEG.

Third Commission: Socio-Economic Problems

Director of Debates: Hortensia Hernandez Rojas, Secretary of Women's
Affairs of the pro-Communist labor party (PROG)
founded by V. M. Gutierrez,
Secretary-Reporter: Prof. Huberto Alvarado, Secretary-General of Com-
munist front youth organization AJYG; attended
Communist World Youth Festival, East Berlin,
August 1951,
Secretary of Acts: Haydee Godoy, member of Guatemalan National Peace
Committee, 1950; active in Communist women's
affairs,
Secretary of Acts: Prof. Marco Antonio Blanco, Secretary of Foreign
Relations of AJDG.

Fourth Commission: Miscellaneous Problems

Director of Debates: Dr. Jose Solis Rojas, Secretary of Culture and Propaganda of Communist-front youth organization AJTG,

Secretary-Reporter: Prof. Oscar Rene Cruz, Secretary of Culture and Propaganda of Communist-dominated union SNPG,

Secretary of Acts: Prof. Victoria Moraga, Officer of the AFG; demonstrated against ratification of Rio Pact by National Congress in 1950,

Secretary of Acts: Atala Valenzuela, leader of feminine^{group} in AJTG.

The foregoing incident in Guatemala was by no means an isolated case. This fact is shown not only by the close parallel with the occurrences at the Breslau Congress of Intellectuals, but by comparison with like incidents in other Latin American countries. Similar techniques have been used to gain Communist domination of other types of meetings, including labor. At a labor conference in Santiago, Chile, in February, 1953, for one example, local Communists, known to have been under international direction, employed the same technique with slight variations.

In that case, although the Communists were in the minority at the meeting, they won control by using delaying tactics which wore down the patience of the other participants until the Communist delegates were the only ones remaining in the convention hall as sessions were protracted to twelve or more hours. The Communists would keep resolutions from coming to a vote until that time; the resolutions adopted, therefore, were largely dictated by Communists, and a labor unification program under Communist control was thus launched.

CHRONOLOGY OF COMMUNIST PENETRATION IN GUATEMALA

February 23, 1954

Chronology of Communist Penetration in Guatemala

1. Formation and Emergence of a Communist Party
2. Government Positions Held by Communists
3. Communists in Labor Organizations
4. Communist Infiltration of, and Influence in, other Political Parties
5. Travel of Guatemalan Communists
6. Foreign Communists' Visits to Guatemala
7. Attitudes toward and Relations with International Communism
8. Dissemination of Communist-Line Propaganda

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

- 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.

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."

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 <u>Tribuna Popular</u> published daily in place of former weekly <u>Octubre</u> .
September 6, 1953	The Communist daily <u>Tribuna Popular</u> 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 <u>Tribuna Popular</u> , José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> sent the following message to the US Communist newspaper <u>Daily Worker</u> : "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.

Government Positions Held by Communists

1945	Abel <u>Cuenca</u> Martínez, Salvadoran, appointed Secretary of Legation in Ecuador.
1945	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> accredited as First Secretary to USSR, Norway and Sweden.
1945	Rafael <u>de Buen</u> y Lozano served as Professor of Humanities in the University of San Carlos, the national university.
March 1945	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> , now Secretary General of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, elected a secretary of the National Congress and appointed a member of its Committees on Foreign Relations and on Government, Labor and Social Security.
April 1945	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> appointed a member of the newly created Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism in President Arevalo's Secretariat.
April 1945 to February 1946	Pedro Geoffroy <u>Rivas</u> served as an announcer for the government broadcasting station, TGW.
1946-1948	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> served as Secretary of Legation in Paris where he and Minister <u>Muñoz</u> Meany associated with various Communist groups. Traveled to Satellite countries.
February to June 1946	Pedro Geoffroy <u>Rivas</u> served as member of Board of Directors of government broadcasting station, TGW.
June 1946	Alfredo <u>Silva</u> Jonama served as Chief of Propaganda of government broadcasting station, TGW, of which he was later made Director.
1947	Abel <u>Cuenca</u> Martínez served as Press Attaché in San Jose, Costa Rica.
1947	Rafael <u>de Buen</u> y Lozano appointed adviser to Minister of Economy and Labor.

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 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.

1948-1948 Alfredo Guerra Borges served as an editor in President Arevalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.

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

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

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

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

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

1949-1950 Alfredo Guerra Borges served as Editor-in-Chief of the official newspaper, Diario de Centro America.

1949-1950 Alfredo Silva Jonama served in President Arevalo'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.

1949-1952	Humberto <u>Alvarado</u> served as employee in President Arevalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.
January 1949	Virginia <u>Bravo</u> Lethelier served in various capacities in Ministry of Education, chiefly as vocational aids expert.
January 1949	Miguel Angel <u>Vásquez</u> served in Ministry of Education as chief editor of the publications section.
January 1949	Alfredo <u>Guerra</u> Borges Secretary of Embassy in El Salvador.
February 1949	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> appointed Director the Traveling Cultural Missions.
May 1949	Rafael de <u>Buen y Lozano</u> appointed teacher in Institute of Diplomatic and Consular Training.
1950	Rafael de <u>Buen y Lozano</u> served as Consultant for the Production Development Institute.
1950	Carlos René <u>Valle</u> employed by National Petroleum Institute.
1950	Virginia <u>Bravo</u> Lethelier served as adviser to Minister of Education.
March 1950	Humberto <u>Alvarado</u> made head of President Arevalo's Department of Press, Propaganda and Tourism.
1950-1951	Virginia <u>Bravo</u> Lethelier headed Department of Audio Visual Aid in Ministry of Education.
1951	Max Ricardo <u>Cuenca</u> Martínez employed in Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.
1951	Natzul <u>Aguirre</u> Cook served on Board of Directors of Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.
1951	Bernardo <u>Alvarado</u> 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.

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.

1952 Natzul Aguirre Cook employed by Guatemalan Aviation Company, a government enterprise.

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

1952 Carlos René Valle employed by National Petroleum Institute.

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.

May 1952 Manuel Pinto Usaga appointed Consul in Mexico City.

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

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

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

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

1953-1954 Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez and José Alberto Cardoza served, respectively, as Chairmen of the Agrarian Reform and Labor Code Revision Committees of the National Congress.

April 1953 Carlos Alvarado Jerez was serving as Director of the government radio station, TGW.

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

August 28, 1953 José Luis Ramos served as a member of the National Agrarian Council.

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 was serving in President Arbenz' Information Office as Chief of the Press Section.

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

November 9, 1953 Four of 56 deputies in Congress are Communists: Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, José Alberto Cardoza, Cesar Montenegro Paniagua, and Carlos Manuel Pellecer.

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

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 Quenca 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.
- 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.
- 1947 Confederation of Guatemalan Workers joined praise of USSR with denunciations of US imperialism.
- August 1948 Secretary General Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez stated that the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers would organize peasant communes.

December 1948	Manuel <u>Pinto Usaga</u> 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.
December 18-19, 1949	Railway Workers' Political Committee adopted Communist-line policy statement.
January 21-22, 1950	Manuel <u>Pinto Usaga</u> organized and became Secretary General of the National Political Committee of Guatemalan Workers.
1950	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> 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 <u>Pinto Usaga</u> , the Syndical Federation of Guatemala affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Latin American Confederation of Workers.
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 <u>Pinto Usaga</u> , announced the organization's continued operation despite fact it was formed with sole purpose of participating in 1950 elections.

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 Louis Saillant and Latin American Confederation of Workers Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez

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."

June 18-20, 1953	Communists and Communist sympathizers made impressive gains in the Railway Workers' Union by winning elections for officers.
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 <u>Gutiérrez</u> 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.
November 1953	<u>Tribuna Popular</u> , the Communist daily, reported that Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> , Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> and Víctor A. <u>Leal</u> 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 <u>Gutiérrez</u> 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.

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.

Communist Infiltration of, and Influence in, other Political Parties

March 19, 1945	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> was active and far leftist member of Popular Front of Liberation on whose ticket he was elected to Congress.
1946 - 1949	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> 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 <u>Gutiérrez</u> elected deputy to National Congress on Confederation of Guatemalan Workers - Party of Revolutionary Action ticket, from Department of Guatemala.
1947	Manuel <u>Pinto</u> Usaga elected on Party of Revolutionary Action - Committee of Syndical Unity ticket to National Congress.
October 1948	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> , after return from Czechoslovakia, stepped into leadership role within Party of Revolutionary Action.
1949	Manuel <u>Pinto</u> 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 <u>Fortuny</u> , Manuel <u>Pinto</u> Usaga, and Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> who constituted an influential element.

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.

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.

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.

- 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.
- 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.
- 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."

Travel of Guatemalan Communists

March 1948	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> attended the Third General ordinary Congress of the Latin American Confederation of Workers held in Mexico City.
October 1948	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> returned from Czechoslovakia.
1949	Carlos Manuel <u>Pellecer</u> visited Eastern Europe.
1949	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> 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 <u>Fortuny</u> was delegate to Paris World Peace Congress, after which he visited Iron Curtain countries for two months.
June 1949	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> , 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 <u>Pinto Usaga</u> and Jose <u>Segnar</u> traveled to Israel and fraternized with Israeli labor unions.
June 1949	Manuel <u>Pinto Usaga</u> attended the Second World Federation of Trade Unions Congress in Milan at invitation of Vicente <u>Lombardo Toledano</u> .
September 1949	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> , 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

September 1949	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> represented the Federation of Democratic Youth of Guatemala at the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City.
January 1951	Enrique <u>Juárez</u> 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 <u>Gutiérrez</u> traveled to Europe, ostensibly to attend a World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Paris (or Berlin).
November 1951	Roberto <u>Alvarado</u> Fuentes and Luis <u>Cardoza</u> y Aragon attended World Peace Congress in Vienna.
November 1951 to January 1952	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> 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.

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 Galicía 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 Klée, 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.

June 1953	Guatemalan delegation to World Peace Council in Budapest included Lieutenant Colonel Carlos <u>Paz Tejada</u> , Major Marco Antonio <u>Franco</u> and Oscar Edmundo <u>Palma</u> .
June to December 1953	48 Guatemalans visited Soviet orbit during this period of which 11 went to Moscow.
July 1953	Oscar Edmundo <u>Palma</u> , 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 <u>Caméy</u> , a farm union leader, visited the Soviet Union.
December 1953	Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> , 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 <u>Leonardo Castillo Flores</u> , José Luis <u>Cacero</u> , of the <u>Railway Workers' Union</u> , José Luis <u>Ramos</u> , Vice Secretary for Agrarian Affairs of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, and José Luis <u>del Cid</u> , member of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers' Executive Committee.
December 1953	Humberto <u>Hernández Cobos</u> , Civil Registrar for Guatemala, flew to Vienna to attend the World Congress of Democratic Lawyers.
January 8, 1954	José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> , Secretary General of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party, returned from Moscow for which he had departed on November 5, 1953.

Foreign Communists' Visits to Guatemala

July 1948	Vicente <u>Lombardo</u> Toledano held lengthy interviews with President Arévalo and Foreign Minister Enrique <u>Mugoz</u> Meany.
April 1950	The Communist Chilean poet, Pablo <u>Neruda</u> , made a series of appearances before Guatemalan audiences immediately after his return from a trip to the USSR.
May 1951	Vicente <u>Lombardo</u> Toledano, Secretary General of Latin American Confederation of Workers, and Louis <u>Saillant</u> , 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 <u>Codoy</u> Urrutia, visited Guatemala.
March 1952	Blas <u>Roca</u> , Juan <u>Marinello</u> , and Salvador <u>Aguirre</u> , leaders of Cuban Communist Party, visited Guatemala.
December 11, 1952 to December 14, 1952	Dionisio <u>Encina</u> , Secretary General of Mexican Communist Party, attended Second Congress of Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party.
October 9-27, 1953	Michael K. <u>Samoilov</u> , Commercial Attache of Soviet Embassy in Mexico, visited Guatemala and conferred with José Manuel <u>Fortuny</u> , Alfonso <u>Solórzano</u> , and Ernesto <u>Capuano</u> del Vecchio.

Attitudes toward and Relations with International Communism

- 1947 Communist Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez represented Guatemalan organized labor at Fourth Ordinary Congress of Confederation of Mexican Workers.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 Marroquín 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 <u>Gutiérrez</u> , 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 <u>Fortuny</u> .
November 25, 1953	Four Administration parties, together with principal labor and "mass" organizations, issued a joint declaration against discussion of Communism at Caracas.
January 28-31, 1954	At the opening session of the Communist-controlled Second National Congress of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers, José Luis <u>Ramos</u> , 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."

Dissemination of Communist-Line Propaganda

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 <u>Fortuny</u> , Víctor Manuel <u>Gutiérrez</u> , and Alfonso <u>Solórzano</u> from the First World Congress of Partisans of Peace. Jaime <u>Díaz</u> Rozzotto elected Secretary General.
September 1949	Guatemalan official and pro-government press gave considerable coverage to Communist-inspired Mexican Peace Congress.
April 1950	New Committee of Partisans of the Peace organized by Communists and Communist sympathizers.
February 12, 1951	Peace Committee stepped up publicity campaign.
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, 1951 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.

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 Manana 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.

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 América, 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 América, 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."
- 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.
- July 12, 1952 The official government newspaper, Diario de Centro América, 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 José 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 América devoted half a page to an article by Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, 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 América.
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; Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Secretary General of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers; and Rafael Tischler, Secretary General of the Syndicate of Educational Workers of Guatemala.
- July 24, 1953 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.
- September 28, 1953 Diario del Pueblo, organ of the Guatemalan Revolutionary Party, edited by Director of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security Communist Alfonso Solórzano, 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 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."

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.

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 Díaz Rozzotto, 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.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GUATEMALA

February 25, 1954

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 smokescreen 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 Communist 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.

II. Communist Penetration of Guatemala (1944 - 1945)

For the past ten years Guatemala has been subjected to Communist penetration. Since 1951 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 within the Administration political parties, through infiltration of the

bureaucracy,

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 group 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 became the first 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.

Communist efforts to infiltrate Guatemalan labor came 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

unions. Many rural workers and farmers had been organized in the National Confederation of Rural Workers (CNCG) the preceding year under strongly pro-Communist leadership.

As the Guatemalan Communists moved their Party operation 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, winning promotions in government service and strengthening their position in the official radio and press. Communists and sympathizers increased their influence in the non-Communist Administrative 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.

Today,

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. 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 top Administration officials. Pro-Communists also hold important diplomatic posts abroad. The Department of Press and Propaganda 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. Confirmed fellow travelers are at present chief officers of the PAR and RI 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. 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 campaign against alleged intervention from neighboring countries, including the US. They are providing effective machinery for the dissemination of Communist and official Guatemalan propaganda. In this endeavor they are aided and abetted by the government radio and press and by all the Administration parties.

The

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.

III. Communist Penetration of Czechoslovakia (1945 - 1948)

From the very beginning of the postwar period in Czechoslovakia 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. 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

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.

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

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.

GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Alianza de la Juventud Democratica de Guatemala (Alliance of Democratic Youth of Guatemala)	AJTG
Alianza Feminina Guatemalteca (Alliance of Guatemalan Women)	AFG
Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios (Association of University Students)	AEU
Comite Nacional de la Paz (National Peace Committee, "Peace" Movement)	
Confederacion de Estudiantes de Post-Primaria (Confederation of Secondary Students)	CEP
Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (Confederation of Latin American Workers)	CTAL
Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers)	CGTG
Confederacion Nacional Campesina de Guatemala (National Farm Workers of Guatemala)	CNOC
Departamento Agrario Nacional (National Agrarian Department)	DAN
Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (Trade Union Federation of Guatemala)	FSG
Frente Democratico Nacional (National Democratic Front)	FDN
Frente Popular Libertador (Popular Front of Liberation)	FPL
Frente Universitario Democratico (Democratic University Front)	FUD
Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social (Guatemalan Institute of Social Security)	IGSS
International Students Union	ISU

Partido Accion Revolucionaria (Party of Revolutionary Action)	PAR
Partido Comunista de Guatemala (Communist Party of Guatemala)	POG
Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (Party of the Guatemalan Revolution)	PRG
Partido Renovacion Nacional (Party of National Reconstruction)	RN
Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (Workers Revolutionary Party of Guatemala)	PROG
Saker-Ti (Grupo Saker-Ti de Artistas y Escritores Jovenes) (Saker-Ti Group of Young Artists and Writers (The Dawn)	
Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero (Railway Workers Union)	SAMF
Sindicato de Trabajadores Educativos de Guatemala (Union of Educational Workers of Guatemala)	STEG
TGW (National Radio Station)	
World Federation of Democratic Women	WFDW
World Federation of Democratic Youth	WFDY
World Federation of Trade Unions	WFTU

DIRECT AND INDIRECT ON THE GOVERNMENT

LEADERSHIP,
PROPAGANDA &
LABOR COMM'S.

CGTG

CNCG

OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES
PRG RN
PAR

COMMUNIST PARTY

P G U

DIRECT PLACEMENT
OF PERSONNEL

OCTUBRE

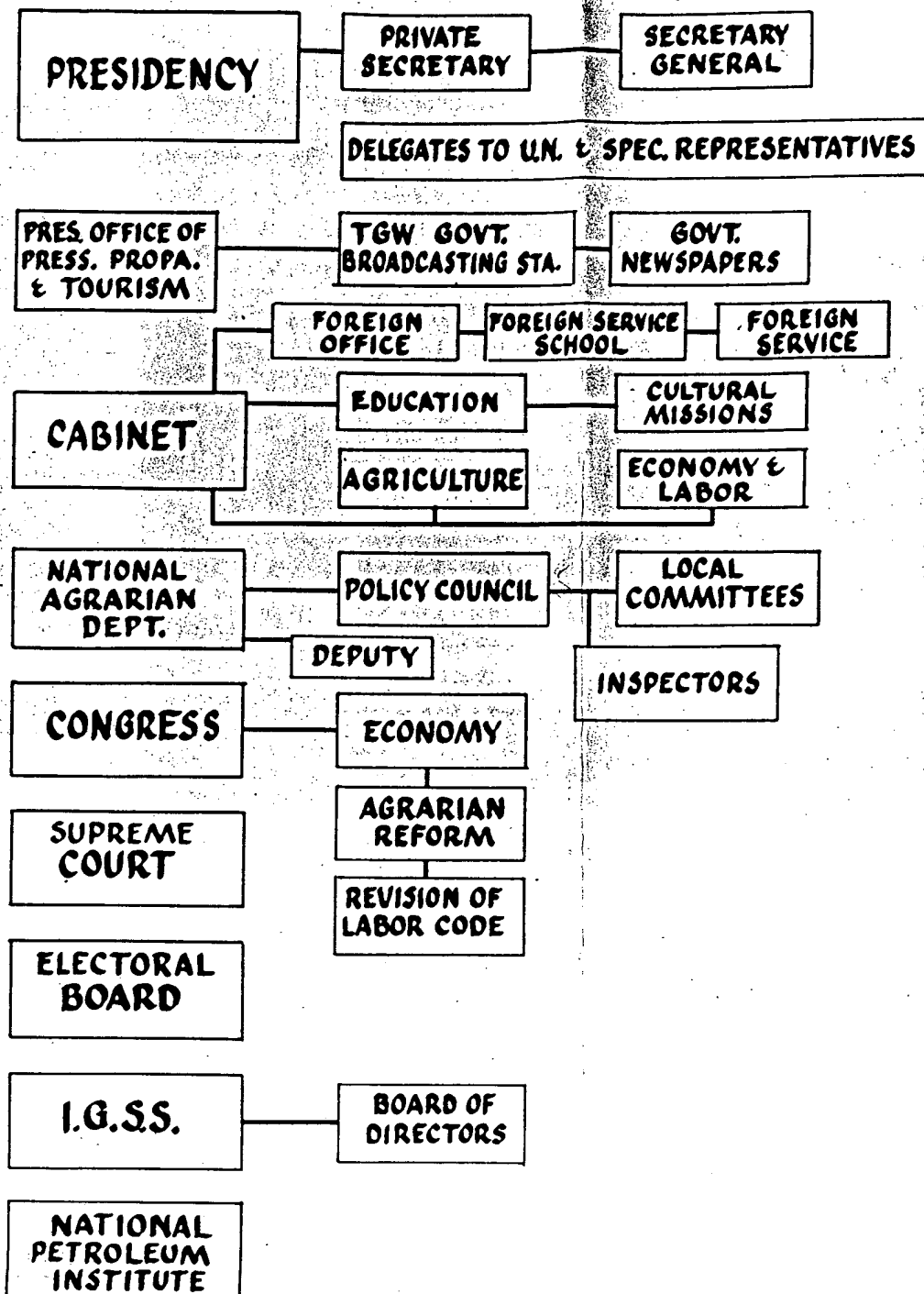
OCTUBRE
ESCUELA (JACOBO SANCHEZ)
RADIO
NEWSPAPERS
(TRIBUNO POPULAR)
AGRARIAN COMMITTEES

UNORGANIZED
LABOR

AFG
AJDG
SAKER-TI
STEG
"PEACE" COMMITTEE
CHILDREN'S WELFARE
COUNCIL
FUD
FDJ
CEP
ETC, ETC.

YOUTH
WOMEN
ARTISTS
INTELLECTUALS
STUDENTS

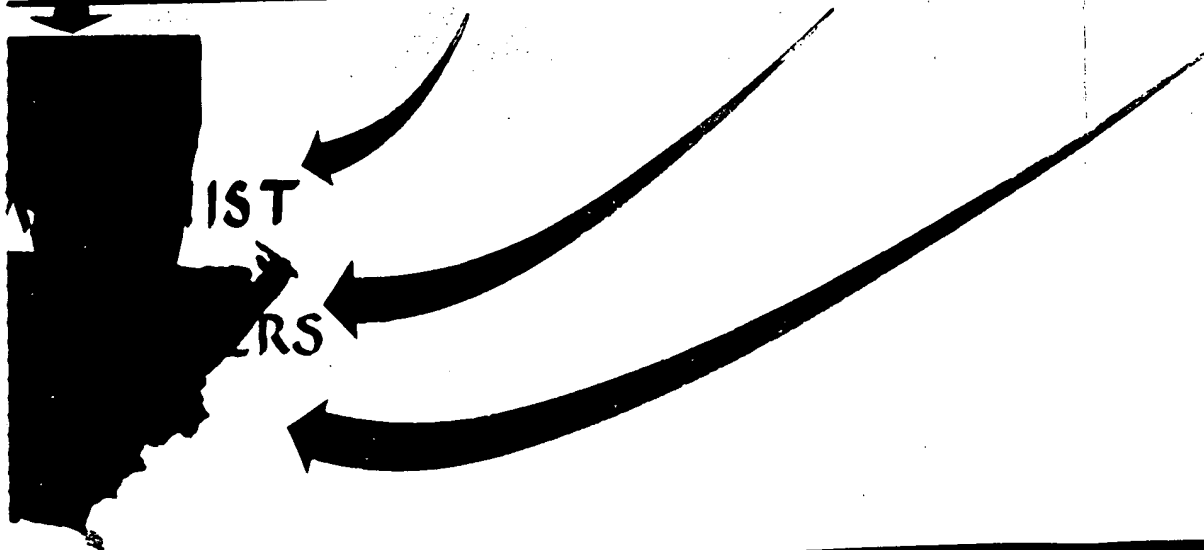
COMMUNIST PRESSURE OF GUATEMALA



	ECUADOR	MEXICO	CHILE
1945			[BRAVO LETELIER GODOY HUBNER
1946	NELA MARTINEZ		
1947			
1948		LOMBARDO	
1949			GODOY
1950		[GODOY SIXTO FERNANDEZ SAENZ MORA FALLAS	LUIS DELANO
1951			HUBNER
1952			
1953		ENCINA	

GUATEMALA

SCOW	VIENNA	CUBA	BRAZIL
		ROCA	
			ROBERTO MORENA
			MORENA
O NERUDA			
BARDO LANT		AGUERO GARCIA	
		ROCA SALVADOR AGUIRRE MARINELLO	
IOILOV	CASADEI		



AND INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNISM

MOSCOW

EASTERN EUROPE, SATELLITES

PEIPING

OBANDO SANCHEZ
ABEL CUENCA

ALVARADO JEREZ

PELLECEER
FORTUNY

GUTIERREZ

JUAREZ TOLEDO
38 GUATEMALANS
ALVARADO FUENTES
CARDOZA Y ARRAGON
GUTIERREZ

SILVA JONAMA
ALBERTO CARDOZA

2 GUATEMALANS
SILVA JONAMA
CAZALI AVILA

DORA FRANCO Y FRANCO
ALVARADO JEREZ

Sra. de BARRIOS KLEE
PAULINA OVALLE
TERENCIO GUILLEN
ARTIGA de LEON
13 GUATEMALANS

SILVA JONAMA
ALBERTO CARDOZA

CRUZ FRANCO
CARMEN MORANI
ALVARADO JEREZ
GALICIA DEL VALLE

EDMUNDO PALMA

11 GUATEMALANS

GUTIERREZ
CASTILLO FLORES
LUIS CACEROS
LUIS RAMOS
LUIS DEL CID
GABRIEL CAMEY

GUTIERREZ
EDMUNDO PALMA
PAZ TEJADA
ANTONIO FRANCO
ESTEVEZ RODRIGUEZ
48 GUATEMALANS
MONTERROSA
GUTIERREZ
CASTILLO FLORES
LUIS CACERO
LUIS RAMOS
LUIS DEL CID

HERNANDEZ COBOS

FORTUNY

ABROAD

	MEXICO	MILAN PARIS BERLIN
1930-32		
1932		
1942		
1948	GUTIERREZ	
1949	FORTUNY (M) GUTIERREZ (M)	GUTIERREZ FORTUNY GUTIERREZ PINTO USAGA
1951		
		GUTIERREZ
1952		
1953		

GUATEMALAN

MAS DE 273 MILLONES DE FIRMAS CONTRA LA BOMBA

6

Octubre
POR UN GRAN PARTIDO COMUNISTA, VANGUARDIA DE LOS OBREROS, LOS CAMPESINOS

GUATEMALA, 6 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1950

Registrado como correspondencia de 2a. clase, bajo el No. 766.

EDITORIAL

LA PAZ DEL MUNDO
PUEDE SER SALVADA

El Nuevo en la
180 CENTAVOS A LOS TRABAJADORES DE "CONCEPCION"

MAS DE 273 MILLONES
TRA LA BOMBA

El gran hombre
Curie, Presidente

Octubre

ORGANO CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE GUATEMALA

No. 46 - Guatemala, 6 de Septiembre de 1951 - Registrado como correspondencia de 2a. clase No. 766.

Antigua es un Espejo... y un Aviso

Record de la semana
Antigua es un espejo... y un aviso
Antigua es un espejo... y un aviso

Se desbaratan las mentiras levantadas para oponerse a su justa demanda

Habíamos venido insistiendo en que era falso, que era una mentira interesada, afirmar que el salario de 80 centavos no pudiera pagarse en la finca Concepción, en la que los trabajadores han mantenido ejemplarmente la huelga desde el 13 de Agosto para conquistar esta justa demanda. Para oponerse a esta reivindicación de los trabajadores agrícolas se habló que ella llevaría a "la ruina del país", "al caos", "al desastre del tro de Agricultura". El Ministerio de Fincas Nacionales dijeron que si concedían 80 centavos perderían 1237,000 pesos. Ahora todo depende del ingreso de la República, los fondos de "la revolución Nacional, Popular, Revolucionaria", que no sólo ron esta boca es mía, sino de una reivindicación de sus miembros, sino llegarlos incluso a los miembros de sus miembros.



7 de Noviembre de 1917

7 de Noviembre de 1956

LA INTERNACIONAL

1 Arriba víctimas hambrientas,
arriba, todos a luchar;
con la justicia proletaria:
nuevo mundo nace ya.

2 A la lucha proletarios,
al combate final:
que sea la raza humana,
Soviet Internacional.

3 Al ladrón quitemos lo robado
y todos juntos, libres ya
por el deber decidiremos
y cada quien lo cumplirá.

4 Nosotros los trabajadores
del mundo, ejército de paz,
debemos poseer la tierra
que nos roba el holgazán.

5 A la lucha proletarios,
al combate final:
que sea la raza humana,
Soviet Internacional.

6 Destrochemos todas las cadenas;
de esclavitud tradicional.
Y quienes nunca fueron nada,
dueños del mundo hoy serán.

7 Ya no queremos salvadores
que sirvan solo al capital;
en adelante, los obreros
impondrán su voluntad.

8 A la lucha proletarios,
al combate final:
que sea la raza humana,
Soviet Internacional.

9 Y el gran trueno rasgue las tinieblas
que dierran paso a la verdad
y cuando nuestra aurora surga,
un nuevo mundo alumbrará.

Un grupo de jóvenes en solidaridad con "OCTUBRE", rinden homenaje a la clase obrera del mundo en el 39 Aniversario de la Primera Revolución Socialista y brindan a los trabajadores para que todos el día de todos los trabajadores que luchan por conquistar un mundo de paz donde no existan explotadores ni opresores.

NOTE: The two lines at top, legible in the original, read (in translation):
It is obligatory for all of the organizations of workers, peasants
and democratic groups to memorize this hymn.

DE GUATEMALA

Ante el peligro que sufrimos por la existencia de
nuestro país, el pueblo, la nación, la defensa del pueblo
insurrección popular, la guerra revolucionaria y la liberación
como forma de liberación, la única manera de poner fin
al imperialismo y explotación de la clase obrera y de la
población, los pueblos, pueblos, naciones y
proletarios que tienen los intereses de la independencia y la
reacción, así como para luchar por la vez de destruir nuestro
régimen democrático y las conquistas de la clase obrera,
que a través de la heroica lucha ha conseguido desde el
veinte de octubre de 1944.

Los enemigos del progreso en Guatemala, sin embargo, aseguran que no están contra nuestro régimen democrático, sino contra el "avance del comunismo". Echarbolando ahora, pues, la bandera del anti-comunismo, y lo que es más criminal, exacerbando los sentimientos religiosos, han presentado a los comunistas como enemigos de la religión católica y de los sentimientos del pueblo. Dicen que los comunistas quemaríamos los templos y despojaríamos a los campesinos, a los pequeños propietarios y a cuantos no simpatizan con los comunistas. Esto es falso. Los comunistas no empleamos ese método de lucha. No somos aventureros, ni terroristas, ni quemamos iglesias, ni somos amigos del robo, ni nuestra norma de conducta es la violencia. Por el contrario, los comunistas defendemos la más amplia libertad religiosa, o sea el derecho a profesar cualquier religión o a no profesar ninguna. Pero precisamente porque defendemos ese derecho es que condenamos que se trate de mezclar a la religión con las cuestiones políticas y que se tome a la religión como un instrumento político. Esto lo saben bien los enemigos conscientes que nos combaten. ¿Por qué, entonces, emplean tan a fondo la criminalidad y la mentira para presentarnos como enemigos de los sentimientos humanos y religiosos?

La respuesta a esta pregunta está al desentrañar los motivos, las causas y las verdaderas razones de la aplicación anticomunista. El pretendido peligro que significamos los comunistas para Guatemala, no existe. La reacción misma está perfectamente con nosotros: no existe un partido comunista de gran fondo en nuestro país. Sin embargo, desatan la campaña y un odio tribalista contra los comunistas, provocándonos ante el pueblo algo así como bestias feroces. Y quieren hacer creer que somos semejante cosa, para ocultar las causas profundas los motivos reales por los cuales nos combaten con tanta saña, tratando de despertar los peores instintos de la gente para desarrollada contra nosotros. ¿Cuáles son esas causas, señores?

[illegible]

En primer lugar defendemos la democracia porque es el primer requisito para la organización popular; la democracia, de modo que se faciliten sus demandas y se pueda luchar por obtener mejores condiciones de vida material, así como por la liberación nacional, porque cuando luchamos por riquezas, se industrialice y desarrolle a un productor de materias primas, de azúcar de caña que se nos compra al precio que quieren, igualamos con Estados Unidos; luchamos por la tierra y agua a la industria nacional, por la defensa de nuestros industriales y pequeños comerciantes, esto también luchamos también porque no se interponga día en nuestra política interna y podamos ejercer su soberanía también en el terreno internacional. Luchamos contra los males que afligen a Guatemala, concretamente luchamos contra la explotación que a las mayorías a manos de una minoría privilegiada, y consiguientemente, luchamos contra quienes representan el régimen: los grandes terratenientes extranjeros e norteamericanos, los acaparadores, los comerciantes hambreados por la guerra, que constituyen el núcleo reaccionario y no más importante y aliado a las compañías monopolistas que como la United Fruit Company, la IRCA, Empresa Eléctrica, son una pequeña parte del gran río del capitalismo yanqui, y que nos explotan y se oponen a nuestro progreso, por ejemplo, a la construcción de carreteras al Atlántico que nosotros apoyamos con la voz decidida.

Defendámoslo, pues, en las condiciones actuales lo defendemos, ¿no es claro que nos identificamos plenamente con la revolución democrática de Guatemala iniciada en octubre de 1944?, y no es evidente que somos sin reservas el programa progresista del Presidente Arbenz que sintetiza las demandas de esa revolución? ¿De dónde han sacado nuestros enemigos que somos traidores al régimen democrático y que, en consecuencia, se no debe tolerarnos?

[illegible]

Pues las fuerzas políticas democráticas que integran el gobierno, han visto con claridad el panorama y por ello han respondido con un manifiesto común a las manifestaciones subversivas que levantó la reacción el 11 y 12 de julio en curso, donde desenmascaran los propósitos y pretextos de la ofensiva reaccionaria y afirman su decisión de luchar por el mantenimiento del régimen democrático. Sin embargo, esto no basta. Estas fuerzas deben comprender también con claridad que la campaña anti-comunista es una campaña anti-democrática, que se inicia contra los comunistas, pero que termina fatalmente contra las otras fuerzas progresistas, porque el camino anticomunista es el camino del fascismo, de la opresión y del terror sangriento.

Por eso mismo es que también la clase obrera y los trabajadores en general deben comprender que la consigna anti-comunista es una consigna contra los obreros y trabajadores, que la reacción identifica como demanda comunista toda demanda de los trabajadores por mejores salarios y condiciones de vida y de trabajo, ya que los comunistas somos los que luchamos con mayor tenacidad y firmeza por el bienestar de los trabajadores. Una prueba de lo que decimos la tenemos en la actitud del propietario del diario "La Hora", que el mismo día que se iniciaron los asaltos al Centro Educativo Asistencial, incitaba a la rebelión y la guerra civil, ensalzando además porque los trabajadores de su imprenta le presentaron un pliego de peticiones.

De lo expuesto se deduce, pues, que la lucha anti-comunista de la reacción y del imperialismo fascistas en el fondo está dirigida contra la revolución democrática de Guatemala, y que si la ofensiva se dirige contra los comunistas es porque nosotros somos los más firmes defensores de las libertades democráticas y de los derechos del pueblo, y por consiguiente, hay que liquidar primero a los más valerosos y más firmes. Pero hay más; el imperialismo radica cada día más su feroz anti-comunista porque los comunistas junto a millones de hombres y mujeres de distintas creencias religiosas o políticas defendemos democráticamente la paz y luchamos contra la guerra imperialista, en cuando sus antinómicas ganancias que dependen de la guerra y la agresión que preparan para imponer la dominación a los pueblos.

Consecuencia de lo que se produce una gran confusión y se ven a los comunistas señalandos como...

denunciación a los que instigaron la violencia, el atropello, el incendio, los intentos de linchamiento y el pillaje, que no fueron otros sino los dirigentes de la reacción y los agentes imperialistas. Estos actos hubieran llegado a los últimos extremos si no hubiera sido por la acción oportuna de defensa legítima de la Guardia Civil que impidió mayores muestras de vandalismo. Los que ingenuamente creyeron que la manifestación del 12 de julio era una manifestación pacífica encaminada a que se reconsideraran las medidas administrativas dictadas en el Centro Educativo Asistencial, han ido descubriendo los propósitos políticos contra-revolucionarios de aquella agitación, la cual no ha terminado todavía y amenaza con nuevos y más graves peligros a la revolución democrática.

Si, la democracia en Guatemala está en serio peligro. Los trabajadores y el pueblo en general deben saberlo. La ponen en peligro los agentes imperialistas y la reacción que continúan la agitación. La ponen también en peligro los que inconscientemente siguen a aquellos y creen a pié juntillas lo que propagan. La ponen en peligro, asimismo, los demócratas que creen ingenuamente que el problema somos los comunistas, y que eliminado nosotros, la reacción y el imperialismo dejarán que la revolución siga su marcha. Y la ponen en peligro los que consciente o inconscientemente dividen al movimiento obrero y siembran prevenciones contra los comunistas entre los campesinos. La división de los obreros es mortal. La división de los obreros y los campesinos es suicida. La división de las fuerzas democráticas es suicida y criminal. A unificar, entonces, la acción y los propósitos: salvar la democracia, apoyar al gobierno democrático y el programa progresista del Presidente Arbenz.

Al confirmar el presente llamamiento de los partidos Comunista y Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala como ejemplo, llamamos a nuestras filas también a mantener la más estrecha unidad de acción, combativamente, serenidad y sin librar o recibir provocaciones, con la garbada y firmeza que nos da la justeza de nuestras causas, y que inevitablemente, históricamente, salvará todos los obstáculos y triunfara al final. Sobre cualquier otro particular está la salvación democrática de Guatemala.

Guatemala, 18 de julio de 1951.

COMISION POLITICA DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE GUATEMALA

COMISION POLITICA DEL PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO OBRERO DE GUATEMALA

No. 1



LLAMAMIENTO A UNA ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ

Hombres y mujeres de Guatemala:

Con amor patrio, sentimiento humanitario y la responsabilidad histórica que compete a nuestro pueblo, por estimar valiosa toda manifestación de los sectores que integran la sociedad guatemalteca orientada a salvar a la humanidad del peligro de una nueva guerra mundial, hacemos llegar a vuestra consideración este mensaje.

Hechos evidentes, como las acciones militares que ahora mismo ensangrientan Corea y otros países; la existencia de grandes contingentes armados y la creación de nuevas bases aéreas, navales y terrestres; la elevación de los puestos de guerra, el resurgimiento militar japonés y alemán y, especialmente, la posesión de armas atómicas y de otras clases por distintas potencias, que amenazan conducir la actual situación internacional al extremo de una conflagración como la que apenas hace cerca de siete años terminó con la derrota del fascismo, despiertan la justa alarma de los pueblos.

El simple examen de los daños sufridos por la humanidad en la pasada guerra —10 millones de muertes entre combatientes y cerca de 15 millones de pérdidas entre civiles—, tenida en cuenta la circunstancia de que ahora serían usadas armas de poder destructivo inconmensurable, como la bomba atómica, y dado que un nuevo conflicto se extendería a todos los continentes, lleva al convencimiento de que sería un crimen contra toda la población del mundo y los avances de la civilización universal, dejar que el desenfreno guerrillista triunfara sobre la voluntad de la mayoría de los hombres y sobre el propósito de "mantener la paz y la seguridad internacionales" proclamado en la Carta de las Naciones Unidas.

En nuestra patria se advierten ya los fenómenos derivados de la actual tensión internacional: el continuo encarecimiento de la vida, la dificultad para impulsar o mantener determinadas industrias y actividades productivas, la anomalía en los intercambios comerciales que se traduce en limitaciones de importación y hasta la amenaza de ver pronto devaluados sus fundamentales productos de exportación. Esta situación afecta sensiblemente a empleados, obreros, campesinos, industriales, agricultores y demás elementos de la sociedad y reduce las perspectivas de progreso nacional buscadas por todos.

Mayores sufrimientos sobrevendrían a los guatemaltecos si estallara la guerra mundial en preparación. El país tendría que soportar las consecuencias de una seria crisis económica, se pondrían en peligro las conquistas democráticas y la soberanía nacional y correríamos el riesgo de sufrir directamente los efectos de la destrucción y de la muerte en nuestra propia patria, ya que ninguna razón hace suponer que Centroamérica, en su especial situación estratégica, quedara a salvo de los terribles daños de un conflicto bélico.

Ante la evidencia de tales peligros, precisa la formación de un movimiento de conciencia nacional en contra de la guerra, en favor del arreglo pacífico de las controversias internacionales, que reclame la prohibición y control de las armas de destrucción en masa y llame a la convivencia normal a los estados mediante la vuelta a los principios de la ONU. Es urgente que, prosiguiendo los esfuerzos anteriores de los amantes de la paz, se fortalezca y amplíe un genuino aunamiento de voluntades, indistintamente de puntos de vista de orden político, religioso o social.

Los que al pie de este llamamiento firmamos, unidos en el exclusivo propósito de promover la defensa de la paz —que Guatemala necesita y desea para la humanidad—, acogemos con entusiasmo la idea de celebrar una ASAM

BLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ, para que sean discutidos ampliamente los problemas señalados, con la concurrencia de instituciones, organismos, asociaciones, comités y demás entidades que se hagan representar y con la participación de intelectuales, empleados, profesionales, obreros, estudiantes, mujeres, campesinos, industriales, propietarios, militares, religiosos, deportistas, maestros, artistas, comerciantes, artesanos y todos quienes desean detener la guerra y salvar la paz.

Guatemala, febrero de 1952.

Licenciado *Julio Gómez Robles*, catedrático universitario.—Señor *Ricardo de León*, directivo de la Asociación de Industriales.—Ingeniero *Angel Martínez*, arquitecto.—Licenciado *Roberto Alvarado Fuentes*, Presidente del Congreso.—Señora *Amalia V. de Muñoz Meany*.—Licenciado *Javier Ramos Medrano*, químico laboratorista.—Profesor *Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez*, secretario general de la CGTG.—Señor *Carlos Toledo*, futbolista.—Profesor *Leonardo Castillo Flores*, dirigente campesino.—Profesora *Elsa Rabassó*, directora del Instituto Normal para Señoritas Centro América.—Señor *Víctor Manuel Pacheco*, alcalde de Escuintla.—Profesor *Rafael Díaz Gómez*, jefe de Alfabetización nacional.—Señor *Horacio Rodríguez González*, estudiante universitario.—Profesora *Dora Franco y Franco*, dirigente femenina.—*Ricardo Barrios Galindo*, periodista.—*René García*, presidente de la Confederación de Estudiantes de Postprimaria.—Profesor *Rafael Tischler*, dirigente del STEG.—Licenciado *José Guillén*, economista.—*José Arévalo Guerra*, pianista.—Señora *Jeannette de Castro Conde*, directiva de la Cruz Roja.—*Aristeo Sosa*, dirigente ferroviario.—*Irma de Alvarado*, dirigente femenina.—Bachiller *César Augusto Régil*, director general de Comercio, Industria y Controles.—Profesor *Mariano Arévalo*, gerente de Fincas Nacionales.—Mayor *Marco Antonio Franco*, Gobernador del departamento de Guatemala.—Maestro *Jesús M. Alvarado*, filarmónico.—Licenciado *Alfonso Bakier Paiz*, exministro de Economía y Trabajo.—*Rodolfo Galeotti Torres*, escultor.—*Héctor Cabarrús*, perito agrónomo.—*Olga Martínez Torres*, poetisa.—*Teófilo Osorio*, dirigente de los trabajadores bananeros.—*Fernán B. García*, diputado al Congreso.—Licenciado *Antonio Cruz Franco*, abogado y notario.—Contador *Tomás Villamar Contreras*, dirigente universitario.—Señor *Lorenzo Morales*, dirigente azucarero.—Licenciado *Julio Gómez Padilla*, magistrado.—Profesora *Ataja Valenzuela*, dirigente juvenil.—Licenciado *Guillermo Noriega Morales*, escritor.—Doctor *Ricardo Asturias Valenzuela*, del Colegio Médico.—Profesora *Victoria Moraya*, dirigente femenina.—Licenciado *Otto Raúl González*, poeta y escritor.—*Natán Aguirre*, dirigente sindical.—*Oscar Antonio Salazar*, cronista deportivo.—*Jesús Alvarado Mendocabel*, secretario general del Consejo de la Infancia.—Licenciado *Alfonso Orantes*, magistrado.—Señor *Ernesto Juárez*, dirigente portuario.—*Arturo Martínez*, pintor.—Bachiller *Hugo Barrios Klée*, estudiante universitario.—Profesor *Mario Silva Jonama*, catedrático.—Profesor *Oscar A. Sierra*, industrial cabanero.—*José Monsanto*, estudiante universitario.—*Milton Kuhnai*, violinista.—Profesor *Alberto Mayorga Paiz*, maestro de Zacapa.—Señor *Próspero Morales*, dirigente chilero.

CONVOCATORIA A LA ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ

De acuerdo con el llamamiento para celebrar una ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ, lanzado por un amplio grupo de personas representativas de la vida nacional, el Comité preparatorio, constituido para el efecto, CONVOCA a "todos quienes desean detener la guerra y salvar la paz" para que reunidos en esa Gran Asamblea expresemos la necesidad y el anhelo de paz del pueblo de Guatemala.

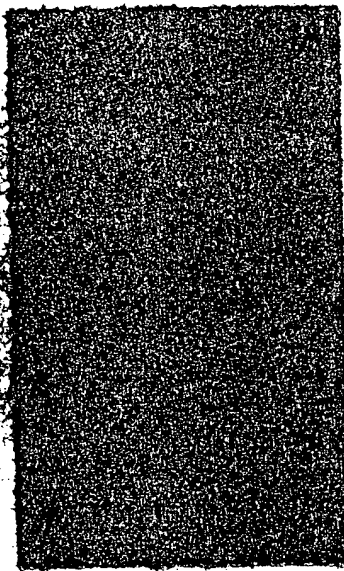
LA ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ se regirá por las siguientes bases:

1. Se efectuará durante los días 23, 24, 25 y 26 de mayo, en esta ciudad capital.
2. El temario comprenderá tres puntos:
 - 1) El peligro de una nueva guerra mundial;
 - 2) Guatemala, ante la amenaza de una nueva guerra y los efectos de su preparación;
 - 3) Medios a nuestro alcance para defender la paz.
3. En la Asamblea se harán representar, con tres a cinco delegados: los comités de apoyo que se formen en la capital y en los departamentos de la República, asociaciones estudiantiles, agrupaciones culturales, organizaciones de trabajadores, entidades profesionales, asociaciones de productores industriales y agrícolas, agrupaciones femeninas y juveniles, núcleos campesinos, organizaciones deportivas y demás instituciones que se interesen por el resguardo de la vida humana y la defensa de la paz. Podrán participar también todas las personas que deseen hacerlo llevando una proposición y, desde luego, los firmantes del Llamamiento que concurran.
4. La Directiva de la Asamblea se integrará con personas firmantes del Llamamiento presentes en ella y las que allí se acuerde.
5. Para cada punto del temario se constituirá una comisión y se presentará un informe, debiendo ser aprobadas las resoluciones por la Asamblea en pleno.
6. Una comisión especial de personas firmantes del Llamamiento elaborará el reglamento de la Asamblea de acuerdo con las bases anteriores.

Guatemaltecos: ¡Acudid con entusiasmo a la ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ y apoyad su realización!

Guatemala, marzo de 1952.

COMITE PREPARATORIO.



A los Católicos amantes de la Paz

Recientemente el Sumo Pontífice ha expresado que "el temor de una nueva guerra hoy en día lleva a las mujeres de todas las regiones del globo a ansiar y luchar ardentemente por la paz". Tales palabras de Su Santidad vienen a conmovir el hondo sentimiento de paz que nos anima a las mujeres de Guatemala, con las aspiraciones que la Santa Iglesia Católica ha recogido el deseo de millones de seres que oran por que el bien más precioso de la humanidad se mantenga.

Al llamarnos el Santo Padre para que seamos "las mensajeras de la paz", como expresamos en el Congreso de la Unión Mundial de Mujeres Católicas, nos pide luchar para que los horrores de la guerra no prosigan afectando la convivencia de los pueblos y así pueda obtenerse el progreso de toda la humanidad.

Como una contribución al esfuerzo de paz mundial, Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca invita a los católicos partidarios de la convivencia pacífica entre los pueblos, a que concurren a la misa que se oficiará en el Templo de Santo Domingo, el próximo 25 de los corrientes a las 12 horas, para que eleven sus oraciones por las nobles anhelos.

PAPA 825 KH

Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca, al invitar para este acto piadoso, ratifica su adhesión al movimiento por la paz y en especial a la ASAMBLEA NACIONAL POR LA PAZ que tendrá verificativo los días 23, 24, 25 y 26 del mes que corre, ya que ésta será la expresión de la voluntad pacifista del pueblo guatemalteco.

Mujeres, pueblo católico, acudid a la Misa del día domingo 25 de los corrientes en el Templo de Santo Domingo, a las 12 horas, y creed por la paz!

Guatemala, mayo de 1962.

ALIANZA FEMENINA GUATEMALTECA.

OPINE USTED

No todas las gentes saben el valor que tiene su propia opinión: creen que la guerra y la tensión internacional son hechos fatales ante los que sólo cabe la resignación.

La experiencia actual demuestra lo contrario. La acción de los partidarios de la paz, unidos por un objetivo común independiente-mente de otras cuestiones, ha detenido el peligro de una tercera guerra mundial y ya está obligando a las potencias a entrar por el camino de la negociación y el arreglo pacífico.

¿Por qué no opina usted también sobre el peligro de guerra y el modo de conseguir la paz?

Interésese por el desarrollo de la Asamblea Departamental por la Paz que se celebrará los días 4 y 5 de julio próximo en esta capital.

ASISTA AL ACTO DE INAUGURACIÓN EL 3 DE JULIO POR LA NOCHE EN EL CINE "AMÉRICA", 17 CALLE NOROCCIDENTE 15.

Guatemala, junio de 1953.