

50066-70 Vol 4

Communism in Latin America

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**SOVIET UNION**

**May 29, 1961**

**Section 1**

**MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WORLD FEDERATION OF  
DEMOCRATIC YOUTH, SANTIAGO**

*Mr. Pink to Lord Home. (Received May 29)*

**SUMMARY**

On the invitation of the Chilean Young Radicals, the Communist-front World Federation of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) held a meeting of its Executive Committee in Santiago in April. The Chilean Government, though warned by Western diplomatic representatives of the dangers of allowing front meetings the respectability of a non-Communist site, put no obstacles in their way (paragraphs 1-3).

The undemocratic nature of W.F.D.Y. was widely exposed in the Chilean Press and radio, largely on the basis of I.R.D. material distributed in consultation with the local branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the United States Embassy. The principal Chilean youth and student organisations, including the Young Socialists, refused to participate in the meeting (paragraph 4).

As a result, the original ambitious programme had to be reduced considerably in scope. The discussions concentrated on the invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro forces, which coincided with the meeting; efforts by non-Communist delegates to carry out the declared programme of discussions on the future of youth work in Latin America were repeatedly frustrated by the organisers. Attendance progressively dwindled, until at the closing session, attended by only 34 of the 142 delegates, 22 previously prepared resolutions of a propaganda character were carried, in typical Communist style, unanimously. One resolution provides a plan of work for the W.F.D.Y. in Latin America in future, and for the establishment of a permanent "information centre" in Santiago (paragraphs 5-9).

The event was not a success for the Communists. The publicity campaign completely exposed its cover; and the behaviour of the organisers antagonised many responsible participants. But the Communists clearly attach great importance to front activities in Latin America and will doubtless persevere (paragraphs 10 and 11).

(No. 78. Confidential)  
My Lord,

*Santiago,  
April 28, 1961.*

In various letters during the past few months I have reported on the events leading up to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth held in Santiago last week, and on the action that has been taken to try to prevent it or to nullify its effect. In this despatch I have the honour to give a brief account of these happenings and to describe the meeting itself.

2. At its meeting in Conakry in 1960, the Executive Committee of the W.F.D.Y. was invited by the Chilean Young Radicals to hold this year's meeting in Santiago. The invitation was conveyed by Sr. Anselmo Sule, who is a Vice-President of both bodies. The decision to hold the meeting in Santiago was announced here in January and a local Organising Committee was formed from the Young Radicals, Young Communists and the Chilean Central Trade Union Organisation (CUTCh). As reported in my letter 2191/11/61 S. of February 3

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to Mr. F. R. H. Murray, I called on the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (in the absence of the Foreign Minister) and, explaining that I was speaking without instructions, expressed my apprehension that the W.F.D.Y. should be allowed to meet here. When reporting this action, I asked for instructions to speak officially though I had little hope that the Chilean Government could be induced to forbid the meeting. Later I learned that my United States colleague had spoken to the Foreign Minister in the same vein. On the 24th of February I spoke officially to the Foreign Minister as instructed in Foreign Office telegram No. 6 Saving of the 17th of February. The Minister admitted that the Chilean Government were much concerned about the meeting but maintained that since the repeal of the Law for the Defence of Democracy they had no legal means of stopping it. He promised to look into my suggestion that the Chilean Government might let it be known in advance that persons coming from abroad to attend the meeting would not be allowed into the country. However, on the 22nd of March, President Alessandri informed the leaders of the Young Radicals that he was not disposed to put any obstacle in their way, though he warned them that foreign delegates, especially Communists, must not interfere in the country's internal politics.

3. I should perhaps say a few words about the action of the Young Radicals in inviting the W.F.D.Y. to hold this meeting in Santiago, since it may be difficult for anyone outside Chile to understand why a so-called Radical Party should be closely linked with a front organisation. A Chilean acquaintance once remarked that the Radical Party included most of the colours of the political spectrum: this is scarcely an exaggeration as its members range from the Right to the far Left. It is hard to conceive how such a party can be held together since it has no positive policy of its own and one would imagine that this would detract from its appeal to the electorate. On the contrary, although already the largest party in Chile, the Radicals emerged from the last elections with their strength considerably increased.

4. In the conviction that there was little hope that the Chilean Government would take steps to prohibit the meeting we had already initiated, in co-operation with the Chairman of the Chilean Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (a Spanish-born Chilean named Carlos de Baraibar) and the American Embassy, a publicity campaign in the Chilean Press and radio to demonstrate the Communist background of the W.F.D.Y. In this campaign Sr. de Baraibar, who is also a leader-writer in the influential *El Mercurio* and a radio commentator, made good use of the material with which we were able to supply him. It was later used to great effect by the other Right-wing papers and radio commentators. It was also drawn on by Sr. Dario Poblete (an ex-Minister and an influential figure on the Right of the Radical Party) who strongly attacked, in a meeting of the Radical Party Executive Committee, the Young Radicals' sponsorship of an undemocratic organisation (my Chancery letter 2191/54/61 S. of the 30th of March). As the time for the meeting drew near the Congress for Cultural Freedom arranged gatherings of students and members of the youth organisations at which speakers described the activities and connexions of the W.F.D.Y. Some 2,000 copies of a pamphlet in Spanish entitled "What are the W.F.D.Y. and the I.U.S.?" (which had been specially printed at our request by the Regional Servicing Centre in Mexico City) were distributed at the meetings, together with nearly 1,000 copies of a booklet, "How to be a Communist", which we had obtained for this purpose from Buenos Aires. The Congress themselves printed slips bearing the words "The W.F.D.Y. is Communist", which were pasted on bill-boards throughout the city, particularly over posters announcing the meeting. They also arranged for a series of lectures on the subject of agrarian reform and the development of agriculture to be held in the University of Chile, as a counter-attraction, while the W.F.D.Y. meeting was on. Adverse publicity was also achieved by the publication of a private letter from the permanent delegate of the Young Radicals in Budapest to his colleague who was charged with the preliminary arrangements in Chile, on the detailed organisation of the meeting and a facsimile of a special edition of the *Chinese Youth Bulletin* entitled "Welcome to Santiago" which included the words "the Santiago meeting will come to be recognised as a turning point in the fight for victory of Socialism and democracy in Latin America. . . . Instead of selecting a country already liberated from United States colonial rule, such as Cuba, where the revolution of the masses has already secured a lasting victory it has been decided to meet in one of the remaining strongholds of reaction in Latin America". There is no doubt that this publicity

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contributed to the marked lack of support which the meeting received from the local youth organisations. The Young Conservatives, Liberals, Christian Democrats and Socialists, as well as the principal student organisations, all refused to participate. What is more the political youth organisations (even including the Young Socialists) all stressed the Communist background of the W.F.D.Y. in published statements.

5. I understand that the W.F.D.Y. had at first planned an elaborate meeting that would have entailed bringing to Chile some 250 well-known figures (mostly fellow-travellers) as observers, as well as 150 delegates. Later the observers were dropped. Similarly their local arrangements became less and less ostentatious. The Organising Committee originally intended to accommodate all the delegates in the Hotel Carrera-Hilton (the largest in Santiago) and to hold their meetings in the main halls of the University of Chile. Pressure from the United States Embassy ousted them from the Carrera-Hilton and the delegates were eventually reduced to three second or third-class hotels. The university halls were not available as the term was already in full swing. The organisers' attempts to rent one of the better halls in the centre of town were thwarted by the combined efforts of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the United States Embassy, the West German Embassy and ourselves. In the end they were obliged to make do with indifferent premises belonging to the Newspaper Sellers' Organisation.

6. The leading officials and delegates began to arrive in Santiago a week or so before the opening of the meeting, on the 16th of April. On the 13th of April, the President of the W.F.D.Y. (Piero Pieralli), the Secretary-General (Christian Echard) and the head of the local Organising Committee (Anselmo Sule) held a Press conference, but nothing of note emerged, despite some searching questioning.

7. The Organising Committee in Santiago had drawn up quite a simple agenda and programme for the meeting. A copy is enclosed with this despatch. The agenda provided for an analysis of the political, economic and social situation of the youth of Latin America, its struggle for peace, disarmament and national sovereignty, and the W.F.D.Y.'s proposals for future work in the area. Item III, however, called for "solidarity with the Cuban revolution and with the peoples who struggle for their independence, for liberty and for democracy". I understand that the representatives of the Young Radicals objected strongly to the wording of this item but were over-ruled by the Communists. The programme provided for an inaugural ceremony on Sunday, the 16th of April, followed by the reading of a survey drawn up by the Young Radicals. Then followed two days of committee work and a further two days of plenary session, the closing ceremony to be held the evening of the 20th of April.

8. The inaugural ceremony was held in the Teatro Caupolicán (a theatre regularly used for Left-wing meetings and demonstrations) before an audience of approximately 2,000 people. After a programme of folklore music and poetry recitals the delegates were formally welcomed by the President of the Young Radicals. Then followed speeches by Anselmo Sule and the delegates from Indonesia, Japan, Sudan, the USSR, Italy (Piero Pieralli, President of the W.F.D.Y.) and Cuba. As news had been received in Santiago that morning of the invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro forces, most of the speeches took the form of exhortations for "the defence of the Cuban revolution" and "the condemnation of Yankee imperialism", to the accompaniment of applause and the shouting of Communist slogans. While the Russian delegate was extolling his country's scientific prowess the audience in the gallery, disturbed by obnoxious smells, began to shuffle and move from their seats. Apparently some of those present had thrown stink bombs. An appeal for order by the President of the Young Radicals failed to have any effect and many of the audience began to move out into the street where some of them attacked two or three young men whom they suspected of having been responsible for the disturbance. These included two journalists who were rather badly beaten up before the police could intervene. Inside the hall the speeches continued, although it was noticeable that many of the audience who had left did not return.

9. The meeting seemed never to recover from this rather inauspicious start. The programme was followed only spasmodically: a ceremonial laying of a wreath at the statue of Bernardo O'Higgins scheduled for the first day had to be postponed and was eventually carried out by only a handful of delegates, which did not include any of the leading figures. The greater part of the discussions, in the committees

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as well as in the plenaries, centred on the invasion of Cuba. Efforts by the Young Radicals, supported by the Venezuelan, Argentine, Colombian and Spanish delegates to carry out the supposedly main object of the meeting and discuss the present and future situation of Latin American youth were continually frustrated by the Russian delegate (Piotr Resketov) ably seconded by the Secretary-General (Christian Echard) and the delegates from the Chinese People's Republic and Eastern Germany. The principal activities of the meeting on the 17th and 18th of April were the approval of statements in support of the Cuban revolution, the condemnation of imperialism and Latin American dictatorships and admiration for the "fatherland of Socialism". These were drawn up in detail and approved at a final plenary meeting of the 19th of April when, after an hour's "discussion" and "unanimous approval" the meeting agreed to 22 resolutions which had for the most part been drawn up in Budapest before the meeting began. It is significant that only 34 of the 142 delegates bothered to attend this final meeting. The Executive Committee meeting therefore finished its work a day earlier than planned though the leaders held a further Press conference in their hotel on the 20th of April. By this time news of the meeting had been crowded out of the newspapers by events in Cuba. Little more was heard of the movements of the delegates even in the Left-wing Press. Numerous engagements which had been arranged by the Chilean Peace Movement, the Union of Chilean Women and the various Sino-Soviet and Satellite Cultural Institutes, were all cancelled. On the 24th of April a special plane from Cuba took off 98 of the delegates. The remainder left in dribs and drabs, either for Lima and places north or via Buenos Aires. The President, Pieralli, and the Russian delegation (which had been staying since the end of the meeting in the house of Anselmo Sule) did not leave until the 27th of April. The extensive plans for visits to other parts of Chile were scrapped, apart from one small party which spent a few days in Concepción.

10. A summary of the "resolutions" agreed by the Executive Committee is enclosed with this despatch. Briefly, following declarations of support for Cuba they comprise statements on the suppression of public liberty in Argentina; support for the people of British Guiana; co-operation between the W.F.D.Y. and the Bolivian Workers Centre (Central Obrera Bolivianos); the condemnation of the present régimes in Haiti, Nicaragua and El Salvador; support for the people of Peru; a demand for the immediate restoration of civil liberties in Venezuela; racial discrimination in South Africa; Algeria; the Congo; Korea; West Irian; Laos; the suppression of democratic liberties in various countries in the Middle East; and Spanish and Portuguese colonialism. These were followed by a call for support for "a day of struggle of the young people and students of the world against militarism and imperialism in Western Germany" and an 11-page attack on the United States. The document included a plan of work for W.F.D.Y. activities in Latin America, which provided amongst other things for the setting up of a permanent Latin American information centre in Santiago and the exchange of visits and scholarships.

11. There is no doubt that this meeting of the Executive Committee of the W.F.D.Y. was a failure. The publicity campaign before and during the meeting (based largely on material supplied by this Embassy) left the general public in no doubt as to the real sympathies and connexions of most of the delegates. This campaign and the warnings which I and some of my colleagues were instructed to convey to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were amongst the main causes of the meeting's failure. The administrative problems encountered by the Organising Committee must also have had a serious effect. It is hard to say whether the coincidence of the Cuban invasion contributed to its failure. The Congress for Cultural Freedom are of the opinion that it would have resulted in an even greater fiasco had the invasion not occurred at this moment. I am not so sure. It is possible that the leaders might otherwise have been prepared to stick more closely to the agreed agenda. As it was they revealed themselves openly in their true colours and in so doing upset a number of the Latin American delegates who had worked hard on their briefs and wanted to get down to serious discussion. By their conduct in this meeting the W.F.D.Y. may well have lost a number of would-be supporters. I cannot see that they have gained anything for their money—except a great deal of adverse publicity.

I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosures to Her Majesty's Representatives at Moscow, Washington, Bonn and all Latin American posts.

I have, &c.

I. T. M. PINK.

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## ANNEX I

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

#### Agenda

Analysis of the political, economic and social situation of the Youth of Latin America:

- (a) situation of the working youth;
- (b) situation of the agrarian youth;
- (c) educational problems;
- (d) problems of culture and sport.

2. The youth of Latin America and the struggle for peace, disarmament and national sovereignty.

3. Solidarity with the Cuban revolution and with the peoples who struggle for their independence, for liberty and for democracy.

4. Initiatives and work plan of the World Federation of Democratic Youth for Latin America.

#### *Programme of Work*

Sunday, April 16:

- 9 a.m. Inaugural ceremony in Teatro Caupolicán
- 1 p.m. Wreath-laying at the statue of Bernardo O'Higgins
- 4 to 8 p.m. Delivery of Central Report

Monday, April 17:

- 8:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. Plenary Session

Tuesday, April 18:

- 8:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. Working Committee
- 3:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Working Committees

Wednesday, April 19:

- 8:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. Working Committees
- 3:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Working Committees

Thursday, April 20:

- 8:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. Plenary Session
- 3:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Closing Session

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## ANNEX II

### DOCUMENT SIGNED BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE W.F.D.Y.

#### **Support for Cuba**

Apart from a number of declarations on Cuba the document contained a message from President Dorticós, and Prime Minister Castro to the W.F.D.Y. The message was as follows:

"People of America and of the World: North American imperialism has let loose cowardly aggression against Cuba. Its mercenaries and adventurers have landed in that country. The revolutionary people of Cuba is fighting with courage and heroism to overcome them. However, we ask for the support of the peoples of America and the world, particularly we ask our

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brother Latin Americans to use their irresistible force against the North American imperialists. The world must know that the peoples, the workers, the students, the intellectuals and the normal citizens of Latin America stand by the side of Cuba, beside the revolution for the emancipation of the humble patriots and democrats, by the side of the revolutionary Government. May the struggle against the principal enemy of humanity, North American imperialism, be reinforced. Cuba is at war and the order of the day is *Patria o Muerte*. Our struggle is your struggle. Cuba will win."

Then followed a number of long-winded statements and resolutions. Very briefly summarised, the Executive Committee:

*(a) Suppression of Public Feeling in Argentina.*

(1) Condemned the present repression of public feeling in Argentina.

(2) Demanded the release of political detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency, the legalisation of all political parties and the re-establishment of the freedom of the Press; of meetings and of speech.

*(b) British Guiana*

Pledged its support to the youth of British Guiana in its efforts to build a free State and called on the youth of the world and specially of Latin America to co-operate in their anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle for freedom. (This resolution was proposed by the Venezuelan delegation.)

*(c) Co-operation between the W.F.D.Y. and the Central de Obreros Bolivianos*

Expressed its support of the revolutionary youth of the Bolivian Workers' Union in its struggle against imperialism and pledged its help—morally, technically and financially. (The last included the provision of scholarships for the sons of Bolivian workers specially in Iron Curtain countries and help for the C.O.B. to send delegations to international youth meetings abroad.)

*(d) Haiti, Nicaragua and El Salvador*

Condemned the present régimes and their supporters, the United States Government, and expressed its support for the peoples of these countries in their struggles to obtain freedom.

*(e) Panama*

(1) Strongly condemned Yankee imperialism in the Canal Zone and supported the struggle of the Panamanian people for the nationalisation of the Canal.

(2) Denounced the military instruction which was being given to young Latin Americans in the Canal Zone as a means of imperialist penetration designed to stop the democratic and revolutionary development of the Latin American people.

*(f) Peru*

(1) Supported the Peruvian people in their fight for economic freedom and the defence of national sovereignty.

(2) Supported the reorganisation of the political parties, students, trade unions and farm workers in their struggle for the repeal of repressive laws.

*(g) Venezuela*

Demanded the immediate restoration of the freedom won by the Venezuelan people in January 1958, and sought the release of young people imprisoned under the laws restricting the liberty of the Press and the freedom of speech.

*(h) Racial Discrimination in South Africa*

Strongly condemned the policy of apartheid, asked the South African Government to restore equal rights to all inhabitants of South Africa and called on the youth of the world to support South African youth against apartheid.

*(i) Algeria*

(1) Condemned the French Government for bringing about the breakdown of negotiations and the prolongation of the war.

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7.

(2) Fully supported the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in its determination to negotiate with the French Government only on a bilateral basis.

(3) Condemned NATO for supporting France in its insistence in continuing colonial war.

(4) Undertook to increase its support for youth and people of Algeria and to make the 5th of July a day of world solidarity for their struggle for independence.

(5) Undertook to increase the pressure on the French Government to enter into direct negotiations.

*(j) Congo*

Condemned

(1) the aggression of the Belgian colonial forces;

(2) the infiltration of "so-called Belgian technicians";

(3) the negative action of the United Nations which served the interests of the imperialists rather than helping the young republic in their struggle for independence;

(4) the criminal and inhuman conduct of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the anti-Lumumbist traitors; and

(5) demanded the immediate disarmament of the rebel troops of Mobutu and Tschombe and withdrawal of Belgian and United Nations forces.

*(k) Korea*

Strongly condemned the colonial militarisation of the United States imperialists in Southern Korea and demanded the immediate withdrawal of their troops and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission.

*(l) West Irian*

Pledged its full support to the Indonesian people in their struggle to liberate West Irian from the Dutch colonial domination.

*(m) Laos*

Confirmed its solidarity with the Laotian people in their struggle against armed intervention organised by the United Nations and fully supported the holding of a full international conference with the participation of the 14 countries which are trying to ensure the peace and neutrality of Laos.

*(n) Middle East*

Strongly condemned the atrocities committed by the reactionary régimes of Iran, Jordan and Turkey and condemned the suppression of democratic principles by the Sudanese Government. Supported the heroic struggle of these countries for freedom.

*(o) Spanish and Portuguese Colonialism*

Expressed

(1) support for the youth of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies struggling for independence.

(2) Support for the independence of Spanish colonies.

(3) Its solidarity with the political prisoners in Spain and the Spanish political émigrés and demanded an amnesty. Condemned all Governments that supported the dictatorships of Franco and Salazar.

*(p) Western Germany*

Called for the celebration of "the struggle of world youth against the militarism and imperialism in Western Germany" on the 8th of May, 1961. Amongst other things condemned the neo-colonialist policy of the Bonn Government, and called for the removal of the danger of militarism and the revival of fascism, the disuse of atomic armaments in Western Germany, a "de-atomised" zone in Central Europe, the total disarmament of the two German States, and freedom and solidarity for the democratic forces of Eastern Germany.

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(q) "*Plan of Work*" in Latin America.

Spoke of the struggle of the W.F.D.Y. in support of Latin American youth against imperialism and oligarchies and the violation of democratic liberties, and for the breaking-up of large estates. It resolved upon a plan of action in Latin America which included:

- (1) setting up a permanent W.F.D.Y. information centre in Santiago which would arrange for the distribution of W.F.D.Y. material, the publication of a bulletin, the spreading of information about the Federation and its activities and about the problem of Latin American youth and its support for the Cuban revolution.
- (2) the provision of funds for W.F.D.Y. executives to make periodic journeys in the continent, for printing the W.F.D.Y. journal *Youth of the World* to foster the development of the Latin American Youth organisations whether or not they are members of the W.F.D.Y., and to provide scholarships for the sons of workers throughout the continent. They also pledged the Executive Committee's support for the World Youth Festival in Moscow and various other meetings.

(r) *General Resolution*

The document ended with a so-called "General Resolution" which in fact consisted of some 11 pages of virulent attacks on the United States.

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CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD  
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

EXEMPLAIRE  
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N° 22

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14th December, 1960

NATO CONFIDENTIAL  
WORKING PAPER  
AC/52-WP(60)52

COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND CULTURAL RELATIONS  
ACTION TO COUNTER COMMUNIST MOVES DIRECTED AT THE  
YOUTH OF UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES

Note by the United Kingdom Delegation

In this vast field the gaps referred to in paragraph 3 of the United States Delegation's paper AC/52-WP(60)24 of 1st June, 1960, are many. It is not, and should not be NATO's role to fill them; yet the universal nature of the political and cultural offensive directed at the youth of all countries by the Communist bloc, against which the NATO system provides some defence in Europe, gives NATO governments a strong interest in seeing them filled elsewhere by activities involving young people in the non-Communist world and outside the NATO area itself.

2. The United Kingdom Delegation believes that NATO governments (collectively or individually) should not themselves undertake projects aimed at filling these gaps. Instead, by tendering discreet advice and occasional financial aid to their national youth organizations, they should encourage Western-orientated national and international non-governmental organizations to extend their activities involving the active participation of African, Asian and Latin American youth. Under these conditions, the NATO label need not be used.

3. We hope, therefore, that the Committee will, as a first step consider the present activities of existing youth organizations in this field. A survey of what has been done during 1960, and what might readily be developed from it would, we submit, be more rewarding than attempting at this stage to draw up a list of "gaps" by geographical regions: these will soon become apparent. Accordingly, at Annex is attached a list (by no means exhaustive) of some meetings of Western-orientated international organizations concerned with youth in the emergent countries which have taken place during the first 9 months of this year, and which the United Kingdom consider to have been useful in providing an alternative focus of interest to the activities of the Communist-front organizations in the uncommitted countries.

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4. The United Kingdom would welcome the encouragement of further seminars, conferences and work camps along two main lines:

- (a) Unilaterally, between non-governmental national youth organizations in NATO countries and their opposite numbers in countries in need of some specific practical assistance; such arrangements would need to take into account
  - (i) The developing country's particular needs (industrial, educational, commercial, agricultural, social, etc.) and the ability of a particular NATO country to assist them. In this respect language is an important factor.
  - (ii) The reputation enjoyed by the NATO country in a developing territory. For example, in the Congo or in Guinea, NATO countries without administrative responsibilities in Africa may be more welcome than others. In the last analysis, however, the results depend on the attitude of the individuals and groups engaged in a particular project.
- (b) Those organized multilaterally by existing reputable non-Communist international youth organizations, e.g. the Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students (COSEC), World Assembly of Youth (WAY), the Boy Scouts Movement, and the International Union of Socialist Youth, as well as the extension to uncommitted countries of such undertakings as the Youth Science - Fortnight (of which two have so far been held in the United Kingdom for European students, organized by World Friends).

5. The following examples are given as illustrations of the type of meeting which might be considered under paragraph 4(a). The United Kingdom Delegation stresses that these ideas are put forward purely as illustrations and not in any way as formal proposals.

- (a) A seminar, involving young Trade Unionists of two French-speaking countries of the NATO area and Africa, perhaps sponsored by the Young Workers Committee of WAY or by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU);
- (b) A meeting between the Danish Youth Council and a national youth body in, say Ethiopia;
- (c) A meeting between a delegation from the United States National Committee of WAY and the youth organization of Guinea;

- (d) A meeting between the Bundesjugendring in the Federal Republic of Germany and a similar organization in Chile, Argentina, Brazil or Indonesia.

6. Under paragraph 4(b) the United Kingdom Delegation will be glad to circulate to the Committee regularly in future a list of forthcoming multilateral meetings of international interest organized by these and similar bodies which NATO Governments may wish to encourage their national organizations to support. They would be glad to receive regularly in return the suggestions of other delegations regarding additional meetings deserving support and encouragement which may not have come to their notice.

7. The United Kingdom considers that the institution of a regular arrangement of this sort, whereby each delegation kept the Committee informed of such forthcoming meetings as it considered well-fitted for the general purpose of offering a rival focus of interest to Communist-sponsored youth activities in the uncommitted countries, would be a useful and positive result of the Information Committee's examination of the Communist Youth Festivals.

8. As an indication of the type of discreet encouragement and assistance which it has in mind in paragraph 6, the United Kingdom Delegation suggests the following possibilities:

- (a) NATO Embassies and Consular Posts in Africa might be provided by national governments with lists of the meetings of non-Communist organizations in the area;
- (b) discreet publicity for the activities of the same organizations might be promoted locally;
- (c) background briefing for national delegations from NATO countries to international conferences overseas might be provided informally by member governments, and their travel costs occasionally subsidised to ensure participation by well-informed individuals.

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Paris, XVIe.

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ANNEX to  
AC/52-WP(60)52

SOME INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS OF NON-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS  
CONCERNED WITH YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN THE EMERGENT COUNTRIES

JANUARY - SEPTEMBER 1960

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Type of Meeting</u>
11 Jan - 8 Feb	Addis Ababa	Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students (COSEC)	Seminar for Students in East, West and Central Africa
11 March-- 9 April	Kuala Lumpur	COSEC	Seminar on Asian Regional Co- operation
13 March-- 22 March	Querétaro (Mexico)	COSEC	Student Press Conference for Central America and the Caribbean
March	Tunis	International Con- federation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)	The first three- month training course for French- speaking Africans
11--April-- 20 April	Tunis	World Assembly of Youth (WAY)	Pan-African Youth Training Conference
24 April-- 30 April	Kuala Lumpur	World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Pro- fession (WCOTP)	Asian Regional Conference
10 May - 19 May	Kampala	WCOTP	African Regional Conference
1 June - 11 June	Buenos Aires	WAY	Seminar for Young Workers
31 July-- 7 August	Amsterdam	WCOTP	Annual Assembly
6 Aug - 13 August	Tutzing (German Federal Republic)	World University Service	International General Assembly
9 Aug - 25 Aug	Accra	WAY	8th Council Meeting and Seminar on Role of Youth in Con- struction of Demo- cratic nations

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20 Aug -	Rabat	Confederation of	2nd Federal Con-
25 Aug		North African	ference of North
		Students of Algeria	African Students
		Morocco and Tunis	
		(An affiliate of	
		COSEC)	
21 Aug -	Klosters	COSEC	9th International
30 Aug -	(Switzer-		Students Conference
	land)		
25 Sept	Espergoerde	Danish Youth Council	International Seminar
		[Supported by	for Trade Union
		Danish Government and Youth	
		Trade Unions]	
11 Sept -	Copenhagen	International Union	Summer School
23 Sept -		of Socialist Youth	"Technical Aid to the
		(IUSY)	Developing Countries

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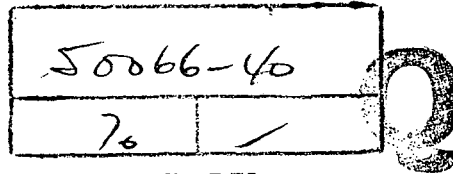
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PERU

September 23, 1960

Section 1



## COMMUNISM IN PERU

*Sir Berkeley Gage to Lord Home. (Received September 23)*

## SUMMARY

Recent reports from this post have referred to President Prado's concern at the extent of Communist infiltration in Peru (paragraph 1). Many senior Peruvian officials are now seriously perturbed at the increasing number of incidents involving Communists (paragraph 2).

2. A recent magazine article by a former Communist appears to have sounded an alert throughout the country. The article described Russian and Cuban plans to gain a foothold in Peru and the writer was attacked by Communists during a subsequent television programme on the subject (paragraphs 3 and 4).

3. The Minister of the Interior announced the seizure recently of Communist literature consigned to the Cuban Embassy in Lima and referred to the increasing movement of Communists between Latin America and Moscow, Peking and Cuba (paragraph 5). Steps are being taken to enable the Peruvian Government to deal more forcibly with internal subversive elements (paragraph 7). Samples of this Communist literature have been sent to this Embassy by the Minister who would gladly distribute our I.R.D. material (paragraph 8).

4. Several Castro cells are reported in northern Peru and Peruvians are being trained in guerilla warfare in Cuba (paragraph 9). Strikes in the British owned Central and Southern Railways are further evidence of Communist penetration (paragraph 10) and the Communists have a willing ally in the newspaper *El Comercio* particularly in a present oilfield dispute (paragraph 11).

5. The threatened abrogation of the Peruvian-Ecuadorian Protocol of Rio de Janeiro by Ecuador will play into the hands of Dr. Castro and the Communists (paragraph 12). The Peruvian Government is pleased at the way recent events have brought this question out into the open but they must take action quietly and more effectively than hitherto in dealing with the situation (paragraphs 13 and 14).

6. President Prado impressed on the Ambassador the need for United Kingdom participation in economic development plans in Peru and it is hoped that Mr. Erroll will be able to speak positively on this subject during his forthcoming visit to Peru (paragraph 15). The President and other Ministers also asked for British experts to assist in combating Communism in Peru (paragraph 16).

7. We can help by increasing the supply of I.R.D. material and arranging visits of selected trade unionists and students to the United Kingdom (paragraph 17). The Peruvians have now been shaken out of their complacency (paragraph 18) but they are still restrained from taking drastic action against Cubans in Peru by the need to keep in step with other Latin American countries (paragraph 19).

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(No. 61. Confidential) *Lima,*  
My Lord, *September 16, 1960.*

In several recent reports from this Embassy reference has been made briefly to Communist penetration of Peru. In his despatch No. 51 of the 12th of August Mr. Sewell reported that President Prado in his speech to Congress on the 28th of July, the Anniversary of Peruvian Independence, appealed to all Peruvians to close their ranks against the vast Communist conspiracy aimed at destroying the foundation of Christian civilisation, the effect of which was already evident in Latin America. Previously in my Chancery's letter to American Department of the 7th of July and in Mr. Sewell's letter to Mr. Hankey of the 20th of July, Communist influence in the Chimbote area was dealt with, in particular the suspicion of Chinese Communist financial support for the 31-day strike at the Santa Corporation Steel Works there during which four persons were killed and 27 injured.

2. I have the honour to report that my return to Peru from leave coincided with a spate of incidents all pointing to a greatly increased tempo in Communist activity and to a disturbing degree of penetration it would seem to have achieved in Peru. These incidents have caused grave concern to people at the top here, inside as well as outside the Government.

3. The alert appears to have been sounded by an article by Eudocio Ravines, a former Communist (Personalities No. 120) at present editor of the weekly newspaper *Vanguardia* who is also a member of the staff of the daily newspaper *La Prensa*, published by Sr. Beltrán, the Prime Minister. Sr. Ravines, in an article published in the edition of *Vanguardia* of the 31st of August, stated that a vast conspiracy against Latin America was drawn up in Cuba by Communist representatives from Latin American countries, including Peru, occasion of the 26th of July celebrations there (a translation of this article forms the enclosure to this despatch). Sr. Ravines stated that the plan for Peru would start with a campaign called "the Battle for Peruvian Petroleum" and, as is actually happening, that the several Peruvian political factions at present engaged in the dispute about "La Brea y Pariñas" oilfields would be used by the Communists for their own disruptive purposes. This would be followed, he said, by growing attacks against the policy

pursued by Sr. Priale, the APRA leader, in particular against the fact that the APRA Party was supporting a Government which included Sr. Beltrán. Attacks on President Prado, however, would be avoided while those on Sr. Beltrán would be increased in order to try to drive a wedge between the two Peruvian leaders. Sr. Ravines went on to accuse the publisher of a Lima newspaper *Caretas* of having accepted the task of aiding this movement and also included several columnists and journalists of the newspaper *El Comercio* in his accusations. He said that Sr. Genaro Carnero Checa, a Communist (Personalities No. 24), and other persons had been placed in charge of this campaign. The article stated that Dr. Castro intended to transform the whole of the Andes into a gigantic "Sierra Maestra" and that the Russians planned to turn Latin America into a chess board for their international designs.

4. Following the publication of this article, Sr. Ravines appeared on a television programme on the 5th of September in which he amplified at length his accusations against the Communists and their plot. One of the Communists referred to, Sr. Carnero Checa, watching Sr. Ravines on television, heard himself being attacked and after telephoning to some of his friends dashed round to the television studio and physically assaulted in full view of the television cameras Sr. Ravines. The police and the Prefect of Lima intervened, some of the demonstrators were arrested and Sr. Ravines completed his programme, leaving later under police protection. Subsequently there was an embittered exchange of letters in the Press between Sr. Ravines and the editor of *Caretas* on the subject of Sr. Ravines' accusations against the publishers of that weekly magazine.

5. The alert sounded by Sr. Ravines was followed by another set off by Sr. Elias, the Minister of the Interior, who announced on the 2nd of September that a large consignment of Communist propaganda addressed to the Cuban Embassy in Lima, and others addressed to the National Association of Writers and Artists and the Institute of Dramatic Artists, had been seized at the airport. He went on to give details of the extent of Communist infiltration in to this country. He referred to the continuous and increasing movement of Communists between Latin-America and Moscow, Peking and Cuba (where they are reported to be undergoing training in

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guerrilla warfare) and said that some of these trainees were at present working in small groups in Bolivia, training more Latin-Americans in that form of subversion. He also denounced the "Lenin Committee of Cerro de Pasco", saying that it had been directly involved in several recent public disorders in Peru which had resulted in loss of life. He said that the Peruvian constitution lacked measures which the Government could take to remedy the situation but that he would introduce two Bills shortly which would give the Government more power to deal with internal subversive elements.

6. Since the above event two further consignments of Communist literature have been seized by the customs authorities at Lima airport, both addressed to the Cuban Embassy. The Lima Press has also referred to the activities of the Cuban Embassy in sending liberal amounts of money to students, artists, labour leaders and journalists, a number of whom have recently visited Havana, including one of the editors of *Caretas* and the President of the San Marcos University Association.

7. When I called upon Sr. Elias on the 5th of September, accompanied by Mr. Leslie Boas, Regional Information Officer, who was on a visit to Lima at the time, the Minister expatiated at length and in a state of great excitement on the Communist threat to Peru. He reiterated what he had already said publicly about his helplessness to deal with it owing to the absence of suitable laws and insisted that he would resign if such laws were not introduced. He also referred to the continual movement of Peruvians visiting Iron and Bamboo curtain countries. He pointed to San Marcos University as being one of the political focal points of Communism and added that Chinese Communist propaganda was arriving in Peru in great quantities, as well as Russian. When talking about Communist penetration in the trades unions he said that, although there were Communist cells in some of the trades unions, on the whole the APRA Party was being very loyal to the Government and was maintaining a strong control over the majority of the unions. It proved, however, rather hard to pin him down to actual examples with which to substantiate some of his statements, although he was clearly echoing opinions and beliefs heard by Mr. Boas from many other sources.

8. The Minister was more concrete about the Cuban problem. He showed us examples of some subversive propaganda from Cuba which had been seized and undertook to let me have a set of it for transmission to Mr. Boas for purposes of examination and comparison. These copies have already reached me and appear to consist mainly of brochures or magazines, containing articles by local Latin American Communists and fellow travellers, and of rabble-rousing speeches by Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders and some direct Soviet and Chinese propaganda. In return the Minister said that he would be glad to receive and distribute any suitable I.R.D. material with which we could supply him.

9. The Minister went on to say that he had knowledge of several Castro cells in the north of Peru, in the area of Trujillo and Chiclayo, and said he knew that a number of Peruvians had gone to Cuba, some of whom had returned to Peru after being trained in street fighting, in the manufacture of home made bombs and in the use of machine-guns. He added that these people were in turn training small local groups in northern Peru. He said that he understood that the same sort of thing was going on in the south, although he produced no definite accounts about this. He said that Cuzco, and particularly the University of Cuzco, was another Communist centre, subversive propaganda reaching it through Bolivia.

10. Another disturbing sign of Communist penetration of the Peruvian trades unions in the south occurred on the 7th of September when the Southern Railway came out on strike for an increase in wages. The strikers took over the railway shops and offices and they are still in occupation. In the absence of the Prime Minister, Sr. Beltrán, at the "Interamerican Conference of 21" in Bogotá, the Government did nothing to restrain the strikers or to solve the strike, being fearful, it seems, of any incident which might give rise to violence. The strikers are very truculent and have turned down a compromise offer made by the Railway Company at the request of the Minister of Labour because they anticipate a general strike in Arequipa at the end of the week in support of their own. Strike notices have since been handed in to the management of the Central Railway. Further evidence of Communist subversion occurred at Trujillo recently when the office of the United States Information Service there was wrecked by a mob.

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11. One very disturbing aspect of Communist agitation here is the way in which the daily newspaper *El Comercio* lends itself to use by disruptive Communist elements, because of the bitter personal enmity of its publisher, Dr. Luis Miró Quesada (Personalities No. 92), for Sr. Beltrán, the President and APRA. *El Comercio* has given liberal and glowing attention to personalities who are known to be Communist and in its attitude towards the "La Brea y Pariñas" dispute has given every help to Communist agitation to exploit for their own purposes the nationalistic feelings which have been roused by the publicity given to the matter in *El Comercio*. It will be seen therefore that the Communists are employing assiduously their usual tactics of penetration in this country and are, unfortunately, being assisted by those who should oppose them.

12. Another occurrence which appears to be playing into the hands of Dr. Castro and his Communist allies is the recent announcement of the Ecuadorian President, Dr. Velasco Ibarra, that he intends to raise the Ecuadorian-Peruvian frontier dispute at the Conference of the Organisation of American States at Quito next year and his subsequent threat to denounce the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro. This has led to an exchange of fierce growls between the War Ministers of the two countries and will certainly be welcomed by Castro and the Communists as support for their plans to create a frontier incident with the object of further straining the political prestige of the O.A.S. So, no doubt, will the appointment as Ecuadorean Minister of the Interior of Dr. Araujo Hidalgo.

13. The concern caused here by the evidence of Communist penetration which has come to light during the past two weeks or so, came to a head on the 7th of September when President Prado received a large delegation consisting of the presidents and leaders of 12 of the most important manufacturing and commercial organisations in Peru. The delegates handed him a memorandum in which they stated their concern at the increasing degree of Communist infiltration and offered their full support in a campaign to combat the menace. The President replied by recalling his action in 1942 when he had refused entry to a Russian diplomatic mission, to Peru's subsequent action (1953) in breaking off relations with all Communist countries and to his constant warnings against the attention being paid now by Communist

countries to Latin America. He went on to say that Peru now has a "highly organised administration of immaculate repute", which fact had contributed greatly to the immense credits offered to Peru recently by the United States and several European countries. Words and declarations, however, were not sufficient and the President called on all Peruvians to join in a concerted struggle against the Communist menace, adding that he and his Ministers were at the disposal of the delegation in leading a crusade in defence of the country.

14. As a result of the audience I have had with the President since my return to Peru and the calls I have paid on his Ministers, it is clear to me that while the Peruvian Government view with serious concern the situation with regard to Communist penetration exposed by the events and incidents of the past two weeks, they also profess themselves pleased that the danger has now come out into the open, so that they can deal with it with the support of an important section of public opinion, in particular with that of the APRA leaders. In the absence of the Prime Minister, Sr. Beltrán, at Bogotá, however, for the "Interamerican Conference of 21", they cannot be said so far to have shown any great strength of purpose in dealing with the strike on the Southern Railway, or with the exorbitant demands for wage increases put forward recently by the textile and other workers. It remains to be seen how quickly laws will be passed for the purpose of dealing effectively with irresponsible strikers and Communist penetration in general. The Minister of Justice, Dr. Alfredo Parra Carreño, told me that he was at present studying this question and might ask me to supply him with material to indicate how these problems are dealt with under English law.

15. President Prado, when I saw him on the 8th of September, urged me to impress upon Her Majesty's Government the importance he attaches to the assistance which all countries friendly to Peru can give to her in regard to his Government's plans for the economic development of Peru, in the form of investment, credits and technical services. As offers of assistance have already been received from the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Japan and Holland, I trust that Mr. Erroll, the Minister of State, Board of Trade, will be in a position to speak positively on this subject for the United Kingdom when he visits Peru next month.

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16. The President also said that he would welcome any expert assistance with which the United Kingdom could provide him for the purpose of combating Communist penetration in Peru, since he knew that the British reputation in this sphere was higher than that of any other country. He added that two French experts had already arrived and were at work. This request was also made by Sr. Elias, the Minister of the Interior, Admiral Tirado, the Minister of Marine and General Cuadra, the Minister of War, when I saw them. I have reported separately on this matter.

17. Two other ways in which Her Majesty's Government could help the Peruvian Government to combat the Communist threat would be: (i) to increase the supply of I.R.D. material and ensure, through this Embassy, that it really gets down to the breeding grounds of Communism here, namely the trades unions and the students; and (ii) to make provision for visits of selected trades unionists and students to the United Kingdom and possibly arrange for the visit of one or two good British trades unionists to Peru. I shall be submitting further suggestions in regard to this matter in due course.

18. While the degree of Cuban and Communist activity in Peru shown by the events referred to above gives grounds for concern it is satisfactory that the Peruvian Government and an important section of the Peruvian public should now have been shaken out of their former complacency about the Communist danger by them. It is to be hoped that the Peruvian Government will continue to treat the matter seriously and I trust that Her Majesty's Government will feel able to render assistance on the lines mentioned to me by President Prado and in the other ways suggested above.

19. I shall report separately on the impact of recent Cuban activities on the Government and on public opinion in this country when the results of the San José and Bogotá Conferences have become clearer. Suffice it to say here that Peru is increasingly coming to be regarded here as an important Cuban and Communist target and Dr. Castro as the chief spokesman of international Communism in Latin America. The Government are restrained from taking drastic action against the Cuban Embassy here and even from breaking off relations with the Cuban Government, mainly by uncertainty as to the impact of such actions

at present on wider public opinion here and by the need to keep in step with other Latin American countries.

20. I am sending a copy of this despatch to all of Her Majesty's Representatives at Latin American posts and to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

I have, &c.

BERKELEY GAGE.

Enclosure

(Translation)

#### VAST CONSPIRACY AGAINST LATIN AMERICA

The Meeting held in Havana on the occasion of the celebration of the 26th of July has served to plan and organise a vast conspiracy against Latin America.

The celebration was transferred *en masse* from Havana to Sierra Maestra, in order to avoid contact between the foreign visitors and the people of Havana, who in their more wide-awake sections have fully weighed up the real situation in Cuba. Isolation in Sierra Maestra allowed a much more effective psychological preparation of the visitors.

All the Communist leaders of Latin America were present. The banner of youth under which it was tried to place the meeting was no obstacle to the attendance of old Communists, who participated actively and conferred with Soviet, Chinese and Satellite agents, who had come specially from the other side of the Iron Curtain.

All Communist Parties have called National Congresses during which the floor will be held by the returning visitors to Sierra Maestra. In the Argentine the Communists are planning a secret national assembly; in Chile the Communist Party has called a National Conference, which will be addressed by Juan Chacón and Coronado, the leader who went to Havana; in Peru the Communists are preparing a National Congress, during which "the Line" laid down in Sierra Maestra is to be discussed, which will stress the tendency shown in the activities, recently denounced here by the Sheep Breeding Association, and which has been developed by the so called Leninist Group, led by the student Félix Arias Schreiber, who likewise attended the pilgrimage to Sierra Maestra.

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But the political line drawn in Cuba has not been limited to the Communist Parties. It has been extended to such sectors as the progressive, the anti-imperialists or the simply nationalist.

The meeting of the National Anti-Yankee Front approved agreements by Planning Committees on which 16 Latin American countries were represented by well known leaders. Venezuela was represented by Humberto Cuenca, Colombia by Juan de la Cruz Varela, Ecuador by Pedro J. Vera, Haiti by Antonio G. Petit, Puerto Rico by Juan A. Corretger, Chile by Salvador Ocampo, Bolivia by Carlos Montano Lasa, British Guiana by Janet Jagan, Mexico by Heriberto Jara, Peru by a delegate who gave his name as Juan Largo (which is believed to be an alias), Uruguay by Emmy Corradi, Argentina by Herbert Bressano, The Dominican Republic by José de Orbe, Panamá by Diógenes Arosamena, El Salvador by Danilo Velado and Paraguay by Esther Beretino de Caregla. These delegates under Russian and Chinese direction agreed to constitute the First Anti-Yankee American International and to develop nationalistic action which would:

- defend Cuba against all attack or aggression;
- carry on an incessant fight against the United States and their Latin American lackeys;
- instigate general uprisings in all Latin American countries, especially in Venezuela, Argentina and Peru.

After these agreements had been reached the numerous delegations which attended the big meeting at Sierra Maestra arrived. This meeting was attended by Communists and non-Communists under the leadership of Communist agents and organisers.

Peru was well represented at the meetings held during the last days of July and first days of August, during which the main outline was prepared for the conspiracy which is to take place in Latin America and in Peru in the near future. The first link in this fight is to be known as "The Battle for Peruvian Oil".

Sierra Maestra sealed the union between the Peronistas and the Argentine Communists. The main leaders of Peronismo met Argentine Communist leaders in Sierra Maestra, John Williams Borlenghi, Minister of Interior under Peron and Remorino Minister for Foreign Affairs took part in the

negotiations making it a condition that an understanding be reached with Generalísimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo.

The agreement between Peronistas and Communists in the Argentine appears to be complete. Carlos Olivares, one of the leading Communists in the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs was previously in the Argentine and he has announced the agreement as having been practically concluded.

But it is not only the Peronistas. Rogelio Frigerio the "Radical-Intransigente" who was Minister for Economy in Frondizi's Government has acted as negotiator and is at the present moment one of the key men of "Fidelismo" or in other words of Communism in the Argentine Republic.

Silvio Frondizi, brother of the President and of the Dean of the University of Buenos Aires visited Montevideo last month invited by the Federation of Uruguayan Students where he had prolonged interviews with foreign agents. Silvio Frondizi stated that his brother had given himself over to Yankee imperialism and that Perón was a "Great Progressive". In this way Silvio Frondizi is a link between the Peronistas and the Communists.

The alliance between Fidel Castro, Perón and Generalísimo Trujillo is becoming apparent and is beginning to show itself in marked activities. The Havana evening paper *El País* controlled by the Castro Government launched an open attack against Rómulo Betancourt on the 28th of July last saying:

"Let us hope that on this occasion Rómulo Betancourt will forget his infantile controversy with Trujillo in the O.E.A."

If the fury with which the Cuban revolutionary régime attacked Trujillo only a year ago is borne in mind, the enormous *volte-face* can be appreciated.

Trujillo, for his part, before leaving Santo Domingo legalised the Communist Party, in this way satisfying the demands of the Party in Cuba which had been expressed through Fidel Castro.

The Sierra Maestra meeting has outlined the policy to be followed in Peru.

In the first instance the followers of Fidelismo should strengthen their attack against the policy followed by Ramiro Priale and those known as "The Figueristas". Orders have been given to stress the fact that APRA is supporting a

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Government in which Pedro Beltrán is Premier. It has been recommended that attacks against President Prado should be avoided and those against Beltrán accentuated, in this way introducing a wedge which might separate them. The Editor of *Caretas* has agreed to follow this line.

Publicity in Peru has been entrusted to a group made up as follows: Genaro Carnero Checa (who has demanded that his four-figure magazine be financed), Francisco Igartua and Franklin Urteaga, Editor of Newsreels. The facade for this "propaganda/agitation" is to be "The Defence of the Cuban Revolution".

In Chile, the action of Fidelismo in Sierra Maestra has been directed towards creating a union between the sympathizers of Perón and the Socialists and Communists.

Mario Ciudad, ex-Secretary-General of the Government of General Ibañez, has been designated to act as co-ordinator between the different groups whose strategic objective is to be a revolution in Chile.

The Peruvian Communists, who were previously separated into groups which mutually detested each other, have been united in Sierra Maestra. Hugo Pesce, the exploiter of leprosy, high official of the Ministry of Public Health, has been made President of the Party and another active leader will be Jorge del Prado Chávez who has been given 23 scholarships in Moscow and Peking to be used as instruments of action and bribery. Genaro Carnero Checa will be under the orders of Jorge del Prado.

And in this way the conspiracy commences its activities, encompassing various Latin American countries, including Peru.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

DESPATCH

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TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.  
The Canadian Ambassador,

FROM: ..... Buenos Aires, Argentina.....

Reference: ..... FRONDISI - A COMMUNIST?.....

Subject: .....

Security: ..... 513.....

No: ..... October 21, 1960.....

Date: ..... nil.....

Enclosures: ..... Air.....

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1607-40

References

Is Frondizi a communist? This is a question that cannot be answered categorically. Those who believe he is, interpret his every action to corroborate their claim. When faced with the apparent contradiction of Frondizi's current financial orthodoxy and his wooing of Western capital as a solution to the country's economic difficulties, they offer the following explanation. When Frondizi came to power in 1958, the country was virtually destitute as a result of the policies followed by Peron. The Soviet Union was not in a position at that moment to supply the kind of help the country needed. In addition, a direct link of the type that would have been necessary would have been strenuously resisted by the armed forces in Argentina and there would also have been difficulties with the other Latin American republics and the United States. Frondizi's only course, therefore, was to put on the mask of a capitalist and get help where he could. In fact, his objective would be to develop the country with foreign capital as completely as possible and then, when the moment was ripe, "pull a Castro", in that all enterprises in the country would be taken over and a communist system with the requisite industrial foundation would be in business. In the meantime, the communists would be allowed to organize, although to attract foreign capital, there would be professed resistance to the movement.

2. In support of this theory, his critics point out that every move that Frondizi has ever taken of an anti-communist nature has invariably been the result of pressure from the armed forces. The provisional government established a "Junta de Defensa de la Democracia" to investigate the activities of "bodies of avowed, or suspected communist or other totalitarian leanings". This commission which was headed by a Dr. Luis María Bualrich was dissolved when President Frondizi took office. Although the state of siege regulations which were introduced in December 1958 gave the President power to outlaw the communist party, it was only after the serious street riots of April 1959 in which communists were clearly implicated, that a decree was issued prohibiting "the activities of the communist party and groups and associations directly or indirectly connected with it". A warning, however, that the decree would be issued, was given three weeks ahead of time. Many believe this was done to provide time for groups involved to destroy their records and to go under ground. Whether acts of terrorism so common a year ago were the work of communists or Peronists is not clear but obviously the President was not overly determined in his efforts to down the practice. Frondizi's brother, Silvio, is an acknowledged Trotskyist. Another brother, Risieri (rector of the University of Buenos Aires) is known fellow traveller while his daughter, Elena, has known leftist sympathies.

3. During the crisis of mid-October, Frondizi closed the newspaper La Razon and detained its managing editor, Mr. Ricardo Peralta Ramos (see our despatch No. 510 of October 28). As might be expected this newspaper is now out for revenge and in their issue of the 25th of October,

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reproduced in full an article written by Dr. Sanchez Sorondo and published in Azul y Blanco, entitled "Communist Antecedents of the President exposed and Investigation Demanded". The article is in the form of a letter by Dr. Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo addressed to the Sub-Secretary of National Defence urging him to take action under decree No. 12681 which covers the investigation and study of all communist activities in the country. The accusation in this letter is based on the following facts:

1. In 1935 Frondizi was legal adviser of the International Red Relief Organization (Argentine Branch). This organization was founded by Lenin and it became the most powerful source of red propaganda. All the members of the Argentine Branch were admitted communists.

2. In 1936, Frondizi became President of several committees for the liberation of political leaders (Agosti, Ghioldi, Prestes) who were persecuted or in prison because of their political activities. All these organizations and committees were communist.

3. In 1936-1937 Frondizi was co-director of "Defensa Popular", a communist publication. During that time he founded the Argentine Juridical Association, a branch of the International Juridical Association, a communist organization.

4. Between 1938 and 1945, Frondizi took an active part in the meetings and activities of the "Argentine League for the Rights of Man", a well known communist organization which later on was persecuted by Peron. During all those years Frondizi was in close contact with the different leftish university students' groups. He also wrote in the most important communist papers and magazines (La Hora).

5. Frondizi's political activities as a deputy and within his party (UCRI) were always characterized by his opposition to foreign intervention in our economic life. He became the leader of the economic nationalism and the champion of the nationalist oil policy.

6. During Peron's time he was strongly against the oil contracts (California-Argentina). In 1957 he also stood against Yadarola's plan.

7. In 1958 and 1959, Frondizi still talks about "imperialism" and "nationalism" but there is a great difference between his attitude towards the "imperialist powers". He has become the servant of the oil importing enterprises and the champion of national economic development.

4. In the above accusation, the pot is calling the kettle black. Dr. Sanchez Sorondo does not enjoy too savoury a reputation himself. He is an extreme nationalist and during the war revealed clear Nazi sympathies. He is the owner of Azul y Blanco a Nazi newspaper of the worst kind. He is anti-British and anti-American but in a nationalist rather than in a communist sense.

5. A few weeks ago an article appeared in the local press, stating that the government intended to press for a reduction in the personnel in Iron Curtain Embassies in this country which appeared to be over-staffed for the amount of legitimate work they should be doing. Shortly after this we received a communication from the Foreign Office asking us to supply them with a list of all non-diplomatic Canadian personnel at this mission. On October 29th a Foreign Office spokesman released comparative lists of the staff members of the Iron Curtain Embassies in this country and of the Argentine diplomatic personnel stationed in those countries. This is apparently a prelude to an Argentine request that the Iron Curtain Embassies reduce the number of their officers and employees to the level of Argentine diplomats in the countries concerned. The lists gave the



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following figures:-

Country	Iron Curtain Personnel in Argentina		Argentine Personnel in Iron Curtain Countries	
	Diplomatic	Administrative	Diplomatic	Administrative
Russia	15	27	7	0
Rumania	6	5	1	0
Hungary	7	9	2	1
Bulgaria	6	2	2	1
Czechoslovakia	8	13	3	1
Poland	4	12	2	1
Total	46	68	17	4

6. Who is back of this initiative? It is widely believed here that the action has been taken on the insistence of the armed forces. Such would be in keeping with all previous government moves to curb subversive elements and would conform with recent representations to the President. Nevertheless, we have no proof that this is so. Alsogaray, an influential member of the President's cabinet, has condemned communism a number of times. Frondizi himself, - particularly during his last trip to Europe - stressed the links which Argentina had, and cherished, with the Western world and when appealing for increased West European imports from and investments in Argentina, he implied that otherwise this country and Latin America might go to the communist side.

7. It is entirely possible that whatever sympathies he may have had for the movement in the past have now been discarded. It is also possible that leniency towards their activities is due to an effort to earn their electoral support and nothing else. Furthermore, the times during which Frondizi's political career took shape were such that those who opposed the Nazi Fascist elements in this country were all conveniently described as Communists. In our own country during the period of the last war when we were active allies of Russia, no stigma attached to association with Russian friendship movements. Now that friendship with Russia is not the fashionable thing it once was, Frondizi's past associations can be dragged up to embarrass him. In the context of political thinking in this country, Frondizi in his earlier days would be certain to find more in common with the students and intellectuals of the left than with the Nazi/Fascist/Peronist elements that have been dominant in Argentina until quite recently.

8. We do not believe Frondizi to be a communist. If he is, he is incredibly subtle.. If he is, the armed forces remain the greatest bulwark against the success of his intrigues. The tragedy of the situation is that the President of this nation should be a man about whom such doubts are possible.



Ambassador



DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU

Reference:.....

Subject: Meeting of U.S. Heads of Mission

in Santiago, May 7-9

Security: ~~TOP SECRET~~.....

No: 127.....

Date: May 20, 1959.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Courier.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.	
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REBUILT A SECRET  
HLS (HARRIS)  
FEB 18 1985

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5670-40  
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→50066-40  
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USSEA  
Mr. Robinson  
(P.M's office)  
Economic II  
Economic I  
D.L. II  
Pol. Co-Ord.  
U.S. Section  
Washington  
& file  
American/RWN

I have had an opportunity to discuss with the United States Ambassador, Mr. Ted Achilles, the meeting held in Santiago de Chile on May 7-9 of United States Ambassadors in South America with senior officers of the State Department, including Messrs. Henderson, Mann and Rubottom. This regional meeting of U.S. Heads of Mission followed the pattern of convening such meetings on an irregular basis in different parts of the world. Some months ago there had been a meeting of the U.S. Heads of Mission in Central America and the Caribbean area. The timing and the place were decided upon to fit in with the attendance of senior State Department officials at the meeting of the Committee of Twenty-One in Buenos Aires. However, the planning did not work too well as the meeting in Buenos Aires continued longer than expected and Mr. Thomas Mann, who was to have reported to the Ambassadors on it, did not get to Santiago in time.

Economic Problems

2. However, there was some discussion of inter-American economic affairs, including a discussion along rather technical lines of the setting up and early planning for the operation of the Inter-American Development Bank. An economic officer from Washington reported on the general problem of inflation in Latin America. Only three countries had the situation well in hand: Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador. (I observed that the first two were under dictatorships.) Elsewhere, the problem was generally serious and sometimes dangerous. There was excessive deficit financing and internal expansion of credit. The governments should be encouraged to make greater efforts towards balanced budgets. They should also be urged to keep foreign exchange as free from controls as possible.

3. The meeting in Santiago was told that when the funds or quotas of the International Monetary Fund are doubled next January, the United States plans to withdraw its bilateral stabilization funds which support various Latin American currencies. In the case of Peru this fund is of the order of \$100 million. Mr. Achilles says that this change would be of great

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LLS (MNR)

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significance here. He has informed President Prado and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Porras, of the planning in Washington. They did not, however, show any marked alarm, perhaps because they may not appreciate the importance of the change contemplated.

### Political Problems

4. There was discussion in Santiago of some of the more politically disturbed countries, namely Cuba, Panama and Bolivia, particularly in the context of international communism.

#### Cuba

5. Officials in Washington were somewhat hesitant to sum up Fidel Castro and were inclined to say that he was still an unknown quantity. Others thought that he had already revealed his true character. It seemed to be agreed, however, that he was a person with whom United States would have to deal for some time. Concern was expressed about the dangerous increase of communism in Cuba. If the communists were to come to power by a coup d'état then the United States would plan to invoke the machinery of the O.A.S. in order to take collective action. The situation would be different if the communists achieved power in Cuba by a process of slow infiltration and by more or less legal and constitutional means. Then it would be much more difficult to take appropriate action. In the final analysis, the United States would use direct force to prevent the consolidation and continuation of a communist regime in Cuba. (This policy has been considered and approved by the National Security Council.) This would be done to protect the strategic interests of the United States and in the knowledge that such action would be exploited politically against the United States. Naturally it was hoped that the situation would never reach this point or take this form. Mr. Achilles has informed President Prado, the Foreign Minister, and General Cuadra, the Chief of the Army Staff (until recently Minister of War), of this. They all apparently indicated their acceptance of the U.S. policy.

#### Panama

6. There was a discussion of the recent Cuban intervention in Panama. Earlier in the year Fidel Castro was encouraging exile groups from other countries in the Caribbean region to form units designed to "liberate" their countries, and to believe that the Cubans would help them. This was the origin of the landing in Panama, although in fact, of course, most of the persons were Cubans. When Fidel Castro had gone to Washington they had persuaded him that actions of this sort would violate clearly-established Panamerican principles of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of fellow countries. As a result Fidel had changed his mind, but in the meantime while he was away his brother Raúl had permitted the landing at Nombre de Dios to proceed.

#### Bolivia

7. There was considerable discussion in Santiago about the most unsatisfactory situation in Bolivia. The very extensive United States financial assistance, including large monthly contributions to the ordinary budget, was designed to prevent Bolivia from falling into anarchy or into the hands of communists. It was considered that anarchy more or less existed outside La Paz now. There was concern that communism might take over even in the capital. When one Ambassador said that the passive

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ALLS (M&IR)

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Aymara Indians of Bolivia were unsuitable material for a communist regime, he was answered by the observation that the great mass of Russian peasants had also been unsuitable material for the October Revolution in 1917.

8. The United States intended to continue its aid to Bolivia in order to prevent it from going communist. Indeed, it would contemplate taking drastic measures to prevent a communist regime from being established in Bolivia. (I was not told anything more precise on this.) Such a regime would be dangerous not merely for Bolivia but for its neighbours. The general line of U.S. policy in regard to Bolivia has also been conveyed to Prado, Porras and Cuadra, all of whom have expressed their full endorsement, especially Cuadra. There is a good deal of communism in the southern region of Peru. Porras on more than one occasion has mentioned to Achilles his fear that if Bolivia went communist then there might be a move among the communist-inclined Indians in southern Peru to join up in a new Indian-Communist state with the Bolivians. (Achilles says that he has not heard this theory from other quarters although Porras has raised it several times.)

Communism

9. Some more general aspects of communism were also discussed. It was considered that there had been a stepping-up of communist activities in Latin America. The two aims were to stimulate anti-Americanism and to promote economic disorder and misery. The three main centres of activity seem to be Mexico City, Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Nothing much, however, seemed to emerge in the way of general patterns. Achilles said that all of the U.S. Heads of Mission were struck by the fact that they were contending with very similar problems in terms of communism in their territories. He said he learned nothing new about international financing of the communist movement. He admitted that the U.S. authorities were able to keep a fairly close track on the movement of communist leaders, attendance at training centres and so forth, but he said that no particular pattern seemed to emerge.

10. He said that they were concerned that the communists were already planning to cause trouble at the Inter-American Conference in Quito next February, presumably along the lines of the disturbances in Bogota during the 1948 Inter-American Conference.

11. It was remarked by one Ambassador in Santiago that in this part of the world the communists seemed to be able to get themselves into the position of being the leaders favouring social and economic progress and changes. The Americans themselves had largely stimulated the desire among the poorer Indian and other elements in Latin America to improve their standard of life, but then the communists seemed to be able to capture and exploit this discontent. It was felt by some that it was insufficient for the United States to advocate the advantages of private enterprise. In Latin America private capitalism often meant big American mining, oil and utility companies. The Latin Americans therefore did not attach the same importance to free enterprise. Somehow the United States must devise means of identifying itself with the social and economic change which a knowledge of the American way of life had stimulated.

(Sgd.) A.J. Pick  
Ambassador.

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orig 10224-40  
cc 6660-40

FM RIO MAY3/61 CONFD  
TO EXTERNAL 68 DEFERRED  
CDA AND OAS

DISCUSSION IN HOUSE OF COMMONS OTT APR26 AND APR27 HAS SHOWN  
GROUNDS FOR GREATER IMMEDIACY IN CONSIDERING ASSOCIATION OF CDA  
WITH OAS IN LIGHT OF CUBAN SITUATION AND COMMUNIST MENACE WHICH  
PRIME MINISTER HAD UNDERLINED IN HIS STATEMENT OF APR19(YOURTEL  
M22 APR19).

2. HOWEVER, OAS HAS NEVER BEEN AT LOWER EBB, AND IS SO VIEWED BY  
BRAZILIAN EYES. FOREIGN MINISTER ARINOS DESCRIBED IT AS LIFELESS  
RECENTLY, A JUDGMENT REINFORCED BY THE DECISION TO POSTPONE INDEFINI-  
TELY THE QUITO CONFERENCE. THIS IS NOT RPT NOT THAT BRAZIL DOES NOT  
RPT NOT FEAR THE MENACE OF COMMUNIST PENETRATION, ALTHOUGH IT FEARS  
IT MORE FOR OTHERS THAN FOR ITSELF AT THPS STAGE.

3. BRAZILIAN FO RECOGNIZES THAT OAS AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED DOES  
NOT RPT NOT HAVE MACHINERY TO DEAL WITH CUBA AND LIKE CASES OF  
COMMUNIST PENETRATION.

4. CDAS ASSOCIATION CAN ONLY HAVE A PURPOSE, OTHER THAN GOOD FELLOW-  
SHIP, IF OAS IS PREPARED TO REFORM ITS STRUCTURE AND FACE ITS  
RESPONSIBILITIES. IMMEDIATELY, THE PROBLEM IS ONE OF POLICING TO  
GAIN TIME FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LONG TERM OBJECTIVES, THE  
RATIFICATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION WHICH BREEDS  
CASTROS.

5. IT IS DOUBTFUL IF CUBA CAN BE REVERSED IN THE SHORT RUN, IF EVER,  
BUT IT COULD BE CURBED, AND THE SPREAD OF THE DISEASE PREVENTED.

6. WHILE IT MAY BE PRESUMPTUOUS FOR A NEW MEMBER TO CALL FOR A  
CHANGE IN THE RULES OF THE CLUB, THERE IS NO RPT NO DOUBT THAT PRESENT  
MEMBERS ARE TO SAY THE LEAST DISSATISFIED AND MAY BE PREPARED FOR  
RADICAL REFORM.

7. A CHANGE IN THE RULES HOWEVER WOULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS  
FOR CDA. JOINING A REFORMED OAS OR AT LEAST AN OAS BENT ON REFORM

PAGE TWO 68

AND EFFECTIVENESS WOULD MEAN GREATER CDN INVOLVEMENT THAN WAS CONSIDERED AT FIRST: PARTICIPATION IN THE RIO TREATY AS WELL AND CONTRIBUTING TEETH (GOLD TEETH) TO IT, AND IN THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, AND CONTRIBUTING DOLLARS TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE THROUGH THE IDB AND IN OTHER WAYS.

8. THERE ARE GREAT DIFFICULTIES IN A POLICING JOB, AS NATO ITSELF HAS REALIZED WHEN DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM; DE GAULLE DID NOT RPT NOT TAKE KINDLY TO USAS OFFER OF HELP LAST WEEK. BUT SOMETHING OF THIS NATURE SEEMS ESSENTIAL HERE. THE TABOO OF NON-INTERVENTION CAN ONLY BE EXORCISED BY JOINT MEASURES OF PROTECTION, SUCH AS WOULD BE FOUND EG IN AN INTERCONTINENTAL NAVAL TASK FORCE AT THE CALL OF A LATIN AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL, OF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES.

9. SUCH A SCHEME WOULD FIT INTO TRADITIONAL CDN THINKING, AT THE UN AND IN NATO. OUR SUPPORT FOR IT IN PRINCIPLE WOULD REPUDIATE THE CHARGE OF INDIFFERENCE TO LATINAMERICA, WOULD STIMULATE OAS THINKING ABOUT ITSELF, AND WOULD JUSTIFY OUR STAYING OUT IF OAS REMAINS QUOTE LIFELESS UNQUOTE.

10. THE DISCOVERY OF A PATH IN LATINAMERICA BETWEEN A DESIRABLE INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO PREVENT THE COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF A LEGITIMATE GOVT AND A SIMILAR ACTION TO PRESERVE IN POWER A REACTIONARY REGIME AGAINST HEALTHY FORCES OF SOCIAL CHANGE WILL BE DIFFICULT BUT IS AN AREA IN WHICH CDN POLITICAL GOOD SENSE MAY HAVE A CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE AS BETWEEN THE QUOTE EAGERNESS UNQUOTE OF SOME AND THE QUOTE RELUCTANCE UNQUOTE OF OTHERS. IT WOULD BE ALMOST A WORSE REMEDY THAN THE DISEASE WHICH RESULTED IN THE BUTTRESSING OF PRIVILEGES IN THIS AREA. IT SHOULD ALSO BE BORNE IN MIND THAT ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF THE GOVTS OF THE LATINAMERICAN REPUBLICS ARE DICTATORSHIPS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY ACTION AGAINST A COUP IN ALL THE OTHERS WOULD REPRESENT THE DEFENCE OF ELECTED GOVTS. FURTHER THE CONCEPT OF A COLLECTIVE PREVENTATIVE ACTION

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PAGE THREE 68

FOLLOWED BY FREE ELECTIONS WOULD REMOVE ANY STIGMA WHICH MIGHT BE ATTACHED TO EVENTUAL INTERVENTION AGAINST LEFTIST REVOLUTIONARIES EVEN IN SUCH AREAS AS THE DOMINICANREPUBLIC OR PARAGUAY.BUT IT MUST BE REALIZED THAT THE METHOD IS NOT RPT NOT FOOLPROOF:THE LEFT COULD WIN ELECTIONS.

11.IN THIS PROJECTION I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEAL NEITHER WITH THE BUDGETARY ASPECTS,A SUBSTANTIAL ITEM,NOR THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF ANY CDN QUOTE NEW LOOK UNQUOTE AT LATINAMERICA.THIS WRITING IS RATHER THE PRELIMINARY ATTEMPT OF ONE LIVING IN THIS SOCIETY IN TRANSITION TO LOOK AHEAD TOWARD A FORMULA WHICH WOULD PERMIT IT TO CONTINUE TO EVOLVE IN INCREASING FREEDOM AND SECURITY.RECENT CUBAN DEVELOPMENTS HAVE CONVINCED ME THAT CDA CAN WITH DIFFICULTY FIND AN ACCOMMODATION WHICH IS NOT RPT NOT EITHER ONE OF COMPLETE ALOOFNESS ON THE ONE HAND,EACH DAY MORE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN,OR FULL PARTICIPATION ON THE OTHER

CHAPDELAINE°°°

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

NUMBERED LETTER

SECRET

TO: UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,  
CARACAS, VENEZUELA.

Reference: OUR LETTER 120 OF MARCH 24.

Subject: VISIT OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO -  
COMMUNISM IN VENEZUELA.

Security:.....

No:..... 123

Date:..... March 28, 1961

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:..... COURIER

Post File No:..... 10.0.13

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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We have learned in confidence from a British colleague that they believe that the principal reason for the visit of Mr. Vladimir Bazikin, Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, was to attempt to overcome troublesome dissention which had arisen within the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) between those who wished to adhere to the Moscow line, including Party leader Dr. Gustavo Machado, and those who were attracted to Chinese Communist doctrines and methods, led by Pompayo Márquez. His visit coincided with the PCV Annual National Congress and the British sources here report that on March 14 he managed to attend a secret meeting of the PCV Central Committee which was devoted to this problem. According to our British informant, Ambassador Bazikin was successful in reconciling the views of the two groups upon what was essentially the Moscow line.

2. As far as we know, Mr. Bazikin did not, while in Venezuela, meet Dr. Alberto Domingo Rangel, leader of the "Marxist" Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) or any others prominent in this party, nor did he meet any of the extreme leftist wing of Union Republicana Democratic (URD) such as Fabricio Ojeda and Luis Miquilena, who have been so ardent in support of Fidelismo and all its works in Cuba. As you know from our reports, the MIR and the URD extremists have been more or less openly cooperating with the PCV in pressure groups, street demonstrations and other legal and illegal political activity. This admittedly very flimsy circumstantial evidence leads one to wonder whether the Communist "high command" in Latin America is not, outside of Cuba at least, treating the supporters of Castro with a good deal of circumspection. They are certainly prepared to use them for their own purposes, but they seem to have no intention of becoming involved to such an extent that they could not drop them should circumstances indicate it would be in the Communist interest to do so.

3. Our British colleagues believe that the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City remains the directing centre of Moscow Communist activity in Latin America. It seems that their task is being complicated by the increasing activities of the Chinese Communists in this part of the world.

L. E. COUILLARD

Ambassador.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: .....  
The Canadian Embassy,

MEXICO, D. F.

Reference: .....  
Our letter No. 284 of May 12, 1961

Subject: .....  
DEFECTION OF CUBAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL  
.....  
IN MEXICO  
.....

Security: UNCLASSIFIED .....

No: ..... 311 .....

Date: May 24, 1961 .....

Enclosures: ..... 1 .....

Air or Surface Mail: Air .....

Post File No: 8-4-2 .....

Cuba - 6	
Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
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Today's press carries the announcement that still another member of the Cuban Embassy here has defected. This time it is Dr. Ricardo Silvestre Vidal y Dominguez, Counselor, who is reported to have left the Embassy yesterday afternoon and asked for political asylum here.

2. It is reported that Dr. Vidal Dominguez left his post on the grounds that he was not in accord "with the establishment of the first Socialist Republic of America in his country and even less with being an instrument of Communism imposed by force in Cuba". The doctor has a Mexican wife and is reported to have spent thirty-one years in the diplomatic service of his country.

3. This brings to five the number of officers who have defected from the Cuban Embassy here, the other four being Captain Manuel Villafañia, Air Attaché; Captain Jaime Varela Canosa, Naval Attaché; and Pablo Montané and his wife, respectively Second Secretary and Consul.

4. The Cuban Ambassador, José Antonio Portuondo, as yet has made no public comment on the latest defection.

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W. A. IRWIN

Ambassador.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: .....  
The Canadian Embassy

Mexico, D. F.

Reference: .....

Subject: .....  
Reported Defection of Cuban Embassy  
Officials in Mexico

Security:..Unclassified.....

No:.....287.....

Date:..... May. 12, 1961.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail Air.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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References

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It was reported on May 12 in the press that two Cuban Embassy officials had defected on the previous day from the Embassy in Mexico. The officials named were Dr. Antonio R. Montané Laredo, Second Secretary, and his wife, Gilda Portela de Montané, Consul. They have asked the Mexican Government for asylum and stated that their defection is a result of their disagreement with the suppression of religion in Cuba and the comunization of the regime.

2. The announcement was made at a news conference called by the anti-Castro Democratic Revolutionary Front, at which the defectors were introduced by Carlos Fernández Trujillo, President of the Front. They are reported to have said that the Cuban Embassy is the centre of communist propaganda in Mexico and that within the Embassy fifty male students had been instigated to take part in the demonstrations denouncing the abortive invasion of Cuba. They further stated that daily contact is maintained between Cuban Ambassador Portuondo and the Ambassadors of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other communist countries. Montané claimed that former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas is a frequent visitor at the Embassy.

3. Montané and his wife, both catholics, were career officers with twenty four years service in the Cuban foreign service. However, they claimed they were unable to perform their proper duties under the Castro Government and within an Embassy within which "all the remaining staff members are communists".

4. Further accusations by the Montanés were that communist propaganda was handed out daily by the Embassy to school children; that the Embassy had tripled its personnel since Castro came to power; that some of the officials were "G-2" Agents; and that the Cuban Government was training enemies of the Governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic in military camps in Cuba which are disguised as agricultural co-operatives.

5. The Cuban Embassy announced, not unexpectedly, that the Montanés had been fired by the Foreign Office on April 13.

W. A. IRWIN

W. Arthur Irwin  
Ambassador

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: .....  
CANADIAN EMBASSY

MEXICO.D.F.

Reference:.....

Subject:.....

May Day in Mexico.

Security ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.....

No:.....260.....

Date May 2, 1961.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail AIR.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No. 50066-40	
<del>6729-40</del>	
94	1

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The traditional May 1st parade and festivities in honour of Labour took place yesterday in the capital, on the customary grand scale, as well as in other principal centres of the Republic. In Mexico City, President Lopez Mateos, accompanied by labour leaders, led the march for a few blocks and then retired to the central balcony of the National Palace to watch an army of workers of every glass, said to number half a million, march past the huge flag he had raised in the Zocalo.

2. According to the newspapers, the largest group was that of the powerful Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), some 50,000 strong. There were colourful floats in the parade, as well as hundreds of Mexican flags, banners and posters. Spectators crowding the Zocalo and the line of march were estimated at a further half million. Most of the posters, it is reported, expressed the workers' support of the government's labour policies.

The President.

3. From his balcony, President Lopez Mateos addressed his annual message to the workers, appealing again for the unity of all Mexicans and for greater, undivided efforts toward the economic and social betterment which is the standing goal of the nation. He said: "This is a time for us of constructive labour, and we all have the responsibility to unite our efforts so that Mexico may continue to forge ahead. We still have problems to solve, and we shall succeed only if we place the welfare of Mexico ahead of everything else; ahead of the petty interests of groups or individuals in the nation".

The Press:

4. The editor of NOVEDADES traced the evolution of Labour Day (May 1) from the early, troubled times of radical agitation and reactionary repression, to the accepted and even institutional nature of today's celebrations which, in Mexico and other fortunate countries, symbolize the achievement of national solidarity and social progress, of growing harmony between all workers and their employers. "Labour Day in Mexico, he concluded, was passed in an atmosphere of understanding and salutary harmony".

A Riot in Acapulco:

5. While this appears to have been true in Mex...

Internal  
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to Posts

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City, there were a few flies in the ointment outside the capital. In Acapulco (Guerero), Mexico's tourist paradise which, like other centres in that state, was the site of popular disturbances some months ago (Our Letter No.23 of January 13, 1961), the May Day parade was broken up by a riot. The trouble stemmed, it is reported, from the grievances of residents in La Laja, a shantytown settlement on the outskirts of the city, against the Municipal Council who (claim the Lajanistas) want to evict them from their slums. Taking advantage of the celebration, they paraded 3,000 strong in trucks and on foot to the City Hall square which they occupied, interrupting the parade then in progress. There were speeches and an unsuccessful attempt to take over the building by the petitioner, followed by efforts to disperse them with fire hoses. When the water supply in the fire-truck ran out, exchanges of paving stones and gunfire ensued. The "petitioners" finally scattered under this stern riposte, leaving 2 dead men on the field and some 79 wounded, 6 of them gravely. Bystanders and tourists had already taken cover. This explosive situation which the State authority is now dealing with, after a slow start, does not seem to have been politically-inspired, except possibly on the local plane.

#### 6. Continuing Agitation:

Of a different character, however, were the disturbances in Puebla. There students, led by the same core of agitators who had organized the first pro-Castro demonstrations in Mexico (Our letter No.232 of April 20, 1961) occupied the University buildings and turned out the faculty. By means of a sound-truck, they broadcast their demands that the Rector be déposé and that their right to influence town life be recognized by the authorities, i.e., that townspeople cease their "anti-Red agitation", said one newspaper.

7. Puebla, capital of the State of the same name, is a city of over 285,000 predominantly Catholic and conservative, and seemingly unprepared to deal with trouble of this nature. Although there had been no sequel reported to the first pro-Castro student demonstration in Puebla, agitation had apparently continued and grown involving both the townspeople, a large body of students out for a rumpus, and a Communist-led nucleus of agitators. A citizens' emergency committee was formed and a one day "strike of payments" involving a wide variety of commercial establishments was staged, as the police and the Governor of the State sat on their hands. Meanwhile, the striking students were disrupting classes in private colleges and schools which constitute 80% of the educational facilities in Puebla.

8. According to this morning's press, order was being restored in Puebla by the Army. At the University, the Rector submitted his resignation to the Board (meeting in a local hotel) but it was not accepted. Meanwhile the Governor had appointed a new Rector, although the University Council denied his right to make such an appointment, and there was talk that the entire Board would resign. Lastly, efforts were being made to come to some agreement with the student occupying force, so that classes might resume. In the background, a students' association in Guadalajara condemned the unpatriotic and anti-university demonstrations in Puebla, which served only Communist interests, while at the University of Mexico students

3.

were talking of holding public meetings in support.

Comment:

9. There is a pattern of agitation becoming visible in this country, stimulated by recent events in Cuba and promoted in part by Communist and left-wing sympathizers. These appear to be relatively few in numbers, but the climate they are trying to maintain opens the way for the advancement of private affairs and of some doubtful political careers. The movement is as yet neither deep nor far-reaching, I think, but the possibility exists of continuing trouble.

10. Failure of the local and state authorities to deal promptly with the two incidents reported above, and there have been other similar cases, highlights one of the consequences of what some observers believe to be a serious flaw in Mexico's political structure, namely, excessive centralization of executive and electoral control in the hands of the federal authorities. The brittleness of Mexican politics is accentuated by this system which may be inadequate to meet the stresses and strains arising from the increasingly complex requirements of economic progress and by the no less complex problems of increasing involvement in international affairs. The time may be approaching when the Revolution's pledge of "effective suffrage" may have to be redeemed if the country is to continue on its present path of progressive development.

W. A. IRWIN  
AMBASSADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy  
Rio de Janeiro

Reference:  
Subject: The Developing Debate on Foreign  
Policy

Security: RESTRICTED

No: 280

Date: April 27, 1961

Enclosures: none

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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by 3142-40  
cc 6605-D-40

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C.H. West  
May 9/61

Distribution  
to Posts

You are thoroughly familiar with the arguments used by President Quadros in his election campaign and since, to justify closer relations with Communist countries: these are large and important areas of the globe from which Brazil should not arbitrarily cut itself off; Brazil badly needs to increase its trade and Communist countries may offer a good outlet for its products; finally, United States, the United Kingdom and other countries maintain diplomatic relations and trade non-strategic goods whenever the opportunity offers with members of the Communist world.

2. Except for some headshaking in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and other odd doubts expressed such as in editorial columns of the Estado do São Paulo, there was little immediate argument in Brazil about the desirability of the new course set by the President in this aspect of his foreign policy.

3. Now a delayed reaction, in which Cuba was without doubt the catalyst, seems to be slowly expressing itself. Although chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations have not come out in print, we are running into more and more businessmen who make a distinction between the President's "sound" internal economic policies and the "doubtful wisdom" of his foreign policy in regard to Communist countries.

4. One voice has now rung out loud and clearly however, against the course being followed by the President. It is that of Sr. Carlos Lacerda, Governor of the State of Guanabara.

5. Sr. Lacerda, you will recall, is a controversial but generally respected political figure in Brazil today, certainly one of the ten leading political personalities of this country where the individual and not the party counts. At risk of repeating what may be available elsewhere on your files, it may be stated that Sr. Lacerda was himself, in his younger days, an active Communist. He has always been a hard-hitting fighter and has, as far as is known, never profited personally from the political causes he has espoused. Editorials appearing in his newspaper, many written by him, are widely regarded as having broken the grip of press censorship and other restrictions on civil

liberties under Vargas because they managed to win over the overwhelming weight of public opinion. Sr. Lacerda has received many physical beatings and once narrowly missed death by assassination at the hands of one of Vargas' henchmen in an incident whose repercussions ultimately led to the suicide of the aging dictator. Sr. Lacerda was also involved on the opposition Navy and Air Force side at the time of the so-called preventative coup of Marshal Lott in 1955. He was the driving force in the National Democratic Union (UDN) convention pushing through the candidacy of Sr. Quadros for President of the Republic as opposed to the safe but more pedestrian Sr. Juracy Magalhães whom the party regulars had decided upon. Latterly, as fearless as ever, he has taken the strongest of stands against smuggling, which as you know is a multimillion dollar business here and which no doubt has many guns for hire.

6. In an exclusive interview with Jornal do Brasil last week, Sr. Carlos Lacerda took on with the man he had so ardently supported for President. He praised Sr. Quadros for his courageous domestic policies; he did some special pleading for the State of Guanabara, whose financial neglect by the Federal Government he considers grossly unfair, but his main theme was an ideological argument against the present drift of foreign policy. His tone throughout was more in sorrow than in anger.

7. In brief, the Governor makes three points. In the first place, while no patriotic Brazilian is against an independent and virile Brazilian foreign policy, strength and independence should not be confused with unrealistic opportunism and suicidal complacency vis-a-vis the very real Communist threat against the free world. "Should we say to the United States that we are against Communism not for their sakes or for their sakes alone, but for our own freedom, we would be acting independently, and offering a realistic alliance, giving first consideration, as we should, to our own Brazilian interests. But when we approach Albania, which cannot even sell us goat's milk or Yugoslavia which can only sell us second-hand machinery, and American machinery at that, we compromise the position of our country, making it an uncertain quantity in world affairs."

8. Sr. Lacerda's second point is to analyze the Quadros strategy which, he says, is to placate nationalists and Communists at home by a foreign policy pleasing to Moscow while he works for the internal stability which Communist infiltration during the Kubitschek administration disturbed. By Communist infiltration, Lacerda adds, he does not mean cloak-and-dagger spying but the paralysis of real progress (under Kubitschek) by the adoption of policies which created financial confusion and social resentments, thus serving the final objectives of Communism. The Governor then adds bluntly that he thinks the Quadros strategy wrong because these anti-patriotic elements will strengthen and consolidate under the umbrella of official "rapprochement" with Russia. "In a word they will take advantage of the international orientation of the Government to fight it more advantageously on the national plane."

9. Lacerda's third point is the fear that once relations with the Soviet world are established it becomes more difficult to back out of the bear-hug when it is found to be uncomfortable and basically contrary to Brazilian national interests. Lacerda concludes: "I therefore see it as my duty to protest against the tyranny of Fidel Castro in the face of those who push Brazil in opposition to Portugal on grounds of abhorrence of dictatorships

but who from the other side of their mouths speak about respect for the sovereignty of the Cuban people which is now being shot, which has no right to choose its leaders, and which is suffering under the double oppression of propaganda and terror and the occupation of its territory by the same forces which occupied Tibet, which are oppressing Poland, which are convulsing Africa, and which are preparing to make Cuba not only a base against the United States, but also a centre of aggression against all the American nations. You may say that my job at the moment is more modest and consists in cleaning up Rio and insuring it of a supply of water but if the forces which dominate Cuba come in power in this country we will have flowing as in Cuba, not water but blood."

10. Lacerda's is not the only voice nor is the re-establishment of relations with the Soviet Union and the satellites the only or indeed the main point of interest in what promises to be a growing national debate on foreign policy. The immediate question (as Lacerda's speech indeed shows) is Cuba. In our letter n°271 of April 24, 1961 we reported upon the immobilism of Brazilian foreign policy on this issue typified by this country's reserving its position (neither voting for nor against nor abstaining) on the issue of temporarily excluding Cuba from secret deliberations and from access to documents of the Inter-American Advisory Defence Board. Even the Jornal do Brasil which has generally been somewhat left-of-centre on the Cuban issue, while not criticizing Brazil's diplomatic paralysis, nevertheless has said clearly on this issue that Cuba should not be allowed to sit in on strategic planning when it receives political, economic and military assistance from the only country against which the strategy can logically be planned.

11. The widely read independent afternoon newspaper, O Globo, has come out almost as bluntly as Sr. Lacerda on the Cuban issue. It enjoins the public to take good note of the false patriots, those congressmen who will be going to Castro's May Day celebrations. More importantly, it is bringing up for debate and examination, exactly what is meant by the principle of self-determination upon which Brazil is basing its policies. In its own editorializing and through a special interview with Sr. Raul Fernandes, a jurist and Foreign Minister under Vargas and Cafe Filho, it makes the points that non-intervention is enshrined in the OAS and United Nations Charters because these instruments assumed that the international organizations they themselves represented would keep the peace. Thus Articles 1<sup>0</sup> and 92 (our examination of the text of these articles does not give support to Sr. Fernandes argument but we quote him as he was reported in O Globo) of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro provide for intervention by the OAS not only in the case of external armed aggressions against American states but also against aggression whether or not caused by armed attack or resulting from a continental or intercontinental conflict, and including even the existence of a situation representing a threat to the peace of the Americas. Mr. Kennedy apparently considers, the argument runs, that a form of aggression or threat to the peace of the Americas has been created. The international organs created to solve such situations are impotent (the Security Council because of the veto, the OAS because of the 2/3 rule). A unilateral action by the American President or indeed any OAS action, former Foreign Minister Fernandes suggests, would be fraught with risks for those taking the action and also for extra-continental countries. "But unfortunately there is no alternative," he concludes, "either these risks are taken or the principle of non-inter-

vention will only be a chain for the democratic countries. Cuba will then be untouchable, but Hungary massacred and Tibet conquered."

12. Finally O Globo suggests that tracing the origin of the Cuban landings is a red herring. Where did Castro's invasion come from anyway, and, the paper adds, was this intervention?

13. While the debate is thus being joined in Brazil, four Brazilian diplomatic task forces are hard at work abroad. Ambassadors Walter Morreireira Salles and Roberto Campos are as you know pleading for loan extensions and prolongations among the capitalist countries of North America and Europe. But Brazil also has two teams in the Communist world. The first is headed by Ambassador João Dantas, the publisher of Diario de Noticias, who has already covered most of the satellite countries, banqueting, exchanging good wishes, and signing cultural agreements. In Bulgaria, however, his mission has concluded a 100 million dollar trade agreement to cover trade over the course of the next three years. Sr. Dantas has apparently certain plenipotentiary powers because the Foreign Ministry does not as yet have the full text of the agreement that has been signed, which they describe as an expression of economic objectives which, no doubt, will have to be renegotiated and revised in part as the pattern of trade emerges. (Bulgaria unlike Rumania, Hungary, etc. is the country with which Brazil is opening trade relations for the first time since the war. Our letter n<sup>o</sup>212 of March 24, 1961.)

14. The second Brazilian mission in Communist territory at this time is one led by Sr. Paulo Leão de Moura, a Class II Minister now Chief of the Economic Department, since Sr. Barbosa da Silva became a special adviser on OPA and LAFTA. The Brazilian USSR Trade Treaty (our letter n<sup>o</sup> 34 of January 16, 1960) still has almost two years to run. We have been told by the Foreign Ministry that the Moura mission follows the provisions of the Treaty establishing periodic consultations to adjust the trade flow and balance any disequilibrium which may appear on either side. This is the more necessary because only part of the Brazilian purchases from the USSR are government-controlled (e.g. wheat and oil). For the rest it depends on individual merchants here ordering Soviet products and if these buyers do not purchase, imbalance results. There has been some speculation that at the end of Moura's mission the re-establishment of diplomatic relations will be announced. This is pure newspaper speculation we were told. We shall write you more fully upon these trade matters as they mature and texts become available.

(Sgd.) Jean Chapdelaine

Ambassador



## CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security

*Confidential*

50066-40		
96	-	-

Type of Document..... *Letter* ..... No. *116* ..... Date. *27 Apr 61* .....From..... *Bogota* .....To..... *External Affairs* .....Subject: *Initial reaction to President Kennedy's Major Policy*  
*Speech on Apr 20*Original on File No..... *3456-40* .....Copies on File No..... *3681-40* .....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....

Prepared by..... *Don Henson* .....

Distribution "X"

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Background Note No. 1,635

25th April 1961

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA FOR LATIN AMERICA

CORRECTION

CORRECTION

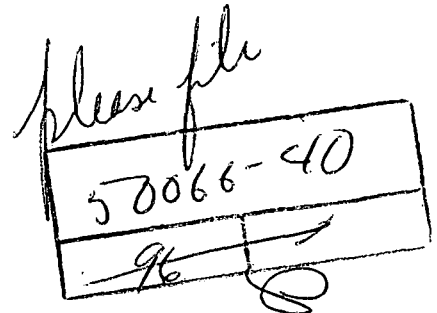
CORRECTION

PAGE 1, LINE 20

DELETE "...has been very busy in Latin America also."

INSERT "...was very busy in Latin America also before it  
was disbanded".

END OF CORRECTION



Distribution "X"

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Background Note No. 1,635

25th April 1961

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA FOR LATIN AMERICA

The increasing importance which the Soviet Block attaches to Latin America has become evident during the past few months. Less obviously, outside communist efforts at a more thorough propaganda penetration of the countries of Latin America has been going on now for a good eighteen months.

The communist countries use every available means to "cover" the whole of the South American continent, from broadcasts to cultural exchanges. Recently, both Tass and NCNA have greatly expanded their coverage of Latin America; both carry a vast amount of news quite out of proportion to its importance and those of front organisations, such as the WFDY and WFTU.

Tass is not a news agency in the Western sense, but a Soviet government organ. It is interested in purveying Soviet propaganda and to "agitate with facts" which "render service in building communism", as its former director Palgunov once explained. Its little sister, the newer Novosti Press Agency formed to act as an "independent information organ" in conjunction with Tass is closely linked to the Union of Soviet Societies for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. VOKS, as it is known, has been very busy in Latin America also.

The official New China News Agency, heavily subsidised by the Chinese government, is now represented in Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay. In Cuba it is closely linked to Prensa Latina, and the two pour out a constant stream of "anti-imperialist" news to Latin America. While the major function of the two agencies may be to spread propaganda, its representatives on the spot are sometimes engaged in other activities. Thus only last Saturday (22nd April) Prensa Latina reported that its chief correspondent Rodolfo Orozco, had been held in Lima, Peru, under the new law on repression of "subversive activities". According to Prensa Latina he has been charged with spreading propaganda in favour of Fidel Castro. This is hardly the sort of activity compatible with news agency reporting.

In Colombia the radio station, Circuite Toledar, reported that Tass's agency service had been offered free to Bogota. Embassies still continue to play a part in the propaganda battle,

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though less so than formerly. Earlier this year the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Montevideo was asked to leave. As head of propaganda and labour relations he was said to have maintained contact through the Uruguayan Communist Party with the illegal Party of Paraguay and also a link with the Argentine Communists.

Broadcasting to Latin America from the Soviet Block countries has been stepped up during the past year, from a weekly 138 hours <sup>25 minutes</sup> in 1959 to 167 <sup>40 minutes</sup> hours in 1960, that is, by 21 percent. As this table shows, the emphasis has been on expanding broadcasts to Brazil; these have gone up by 150 percent. China began a service in Portuguese to Latin America where it had none before. Poland ceased broadcasting to North America, and in its place began to transmit in Polish to Latin America. Albania beams broadcasts to Latin America, primarily to the Albanian community in the Argentine.

# WEEKLY HOURS OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BY COMMUNIST BLOCK RADIO STATIONS

December 31, 1959 - December 31, 1960

<u>Languages to:</u> <u>LATIN AMERICA</u>	<u>USSR</u>		<u>European</u> <u>Satellites</u>		<u>Communist</u> <u>China</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>
Portuguese	14:00	17:30	2:55	13:25	--	10:30	16:55	41:25
Spanish	35:00	38:30	41:00	33:30	21:00	21:00	97:00	93:00
Satellite								
Lang.	--	--	24:30	32:45	--	--	24:30	32:45
Music	--	--	--	0:30	--	--	--	0:30
L.A. TOTAL	49:00	56:00	68:25	80:10	21:00	31:30	138:25	167:40

According to press reports listening clubs have been formed in several of the Latin American republics. In Havana, for example, "a Cuban club of those who listen to the Prague radio has been organised" with the primary objective of disseminating the programmes of that radio station, "and to maintain a friendly exchange with the station". The organisation also reported that it already had branches in Mexico and Ecuador, and hoped to set up further ones in all countries of Latin America. Radio "hams", including some from Brazil, took part in the "Peace To This World" competition last May in Moscow; since then Peking has shown increasing interest in organising "radio lovers' clubs". Rad

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beginning of January, which included a "Peking Letterbox" with requests for reports on transmissions. Moscow radio was to start a weekly Russian lesson with a repeat for Latin America in February.

In the field of Television only Cuba has so far become an important customer of the Communist Block nations. Up to the end of January Cuba had signed agreements for the exchange of material with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. East Germany and Czechoslovakia have promised also to make television film available. In February a Sino-Cuban agreement was signed in Peking providing for the exchange of television film.

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by 2444-40

cc 2002-40

FM HAGUE APR21/61 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

TO EXTERNAL 160

INFO LDN NATOPARIS

TT PERMISNY WASHDC FM OTT

BAG HAVANA FM OTT

CUBA

IN VIEW OF SPECIAL INTEREST OF NETHERLANDS IN CARIBBEAN AREA,  
VIEWS OF DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY AND PRESS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS  
IN CUBA MAY BE OF INTEREST.

2.VREEDE, WESTERN HEMISPHERE DIRECTORATE HEAD, TOLD US HIS MIN-  
ISTRY CONSIDERED COLLAPSE OF REBEL EFFORT TO OVERTHROW CASTRO  
HAD DELIVERED SERIOUS SET-BACK TO WEST IN LATIN AMERICA AND  
THROUGHOUT WORLD:(1)INFLUENCE OF CASTRO IN CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA,  
WHICH HAD BEEN ON WANE, HAD BEEN GIVEN QUOTE TREMENDOUS BOOST  
UNQUOTE;(2)RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN USA AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES  
HAVE BEEN IMPAIRED;(3)COMMUNIST BLOC HAVE BEEN HANDED AN QUOTE  
ANTI-IMPERIALISM UNQUOTE PROPAGANDA WINDFALL TO EXPLOIT IN UN-  
COMMITTED COUNTRIES.

3.VREEDE HAD IMPRESSION DECISION TO INVADE HAD BEEN MADE SOLELY  
BY REBEL LEADERS ON BASIS OF DISASTROUS MISCALCULATION OF EX-  
TENT OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE IN CUBA.USA GOVT SEEMING-  
LY HAD TRIED TO PLAY GAME ACCORDING TO STRICT RULES AND HAD  
LIMITED ITS ASSISTANCE TO REBELS TO SUPPLIES AND TRAINING WHILE  
GRANTING THEM FULL FREEDOM OF ACTION IN CONDUCT OF OPERATIONS.  
NETHERLANDS EMB IN WASHDC REPORTED EARLY THIS WEEK STATE DEPT  
APPEARED TO BE IN DARK ON INVASION CIRCUMSTANCES.WHEN FOREIGN  
MINISTRY HAD ASKED DUTCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE FOR INFO ON LAND-  
INGS, ALL LATTER HAD BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE WERE UNINFORMATIVE USA  
INTELLIGENCE SERVICE REPORTS.USA POPULATION WOULD BELIEVE EX-  
PLANATIONS BY THEIR GOVT OF LIMITED DEGREE OF USA INVOLVEMENT  
BUT OUTSIDE WORLD WOULD FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE USA GOVT HAD  
NOT RPT NOT PLAYED MORE ACTIVE ROLE.

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4.COMMENTING ON KENNEDYS SPEECH,VREEDE SAID HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY EVIDENCES OF PRESIDENTS INCREASED AWARENESS OF NECESSITY OF COMBATTING COMMUNIST SUBVERSION WITH NON-MILITARY WEAPONS AND TECHNIQUES.

5.DUTCH PRESS DID NOT RPT NOT SHARE VREEDES RESERVE ON DEGREE OF USA GOVT INVOLVEMENT.TENOR OF COMMENT WAS SET EARLY IN WEEK BY LIBERAL ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD WHICH SAID QUOTE WHATEVER OUTCOME OF CIVIL WAR IN CUBA,USA WOULD BE BIG LOSER UNQUOTE.INFLUENTIAL LIBERAL NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCH COURANT SAID CASTRO WAS NEITHER A PUPPET OF MOSCOW OR PEKING NOR TRADITIONAL LATIN AMERICAN QUOTE CAUDILLO UNQUOTE.HE WAS EXTREME EXPONENT OF WINDS OF CHANGE BLOWING OVER LATIN AMERICA.WASHDC SHOULD HAVE DONE EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO PREVENT INVASION.

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by 2444-40

cc 2002-40

FM HAGUE APR21/61 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

TO EXTERNAL 160

INFO LDN NATOPARIS

TT PERMISNY WASHDC FM OTT

BAG HAVANA FM OTT

CUBA

IN VIEW OF SPECIAL INTEREST OF NETHERLANDS IN CARIBBEAN AREA, VIEWS OF DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY AND PRESS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA MAY BE OF INTEREST.

2.VREEDE, WESTERN HEMISPHERE DIRECTORATE HEAD, TOLD US HIS MINISTRY CONSIDERED COLLAPSE OF REBEL EFFORT TO OVERTHROW CASTRO HAD DELIVERED SERIOUS SET-BACK TO WEST IN LATIN AMERICA AND THROUGHOUT WORLD: (1) INFLUENCE OF CASTRO IN CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA, WHICH HAD BEEN ON WANE, HAD BEEN GIVEN QUOTE TREMENDOUS BOOST UNQUOTE; (2) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN USA AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN IMPAIRED; (3) COMMUNIST BLOC HAVE BEEN HANDED AN QUOTE ANTI-IMPERIALISM UNQUOTE PROPAGANDA WINDFALL TO EXPLOIT IN UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES.

3.VREEDE HAD IMPRESSION DECISION TO INVADE HAD BEEN MADE SOLELY BY REBEL LEADERS ON BASIS OF DISASTROUS MISCALCULATION OF EXTENT OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE IN CUBA. USA GOVT SEEMINGLY HAD TRIED TO PLAY GAME ACCORDING TO STRICT RULES AND HAD LIMITED ITS ASSISTANCE TO REBELS TO SUPPLIES AND TRAINING WHILE GRANTING THEM FULL FREEDOM OF ACTION IN CONDUCT OF OPERATIONS. NETHERLANDS EMB IN WASHDC REPORTED EARLY THIS WEEK STATE DEPT APPEARED TO BE IN DARK ON INVASION CIRCUMSTANCES. WHEN FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD ASKED DUTCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE FOR INFO ON LANDINGS, ALL LATTER HAD BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE WERE UNINFORMATIVE USA INTELLIGENCE SERVICE REPORTS. USA POPULATION WOULD BELIEVE EXPLANATIONS BY THEIR GOVT OF LIMITED DEGREE OF USA INVOLVEMENT BUT OUTSIDE WORLD WOULD FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE USA GOVT HAD NOT RPT NOT PLAYED MORE ACTIVE ROLE.



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INDIRECT INTERVENTION IN AFFAIRS OF CUBA OR OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

UNQUOTE.

5. GOVT HAS WARNED REPEATEDLY THAT PUBLIC DISTURBANCES WOULD NOT  
RPT NOT BE TOLERATED. THEY HAVE TAKEN A STRONG LINE AND HAVE BEEN  
REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL IN MAINTAINING ORDER AND PREVENTING MAJOR  
DEMONSTRATIONS IF NOT ISOLATED ACTS OF TERRORISM. LED BY ADULT AGITAT-  
ORS SEVERAL THOUSAND HIGHSCHOOL STUDENTS DEMONSTRATED IN EL  
SILENCIO SQUARE APR 18. POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD EASILY QUELLED  
THIS DISTURBANCE AS WELL AS OTHER MINOR OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE BY  
STUDENTS. ARMY INTERVENTION HAS PROVEN UNNECESSARY SO FAR AT  
LEAST. THERE WERE A FEW ATTEMPTS TO BURN STORES AND OFFICES OF  
AMERICAN COMPANIES AND EVEN AN QUOTE AMERICAN BOOK SHOP UNQUOTE  
OWNED BY RUSSIAN, BUT ONLY MINOR DAMAGE RESULTED.

6. ON WHOLE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM AND SUPPORT FOR  
CASTRO WERE MUCH LESS SERIOUS THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED IN  
VIEW OF RELATIVELY STRONG EXTREMIST ELEMENT HERE. APART FROM  
DEMONSTRATIONS BY GROUPS OF STUDENTS (HIGH SCHOOL CLASSES  
WERE SUSPENDED TODAY), OUTWARD PUBLIC REACTION IS SURPRISINGLY LACK-  
ING. THIS IS NO RPT NO DOUBT DUE IN GOOD PART TO CONTINUED SUS-  
PENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES AND THE CONSTANT BARRAGE  
OF RADIO AND TV ANNOUNCEMENTS DECLARING THAT MEETINGS OR DEMONSTRAT-  
IONS ARE ILLEGAL AND THAT CULPRITS WOULD BE SEVERELY PUNISHED.  
IT IS ALSO A REFLECTION OF THE VERY LARGE AMOUNT OF GROUND WHICH  
CASTRO AND HIS REGIME HAVE LOST IN VENEZUELA. IT REMAINS TO BE  
SEEN WHAT REACTION WILL FOLLOW STRONG STAND TAKEN BY PRESIDENT  
KENNEDY IN HIS SPEECH YESTERDAY

COUILLARD

## CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security *Conf.*.....

50066-40		
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Type of Document..... *Letter*..... No. *107*..... Date *19 Apr 61*.....From..... *Bogota*.....To..... *Externe*.....Subject: *Colombian attitude towards Cuba - Note in protest against the  
Anti-Castro Invasion of Cuba*Original on File No. *3456-40*.....Copies on File No. *2444-40*.....Other Cross Reference Sheets on *12797-40*.....Prepared by *Don New*.....

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54/10162-46  
26729-40  
2444-A 40

F1 MEXICO APR18/61 CONFID

TO TT EXTERNAL 45 OPIMMED FM WASHDC

INFO WASHDC CANDELNY

MEXICAN(REACTION TO?)INVASION OF CUBA

AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED AND AS INDICATED IN FOREIGN MINISTER TELLOS STATEMENT(OUR IMMEDIATELY PRECEEDING TEL)OFFICIAL MEXICAN POLICY IN RESPECT TO CONFLICT IN CUBA IS THAT OF ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLE OF SELFDETERMINATION TO NONINTERVENTION AND ULTIMATE RESOLUTION (ERP CORRUPT)BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

2. THE GOVT, HOWEVER, AS REVEALED DURING AN HOURS CONVERSATION WITH CAMPOS ORTIZ THIS AFTERNOON, IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY OF CIVIL WAR IN CUBA AND REGARD SITUATION AS QUOTE VERY SERIOUS UNQUOTE.

3. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN PRONOUNCEMENTS BOTH FOR AND AGAINST CASTRO AND THERE WAS A DISTURBANCE IN PUEBLA SOUTH OF MEXICO YESTERDAY THE INTERNAL SITUATION THUS FAR CONTINUES QUIET.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS HAVE ANNOUNCED A PRO CASTRO DEMONSTRATION FOR TONIGHT BUT CHIEF OF POLICE HAS INDICATED THAT SUCH MANIFESTATIONS WILL NOT RPT NOT BE ALLOWED AND POLICE AND MILITARY HAVE BEEN ALERTED TO THIS END. EXPRESIDENT CARDENAS YESTERDAY SAID HE WAS GOING TO CUBA TO SALUTE HIS FRIENDS IN GOVT AND INSPECT AGRARIAN REFORM. AS OF NOON TODAY HOWEVER HIS CHARTERED PLANE HAD NOT RPT NOT TAKEN OFF FOR MERIDA STAGING POINT TO CUBA.

4. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL POINTS MADE BY CAMPOS ORTIZ:

(1)EXTERNAL RELATIONS HAS NO RPT NO CONCRETE PROOF BUT BELIEVE INVASION IS BASED ON GUATEMALA. FRONTIER TROOPS AND COAST GUARDS HAVE BEEN ALERTED TO PREVENT ANY INTRUSIONS OF ANTI CASTROITES ON MEXICAN SOIL WHICH MIGHT LEAVE MEXICO TO OPEN CHARGES OF AIDING INVADERS;  
(2)EXTERNAL RELATIONS BELIEVE THERE HAS BEEN NO RPT NO INVASIONS FROM USA BUT ALSO BELIEVE INVADERS HAVE HAD UNOFFICIAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM AMERICANS;(3)TELLO TALKED YESTERDAY BY PHONE WI000410

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HIS AMBASSADOR IN HAVANA WHO CONFIRMED INVASION BUT COULD GIVE NO RPT NO CONCRETE DETAILS OF MILITARY SITUATIONS AT THAT TIME HOWEVER THERE WERE NO RPT NO SIGN OF PANIC IN CUBAN CAPITAL; (4) EXTERNAL RELATIONS BELIEVE INVASION WAS CAREFULLY PLANNED AND WAS COORDINATED WITH INTERNAL RISES IN CUBA. IT ALSO BELIEVES THAT INTENTION IS TO OVERTHROW CASTRO WITHIN WEEK OR TEN DAYS; (5) GOVT IS MUCH CONCERNED WITH POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S MSG TO KENNEDY STATING THAT SOVIETS WOULD FURNISH QUOTE ALL AID NECESSARY UNQUOTE TO REBEL INVASION. CAMPOS STILL CLINGS TO BELIEF THAT ALL AID WOULD NOT RPT NOT INCLUDE DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION NEVERTHELESS HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE CONTRARY IMPLICATIONS; (6) GOVT ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT CONSEQUENCES OF POSSIBLE PROLONGED FIGHTING IN CUBA BEYOND WEEK OR TEN DAYS. THE LONGER IT CONTINUES THE GREATER CHANCES OF DISTURBANCE ELSEWHERE IN LATINAMERICA AND EVEN INVOLVEMENT ON WORLD BASIS. ENVISAGES POSSIBILITY THAT IF CASTRO SUCCEEDS TO HOLD OUT FOR SOME TIME AND BASE OF INVASION ON GUATEMALA I PROVED CASTRO MAY SEEK TO INVOKE RIO TREATY AGAINST GUATEMALA WHICH APPEAL WOULD RAISE GRAVE DIFFICULTIES NOT RPT NOT ONLY FOR MEXICO BUT FOR OTHER LATINAMERICAN COUNTRIES; (7) IF ON THE OTHER HAND CASTRO WERE OVERTHROWN WITHIN WEEK OR TEN DAYS MANY TROUBLED SIDE ISSUES INVOLVING REST OF CONTINENT WOULD BE FORGOTTEN. IT WAS CLEARLY IMPLIED CAMPOS AT LEAST HOPED THIS WOULD BE THE OUTCOME; (8) CAMPOS ADMITTED CARDENAS PROJECT TRIP TO CUBA COULD BE EMBARRASSING FOR MEXICAN GOVT BUT I GATHERED NO RPT NO OVERT ATTEMPTS WOULD BE MADE TO PREVENT IT IF IT WERE ACTUALLY ATTEMPTED. HE DENIED PRESS REPORTS CARDENAS HAD ASKED PRESIDENT LOPEZ MATEOS FOR GUARANTEE OF ASYLUM FOR CASTRO IF NECESSARY; (9) WHEN ASKED WHAT GOVT WOULD DO IF CASTRO DID SEEK ASYLUM CAMPOS THREW UP HIS HANDS IN HORROR AND SAID RESULTING SITUATION WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. IN ACCORDANCE WITH TRADITIONAL POLICY ASYLUM WOULD HAVE TO BE GRANTED BUT RESULT COULD CONCEIVABLY BE SERIOUS INTERNAL TENSION HERE AND IN OTHER LATINAMERICAN COUNTRIES. (10) AS FOR CALL

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PAGE THREE 45

OF TOLEDANO COMMUNIST LEADER OF STUDENT LEADERS AND OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS UNION FOR VOLUNTEERING AID TO CASTRO CAMPOS REGARDED THESE AS QUOTE MOSTLY WORDS UNQUOTE BUT INDICATED THAT GOVT WOULD DISCOURAGE SUCH EFFORTS;(11)CAMPOS EXPRESSED DOUBT ABOUT POLITICAL WISDOM OF ISSUANCE OF USA WHITE BOOK ON CUBA AT A TIME WHEN SITUATION THERE WAS QUOTE DETERIORATING RAPIDLY UNQUOTE AND ALSO DOUBTED WISDOM OF RUSKS PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY FOR INVADERS ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED LATTER MAY HAVE BEEN POLITICALLY NECESSARY IN USA;(12)PADILLA NERVO AT UN IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO DO UTMOST TO SECURE ADOPTION BY UN OF QUOTE A CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION UNQUOTE APPEALING TO MEMBER STATES TO FIND BASIS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO CONFLICT;(13)SUMMING UP CAMPOS SAID THAT DEPT WAS IN THE DARK AS TO MILITARY SITUATION IN CUBA BUT THAT OUTCOME WOULD BE DETERMINED BY ATTITUDE OF MASS OF CUBAN PEOPLE TOWARDS TWO CONTENDING PARTIES WHICH AT THE MOMENT WAS ANYBODYS GUESS  
IRWIN

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

FILE  
13

Subject EXTREMIST STRENGTH IN SOUTH AMERICA

Date April 14, 1961

Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

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## Extremist Strength In S America

As seen through the eyes of an American reporter, worshippers of Cuba's Castro and tools of trained Communists are the backbone of extremist strength in South America. In this story an Associated Press correspondent reports on what he found in a month-long tour of the continent.

They march stolidly through city streets, paced by strutting, self-important leaders.

In the name of rebellion and non-conformity, they submit and conform.

Ready-made revolutionary clichés decorate the banners they carry.

As their leaders direct, they chant in unison their monotonous, pre-fabricated slogans. At the will of their leaders they are peaceable or riotous.

Who are they? They are the backbone of extremist strength in Latin America, worshippers of Cuba's Fidel Castro and tools of trained, disciplined Communists.

Many are university and secondary school students, believing themselves on a rampage of rebellion against their elders. Many call themselves intellectuals and thereby lay claim to political leadership. Many are members of Communist-dominated trade unions.

### Castro's Impact Wanes

In most countries they are a minority, but they are an organized, single-minded minority with great potential for mischief.

Fidel Castro has lost some of his initial impact as the symbol of revolution against the past in Latin America. He loses more as Cuba plunges deeper into economic and political chaos. But his influence remains dangerously strong, and for many the Cuban revolution, apart from Castro's personality, remains a symbol of revolutionary fervor in a restless, backward continent.

The Castro-Communist alliance has lost some ground in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia. But it has given evidence of growing strength in Ecuador, Argentina and Chile. Throughout the rest of the continent the extreme left is sufficiently strong to make its pressures sharply felt by worried governments. How did it get that way?

Long before Castro's arrival on the scene, the Communists

By WILLIAM L. RYAN  
(Associated Press News Analyst)

were building tight, disciplined organizations.

Communists championed reforms with which few could quarrel, avoiding the look of extremism. They did not speak of nationalization or confiscation, but of land reform and industrialization, improved living standards, mass education, national health. All their propaganda linked the privileged ruling class with "Yankee imperialism," blaming the latter for all woes.

Castro's revolution quickened the tempo. Its violence made the Communists seem almost conservative by comparison. The Communists seemed almost obliged to step up their own demands to conform with the new revolutionary pattern being set by the Castristas.

Today well-paid agents of Soviet communism roam South American countries, often in teams of three or four, intent on stirring rebellion among illiterate, landless, resentful peasants. And Castro's diplomats, using this diplomatic immunity from customs inspections, pour money and propaganda into key South American countries.

### Rich Resist Reform

Opportunistic politicians and impatient would-be reformers flock to the Castro-Communist bandwagon, hoping to use it for their ends and instead being used themselves.

Members of South America's rich, conservative classes, with few exceptions, close their eyes to what is going on and resist orderly reform.

But among frightened politicians there seems to be a growing realization that the reckoning may be almost at hand.

Face to face with reality, they have produced a sudden rash of programs for economic, tax and land reforms, as if in haste to cure situations which were centuries in the making.

What are the prospects? Here is a synthesis of opinion from sober, moderate leaders in South America.

Movements for reform far antedate Castro. Unless these movements are interpreted correctly and the current boiling social revolution is channelled into constructive paths, there will be a violent chain reaction bringing a series of extremist, Castro-like regimes.

### U.S. Must Lead

What can the United States do to prevent being cut off eventually from most of its hemisphere neighbors? The only way would seem to be an attempt to seize the initiative from the Communists, to indicate that the United States is not smothering a revolution but creating a constructive one.

Money is not the basic problem. Many South American nations have enormous natural riches. What the United States needs most is a statement of policy with a strong intellectual, emotional appeal to Latin America, as a means of creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and identity of interest.

If Castro can be deprived of much of his support from the intellectuals, he and his Communist allies will lose the most important base of their support throughout the continent.

But with or without Castro, the fever for reform is rising. Unless South America's wealthy class accommodates itself to this urge, unless it is willing to co-operate by reforming itself, South America — and The United States — are headed for disaster.

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*M. R. [signature]*  
*[initials]*

36 OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MEXICAN CONFERENCE

PARIS AFP IN SPANISH TO LATIN AMERICA 1154 3/9 E

(EXCERPT) MEXICO CITY--THE LATIN AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION, AND PEACE WHICH LASTED FOUR DAYS IN MEXICO ENDED ITS WORK YESTERDAY FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH COVERS ALL THE THOUGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AND CONSTITUTES A SORT OF INCEPTION OF HOSTILITIES AGAINST "NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM," THE OAS, THE POLICY OF CONTINENTAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THIS DECLARATION ALSO REAFFIRMS THE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT OF THE POPULAR MASSES REPRESENTED AT THIS CONFERENCE FOR THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, CONSIDERED A FIRST-CLASS CONTRIBUTION TO THE "LIBERATION" OF LATIN AMERICA. GEN. LAZARO CARDENAS, FORMER PRESIDENT OF MEXICO AND ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ORGANIZERS OF THIS CONGRESS, READ THIS DECLARATION IN THE LAST PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONGRESS WHICH TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. IT WAS THEN SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY AND ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY. IT WAS ALSO DECIDED THAT IT SHOULD BE CALLED "DECLARATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN-MEXICAN PEOPLES."

THE DECLARATION STRESSES THAT THE NEW STAGE OF LIBERATION IN LATIN AMERICA, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FACTORS WHICH HAMPER THE TOTAL DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF HUMAN POTENTIAL AND MATERIAL IN THE IBERO-AMERICAN COUNTRIES, BEGAN WITH THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF DEFENSE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION, AND PEACE. "THE FUNDAMENTAL (FORCE) WHICH BLOCKS THE DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA IS NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM," THIS DECLARATION AFFIRMS. "THE OVERTHROW OF IMPERIALISM IS A FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION TO THE REALIZATION OF ANY DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN OUR COUNTRIES."

THE DECLARATION THEN EXPRESSES THE WILL OF THE COUNTRIES TO EXERCISE AN INDEPENDENT POLICY WITH FULL RESPECT FOR THEIR SELF-DETERMINATION AND RECALLS THAT THERE IS NO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION. TO OBTAIN THIS OBJECTIVE, THE DECLARATION CALLS FOR AN INTEGRAL AGRARIAN REFORM, THE RECOVERY OF NATIONAL WEALTH FROM THE HANDS OF FOREIGN MONOPOLIES, THE FREE ACCESS TO ALL MARKETS, AND TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WITHOUT HARMFUL CONDITIONS.

*LA*

FOLLOWING THE REJECTION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND "OPPRESSIVE PAN-AMERICANISM" IN FAVOR OF A LIBERATING LATIN AMERICANISM, THE DECLARATION PROCLAIMS THAT "THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION POINT OUT THE ROAD WHICH SHOULD BE FOLLOWED TO END FOREIGN DOMINATION. BY REAFFIRMING THAT THEY WILL DEFEND CUBA AGAINST ANY AGGRESSION, THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES KNOW THAT THUS THEY ARE DEFENDING THEIR OWN DESTINY."

THE DECLARATION THEN ACCUSES YANKEE IMPERIALISM OF HAVING COMPROMISED LATIN AMERICA IN A COLD WAR POLICY AND OF HAVING IMPOSED MILITARY PACTS WHICH GAVE RISE, IN THOSE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, TO ARMS BURDENS AND LIMITATIONS TO SOVEREIGNTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. "WE DEMAND THE DENUNCIATION OF ALL MILITARY PACTS AND THE ELIMINATION OF NORTH AMERICAN BASES IN LATIN AMERICA," THE DECLARATION ADDS. IT AFFIRMS, IN CONCLUSION, THAT LATIN AMERICAN LIBERATION IS INDISPENSABLE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN THE WORLD AND APPEALS FOR CLOSE COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY AMONG ALL THE FORCES IN LATIN AMERICA WITH A VIEW TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOALS DESIRED IN A BRIEF HISTORICAL PERIOD.

"WE ARE NOT ALONE. WE ARE SUPPORTED BY THE FRATERNITY OF THOSE PEOPLES WHO LOVE FREEDOM AND PEACE. BUT, THE LIBERATION WE ARE SEEKING WILL DEPEND ABOVE ALL ON OUR OWN EFFORTS," THE DECLARATION CONCLUDES. THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CONGRESS ALSO APPROVED SUCCESSIVELY LENGTHY RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY THE FOUR COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS WHICH WERE READ AT THE ROSTRUM BY THEIR RESPECTIVE PROPONENTS.

ALTHOUGH DEVOTED THEORETICALLY TO DIVERSE SUBJECTS SUCH AS NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION, AND THE JOINT ACTION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES, ALL THE RESOLUTIONS EXPRESS THE SAME ASPIRATIONS AS THOSE CONTAINED IN THE DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD ON SUPPORT FOR THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FOREIGN MONOPOLIES, THE REJECTION OF THE OAS AND THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIAL REMNANTS ON THE CONTINENT, AND THE REJECTION OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION CONTRARY TO INDIVIDUAL GUARANTEES AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

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JR*

CLIPPING SERVICES  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Subject British Guiana

Date APR - 5 1961 Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

## Br. Guiana May Follow Red Cuba

VANCOUVER — ~~Q~~ — British Guiana could become another Cuba when Britain relinquishes control over affairs in the South American country in August, says Dr. Rawle Farley, Guianian economist.

Interviewed while here as a lecturer, he declared:

"Guiana faces a critical choice. It can become another Cuba or it can follow the democratic examples of Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Trinidad.

"A Communist victory could be a severe economic blow to Canada and to British Columbia in particular. Guiana is a major supplier of bauxite for the Kitimat, B.C., smelter and is majority-owned by Canadians.

"One of the two banks in Guiana is the Royal Bank of Canada and that country is one of our leading export markets.

"The same thing that happened to United States industries in Cuba could well happen to Canadian investments in British Guiana.

"Communist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan and his People's Progressive Party have been governing cagily since election in 1957.

"Their actions are still subject to the British Government's veto until August.

"Jagan isn't going to make the mistake he made after his first election in 1953 when the governor ousted him for trying to organize a Communist state.

"But if he is returned in the first independent election, there is little doubt he will declare an open alliance with Moscow and Castro's Cuba.

"Jagan has already announced that Russia is ready to lend him \$110,000,000 to develop industry, and Castro has offered another \$5,000,000."

Mr. E. J. P. J.  
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9/1 R



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU

Reference: My Despatch No. 10 of January 2

Subject: Haya de la Torre's Return to Peru

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 65

Date: March 11, 1961

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
96	

References

Peru, being sixteen months away from general elections, which would bring a new regime into power for a six-year term, the time did not appear too premature for Haya de la Torre, the self-exiled founder and leader of APRA, to return to Peru. This he did on February 25 with a mass rally the size of which had seldom been seen in Peru. Spectacular and provocative as Haya de la Torre's return may be, his great rival, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, could not let this chance go by without answering Haya de la Torre with a mass meeting of his own. Thus, the election campaign which was due to culminate only in June 1962 was publicly opened in Peru. The two meetings are worthy of a report on new trends which are now appearing on the Peruvian political scene.

Haya's Return.

2. The Aprista unofficial newspaper La Tribuna had long been chanting that Haya de la Torre, their founder, would come back to Peru. Haya himself had intimated this more than once in the past year. He needed to come to Peru and see for himself what popular appeal he still enjoyed. His was a rather delicate position. During the last five years he had come to Lima perhaps once a year on a brief visit. While in Rome, where he has lived for some years, Haya de la Torre continued to issue directives to his party. Now that he wanted to return to Peru to stay, Haya de la Torre needed to feel the ground (*tâter le terrain*) in order to see how popular he still was in Peru and to let his old enemies know that he was not so dangerous after all.

Short History.

3. Haya de la Torre's position was a delicate one because his party had been declared illegal (not for the first time) after a series of troubles under the weak administration of the Bustamante government in 1948. Bustamante's Minister of War, General Manuel Odriá, had resigned and immediately started a quiet plot in Arequipa whence he marched on Lima and unseated Bustamante and declared a provisional military government which, including a rigged election in 1950, amounted to a benevolent dictatorship until 1956. Throughout Odriá's dictatorship APRA went underground and exercised no power until Manuel Prado, a presidential candidate in 1956, sought APRA's support in order to win an uncertain election. Because APRA helped him to gain

Internal Circulation

Distribution to Posts

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power, Prado restored the party's legal status. The party, however, did not run any candidate in the congressional election. Prado moreover rewarded APRA with one or two important appointments, including Manuel Seoane, the second-most-important Aprista figure, as Ambassador to The Hague and now re-appointed to Santiago. The informal arrangement under which APRA was to continue to support the oligarchic party of Manuel Prado became known as "la Convivencia" or co-existence.

4. Haya de la Torre since 1956 lived in self-exile in various cities of Europe, especially in Rome, whence approximately once a year he would pay a visit to his beloved party. The full organization of the party rested largely on the shoulders of his able Secretary-General, Ramiro Priale. Now the party had lived five years of a peaceful and inoffensive political term. It had almost completely abandoned its original Marxist ideals. Violence was rejected and only the more acceptable socialist aims were adopted: recognition of the right to unionize labour, to aspire to land reform, to establish popular representation, to educate the masses, etc. Haya de la Torre's image was constantly paraded as the great figure of the party. APRA has succeeded to an extent in preserving the support of the people. As a people's party its organization extends to every corner of Peru and in a sense this constitutes its greatest strength. APRA is recognized to be the largest and best organized party in this country.

#### The Long Speech.

5. The hour had now sounded for Haya's return. La Tribuna's bugle echoed the march of the coming hero. The formal date was February 20. Unfortunately, at the last minute, the United States airlines strike became an unexpected cog in the Aprista wheel. As a result Haya returned to Lima almost incognito on February 23 only to make his grand public entrance on February 25. This day will probably go down as a memorable one in the history of APRA. Never had such a massive meeting been held since 1956. The crowds paraded and chanted all evening until 11:30. Finally Haya entered the ground where the throngs had been expecting him and for fifteen minutes the crowd hailed him and shouted with joy.

6. Without presentation or any other speech, Haya got up and spoke for two hours and thirty-five minutes. His mild and reasonable tone, his brilliant oration endeared him even more to the masses who had been waiting to see him.

7. Haya expounded on the theme of "la Convivencia" or co-existence as practised not only in Peru between right and left but co-existence as observed on the international scene. "La Convivencia" he argued had been a necessity in Peru after Odriá's eight years of dictatorship like a convalescence after a long disease. Stability was necessary to all Peruvians before they could launch on new roads. Haya had really no apologies to make for the party's alliance with Manuel Prado, who, in the eyes of the people, embodied all the defects which Peru needed to correct: an oligarchic class ruling over a mass of backward and ignorant people. Yet Haya de la Torre urged his people to moderation during the year 1961 so that a better 1962 election would be achieved.

8. Haya had a strong punch for the defectors of his party. Obviously referring to the "APRA rebels", a party of philo-Communists, Haya accused them of having betrayed the peaceful ideas of the party for the cause of violence and revolution. By the same token Haya reiterated the anti-Communism of APRA. There was no use, he argued, in replacing tyrants of the right by tyrants of the left. Although he did not call Cuba by name it was obvious that this remark was directed

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against such regimes as that of Cuba. Finally Haya de la Torre expounded the great theme of the economic progress of Peru. Education, land reform, industrialization by means of foreign investments were his aims and those of his party. How could this old socialist reconcile foreign private ownership with the former aim of his party to nationalize Peru's natural resources? Haya argued that he was for "progressive nationalization". By this he meant that foreign capital could develop Peru, but eventually the Peruvians would have to become the owners of their country and means of production. Haya chided his former enemies for persecuting him in 1931 when he worked towards the creation of an Indo-American political party to include the workers of the other sister republics and urged the creation of a Latin American Common Market. Haya sent his adulating crowds home with shouts of "Pan y Libertad", "Bread and Freedom".

#### The Critics.

9. Haya de la Torre's speech was well received in Peruvian official circles and the pro-Government press. La Prensa of Premier Beltrán and La Cronica of the Prado family gave wide coverage to the public manifestation and hailed the speech as moderate and conducive to the stability of Peru as a mature country. La Prensa praised the anti-Communism of Haya de la Torre and lashed the extreme left elements and their demagogy. Editorial comments were brief and one gathered the impression that "la Convivencia" had become a somewhat more acceptable concept to the ruling class of Peru. The concept had definitely moved APRA from the extreme left party that it was to a moderate left-of-centre position.

10. El Comercio, the opposition daily, chose to ignore the return of Haya de la Torre completely. The long-standing resentment of the Miro Quesada family who own the paper, against the Apristas, who may have been partly responsible for the assassination of their father in 1936, continued to manifest itself in unrelenting hatred. Strong opposition was expressed in the influential bi-weekly Caretas which supports Fernando Belaúnde Terry, the leader of the Popular Action party (A.P.). It accused Haya de la Torre of having betrayed the ideals of his party originally formed to bring about a socialist revolution and to break the monopolies and privileges of the oligarchy. Haya had betrayed those of his followers who died in their attempt to bring this new order. "La Convivencia", it argued, had become a mere sacrifice of these ideals and a miserable subservience to the interests of Prado and the monopolies of foreigners.

#### Belaúnde's Meeting.

11. The morning after Haya de la Torre's speech, Belaúnde advertised in the press that he would hold a mass meeting the following Friday. The response of the people was spontaneous. Belaúnde enjoyed at least an advantage in that his was an Opposition party and therefore he could easily launch an attack on APRA and the Government as well. With less organization than APRA and a shorter notice, Belaúnde succeeded in rallying a massive crowd. His one-hour speech was more demagogic than that of Haya, the kind of violent speech that he was known to make. Belaúnde delivered the Government a hard blow and lashed repeatedly at "la Convivencia". Obviously referring to Haya de la Torre, Belaúnde argued that "la Convivencia" had been a device of the ruling class to nullify APRA's influence and that it had betrayed its ideals for a new order. He rammed his

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point that Haya favoured the "progressive nationalization" of the country's resources because his party was committed to support Beltrán's Government with respect to the proposed thirty-year concession to the International Petroleum Company which exploits the La Brea oilfield. In short, Belaúnde argued, "la Convivencia" had been a treason to the people, from which nothing had resulted. Peru was still subservient to foreign private interests, no land reform had been effected, the people were still hungry.

#### Candidates for the Presidency.

12. La Prensa conceded the next day that Belaúnde had gathered an imposing crowd in front of his headquarters in the heart of the city. Rival newspapers were at war as to which of the two leaders had rallied the greater mass of people. La Tribuna claimed that Haya's meeting had been 200,000 strong. Whereas no one would risk a figure on that of Belaúnde, La Prensa published an ingenious method of head-counting per square meter according to the density of the crowds (jam-packed; ten per square meter; compact; seven per sq. m.; etc....) and by means of drawing the street measurements and crowd density, invited the reader to figure out his own count. Even then, the rival newspapers accused La Prensa of cheating on the density drawing of the crowds. Most observers readily conceded that Haya had achieved greater success than Belaúnde. Taking La Prensa's count with a grain of salt, it registered as many as 56,000 people who attended Haya's meeting, and 29,000 that of Belaúnde. The figures do make sense as some observers claim that Haya's party is about thirty percent larger than Belaúnde's. (We are critical of Time's figure of 80,000 at the Haya rally).

13. The polemics were an indication that strong rival candidates would be contending for the Presidency in 1962. The capital was buzzing with rumors of new parties and new alliances. Was Belaúnde Terry to be a candidate? There could be no doubt about it. In the words of one editorialist, Belaúnde had never ceased to be a candidate since 1956, when he ran a close second against Manuel Prado. Belaúnde still claims that he should have won the last election, intimating that it was fraudulent. An attempt now being made by Congress to draw a tighter electoral statute is simply labelled as a new scheme for stealing the next election. There is no doubt that Belaúnde is a real force in Peru. He is known to enjoy the support of the small but effective Communist and philo-Communist parties, including the Social Progresistas led by Tito Gutierrez and the independent trouble-maker Alfonso Benavides Correa. Although he is not himself a Communist, Belaúnde is by definition a powerful figure of the extreme left who, if brought to power, would have to make large concessions to his Communist supporters.

14. Was Haya de la Torre a presidential candidate for 1962? Nobody, perhaps not even Haya himself, could answer this question definitely. By comparison with Belaúnde, Haya had now become a powerful figure of the left of centre. In his long speech, Haya had urged his people to live a good and moderate 1961 so that a better 1962 election could be achieved. Would the armed forces and the oligarchy forgive Haya his troublesome past? There was a possibility that Manuel Prado, who has no successor in view and cannot run for a subsequent term, might swing his party behind Haya de la Torre. Mariano Prado, the banker and cousin of Manuel and the big financial wheel behind his party still had doubts about Haya's full acceptability. There is no doubt that APRA would enjoy a greater say in Government affairs if this were to become a reality. Conceivably, APRA would become the dominating element in "la Convivencia".

- 5 -

15. What about Pedro Beltrán, the Premier and owner of La Prensa who, since July 1959, has put Peru's financial house in order? Although Beltrán would like to become President, he has no popular appeal and could hardly win any support by himself. Beltrán can only be seen as another Finance Minister whom the Peruvians dislike, but without whom the country might slide back into financial chaos. Moreover, any government will now prefer to have Beltrán within its ranks than outside, as a potentially strong critic through his influential newspaper.

16. General Manuel Odría was still in Washington, in self-exile. He had indicated his intention to return to Peru if the people wanted him. This seemed less likely after Haya de la Torre's return. The greater crowds had now rallied to Haya and Belaúnde. Besides, Odría who was efficient as a benevolent dictator, could hardly answer, in a free electoral campaign, for the abuses of his past administration.

17. All told, it seemed that as the financial conditions of the country remained fairly stable, the country was buzzing with plans for industrialization, land settlement and the development of natural resources, the Government could ride the obstacles constantly planted by the Opposition groups. The balance of power might still rest in "la Convivencia". In spite of Peru's precarious experience with democracy, it seemed that "la Convivencia" might be the only moderate banner under which this country would continue to move on the path of progress.

Ambassador.

NUMBERED LETTER

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
 EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,

CARACAS.

Reference: OUR DEFERRED TELEGRAM 13 OF MARCH 3

Subject: RENEWED CUBAN COMPLAINT AGAINST THE U.S.A.

: VENEZUELA.

Security:.....

No:..... 109

Date:..... MARCH 20, 1961

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:..... COURIER

Post File No:..... 17.20.7

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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To:	Mr. H. J. ...
XL	MAR 24 1961

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USSEA  
 USSEA (Mr. Campbell)  
 Mr. Ritchie

UN Dir

USA Dir  
 CCOS (4 copies)  
 DLZ

European  
 Far Eastern

Protocol

Latin American  
 (Mr. Fairford)

+ file

Done 2/3/61 P.W.

Internal  
 Circulation

X

Distribution  
 to Posts

President Betancourt replied, in effect, to both the Cuban Note and Guatemala's appeal when he read his Third Annual Message to Congress on Saturday, March 11. The essence of this reply, brief, sharp, and to the point, was as forecast in our telegram under reference.

2. After severely criticising Russian and Chinese intervention in the domestic affairs of other Latin American countries, the President recalled that his Government had had to present two diplomatic Notes of Protest, the first to the Cuban Government and the second to the United States (following its additional purchases of sugar from the Dominican Republic). With respect to Cuba the President said this:

"The first of the Notes was addressed to the Cuban Government when one of its most prominent officials insulted the President of Venezuela and the country itself by asking us publicly and in a defiant way to make the trip to Canossa - in this case, Havana - to be given rules to govern and administrate our country, from those who are managing and ruling Cuban affairs with methods very much their own and which we have no intention or desire to imitate. I would fail to be truthful if I said that our relations with the Cuban Government are friendly. Its regimented press, all of it in the Government's hands, has constantly been attacking Venezuela, its Government and institutions. We have had, therefore, to prohibit its circulation in this country because whereas we recognize the legitimate right of the Venezuelan press to criticize us, we cannot tolerate that official newspapers of other countries should judge with twisted bad faith the way in which we Venezuelans govern ourselves and act in political matters in the exercise of unrenounceable attributes of our sovereignty. Notwithstanding this situation, very clearly exposed, normal diplomatic relations are maintained with the Cuban Government and we must recognize that the issuance of safe-conducts to the many dozens of Cubans who have sought political asylum in our Embassy has not been denied.

".....

"The Venezuelan Government is worried about the strained situations which exist between the Cuban Government and other governments in the Continent. The Venezuelan Government believes that the way to reduce such strained relations is not through individual acts of mediation but rather through the ad hoc Commission of Good Offices which was established at the VII Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of

Foreign Affairs held at San Jose, Costa Rica. This Commission consists of Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Chile and Costa Rica. According to the Resolution under which it was set up, the people on the Commission should come from the highest level of their Governments. The Venezuelan Government is prepared to contribute along with the other members of the Commission, to the reaching of an understanding which might open ways to a solution of the differences which have arisen between the Cuban Government and other Governments in the Continent and to the re-entry of the Cuban Government to the inter-American legal system, with the responsibilities and guarantees that it entails."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. P. Cuillard". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "A" and a long, sweeping underline.

Ambassador.

50066-40

FM WASHDC MAR13/61 UNCLAS

TO EXTERNAL 790

REF OURTEL784 MARIO

PRESS ART ON DOMINICANREPUBLIC

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF EDITORIAL IN SAT MAR11 WASHDC POST IN CONNECTION WITH ART PUBLISHED IN SAME NEWSPAPER ON FRI MARIO ON DOMINICANREPUBLIC AND SIGNED BY A CDN BY THE NAME OF TENSEE. BEGINS.

THE DOMINICAN MACHETE

PRESIDENT ROMULO BETANCOURT OF VENEZUELA HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A VICIOUS ATTACK FROM DOMINICAN REPUBLIC THROUGH A PAID ADVERTISEMENT PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS. BY UNHAPPY INADVERTENCE THE ADVERTISEMENT ORIGINATING WITH THE QUOTE PRESS SOCIETY OF DOMINICANREPUBLIC UNQUOTE WAS PUBLISHED IN THIS NEWSPAPER YESTERDAY. IT PURPORTED TO QUOTE AN ART IN A CDN MAGAZINE, TAB, BY ONE JOE TENSEE EXTOLLING THE BENEFITS AND JOYS ACCRUING TO THE PEOPLE OF DOMINICAN POLICE STATE.

THE ATTACK WAS A MALODOROUS EXAMPLE OF THE VENDETTA BEING PROSECUTED BY TRUJILLO DICTATORSHIP AGAINST MR BETANCOURT AS WELL AS AGAINST STATE DEPT. USA SEVERED DIPLO RELATIONS WITH DOMINICAN REPUBLIC LAST SUMMER AFTER THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES TOOK UP CHARGES THAT TRUJILLO REGIME HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN A PLOT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT BETANCOURT. NOTWITHSTANDING ALL OF THIS TRUJILLO GOVT HAS BEEN WORKING ENERGETICALLY THROUGH ITS FRIENDS IN CONGRESS TO SECURE A PERMANENT PART OF THE FORMER CUBAN SUGAR QUOTA.

KENNEDY ADMIN IS KNOWN TO LOOK UPON PRESIDENT BETANCOURT AS ONE OF THE STAUNCHEST HOPES IN THE HEMISPHERE--AN ASSESSMENT IN WHICH THIS NEWSPAPER HEARTILY SHARES. AS A THOROUGHLY DEMOCRATIC MODERATE LEFTIST HE HAS PRESSED FORWARD WITH A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IN VENEZUELA AGAINST FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES. IT IS NOT RPT NOT SURPRISING THAT HE IS UNDER ATTACK FROM BOTH CIUDAD TRUJILLO AND HAVANA, FOR HE REPRESENTS A PROMISING ALTERNATIVE TO THE TOTALITARIAN TWINS, TRUJILLOISM AND CASTROISM. ENDS.

000423



I ribution "A"

C.R.U. Talk No. 2,036

EUROPEAN SERVICE

7th March 1961

GENERAL NEWS TALK

THE LATIN AMERICAN  
PEACE CONFERENCE

by Alfred Zauberman (S)

A meeting called the "Latin American Conference for Peace, National Sovereignty and Economic Emancipation" is in session in Mexico City. It is being attended by delegations from all Latin American Republics, with observers from the Sino-Soviet world and from some Western countries.

The political colouring of the conference is very strong. Its preparatory committee is headed by General Lazaro Gardenas, the ex-President of Mexico, now a member of the presidential committee of the World Peace Council (WPC). At least two more officials of the World Peace Council are also on the preparatory committee, including the Chilean Professor Olga Poblete de Espinosa, WPC secretary responsible specifically for Latin America. A WPC circular issued last January by its subsidiary body [the International Institute for Peace - IIP] gave the Mexico meeting an enthusiastic, paternal clear that the Mexico conference implements blessing; the WPC made it/its policy of regionally mobilising the so-called forces of peace. One may, in fact, be puzzled as to what the purpose is in disguising the transparent affiliation, indeed the transparent identity of the Mexico affair with the World Peace Council - a well-known world-wide Communist front organisation. Perhaps those in the know felt the disguise was needed for respectability.

The choice of the host country has probably been made with similar considerations in mind. Mexico is, of course, one of the leading countries of the continent. She has a revolution behind her. On the other hand, no-one could suggest that her regime is pro-communist.

24 lines - Continued:

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- 2 -

The agenda has a variety of subjects. It includes matters of indubitable and urgent interest to the underdeveloped regions - to name agrarian reforms and generally economic growth. But in the of the conference they are context / peculiarly slanted. For the agenda is distinctly dominated by the problem of Cuba. Incidentally, Cuba is represented at the conference by a strong delegation, headed by Mme. Vilma Espin de Castro, a well-known political figure and a sister-in-law of Dr. Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader. In anticipation of the decisions of the conference [and, of course, there isn't the slightest doubt as to how the conference will vote], the defence of Cuba is defined as a condition for world peace. Discussions on "imperialist intervention in Latin America" and "aggression on Cuba" are prominent items in the agenda. In fact, the President of the Mexico conference admitted during a press interview that it had been organised largely in support of Cuba. On another occasion - in a radio interview - he said the conference would have to express collective solidarity with Cuba, and he insisted that the cases of Guatemala and Cuba were evidence of lack of sovereignty in Latin America.

So here comes<sup>in</sup> the matter of sovereignty. It will be noted that, in addition to the familiar slogan of peace, this conference also has in its title those of sovereignty and economic emancipation. The WPC statement referred to by us a while ago stressed the anxiety about what it called threats from "the United States militarists". It would appear that these statements are well attuned to a note on Cuba-US relations, handed by the Cuban Government at the end of February to all Latin American diplomatic representatives in Havana. The document, which has been given an exceptional publicity by the Soviet press, would seem to be so timed as to form a prelude to the Mexico conference. It, also, talks of Latin American solidarity, of the need to preserve the sovereignty of Latin American countries, and condemns what it calls the American - that is the US - "policy of violence". It is clear, then, that what parades as yet another peace conference / has been organised as a move in the cold war carried into the Western hemisphere.

33 lines

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Total: 57 lines

CLIPPING SERVICES  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

*Latin American*

*Let...*  
*U.S.A.*  
*DL 2*

Date **MAR 11 1961**

Publication

**NEW YORK TIMES**

**The Mexican Conference**

2

The sensationally heralded "Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace" has come and gone in Mexico City without making a sensation. It can be considered a failure.

The advance notices threatened a meeting that would rally Latin-American opinion to *Fidelismo* and against the United States. As it turned out, there was more *comunismo* than *Fidelismo*. The final resolutions were mainly in the same old Communist line—against "American economic imperialism" and the Monroe Doctrine, for an independent Puerto Rico and a free Panama Canal Zone. There was a section and many speeches in favor of the Cuban revolution, but the emphasis was elsewhere.

The conference, in short, was another proof that *Fidelismo* is being weakened in the hemisphere by its alliance with communism. No important Latin-American liberals took part in the meeting with the exception of former President Lázaro Cárdenas, who again puzzled and disappointed his friends and admirers by lending his impressive name and prestige to a conference that did not represent things for which he has stood. His own address to the meeting was moderate and was not anti-Yankee.

Despite widespread beliefs in the United States, Lázaro Cárdenas is not anti-American and he certainly never was, and is not, a Communist. His position in history is that of the Mexican patriot and champion of the people, who completed the program of the Mexican Revolution in his Presidential term from 1934 to 1940. He has spent his life in behalf of the Mexican peasants, and he belongs in the line of the humanistic, liberal traditions of Latin America.

Lázaro Cárdenas was a great revolutionary, but like Fidel Castro he does not seem to have realized that communism is an alien and essentially counter-revolutionary force. Latin-American ideals and aspirations lose attraction when presented in Communist guise, and the "Peace" meeting that just ended in Mexico City is one more proof of that.

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FM WASHDC MAR10/61 RESTD  
TO EXTERNAL 784

LOCAL PRESS ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO CDA

THIS MORNINGS WASHDC POST CARRIES A HALF-PAGE ADVERTISEMENT ENTITLED QUOTE A CDN WRITER REPORTS ON THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC UNQUOTE PAID FOR BY THE QUOTE PRESS SOCIETY OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC UNQUOTE. THE ARTICLE IS SIGNED BY A JOE TENSEE, APPARENTLY PUBLISHER OF A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER CALLED TAB WITH HQS IN TORONTO. IT SEEMS THAT TENSEES REPORT ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN THE FEB18/61 ISSUE OF TAB SUBSEQUENT TO A VISIT BY THE AUTHOR TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

2. A FAIR SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE LIES IN ITS SUB HEADING: QUOTE FINDS TRUJILLO IS MILITANTLY ANTI-COMMUNIST, FINDS DOMINICAN PEOPLE PROUD AND PROSPEROUS UNQUOTE. TENSEE INDEED, BURNS INCENSE TO THE GENERA- LISSIMO AND COMMENDS HIM GENEROUSLY AS THE TRUE BENEFACOR OF THE DR PEOPLE. HE THEN GOES ON TO CRITICIZE THE COLLECTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE OAS MEMBERS UNDER THE USA LEADERSHIP AGAINST TRUJILLO IN THE WAKE OF THE ATTEMPT ON BETANCOURTS LIFE. THE LATTER IS INCIDENTALLY LABELLED A QUOTE NOTORIOUS PEDARAST UNQUOTE. THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES BY REITERATING A WISH REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED BEFORE BY USA SENATOR ALLEN ELLENDER (D. LA.) THAT QUOTE FOR THE GOOD OF THE HEMISPHERE THERE WERE A TRUJILLO IN EVERY COUNTRY IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA UNQUOTE.

3. IN THE SAME ISSUE OF THE WASHDC POST, INTERNATIONAL LATEX CORP OF NY HAS A COLUMN QUOTE PRESENTED AS A PUBLIC SERVICE UNQUOTE. THE ARTICLE DEALS WITH QUOTE CONTAGIOUS UNQUOTE DIVISIVENESS OF THE WESTERN WORLD QUOTE IN FACE OF MENACING RUSSIA AND CHINA UNQUOTE. NATO, THE UNO, LAOS, CONGO, THE COMMON MARKET, ETC ARE MENTIONED AS AREAS OR ORGANIZATIONS WHERE AN INCREASE OF CONSULTATION IS BADLY NEEDED. A MENTION OF CDA IS MADE IN THE ARTICLE. IT READS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, THE CUBAN TRAGEDY IS TOYED WITH BY IRRESPONSIBLE AND NOISY POLITICIANS NOT RPT NOT ONLY IN SOME OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF LATINAMERICA, BUT IN HIGHLY-INDUSTRIA- LIZED CDA: WORSE STILL, THE RIFT BETWEEN CDA AND USA THREATENS THE

PAGE TWO 784

ENTIRE HEMISPHERE UNQUOTE.

THE ARTICLE ENDS QUOTE LETS NOT RPT NOT DISSIPATE OUR STRENGTH BY  
FRAGMENTATION, LEST FREEDOM GO THE WAY OF THE DINOSAURS. UNQUOTE

4. CLIPPINGS OF BOTH THESE ARTICLES ARE BEING FORWARDED BY BAG.

## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

Latin American

Lat Am  
L-2

Date

MAR - 9 1961

Publication

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

# Mexico Parley Lifts Red Flag

By Marion Wilhelm

Special Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Mexico City

Latin-American leftists ended a four-day conference here Wednesday with a bold bid to take their countries into the Communist bloc.

Sweeping aside all pretense at neutralist aims in the cold war, the Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation, and Peace terminated in a rash of Communist-line slogans rejecting the Organization of American States and OAS declarations which oppose Communist intervention in the Americas.

"The works of the Cuban revolution show us the way to end foreign domination," said the final statement approved by the some 250 delegates who came from the 20 Latin-American republics.

## Condemnations Hurled

In bold succession, the resolutions went on to condemn:

- The OAS as "an instrument of North American imperialist penetration among the peoples of Latin America which never has fulfilled nor can fulfill what it set out to do."

- Multilateral or bilateral treaties and agreements which revive the Monroe Doctrine, including the San José, Costa Rica, declaration condemning "extracontinental intervention" and the Rio de Janeiro agree-

ment that an attack on any American state is an attack on all.

- Military pacts and missions, economic and technical missions, and press groups such as the Inter American Press Association (which was meeting simultaneously in Acapulco).

- The "ideology of anticommunism as an attempt to divide peoples and for imperialist penetration."

Under the leadership of Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of Mexico and still influential in the left wing of the official Mexican Revolutionary Party, the "peace congress" in effect was attacking the anti-Communist administration of President López Mateos—which remained coolly indifferent to the leftist meeting in an apparent attempt to disassociate its aims from both the government and the Mexican people.

In this sense, the leftist meeting was a failure. It did not draw out non-Communist supporters of the Cuban revolution in anywhere near the proportions expected, limiting the Mexican participation primarily to hard-core Communists or fellow travelers.

## All-Out Drive Scented

In continental terms, however, it impressed most observers as the beginning of an all-out Soviet-Cuban campaign to enlist the Latin-American countries in the ideological fight against the United States. Many of the Soviet Union's veteran campaigners in the Americas were on hand for the rally. Soviet and Communist Chinese observers came over for the occasion.

The appearance of 28 Cubans set off wild cheers of "Cuba sí, Yanquis no" led by Raúl Castro's revolutionary wife and envoy to the meeting.

The only enigmatic figure among the peace doves and slogans was the aging general to whom many Latin-American intellectuals, peasants, and workers have looked over the years for leadership of liberal democratic American goals.

General Cárdenas now was speaking the Communist lingo of the cold war.

Asked before the congress if he had turned Communist, General Cárdenas replied quite clearly: "Can anyone be against an ideology that is trying to solve the problems of the masses?"

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# DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act  
Document divulgué en vertu de la loi sur l'accès à l'information

Subject *Latin American*

Date

MAR - 8 1961

Publication

LONDON TIMES

## LATIN AMERICAN PEACE RALLY

### 'BOYCOTT' BY MEXICAN PRESS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MEXICO CITY

A "Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace" arranged by ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas of Mexico, Congressman Alberto Velasco of Brazil, and Señor Alberto Casella of Argentina, is being held in Mexico City, this week.

The communist-affiliated fortnightly *Política*, which has publicized the preparations, calls the event a "Latin American Bandung", although there is the difference that no Latin American government is sponsoring the present conference. It evidently has the blessing of the World Peace Council, of which the three sponsors are members.

The absence of publicity in the national newspapers gives credence to an allegation of General Cárdenas that there has been a boycott even of his paid announcements. He said in a statement to correspondents of foreign newspapers that "the imperialist press is blocking free expression of thought in the national press, both in Mexico and throughout Latin America. . . . The Mexican revolution made freedom of the press a reality, and the counter-revolutionary press . . . should not lend itself to the suppression of this achievement."

Dr. Castro's new powerful radio transmitter for "diffusing his point of view" is expected to be ready in time for the conference. One Mexican newspaper has claimed that Cuba is spending over £70m. in financing the conference. This was denied by General Cárdenas, who said the total cost would be under £5m., of which Mexico was paying all expenses within the country, funds having been collected from "Mexicans of medium or strained circumstances. No millionaires have been asked to contribute." One United States journalist asked: "Are you suggesting that millionaires cannot possibly favour peace?" The laughter was not shared by the General.

### NO SCREENING

He went on to assure correspondents that there would be no screening of organizations seeking to attend the conference, which would be open to all movements and sectors of public life in Latin America and to observers from other continents. He mentioned specifically the United States, Canada and the Chinese People's Republic.

The call to the meeting says that an intense process of change is today motivating peoples, their objectives being "the conquest of freedom and the enjoyment of democratic rights; the defence of sovereignty and the furthering of independence and economic development; and the satisfaction of the urge toward education and culture". The achievement of permanent peace is the common denominator of these aspirations.

Latin America, the leaflet says, is intimately concerned. Its people do not want to go on living in misery, ignorance, and insanitary conditions, at the mercy of foreign tyranny.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject.....

Date *Mar. 8, 1961*

Publication *St. Catharines Standard*

He's Still Mexico's Master

# Cardenas, the Man Behind The World Peace Council

By BERT QUINT  
Herald Tribune News Service

MEXICO CITY — Master of a nation, beloved by millions, and understood by few. That, in an oversimplified way is the story of perhaps the most powerful man to come onto the Latin American scene in the 20th century — a man who was born a peasant, became a president, and then helped to rule his country from behind the throne for more than 20 years.

It is the story of Lazaro Cardenas, who has been called a socialist, a communist, a liberal and a democrat, and yet obeys the mandates of no party, not even that which he helped to found a generation ago and which still governs Mexico.

For the first time since 1940, when Gen. Cardenas' six-year term as president of Mexico ended, the entire world — through the eyes of its news correspondents here — recently had the opportunity to look closely at this man who has become an enigma and even a legend in his own lifetime.

While Gen. Cardenas has traveled widely, especially in the communist countries, after leaving public office, this was his first conference with the foreign press in Mexico since he returned to private life.

And this conference he was forced to give in order to get

publicity for the cause he is currently espousing, that of the red-tinted World Peace Council, whose Latin American branch is now holding a meeting in Mexico City. The Mexican government, embarrassed by the Council convention, has tried to keep it quiet and Mexican newspapers and magazines have given it practically no publicity.

To get around this news blackout in his own country — a conspiracy of the Mexican press and foreign forces, he calls, it — Gen. Cardenas invited correspondents from other nations to question him.

Some 20-odd newsmen from the United States, England, the Soviet Union, and other countries, many of whom long had tried vainly to arrange interviews with the general — accepted the invitation, curious to learn what kind of a man Lazaro Cardenas really is. After more than an hour of questions and answers, ranging from what Gen. Cardenas believes is the threat of armed aggression facing Fidel Castro's Cuba to the United Nations, which he says has failed to live up to its

stated principles, they still weren't sure.

There were many questions they would have asked had they thought they would be answered, questions like whether the general still is the kingmaker of Mexican politics as many insist he is; whether he really is a communist, as some say and as others deny; and why, if he is not a communist, is he an officer of the Moscow-based World Peace Council.

There is reason for puzzlement about Gen. Cardenas. He has been an unconventional figure since the years when he fought in Mexico's revolution and the period following it when he made his mark in politics, first as governor of Michoacan State and in 1934-'40, as president.

When Lazaro Cardenas assumed the highest office in the Republic it was as a puppet for Plutarco Elias Calles, who himself had been president and who intended to control the government through the men he placed in that office. But unlike other candidates, Cardenas had gotten out into the country, met the people, and gained their support. Unlike other puppet presidents, he had put his own machine into operation and strengthening his position with all sorts of such a point that

after two years he was able to place the Jefe Maximo, Calles, on a plane bound for the United States and exile.

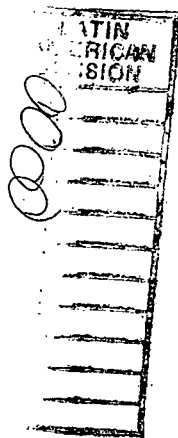
During the next four years, Gen. Cardenas gave more land to the peasants of Mexico than had been distributed since the revolution fought for "land and freedom" had begun in 1910. But what gained him international attention was his expropriation of foreign oil holdings. This came on March 18, 1938, after a bitter and costly strike of refinery and field workers. The Supreme Court had ruled in favor of the workers and the companies had failed to comply with the court's ruling. When foreigners refused to obey Mexican law, Gen. Cardenas acted, thus setting the stage for other nationalizations, including that of the foreign-owned electric power industry last year.

Throughout the years, he has been considered by many as a communist. And there have been indications that he is despite the fact that he apparently does not hold a card. He has been awarded the Stalin Peace Prize, has visited the communist countries and been welcomed by them as a hero, has enacted measures that are radical, even for the traditionally mod-

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## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject.....

Date.....Publication.....

erate socialist Mexican government, and is now heading a conference whose chief aims include the "unification of Latin American countries and elements against the threat of invasion of Cuba by foreign forces," i.e., the United States.

Others point to the fact that it was Gen. Cardenas who offered a haven for Leon Trotsky in the 1930's after Trotsky had broken with Stalin. They say that he seeks only the liberty and betterment of the poor individual, and that he does not care which groups he joins forces with in order to achieve what he believes is right.

In his mid-60s now, Gen. Cardenas appears to have changed little over the past 20 years. His thick black mustache is grayer and his hard, military figure has developed a paunch. But, the correspondents who interviewed him noted, there was still an idealistic determination in the quiet way he spoke, a frankness in his dark eyes as he answered questions.

His words seemed in many cases to echo the party line, especially when he talked of how "the pressure of imperialism is impeding the free expression of thought in Mexico and other Latin American countries" and of "economic colonialism." But for many of those present, it was hard to imagine this man echoing anything but his own thoughts.

And as opposed to their own way of thinking as some of these thoughts were to the correspondents from the Western nations, it was easy for them to see why Lazaro Cardenas has played and continues to play such an important part in the politics of his country.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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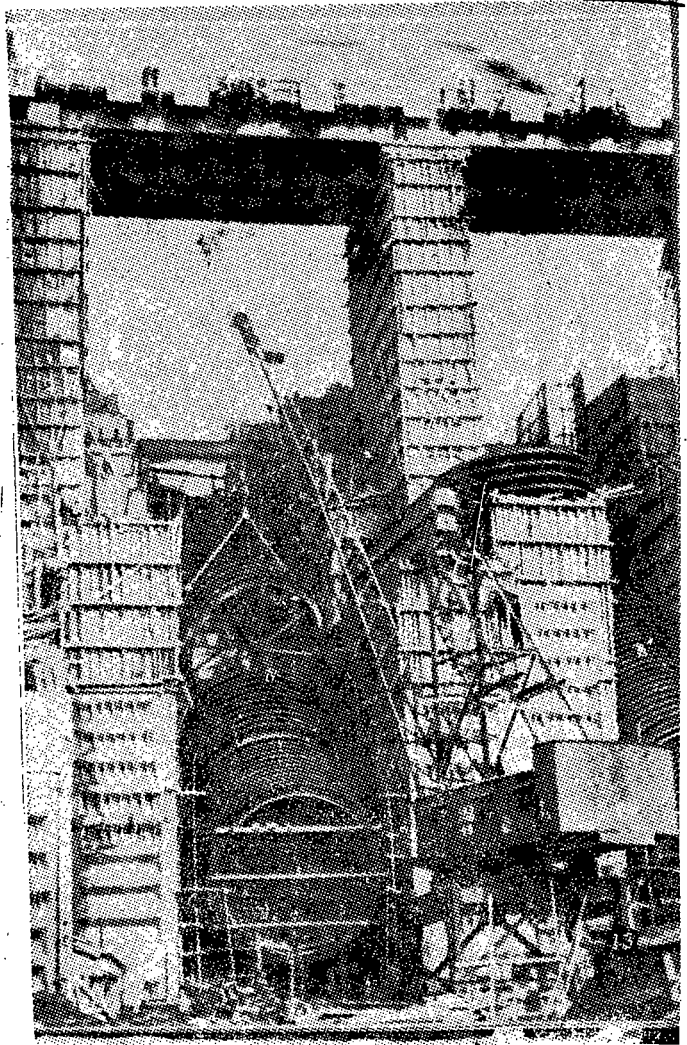
Subject China Illustrada emphasizes the success of the Communes

Date March 7, 1961 Publication The Globe and Mail

## Progresos en la Garganta de Sanmen

Fotos LI YUN-WU

LA construcción de la planta de obra hidráulica en la Garganta de Sanmen, en el río Amarillo, en la provincia de Jonán, está llegando a la etapa en que las aguas de inundación pueden ser completamente controladas. Por el 9 de diciembre del año pasado, no menos de un millón de metros cúbicos de hormigón habían sido vaciados, y se habían colocado 6.500 toneladas de estructura metálica. La obra es de alta calidad y los costos se redujeron enormemente.



China Illustrada emphasizes the success of the communes.

## In Latin America, Peking Pushes Its Own Brand of Communism

By JOHN D. HARBRON

Among the trade and cultural missions of over half a dozen Communist countries who now live and work in Castro's Cuba the representatives of the far-off People's Republic of China are becoming more and more obvious. To foreign observers still permitted to visit Cuba these days comes the uneasy feeling that once opulent Havana, the haven of North America's most colorful gamblers and speculators, has already become the jumping-off point for the cool, practiced hardcore Communists from Peking who will spark Red China's ideological offensive in Latin America.

Using Havana as their base (last fall Cuba became the first country in the Western Hemisphere to recognize Communist China) some of these officials of Red China not only signed a substantial barter and trade treaty with

Fidel Castro, but have made clear their support of Cuba's agrarian-type revolution. They see it as a smaller but parallel version of their own immense land communization program begun in 1950 and they are now ready to openly support all other agrarian reform movements in the Americas seeking Cuban aid.

What interests Western specialists on Latin America even more is that Red China's push in this politically volatile area of the world is being undertaken independently of the Soviet Union's similar and longtime ideological activities in this region.

Speeches by Red China's top leaders dealing with the Americas rarely refer to the Soviet Union's role there. On Oct. 9, 1960, Lu Hsu-chang, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, People's Republic of China, in a major policy speech over Peking radio, entitled his talk, The Militant Friendships of the Chinese and Cuban Peoples, following his own visit to Havana

Whether or not top level rifts now exist between Soviet and Chinese Communist leaders, there are good reasons for Peking's determination to go it alone in Latin America.

Communist China's appeal to the land-hungry millions of the Americas is to follow her example in massive, communal land reform. Peking says "if the 600,000,000 people of China could do it, so can 200,000,000 of Latin America." The Soviet and Russian statelike appeal, on the other hand, is to make available modern plant equipment, finished industrial goods and machinery from the Communist Bloc to "ideologically alert" nations such as Cuba and to others in the region which could be convinced to be so, such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil.

Russia's last great land collectivization policy took place in the far-off 1920s and was accomplished with a great deal of clumsiness which the Red Chinese avoided in the 1950s.

Many of the leaders of Castro's revolution, including Captain Nunez Jimenez, the ex-geography teacher who heads the all-embracing

INRA (Nation Agrarian Reform Institute), have said the land reform basis of their social upheaval bears a close relationship to Communist Chinese communes systems. Cuba, they say, is neither rushing into forced industrialization as did the USSR, nor is it for the moment concerned with technological independence. In any case, a string of barter and low-interest credit arrangements with all the Soviet satellites and the USSR itself, will hopefully meet Cuba's needs.

This explains the establishment in Havana of the first major Communist Chinese trade, diplomatic and political network outside of Asia. Today, Peking's Latin American apparatus includes a full-scale Western Hemisphere Service (the only one outside of Asia).

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

P. 7

Subject China Illustrada emphasizes the success of the Communes

Date March 7, 1961 Publication The Globe and Mail

50066-40

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A series of trade and aid treaties, usually with Latin American states short of American or European currencies to buy goods resulted in \$70,000,000 in trade with Brazil in 1960. This is much greater than the \$30,000,000 in trade between Brazil and Communist Czechoslovakia last year.

The Chinese cultural penetration of the Americas kicked off last year with the visit of the Peking Opera to Havana's Palace of Fine Arts. But it is continued on a day-to-day basis through Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts beamed to the Americas by Peking short wave radio.

The most outstanding cultural visit to China during 1960 was not from Cuba, but from Brazil. This included 120 Brazilian writers, businessmen, six judges, labor leaders and even one samba band! Though Luis Carlos Prestes, Brazil's top Communist and perhaps the leading Communist boss in the Americas outside of Cuba, had gone to China earlier. In Peking, the above list revealed a surprising number of non-Communist, even internationally known Brazilians such as Erico Verissimo, the novelist, and Candido Portinari, the painter.

In Peking and the larger Chinese cities, fully staffed and newly created state organizations, such as "The China-Latin-American Society" and the Cuban Section of the Foreign Relations Institute, invite both Latin-American leaders, as well as students to visit and study in China.

Red China's activities are now widely reported in the Communist and left-wing press of the Americas. Communist dailies as geographically distant as *El Singlo* (The Seal) Santiago, Chile, and *Hoy* (Today), Havana, subscribe to Hsin-hua's news bulletins. The Nov. 4, 1960 issue of *Hoy*, Cuba's restored, powerful Communist daily, reported on the visit of Jose R. Machado, Castro's Minister of Public Health, to Liu Shao-chi, the President of Communist China.

Red China's own propaganda magazines in the Americas include the glossy and promotional Spanish-language monthly *China Illustrada* (China Illustrated) which emphasizes success in farming the communes.

Ominously silent in the face of Red China's new interest in this part of the world, are Latin America's own Chinese communities. Strongly anti-Communist and made up almost entirely of successful artisans and businessmen, they have watched Peking's penetration with much concern.

Now subject to the full pressure of Peking's representatives in Cuba and to Cuba's own nationalization laws, their plight is even worse than that of their fellow disinherited Cuban citizens.

Mr. Harbron is editor of *Executive Magazine*, Toronto, and is a student of Latin-American affairs.

Copyright, 1961

## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

Latin America

Date MAR - 7 1961

Publication TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

# In Latin America, Peking Pushes Its Own Brand of Communism

By JOHN D. HARBON

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Russia's last great land collectivization policy took place in the far-off 1920s and was accomplished with a great deal of clumsiness which the Red Chinese avoided in the 1950s.

Many of the leaders of Castro's revolution, including Captain Nunez Jimenez, the ex-geography teacher who heads the all-embracing

INRA (Nation Agrarian Reform Institute), have said the land reform basis of their social upheaval bears a close relationship to Communist Chinese communes systems. Cuba, they say, is neither rushing into forced industrialization as did the USSR, nor is it for the moment concerned with technological independence. In any case, a string of barter and low interest credit arrangements with all the Soviet satellites and the USSR itself, will hopefully meet Cuba's needs.

This explains the establishment in Havana of the first major Communist Chinese trade, diplomatic and political network outside of Asia. Today, Peking's Latin American apparatus includes a full-scale Western Hemisphere branch of Hsin-hua, New China News Service (the only one outside of Asia).

Red China's activities are now widely reported in the Communist and left-wing press of the Americas. Communist dailies as geographically distant as El Singlo (The Seal) Santiago, Chile, and Hoy (Today), Havana, subscribe to Hsin-hua's news bulletins. The Nov. 4, 1960 issue of Hoy, Cuba's restored, powerful Communist daily, reported on the visit of Jose R. Machado, Castro's Minister of Public Health, to Liu Shao-chi, the President of Communist China.

Red China's own propaganda magazines in the Americas include the glossy and promotional Spanish-language monthly China Ilustrada (China Illustrated) which emphasizes success in farming the communes.

Ominously silent in the face of Red China's new interest in this part of the world, are Latin America's own Chinese communities. Strongly anti-Communist and made up almost entirely of successful artisans and businessmen, they have watched Peking's penetration with much concern.

Now subject to the full pressure of Peking's representatives in Cuba and to Cuba's own nationalization laws, their plight is even worse than that of their fellow disinherited Cuban citizens.

Mr. Harbron is editor of Executive Magazine, Toronto, and is a student of Latin American affairs.

File  
50066-40  
JR 000435

NUMBERED LETTER

RESTRICTED

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.  
The Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires

FROM: .....

Reference:.....  
ECUADORIAN INITIATIVE FOR JOINT

Subject:.....  
ACTION REGARDING USA-CUBAN DISPUTE

Security:.....

No:..... 113

February 24, 1961

Date:.....

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Enclosures:.....

Air

Air or Surface Mail:.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.	
500 66-40	

References

oy on 2444-40  
cc 12 797-40

The Argentine government has published a note which was sent to the Foreign Minister of Ecuador in reply to the latter's suggestion that the Latin American Republics take some initiative to resolve the differences between Cuba and the United States. I am attaching a translation of this note.

2. There have been press references to the Paraguayan reaction to a similar request from Ecuador. I am also attaching a translation of an article from La Prensa of February 22 relating to the Paraguayan answer.

Internal  
Circulation

W. N. LAWTON

(for the)

Ambassador

Distribution  
to Posts

50066-40

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Distribution "A"

From: Central Research Unit

8th February 1961

TALKS AND BACKGROUND NOTES BY THE CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

The following material has been issued by the  
Central Research Unit during JANUARY 1961:

SOVIET AFFAIRS - GENERAL

GNT.	11.1.61	Central Committee and 22nd Party Congress
	16.1.61	Central Committee and Soviet Agriculture
	20.1.61	Central Committee and Agricultural Problems
	27.1.61	USSR Production Statistics

NON-RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLICS

GNT.	5.1.61	Soviet Colonisation and Kazakhstan
	10.1.61	Kazakhstan Premier Dismissed
	16.1.61	Armenian Communist Party Troubles
	18.1.61	Turkmen and Other Agricultural Problems
	19.1.61	Moslems in Russia

Background Note No.:

1,593	Ideological Troubles in Lithuania
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AFRO-ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA - GENERAL

Background Note No.:

1,580	Soviet Public Opinion on Africa Asia and Latin America
1,585	Soviet Equipment for Under-Developed Countries
1,586	Afro-Asian and Latin American Students in Communist Countries

AFRICA

GNT.	5.1.61	Sekou Touré and Tito
	17.1.61	Sekou Touré's Visit to the Balkans

Background Note No.:

1,587	The Sino-Soviet Bloc and the Nations of North and West Africa
1,591	Further Increase of Communist Radio Propaganda to Africa
1,594	Chinese Minorities in Africa
1,597	Soviet Propaganda on Aid to Ghana
1,582	Communist Duplicity Towards the United Arab Republic

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PLEASE TURN OVER...

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## ASIA

GNT. 9.1.61 Soviet Arms for Indonesia  
23.1.61 Russia, China and Rapprochement  
24.1.61 China's Crisis

### Background Note No.:

1,583 Laos Who's Who  
1,589 Moscow, Peking and the Indian Communists

## LATIN AMERICA

### Background Note No.:

1,581 The Condition of the Working Class in Cuba  
1,584 Communism in Uruguay  
1,588 Cuba's Trade Pacts with the Sino-Soviet Bloc  
1,592 Communism in Peru

## EUROPE

GNT. 13.1.61 Moscow Looks at the Balkans  
26.1.61 French Communist Split  
31.1.61 Eastern Europe and the President's Message

### Background Note No.:

1,590 Soviet Press Attacks on Greece  
1,595 Italian Communist Setbacks  
1,596 The Swedish C.P. Today

## CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Distribution "X"

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Background Note No. 1,604

9th February 1961

COMMUNIST CONFERENCE ON AGRARIAN  
PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The current number of the international Communist journal, World Marxist Review (January 1961) publishes an "exchange of views" on the agrarian problem and the "national liberation" movement. The prime importance of the agrarian issue for the economic, social and political development of all retarded countries, focusses on it the attention of the Communist international leadership. The subject was discussed at conferences held more or less simultaneously in September last in Havana and Bucharest, under the joint auspices of the editors of World Marxist Review, of the theoretical journal of the Cuban "Popular Socialist Party" Fundamentos and of the Institute of Economics of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences. Contributions were made by Communist leaders and theoreticians, described as "Marxists" from 27 countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, in addition to those from the U.S.S.R. and her satellites (China was a significant absentee). The editors of World Marxist Review have reproduced a few selected papers and promised to publish some more. "Conscious of the complexity and importance of the subject" they hope for a "joint discussion" in the columns of their journal.

What strikes perhaps most in the papers published so far on the agrarian problem is how Communist attitudes are finely adjusted to conform with Soviet policy in respect to a given country. This will be brought out in the few excerpts quoted below.

1. India: Extreme caution is evident in the treatment of India's problems. The Indian Communist Party is evidently concerned not to embarrass unduly Moscow's policy of ostentatious friendship with the leading Asian Power. The Indian representative at the agrarian conference, E.M.S. Namboodiripad restates the demands of his party which are:

"Vesting of ownership rights in all tenants, regardless of the tenure under which they hold their land today, subject to restricted right of resumption by small owners. Full security for share-croppers against eviction; imposition of a ceiling on all peasant holdings without exemption barring plantations, and distribution of surplus land to evicted tenants, agricultural labourers and poor peasants; free distribution to agricultural labourers and poor peasants of all cultivable waste lands; reorganisation of the tax structure in such a way that the tax burden on the poorer sections is substantially reduced. Immediate reduction of all direct and indirect taxes which weigh heavily on the rural poor and cancellation of unjust taxes; breaking up of the monopoly trading interests in food-

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expansion of state-trading and ensuring a fair price for agricultural produce; freeing of peasants from usurious debt and provision of adequate cheap credit by government and cooperatives; fixing minimum wages and provision of work and employment for agricultural labourers; democratisation of rural administration."

While criticising governmental policy in general for failing to change materially land, social and cultural relations, and adequately<sup>to</sup>/raise outputs, the Indian Communist spokesman acknowledges certain beneficial effects of the policies pursued: "we have to recognise - he says - the advances registered in the direction of curbing feudalism, raising productivity and facilitating the organisation of a new life of the rural poor".

2. Algeria: From the Communist point of view the purely agrarian issue is overlaid in Algeria by a complicated national dilemma with obvious international implications. This aspect tempers radicalism, as can be seen from this statement of the Communist line. The Party - the Algerian spokesman at the conference, A. Boudiaf, says:

"- relies for support on the agricultural labourers, on the khammeses, on the poor and middle peasants - the lower strata of the peasantry;  
- it will pursue the policy of alliance with the upper strata of the middle peasants, with those of the rich peasants and landlords who are loyal to the national cause (in this category there are from 20,000 to 22,000 farms);  
- it will seek to isolate the big feudal landowners, many of whom have joined with the colonialists. Their land shall be confiscated without compensation. But among the feudal landowners there are those who, adopting the policy of wait-and-see, are playing a double game - they send their sons to the National Liberation Army and give material aid to the revolution. In regard to this group matters are more complicated and they should be resolved by the peasant organisations themselves which in each case may fix the scale of compensation. Here it is necessary to make distinction between the feudal boys and the middle and rich peasants who practise feudal methods of exploitation (leasing land to the khammeses);  
- it should work to win over the European settlers who have been deceived by the enemy; they should not be excluded from the lists of those who are entitled to receive land under the agrarian reform;  
- it should neutralise the middle-class settler without taking away his land which is but an insignificant part of the total."

The programme, it will be noted, is formulated so as not to isolate the Communists from the nationalist movement. A parallel objective is also to avoid giving an impression of an anti-French slant in Communist policy.

3. Iran: Another special case is that of Iran. In accord with the well-known line of Soviet policies there the principal target

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of attacks is the Shah personally: his decision to sell a part of his landed estates is attributed to a realisation by "imperialist circles, especially the Americans" of the need for some reforms since "violence, police terror and dictatorship cannot solve the contradictions springing from the survivals of feudal relations in agriculture". A further reason is the need of the "imperialists" for increased quantities of agricultural produce". In contrast to his Indian opposite number the Iranian spokesman, K. Nouri, has no inhibition in talking of a "revolution" and a "revolutionary government". The aim of the Party (cryptically referred to as "the working class") on the agrarian front, is however, so framed as not to frighten off potential "bourgeois" allies:

"The gist of the economic programme offered by the working class to the three sections of the peasantry is as follows: abolition of the landlord system and the transfer of landlord property to the peasants through confiscation in the land, water sources and other means of farm production, without compensation in the case of the feudal estates and landlords who have acted as enemies of the people, and with compensation in the case of the big landowners upholding the national interests; annulment of the crushing debt burden borne by the poor peasants and owed to the banks, landlords and usurers; aid to the middle peasants and guarantees to the rich farmers that their property and holdings will remain intact.

As regards land belonging to the national bourgeoisie and various enterprises operating on a capitalist footing, the revolutionary government should promote the consolidation of a united front of the national forces simultaneously with the abolition of feudal relations and the big estates. This would involve the purchase of such lands at a fair price. If the land belonging to the state and religious institutions be added to the foregoing, a substantial reserve will be available for providing land and means for the peasants who have not enough land or none at all."

4. Colombia: From a certain angle Iran may be bracketed together with a country in a far away continent - Colombia. There too the target of the Communist attack is American "imperialists"; indeed in Latin America, at the U.S.A.'s doorstep, they are even more the direct target. Here too, a revolution is explicitly mentioned, one in which Communists should build up an "alliance" with other forces. G. Vieira the Colombian Communist recalls that:

"In its policy statement the Communist Party of Colombia has called for "a democratic agrarian reform" which means that big latifundias should be confiscated and the land, machines, implements and draught animals transferred gratis to the landless peasants and those with small plots to whom the government should present title-deeds; the land granted as concession to the North American imperialists should likewise be confiscated. The Party has helped to draft an

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agrarian reform bill which was submitted to Congress by the peasant leader Verela and members of parliament belonging to the Liberal Revolutionary Movement. The draft stipulates that the maximum holding should be 400 hectares and that everything in excess of this figure should be expropriated. ...the draft suggests that no compensation be paid if the holdings in question are not used in conformity with public interests."

5. U.A.R.: In the Kremlin's tactics the United Arab Republic has long since been making a category for itself. The game is very delicate and played on two planes in a way which at its face value would give an appearance of contradiction. On the one hand the Soviet Union is doing her best to preserve the appearances of support to the U.A.R. government as the leader of the Arab world and is supplying it with considerable aid; on the other hand she threatens the U.A.R. regime with a subversion from Communist and separatist activities she patronises. Not only does the well known Communist leader, Kh. Bagdashe, restate in his contribution a very radical agrarian programme of his party, the main points of which are:

- "- confiscation without compensation of the feudal estates and the land of the big proprietors and their distribution gratis among the landless peasantry and those whose plots are insufficient to provide for the family;
- confiscation of all implements of cultivation at present in the hands of the feudal beys and big landed proprietors and their transfer to peasant committees for use in the interests of the working peasants;"

but - as a Syrian - he also attacks the U.A.R. regime as one of Egyptian "colonialism". He says:

"The experience of the nearly three years that have passed since the formation of the U.A.R. has taught the peasants and all Syrians that the union imposed on them has no sound basis, that the policy of the Cairo Government is wreaking havoc with the slogan of Arab unity and Arab nationalism; this slogan is being utilised to push Egyptian nationalism, which is the embodiment of the expansionist and jingo features of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie. The way out of the present situation is through the creation of a front of the workers and peasants, the progressive national bourgeoisie youth, students, women - of all patriots and democrats - for the purpose of waging struggle for a radical revision of the fundamental principles underlying the union, for liberation from Egyptian colonialism, for a genuine policy of national liberation, for peace and democracy."

6. Cuba: The only agrarian reform in a developing economy outside the Sino-Soviet Bloc which has earned full approval of the Soviet bloc is that of Cuba.

To stress the relevance of the example, a rapporteur, Severo Aguirre, pointed to the new institutional frame of Cuban agriculture with its three sectors, that is state, cooperative and

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individual, and to the importance from the agrarian point of view of industrialisation, assisted by the Sino-Soviet Bloc. The following passage is characteristic of this emphasis:

"Three forms of agricultural production obtain at present: the cooperative, state and individual. The individual sector comprises the farms of poor, middle and rich peasants, and landlords. Individual farming will continue for some time to come, but it has no prospects and will decline. Factors contributing to this will be the steady growth of the share of agricultural workers' cooperatives and state farms in the volume of national production and the change that will take place in the outlook of the poor and middle peasants - all of which will encourage greater numbers to join the cooperatives. The deep-going changes in the countryside open up great opportunities for industrial development which has already begun thanks to the aid given by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries."

Thus Cuba acquires the role of the pattern-setting country, especially for Latin America. The Colombian Communist Vieira paid her a tribute by referring to Cuba's "inspiring example to the agrarian movement and revolutionary force". The very fact that Havana has been chosen as one of the two places of the simultaneous conference shows the importance of Cuba now has in the eyes of world communism.

E N D

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA  
DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU

Reference: My Despatch No. 13 of January 10

Subject: Repression of Communism and  
Fidelismo (continued)

CONFIDENTIAL

Security:.....

No:..... 35

Date:..... February 4, 1961

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-110

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References

To continue our story and in some ways detail it more, the Peruvian Government has pursued its efforts to rid Peru of Communist and subversive elements. The Government had taken action after Cuban exiles had raided the Cuban Embassy on November 8 hauling 1,000 and more compromising papers, linking the Cuban Government with many leftists and Communists in Peru. As a result of this interference, the Peruvian Government broke diplomatic relations with Cuba on December 26 (my despatches No. 309 of December 29 and No. 6 of January 4).

2. Furthermore, the Government took rather hasty action in passing some repressive legislation through Congress, the effect of which would impose severe penalties on those conspiring against the democratic organization of the Republic. The legislation as promulgated on January 11 followed long and stormy congressional debates during which government Ministers attempted to expose a Communist and Fidelista conspiracy by means of photostats of correspondence stolen from the Cuban Embassy. Although the Ministers argued that the documents were valid, no one could prove it, as the photostats were made from copies of letters, or even less prove the truthfulness of their content (my despatch under reference).

3. Thirdly, the Government responded with great warmth to congratulations which had been addressed to President Prado by the Inter-American Broadcasting Association, for having cancelled on December 23 the operating license in Peru of "Prensa Latina", and having broken diplomatic relations with Cuba. After the Government had passed its repressive legislation, the Inter-American Broadcasting Association wished to render greater homage to Prado by organizing a meeting in his honour in Lima. The event was prepared in great haste for January 14, the day before Prado was to leave on an official visit to Mexico. The publicity surrounding the event filled the pages of Prime Minister Beltran's newspaper La Prensa. Moreover the organizing of the meeting was mostly in the hands of the Peruvian Broadcasting Federation, a pro-Government group of private broadcasters.

4. As an international group of private broadcasters the Inter-American Broadcasting Association was to represent some 6,000 stations of the Americas at the meeting including the leading United States broadcasting companies, Free Cuba, "The Voice of the Americas" and most regional associations. It seemed

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
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furthermore that the President of the Inter-American Association enjoyed a great deal of latitude in deciding what support it could give to the policies of the Peruvian Government. Also participating in the homage ceremony, for some unknown reason, was a local representative of the Organization of American States. Finally, persistent efforts were made through the Peruvian Embassy in Ottawa to have a delegate from the Canadian Association of Radio and TV Stations. As no one from Canada could readily fly to such a hastily organized function, the Canadian Association cabled the Embassy at the last minute requesting that one of its members act as a representative.

5. For many reasons, including the last minute notice of the event, no one from the Embassy did attend the banquet which had been quickly set up on the evening of January 14 in honour of President Prado. I suspected, and later was convinced that the meeting's only purpose was to be a demonstration of solidarity with the Government's anti-Cuban moves. In fact, the meeting served the Peruvian Government in its attempt to gather popular support for breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba and further for passing repressive legislation in order to rid Peru of Communist and Fidelista elements. Thus, the event had obvious internal political aims which the Embassy could not fail to notice. For this and other reasons, it was preferable that we abstain from attending this ceremony.

#### More Congressional Debates:

6. Despite the Government's efforts to gather popular support for its anti-Communist and anti-Fidelista policies, the general opposition continued to criticize the Government bitterly on this whole matter. Two stormy nights of debate followed an interpellation tabled by the leftist deputies of the Lower House, headed by Alfonso Benavides Correa, a trouble-maker for the Government. The other Deputies were Carlos Malpica, Efraín Ruiz Caro, Tito Gutiérrez, and a known Communist, Ernesto More.

7. Interpellating the Minister of War, General Alejandro Cuadra Rabines, the Deputies challenged him to prove the genuineness of the incriminating Cuban documents, one of which (a letter from the Cuban Ambassador to his foreign minister, dated October 4, 1960) stated, that the four of them, among other people, received a monthly stipend of S/.6,000 (\$240.00) from the Cuban Embassy. The Deputies further charged that the Minister of War had falsely written their names in the letter as a deliberate political manoeuvre.

8. This letter and other documents had first been made public in the Chilean Congress and Santiago press by the Conservative deputy Valdez Larraín, as a warning to his countrymen that the subversive activities of Castro agents in Peru were also being pursued in Chile. (See Santiago despatch No. 10 of January 9). In answering the charge from his opponents Cuadra Rabines dramatically produced a telegram sent by Valdez Larraín stating that in reading the incriminating letter of October 4 in the Chilean Congress, he had omitted the names of the Peruvian Deputies in order to avoid any semblance of interference in the internal affairs of Peru. While no one could say what relationship there was between the Chilean Deputy and the Peruvian Government, his statement seemed to incriminate Benavides Correa and his followers even more. One could only speculate that the Chilean Deputy was closely linked with the Cuban liberation movement in exile (The Democratic Revolutionary Front) and in close contact with the Peruvian Government.

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9. One part of the debates in Congress on January 24 and 25 was held in secrecy for three to four hours, during which time Cuadra Rabines is supposed to have tabled even more detailed documents on the Fidelista and Communist movement in Peru. These documents presumably would have been in the custody of the Peruvian Army Intelligence Service. Much of the flow of words from the Government majority in Congress consisted in branding accusations on the leftist Deputies that whoever was against the Minister of War was also against democracy in Peru. Indeed much criticism from the opposition was labelled by Cuadra Rabines as a personal insult to himself and the institutions which he represented. It seemed moreover that the documents revealed during the secret session completely muffled the leftist Deputies. Benavides Correa himself, in the words of a Government deputy, became as soft as a lamb afterwards.

10. We learned subsequently from the United States Embassy that one document read during the secret session was a sworn declaration by the Second Secretary of the Cuban Embassy in Lima, dated January 23, who resigned on his way back to Cuba after the mission was closed here. The declaration, which was sworn in Miami, stated that he was present during the raid of November 8, that ex-Ambassador Alonso and his First Secretary, Andrés Aviño Soler did spend large sums of money beyond their routine work at the Embassy, that although he was not aware of the names and persons to whom this money was dispensed, because he had no access to the confidential files, he knew that his ambassador saw many people, among them persons he later recognized as Communist and leftist. The sworn declaration however included no names or any other detail.

11. A motion of censure presented in the first day of the debate was defeated by 73 to 31. The second session ended in a vote of confidence for the Minister of War counted at 74 to 23. Each vote naturally indicates a large number of abstentions, considering that the Lower House includes 181 deputies.

#### Criticism in the Press

12. Meanwhile criticism in the press echoed the protests of those groups immediately affected by the repressive legislation passed by Congress and promulgated on January 11. Labour unions, students and individuals, mostly known as Communist, rejected the accusation imputed in the Cuban documents that they had received money from the Cuban Embassy.

13. Two young professors of the Law Faculty at San Marcos University wrote a long analysis against the new repressive legislation. The essay was reproduced in full in the opposition newspaper El Comercio, which all along had been a strong element in the criticism against the Government. Indeed El Comercio, which had often favoured repressive measures voted by previous governments was satisfied to denounce the present legislation; all means seemed to be good for El Comercio provided the Government of Manuel Prado and Pedro Beltrán could be brought down. La Prensa on the other hand continued to support the Government policies in every respect. One columnist argued in the newspaper against the legal opinion of the San Marcos professors, for four consecutive days.

14. Yesterday, February 3, the opposition newspaper El Comercio published a letter dated January 16, from Havana written

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by the ex-Cuban Ambassador to Peru, Luis Ricardo Alonso, who left Lima on October 17 following charges by the Government that he had interfered in the internal affairs of Peru. In his letter, the Ambassador denies strongly that he wrote any document such as the incriminating letter dated October 4, 1960 and that this and all the other documents taken from the Cuban Embassy in Lima were deliberately falsified as part of a major anti-Cuban plot. The letter further mentioned Porras Barranechea, the Foreign Minister, who died in November, as a sympathizer of the Cuban cause. This particular mention provoked a strong communiqué from the Foreign Ministry published to-day in La Prensa. The sworn statement of Andrés Quintan which so far had been kept confidential was released at the same time. Furthermore, the communiqué openly accused Alonso of more interference in this country's affairs, after having abused Peru's hospitality as Ambassador and spread "the bloody tentacles" of the "tyrants" he represented..

15.           Whatever the outcome of the debates, the Communists and the Fidelistas knew where the Government stood on the question of subversion by violence of the democratic system in Peru. One could only speculate on what the next move would be. The Communists and Fidelistas might have a few of their innocent victims jailed and tried under the new repressive law in order to confuse both the Government and the public over the peacefulness of their movement; indeed they might deliberately provoke a persecution of their elements in order to create havoc for the Government.

#### General Remark on Congressional Session

16.           So far it seemed that the Government could ride the storm once again, one of many during the present parliamentary session. The Opposition interpellated Government ministers so often that much of the Government's urgent business such as bills on housing programmes and agrarian reform have been almost shelved for this year. One special session of Congress was needed and perhaps one more will be held to approve this year's expenditures. Thus one could see that the small extreme left in Congress had done more than its share of trouble during the session.

A.J. PICK

Ambassador.



DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: .....  
The Canadian Embassy,

.....  
Melchor Ocampo 463-7

Reference:.....

Subject:.....  
Latin American Economic and Peace Conference

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No:..... 70

Date:..... February 2, 1961.

Enclosures:..... 1

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No:..... 9-2-12

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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cc 6729-40

References

Under the joint sponsorship of Lázaro Cárdenas (Mexico), Domingos Vellasco (Brazil) and Alberto T. Casella (Argentina), a call has been issued to all the patriotic, democratic and pacifist forces of Latin America to meet in Mexico City from March 5 to 8, 1961, in a "Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace". A Mexican Committee, headed by Gen. Heriberto Jara is presumably hard at work on the arrangements.

2. Attached is an advertisement concerning the Conference which has just appeared in a Mexican newspaper. This outlines the purpose of the meeting and its agenda, and supplies the names of expected participants from Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, adding that participation is also guaranteed by organizations and "personalities" from 11 other countries including Cuba. You will note that the establishment of a common front for the defence and encouragement of Cuba figures prominently on the agenda.

3. It seems fairly accurate to describe this Conference as a get-together of the Communist and left-wing forces of the Continent, for a renewal of contacts, comradely calculation and encouragement, and a publicity exercise of the biggest possible size. The choice of Mexico seems dictated as much by Communist strategy as by the fact that this country afforded the only possible venue of some usefulness to the cause, since Cuba is somewhat discredited for such exercises and no other Latin American country appeared readily available or practicable for the purpose.

Internal  
Circulation

4. This Conference poses a sticky problem for the Mexican government. On the one hand, Mexico has firmly and repeatedly stated its sympathy for the ideals of the Cuban Revolution (as distinct from the Cuban government); it is the proud inheritor of a successful revolutionary tradition, a champion of reform and social change, of freedom of expression and assembly; moreover, it counts among its citizens a number of Communists, and many more dedicated left-wing radicals ever on the alert to accuse the government of right-wing sympathy and practices. Thus, the Mexican authorities could hardly ban the meeting. On the other hand, they are aware that in United States opinion, the Conference is likely to give them a black eye, that it may affect tourist income, possibly frighten investors, and so on. In addition, world publicity is again likely to create misunderstanding as to Mexico's real position vis-à-vis the Communists.

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to Posts

5. On balance, therefore, the authorities might have been inclined to discourage the promoters of the Conference, were it not for the sponsorship of Cárdenas. This shaded the odds in favour of a neutral attitude. When I questioned Campos Ortiz about it last week, he said that the government felt it could not deny an important group of Mexicans the right to hold such a meeting. Mexico was a

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free country and no one would interfere with the Conference as long as all behaved as good citizens or guests of Mexico. This did not mean that the government approved the principles or purposes of the meeting, or that it was unaware of the problems it might raise internally as well as on the outside. This problem of Communist penetration was creating a great deal of trouble and anxiety throughout the hemisphere, not all unwarranted, and many people apparently thought that the best solution was to clear the decks and batten down the hatches. Mexico did not believe that an adult nation, any more than a person, could thrive or even live in such an atmosphere. Life was full of problems and dangers, and one had to cope with them rather than try to exclude them.

6. In any event, Campos Ortiz thought that this would not be an important affair, and that it would pass relatively unnoticed. One might infer from this that the Mexican authorities have already decided on a maximum permissible limit for Conference activity and publicity, in accordance with Mexico's best interests, to be firmly enforced as on other occasions. However, this meeting may not be quite so easy to manage as an official visit.

7. Information from the Press Officer of the U.S. Embassy seems to support Campos Ortiz' view. The Embassy is understandably jumpy about this "Conference of Hemisphere Communists" and one school of thought in their Public Affairs Section wanted to initiate counter-action soon. Wiser counsel was for letting the Mexicans handle it their own way and seems to have prevailed for the moment. In support of this second view, my informant (Vallimarescu) says that according to Romulo O'Farrill, Jr. (press: Novedades, The News, Diario de la Tarde; radio and TV), President Lopez Mateos has agreed to speak at a meeting of the U.S. Press Association to be held concurrently in Acapulco, and has said that no official notice would be taken of the Conference in Mexico City. The Embassy has learned also, I am told, that the President was disturbed, indeed that storm signals were flying at the National Palace, when the attached programme appeared listing 26 of his Congressmen as participants in the Conference.

E. R. BELLEMARE

Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Security: UNCLASSIFIED

No: 60

Date: January 30, 1961.

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 84-2

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Mexico, D.F.  
Reference: Our letter 54, Jan. 26/61.  
Subject: President Prado's Visit  
to Mexico -- Addendum

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	

References

The illustrated periodicals of the capital have just come out with additional and interesting material on President Prado's visit and the Exhibition of Peruvian Art. Attached for the record are copies of Hoy and Mañana, the best edited of the lot. You will note that Hoy carries also an exclusive interview with President Prado, consisting of twelve questions and answers, covering a broad range of subjects of Peruvian, Mexican and Latin American interest. As might be expected, the treatment is rather summary. However, since the President's view may be of some interest, and his replies appear in certain respects more constrained or even devious than they might have been in Lima, Hoy's questionnaire and the answers are set out hereunder in translation.

(1) Do you believe there is Communist infiltration in Latin America?

(A) --The facts demonstrate that there is an intense and well-organized Communist penetration of Latin America.

(2) What is the attitude of the people and government of Peru in the face of this?

(A) --The Peruvian people are the inheritors of an heroic democratic tradition. They love liberty and justice, and will never accept life under the tyranny of a totalitarian regime.

(3) We are aware that the Peruvian government's policy is one of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries; however, do you consider that the Castro government of Cuba has Communist tendencies and close ties with the countries under Soviet influence?

(A) --The present Cuban regime is free to adopt any type of government it wishes.

(4) In your view, what should be the policy of other Latin American countries toward the

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Cuban government, following the severance of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba?

(A)--Each Latin American country should pursue the international policy best adapted to its particular concept of sovereignty.

(5) In your opinion then, Latin American policy should be opposed to any kind of dictatorship, of the right as well as the left?

(A)--The standing policy of Latin American countries should always conform with the democratic aspirations of their peoples. Only thus can democracy everywhere become an effective reality, and dictatorships of every kind be eliminated from the Continent.

(6) With regard to the approaching presidential election in Peru, which of the prevailing political trends (do you think) will be successful?

(A)--In my two terms of office, I was elected freely by the people. At the end of my first mandate, I presided over an exemplary electoral consultation. At the next election, I shall again discharge my duty as a citizen and member of a democratic government. The people will decide the winner of next year's elections.

(7) Do you believe, Mr. President, that U.S. policy respecting this part of the Continent requires amending?

(A)--United States policy concerning Latin America is constantly changing. History shows that former viewpoints and procedures have become out-dated and that respectful relations between the U.S. and our countries, on a plane of absolute and sovereign equality, have unceasingly developed in all fairness and dignity. The dictates of Continental cooperation and of American interdependence will complete this necessary task of improvement.

(8) What do you think of the change of government in the U.S., and what effect do you believe it will have in Latin America?

(A)--The change of government in the United States is the result of a free, democratic election. I am sure the new American government will be worthy of the trust of its citizens, and that the President will do the right thing as head of a power whose relations with Latin America must be founded on goodwill and mutual respect.

(9) Do you foresee the possibility of armed conflicts inside the countries of this hemisphere, or between them?

(A)--The American peoples are peace-loving. Our representative regional organization has established legal instruments and procedures capable of bringing peaceful solutions to any conflicts between the member States.

(10) In a recent New Year's message the President of Brazil, speaking to the Western governments, said that unless our countries received the aid they urgently require, revolution might break out in the whole of Latin America. What do you think of this warning?

(A)--I am optimistic about the future of our peoples.

(11) What are the causes of the conflict between Peru and Ecuador, and what solution do the Peruvian people and government consider acceptable in the circumstances?

(A)--The only source of conflict between Peru and the present government of Ecuador is that our people and my government respect international agreements based on a country's pledged word.

(12) What possibilities do you see of increasing cultural and trade exchanges between Mexico and Peru?

(A)--The exhibition which President Lopez Mateos and I will inaugurate tomorrow is the first concrete result of the Cultural Agreement signed by our governments. Other forms of cooperation will follow, I am sure, in the economic field. There are many opportunities of fruitful exchange between us. In the course of my State Visit to this great country, united with our own by so many strong and durable ties, the many moving signs of affection I have received from the Mexican people, as well as the friendly regard and attentions of its officials and institutions, lead me to say that Peruvian-Mexican unity can only grow more fruitful and promising as time goes on.

E. R. BELLEMARE

Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

January, 1961

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NATO - CONFIDENTIALCOMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND CULTURAL RELATIONSCONFERENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION OF OIRT AT BUCHAREST

Text of the statement made by the German Representative  
at the Committee's meeting on 23rd January, 1961.

In mid October, 1960, a conference was held at Bucharest of the Administrative Commission of OIRT (International Organization for Broadcasting and Television) at which the following decisions were taken:

- The broadcasting and television system of the Soviet Bloc countries will be substantially reinforced and enlarged. To this end, the Soviet Union and many East European countries will provide funds in order to attain, with better success than before, the aim of bringing their broadcasting programmes into uniform lines.
- The Soviet Bloc will jointly establish a huge broadcasting system whose programmes for
  - the Latin American countries,
  - the Asiatic countries and
  - Africa

are to be increased by 10% as compared with the present programme.

- The base for broadcasts to Latin America will be Cuba; for Asia, for the time being, China, Korea and Tibet. Broadcasts to Africa will be transmitted from Cairo and Conakry. Agreements to this effect have already been prepared.
- Mr. Chin Chao, the head of the Chinese Delegation, was appointed Deputy Chairman of OIRT while the Soviet Union retained the Chairmanship.
- In the near future, a "Permanent Committee" of OIRT will deal with the three regional areas (Latin America, Asia and Africa) and make the technical and programme arrangements required for carrying out the tasks involved.

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

OTAN/NATO  
Paris, XVIe.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Mexico, D.F.

Reference: Our letter 736, Dec. 5, 1960.

Subject: Communist Activity in Mexico

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 19

Date: January 12, 1961

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 8-1-5-5

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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cc 6729-40

To: Mr. Robinson  
JAN 20 1961

References

REFER TO:

G/PM (MR. ROBINSON)  
O/SSEA (MR. CAMPBELL)  
USSEA  
MR. RITCHIE ✓  
ECONOMIC ✓  
U.S.A. DIVISION ✓  
D.L. (2) ✓  
LIAISON SERVICES (3e) ✓  
ALL LATIN AMERICAN POSTS ✓  
CCOS (6) ✓  
T & CV ✓  
BANK ✓  
FINANCE ✓  
JIB ✓  
NDC (VIA L.S.) ✓  
LATIN AMERICAN/

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Mexico's refusal to take sides in the Caribbean conflict and on the subject of the Cold War activities developing in the area, is understandable in the context of Mexican history and external policy, and perhaps not without advantages. But this attitude offers at least superficial encouragement to communist penetration via Cuba or otherwise, and constant vigilance is required on the part of the authorities in order to protect Mexico's integrity from both sides.

2. A reassuring note in that respect appeared in today's press in the form of a press release from the office of the Attorney General of the Republic, who is also head of the Federal Secret Police (Policía Judicial Federal). The purpose of this communiqué appears to have been both to confirm rumours which had started circulating about a Red conspiracy in Mexico, and to contain them within reasonable bounds.

3. According to the Attorney General's office, 14 under-cover radio transmitters operating in the State of Chiapas in the extreme southwest of the country, bordering on Guatemala, have been discovered and silenced. These stations, according to the Attorney General's office, devoted themselves to the diffusion of commercial publicity, an announcement which every newspaper reported between quotation marks. According to one newspaper, the persons in charge of the stations were subjected to penalties of an administrative character. Another newspaper merely stated that a number of them had been jailed, and the rest were in flight.

4. The Attorney General's office also announced that its agents were maintaining a strict control over the arrival and departure of persons and goods at the Central Airport. A number of suspicious foreigners had thus fallen into their hands, and hundreds of packages of printed propaganda had been confiscated. One newspaper indicated that this literature included among other things copies of "Che" Guevara's "Art of Guerrilla Warfare".

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5. This is the first news which has appeared in the Mexican press of the government's under-cover operation to control communist propaganda and activities, of Cuban origin, in its territory. There is no hint that the situation is anything but completely under control. There is, however, a great deal of territory to cover in Mexico, much of it wild and difficult, and there is plenty of room for establishing clandestine radio transmitters in remote States like Chiapas, and in other regions. Should this type of activity continue and develop, it would undoubtedly have a bearing on Mexico's external policy in respect of the Caribbean conflict. At present, the chances are that Mexico is still far from that stage, and that in any case it would not change its policy except after a great deal of provocation, as a last resort.



Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU.

Reference: My despatches Nos. 309 of December 29,  
1960 and 6 of January 4

Subject: Repression of Communism and Fidelismo

CONFIDENTIAL

Security:.....

No:...../3

Date:.....January 10, 1961

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:.....Courier

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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References

The Peruvian Government and people are now undergoing some critical moments, perhaps the most critical under the administration of Manuel Prado and Pedro Beltrán. Communism and Fidelismo have been exposed. Accusations and counter-accusations fill the air in an atmosphere with which the McCarthy period would compare only in a mild form.

2. The Government had been waiting for the right and critical moment to clamp down on Communist and Fidelista activities in Peru. In recent months there was a noticeable increase of propaganda in favour of the Cuban movement smuggled into and distributed within Peru; paid trips organized for a number of Peruvians to visit Cuba on account of one anniversary or another increased considerably. One may refer only to the notorious trip to Cuba sponsored for a number of Peruvian students and labour leaders, among whom was Campos Lama and Proel Merino; the whole group was invited to Havana for the 26 of July celebration at which time a Youth Congress was held. It was on this occasion that Peruvian and Ecuadorian students of Communist leanings were asked to sign a declaration favouring the revision of the Rio Protocol on the Peru-Ecuador boundary dispute, a principle to which Peru is strongly opposed. Consequently Campos Lama and Proel Merino, the "traitors", were given savage publicity in Lima; Campos Lama was forced to resign as head of the San Marcos student body; more attacks followed in the press and with it flowed an anti-Castro torrent. (My despatch No. 226 of September 23, 1960).

3. At the time the Government was contemplating some legislation to curb Communist and Fidelista activities in Peru. The raid on the Cuban Embassy in Lima on November 8 by supposedly anti-Castro exiles (names yet unknown), the disclosure of the raid in the New York Times on December 22, the publication of a letter in the Lima press from the Communist Party of Peru thanking the Cuban Ambassador, Fernando Alonso, for a donation of money, all of this put a definite tag on the Cuban Embassy as an instigator of a subversive movement in Peru and a supporter of the Communist Party. Soon after Peru broke diplomatic relations with Cuba. (My despatch No. 6 of January 4).

4. From then on, events in Peru moved at a fast pace. The opposition parties in Congress demanded the truth and the publication of all documents taken from the Cuban Embassy, some photostats of which were known to be in the hands of the Government. At the same time the opposition interpellated the

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Minister of Government, Ricardo Elías Aparicio, and the Minister of War, Major-General Alejandro Cuadra Rabines, both of whom had probably been waiting for such an opportunity to move in quickly on Congress and ram through a repressive bill.

5. The bill proposed by the Government was first presented in the Senate and approved by a vote of 29 to 7. Out of a total number of 48 senators those members which voted in favour of the bill belonged to the majority made up of Prado's followers and some Independent senators. A copy of the bill appears as Appendix "A" of this despatch. In short, the bill which would have become an article of the Penal Code, declared as outlawed, under the existing Article 53 of the Constitution, the Communist Party and any political party or grouping which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional and democratic system of the Peruvian Government by means of doctrines and methods of International Communism. The bill deprived the members of such party or grouping of the right to hold any public office or exercise political activity and prohibited them from editing or distributing newspapers or other means of communication. Violations made individually or by a group were punishable by two to ten years imprisonment.

6. The bill was therefore provisionally approved after 11 hours of debate in the Senate. One congressional member told me that the only way to pass such legislation quickly in Peru was to vote it in the first debate. Otherwise, the bill ran the chance of being shelved to an appointed congressional commission, formed to study that and other legislation, and sometimes delays as long as two years followed this shelving method.

7. The debate was acrimonious to the point of violence. In addition to the two Ministers mentioned above who attended the debate in the Senate, José Merino Reyna, the Minister of Justice, defended the bill. Also in attendance was Luis Alvarado Garrido, the Foreign Minister who did not intervene in the debate. The most sensational part was no doubt played by the Minister of Government and Police, Elías Aparicio and the Minister of War, Major-General Cuadra Rabines. They first read a sworn declaration dated January 3, made by a Cuban exile in Miami, Ramos Montejo, in which the latter claimed that a major plot existed against the Peruvian Government to be implemented by Fidelista and Communist elements in Peru. Cuadra Rabines read a copy of a long letter from the Cuban Ambassador in Lima to his Minister, presumably stolen in the raid on November 8, which strangely enough found its way to the Chilean Congress where it was read by a deputy, Valdez Larrain, and published in a Chilean daily El Diario Ilustrado of December 29, a photostat copy of which was reproduced in the opposition newspaper El Comercio in Lima, but not La Prensa. This document listed all the organizations and individuals, among them prominent leftist deputies, intellectuals, students, labour leaders and journalists, who received a monthly stipend from the Cuban Embassy in Lima. The total amount thus distributed exceeded \$30,000 a month. General Cuadra was satisfied to read these foreign documents in the Peruvian Senate in support of the Government's repressive bill in spite of the fact that the Government would give no guarantee as to the genuineness of the documents or the truth of their content. Needless to say, such denunciations aroused loud cries of protest from some parts of the Opposition including those pro-Communist members like Carlos Malpica, Ruiz Caro and Benavides Correa, who loudly denied that they received money from the Cuban Embassy.

8. Elías Aparicio, the Minister of Government, argued furthermore that although the Government could not guarantee the documents as genuine, the accusations included in them were supported by other facts established in a paper prepared by the Peruvian Army Intelligence Service. This document listed all the organizations in Peru and their members considered as Communist or pro-Communist and generally

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speaking a source of subversion. We hope to summarize these documents for you in a later report on Communist activities here. Suffice it to say that hundreds of names and organizations connected with the Communist Party were exposed by the Minister of Government and Police.

9. The debate in the Lower House was even more acrimonious than in the Senate and went on from 7:00 p.m. Thursday, January 5, until 11:00 a.m. the next day. The bill was passed in a considerably modified form by 79 votes to 37. Because of this modification in the House, the bill was therefore reviewed again by the Senate on Monday evening the 9th and finally passed by a vote of 30 to 11. This last vote in effect gave it force of law and it has now been promulgated (January 11).

10. In the Lower House, the majority of Pradista deputies voted in favour of the repressive bill as presented in its amended form. This group of about 60 deputies was the only one to vote for the bill along with a few independent members. The usual number of 35 to 40 Aprista deputies who normally vote with the Government Party under the banner of "La Convivencia" did not side with the majority in this case.

11. The more violent opponents of the bill interpellated the same four Ministers, who had been to the Senate the night before, in order to explain the accusations formulated in the exposed documents, to establish proof of their authenticity and the basis for the new repressive law. After hearing the Ministers repeat the arguments of the night before, criticism was expressed from every party of the Opposition. There were rather angry exchanges made by the deputy Ruiz Caro and the Minister of Government, Elías Aparacio and the Minister of War, Cuadra Rabines.

12. (Because Cuadra Rabines was criticized rather violently by many Opposition deputies, all the top members of the military services rallied around him on Saturday morning for a curious ceremony of back-slapping in which Admiral Tirado, the Minister of the Navy, stated that the integrity of the armed forces was at stake and that the latter would not let leftist and Communist elements destroy their honesty and reputation. The ceremony was probably very characteristic of the Latin American military. After all the Minister of War, who is a uniform-wearing officer of the Army, goes to Congress not as a politician in our sense of the word but rather under the mantle of dignity and honesty of one who knows the truth and lives by it and will not stand criticism. As you may well realize, the so-called grief at being criticized by opposition elements only serves as a cloak to cover the many scandals and intrigues which leak out from the ranks of the military services. Yet the whole show of Saturday morning sounded like a curious ultimatum that if necessary the Services could be stronger than the Government and that should the leftist elements fool the Government, they will not fool the military!)

13. The modified bill as passed by the Lower House, of which an office translation is attached in Appendix "B", was introduced by a Pradista leader, Javier Ortiz de Zevallo, in order to meet some of the stronger criticism of the Opposition. It would be appropriate at this stage to summarize the most important criticism made against the first and second draft of the Government bill. The Opposition deputies criticized the Government's repressive bills on the grounds that they were unnecessary in view of the existing legislation.

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You will recall that Article 53 of the Constitution prohibits the so-called international political parties. Furthermore, the Peruvian Military Code, which in many of its parts is applicable to civilians as well as the military, includes a number of provisions against subversive activities and attempts to overthrow the Government or to attack the Armed Forces, by the use of violence. Furthermore, the bills were attacked as being highly arbitrary, with the second draft being even worse than the first. Article 3 of the Peruvian Penal Code states that no one will be condemned for crimes which are not completely described and specified in the Code. On looking at the wording of the first draft, it seems that a person who would advocate the overthrow of the Government even as part of a philosophical system like that of Marx and Engels, could be tried under the law and condemned even if he himself had never incited people to violence. Some Opposition members went even further and criticized the bills, perhaps wrongly so, as being worse than the dreaded Internal Security Law passed under Odria and abrogated by Prado in 1956; the law denied even the use of the Habeas Corpus and the minimum guarantees afforded by the present-day Penal Code; the Minister of Justice, rather than the judges arbitrarily determined whether one crime or another deserved imprisonment under that law. Another serious criticism against the Government's bills was that they were designed to jail a number of people who might constitute a serious threat in the next general election of 1962. As the minimum period of imprisonment under the bills is two years, there would still be time for the Government to undertake a nice cleaning job of all leftists and subversive elements in the country so as to neutralize them completely until the next President has been voted into power.

14. Actually the first draft of the bill could be vaguely labelled as dictatorial and arbitrary; it unfortunately lost much of its strength in the second version as an instrument for ridding Peru of Communist and Fidelista elements. It will be noted that under the first bill even the Fidelista movement in Peru would have become illegal as an international party designed to advocate the overthrow of the legal Government. The second bill makes no mention of international political parties or movements, except the Communist Party which, as you know, is already illegal. Thus it would seem that under the second bill, Fidelista elements in Peru will be free to pursue their activities so long as they are not caught in advocating the overthrow of the Government by force. As a final and important element lost from the first to the second draft of the bill, Communists and Fidelista elements in Peru will continue to publish and write periodicals and exercise peaceful political activity as well as aspire to hold public office.

15. Other than the two pro-Government dailies, La Prensa, owned by Pedro Beltrán, the Prime Minister, and La Cronica, owned by the family of President Prado, the Government's bills were strongly opposed by the opposition daily El Comercio and surprisingly enough by the informal organ of APRA, La Tribuna. El Comercio labelled the repressive bills as devices to ensure a safe winning of the next presidential elections by pro-Government elements. El Comercio continues to give support to any opposition movement including the Fidelistas and Communists; to El Comercio only the Apristas can be considered a subversive threat to the "status quo" in Peru.

16. Faithful in its traditional support of APRA, La Tribuna denounced the bill very strongly. Presumably APRA's long and stormy past has known more than one repressive law each time created as a device to quell the legitimate political ambitions of this Party.

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One should only remember the dreaded Internal Security Law passed by Odria who had sworn that he would pass the bayonet through all Aprista elements. It seemed furthermore that APRA is anxious to maintain an air of respectability and peacefulness so as to protect its legal status in order to run in the 1962 elections. APRA's fears therefore that such a repressive measure as was passed by Congress might be used against its followers and ruin their chances in 1962.

17. In conclusion, it seems that the Government's decision to draft a repressive measure to prevent leftist and Communist activities in Peru was laudable, despite the fact that such a measure may serve as a cloak to protect the "status quo". The question is whether, in passing a somewhat arbitrary law, the Government will necessarily achieve the desired effect, namely stamping out Communism and Fidelismo. Furthermore, as La Tribuna clearly stated, the measure will not improve the poor basic social conditions under which the Communist ideology can grow freely in Peru. It is to be hoped, at the same time, that the Government will tighten up its loose security measures rather than brutalize the leftist elements; were these to fly to the Sierra and their newspapers to become clandestine, all would work to the greater detriment of the precarious Peruvian democracy.

A.J. PICK

Ambassador.

APPENDIX "A"

TRANSLATION OF  
PERUVIAN TIMES

Chapter IV

Crimes of Social Dissolution or Disruption.

Article 331-A. - In conformity with Articles 1 and 53 of the Constitution, the legal existence of the Communist Party is prohibited, as well as every political party, association, band or group seeking the subversion of the constitutional and democratic system of the Peruvian State, with doctrines and methods of international Communism. The members of such parties or groups may not perform any public function nor engage in political activity. Such parties or groups are prohibited from establishing any offices or headquarters or editing newspapers or employing any other means of publicity.

Individuals or groups who infringe these dispositions shall be subject to imprisonment for not less than two years and not more than ten years.

The penalty shall not be less than five years when the conspiracy or attempt involves, in any manner whatever, the security of the Armed and Auxiliary Forces.

The maximum penalty shall be imposed when the crimes referred to are committed in concert or with the aid of foreign leaders or foreign political parties.

Lima, Jan. 4, 1961.

APPENDIX "B"

OFFICE TRANSLATION

El Comercio, January 5, 1961.

Text voted by the Chamber of Deputies

ARTICLE ONE - The Peruvian Communist Party is hereby declared a party of international organization.

ARTICLE TWO - Article 302 is added to the Penal Code, with the following dispositions:

Those who by the use of violence attempt against the democratic organization of the Republic, based on popular sovereignty and on the representative system of Government, or who advocate its destruction by force, will suffer imprisonment for not less than two years and not over ten.

The penalty for the crimes specified above will be no less than five years imprisonment when through their commission attempt is also made against the existence of the Armed Forces or their Auxiliary Forces; and it shall not be less than seven years when such crimes are committed in agreement with or through the assistance of foreign governments or political parties.

Lima, January 5, 1961.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

TO: Defence Liaison (1) African & Middle Eastern  
Defence Liaison (2)  
Far Eastern Latin American

FROM: Information Division

REFERENCE: NATO Document AC/52-AP(60)52 (copy attached)  
(Copy No. 22)

SUBJECT: NATO Survey of Youth Programmes

Security **CONFIDENTIAL**

Date January 6, 1961.

File No.

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I attach a copy of the document under reference which is self-explanatory. I should be grateful for your comments on the document. As our NATO Delegation asked for preliminary comments in time for a committee meeting on January 9, we have confirmed previous instructions to the effect that we consider it useful to have an exchange of information on this subject in the Information Committee and that we find the attached United Kingdom paper to be sensible and moderate and a good working paper for discussion.

2. I would appreciate in particular your comments on the general recommendations contained in paragraph 8 of the attached document.

3. I also attach a copy of NATO telegram 3419 of December 30 containing the Delegation's comments on the U.K. paper.

Information Division

File  
50066-40  
JR.

CIRCULATION



FM NATOPARIS DEC30/60 CONFD

TO EXTERNAL 3419

REF YOURTEL JI109 OCT31

SURVEY OF YOUTH PROGRAMMES

UK PAPER HAS NOW BEEN CIRCULATED AS DOCU AC/52-WP(60)52, DEC14.

WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PRELIMINARY REACTION IN TIME FOR  
INFO CTTEE MEETING ON JAN9.

2. WE THINK THIS PAPER IS A HELPFUL ONE WHICH MAY ENABLE INFO CTTEE  
TO FULFIL THE OBLIGATION IT ASSUMED IN DOCU C-M(60)67 TO PRODUCE  
SOME SUGGESTIONS ON ACTION TO COUNTER COMMUNIST MOVES DIRECTED  
AT THE YOUTH OF UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES. ACCEPTANCE OF PARAS OF THE  
PAPER WOULD SEEM TO INVOLVE FOR US(1) A COMMITMENT TO CIRCULARIZE  
OUR MISSIONS ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA TO LOOK OUT FOR USEFUL MEETINGS  
OF NON-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE AREA AND(2) TO ALTER SOMEWHAT  
OUR PRACTICE OF ONLY BRIEFING NATIONAL DELEGATES AT THEIR REQUEST.  
WE ASSUME THAT YOU WOULD NOT RPT NOT WANT OUR MISSIONS TO BE  
ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN PUBLICIZING MEETINGS OF NON-COMMUNIST ORGA-  
NIZATIONS AND THAT TRAVEL ASSISTANCE TO CDN DELEGATES TO THESE  
MEETINGS WOULD NORMALLY ONLY BE PROVIDED FROM AN EXISTING GOVT  
GRANT TO THE ORGANIZATION CONCERNED.

## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU

Reference:.....  
Subject: Cuban Infiltration in Peru

Security: **RESTRICTED**

No: 309

Date: December 29, 1960

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: **Courier**

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066 - 40

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## References

From time to time government authorities here have denounced in general terms the propaganda activities of the Cuban Embassy which was charged with spreading Fidelista ideas in this country and assisting the International Communist Movement. We have been told of several seizures of shipments of Fidelista literature at the International Airport here. It was intimated that the Cuban Embassy was giving financial assistance to local Fidelista and Communist groups and was facilitating and financing visits by left-wing intellectuals and political leaders to Havana. However, most of the charges have been expressed in very general terms and one sometimes has had the impression that the statements were more an instinctive sign of concern over the highly vulnerable and unstable social structure of Peru than the product of specific evidence of interference by the Cuban Embassy in Peruvian domestic affairs.

2. The Foreign Minister and officers at the Ministry have indicated to me their concern over the local activities of the Cuban mission and have stated that it was under surveillance to keep track of comings and goings. The Minister himself did mention to me some time ago that they believed that money was being distributed from the Embassy to Communist and other left-wing groups here.

3. It should be mentioned that it became known here on December 27 that the Government had on December 23 cancelled the license issued on August 3, 1959 to Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency created by Fidel Castro, on the ground that it had violated the permit by transmitting news from Lima although the license itself and the telecommunications regulations only authorized it to receive press messages from Havana. The Government resolution explained that the unauthorized outgoing messages were of a tendentious or revolutionary character, distorting the news and in some cases violating the national dignity and its legitimate rights.

4. You have probably seen the article in the New York Times by one of their roving Latin-American correspondents, Juan de Onis, (International Edition of December 22) reporting that an anti-Castro Cuban group had raided the Cuban Embassy here and had extracted documents from the files at gun-point. This story was reproduced on the front page of the Prime Minister's newspaper La Prensa yesterday along with an editorial on the incident from La Prensa of Buenos Aires.

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- 2 -

5. To-day La Prensa has gone further and has reproduced in photographic form, likewise on its front page, the text of a letter from the Secretary-General of the Peruvian Communist Party to the then Cuban Ambassador, of July 19. A copy of this is attached in translation. La Prensa says that this has been in its possession for some time and that it has been published after proving its authenticity. I have no reason to doubt that it is genuine though presumably the Communist Party and the Embassy will both declare it to be a forgery. Incidentally, the Ambassador to whom it was addressed left Lima a few days after the date of the letter to attend the celebrations in Cuba of the Movement of July 26 and never returned. (I suspect because the Peruvians let it be known that his return would not be welcome). The mission is now in charge of a Charge d'Affaires who arrived at the beginning of November.

6. To-day's La Prensa also carries a story of a number of persons travelling to Havana at this time on different flights but presumably all at the invitation of the Cuban Government and probably at its expense as well, in order to be there for the celebrations on January 1, the date when Castro took over two years ago. Among the names mentioned are some recognized Communists, some known pro-Communists and others who travel in the same direction at closer or greater distance. Also included are two editorial writers of the rival newspaper El Comercio, one of whom is a member of the Miró Quesada family which owns this old traditionally conservative organ which now is often associated with extreme left-wing movements. So far El Comercio has chosen to ignore the story in the New York Times and the follow-up in La Prensa.

7. The question naturally must arise whether the Peruvian Government, if it has documentary and other proof of Cuban intervention in local political affairs, is contemplating breaking off diplomatic relations with the Castro regime.

A. J. PICK

Ambassador.

Office Translation  
from La Prensa Dec. 29, 1960

LETTER FROM ACOSTA TO THE CUBAN AMBASSADOR  
PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Lima, Peru  
July 19, 1960.

To His Excellency  
The Ambassador of Cuba  
in Lima

By Messenger

Your Excellency:

We take this opportunity to greet you and thus the Glorious Cuban Revolution which so effectively fights against the Yankee Imperialism, scourge of our people. The purpose of the present note is also to acknowledge receipt of the generous contribution which was sent to our Institute this month, and which has been fully used for democratic teaching and practical training purposes.

Thanks to the great opportunity offered by the Revolutionary Government which you so worthily represent, so that the Peruvian youth might travel to Cuba to become acquainted, by its own experience, with the grand works of Democratic Construction which is taking place in that country, we can now count with a considerable number of alert and determined young men whose enthusiastic work is dedicated to the fight, with full consciousness that the day will soon arrive when that reactionary and oligarchic group which at present exploits and oppresses us will unpardonably be dragged towards the "paredon" (firing wall), as the facts of our situation demand and as has already been done in Cuba, an example for the whole continent.

It would be quite advisable, and we beg you to communicate this opportunely to your Government, to extend further the work which is being done in this sense. It would be convenient to hasten the course, since although it is true that Imperialism is dying it might not be impossible that its moribund struggles should impair and even destroy the conquests which have been attained up to now. We would like an extensive exchange of impressions with respect to the latter, hoping that, after previous consultations on the matter, you will indicate to us how and when it might be carried out.

Sincerely,

V. Raúl Acosta Salas  
Secretary General.

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*orig 288-40 "E"*

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TO WASHDC 2728

INFO EXTERNAL

CDA-CUBAN RELATIONS

FROM SCOTT TO HEENEY, BEGINS:

MR GEORGE A BRAGA, PRESIDENT, CZARNIKOW-RIONDA COMPANY, NY, WHICH COMPANY IS ENGAGED IN INTERNATIONAL SUGAR TRADE, AND WHO I HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME YEARS SPOKE TO ME RECENTLY ON ABOVE SUBJECT ON WHICH OCCASION I REFERRED TO PRIME MINISTERS STATEMENT ON THIS MATTER.

2. HOWEVER, AS MR BRAGA WISHED TO EXPRESS FURTHER HIS CONCERN OVER CDN POSITION AT MY SUGGESTION HE HAS PUT HIS VIEWS IN WRITING UNDER DATE OF DEC20 AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH YOUR TALKING WITH ME OVER PHONE AND SUGGESTING THAT I WRITE YOU.

THE SITUATION NOW PREVAILING IN CUBA IS ONE WHICH CONCERNS NATIONAL SECURITY OF USA AND NATIONAL SECURITY OF CDA AS WELL.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THAT IF REGIME OF FIDEL CASTRO, WHICH HAS BECOME AN ADJUNCT OF SOVIET, SHOULD REMAIN IN POWER FOR ANOTHER SIX MONTHS OTHER FREE GOVTS IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE WILL FALL TO COMMUNISM. THERE IS NO RPT NO DOUBT THAT FIFTH COLUMNS WORKING FOR CASTRO AND COMMUNISM ARE EXTREMELY ACTIVE IN MOST OF NATIONS IN HEMISPHERE.

IF USSR SHOULD HAVE FIVE OR SIX PUPPET REGIMES IN OUR HEMISPHERE, SECURITY OF BOTH OUR NATIONS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY THREATENED.

IT IS A SOURCE OF SATISFACTION THAT CDA AND USA ARE OLDEST AND CLOSEST OF FRIENDS IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. NEITHER OF THESE TWO GREAT FRIENDS SHOULD EVER ATTEMPT TO MAKE SHORT RANGE ECONOMIC OR COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE AT EXPENSE OF OTHER.

THE COURSE BEING FOLLOWED BY CDN GOVT OF DEALING WITH FIDEL CASTRO AND ATTEMPTING TO FILL HIS NEEDS COULD POSSIBLY EXTEND LENGTH OF

...2

PAGE TWO 2728

TENURE OF HIS GOVT BY A FEW MONTHS, BUT THIS IN TURN COULD HELP HIM CRUSH OPPOSITION, AND FURTHER ATTEMPT TO COMMUNIZE CUBA EVEN IF HUNGARY-LIKE MEASURES ARE NEEDED. MOREOVER, THIS COULD GIVE HIM ADDITIONAL TIME TO SERVE AS A BEACHHEAD FOR COMMUNISM IN ALL LATINAMERICA - A RELATIVELY WHICH COULD WELL OUTLAST HIM - TO THE DETRIMENT OF CDA, USA, AND ALL FREE PEOPLES.

IN SHORT IT WOULD SEEM THAT IF CASTRO IS IN POWER IN A FEW MORE MONTHS, ALL LATINAMERICA WILL BE IN DANGER OF BEING LOST. WITHIN A FEW YEARS THIS MIGHT PROVE TO BE DISASTROUS TO ENTIRE WESTERN WORLD. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT NEITHER CDA NOR USA REALLY WANTS TO LEND AID AND COMFORT TO SUCH AN ENEMY. END QUOTE

3. IN ACKNOWLEDGING MR BRAGAS LET I TOOK OCCASION TO INCORPORATE IN MY REPLY PRIME MINISTERS STATEMENT IN HOUSE OF COMMONS ON DEC12 ON SUBJECT OF TRADE WITH CUBA. ENDS.

DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Ambassador  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Reference:

Subject: COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA

To: West  
X/L NOV 23 1960

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 545

Date: November 21, 1960

Enclosures: two

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.  
50066-40  
40 40

References

EMBASSY - LIMA  
PERNIS - N.Y.  
NATO - PARIS

REFER TO:

Q/RM (MR. ROBINSON)  
Q/EEA (MR. CAMPBELL)  
USSEA:  
MR. RITCHIE  
ECONOMIC I  
U.S.A. DIVISION  
D.L. (2)  
LAWSON SERVICES  
ALL LATIN AMERICAN POSTS

CCOS (6)  
FAC  
BANK  
FINANCE  
JIB  
NDC (VIA L.S.)  
LATIN AMERICAN/

I am attaching some clippings from the local papers dealing with Communism in this continent. The amount of space devoted to this issue has become greater today than at any time since my arrival here. This is a good thing if it is going to alert people to the menace that surrounds them.

2. The authorities here are not afraid of Communists taking the country over by force. Communist intrigue is their greatest concern. Castro did not set himself up in the mountains as a Communist come to rescue Cuba from Batista. He represented opposition to what Batista stood for and in this way he obtained widespread support. There is extensive dissatisfaction in all the countries of Latin America with current living standards and the danger lies in some demagogue getting widespread backing for a movement promising an improved lot for the masses. Once in power, this man could sell out to or be used by the Communists for their purposes.

3. I spoke this week to Ambassador Scilingo, a close adviser to President Frondizi and the Argentine representative to the recent inauguration of the new President of Ecuador. He was appalled by the poverty which he saw on all sides in that country, and expressed his surprise that a Castro type rebellion had not broken out there before this. He sees growing danger in the present situation and fears that the Communists are well organized to make trouble there and throughout Central America. He is apprehensive that the Ecuador-Peru border dispute will lead to a political crisis in Ecuador which extremist elements may use to seize power. He agrees with Mr. Alsogaray, the Minister of Economy and interim Minister of Labour in the Argentine Government, that the recent spate of strikes throughout Latin America (practically simultaneous in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina) had a measure of "centralized" direction. He also believes that the choice of November 7, the Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was inspired by Communist elements. He does not claim that the rank and file of labour unions in all the countries took part in the demonstrations because they had Communist sympathies. He does believe that they were unwitting accomplices in holding the strike on a day which has significance for the Communists.

*Rodriguez*  
Ambassador

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# DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

Date

Nov. 13

Publication

Cones

c13

## Semanarios Doctrinarios

**"AFIRMACION".** — Dice, en "Ficción y realidad sobre el comunismo", que éste "es peligroso no por la suma de simplezas que se alinean en la prédica infantil de algunos comités contrarios, ni por la serie de situaciones que están obligados a imaginar algunos economistas a sueldo del capitalismo, sino sencillamente y fundamentalmente porque es un régimen y una filosofía de vida que atenta directamente al ejercicio de la libertad y al desarrollo de la democracia." En un comentario sobre "El triunfo de Kennedy", expresa que "tras ocho años de gobierno republicano, la llegada de Kennedy a la Casa Blanca señala el comienzo de una nueva era y abre la puerta a fundadas esperanzas de rectificación en los pueblos de América latina y de otras partes del mundo."

\* \* \*

**"AZUL Y BLANCO".** — Dedicado un extenso editorial a "Los cultores del engaño", en el cual afirma: "Se está perdiendo la fe y se están aniquilando las esperanzas de la ciudadanía. Hoy se ve en cada funcionario a un impostor —y hasta las fuerzas policiales guardianas del orden ante los escándalos exhibidos han perdido el respeto y la consideración del pueblo. La mentira demuele las estructuras más nobles de nuestra personalidad —como la mención— y damos un pésimo ejemplo a las demás naciones que ya censuran esta dissipación colosal que reina en el país. Los grandes y fabulosos "affaires" han sacudido a la opinión y el estupor domina las conciencias."

\* \* \*

**"ARGENTINA EN MARCHA".** — Afirma en artículo de fondo "La legalidad como bien común", que "puestos en la situación que nos es propia, de país insuficientemente desarrollado y con una estructura económica todavía semicolonial, el mantenimiento de la legalidad, enmarcando un proceso de medidas eco-

nómicas y de reordenamientos sociales tendientes al desarrollo, ofrece la única posibilidad de llegar a una liberación nacional que —de una u otra manera, es inexorable, evitando los enfrentamientos, las luchas y los dolores, muchas veces incurables, de una revolución. Y, sobre todo, salvando los valores espirituales de nuestra nacionalidad"

\* \* \*

**"LA VANGUARDIA".** — Se refiere al reciente paro del día 7 en "No hable más, señor ministro", artículo al que pertenece el párrafo siguiente: "... el ministro de economía cometió un error irreparable: basándose en la coincidencia de la fecha con el aniversario de la revolución bolchevique, atribuyó el hecho a los comunistas y les dispensó una potencia decisiva. Numerosos dirigentes gremiales han explicado las circunstancias y quienes propusieron la fecha. No hay tal influencia comunista. Pero el ministro, a quien debemos suponer informado, ha ofrecido a los comunistas en bandeja de plata un valor, una gravitación que no tienen."

\* \* \*

**"FRENTE COMUN".** — Se ocupa de "Ensayo comunista en Caracas" y dice: "Las inmensas manifestaciones de obreros y campesinos en apoyo del gobierno de Betancourt, las declaraciones de la Iglesia y de los partidos políticos, prueban fehacientemente que ese gobierno, de carácter popular, cuenta con la aprobación del pueblo que lo eligió. Por supuesto, el hecho no lleva a la reflexión a las minorías comunista y comunista, cuya exclusiva finalidad es provocar perturbaciones y tratar de hacer aparecer a Betancourt como un reaccionario solitario que, con el apoyo de algunos jefes militares, tiraniza a un pueblo que todo cuanto desea, es brindar su apoyo material y moral al régimen comunista de Fidel Castro"

## Resumen de Editoriales

**La Prensa** **FEDERALISMO OLVIDADO**  
—Una asamblea de la UCR proclamó el candidato a gobernador de la provincia, el domingo 6. Al día siguiente publicamos una información según la cual el candidato no sería el proclamado en Mendoza, sino otro cuyo nombre anunció en la Capital Federal el comité nacional del mismo partido. No interesa cuál interprete la voluntad de la entidad cívica. Las observaciones deben limitarse al procedimiento. Buenos Aires no debe ser la meca obligada de candidaturas. No conviene al país la sistemática centralización en la Capital Federal de todos los problemas partidarios y políticos de las provincias. Todo esto afecta al verdadero federalismo.

**La Nación** **UN PAIS QUE GRAVA SUS EXPORTACIONES.**  
— En la conferencia pronunciada por el vicepresidente de la CAP señalase que "la Argentina constituye posiblemente el único país que grava sus exportaciones". No puede concebirse mayor aberración. Si la Argentina debía exportar más que los habituales mil millones de dólares por año, el déficit tenía que exigir otra cuota complementaria de exportaciones. En lugar de favorecerlas, el gobierno las trabó. En el caso del congelado, los impuestos a la exportación equivalen a \$ 5.850 y \$ 6.000 por tonelada, según se trate de carne o carne y menudencias, o sea 65 ó 73 dólares en uno u otro caso.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

Date

Publication

Huelgas en el continente

Al comentar el 2 del mes corriente el plan cubano de agitación y su inmediata coincidencia con la tentativa revolucionaria de Venezuela, dijimos que, dados esos antecedentes, eran previsibles episodios análogos en otros países latino-americanos, pues las circunstancias reclamaban que los extremistas de esta parte del mundo dieran pruebas de vigor para estimular el apoyo que reciben desde el extranjero. Existe, a todas luces, una coordinación de propaganda revolucionaria que en estos días trata de conmover el ambiente continental como demostración de un movimiento común; persigue objetivos sociales trazados por la estrategia soviética en su lucha por el dominio mundial. Ya son innumerables los hechos reveladores de que el castrismo, favorecido por adhesiones de tendencias aparentemente distintas, actúa como elemento, explosivo y señuelo unificador de las confusas rebeldías de nuestro hemisferio.

Una semana ha sido suficiente para que se ponga en evidencia la lógica de esas previsiones. Por motivos independientes en su enunciación han estallado conflictos sociales en varios de los principales países americanos. La falta de relación visible entre esos movimientos no basta para que se los considere desvinculados, por lo menos en lo que respecta a su dirección central, que hasta puede ser ignorada por algunos de los que participan de ellos. La jefatura comunista, más activa y capacitada que las de otras fuerzas afines, es efficacísima en esa tarea de incitar protestas y choques, utilizando pretextos accidentales, para llegar por grados a sus fines de subversión, capitalizando los triunfos y eludiendo la responsabilidad de los fracasos. Por eso no debe engañar tampoco la variable gravedad de las empresas en que ella se mezcla, pues responde a las posibilidades de cada lugar y momento y va en pos de un fin seguro dentro de sus expresiones contradictorias.

Son características a ese respecto algunas declaraciones que acaba de formular el presidente de la Central Única de Trabajadores de Chile, a propósito del incidente sangriento en que actuó el 3 de este mes, cuando se puso al frente de mil manifestantes incitándolos a la violencia para seguir el ejemplo cubano. Interrogado luego por la prensa chilena, no tuvo inconveniente en aceptar las acusaciones que se le hacían y en declarar que si los obreros presentes hubieran sido "pocos" los habría "reprendido", pero que como eran "bastantes" aprovechó "la ocasión para levantar el ánimo y lanzarlos de una vez contra este gobierno". Agregó: "Hemos tomado la política de la lucha franca. Antes tratábamos de hacerlo legalmente, ahora solamente lo probaremos por la fuerza. Vamos a pelear para ver quién le quiebra la mano a quién".

Vemos así cómo está concebida y graduada, en sus medios y en sus fines, la acción extremista continental. Será tranquila o violenta, limitada o amplia, de queja o de rebelión, según lo permitan las perspectivas inmediatas. Los comentarios que llegan del Brasil, donde las cosas parecieron agravarse de modo más inquietante, hablan de la existencia de un plan común orientado desde Montevideo. Son de hace pocos días las aseveraciones del presidente de la Junta Nacional de Gobierno del Uruguay sobre la actividad de una central comunista en la capital vecina.

Sería imprudente negarse a reconocer tantos elementos de prueba sobre la coordinación de esfuerzos latinoamericanos para producir metódicamente un estado de subversión que perturbe el desarrollo de la política y cree condiciones sociales propicias a los objetivos del imperialismo soviético. En esa acción tenaz pueden intervenir hombres y agrupaciones que no tengan la misma filiación y que hasta por ello sean más útiles a la conocida táctica de enturbiar las aguas. Mas, a despecho de tales diferencias y no obstante la diversidad de formas de los movimientos locales, la meta fundamental no cambiará y las posiciones que se alcancen con el concurso de algunos incautos servirán para soluciones que aprovechen únicamente al comunismo.

Send to Ottawa

DESPATCH

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.  
The Canadian Ambassador

FROM: .....  
Buenos Aires, Argentina  
.....

Reference: .....  
COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Subject: .....  
.....  
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Security:.....

No:..... 545  
November 21, 1960

Date:..... TWO

Enclosures:..... AIR

Air or Surface Mail:.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

## References—

1. I am attaching some clippings from the local papers dealing with Communism in this continent. The amount of space devoted to this issue has become greater today than at any time since my arrival here. This is a good thing if it is going to alert people to the menace that surrounds them.

2. The authorities here are not afraid of Communists taking the country over by force. Communist intrigue is their greatest concern. Castro did not set himself up in the mountains as a Communist come to rescue Cuba from Batista. He represented opposition to what Batista stood for and in this way he obtained widespread support. There is extensive dissatisfaction in all the countries of Latin America with current living standards and the danger lies in some demagogue getting widespread backing for a movement promising an improved lot for the masses. Once in power, this man could sell out to or be used by the Communists for their purposes.

3. I spoke this week to Ambassador Scilingo, a close adviser to President Frondizi and the Argentine representative to the recent inauguration of the new President of Ecuador. He was appalled by the poverty which he saw on all sides in that country, and expressed his surprise that a Castro type rebellion had not broken out there before this. He sees growing danger in the present situation and fears that the Communists are well organized to make trouble there and throughout Central America. He is apprehensive that the Ecuador-Peru border dispute will lead to a political crisis in Ecuador which extremist elements may use to seize power. He agrees with Mr. Alsogaray, the Minister of Economy and interim Minister of Labour in the Argentine Government, that the recent spate of strikes throughout Latin America (practically simultaneous in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina) had a measure of "centralized" direction. He also believes that the choice of November 7, the Anniversary of the Bolshevick Revolution, was inspired by Communist elements. He does not claim that the rank and file of labour unions in all the countries took part in the demonstrations because they had Communist sympathies. He does believe that they were unwitting accomplices in holding the strike on a day which has significance for the Communists.

R. P. BOWER

Ambassador

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## DESPATCH

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

Mexico, D.F.

Reference: My despatch 642 of October 19, 1960.

Subject: Communist Activity in Mexico.

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 736

Date: December 5, 1960.

Enclosures: 1

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 8-1-5-5

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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DEC 19 1960

## References

## REFER TO:

O/PM (MR. ROBINSON)

O/SEA (MR. CAMPBELL)

USSEA (MR. BROWN)

MR. RITCHIE

European division

ECONOMIC I

U.S.A. DIVISION

D.L. (2) (with enclosure)

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The fact that Mexico seems to experience no dangerous pull towards Communism at present, and indeed finds strong defences against it both in its history and in the success of its own movement of social and economic reform, does not imply the absence of Communist activity in this country. Attached is a memorandum on this subject which I obtained from the U.S. Embassy, and which is said to have been one of the documents considered by the Catholic Bishops at the recent Episcopal Conference here (cf. letter under reference).

2. This memorandum seems genuine to me, both as to expression and in the sense that it reflects the political ideas and anxieties of the Catholic conservative groups in Mexico. One could not vouch, of course, for the authenticity of particular facts or allegations, and I think the names it mentions, and the statistics, should be taken with caution. On the other hand, I consider it useful as an outline of Communist objectives and organization, of their continuing and determined effort to train and use intellectual troops, as an indispensable complement of leftist labour organization and agitation which the Mexican government has not found it too hard to contain.

3. The organized penetration of intellectual groups, with particular emphasis on teachers and students at all levels, and the occupation of key positions in public and private organizations in the educational and cultural fields, is characteristic of the Communist drive in Latin America, and it poses an increased threat to sound democratic progress. In addition to governments, religious faith which is a serious obstacle to Communism in this area, is also under sustained attack by this tactic. The Catholic Church in Mexico has publicly stated its awareness of the problem, and begun to take counter-action. It may be presumed that the recent Congress of Latin American Church leaders in Buenos Aires also devoted attention to Communist infiltration, with a view to general action in that sense.

4. As far as Mexico is concerned, one may not share the degree of anxiety expressed by the author of this memorandum, whose particular concern with the dark side of

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- 2 -

the picture is understandable. Yet in this complex field, who can be certain? As he says: "To deal with Communist penetration is like venturing onto a difficult and moving ground. One runs the risk of seeming to exaggerate certain aspects, chiefly because it is very hard to gather and exhibit proof of the left-wing connection of persons and social movements who, even when dedicated to just causes, follow in practice specifically Marxist tactics."

5. While he uses certain terms loosely perhaps, I think the author is suggesting here that the absence of religious education in public schools, and of religious influence in public organizations, greatly facilitates Communism's labour in Mexico. If so, this is a risk the government is prepared to run. Relations between Church and State have much improved of recent years, and nothing seems likely to prevent a continuing improvement, but there is no likelihood that the Church will regain the influential position it held formerly and which to Mexicans, rightly or wrongly, was part of the odious pattern of society which the Revolution swept away.

6. There is also in this opening paragraph a criticism of President Lopez Mateos' proclaimed position of "extreme left, within the Constitution". This statement which the President made a few months ago, ostensibly to meet certain requirements of internal political balance, is equivocal. For the President, the operative clause was "within the Constitution", but the term "extreme left" gave at least verbal encouragement to left-wing activity of domestic or foreign inspiration. Among the public, the government's "modified" extreme left position (izquierda atinada), has been forgotten after a brief season of witticisms.

7. The resistance of Mexicans generally to Communism as a philosophy, way of life or form of government, seems genuine and effective. Historical imperatives of freedom and independence, however, tend to complicate the task of government and to present it with increasingly hard choices between restriction and laissez-faire in internal matters, as between a cooperative or an independent policy line externally. As a result, Mexican foreign policy attitudes often give the appearance of stubborn rigidity, and misconceptions are created abroad as to the exact nature of the freedom enjoyed by Mexican citizens within the Constitution. In both respects, Mexico appears determined to follow unwaveringly its traditional course.

*W. Amund* 000475 -

LA INFILTRACION COMUNISTA --- MEXICO

- Memorandum -

México, D.F., septiembre 8 de 1960.

- 1.- Tratar sobre la penetración comunista es como adentrarse en un terreno difícil y movedizo. Se corre el riesgo de parecer exagerado en algunos datos, sobre todo porque en buena parte resulta excepcional reunir y exhibir pruebas sobre la filiación roja de personas y movimientos sociales que, aunque apoyados en causas justas, siguen en la práctica las tácticas específicamente marxistas.
- 2.- Para reunir una información comprobada y exhaustiva acerca de la penetración comunista en México son necesarios: tiempo, dinero y personas dedicadas especialmente a esta tarea que, por otro lado, es indispensable realizar, visto que el comunismo en nuestro país ha dejado de ser un fantasma para convertirse en una realidad social que avanza y crece, cada día.
- 3.- Las informaciones aquí reunidas proceden de las siguientes fuentes:
  - a) testimonios de personas que merecen confianza y que han seguido de cerca el desenvolvimiento del comunismo en México.
  - b) documentos del propio partido comunista o de comunistas prominentes, relativos al XIII Congreso Nacional del Partido Comunista Mexicano, celebrado en esta capital, del 26 al 31 de mayo del presente año.
  - c) escritos y declaraciones de personas que militaron en las filas comunistas y que actualmente se encuentran fuera de ellas.
  - d) pláticas personales con militantes comunistas.
  - e) estudios sobre la penetración comunista en diversas esferas.
- 4.- No todos los comunistas activos están afiliados o tienen "carnet" del PCM. La penetración roja en México es una realidad que no debemos atribuir exclusivamente a los miembros del Partido Comunista Mexicano, ni tampoco solo a los de otras organizaciones públicamente reconocidas como pro-soviéticas, como es el caso del Partido Obrero Campesino y el Partido Popular.
- 5.- La penetración comunista se realiza al través de estos tres canales y por medio de otros grupos marxistas que no aceptan el calificativo de comunistas y que se denominan "progresistas", "revolucionarios" o más claramente "de izquierda".
- 6.- Como en todas las organizaciones, en los grupos comunistas los hay sinceros y los hay indiferentes; activos o "chambistas"; por esta razón hay células de fuerte unidad orgánica y de una gran capacidad de acción y otras, en las que los intereses políticos y las ambiciones personales de sus miembros las han debilitado.
- 7.- El que en algunos aspectos, los organismos conocidos del comunismo dan muestras de debilidades por divisiones internas, no significa necesariamente que hayan perdido su capacidad de acción. Estas divisiones, fracciones y antagonismos (Lombardo Toledano vs. Hernán Laborde, en 1940) (Valentín Campa vs. Carlos Sánchez Cárdenas que concluyó en que el primero abandonara el POCM y se sumara al PCM) (David Alfaro Siqueiros vs. José Revueltas, por la actitud revisionista de este último como cabeza de la célula "Carlos Marx") se encuentran previstos en algunos casos, son hasta alentados por la dirección del comunismo en México con la doble finalidad de que, en lo interno, sus filas se depuren, y en lo externo para confundir y desorientar políticamente a sus adversarios.
- 8.- Esto es posible explicárselo si se tiene en cuenta que existe una dirección máxima del comunismo en México que dirige todos sus movimientos y según la cual, los grupos rojos a pesar de sus diferencias en tácticas y objetivos políticos, tienen una especie de superestructura. (1)

9.- Según esa estructura aprobada, alentada, financiada y dirigida en Moscú, el movimiento rojo en México se realiza al través de los siguientes grupos:

PRIMER GRUPO.- Está encabezado por Vicente Lombardo Toledano, quien tiene encomendado el papel de jefe. El es quien recibe directamente las consignas por parte de los dirigentes del comunismo mundial y él es quien debe responder de su realización. Moscú (y esto es muy importante anotarlo) ha delegado en Vicente Lombardo Toledano toda su autoridad. Tiene instrucciones de mantenerse a todo trance dentro de la legalidad y de conservar el mando más alto de los grupos marxistas de intelectuales y líderes obreros, campesinos, estudiantiles y magisteriales.

SEGUNDO GRUPO.- Estaba bajo la jefatura de Narciso Bassols Batalla, embajador de México en Moscú. A su muerte, probablemente sea elegido para sustituirlo, el licenciado Jesús Silva Herzog. Este grupo tiene encomendada la penetración ideológica. Su objetivo son los intelectuales y los estudiantes. Tiene por tarea decir las cosas que no puede decir Lombardo para no caer en la ilegalidad. Estaba previsto que, llegado el caso, Bassols, sustituiría a Lombardo, en el mando máximo.

TERCER GRUPO.- Está constituido por la dirección colectiva del Partido Comunista Mexicano, por los elementos de Valentín Campa que abandonaron las filas del POCM para sumarse al PCM y por los miembros del Partido Obrero Campesino. Su misión es la de provocar luchas y agitaciones de todo tipo. Sus tácticas se fincan en la violencia. Diríase que constituyen las infanterías del comunismo.

CUARTO GRUPO.- Está formado por extranjeros que han entrado a México por la vía diplomática y con destino a la Embajada de la URSS y a las de Polonia y Checoslovaquia y últimamente a la de Cuba. Algunos de ellos son miembros de la policía política rusa (NKDV), gozan de inmunidad diplomática, tienen su propia cohesión y su propio comando. Son fuerzas de choque utilizadas en la agitación y a la vez constituyen una especie de estado mayor de Vicente Lombardo Toledano con el que tienen el papel de consultores expertos. (Fue el caso de Nicolás M. Remisov y Nicolai V. Akrenov, que el 13 de abril de 1959 fueron expulsados, sin explicación oficial alguna. Eran miembros de la Embajada Soviética. Actualmente, además del Embajador Basikin, hay 19 miembros de la misión, la más numerosa después de la de Estados Unidos.)

10.- Distribuidas así las fuerzas del comunismo, la acción de penetración está en marcha. Es cosa de analizar si está alentada por la política de extrema izquierda, dentro de la Constitución, proclamada por el Presidente López Mateos.

11.- Los objetivos inmediatos de los comunistas son de dos tipos:

- a) en el plano nacional y
- b) en el plano internacional.

En el plano nacional:

- I.- Reagrupamiento de las fuerzas democráticas (Declaraciones de David Alfaro Siqueiros, pag. 10)
- II.- La liberación nacional de México (Resolución General del PCM, Pag. 5, Párrafo 1o.).
- III.- Organizar y levantar a las masas trabajadoras y conducir las a la acción en pos de sus demandas inmediatas (Res.Gral.Pag.7, Párrafos 10, 11 y 12, 13 y 14 pag.11).

- La integración de un poderoso movimiento de frente democrático y de liberación nacional, como fase preparatoria para la revolución. (Res. Gral. Pág. 7, Parr. 14 (principio), 15 y Min. Pag.13).

Para estas luchas los comunistas tienen prevista la participación voluntaria de otras fuerzas (R. Pág.6)

En el Plano internacional:

Los comunistas consideran que el clima internacional es favorable para la expansión de su movimiento y están decididos a aprovecharlo (Res. Pág. 2).

Los objetivos son:

- I. Crear la conciencia de que en caso de una III Guerra Mundial, México se alineará al lado de la Unión Soviética (Res. Punt. 4, pag. 3).
- II. Reafirmar la solidaridad con el movimiento mundial en favor de la paz soviética. (Item. Punto 5).
- III.- Apoyar el desarme.
- IV.- Participar activamente en la lucha contra el colonialismo. (Punto 7, pag. 4)
- V.- Apoyar a la Revolución Cubana (Pág. 4 Punto 8).
- VI.- Denunciar que el proyecto Mercurio de Guaymas, Son, es en realidad el proyecto de una base militar norteamericana. (Res. Pág. 4 Punto 11).
- VII.- Luchar porque México comercie en gran escala con la Unión Soviética.

En Moscú se considera el intercambio y las relaciones comerciales, como un medio más de penetración y sobre todo, como un canal para el financiamiento de los partidos comunistas y organizaciones prosoviéticas. Incluso el Banco Comercial para Europa del Norte, tiene específicamente esa finalidad. La Cuenta "M", de ese Banco, está destinada a este tipo de financiamientos. (2)

12. Señalados la estructura orgánica y los objetivos comunistas en México, algunos datos reveladores.

El 18 de julio pasado, el Presidente López Mateos recibió en su despacho a los dirigentes de una nueva organización obrera, nacida de la noche a la mañana, con las siglas de FOR - Federación Obrera Revolucionaria-. Los dirigentes de esa organización que estuvieron con el Presidente fueron: Angel Olivo Solís (comunista), Samuel Ruiz Mora, Jorge Contreras Fernández, Jesus Rodríguez Garibay, Andrés García Salgado, Angel Reyna Menchaca y Arturo Fuentes Bolaños. Y le manifestaron:

- 1.- Su más vigoroso apoyo por su política internacional.
- 2.- Que las fuerzas reaccionarias trababan de impedir que el Gobierno marchara por el sendero de la Revolución, alineado por la izquierda.
- 3.- Que la lucha depuradora, la continuarían sin transacciones, por cuanto que Fidel Velázquez y Jesús Terán, han sido traidores a la clase obrera.
- 4.- Que la lucha depuradora no estaba dirigida contra las organizaciones, sino a organizar lo nuevo, lo disperso y a los insatisfechos.

Y dieron a conocer su declaración de principios que en esencia es la siguiente:

- La FOR surge como producto de la lucha por la depuración y contra el sindicalismo claudicante que ha arriado la bandera de la lucha de clases, como un nuevo instrumento para la Revolución Mexicana. El

n miento de la FOR es el principio de un trabajo nacional que habrá de concluir a su tiempo en la formación de una Central Nacional. Nace cuando en el ambiente internacional se avizoran nuevas épocas de relaciones. Cuando en nuestro continente la libertad y la democracia se abren paso.

- La FOR luchará por la UNIDAD NACIONAL DE TODAS LAS FUERZAS REVOLUCIONARIAS, PATRIOTICAS Y NACIONALES. No la realizará de una manera PASIVA, sino que promoverá y atenderá las sugerencias que al respecto surjan. Promoverá discusiones entre todos los sectores interesados, para que en el menor tiempo posible, puedan verse realizadas las deseos de cientos de mexicanos. Sus relaciones con otras organizaciones las buscará hasta llegar a establecer pactos de solidaridad, alianza o unidad. Luchará por un salario mínimo decoroso; emprenderá campañas contra el alza de las subsistencias y en favor del abaratamiento de la vida y por que exista un control gubernamental de los precios. (Repoti, 2o. parr. pág.8)

13.- Mas sobre la FOR, con motivo de los disturbios en la Normal, el 4 de agosto, los dirigentes de la FOR, dijeron: "Condenamos enérgicamente a los aventureros que pretenden escudarse EN UNA IDEOLOGIA QUE DESCONOCEN, PARA REALIZAR PROVOCACIONES QUE DAÑAN AL MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO.

El 15 de agosto, manifestaron: Se trata de impedir que el Presidente no continúe por el camino de la Extrema Izquierda y sobre todo, que continúe en el camino de apoyo a la Revolución Cubana y tras de afirmar que la campaña de prensa trata de señalar como culpables a los comunistas, dijeron: "A LA CAMPAÑA DE EXAGERACIONES HECHA POR LOS PERIODICOS DE LA REACCION, HA SEGUIDO LA DEMANDE DE LIMPIAR AL GOBIERNO DIZQUE DE COMUNISTAS, PARA OBTENER TAN SOLO LA ELIMINACION DE LOS HOMBRES DEMOCRATICOS FIELES A LA POLITICA DE EXTREMA IZQUIERDA Y EN CAMBIO CONSERVAR LOS ELEMENTOS QUE ESTAN IDENTIFICADOS, DESDE HACE MUCHOS AÑOS CON EL ALEMANISMO Y LA REACCION.

X al referirse concretamente al caso de la Sección IX del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación "elementos poco serenos" (Alfaro Siquieros) fueron los que de manera irresponsable se lanzaron a la lucha con acciones drásticas, SIN REPARAR EN LAS CONDICIONES POLITICAS Y SIN CONSIDERAR LAS OPINIONES DE LOS SECTORES FUNDAMENTALES DE LA REVOLUCION MEXICANA, SOBRE EL METODO A EMPLEAR (a quien, según los de la FOR, debería de haberse consultado, sobre esta agitación). Se puede decir que los dirigentes de esta organización se siente discriminados, porque no se les tomó en cuenta, en la tarea de agitación con cuyas tácticas estuvieron en desacuerdo.

14.- ¿La existencia de la FOR tiene alguna conexión con la central obrera depuradora, planeada en 1958, por Agustín Sánchez Delint, Demetrio Vallejo y Othón Salazar, cuya base estaría integrada con las poderosas organizaciones sindicales de los electricistas, telefonistas, ferrocarrileros y los maestros en cuya planeación estuvo interviniendo Angel Olivo, hoy dirigente máximo de la FOR?

15.- Estudios e investigaciones recientes señalan nombres de funcionarios del Gobierno y de otras organizaciones e instituciones que profesan ideas de izquierda y que se considera, representan la penetración comunista en esas esferas.

EN EL GOBIERNO.- Son de izquierda, Manuel Germán Parra, consejero del Presidente, en cuestiones económicas. Isidro Fabela, consejero de López Mateos en cuanto a política internacional.

En la Secretaría de Relaciones: el ya mencionado Isidro Fabela, Luis Padilla Nervo, el doctor Leopoldo Zea, los embajadores: Alejandro Carrillo, RAU, Gilberto Bosque, Cuba; Primo Villa Michel, Rosenswaigs, de Organismos Internacionales; Elena Vázquez Gómez.

Otros funcionarios: Roberto Barrios, Departamento Asunto Agrarios y Cal. Ing. Patiño Navarrete, de Agricultura, el ministro Franco Carreño, de la Suprema Corte María Teresa Puente, juez. Lic. Natalio Vázquez Pallares y Guillermo Valadés, senadores por Michoacán y Jalisco, respectivamente. Manuel Moreno Sánchez que controla la Cámara Alta.



SECRETARIA DE EDUCACION: con la complacencia de Torres Bodet, trabajan los siguientes rojos reconocidos: Mario Aguilera Dorantes, coordinador general de enseñanza primaria; Herbert Santoyo, Manuel Boneta, Manuel Hidalgo, Jose Luis Nasoh de la misma dependencia. Martín Luis Guzmán, Presidente de la Comisión del texto único; Celerino Cano, Presidente del Consejo Nacional de Educación. Y en puestos claves se encuentran: Gaudencio Peraza, Jorge Gruishank, Wildebaldo Lara, Esther Chapa, Eulalia Guzmán, Diodor Antúnez, Matilde Rodríguez Cabo, Vicente y Juan Pablo Sáenz, Siqueiros, Chávez Morado, Revueltas y Anguiano, en Antropología, el INBA y el Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

GOBERNADORES.- Braulio Maldonado que está tratando de formar un nuevo partido político de tendencia izquierdista. Francisco Martínez de la Vega, de San Luis; Francisco E. García, de Zacatecas (ex-secretario del PCM); David Franco Rodríguez de Michoacán. Juan Gil Preciado, de Jalisco, a quien se señala como ex-camisa roja.

UNAM.- En el estudio consultado se dice que Silva Herzog dirige la penetración en la UNAM y que son izquierdistas: Efrén del Pozo, el Lic Horacio Labastida, de la Bolsa de Trabajo; Jaime García Terrés, director general de Difusión Cultural; Enrique González Casanova, director de la Escuela de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales; Leopoldo Zea, coordinador de Humanidades; Emilio Mújica, de Economía. Además se menciona a los líderes estudiantiles: T. norio Adame y Rodríguez, así como Nogueta del Pozo.

CHAPINGO.- Esta escuela de ingenieros agrónomos es también señalada como centro de penetración comunista y donde las células tiene gran fuerza, sobre todo en la Sociedad Agronómica Mexicana, integrada por ex-alumnos.

PRENSA.- La acción roja se extiende a periódicos, revista y casas editoras. Además de las publicaciones específicamente comunistas como la Voz de México, dirigida por Gerardo Unzueta, Liberación que sale de las prensas del Fondo de Cultura Económica, dirigida aparentemente por Arnaldo Orfila Reynal, comunista argentino; de Problemas Agrícolas e Industriales, de Marcué Pardiñas; El Popular diario dirigido por Manuel O. Padrés y Tiempo de Martín Luis Guzmán, se encuentran otras publicaciones específicamente rojas, como Paralelo 20, Futuro, dirigida por Hugo Ponce; Política de Jorge Carrión, México en la Cultura, dirigida por Fernando Benítez; Siempre por José Pagés Llergo.

Como periodistas de filiación izquierdista reconocida, están: Renato Leduc, Elvira Vargas, Arturo Sotomayor, Sara Moirón, Rapul Prieto "Nikitonipongo", Rodolfo Dorante, Ricardo Toraya, Luis Suárez, Fernando Revueltas, José Morales, Carlos F. Alvarez, Luis Guevara, Antonio Rodríguez, Fausto Castillo, Gómez Lorenzo, Ernesto Guajardo, Hero Rodríguez Toro, director de Diorema de la Cultura de Excelsior, Alberto Beltrán, Carlos Mora, Luis Aymamí, Efraín Herta, García Ascott, Antonio Robles, Gastón García Cantú, y Darío Leoza.

El Fondo de Cultura Económica, con un subsidio de sesenta millones de pesos anuales, tiene orientación izquierdista y está dirigido por el mencionado Armando Orfila, con influencia de Herzog.

Entre las editoriales izquierdistas se encuentran: El Fondo de Cultura Popular, la Editorial en Lenguas Extranjeras, cuyas ediciones hechas en Moscú se distribuyen en México.

Y entre las librerías están:

La Navarro, la Zaplana y el Instituto Nacional del Libro, prácticamente dirigido por la señora Zapata Vela.

El "Circulo de Estudios Mexicanos" está integrado por los intelectuales comunistas.

16.- Otros nombres y otras organizaciones son también pro-comunistas o comunistas, en el medio intelectual mexicano; pero la aportación de datos tendrá que ser tarea próxima.

## NOTAS SOBRE LA INFILTRACION COMUNISTA EN MEXICO.

### Nota # 1.

La actual agitación que existe en México tiene su origen en 1953, cuando se reunió el Comité Latinoamericano del Partido Comunista y creó un Plan Quinquenal para México, con un subsidio de 100 millones de pesos, iniciaron sus actividades bajo la dirección directa de la Embajada Soviética en México a través del Instituto Cultural Ruso-Mexicano. sus organismos son:

- 1.- CIRCULO DE ESTUDIOS MEXICANO que agrupa a los intelectuales destacando Lombardo Toledano, Tamayo, de Cortari, Eulalia Guzmán, Jorge Carrión, Hortensia Rojas, Walter Ocampo, Alejandro Carrillo, etc. Su labor principal es crear opinión pública mediante colaboraciones en periódicos y revistas (SIEMPRE Y "A.B.C."), conferencias, folletos, etc.
- 2.- PARTIDO COMUNISTA MEXICANO con Lumbreras, Encinas, Alfaro Siqueiros, etc. Su actividad principal es la creación de células.
- 3.- PARTIDO OBRERO CAMPEÑO DE MEXICO con Valentín Campa, Luis Gómez Z. etc. Su labor es infiltración entre los obreros.
- 4.- UNION GENERAL DE OBREROS Y CAMPEÑO con Jacinto López, Lázaro Rubio, Javier Rojo Gómez, su actividad es el campo con núcleos en Sonora, Sinaloa, Baja California, Tamaulipas, Colima, Veracruz, Zacatecas, Jalisco y Oaxaca.
- 5.- PARTIDO POPULAR con Lombardo, Carreón, Lina Valadez, Enrique Ramírez y Ramírez. Macrina Rabadán (esposa de Luis Arrenal), etc. No es sino un frente ficticio para la orientación política.
- 6.- UNIVERSIDAD OBRERA DE MEXICO que tiene a su cargo la formación de líderes y de aquí han salido los actuales dirigentes obreros de México, algunos con título de licenciados en Derecho como Avecia de los telefonistas y Sánchez Delint de los electricistas.
- 7.- SOCIEDAD EJIDAL 1940-1960 con Arturo Orena, Juan José Meraz, Guadalupe Saucedo, J. Cruz Chacón, etc. Tiene su sede en Torreón y maneja a la mayoría de los campesinos de la Laguna.
- 8.- UNION REGIONAL DE CAÑEROS con Vidal Díaz Muñoz tiene gran fuerza en todos los ingenios de la República, principalmente en el de San Cristóbal de Cosomoalapan y el Mante. (Para formarse una idea en este aspecto, el Ingenio de Ameca, Jal. que tiene alrededor de 200 obreros, acaba de recibir 7 líderes comunistas formados en Rusia).
- 9.- El grupo Minero que tiene un centro en Nueva Rosita, Coah. maneja las secciones de Coahuila y Fresnillo, Zac. No tenemos mayores datos sobre este grupo.

Existen otros organismos menores como son el ATENEO NARCISO BASSOLS de la Escuela de Economía y el CUAUHTEMOC, así como el COMITE POR LIBERACION DE LOS PRESOS POLITICOS, SOCIEDAD AMIGOS DE CUBA Y CENTRO REPUBLICANO ESPAÑOL, etc.

### Nota # 2

#### MOVIMIENTO OBRERO Y ESTUDIANTIL

OBRERO: Durante el Plan Quinquenal formaron líderes, tanto en la Universidad Obrera como en Rusia y crearon fuertes núcleos que llegaron en muchas ocasiones a dominar en los siguientes sindicatos: Ferrocarrileros, Petroleros, Electricistas, Maestros, Telegrafistas, Mineros, Servidores del Estado, trabajadores de El Anfora, El Angel, Euzkadi, la Consolidad y otros de menor importancia.

### ESTUDIANTEL:

Escuela Normal Nacional: Es el centro de todas sus operaciones estudiantiles. La Secretaría de Educación le ha dado 250 becas al Partido Comunista, las cuales reparte entre los alumnos que recomiendan los maestros del Movimiento Revolucionario Magisterial con la mira de que se conviertan en líderes, esos alumnos formando células pasan a las 14 Preparatorias y a la Universidad.

INSTITUTO POLITECNICO NACIONAL: Esta institución desde su fundación ha tenido tendencia comunista y en el Plan Quinquenal de 1953 la lanzaron a la lucha inmediatamente con dos miras: quemar a los antiguos líderes y así los del Plan Quinquenal fueran desconocidos y actuaran con más libertad (el Partido Popular fue el más interesado en que Nicandro Mendoza estuviera durante 2 años en la cárcel); el otro objetivo era llamar la atención para que los simpatizantes comunistas cerrarán filas en torno de sus organismos. Cumplidos estos objetivos están trabajando activamente y es la fuerza que tienen en reserva, por eso en esta ocasión no lo han sacado a relucir y es donde yo veo más peligro porque se están preparando a conciencia y no sabemos que es lo que preparan.

UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE MEXICO: Se han apoderado de una de las facciones de la F.E.U. y han puesto a Tenorio Adame al frente, pero el que la maneja en realidad es Javier Arellano y Pedro Sáenz, éste último de Torreón, Coah, manejan algunas sociedades de alumnos y muchas generaciones de estudiantes con líderes formados en la Normal, pero los ~~xx~~ principales son 10 muchachos de Torreón.

Escuelas Particulares: En todas tienen incrustadas células, así como en todas las asociaciones religiosas. Tienen fichados a todos los sacerdotes de la República y las actividades que desarrollan cada uno. En el Secretariado Social acaban de descubrir un comunista que tenía incrustado y obraba en su poder microfilms con listas de todos los miembros de las asociaciones piadosas, posteriormente descubrimos una nueva célula incrustada en los organismos del Padre Rodolfo Escamilla.

### Nota # 3

#### ALGUNOS ORGANISMOS INTELECTUALES COMUNISTAS EN MEXICO, D.F.

CIRCULO DE ESTUDIOS MEXICANOS - Tabasco 48, México, D.F.

Cabeza del movimiento intelectual comunista en la Universidad: profesores de la Universidad, médicos, ingenieros, abogados, etc. Cabeza de la colección comunista "Problemas científicos y filosóficos", editada por la Universidad.

El Director de la colección, Eli de Gortari, profesor de filosofía, fue a Rusia y China. Acaba de escribir "Introducción a la Lógica Dialéctica", libro traducido en Rusia con 10,000 ej.

INSTITUTO MEXICANO PARA EL FOMENTO DEL INTERCAMBIO CIENTIFICO.  
Donato Guerra 1.

INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS LATINOAMERICANOS.

No es organismo comunista en sí mismo, pero el director y el subdirector son comunistas.

MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL MAGISTERIO

FRENTE UNIVERSITARIO LATINOAMERICANO  
FEDERACION ESTUDIANTEL UNIVERSITARIA  
FEDERACION NACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES TECNICOS  
FRENTE DE ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS DE MEXICO  
FRENTE UNIVERSITARIO "FLORES MAGON"

CIRCULO DE ESTUDIOS "AQUILES SERDAN"

SOCIEDAD DE ALUMNOS DE LA ESCUELA NACIONAL PREPARATORIA No. 2.

SOCIEDAD DE ALUMNOS DE LA ESCUELA NACIONAL PREPARATORIA No. 3.

SOCIEDAD DE ALUMNOS DE LA ESCUELA NACIONAL PREPARATORIA No. 4.

SOCIEDAD DE AMIGOS DE CUBA

SOCIEDAD DE AMIGOS DE CHINA

Presidente: Pauleta Gómez Alonso. Profesora universitaria.

UNION DE AMISTAD LATINOAMERICANA

UNIVERSIDAD OBRERA

Presidente: Lic. Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

FRENTE NACIONAL DE ARTES PLASTICAS

Nota # 4

#### ALGUNOS ASPECTOS DE LA ACCION COMUNISTA EN MEXICO

Recogemos, en México, en forma espantosa, los frutos del plan conocido sobre América Latina: campaña 1958-59 a la cual fueron dedicados millones, con miras especiales en Cuba y México.

Sin hablar de la presión comercial externa que viene de China por la costa del Pacífico, penetrante es la acción interna que, poco a poco, se apodera de la mentalidad del país por medio de la clase intelectual.

Es de notar el método: en lugar de dirigirse desde luego al pueblo - a pesar de que su tremenda miseria parezca buen terreno - se ha dirigido directamente a la clase intelectual y a los ambientes de enseñanza, con una eficacia acelerada en estos dos últimos años.

Respecto a las realizaciones en el ambiente intelectual en sólo la ciudad de México van adjuntos tres informes: sobre la Escuela Normal Nacional - la Universidad Nacional Autónoma Mexicana - la existencia de organismos de Cultura Comunista.

Las consecuencias se pueden notar, sobre todo desde el año pasado:

1o/ En todas las ciudades de la República, principalmente en el Norte, un número progresivo de profesionistas comunistas: médicos, ingenieros, abogados, profesores, etc.

2o/ Una producción anual, sólo en la E.N.N. de 800 a 1,000 maestros comunistas o al menos materialistas.

3o/ Organismos comunistas de jóvenes alumnos, preparatorias, secundarias, y aún primarias.

4o/ Existencia de células comunistas hasta dentro de las secundarias femeninas, los profesores cristianos que tratan de actuar son atacados por muchachas de 15, 16 años perfectamente bien preparadas en doctrina marxista, trabajando para destruir la fe de sus compañeras, "científicamente" como dicen.

5o/ Campaña en favor de la aplicación integral del art. III de la Constitución. Los papás de los alumnos de Secundaria de Educación Pública han recibido últimamente carta del Partido Comunista (Colima 185) incitándolos a obtener la supresión de las escuelas ~~privadas~~ privadas.

Frente a este dominio en la enseñanza por el Comunismo, ~~xx~~ no se puede sino pensar en el problema espantoso que plantean las estadísticas bien conocidas:

95% de la juventud mexicana está en los colegios de Educación Pública.

92% no recibe ninguna instrucción religiosa.

Nota # 5

ESCUELA NORMAL NACIONAL

Mixta desde 1959 a petición de las alumnas  
Asistencia entre la Secundaria y la Normal: cerca de 10,000 alumnos y  
alumnas en la Normal sola: 4 a 5,000  
55% varones.

Número de Maestros: 800 - 70% varones.

El plan de conjunto es muy bien realizado para hacer de la E.N.M. la fortaleza del comunismo mexicano.

Personal docente

De buena ideología 2%  
Comunistas: 70%  
El resto: materialistas

Son elegidos los maestros entre los que se han preparado y señalado como comunistas desde que fueron alumnos en la Normal, Normal Superior, y Círculos de estudios comunistas.

Los pocos maestros de buena ideología tienen su ficha y son rechazados poco a poco por medio de los mismos alumnos. Ejemplo reciente: se exigió en forma violenta la renuncia de dos directoras de la antigua sección femenina. Acompañado de 400 muchachos un alumno líder pidió que firmaran inmediatamente su renuncia bajo pena de ser entregadas a los 400 muchachos. Unos maestros organizaron una junta de protesta para que se reintegrara a las maestras: asistieron solamente 21 profesores, los demás obedecieron la orden del Sindicato.

Desde las últimas huelgas, un solo director comunista reemplaza a los elementos docentes rechazados. Los nuevos maestros carecen de competencia, basta que sean buenos comunistas.

En consecuencia, la enseñanza e influencia son materialistas y ateas en una forma activa que actúa por medio de dinero, fuerza y habilidad.

- Alumnos

Mismo método como para el personal docente:

Se escogen en toda la República los alumnos que tienen cualidades líder.

Se les cuida especialmente desde la primaria y secundaria.

Se les da formación comunista con maestros especiales.

Se les manda a la Normal Nacional con becas de \$400.00 mensuales.

Se ofrece actualmente \$5,000 a cada alumno de la Normal Nac. que traiga a la misma Normal 5 nuevos alumnos de ideología comunista.

Se admite a estos mismos alumnos en cualquiera época del año para reforzar el bloque comunista.

Se les enseña y abre el camino de la total inmoralidad, por medio de clases, películas. Entre alumnos y alumnas que viven juntos las costumbres son indescriptibles. Aun las maestras tienen temor de encontrarse solas con un grupo de alumnos por las inmoralidades de que han sido víctimas algunas de ellas.

Se les incita a la rebelión y a las huelgas. Los 28 días de huelga del invierno pasado, fueron pagados a razón de \$10,000 diarios.

Se les anima a la lucha "contra el fanatismo". Toda su actividad es contra Dios y contra la fe.

De manera que - salvo un milagro - a los alumnos que entran cristianos se les arranca la fe y la moral en unos cuantos días. Los ejemplos verificados son desastrosos.

Se señala últimamente la existencia de una Escuela Normal femenina, privada y comunista (Av. Nuevo León, D.F.) dirigida por un matrimonio comunista. Tiene 500 alumnas. Según testimonio de las mismas alumnas la escuela hace su obra comunista en forma atea integral.

Se hace la misma labor comunista en todas las escuelas normales públicas de la República - La Escuela Normal Femenina de Toluca parece excepcional teniendo todavía una buena directora católica - Hasta 000484

Mé...a se ha señalado un Centro de orientación técnico-pedagógico para todos los maestros de secundaria del Sureste, a donde el profesor de Historia propagó doctrinas comunistas.

Nota # 6

INFORME SOBRE LAS ACTIVIDADES COMUNISTAS, ATEAS Y DISOLVENTES  
EN LA UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE MEXICO.

I.- ADMINISTRATIVA:

Hay puntos claves, en la Administración de la Universidad, confiados a elementos comunistas, esto les permite:

- a).- Proporcionar facilidades a sus adeptos.
- b).- Vigilancia y control, aún de las llamadas telefónicas.
- c).- Facilitan el Registro General de Alumnos de la Universidad para enviarles invitaciones, folletos, etc.

II.- ECONOMICA:

Los miembros del Partido reciben cantidades de dinero conforme:

- a).- Puesto y grado que ocupan en el Partido.
- b).- Proselitismo que realizan.
- c).- Aporto de informaciones que logran.

III.- PERSONAL DOCENTE:

- a).- Porcentaje aproximado:

Del 10 al 20 % de comunistas declarados.

Del 50 al 60 % de ateos y de ideas materialistas.

Del 5 al 10 % abiertamente católicos.

Otro 10 % que generalmente se acomoda a la opinión predominante.

- b).- Preparación:

Generalmente los profesores comunistas han sido preparados en el extranjero, y algunos de ellos directamente en Instituciones Soviéticas. Su preparación ideológica y científica es en algunos casos muy notable.

IV.- ACTIVIDAD SOBRE LOS ALUMNOS:

1.- El punto calve comunista, lo constituyen el fuerte porcentaje de egresados de preparatorias y normales de los Estados y del Distrito Federal, en donde han recibido una preparación ideológica y de proselitismo que les asegurará un gran éxito como líderes de los movimientos estudiantiles.

2.- Actividad de proselitismo político, se realiza en la siguiente forma:

a).- Se invita a los mejores alumnos, por su preparación cultural, personalidad o don de gentes, a participar en círculos "artístico-culturales". Allí se les conoce íntimamente y se les selecciona.

b).- En un momento determinado se les conduce secretamente a un lugar en donde los jefes principales les hablan claramente y les ofrecen dinero, puestos, ventajas, etc. Y así se convierten en miembros activos.

Algunos los lanzan al "trabajo externo" en forma de oradores, líderes, etc.; otros se convierten en "cerebros" del Partido.

V.- MEJOR DE RELAJAMIENTO DE LA MORAL Y DE LAS BUENAS COSTUMBRES:

- a).- Se efectúa por clases o conferencias, generalmente dentro de la misma Universidad.
- b).- Se les da cierto matiz científico.
- c).- La Cátedra está a cargo de profesores mexicanos o extranjeros.
- d).- Cuando la conferencia lo permite se usa el cinematógrafo.
- e).- Se tratan temas tan inmorales como: "el control de la natalidad", "la forma de provocar abortos", etc.
- f).- También se dan conferencias sobre temas materialista que destruyen toda idea de vida sobrenatural, existencia del alma, etc.
- g).- A ellas asisten alumnos generalmente de primer ingreso a las Facultades y totalmente impreparados.

VI.- RESULTADOS:

Debido a esta labor, tanto política como de disolución moral, tenemos el siguiente porcentaje aproximado sobre una población universitaria de 55,000 alumnos:

- De un 10 a 20 % de elementos directivos y activos del Partido. Algunos han hecho viajes y estudios en países comunistas.
- De un 30 a 40 % de elementos disponibles, que sin tener propiamente relaciones continuas con el Partido, han dado su nombre a él.
- El resto de los alumnos se puede clasificar en:
  - El 30% de indolentes, que servirán al que vaya ganando.
  - Un 10 % que nunca entran en política.
  - Un 5 % a 10 % de elementos católicos activos.

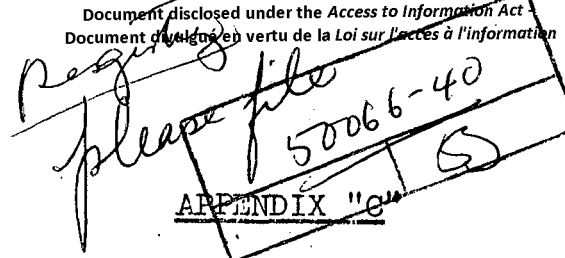
En las elecciones para mesas directivas de las sociedades de alumnos, logran los comunistas colocarse en sitios claves como representantes estudiantiles y dirigentes de los grandes grupos universitarios.

Para oponerse a esta labor, se encuentran trabajando, diversos grupos católicos, sin embargo su labor carece de efectividad por falta de:

- A).- Unificación.
- B).- Métodos adecuados para la formación de células positivas.
- C).- Sentido de responsabilidad ante el peligro actual.

NOTA: Durante este mes de junio de 1960 se ha inaugurado un curso, probablemente protestante, en un centro cultural establecido frente a la Facultad de Odontología. Se anuncian sus conferencias los días 7, 14, 21 y 28 a las 19:30 horas.

El tema es el Cristianismo frente al Comunismo.



ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA  
MID-OCTOBER TO MID-NOVEMBER, 1960

Bolivia

1. According to a Presidential communique issued on 14th November, a Bolivian commercial mission is to leave for Western Europe and the Soviet Bloc within the next month. One of its tasks is to discuss the recent offer by the U.S.S.R. to build a tin smelter in Bolivia (see E.I.G.(60)20(Final), Appendix "C", Item 1).

(UNCLASSIFIED)

Cuba

2. Under an agreement signed in Prague on 28th October Czechoslovakia has granted Cuba a further credit for \$20 million; this is repayable over 10 years (the rate of interest has not been announced) and is to be spent on the development of Cuba's production of motor vehicles and agricultural machinery. At the same time Czechoslovakia undertook to give Cuba technical assistance in, inter alia, the development of her nickel resources.

This is the second credit Czechoslovakia has given Cuba to date; she gave her the first one (also for \$20 million) only last June (see E.I.G.(60)13(Final) Appendix "C", Item 2).

(UNCLASSIFIED)

3. A five-year trade and payments agreement and an agreement on scientific and technical co-operation between Cuba and Roumania were signed on 26th October. Sugar is to be the main commodity exported by Cuba, but the quantity was not stated, nor was the planned volume of trade between the two countries.

Cuba has now concluded trade agreements with all the countries of any economic consequence in the Bloc.

(UNCLASSIFIED)

4. A Cuban mission, headed by Guevara, President of the Cuban National Bank, is visiting the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, East Germany and China to discuss various problems encountered in implementing the economic agreements between those countries and Cuba.

The maintenance of oil supplies to Cuba appears to be one of them; in a broadcast shortly before he left Cuba Guevara referred to the difficulties the U.S.S.R. was having in providing Cuba with large quantities of oil for which no proper planning provision had been made.

Transport generally appears to be another major problem. The Soviet Ambassador in Havana recently admitted to a Dutch colleague that the Bloc was finding it difficult to supply adequate shipping between Bloc and Cuban ports and they might therefore be obliged to charter additional vessels from other countries.

(CONFIDENTIAL)



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5. Press reports have quoted Guevara as saying that the U.S.S.R. will send 200 technicians to Cuba during 1961. He did not say exactly what they would do, but implied that they would be needed to help run expropriated American-owned installations.

(UNCLASSIFIED)

Ecuador

6. Following the recent visit to Prague of the Ecuadorean Minister for Education, Czechoslovakia has offered Ecuador a credit of \$10 million for the purchase of agricultural and industrial machinery.

This is presumably a commercial and not a development credit, but, if successfully implemented, it could lead to greater trade and closer economic ties between the two countries; at present they are negligible.

(UNCLASSIFIED)

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

DESPATCH

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

The Canadian Embassy,

FROM: .....  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Our letter No. 513 of October 31

Reference: .....  
FRONDIZI - A COMMUNIST ?

Subject: .....  
.....

Security: .....

No: ..... 551  
November 24, 1960

Date: .....  
nil

Enclosures: .....  
Air

Air or Surface Mail: .....

Post File No: .....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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References

On November 23, President Frondizi spoke over a nation-wide radio and television hook-up on the subject of Communism. Announcements about the broadcast and its theme appeared well in advance to assure a good audience. In it, Frondizi emphatically denied that he was a Communist now or that he had ever been one, or that he tolerated Communism in his administration. He said:

"We will fight Communism with all our might. The Government will adopt all the measures it can and will propose legislation to Congress that is necessary for the purpose."

Referring to the emergency laws against terrorism, which have been in force for almost two years, he said:

"We will maintain the 'State of Siege' until subversion has definitely been routed. But we will continue to do our best to see, as we have up to now, that these restrictive measures have as little effect as possible on law and order, which we strive to expand rather than repress."

He said that no known Communist would be allowed in the Civil Service and that the Government would press on with the recovery programme which in the long run was the only effective means of nullifying the Communist threat. He affirmed that Communist parties had made little progress in the two large Anglo-Saxon democracies, the United States and the United Kingdom, because of their prosperity, democratic principles and full respect for the law.

2. Stressing the 'national' character of his Government, he said:

"I am governing the country as I promised for the benefit of all Argentines. Only four members of the Cabinet belong to the party that voted me into power... Another three are officers of the armed forces. The rest have no parties or are members of democratic institutions. Therefore, the members of the Cabinet are all definitely opposed to Communism, and consequently this government can by no means be accused of facilitating Communist infiltration into Argentina."

3. Dealing with his own beliefs, the President said:

"As regards my personal situation, I have defined my position on several occasions. On February 19, 1958, in a public address to the nation, I said the following words which I want to

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repeat now: 'I have not been, I am not, and I never will be a Communist. For the past 30 years, I have been a member of an Argentine political party which is a national force and, consequently, is opposed to international political parties. Everything stands between us and Communism - as an ideology, as a political party and as an international force.' I said the foregoing before being elected President of Argentina. I say it now and I will continue to say the same thing in future."

4. Why did the President feel it necessary to defend himself in this way? As reported in our letter under reference, there has been a persistent and widespread whispering campaign that Frondizi has Communist sympathies and that he has been playing the Communist game in a clever and subtle way. One justification for the broadcast could be the straightforward one that he is not a Communist and wanted to make it clear, once and for all. Another explanation is that Frondizi made the speech at the request of the armed forces who felt they could not continue to support him in the face of such persistent rumours unless he categorically denied any Communist links or sympathies. A further explanation is that the members of his economic team (and others) counselled him to make the speech because they realized that any suspicion abroad of Frondizi's being a Communist would be certain to discourage foreign investments in this country. This theory is supported by the President's reference to outside financial aid in which he said that Argentina had requested and obtained the collaboration of national and international financial institutions of Western Europe and the United States. So that investors abroad and critics at home would not misunderstand the Government's efforts to develop trade with Iron Curtain countries, he said:

"It would be sheer suicide not to increase the volume of commercial interchange with world nations, especially at a time when the traditional markets - Western Europe and the United States - were establishing further barriers to the importation of Argentine goods."

He pointed out that all the well known democratic powers of the Western world traded freely with Russia and China and other satellite countries without imperilling their anti-Communist defences.

5. Frondizi's character remains an enigma. Recently, I had lunch with the Governor of Misiones, Dr. Cesar N. Ayrault, at which Frondizi and the Government were discussed. Ayrault is a member of the U.C.R.I. party. His father was a founder in 1914 of the Radical party. A staunch supporter of Frondizi, Ayrault felt confident to deal at length with Frondizi's change of course from his nationalist statist bias during the election campaign to the economic liberalism and the encouragement of foreign investments which has marked his behaviour when in office. He said that Frondizi was fundamentally an honest man who had said and written in the past what were then his convictions. Since he had come to power, more information had become available to him and he had had the courage to say that he had been wrong. To prove that he was not an opportunist, Frondizi had explained to the U.C.R.I. Governors' meeting in Buenos Aires last week that he had vetoed the Despido Law (see our letter No. 527 of November 4) because he thought it would go against the interests of the country, although he knew that politically it would have been better not to oppose it.

(continued on Page 3).

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6. The main impact of the President's talk may be the influence it should have on those who do not want to believe the President is a Communist, but have entertained certain doubts as the result of such persistent rumours, and the absence of any forthright denials. For those who are convinced the President is a Communist his speech means nothing. They claim that it is not enough to say he is not a Communist, - he must prove it by his actions. The evidence of earlier associations with leftist groups is in their eyes more convincing than later denials. If he wanted to prove his motives, he should have taken some striking anti-Communist action such as the removal of known Communists from the universities; and used the broadcast to explain the move to the nation. This type of action would have been dramatic, convincing, admired and effective. Instead he has chosen to resort to words.

7. Various groups throughout the country have subsequently reacted to the broadcast. On the whole, comment has been critical. As expected his political opponents attack it on various grounds, and as he has more critics than supporters, the weight of press comment appears unfavourable. The Church, as represented by the Cardinal and the Archbishop of La Plata have welcomed the speech as a clear statement of the President's and the Government's stand against Communism. Criticism centers as much around the wisdom of any speech at all on this matter as on the actual substance of the President's talk. It was considered undignified and in itself a confession of Presidential culpability. Dr. Marini, President of the U.C.R.P., the main opposition party, said that it was the President and not the Communists who created the uncertainty and unrest that plagued the country.

8. Unfortunately, we entertain little illusion about the effectiveness of the President's speech in dispelling the belief that he is at heart a 'leftist' or a Communist. For a public figure, it is not so much what he is, it is what the people believe he is, that counts. Frondizi lacks warmth as a public figure; he has many enemies and is trusted by only a few people. Under the circumstances, how he has been able to survive the whispering campaign that he is a Communist is beyond all comprehension.



Chargé d'Affaires a.i.



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NO ENCLOSURES

3. This statement has added weight also, from an unimpeachable quarter, to the anti-Communist and anti-Castro attitude which the principal newspapers have increasingly displayed since early summer. News coverage, editorials, cartoons and features in Excelsior and El Universal, both morning and afternoon editions, have extracted all the mileage possible from Krushchev's behavior at the General Assembly, and from Castro's further adventures in New York and in Havana since his return. Novedades, less frankly opposed on the editorial side, has at last begun to deplore the apparent "sovietization" of Cuba's government. It was critical of the Russian performance at the U.N., and occasionally editorialized through its news headlines such as this one: "Castro kills two other Americans, nationalizes, and loses friends". Novedades' daily English-language edition: The News, carries no editorials, but selects and reports the news in such a way as to please Americans, Westerners in general, and the Mexicans. La Prensa, a tabloid, has followed the same line in a more sensational style. Neither the Soviets nor Castro have found any defenders in the Mexican press. El Popular, the only possible candidate for the role, has stuck to reporting some of the news, and avoided controversial comment.

4. Lastly, perhaps the Catholic Bishops had an eye on the Partido Popular of Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano (Ref. our letter No. 607 of October 7) which has now decided to call itself Partido Popular Socialista (PPS), the better to advance, according to Excelsior, "the work of transforming Mexico into another Cuba". If so, their reaction was less vehement and alarmist. Indeed, said Cardinal Garibi, "although the peril of Communism is serious, there is time fortunately to do something about it here".

  
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

Novedades - México, D.F., October 16, 1960.

Statement of the Catholic Council of Bishops of Mexico.

We have just inaugurated with great joy the Marian Year to commemorate the Patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe over Latin America, and we hope that these celebrations will bring new impetus to Christian life in our dioceses.

The Marian Year open at an anguished time when the ferment of Communism is spreading throughout the world, with special emphasis on Latin American countries.

Propaganda portrays Communism as the defender of the weak, the avenger of social injustice, the paladin of liberty, and an essential factor in the prosperity of the people. Apart from the fact that its methods are inhuman and that it is guilty of worse abuses than those already in existence (such as the denial of freedom and the complete disregard of human dignity), Communism pursues a diabolical purpose which is to destroy every kind of religion and even to erase the idea of God from the face of the earth. It is a known fact that militant atheism is still the key of the Communist programme, and the basis of the education imparted to its members, especially to children and youths.

We are not opposed to Communism on political, economic or purely social grounds; our opposition is based on the certainty that the victory or triumph of Communism would mean the destruction of the spiritual heritage of mankind. The Catholic Church strongly condemns the abuses of capitalism, but it condemns with equal energy not only the abuses but the actual basis of Communism which is a war against God and the essential values of Christianity.

Whoever thinks that our country is in no danger of falling a prey to Communism is mistaken. Let us have no illusions. The world is everywhere undermined by de-Christianizing forces, deliberately or unconsciously allied with Communism.

Fortunately, there is still time to do something about it. It is becoming clearer every day that the only effective barrier against the advance of Communism is the Christian social order. Long before Communism took, as an excuse to pursue its objectives, the banner of social reform, the Catholic Church had proclaimed the evangelical principles which should inspire the necessary reform of our social structures. It is not the Church's fault if the abuses so cleverly exploited by the Communists still endure.

We therefore urge all Mexican Catholics to work for the observance of the norms of social justice and Christian Charity. We believe that in these times any action or attitude which directly or indirectly favours Communism would endanger more than ever the interests of religion and of Mexico.

After God we trust in the Holy Virgin of Guadalupe, our Mother, Queen and Patroness of Latin America, to help deliver our countries from the terrible scourge of Communism. This does not, however, relieve us of the individual duty we have to do our utmost to avert this peril.

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We take this opportunity to send fraternal greetings and a vote of solidarity to the Cuban Catholic hierarchy. We share their fears and anxieties in this period of testing.

We finally decree that the Marian Year is to be celebrated in Mexico with the greatest possible fervor, and in accordance with the programme which will be made known in due course in each diocese.

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## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, LIMA, PERU

Reference:.....  
Subject: Communism and "Fidelismo" in Peru

Security:.....CONFIDENTIAL

No:.....226

Date:.....September 23, 1960

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No: 12.1.6

1/2	To: Mr. Sturford
	SEP 30 1960

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
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## References

The Government of Pedro Beltrán and its supporters are trying very hard to create mass hysteria in their attempt to uproot any existing sympathies for Communism and the Cuban revolution. According to the propaganda line followed by the Government and La Prensa, the newspaper of Pedro Beltrán, the Cuban ideals are related to the Communist ideals and these now constitute a grave threat, a sinister plot against Peru. Such is the impression resulting from observing the political scene in Peru during the past few weeks. This despatch will attempt to describe the recent events and see through a lot of smoke, underneath which there may be only a little fire.

2. The campaign of the Government through La Prensa followed at a level pitch of anti-Communist and anti-Cuban feelings until the irregularly published magazine Vanguardia edited by Eudocio Ravines, denounced on August 31 a supposedly master plot originating in Cuba with a view to transforming the Peruvian Andes into a large Sierra Maestra. Moreover, Ravines described in detail the organization of the new plot and its leaders, with names and present occupations as well as the distribution of responsibilities. These leaders had attended the Inter-American Youth Congress in Havana in July and had even been trained in the handling of guerilla arms.

3. The next day, as if by pure chance, La Prensa echoed the Vanguardia denunciation in its headlines. Shortly afterwards, an editorial followed in the same daily; without mentioning names, it argued that the disciples of Fidel Castro were no less than Communists and a threat to this continent. Another pro-Government newspaper, La Cronica, repeated the accusations of La Prensa. (La Cronica is owned by the family of President Prado). The other Lima dailies, El Comercio and La Tribuna, for various reasons merely reported the "news" without comment.

4. The Government's concern to build up the denunciation was further illustrated by a public declaration of Elias Aparicio, the Minister of Government and Police who stated that his Department would push through a bill which had been under consideration since 1956, and possibly amend the criminal code, all in defence of democracy, and against Communism.

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5. Shortly after this, Ravines was invited to appear on a Monday evening T.V. programme called "Meet the Press", devoted to forum discussions of current political issues. Ravines repeated in this programme his denunciations published in Vanguardia, sparing no invectives against his Communist enemies and calling specifically Genero Carnero Checa, a coward. At home, watching his T.V. screen, Carnero Checa, a well-known Communist, editor of the irregularly published "1960" (following "1959", "1958", etc.), raged at the accusation of Ravines; he raced to the station by taxi and passing himself as a reporter, burst into the studio and started to punch and kick Ravines, to the great disappointment of the viewers who were cut off from the exciting show. A crowd of anxious viewers gathered outside the studio to see the real-life end of the programme. Among them were Senator Montesinos, a Belaundista, the Deputy Ruiz Caro y Malpica, (whose leftist sympathies are well known) Doris Gibson and Francisco Igartua (editors of the bi-weekly Caretas, a favourite target of Vanguardia); all came to boo Ravines and cheer Carnero Checa.

6. The following Wednesday, the President of the Republic, without allusions to names or the incident, made a much-publicized speech before a group of industrialists and businessmen, in which he denounced the dangers of Communism in Peru. In general terms, Prado referred to the efforts of the Communists who were trying to stimulate anti-American feeling so that Peru should refuse the badly needed assistance of the United States for the economic progress of the country.

7. Prado's speech was too well-timed and followed too closely on the Ravines denunciation, not to be unrelated to the television incident. The impression from the speech was a clear endorsement that in effect the "Communist Plot" exposed by Ravines was true, and against which all Peruvians should be warned.

8. For the observer who knows something about Eudocio Ravines and his association with Pedro Beltrán, these danger warnings seemed more like a smoke screen than reality. Some explanations about Ravines and Beltrán are necessary before proceeding further with our description.

9. Eudocio Ravines has always been a controversial personage in Peru. He is first of all a reformed Communist, a fact which he has always exploited with much fanfare. He expounded on his Communist past and his conversion in a book called "The Yenan Way". Ravines was one of the founders of the Communist Party in Chile and in Peru; in Peru he was the Secretary-General of the Party. During the last World War, he was known to work for the Nazis in Chile. In 1944, he returned to Peru and founded Vanguardia, arousing dissension among opposition political parties. When Odria came to power in 1948, he deported Ravines as an oppositionist. Ravines spent his exile in Mexico and Paris, whence he returned with Prado after the fall of Odria in 1956. Under Odria, Ravines had associated himself with Pedro Beltrán in founding the "Alianza Nacional", a political grouping of the right which has since faded into oblivion. Vanguardia is almost entirely placed at the disposal of Beltrán and probably survives on subsidies. Francisco Igartua, the editor of the rival magazine Caretas, who was named by Ravines as a leader in the Cuban "plot", calls Ravines an opportunist who will drag anybody's name in the mud to serve his own purpose. Although Igartua has sympathies for the Cuban people, he deplores Communist infiltration in the Cuban Government.

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10. Pedro Beltrán, the Prime Minister, came to power at the request of President Prado in July 1959. Beltrán therefore has no party of his own but relies on the support of the party of President Prado. Both Prado and Beltrán symbolize the oligarchy, but à la rigueur, will favour mild social reforms. Needless to say, the Cuban revolution and Communist infiltration are heresy to this governing pair. At the official luncheon which you as our Minister gave at the residence during your visit in Lima, last May 28, you will recall Beltrán's words condemning the tolerance of Communists by Cuba and accusing Castro of turning his Island into a Soviet base. Beltrán is therefore anti-Communist, anti-Socialist and pro-American in outlook; indeed he lived in the United States and married an American. Pedro Beltrán has therefore put a special propaganda line in his newspaper La Prensa and, through his association with Ravines, in Vanguardia.

11. The Ravines incident has not been the only event which served Beltrán and La Prensa in their fight against communist infiltration and Fidelismo. Indeed these two terms have been made complete synonyms. Anybody who advocates genuine agrarian reform, the nationalization of the petroleum industry or even talks against Beltrán, is almost automatically labelled by La Prensa as a Communist. There were other events which La Prensa publicized ad nauseam in order to arouse public sentiments in Peru.

12. For instance, at irregular intervals, La Prensa has given headlines to the seizure by the local Customs office of propaganda pamphlets destined to the Cuban Embassy in Lima. Practically everyday, Beltrán's newspaper has had a front page story on the exposure of Communist agents in Latin America, the defection of some Cuban official or other insignificant events.

13. When a group of 24 leftist students of San Marcos University, Bank employees and professionals of Lima were invited to attend the Inter-American Youth Congress in Havana, La Prensa was quick to point out the Communist elements in the Peruvian delegation. Among the students were Campos Lama, the president of the San Marcos student body, Felix Arias Schreiber, and Luis Pesce. Outstanding among the Bank employees was Proel Merino, a known Communist. At the Youth Congress, the Peruvian delegates, Campos Lama for the students and Proel Merino for the bank employees, were asked to sign a joint declaration with other Ecuadorian delegates, to the effect that the Peru-Ecuador boundary dispute should be settled amicably between the two countries (my Despatch No. 220 of September 12). The news of the signing of the joint declaration by Campos Lama fell like a bomb in the Lima press, for various political reasons. La Prensa had been commenting on the public declarations of Ecuador's President Velasco Ibarra who increasingly pressed for a revision of the Rio Protocol. La Prensa began to accuse the Ecuadorians of enjoying the support of the International Communist Movement in their claim. (Carnero Checa had made a public intimation that the Protocol should be revised). Without further proof of Communist intrigue, La Prensa launched into a wild attack on Campos Lama and Proel Merino, decrying them as traitors to their own country. The accusations served La Prensa perfectly in their aim of linking the Ecuadorians on the boundary issue with the local Peruvian Communists. The time was ripe for denunciations and these now followed a regular pattern of Government policy.

14. The attack on Campos Lama was exploited not only by La Prensa and La Cronica, as would be expected, but also by La Tribuna, this for other reasons. An Aprista newspaper, La Tribuna was quick to seize

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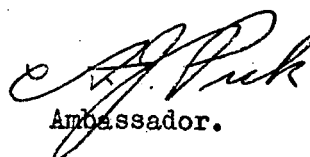
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the issue in support of a rival student group at San Marcos, the Frente Universitario Reformista (F.U.R.) composed of Aprista elements which had lost control of student affairs during the student elections in the fall of 1959. There has always been some doubts that Campos Lama and his followers had stolen their election to the Student Council. Furthermore, at the time of the Havana Youth Congress, Campos Lama had been severely criticized for leaving the student organization when the latter was quarrelling with the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine over the question of student representation (known as "Cogobierno") in the faculty council.

15. The new attack on Campos Lama by La Prensa and La Tribuna provided the F.U.R. with an excellent opportunity to censure and cause the resignation of Campos Lama as head of the San Marcos student body. This they did amid public demonstrations and trials in an atmosphere of the Inquisition. The deed being done, the F.U.R. students pressed the National Union of Bank Employees, a communist-controlled body, to censure Proel Merino, the co-signatory of the boundary declaration. It is interesting to note that this Communist-controlled union is torn between divided factions in its ranks on the issue of a condemnation and expulsion of Proel Merino as Provincial Secretary. The Communist elements of the union had not been able, at the time of writing, to have a motion passed the effect of which would exonerate Proel Merino. This Communist support may be an indication that in fact the International Communist Movement is trying to undermine the Inter-American Conference at Quito, to be held early in 1961.

16. At this stage of our account, it is in order to throw some light on the validity of the wild accusations and reasonings of La Prensa and Vanguardia. There is no doubt that Communist influence in Peru is real, particularly in some labour unions, student groups and congressional representation. I do not plan to list all the institutions and individuals who are related to the Communist movement in this country. A detailed description was included in my Despatches Nos. 101 of April 17, 1959 and 149 of June 16, 1959. Most of the persons exposed by Ravines were previously known for their Communist activities or sympathies.

17. The Government, however, which for a long time had been apathetic to this state of affairs may have lost some of its fire by choosing a stooge like Ravines to launch the attack. The exposure of the Communists will undoubtedly serve the Government's interest in appearing as the saviour of the masses. This should in turn please the Americans. That Ecuador should have the support of the International Communist Movement in its quest for the revision of the Rio Protocol may be an exaggeration, though it is known that the Communists are trying to undermine the Quito Conference of 1961.

  
Ambassador.

## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.  
Mexico, D.F.

Reference: .....

Subject: Mexico and Communism -  
Statement by the Catholic  
Council of Bishops.

Security: **CONFIDENTIAL**

No: 642

Date: October 19, 1960.

Enclosures: 1

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 8-1-5-5

Ottawa File No.

58866-40

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cc: 6729-4

## References

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posts,  
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J. I. B.  
File  
J.R.  
Done Nov. 3/60  
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To: Mr. Robichaud  
OCT 28 1960

Following the final session of the episcopal conference of the Catholic Church last Sunday, Cardinal Jose GARIBI Rivera released on behalf of the Council of Bishops a statement warning Mexicans of the continuing danger represented by Communism in this country. The Catholic Church, said the Bishops, completely rejects Communism "whose triumph would mean the destruction of the spiritual heritage of mankind". Referring to the evils of Communism and its progress throughout the world, they warned that the only effective barrier against it was a Christian social order, and they called on all Catholics to practice the norms of social justice and Christian charity. "It would be a mistake," added the Bishops, "to believe that our opposition to Communism is based on political, economic or purely social grounds. The Catholic Church energetically condemns the abuses of capitalism, but it condemns also, with equal energy, not only the abuses but the very basis of Communism which is a war against God and the most essential values of Christianity." The Bishops also registered a "vote of solidarity" with the Catholic Church of Cuba in its trials.

2. The timing of this statement is of interest, since the Communists as such seem to be making no headway in this country. Of concern to the Bishops, however, beyond the actual (if longer term) danger represented by the small Communist minority, is the progress of Communism via "Fidelismo", under the mask of sympathy for Cuba's social revolution. This the Communists are sedulously promoting, although recent events at the U.N. and in Cuba have rather cramped their style. Nevertheless, the ferment of mid-summer student agitation in the capital, coupled with latent anti-Americanism and some political opportunism, has presumably been duplicated in the rest of the country sufficiently for the Bishops to think it useful to issue this warning. Although Mexico has a past history of difficulties with the Catholic Church, and the separation of Church and State is absolute here, the majority of Mexicans are Catholic and such advice from their spiritual leaders carries weight.

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to Posts

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our social, political and economic life."

9. It is difficult to estimate the weight of the Mother Church's inveighing in favour of Christian morality in political life. It never had much influence in the past when one considers conditions to date. The Church of course claims the allegiance of all but a very few Brazilians; in fact its hold on them is more theoretical than real. It does not reach more than a small minority, for sheer lack of priests, - it is a commentary on the Church itself that it cannot recruit its ministers. But that is for another day.

Jean CHAPDELAIN

Ambassador

- 2 -

the nationalist themes defended by the ex-governor of São Paulo, while the almost 4 million votes obtained by Marshal Lott were an important fact "deserving the attention of all politicians because they signified the direct manifestation of the support of the nationalist movement." In other words, if one can believe Sr. Prestes, both the votes for Sr. Quadros and those for Sr. Lott represented the nationalist "and progressive" forces of this country.

4. You will recall that the Communist Party was declared illegal some twelve years ago by a four to two vote of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of this country. A Sr. Oswaldo Peralva, who had been a leading Brazilian communist and who had been to Moscow for higher training before recanting in 1956 or 57, sold a series of articles to the Jornal do Brasil and the Estado do São Paulo which appeared in these papers in the months prior to the last election. These confessions of a communist, which may be compared in Brazilian terms to the writings of Mr. Arthur Koestler, are to be published in a book entitled "O Retrato", or "the Portrait". We have been told that the newspaper rights in English and in French to this publication have been purchased respectively by the New York Times and Le Monde. Many people say that Sr. Peralva's personal anti-communist testimony was very damaging to the influence of that Party in the last elections. The example is given how the word of a "Comrade Silva" from Moscow was taken as gospel by all communist leaders here, and how Sr. Peralva had resolved to meet Comrade Silva when in Moscow, expecting him to be in the highest councils of the Soviet hierarchy, only to find that he was a minor non-descript Soviet official. Such revelations, it has been suggested, have been terribly wounding to the pride of those Brazilians who might have some sympathy for the siren call of communism or who for a start are at least strongly anti-American.

5. Among other things, Sr. Peralva stated that a certain judge, Sr. Rocha Lagôa, of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal in 1948 offered to vote in favour of the continuing legality of the Communist Party if he were paid CR\$200,000.

6. Sr. Luis C. Prestes, at his recent press conference, in addition to calling Sr. Peralva a traitor, stated that at no time did Judge Rocha Lagôa approach him to offer to sell his vote and that no correspondence passed between them.

7. Sources in the United States Embassy here, have been impressed with the relative weakness of the communist showing in the last election, particularly over the fact that "Prestes could not even deliver Recife", (the capital of Pernambuco and the third largest city in Brazil), which has traditionally been politically "left" and which currently has a communist Mayor. This view is legitimately taken, although the relative strength of the vote for Sr. Sergio Magalhães, here in Rio, who belongs to the "nationalist-socialist-anti-American" fraternity and who came within thirty thousand votes of the Governorship, shows that political appeals along these lines can draw considerable support if they are made by an individual who has a certain personal attraction, which Lott did not possess. In other words anti-American or more generally xenophobic feelings have to be worked up in and drawn out of Brazilians, even those of Recife, by a properly emoting demagogue not by an old army Marshal.

8. For the record, it should perhaps, also be mentioned that the Cardinal Archbishop of Rio issued a pastoral letter some weeks ago, entitled "The Church and Communism", drawing attention to the dangers of this movement and pointing out that if the social doctrines of the church were lived and applied they would destroy the achievements of communism because all things that are sane, reasonable, humane, and just in the communist message are Christian concepts which have been kept and proclaimed by the church for centuries. "The concrete achievement of those aims depends only on all Christians sloughing off their inertia and doing all they can, always guided by their spiritual chiefs the bishops whom the Holy Ghost established to guide the Church of God ... Let us undo, with our teachings, the erroneous conception which reduces morality to a purely individual problem, unconnected t



NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Security: **CONFIDENTIAL**

No: 647

Date: October 25, 1960.

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Air Courier

Post File No:

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Reference: Our Letter 395 of July 5, 1960.

Subject: The Communist party-line in Brazil.

Ottawa File No.

5-0266-40

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orig. on 2348-40

## References

Paragraph 4 of my letter 611 of October 12 last referred to the silence of communist leadership in the face of the overwhelming victory of the Presidential candidate they opposed most strongly. (Marshal Lott was the favourite; de Barros was suggested as the "second best".) This silence was broken by a recent press interview given by Sr. Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the outlawed Communist Party.

2. The gist of the Prestes message was that "socialists" should now support the progressive elements in the Quadros' programme. "If Mr. Janio Quadros, as has been announced, should commence his government by the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union we shall raise the masses on the streets to applaud him: and if he carries out the promise of his election campaign that he made in the North East when he accused Sr. Kubitschek and Marshal Lott to have delivered the Island of Fernando de Noronha to the Americans (as a missile tracking station) the communists will give him their massive support." Apart from the fact that the communists are scarcely in a position to raise street mobs or to give massive support to anybody, Janio Quadros to our knowledge never promised to review the question of the American presence on the Island of Fernando do Noronha, although he did undoubtedly combat the ultra-nationalist election-propaganda of Marshal Lott with rather similar propaganda of his own while in the North East.

3. Some newspapers which generally regard Brazilian communists as comic-relief rather than as a political force to be taken seriously, have delighted in pointing out the inconsistencies of Sr. Prestes in explaining away Lott's defeat. Thus although saying that the communists did not support Janio Quadros because he was the candidate of reactionary forces which he was forced to serve, nevertheless, explained the Quadros' victory as representing the will of the people for "radical changes in the orientation of the country, more particularly the popular desire for concrete action against the high cost of living and in favour of an increase in real wages; respect for labour gains, especially in the fields of social security and the desire for re-establishment of diplomatic relations for the Soviet Union and legalization of the Communist Party and many other Janista propaganda promises." Likewise, in the communist view Marshal Lott was defeated because reactionary forces realized he was a man with whom one could not make a shady deal, although... "the Marshal himself made many reactionary declarations which injured his campaign." Finally, Sr. Prestes sought to remind the world that the six million votes received by Janio Quadros represented the will of those who were attracted by

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject Cuba

Date NOV 11 1960 Publication MONTREAL STAR

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**Aid Castro**

The Star's Bonn Bureau

# Red Mercenaries Training for Cuba

MUNICH—The Communist bloc is reported to be training "shock brigades" in Czechoslovakia for use in crushing any anti-Castro uprising in Cuba.

Western intelligence authorities state that so-called "volunteers" from various lands in the Communist bloc, including several hundred Chinese, are being trained at Czech military installations.

Western intelligence places their total strength at 3,500, with indications pointing to the eventual training of perhaps as many as 10,000.

It is understood that the Communist "volunteers" are undergoing a system of staggered training schedules whereby 100 "shock troops" complete their training weekly and are infiltrated into Cuba by divers avenues, primarily by freighters and trawlers.

The Communist troops are being trained as orthodox combat troops, with training tailored to the special conditions of climate, terrain and politics existing in Castro's Cuba.

They are armed with conventional infantry weapons, including heavy machineguns and mortars.

It is learned that Ernesto (Che) Guevara, the admitted Argentine Communist who is Castro's economic czar, reviewed formations of the

"shock brigades" on his visit to Prague.

Guevara visited Prague first on his current tour of Communist capitals.

The "shock brigade" project is known to Castro and has his support. Castro — and the Communists — are said to be fearful of a successful anti-Castro counter-revolution.

There is apparently wholesale defections among Castro's supporters, including the recent arrest of William Morgan, the adventurer from Toledo, Ohio, who lost his U.S. citizenship for serving in the Castro revolutionary forces.

The emergence of Cuba as a major issue in the U.S. presidential campaign has increased further anxiety among Castro and the Communists that the U.S. may move more or less openly to aid anti-Castro opponents.

Castro originally had announced plans to organize a "people's militia" of 120,000, but Western intelligence states that this project has been abandoned because of the difficulty in assuring the loyalty of the militia.

The new project—the Communist "shock brigades"—insures what amounts to foreign mercenaries responsible to nobody but their home Communist governments.

It is a device for masking what will amount to open Communist intervention in Cuba.

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## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject

Latin American

Date

NOV 12 1960

Publication

MONTREAL STAR

## Castro Giving Them Support

## Latin American Reds Pose Threat

WASHINGTON — State Department officials say the most important aspect of U.S. policy toward Cuba is keeping Communist infiltration there from spreading to the rest of Latin America.

They believe Premier Fidel Castro is bound to fall eventually and that the United States can outwait him. No matter how much U.S. property he has seized by then—unless he precipitates a nuclear war—he won't really have hurt the United States much.

The way Castro could hurt, officials feel, would be for him to succeed in sparking revolts in other countries. He already is known to be giving financial support to local Communist parties throughout much of the southern hemisphere.

How strong are these Communist groups and what is the likelihood of more Castro rebellions?

Figures compiled by the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee indicate there are between 210,000 and 230,000 Communist party members in Latin America, not counting fellow-travellers.

The estimates range from a handful in Haiti and Panama to possibly 80,000 in Argentina. But mere numbers mean little. There were only an estimated 12,000 in Cuba just before Castro took over.

## Infiltration Feared

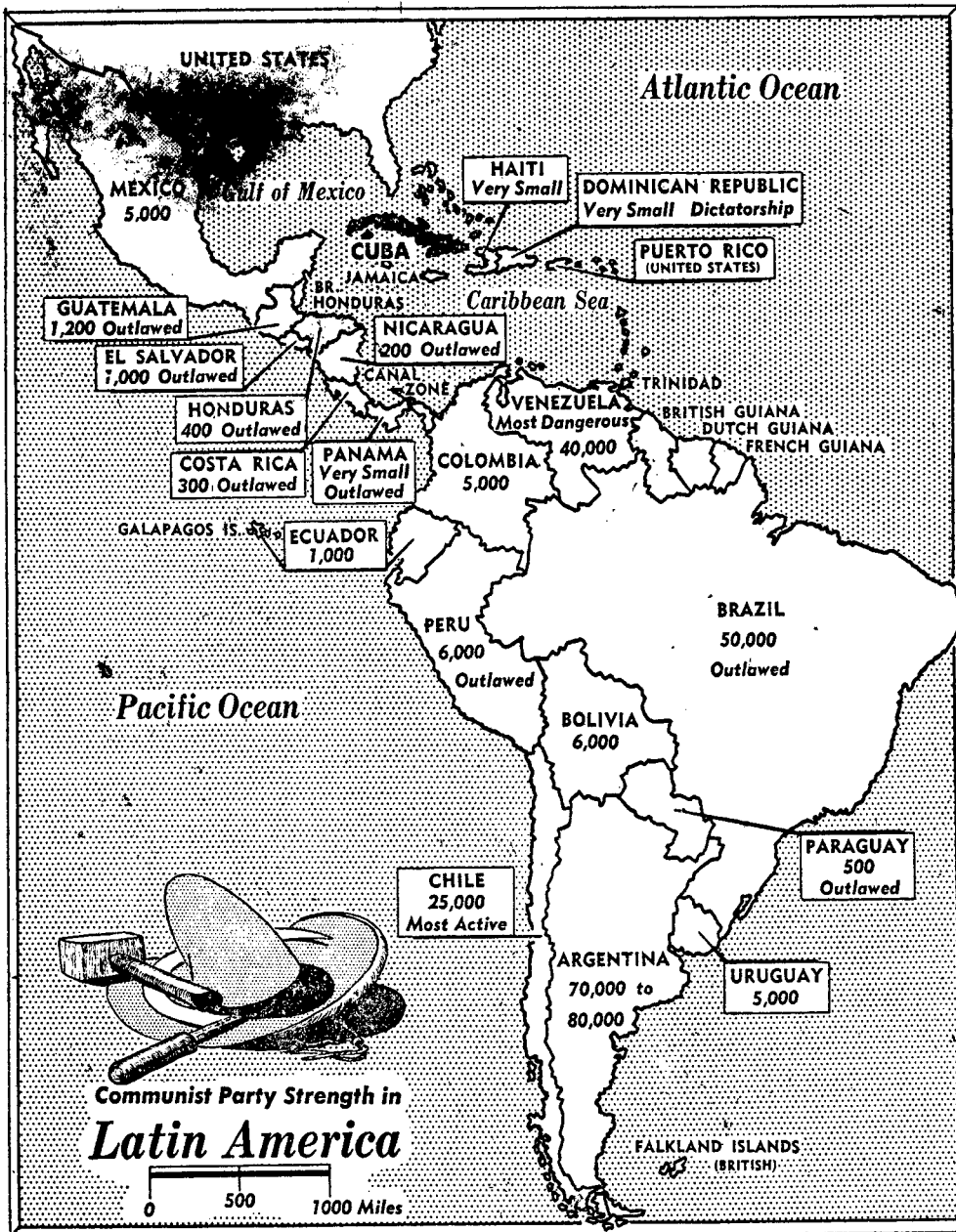
No Latin American country has a local Communist party strong enough to take over the government, and this is not the danger. The danger is that the Communists will infiltrate political movements which have wider public support.

The danger spots, as seen here, are the dictatorships—Nicaragua, Paraguay and the Dominican republic; the extremely poor countries, Haiti, Peru, and Bolivia; those with a wide gulf between rich and poor; El Salvador and Panama; and those, such as Venezuela, where coalition governments have shaky control.

Venezuela is considered one of the most dangerous points, with a strong Communist party and huge U.S. oil interests which Moscow would like to upset.

Here is a summary of the membership of local Communist parties in each country:

Argentina — 70,000 to 80,000 members in Communist Party (PCP), which was outlawed in 1947. One known Communist and a number of sympathizers in Congress on other party.



—Map by Staff Artist Owen Maccabe

It is active in labor, and student centres. Communist strength has doubled since the overthrow of Juan Peron in 1955. President Arturo Frondizi faces political trouble with both left and right, and the country has serious economic problems.

Bolivia — 6,000, split in three parties. These are the Communist (PCB), Revolutionary left (PIR) and the smaller Revolutionary Workers party (POR). Together they polled 1.8 per cent of votes in 1958. The country is desperately poor, suffers from inflation and food shortage.

## Soviet Trade Heavy

Brazil — 50,000 in Communist Party (PCB), which was outlawed in 1947. One known Communist and a number of sympathizers in Congress on other party. Brazil has serious difficulties including coffee prices. It is one of the largest economies in Latin America.

Chile — 20,000 to 25,000 in two parties—Communist (PCCH) which has been declared illegal but recently held six seats under other party labels; and the Popular Action front, which includes Communists and holds 18 per cent of the seats in the Legislature. This is one of the most active Communist movements in Latin America. But the country has a strong tradition of orderly constitutional change.

Colombia — 5,000. Communist (PCC) party is legal but has no representation in Congress. Capital city Bogota is one of the main Communist publishing centres in Latin America. A relatively poor country. Coalition government maintains uncertain stability.

Costa Rica — 300 in Popular Vanguard party (PVP), outlawed in 1948. PVP members have been active in hood improvement. But country is wealthy, politically stable, has traditions of development and enterprise.

Dominican Republic—Party very small. Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo runs the oldest dictatorship in Latin America. But Washington officials say there is no organized Communist party in his country. There are undoubtedly Communists among the large, poorly-organized underground opposition to Trujillo, but officials believe it is not now Communist dominated.

Ecuador — 1,000. Communist (PCE) party won two Legislative seats in 1958. Party has some influence in student and labor deals, but Ecuador is establishing a tradition of free enterprise economic improvement.

## Scene

El Salvador's Communist Party was outlawed in 1947. Now it is a military force.

President Miguel Ydigoras is considered "far from stable."

Haiti—Party very small. A desperately poor country which was a dictatorship five years ago. No known organized Communist party.

Honduras—400 in (PCH) Communist party, outlawed in 1946. In recent years PCH has sparked strikes of rum workers in U.S.-owned corporations. Party was greatly weakened by the fall of Arbenz Communists in Guatemala and is now considered relatively insignificant. Country has stable government, sound economy.

## Diplomats Ousted

Mexico—5,000 in two parties, the Mexican Worker and Farmer party, which lacks membership required for electoral registration, and the Peoples Party which won one Legislative seat in 1958. Communist organization is considered weak. Last year the Government suppressed a Communist-led railway strike, kicked out the Soviet embassy staff and imprisoned several local party leaders. Although still facing problems of raising living standards for millions. Mexico's major "social revolution" is long over.

Nicaragua—200 in Socialist party (Communist), outlawed in 1945. Party is rigidly suppressed. This is another Latin American dictatorship ripe for a big change.

Panama—Very small. Communist-run peoples party was outlawed in 1953, but its remaining members have capitalized on Panamanian dissatisfaction with United States over the Canal Zone. Communists helped demonstrations on this earlier this year. Another country with much of the wealth in the hands of a few.

Paraguay — 500 in (PCP) party, which is outlawed. Another dictatorship, under General Alfredo Stroessner. His regime has clamped down against any major social-economic reform. Although small in numbers, Communists have found their way into political, educational and labor groups.

Peru — 6,000 in Communist (PCP) party, outlawed by the Government. A poor country with ancient landed interests. Here mobs attacked Vice President Nixon during his Latin American tour in May, 1958. PCP also abetted labor strike and demonstration last year.

— 5,000 in Communist Party, which is outlawed in the Legislative.

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC-SECURITY COUNCIL

SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT DURING TWO MEETINGS YESTERDAY.

2. AT THE MORNINGS MEETING, DURING WHICH CEYLON, TUNISIA, POLAND, ITALY AND USSR SPOKE, LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE WAS ADDED TO ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED SEP8 AND DEBATE AGAIN CENTERED UPON DEFINITION OF QUOTE ENFORCEMENT UNQUOTE WITHIN CONTEXT OF ART53. TUNISIA AND ITALY BOTH ASSERTED THAT REGIONAL NATURE OF ISSUE AND NON-MILITARY NATURE OF SANCTIONS PLACED QUESTION WITHIN COMPETENCE OF OAS AND MADE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL UNNECESSARY.

3. IN BID TO SECURE UNANIMOUS VOTE CEYLON ARGUED THAT TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS WERE SEPARATED ONLY BY VERBAL QUIBBLE. IN QUOTE TAKING NOTE UNQUOTE OF OAS RESOLUTION COUNCIL WOULD IN EFFECT BE STATING THAT IT HAD NO RPT NO OBJECTIONS AND THEREFORE BY IMPLICATION THAT IT APPROVED. SIR CLAUDE COREA STATED THAT CEYLON WOULD VOTE FOR THREE-POWER DRAFT RESOLUTION BECAUSE IT REPRESENTED THE WISHES OF OAS AND BECAUSE THERE WERE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN INTERPRETING ART53. HOWEVER HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT RPT NOT CONVINCED BY USA VIEWS ON THE SCOPE OF ART53 AND THAT HE FOUND USSR INTERPRETATION QUOTE NOT RPT NOT UNREASONABLE UNQUOTE.

4. POLAND AND USSR STATED THAT THEY WERE NOT RPT NOT ATTEMPTING TO MINIMIZE AUTHORITY OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATION BUT RATHER THAT THEY HOPED TO ENHANCE IT BY SECURING INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL FOR REGIONAL DECISION.

5. IN AN ACRIMONIOUS EXCHANGE AT THE AFTERNOON MEETING USA TAXED USSR WITH QUOTE MALICIOUS MEDDLING UNQUOTE AND CHARGED THAT USSR WAS

PAGE TWO 1396

USING SECURITY COUNCIL TO ADVANCE ITS OWN POWER IN LATINAMERICA. WADSWORTH THOUGHT IT IRONICAL THAT USSR SHOULD NOW SEEK TO RESTRICT AUTHORITY OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATION WHEN IT HAD INVOKED THE SANCTITY OF REGIONAL DECISIONS AT TIME OF HUNGARIAN UPRISING. THIS LED USSR TO CHARGE USA WITH 100-YEAR HISTORY OF INTERVENTION IN LATINAMERICA AND POLAND TO DELIVER AN UNCONVINCING EULOGY ON SUBJECT OF WARSAW PACT.

6. BEFORE VOTE WAS TAKEN CORREA OF ECUADOR URGED COUNCIL TO GIVE PRIORITY OF CONSIDERATION TO THREE-POWER DRAFT RESOLUTION AND KUZNETSOV AGREED. THREE-POWER RESOLUTION WAS ACCORDINGLY PASSED BY A VOTE OF NINE IN FAVOUR, NONE AGAINST, WITH USSR AND POLAND ABSTAINING. KUZNETSOV DID NOT RPT NOT PRESS USSR REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION TO A VOTE. IN EXPLAINING HIS VOTE ON THREE-POWER RESOLUTION HE DEEMED IT INADEQUATE IN SCOPE AND ACCURACY BUT STATED THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL WERE CLEARLY NOT RPT NOT YET PREPARED TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO INTERPRETATION OF ART53.

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

SECURITY COUNCIL MET YESTERDAY TO CONSIDER USSR REQUEST THAT COUNCIL APPROVE OAS RESOLUTION OF AUG20 INVOKING ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC SANCTIONS AGAINST DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. COUNCIL HAD BEFORE IT TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. TEXTS OF REVISED USSR DRAFT AND ARGENTINA, ECUADOR, USA DRAFT ARE CONTAINED IN OURTEL1379 SEP8. FOLLOWING SPOKE YESTERDAY: USSR, USA, ARGENTINA, ECUADOR, VENEZUELA, FRANCE, UK AND CHINA. COUNCIL WILL MEET AGAIN TODAY WHEN REMAINING SPEAKERS WILL BE HEARD.

2. KUZNETSOV ALONE OF YESTERDAYS SPEAKERS DEALT AT ANY LENGTH WITH SUBSTANCE OF OAS CONDEMNATION. HIS MAIN POINT, HOWEVER, WAS THAT BY TERMS OF ARTICLE53 OF UN CHARTER, ENFORCEMENT ACTION BY REGIONAL ORGANIZATION REQUIRED EXPRESS APPROVAL OF COUNCIL. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STAND WERE TOUCHED ON IN PARA2 OF REFTEL.

3. OTHER SPEAKERS CONFINED THEIR REMARKS TO PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF QUESTION, ARGUING THAT ARTICLE53 APPLIED ONLY TO QUOTE ENFORCEMENT ACTION UNQUOTE WHICH LAY BEYOND COMPETENCE OF ANY INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGN STATE UNDER TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. SINCE ACTION TAKEN UNDER OAS RESOLUTION OF AUG20 COULD LEGITIMATELY HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY EACH SOVEREIGN STATE WITHOUT REF TO SECURITY COUNCIL OAS WAS ONLY REQUIRED BY ARTICLE54 OF UN CHARTER TO REPORT ITS ACTIONS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND NOT RPT NOT TO SEEK COUNCIL APPROVAL.

4. CORREA OF ECUADOR MADE EFFECTIVE PLEA FOR FLEXIBILITY IN INTERPRETING THE CHARTER, WARNING COUNCIL THAT PIECEMEAL INTERPRETATION WOULD JEOPARDIZE DELICATE BALANCE OF PROVISIONS GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN SECURITY COUNCIL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

5. MOST SPEAKERS NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST TIME COUNCIL HAD BEEN 000509

PAGE TWO 1386

SUMMONED UNDER ARTICLE 53, CONSIDERED PRESENT MEETING UNNECESSARY AND QUESTIONED SOVIET MOTIVES IN CALLING IT. NO RPT NO SPECIFIC REF TO CUBA WAS MADE IN DEBATE.

6 WITH EXCEPTION OF USSR ALL SPEAKERS TO DATE HAVE INDICATED INTENTION TO VOTE FOR THREE-POWER DRAFT RESOLUTION. " " " " "

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INFO AIRMAIL HAVANA TRUJILLO MEXICO CARACAS BAIRE PORTAUPRINCE  
RIO LIMA SANTIAGO MVIDEO FM WASHDC

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SANJOSE CONFERENCE-CUBAN ITEM

DECLARATION OF SANJOSE ADOPTED ON AUG27 BY THE SEVENTH MEETING OF  
CONSULTATION OF OAS MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. TEXT BEGINS:

1. CONDEMNS EMPHATICALLY THE INTERVENTION OR THE THREAT OF INTER-  
VENTION, EVEN WHEN CONDITIONAL, BY AN EXTRACONTINENTAL POWER IN THE  
AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND DECLARES THAT THE ACCEPTANCE  
OF A THREAT OF EXTRACONTINENTAL INTERVENTION BY ANY AMERICAN  
STATE JEOPARDIZES AMERICAN SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY, WHEREFOR THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES IS UNDER OBLIGATION TO DISAPPROVE  
IT AND REJECT IT WITH EQUAL VIGOR.

2. REJECTS, ALSO, THE ATTEMPT OF THE SINO SOVIET POWERS TO MAKE USE  
OF THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR SOCIAL SITUATION OF ANY AMERICAN STATE,  
INASMUCH AS THAT ATTEMPT IS CAPABLE OF DESTROYING HEMISPHERIC  
UNITY AND JEOPARDIZING THE PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE.

3. REAFFIRMS THE PRINCIPLE OF NONINTERVENTION BY ANY AMERICAN STATE  
IN THE INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE OTHER AMERICAN STATES,  
AND REITERATES THAT EACH STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP ITS CULTURAL,  
POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC LIFE FREELY AND NATURALLY, RESPECTING THE  
RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSAL MORALITY,  
AND AS A CONSEQUENCE, NO RPT NO AMERICAN STATE MAY INTERVENE FOR  
THE PURPOSE OF IMPOSING UPON ANOTHER AMERICAN STATE ITS IDEOLOGIES  
OR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR SOCIAL PRINCIPLES.

4. REAFFIRMS THAT THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH  
ANY FORM OF TOTALITARIANISM AND THAT DEMOCRACY WILL ACHIEVE THE  
FULL SCOPE OF ITS OBJECTIVES IN THE HEMISPHERE ONLY WHEN ALL THE  
AMERICAN REPUBLICS CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE  
PRINCIPLES STATED IN THE DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO, CHILE, WHICH WAS

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APPROVED AT THE FIFTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE OBSERVANCE OF WHICH IT RECOMMENDS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

5. PROCLAIM THAT ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATION ARE UNDER OBLIGATION TO SUBMIT TO THE DISCIPLINE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, VOLUNTARILY AND FREELY AGREED UPON, AND THAT THE SOUNDEST GUARANTEE OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE STEMS FROM COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES.

6. DECLARES THAT ALL CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN MEMBER STATES SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY THE MEASURES FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION THAT ARE CONTEMPLATED IN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

7. REAFFIRMS ITS FAITH IN THE REGIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS CONFIDENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, CREATED TO ACHIEVE AN ORDER OF PEACE AND JUSTICE THAT EXCLUDES ANY POSSIBLE AGGRESSION, TO PROMOTE SOLIDARITY AMONG ITS MEMBERS, TO STRENGTHEN THEIR COLLABORATION, AND TO DEFEND THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, SINCE IT IS IN THIS ORGANIZATION THAT THE MEMBERS FIND THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR THEIR EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

8. RESOLVES THAT THIS DECLARATION SHALL BE KNOWN AS QUOTE THE DECLARATION OF SAN JOSE, COSTARICA. UNQUOTE. TEXT ENDS

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TO EXTERNAL 2222 PRIORITY

INFO LDN PERMISNY

BAG HAVANA TRUJILLO MEXICO CARACAS BAIRE PORTAUPRINCE RIO LIMA

SANTIAGO MVIDEO FM OTT

REFOURTEL 2172 AUG26 AND YOURTEL XL11 AUG31

SANJOSE CONFERENCE-CUBAN ITEM

YOU ARE AWARE FROM OUR ABOVE MENTIONED TEL THAT USA WISHED THE OAS FOREIGN MINISTERS(A)TO CONDEMN VIGOROUSLY SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS,(B)TO INDICATE GRAVE CONCERN OVER CUBAS TOLERANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THIS INTERVENTION AND(C)TO CALL ON CUBA TO REPUDIATE AND DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTIONIST AIMS(COPIES OF MR HERTERS SPEECHES OF AUG24 AND 26 ARE BEING FORWARDED IN THE NEXT BAG).

2. A READING OF THE DECLARATION OF SANJOSE(COURTEL 2223 SEP2 GIVES THE TEXT)SHOWS THAT IN THIS RESOLUTION USA ACHIEVED ONLY PART OF ITS OBJECTIVES, THAT IS, THE DECLARATION SPECIFICALLY POINTED TO AND CONDEMNED THE INTERVENTIONIST ATTEMPTS OF THE SINO-SOVIET POWERS, BUT CUBA WAS NOT RPT NOT NAMED IN THE DECLARATION ALTHOUGH THE INFERENCE IS CLEAR.

3. ON HIS RETURN TO WASHDC ON AUG29, MR HERTER SAID THE SANJOSE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN A SUCCESS; THAT IT HAD SHOWN THE HEMISPHERES RESOLVE TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTION AND FROM THOSE WITHIN THE HEMISPHERE WHO WOULD LEND THEMSELVES AS TOOLS FOR SINO-SOVIET INTERVENTION. MR HERTER ALSO SAID THAT THE INDICTMENT AT SANJOSE OF THE CASTRO GOVT HAD BEEN CLEAR(COPIES OF MR HERTERS AUG29 STATEMENT ARE BEING FORWARDED IN THE NEXT BAG).

4. OUR STATE DEPT INFORMANTS(LUBOEANSKY OF IA REGIONAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND WIELAND, DIRECTOR OF OFFICE OF CARIBBEAN AND MEXICAN AFFAIRS BOTH OF WHOM ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE)HAVE GIVEN US SOME WHAT DIFFERENT APPRAISALS OF THE CONFERENCE. LUBOEANSKY NOTED

THAT THIS USA WISH TO BE SPECIFIC IN NAMING THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC  
AND CUBA AS CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE ENGENDERED A SOMEWHAT PROTECTIVE

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ATTITUDE TOWARDS CUBA AMONG SOME OAS MEMBERS WHO WISHED TO SHIELD THE DAVID FROM THE GOLIATH AND PROTECT THAT COUNTRY FROM BEING NAMED AS ONE OF THE VILLAINS IN THE PIECE. WE WERE UNABLE TO ASCERTAIN A COMPLETE LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH DESIRED A Milder, MORE GENERAL FORM OF RESOLUTION BUT WE WERE INFORMED BY LUBOEANSKY THAT MEXICO VENEZUELA BOLIVIA AND HONDURAS WERE LEADERS IN THE ATTEMPT TO WATER DOWN THE DECLARATION OF SANJOSE EVEN MORE THAT THE FINAL TEXT. THE ATTITUDE OF THE FIRST THREE COUNTRIES NOTED ABOVE DID NOT RPT NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO USA DEL, BUT THEY WERE UNPREPARED FOR HONDURAS TO TAKE SUCH A POSITION. THESE FOUR COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE SUBSTITUTED A GENERAL WORDING REFERRING TO ANY FORM OF EXTRA-CONTINENTAL INTERVENTION, AND IN ADDITION THEY WISHED TO INSERT A PARA NOTING THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ANY STATE IT SAW FIT. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, THE COUNTRIES DEFINITELY FAVOURING AND ACTIVELY WORKING FOR A TEXT FIRMER THAN THE FINAL DECLARATION WERE USA CHILE COLOMBIA PARAGUAY NICARAGUA AND GUATEMALA. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE WAS PARTICULARLY SINGLED OUT FOR PRAISE BY OUR STATE DEPT INFORMANTS, AND THE COLOMBIAN MINISTER ALSO WAS HELD IN HIGH REGARD FOR HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE. TWO OTHER COUNTRIES, ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, DID NOT RPT NOT ACTIVELY PRESS FOR A FIRMER DECLARATION BUT USA BELIEVED THEY WOULD HAVE SUPPORTED ONE. AT FIRST BRAZIL WANTED TO PLAY THE ROLE OF CONCILIATOR BUT WHEN THE CUBANS SPURNED THIS ATTEMPT BRAZIL ADOPTED A FIRMER POSITION, THOUGH IT WAS SOMEWHAT LESS IN THE OPEN THAN ARGENTINA'S FIRMER POSITION.

5. HOWEVER USA REALIZED IT COULD NOT RPT NOT OBTAIN THE REQUIRED TWO THIRDS MAJORITY FOR A STRONGER STATEMENT AND WAS WILLING TO TAKE LESS THAN A FULL LOAF IN ORDER TO OBTAIN UNANIMITY. THE VOTE ON THE DECLARATION OF SANJOSE WAS 19-0 IN THE GENERAL CTTEE

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(THE DR HAD WALKED OUT A FEW DAYS BEFORE AND CUBA DID THE SAME THING JUST PRIOR TO THE VOTE AND AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE VENEZUELAN AMENDMENTS). WHEN THE SIGNING CEREMONY TOOK PLACE IN PLENARY THE MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER MADE THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATORY STATEMENT QUOTE THE DEL OF MEXICO IS CONVINCED THAT THIS IS A RESOLUTION GENERAL IN CHARACTER AND THAT IN NO RPT NO WAY IS IT A CONDEMNATION OR A THREAT AGAINST CUBA WHOSE ASPIRATIONS FOR ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE HAVE THE DEEPEST SYMPATHY OF THE GOVT AND PEOPLE OF MEXICO UNQUOTE. VENEZUELAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARCAYA MADE STATEMENTS IN EXPLANATION OF HIS GENERAL CTTEE VOTE BUT THESE RESERVATIONS WERE REPUDIATED BY PRESIDENT BETANCOURT WHO AUTHORIZED THE VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR TO THE OAS TO SIGN THE DECLARATION. THE PERUVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DESCRIBED BY STATE DEPT OFFICERS AS A QUOTE MAVERICK UNQUOTE DID NOT RPT NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SIGNING CEREMONY AND HIS GOVT DELEGATED A DEPUTY TO SIGN ON BEHALF OF PERU. IN SUMMARY, LUBOEANSKY'S APPRAISAL WAS THAT THE ACTION AT SANJOSE AGAINST THE DR AT THE SIXTH MEETING WAS TOO PUNITIVE, AND THE DECLARATION ISSUED BY THE SEVENTH MEETING WAS TOO WEAK. 6. WIELAND'S APPRAISAL OF THE CONFERENCE DIFFERED SOMEWHAT FROM THAT NOTED ABOVE SINCE HE INSISTED THAT USA HAD OBTAINED A FULL LOAF, AND NOT RPT NOT PART OF A LOAF AT SANJOSE. USA THOUGHT THAT THE UNANIMOUS VOTE AGAINST SINO SOVIET INTERVENTION AND THE CLEAR INFERENCE THAT CUBA WAS ENTICING THIS INTERVENTION MADE THE CONFERENCE AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS.

7. HOWEVER, BOTH LUBOEANSKY AND WIELAND AGREED THAT THE CONFERENCE SUCCEEDED IN ALERTING ALL COUNTRIES TO THE FACT THAT NOT RPT NOT ONLY WAS THEIR HEMISPHERIC SYSTEM IN DANGER FROM SINO SOVIET INTERVENTION BUT ALSO THAT CUBA WAS A COMMUNIST STATE WHICH HAD EMBRACED AND BEEN EMBRACED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY AND INTENDED TO EXPORT IT TO ITS NEIGHBOURS. THIS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

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WHEN WE QUESTIONED IF THIS ALERTING WOULD MEAN THAT ALL OAS COUNTRIES SAW THE CUBAN PROBLEM AS DYED-IN-THE-WOOL COMMUNISM, LUBOEANSKY CONCEDED THAT MEXICO REFUSED TO BE DISABUSED OF THE BELIEF THAT CUBA WISHED TO ESTABLISH A NEUTRALIST, SOCIALIST REGIME. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION LUBOEANSKY AGREED THAT THE SPECTRUM OF OAS VIEWS ON CUBA RANGED FROM THE MEXICAN TO USA VIEW; HIS RATIONALE FOR THIS DIVERSITY OF VIEW MAINLY WAS THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONS IN SOME COUNTRIES (MEXICO BOLIVIA) AND THE EXTREME LEFTIST MINORITY COUPLED WITH THE HOPEFUL, UNDERPRIVILEGED MASSES WHO WOULD WELCOME ANY SOLUTION FOR SOME RELIEF OF THEIR STAGNATING POVERTY. AFTER EXPRESSING SOME DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE SANJOSE RESULTS, LUBOEANSKY COMMENTED, PERHAPS WITH THE BENEFIT OF HINDSIGHT BUT POSSIBLY WITH A DEEPER REALIZATION OF WHAT ECONOMIC MEASURES USA SHOULD INITIATE AT BOGOTA ON SEP5, THAT QUOTE WE OBTAINED AS MUCH AS COULD BE EXPECTED UNQUOTE.

8. THE SEVENTH MEETING OF THE OAS FOREIGN MINISTERS ALSO ESTABLISHED A SIX MEMBER ADHOC CTTEE (VENEZUELA MEXICO BRAZIL COLOMBIA CHILE COSTARICA) WHICH QUOTE AT THE REQUEST OF GOVTS DIRECTLY INTERESTED WOULD FACILITATE, BY CLARIFYING THE FACTS AND EXTENDING ITS GOOD OFFICES, THE SETTLEMENT OF CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN AMERICAN GOVTS. UNQUOTE. WHILE USA WOULD BE PLEASED TO MAKE USE OF THIS CTTEE IN SETTLING ITS DISPUTE WITH CUBA, THE LATTER WAS ADAMANT IN REFUSING ALL ATTEMPTS AT MEDIATION WHETHER BY A FRIENDLY COUNTRY OR AN OAS GROUP.

9. WE WILL FORWARD COPIES OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH OAS FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS AS SOON AS THEY BECOME AVAILABLE FROM THE PAU.

10. IT MAY BE TOO EARLY TO ASSESS USA PUBLIC REACTION TO THE SANJOSE MEETING. CERTAINLY IN THE LAST FEW DAYS THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE IN USA REACTION, AND A FURTHER TACK MAY DEVELOP FOLLOWING THE SEPI ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS. ONE DISTRESSING FEATURE OF USA PRESS REPORTING ON THE SANJOSE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN THE LACK OF ANY EXPLANATION

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OF OAS PROCEDURES(SEE OURLET 1145 JUL25).PRESS REPORTS HAVE NOT RPT NOT EXPLAINED THAT THE CHARGE AGAINST THE DR WAS RAISED BY VENEZUELA UNDER ARTICLE 6 OF THE RIO TREATY;WHEN THIS CHARGE WAS SUSTAINED THEN ARTICLE 8 BECAME OPERATIVE.BUT THE CUBAN MATTER, PLACED ON THE AGENDA UNDER THE EUPHEMISM OF QUOTE THE EXIGENCIES OF CONTINENTAL SOLIDARITY,THE DEFENSE OF THE REGIONAL SYSTEM AND OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN THE FACE OF MEANCES THAT MAY AFFECT THEM UNQUOTE WAS RAISED UNDER ARTICLE 39 OF THE OAS CHARTER WHICH REQUIRES NO RPT NO FOLLOW-UP ACTION OTHER THAN EXHORTATIONS AND DECLARATIONS.WE FOUND ONE OF WIELANDS COMMENTS OF SOME INTEREST IN THIS REGARD.HE THOUGHT THAT SINCE THE EXTRA CONTINENTAL THREAT HAD BEEN CLEARLY PINPOINTED AT SANJOSE AND SINCE CUBA WAS TAGGED INFERENTIALLY,THE WAY WAS NOW OPEN,IF CUBA CONTINUED ON ITS RAMPAGING WAY,FOR SOME LATINAMERICAN COUNTRY TO BRING THE CUBAN MATTER BEFORE THE OAS UNDER ARTICLE 6 OF THE RIO TREATY.

11.WE NOW ATTEMPT TO GIVE YOU AN EARLY SUMMARY OF USA PUBLIC REACTION TO THE SANJOSE CONFERENCE.IT WAS EVIDENT THAT FOR A DAY OR TWO AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING,WHEN THE MEMORY OF THE CUBAN AS WELL AS THE DR WALKOUTS WERE FRESH IN THE PUBLIC MIND AND WHEN REASSURING STATEMENTS BY MR HERTER WERE IN THE HEADLINES, USA PRESS WAS CLAIMING A SURE VICTORY OVER SINO SOVIET MACHINATIONS AND OVER CUBA.EVEN THE NY TIMES AS LATE AS AUG30 WAS STATING QUOTE WHEN A FLYWEIGHT TAKES ON A HEAVYWEIGHT HE MUST EXPECT TO BE FLATTENED OUT UNQUOTE.BUT BY AUG30 THE WASHDC POST EDITORIAL WRITER HAD GIVEN SERIOUS STUDY TO THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF SANJOSE AND NOTED THAT WHILE CASTRO WAS A LOSER QUOTE USA SUFFERED SOMETHING OF A DEFEAT UNQUOTE.THE WASHDC POST CONTINUED QUOTE LATINAMERICANS SEE FIDEL CASTRO AS A SYMBOL OF UNREST THROUGHOUT LATINAMERICA--AN UNREST THAT IS SPREADING IN PART BECAUSE OF THIS COUNTRYS FAILURE TO TAKE THE LEAD IN STIMULATING AN IMAGINATIVE

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AND EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME FOR THE ENTIRE REGION UNQUOTE.  
JUST PRIOR TO THE END OF AGU, SENATORS ELLENDER AND EASTLAND AND  
LATER REP COOLEY OF THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE CTTEE, BEGAN THEIR CRITI-  
CISM OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWERS MSG TO CONGRESS (OURLET 1303 AUG25  
AND PARA4 OF OURTEL 2213 AUG31) ASKING FOR LEGISLATION TO BAN ANY  
DIVERSION OF THE FORMER CUBAN SUGAR QUOTA TO THE DR. THE SENATE  
FIRMLY OPPOSED THE HOUSE POSITION AND NO RPT NO COMPROMISE WAS WORKED  
OUT BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS YESTERDAY. (WHEN WE MENTIONED  
THE MATTER TODAY TO WIELAND HE REFUSED TO SPECULATE WHETHER IT  
WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THE ADMIN BAN ON EXTRA DR SUGAR).  
WITH THE INCREASED PUBLICITY WHICH THE DEBATE ON SUGAR HAS STIRRED  
UP, NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS AS WELL AS LETS TO THE PRESS ARE BEGINNING  
TO ECHO SOME CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE DR AND NOTING  
THAT CUBA WHILE INDIRECTLY ADMONISHED BY THE OAS WAS NOT RPT NOT  
SUBJECTED TO SANCTIONS. SENATOR SMATHERS HAS SAID THAT USA SUFFERED  
A DIPLOMATIC DEFEAT OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE AT SANJOSE. HE DESCRIBED  
THE DECLARATION OF SANJOSE AS A WATERED DOWN, MILK TOAST, SLAP-ON-  
THE -WRIST TYPE OF CONDEMNATION. SMATHERS WENT ON TO ASK QUOTE IS  
THERE ANY DOUBT AS TO WHO IS AND WHAT IS THE MAJOR THREAT TO OUR  
FREEDOM TODAY. IT IS COMMUNISM; AND THE FOUNTAINHEAD OF COMMUNISM IN  
LATINAMERICA TODAY IS NOT RPT NOT IN THE DR BUT IN THE COMMUNIST  
GOVT OF CASTRO UNQUOTE. THE EVENING STAR OF SEPI CARRIED A FEATURE  
ARTICLE ENTITLED QUOTE VICTORY FOR KREMLIN AT SANFJOSE UNQUOTE.  
THE SAME EDITION OF THE EVENING STAR PUBLISHED FIVE LETS TO THE  
EDITOR AND FOUR OF THEM WERE CRITICAL OF THE ACTIONS TAKEN AT  
SANJOSE AS BEING DAMAGING TO A RIGHT-WING DICTATOR WHO WAS A  
FAITHFUL FRIEND OF USA AND A BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM, AND SOFT ON  
THE LEFT-WING DICTATOR WHO REGULARLY INSULTED USA PRESIDENT,  
SEIZED USA PROPERTY AND SET UP A COMMUNIST BEACH-HEAD IN THE  
AMERICAS. THUS FROM THE SMALL SAMPLING WE HAVE MADE TO DATE, THERE  
SEEMS TO BE A GROWING USA PUBLIC REACTION THAT THE WRONG DICTATOR  
WAS PUNISHED AT SANJOSE.

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CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Background Note No. 1,520

10th August, 1960.

CARIBBEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

A significant meeting of the Communist Parties of three Caribbean countries including that of the South American Caribbean littoral state of Venezuela, took place at the beginning of this month in Fort-de-France, the capital of the French island colony of Martinique. The meeting took place after the II Congress of the Martinique Communist party which was held on the 30th to 31st July. The report of the Caribbean parties' meeting given in the French Communist party daily L'Humanité states that this "great gathering" took place on the 1st August between the representatives of the Communist parties of Martinique, Cuba, Venezuela and France. L'Humanité also quotes a manifesto or declaration issued by the Communist parties of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Cuba and Venezuela, which was presumably adopted at the meeting in question, although this is not made clear. The manifesto was a declaration of support for Cuba, and a violent attack on the "English, American, French and Dutch colonialists". It expressed its solidarity "particularly with our brothers (nos frères) of Puerto-Rico, of the West Indies Federation and of British Guiana". No clue is given as to who these 'brothers' might be.

The name of the representative of the French Communist party, which of course is the parent party of the Martinique C.P., is given by L'Humanité as "Comrade Rieu, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist party. The representative of the Venezuelan C.P. was Comrade Mancera, a member of the Polit Bureau of the Venezuelan C.P. and a Senator, and Vice-President of the Municipal Council of Caracas. The representative of Cuba was Comrade Avila. These gentlemen were apparently the main speakers at the meeting and according to the L'Humanité account received tremendous applause, "in particular Comrade Avila". The meeting endorsed the political line of the Martinique C.P. in seeking autonomy for the island. This presumably was a reference to the report delivered to the II<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Martinique C.P. by Armand Nicolas, member of the Polit Bureau, who declared that there was "no other solution at a time when imperialism was collapsing throughout the world, when countries dependent on France were getting independence one after another, when the wind of the oppressed nations' liberation is blowing in Latin America, in the countries of the Caribbean."

It will be remembered that last year the French Communist party decided to make their protégés the C.P.s of Guadeloupe and Martinique, become independent parties presumably to make it easier for them to press for autonomy for their islands, which since 1946 have been departments of Metropolitan France. Last year the main propaganda emphasis of the Guadeloupe and Martinique C.P.s was against the "personal power" of President de Gaulle and the alleged diminution of essential liberties under his régime. Following the Caribbean Communist Conference it looks as if the propaganda of the C.P.s in the



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area is going to take advantage of the Cuban situation and will be switched over mainly to reinforce the Sino-Soviet propaganda war against the imperialists. This has certainly been the pattern of other regional Communist parties' meetings which have now become customary all over the world. In this area in particular the Latin American Peace Conference which took place in Havana last March set the example with its attacks on American and British imperialists. Another meeting which took place almost simultaneously with the Caribbean Communist parties' Conference was a gathering of Peasants' and Workers' Organisations of Latin America which was held in Havana from the 2nd to 4th August. This took an almost identical line with that of the Caribbean parties' manifesto, declaring its solidarity for the Cuban revolution, attacking "imperialism" and the "dictatorships" of Latin America and calling for solidarity with the "peoples" of other Latin American countries, especially Paraguay.

The manifesto of the Caribbean Communist parties declares among other things :

"The situation in the region of the Antilles (the islands of the Caribbean) and of Latin America, is characterised by an upsurge of the peoples' struggle to liberate their countries from imperialist and colonialist domination..... We declare our desire to uphold by every means in our power the heroic resistance of the Cuban people. Equally we express our complete and active solidarity with the peoples of Latin America who are still oppressed by the English, American, French and Dutch colonialists, particularly with our brothers of Puerto-Rico, the West Indies Federation and British Guiana. We undertake to do everything to uphold the peoples whose struggle against the bloody dictatorships imposed by American imperialism in / in Haiti, in Nicaragua and in Paraguay." the Dominican Republic,

Clearly the manifesto is meant to serve notice that the Communists now see their main mission in the area to encourage revolutionary "anti-imperialist" movements throughout the whole of the Caribbean.

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT.

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TO EXTERNAL 2057

INFO LDN WASHDC EMBPARIS PERMISNY

BAS HAVANA RIO MEXICO FM OTT

CUBA

IN THE PAC ON JUL28 USA REP TOOK ISSUE WITH TWO ASPECTS OF ITALIAN PAPER CIRCULATED AFTER COUNCIL DISCUSSION ON JUL20 (OUR TEL 1950 JUL20 AND OUR TS JUL25). USA REP FIRMLY REJECTED THE IMPLICATION IN SECTION OF THE ITALIAN PAPER ON USA ATTITUDES THAT USA MIGHT BE CONSIDERING INTERVENING IN CUBAS AFFAIRS THROUGH MULTILATERAL OR UNILATERAL ACTION UNDER THE MONROE DOCTRINE. HE SAID USA HAS A TREATY OBLIGATION NOT RPT NOT TO INTERVENE AND ADDED THAT THE QUESTION OF INTERVENTION IS A SENSITIVE ONE IN LATIN AMERICA. HE REAFFIRMED USA POSITION THAT CUBAN PEOPLE CAN RESOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEM IF USA AND THE OAS TOGETHER WITH THEIR EUROPEAN ALLIES CONTINUE TO DEVELOP MORAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON THE CASTRO REGIME. IN THIS CONNECTION, USA DID NOT RPT NOT EXPECT STRONG MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED BY THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OAS IN COSTA RICA ON AUG15, BUT THEY DO EXPECT A STRONG STAND TO BE TAKEN AGAINST COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA ON WHICH MAY BE BASED ANY FURTHER OAS ACTION WHICH MAY BE NECESSARY.

2. ON A MORE ABSTRACT BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT POINT, USA REP SAID THE ITALIAN PAPER FAILS TO RECOGNIZE UNIQUE SITUATION IN WHICH THE COMMUNIST PARTY FINDS ITSELF IN CUBA. IT IS NOT RPT NOT MERELY ONLY POLITICAL PARTY WHICH IS ALLOWED TO EXIST BUT IT HAS BEEN FULLY INTEGRATED INTO GOVT. HERE AGAIN USA REP EMPHASIZED STATE DEPT THESIS THAT THIS IS A MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CASTRO REGIME AND NEUTRALIST NATIONALIST REGIMES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

3. ITALIAN REP HAD NO RPT NO COMMENT TO MAKE. ON THE BASIS OF PERMISNY TEL 1031 JUL21, WE SPOKE OF SATISFACTORY OUTCOME OF SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON CUBA.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security ....SECRET.....

50066-110		

Type of Document.....ALRC Report..... No...6678.....Date...July 12, 1960....

From.....D.L.(2) Division.....

To.....AMERICAN... (Mr. G. Handy).....

Subject: CHILE/CUBA

Meeting of Foreign Communist Leaders in Communist China

Original on File No....W-60.....

Copies on File No.....W-17.....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....

Prepared by....L. Driscoll.....

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## CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security .....~~SECRET~~.....

50066-40		

Type of Document... *AWRC* ..... No. *666.1* ..... Date..... *—* .....

From..... *D. L. (2)* .....

To..... *American* .....

Subject: *BOLIVIA - USSR*  
*Meeting of Bolivian Minister with three*  
*Czech Officials regarding Establishment*  
*of Bolivian Embassy in Moscow.*

Original on File No..... *2.2* .....

Copies on File No..... *2.75* .....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on..... *48.75-40* .....

Prepared by.....

*A. Bedard*

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security .. ~~SECRET~~ .....

50066-140		

Type of Document.....ALRC Report..... No...6361.....Date...July 12...1960....

From.....D.L.(2) Division.....

To.....AMERICAN (Mr. C. Hardy).....

Subject: CUBA/LATIN AMERICA/SOVIET BLOC

Establishment of International Section of the Agencia  
Prensa Latina

Original on File No...Z-31.....

Copies on File No.....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....

Prepared by...L. Driscoll.....000524

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security ..... *SECRET* .....

<i>50066-40</i>		

Type of Document..... *ALRC* ..... No. *6344* ..... Date.....  
From..... *D.L.(2)* .....  
To..... *Geneva* .....

Subject: *CUBA.*  
*Employment of Communists by Municipal*  
*Council of Havana*

Original on File No..... *W-31* .....  
Copies on File No.....  
Other Cross Reference Sheets on..... *10224-60* .....

Prepared by..... *Bedard* ..... 000525

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July, 1960

11TH MEETING OF W.F.T.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

PEKING, JUNE 5-9, 1960

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Please file  
in communication  
Mr L.A. file  
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July, 1960

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11TH MEETING OF W.F.T.U. GENERAL COUNCIL,  
PEKING, JUNE 5-9, 1960

OPENING POSTPONED

No reason was given for the delay in opening the proceedings. Although most of the delegates had arrived in Peking for the expected opening on May 30, the meeting did not in fact begin until June 5.

A possible cause of the delay was that Louis Saillant, the Secretary-General, was taken ill en route and was unable to attend. His report was read by Marcel Bras [see below].

RUSO-CHINESE DISAGREEMENTS

Another reason may have been that hurried attempts were being made behind the scenes to heal the serious breach which had developed between the Russians and the Chinese as a result of the Summit failure. If so, the delay was in vain, because the basic differences on the future of the policy of peaceful co-existence remained, according to several reports.

'The Daily Telegraph' of June 11 commented: "Despite the claim that there was complete unanimity at the meeting, serious differences between the Russian and Chinese points of view became evident during the week... The Chinese took advantage of the fact that the Council meeting was held in Peking to dominate its proceedings and even challenge Russia's leadership of the WFTU. Chinese speakers missed no opportunity of rubbing in what they regard as the failure of Mr. Khrushchev's policy of negotiation with the Western Powers.

"The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, gave a banquet for the delegates. In an obvious reference to Mr. Khrushchev's pre-Summit policy of establishing friendly relations with Western statesmen, he said: 'Peace can never be obtained by begging it of imperialism. The aggressive activities of imperialism can be smashed if the people of the world wage persistent struggles against them... America's peace fraud has been exposed again and again.'

"This speech was given wide publicity in China. It was ignored by the Soviet Press, which noticeably soft-pedalled the whole Council meeting... It was perhaps the first time that, in such a Communist meeting, the Russian delegate found himself the advocate of mildness and reason."

In an interview published in the Italian Communist Party organ 'l'Unità' on June 19, Agostino Novella (WFTU President) confirmed that there had been differences at the General Council Meeting, and that the discussions had been "impassioned". Disagreement with the line presented by the WFTU Secretariat had been expressed by the Chinese delegation, with some support from the Indonesian delegation. Doubts had been advanced about the present realistic and consistent character of the struggle for disarmament and relaxation of tension. However, the debate had concluded with a unanimous vote for a resolution which declared the struggle for peaceful co-existence and general disarmament to be one of the immediate and fundamental aims of WFTU activity. The meeting had considered these aims as an essential part of the struggle waged by the workers of the capitalist countries for their economic and social claims, and also as an essential element of the colonial peoples' struggle for their national independence. The successes which had been achieved proved that disarmament, the policy of relaxation of tension and a stable peace could be achieved by the forces of peace throughout the world, which had in the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries their most vigorous fighters, concluded Novella.

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('l'Unità', June 19)



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Vittorio Foa, Nenni-Socialist Secretary of the CGIL /deputy member of WFTU Executive Committee/ also reported on the dissension between the Chinese and others. The Chinese held, he said, that disarmament was impossible while imperialism existed and to talk of disarmament demoralised workers and people, particularly in countries still under colonialist domination. According to the Chinese view, the sole aim of trade unions ought to be a total struggle against imperialism, to eradicate it by revolutionary activity and to create Socialism. The struggle for peace should not leave out of consideration a distinction between just and unjust wars.

Foa said that if such viewpoints prevailed in the trade union movement they would condemn it to isolation, would wipe out any progress in trade union unity, radically upsetting the policy hitherto strenuously pursued. He stated that delegations from Italy, France, India, USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and all the countries of Eastern Europe disagreed with the Chinese point of view.

He added that both Romagnoli, speaking for the Italian delegation and the WFTU President, Novella, had stressed that the policy of détente was the only way to fight against colonialism and imperialism, and to advance the unity of the workers. The WFTU must overcome certain traditional weaknesses in policy and methods to promote united initiatives with trade unions of different affiliations but with common problems. What happened at Peking, Foa concluded, clarified the polemical position recently assumed by the Soviet press in face of the reappearance of extremist and "catastrophic" currents within the WFTU. ('Avanti', June 14)

#### GENERAL PROCEEDINGS

The Chinese were in an aggressive mood and set the tone by a series of violent attacks on "imperialist America and its lackeys" (in language reminiscent of Stalin's days). They were backed up by several Asian delegates, with the important exception of the Indians, who supported the Russians. /The fact that no Indian speech was published is an example of the censorship imposed by the main source of information, the New China News Agency (NCNA). As a result, the reports of the speeches which follow are unavoidably one-sided./ The Soviet spokesman, Grishin, made a moderate speech, which was supported by all the Europeans, from East as well as West. Other delegates, such as the Latin Americans, dealt mainly with their own problems. The Africans, of whom there were unusually many spoke mainly on anti-colonialism, on which subject there was complete unanimity. Most speakers attacked the Americans, but not their allies, with the exception of West Germany and Japan.

The resolutions were all reportedly passed "unanimously", but clearly the General Resolution had great difficulty in reconciling the divergent Soviet and Chinese points of view on peace. While retaining the basic Soviet policy of continuing to work for peaceful coexistence, a number of aggressive references to "American bandits" etc., were clearly inserted at Chinese insistence.

#### ORGANISATIONAL DECISIONS

The following activities were decided upon:

1. T.U. Defence Commission

The WFTU Secretariat will examine with other appropriate bodies the setting up of an international TU Commission for the defence and safeguarding of victims of repression against TUs.

2. European Conference on 40-Hour Week

This conference is to be called in the first quarter of 1961. TU centres from other continents will be invited.

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3. TU Social Security Commission

A broad international TU Commission on Social Security will be called to stimulate new united action in this sphere.

4. Committee for Solidarity with Workers of South Africa

The WFTU Committee is to set up an International TU Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of South Africa. All TU organisations are called on to support it.

5. Commission to Investigate Colonial Persecution

An International TU Commission to investigate cases of persecution or imprisonment of workers who have fought against colonialism is to be set up.

6. African TU Information Bulletin

WFTU is to examine the possibility of publishing such a bulletin to carry news of the struggles of African TUs against colonialism and for a better life.

ATTENDANCE FIGURES

The meeting was attended by 120 delegates and observers from 58 countries, representing 40 trade union organisations affiliated to WFTU and 24 not affiliated to it.

AGENDA

1. International developments and the present tasks and activities of the trade union movement.
2. The contribution of the trade unions to the fight against colonialism.
3. Auditors' report.

PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

Agostino Novella (Italy), WFTU President, said the failure of the Summit Conference in Paris, due to the policy of cold war and aggression by the enemies of peace, headed by the American imperialist forces, had made it essential for the workers of the world to intensify even more their struggle for peace. "We must develop this struggle with confidence because the forces of peace are invincible. We must set for these forces and their struggle these objectives: the easing of international tension, disarmament and peaceful competition between the nations..."

He was convinced that the meeting would once again show all the workers of the world and WFTU organisations the correct path to follow for unity and the struggle for peace. "We shall begin our work in the atmosphere of confidence in our strength, in the strength of the workers of all countries of the world, in the growing strength of Socialism, in the strength of the movement for national liberation of the peoples and of the forces for peace. With this confidence and our great WFTU, we shall always be at the head of the struggle for peace, at the head of the struggle for the realisation of increasing solidarity and international fraternity, and solidarity among all the workers of the world..." (New China News Agency, NCNA, June 5)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON ITEM 1

The report on "International developments and the present activities and tasks of the trade union movement" was delivered by Marcel Bras, WFTU Secretary, in the absence of Louis Saillant. 000529  
The main points were:

(a) Summit "Wrecked by U.S. Imperialism"

"Imperialism, with US imperialism in the lead, is showing its true colours as an enemy of peace and the peoples; it remains the source of wars. But ... the forces of peace in the world, and in the first place the existence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries and their all-round strength, are effectively opposing these war plans. Providing they act with increasing unity, these forces are capable of defeating the forces of war. WFTU condemns the aggressive and hypocritical policy of Eisenhower and his Government who, under the cover of demagogic words, are in fact following a policy of force and 'going to the brink'."

On behalf of the 101 million members of the WFTU, Bras protested against US imperialism's actions in wrecking the Summit Conference, concluding the US-Japan Security Treaty, fostering the revival of West German militarism, and other "war provocations" including the occupation by force of arms of South Korea and the Chinese territory of Taiwan. "For all the workers there is only one Chinese Government, supported by its 650 million people... which must be recognised by all the Western governments, and without which no permanent solution can be found to any of the great international problems in dispute."

The three years that had passed since the fourth World Trade Union Congress "have been distinguished by remarkable progress and by the untiring efforts of the Socialist camp and of all other peace forces, but have also been marked by many manoeuvres by the imperialist circles to place obstacles in the way of peaceful coexistence". The dispatching of the American military spy plane over Soviet territory was an act "taken on the basis of a plan which had been thoroughly prepared and approved by the US President, who at the same time was declaring his professed desire for peace and negotiation". The Soviet Union had once more served the cause of peace and the interests of the people in bringing to light the duplicity of the American imperialists, which had now been unmasked before the people of the whole world. The workers would note that "these criminal provocations by the American imperialists are not only an inadmissible and senseless insult to the working class and people of the Soviet Union, but also a grave blow to the cause of peace and to the interests of all workers". The Western governments were still obstinately continuing the arms race and had sabotaged the disarmament negotiations; the US Government had openly announced its intention to resume its nuclear weapon tests. "It can thus be clearly seen that the American provocation of May 1 last, far from being an isolated or uncalculated incident, was an integral part of a whole policy deliberately aimed at preparation for war."

(b) The New Soviet Disarmament Proposals

The Soviet Government, further defining its plan for universal and complete disarmament submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, had just presented new proposals. "Thus, replying to certain observations by the Western governments, and despite the sabotage of the Summit Conference by the American imperialists, the Soviet Union has just given new proof of its untiring efforts to prevent the scourge of an atomic war. Certain that it expresses the sentiments of workers the world over, WFTU acclaims this new démarche by the Soviet Government and warmly supports these new proposals."

(c) Need for Peace Treaty with the "Two German States"

WFTU condemned "the policy of cold war and feverish rearmament pursued by the Bonn Government supported by American imperialism and the other Western Powers". It denounced the NATO Powers for defying the Potsdam Agreement and helping the West German trusts, the sponsors of Hitlerism, to reestablish themselves as the dominant power in Europe today. "In these circumstances, is it not becoming more and more obvious every day that the signing of a peace treaty with the two German States and the ending of the dangerous situation

which exists in West Berlin is an absolute necessity? In face of the re-emergence of militarism in West Germany, we welcome with great satisfaction the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which is the first State in the history of Germany that is democratic and pursues a policy of peace. It embodies the best traditions of the German people and is a strong bastion of peace in Germany and Europe."

(d) The Struggle for Peace and United Action

The imperialists had not abandoned their plans for the preparation and unleashing of a new world war. "But it is by a ceaseless struggle - more powerful and united every day - that the forces of peace will achieve their objective: lasting peace in the world... The struggle for peace remains the essential task in the trade union movement." The Soviet Union had put disarmament before all peoples and governments as an urgent question for negotiation. But the road to reach this end would be long and difficult. "We must be able to show the workers of Asia, Africa, Europe and America that economic and social competition between the Socialist and capitalist systems, the development of international trade and the reallocation of the money from arms budgets to improve the position of the working people and to give economic and technical aid without strings to economically backward countries can lead only to progress for all, without exception."

The report referred to united action for peace by workers in various countries, including the mass demonstrations against foreign atomic bases and nuclear tests in Japan and Britain, the vigorous action by more than four million Japanese workers against the US-Japan military pact, and the wave of protests in France and Africa against the French atomic tests. It had made an active contribution to the struggle against the capitalist States' aggressive threats in the Middle East, the Far East and Algeria. The struggle for peace, for the suspension of nuclear tests and for genuine universal and complete disarmament would be long and difficult. It was obvious that co-operation, national and international unity of action and strong solidarity between all trade union organisations were urgent and indispensable.

(e) The Struggle Against Colonialism

The report expressed admiration and support for the workers in Asia, Africa and Latin America who were engaged in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. "The great anti-imperialist alliance ... of all the workers has been reinforced by hundreds of millions of people who are now at last in a position to work enthusiastically for unity and progress, and to contribute to the cause of world peace... To gain and consolidate their national independence, to improve their living and working conditions, the workers of Africa and Asia must not only unite throughout their continent but must also be able to count on the wider international solidarity of the trade unions and workers throughout the world. That is why ... WFTU remains the main organiser of this international class solidarity." WFTU "never loses sight of the European colonialists' manoeuvres to retain their economic grip in disguised or apparently new ways". It denounced American monopolies which were seeking to step into the shoes of their European competitors.

Referring to the overthrow of Batista, Syngman Rhee and Menderes, Bras said: "Thus, day after day, the facade of democracy behind which American imperialism is seeking to hide itself ... is being torn down... The successes achieved in the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and for democracy have a direct and very favourable effect on the trade union movement... The workers have been able to rid the trade union movement of those unwholesome elements which collaborated with tyranny and imperialism and were the staunchest supporters of the cold war in the trade union movement itself."

(f) Development of the International Economic Situation

Capitalist economy was suffering from a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. "Increase in productivity as well as the growth in capitalist production and the continued monopoly concentration cannot be divorced from the militarisation of the economy which has been an essential aspect of Western policy. The repercussions of this general development have been particularly disastrous for a number of economically backward countries which are tied up with the world capitalist economy." Despite serious setbacks, the capitalist monopolies continued to exercise tremendous pressure on underdeveloped countries, greatly impeding their development. American imperialists had been enabled to double their investments abroad. This had brought fabulous profits to the imperialists and forced the countries receiving their aid to devalue their currency and practice austerity. "To stand up to this pressure and to avoid putting off for many years any improvement in the living conditions of the mass of the people, radical economic measures are indispensable, even though political independence has been won."

The report described the plight of workers in the capitalist countries, who were "exposed to the most cunning and disguised forms of exploitation". They were using more and more of their creative labour power but getting less and less in return. Most average wage increases had been lower in 1959 than during 1958 when they were below those won in 1957. Prices of consumer goods had gone up, and the workers had to hand over to the bourgeois State a bigger and bigger proportion of their meagre purchasing power in the form of taxes. "For many years the working people have had to pay for the arms drive and for the war preparations of the capitalist countries against their will. Unemployment ... still remains very high ... So capitalist economic recoveries which follow crises are no longer accompanied by a corresponding recovery in employment but by continuing chronic mass unemployment."

In the political field, an offensive against the workers had been launched by the monopolists and the governments serving them. "Many leaders and active members of trade unions have been exposed to particularly ruthless persecution in many capitalist countries, notably Iran, Portugal, Spain and Greece... During the past few years a host of anti-labour laws have either been passed or are being prepared in the capitalist countries, for example in the USA, Canada, Australia, Spain, Greece, Great Britain, Japan and Ceylon..."

Saluting the workers in capitalist countries who were waging a heroic struggle against monopoly capital, Bras said: "Rarely have we seen clearer examples of the aggressive character of the monopolies..."

The experience which the working class had gained during the past few years had negated the theories on "people's neo-capitalism" and other propaganda for class collaboration. To promote international working class solidarity, WFTU was proposing the organisation of a European Trade Union Conference in 1961 and of International Trade Union Commissions for the defence of victims of anti-trade union measures and for action on social security [details given in General Resolution, below].

In sharp contrast to the strikes and unemployment in capitalist lands, the workers in the "Socialist" countries were competing with enthusiasm to raise national production which was their concern since they were the ruling class of their countries. "It is becoming increasingly clear to the working people that the force behind each Sputnik, behind the impressive rate of production of the Seven Year Plan, behind the bold targets laid down in the economic plans of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Bulgaria, behind the prodigious growth of the CPR, the KDPR and the VDR is the inexhaustible and irreplaceable creative effort of

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people who have been freed from exploitation." It was this effort which in 1965 would allow the entire Socialist camp to produce one half of the world's industrial output.

## ITEM 2: CONTRIBUTION OF TU's TO THE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM

This report was presented by Ibrahim Zakaria, WFTU Secretary (Sudan). He said: "It is particularly important for the people of the African colonies to increase their vigilance in their struggle for national independence in respect to the American imperialists who have been playing up the slogan of 'anti-colonialism'. By these manoeuvres, the US imperialists aim at misleading the peoples of these countries and providing ideological and psychological conditions for US expansion... The imperialists ... are sponsoring a harmful trend. This trend seeks the isolation of those fighting against imperialism from their natural allies in those countries which have finally got rid of the capitalist system and from the working class movement in the imperialist countries, which supports the liberation struggle." The aim was to deprive the newly independent countries of the possibility to get "generous unconditional assistance" in building their national economies from the countries of the "Socialist" camp, and also to deprive the "world peace forces" of the contribution which the liberation movement in the colonies could make to the struggle for world peace.

The workers of the Socialist countries had set a living example of fraternal solidarity. The Soviet Union was able not only to transform itself into the most advanced country in the world, but also to satisfy fully the needs of the newly independent countries which wanted to rid themselves of imperialist penetration, particularly in the economic field.

In Africa, not only workers and peasants, but also the bourgeoisie, and even patriotic tribal chiefs were participating in the national liberation struggle. But the workers had longer experience in fighting colonialism and took a more consistent stand against it. Also, after national independence had been achieved, bourgeois elements in some countries were trying to take away the hard-won gains of the trade unions. The report also warned of attempts by ICFTU leaders to divide the trade union movement in Nigeria and South Africa. [See Resolution on the Fight Against Colonialism, below, which incorporated the themes of this report]. (NCNA, June 5)

## AGGRESSIVE SPEECHES BY CHINESE DELEGATES

Li Chieh-po, Vice President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions welcomed the delegates. He declared that the Chinese working class and the rest of the Chinese people "will do our best to give fraternal support to the workers and the people of all the countries fighting for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism". He sharply denounced the imperialist forces of war headed by the USA as the enemy of world peace. "Peace cannot be begged for. It can only be won by relying on the struggle of the working class and masses of people of all countries..." The forces of the working class and other sections of the people throughout the world were like the red sun rising in the morning, shining brilliantly and full of vigour and vitality, and imperialism was like the evening sun, dying and soon to set. This was the present favourable situation of East wind prevailing over the West wind. The people's struggles in Cuba, Algeria, Japan, South Korea and Turkey had struck a heavy blow at the imperialist forces of war headed by the USA, greatly weakened imperialist rule, greatly strengthened the forces defending world peace and powerfully encouraged the fighting confidence and will of the working class and other sections of the peoples of all countries.

US imperialism had not in the slightest changed its nature of aggression and plunder. This situation demanded that the working class and other sections of the people of the world must be highly vigilant. "We know from our experience in the long struggle against imperialism that there should never be any illusions about

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imperialism, US imperialism in particular... War can only be checked and peace upheld if the working class and people throughout the world rise to wage a resolute and unswerving struggle against the most vicious enemy of peace, the US imperialists, constantly to expose their war manoeuvres, to smash their plan for war and aggression, and to bind them hand and foot to prevent them from launching aggression and war."

Li Chieh-po expressed the hope that the present Council meeting "will be a clarion call rousing the world's proletariat to strengthen its unity and oppose the common enemy - the imperialists headed by the USA and their lackeys - and to fight together to defend democratic rights and the vital interests of the working class, to strive to win emancipation of all oppressed nations and people of the world, and to achieve lasting world peace". (NCNA, June 5)

Liu Ning-yi, President of the ACFTU [member of WPC Bureau] said: "The criminal action of the USA in committing aggression against the Soviet Union and wrecking the four-Power conference of government heads has exposed completely that US imperialism is using peace gestures as a camouflage for its aggression and war preparations. Eisenhower, the chieftain of the US imperialist bandits, has shown by his own action that he is by no means an 'envoy of peace', but the No. 1 representative of the most ferocious aggressors and war forces in disguise. This fact has taught the people of the world a valuable lesson..."

"However, when US imperialism pretends to look 'peaceful and amiable' and makes gestures for peace, some people seem to think that it may become kind-hearted all of a sudden and present us with peace on a platter. The Tito clique, fostered by US imperialism, takes great pains to whitewash its master, spread absurd stories that imperialism has changed its nature, and help US imperialism dupe the people of the world... The world workers' movement and the trade union organisations in all countries cannot ignore this phenomenon. Our WFTU is a trade union organisation which truly represents the interests of the working class. Our duty is to tell the truth to the masses of workers and other people, expose the US imperialist schemes of fake peace and actual preparations for war, and expose the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique as a tool of US imperialism, so as to enable the workers and the people to understand that one cannot entertain any unrealistic illusions about US imperialism, and should never believe the honeyed words of the imperialists."

"US imperialism is the arch-enemy of world peace and it will never change its aggressive and predatory nature. War can be prevented and world peace preserved only by uniting all peace-loving forces of the world to wage a resolute struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys." The history of the workers' movement and of the people's struggle in the post-war period proved that safeguarding peace mainly depended on the resolute struggle of the working class and the masses of all countries. "The victory of the struggle for peace can be assured only if the force of the peoples in the Socialist countries, the force of the liberation movement of the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the revolutionary force of the people in the capitalist countries are continuously augmented ... and by mobilising them to carry out struggles against US imperialism and its lackeys."

The Chinese workers were always in the forefront of the struggle against aggressive war and for world peace. They supported the struggles for national liberation and democracy in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggles of the people of capitalist countries against oppression. "We are keenly aware that imperialism and its lackeys are the common enemy of the working class and the people of all countries." The imperialist forces were suffering telling blows from the people in their rear. "The rule of imperialism is weakening day by day and its days are numbered."

The imperialists, especially the US imperialists, were "cook up a pretext to cover up their crime of ruthlessly suppressing the

national and democratic movements..." They were saying that as the world working class movement sympathised with the people's struggles they did not want peace and peaceful coexistence. The Tito clique were helping US imperialism in setting the struggle for world peace against the national and democratic movements which opposed imperialism and oppression, and distorting peaceful coexistence between the two systems of Socialism and capitalism into "genuine cooperation" between the oppressed and the oppressor. "This is a lie to deceive the people. Everybody knows that the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed is a life-and-death struggle in which one or the other must win. World peace and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems can be benefited only by waging resolute struggles against imperialist oppression."

The international working class movement should see to it that its activities helped and did not hinder the struggle. It should teach the workers to increase their vigilance against imperialism, not disseminate illusions about it. For instance, a clear distinction must be made between the two kinds of aid to underdeveloped countries. The imperialists' "aid" was actually an export of capital, "aiming to intensify aggression, exploitation and domination over the recipient countries... To confuse the so-called 'aid' of the imperialists ... with the sincere and friendly assistance from the Socialist countries without any conditions attached, to prettify the so-called 'aid' of imperialism and to advocate that such 'aid' should be welcomed by the economically backward countries is in fact to help imperialism..."

What imperialism feared most was the unity of the working class and the people of the world. In the struggle to defend world peace, the broadest united front should be formed excluding the enemy. "In order to check the danger of war and safeguard world peace, we stand for negotiations between the Socialist and imperialist countries and, through such negotiations to settle international disputes and reach agreement on general disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons, or even conclude pacts of mutual non-aggression between nations. We support the persistent and unswerving efforts the Soviet Union has made in this respect..."

"The unity of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the unity of the world working class and the world workers' movement are the surest guarantee for the victory of the cause of the working class..." The divisions among trade union organisations were forced upon them by imperialism and reactionaries in various countries who "have been trying for a long time to disrupt the unity of the working class by using scabs and right-wing Socialists". Now "new tools have been added, namely the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique who have degenerated into renegades of the working class. Under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism the modern revisionists are specialising in activities to disrupt and undermine the unity of the working class... These tools, be they new or old, have a common feature, that is, by advocating non-distinction between ourselves and the enemy, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Socialism and capitalism, and between the oppressed and the oppressors, they try to sap the revolutionary spirit of the working class, benumb its revolutionary will, and morally disarm it..."

Liu Ning-yi concluded by stating that the present situation was favourable to the struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys. "US imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of peace, has done all possible evil deeds, completely lost the support of the people and landed itself in unprecedented isolation... We firmly believe that so long as the force of the Socialist countries, the force of the oppressed nations striving for liberation and democracy, the force of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries and the peace-loving forces all over the world continue to grow, and so long as these forces are combined in sustained struggles against the imperialist forces of war headed by the United States, the working class and the people of the world will certainly be able



to effectively prevent imperialist war and safeguard world peace.  
(NCNA, June 8; 'Peking Review', June 14)

[A short Tass report of Liu Ning-yi's speech only noted his support for East-West negotiations and for Soviet efforts to secure world peace, and made no mention of his strong attack on the USA and Yugoslavia.]

Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of ACFTU and Vice-President of WFTU, [and member of WPC] said that on the question of war and peace there still existed some problems involving basic principles that must be clarified, otherwise people would go astray in regard to the question of safeguarding peace. "As to what attitude we should adopt towards war, we must first of all make a distinction as to its nature. A war between imperialist countries in a scramble for colonies is an unjust war. An imperialist war to suppress the colonial people and the people at home and to commit aggression against other countries is also an unjust war. On the other hand, a revolutionary war waged by the colonial peoples and by the oppressed peoples of the imperialist countries for their own liberation is a just war. Since the imperialists use armed force to suppress the oppressed peoples and nations, the oppressed peoples and nations cannot but take up arms themselves. We must stand for and uphold just revolutionary wars, and oppose and stop unjust wars. It is wrong to talk indiscriminately about whether or not war should be supported or whether or not it should be opposed, without making a specific analysis of its nature.

"The question of whether or not war can be averted, in our opinion, refers mainly to a world war... It should be pointed out that, on the one hand, under the conditions of the steady growth of the forces of the Socialist countries, the forces of the liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies and the forces of the revolutionary movements and peace movements of the peoples of the countries the world over, and the united struggle of these forces, there exists the possibility of stopping the imperialists from unleashing a new world war. But on the other hand, so long as there is imperialism, the root cause of war remains, the breeding ground of war remains, and the war maniacs remain, and that is why there still exists the danger of imperialism launching a new world war... It is entirely wrong to think that war can be eliminated forever while imperialism still exists. The spreading of such illusions about imperialism among, the peoples of various countries will lead to evil consequences of a serious nature and, in fact, we can already see such consequences at present."

Imperialist wars of suppression against colonies and semi-colonies, national liberation wars of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism, wars of suppression against the people by the exploiting classes and people's revolutionary wars in the capitalist countries, had always existed in history, and had never stopped in the capitalist world since the second world war. "The wars in Indo-China, in Algeria, over the issue of the Suez Canal and in Cuba are all such wars. In the future, as long as imperialism and the exploiting system are still in existence, such wars ... will still be unavoidable." The belief that wars of this kind could be avoided was entirely wrong and would deprive the oppressed peoples of their fighting spirit and "prevent them from arming themselves to actively fight the enemy who is armed to the teeth, and to liberate themselves. That is tantamount to keeping the oppressed peoples forever in the state of enslavement.

"We stand for peaceful coexistence between Socialist and capitalist countries. Since World War Two, we Socialist countries have spared no effort in striving for peaceful coexistence and have unswervingly pursued various policies of peace, but the imperialist countries headed by the USA have all along clung to their cold-war policy, persisted in arms expansion and war preparations and created tension. We should make it clear to the people that they should not be scared by the cold war waged by imperialism, that they should resolutely oppose the imperialists' cold-war policy, expose its

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ugly face and wage a head-on struggle against it. Only thus can the cold war be prevented from developing into a hot one.

"We must take into full account the fact that because internal crises are worsening day by day in the imperialist countries and because they want to intensify their oppression and rule over the people at home and in the colonial countries, the imperialists will, for a long time to come, keep up their cold-war policy, impose cold war on the people of the world, and continue to maintain their massive military forces and the entire State machine. To safeguard world peace and oppose imperialism will therefore be a long-drawn-out struggle for the peoples of various countries.

"We support the disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union. It is, of course, inconceivable that imperialism will accept proposals for general and complete disarmament. The purpose of putting forward such a proposal is to arouse the people throughout the world to unite and oppose the imperialist scheme for arms drive and war preparations, to unmask the aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism before the peoples of the world in order to isolate the imperialist bloc headed by the USA to the greatest extent, so that they will not dare unleash a war lightly. But there are people who believe that such proposals can be realised when imperialism still exists and that the danger of war can be eliminated by relying on such proposals. This is an unrealistic illusion. As to the view that after disarmament imperialism would use the funds earmarked for war purposes for 'the welfare of the labouring masses' and for 'assisting underdeveloped countries' and that this would 'bring general progress to people as a whole without exception' - this is downright whitewashing and embellishing imperialism, and indeed this is helping imperialism headed by the USA to dupe the people throughout the world.

"Only when socialist revolution is victorious throughout the world can there be a world free from war, a world without arms. Such a world is inconceivable whilst imperialism still exists. This is not a question of whether we want it or not; the question is that the imperialists will never lay down their arms of their own accord, ... because they want to suppress the people of their own countries, ... because they want to suppress the colonies, ... because they want to carry on expansion and aggression against other countries. History has confirmed and will continue to confirm this. We hold that the utmost efforts must be made to reach agreement on the banning of nuclear weapons and to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war in the world. Soviet mastery of nuclear weapons has now deprived US imperialism of its atomic monopoly. The Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries should continue to develop their lead in the sphere of atomic energy and at the same time the people throughout the world should wage a more extensive struggle against imperialism and against nuclear weapons. Only in these circumstances can such agreement be reached.

"But even if agreement is reached, imperialism can still tear it to pieces. And even if in their own interests the imperialists dare not unleash a large-scale nuclear war, they still can wage war with the so-called conventional weapons. Therefore, in all circumstances people throughout the world should maintain sharp vigilance against imperialism and should not adopt a naive attitude towards US and other imperialism. To win world peace, the struggle of the world's peoples and the diplomatic negotiations carried out by the Socialist countries should go hand-in-hand. It should not be supposed that since diplomatic negotiations are needed, the struggle of the peoples can thus be dispensed with. On the contrary, diplomatic negotiations must be backed up by the united struggle of the world's peoples. To win world peace, we should mainly rely on the struggle waged by the peoples of various countries."

It was imperative unceasingly to increase the might of the Socialist countries, develop the strength of the liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, expand the revolutionary forces of the

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people in the imperialist countries, and untiringly expose the imperialist bloc headed by the USA and the modern revisionists who were in the service of imperialism. "At the same time, we should make full use of our tactics and exploit the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the various monopoly capital groups within the imperialist countries." By rallying all the forces that could be united around the anti-imperialist struggle to form a broad united front, "we can certainly defeat the bellicose forces of imperialism and win the great victory in the defence of world peace." (Peking Review, June 14; NCNA, June 7)

#### SOVIET DELEGATE'S SPEECH

V.V. Grishin, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions / WFTU Vice-President/, strongly condemned US imperialism for intensifying arms expansion and war preparations, intruding into Soviet territorial air and sabotaging the Summit Conference, and attempting by all means to worsen the international situation. The Eisenhower Government acted the shameful role of gendarme, and butcher of the liberty of the people of various countries. It was resorting to all means to support reactionary systems established by US bayonets against the will of the people. Grishin spoke of the unswerving efforts of the Soviet Union in defending world peace. "The standpoint of Lenin's principle based on peaceful coexistence, equality and respect for national sovereignty is the only possible way to consolidate peace and the safety of the people of the various countries... Just as N.S. Khrushchev has more than once pointed out, the Soviet Union will do all it can to promote the relaxation of the international situation. The Soviet Union upholds peaceful coexistence and peaceful negotiations at present and in the future, striving for a reasonable solution that is mutually acceptable." The Soviet Union, People's China and all the Socialist countries were in one indestructible big family, and a great spiritual and material power.

The people of all countries hoped for peace, but hopes alone were not enough; they must be backed by positive action. West German militarism and its stooge Adenauer were rearming West Germany through their revanchist policy. The Japanese-American military treaty, adopted with the help of police batons and terroristic methods, constituted a sell-out of the interests of the Japanese people. It was aimed against the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

The current international situation demanded that the workers and their trade union organisations keep a very watchful eye against the intrigues of the imperialists and intensify the struggle for peace. He hoped the present General Council would call on all workers and trade unions to heighten their vigilance, strengthen the struggle to oppose US aggressive provocations, and abolish US military bases on other people's territory, and call on the trade unions to urge their governments to support the just and righteous foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries and denounce US acts of aggression at the coming UN Assembly.

The Soviet Government had given a serious warning to Turkey, Pakistan and Norway that if there were any new provocative flights sent from their territories, the Soviet Government would be forced to take appropriate measures, against the US military bases set up in their countries, that is, to annihilate these military bases. Such military bases had also been set up in some other countries, including Japan, Italy, Britain and Belgium in an attempt to attack the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. "We consider it an international responsibility of the working people and trade unions to wage struggle by all means to eliminate the US military bases built on the territory of other countries."

The most important task of the trade union movement was to exert every effort to expose to the working people the barbarous characteristics of the imperialist aggressors, first of all the ruling clique of the USA, to organise mass actions, including

del strations, mass rallies and meetings to defend peace. He condemned the capitalist countries which had mobilised all their propaganda machines to clamour against the so-called danger of Communism in an attempt to deceive the people. The task of the trade unions was to strengthen greatly counter-propaganda, to expose the imperialists and to tell the working people all the dangers of the adventurist policy of the imperialists. (NCNA, June 5).

#### ASIAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN SPEAKERS ENDORSE CHINESE LINE

Several speeches by Asian and Middle Eastern delegates (as quoted by NCNA) denounced US imperialism in terms similar to those used by the Chinese. The Indonesian, North Korean and North Vietnamese speakers were particularly vehement.

Achadijat, head of the International Department of the All-Indonesia Central Organisation of Trade Unions (SOBSI) said: "We do not beg imperialism for peace. We cherish peace. Therefore we must smash imperialism - the source of war. Imperialism does not withdraw of its own free will. We must force it to withdraw. We should dare to oppose imperialism, especially US imperialism, and not be scared by it... We should resolutely expose the Tito clique because it disseminates the poison of division in an attempt to paralyse the struggle waged by the people and workers of various countries to smash imperialism and colonialism and realise lasting peace." The Indonesian people regarded US imperialism as their most dangerous enemy. US imperialism had the impudence to intervene in Indonesian internal affairs. It was now one of the main tasks of the Indonesian workers and people to oppose the forces of US imperialism which were growing ever more unbridled. The Indonesian people were firmly opposing the so-called economic aid of imperialism. Holland and the USA had shown that "the imperialists cannot extend assistance to the working class and the people of the colonies". Economic co-operation with the Socialist countries had helped Indonesia overcome the economic activities of the imperialists and had opened up a practical road for all-round development of Indonesian industry. (NCNA, June 8)

Pak Sang Hong, Vice-President of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea condemned US imperialism for continuing to set up new puppets to maintain the suppression of the patriotic people and interfere in the just struggle of the people of South Korea. "US imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Korean nation." The sabotaging of the Summit Conference once again exposed the true colours of US imperialism as a brigand and clearly showed that Eisenhower was the No. 1 war monger. US imperialism was the most aggressive and vicious imperialism which had shown its teeth in Korea. The Korean people's indignation at the US aggression in South Korea had erupted like a volcano and no force could halt the people's just struggle. "The struggle to compel the US force to get out of South Korea was a struggle to safeguard peace." He proposed that an international week of solidarity be held around June 25, the 10th anniversary of the US launching of the war of aggression against Korea, to support the just struggle of the Korean working class and other people for the withdrawal of the USA from South Korea. (NCNA, June 7)

Hoang Quoc Viet, WFTU General Council member and President of the General Confederation of Labour of Vietnam, said that the imperialists, and especially their bosses the US imperialists, were the "root cause of war". They would never drop their bellicose plans, and these demonstrated their criminal nature. He proposed that the resolution to be adopted should contain paragraphs exposing the aggressive nature of US imperialism and denouncing the US wrecking of the Summit Conference and its preparations for war. The resolution should also lay down precisely that the world working class should act and fight in unity in the struggle to safeguard peace and should have no illusions about US imperialism. "Genui000539 independence can be achieved only by struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The colonialist Powers will never willingly give up

the colonies of their own accord, and the attainment of political independence is only the first step in the long struggle." The imperialists were now employing all kinds of tricks to split the people of different countries. "They talk of peace, but they have never given up their domination over other people. The imperialists are trying to infiltrate the economically underdeveloped countries under the guise of aid." US imperialism was taking the lead in these criminal activities, and was attempting to achieve its ends with the help of the Eisenhower Doctrine. (NCNA, June 8)

Thakin Lwin, President of the Burma Trade Union Congress, called on workers throughout the world to wage a resolute struggle against the common enemies of the international working class - US imperialism and its henchmen. Today, many workers in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries were confident that the unity of the workers and other people internationally would bury imperialism. "The Burmese working people give full support to the working people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their just and bitter struggle against imperialism and for national liberation." He strongly criticised the point of view which proclaimed that the trade unions should remain purely economic organisations. Leadership by a working class political party was indispensable to work for better living conditions, the elevation of the workers' political consciousness, defence of their vital interests and the elimination of imperialism. Only the working class could lead the establishment of Socialism as in the Soviet Union and China, where the exploitation of man by man had been eliminated and complete independence achieved. (NCNA, June 7)

M.G. Mendis, [WFTU Executive Committee member] President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ceylon, said: "One of the most important tasks of the trade unions today is to study and analyse the role played by American imperialism in every capitalist country and carry on a thorough exposure campaign among the workers and other sections of the population." A few years ago, the American imperialists shamelessly demanded from Ceylon as conditions for Point Four Aid: curtailment of trade union rights and suppression of the progressive movement; easy terms for American investment; facilities to carry on "Asia foundation"; and the use of bases for American military purposes. Mendis said: "The aid was not accepted as a result of opposition by the people. Experience has shown that any country accepting such 'aid' will become a colony of the USA. The one and only aim of American imperialism today is world domination... We must continue to strive for unity and unity at all levels too. However, I feel that we are not sufficiently exposing the agents of American imperialism within the ICFTU... Let the workers of the ICFTU know who some of their leaders are. People like George Meany must be ruthlessly exposed as the avowed enemies of the working class. These treacherous ICFTU leaders, who are lackeys of imperialism, who actively support the war plans of the imperialist warmongers and who are boot-lickers of the monopolists, must be completely exposed if we are to win over the honest elements in the leadership as well as the masses." (NCNA, June 6)

Minoru Takano, Vice-President of the National Metal Workers' Union of Japan, told the meeting that the workers and other people of Japan were determinedly fighting to evict US imperialism - the source of world war - from Japan, the West Pacific and even the world. They would carry on resolutely until the puppet Kishi Government was overthrown, US military bases removed, the Japan-USA military alliance and other unequal treaties abolished, US imperialist oppression wiped out and national independence achieved. If the workers' movement was limited to such economic questions as wage increases, the result could very well be division, antagonism, demoralisation and degeneration among the trade unions and would serve capitalism. The trade union movement should organise anti-imperialist struggles against international monopoly capital. He spoke of the significance of the establishment of a new "Asian anti-imperialism bulwark." 000540 "The question today ... is to expose how the enemy lies about peace and support for arms reduction... Armaments under capitalism are for

aggressive war while; on the contrary, armaments under socialism are for defending peace and smashing the aggression of imperialism." (NCNA, June 8)

Seiichi Suzuki of the Sohyo (observer), declared that the Japanese workers would continue to fight resolutely against the Japan-USA Security Treaty until the day of victory. "Our struggle, which is now seen as the common struggle of the more than 70 million workers in Japan, China and Korea, will be developed into a common struggle of the workers of the whole world." (NCNA, June 6)

Chabri Darakhchan, [deputy member of WFTU General Council] Secretary of the Iranian Trade Union Council, strongly denounced US imperialism, which was enslaving the Iranian people, whose King and Prime Minister were lackeys of the USA. The treaty concluded between the USA and Iran brought disaster to the people, and turned Iran into a colony of the USA. US military bases were being established everywhere in Iran with atomic and hydrogen weapons directed against the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Iranian workers and people against US imperialism and its lackeys, the King and the Government, was growing. He appealed to the WFTU to extend great support to the struggle. (NCNA, June 6)

Ali Shukr (observer), President of the Iraqi General Federation of Trade Unions, said that since the establishment of the Republic of Iraq, the reactionary elements backed by the imperialists had plotted five unsuccessful conspiracies to overthrow the Government. "The conspiracies against our national independence are part of the series of vicious conspiracies and plots practised by the imperialists, headed by the US imperialists, against the national liberation elements..." (NCNA, June 8)

#### EUROPEANS SUPPORT RUSSIANS

##### (a) Western Europeans

Speakers from Western Europe, led by the Italians, mostly supported current Soviet policy on disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

Luciano Romagnoli, Communist Secretary of the CGIL and deputy member of WFTU Executive Committee, said that the grave situation arising from the imperialists' torpedoing of the Summit Conference required the maximum unity and fighting spirit on the part of the workers and trade unions. But it should not lead to pessimism; there were now greater chances than ever for a victorious campaign to insist on the calling of a Summit meeting, on concrete disarmament measures, relaxation of tension, coexistence and peace.

The policy of relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence had made an inestimable contribution to the united working class struggle against the monopolies and for democracy. "...Any other policy would do harm to peace, isolate the working class and perpetuate its divisions to the sole benefit of the imperialist and reactionary forces." ('l'Unità', June 9)

In his concluding speech, Agostino Novella said that the imperialists had emerged weakened from recent international events and the struggle of the masses for the achievement of peace was of decisive value. He affirmed that "coexistence means the end of the policy of force and the liquidation of military and political intervention in the internal affairs of different countries. Coexistence does not mean the lessening of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, nor of the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence". ('l'Unità', June 10)

Leon Mauvais, WFTU General Council member and Secretary of the French CGT, said that peace could be won by struggle. "We and the people in all other lands must not in the least lower our vigilance, so that the desire of the people for peace will finally



prevail over the cold-war mongers in the USA, West Germany, France and other capitalist countries". (NCNA, June 7)

Heinrich Fink, of the West German Metal Workers' Union (observer), gave a graphic account of the massive struggle waged by the workers and other people in West Germany against the Adenauer Government's intensified trend to Fascism, revival of militarism, atomic rearmament and threat to peace. After helping the USA to wreck the Summit Conference, West German monopoly capital was now demanding the abolition of the articles in the Paris Agreement concerning restrictions on atomic and other weapons, in order to take a direct part in the production of atomic weapons. He denounced the West German regime for its attempts to deprive the workers and other people of their freedom and rights through emergency laws. (NCNA, June 6)

Otto Horn, WFTU General Council member and Secretary of the Federation of Private Employees of Austria, condemned US imperialism as the prime enemy of world peace. The US imperialists were reviving West German militarism and German monopoly capital. This presented a new threat to the people of various countries in the world. (NCNA, June 7)

Andreas Ziartides, [WFTU General Council member] General Secretary of Pan-Cypriot Federation of Labour, said: "We have always stood against the plans of the imperialists to make Cyprus a war base... We are systematically explaining to the people that their lives are endangered by the existence of these bases and, at every opportunity, we mobilise the workers and the people against the imperialists and their intentions of turning Cyprus into a base for war..." The workers of Cyprus had learnt to trust the peace policy of the Socialist countries and to mistrust the imperialists. "We condemn the provocations and aggressive activities of the American imperialists against the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, as well as their interventionist activities in Cuba and other countries... In general, we try to educate the workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which is the spirit of the WFTU..." The workers and trade unions of Cyprus would always remain faithful to the WFTU, work to apply the WFTU resolutions in Cyprus and promote the cause of the working class, the cause of peace, freedom and democracy. (NCNA, June 6)

José Moix, [WFTU General Council member] "President of the General Union of Workers of Spain", said: "We agree resolutely to condemn the USA for its provocations and acts of aggression against the national sovereignty of the Soviet Union and for its double-faced tactics. Following the talks between Eisenhower and Franco on establishment of military bases in Spain for the West German revanchist military forces. "...we see the re-establishment of the alliance which existed between Hitler and Franco". The workers and all other people of Spain, he said, were carrying out, on an ever broader scale, a heroic struggle against Franco's Fascist regime and its subordination to US imperialism. "We are convinced that, with international support, the struggle waged by the working class and people of Spain will be able to defeat the despotism of Franco and a free and independent Spain will once again march shoulder to shoulder with the most progressive peoples in the world." (NCNA, June 5)

#### (b) East Europeans

Speeches by delegates from the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, led by the Poles, followed the Soviet line, though strongly critical of "U.S. imperialism".

Herbert Warnke, Vice-President of WFTU and President of the East German TU Fed. (FDGB), denounced US imperialism which ... had bound West German and Japanese imperialism to the Pentagon through the North Atlantic Pact and the military treaty. These attempts were against the interests of peace and the peoples of the world, especially

against the interests of the Japanese, West German and American people. (NCNA, June 5)

Wilhelm Knigge, deputy member of WFTU General Council and Secretary of the FDGB warmly supported the struggle of the African people against imperialism and for national independence... He emphasised that West Germany played a special role in carrying out the policy of colonialism. He also referred to the visit of the trade union delegation of the GDR to African countries and said that a revolutionary storm was taking place in Africa. The young workers' movement of Africa was growing year by year and needed to train more trade union functionaries. (NCNA, June 8)

Frantisek Zupka, WFTU Vice-President and Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia, strongly condemned the USA for its criminal sabotage of the Summit Conference. Its shameless advocacy of provocations had aroused great indignation among peaceful, progressive people all over the world... The Czechoslovak people attached great importance to the question of the signing of a German peace treaty and regarded this as an important step to eliminate the imperialists' military provocations and the adventures of the West German militarists. To turn West Berlin into a free city would gradually eliminate a centre of the cold war and espionage, from which provocative activities were conducted against the German Democratic Republic. (NCNA, June 6)

Janos Brutttyo, General Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Hungary, told the meeting: "Based on our own experience, we have definitely come to the conclusion that US imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of the world's working class." He condemned the US imperialists for employing their agents within Hungary to crush the Hungarian Government and to start a world war; their plots had fallen through, however. (NCNA, June 7)

Gogo Nushi, WFTU General Council member and President of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, condemned US imperialism's criminal activities of sending espionage to intrude into the territorial air of the Soviet Union, thus sabotaging the Summit Conference. The Albanian people and Government warmly welcomed the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union for defending peace and relaxing international tension. They welcomed the latest Soviet disarmament proposal and the proposal for turning the Balkan Peninsula and the Aegean Sea into an area of peace. (NCNA, June 7)

Ignacy Loga-Sowinski Vice-Pres. of WFTU and Pres. of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Poland, declared: "There exists the danger of war as long as there is imperialism". Peace could only be safeguarded through active struggle against imperialism led by millions of labouring people throughout the world. "...By its very nature, imperialism cannot stand independence for the people, just as it has never been able to stand peace and peaceful coexistence. It must be forced to accept peace. The victory of Socialism in peaceful competition with capitalism on a world scale is not a propaganda slogan dictated by one or another set of events in international politics. It reflects the natural course of historical development... The peaceful solution of international issues is the foundation of the general line of the WFTU in the struggle for relaxation and peace among the peoples and for complete and general disarmament." The Polish people supported Khrushchev's latest proposals on disarmament. (NCNA, June 8)

#### AFRICANS ALL CONCENTRATE ON ATTACKING COLONIALISM

Many African speakers attacked "colonialism" or US "neo-colonialism".

Diallo Seydou, General Secretary of the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (observer), spoke mainly on the anti-colonial struggles waged by the workers and all the people in Africa. He expressed the desire for more regular contact with the WFTU and said that WFTU leaders were welcome to visit Africa. (NCNA, June 6)



Na Josaia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Madagascar, said: "The workers and other people of Madagascar firmly support the national struggle against colonial oppression and for national independence..." (NCNA, June 6)

L. Bardy, President of the Agricultural Workers' Federation of Mauritius, said: "Our people want the freedom to run their own country. We want self-determination promptly. We want a date to be set now for our independence... We on the island of Mauritius are fighting to shake off capitalist rule..." (NCNA, June 6)

Ibrahim Mohammed Boreh, General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of Somaliland spoke of "our common struggle against all forms of imperialism and exploitation and, above all, against the paper tiger - American imperialism... Our working class has played a leading role in all the uprisings that have taken place in our country". (NCNA, June 6)

Rexford Edward Dampare, General Secretary of the Construction and General Workers' Union of Ghana, (observer), said: "The ICFTU is an agent for the maintenance of American imperialism in the world today". The ICFTU had proved itself to be the enemy of the African liberation movement and as such the agent of imperialism and colonialism. (NCNA, June 7)

David Nokmis, WFTU General Council member and First Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers of Cameroun, stated that the revolutionary trade unions in Cameroun denounced the criminal policies carried out by the imperialists in Algeria, South Africa, Japan, Belgian Congo and South Korea. (NCNA, June 8)

Keith Nama, Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Mali Federation (observer), laid bare the plots of the imperialist and colonialists in sabotaging the trade union movement in the Mali Federation. He said: "They are employing all kinds of intrigues to isolate us, to push us into the reformist current and to make us abandon all national struggles and the fight to realise our demands... All this is intended to keep us in the so-called French Community, a new formula invented by the French colonialists to play down complete liberation and to shield the capital-imperialists who are continuing their plunder of our country.. The Mali Federation would persist in its struggle as long as the economy of its country was dominated by foreign imperialism and as long as its land was occupied by foreign bases and foreign troops. (NCNA, June 6)

Edouard-Valentin Kohombo (observer), First General Secretary of the National Congolese Workers' Union, said that the voice of the Congo was beginning to be heard after it had suffered colonial oppression for nearly a hundred years. Congo wanted to contribute to the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle and it was also keen to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural changes in Africa and the world. "We shall gain independence on June 30 this year. But this independence is not coming about in the best conditions."

The stand of the National Congolese Workers' Union in regard to independence was clear and without ambiguity. Political independence should mean State power completely in the hands of the people. Moreover, in the economic field, it meant cutting off all contact with colonial slavery and the establishment of the economic sovereignty of the people of the Congo. (NCNA, June 6)

Ali Sultan Issa, Zanzibar, said: "We have no illusion at all that the greatest enemy of the working people is US imperialism". The imperialists, and in particular the British imperialists, played the game of divide and rule; they tried to divide the workers in Zanzibar racially... We are resolved to wage our struggle to defeat the colonial system and liberate ourselves... The imperialists 000544 and particularly the US imperialists, failing to achieve their domination

directly, were trying to come through the back door, using the ICFTU in East and Central African territories to poison the minds of the workers. The people of Zanzibar fully appreciated and supported the stand taken by the Soviet Union, the CPR and the other Socialist countries in waging uncompromising struggle against imperialism, in maintaining world peace and rendering unconditional aid to the oppressed peoples struggling for national independence. (NCNA, June 6)

### LATIN AMERICANS DENOUNCE U.S. IMPERIALISM

Latin American speakers devoted themselves to attacking United States "imperialism", and to praising Cuba's example.

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers and Vice-President of WFTU, called for great efforts to mobilise the working class and the masses of the people to expose imperialism, unmask its plots and isolate it from the democratic forces in the world. "For us Latin American people, US imperialism is the major enemy of our present normal and independent historical development." The so-called "aid" given by US imperialism to the Latin American countries was made in order to reap huge profits and to plunder the rich natural resources of this continent and to prevent the independence and progress of these countries. "We must not harbour the illusion that US imperialism will voluntarily change its ideas, because imperialism is a force of economic expansion against underdeveloped countries..." (NCNA, June 6)

Rubens Iscaro, General Secretary of the Construction Workers' Trade Unions of Argentina, stressed that the working class all over the world should be called on to oppose the main enemy, US imperialism. The US imperialists, by sabotaging the Summit Conference, had exposed before the whole world the ugly face of their two-sided policy and of their fake peace. The US espionage planes and the US laws which countenance aggression had revealed the warmongering nature of US imperialism. "The fight against imperialism is the fight for peace... The masses of the people are no longer afraid of imperialism." The Cuban revolution meant defeat for US imperialism. The strikes sweeping Latin America were linked with the fight against imperialism. The time was now opportune for the trade union forces in most Latin American countries to unite and take joint action. (NCNA, June 6)

José Maria de la Aguilera, Propaganda Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba, condemned US imperialism for bombing sugar cane fields, burning towns and instigating sabotage against Cuba in trying to prevent Cuba's progress. This was because the Cuban revolution served as a source of inspiration to the Indians, Negroes and slaves of the Latin American world. For the first time Cuba had an independent and democratic Government, in conformity with the interests of the people, without the interference of the North American monopolists. Now the destiny of the country and revolution was in the hands of the working people. "But we know that great danger threatens our revolution. We know very well the dangerous activities the North American imperialists are engaging in against our people." The Cuban people were not alone in their struggle. They had the support of millions of workers assembled under the glorious banner of the WFTU and they would never forget the support WFTU had given them. He condemned the AFL and CIO as trade union tools of North American imperialism, for boycotting Cuba's products, sabotage and assassination and even transporting US troops to the beaches of Cuba and appealed for the support of the workers throughout the world. He referred to the relations of friendship and trade between Cuba and the Socialist countries. Cuba was willing to establish trade, diplomatic and cultural relations with all friendly countries "that treat us as equals, respect our sovereignty and believe in friendship and peace". He condemned US imperialism for carrying out vicious propaganda to deceive the people, propaganda which distorted reality in the Socialist world, "the reality which we today admire". (NCNA, June 6)

Felix Dixon, Educational Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Republic of Panama, angrily condemned US imperialism for suppressing the democratic forces and the unarmed people of his country by armed forces and gaolings. The most important present task of the Panama workers' movement was to develop the people's anti-imperialist struggle for the restoration of sovereignty over the canal. "The workers of Panama stand on the side of the Cuban revolution." (NCNA, June 6)

Ventura Vanegas, General Secretary of the Colombia Confederation of Labour, made a devastating exposure of US imperialism's onslaught against the workers and other sections of the people of Colombia through the military pact, economic plunder and special agent activities. The military assistance treaty concluded between the USA and Colombia would make the Colombian people serve as cannon-fodder for any war adventures of the USA. (NCNA, June 7)

Roberto Antonio Lara Olate, WFTU Executive Committee member and Labour Disputes Secretary of the Chilean Workers' Trade Union pointed out that "US imperialism is the principal enemy of the Latin American people". It was inevitable that the Latin American countries would free themselves from imperialist domination. The people in Latin America realised that they could only win genuine liberation by taking the Cuban road. (NCNA, June 7)

Benedicto Cerqueira [WFTU General Council member]. President of the Rio de Janeiro Metal Workers' Union of Brazil, exposed the activities of the US Embassy and leaders of the ICFTU to disrupt the workers' movement in Brazil, and described the struggle of the Brazilian workers against this. The anti-imperialist struggle was developing in Brazil. (NCNA, June 7)

Mario Saenz Zumbado of Costa Rica, deputy member of WFTU General Council and cultural secretary of the General Confederation of Costa Rica, said that US imperialism had dominated and looted his country. The fighting strength of the Costa Rican working class was growing with each passing day. (NCNA, June 7)

Manuel Zuniga, [WFTU Executive Committee member] and President of the Ecuador Confederation of Labour, spoke wrathfully about US imperialist economic penetration of his country and US encroachment on its sovereignty. Ecuador was becoming poorer as US imperialism speeded up the process of colonising the country. The Cuban revolution was an example for Latin Americans in their liberation struggles. (NCNA, June 8)

Rolando Guevara Bendezu, General Secretary of the Federation of Construction Workers of Peru, said that the working people of Peru were suffering from disease, poverty and ignorance under the rule of US imperialism and domestic feudal forces. Large numbers were unemployed. The workers, were now fighting for their survival, democratic rights and peace... The achievements of the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands had pointed out the right path for the liberation of the Peruvian people, who would spare no efforts in their endeavour to achieve happiness. (NCNA, June 8)

#### OTHER SPEAKERS

[Positions given are in WFTU unless otherwise stated].

Bulgaria	Nicolas Alexeiev [General Council deputy member]
Cameroun	Jacques N'gom [Executive Committee Member]
Central African Republic	N.D. Paul, Secretary-General, Local Union of Bangui of General Confederation of Workers of Equatorial Africa
Dominican Republic	Justino José del Orbe (observer)

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Guadeloupe	Nicolas Ludger, Secretary-General, National Union of TUs (observer)
Portuguese Guinea	Gomez Montez Belarmino, Secretary-General, General Union of Workers of Portuguese Guinea.
Honduras	Luis Randolpho Banegas
Iran	Reza Roustá, Executive Committee member
Ivory Coast	Yao Ngo Blaise, Secretary-General, TU of Ivory Coast of UGTAN
Lebanon	Elias Habr [Executive Committee member]
Mongolia	Deles Hupai Balchinniam, General Council member
Roumania	Anton Moisesescu [General Council member]
Somaliland	Mohammed Dahan, National African Independent TU Federation (observer)
Uruguay	Enrique Pastorino, WFTU Vice-President
Venezuela	Eloy Torres

APPENDIXRESOLUTIONS

At the closing session, Agostino Novella, President of the WFTU, stressed that all the documents submitted to the General Council were approved unanimously. The WFTU General Council was unanimous in exposing the US conspiracies and made it clear that American imperialism bears full responsibility for the sabotage of the Summit Conference.

I. General Resolution

(1) The General Council notes that since the Fourth World Trade Union Congress the forces of Socialism and world peace have increased considerably and have won unprecedented successes. This progress, as well as the upsurge and the successes of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle, and the strength of the movement for demands in the capitalist countries, create objective conditions that favour the reinforcement of the united struggle of the workers to force the imperialists to enter into serious negotiations and to accept disarmament and peaceful coexistence, so as to eliminate the menace of a world atomic war.

(2) Hostile to this progress, the imperialists, faced with the worsening of the general crisis of their system, pay lip-service to peace, yet are multiplying their acts of provocation and continue their preparations for war. By sending a military plane over Soviet territory and later cynically boasting that this was their deliberate policy, American imperialism has given further confirmation of the fact that it is the worst enemy of peace and of the peoples. It bears full responsibility for the sabotage of the Summit Conference. Thus the hopes of the peoples were once again dashed. The WFTU General Council as well as the workers of the whole world condemn these American provocations against the Soviet Union as a grave danger to peace and to the interests of the working class and the peoples in all countries.

(3) The workers will understand better than ever the imperative need to increase their vigilance in the face of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the USA and other Western Powers, notably in West Germany and Japan. Thanks to the strength of the peace forces in the world, thanks to the peace policy of the Socialist camp and the many steps taken by the Soviet Union, it has become really possible to avoid the menace of an atomic war that would prove devastating, to impose on the imperialists disarmament and the use of the enormous resources that are at present being wasted on the arms race for the economic, social and cultural progress of all the peoples. But it is necessary to make the situation clear to the workers so that they should have no illusions about the willingness of the imperialists to accept disarmament.

(4) All workers must be convinced that only by the untiring, ever-stronger and more united struggles of the peoples throughout the world, and by the isolation of imperialism, which is the source of war and aggression, can the imperialist war policy be thwarted.

(5) The General Council warmly welcomes the new proposals put forward by the Soviet Union on June 2, 1960, developing and giving details of its plan for universal and complete disarmament, and thus offering further proof of its tireless efforts in the service of peace, despite the provocations by US leaders.

(6) These proposals concern in particular the banning and destruction, under international control, of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, linked with the elimination of all military bases on foreign soil, the banning of atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons, the dissolution of armed forces and elimination of military budgets. The General Council recommends to the unions to make these proposals widely known to the workers, so the latter will actively support them.

(7) The General Council considers that under these conditions the preservation and consolidation of peace remains among the fundamental aims of the struggle of the international trade union movement. Thus it considers that it is essential to unmask imperialist manoeuvres and to work constantly for common action: for the relaxation of international tension and peaceful coexistence; for universal and complete disarmament; for the elimination of military bases on foreign soil; for a cessation of nuclear tests and a ban on nuclear arms; for liberation and national independence of the peoples; for democracy; against the rebirth of German militarism and for its liquidation by the signing of a peace treaty with the two German States; for the transformation of West Berlin into a free, demilitarised city; against the rebirth of a Japanese militarism and for the abrogation of the Japanese-US military treaty.

(8) Conscious of the close bonds that link the struggle for relaxation in international tension to the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle for independence, the General Council salutes and supports the heroic fight of the Algerian people for independence. It calls upon all workers and trade unions to strengthen their active solidarity in favour of the struggle of their Algerian brothers, and to demand that the French Government stop the colonial war in Algeria. It greets and warmly supports the struggle of the people of Turkey and the popular uprising in South Korea that led to the downfall of Syngman Rhee. The struggle of the Korean people, which continues, will force the withdrawal of the American armed forces and the peaceful unification of the country. It gives its entire support to the powerful movement of the workers and people of Japan for the abrogation of the Japanese-US treaty of military alliance, against the rebirth of militarism and for the liquidation of military bases. It expresses its warm solidarity with the workers and trade unions of Venezuela, Argentina, Chile and, above all, with the people of Cuba who are courageously and unitedly defending the economic and social conquests of the popular and democratic revolution and the national sovereignty of their country.

(9) After having examined the economic situation in the capitalist countries, the General Council notes that its essential characteristics are the progressive militarisation of the economy, increased monopoly concentration and a considerable increase in productivity due to speed-up and automation to the sole profit of the monopolies. A certain recovery followed the crisis of 1958-1959. It proved incapable of re-absorbing unemployment which in some countries became chronic and in general remained at a high level, particularly in certain important branches of industry.

(10) The capitalist monopolies and the Governments in their service are attacking the purchasing power of wages, trade union and democratic rights. Thousands of trade union leaders have been arrested and imprisoned. Tens of thousands of strikers have been victims of police repressions and employers' sanctions in Greece, Spain, Argentina and other countries. The workers and the people in certain countries, such as the Union of South Africa, are suffering from savage racist repression.

(11) The General Council draws attention to the fact that this anti-trade union offensive is accompanied by the adoption of new laws which attempt to legalise the violation of fundamental rights, among them the right to strike, inscribed in the Charter of the Workers' Trade Union Rights, adopted by the WFTU in 1954.

(12) The deepening of the general crisis in the capitalist world contrasts increasingly sharply with the unprecedented economic, social, scientific and cultural developments of all the Socialist countries, where the people have become the masters of their own country. These developments, which free the productive forces of society, permit a continuous and remarkable increase in purchasing power, an improvement in working conditions, social advantages and in

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the general living standards of the mass of the people in these countries. The workers of the world appreciate the full importance of the most recent measures of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, announcing the generalisation of the seven- and six-hour working day and the gradual suppression over six years of income tax for workers, as well as the extension of the role and rights of the trade union organisations in the Socialist countries.

(13) The General Council sends its warm congratulations to the workers, men and women, of the Socialist countries, particularly the workers of the Soviet Union and China, for their remarkable successes in the economic and social field. Thanks to their creative enthusiasm this social system is yearly winning victories of far-reaching importance which are also victories for the entire working class of the world and for the cause of peace.

(14) It greets the millions of workers and trade unions in the capitalist countries who are carrying on exceptionally strong united struggles for wages, shorter working hours and the defence of trade union rights. The strike movement which reached an extent rarely known since the last world war was remarkable in Argentina, Japan, the USA, France, Italy, Belgium and other countries. It showed the sharpening of the class struggle in the present period, the desire for unity, and the remarkable militancy of the working class. This development gives a categoric refutation to the "theories" of class collaboration which the monopolies and certain trade union leaders spread continuously among the workers, trying to divert them from their struggles. The workers must denounce and reject all attempts to win over the trade union movement to positions of class collaboration, increasing their common actions for: the reduction of working hours without loss of pay; a general increase in wages; the right to work, the defence of employment and assistance to the unemployed; the creation, protection and widening of social security systems; the defence of trade union rights and liberties; the limitation of the power of the monopolies. These demands should permit fresh progress in united action.

(15) The General Council recommends all workers and trade unions to intensify their action for trade union rights and democratic liberties, and for the liberation of all imprisoned trade unionists.

(16) To help bring about on the international level the indispensable common front of workers and trade unions in the face of these attacks, the General Council instructs the WFTU Secretariat to examine with all organisations concerned the setting up of an international trade union commission for the defence and safeguarding of victims of repression against the trade unions.

(17) The General Council notes that the demand for a reduction of working hours in general and the demand for a 40-hour week in highly industrialised capitalist countries have been unanimously put forward by various organisations. These demands correspond to an essential and increasingly urgent requirement of the working class. On this basis and in order to assist the bringing together of trade union and working class forces in the face of monopolist concentration in the Common Market, the General Council instructs the Secretariat to call a European trade union conference on the 40-hour week in the first quarter of 1961. Trade union centres from other continents should be invited to this conference, so as later to generalise the experiences gained.

(18) Taking account also of the attacks on social security systems in many capitalist countries and of the necessity to improve existing systems, the General Council resolves to call a meeting of a broad international trade union commission of action for social security. The purpose of this commission will be to stimulate new developments in united action and international solidarity on this question. 000550



(19) The General Council notes with satisfaction that the upsurge of the struggle for demands has recently been accompanied by considerable progress in unity of action in the different capitalist countries. On the basis of their experience, the workers are increasingly coming to understand that their struggle is more effective when the rank and file is united in common action for clearly defined common aims. Discussion with the workers themselves at local, regional and national levels, and the formulation of demands which are closest to their needs in the given situation, is a necessary condition for the achievement of united action, which requires more and more initiative by all organisations.

(20) Unity is consolidated in action and by action on a class basis. It must be brought about in a clear manner, exposing constantly through the facts the pretexts and manoeuvres of those opposed to unity. As a result of the progress in unity of action in different capitalist countries and in order to oppose the coalition of the monopolies, positive developments in favour of unity are appearing at the international level.

(21) In spite of the stubborn opposition of certain ICFTU leaders, the idea is gaining ground among more and more trade union leaders, particularly in the middle ranks of trade unions not affiliated to the WFTU, that meetings and discussions between national and international trade union organisations of all trends are today possible and indispensable.

(22) In bilateral and multilateral contacts, trade union organisations are seeking the best methods of dealing with the main problems facing the workers in their struggle against the imperialists and the monopolies: the preservation of peace; the anti-colonial struggle; the main economic and social demands; united action against the monopolies on the national and international level; the struggle for trade union rights and democratic liberties.

(23) The General Council welcomes and approves in particular the activities of the Committee for Co-ordination and Action in the Common Market Countries, as well as the steps taken by the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria; the exchanges of trade union delegations between capitalist and Socialist countries and also among capitalist countries, the bilateral and multilateral agreements among organisations of various affiliations advocated by the Fourth World Trade Union Congress, have increased remarkably in the last few years.

(24) The General Council welcomes the fact that the trend toward trade union unity is growing stronger throughout entire continents, such as Africa and Latin America, in spite of the considerable obstacles raised by certain leaders of the ICFTU. It denounces the stubborn refusal of the ICFTU leadership to reply to the many proposals made to it over a period of nearly 10 years by the WFTU for joint action at the international level for the preservation of peace, to support more effectively the movement for national independence and to win satisfaction for the workers' vital economic and social demands.

(25) The General Council calls on all workers and trade unions to pursue and intensify exchanges of delegations and bilateral and multilateral contacts among individual unions, national trade unions and centres, in order to increase common action for peace, for demands, for trade union freedoms, and for the eradication of colonialism.

(26) In this year of the WFTU's 15th anniversary, the General Council invites them to celebrate this event by meetings and conferences recalling how, and in what conditions, the WFTU was born in 1945 000551 the common struggle of the workers and people throughout the world against fascism and for a lasting peace.



(27) The General Council of the WFTU is convinced that this session will help to strengthen unity in the struggle waged by the working class and trade unions in all countries.

(NCNA, June 9; "Peking Review" June 14.)

## II. Resolution on Fight against Colonialism

The 11th session of the General Council of the WFTU notes with satisfaction that the national liberation movement, in which the trade union movement is playing an important role, has developed and is developing at a tremendous pace since the Fourth World Trade Union congress, and that this development has clearly proved the correctness of the congress' decision on trade union tasks in the fight against colonialism. The General Council points out that the rapid development and firm unity of the Socialist camp, the growth and consolidation of the anti-colonialist forces, the forces of peace and democracy, and the ever-growing strength of the working class movement throughout the world, have resulted in the shrinkage of the power of imperialism and are creating favourable conditions for the victorious struggle of the people against colonialism and for national independence.

The bitter struggle waged by the people in former and semi-colonial countries has brought success, and national independence has been won in a number of countries since the Fourth Congress, but millions of people, mainly in Africa, are still shackled by the chains of colonialism, and many new States in Asia, Africa and even Latin America still suffer the evil consequences of colonialism and its influence.

The pressure of the national liberation movement has made it impossible for the colonialists to continue their domination through the traditional forms of colonial rule. That is why they are trying to introduce "Constitutional" or "Administrative" reforms, which are in substance nothing but a development of colonialism in new forms. The colonialists, when forced to make certain political concessions, strive to maintain and even try to extend their economic domination. The General Council is of the opinion that the workers and patriotic forces in the colonies, while regarding such concessions on the part of the colonialists as successes in their national liberation movements, should make the situation clear to their people, so that they are not deceived and satisfied with these primary successes, but go on with their struggle until they abolish all influence of colonialism in their countries, especially in the economic field.

The General Council also calls upon the workers to increase their vigilance in their struggle for national independence in respect of "neo-colonialism" by the imperialists and their lackeys who seek to extend and strengthen their position in the colonies and newly-independent countries. The workers must be particularly vigilant in regard to the activities of the American imperialists who use so-called economic aid as a means of strengthening their grip on these countries and driving them to accept military pacts. American imperialism hides itself behind the mask of anti-colonialism but is in fact the worst enemy of the people's struggle for independence. This mask must be removed from the face of American imperialism and its anti-popular nature revealed to the people and workers of the world. The workers must be vigilant also in regard to the efforts of the West German monopolies to penetrate, in particular, into Africa and the countries of the Near and Middle East. The General Council stresses that the struggle of the people against colonialism should not have the character of driving out the colonialists of one imperialist Power and at the same time letting in those of another Power. The struggle of these people should be directed against every form of colonialism.

The General Council notes that long years of capitalist domination and exploitation in colonial countries have resulted in a constant deterioration of the workers' working and living conditions and have brought about unbearable suffering to the whole working population in

these countries. Under difficult conditions and despite fierce persecution, the struggle against such inhuman conditions has spread throughout the colonial world. In increasing numbers workers in colonial countries are joining the struggle for their demands. Due to the constantly rising consciousness of the working class, all these struggles have been marked by a high level of tenacity and militancy.

The General Council fully supports the following main demands which are being put forward in these struggles: General wage increases and a minimum guaranteed wage; the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work and elimination of racial discrimination as regards wages and family and other allowances; reduction in the cost of living, against rising prices of daily necessities; free access to qualified trades and vocational training without discrimination; shorter working hours; legislation and enforcement of the eight-hour day, a limit on overtime, the introduction and prolongation of annual paid holidays; improvement of safety measures against work accidents and occupational diseases; against dismissals and unemployment; guarantee of reasonable working and living conditions for immigrant workers; abolition of forced labour in any form; introduction and improvement of a social security system; improvement of housing conditions and medical and educational facilities; free schooling for all children without discrimination and development of teaching methods and curricula in keeping with the culture and national aspirations of the people; agricultural reforms, which, while liquidating the great estates of the landed and capitalist owners, give land, seed and loans to the peasants.

The General Council condemns the brutal suppression of trade union and democratic rights perpetrated by the colonialists with the aim of holding back the development of struggles of workers and people and perpetuating the colonialists' rule. It once again condemns the colonialist war in Algeria as well as the racial policy in the Union of South Africa where workers and people are massacred in bloody terror, and the anti-democratic regimes of certain Near and Middle Eastern countries and in Africa. It expresses its profound sympathy with those who have fallen in the struggle and extends its full solidarity for all those who are still imprisoned for fighting for the interests of workers and national independence. It further demands [that] the authorities stop without delay the persecution of trade unions, trade unionists and workers, and guarantee the free exercise of trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

The General Council firmly believes that only complete national independence can provide the most favourable conditions for progress and for the satisfaction of the economic and social demands of the workers in colonial countries. Therefore it recommends to the workers that they should actively take part in the national liberation movement and play a leading role in forming and consolidating a united national front based on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and including all other anti-colonialist forces.

The General Council is happy to note that, in the struggle against colonialism, the desire for working class unity and solidarity among peoples fighting colonialism is growing in all colonial countries. It welcomes the successes achieved by the African People's Conferences and the Asian-African People's Solidarity Conferences. It also supports the appeal of African trade unionists for the establishment of an All-African Trade Union Federation with the aim of uniting all trade union organisations in Africa, and hopes that this will further strengthen the people's fight against colonialism and contribute to the re-establishment of trade union unity. It denounces the systematic acts of sabotage by the ICFTU directed against African trade union unity. These acts testify to the determination of this organisation to perpetuate the divisions among the African workers, to the greater advantage of the imperialists.

The General Council believes that, in order to bring success to the struggle for the defence of the immediate interests of the workers and for national independence and for the complete liquidation of colonialism, it is necessary to build a strong trade union movement, rallying as many workers as possible, irrespective of their race, religion or political beliefs, and based on democratic class principles.

The General Council considers it necessary to point out that certain reformist leaders, with the support of the ICFTU leadership, have placed obstacles in the way towards trade union unity. The activities of such splitting elements conforms with the attempts of the colonialists and reactionaries to weaken the trade union movement, so enabling them to exploit the mass of workers to the maximum extent. At the same time, in certain countries, the bourgeois elements exploiting the sacrifices of trade union organisations in their struggle against colonialism, endeavour in various ways to force the trade unions to make concessions on even the slightest demands. They try to bring trade union organisations under the control of the ruling bourgeois party or take away the gains which the trade unions have obtained during the period of national unity in the liberation struggle.

Therefore, the General Council believes that it is the duty of trade union organisations, while fighting for the liberation of their country: to promote a really mass trade union movement by applying democratic principles and removing barriers between the rank and file and their leaders; to uphold the class character of the trade union movement, basing its relation with the bourgeois parties on that of co-operation in the common struggle against colonialism, without at any time losing sight of the vital interests of the working class; to draw up a complete programme of common action during the period of the national liberation struggle and after independence, a well-studied plan based on thorough economic analyses for the building of national economy aimed at the complete liquidation of colonialism and for an independent home and foreign policy.

The General Council stresses that international workers' solidarity plays an effective role in the development of the struggle. It draws the attention of the workers and trade unions to the manoeuvres of the imperialists who try to isolate the working class of the colonial countries from their allies in those countries which have finally got rid of the capitalist system, and from the working-class movement in the imperialist countries which supports the liberation movement. Such isolation would only result in denying those fighting colonialism indispensable, unconditional assistance in their fight and in building their national economy after winning national independence and also in depriving the peace forces throughout the world of the contribution the national liberation movement can make to the struggle for world peace.

The trade union organisations, if they adopt the principle of cooperation and mutual support in their relations with the international trade union movement, are able to give the people of their countries valuable and practical examples of international and working class solidarity which enable the people to understand the importance of active participation in international affairs with the aim of strengthening their struggle against colonialism.

The General Council notes with satisfaction that, since the Fourth World Trade Union Congress, the WFTU has increased its efforts to strengthen international solidarity and rendered increasingly effective support to the workers and their organisations in the countries fighting colonialism, irrespective of their international affiliation. The General Council instructs the Executive Committee and the Secretariat to advance further in this direction. The WFTU is and continues to be the main organising force of the active support

of the trade unions throughout the world to the struggle against colonialism and for national independence. In particular, the General Council recommends all national centres affiliated to the WFTU, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat, to strengthen their support along the following lines:

(1) The fight of the workers and people of the Union of South Africa against the worst type of repression and exploitation built on apartheid and racial discrimination necessitates joint and common action of the trade union organisations all over the world - whatever their affiliation. Those trade union organisations who have already showed their support to the workers in South Africa and those who will join this campaign, can come to work together in one body, namely, an International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of South Africa and thus give the maximum effective support. The General Council calls on all trade union organisations to join this committee and asks the Executive Committee of the WFTU to take the necessary steps for setting up and organising its work.

(2) The rapid growth of the trade unions in the colonial and less-developed countries and the increasing role they play in the fight against colonialism and the new responsibilities which face these organisations under the new conditions of the present sweeping movement of national independence makes it an urgent need for these organisations to have an ever-increasing number of trade union officials. While great efforts have already been made in this respect by the interested trade union organisations and the WFTU and its affiliated organisations, still the General Council believes that greater efforts should be made in this direction. The General Council calls upon the member organisations of the WFTU to co-ordinate their efforts through the Secretariat of the WFTU so as to give trade union training to the maximum number of trade union officials from the colonies and less-developed countries.

(3) The member organisations of the WFTU especially in the Socialist countries are recommended to give vocational training to young workers from the colonial and less-developed countries.

(4) Following the experience of the Secretariat of the WFTU in sending experts in special fields like social security to the trade union organisations in colonial and less-developed countries, the General Council calls upon all member organisations to render aid in this field when requested.

(5) Great sympathy and solidarity has been shown by the WFTU and its affiliated organisations to the trade unionists who have been persecuted or imprisoned because of their fight against colonialism. The General Council considers that an International Trade Union Commission should be formed to go and investigate on the spot these cases of imprisonment and to report to the trade unions of the whole world, calling on them to strengthen their struggle for the release of those imprisoned, as well as to the international organisations.

(6) To guarantee full publicity for news of the trade unions fighting against colonialism in Africa, the General Council asks the WFTU Secretariat to examine the possibility of publishing an African trade union information bulletin to carry news of the struggles of the African trade unions against colonialism and for a better life. The General Council believes that such a bulletin will help in gaining more support in the fight against colonialism.

The General Council is confident that, with the increasingly active support of workers throughout the world, the day is not far distant when all subject peoples will be free of the yoke of colonialism 000555

### III. Resolution on Situation in Japan

This called attention to the grave situation created in Japan by the American militarists who, with the help of the Kishi Government, had transformed the country into a base of military aggression and revived its war industries for the purpose of furthering their imperialist aims against Asia, Africa and the world. It denounced the "Treaty of Mutual Security" between the puppet Kishi Government and the American imperialists, and the revival of military relations between West Germany and Japan. WFTU supported "the militant campaign of the Japanese workers and people for the resignation of the Kishi Government, for rejection of the treaty with American imperialism, for the elimination of American military bases, and the withdrawal of American troops", and called upon all the workers and trade unions of the world to unite on the national and international level in active and concrete support of this "great united struggle of the workers and people of Japan."

### IV. Resolution on Situation in Korea

The meeting expressed solidarity with the workers and people of South Korea, who had "risen against the fascist domination of US imperialism and its agents" and overthrown the Syngman Rhee clique. But the US imperialists were backing the new puppets so as to maintain their domination over South Korea, strengthen their military basis for aggression and perpetuate the division of Korea. The General Council therefore called upon the workers of the world and their trade unions for active solidarity with the Koreans, especially from June 25 1960, the 10th anniversary of "the unleashing of the war of aggression in Korea by the US imperialists."

### V. Declaration on Situation in South Vietnam

This condemned the increasing intervention of the US imperialists and demanded the withdrawal of all US military missions from South Vietnam. It called for support of the "valiant struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, in accordance with the Geneva agreements of July 1954."

### VI. Resolution on Cuban People's Struggle

The meeting sent warm greetings to the Confederation of Cuban Workers and the people of Cuba, who alongside their revolutionary Government, were waging a valiant struggle to defend their sovereignty and economic independence. It denounced the subversive acts and provocations perpetrated by the USA against Cuba and warned the workers of the whole world of the danger of military intervention for which American imperialism was making active preparations. It condemned the economic offensive by the big American monopolies against the Cuban revolutionary regime, and called for vigilance in the face of the American threat to boycott Cuban shipping. The General Council called upon workers of all countries to strengthen their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the working class and people of Cuba against American imperialists. WFTU would take all possible steps to stimulate the development of this international working class solidarity and give it practical means of expression.

### VII. Message to Spanish Workers

Greetings were sent to the workers of Spain, "who are conducting a heroic and difficult battle against the Franco dictatorship, for the achievement of their rights, the satisfaction of their demands, and the restoration of democracy in Spain". WFTU, on behalf of its 101 million members, lodged a strong protest with Gen. Franco's Government, demanding that it stop its repressive measures and amnesty all the political and other prisoners. It deplored the existence of US military bases in Spain and the plan to establish West German bases, both of which considerably aggravated the danger of war in Europe.

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"The General Council of the WFTU is confident that the united struggle of the workers and people of Spain will, with international aid and solidarity, achieve their economic and social demands and put an end to the Franco dictatorship."

#### VIII. Telegram to Congo Government

This protested against the arbitrary arrest of Julien Boukambou, General Secretary of the General Confederation of African Workers and member of the General Council, together with other trade union leaders, and against the closing down of the premises of this national centre and the confiscation of its records. The immediate release of these Trade Union leaders was demanded.

#### IX. Declaration on Executions and Arrests of Iranian Workers and Patriots

The declaration described the "reign of terror" in Iran, where strikers and student demonstrations had been "bloodily put down by the military armed forces and US imperialism", and patriots sentenced by a military tribunal meeting in secret. The General Council demanded that the executions should not be carried out and that an end be put to the reign of terror and the imprisoned patriots set free.

#### X. Resolution on Algeria

The General Council reaffirmed WFTU support of the struggle of the workers and people of Algeria for their national independence. It declared that, "by refusing to negotiate with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, de Gaulle's Government bears the entire responsibility for the continuation of the colonial war which has already cost the Algerian people more than one million casualties". It expressed complete solidarity with those who had been fighting French imperialism for the past six years, denounced the material aid given by the American imperialists and by the militarists of West Germany to the French Government in its criminal policy, and stated its conviction that the French working class movement would be able to achieve unity for an end to the colonial war in Algeria and the immediate release of all prisoners and internees. "The General Council approves the positive results already obtained by the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria, which was created at the initiative of the Fourth World Trade Union Congress. It calls on national and international trade union centres to join this committee, which must reinforce and stimulate many new steps aimed at supporting the struggle of the Algerian people until their just cause is brought to success. The General Council assures the General Union of Algerian Workers that the WFTU will take all steps to encourage the solidarity campaign and support actions by the Algerian trade unions."

#### XI. Resolution on Situation in Greece

This protested against the continued violation of trade union and democratic rights by the Government and the employers in Greece, condemned the intervention of the police and the civil administration in the affairs of the trade unions and in workers' meetings, arrests, deportations and imprisonments of active trade unionists and patriots and the brutal attack against the peaceful May Day demonstrations in Athens. It assured the working class of Greece and its active trade unionists of WFTU's active solidarity.

(NCNA, June 9)

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
USA-CUBAN RELATIONS

FOR CONVENIENCE OF REF WE GIVE BELOW THE TEXT OF RESOLUTION 93

(SOMETIMES CALLED THE DECLARATION OF CARACAS) PASSED BY THE TENTH  
INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT BOGOTA IN 1954. IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE  
1954 I-A CONFERENCE RESOLUTION 93 CARRIES THE TITLE QUOTE  
DECLARATION OF SOLIDARITY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE POLITICAL  
INTEGRITY OF THE AMERICAN STATES AGAINST THE INTERVENTION OF

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM UNQUOTE TEXT BEGINS:

WHEREAS:

THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF

AMERICAN STATES DECLARED THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, BY ITS

ANTIDEMOCRATIC NATURE AND ITS INTERVENTIONIST TENDENCY, IS INCOMPA-

TIBLE WITH THE CONCEPT OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, AND RESOLVED TO ADOPT

WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO

ERADICATE AND PREVENT SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES;

THE FOURTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RECOGNIZED THAT, IN ADDITION TO ADEQUATE INTERNAL MEASURES IN EACH

STATE, A HIGH DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS REQUIRED TO

ERADICATE THE DANGER WHICH THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNISM POSE FOR THE AMERICAN STATES; AND

THE AGGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

CONTINUES TO CONSTITUTE, IN THE CONTEXT OF WORLD AFFAIRS, A SPECIAL

AND IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE PEACE AND

SECURITY OF THE AMERICAN STATES, AND TO THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO

DEVELOP ITS CULTURAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC LIFE FREELY AND NATURALLY

WITHOUT INTERVENTION IN ITS INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS BY OTHER

STATES,

THE TENTH INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

...2

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



PAGE TWO 1786

CONDEMNS:

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS CONSTITUTING INTERVENTION IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS;

EXPRESSES:

THE DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN STATES TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROTECT THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AGAINST THE INTERVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, ACTING IN THE INTERESTS OF AN ALIEN DESPOTISM;

REITERATES:

THE FAITH OF THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA IN THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF REPUBLICAN DEMOCRACY AS THE BEST MEANS TO PROMOTE THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS; AND

DECLARES:

THAT THE DOMINATION OR CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF ANY AMERICAN STATE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, EXTENDING TO THIS HEMISPHERE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF AN EXTRACONTINENTAL POWER, WOULD CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE SOVEREIGNTY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN STATES, ENDANGERING THE PEACE OF AMERICA, AND WOULD CALL FOR A MEETING OF CONSULTATION TO CONSIDER THE ADOPTION OF APPROPRIATE ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING TREATIES.

## II

RECOMMENDS:

THAT, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO SUCH OTHER MEASURES AS THEY MAY CONSIDER DESIRABLE, SPECIAL ATTENTION BE GIVEN BY EACH OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS TO THE FOLLOWING STEPS FOR THE PURPOSE OF COUNTERACTING THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS:

1. MEASURES TO REQUIRE DISCLOSURE OF THE IDENTITY, ACTIVITIES, AND SOURCES OF FUNDS OF THOSE WHO ARE SPREADING PROPAGANDA OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OR WHO TRAVEL IN THE INTERESTS OF THAT MOVEMENT, AND OF THOSE WHO ACT AS ITS AGENTS OR IN ITS BEHALF;

...3

000559



PAGE THREE 1786

2. THE EXCHANGE OF INFO AMONG GOVTS TO ASSIST IN FULFILLING THE PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REGARDING INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

III

THIS DECLARATION OF FOREIGN POLICY MADE BY THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS IN RELATION TO DANGERS ORIGINATING OUTSIDE THIS HEMISPHERE IS DESIGNED TO PROTECT AND NOT RPT NOT TO IMPAIR THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF EACH AMERICAN STATE FREELY TO CHOOSE ITS OWN FORM OF GOVT AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND TO LIVE ITS OWN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE.  
TEXT ENDS

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security .....**SECRET**.....

50066-40		

Type of Document.....**ALRC**..... No. **6313**..... Date.....**—**.....

From.....**Sh. (2)**.....

To.....**American**.....

Subject: **CUBA**

Plans of Fidel Castro Reg. Regarding  
the Cuban Communist Party & the  
Cuban Government's Foreign Policy

Original on File No.....**10-31**.....

Copies on File No.....**2-31**.....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....**S. 3-40**.....**10224-40**.....

Prepared by.....**Shedden**.....

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ..... The Canadian Ambassador,.....

..... Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.....

Reference:..... Our Letter No. 336 of June 8, 1960..

Subject:..... Brazil and the Iron Curtain Countries.....

Security:..... CONFIDENTIAL.....

No:..... H/14.....

Date:..... July 11, 1960.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:.... Air Courier.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
76	—

orig. on 5710-B-40

## References

In my despatch under reference, I reported that the Head of the Commercial Delegation of the Popular Republic of Hungary had chosen freedom. Gyorgy Lázár was granted asylum by the Brazilian Government.

2. When Gyorgy Lázár left his post, he gave as his reason that his office was as much an espionage agency as a trade delegation. He also accused missions from behind the Iron Curtain here, the Poles, Czechs and other trade delegations (the East Germans have one, I understand) of similar activities.

3. It became known early this week, that on Monday, July 4 the two remaining members of the Commercial Delegation of Hungary who had remained here after Lázár sought political asylum, had left Brazil quickly at the request of the Foreign Office. Their names were Janos Erdei and Ladislau Deri.

4. Thus was confirmed the declaration of their former Chief, that these two men were engaged in activities outside of the stated purpose of their mission here. The Office of National Security and the Foreign Office in a joint statement to the press which announced the departure of these men did not elaborate. The Head of the Economic Department of the Foreign Office, Ambassador Barbosa de Silva, declared however that these men had transgressed the rules applying to their status in Brazil and that as a result their residents' permits had been removed from them. Ambassador Barbosa de Silva added that in the commercial agreements with Iron Curtain countries, it is clearly stated that the representatives of those countries must limit themselves exclusively to their commercial work and that if they transgress this rule, they will cease to be "personae gratae".

6. In conclusion, Ambassador Barbosa de Silva said that trade with Hungary will not be interrupted by the departure of Messrs. Erdei and Deri, although there will not for the time being be any representative of Hungary in Brazil.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

Jean CHAPDELAINÉ

Ambassador

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
.....  
..... MEXICO, D.F. ....

Reference: .....

Subject: SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN MEXICO.  
.....  
.....

Security:..... RESTRICTED .....

No:..... 335 .....

Date:..... June 13, 1960 .....

Enclosures:..... 1 .....

Air or Surface Mail:..... COURIER .....

Post File No:..... 8-1-5-5 .....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40<sup>9</sup>X'

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Eur. 1,4,5,  
6(2) 8  
DL 1  
DL 2  
American  
Liaison  
Services(2)  
Washington  
London  
NATO Paris  
Files:  
4875-40 "X"  
50066-40 "X"

and File:  
C.O.Spencer/  
JM  
Eur. Div.  
July 12, 1960

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

*orig. 50156-40*  
The Soviet Embassy is proceeding with the distribution in Mexico of a booklet in Spanish, entitled "The Spy Plane Shot Down". Attached is a copy we received through the mail.

2. On May 11, following a press conference held by Mr. Gromyko, Soviet and foreign journalists were invited to view the remains of the U-2 and other captured material which the Soviet Government had already placed on exhibition. There they met Mr. Krushchev who was more than willing to answer any questions. Brief questions by anonymous newspapermen and lengthier replies by Mr. Krushchev form the text of the booklet. These remarks were given wide publicity in the world press at the time. Edited and published as a complete record, including the customary indications of audience reaction, they constitute an effective propaganda document.

3. Numerous illustrations add to this effect. These include photographs of the captured pilot and the remains of his aircraft; maps, film, personal weapons, the unexploded bomb designed to destroy the plane, and the poison needle Powers was supposed to use in extremis. Also reproduced are significant and rather docile statements from the interrogation records of the pilot, and a document bearing a printed U.S. flag and, under it, requests for assistance in several languages, to be used presumably in the event of a forced landing. The caption adds dryly that the Soviets were happy to oblige.

(Sgd.) W.A. Irwin

The Embassy.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security ..... S E C R E T .....

50066-40		

Type of Document..... CX Report ..... No. 162/751/9802 ..... Date..... 10 June 1960.....  
From..... D.L.(2) Division .....  
To..... American Mr. C. Hardy .....  
Subject: ARGENTINA  
Communist Report no. 11

Original on File No..... W-24 .....  
Copies on File No.....  
Other Cross Reference Sheets on..... 1607-40 .....

Prepared by..... *Amiel Sedaw* ..... 000564

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act -  
Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information

Security ..... S E C R E T .....

50066-40		

Type of Document.....CX Report.....102/752/9570 No.....Date.....June 10, 1960.  
From.....D.L.(2) Division.....  
To.....American Div. Mr. C. Hardy.....

Subject: INTERNATIONAL  
IIIrd International Conference of the Food, Drink,  
Tobacco and Hotel workers' Trade Unions International.

Original on File No.....W-1.....  
Copies on File No.....  
Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....

Prepared by.....*Samuel Bedard*.....

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security ..... S E C R E T .....

50066-40		

Type of Document..... CX Report ..... No..... 1c2/751/9786 ..... Date..... June 10-60 .....  
From..... D.L.(2) Division .....  
To..... A mer. MR. C.Hardy .....  
Subject: ARGENTINA  
National C<sup>v</sup>ngress of the Argentine Peace Council.

Original on File No..... W-24 .....  
Copies on File No.....  
Other Cross Reference Sheets on..... 3134-40 .....

Prepared by..... *David Pedaw* .....000566

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security **SECRET** .....

SECRET		
50066	40	

Type of Document... *A.L.C. Report* ..... No. *6710* ..... Date.....  
From..... *D.R. (2) Division* .....  
To..... *American Mr. C. Hardy* .....

Subject:  
*ALUGOAY- U.S.S.R.*  
*Proposal of Soviet Baptists that the*  
*Christian Churches of the World Unite*  
*for Peace behind & across her.*

Original on File No..... *2-40* .....  
Copies on File No..... *1-2* .....  
Other Cross Reference Sheets on.....

Prepared by..... *Daniel Pedard* .....



NUMBERED LETTER

SECRET

To: The Canadian Embassy,  
HAVANA, Cuba.

From: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Reference: Your letter L-289 of May 3/60

Subject: Formation of New Latin American  
Labour Organization.

Security: CANADIAN EYES ONLY

No.: DS-166

Date: May 26, 1960

Enclosures: .....

Air or Surface Mail: .....

Post File No.: .....

Ottawa File No.

W-31 (DL2)

W-1-C (DL2)

References

R.C.M.P.,  
Ottawa.

Internal  
Circulation

Latin American  
Section.

Distribution  
to Posts

50066-40

Thank you for your most interesting letter on this question. We have heard of a recent incident in the C.T.C. similar to the one you have described which seems to confirm that Cuban labour is urgently preoccupied at present with its own domestic affairs. We understand that David Salvador had recently denounced the interference of the Minister of Labour in the internal affairs of the Confederation and demanded his dismissal. This led to a clash between Salvador and Jesus Soto. When asked to arbitrate Fidel Castro smoothed the matter over without making any changes despite the fact that Soto had the full support of the Minister of Labour.

2. We had been inclined to regard this as a hopeful sign but it would seem, from your letter that Salvador has been ousted after all.

3. On the more general question, we have now had a fairly reliable report which seems to confirm that the CTAL has been suspended. The World Federation of Trade Unions, it seems, is definitely committed to the convocation of a congress of representatives of Latin American workers along the lines we outlined in our letter of April 14. Presumably it will be held in Cuba, Venezuela or Chile.

A. F. HART

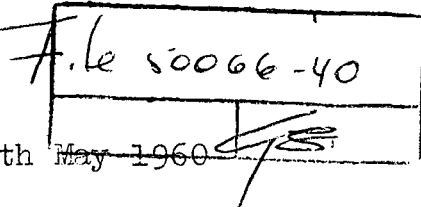
Under-Secretary of State  
for External Affairs.

Distribution "X"

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

Background Note No. 1,467

20th May 1960



CUBA, VENEZUELA AND Dr. JAGAN

[This Note is for information and background only.]

1. Before he left London at the end of March, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the British Guiana delegation to the abortive constitutional conference, declared that he was going on to Cuba, at the invitation of Dr. Fidel Castro, and to Venezuela to lobby for support for British Guiana's independence. Dr. Jagan visited both these countries last month.

Cuba and Venezuela have given many indications over the past year or so that they intend to give the lead to other Latin American countries to carry out "anti-colonial national revolutions" in that continent. Dr. Jagan evidently wants to join, or at least take advantage of this nucleus of anti-colonial revolutionary countries in Latin America. There are, however, signs that, despite a certain identity of aims, there is considerable rivalry for the leadership of this movement between Venezuela and Cuba. It is the Left-wing movement in Latin America which has become the loudest champion of anti-colonial nationalism there. This is why both Venezuela and Cuba seem to be vying for the leadership of the Left-wing groups in Latin America. But it is important to remember that there are varying degrees of Left-wing movements in Latin America, ranging from the communists to anti-communist, but still "anti-colonial", Left-wing parties. The communists naturally want to identify themselves with, and take over, the national revolutions and the whole so-called anti-colonial movement, and to involve the latter in what they call the "national liberation" movement. The latter is, of course, the term used by Moscow and Peking for movements which they use in order to promote the foreign policies of the Sino-Soviet bloc. At present China and Russia and the international communist movement are favouring Cuba as the shining example of the anti-colonial struggle in Latin America. Venezuela, in fact, had her revolution earlier than Cuba, which overthrew the Batista dictatorship barely eighteen months ago (January 1959). The reasons for this are not far to see. President Betancourt of Venezuela, who came to power in January 1958, had been a communist in his youth. But since his Government has consolidated its position he has become more and more wary of the communists. Because the President's policy is to keep his country out of the cold war, he has been accused of being too lukewarm in his relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc. For his part, he has warned

Continued:

- 2 -

his country implicitly against the extremism of the communists.

On the other hand the communists still have hopes of making use of Fidel Castro. He is being idolised in international communist propaganda in very much the same way as Nasser was. There are many parallels between the picture that the communists are trying to create of Cuba and Castro as the symbols of "anti-colonial" resistance in Latin America, and the one they built up of Egypt and Nasser in the Middle East before the Nasser idol became tarnished through the steps he took against the communist danger in Egypt and Syria. It is most likely, therefore, that the communists will try to persuade the Left-wing People's Progressive Party in British Guiana to follow the example of Castro and Cuba rather than Venezuela. They may also hope that British Guiana may exercise some influence, ultimately, on the British Caribbean Federation to associate itself with Cuba in an anti-colonial policy, though of course this could only be a very long-term hope.

There is, as far as we know, no Communist Party in British Guiana, though the People's Progressive Party, led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan and his wife, is an extreme Left-wing Marxist Party. And there seems to be little doubt that Jagan would not be averse to collaborating with communists and especially with the international communist movement, through the various international communist front organisations, in order to achieve his ends. At present Dr. Jagan's policy is independence for British Guiana within the Commonwealth, and joint responsibility between the British Government and that of British Guiana for defence and foreign affairs for the next four years. After that, presumably, he would expect the British Guiana Government to take over these responsibilities on its own. A colleague of Dr. Jagan however, Mr. Jai Narine Singh, a member of the Legislative Assembly of British Guiana, stands for complete independence for the country. Last September the 51-year-old Mr. Singh formed a party of his own called the Guianese Independence Movement, and last April (1960) announced that he would set up his headquarters for his campaign for British Guiana's independence in Venezuela.

This Background Note puts on record the latest moves which Dr. Jagan has made to identify his policies with the broader movement for national revolutions which Cuba and Venezuela are trying to lead.

#### Cuba

Dr. Jagan makes no bones about enlisting the support of other "anti-colonial" leaders in Africa and Asia. At the end of last year he issued a special appeal for solidarity and support by such leaders for British Guiana's independence ("Thunder", organ of the People's Progressive Party, 19th March 1960). The international communi000570

Continued:

- 3 -

front movements have readily taken up his cause and included his appeal in the "national liberation" solidarity campaign. Dr. Jagan's December appeal has been translated into Spanish and distributed to sixty organisations. At the beginning of March the communist-sponsored Latin American Peace Conference, run by the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty and held in Havana from 9th to 11th March, passed resolutions in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples of British as well as French and Dutch Guiana.

Dr. Jagan has responded enthusiastically to this support from the international communist movements. On the 24th April Dr. Jagan sent a telegram of greetings to the demonstration held in Havana by the Cuban Confederation of Labour and other organisations closely connected with the Communist Party, celebrating the Day of International Youth Against Colonialism.

The 42-year-old Dr. Jagan, who, until the suspension of the constitution in 1953, was Chief Minister in British Guiana and is now Minister of Trade and Industry, went soon after the conference in London to Havana where he arrived on 4th of April. During his stay in Cuba he made it clear that he wanted to bring British Guiana into close relationship with the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. At the same time he spoke of the "imperialist aggression" of the last twelve years in which he included the British armed intervention in British Guiana in 1953. He made a great point that this was the first time that a British colony in the Caribbean was trying to establish political, economic and social ties with a Spanish-speaking country. He pointed out that there were few Spanish teachers in British Guiana and said he would like to open up cultural exchanges with Cuba by sending over a group of teachers to improve their Spanish and at the same time acquaint themselves "with the progress of the Cuban revolution and agrarian reforms". On the economic side, he wanted to establish trade between his country and Cuba, and suggested rice and timber as possible exports from British Guiana. While these aims might be quite unexceptionable, the communist New China News Agency put Dr. Jagan's proposals into terms of international communist propaganda. It reported him as saying, on April 6th, that the people of Guiana would continue their struggle for complete independence and "hoped other peoples would help them achieve this goal". The NCNA also said that on the previous day Jagan had declared that the experiences of the Cuban revolution were applicable to other countries in Latin America, including Guiana. NCNA went on to report him as saying that he firmly believed the Cuban revolution would win its final victory and "would illuminate the road of those who were still groaning under the colonialist and imperialist yoke". At the end of April the NCNA reported the attendance of a delegate from British Guiana at the Latin American Congress in Defence of the Cuban Revolution. Communist agencies also reported the presence of Mrs. Jagan among the foreign guests celebrating May Day in Havana.

### 3. Venezuela

Dr. Jagan attended the second Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty which opened in Caracas, capital of Venezuela, on 22nd April. During his stay there he is reported to have stated in an interview given to "El Nacional", a daily newspaper under communist influence, that the Cuban revolution was "an outstanding example of the struggle for liberty and democracy", and subsequently referred to it as "the most important popular movement in America". According to Tass (29 April) this Inter-American Conference included in its demands "independence for British Guiana".

This praise of the Cuban revolution may not have been altogether to the liking of the Venezuelan authorities. Nevertheless it seems that the latter will continue to support the campaign for British

Continued:

000571

- 4 -

Guiana's independence, if only because of Venezuela's rivalry with Cuba for leadership of the "anti-colonial" movements in Latin America. Venezuela has given sanctuary to the Committee for the Liberation of Guiana which, according to the New China News Agency, has been functioning in Venezuela since 1953. This will presumably be incorporated into Mr. Jai Narine Singh's headquarters for his campaign for British Guiana independence. Mr. Singh had preceded Dr. Jagan in Venezuela and arrived in Caracas at the beginning of April. During his week's visit there, Mr. Singh established close contacts with the communist-dominated Venezuelan Press Association and the Venezuelan Communist Party. He returned to Caracas on 22nd April to attend the Inter-American Conference with Dr. Jagan.

International communist propaganda media have accorded the British Guiana "Liberation Committee", as well as Dr. Jagan's policies good publicity. In Venezuela the communist press was particularly assiduous in publishing reports on the constitutional talks in London at the end of March. They also published despatches sent directly from London by Mr. Singh. These reports emphasised that the talks had failed because of the intransigence of the "Foreign Office"(sic). In return for its support and publicity for the Guiana independence movement and the national revolutions in Venezuela and Cuba, the international communist movement counts on these "national revolutions to do the work of Moscow and Peking against "British and American imperialism"".

CENTRAL RESEARCH UNIT

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Legation,  
Warsaw, Poland.

Reference: Our telegram No. 65 of April 5/60.

Subject: Polish Relations with Latin America

CONFIDENTIAL

Security:.....

No:..... 281

Date: April 6, 1960

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 13-11

Ottawa File No.

~~12498-40~~ 50066-40

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American  
DL-II  
Economic I  
T. & C.  
Finance  
Bank  
Prague  
Belgrade  
Moscow  
Pol.Coord.  
NDC  
Commonwealth  
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Eur.2,4,6(2),  
8  
and File

From:  
G.R.Harman/  
BMV  
European Div.  
April 25/60

Internal  
Circulation

European

Distribution  
to Posts

Rio  
Buenos Aires  
Havana  
Santiago  
Montevideo  
Mexico  
Washington

*The on LA-Communist*  
Orig. 12647-40

Our telegram attempted to bring out, against the background of recent developments in Poland's relations with Latin America, the significance of the forthcoming visit to that area of the Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Winiewicz, who is accompanied by the Head of the American (and United Kingdom) Department, Mr. Jelen. While their visa applications to the Brazilian, Argentine and Mexican missions here simply state that they are going on an inspection tour, our colleagues from those missions relate that visit to the one which was completed so successfully a few days ago by another Western-minded representative of Poland, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Modrzewski. In the countries mentioned, also in Uruguay where Poland has a trade representative, and perhaps also in Chile, Mr. Winiewicz will, according to our colleagues, attempt to enlarge the breakthrough in political and trade relations which Poland, thanks to world détente, has achieved recently in that area.

2. The main breakthrough was achieved in Brazil. Already in 1959, the level of trade between the two countries reached \$40 million, which made of Brazil the principal customer of Poland in Latin America and its tenth customer in the world. In Rio, a fortnight ago, Mr. Modrzewski signed a five-year trade and payment agreement, another precedent, which is expected to increase the level of trade this year to \$50 million. The prospects of further growth are good as Poland shows a capacity to absorb commodities that Brazil wishes to sell (cocoa, cotton, coffee, iron ore, raw hides) and vice versa (Polish rails, ships, complete industrial plants, agricultural machinery, rolled goods). Both sides hailed the agreement as "opening a new chapter in relations between the two countries". This new chapter is already being written first with the visit to Brazil of a Polish parliamentary delegation headed by the economist Oskar Lange, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State, who arrived in that country in the middle of March. The Polish press has been reporting daily on the activities of the delegation and the warm welcome it is receiving in all parts of the Brazilian territory, including Parana where descendants of Polish immigrants form a large colony. Mr. Winiewicz will have the pleasant

000573

- 2 -

task of helping write the second paragraph, on exchange of ambassadors, already implicit in the rumoured draft bill whereby Brazil is to elevate next summer all its missions abroad, including those in Communist bloc countries, to the status of embassies.

3. A more challenging job awaits him in Argentina which views Poland with the same diffidence as does its other partners in the Communist bloc. (We were told in confidence that, for instance, not a single Polish publication, even the Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny, is allowed to reach the Polish colony of Argentina). Argentina fell last year to the second rank of Poland's Latin American customers and this appears to be a case where political considerations are standing in the way of expanded trade. (This is even more so in Chile, whose trade with Poland is virtually nil). Incidents both in Warsaw and in Buenos Aires have done nothing to allay the Argentine suspicion that there is a strict division of labour within the Communist bloc and that Poland inevitably acts in the interest of Moscow. Relations are now apparently in a state of flux. As our letter No. 231 of March 22 reported, Poland will be sending to Argentina the commander-in-chief of its armed forces, General Spychalski, the Minister of Foreign Trade Trampeczynski, on the occasion of the National Day celebration of May 25. On the other hand, the decision to re-appoint a Minister to Warsaw is again in abeyance. The Polish press reproduced yesterday a report in a Berlin newspaper that an agreement for co-operation in the production of atomic weapons, containing a clause about "joint struggle against the Soviet Union" had been signed between West Germany and Argentina. Mr. Winiewicz has, to say the least, a difficult task to perform.

4. Polish trade with other Latin American countries is small: \$2 million with Uruguay, \$1 million with Venezuela, less than \$100,000 with Mexico. But Poland secured recently a substantial contract in Uruguay, the building of a bridge over the Rio Negro; on March 23, Mr. Modrzewski signed with the Foreign Minister of Venezuela an agreement for the establishment of a Polish trade office in Caracas; the first trade and payment agreement between Poland and Cuba which he signed in Havana at the end of March made first page news in the world press. It probably remains for Mr. Winiewicz to see what can be done about Mexico, another country which deliberately curtails its trade with Iron Curtain countries. As this curtailment can be explained primarily in terms of Mexico's trade relations with the United States rather than in political terms as in the case with Argentina, Mr. Winiewicz will no doubt find a better atmosphere there. We have already reported that a Mexican ambassador is expected to arrive in Warsaw this summer.

5. Two excerpts from the sudden splurge of Polish writings about Latin America which started a couple of months ago give, we think, the Polish general appraisal of Latin America at this stage. One is a Polish Press Agency trade item of March 30 which says:

"Poland's trade with underdeveloped countries accounts for 6.5 percent of her foreign trade. About half of the transactions with underdeveloped countries are with Latin America, and principally with Brazil and Argentina..." 000574

- 3 -

The other is from the article written by Mr. Gomulka for this month's issue of Foreign Affairs where he says:

"The alignment of forces is shifting decidedly in favour of those countries which exclude aggressive war from the arsenal of their foreign policy. I am thinking, first, of the development of the socialist countries and the growth of a number of sovereign states in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

One can expect Mr. Winiewicz, with the able assistance of Mr. Jelen, who knows Latin America well and speaks Spanish, to hold a much more differentiated view of Latin America, and to use a more fortunate choice of words.

(Sgd.) P. Charpentier

The Legation



CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No: CX/1e/752/8787

Date: April 22, 1959.

is on DL(2) Special Registry File No: Z-24

Subject: International Union of Students' (IUS) tour of Latin  
America.

Initials: Run Date: May 22, 1959

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163.

File: 50066-40

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Security ..... SECRET

50066-40		

Type of Document... CX Report..... Ic2/724/9628 No..... Date..... 31 March 60...

From..... D.L.(2). Division.....

To..... American Div.... (Mr. Hardy, C.).....

Subject: CUBA/MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA

Visit to Mexico of an agent of the Cuban government.

Original on File No..... 7-31.....

Copies on File No.....

Other Cross Reference Sheets on..... 7-1-C.....

Prepared by..... *Daniel P. Shaw*..... 000577

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: .....The Canadian Embassy.....

.....Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.....

Reference:....Your letter X-267 of September 4, 1959....

Subject:.....The Rostow doctrine on growth.....

Security: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.....

No:.....175.....

Date: March 24, 1960.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:..air courier.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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cc 4762-40

J-43

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Bank

Finance

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Mr. Ritchie

Summit II

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U.S. action

Internal  
Circulation

Washington

London

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Miss Sellers

R.W. Graham

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Distribution  
to Posts

April 1, 1960

Your despatch under reference reached this mission just at the time when I was arriving myself. I did not consider that I had then the elements on which to base a judgment, although I had already read with great interest the two Rostow articles and planned to confront my knowledge of the Brazilian economy, as it grew, with the Rostow theory. In these six months this knowledge has grown, if not, far from it, to full maturity. In my despatches 61 of January 27 and 103 of February 25, I have looked at the debit and credit sides of the Kubitschek experiment in development, to use his slogan when he inaugurated his administration four years ago, "Fifty years in five". The time is ripe to see whether Brazil, under his impulsion, is on the way to pass from the transition stage, and taking off on the road to maturity.

2. From its origins until the last war, Brazil was a typical traditional society. Its wealth consisted in one cash crop, sugar from earlier days to the end of slavery in the 19th century, rubber in the latter part of that century until the growth of the Far Eastern rubber estates in the early 20th century and then coffee, which is still king today. Coffee still produces year after year some 60% of the foreign exchange earnings of Brazil, although it is no more than five percent of its national production. In the way of traditional societies, the wealth has always been extraordinarily concentrated. In earlier days, the earnings of the few rich went into the building of be-jewelled churches and opera houses in such cities as Ouro Preto, Bahia, Belem, Manaus. In latter days until very recently, Brazil, which even today has a per capita national income of hardly more than \$200, was one of the best markets for Cadillacs, that external sign of wealth and success in the world, from Detroit to Riyadh. Today Brazil, although it is nominally nearly 100% Roman Catholic, still has to import its priests in large part from abroad. But Brazilians can only occasionally lay their hands on a new Cadillac, since it is a nearly prohibited import, and sales by the diplomatic corps are almost the only legal source for them (the President and Ministers of the Government excluded, of course).

3. Until the last war, Brazil remained to the largest extent dependent on the outer world not only for most of its

simplest manufactures, but for the basic services in its economy as well. Power, light, telephone, public transport, both in town and throughout the country, even in aviation, port facilities, all these services were provided by foreign corporations, of which Brazilian Traction was, and still is, the largest and the most efficient.

4. Since 1945, and even more so since the inauguration of the Kubitschek administration in 1956, Brazil has launched into a programme of industrialization which has certainly made her into a transitional society, even though the mysterious take-off may not yet be there for some time.

5. Work has consciously proceeded to create the industrial and financial elements for the take-off, but as Rostow is clearly pointing out, there are many other conditions to be met and some of these take much longer to materialize.

6. However much new power plants may be created, and new capital poured into the growing industrial centres of Rio and São Paulo, and these we will see below are substantial indeed, it remains that of Brazil's population of 65,000,000 barely 15,000,000 are integrated into the economy. Some 50,000,000 are out of the main stream, eking out at best a bare subsistence, even if there is no drought, and without schools to prepare them for a better existence. The Brazilian population is amazingly fertile, the rate of increase is 2.5% per annum, which means a heavy weight retarding progress in the active sectors of the economy, but the human wealth is there to be cultivated. Whether it is possible to have a nation 20% modern, progressive and getting richer, next to a poor 80% who are getting poorer, is doubtful. Some insuperable social problems are inevitable; and in the rush for industrialization, very little indeed is being done to improve agriculture and education, and as a result, the lot of by far the largest part of the population. Of the government expenditures for development, as much is given to basic industry as to agriculture, roughly 10% each, although one knows that industry can find other resources, but agriculture cannot. Of these other government expenditures, 30% goes to energy and 44% transport; the latter at least is of indirect and long term benefit to agriculture as it opens the way for the movement of the products of agriculture into trade. Roads are essential to bring some element of modern economy to the hinterland. Things may fall into place in time; and it may be that the take-off can only take place after the link has been forged which permits the movements of goods to, and first of all the products of agriculture from, the countryside. The passage from subsistence agriculture to an agriculture which provides more food for the growing population, and for the larger proportion of town dwellers, and a market in the country for the national industry is, I would think, an essential condition which has not yet been met, and which it will take time to meet. In 1959, there was a bumper crop of coffee which is a drug on the economy, but the increase in production of food products would not have been sufficient to meet the needs of the growing population. And it is known that wheat imports are by far the largest item in the food import list of this country, nearly \$150 million out of a total of \$200 million in food imports in 1959. But for P.L. 480, they would create a grave upset in the trade accounts (dollar-wise at least) of this country.

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7. Education is also woefully retarded, and its improvement a very long term project before it pays dividends. It is recognized that schooling facilities not only are not sufficient to arrest illiteracy in this country, but that analphabetism is, in absolute terms at least, increasing with the population growth.

8. There are other millstones attached to the neck of the Brazilian economy which cannot but delay, if not prevent, its eventual take-off.

9. The first in point of size is the armed forces which, with little purpose in life, nevertheless consume one quarter of the funds in the federal budget, a very unproductive, not to say useless, expenditure except in so far as military service provides to most of the conscripts the only formal or technical education they receive. But this maintenance of a state within the State, which the armed forces are, keeps democratic government a very feeble growth in the land, not to mention the graft which the usage of their budget induces, a bad leak in itself in the substance of Brazil, but a bad education as well in civics.

10. What is true of the armed forces is also true generally of the civil service which, except for its luminaries at the top, is plethoric, incompetent and graft-ridden. It will be a long time before this country acquires an administration equal to the task which has been set for it of making this country into a modern, mature society.

11. Finally, and while this is a social need, the meeting of which is a good in itself, - there are no private savings to meet emergencies of any kind, - there is little doubt that the social security system of this country, hospital and medical services, pensions of every kind, is not only cumbersome but much more than the country can afford in its present state of wealth: a GNP of \$12 billion for a population of 65,000,000, less than \$200 per head.

12. Nevertheless these drawbacks, while they may have slowed down, and will continue to act as a brake on the progress of Brazil, have not prevented it from soaring in a spectacular fashion. Even the above quoted figures on the GNP, if they are restricted to the Brazilian "homo economicus", instead of being applied to the whole population, would give a national income, or rather product per head, of from \$600 to \$800, roughly the earnings of most skilled, or rather semi-skilled, workmen in Brazil. I have found, on enquiring from employers here and there, that the national minimum wage of \$6.000 per month is pretty nearly the maximum wage paid as well. Even if, as in some cases, this wage should rise by 50% above the minimum, to \$9.000, this is still less than \$50 for a 200-hour month, or roughly between \$1.50 and \$2.00 a day.

13. As the industrial product generated through such wages nevertheless sells for prices higher, most of the time, than similar ones from the high-wage economies, one can surmise what profits are made by industrial enterprises here. And one can understand that, despite all uncertainties regarding the future, the dangers of inflation in the present, of upheavals of one sort or another, of eventual nationalization of the enterprises, capital continues to pour into this country at the present rate. Messrs. Volkswagen, to take but one

example, cannot but coin money (like all other car manufacturers) by producing its cars in this country, the more so as it can import some essential parts at the privileged rate of  $\text{Cr}100$  to  $\$1$ , and the end product retails for  $\text{Cr}500.000$ , i.e.  $\$2,500$  at the free rate of exchange, the rate at which it transfers its dividends, but not its interests; for these the privileged rate of  $\text{Cr}100$  to  $\$1$  applies. And the rate of income tax on corporations is only 20% of net profit. I was told a few days ago that the new power development at Furnas, a majority Government enterprise (in which Brazilian Traction has a 20% interest) had chosen to buy its aluminum cables from abroad, possibly because it trusted Alcan and Reynolds cable more than that produced by Aluminum do Brasil, but even more so because it could buy foreign cable cheaper abroad, at the privileged rate of  $\text{Cr}100$  to  $\$1$ , than it could locally.

14. But to return to the main thread of my argument. For some years national investment in capital formation has been of the order of between 12 and 18% of the Gross National Product, nearer the former than the latter in recent years. In 1958 it was 12.6% of the GNP, or  $\text{Cr}199$  billion out of a GNP of  $\text{Cr}1.260.6$  billion. No figures are available as yet for 1959, but it has been calculated that the proportion is very nearly the same; and that national income, in real terms, had augmented by 4.6% over 1958. Since population is growing at a rate of 2.5% per annum, national income per capita has augmented by 2.1%. Again here we find that coffee distorts the picture; its price in world market fell at the same time as production was a record one. The increase in national income, in real terms, was therefore smaller than the increase in national production, estimated at 7%, giving a production increase per capita of 4.5%. As the product has not been marketed, and will not be, but remain as a headache in the national accounts, and a heavy burden on the economy, I think the smaller figures of national/income given earlier above are the ones which should concern us. A production which is not moneyable, and which is due to an act of God, or nature, should not be used to inflate the national accounts.

15. Over the last ten years it is worth noting that, each year, a greater proportion of profits have been re-invested by corporations in Brazil; from 50% in 1948, the proportion rose to 85% in 1957; because of the lack of a capital market, financing in Brazil must either come from abroad or from re-investment of profits: the profits are there all right to be ploughed back, and since most corporation stock is closely held, it is not difficult to induce shareholders to show temporary self-denial. And the economy, as well as the enterprises, profit by this re-investment.

16. The second feature has been the growth in the proportion of capital investment undertaken by the Government, as compared with private capital investment, mostly so in the last five years. In 1954,  $\text{Cr}20$  billion was invested by the Government out of a total of  $\text{Cr}78$  billion, i.e. 25%; in 1958, the Government invested  $\text{Cr}60$  billion out of a total of  $\text{Cr}159$  billion, or close to 40%. It is easier to look at percentages than at absolute money figures when dealing with Brazilian developments in view of the inflation which has occurred over those years and which distorts the whole picture.

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Taking 1948 as the base year, the national production, in real terms, moved from 138.8 in 1954 to 167.9 in 1959, an increase of 20% over those five years. Again here, one must remember that the growth in population cuts this increase by more than half when it is seen in per capita terms.

17. Generally, it could be said that over those years capital investment in Brazil has been of the order of \$1 billion a year, of which half has been of external provenance and half national. Since the Government has increased its share of capital formation, to 40% in 1958, one could surmise that the share of the Brazilian entrepreneurs had been falling year after year. This is not entirely true since much of Government participation to capital formation has had its source in external assistance; until the 1959 dispute with the I.M.F., the Brazilian Government was running merrily into debt, directly or by guaranteeing loans by the Fund, the Bank, the Eximbank and private banking sources in New York, for furthering the development of Brazilian resources and its industry.

18. In 1959, there entered Brazil into one form or another \$510 million in foreign capital. But substantial sums, \$360 million for amortization, interests and dividends, were exported, leaving only a net credit of \$160 million. For the year, the balance of payments looks as follows.

A. Current accounts:

Exports FOB	+ 1310	
Imports FOB	- 1290	(+100 CIF)
Services net	- 400	
<hr/>		
Total	-	380

B. Capital accounts:

Entries	+ 520	
Amortizations	- 360	
<hr/>		
Total	+	160

C. Balance of payments deficit - 220

Correction for miscellaneous	+	40
<hr/>		
Net	-	180

19. This deficit can only be covered by short or at least medium term borrowings; in fact the "swaps" operations which I mentioned in paragraph 14 of my No. 61 of January 27, and of which recent estimates for 1959 have risen to as much as \$220 million.

20. The Brazilian balance of payments, it will be seen from the figures quoted above, is not of the soundest. But for the capital intake, year after year, for some years to come, the deficit would rise to unmanageable proportions, unless imports were cut down radically, by half for example,

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a recourse which it would hardly be possible for this country to undertake without its economy coming to a stand still. Together the imports of petrol and of wheat amount to nearly \$300 million, one quarter of total present imports. It is not only in 1959 that short term capital repayments and debt service will be a substantial drain on the Brazilian economy. Over the next five years, 1.3 billion dollars are coming due for payment as follows:

1960	\$307.4 million
1961	338.4 "
1962	261.1 "
1963	219.8 "
1964	164.5 "

21. Thereafter, these undertakings will be reduced to an average of \$71 million per year until 1970. This of course is subject to no new short term indebtedness being incurred in the meantime. Either way, such a development is to be expected, either because new capital will be coming in, which will have to be serviced and amortized, or because new short term expedients will be resorted to, such as "swaps", unless some arrangement is found to fund these debts on a longer repayment plan. The merry way in which this Government has resorted to expedients to find foreign exchange, and to the printing press to meet the internal commitments, payment of which could not be delayed, - the result of which has been, in 1959 alone, a more than 50% increase in the cost of living and a corresponding fall in the foreign exchange value of the cruzeiro against the dollar, development by inflation, it has been called, - not to mention the social costs for the population, is a good indication that further foreign debt will be built up, the more so if the present one were funded.

22. To summarize, Brazil is still undergoing the growing pains of the transitional society. Despite valiant efforts, the present administration will not see it through the take-off, although it will have given it some of the infrastructure to that end: a new capital, Brasilia, a vision of the future and a direction sign to the riches of the interior, roads which can carry riches throughout the country, and a substantial increase in its resources of energy. The first is an intangible a morale factor, developed at tremendous cost. The other two are solid assets, provided they are maintained, and maintenance in this country, where the climate and the jungle eat so quickly at anything, is a much more important problem physically than most anywhere else, more so even than the radical changes of season in Canada for example, because of the indolence of the population and its laissez-faire attitude.

23. Against that there are the basic problems of lack of educational facilities, of a deficient agriculture, of a continuing lack of fuel to keep transport running and supplement the hydroelectric power which is being generated, of a plethoric, graft-ridden, antiquated form and manner of administration, a weakling next to the powerful, at least internally, fraternity of the armed forces, a parasite on the body politic.

24. The froth of industrial development, induced by rewards beyond compare in the civilized world, is both a case of misdirection into the spectacular (cars, refrigerators, air-conditioners, radios, are the darlings of this administration) as against the solid industry which transforms the basic



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produce of the soil and sub-soil of the country, and of almost exclusively foreign implantations with all the balance of payments problems which this involves for the future, further aggravated by the size of the rewards which have induced them to come here. At the present stage, they can only exploit the national market, limited as it is, but with hopes for the future; they can only establish themselves and make the earnings they do behind a protective wall which makes competition from abroad well nigh utopian.

25. This country remains, for practical purposes, a producer of one main and a few other agricultural cash crops, which earn most of the foreign exchange needed to pay for its needs in petrol, in wheat and in other essentials. It still remains doubtful, in my mind, whether the industrialization in which it has engaged is in the immediate of net benefit to it, whether in fact it is a credit to the nation, so little of it goes into Brazilian labour's pockets, so much in rewards to the capital, so predominantly foreign and so heavily protected for the time being.

26. Take-off would be closer the day this foreign plant is nationalized, with little or no compensation, on the grounds, - not easy to dispute, - that it has had its ample reward while the going was good. But it would be closer yet, if the nationalists who would attempt this revolution were not the bunch of idle and incompetent windbags they are, but the hard-headed technocratic type. Nevertheless, the temptation is there, and what a mess they could make, from which the only salvation would come from the armed forces, the saviour of order, and of privilege: theirs in the forefront.

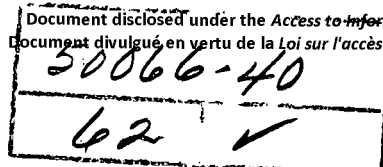
27. But there is a less drastic possibility, a businesslike administration, such as Janio Quadros built up when he was Governor of São Paulo, and which has been continued there by his successor, Carvalho Pinto. Whether Janio Quadros, if elected to the supreme magistrature, would make good the promises of his São Paulo administration, is another question, but the "préjugé est favorable". Take-off could still be at hand in law, order and good government, if such an administration came forward to replace the present one at the elections later this year, restored order in the finances of the nation, took the money where it is to direct it in the most productive channels, and consolidated the gains which a spirited but dispersed team have piled up helter-skelter with debts and social misery. It may be too much to ask of the next administration to put order into the national house, but this review heightens the possible importance of this year's election for the future of Brazil.

*Jean Blondelaine*

Ambassador

DESPATCH

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act -  
Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information



CONFIDENTIAL

TO: The Secretary of State for External  
Affairs, OTTAWA

*Orig on 10224-40*

D-640

FROM: The Canadian Embassy, HAVANA

REF: Our D128 of March 18 and our D336  
of July 7, 1959

December 21, 1959

SUB: Castro Justice and Major Hubert Matos

For the third time since he rose to power, Fidel Castro has publicly intervened in a court case - this time in the Revolutionary Tribunal trial of his former comrade-in-arms, Major Hubert Matos. In our two letters under reference we reported on the earlier interventions. In the first, Castro virtually ordered that a review tribunal reverse the "not guilty" decisions handed down by his Revolutionary Tribunal which tried the former Batista air force members charged with bombing defenceless cities. In the second, Castro ordered a branch of his army police to honour the writ of Habeas Corpus which he stated had been wrongfully issued for the release of the young lawyer economist, Dr. Enrique Llaca. Castro then brought criminal charges against the Judges who had first accepted the writ. This time Castro spent seven hours at the Matos trial personally heaping charges against the popular former military commander of Camaguey province. He then observed that, "If the court doesn't condemn him, public opinion and history will". The court dutifully sentenced Matos to 20 years in jail and by so doing prompted considerable discussion as to whether this was a victory or a setback for Castro.

2. The smoke screen of the trial makes it difficult to sort out fact and fiction about Matos. During the recent American Society of Travel Agents convention in Havana, Matos apparently attempted to resign his post as military commander in Camaguey, on the grounds that there was communist infiltration in the armed forces. He sent a copy of his letter of resignation to the newspapers and since then his name has been in the press almost continually. Whether he had definitely planned it beforehand (as was charged in his trial) or not, many of his junior officers and a large part of the civilian administrative machine of Camaguey resigned with him. It has been reported that more than 500 of his military followers offered to follow him into the hills if he chose to take the step. Amid wild rumours of a counter revolution, Fidel Castro and another of his senior aides, Camilo Cienfuegos, flew to Camaguey and, after appealing in a public gathering for unity, arrested Matos and more than twenty of his subordinates.

3. From his prison cell in Havana Matos stoutly denied any plot, and his wife published several letters arguing her husband's innocence and calling for a public trial. In the meantime Castro had reinstituted his military tribunals and it was announced that Matos and his followers would be among the first to stand trial. First reports indicated that Matos would be given a one session hearing behind closed doors. For some unexplained reason, this plan was changed and the Matos trial stretched over several days' sessions in Camp Libertad theatre before crowds ranging up to one thousand. Observers were divided about whether, in fact, Castro could force the court to impose a death sentence on Matos. Many people believed that anything less than a death sentence would indicate a weakening in Castro's position and leave one man living who could be the center for a counter revolutionary plot in the future. On the other hand, a death sentence for the extremely popular revolutionary hero might have precipitated more open opposition, particularly in Camaguey province.

4. The Matos trial opened on December 11 and it immediately became apparent that Matos intended to play for the support of public opinion by presenting well-reasoned arguments to back his contention that there was communist infiltration in the army and to explain

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decision to ask for release from his position in Camaguey. He opened his defence by stating, "I have never been a traitor as claimed", and proceeded to warn that communists were gaining power in the armed forces. Although he did not specifically name Raul Castro as a communist, he described him as "more radical than I". The individual army officers that Matos named as communists were men from his own military command in Camaguey, but he managed to give the impression that many other senior army officers had communist sympathies.

5. The prosecution in the case relied largely on the testimony of three individuals. The first, Captain Jorge Enrique Mendoza, the head of the National Institute for Agrarian Reform (INRA) in Camaguey province, accused Matos of stating that "Che" Guevara and Raul Castro were communists. Mendoza, who apparently was Matos' personal rival for power in Camaguey, was the individual who had informed Fidel of Matos' activities and who had taken over a Camaguey radio station on the day of Matos' arrest in an attempt to counteract the public feeling which favoured Matos. The second important witness for the prosecution was Raul Castro, who attempted to link Matos with former President Urrutia, claiming that Urrutia had given \$120,000 to Matos to use for counter revolutionary activities. Raul Castro dedicated much of his testimony in an attempt to discredit Matos' lawyer, Dr. Lorie Bertot (who, incidentally, had been the lawyer who managed to obtain a writ of habeas corpus for Enrique Llaca). Bertot denied Castro's charges that he had been a supporter of the Batista regime and later published a statement outlining his activities in support of Castro during the struggle against Batista. Fidel Castro himself appeared on the final day of the trial and testified over a seven hour period, demanding that Matos be convicted by the court. Matos continually interrupted Fidel and Fidel finally ordered the Judge to halt these interruptions.

6. Earlier on the day of the trial's conclusion, two former Batista soldiers were sentenced to death by the firing squad - the first such sentences for several months. Many people therefore expected that Matos would be executed and the 20 year sentence came as a surprise. Matos declared "they are condemning me, but my name and that of my colleagues will be rehabilitated someday". Certainly Matos retains considerable public support and Fidel would be well advised to keep a very close watch on his former comrade-in-arms.



Ambassador

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA. *ju2*

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Ciudad Trujillo.

Reference: .....

Subject: Invasion Report

Security: ...Unclassified.....

No: .....246.....

Date: ...December 17, 1959.....

Enclosures: ...1.....

Air or Surface Mail: .....

Post File No: .....

X	TO: <i>McHardy</i>
<i>ju2</i>	DEC 24 1959
	REGISTRY

Ottawa File No.	
50066 - 40	
14	62

References

*Refer to  
DL(2)  
with  
attachment  
+ file  
run*

*cc on 3493-40*

Attached for your information is a  
copy of the invasion report published by the  
Caribbean Anti-Communist Research & Intelligence  
Bureau. This is the first we had heard of the  
existence of this entity and when I have more  
information upon it I shall report.

*[Signature]*

Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Internal  
Circulation

*X*

Distribution  
to Posts

Havana  
Port-au-Prince  
Caracas

## NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Legation  
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Reference:  
Subject: Visit of Czechoslovak Delegation  
to Latin America

Security: Unclassified

No: 971

Date: December 9, 1959

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 1-1-2-7

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

62

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DEC 22 1959

REGISTRY

## References

C.C. 5710-Q-40

A Delegation of members of the Czechoslovak National Assembly left Prague by air on November 11 to visit Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, and Mexico. The Delegation, led by a Vice-President of the Assembly, J. Valo, will be away for approximately one month. Presumably, this official visit is to return similar visits paid to Czechoslovakia by Brazilian, Colombian, and Bolivian Delegations earlier this year. Possibly the visit was also intended to mark the announcement made in Le Paz on September 2 that Bolivia would establish diplomatic missions in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

2. Prague newspapers have given wide coverage to the visit, reporting extensively, for example, on the speech made by Mr. Valo before a plenary session of the Colombian parliament on November 19 and the Delegation's attendance at the Bolivian parliament on November 25. The Delegation, apparently, piously announced whenever it could that Czechoslovakia respected the right of any nation to have any form of government it desired. And always tied to this statement was a call for an increase in trade. "We do not export our socialist ideology; we export machines which will work well in your private factories...." The Czechoslovak press reported with evident satisfaction that the Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs "had shown a lively interest in the possibilities of extending trade with Czechoslovakia." On December 2, after arriving in Rio de Janeiro, the Delegation was received by President Kubitschek who, to their great pleasure, reminded them that his grandfather had come from Bohemia. The Delegation, again to its gratification, was received by the Brazilian Congress "just at the time when a proposal was being submitted that Czech should be taught at the Philosophy Faculties in Brazil."

3. The visits of such Czech delegations abroad have been exceeded in number only by the number of foreign delegations visiting Prague. Hence the saying has grown that there is no life on Mars as otherwise there would have been a delegation from it in Prague this summer. The hunger for more delegations has, apparently, now way been dulled by the considerable

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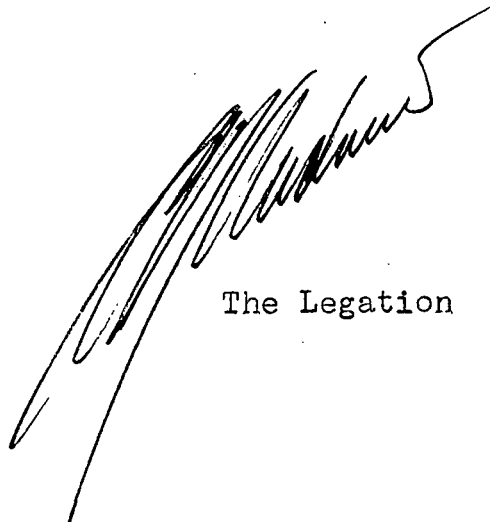
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1959 DEC 22 AM 11:34

2	DEC 22 1959
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- 2 -

outlay of funds that must be spent on prearranged visits. The "Chief of Protocol" of the National Assembly asked me the other day to keep him informed of any casual visits by Canadian Members of Parliament, presumably so he could add a Canadian delegation to his growing list. He also mentioned that an east-bound Czech "parliamentary" delegation was leaving soon under the President of the National Assembly Z. Fierlinger. Its itinerary will include Delhi and Hanoi.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, slanted upwards from left to right. The signature is composed of several overlapping, fluid strokes, with the final part resembling a long, sweeping 'S' or 'Z' shape.

The Legation

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62	-

DEFENCE LIAISON (2) DIVISION

SECRET

December 3, 1959.

American/R.W. Nadeau/TP

Letter No. L-576 of November 20 from

Havana.

Communism in Cuba.

In paragraph 6 of his letter under reference, copy of which is attached, our Ambassador in Havana has invited comments on the accuracy of the observations made by his informant. As this subject is primarily within the purview of your division, we assume that you will wish to reply to Mr. Anderson as requested, if you deem it necessary.

**G. HARDY**

AMERICAN DIVISION.



NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.....

FOR CANADA, LONDON, ENGLAND,.....

Reference Your Letter X.1412 of November 16.....

Subject: Bolivia: ... Possible Establishment of ...

..... Diplomatic Relations with Iran.....

..... Curtain Countries:.....

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 2347

Date: December 1, 1959.

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

58066-40

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## References

On November 26 we discussed the situation in Bolivia in general, and the particular points raised in your letter under reference, with Mr. Scott, the officer responsible for Bolivia in the American Department at the Foreign Office. Mr. Scott has only recently returned from La Paz where he was Head of Chancery at the U.K. Embassy for four years. During this period he also visited several other countries in Latin America. We showed Scott the A.F.P. report dated September 18 according to which the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies had "approved a bill" as the first step in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the People's Socialist Republics. According to the A.F.P. report, the bill assigned the funds formerly sent to the Bolivian Embassy in Costa Rica to an embassy to be established in Moscow; and diplomatic relations with Costa Rica were to be taken over by the Bolivian Embassy in Mexico City.

2. Scott said that he was not aware that any such bill had been sent either to the Senate or to the Executive Branch. Indeed Scott said that the A.F.P. report was more definite than anything else he had seen on this question and he expressed doubts that a bill had been passed at all. Scott thought it more likely that the Chamber of Deputies had passed another resolution, similar to one passed in 1958, in favour of the establishment of relations with the U.S.S.R. Scott seemed inclined to discount the possibility that this resolution had any more significance than previous resolutions on the same subject. He also discounted the Chamber of Deputies itself which did not meet very often and had very little influence on the Executive.

3. While Scott apparently did not think there was any significant indication that Bolivia was drawing closer to the establishment of relations with the Communist countries, he did admit that there were temptations for Bolivia. He told us that early in 1958 two Bolivian professors of leftish inclinations had paid a visit to Moscow and had returned home with promises of economic aid which they claimed to have received from U.S.S.R. leaders. Particularly tempting to Bolivia, Scott thought, was a U.S.S.R. offer to help Bolivia's oil industry. In addition to private interests, Bolivia had a State oil company which was active in the southern part of the country and which needed more machinery and capital urgently to pursue

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drillings in an area of proven resources. Scott acknowledged that if help were not forthcoming elsewhere, the Bolivians might be moved eventually to make a deal with the U.S.S.R. which could involve the establishment of diplomatic relations: soundings had been made before and would no doubt continue to be made again by the U.S.S.R., through their mission in Buenos Aires. Meanwhile Scott doubted that there was any urgency on the part of the U.S.S.R. to establish a mission in La Paz. He pointed out that the Czechs had a legation there and that this obviously served as the Communist link. Scott noted that the U.S.S.R. had on several occasions shown herself to be very well informed about the details of internal events in Bolivia, on the basis of information which could only have been obtained through the Czech Legation. We gathered from Scott's remarks that considerably bad feelings remain toward the U.S.S.R. as the result of her action in 1958 in dumping large quantities of tin on the world market. These feelings must still have an effect on the Government in resisting suggestions for the establishment of relations with the U.S.S.R. although the passage of time and the offer of economic assistance could undoubtedly overcome them.

4. Scott told us that Czechoslovakia was the only Communist country with representation in Bolivia; and that Bolivia herself was not represented in any Communist country including Czechoslovakia. Bolivia had embassies in all the countries of South America and missions in some of the countries of Central America, but probably not all. Scott said that the only way in which he could check the countries of Central America in which Bolivia was represented would be by going through the files of the countries concerned. He did not offer to do this and we did not feel inclined to press him to do so, since it occurred to us that this information could perhaps be obtained more easily through United States sources.

5. On the assumption that the Chamber of Deputies had at least passed a resolution in favour of the establishment of relations with Communist countries, we asked Scott why it would be suggested that funds for the establishment of a mission in Moscow be transferred from the mission in San Jose. Scott said that he did not think this suggestion signified any anti-Costa Rican feeling on the part of Bolivia. Indeed there was too slight a connection between the two countries for the Bolivians to have strong feelings either way. It happened to be the case however that the position of Bolivian Ambassador in Costa Rica was vacant and had been for some time; and this was probably the reason why the Costa Rican mission had been suggested as the one which could be closed. No particular reason was suggested as to why the Bolivian Embassy in Mexico City rather than one in Bogota should be chosen for dual accreditation to Costa Rica.

6. Scott also said that it was true that Bolivia had very little trade with any of the Central American countries. Most of her trade was with her immediate neighbours, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Peru. Bolivia's main exports were oil, processed metals and some agricultural products. Her imports were all kinds of manufactured goods. In this connection Scott noted that there had been a thriving manufacturing industry in Bolivia until a few years ago when the protective tariffs were removed. The present system of free trade had forced Bolivian firms to the verge of bankruptcy. Some of them had been losing so much money that they wanted to give their plants away and write their operations off rather than carry on at a loss.

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7. Scott remarked on the metamorphosis of the ruling party in Bolivia, the M.N.R. In 1952 the M.N.R. had armed the tin miners and with their help taken over the Government. In the wild battles which took place at the time the Bolivian Army had been completely defeated and virtually all trace of the Army had been removed from Bolivia: the senior officers were exiled and the Army itself was replaced by a Workers and Peoples Militia. It was only recently that efforts had been made slowly to rebuild the Army with American help. The M.N.R. in 1952 was an extraordinary compromise party composed of extreme leftists, i.e. Marxists, on the one wing and Fascist elements on the other with a small group of middle-of-the-road advocates added. On the whole the composition of the M.N.R. remained the same now as in 1952 although some of the extreme left-wing people had dropped out as the M.N.R. became more sober and conservative. Continued use of people's republic terminology was misleading. M.N.R. policy had moved all the way from plans for nationalisation, agrarian reform, and a planned economy, which it had declared in 1952, to the present system of free enterprise and free trade. Scott agreed that taking into account the M.N.R.'s original nature it was surprising that she had so little contact with the Communist bloc.

8. Scott told us that United States aid was more important in Bolivia than anywhere else in South America. Point Four administrators worked in every part of the Government and in fact told the Government how to run the country; in addition the annual budget deficit was covered by United States assistance. Scott observed that in most countries the more aid you gave the less you were liked, but this was not the case in Bolivia where there was very little anti-Americanism. Scott described the hullabaloo last spring in Bolivia over a critical article on the country in Time Magazine (our letter 446 of March 6, 1959) as a "put up job" (M.N.R. agitators had been seen moving through the crowds of demonstrators), staged probably in order to secure even more aid from the United States.

9. We asked Scott about Bolivia's relations with her immediate neighbours. He said that relations generally were good. The Bolivians, Scott observed, had an understandable defeatist complex because of the recurring defeats which Bolivia had suffered in any wars in which she was involved, several of which resulted in the loss of territory. Bolivia had been particularly pained by her loss of access to the sea when Chile at the end of the last century in a purely aggressive move simply marched into Bolivia's territory leading to the sea and took over. Bolivia was inclined to complain frequently that her national survival was subject at any time to the whims of the countries around her. Technically of course this was true, but in fact Bolivia had never had any trouble in making arrangements for the use of transit rights with her neighbours; and the transit of goods to and from Bolivia had never been restricted in any way.

10. Scott said that the effects of Bolivian internal policy gave some concern to the Peruvians. Under the M.N.R. regime Bolivia had emancipated the Bolivian Indians, which form the majority of the population and are related to the Peruvian Indians, and had made attempts to educate them and integrate them into Bolivian society. The Peruvians were worried

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that this policy would affect the social balance in their own country where a small white minority, living in what Scott described as a feudal society, rely on the employment of masses of Indians who are little more than serfs.

11. Despite the domination of one party, Scott confirmed that Bolivia was to be regarded technically as one of the democracies in Latin America. While a long way from democracy as far as the operation of a party system was concerned, Bolivia came much closer to it in such matters as her treatment of the Indians and freedom of speech.

G. IGNATIEFF

Canada House.

## NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Reference:.....

Subject: Bombs in Brazil

Security: RESTRICTED

No: 628

Date: November 20, 1959

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Air Courier

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

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## References

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Last week Rio tasted terrorism in a classic form. Three bombs exploded, two in downtown offices and one beneath a high tension power line tower of the "Light" in the southernmost suburb of the city. The downtown targets of the bombings were the offices of the National Council for Co-ordination of Supplies (CCA) housed in the Press Association building and the business office of COFAP, the Federal Supply and Price Control Commission. There were no deaths as the explosions occurred "after hours", but the offices were gutted; the electrical tower was not seriously damaged. The bomb explosions have caused, however, a considerable stir in the highest government circles and in the press - largely because these were the first bombs ever in Brazil. Apparently in this country where mob protests, street fights, shootings and knifings are commonplace, the explosions of last week are the first instances of planned bombings. There has also been a planted bomb hoax next door at the U.S. Embassy which neither disturbed much the Embassy or local opinion.

2. After a week of search by police and military forces, the terrorists have not been discovered - although the police yesterday tracked down a vehicle supposedly used by the persons who planted the bombs in downtown offices and have announced that they expect to make arrests tomorrow. Meanwhile the President has stated that such terrorism is attributable to "subversive elements which would return Brazil to colonialism", i.e. foreign inspired elements. The police, presumably following this line of thought, took into custody leading members of the outlawed communist party. On the other hand both the communists and the opposition, notably the UDN party, have advanced the line that the government itself planted the bombs in the COFAP and CCA offices, in order to destroy damaging if not personally incriminating evidence of gross maladministration of each of these government agencies.

3. One positive result of these events has been the dismissal of the heretofore respected Chief of the Federal District police, Col. Crisanto de Figueiredo. A significant group of army officers have also resigned their posts in sympathy. Only one of these officers has been asked to withdraw his resignation which leads one to think that the bombing case may have served a useful purpose of providing a good excuse for the easing out of key posts of officers not in sympathy with Marshall Lott's recent excursions into domestic political issues.

4. During the course of my call a few days ago on Marshall Teixeira Lott, the Minister of War and presidential candidate, he showed and admitted his concern over the bomb explosions. I gathered the clear impression that he considered that a new and undesirable

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level had been reached in public affairs when terrorists could successfully wreck government agency offices and that a supposedly responsible press could subsequently print and support a theory that the government itself was directly culpable.

5. Mr. Borden, President of Brazilian Traction, who is here at present, and whom I saw on the morning after the bombings, was also very disturbed by the incident, not only because they had affected one of his enterprises, but because of their general portent, and because such occurrences usually encourage imitators; one isolated incident could start a chain reaction.

6. It is doubtful if responsibility for the bombings will be fixed with any assurance. Nevertheless, both the planting of bombs in Government offices and that people are prepared to believe that the government staged the whole affair is indicative of the increasing dissatisfaction with which the public view the Kubitschek administration.

Jean CHAPDELAINÉ  
Ambassador

## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Reference: Your Letter X.216 of September 4, 1959.

Subject: THE ROSTOW DOCTRINE ON GROWTH

Security: Unclassified

No: 409

Date: November 17, 1959

Enclosures: 1

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No: 5-2-1



Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
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## References

Refer to:

CCOS (6)  
T&C  
Bank  
Finance  
Export Credits  
JIB  
NDC

Mr. G. D. Hardy

Mr. G. D. Hardy

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I am pleased that you share our enthusiasm for the Rostow analysis, a condensation of which appeared in the August 15th and 22nd issues of the Economist. I am also pleased that you feel it would be useful to comment on the analysis as it relates to developments in Latin America. Not only did we find the articles of great interest, but we believe the acceptance of the thesis in general suggests certain lines of policy which Canada should adopt towards less developed countries - particularly those which are on the threshold - or in the process of - "taking off".

2. It is natural that we in Buenos Aires should apply the theory to the Argentine situation to see how it "fits". We are convinced that in general this country's performance conforms to the pattern but we are not wholly satisfied that Argentina is now in the process of "take-off". We feel that in the articles (admittedly a condensation) insufficient emphasis is placed on the role of government in influencing the pace of take-off. The policies which the government of a country adopts can accelerate or retard the rate of take-off, thus shortening or lengthening the period required to complete it. So also can technological changes in the international sphere. For example, a country which derived its basic strength from an aluminium industry for which it enjoyed natural advantages, would be set back by the development of a superior or cheaper metal in some other part of the world and which could not be produced competitively in the first country. To a small extent, this has happened to the coffee-producing countries of Latin America. The types produced are apparently not as suitable for concentration into "Instant Coffees" as the types grown in Africa. As world demand is growing for the Instant types at the expense of the traditional ones, this tends to retard (although it will not stop) the pace of the take-off process.

3. In Argentina, a number of unfortunate political decisions in recent years have definitely retarded take-off. Peron was determined to break the power of the great landowners. He stimulated the migration of farm labour to the cities where it could be better controlled politically. To provide it with the means of earning a living in its new environment, he encouraged the establishment of secondary manufacturing. In fact, it could be said that when he came to power, Argentina was a "traditional" society in the Rostow sense - at least in so far as "the primacy of agriculture" led to an "hierarchical social structure...with wealth and power concentrated in the hands of those who controlled land rents". Peron set out to transform Argentina into a country "predominantly occupied in industry, communication, trade and services". He could be said to have initiated - or at least to have stimulated - the conversion of Argentina from a Traditional to a Transitional society. His contribution to the "take-off" process is much more debatable.

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4. The birth rate in Argentina in 1958 was 22.7 per 1,000; the death rate, 8.1. In Canada the figures for 1956 were 28.0 and 8.2 respectively. Unfortunately, statistics are not available which would allow a comparison of investments in the two countries. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the rate of investment "relative to population increase" has been immeasurably higher in Canada in recent years than it has in Argentina. One of the tragedies of recent Argentine history has been the "disinvestment" that has occurred. Peron, as part of his programme of winning support from the working classes, paid employees in state enterprises more than they earned. He financed this practice, in part at least, with earnings that should have been set aside to cover depreciation. Accordingly, instead of shifting "income above minimum levels of consumption...into the hands of people who will spend it on roads and railways, schools and factories", he allowed these facilities to wither. The income was wasted in countless extravagances;- featherbedding labour laws were enacted; the number of paid holidays increased (1); workers' recreational facilities of unnecessarily lavish proportions were established, and in addition, large sums were siphoned off for the use of the dictator and his intimates, - much of it being invested abroad. One of New York's most lucrative warehousing and forwarding organizations, for example, is the private property of Peron.

5. In addition, Peron violated another of the fundamental tenets of the Rostow doctrine. He discouraged the development and modernization of agriculture. Artificial exchange rates were employed to convert foreign exchange earnings from exports so that producers received less than world market prices for their output. At the same time, all the requirements of the man on the land were rendered more expensive through policies which gave full protection to inefficient domestic producers or else added to the landed cost of imports. Rostow maintains that progress to a traditional society requires an authority which will encourage agriculture to "provide an expanded supply of loanable funds to the modern sector, thus transferring surplus income...to those who will invest it and then regularly plow back their profits". Peron did the reverse. He discouraged agriculture, - he bled it almost white, and he squandered what he collected. In this the Argentine performance contrasts with the Russian. There too the land was "squeezed" in order to create the resources for development in other sectors. The difference lies in the use that was made of the money. In Russia, despite great waste, enough was wisely spent to build up the framework of a modern industrial state, - Undergrounds in Moscow, hydro-electric plants along the Dnieper, railroads in the newly developed areas; steel mills in the Urals and in the Donetsk Basin; and schools and universities across the whole land. In Argentina these facilities were allowed to degenerate and even to disappear. The following extract from the Economist is quoted because it describes so clearly what the government in this country has NOT done.

"...the central government...must create and maintain a tax and fiscal system which diverts resources into modern uses. In particular, as emphasized earlier, the state has an inescapable responsibility for ensuring that the stock of social capital required for take-off is built; and it is also likely that only vigorous central leadership can bring about those radical changes in productivity in agriculture and extractive industry whose quick achievement may also constitute a precondition for take-off...In short, the technical nature of the economic tasks to be performed in the transition implies

(1) A leading Argentine industrialist recently made a study of current labour laws and discovered that it was hypothetically possible for an employee in his plant to have 382 days a year on full pay without once appearing on the job. The employee would have to be a female and time off on full pay would be claimed for marriage, pregnancy, death of near relatives, statutory holidays, annual leave, etc.

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that the most important precondition for take-off is often political; that is, the establishment of an effective modern government."

6. We are suggesting here that the "central government" in Argentina has not provided the "preconditions" for take-off. Peron definitely acted to unleash the forces which would have launched the country into this phase, but through misuse of the weapons at his disposal, the impetus was lost. It is like an aircraft designer who rolls his brainchild out on to the runway complete with engine and wings, but can't make it leave the ground because there are more crew members than the plane can lift. It is certainly not possible to say of Argentina that it has reached that stage of development " in which the economy and the society of which it is part transform themselves so that economic growth becomes more or less automatic."

7. The stagnation of the Argentine economy is revealed by the failure of the index of the physical volume of production to rise by as much as half a point in the past four years. Rostow points to the value of a vibrant export trade in providing the resources needed to finance the importation of capital equipment during the take-off. The war years and the recovery years immediately after provided Argentina with a magnificent opportunity to acquire the foreign exchange reserves necessary to pay for the capital equipment so sorely needed. Argentine net gold and dollar reserves in early 1946 were \$1,297 million. By 1958 overseas financial commitments exceeded reserves by over a billion dollars. If this decline had been matched by a corresponding increase in the country's stock of capital goods, the exchange might have been a fair one. Unfortunately, it was not. In the same period, the overall value of the country's capital goods unquestionably declined. The number of cars and trucks in Argentina is lower today on a per capita basis than it was in 1928. The railways in the Argentine did not initiate take-off, although they are almost essential to it. As a foundation for this stage, they are less prepared today than they were 20 years ago. Tracks and rolling stock alike are almost at the breaking point. The trip from Buenos Aires to Jujuy, for instance, takes forty-eight hours for the 760 miles involved. There has been almost no work done on Argentine roads for fifteen years, while telephone and telegraphic communications are lamentably behind the requirements of a modern state. None of these sectors which could contribute to a solid take-off are in a healthy condition in Argentina. Nor has the attempt of the armed forces to modernize and to establish the basis for military self-sufficiency contributed as it might have done to the take-off process. Inefficiency, bureaucracy, and corruption have eroded away any benefits which might have accrued. In fact, a top heavy armed forces budget has impeded progress by deflecting an inordinate share of resources into non-productive channels. A rearmament programme is in any case more likely to assist in take-off where a country faces a serious external threat or alternatively plans aggression - neither of which has been an Argentine problem in recent years. Only in the field of consumer goods has the record been encouraging. Peron, having stimulated migration from the country to the urban areas, was obliged to adopt policies which would provide industrial employment. Import substitutions were the key weapon in this plan and new industries were almost always assured of ample protection against competition from imports. A multitude of light engineering establishments sprang up along with the ancillary activities associated with them. Immigrants - particularly from Western Europe - provided a working force sufficiently skilled to ensure acceptable, if generally inferior, quality standards.

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8. If Argentina is believed to be in the "take-off" period, it is hovering like a helicopter at the moment, uncertain whether to go forward or backward. For some years, its principal course has been sideways; certain sectors have progressed, but others have retreated so that there has been little if any forward motion. This, to us, does not signify a flaw in the Rostow thesis. On the contrary, we believe it to be an extraordinarily interesting and thought-provoking concept, widely supported by historical experience. We question, perhaps, the belief - expressed at least twice in the Economist condensation - that Argentina is in the midst of take-off. This in itself is unimportant. What is important - if the doctrine is accepted - is the inevitability of progress through the various stages. Rostow has not "invented" this inevitability; he has only focussed attention on it, - and given it a sense of order. It is the acceptance of this "inevitability" that holds the greatest interest, because it suggests what Canadian policy should be towards countries in the "take-off" or "pre take-off" periods. Naturally, no two countries will follow exactly the same line nor achieve the same timing or results, but inevitably all will complete the course. Bolivia and Paraguay will certainly reach the destination ultimately, as will Ghana and Nigeria, but it will surely be long after countries like Argentina and Brazil have done so.

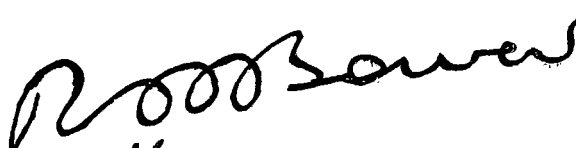
9. Countries in the "take-off" or "pre take-off" stage are the ones which present the most challenging problem to Canada. In general, those so placed are cutting back on their imports of consumer durables, and stepping up their purchases of capital equipment and of those raw materials which are not available in sufficient quantities from domestic sources. In Argentina, for example, Canada could expect to lose a market for pots and pans, but could hope to gain one for aluminium ingot or refined copper. Also we might be able to supply aluminium extruding plants. Countries at this stage (and this is strikingly clear in the case of Argentina) will be required to spend large sums on power plants, and upon improving means of communications - telephones, telegraphs, roads, railways, etc. How to benefit from these more or less inevitable requirements is the problem that faces Canada in dealing with countries at this stage in their development. Argentina is an interesting case study because not only does she seem to be a point where take-off will be initiated (or renewed) but the competition from Brazil, her huge neighbour to the north, compels her to accelerate the process or accept forever a secondary role in this part of the continent.

10. Countries at this stage of their development almost invariably run balance of payments deficits on their current accounts. This can be dealt with by a capital inflow or by restricting so-called "non-essential" imports - or a combination of both. The restriction of imports, if not carried to stifling extremes, tends to add impetus to the take-off process. It also helps to shape the course of the country's industrial development. Indeed, restrictions are generally administered with this purpose in mind. This could mean that a traditional Canadian export could be eliminated from a lucrative market: e.g., farm implements from Argentina. This elimination would come at a time when mechanization of farming in the under-developed country is vital if agricultural output is to be maintained (in the face of a drift of labour to urban areas), and if agriculture is to help earn the foreign exchange "to finance the import of capital equipment during the take-off". The first agricultural implements to be made domestically will be the simplest - the "bread and butter" lines. But as skills are acquired, and capital accumulated, the range will be enlarged. If a Canadian manufacturer has a brand on the Argentine market, he can ill afford to abandon it, for even a few years, if he wishes to preserve it. In most cases (and certainly in the case of Argentina at this moment) it is foolish to believe that restrictions imposed today will be removed in a few months, or even a few years' time. In a country where adequate production is established under such circumstances, it may be assumed that

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the protection afforded will, to all intents and purposes, be permanent,

11. The choice thus created for Canadian manufacturers of agricultural implements is whether to content themselves with an ever-narrowing outlet for their products in Argentina or to arrange for the local manufacture, either by a branch factory or under some licensing arrangement. The same choice faces Canadian makers of railroad equipment, or telecommunication apparatus. The process is inevitable - the roads will be built, the railroads and communications modernized, the power plants will be completed and agricultural machinery plants, automobile plants, truck plants, tractor plants, etc., will be provided. The bulk of the market will be satisfied by the output of these establishments, with occasional imports of non-standard or special equipment for specific applications. If Canadian enterprises wish to share in the market, this is the only way they will be able to do so. At this moment, in Argentina the obvious fields for early development are in road-building machinery, railroad rolling stock and equipment, communications equipment, agricultural implements and machinery, chemicals, light engineering machinery, hydro-electric and substation plants and so on.
12. The 'Rostow papers' have done us a service in underlining the inevitability of the growth process. There are no guarantees of speed or directness - only of ultimate arrival. It is up to private enterprise in Canada to assess the chances of the process being fast enough and direct enough to pay off within an acceptable period. It is important, however, to realize what is going on and there should be no illusions about a return to the "good old days" when imports will be free once more. If Canada wants to share in the Argentine market for these items we will have to share in the risks inherent in investments here. Alternatively, it will be necessary to licence such lines to someone who is prepared to take the risks. The number of overseas organizations willing to take these risks is growing every day. Attached is a partial list to illustrate the variety and extent of these interests. Unfortunately, Canadian enterprises are conspicuous by their absence, although two Canadian groups - Aluminium Limited and Spartan Air Services - are on the threshold of making sizeable investments here. Opportunities appear to exist for other Canadian groups, such as Massey Ferguson, Canadian Car and Foundry, International Power, etc.
13. The above paragraphs deal primarily with what Canadian private enterprise might do. The Canadian government too has a role to play. This is to encourage and support Canadian enterprise in their plans to expand here. The development of Canadian exports and services is important if our balance of payment position is to be improved. Branch factories abroad are a potential source of foreign exchange income; they provide an export market for components, and they offer a platform from which the fiscal and trade policies of the overseas country may be influenced to Canada's benefit. The government must demonstrate its faith in the ultimate advance to maturity of the Latin American republics if it expects private enterprise to do so. It must be prepared to back the initiative of private enterprise in this part of the world whenever it is in a position to do so. We are not members of the O.A.S. but this should not prevent us from supporting any development aimed at hastening progress here, whether or not the genesis of the effort comes from the O.A.S. The fact that we are not members might even justify special support in order to accent our interest in Latin American development. Unless this is done, we will not retain, or deserve, the excellent reputation we possess throughout the continent at the present time.



Ambassador

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# APPENDIX TO LETTER ON ROSTOW DOCTRINE

## FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN ARGENTINA 1959

Name of Company	Product	Details of Investment
Abbott Laboratories	Medicinal Products	....
A.E.G. (Germany)	Elec. Distribution Equip.	97,706
American Home Products (USA)	Chemical specifics	12,000
Argentine Estates of Bovril (UK)	Meat extract & canned meat	1,330,768
Arnold and Stolzenberg (Germany)	Brewery	392,485
A/B Atvidabergs Industrier(Sweden)	Calculating Machines	6,194
Chrysler Corporation (USA)	Automobiles	8,100,000
Cia. Swift de la Plata (USA)	Enlargement and modernisation of plants	16,400,000
Citroën & Banque de l'Union Parisienne(France)	Motor vehicles	4,200,000
Columbia Broadcasting System(USA)	Cathode ray tubes	215,590
Daimler Benz (Auto Union)(Germany)	Motor vehicles	1,000,000
Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi(Italy)	Liquification & distribution of petroleum gas	1,382,000
ESBIC Corporation S.A.(Panama)	Lead acid batteries	115,000
FIAT of Italy	Motor cars and lorries	4,500,000
General Motors Corp (USA)	Trucks	20,000,000
Glaxo Laboratories (UK)	Medicinal Products	900,000
Goliath Werke (Germany)	Motor cars	3,350,000
Henninger-Brau Kommanditg Esellsch schaft (Germany)	Brewery	568,657
Heinrich Meier and Co.(Germany)	Bisulphate of cellulose	1,100,000
Imefbank of Geneva (Switzerland)	Motor cars	4,500,000
Imperial Chemical Industries (UK)	Chemicals	4,000,000
Internat. Business Machines (USA)	Computing equipment	90,000
Internat. Resistance Co. (USA)	Resistors	18,320
International Standard Electric (USA)	Electronic and telephone equipment	406,000
Kaiser Industries (USA)	Motor cars	5,500,000
King Ranch Corporation (USA)	Purchase of land, cattle, horses & agric.machinery	4,667,572
Klochner-Humboldt Deutz (Germany)	Fractors	3,000,000
Koppers International (USA)	Plastics	7,600,000
Leonard Monheim (Germany)	Jams and preserves	589,446
National Lead Company (USA)	Forge	363,759
Mead Johnson Inter. Limited(USA)	Medicinal Products	303,000
Merck and Company (USA)	Medicinal Products	117,600
Montevideo S.A. (Uruguay)	Chemical and Pharmaceutical	800,000
N.V.de Bataafsche International Petroleum Co (Holland)	Refinery Equipment	24,000,000
N.V. Phillips Gloeilampenfabrieken (Holland)	Television tubes	2,200,000
Oerlikon Machine Tool Wks (Switz)	Metal Research Laboratory	200,000
Optische Werke G. Rodenstock (Germany)	Optical products	25,640
Remington Rand Overseas Corp(USA)	Electric Razors	220,698
Suinco Establishment (Liechtenst)	Forge	2,480,091
Sylvania Electric Products (USA)	Fluorescent lamps	201,498
Texas Butadiens & Chemical Inter. (USA)	Synthetic rubber	39,000,000
Westinghouse Electric Inter.Co (USA)	Electric power-generating plant	500,000.

- 2 -

/the

4.(a) The Colonial period, extending from the Spanish conquest (1520) to the early 19th Century. Its salient traits may be said to consist in a more or less conscious exploitation of the resources of the country for the benefit of the metropolis and often at the detriment of this country's more rapid evolution towards more mature institutions, knowledge and thought. It is marked by the often bloody rivalry between the "Gachupines", Spanish born colonizers, "Creoles", pure blood Spaniards born on Mexican soil, the "Metis" or mixed Indian and Spanish blood, and the pure Indians. During this long span, it may be said that Mexico was not given a real chance to organize a sound economy since its fate laid in the hands of foreigners whose main objective was to serve the interests of their mother country and not that of their adopted one. However, the techniques of agriculture and extractive industries progressed during the colonial period, even though Spain was always the first to benefit from their products.

(b) The period following the Independence (1810-1884) - Under the guidance of Hidalgo, Morelos, and later Juarez, the Mexican people evolved along more nationalistic lines. Little by little, a properly Mexican elite emerged, which was often very xenophobic, and whose scope was to develop the possibilities of the country for its sole and own benefit. A Mexican conscience had slowly taken form, so to speak, that was to give to Mexico the traits of an autonomous country.

(c) The Period of Porfirio Diaz (1884-1911) - With the accession to the presidency of Porfirio Diaz in 1884, and during the 27 years of his rule, the urge was felt to build a modern industrial society and steps were systematically undertaken to realize progressively this ambition. His policy of conciliation between all political parties facilitated the economic development of the country leading it to what Professor Rostow termed the "take off" stage, that is, the third step in the doctrine of growth.

### III THE "TAKE OFF" PERIOD

5. Although there were some years of confusion following the 1911 Revolution which ended the regime of Porfirio Diaz and caused the economic progress to be somewhat halted until late in the twenties, Mexico then entered the "take off" stage with the emphasis put on the transformation of its society and towards a more or less automatic growth of its economy.

6. During this period, an extensive land reform program was undertaken under Cardenas when he was president from 1934 to 1940, and is still in process at the present time; a network of railways and roads were built; foreign investments were and still are welcomed in order to give incentive to industrial ventures; mining and agriculture were re-organized on a more rational basis. In short, it may be said that since the late twenties, much importance is given to production with a view to providing a higher standard of living for the nation as a whole thus leading it progressively to Professor Rostow's fourth stage of growth.

- 3 -

7. One may say that Mexico is presently undergoing the final part of its "take off" phase, as far as economics is concerned. Although its internal politics is still lagging in Professor Rostow's third stage, I think it is safe to state that its international politics has entered what he calls "the Dangerous State of Maturity" as well as its culture. At any rate, I personally believe that one or two decades will take Mexico well into the maturity phase, from all points of view.

8. Although venturesome as it may be to trace such a diagram, I give hereunder a summary of the foregoing in a concise form showing what I believe to be the Mexican ages which grossly correspond to Professor Rostow's tabulation:

- 1) Traditional Society (Pre-hispanic period  
( Until approx. 1520)
- 2) Transitional Society ( a) Colonial times (1520-1810)  
( b) Period following declaration  
( of Independence (1810-1884)  
( c) Period of Porfirio Diaz  
( (1884-1911)  
( d) Period of instability  
( (1911 to approx. 1927)
- 3) Take-Off Phase ( 1927 and on for Economy, which  
( is getting closer to Phase #4  
( at present.  
( Internal politics-Society's  
( evolution
- 4) Maturity ( International politics  
( Culture
- 5) High Mass consumption  
Welfare State Society 19...  
External power and influence

  
Lionel V.J. Roy  
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

000606

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No: CX/IE/724/9291....

Date:.....October 15, 1959....

is on DL(2) Special Registry File No:.....W-61.....

Subject: Fund-raising tour of Filiberto Barrero, Secretary of Organisation

.....of the Colombian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Colombiano -

.....P.C.C.).

..... Initials: *Run* Date: *Oct. 15/59*

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163.

File: 50066-40



NUMBERED LETTER

TO. THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
BOGOTA, Colombia.

Reference: Your letter No. X-156 of September 4, 1959

Subject: Professor Rostow's Articles in "The  
Economist"

Security: Unclassified  
No: 227  
Date: October 9, 1959  
Enclosures: nil  
Air or Surface Mail: Air Mail  
Post File No:

Ottawa File No.	
50866-40	
14	14

X	TO: McNary
#	OCT 15 1959
REGISTRY	

References

Your letter under reference has just been received. Unfortunately, we do not have nor have seen "The Economist" of August 15 nor August 22. The Commercial Section of this Embassy has a subscription but no issues have been received for a few months and the Department of Trade and Commerce is at present investigating into this matter. We shall read the above mentioned issues at the British Institute but should be grateful to receive one copy of each, if possible, at your convenience.

*Jacques Bonard*  
The Embassy

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

50301-D-40  
Bogota  
Copies of Economist ordered  
for Bogota. See our letter to London  
H-1357, Nov 8/59. (File 9970-A-40)

NO ENCLOSURES

1959 OCT 15 PM 11:56

The attached

enclosed are the following documents for your information. The first document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Army, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The second document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Navy, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The third document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Air Force, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The fourth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the State, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The fifth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Defense, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The sixth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Education, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The seventh document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Health, Education and Welfare, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The eighth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Social Security, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The ninth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Labor, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The tenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Justice, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The eleventh document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Treasury, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The twelfth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Agriculture, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The thirteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Commerce, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The fourteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Transportation, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The fifteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Public Works, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The sixteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Housing and Urban Development, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The seventeenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Veterans Affairs, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The eighteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Federal Reserve, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The nineteenth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Federal Reserve, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River. The twentieth document is a copy of the letterhead memorandum dated October 14, 1959, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Federal Reserve, regarding the proposed construction of a dam on the Colorado River.

Enclosure

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Reference:

Subject: Political situation in Bolivia

Security: *Unclassified*

No: 350

Date: October 6th., 1959

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail:

Post File No: 11.10.1

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
14	✓

References

When in Venezuela I met a young Bolivian by the name of Fred Bascope who was a forestry expert and was at that time employed by the Venezuelan Government in connection with forestry problems in the Andes. I have maintained touch with Bascope by correspondence since leaving there and in a recent letter he included a paragraph about conditions in his homeland which I thought might be of interest. The paragraph reads as follows:

2. "During my stay in Bolivia I personally saw three political upheavals. First, the stoning of the American Embassy; second, the April 19 revolution, where Unzaga de la Vega, chief of the Falange Socialista Boliviana, was killed; third, the Santa Cruz uprising. All these, and the first hand information I gathered, showed me that the Communists are gaining ground everywhere in Latin America. Bolivia has three different Communist parties (Throskies, Russian, and National). The best in organization, but the smallest, is the Russian. The others go along with its policies. The left branch of the party in power (MNR) is also on the side of the Communists. 1960 is election year, and I don't know who is going to win. Of course, the opposition is dead; the real fight will be between the right and left wings of the MNR, and I think the left has the edge."

3. I do not know how much information the Department gets on events in Bolivia, but this may add some little bit to the store of knowledge.

*B.*  
Ambassador

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

DESPATCH

TO: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,  
CARACAS, VENEZUELA.  
FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Reference: Your Telegram No. 47 of September 8,  
1959.  
Subject: Caribbean Liberation Movement.

Security: SECRET  
CANADIAN EYES ONLY  
No: X- 202  
Date: September 21, 1959.

Enclosures: One

Air or Surface Mail:

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

14

14

References

Attached for your information, on a see-and-destroy basis, is a list of considerations on which the statement made in the departmental memorandum of July 21, that President Betancourt is associated with Jose Figueres in supplying direction and support for the "Caribbean Liberation Movement", was based.

2. In future instances, it might be enough that queries of this type be brought to the Department's attention by classified letters or despatches, instead of by telegrams.

C. HARDY

Under-Secretary of State  
for External Affairs.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

SECRET  
CANADIAN EYES ONLY

This Document is to be read in the Canadian Embassy, Caracas,  
and immediately destroyed.

The statement that President Betancourt of Venezuela is associated with Jose Figueres of Costa Rica in supplying the main direction and support for the "Caribbean Liberation Movement" is based on the following considerations:

- (i) a report from a reliable CIA field source to the effect that "owing to the burden of the heavy responsibilities of Romulo Betancourt as President of Venezuela, Jose Figueres has assumed a leading role in the anti-communist Nicaraguan and Dominican revolutionary movements";
- (ii) the following CIA assessment of April 23;

"Although suffering from chronic factionalism the Caribbean revolutionary movements are divided into two camps. One, whose members range from conservatives to moderate leftists, looks to former Costa Rican President Jose Figueres and to Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt for guidance. The most active leader at present seems to be Figueres ... Romulo Betancourt, who became President of Venezuela in February 1959, appears to be somewhat more cautious in his campaign against dictators than his old friend Figueres. He has permitted the various exile groups in Venezuela, particularly the Dominicans and Nicaraguans, considerable freedom to raise funds and propagandize but is not believed to have permitted them to smuggle arms. He may prefer diplomatic action, since he told U.S. officials on 31 March that he intends to submit a resolution to next year's conference of the Organization of American States (OAS) restricting membership to democratically elected governments."
- (iii) two separate and independent reports giving an account of a visit by Figueres and Lacayo Farfan to Betancourt in Caracas in early June 1959 seeking material support for the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement;
- (iv) there is no evidence that Betancourt has provided anything more substantial than moral support to the large Nicaraguan and Dominican exile groups in Venezuela. However, in view of the continuing Venezuelan radio and press attacks directed at the Trujillo regime and reliable information as recent as August 5 that Trujillo is supplying financial aid and other assistance to opposition elements in Caracas, we think it extremely unlikely that Betancourt will have refrained from giving financial aid to the Dominican revolutionary group.

These considerations have given us grounds for accepting at least tentatively a CIA statement, made at the time of the abortive attacks against the Nicaraguan Government this spring, that "the non-Communist Latin American revolutionary movement is led by Figueres and Betancourt".

X	100	Mr. O'Leary
		150

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act - Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information	
00066-46	
14	14

CC ON 3132-40

6658-40

37

Can we help him?  
This is probably based  
on D-2 evidence.  
Reply by letter and tell him  
that letter and do  
what I tell.  
C.H.

FM CARACAS SEP8/59 SECRET  
TO EXTERNAL OTT 47

CARIBBEAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

MEMO DATED AUG7 ON THE SUBJECT COMMUNISTS IN CARIBBEAN

(NOTING?) SELECTED DOCUMENT 29 (RECEIVED SEP7) STATES CARIBBEAN  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT RECEIVES ITS MAIN DIRECTION AND SUPPORT FROM  
FORMER COSTRICA PRESIDENT FIGUERES AND PRESIDENT BETANCOURT OF  
VENEZUELA.

2. WE FIND THIS STATEMENT STARTLING AS FAR AS BETANCOURT IS CONCERNED  
SINCE WE KNOW OF NO RPT NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT IT. ON THE OTHER  
HAND RELIABLE CONFID INFO ON THIS MATTER WOULD NOT RPT NOT NORMALLY  
COME OUR WAY.

3. WE ARE SOMEWHAT PUZZLED AT THIS SECOND RECENT REF IN DEPT MEMO  
(OURTEL 40 AUG25 REFERS) TO AN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF BETANCOURT  
AND HIS ADMINISTRATION OF WHICH WE ARE NOT RPT NOT AWARE. I  
SHOULD APPRECIATE THEREFORE LEARNING DETAILS OF EVIDENCE AVAILABLE

COUILLARD\*

File  
run

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(FILE COPY)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO:.....THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,.....

Security:..RESTRICTED.....

No: X- (see below).....

FROM: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Date: September 4, 1959.....

Enclosures:.....

Reference:.....

Air or Surface Mail:.....

Subject:..The Rostow Doctrine on Growth.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

58066-40

14

14

References

You will no doubt have seen in The Economist of August 15 and August 22 Professor Walt Whitman Rostow's "non-Communist manifesto" in which the political and economic development of nations, and the dangers and stresses attending to it, are studied against a theory of growth through five determinable stages.

2. The first of the two articles, in the August 15 issue, is particularly relevant, we think, to Latin America and will no doubt have brought a number of questions, thoughts and comments to your mind. It would be interesting to hear from you how in your opinion the country in which your post is located fits in Professor Rostow's theory and to what extent the five stages of growth outlined by Professor Rostow have applied and continue to apply to local conditions.

for  
Under-Secretary of State  
for External Affairs.

Internal  
Circulation

Pol. Coord.  
Section  
U.N. Div.  
Economic I.

✓ Buenos Aires  
✓ Rio de Janeiro  
✓ Santiago  
✓ Bogota  
✓ Havana

X- 216  
X- 267  
X- 188  
X- 156  
X- 220

✓ Ciudad Trujillo  
✓ Port-au-Prince  
✓ Mexico City  
✓ Lima  
✓ Montevideo  
✓ Caracas

X- 103  
X- 109  
X- 295  
X- 145  
X- 120  
X- 193

Distribution  
to Posts

Similar letter  
to all Latin  
American  
Posts.

8.19.18 (us)

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No: CX/VIC/751/8733...

Date:..... August 14, 1959.....

is on DL(2) Special Registry File No:..... X-24.....

Subject:.....

*Prospects of Trade between East Germany and Argentina*

..... Initials: *RMW*..... Date: *August 14/59*

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163.

File: 50066 - 40



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ..Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.,.....  
.....Canadian Embassy, MEXICO, D.F. ....

Reference:.....

Subject: Situation in the Caribbean -  
.....Yugoslav View.....  
.....

Security:.....**CONFIDENTIAL**.....

No:.....**44**.....

Date:.....**August 7, 1959**.....

Enclosures:.....**Nil**.....

Air or Surface Mail: **COURIER**.....

Post File No:..**6-Yugoslavia**.....

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
14	✓

References

I called today on the Yugoslav Ambassador, Mr. Dalibor Soldatic, and we discussed the situation in the Caribbean area. I told him to start with that from conversations I had had with several of my colleagues I gathered that there were two main views on the present situation, one of them attributing the cause of the disturbances to local personalities and ambitions and the other laying the blame for the troubles on the intervention of the USSR. I told him that I would be indeed extremely pleased to obtain his views on the situation since in the first place he is Ambassador to all Central American countries as well as Cuba and in the second place since Yugoslavia has some experience of Russian dealings who at present are using Communist doctrines as a vehicle for imperialist domination.

2. The Ambassador told me that in his opinion Communism or the USSR were not responsible for the present troubles. Russians were not idle bystanders and they would indeed endeavour to take advantage of any mistake made by either the local governments or the United States but nevertheless they could not be considered as the authors of present disturbances.

3. In Cuba, Castro can in no way be considered as a Communist. Two groups in the United States have helped to spread the idea that Castro was under Communist influence, (a) foreign landowners in Cuba who are naturally expecting a new land division, and (b) tourist agencies in Florida who are endeavouring to prevent Americans from visiting Cuba and thereby retaining people in the Miami zone.

4. It was true, however, that there were some Communists in Cuba but it had to be pointed out that at the origin of the Castro movement the Communist party opposed him. When victory, however, began to appear on the horizon some Communists joined Castro's army but the Communist party has not given its official support to Castro. It might be that the Communist party is standing by waiting to see if Castro will remain in power for some time or will just pass in the political sky of Cuba as a matador. It is certain, however, that the only cadre that exists at present in Cuba is the Communist party

...2

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

- 2 -

which unquestionably holds key positions in the labour unions. However, they do not command the country which is ruled exclusively by Castro. The present leader is in no way under the influence of the Communist Party and is inspired by his belief in the great mission he has in Cuba and outside.

5. There is no question that Cuba is responsible for some fear that it has awakened amongst other nations of the Caribbean area. Castro has tried to export revolution under his guidance and he has not spared his words to accuse neighbouring governments of dictatorial rule or exploitation of the people. His expedition to Panama gave some justification for fear by other countries. However, unless Castro can effectively and successfully rule Cuba, maintaining order and raising the standard of living, then there is little he can do abroad and his threats will be limited to words. In any event, he will not last long unless he is successful first in Cuba.

6. It is again unquestionably right that Castro has awakened some fear, particularly in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. A leader cannot be indefinitely accused of exploitation and threatened by Castro without resentment and this is what happened in the Dominican Republic. Trujillo and Castro are at loggerheads. On the other hand, while Trujillo might become worried over Castro's threat, nevertheless he is the only head of state in the area with a well trained army, a navy and an air force; he has, in return awakened fear in Cuba and Venezuela. It is difficult to say whether or not Cuba or the Dominican Republic took the first steps which eventually developed the mutual fear. It is, however, certain that a very tense atmosphere is noticeable between both countries. But here again neither Trujillo nor Castro can be considered as instruments of Communism and the tense situation results from the clash between Castro's belief in his supernatural mission as the defender of freedom and democracy and Trujillo's dictatorial regime.

7. Ambassador Soldatic then commented on the situation prevailing in Nicaragua. General Anastasio Somoza is the ruler of Nicaragua not for the betterment of the people but for the rise in power and in fortune of his family. The President is hated but one who is more hated than him is the American Ambassador who is his partner in all financial schemes and supports the hated regime. On the other hand, in Honduras the government of Morales is very liberal in the political sense. He has recently put into force a labour code which grants workers rights and privileges similar to those recognized in all advanced nations and it is right to say that he is devoted to public affairs and has the interests of the people at heart. One can readily understand the opposition between these two types of government of neighbouring states. In Costa Rica, it is generally admitted that Figueres is the most powerful man of the country. It is true that he has very strong leftist tendencies but in no way can he be considered as a stool of Moscow or even as a Communist. However, he favours the downfall of Somoza and Trujillo and this has impaired the relations between both countries. Although in the view of the Yugoslav Ambassador, there are Communists in all three countries, the troubles cannot be attributed to Moscow intrigues.

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- 3 -

8. There are two prevailing factors that cannot be overlooked in the appreciation of the present crisis in the Caribbean. One is the great desire on the part of any educated man who has any sense of political responsibility, to improve the lot of the people. In so many of the countries ignorance prevails and no efforts have been made by the government to raise the economic standard of living of the people and have them participate more actively in the political life of the country. The second great factor is the desire on the part of honest men to rid the nation of leaders who are working for their own personal welfare and fortune and not for the people. Unquestionably all over Latin America there is considerable graft because so often, particularly in the small countries, the state has been the only source of wealth, and therefore any ambitious men have looked to public service as a means of enrichment. But with the development of social ideas and with the gradual spread of education, it has become noticeable that more and more public spirit is required from political leaders and if dedication to the nation is delayed any longer, violent reactions might result.

9. The influence of the United States and the USSR in this area will depend on their attitude towards social improvement and good administration. If the United States favours those in power who look for their own improvement rather than the improvement of the people then the USSR will capitalize on this attitude. If, on the other hand, the United States gives its assistance to leaders who have a genuine interest in the public welfare of the population and even if to achieve that end, they have to combat the two hundred families, then the USSR's influence will be very small. The time, however, has come for social reforms and Latin America will go east or west according to the sympathetic attitude of the United States towards true democracy and progress.

L.V.J. ROY

Lionel V.J. Roy,  
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No: CX/IE/752/8873....

Date:..... July 11, 1959.....

File:

50066- 40

is on DL(2) Special Registry File No:..... W-1-C.....

Subject: *Points arising from the Conference of Delegates  
of the Twenty - One Latin American States represented  
at the XXIst Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.)*  
Initials: *RMW* Date: *June, 1959*

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0 163.

50066-40	
39	✓

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No.: CX/1e/724/9042

Date: .....9. July. 1959....

File: 50066-40

Is on DL(2) Special Registry File No: ..... W-59  
..... W-69

Subject: .....  
..... Formation of Venezuelan Farm Workers'  
..... Union ..... Initials: RUM Date: July 9/59

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163..

50066-40	
39	V

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No: ALRC 4393

Date: n.k.

is on DL(2) Special Registry File No: W-40

Subject: Relations between the Labour-Progressive  
Party of Canada and the Communist Party  
of Uruguay Initials: RUM Date: NOV. 5/58

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163.

File: 50066-40

CROSS-REFERENCE SLIP

This is to record that a DL(2)

Report No.: ALRC 5660

Date: 15 June 1959

File:

50066-40 ✓

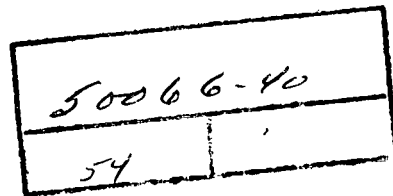
is on DL(2) Special Registry File No: W-101

Subject: Special Communist Meeting on Caribbean Political Situation

Initials: *Rum*

Date: *June 15, 1959*

THIS REPORT MAY BE SEEN ON APPLICATION TO DL(2), TELEPHONE: 2-0163.



13 OFFICIAL USE ONLY

LATIN AMERICA COMMUNISTS

LIMA AFP RADIOTELETYPE IN SPANISH TO AUTHORIZED RECIPIENTS  
0557 6/6 W

(SUMMARY) THE BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPER CORREO DE LA TARDE, IN CONNECTION WITH A REPORT THAT MONTEVIDEO HAS BEEN SELECTED AS THE CENTER FOR COORDINATING COMMUNIST SUBVERSIVE PLANS FOR LATIN AMERICA, ALSO REPORTED THAT THE SOVIET AGENTS IN LATIN AMERICA WILL HOLD A SECRET MEETING IN MONTEVIDEO IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IT WILL BE ATTENDED BY DELEGATES FROM LATIN AMERICAN LABOR ORGANIZATION

CORREODE LA TARDE FURTHER ANNOUNCED THE ARRIVAL IN MONTEVIDEO OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST LEADER LIONEL GUILLERMO SOTO PRIETO, WHO, IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY, IS HIGHER THAN BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST LEADER PRESTES OR THE MEXICAN LOMBARDO TOLEDANO. SOTO PRIETOS MISSION IS TO ORGANIZE A GENERAL LABOR CONFEDERATION IN AMERICA TO GATHER ALL COMMUNIST AND PROCOMMUNIST LABOR UNIONS UNDER THE ORDERS OF MOSCOW.

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Europe  
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↑



DEFENCE LIAISON (2) DIVISION

SECRET

June 3, 1959.

American/C. Hardy/TP

Your memorandum of June 1, 1959.

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Communism in Latin America.

This UK SIS survey is very interestingly presented. We heartily agree with one of its general conclusions that "it seems unfortunate that, comparatively, so little effort is being made to counter ... Communist machinations in Latin American... There may be some unpleasant surprises ahead if the active possibilities of social revolution in Latin America are not understood in time ..."

C. HARDY

AMERICAN DIVISION.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Buenos Aires - Argentina.

Reference:.....

Subject:..... Communist Plan for Latin America.

Security:..... Unclassified

No:..... 190

Date:..... May 28th., 1959

Enclosures:..... Three

Air or Surface Mail:..... Air

Post File No:..... 11-6

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
54	31

X	TO: Mr. C. H. [Signature]
X	JUN 8 1959
X	REGISTRY

References

I attach an office translation of an article published in La Prensa on May 20th. under a Montevideo date-line and quoting from a report in the Uruguayan daily El Dia.

I do not know whether you have received information on this report from other sources, but I am sending it to you in case you may find it of interest.

I also attach a clipping from the Buenos Aires Herald reproducing a despatch of the Associated Press and an editorial of the same paper on the question of Communist penetration in Latin America.

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9 JUN 1959

Internal  
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copy with attachments to R. [Signature]  
to file 50301-B-40  
[Signature] on 11/6  
Done 12/6/59 ms

Ambassador

1959 JUN 8 AM 9:06

active branch on the inspection of documents. General, from the report on the  
inspection of the documents, there are no irregularities in the  
I also received a letter from the Director of the National Archives

from the Director of the National Archives, dated 1959, June 8, regarding the  
report on the inspection of the documents, dated 1959, June 8, regarding the  
I am not sure whether you have received this information or not

reference to the information that it is  
I am not sure whether you have received this information or not

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JUN 11 1959  
100

OFFICE TRANSLATION -COMMUNIST PLAN FOR LATIN AMERICA

According to a report in the Uruguayan newspaper "El Día", this plan was conceived in Moscow to create chaotic upheavals.

Montevideo, 19th. - Under the heading "Dangerous Ruso-Communist plan for Latin America", the morning daily "El Día" reports the following:

'When it is stated that the Communist movements and parties are machines created for unleashing conflict, violence, social discord and paralysing strikes; shock troops devised to encourage continual clashes; weaken the forces opposed to Ruso-Communist policies by hindering or sabotaging them and to maintain large or small, but nevertheless dangerous, "revolutionary" armies which only await outside orders to carry out their fifth column work, one is referring to hard facts.'

The newspaper adds that the Russians have formed a plan which provides for a series of social upheavals in Latin America. It points out that during August, 1958, Mr. José Manuel Fortuny Arana entered the country from Brazil, under orders from Moscow; he is the key man of the Ruso-Communist organization in Latin America. The paper goes on to say that he put up in Montevideo in great secrecy and had a meeting there, under the false name of Figueroa, with the top pro-Russian agents of the continent, who were in Montevideo under the pretext of attending the 17th. Congress of the Communist party. The persons mentioned are: Rodolfo Ghioldi (Argentina); Luis Telles (Brazil); Raúl Ruiz González (Bolivia); Julieta Campusano (Chile); Juan Pablo Sainz (Mexico); Eduardo Gallegos Mancera (Venezuela); and Rodney Arismendi, José Luis Masera and Enrique Pastorino (Uruguay). These persons were briefed on the tactical implementation of the Russian plan, the immediate objectives of which were to organize movement of unrest against good relations in every field between Latin American republics and the U.S.A.; favour good relations between these countries and the U.S.S.R. and their Red satellites; and form a single central organization of Latin American workers with Communist leaders, beginning with the creation of regional centres. The second stage of this plan was carried out during February of this year in Santiago de Chile where, the newspaper reports, international Russian and Communist agents met in order to coordinate the development of this second phase.

A SINGLE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS IN LATIN AMERICA

The report goes on to say that the Russian fifth column in Uruguay was represented by Ricardo Mario Acosta and Rosario Piettagarola. It points out that the main resolution reached at these meetings recommended, as soon as possible, the establishment of a single central organization for Latin American workers which would comprise all subsidiary trade unions and attract "sympathisers."

In November, 1956, the Russians appointed one of their top agents, trained in Prague, to South America. He was supplied with documents in the name of Gyula Iss-Somogyi; his real name is Peter Bossansyi.

-2-

This agent arrived in Montevideo, was given money, and left for Chile to finance the Communist activities in that country and Argentina. His arrest on the Argentine-Chilean border whilst carrying out a Russian order, brought to light the clandestine criminal Russo-Communist movements in this part of America. From statements made by Bossansyi, it is evident that Russian, Italian, Polish, German and Hungarian agents, trained at schools in Prague, are sent to Uruguay, Chile and Argentina in order to carry out the above-mentioned plans.

Subsequent reference is made to a secret continental congress to be held in a country "in our continent offering guarantees of democracy" which, it was discovered, is Uruguay. This congress is to take place after others being held during this month in Caracas.

Mention is also made of the departure, on April 29th., of Ricardo Mario Acosta and César Reyes Daglio, local Communist agents working under orders from Arismendi and Pastorino. These agents left for Havana in order to be present at the Caracas meetings after their work is done in the Cuban capital.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
THE CANADIAN EMBASSY - BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA -

Subject Communist Penetration in Uruguay -

Date May 28th. 1959 - Publication Buenos Aires Herald -

THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1959

**A RED BASE?**

WHATEVER the facts about recent Russian offers of aid to Uruguay it is general knowledge that the communists have invariably looked upon the cross-river neighbour as a convenient springboard for operations in (or should it be against?) much of South America. Under the guise of a trading corporation they constructed their first political bridgehead in Montevideo in the early thirties and had infiltrated considerably in neighbouring territory before continental pressure and recognition of the danger by the Uruguayans themselves forced a Russian evacuation. Now South Americans are confronted with a resuscitation of the old problem following the appearance of the Moscow diplomatic contingents in this post-war U.N. era of international co-operation. No one blames Uruguay particularly. It is a democratic country, probably more so than any other south of Panama. Under its generous laws no doubt the Russians feel they are freer and safer there to carry out their policy, which is not so concerned with commercial interchange as they would have others believe. Even if they monopolised the whole foreign trade of that country it would not justify their exceptionally numerous diplomatic mission in Montevideo.

If the financial credits mentioned in the A. P. despatch we printed yesterday have really been offered, it can confidently be left to the Uruguayans to make up their own minds on acceptance or rejection. They have many pressing problems just now. Trade is dull and the floods have introduced further painful complications into their economy. But Uruguayans are an intelligent people and the government majority is run by a party which has no time for communism and is familiar with its operating methods. Others accepting Moscow aid have soon rued it. In the present case Washington, of course, will and was probably expected to take cognisance of these tempting Russian baits though these could have been dangled before the Uruguayans in fear of or to forestall anti-communistic measures similar to those taken in Argentina. If the Russians lost their base or had its operations curtailed in Uruguay they would have little diplomatic substance left in South American soil. The Brazilians are repeatedly turning down their trade and credit offers. So are the Chileans. North Americans would make a mistake to rush in with counter-bidding in Uruguay, and there is probably no Washington intention to do so. Dollar aid has been planned thoughtfully and is operating smoothly. The Russian tactics, however, will probably result in another review of U.S. import policies. The Uruguayans, like Argentines, want trade as well as aid. The Russians are well aware of this and probably also timed to contrast their offers with recent South American export difficulties in the U.S. market to which must now be added those connected with cured meat.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
THE CANADIAN EMBASSY - BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA -

Subject Communist Penetration in Uruguay -

Date May 27th. 1959 - Publication Buenos Aires Herald -

# SOVIET BAIT FOR MAIMED URUGUAY

## Millions in Credits Might Establish Red Stronghold

MONTEVIDEO

**R**USSIA is tempting Uruguay's democratic government with offers of badly needed loans as a means to build up here a stronghold to spread communism to neighbouring Argentina, Brazil and other South American countries, highly-qualified sources said yesterday.

The Soviet Union has offered a U\$S 120 million credit for "Uruguay's technical rehabilitation" on the heels of last month's disastrous floods.

And satellite East Germany has reportedly offered an additional U\$S 15 million credit to buy farm machinery and fertilisers needed to spur Uruguay's agriculture, sorely hurt by the floods.

"Uruguay will be getting a great amount of help from the United States and other Western countries to assist her in overcoming her present troubles. I am confident that the communist loans will be rejected," said a Western di-

plomat.

Benito Nardone, a prominent member of the nine-man Council of Government, has already said that he is against economic ties with the communist bloc.

"Letter Commentary," an English-language economic weekly published here furnished some details of the proposed Soviet loan. It said the credit, offered early in May, was not for actual cash, but for equipment and technical aid for improving or building roads, railways, telephone lines, waterworks and thermo-electric power plants.

### REPAYABLE IN KIND

The publication added that the loan would be repayable in Uruguayan agricultural products.

It speculated that if Uruguay accepted the loan, Russian personnel would be installing and handling a

part of the vital communications system in the country. It added that the Russians were primarily interested in getting a firm foothold here, and to use Uruguay as a springboard for increased propaganda and infiltration activities in Argentina and other South American countries.

The Argentine government recently banned all communist activities in the country.

Meanwhile, reports from Paso de los Toros said that Red agents are fomenting unrest there. Paso de los Toros, a town of 12,000 in central Uruguay, is in the area which was hit worst by the April floods.

### ATTEMPT AT PRESSURE

The reports said that communist agitators are trying to stir up discontent and to organise a mass march to Montevideo to demand more drastic and quicker recovery measures.

The agitation has been interpreted in Montevideo as a Red attempt to press the government into accepting the communist loans. (AP)

# TRANSMITTAL SLIP

TO: Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,...

Ottawa.

FROM: The Canadian Consulate General,...

New Orleans.

Security... UNCLASSIFIED

Date... May 22, 1959.

Air or Surface... Air

No. of enclosures... 1

The documents described below are for your information.

Despatching Authority... W.G. Stark

50066-40  
54 54

Copies

Description

Also referred to:

1

Communism in Latin America

Washington

1

Article entitled "Latin Revolutions Also Affect American Life" from New Orleans Times-Picayune of May 21, 1959, commenting on recent revolution in Panama and Soviet interests in disrupting governments and trade in Latin America.

X  
Y  
TO: Mr. C. J. [Signature]  
MAY 27 1959  
REGISTRY



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## HEMISPHERE REPORT

# Latin Revolutions Also Affect American Life

### Government Expense, Business Losses Factors

By The Copley News Service

Two recent revolutionary attempts in Central America failed because they lacked the necessary momentum at the start. Others being planned now may or may not succeed.

The process is something like striking a match to dry brush. Several matches will undoubtedly flicker out, but sooner or later, one will catch.

What starts a rebellion? How is it fought? And how does it affect the United States?

Experts can snowball resentment into a bloody, miniature war. The movement may come from political greed, or an oppressing system of government. But the carrying out of a revolt requires skillful organizing and stop-watch timing.

A success or failure inevitably has its effect on the entire hemisphere.

#### COSTLY FOR U.S.

The Panama invasion which folded after intervention by the Organization of American States last month was costly for Uncle Sam. Special patrols were flown by US Air Force planes alerted against the arrival of reinforcements.

Military units in the Canal Zone were strengthened. And commerce, as always, was affected although briefly.

In the case of Honduras, hit by a rebel force of 500, the government must increase its military expenditures to prevent the guerrillas from gaining a strong foothold.

Added expenses in small nations often means less buying power from other countries. But the most serious effects are in the political field.

Why are we interested in Egyptian riots, a rebellion in Iran or Communist shelling of Nationalist Chinese islands? Because to us, these things can mean growing Russian strength which is a serious event.

#### CLOSE TO HOME

The same thing is happening in Latin America, much closer to home.

Communism has hundreds of skilled agents operating in Latin America where Russia spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually to promote discontent and revolts.

In "X" country, whose government is friendly with the United States and has strong commercial ties, the experts in agitation begin working to arouse extreme nationalism.

Growing discontent over the thought of "being controlled" by

the United States flares into riots the government suppresses by force. The plan goes underground and a revolt is organized.

Communism offers generous help in arms and sometimes procures mercenaries to do most of the fighting. If the rebels are successful, their government is naturally more inclined to trade with Communism and stop commerce with Uncle Sam.

#### BIG INVESTMENTS

If the move does not succeed, the unstable political situation slows or stops temporarily further investments and loans from other nations. No one wants to put money in a country whose government is in danger of falling.

US businessmen and industrialists have invested \$10 billion in Latin America. Additionally, there are presently more than \$1 billion in US loans to Latin America.

Any nation falling to Communism in this hemisphere, or even infiltrated by the Reds, results in trouble for the other Latin American countries.

Latin America is the No. 1 buyer of US products, purchasing more than \$4.5 billion last year. One-third of the US imports come from Latin America.

#### TARGET FOR REDS

So it is not difficult to understand why Communism is waging its relentless battle for the hemisphere trade.

Each brushfire war, each overthrown government, each unsuccessful attempt has its effect on the United States. The big American companies operating south of the border are owned by individual stockholders who suffer a loss when the company loses.

In a showdown, Latin America can turn to Russia and Europe for commercial ties and continue growing. But the United States would be badly crippled without Latin American trade.

Not to be sent out of Ottawa. Circulation in Ottawa restricted to Canadian ministers and senior officials dealing with foreign affairs. Any United Kingdom representative abroad who has a copy of this document may show it to his Canadian colleague at the request of the latter.

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Foreign Office Distribution

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

April 11, 1959

Section 1

# DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1958

Mr. McVittie to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received April 11)

Economic I  
D. L. II  
Pol. Co-Ord.  
U. S. Section  
2577-40  
3493-40  
50066-40 (para 6)  
5322-40 (No. 9. Confidential)  
American  
U.S. (para 10)  
For Eastern  
(para 10)

European  
(para 10)  
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Ciudad Trujillo,  
February 7, 1959.

I have the honour to submit my annual review for the year 1958. A chronological summary of events is annexed.

2. Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, Benefactor of the Fatherland and Father of the New Nation, continued to be the absolute ruler of the Dominican Republic throughout a year in which he made a false move by trying to cross swords with the United States. A poor sugar crop and diminished proceeds from exports weakened his financial position. His political opponents in the Caribbean region became more menacing so that at the close of the year prudence forced him to make efforts to regain the support of the United States. It seems unlikely that preparations made in advance for a smooth succession will achieve their object. His people continue to seem docile but the régime could be toppled by outside intervention. At the age of 67 years his health seems fairly good but he suffers from inordinate vanity nurtured during several decades by the most abject flattery of his "courtiers." His political judgment may have become warped.

3. It was the United States Marines who gave the Generalissimo his start in life and early training by selecting him as "officer material" during their occupation of this country (1916 to 1924). Since then the United States authorities have supported him because they liked the stability he imposed on a country where political and financial confusion had prevailed previously. His main grievance against the United States now is that he does not have the same privileges as Cuba and Puerto Rico to sell sugar in the protected United States market. His eldest son, General Rafael L. Trujillo, Jr. (age 28) had been sent to Fort Leavenworth in the United States to follow a course of military instruction and,

incidentally, to be groomed for the succession with the approval of the United States authorities. He did badly in his studies and attracted unfavourable publicity by amusing himself too ostentatiously with female film stars. United States Congressmen took up this scandal and went on to upbraid the Generalissimo himself who took offence because United States Government spokesmen did not come to his aid. The next move was that the Dominican Congress called for cancellation of military aid and technical assistance agreements with the United States. After hesitating for some months the Generalissimo decided, when pressed for a decision by the United States Government, to stage a reconciliation and to overrule his own Congress. High military honours were showered upon the truant heir-apparent who returned here in August and is now Joint Chief of Staff of the three Armed Services; but young Trujillo is no longer regarded as likely to succeed his father who treats him with some coldness.

4. Men who enjoyed the Generalissimo's trust throughout the year were Virgilio Alvarez Sánchez, Minister of Finance; Porfirio Herrera Baez, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Manuel de Moya, Ambassador at Washington; and two veteran politicians, Virgilio Alvarez Pina and Rafael Paino Pichardo. The financial expert who had been trying to run the Dominican sugar empire, Jesús Marío Troncoso, fell into disfavour and was given other duties. Admiral Rafael Richardson, formerly Chief of the Naval Staff, was dismissed and imprisoned. Frequent changes of Ministers and high officials have been prejudicial to good government.

5. By their extreme humility the President of the Republic (the Generalissimo's younger brother Hector) and the Vice-President, Dr. Balaguer, have kept out of trouble but

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Received JUN 10 1959

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CANADIAN EYES ONLY

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have done nothing to raise the prestige of the Constitutional Government which, in an ill-matched diarchy, is overruled at any level by the agents of the so-called "Superior Government."

6. The Generalissimo proclaims himself to be the Caribbean champion of the fight against Communism but this claim draws little applause from abroad since he uses the term Communist loosely to describe almost any enemy. In the second half of the year his relations with the international Power which is the catholic adversary of Communism, the Vatican, were remarkably cordial, though in the early months of the year some priests had been called to order and made to bow to the temporal Power. The Roman Church must have won some advantages from a humiliating subservience. The agricultural colonies mentioned in the annexed Summary of Events under the date March 10 are taking the form of co-operatives run by priests.

7. In June the Generalissimo gave up his post as Commander-in-Chief and said he would rest from public affairs for six months and might even go abroad. He did not carry out this plan, partly because relations with the United States had taken a difficult turn, and partly because the political situation in France was uncertain. In the end he continued to direct the nation's business and was present on August 16 at a giant parade of 300,000 civilians who marched past him shouting their loyalty.

8. The sugar crop, the backbone of the economy, was poor in 1958 because of bad weather. The Generalissimo gave personal attention to the affairs of his giant sugar corporation as he was worried by the high costs of production ascribed to inexperienced management and to corruption. Though there was more unemployment and poverty than in recent years, no signs of rebellion against great inequalities of wealth were visible. The Armed Forces were, however, on guard against raids of rebels from abroad. The Generalissimo forestalled trouble (after the fashion of his guest Perón) by emphasising his interest in the welfare of the "underdog." Government schemes were announced, including a huge five-year plan of building and public works which should create employment and stimulate trade (but with inflationary consequences). The Trujillo family will benefit through ownership of the cement works, contracting firms, paint works and firms

importing earth-moving machinery, lorries, hardware, &c. The country continues to be run on a cash basis without recourse to foreign unsecured loans. The Dominican peso is freely convertible at par into the United States dollar. The Bank of Nova Scotia granted a secured loan of U.S.\$20 million repayable between 1960 and 1966 to finance payments to the former foreign owners of sugar mills acquired by the Dominicans. Consumer spending increased, mostly on credit terms, as did Government programmes of expenditure, but the Central Bank seemed short of dollar exchange and Government departments delayed payments more than usual. A disproportionate part of the national income is spent on defence. In spite of financial mismanagement the nation came through a difficult year without great trouble. Good weather and a good sugar crop in 1959 are needed to raise the cash reserves. At present export prices are low and the level of imports is high. The establishment of well-protected light industries has continued: the Trujillo family are often the principal promoters. Some American firms such as United Fruit, Alcoa (aluminium), the telephone company, and Colgate-Palmolive have invested new capital in their own undertakings, but foreign capitalists have declined opportunities to invest in the sugar industry and in long-term schemes such as hydro-electric projects.

9. The Administration deserves good marks for housing projects, urban developments, new roads, supply of water and electricity to villages, free medical services, adult education, guidance for farmers, and a minimum wage scheme. The foreign visitor is impressed by the atmosphere of law and order and by the cleanliness of the capital. The people mind their own business.

10. Relations with the United Kingdom were very friendly, mainly because Tate and Lyle Limited buy a great deal of Dominican sugar. Our Royal Family receive very good publicity. In the United Nations Assembly, the Dominican delegation are usually ready to support us. Government officials say that efforts are being made to purchase British goods in preference to others whenever possible. In practice, however, much important business is transacted by members of the Trujillo family who attach importance to the immediate profit accruing to themselves when an order is placed. United Kingdom firms have not been very

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successful in securing business from these influential customers, but our general trade has increased. The coolness in relations with the United States last summer, mentioned above, did not prevent the Generalissimo from displaying special friendliness towards the American Ambassador on public occasions, particularly when Press cameras were in action. A propaganda campaign was continued to woo popular opinion in the United States and to attract tourists to empty hotels. Relations were excellent with Franco's Spain, who, copying the Vatican, penetrate this country by propaganda (Hispanidad) and by infiltration of priests. France maintains a large Embassy and is making efforts in the cultural field. Japan is in favour, being a large sugar buyer, and is expanding her trade. The interests of Canada, West Germany and Italy are also mainly commercial. The Dominican Republic entered into diplomatic relations with Liberia.

11. Since the principal Latin American nations now have democratic Governments, the position of the Dominican dictatorship in the Organisation of American States has become uneasy. If the civil war in Cuba had led to a prolonged deadlock, the Dominican Republic would have gained by a consequent rise in sugar prices, but the collapse of the Batista régime in the last hour of the year brought a hostile Government into power in Cuba and led to a fall in sugar prices. The new Venezuelan Government is also frankly hostile. Dominican rebels are active in Puerto Rico and Florida. The Generalissimo must feel that he is indeed being "encircled" but he managed to force his friendship on poor Haiti at the close of the year.

I have, &c.

W. W. McVITTIE.

Enclosure

### *Chronological Summary of Events, 1958*

#### *January*

- 21 The Vatican and the Dominican Republic signed an agreement regulating religious assistance for the Armed Forces.
- 23 Ex-President Perez Jiménez fled from Caracas to Ciudad Trujillo on the collapse of his Government but left soon after. (On January 29 it was announced that diplomatic relations between the two countries would continue.)
- 27 Ex-President Perón of Argentina changed his place of exile from Venezuela to the Dominican Republic.

#### *February*

The Government increased its already firm control over the University of Santo Domingo.

#### *March*

- 10 An institution called the "Patronato San Rafael" was established to enable the Government, with the aid of the Roman Church, to plant villages of sturdy Catholic peasants along the Haitian frontier and in other strategic places.
- 18 A local committee under the Dollar Exports Council was formed in Ciudad Trujillo.
- 27 The Dominican Congress passed a resolution protesting strongly against attacks made on Generalissimo Trujillo in the Gautemalan Congress.

#### *April*

- 10 Diplomatic relations with Argentina were broken because of a dispute arising over ex-President Perón's status in the Dominican Republic.

#### *May*

- 27 Dr. Remorino, formerly Foreign Minister of Argentina under Perón, delivered a lecture at the University of Santo Domingo eulogising the social legislation of the Perón Government.

#### *June*

- 15 Lieutenant-General Rafael Trujillo, Jr., was appointed Joint Chief of Staff of the three Armed Services and was made a full General. (He was then in the United States.)
- 18 The Dominican Congress passed a resolution advocating the abrogation of military aid and technical assistance agreements with the United States. The Cabinet supported this resolution.
- 24 President Hector Trujillo was made a "Generalissimo."

#### *July*

- 1 A Presidential Decree commissioned Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, Jr., to study the Congressional Resolution of June 18 and give his juridical opinion and military advice to the Executive. (He was then still in the United States.)

#### *August*

- 16 300,000 cheering civilians marched past their "Chief," Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, on the 25th anniversary of his receiving the title of "Benefactor of the Fatherland."
- 17 Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, Jr., returned from the United States. The Armed Forces received him with the honours due to a President.

#### *September*

- 11 A delegation from the United States Congress attended a meeting of the Dominican Congress at which the Resolution of June 18 was cancelled.
- 29 The Dominican Press mentioned an incident which arose out of letters written by the Dominican Minister of Commerce to Chambers of Commerce in the United States stating that the activities of certain United States Congressmen were bad for

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trade between the two countries. These Congressmen then accused the Dominican Government of interfering in United States elections.

*October*

- 24 Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo delivered a speech, on the anniversary of his birthday, in which he advised manufacturers and other employers not to be greedy for profit but to improve the lot of their workers, particularly by providing better housing. He declared that he would continue to work for the good of the poor and needy.

*November*

- 11 A Commercial Mission from Hong Kong arrived for a five-day visit.  
15 A Japanese Textile Mission arrived and opened a sample fair.

*December*

- 10 The new Dominican Ambassador presented credentials in Buenos Aires and diplomatic relations with Argentina were resumed.  
18 It was announced that the Dominican Republic and Liberia would exchange Ambassadors.  
22 A joint Dominico-Haitian Declaration was signed aimed mainly at the suppression of rebel activity.  
26 The Foreign Minister and Labour Minister of the Batista régime in Cuba came to Ciudad Trujillo and attended a round of brilliant parties. They returned to Havana on December 29. No communiqué was issued.  
(Batista and a group of his followers fled from Havana to Ciudad Trujillo on January 1, 1959, on the collapse of their Government.)

*Apr. 2/59*

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This is to record that a DL(2)

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Date: *April 2, 1959*

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Subject: *Latin American Peace Congress*

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..... Initials: *Run* Date: *April 23, 1959*

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# TRANSMITTAL SLIP

TO: MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
OTTAWA, CANADA.

Security.... UNCLASSIFIED

Date..... January 13, 1959

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,  
MEXICO CITY, D.F.

Air or Surface... Surface

No. of enclosures... One

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Copies	Description	Also referred to:
1	"Revista Yugoslava" of December, 1958, published by the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Mexico.  <i>Mr Dobell</i>	<i>Yugoslavia</i> <i>Mexico</i> <i>File</i>
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# Yugoslava

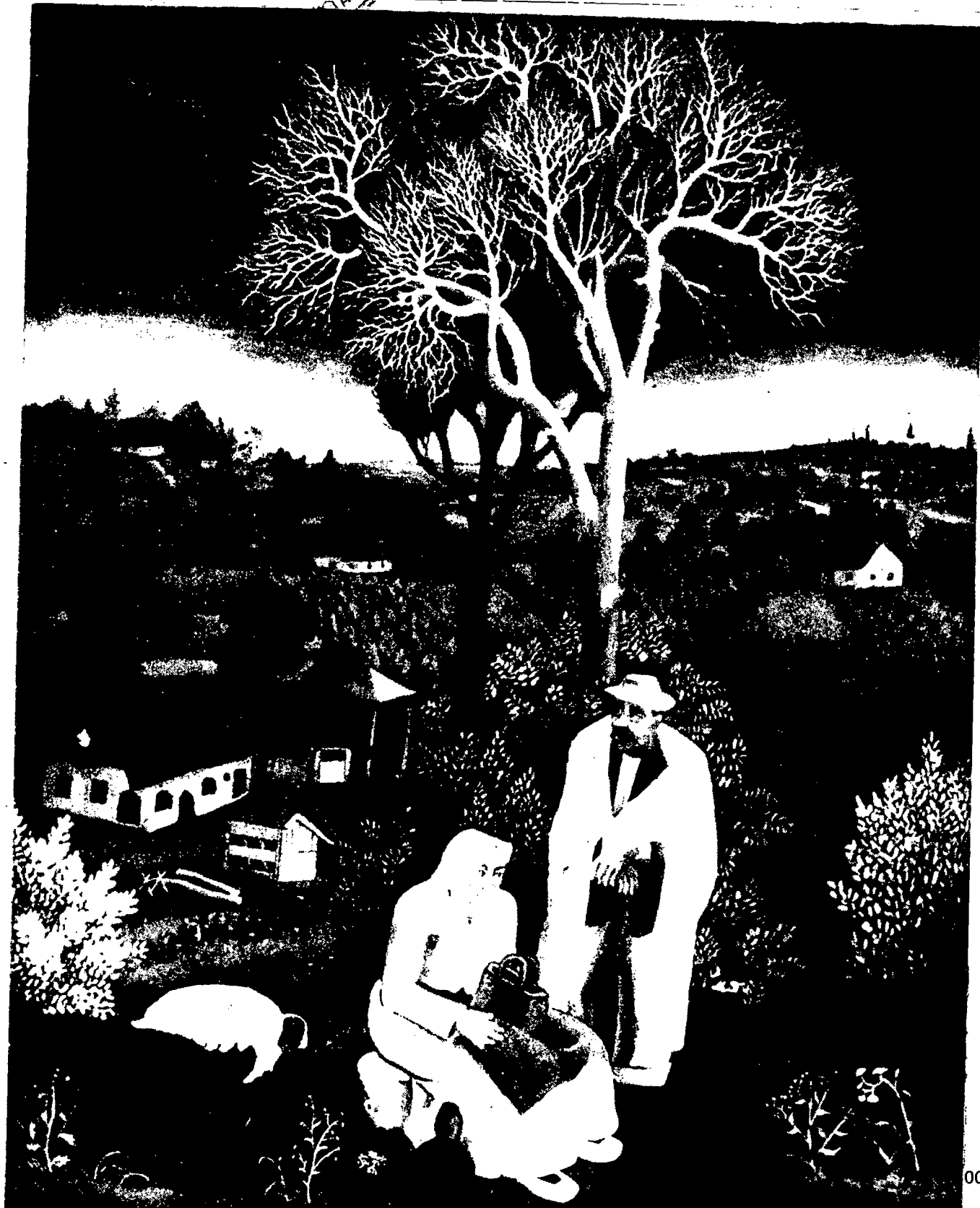
PUBLICACION DE LA EMBAJADA DE YUGOSLAVIA EN MEXICO

AÑO XII

NOV 5 1959

DICIEMBRE DE 1958

Números 5-6





# Revista YUGOSLAVA

## SUMARIO

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**"Bajo el peral".** Cuadro de IVAN GENERALIC, expuesto en el Pabellón de Yugoslavia en la Exposición Internacional de Bruselas. Generalic, pintor campesino, es uno de los más conocidos artistas pintores modernos de Yugoslavia.

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29 DE NOVIEMBRE

## FIESTA NACIONAL DE YUGOSLAVIA

Por Popovic NEBOJSA

El día 29 de noviembre los pueblos de Yugoslavia celebran su fiesta nacional — Día de la República.

En este mismo día en el año 1943 la representación revolucionaria del pueblo, en su segunda sesión en la pequeña ciudad de Jajce (Yaice), legalizó el poder popular democrático que se desarrolló durante la guerra de liberación y liquidó a los traidores del país que se habían atado al invasor en la lucha contra el pueblo. Dos años más tarde, nuevamente el 29 de noviembre, en su tierra ya libertada, la Asamblea Constitucional proclamó la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia. Este nombre expresa las conquistas fundamentales de la lucha de liberación nacional — el poder nacional, la constitución federal y la forma republicana del gobierno.

En estas dos grandes e importantes fechas los pueblos de Yugoslavia por primera vez expresaron libremente su firme decisión de que fraternalmente unidos y en igualdad de derechos, edificarían en la comunidad estatal unida, tal orden social que sería la garantía de su bienestar en el futuro. Por esto el 29 de noviembre señala también la gran victoria de los pueblos yugoslavos en el camino de la conquista de su libertad e independencia, y por tal causa ellos festejan este día como el día del nacimiento de su República y la fiesta de su patria socialista.

En su borrascosa y dramática historia los pueblos yugoslavos aportaron grandes sacrificios por su unidad y libertad. La secular opresión extranjera quedó marcada por numerosas sublevaciones, levantamientos y un mar de sangre y lágrimas. Después de la Primera Guerra Mundial los yugoslavos en realidad lograron liberarse del dominio extranjero y fundar su propio Estado. Sin embargo, el sistema monárquico del gobierno, sostenido por una minoría explotadora, no satisfizo los anhelos nacionales. La Yugoslavia de entonces era un país sin derechos fundamentales democráticos y humanos, económicamente no desarrollado, lacerada por los problemas internos y por tal causa en el año 1941 se derrumbó rápidamente ante el asalto de los ejércitos de Hitler.

Durante la ocupación de 4 años el país volvió a sangrar por muchas heridas hasta que el pueblo, dirigido por el Partido Comunista, en su heroica lucha finalmente obtuvo combatiendo su liberación nacional y social. Un millón ochocientos mil muertos e incalculables pérdidas materiales fue el costoso precio pagado por la libertad y la unidad. Así nació la República yugoslava y así creció en su propia revolución, en su propio suelo y en su propia sangre. La idea secular de la unidad de todos los pueblos yugoslavos, afirmada en el ardor de la lucha en contra de un invasor mucho más fuerte, llegó a realizarse así en el Estado socialista.

La República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia, cuyas piedras angulares se levantaron en los dos 29 de noviembre, representa hoy una unidad firme y monolítica. Este es un Estado con una organización social mejor y más justa que la que tuvo la vieja Yugoslavia, un Estado que ha resuelto la cuestión nacional y social.

En el período transcurrido los pueblos de Yugoslavia han edificado para sí una creación estatal, cuya unidad interna, seguida del creciente poder económico y político y del cada vez mayor prestigio internacional que no pueden negar ni sus enemigos. Durante los 13 años de la existencia de la República se han alcanzado enormes éxitos en todos los campos de las actividades sociales. Y a pesar de serias y diversas dificultades, los pueblos de Yugoslavia han renovado, en un tiempo relativamente breve, su país destruido por la guerra; han levantado centenares de empresas industriales nuevas, fábricas y minas. Yugoslavia, como lo ha destacado recientemente su Presidente, de un país agrícola atrasado se ha convertido en un Estado industrialmente desarrollado. En relación al año 1939 la producción industrial ha aumentado en más del 25%, la utilidad industrial contribuye en la renta nacional con más del 40% en comparación con el 18% que contaba antes de la guerra. La orientación hacia la industrialización del país ha sido necesaria y normal. La industrialización significaba librarse de todas las presiones y extorsiones extrañas, y así mismo también de depender de otros. Por otro lado, la industrialización ha posibilitado el que Yugoslavia emprenda grandes pasos hacia el desarrollo de la democracia socialista y de relaciones socialistas. Hace varios años se llevó a cabo la descentralización en la administración estatal y se ha pasado el sistema de la gestión social en todos los ramos de la vida social. Se ha hecho posible a los hombres de trabajo de Yugoslavia que ellos participen en la forma más amplia en la administración y en las decisiones por medio de variadas formas y maneras. Estos son los cuerpos representativos, comenzando desde la común hasta la Asamblea Popular Federativa, los diferentes consejos y comités, los mitines de electores y



Josip Broz Tito firmando el acta de la proclamación de la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia el 29 de noviembre de 1945.

numerosas organizaciones sociales y de masas, y particularmente la Unión Socialista del pueblo trabajador. Un lugar particular en esto ocupan los consejos obreros que son la gran conquista socialista, pues las empresas y las fábricas de Yugoslavia se han entregado a la clase obrera para que las dirija, lo que ha sido el sueño y el anhelo de los más sensatos intérpretes del pensamiento socialista.

Pero, en el período transcurrido los pueblos de Yugoslavia han debido al mismo tiempo que luchar por la existencia y la independencia del país, pelear en contra de los deseos y empeños tendientes a ignorar sus intereses nacionales. En aquellos años han debido muchas veces y en situaciones más difíciles contar, ante todo, con sus propias fuerzas. De todas aquellas dificultades, Yugoslavia salió, sin embargo, aun más fuerte y más vigorosa.

En su política exterior la Yugoslavia socialista ha ofrecido siempre su pleno sostén a los esfuerzos de las Naciones Unidas en la solución de importantes cuestiones internacionales, se ha empeñado para que el papel de los pequeños y no desarrolla-

dos países sea mayor y para impedir el curso de una política de aguzamiento basada en la exclusividad de bloques. Yugoslavia, país que se ha creado a sí mismo en el ardor de la guerra de liberación, da pruebas de un especial apoyo a los pueblos que luchan por su libertad y su independencia.

Sin embargo, tampoco en esta ocasión se puede hablar de los éxitos de los pueblos yugoslavos sin mencionar el nombre del Presidente Tito, esforzado luchador socialista. Este gran hombre, de valientes ideas, rodeado del cariño de todos los hombres de Yugoslavia, supo despertar en ellos la audacia y la fe, unirlos y conducirlos por el amplio camino del renacimiento nacional.

Bajo la dirección de Tito los yugoslavos obtuvieron luchando su independencia nacional, edificaron su país sobre los más avanzados principios sociales y realizaron un gran progreso general. Bajo la dirección de Tito los pueblos de Yugoslavia superaron numerosas dificultades, llegaron a ser más fuertes y más unidos y con toda seguridad avanzarán hacia su futuro aun más brillante.

# Discurso del Presidente Tito pronunciado el 23 de noviembre de 1958, en Novo Mesto, con motivo de la inauguración de la autopista "Bratstvo I Jedinstvo"

En gran mitin que tuvo lugar en Novo Mesto (República Popular de Eslovenia) con motivo de la terminación de las obras en el ramo de la autopista "Bratstvo I Jedinstvo", desde Zagreb hasta Ljubljana, el Presidente de la República, Josip Broz Tito, pronunció un discurso en que dijo, entre otras cosas, lo siguiente:

"Camaradas, jóvenes:

Había escépticos y otros que se hacían cálculos demasiado precavidos, preguntando si valía la pena que la juventud construyese tales obras, si esto, tal vez, no resultaría más caro construido por la juventud, o sea, si no sería más económico construirlo normalmente, tal como hoy día edificamos otros diferentes objetos.

¿En qué nuestra juventud se distingue de muchas otras juventudes? Se distingue por el hecho de no asumir las tareas por vía de órdenes, por vía de imposición de determinadas tareas de parte de los dirigentes, sino que ella misma busca sus tareas, y precisamente las más difíciles, edificando objetos que son los más difíciles de construir y cuya construcción dura más. Esto es cierto, camaradas. Pero que nos digan en qué país la juventud procede tan masiva y unánimemente y entrega todas sus capacidades físicas y mentales para ayudar la edificación de un futuro más feliz, futuro de ella misma y de las generaciones venideras. Por esto yo experimento hoy una satisfacción particular, al igual que todos los que hemos venido aquí, y que todos los hombres a lo largo de nuestro país, al ver que nuestra juventud puede hacer lo que a algunos les puede parecer imposible. En las grandes y difíciles tareas no basta solamente con saber, sino se necesita también tener corazón, estar impregnado profundamente por la voluntad y por el amor a lo que se desea hacer, de manera que se manifieste, en lo que se emprenda, tanto la capacidad propia, como la capacidad de todo nuestro pueblo. Nosotros tenemos hoy una juventud así y estamos felices por tenerla.

Camaradas y jóvenes, ciudadanos de Novo Mesto:

Cuanto hemos venido aquí para asistir a esta fiesta, nos alegramos junto con nuestra juventud de haber conseguido en un plazo tan breve construir para nuestra comunidad

una obra tan grande, y consideramos que el futuro de nuestro país, la edificación ulterior de nuestro país y su vida, pasarán a manos muy capaces y sólidas. Ya no debemos temer ni preguntar qué pasará mañana cuando nosotros ya no estemos. He aquí la joven generación, vosotros jóvenes, que sabréis seguir el camino marcado y señalado con la sangre y huesos de nuestros combatientes en la Lucha de Liberación Nacional, camino trazado por los miembros de nuestro Partido comunista ya antes de la guerra y en el transcurso de la misma y en el cual hoy están entregando todas sus capacidades vuestros camaradas más viejos. Y esto es lo que nos llena de la más grande satisfacción, de la felicidad de tener una juventud que sabrá llevar a Yugoslavia hacia la meta que a sí misma se ha asignado.

Camaradas:

En nuestro país tenemos todavía muchas y diferentes tareas por cumplir. Quisiera decir algunas palabras también sobre las dificultades objetivas que tenemos y cómo las supe-

ramos. Por ejemplo, hay gentes en el mundo, y no pocas, que nos reprochan que en Yugoslavia no está bien esto o aquello, etc. Nos han calificado hasta de revisionistas por el hecho de que seguimos un camino, que es nuestro, hacia la edificación del socialismo y luego hacia la edificación del comunismo, de un futuro más feliz para la humanidad. Y esto porque nos hemos mostrado tan libres para decir que en nuestro país obramos tal como mejor lo consideramos, y no precisamente tal como lo pensamos nosotros, los dirigentes, sino como lo piensa todo nuestro pueblo, ya que nosotros no podemos obrar sino tal como el pueblo lo desea, tal como lo desea la enorme mayoría de nuestro pueblo. Por esto nos han calificado de revisionistas. Pero yo digo, si nosotros no obrásemos tal como nuestro pueblo lo desea, ninguno de nosotros estaría en este lugar en que estamos, en la dirección de nuestro país. Nosotros obramos así porque nuestro pueblo lo quiere y porque consideramos que nuestro camino es justo y por esto



El Presidente Tito hablando el 23 de noviembre en el mitin de Novo Mesto, con motivo de la terminación de la autopista Zagreb-Ljubljana, que ha sido terminada en el curso de este año y en la que han trabajado unos 54,000 jóvenes yugoslavos.

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Solemne inauguración de la construcción de la autopista. El vicepresidente del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal, Svetozar Vukmanovic hablando en el mitin.

no podemos, como es de comprender, aceptar aquellos deseos que llegan desde fuera, o sea, que obremos simplemente tal como otros obran. Hay todavía gente que trata de crearnos obstáculos, que echan contra nosotros torrentes de diferentes calumnias y que tratan de separar la dirección y el pueblo de nuestro país. Sin embargo, las viejas experiencias del año 1948 y las de después demuestran que es imposible vencer una unidad como la que existe aquí entre los dirigentes del país y nuestro pueblo. Por eso buscan otros recursos y tratan de separar la dirección y el pueblo, tratan de comprometer esta dirección, para luego conseguir, según piensan, dar una nueva orientación al pueblo.

Se olvida, camaradas, que en nuestro país existe un Partido comunista que se ha forjado en las constantes luchas por el bien de su pueblo, en las luchas que ha venido sosteniendo antes de la guerra, en la guerra y después de la guerra. Se olvida, en tales intentos, que esta unidad nuestra entre el Partido y nuestros pueblos ha sido forjada en la Lucha de Liberación y en la Revolución nacional y que es indestructible. Los que hoy están haciendo los intentos que he mencionado, se olvidan de esto, pero en mi opinión, tratan, no obstante, de un modo refinado, de separar nuestro pueblo de sus dirigentes. Dicen que en el litigio que se ha producido se trata de cosas teóricas, ideológicas, afirmando que este es un asunto de los dirigentes y no del pueblo, diciendo que nuestro pueblo no sabe de qué se trata en este litigio entre nosotros, creyendo tal

vez que no se ve cuán maliciosos son al afirmar que nuestro pueblo, según dicen ellos, quisiera eso que ellos desean pero que nuestra dirección no lo quiere, porque nos hemos puesto en la cabeza supuestamente que hemos de ser centro de todo el mundo y que estamos creando una nueva ideología, y que esta ideología es revisionista, antimarxista, etc. De este modo quieren generalmente separar nuestro pueblo de la dirección de nuestro país.

Y cuando se trata de saber camaradas, en qué consiste el litigio que he mencionado, vosotros sabéis que nunca hemos ocultado algo ante el pueblo, que siempre hemos salido, en nuestro trabajo ante vosotros diciendo claramente lo que pensamos y pidiendo vuestra opinión para saber si estáis o no estáis de acuerdo con esto. Siempre hemos querido oír al pueblo, oír a vosotros, para poder seguir debidamente nuestra política exterior y orientar debidamente nuestras relaciones con otros pueblos. No obstante, desde algunos países del Este, como sabéis, hoy se prosigue constantemente la lucha contra nosotros, generalmente contra la dirección, pero de tal modo que esto atañe a Yugoslavia, ya que ellos no piensan solamente en los dirigentes sino en ver cómo quebrantarlos y ponerlos de rodillas. (Voces de protesta: "Nunca lo conseguirán").

Camaradas:

Durante la guerra oímos frecuentemente en la propaganda de Goebels y de otros, que calumniaban nuestra lucha, cómo nos llamaban bandidos al igual que hoy nos llama alguna gente del Este. (Voces de protesta,

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Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information (la vie). Nos llaman traidores, y no sólo que nos dan a los dirigentes todas las clases de calificativos (sobre todo en China), calificativos que ofenden, sino también que ofenden a todo nuestro pueblo. ¿Y qué clase de pueblo sería el que tuviera a su cabeza tales hombres que fuese como eso de los que ellos hablan? ¿Es esto una ofensa que causan solamente a estos hombres? No, esto ofende a todo el pueblo, y no sólo a los dirigentes.

## NUESTRA LUCHA POR EL TRIUNFO DE LA VERDAD SERA LARGA

Mas esto no es todo. Hay también otras cosas. Vosotros recordáis que a partir de 1948 se ha venido falsificando nuestra lucha, desnaturalizándose y presentándose como negro lo que era la verdad de nuestro país. De esto hay también ahora. Os voy a citar un ejemplo. Recientemente en Azerbaiján se presentó una película sobre los combates en Trieste, en los que cayó también un fotorepórter de Azerbaiján. Cayó en nuestro tanque "Stuard", y el pueblo le honra en la película como héroe. Todo esto estaría bien si en el libro que se ha escrito, o sea, en la película que se ha hecho sobre ese hombre, que junto con nuestros hombres había entrado en Trieste, no se hubiera dicho en el texto del locutor que él había caído en Trieste junto, hombre al hombre, con checos, polacos, húngaros, franceses, etc. Los pueblos de toda Europa han sido mencionados por el locutor, pero sin mencionar a Yugoslavia cuyos hijos fueron los únicos que combatieron en torno a Trieste. Yugoslavia no se menciona por nada. ¿Qué quiere decir esto, camaradas? Esto quiere decir que se menosprecian y calumnian aquellas víctimas que hemos dado en los tiempos de la Lucha de Liberación, significa negar nuestra lucha.

¿Y es esto una lucha ideológica contra nosotros, contra Yugoslavia? No, esto no es más que recurrir a todos los recursos posibles para echar todo a nuestro pueblo ante los pueblos de la Unión Soviética que tienen grandes simpatías para nosotros y que nunca podrán olvidar que en los más difíciles y críticos momentos, cuando en Europa reinaban la noche y el terrorismo fascistas, fue únicamente Yugoslavia la que se había levantado y con sus guerrilleros entró en la lucha común junto con los hombres soviéticos.

Los pueblos soviéticos saben que durante cuatro años nuestros combatientes derramaban su sangre junto con los combatientes soviéticos. Por eso, el pueblo debe preguntarse extrañado: ¿es posible que los hombres que durante los cuatro años se hallaban en la más difícil situación y que dieron enorme número de víctimas en la lucha, puedan traicionarse hoy a sí mismos y a sus propios intereses, a los intereses que coinciden con los intereses del socialismo en general? ¿Es esto posible, camaradas? No es posible, y es natural que la mayor parte de los hombres no crean en ello. Pero precisamente

## NO ESTAMOS ACOSTUMBRADOS A DOBLEGARNOS ANTE LA PRESION

Lamentamos mucho al ver hoy que algunos hombres soviéticos, que escriben de diferentes cuestiones teóricas, escriban de nosotros de esta manera. Por ejemplo, Ponomarev ataca a toda nuestra dirección, y también a todo nuestro país en conjunto. Parece ser que mi discurso, pronunciado en Zenica, ha sido mal interpretado por algunos hombres en los países del Este. Vosotros sabéis que en este discurso yo pedía, en nombre de todo nuestro pueblo y de todos nosotros, que se realizase la coexistencia pacífica, destacando que nosotros no deseamos reñir y que no somos gente que riñe. Sin embargo, esto se ha interpretado como expresión de una debilidad nuestra, como si yo hubiese empezado a retroceder; y esto quiere decir, en opinión de ellos, que nos deben apretar un poco más para que cedamos definitivamente. Pero, camaradas, nosotros no somos así. Nunca nos hemos acostumbrado a doblegarnos ante una presión. Con respecto a nosotros nadie lo ha conseguido nunca. No porque algunos entre nosotros fueran así, sino porque todo nuestro pueblo es así. Nuestro pueblo podría maldecirnos si fuéramos cobardes y si traicionáramos sus intereses. Desde luego, los intereses de nuestro pueblo no son ajenos a los intereses de los pueblos de esos países. Son comunes, pues toda nuestra historia viene señalando que entre nosotros y ellos hay muchísimo de común. No sólo porque somos eslavos, sino porque somos internacionalistas. Y precisamente por ser internacionalistas, tenemos el interés común de edificar el socialismo, mientras la diferencia entre nosotros consiste solamente en que, según nuestra opinión, esta finalidad se realiza en cada país según sus posibilidades, según sus capacidades y condiciones particulares. Así pues, nuestro interés común consiste en la edificación del socialismo, mientras las relaciones entre los países socialistas deben sostenerse sobre bases justas y sólidas y no en las bases que ellos colocan por medio del

por eso se oculta en esos países todo lo que nosotros aquí estamos haciendo, escribiendo o diciendo, y en vez de la verdad siempre se saca algo para provocar indignación de esos pueblos. No penséis, camaradas, que esta lucha que hoy sostenemos para demostrar nuestra posición justa, para demostrar la verdad, que no va a ser larga. Probablemente va a durar mucho tiempo. Durará mucho tiempo porque nosotros no podemos renunciar a lo que hemos hecho ayer y a lo que estamos haciendo hoy, ya que nuestros pueblos han dado víctimas, y se está obrando por el bien del pueblo.

campo, por medio de la dominación de un partido o de un país. Consideramos que las relaciones entre los países socialistas deben basarse en la igualdad de derechos.

Hasta ahora, camaradas, ni en el transcurso de este año ni en el transcurso de toda esta constante lucha contra nosotros, no se ha manifestado nada importante que les diera derecho moral a comportarse tan drásticamente contra nosotros y a atacarnos. En la mayor parte de las cuestiones de política exterior, y en muchas otras, vamos juntos. Nosotros no nos ingerimos en sus asuntos internos y nada hemos hecho que les podría afectar. Nosotros negamos lo que ellos dicen: que con nuestro Programa en el VII Congreso nos

hemos imaginado ser un centro ideológico. Nosotros no lo hemos imaginado, pero en nuestro Programa hemos expuesto nuestra práctica, lo que hemos conseguido hasta ahora y el modo cómo hemos conseguido determinados resultados. Basándose sobre las experiencias con respecto a la situación que hubo antes de 1948 y después de 1948 en nuestras relaciones, hablábamos también de las relaciones entre los países socialistas. Los desagradables sucesos de Hungría y Polonia no son asunto nuestro, sino la consecuencia del tratamiento injusto de parte de sus hombres. No obstante, ahora quieren que todo esto recaiga sobre nosotros.

Quisiera decir también desde aquí que nadie piense que nosotros podamos traicionar al camino que nos hemos trazado como vía hacia el socialismo. Por lo tanto, más injusto con respecto a nosotros aparece el reproche que diariamente se propaga por su prensa y diferentes discursos de que nos hemos vendido al occidente. Pero el Occidente también se pregunta extrañado cómo no ha conseguido comprarnos cuando estos del Oriente dicen que sí, (Aplausos y aclamaciones: "¡Tito - Comité Central!" — "¡Héroe Tito — Héroe Tito!"). Nos vienen reprochando constantemente como si estuviésemos deslizándonos al capitalismo. Pero yo quisiera saber a base de qué ellos llegan a tales conclusiones. ¿Qué capitalismo es éste? ¿Qué en Yugoslavia ha vuelto de nuevo el poder a los capitalistas? Es otra cosa si entienden por capitalismo el que nuestras cooperativas, nuestras colectividades trabajadoras, se rigen por sí



Campamento de la Brigada Internacional en el trabajo de la autopista. 000647



mismas y rigen los medios de producción y que tienen la posibilidad de realizar sobrantes que les llegan como un medio para mejorar su nivel de vida. Pero en tal caso esto no es capitalismo, sino socialismo. Nos reprochan que, por ejemplo, alabamos a los americanos y no les alabamos a ellos. Pero yo quisiera saber cuándo nosotros hemos alabado a alguien sin necesidad. Nosotros no tenemos motivos de alabar a nadie sin necesidad. Sin embargo, si alguien ha he-

cho buen gesto para con el pueblo yugoslavo, ¿por qué censurarlo? Pues no, decimos que estamos agradecidos por ello. Y si alguien nos ofende y calumnia ¿por qué debemos alabarlo? Entonces decimos que no está bien lo que están haciendo, que consideramos injusto, y que no es una actitud socialista hacia nuestro país. (Aprobación, grandes aplausos y aclamaciones al camarada Tito y a la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia).

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ver con las concepciones marxistas sobre el desarrollo del socialismo. (Aprobación). Yugoslavia parece ser que actúa como factor que vienea la justeza de esto. Pero bien, sea ellos les conviene este, a decir, curso militar del desarrollo del socialismo, es cosa de ellos. Mas que nos dejen en paz a nosotros. Si ellos dicen que no aumentarán el nivel de vida dentro de los 15 años porque quieren construir esto o aquello, nosotros nunca hemos dicho lo mismo. Hemos dicho que queremos edificar, pero que al mismo tiempo queremos también que el nivel de vida vaya aumentando progresivamente. En esto nos separamos, al parecer, porque nosotros consideramos que el socialismo no es una abstracción, sino que se edifica para el hombre, para las generaciones actuales y venideras. Nosotros quisiéramos que esta gene-

## SI A CHINA LE CONVIENE EL CURSO MILITAR DE DESARROLLO, ES COSA DE ELLA, PERO QUE NO POR ELLO ATAQUE A YUGOSLAVIA

Sería injusto camaradas, sería un poco inconveniente si dijera aquí también que no se deben generalizar los ataques que hoy día se hacen con respecto a nuestro país. No pasa lo mismo en todos los sitios, la cosa no es igual en todos los lugares, y por esto tengo que distinguir algunos países. Tomemos, como ejemplo, a China (de Albania no quiero ni hablar). (Aplausos y aclamaciones). Se impone la pregunta de por qué precisamente de los chinos llegan tan crueles ataques contra Yugoslavia. A decir verdad, yo no puedo dar una respuesta a esta pregunta, porque no veo los motivos. Yo no sé lo que pasa en sus cabezas y qué quieren conseguir con esto. ¿Tal vez han querido manifestar su monolitismo y fuerza con sólo dar un grito y hacer que Yugoslavia desaparezca como si no hubiera existido? (Aclamaciones y gritos "Tito — Comité Central" — "Tito es nuestro, y nosotros somos de Tito").

Nosotros lamentamos que esto se haya producido, pues de tales cosas se cura difícilmente. Lo lamentamos, camaradas, porque nosotros hemos apreciado la larga lucha sostenida por el pueblo chino, por el Partido comunista chino y por el Ejército Rojo de China. Lo hemos apreciado profundamente y ahora nos es incomprendible qué es lo que está cambiando en ellos. Ellos tienen ciertas dificultades, y muy grandes, porque es un país enorme. Ellos quisieran vencer estas dificultades, y por eso buscan las posibilidades fuera de ellos mismos. Este es el caso ahora con respecto a Yugoslavia. Además, parece ser que ellos tienen sus ideas particulares sobre el desarrollo del socialismo chino, y probablemente consideran que un curso en el desarrollo del socialismo como el que hay en Yugoslavia es un obstáculo al desarrollo que ellos han emprendido con las comunas militares y otras cosas, lo que a nosotros nos parece que no tiene precisamente mucho que



Los jóvenes en el Campamento de Krenovo, durante sus horas de descanso.



Después de las labores del día, los jóvenes que trabajan en la autopista se distraen.

ración de hoy ya sienta las ventajas de la edificación del socialismo y lamentamos que todavía no las sienta en suficiente medida. Pero qué podemos hacer, esta generación tiene que soportar el mayor peso de la edificación del socialismo y por esto

nos hemos visto obligados a sacrificar algo, y por esto nos es mucho más difícil de lo que será a las generaciones venideras. Y a este respecto no estaremos de acuerdo con ellos.

## ¿Qué sentido tienen los ataques chinos a la política exterior de Yugoslavia?

No quisiera, a este respecto, hablar de la política exterior, pero puedo decir que cuando se trata de la política de coexistencia, nosotros tampoco estamos de acuerdo con ellos, o sea, que ellos no están de acuerdo con nosotros. Nosotros consideramos que una coexistencia activa y pacífica entre diferentes Estados sin distinción de sistemas internos, es la única salida del difícil estado actual en que se halla la situación internacional. No obstante, ellos están en contra de esta coexistencia, diciendo que esto significa llevar agua al molino capitalista. En eso no estamos de acuerdo, pero se impone la pregunta si Yugoslavia es el único país con el que no están de acuerdo a este respecto o a través de Yugoslavia no están de acuerdo con alguien más. Probablemente es cierto lo último, pero ellos no quieren decirlo. Por esto nosotros asumimos el peso de esta tarea. Que sea, que nos ataquen. Nosotros seguiremos nuestro camino, porque consideramos que en los momentos de la tirantez internacional actual el socialismo no puede

edificarse si constantemente se tiene el temor de si hoy o mañana van a empezar a caer bombas atómicas y a estallar la guerra. Nosotros buscamos una salida de esta situación y por esto empeñamos todas nuestras fuerzas morales, políticas y físicas para contribuir a la atenuación de la tirantez internacional. Por eso, esta actitud frente a nosotros de aquella parte, nos extraña. Ellos dicen que hay que entrar en el campo para fortalecer el frente del socialismo y para impedir la guerra. De otro lado, vienen atacando a un país como Yugoslavia que no sólo en su historia antigua, sino también en la moderna, durante la última guerra, ha venido marifistándose como un poderoso factor en la lucha contra los reaccionarios, contra las fuerzas obscurantistas, contra el fascismo, dando enormes víctimas, estando siempre dispuesta, si fuese necesario, a hacer nuevos sacrificios por su independencia y por el mantenimiento de la paz ¿Por qué precisamente un país como éste ha de ser objeto de ataques de parte de los países so-

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 tienen interés por una Yugoslavia, como es, sino por una Yugoslavia que sería un instrumento ciego y obediente en su política interior y exterior. Pero nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con ello. Yugoslavia quiere ser un aliado con todos esos países a base de igualdad de derechos. Yugoslavia quiere mantener normales y amistosas relaciones con todos esos países, y todo lo demás es de índole secundaria, ya que todos estos elementos que se han levantado como obstáculo y que ellos han venido lanzando, no pueden substituir lo que nosotros pensamos que debe existir, o sea, que ellos tienen la amistad de nuestro país y de nuestros pueblos.

A ellos les molesta nuestra tesis sobre la coexistencia y la colaboración entre los países del Este y del Oeste. ¿Y en qué consiste lo perjudicial de que colaboremos con los países occidentales? ¿Quién vive en esos países occidentales? ¿Es que en los países occidentales viven solamente millonarios y ricos o viven también obreros y campesinos y en número mucho mayor que en otros países, ya que los países occidentales están altamente desarrollados? Allí también viven pueblos y ¿por qué entonces no debemos colaborar con estos pueblos, por qué poner barreras entre nosotros y los pueblos occidentales de Francia, de Gran Bretaña, de los Estados Unidos de América, de Alemania y de otros países. Nosotros consideramos precisamente que la ausencia de esta barrera contribuye al acercamiento entre diferentes pueblos del mundo. Por eso no abandonaremos esta línea por más presión que nos hagan. Tampoco dejaremos de ser país socialista porque ellos digan que nos vamos hacia el capitalismo. Nosotros edificamos nuestro futuro mejor. Edificamos el socialismo. Y al edificarlo, a veces hacemos faltas. Nuestro trabajo es difícil, no tenemos todos los recursos necesarios, y al no tener suficientes recursos materiales es comprensible que las dificultades sean bastante grandes. Sin embargo, ya hemos llegado a un grado en que tenemos una perspectiva clara y luminosa. Ya hoy día se pueden esperar las ventajas de aquello que han producido las manos creadoras de nuestros trabajadores. He aquí esta autopista. Esta enorme obra ha sido construida en ocho meses. Además, tenemos decenas y centenares de nuestras nuevas fábricas, centrales hidroeléctricas y otros objetos. Todo esto constituye hoy una base para seguir en lo futuro con más facilidad hacia adelante.

# Los problemas ideológicos no pueden solucionarse con calumnias e insultos

Desde este lugar yo me dirijo a todos aquellos que tal vez tengan ciertas reservas con nosotros y que no conozcan suficientemente lo que nosotros deseamos, para que tengan en cuenta que Yugoslavia seguirá fiel a los principios del socialismo (Aprobación), que ofrecerá con mucho gusto su mano a todo aquel que desee colaborar y tener relaciones de amistad con ella. Por esto considero que hay que abandonar esta práctica que se está haciendo hoy para con nosotros. Si hay ciertos problemas ideológicos, entonces estas cosas no pueden solucionarse con calumnias e insultos a través de prensa y radio. sino debemos sentarnos y ver de qué se trata. Que escriban de qué se trata, en qué no coincidimos ideológicamente. Nuestra práctica tal vez es diferente, pero la finalidad es la misma. Nuestra práctica no contradice a las enseñanzas del marxismo-leninismo, pero tampoco Marx, Engels y Lenin podían saber cómo sería hoy el mundo, pues ellos también eran hombres mortales y la vida y la práctica traen nuevos elementos que enriquecen a esta ciencia de ellos.

¿Es que nosotros debemos ahora renunciar a nuestro camino hacia el socialismo, a nuestra práctica a causa de ciertas interpretaciones dogmáticas de esta ciencia? Pues en las enseñanzas del marxismo-leninismo, en la teoría, cada cual encontrará algo que pudiera interpretar a su modo, pero tomado en su conjunto no significa nada esencial en lo que no estaríamos de acuerdo. Nosotros tampoco estábamos de acuerdo con la práctica stalinista en las relaciones entre países socialistas, pero precisamente en esta cuestión, en la cuestión de las relaciones entre los países socialistas, consiste aquello que es lo esencial, que es el leit-motiv de todo este litigio. Sin embargo, nosotros no podemos abandonar, a este respecto, nuestra línea. Pues ¿qué fuerza motriz para el desarrollo ulterior del pensamiento socialista en el mundo serían tales relaciones como las actuales existentes entre nuestro país y otros países socialistas? No sería ninguna fuerza motriz en el desarrollo hacia el socialismo. Sería la ausencia de perspectiva, haría que los hombres pierdan fe en el socialismo. Los hombres dirían que esto es lo mismo que antes: el más fuerte domina al más débil. Y esto es precisamente en lo que estamos en desacuerdo. Pero yo creo que llegará el tiempo en que se darán cuenta que nosotros teníamos razón, y que dejarán de hacer estas cosas inútiles, estos intentos de persuadirnos a la

fuerza, o sea, de hacer que bajo la presión de la fuerza renunciemos a nuestra línea y práctica que estamos realizando. (Aprobación y aclamaciones al camarada Tito y al Comité Central).

Camaradas:

Es esto lo que quería decirles con respecto al problema de nuestras relaciones con los países socialistas, ya que no solamente nosotros, los dirigentes, sino todos tenemos que interesarnos por lo que está sucediendo y en general, por saber cómo está este asunto. En relación a esto quisiera decirles también que está muy bien que nuestro pueblo casi no preste atención a todo esto y que ello no le hace perder los nervios. Pero no sería justo que nuestro pueblo se desinteresara completamente de ello. Nuestro pueblo debe estar al corriente de los acontecimientos, pues siempre debe oírse la voz y conocer los deseos de todo nuestro pueblo. En este caso no podrán decir que nuestra actitud y nuestro trabajo son asunto de la dirección y no del pueblo.

Al decirles, camaradas, que este litigio va a durar más tiempo, quería decirles que sería difícil que nosotros solos sostengamos esta lucha y que por esto todo nuestro pueblo debe

estar movilizado para ello y darnos su apoyo moral para que ellos lleguen a convencerse de que las cosas no están tal como creían, pues todos los yugoslavos están de acuerdo también a este respecto. Desde luego, camaradas, muchos de ellos se han convencido ya de lo que estoy hablando: ellos conocen el estado de ánimo de nuestros dirigentes, pero también conocen que nuestro pueblo está con ellos como una roca monolítica en la que no se puede introducir ni un dedo. No obstante, ellos obran de otra manera, creyendo que tendrán éxito al servirse de diferentes dificultades que nos están haciendo con el propósito de meter cuña entre nosotros y el pueblo, entre la dirección y el pueblo de nuestro país. Es esto de lo que debe ocuparse cada uno de nuestros ciudadanos.

(Aclamaciones: Tito, Tito).

Camaradas, Jóvenes, ciudadanos:

Yo sé que os interesa que diga algo también de la actual situación internacional, pues Yugoslavia está muy ligada con todos los acontecimientos internacionales y tan interesada en todo lo que acontece en el mundo, que debemos estar constantemente al corriente y trabajar sin cesar a favor de nuestra concepción de política exterior, a favor de la atenuación de la tirantez en las relaciones y en la situación del mundo. He de decir que en este año, no obstante, se han registrado algunos momentos positivos; en este año ha habido varios períodos muy críticos, amenazando la guerra en el Próximo Oriente, pero gracias a las Naciones Unidas, o sea, a los representantes



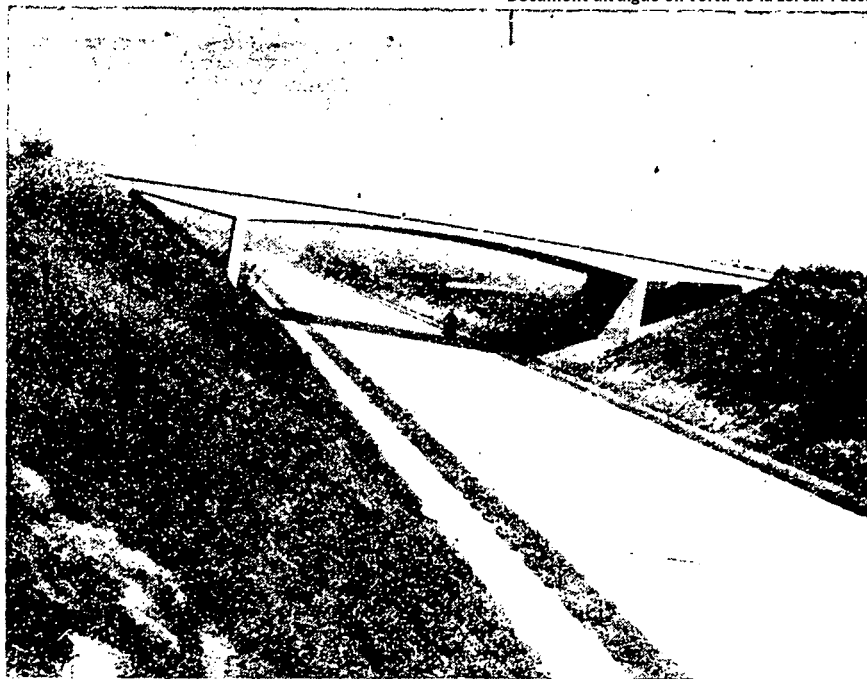
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de diferentes pueblos del mundo en las Naciones Unidas, se ha conseguido evitar una catástrofe. Se ha mostrado que la opinión pública mundial es un factor muy importante en los acontecimientos internacionales y en las decisiones que a este respecto toman las Naciones Unidas. Yugoslavia también ha actuado en las Naciones Unidas, y fuera de ella, por impedir la guerra.

Además, igualmente positivo es el hecho de que se haya procedido a las conversaciones, de lo que nosotros veríamos hablando como cosa necesaria y beneficiosa para la atenuación en el mundo. Se ha procedido a esta forma de trabajo y esto está bien, pero es otra cosa si ello va a dar grandes resultados definitivos. Yo considero que en el mundo hay cada vez más hombres de responsabilidad que respecto a la pregunta de si habrá paz o guerra, están convencidos de que solos no podrán decidir, no podrán hacerlo dentro de un círculo estrecho, sino que esto depende de la opinión pública del mundo entero, de aquellas fuerzas que luchan por la paz, y estos hombres fijan su actitud según todo esto. Naturalmente, habrá regateos y forcejeos, pero se irá tanto más rápidamente hacia la atenuación cuanto más empeñadas estén todas las fuerzas amantes de la paz, y entre ellas también Yugoslavia como un todo.

En cuanto a nuestras relaciones con los países occidentales, éstas son más o menos buenas con todos. Es cierto que en el Occidente todavía hay propaganda contra nosotros, pero no es de extrañar si se tiene en cuenta que allí existe otro sistema, sistema capitalista, y que nosotros somos país socialista. Sin embargo, ahí no hay ilusiones en absoluto de que nosotros nos deslizáramos a sus aguas. Cuantos hombres en los países occidentales no nos quieren y nos atacan a nosotros y a nuestro país en su propaganda, lo hacen porque consideran que de este modo debilitarán no sólo a nosotros, sino a las fuerzas socialistas en general. Sin embargo, no obstante todo esto, y pese a que los países occidentales mantienen algunos emigrados nuestros, pagándoles por la propaganda que hacen contra nosotros, etc., nosotros mantenemos buenas relaciones con los mismos porque tenemos también algunos intereses comunes. En lo que constituye nuestro interés común, también colaboramos juntos.

Nosotros colaboramos con la Unión Soviética, por ejemplo, o sea, estamos de acuerdo con ella con respecto a diferentes problemas mucho más que con el Occidente. Pero con respecto a algunas cosas estamos de acuerdo con el Occidente. Sin embargo, el Occidente no considera que por el hecho de que estamos de acuerdo también con la Unión Soviética vale la pena ahora de echar a Yugoslavia y crear un frente hostil hacia nuestro país. Son al parecer más realistas a



Una vista de la autopista construida por las juventudes yugoslavas.

este respecto. Consideramos que debemos colaborar y lo hacemos con Francia, con Gran Bretaña y con América, con todos esos países en general. He de decir que precisamente por esta política que sigue, política de coexistencia y de colaboración entre diferentes países, Yugoslavia goza de gran prestigio entre los pueblos de esas naciones del Occidente. Y si nuestro país goza de tanto prestigio entre esos pueblos, entonces también los dirigentes de los mismos deben orientarse conforme a ello.

En los países asiáticos como también en los africanos, en los países del Oriente Próximo, Medio y Lejano, nuestro país goza de gran prestigio. Se trata de países como India, Indonesia, Birmania, Egipto, Etiopía y otros en esa parte del mundo, países con los que mantenemos relaciones de amistad. Naturalmente, trataremos de profundizar y consolidar aún más estas relaciones existentes, ya que tenemos muchas cosas comunes con esos pueblos. En nuestras relaciones no hay elemento alguno que impida que colaboremos lo más estrechamente posible tanto económica, política y culturalmente, como en todo otro sentido. Tengo que decir aquí, porque debe saberse, que esta colaboración nuestra con esos países y el prestigio que Yugoslavia goza en esta parte del mundo, no están bien vistos por algunos dirigentes de los países socialistas. No les gusta y no ven bien que Yugoslavia goce de este prestigio en esos países. Pero ¿qué podemos hacer nosotros?

Esos pueblos tienen confianza en nosotros, confianza que no han adquirido recientemente sino desde hace tiempo. Durante el desarrollo de nuestras relaciones han adquirido la confianza de que Yugoslavia no tiene ninguna mala intención para con

ellos, que Yugoslavia les presta ayuda y ofrece apoyo tanto en las Naciones Unidas como en otros lugares, y que esta actitud la toma sin reserva y a veces en perjuicio de sus propios intereses de política exterior. Nosotros debemos ofrecer apoyo a esos países por razones de principio, y sus pueblos lo saben y por esto aprecian a nuestro país. Además, esos pueblos saben muy bien que Yugoslavia, aunque mantenga con ellos relaciones económicas y otras, nunca exportará a esos países sus conceptos y puntos de vista teóricos.

El desarrollo interior de esos países es asunto privativo de ellos mismos. El desarrollo hacia el socialismo se plantea entre ellos ya hoy como un problema actual y ellos ya están caminando en este sentido tanto como pueden y como les permiten las condiciones. Sería erróneo de nuestra parte decirles que no trabajen tal como están trabajando, sino, por ejemplo, tal como estamos trabajando nosotros, sin preguntarnos qué pueden ellos hacer en este sentido. No, nosotros no les hablamos de esto, sino les decimos que son ellos mismos los que mejor conocen sus propias condiciones y que, por lo tanto, deben obrar tal como ellos crean que sea bueno. Y precisamente por ser objetivos y desinteresados, gozamos por allí del prestigio del que he hablado. Tenemos que conservar este prestigio. Por esto yo quisiera señalar aquí que es injusto que en nuestro país haya todavía algunos que trabajan en la realización de las relaciones comerciales sin tener en consideración el mantenimiento de este prestigio nuestro. Se trata de la gente que trabaja a corto plazo y considera que hoy debe apoderarse de lo que pueda y mañana que sea!

que sea. Pero esto de qué vale que yo vaya a esos países y trabaje en el terreno político, si luego se presentan estos individuos de las filas de comerciantes que trabajan por su cuenta y destruyan lo que nosotros conseguimos? Pues los hombres de allí pueden comprenderlo una o dos veces, pero no pueden tolerarlo si se hace con frecuencia o se repite constantemente. Por esto yo les recomiendo de corazón, a los hombres responsables que tienen relaciones con ello, que hagan que se ponga fin a esta práctica. Hay que tener presente siempre que se trata de los países que hasta ayer han sido colonias, que disponen de escasos recursos, que están preocupados en cómo salir del atraso y frente a los cuales todavía llega de los países occidentales un aire colonialista. Por esto debemos trabajar con estos países tanto en el campo económico como en otros de tal manera que ellos vean en nosotros amigos desinteresados, que vean que nuestro pueblo desea ayudarles de todo corazón en todo lo que pueda (Aprobación).

Camaradas:

En esta grandiosa reunión, ya que he mencionado esos países amigos del Oriente Medio y Lejano, tengo que decirles que dentro de poco volveré a hacer un viaje a algunos de esos países. Creo que acierto los pensamientos y los deseos de todos vosotros si transmito a esos pueblos, cuando vaya allí, en nombre vuestro y de todo nuestro pueblo, los mejores deseos y cordiales saludos (Frenéticos y largos aplausos y aprobación y aclamación a la amistad entre Yugoslavia y los países del Oriente Medio y Lejano). Al igual que ellos necesitan la expresión de solidaridad y de simpatías, nosotros también necesitamos la firme amistad y simpatía de esos pueblos, porque nosotros en ningún caso debemos permitir que nos separen de esos países con los cuales tenemos tantas cosas comunes en la difícil lucha por un futuro más bello y feliz.

Camaradas, jóvenes:

Vosotros festejáis hoy la terminación de una gigantesca labor realizada en este año. Tened presente también las futuras acciones que se emprenderán (Voces: Sí, queremos, sí queremos). Yo no tendré ocasión de veros y saludaros cuando comencéis a trabajar la nueva parte de este nuestro gran objeto. Por esto quisiera ahora, en este lugar, manifestar mi deseo tanto a vosotros que estáis aquí y a todos aquellos que el año próximo vendrán a este trabajo voluntario, que sigáis desarrollando las tradiciones surgidas y creadas ya al comienzo de las acciones juveniles de trabajo y que en este año han tenido también su manifestación. Construid

cosas y edificad a vosotros mismos en estas acciones y utilizad las posibilidades que tengáis en todos los sentidos.

Además, quisiera dirigir desde aquí a toda nuestra juventud un llamamiento a que tome ejemplo de nuestros jóvenes constructores que con tanto entusiasmo han dado hasta ahora todo de sí para nuestra comunidad, a que ellos mismos, si no en las vías, autopistas y otros grandes objetos que construyen nuestros jóvenes en estas acciones, traten de que en sus escuelas y lugares donde trabajan y viven, adquieran cada vez más conocimientos para que sean cada vez constructores más capaces del socialismo. En cuanto a nuestra juventud escolar, a nuestra juventud intelectual, quisiera añadir que entre algunos de nuestros jóvenes hay un aspecto negativo que consiste en que al salir de la escuela desean quedarse en la ciudad porque ahí pueden vivir más fácil y culturalmente.

Sin embargo, nosotros necesitamos también en la vida de la ciudad y en las regiones, y por eso nuestros jóvenes intelectuales, y entre todos agrónomos, médicos y otros técnicos de que todavía carecemos mucho, deben ir también al campo para que también allí se cree lo antes posible una vida más bella y culta.

Recomiendo de todo el corazón a nuestros jóvenes intelectuales que, al igual que la demás juventud nuestra, tomen ejemplo de los constructores de éste y de otros grandes objetos parecidos, que abnegadamente han dado todo de sí para nuestra comunidad, y por esto que ellos también den su contribución, de tal modo que vayan allí donde el pueblo lo necesite.

Mis queridos jóvenes:

Os deseo mucha felicidad y éxitos también en vuestros futuros trabajos y una vez más os felicito la terminación de esta parte de la autopista "Bratstvo-Jedinstvo".



El hotel "Metropol" recientemente construido en Belgrado, uno de los más lujosos del país.

# Visita Oficial del Presidente Josip Broz Tito a Indonesia, Ceilón, Sudán, India, Birmania, Etiopía y República Árabe Unida.

En las visitas que está realizando las conversaciones con las más altas el Presidente Josip Broz Tito, y en personalidades oficiales de estos países, se llevarán a cabo un profundo intercambio de opiniones y puntos de vista sobre los problemas de mutuo interés. No cabe duda de que estas visitas fortalecerán la amistad existentes entre estos países, que permanecen al margen de los bloques y Yugoslavia, y han de representar una confirmación más de los principios de la coexistencia activa y pacífica entre países con diferentes sistemas sociales, y de este modo significarán también una contribución al fortalecimiento de la colaboración y de la paz en el mundo.

El Presidente Tito, que viaja a bordo del barco escuela "Galeb", de la Marina de Guerra Yugoslava, acompañado de altos funcionarios del Gobierno de Yugoslavia y de su esposa, llegó el 5 de diciembre a Port Said donde fue recibido y saludado por el Presidente de la República Árabe Unida Gamal Abdel Nasser al que acompañaban otras personalidades.

Solicitado por la Agencia de Noticias para el Cercano Oriente, el Presidente Tito declaró:

De paso por la amiga República Árabe Unida siento el placer particular de haber tenido la oportunidad de encontrarme nuevamente con el gran amigo de nuestro país el Presidente Nasser, con su esposa y con algunos de sus destacados colaboradores. Aprovecho esta oportunidad para enviar al pueblo de la RAU los más cordiales saludos y los mejores votos en nombre de los pueblos de Yugoslavia, de mis acompañantes, de mi esposa y mío propio. Me siento muy feliz de que durante el viaje por los países amigos de Asia y Africa tenga la oportunidad de ver una vez más a la RAU, en la cual durante visitas anteriores y también hoy a mi llegada a Port Said he sentido calurosas manifestaciones de amistad para los pueblos de Yugoslavia, los cuales cultivan los mismos sentimientos por los pueblos de la amiga República Árabe Unida.



El Presidente Tito saludando al Presidente Gamal Abder Nasser a la llegada de este último a Dubrovnik en el pasado mes de julio, visita que ahora le ha devuelto Tito.

## KOCHA POPOVIC EN INGLATERRA

El 28 de octubre último llegó a Londres el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores de Yugoslavia, Kocha Popovic,



Kocha Popovic, Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores de Yugoslavia.

popovic, como huésped del Gobierno Británico, devolviendo así la visita que hiciera a Yugoslavia el Sr. Selwyn Lloyd, Secretario de Estado de Relaciones Exteriores de Gran Bretaña. En las entrevistas que tuvieron lugar se habló sobre el desarrollo de las relaciones anglo-yugoslavas y los problemas internacionales de interés mutuo. Se sostuvo una discusión amistosa sobre materias de interés común que continuó fuera del programa de las pláticas formales.

Los Ministros del Exterior convinieron en el desarrollo continuo de las relaciones mutuamente ventajosas entre sus dos países, particularmente en el campo económico, y notaron, con satisfacción que la cooperación fructífera en varios campos se había convertido en una práctica establecida.

Hubo una discusión, dirigida con un espíritu franco y constructivo, sobre los más importantes problemas internacionales incluyendo las relaciones oriente-occidentales, sobre el desarme, sobre el Medio Oriente, sobre Chipre y sobre el Lejano Oriente.

En el comunicado oficial se dice entre otras cosas:

"Los dos Gobiernos consideran esta visita, que es una de una serie

de relaciones entre el Reino Unido y los Ministros Yugoslavos, como una evidencia más allá de las relaciones amistosas entre sus dos países. Consideran que la práctica de asegurar sus respectivos puntos de vista y de discutirlos libremente hace una notable contribución al desarrollo de las buenas relaciones sobre la base de entera igualdad, independencia y confianza mutua. En ese sentido los dos secretarios de Estado consideran que las relaciones existentes entre el Reino Unido y Yugoslavia dan un ejemplo de gran cooperación entre los países de diferentes estructuras sociales".

"Los dos Ministros reafirmaron la determinación de sus Gobiernos de continuar su trabajo por la paz, por la reducción de la tensión mundial, y por el reforzamiento de la confianza y la cooperación pacífica entre las naciones".

## Relaciones Estadounidense-Yugoslavas

Contestando a diversas preguntas de la Prensa. Kócha Popovic, dijo refiriéndose a las relaciones de Yugoslavia y los Estados Unidos, que "apreciamos la asistencia económica que hemos recibido. Se han estado haciendo esfuerzos para continuar esta asistencia bajo una nueva forma de préstamos y créditos favorables.

"Nuestras relaciones actuales con los Estados Unidos son buenas y creemos que existen condiciones para su mejoramiento sobre una base de igualdad y una apreciación correcta de los intereses mutuos".

## El Primer Ministro de Indonesia en Belgrado

A mediados del mes de Octubre llegó a Yugoslavia, a invitación del Gobierno, el premier de Indonesia Djuanda Kartawidjaja, acompañado de varias altas personalidades indonesas.

## El Vice-Presidente E. Karde'j visitará Suecia

El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Suecia ha hecho público el 5 de diciembre que el Vice-Presidente del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal de Yugoslavia E. Karde'j ha aceptado la invitación que le fuera hecha para su visita a Suecia.

# VISITA DEL PREMIER NORUEGO, SR. GERHARDSSEN, A YUGOSLAVIA

El 25 de Septiembre último, llegó en visita oficial a Yugoslavia el premier de Noruega. Einar Gerhardsen. Durante su estada, el alto huésped fue objeto de múltiples atenciones. El presidente Tito le ofreció un almuerzo. En el curso de su permanencia en Belgrado, tuvieron lugar

importantes conversaciones noruego-yugoslavas. Posteriormente, el premier Gerhardsen visitó diferentes regiones yugoslavas, siendo por doquier recibido con el mayor cariño.

Después de las conversaciones sostenidas entre el presidente Tito y el premier noruego Gerhardsen, los dos estadistas recibieron a los representantes de la prensa noruega y yugoslava y contestaron varias preguntas.

En sus declaraciones ambos estadistas destacaron que en el curso de sus conversaciones pudieron constatar el alto grado de concordancia que existe en sus puntos de vista en relación con los más importantes problemas internacionales.

El presidente Tito subrayó su convencimiento de que la visita del premier noruego resultará provechosa para el desarrollo de las relaciones noruego-yugoslavas, tanto en el campo económico como en la cooperación en los dos demás campos de las actividades sociales y estatales.

A continuación, los periodistas preguntaron al premier Gerhardsen sobre su opinión respecto a las posibilidades y los esfuerzos para la preservación de la paz, y en especial sobre el rol de los pequeños países en la actualidad. El premier noruego dijo que no cree que exista ningún país el cual se atrevería mover sus fuerzas hacia una empresa bélica. "Por lo tanto —dijo— estoy convencido que las actuales crisis son pasajeras, y creo firmemente que no se suscitará un conflicto amplio. Nosotros en Noruega al igual que ustedes en Yugoslavia, tenemos depositada toda nuestra confianza en la Organización de las Naciones Unidas".

Al término de la visita del premier noruego Gerhardsen a Yugoslavia, fue publicado un comunicado conjunto sobre las conversaciones sostenidas entre los dirigentes yugoslavos y los huéspedes noruegos. En dicho comunicado se destaca, que las relaciones entre Yugoslavia y Noruega representan un ejemplo de la cooperación entre países con diferentes sistemas.

En el comunicado se destaca además, la preocupación de ambos gobiernos por la preservación de la paz y la necesidad de hacer ulteriores esfuerzos a fin de amainar la tensión internacional, y crear las condiciones necesarias, para una coexistencia activa entre los pueblos.

## Al servicio de la paz

Con una pequeña ceremonia, en el campamento militar de El Arish, se ha celebrado la entrega de las medallas de las Naciones Unidas a los integrantes del destacamento yugoslavo adjunto a las fuerzas de las Naciones Unidas destacadas en Egipto. A esta ceremonia asistió también el comandante en jefe de las fuerzas de las Naciones Unidas, general Burns, quien elogió la labor desempeñada por los yugoslavos, y subrayó el significado de la medalla otorgada, que lleva la leyenda "Al servicio de la paz".



El Vice-presidente del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal, E. Karde'j



## ***Yugoslavia condecora con la Orden de la Bandera de Yugoslavia de Primera Clase a los Excelentísimos señores Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo, Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores y Don José Gorostiza, Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores***

El día 7 de noviembre tuvo lugar en la Embajada de Yugoslavia en México una solemne ceremonia con motivo de la entrega a los señores Licenciado Luis Padilla Nervo y Don José Gorostiza, de la Orden de la Bandera de Yugoslavia de Primera Clase. En el acto estuvieron presentes los altos funcionarios de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, el Honorable Cuerpo Diplomático y muchas y destacadas personalidades de la vida oficial, financiera y cultural de México.

Las condecoraciones fueron entregadas por el Sr. Dalibor Soldatic, Embajador de Yugoslavia en México, quien pronunció un discurso que fue contestado por el señor Padilla Nervo, discursos que transcribimos a continuación. El señor Padilla Nervo dijo lo siguiente:

### **Señor Embajador:**

Intimamente satisfechos por el gesto cordial con el que la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia nos honra, el Sr. Subsecretario don José Gorostiza y yo vemos en este acto, por encima de las presencias personales, una afirmación de la amistad entre nuestras patrias. Vuestras generosas palabras han indicado ya, que esa amistad se distingue por su carácter activo, por su definida intención de superar las barreras del espacio y conjugar los esfuerzos positivos que nos dicta una vocación pacífica semejante.

Habéis señalado, señor Embajador, los grandes temas de esa vocación común: no intervención, igualdad de los Estados, soluciones pacíficas, autodeterminación, progreso económico y social, desarme. Habéis, asimismo, radicado estos problemas dentro del marco de orden y legalidad necesario para su justa defensa y solución: el de las Naciones Unidas.

México, seguro de que no será la conveniencia esporádica, ni menos al azar, sino la voluntad constante de todos los pueblos la fuerza que, lenta pero seguramente, nos conduzca a una paz estable, ha pugnado porque los arduos problemas de los cuales depende la convivencia pacífica sean objeto de estudio y atención permanentes dentro de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas. La condición inmediata de la paz que anhelamos es el desarme. Menos que ningún otro, pues, podría dejarse este tema al arbitrio de reuniones eventuales y desligadas del contacto mediador de los países pequeños y medianos

más interesados en resolver el problema. Un profundo desaliento se había apoderado de la conciencia mundial en razón del virtual estancamiento de las negociaciones del desarme. Y este desaliento era tanto mayor cuanto que, en el campo científico, se ha llegado ya al acuerdo técnico de que es posible detectar las explosiones experimentales con armas nucleares, tomar medidas prácticas al respecto y, en consecuencia, controlar la suspensión de las explosiones.

Existe, pues, con base en este acuerdo técnico, la posibilidad de llegar a un acuerdo político que prohíba las explosiones. No obstante —una vez más— la virtud política corre a la zaga de la virtud científica.

Hoy —en gran parte merced a la colaboración desinteresada y conciliadora de nuestros dos países— se ha reconstruido el foro en el que se continuará examinando el problema del desarme. México se siente satisfecho de la aprobación unánime del proyecto de resolución presentado conjuntamente por Yugoslavia y la India, que de hecho constituye un primer paso hacia la reanudación de las negociaciones. Estamos convencidos, también, de la utilidad de nuestra posición, que contribuyó a fijar nuevamente la atención mundial en la necesidad inaplazable de proseguir la tarea. No hemos de perder de vista las condiciones reales de la actual situación: el desarme dependerá, en última instancia, del consenso de las grandes potencias, y es a ellas, fundamentalmente, a las que conviene reunir en un clima propicio.



La posibilidad de controlar efectivamente las explosiones; la posibilidad de llegar a un acuerdo prohibiéndolas; la reanudación de las negociaciones en un ambiente que da voz a las tendencias mediadoras de la mayoría y, al través de ella, a la opinión pública internacional; la continuación de la tarea, apoyada en la virtud serena de la permanencia y en el lento y efectivo acumular de trabajo modesto y de soluciones parciales, el eventual consenso, en fin, de las grandes potencias, pueden abrirnos el camino hacia una solución verdadera del problema del desarme. Solución que ya no se fundaría en el miedo, sino en la convicción y, también, en la fraternidad. La única actitud ilícita, ante estas perspectivas, sería la de desaprovechar cualquier sugestión, por humilde que a primera vista parezca, que nos acerque a la meta deseada.

La opinión mundial no cree que las armas nucleares y la carrera de armamentos garanticen la independencia de las pequeñas naciones o la seguridad de las grandes. Cree que lo único que aseguran es la marcha hacia la destrucción.

Con excelente expresión habéis dicho, señor Embajador, que es preciso esforzarse por eliminar las causas que motivan la actual e inquietante situación en las relaciones internacionales. Pensamos que, en el momento presente, una de las tareas más urgentes consiste en la supresión del desequilibrio económico entre quienes han alcanzado un altísimo desarrollo de las fuerzas productoras de riqueza, y quienes —la mayoría— aún luchan por obtener el mínimo indispensable que la dignidad humana exige.

La visión de un mundo justo es más halagüeña, tanto para los poderosos como para los débiles, que la cierta catástrofe de un mundo injusto en el que, a la postre, los más ricos tuviesen que arrostrar la miseria ajena, o abandonar a los más pobres al hambre, a la enfermedad y a la muerte.

Los intereses del mundo son comunes. A la larga, la riqueza propia dependerá de la riqueza de los demás. Por esto es tan necesaria, para todos, la cooperación internacional. Y por esto, tan necesario que esa cooperación se finque en el respeto absoluto a la soberanía de la nación que recibe la ayuda. El requisito de la soberanía en las relaciones económicas internacionales no es un mero postulado abstracto. Es una de las bases concretas de un progreso racional, de beneficio común y de solidaridad interna e internacional.

Paralelo al desarrollo económico, correrá por necesidad el desarrollo político y social de los pueblos. Nada se ganará, en este punto, con el juicio unilateral o con la previa condenación. Cada pueblo —y sólo él— puede juzgar desde dentro su propia evolución histórica, y



De izquierda a derecha: señor Dalibor Soldatic, Embajador de Yugoslavia en México, Sr. Carlos Martín Tonso-Flores, Embajador de Brasil, Sr. Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo, Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores de México, Sr. José Gorostiza, Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores, Sr. Carlos Dario Ojeda, Oficial Mayor de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores y Sr. J. Natalicio González, Embajador de Paraguay.

promover las instituciones que más convengan a su particular situación nacional. El principio de no intervención defiende, y seguirá defendiendo, esta facultad soberana de los pueblos.

Para alcanzar sus metas de prosperidad económica y progreso político, los pueblos saben que no poseen mejor garantía que la paz. De allí, que sean estos pueblos los más decididos en la defensa de las relaciones pacíficas entre los Estados, no sólo en razón de su sentimiento de que una nueva conflagración derrotaría a todos —derrotaría a la vida misma— sino porque la paz y su calificación activa, la cooperación, son los presupuestos del bienestar y el progreso internos de cada uno.

México tiene fe en la acción pacífica de los pueblos. México no cesará en la búsqueda de soluciones justas a los problemas de las relaciones internacionales. México no abandonará su posición de independencia, de solidaridad y de mediación. Los hombres pasan, pero este legado, —producto de la experiencia histórica del pueblo mexicano— permanecerá.

Señor Embajador:

La gratitud con que el señor Don José Gorostiza y yo recibimos las insignias de la condecoración de la Bandera Yugoslava de Primera Clase, es comparable a la fiel amistad que profesamos por vuestra patria. Sed el portador de estos sentimientos al señor Presidente de la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, y al pueblo yugoslavo todo, cuya nobleza, heroicidad y vocación pacífica son objeto de nuestra admiración y respeto.

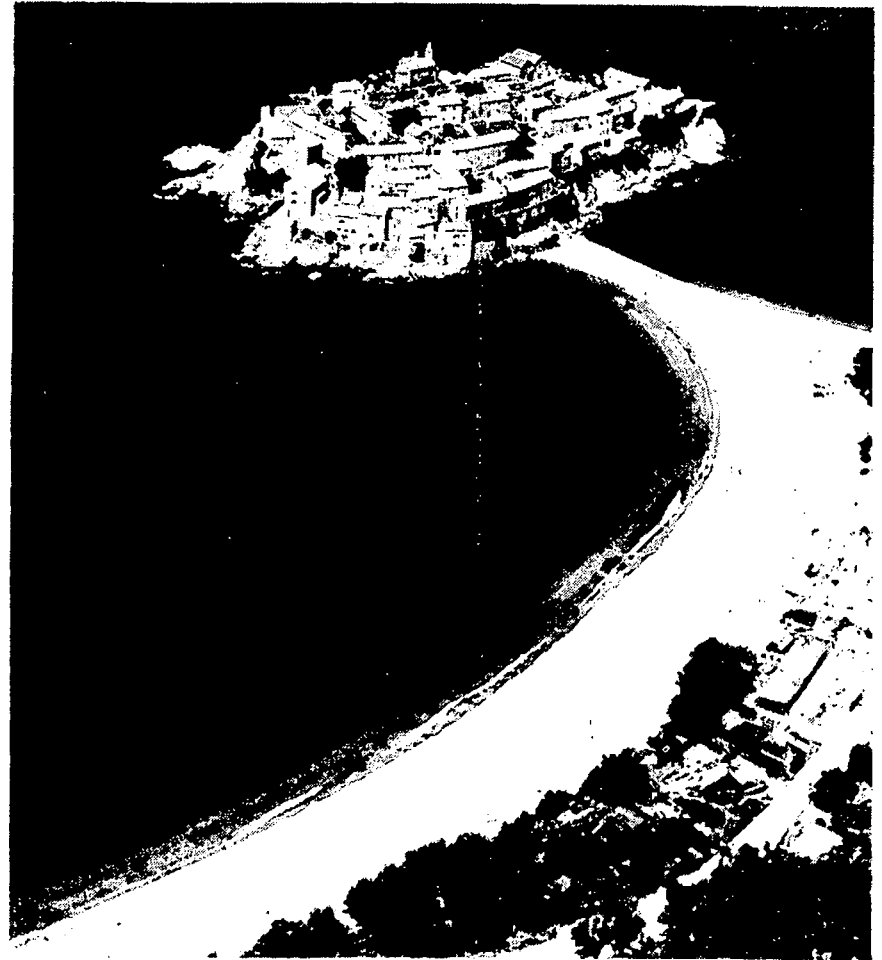
# **Discurso pronunciado por el Embajador de Yugoslavia señor Dalibor Soldatic, en el acto de condecorar a los señores Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo y Don José Gorostiza**

Excelentísimos Señores  
Don Luis Padilla Nervo y  
Don José Gorostiza:  
Señoras y señores:

Estas preseas que en nombre de los pueblos de mi patria, el Presidente de Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, otorga hoy a los Excelentísimos Señores Don Luis Padilla Nervo y Don José Gorostiza, en homenaje de sus relevantes y altos méritos, son a la vez el símbolo de una sincera amistad hacia el gran pueblo mexicano. amistad cuyas raíces se ahondan en el ayer de la historia con similitudes de afanes de independencia, de soberanía y de libertad, caminos por los que nuestros países, se han abierto ancho paso al progreso y marchan sin cesar hacia nuevas metas cumbres de democracia y de justicia social.

A semejanza de México que a través de su lucha de independencia primero, después con su fecundo e ilustre movimiento de Reforma y más tarde con su Revolución de 1910, cuyos principios alientan su poderoso progreso social y nacional, cultural y económico de hoy, hasta convertirle en un puntal señero para otros hombres y otros pueblos que aspiran a vivir una existencia más digna y humana, también Yugoslavia ha llegado, a través de luchas homéricas por su libertad e independencia, a cimentar las bases de su realidad actual, dejando atrás su histórico atraso, creando nuevas riquezas y una nueva conciencia y modos de vivir socialmente, que han superado en corto tiempo todo lo que nuestros pueblos han conocido en su larga historia del pasado.

Permítasme mencionar aquí un hecho que la espontánea solidaridad y la lejanía del mismo quizás han desdibujado en su recuerdo, pero que los pueblos de Yugoslavia tienen grabados en sus corazones con imperecedera gratitud. En los días más trágicos de nuestra guerra de Liberación Nacional, cuando sin armamentos y sin intendencias, luchábamos en el interior de la fortaleza



La pintoresca isla de San Stefan en el litoral de Montenegro.

hitleriana que era entonces Europa, y cuando la tierra yugoslava era hostilada e invadida por decenas de divisiones nazi-fascistas y nuestros hombres morían por conquistar un fusil al enemigo, en aquellos días llegó hasta nuestras cercadas trincheras el eco solidario de la acción de un pueblo lejano, de México, que con el calor oficial y la activa participación de personalidades civiles y militares llamaban a su pueblo a formar comités de "Ayuda al Ejército Liberador y Guerrillero de Yugoslavia" y recaudaban fondos para ayudar a los patriotas yugoslavos en su lucha por la vida y por su liberación nacional. ¡Rasgo de hermana solidaridad, característica de toda la

trayectoria de este gran pueblo mexicano!

No son pues de ahora los sentimientos amistosos que nos ligan a México, y si no tuvieran su génesis en otras épocas, sería suficiente la ejemplar trayectoria de la política internacional de México, para sentir en ella la mano amiga de todas las causas nobles que animan a los hombres y a los pueblos en el mundo.

Podría citarse como compendio de esta trayectoria política la egregia definición hecha por Don Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Presidente de México, al inaugurarse la Presa Falcón:

"México es un pueblo pacífico, amigable y sincero, celoso de su autonomía y orgulloso de sus tradicio-

nes históricas" y que se ha distinguido "por su vigorosa repulsión a cualquier forma de hegemonía externa; su inquebrantable respeto al derecho que todo pueblo tiene a darse las normas que mejor le acomoden; su innata simpatía para los débiles y oprimidos; su absoluta ausencia de prejuicios raciales; su aversión congénita a todas las injusticias, su acendrada devoción a la causa de la paz y por encima de todo su amor entrañable a la libertad"...

Estos conceptos son reveladores de que no hay barreras, ni distancias, ni límites geográficos que impidan a los pueblos y a los hombres hermanar sus pensamientos, sus anhelos y aspiraciones. Así piensa y siente también Yugoslavia. No es otra cosa la que expresa Yugoslavia con su lucha infatigable por los principios de la coexistencia activa de los pueblos y de los Estados, sin reparar en sus sistemas interiores, por la no ingerencia en los asuntos internos de los demás países, por la solución de los diversos problemas internacionales por la vía de las conversaciones pacíficas y el rechazo de usar la fuerza como medio de lograr objetivos; por la igualdad de los pequeños y grandes Estados en todos los aspectos de la colaboración, por el



Aerofoto de la región de Prismoten y Regosnica, en Dalmacia.

desarme y, particularmente, por la prohibición del empleo de medios nucleares de destrucción y de experimentos de bombas atómicas y de hidrógeno, por la liquidación del colonialismo y por el derecho de cada pueblo a gobernarse a sí mismo, por la concesión de una ayuda económi-

ca a los países insuficientemente desarrollados, sin que ella implique limitación alguna de la soberanía, independencia e integridad del país necesitado de esta ayuda, y, en fin, por la universalidad de las Naciones Unidas.

Cierto que tan elevados principios como los de México, los de Yugoslavia y de otros pueblos encuentran a veces prevenciones y resistencias, pero como muy bien dijo usted en cierta ocasión, Sr. Padilla Nervo, "en el curso de la historia, los caminos de la libertad, de la justicia y de la paz se han abierto superando intereses creados y anacrónicos intentos de mantener inmutables prácticas y conceptos que no pudieron renovarse para vivir"...

Si las conquistas del genio del hombre sobre la naturaleza hacen demencial hoy cualquier propósito de resolver los litigios entre los países por medio de las armas, deberemos los pueblos amantes de la paz esforzarnos para que se deseche la ley del más fuerte, como concepción indigna de las relaciones entre los hombres. El humanismo y la cultura de los hombres deben estar a la altura de las conquistas actuales de la civilización en el dominio de la técnica y de la ciencia en general, ya que de otro modo estas conquistas pueden transformarse en una maldición para el género humano.

La política de coexistencia pací-



Panorama de la bahía de Kotor, parte meridional de Montenegro.

fica tal como la concibe Yugoslavia, es opuesta a todas las tendencias que determinan el ahondamiento de las contradicciones internacionales y entre los bloques contrapuestos.

Las frecuentes crisis y convulsiones en las relaciones internacionales son fruto de la incomprensión y de la no aplicación de los fundamentos básicos de la política de coexistencia que, en rigor, no son otra cosa que los fundamentos básicos de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas.

Y es perfectamente lógico que el mundo no se sienta satisfecho de que únicamente cuando afloran las crisis se produzcan las intervenciones que con más o menos éxito procuran evitar la guerra. Eso no puede satisfacerlos. Por el contrario, es preciso esforzarse por eliminar las causas que motivan la inquietante situación actual en las relaciones internacionales, para evitar, precisamente el surgimiento de esas crisis.

La coexistencia a la sombra de un armamento poderoso es un absurdo, ya que la coexistencia no puede realizarse como solución provisional: ella implica el desarme y la prohibición de las armas nucleares. Dicho de otro modo, la coexistencia exige el rechazo de la fuerza como medio de arreglo de cuentas y prevee en su lugar emulaciones pacíficas, constructivas, económicas, culturales, científicas y de toda clase entre los Estados que tengan diferentes sistemas sociales.

Nada tiene de extraño pues, que México y Yugoslavia hayan coincidido en aspectos esenciales de su política internacional como por ejemplo, en el problema del desarme, cuando Yugoslavia expresó su conformidad con los argumentos que en relación con el uso de los experimentos de las armas nucleares expuso de manera convincente la Delegación de México y cuando apoyamos también la idea del Sr. Padilla Nervo sobre la creación de un Subcomité especial de trabajo adhoc.

De igual manera la representación de México en las Naciones Unidas declaraba que México apoyará la resolución de Yugoslavia sobre la suspensión provisional de las pruebas con armamentos atómicos, etc...

Estas y otras coincidencias explícitas e implícitas pueden señalarse en la concepción de México y de Yugoslavia de los grandes problemas que angustian al mundo y que se refieren



El famoso lago de Bled, en Eslovenia.

a la paz y a la prosperidad, al desarrollo económico de todos los países y a la elevación de la vida de los pueblos, coincidencias en la urgente necesidad de solución de los antagonismos entre los países altamente desarrollados y subdesarrollados, sobre la base de prestar un apoyo eficaz a estos últimos sin que tal ayuda atente a la soberanía de los mismos.

De cuanto hemos dicho se infiere una verdad irrefutable, esto es, que no es la fuerza en sí, ni la dimensión ni el grado de poderío económico y de desarrollo industrial de un país lo que hace grande una política, sino la justeza de una política es lo que hace grande a un país en el concurso mundial, aunque desgraciadamente seamos testigos todavía del uso y abuso que se hace de la fuerza para tratar de mantener, imponer o tratar de imponer las "razones propias", aunque no se pueda demostrar que los demás están equivocados.

De todos ustedes es sabida la actitud de Yugoslavia respecto a la existencia y política de bloques, lo que nos permite en la cuestión de la paz mundial sostener toda acción y toda medida, sea cual fuere el carácter social y político de sus iniciadores, si creemos que puede contribuir efectivamente a un debilitamiento de la tensión internacional y a la consolidación de la paz.

Sr. Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo, Sr. Subsecretario Don José Gorostiza; por encargo del Sr. Presidente de la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, tengo el honor de entregar a Vuestras Excelencias la condecoración de la Bandera Yugoslava de Primera Clase que les ha sido otorgada en reconocimiento de sus méritos personales y como insignes representantes de este noble pueblo de México, con el que cada día son más estrechos los vínculos amistosos que nos unen, y que se expresan no solamente en el ámbito de los grandes problemas internacionales, sino también en el de nuestras crecientes relaciones culturales y fomento de las comerciales que nos permiten, al ir conociéndonos mejor, extender nuestra cooperación amigable y sincera a todos los terrenos, como corresponde a la tradición y a la realidad de dos pueblos que palpitan a impulso de los mismos sentimientos de paz y de coexistencia, de libertad y de soberanía, de progreso y de justicia social.

Prendo, pues, en vuestros pechos, estas condecoraciones, complaciéndome de que mi Gobierno me haya conferido esta misión por la que se honra haciendo honor a vuestros merecimientos.

# **“Cada pueblo tiene el derecho a elegir libremente las formas de vida que mejor correspondan a sus intereses”**

El Sr. Hasan Brkic, miembro del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal de Yugoslavia, jefe de la Misión Especial que representó a Yugoslavia en la transmisión de poderes de México, en la entrevista concedida al destacado periodista de “Excelsior”, Sr. Fernando F. Revuelta, declaró los siguientes conceptos, que fueron publicados en dicho diario con fecha 29 de noviembre último:

—Los pueblos de Yugoslavia han sido varias veces víctimas de invasiones. Durante muchos siglos sufrieron la dominación extranjera y en el curso de un pasado reciente han atravesado por grandes guerras y padecido enormes pérdidas humanas y materiales en la lucha, por su vida y su libertad. Nos sentimos felices de haber conquistado esta libertad y la defendemos con todas nuestras fuerzas, persuadidos de que sin ella no hay posibilidad de paz, de bienestar ni de una vida mejor.

Estas palabras del señor Hasan Brkic, miembro del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal de Yugoslavia y jefe de la misión especial que representara a ese país en la toma de posesión del licenciado Adolfo López Mateos, traen a nuestra memoria la invasión de que fue víctima Yugoslavia sin previa declaración de guerra, el 6 de abril de 1941 por los ejércitos de Alemania, Italia, Hungría y Bulgaria.

Once días después, el rey Pedro II huyó a El Cairo, en tanto que su país era ocupado totalmente. Las luchas intestinas que desgarraban a Yugoslavia motivaron la fulminante capitulación.

El 7 de julio de 1941 se hacía en Servia el primer disparo de la insurrección contra los ocupantes. Al frente de los destacamentos guerrilleros figuraba Josip Broz Tito hoy Presidente de la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia.

—Nuestro pasado justifica —continúa diciéndonos el señor Hasan Brkic— que la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia, nacida de la guerra y la revolución, se empeñe, sin ningún propósito egoísta, por la afirmación del derecho de cada pueblo a elegir libremente las formas de vida que mejor correspondan a sus necesidades y a sus tradiciones. Estos objetivos de la Humanidad, que nos son comunes, constituyen el sentido de la coexistencia activa y pacífica de los pueblos, sin reparar en sus sistemas políticos y sociales. Sobre esta base mi país desarrolla sus relaciones y su colaboración con todos los demás países.

—¿Con todos los demás países?

Nuestro interlocutor nos mira fi-



Sr. Hasan Brkic, miembro del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal de Yugoslavia, jefe de la Misión Especial yugoslava en la transmisión de poderes en México.

jamente. Y responde subrayando con tono afirmativo nuestra pregunta:

—Con todos los demás países. Sabemos que la opinión mundial contempla, con justificado interés, el actual conflicto de Yugoslavia con la Unión Soviética, China y demás países de la Europa Oriental. Lo esencial de este conflicto reside en el inquebrantable punto de vista de Yugoslavia de conservar su política autónoma, su derecho soberano de decidir sobre los caminos y las formas de su desarrollo interior y de actuar en sus relaciones internacionales con el principio de la coexistencia activa y la práctica de una colaboración internacional que esté basada en la igualdad de los grandes y pequeños estados.

—Yugoslavia es un pequeño Estado...

—Pero que cuenta con una gran fuerza moral. Y por ello estamos firmemente convencidos de que los organizadores de la actual campaña contra Yugoslavia, tarde o temprano tendrán que aceptar la realidad, como ya lo hicieron antes, y comprender que en las relaciones actuales

del mundo no pueden encontrar apoyo, sea cual fuere la presión contra el libre desarrollo de cada país.

—¿Cómo contempla usted, señor ministro, el momento actual del mundo?

—Atravesamos una etapa de inquietudes y angustias. Hay muchos problemas internacionales que exigen una rápida solución. Pero la evolución social económica, las conquistas de la ciencia moderna, los sentimientos profundamente democráticos que está penetrando la comunidad de los hombres nos han de permitir liberarnos de esas angustias y encontrar soluciones a los problemas que nos plantea el mundo contemporáneo.

—Algunos de ellos de urgencia vital...

—De toda urgencia, ya que a una gran parte de la Humanidad le está hoy vedado disfrutar de los bienes inclusive de los más elementales de nuestra civilización. Sin embargo, aquello que los cerebros más preclaros del pasado presintieron genialmente y plantearon como objetivo de los hombres es hoy, en la segunda mitad del siglo XX, una posibilidad muy asequible. Sólo que para que ésta se convierta en realidad se hace indispensable la colaboración y la comprensión mutuas entre los pueblos. Así es como Yugoslavia concibe la solución de los problemas actuales, en su anhelo de evitar que el mundo recaiga en métodos y procedimientos contrarios a los intereses vitales de los hombres.

—¿Qué se piensa de México en Yugoslavia?

—Aunque nos hallamos alejados en el espacio, Yugoslavia sigue con mucho interés los acontecimientos de México y celebra sus éxitos en la industrialización y en la agricultura. México ha emprendido también una serie de realizaciones de gran alcance en los dominios cultural y científico, lo que le vale las simpatías y el profundo respeto del mundo entero. México y Yugoslavia tienen muchos puntos afines. También nosotros estamos convencidos de que un rápido desarrollo industrial es la condición básica para el progreso nacional. El camino está cuajado de dificultades, pero no de tal magnitud

# YUGOSLAVIA EN LA TELEVISION DE MEXICO

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En las vísperas de la Fiesta Nacional de Yugoslavia, el 25 de noviembre, se pasó un programa de 30 minutos por el Canal 4, dedicado íntegramente a Yugoslavia. Fue un conjunto de manifestaciones artísticas, teniendo por fondo la bandera, el escudo y el himno nacional de la RPF de Yugoslavia. En el desarrollo del mismo se dió a conocer al pueblo de México algunos aspectos del desarrollo industrial y agrícola, del paisaje y folklore yugoslavos, mediante la exhibición de fotografías explicadas por el locutor. Un grupo de señoritas descendientes de yugoslavos residentes en México, magníficamente ataviadas con trajes típicos nacionales de los distintos pueblos de Yugoslavia, interpretaron una danza popular del país. Con acompañamiento de piano se cantaron bellas canciones y se recitaron poesías de conocidos autores yugoslavos. Como parte final de programa se escenificó por actores mexicanos una vieja leyenda del período de la ocupación turca en Yugoslavia.

En el curso de la proyección el locutor hizo una entrevista al señor Dalibor Soldatic. Embajador de Yu-

## CADA PUEBLO TIENE...

que una voluntad colectiva no pueda vencerlas. En los tres últimos años Yugoslavia ha aumentado su producción industrial en un promedio de 15 por ciento. Hemos puesto en marcha la industria naviera y también, en gran proporción, la eléctrica y la de maquinaria. Últimamente hemos desarrollado con gran celeridad la fabricación de tractores y otras máquinas que exige la agricultura moderna. Desde este punto de vista podemos apreciar los esfuerzos de México por su rápido desarrollo. Otro hecho positivo en ese empeño del Gobierno mexicano por ampliar y diversificar sus mercados, hecho que, además de su relevante importancia para el desarrollo de la economía mundial, contribuye a que los países entren más directamente en la escena de la política internacional.

El señor Hasan Brkic dijo por último:

—Quiero recordar a nuestros amigos mexicanos que las puertas de Yugoslavia están abiertas de par en par para ellos. Y no sólo las puertas, sino también nuestros corazones. Y al transmitir al digno sucesor de Adolfo Ruiz Cortines el saludo personal del mariscal Tito, Presidente de la República Popular Federativa de Yugoslavia, y sus votos por la prosperidad de México, quiero repetir que el Gobierno yugoslavo hará cuanto esté a su alcance para consolidar y profundizar, aún más si cabe, las fraternas relaciones entre nuestros países.

goslavia en México, que se desarrolló en estos términos:

Excelentísimo Sr. Embajador: Sabemos que entre México y Yugoslavia existen muy cordiales y amistosas relaciones. ¿Puede usted decirnos algunas palabras sobre ello?

Efectivamente, y con gran satisfacción, puedo asegurarle que entre México y Yugoslavia existen y se desarrollan unas relaciones plenamente cordiales y amistosas, que fructifican en coincidencias de esfuerzos de los dos países por un mejor entendimiento y cooperación tanto mutuas como en el ámbito de las relaciones internacionales, éstas, ante los grandes problemas que inquietan al mundo, como la defensa de la paz, el desarme, la prohibición de los experimentos nucleares con fines bélicos, ayuda desinteresada a los pueblos subdesarrollados, etc.

Sr. Embajador: ¿Cómo cree usted que esos nobles objetivos en los que coinciden esencialmente México y Yugoslavia podrían impulsarse todavía más?

A mi modo de ver, en la medida que nuestros respectivos pueblos se vayan conociendo mejor, y por ende, desarrollando más ampliamente sus relaciones bilaterales, darán —la están dando ya— una prueba más a otros países de las posibilidades concretas y de los resultados mutuamente beneficiosos de la coexistencia pacífica activa, es decir, de la cooperación entre naciones que tienen diferentes sistemas sociales. lo que no es obstáculo para desarrollar, dentro del respeto más cabal de la soberanía nacional, la cooperación y los lazos de amistad.

¿Qué piensa usted, Sr. Embajador, sobre las relaciones económicas de ahora y en el futuro entre nuestros dos países?

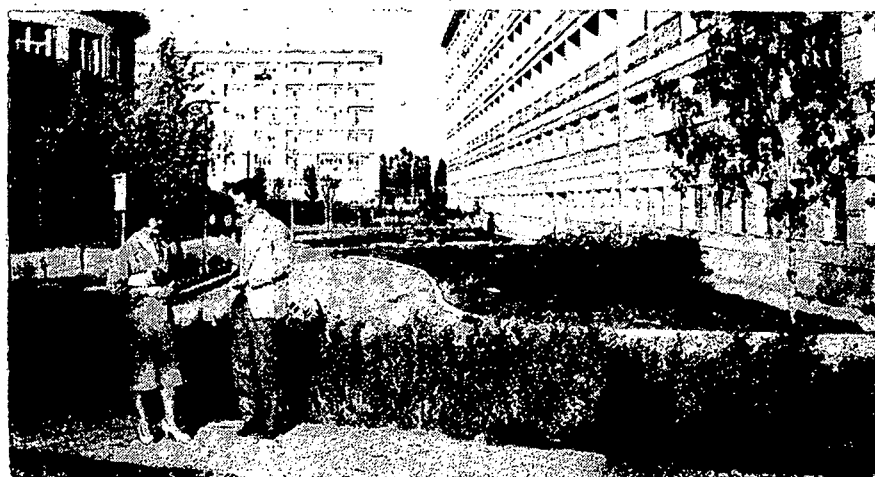
Creo que las actuales relaciones económicas no corresponden al alto nivel en que se encuentran las demás relaciones de mi país con México. El intercambio se encuentra en un

bajo nivel y sería preciso un gran esfuerzo para elevarlo, toda vez que existen grandes posibilidades de intercambio comercial ya que mi país se interesa también en la participación en las inversiones para el desarrollo industrial de México. Yugoslavia está interesada en adquirir de México productos como el algodón, azúcar, café y otros. Yugoslavia podía ofrecer al mercado mexicano productos de electroindustria pesada para plantas hidro y termoeléctricas, maquinaria, aluminio, productos de siderurgia y otras industrias, al igual que equipos completos para plantas industriales y también barcos de carga, de pasaje y pesca.

Y finalmente, Sr. Embajador, ¿Cómo se desarrollan las relaciones culturales entre nuestros respectivos países?

En el orden cultural puedo indicarle que estamos en vísperas de firmar un Convenio Cultural que sentará la base para una intensificación de la actividad recíproca en este campo, que ya ha tenido manifestaciones concretas en exposiciones de grabados y pinturas de artistas de México en Yugoslavia y de Yugoslavia en México. Entre otras cosas puedo referirme al gran éxito de la Exposición de Arquitectura Mexicana que ha tenido lugar recientemente en Belgrado. Y tenemos prevista la participación de Yugoslavia con un número considerable de cuadros en la Exposición de Pintura Moderna de Europa y América que organiza México para el próximo febrero. A su vez, México prepara para exhibir en abril del año entrante una Exposición de Arte Popular Mexicano en la capital de Yugoslavia. Y, naturalmente, se estudia por ambas partes la realización de otras manifestaciones culturales que nos acercarán más y más y que al permitir irnos conociendo mejor consolidarán los vínculos de sincera y profunda hermandad existentes entre México y Yugoslavia.

La Ciudad Universitaria que se encuentra en el nuevo Belgrado, a orillas del Sava.



# Situación económica de Yugoslavia

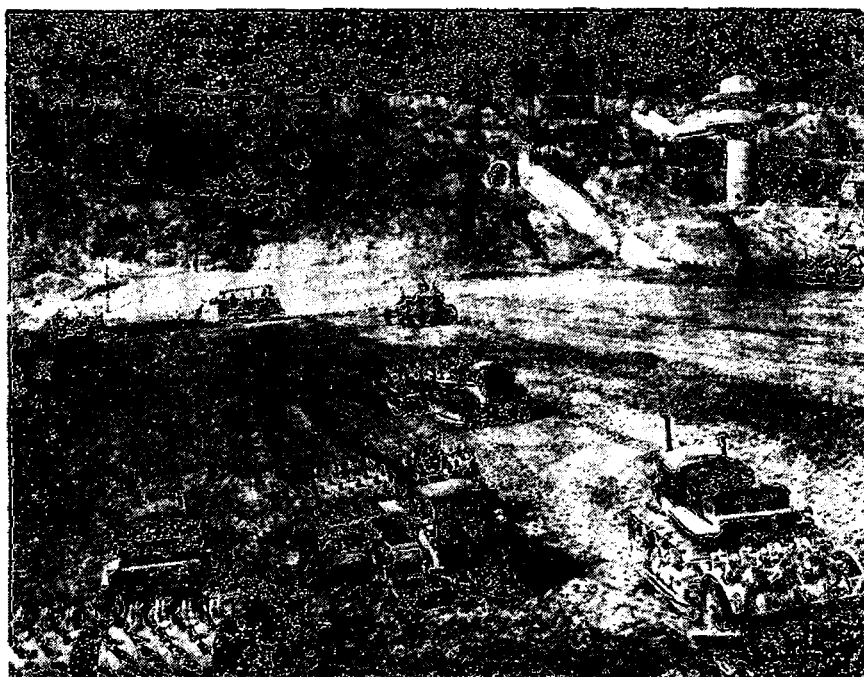
Pronto hará veinte años desde que terminó la guerra, y surge la pregunta sobre el progreso realizado por la nueva Yugoslavia. No es fácil dar una respuesta a esta pregunta. Los datos escuetos sobre la producción alcanzada no explican frecuentemente el complejo problema del crecimiento económico, pues la noción de progreso rebasa los límites de dicho crecimiento. Como se trata de un país que ha iniciado la edificación del socialismo en condiciones de un atraso económico, será necesario presentar el dinamismo del desarrollo yugoslavo no solo mediante comparaciones con la situación de antes de la guerra, sino también con algunos países que han iniciado su desarrollo desde los niveles casi iguales.

Lo característico para la Yugoslavia de antes de la guerra fue un reducido porcentaje de la población empleada en la industria. Se calcula que de los 16.277.000 habitantes, sólo 300.000 estaban empleados en la industria y artesanía. Igualmente se calcula que, según el número de personas aseguradas, sólo un 5% de la población trabajaban en la industria.

Un 76% de la población se ocupa-



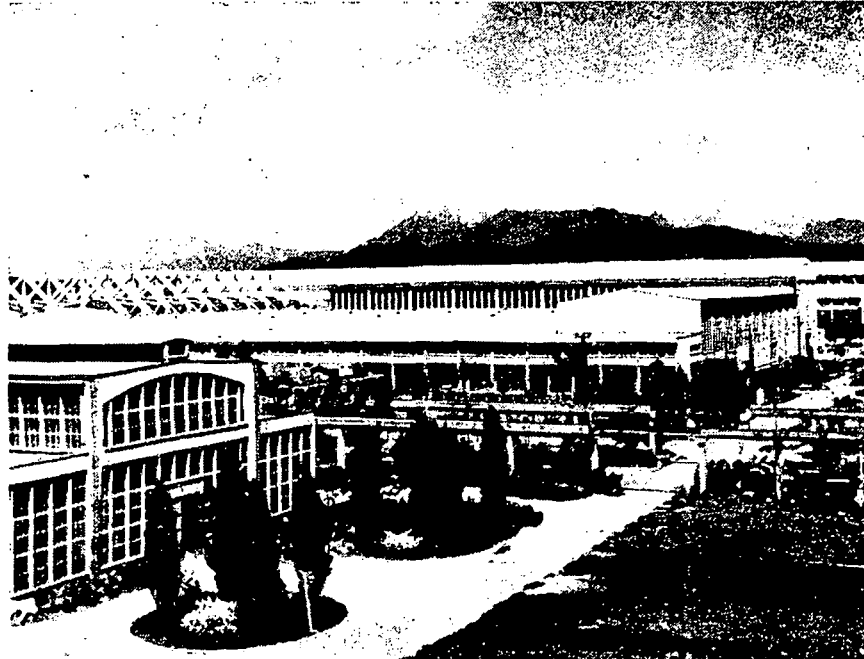
Refinería de Petróleo en Sisak, vista de noche.



Construcción de la Central hidroeléctrica de Mavrovo. El dique de cemento del lago tiene una altura de 56 metros.

ba en actividades de agricultura y el resto, un 19%, en otras actividades económicas. La distribución de la renta nacional igualmente evidenciaba el atraso de Yugoslavia: el 52.6% provenía de la agricultura, la industria forestal, el 25.7% de la industria y artesanía, y el resto de otros ramos económicos. El porcentaje de la agricultura en la renta nacional no sólo confirmaba el atraso general de Yugoslavia, debido a que este porcentaje era casi cuatro veces superior al de la industria, sino confirmaba también el atraso de la agricultura en comparación con otros ramos económicos. Dicho atraso consistía en que 3/4 de la población producía más que una mitad de la renta nacional. El atraso de Yugoslavia se reflejaba también en el comercio exterior. La agricultura y las materias primas ocupaban un 60% de la totalidad de exportaciones, el resto lo ocupaban la industria, los bosques y otros ramos, de los cuales una parte comprendía también exportaciones de materias primas o semiproducidos. En la totalidad de las importaciones de Yugoslavia 000662 : pr





Vista de la fábrica "Litostroj" en Ljubljana.

ductos industriales comprendían unas cuatro quintas partes (datos sacados de las estadísticas del comercio exterior de antes de la guerra).

La situación de Yugoslavia era tanto peor cuanto que Yugoslavia, en opinión general, pertenecía, en los Balcanes y en la Cuenca Danubiana, a los países que tenían la más fuerte base de materias primas, comprendiendo ante todo minas y bosques, como asimismo ciertas fuentes energéticas, especialmente la hulla blanca. Existía un gran desequilibrio entre la enorme base de materias primas y la subdesarrollada industria, hecho que se comprenderá aún más claramente si añadimos que, en la estructura de la Yugoslavia de antes de la guerra, la industria extractiva ocupaba un 21%, mientras la industria mecánica y eléctrica solamente un 2%. Los artículos que se exportaban y por los que Yugoslavia fue conocida, como por ejemplo, cobre, plomo, madera, etc., se hallaban mayormente en manos de los extranjeros. Las demás riquezas no se explotaban suficientemente, lo que se puede ver sobre todo si se compara la producción yugoslava con la de otros países europeos. Así, por ejemplo, en 1939 Yugoslavia producía por habitante:

Carbón: 389 kgs. lo que es superior a Rumania y Bulgaria.

Hierro: 6 Kgs ocupando el último lugar junto con Rumania.

Acero: 15 Kgs. superior a Rumania (13).

Fluido eléctrico: 71 kv/h. superior a Bulgaria (42).

Petróleo: 0.06 kgs. superior solamente a Hungría (26) y a Checoslovaquia (13).

Si se toma como criterio el rendimiento por hectárea, la situación en la agricultura presentaba el siguiente cuadro:

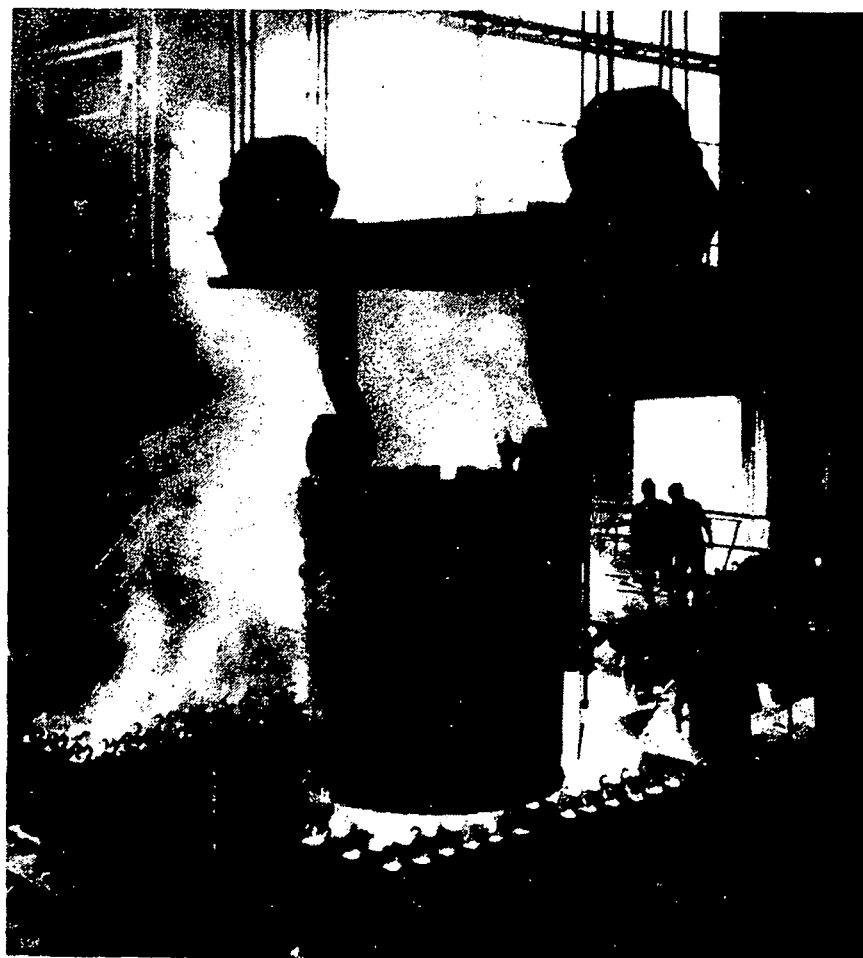
Trigo: 11.3 quintales, superior solamente a Rumania (9.1).

Patata: 61 quintales, ocupando el último lugar en Europa.

Remolacha: 180 quintales, superior solamente a Rumania (91).

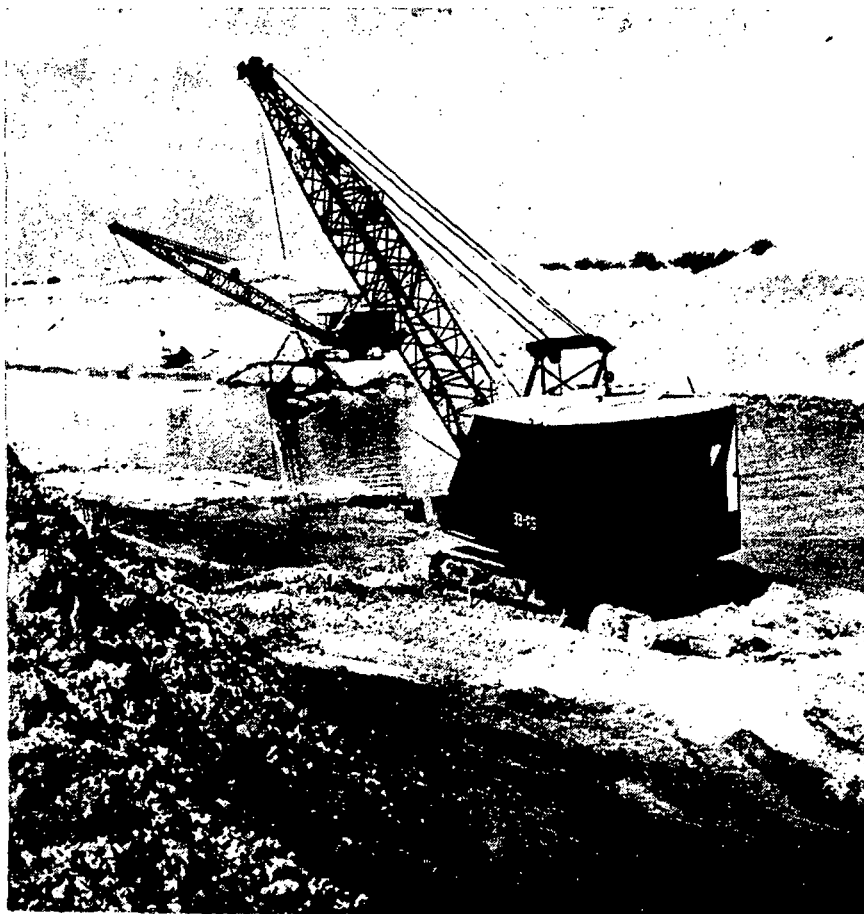
El consumo de abonos por hectárea de tierra laborable era de 0.3 kg., ocupando el último lugar en Europa.

Actualmente Yugoslavia ha hecho un enorme progreso en su desarrollo económico. Desde 1939 hasta 1956 la renta nacional casi se ha triplicado. Expresada con precios que regían en 1956, se saca el siguiente cuadro: en 1939 fue 264.2 y en 1956 alcanzó 660.2 mil millones de dináres. La participación de la industria en la renta nacional aumentó del 26.8% al 45.6%, y de la in-



Alto horno de la empresa metalúrgica de Sisak.





Construcción del gran sistema de canales Danubio-Tisa-Danubio. Más de 3,066 Km. han sido construidos con una capacidad de riego de 102,187 Has.

industria disminuyó del 44.3 al 25.7%. Mientras en 1936 había todavía un 76.6% de la población agrícola, en 1956 este porcentaje disminuyó al 58.1%. Se calcula que en 1955 había 1.900.000 personas empleadas en las actividades no agrícolas contra la cifra de 600-700 mil de antes de la guerra. El comercio exterior de Yugoslavia ha cambiado completamente su estructura, pues en 1956, materias primas y productos agrícolas constituían un 20%, semiproductos y productos finales un 50.3% mientras productos y semiproductos de alta calidad constituían un 29.5% de la totalidad de las exportaciones yugoslavas.

El desarrollo de Yugoslavia, en comparación con una serie de otros países, puede apreciarse en gran medida según los cambios operados en la estructura de la población desde antes de la guerra hasta 1955.

#### POBLACION ACTIVA NO AGRICOLA

(en % de la totalidad de la población activa)

País	Antes de la guerra	1955
Yugoslavia	23.4	41.9
Bulgaria	17.0	28.1

Checoslovaquia	62.0	66.
Alemania Oriental	79.9	79.
Hungría	48.4	53.
Polonia	29.4	46.
Rumania	18.0	31.
Unión Soviética	41.0	57.

(Fuentes: Economic Survey of Europe 1957, Chapter VII, pág. 19; El Plan Económico de Yugoslavia 1957-61, pág. 88).

Según estos datos se deduce que Yugoslavia ha hecho el mayor progreso entre los mencionados países en cuanto a la modificación de la estructura de la población.

Ya hemos mencionado que la estructura del comercio exterior de Yugoslavia se ha modificado. Esta nueva estructura de posguerra pone a Yugoslavia más bien en el mismo nivel con Hungría y Checoslovaquia a diferencia de la vieja Yugoslavia que, habiendo sido exportadora de materias primas y productos semielaborados, se parecía más, por su estructura de comercio exterior, a Bulgaria y Rumania, las que también después de la guerra exportan mayormente productos agrícolas y materias primas. (Ec. Survey of Europe 1957 (A-53) 59). Esta observación coincide con la observación de GATT quien incluye a Yugoslavia en su publicación INTERNATIONAL TRADE 1956, entre los ocho nuevos países semiindustrializados de posguerra (Argentina, Brasil, México, Australia, India, Unión Sudafricana, Finlandia y Yugoslavia). Según los análisis de GATT, lo característico para dichos países consisten-



Hidrocentral de Vuzenica, sobre el Drave, en Eslovenia.

En la relativa disminución de las exportaciones de materias primas a los países desarrollados, y en el aumento general de las exportaciones a los países subdesarrollados.

Los éxitos alcanzados por la agricultura yugoslava se pueden observar también en la siguiente comparación de la cosecha de las principales culturas:

### COSECHA POR HECTAREA

(En quintales)

	Bulgaria		Rumania		Yugoslavia		Hungria
	1934-5	1957	1935-5	1957	1934-5	1957	1957
Trigo	9.0	16.4	6.8	13.3	9.2	15.8	15.7
Cebada	8.1	28	5.0	10.5	9.7	14.8	20.1
Maíz	13.1	19.2	9.7	17.3	19.4 *	21.5	20.3
Remolacha		228				245	222

(\*) Este año fue excepcional, mientras el promedio de antes de la guerra fue de 16 quintales.

De estos datos se desprende que Yugoslavia no se atrasa a otros países, y que en algunas culturas tiene mejor cosecha.

En cuanto a la industria, además

de otros datos, el progreso de Yugoslavia se deduce de la siguiente información, cuyos datos se expresan por habitante y año:

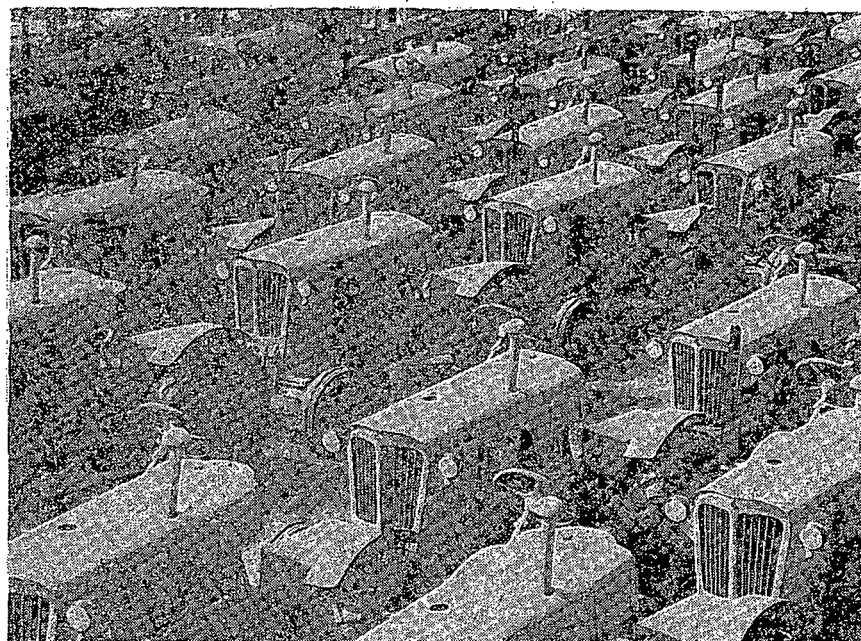
Unidad	Medida	1939	1956
Fluido eléctrico	Kv/h.	72.1	283
Acero lingotes	kg.	14.4	49.17
Aluminio bloques	"	0.11	0.5
Cemento	"	55	37
Acido sulfúrico	"	1.4	6
Superfosfatos	"	—	9.3
Papel	"	2.6	5.9
Hilado de algodón	"	1.16	2.2
Tejidos de algodón	m <sup>2</sup>	7	10
Hilado de lana	kg.	0.33	0.63
Tejidos de lana	m <sup>2</sup>	0.8	1.3
Calzado de cuero	pares	0.52	0.61
Cerveza	litros	2.6	4.3
Azúcar	kg.	6.6	8.2
Aceite de cocina	"	1.3	1.8

Sería erróneo enjuiciar las realizaciones yugoslavas sin referirse brevemente a las fases que Yugoslavia ha pasado en su edificación de posguerra, no olvidándose el punto de partida del cual ha iniciado su desarrollo después de la guerra: un país subdesarrollado antes de la guerra, con un 60% de los medios de producción destruidos.

En la primera fase de su desarrollo Yugoslavia fue la primera entre los países del Este que aplicaba medidas de socialización. En este sentido una ventaja de dos años, por lo menos, a los países del Este. En los momentos en que los demás todavía no habían iniciado la colectivización de la agricultura, una quinta parte de las tierras estaban comprendidas por las cooperativas de trabajo. El Plan quinquenal yugoslavo fue aprobado dos años antes que el búlgaro y el checo, mientras los alemanes y rumanos no aprobaron tales planes hasta el año 1950.

En esta primera fase Yugoslavia estaba entre los primeros países en

Europa que animaban y desarrollaban la producción industrial, lo que se deduce de los siguientes datos:



Tractores de manufactura nacional de tipo "Zadruga", producido en la fábrica de tractores y máquinas de Rakovica.

### PRODUCCION INDUSTRIAL - 1937

(Base 100)

1945 1946 1947 1948

Unión Soviética	—	110	135	171
Bulgaria	129	132	158	190
Checoslovaquia	—	—	87	103
Grecia	—	—	78	85
Polonia	—	86	108	141
Italia	—	—	93	98
Suecia	113	137	141	150
Inglaterra	—	90	98	109
Yugoslavia	—	110	190	293

(UN Statistical Yearbook 1949-50, pág. 129-140).

Sobre las consecuencias del conflicto con el Kominform y del bloqueo económico, Economic Survey of Europe 1953, pág. 124, dice, entre otras cosas, lo siguiente: "Si existen otras cosas sobre las que se puede discutir, está fuera de duda el hecho de que el bloqueo de los países del Este ha causado a Yugoslavia grandes dificultades económicas". Fue necesario hallar nuevas fuentes de abastecimiento para un 50% de importaciones y nuevas salidas para las correspondientes exportaciones. El bloque oriental absorbía cerca de 85-90% de circulación de materias primas estratégicas, coque, carbón y productos laminados, y un 60% de maquinarias y derivados de nafta. Al producirse la revocación de grandes envíos de inversión, el ritmo del aumento de la producción y de la renta nacional yugoslavas disminuyó. Luego vino la mayor carga, el armamento, que era mayor a un 20% de la renta nacional en bruto. Es claro que todo esto tuvo que tener efectos en la producción y en la es-

(Pasa a la pág. 31)



Petar Lubarda. Pescados. Oleo. Museo de Arte Moderno de Sao Paulo.

## LOS ARTISTAS YUGOSLAVOS EN LAS EXPOSICIONES DE BELLAS ARTES EN EL EXTRANJERO

En este año ha habido varias exposiciones de nuestros pintores y escultores en diferentes ciudades extranjeras. Se ha previsto que durante los próximos otoño e invierno nuestros artistas tomen parte en la Exposición yugoslava de artes gráficas en Moscú, luego en la exposición de artes plásticas que tendrá lugar dentro del Festival de las Artes en Nueva York. A fines del año participarán en la Exposición de Nueva Delji, y a principios del año próximo en una exposición de las artes contemporáneas yugoslavas que debe celebrarse en Zurich.

Nuestras artes plásticas contemporáneas se afirman cada vez más en el extranjero y son más frecuentes

las invitaciones que llegan a nuestros artistas plásticos para tomar parte en las exposiciones extranjeras.

Las artes plásticas yugoslavas constituyen un sector de extraordinaria diversidad y dinamismo en la vida cultural y artística de Yugoslavia. Esto es fácil de comprender si se sabe que las artes plásticas contemporáneas de Yugoslavia están vinculadas a los nombres de los conocidos artistas cuyo período de maduración y máxima creación artística viene de los últimos diez años. Por esto tampoco es de extrañar que en casi todas las exposiciones extranjeras de artes modernas uno de nuestros pintores o escultores gane un premio.



Maksim Sedej. Naturaleza muerta con pájaro. Oleo.



Sava Sumanovic. Mujer en un paisaje. Museo Nacional de Belgrado.

En la Exposición "Los 50 años del arte moderno", que ha tenido lugar dentro de la Exposición mundial de

Bruselas, en el Palacio Internacional de Artes, el arte moderno yugoslavo ha sido representado por el pintor

de vanguardia, Petar Lubarda, como también por Krsto Hegedusic y el más conocido pintor primitivo, Ivan Generalic.

En el Pabellón yugoslavo de la Exposición Mundial de Bruselas, en la sección de artes plásticas (Galería II), se ha organizado una exposición permanente de artes contemporáneas yugoslavas.

En las cercanías de Bruselas, en el Palacio Charleroi, en la Exposición "El Arte y el Trabajo" toman parte los pintores yugoslavos; Djordje Ilic, Riko Debenja, Krsto Hegedusic, Mario Pregelj, Ivan Generalic, Olivera Kangrga y otros.

En el Bienal de Venecia, de octubre de este año, las artes plásticas yugoslavas han sido representadas por el conocido pintor croata Krsto Hegedusic, el pintor contemporáneo esloveno Gabriel Stupica, el pintor abstracto Edo Murtic y los más jóvenes escultores yugoslavos, Olga Jevric y Drago Trsar.

Cabe mencionar que estos días se



Mija Males. La partida del invasor.

Milo Milunovic, Viento del Adriático, Oleo.





Krsto Hegedusic. Cinco en el albergue. Oleo sobre vidrio.



Ismet Mujecinovic. Bajo los robles. Galería Moderna de Zagreb.

ha prolongado la Exposición de artes gráficas yugoslavas en Johannesburgo, en Africa, a causa del gran interés que ha despertado entre el público.

En el mes de julio de este año los periódicos checoslovacos comentaron extensamente la Exposición de las Artes yugoslavas contemporáneas que tuvo lugar en Praga y en Brno. En esa Exposición estaban representados unos 80 artistas, generalmente de la joven generación, entre ellos Miodrag Protic, Mladen Srbinovic, Stojan Celic, Jovan Gratohtvil y otros.

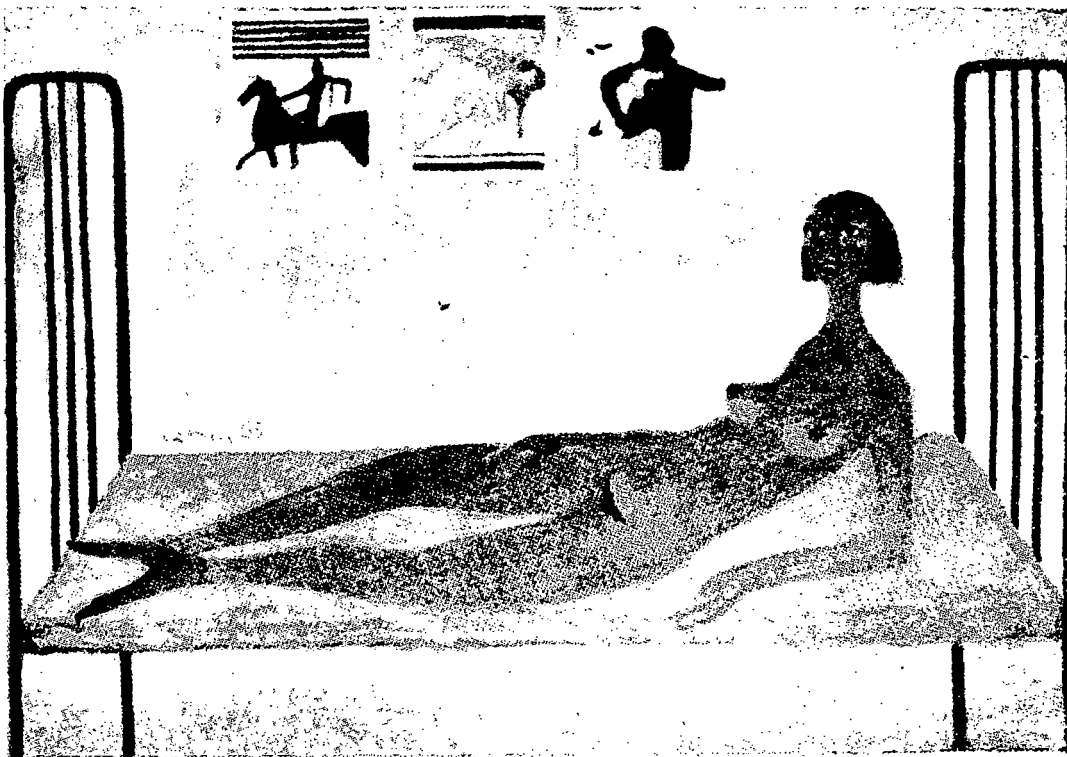
En Moscú despertó gran interés la Exposición de artes gráficas yugoslavas que ha tenido lugar en el mes de octubre de este año y en la que han figurado 30 artistas que representan las más diversas y las más modernas tendencias, en el mejor de los sentidos, de las artes gráficas contemporáneas, desde el realismo hasta el abstraccionismo, que tienen una sólida afirmación en el extranjero. El Consejo artístico se ha guiado únicamente por calidades artísticas al elegir las obras que han sido presentadas en dicha exposición. Cada uno de los artistas seleccionó de tres a ocho cuadros, hechos en el período comprendido dentro de los



Juraj Plancic. La vuelta de la pesca. Oleo. Galería Moderna de Zagreb.

últimos cinco años y según su voluntad propia. Esta Exposición ha sido una especie de revista de todas las corrientes en las artes plásticas

contemporáneas de Yugoslavia. Una exposición análoga tuvo lugar meses atrás en Yugoslavia de los artistas gráficos soviéticos.



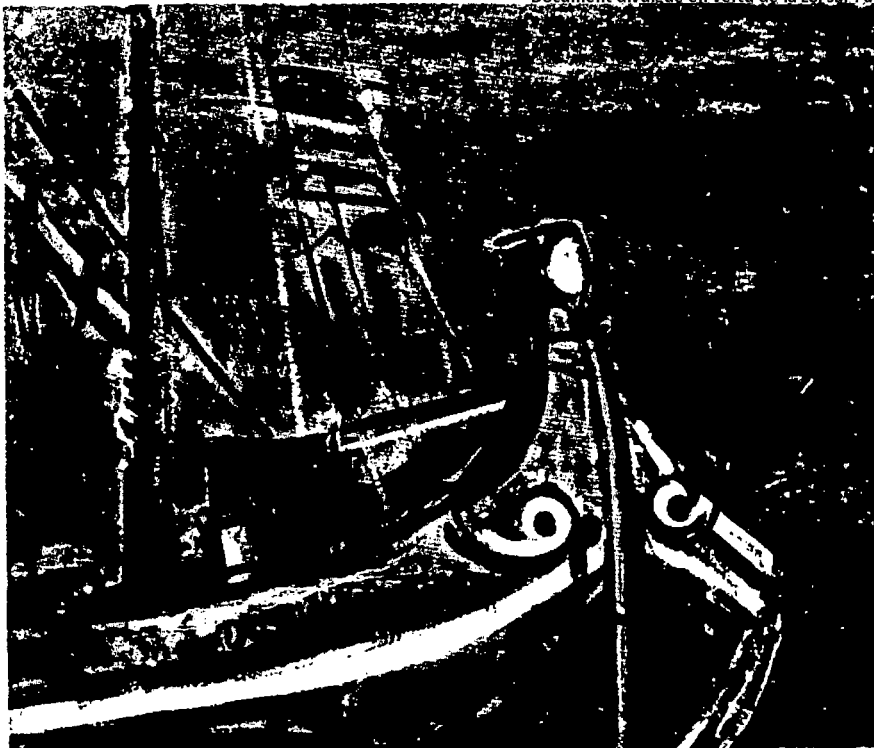
Mire Cetin. Desnudo femenino. Oleo.

Durante el Festival de Artes de Nueva York que tendrá lugar próximamente, se organizará también una gran exposición internacional de artes plásticas. La Unión de artistas plásticos de Yugoslavia, ha sido ya invitada, a través de la Comisión de Relaciones Culturales con el Extranjero, para enviar obras de algunos artistas plásticos contemporáneos de Yugoslavia. El Consejo artístico ha acordado enviar dos obras del joven pintor de Vojvodina, Bosko Petrovic, que



últimamente se ocupa en tapicería, de la pintora Ksenija Divjak, sus naves muertas, del pintor Raden Miseric, cuyos cuadros se pueden ver en las galerías extranjeras, del pintor Marin Pregelj, un expresionista sensible, y una escultura de uno de los más destacados escultores de la joven generación, Kosta Angeli Radovani, cuyas obras se pueden ver en numerosas galerías del país y del extranjero.

A fines de este año tendrá lugar la Exposición Internacional de Pintura en Nueva Delhi. La Unión de artistas plásticos ha acordado enviar a dicha exposición obras de Ljubo Ivancic, Borko Lazeski, Ivo Subic y Vojislav Stanic, que son representantes de la más joven generación de pintores yugoslavos. Además, se enviarán también obras de Zora Petrovic, pintora de vanguardia de Yugoslavia. Cada uno de estos pintores estará representado por dos obras,



Nevenka Djordjevic. Barcos. Oleo. Galería de Arte Moderno. Zagreb.

Todavía no se conocen los detalles sobre la Exposición de Zurich.

Al escoger las obras de los artistas yugoslavos para las exposiciones en el extranjero, el Consejo artístico de la Unión de artistas plásticos de Yugoslavia se guía por la calidad de estas obras. Además, se toma en cuenta que en dichas exposiciones tomen parte también aquellos artistas que todavía no tenían la ocasión de presentarse en tales manifestaciones artísticas.

Se prevé que el año próximo será aún más rico en colaboración internacional.

## PINTORES YUGOSLAVOS EXHIBIRAN EN MEXICO

Yugoslavia participará con un gran número de cuadros de sus mejores artistas pintores en la Exposición de Pintura Moderna de Europa y América que organiza México para el próximo febrero.

France Kralj. Campesinas bañándose.





# Institutos nucleares de Yugoslavia

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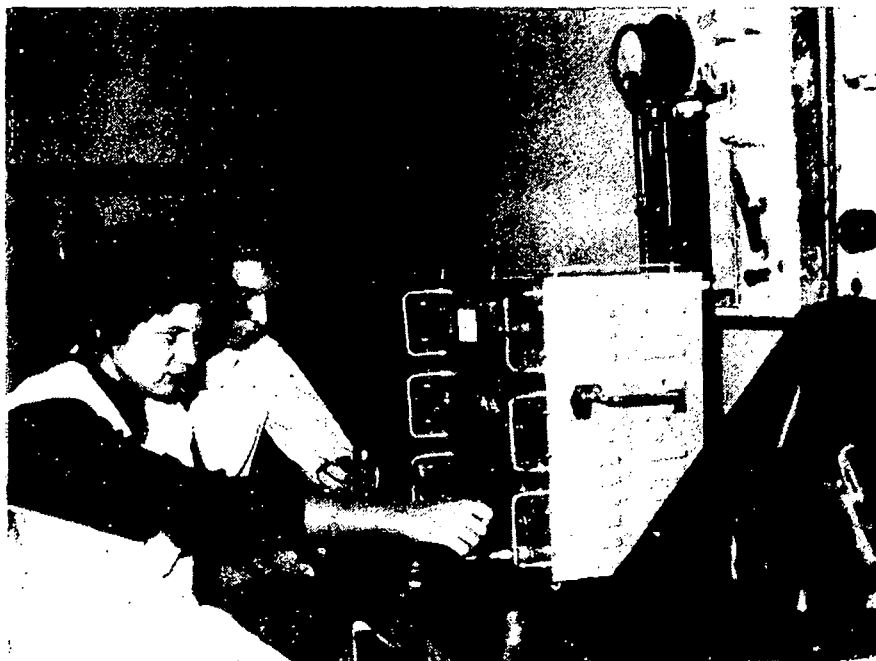
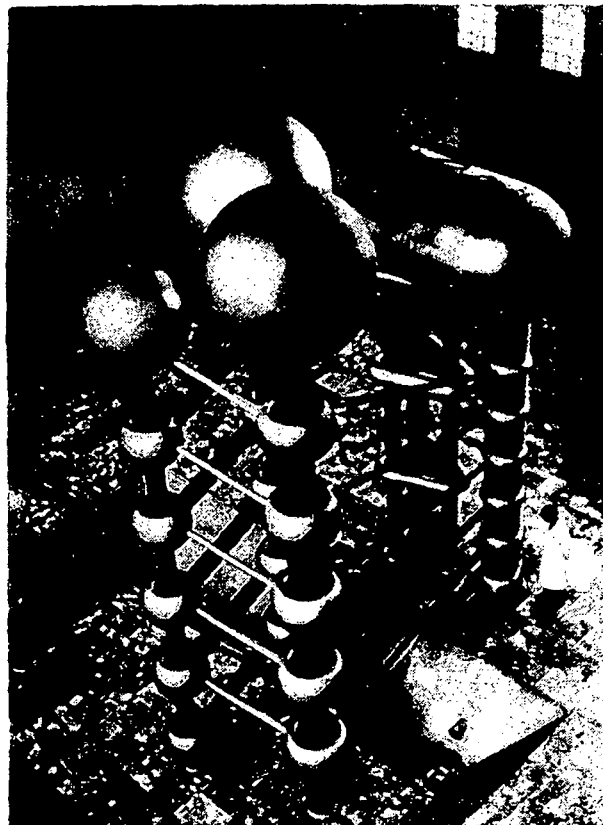
En el pabellón de Yugoslavia, en la Exposición de Bruselas, conjuntamente con los demás expositores que mostraban los alcances nacionales, se exhibían también los objetos que presentan los resultados de los hombres de ciencia de Yugoslavia en la aplicación de la energía nuclear en la economía, a los institutos científicos en el servicio de la industria y la maqueta de un reactor de investigaciones del Instituto "Bor's Kidric" de Vincha, vecina a Belgrado, y un ciclotrón de 10 megavatios del Instituto "Rudjer Boskovic" de Zagreb.

En Yugoslavia se llevan a cabo extensas investigaciones en el campo de la energía atómica con fines pacíficos. En los Institutos "Boris Kidric" de Vincha, "Rudjer Boskovic" de Zagreb y "Joza Stefan" de Ljubljana se reúne el más grande número de expertos yugoslavos en la física atómica y en la aplicación de la energía atómica con fines pacíficos.

El Instituto "Boris Kidric", fundado en 1947, representa el instituto

Acelerador del Instituto de Ciencias Nucleares en Vincha, cerca de Belgrado.

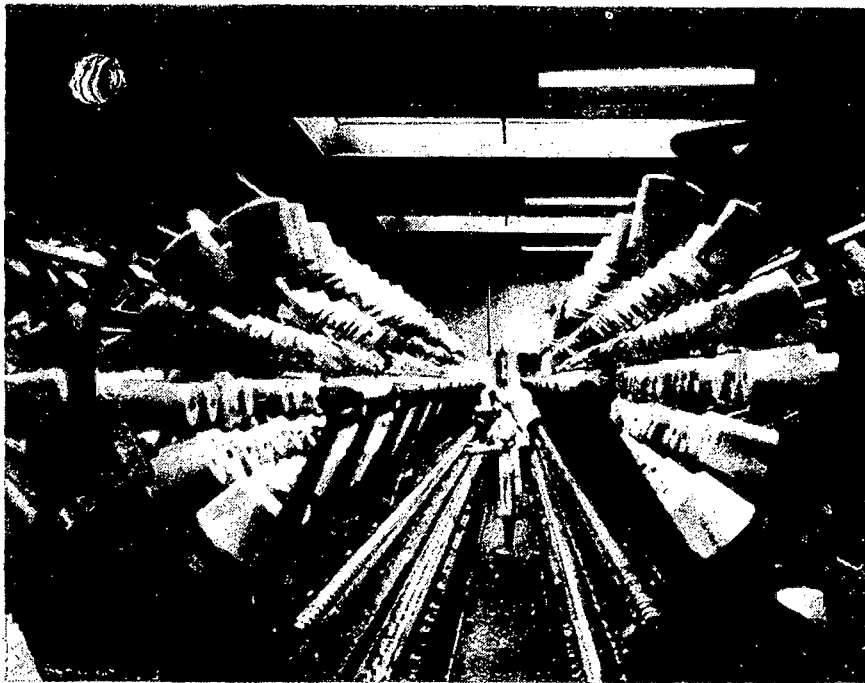
más antiguo, y más grande de esta clase en Yugoslavia. El día 17 del mes de Mayo de 1958, fue puesto en marcha, allá, el primer reactor nuclear experimental en Yugoslavia, proyectado por el doctor Dragoslav Popovic, colaborador científico de este Instituto. En curso están los trabajos de construcción del primer reactor de investigación yugoslavo de 10 megavatios, en el Instituto "Boris



Estudios de física nuclear con instrumentos de precisión "Contador de Geiger".

Kidric". Este reactor se utilizará en la producción de las cantidades necesarias de radio-isótopos con fines pacíficos de la industria, agronomía y medicina. Además, este reactor se utilizará en los trabajos de investigaciones en diferentes materiales de aplicación en la ingeniería nuclear dedicada a los preparativos para fabricar reactores energéticos, destinados a las investigaciones básicas en el ramo de la radiación y de la física-química, para producir combustibles nucleares puros y la degeneración de combustibles, respectivamente, la separación de los productos de la fisión.

Además de los mencionados institutos, existen en Yugoslavia varios institutos especializados y empresas en diferentes regiones del país, que se ocupan de la aplicación de la energía nuclear en la medicina y en la agronomía.



Máquina de hilar en la empresa "Duga Resa".

## Situación económica...

(Viene de la pág. 23)

estructura de la distribución de la renta nacional de Yugoslavia.

Junto a la atenuación de las relaciones internacionales y a las medidas emprendidas en la economía, el ritmo del desarrollo económico de Yugoslavia volvió a animarse. Desde 1953 el promedio del crecimiento industrial es de 14%, alcanzando el 17% en 1957. El índice total, toman-

do como base 100 la producción de antes de la guerra, es 311, y presentado por diferentes ramos industriales señala: 1,127 en los medios de producción, 292 en materiales de reproducción y 279 en artículos de consumo. Si se toma como base el año 1952, entonces el volumen de la producción industrial en 1957 casi se ha duplicado.

El desarrollo total de Yugoslavia en este período puede resumirse en el dinamismo de su desarrollo que se refleja en las siguientes cifras:

### DINAMISMO DEL DESARROLLO INDUSTRIAL EN 1947-1956

	Renta nacional en dinares de antes de la guerra	Participación de la industria en la totalidad de la renta nacional	Participación de la industria en inversiones en bruto en la totalidad de las inversiones en %	Índice del volumen financiero de la producción industrial
1939 .....	264.2	26.8	—	100
1947 .....	319.6	33	38.6	121
1948 .....	441.1	34.5	34.6	150
1949 .....	454.4	35.6	42.1	167
1950 .....	438.5	40.11	45.6	172
1951 .....	433.2	35.6	51.2	166
1952 .....	433.2	40.1	66.2	164
1953 .....	483.7	38.1	57.2	183
1954 .....	540.1	41.1	50.1	208
1955 .....	613.3	42.1	49.4	242
1956 .....	660.2	45.6	41.6	266

(El Desarrollo Industrial de Yugoslavia, Pág. 12).

A fines de 1957 fue aprobado el nuevo Plan de desarrollo social y económico de Yugoslavia, y los resultados alcanzados en los últimos

años ofrecen confianza de que se lograrán éxitos en el cumplimiento de las tareas planteadas por este Plan.

Bomba de pozo profundo "VO" de varias fases con motor eléctrico.

# PERSPECTIVAS DE UN MAYOR INTERCAMBIO COMERCIAL ENTRE YUGOSLAVIA Y LATINO AMERICA



Hace algún tiempo un grupo de economistas yugoslavos regresó de Latinoamérica, donde había pasado 80 días en una excursión organizada por la Cámara Federal de Comercio Exterior. El grupo visitó Brasil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, y México.

Durante su excursión, los economistas yugoslavos tuvieron la oportunidad de conocer a miembros del gobierno y de la economía y pudieron discutir la posibilidad de aumentar y extender los intercambios mutuos. Cambiaron entre sí sus puntos de vista sobre el desarrollo económico de los países respectivos, las posibilidades de desarrollo de diferentes ramos económicos, el comercio exterior y sus sistemas, la organización del mercado, etc. De un especial interés fueron las relaciones con las cámaras industriales y comerciales así como en las asociaciones de importadores y exportadores. En estas reuniones se expresó el deseo mutuo de extender el comercio y se hicieron útiles proposiciones concernientes al intercambio de mercancías. Tuvieron también muchas pláticas sobre varios asuntos de negocios entre los miembros del grupo económico yugoslavo y los importadores y exportadores de esos países. Los economistas de los países latinoamericanos se informaron de las posibilidades de Yugoslavia en exportación e importación.



Electrolítica de cobre en Bor.

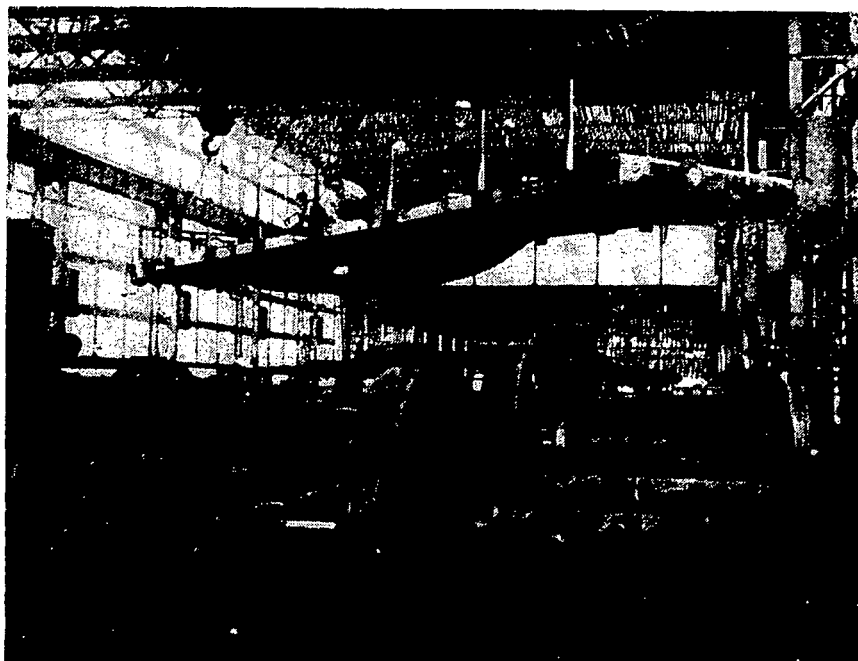
Hoy, Yugoslavia tiene comercio y acuerdos de pago con Brasil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay y Paraguay así como una Convención sobre el comercio con México. Estos acuerdos

proporcionan un intercambio directo bilateral no solamente de mercancías de uso corriente sino de mercancías de inversión por Yugoslavia.

El grupo de economistas yugoslavos pudo ver en cada lugar que casi todos los países están haciendo un rápido progreso de sus economías. Sin embargo, esos países no tienen suficiente capital nacional para el desarrollo de sus economías así como de diferentes ramos de la economía en especial, y por tanto, no pueden financiar su desarrollo económico independientemente y están obligados a importar capital y equipo a crédito.

Yugoslavia podrá ayudar al desarrollo económico de estos países con un número de sus productos que son de reputación mundial, y con las mismas facilidades de crédito a los compradores que reciben de otros países, dentro de las posibilidades financieras y de los tratos concretos.

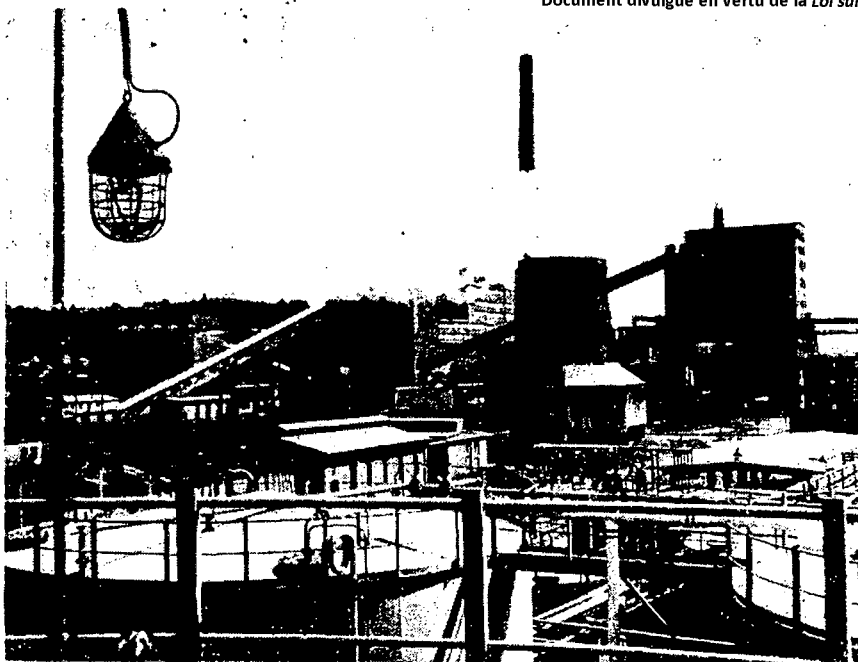
El comercio de Yugoslavia con varios países latinoamericanos ha sido muy limitado en volumen y en estructura mientras que con la mayoría de los países de esa área el intercambio incluyó solamente de 3 a 4 artículos. Los artículos tradicionales de exportación yugoslavos son varios vinos, licores, brandy de ciruela, frutas secas, pescado en lata y carnes, cáñamo, estopa, lúpulo, tabaco, sosa cáustica y amoniaca, un



"Gosa", fábrica de construcciones de hierro en Smederevska Palanka.

gran número de productos químicos, varias clases de productos acabados de madera y varias clases de madera, papel para envoltura de cigarros, celulosos, brillos, productos de proceso en metal, especialmente herramientas, etc. Además de estos artículos hay posibilidades de aumentar la lista de exportaciones de Yugoslavia en el sector de la industria de equipo industrial eléctrico (varios motores eléctricos, generadores, transformadores, aisladores de porcelana, conductores eléctricos, cable de todas clases), motores Diesel de varias potencias y tamaños, máquinas para trabajar metal y madera, carros de ferrocarril y material de ferrocarril, productos de metal ferroso y no ferroso, varias clases de barcos incluyendo pequeños barcos pesqueros, grandes barcos de carga y tanques, equipo para plantas hidráulicas, varias fábricas, etc.

Asimismo, Yugoslavia importará no sólo café, pieles, lana, nitrógeno, etc. La economía yugoslava importará de esa área varios artículos alimenticios y textiles de una gran variedad, minerales, metales y otras materias primas y productos acabados; es indiscutible que, dentro de poco, cualquiera de los dos lados aumentará la variedad de mercancías que compra, en vista del desarrollo tanto de la economía yugoslava como la latinoamericana. En efecto, es necesario mencionar que Yugoslavia desea y puede proveer regularmente a los mercados de Latinoamérica con un número de sus productos y comprar artículos de esos mercados. En otras



Planta de cok "Boris Kidric" en Lukavac.

palabras, Yugoslavia quiere conducir un intercambio balanceado de mercancías que sea más extenso en volumen y en variedad de mercancías que hasta ahora.

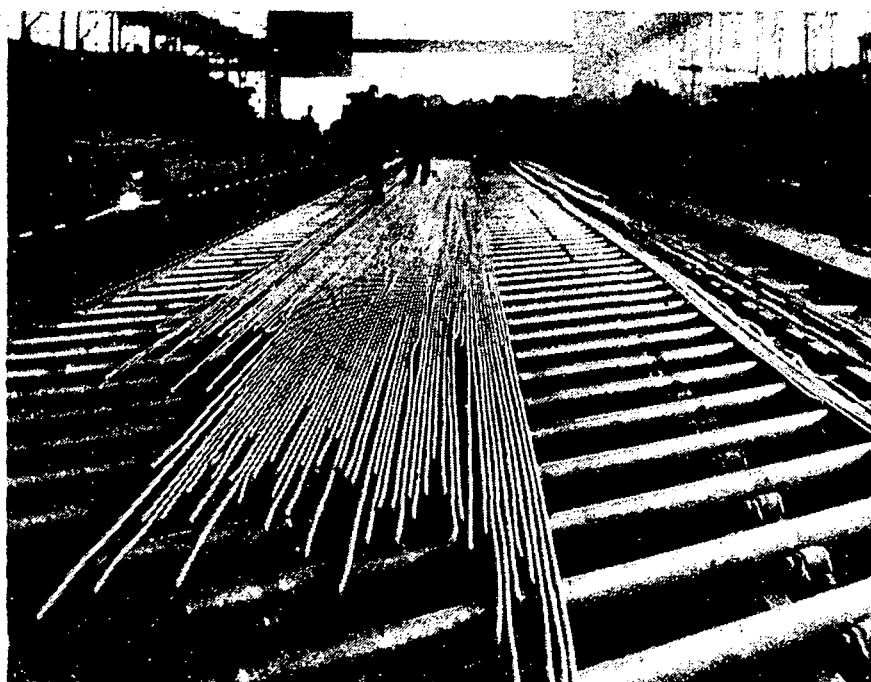
Varias medidas se han tomado con el propósito de promover lo mejor posible el intercambio por las empresas comerciales extranjeras yugoslavas respectivas y por cuerpos económicos competentes. Se establece-

rán líneas permanentes este año, entre Yugoslavia y los países latinoamericanos. Los exportadores e importadores podrán entonces sincronizar sus embarques para que las mercancías puedan llegar al comprador antes de lo que ha sido hasta ahora. La línea de embarques ayudará a los exportadores yugoslavos a vender sus mercancías más rápidamente.

Aparte de esto, se organizarán exhibiciones en los mayores centros de Latinoamérica a principios del año entrante con el propósito de familiarizar esos productos con el mercado de Latinoamérica, particularmente, los productos industriales. Por supuesto, estas medidas incluirán la apertura de almacenes de consignación, unidades de servicio, según se requieran, y cooperación con las industrias o establecimientos de intercambio allí, ya que Yugoslavia ha obtenido magníficos resultados y tiene una gran experiencia en este campo.

Para mantener los contactos mejor posibles con estos mercados la Cámara Federal de Comercio Exterior ha establecido sus representantes permanentes en Uruguay, para Uruguay y Paraguay, Chile para Chile, Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador y Colombia, en México para México y Centro América. Una oficina de comercio exterior yugoslavo se abrirá pronto en Brasil.

Para ayudar a la expansión del comercio con varios mercados allí, hay cámaras mixtas con Brasil y Argentina, con sus oficinas centrales en Belgrado, Sao Paulo y Buenos Aires. Estas cámaras incluyen economistas renombrados tanto de estos países como de Yugoslavia, quienes están interesados en el comercio mutuo.



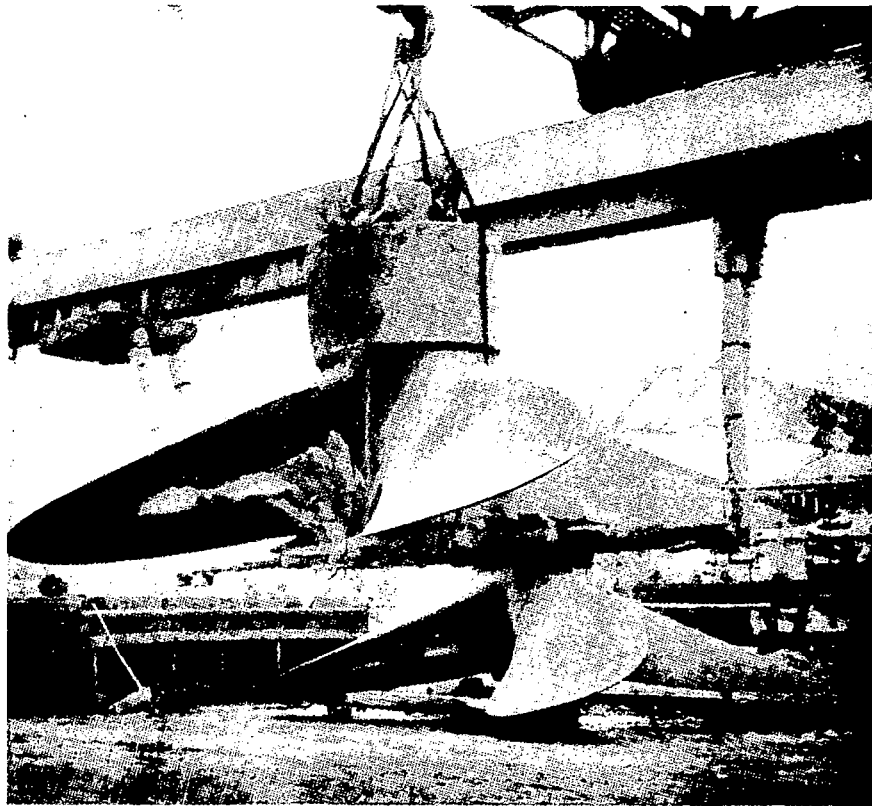
Taller de laminado en la fundidora de Zenica.

## Amplio surtido de equipo moderno y herramientas

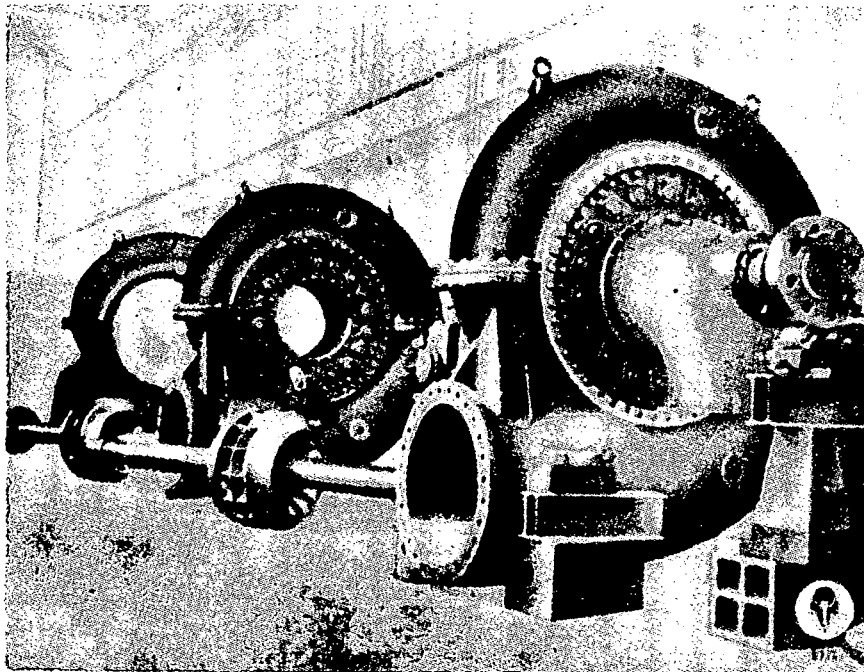
Desde el final de la guerra, fueron construidas en Yugoslavia una serie completa de industrias de capacidad básica, en las cuales una gran cantidad de equipo y herramientas modernas se fabrica aún. Estas mercancías son para el uso de la industria, de la minería, de las comunicaciones, de la agricultura, de la construcción y de otros ramos de la economía. En los últimos años se han logrado resultados satisfactorios en la venta de estos productos en el mercado extranjero, donde hasta ahora han recibido una completa aprobación.

La construcción de máquinas y la industria metalúrgica en Yugoslavia, producen máquinas y equipo en varios tipos. Muchas empresas de este ramo industrial tienen una producción mecanizada y automatizada en los puntos clave del proceso tecnológico, que aumentó su productividad y habilidad de competencia en los precios para productos y servicios.

Del rico y variado programa de producción de máquinas yugoslavas y de productos de la industria metalúrgica, lo que más se exporta es toda clase de puentes y aperturas de puente (de ferrocarril y de carretera), grúas y diseños para malacates, puentes de carga pesada, estiradores de metal, interruptores, volantes, elevadores y transportadores, plantas industriales (de almacenaje y ensamblamiento), techado, torres eléctricas, postes y andamiajes de hierro, cister-



Hélice de acero de 0,750 mm. de 11,500 Kg. de peso neto, producida por "Litostroj".



Tres turbinas Francis, provistas de doble rueda móvil con potencia de ... 9,150 HP y una descarga de 8 metros cúbicos por segundo.

nas, depósitos, tubería de gas, pozos, etc. Los productores más conocidos de estas herramientas y equipo son la fábrica "Litostroj", de Ljubljana, "Metalna", de Maribor "Djuro Djakovic", de Slavonski Brod, "Gosa", de Smederevska Palanka, y "Mostovska", de Nis.

La fábrica "Litostroj", de Ljubljana fue en sus primeros años el solo productor de turbinas de vapor y otro equipo para estaciones hidroeléctricas. Hoy sin embargo, fabrica numerosos artículos, tales como ensamblamientos y otra clase de grúas, bombas de succión, varias clases de equipo industrial, productos forjados de hierro y acero, etc. De 1953 hasta ahora, "Litostroj" ha logrado vender en el mercado extranjero turbinas de vapor y equipo hidro-mecánico, grúas (en la India), malacates, producidos en masa, del tipo "Ho-ruk" (en Sud-américa y en el Medio Oriente), varias refacciones de maquinaria y productos forjados de acero y metal (en Austria, Hungría, Holanda), etc.

Hasta fines del año pasado, "Litostroj", exportó a la India 36 grúas de puente eléctricas desde 5 hasta 225 toneladas de capacidad. Este año, se

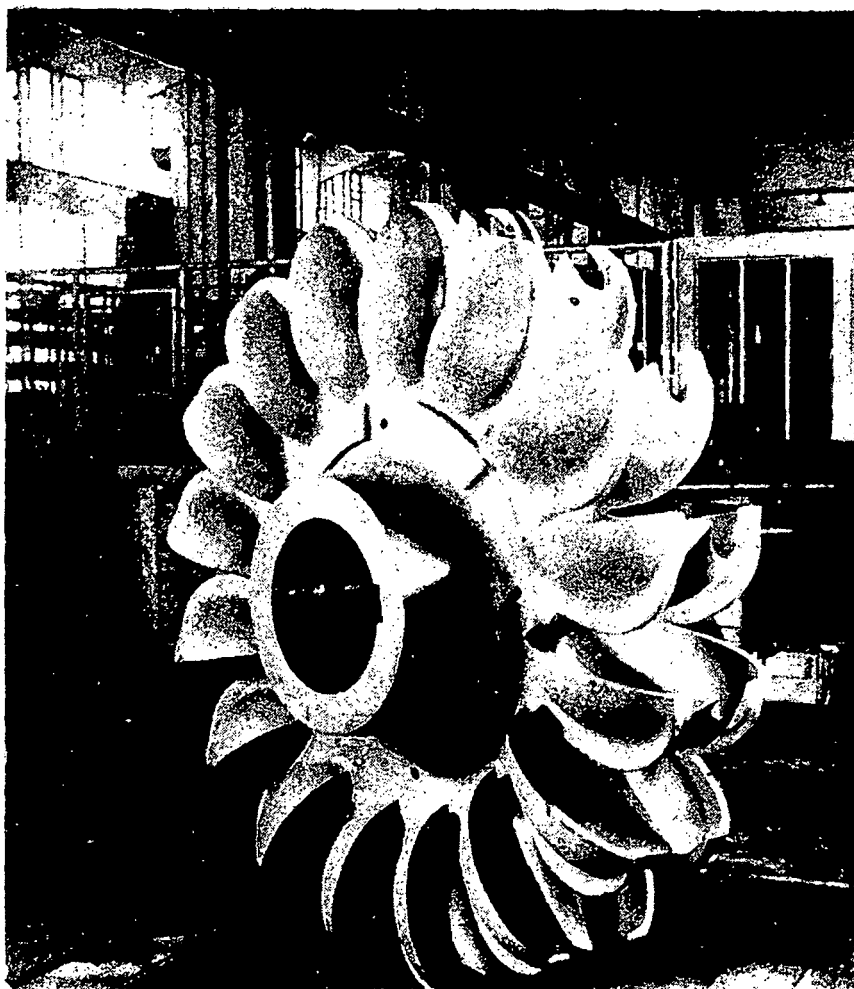
han enviado dos grúas más, mientras que 12 están ya en proceso de fabricación. Junto con la Fábrica "Metalna", Maribor y la "Rade Koncar", Zagreb, "Litostroj" entregó el año pasado, equipo para la estación termoeléctrica Chichoki Mallian en Pakistán (tres turbinas del tipo Kaplan de 6,500 H. P.). El equipo para otra estación, en Gujranwal, se vendió en el mismo país.

Este año, "Litostroj" fabricará una parte del equipo hidromecánico para la estación Koyna en el Estado de Bombay, y también una grúa de 225 toneladas con un brazo auxiliar para levantar 25 toneladas más para la estación de Panchet Hill cerca de Calcuta. Más aún, "Litostroj" ha comenzado a fabricar una grúa de puente eléctrica de 460 toneladas, que formará parte del mayor proyecto de la India, la estación termoeléctrica de Bhakra Nangal.

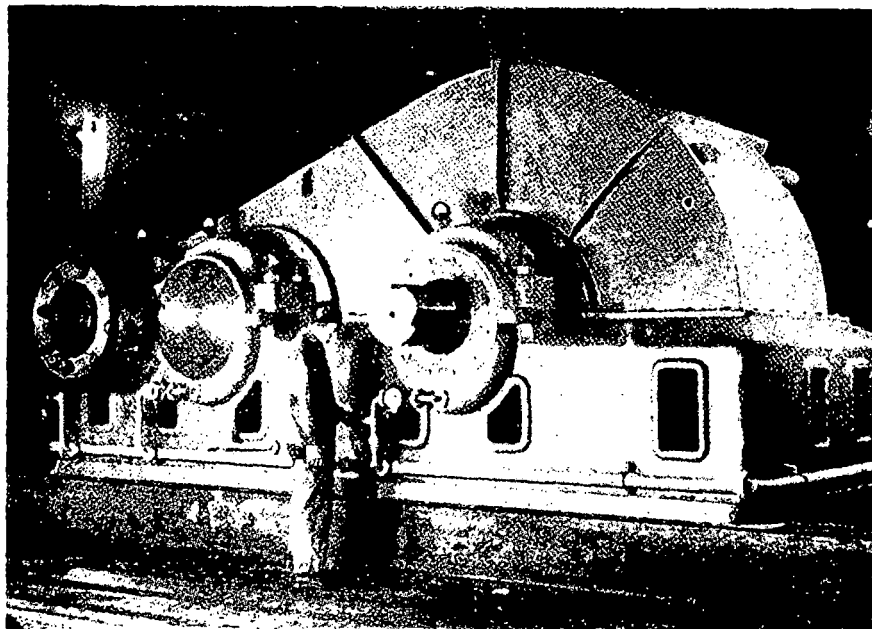
La fábrica "Ivo Lola Ribar", de Zeleznik, cerca de Belgrado, es seguramente una de las mayores fábricas de maquinaria de Europa Central, con una capacidad de producción de 6,000 toneladas de interruptores de riel anuales; para los ferrocarriles de la India solamente, esta fábrica produce 20 interruptores diariamente.

Las fábricas yugoslavas de "Metalna", de Maribor, "Djuro Djakovic", de Slavonski Brod y "Gosa" de Smederevska Palanka, han recibido pedidos de la India y de hombres de negocios de Burma, para la fabricación de puentes de ferrocarril de 19,000 toneladas.

En el mercado de Grecia, un gran número de máquinas para construcción y minería han sido vendidas, tales como compresoras, mezcladoras y quebrantadoras, y una gran cantidad de maquinaria agrícola, herramientas y refacciones de tractor de la clase más moderna.



Rueda móvil Pelton de 1,779 mm. de diámetro y potencia de 16,000 HP.



Reductor pesado de 2,500 KV. para laminado.

## JUGOTEHNA GANA UN CONCURSO EN GRECIA

La firma extranjera de Belgrado "Jugotehna" ganó recientemente un pedido por 5 680 kilómetros de cable de aluminio en un concurso llevado a cabo por la Public Power Corporation de Grecia. El pedido está valuado en \$ 430,000. De acuerdo con los términos del contrato, su entrega se hará a fines del año próximo.

Aunque veintinueve firmas competidoras enviaron su cotización, entre ellas firmas mundialmente conocidas, "Jugotehna" ofreció las condiciones más favorables y aseguró su contrato. Los cables de dicho pedido serán producidos por la Fábrica de Cable "Novkabel", Novi Sad.

# Construcción de Barcos en el Astillero "3 Maj" en Rijeka

## Una entrevista con Jure Vukasovic, Director General del Astillero "3 Maj"

P. ¿Quisiera darnos algunos datos históricos concernientes a su astillero?

R. Nuestro astillero fue fundado en 1906 bajo el nombre de GANZ y Com., DANUBIUS. Gracias a grandes inversiones al principio, nuestro astillero muy pronto llegó a ser, uno de los mejor equipados del Mediterráneo. Hasta la Primera Guerra Mundial, 116 barcos fueron construidos en nuestra planta, entre ellos 69 barcos de guerra, 39 barcos de auxiliares para la Naval y 8 barcos comerciales. Como un acontecimiento especial podemos mencionar la construcción del barco de guerra "SZENT ISTVAN" de ... 33,500 B. R. Tons. Durante la Era

Italiana, bajo el nombre de CANTIERI NAVALI DEL CARNARO, nuestro astillero construyó 252 barcos diferentes.

Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, el nombre fue cambiado otra vez a "3 MAJ".

Durante toda la postguerra entregamos 172 barcos de diferente tonelaje.

P. ¿Cuál es su programa de producción para este año?

R. Estamos trabajando a toda la capacidad posible. Durante el curso de 1958 completaremos barcos, en total 93,000 B. R. Tons.

Al mismo tiempo barcos sumando más de 202,000 B. R. Tons., estarán

en los muelles, consistiendo principalmente de barcos de carga de más de 10,000 Tons. y una serie de unidades más pequeñas de 1,000 a 2,000 Tons. Merece ser mencionado que durante el cuarto trimestre de este año comenzaremos a construir un gran barco-tanque de 25,000 toneladas.

P. ¿Quisiera decirnos algo acerca de sus talleres?

R. Gracias al equipo moderno de nuestros talleres y a nuestro personal experto y a nuestro cuerpo de trabajadores, podemos construir varios tipos de barcos de acero de acuerdo con nuestros propios diseños. Al mismo tiempo, llevamos un negocio de reparación y manufactura de maquinaria de cubiertas, varios equipos eléctricos, varios equipos para barcos de madera y metal, estructuras de acero para instalaciones industriales, pilones de alta frecuencia, rejas de acero, puentes, etc.

P. De acuerdo con los informes usted comenzará a fabricar motores Diesel. ¿Es verdad?

R. Sí, es verdad. Pronto comenzaremos a fabricar nuestros propios motores Diesel bajo la licencia suiza SULZER. Durante los tres o cuatro años venideros, nuestra producción se extenderá al punto de cubrir nuestras propias necesidades en motores para la propulsión de nuestros barcos.

P. ¿Cuándo terminarán el primer motor?

R. El primer motor será completado más o menos en 1960 y construido para un barco que ya ha sido ordenado por una compañía naviera nacional.

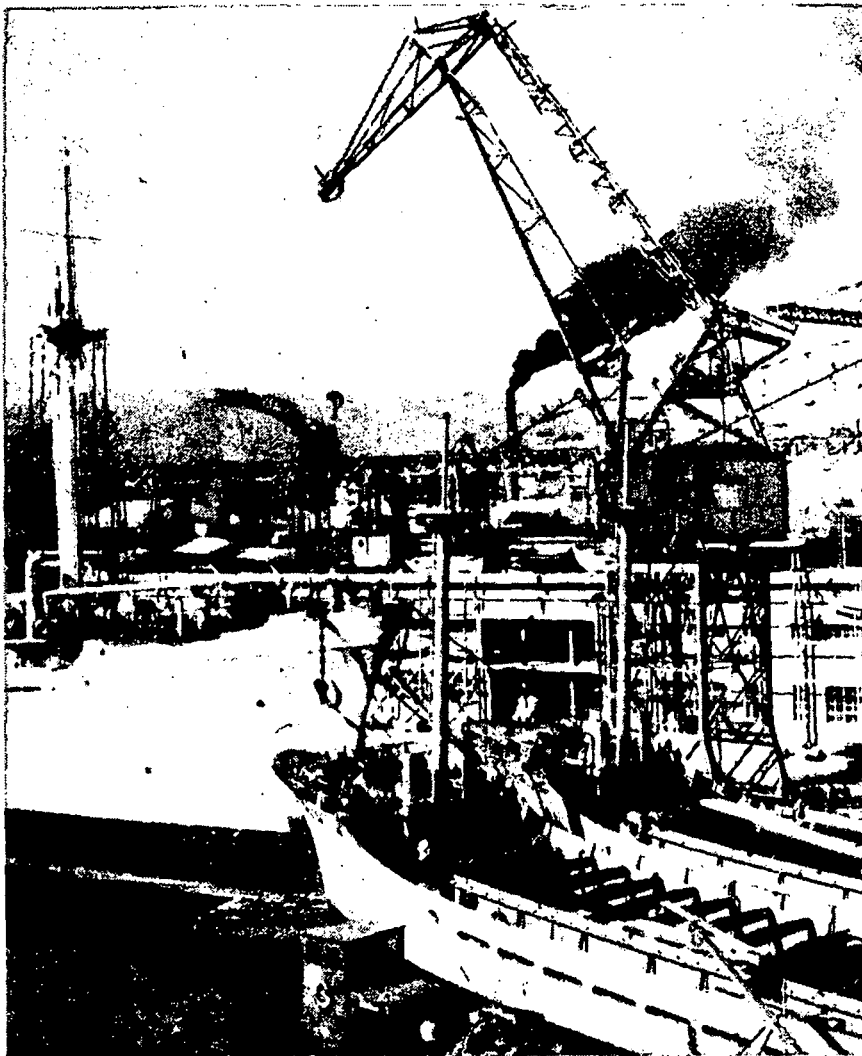
Podremos fabricar motores hasta de 15 000 H. P.

P. ¿Podría decirnos algo acerca de la modernización de sus fábricas?

R. Invertimos nuestros propios recursos y el procedimiento de préstamos hechos por bancos yugoslavos en la modernización de nuestras instalaciones. El total de las inversiones se va en la compra de grúas con una capacidad de levantamiento de 45 Tons., para ser instaladas en las fundaciones de concreto del embarcadero y para equipo de preentramblamiento así como también en la construcción de plataformas de soldadura.

Después de completar el trabajo de modernización en los astilleros, que está ahora en curso, se construirá un barco standard de 12,000 Tons. que nos tomará 8 meses.

P. Es generalmente sabido que usted construye barcos para comar-



Astillero "3 Maj" (3 de Mayo) en Rijeka, Croacia.



dores extranjeros. Díganos algo acerca de estos barcos y acerca de las compañías navieras que han colocado órdenes a su empresa.

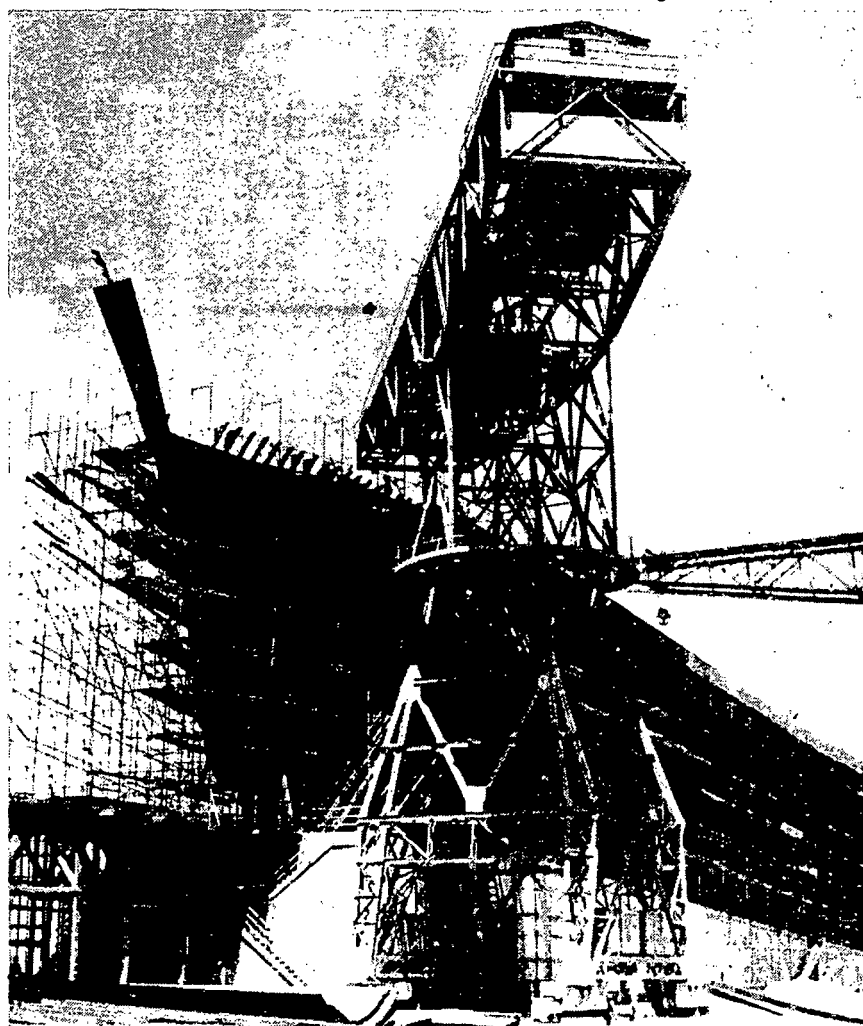
R. Desde los últimos dos años, nuestro astillero vendió 7 barcos a firmas extranjeras. Estos barcos son los siguientes: "SILVRETTA", "SILVAPLANA", "CORCOVADO", "MIMINA", "MACHITIS", "GENERAL GUISAN" y "MITERA MARDIGO".

Cada uno de estos barcos es de 12,800 B. R. Tons. Son de compañías suizas "SUISSE ATLANTIQUE", S. A. y "OCEANA SHIPPING" y dos firmas griegas que tienen oficinas en Londres "LEMOS BROTHERS" y "PHOCEAN SHIP AGENCY LTD".

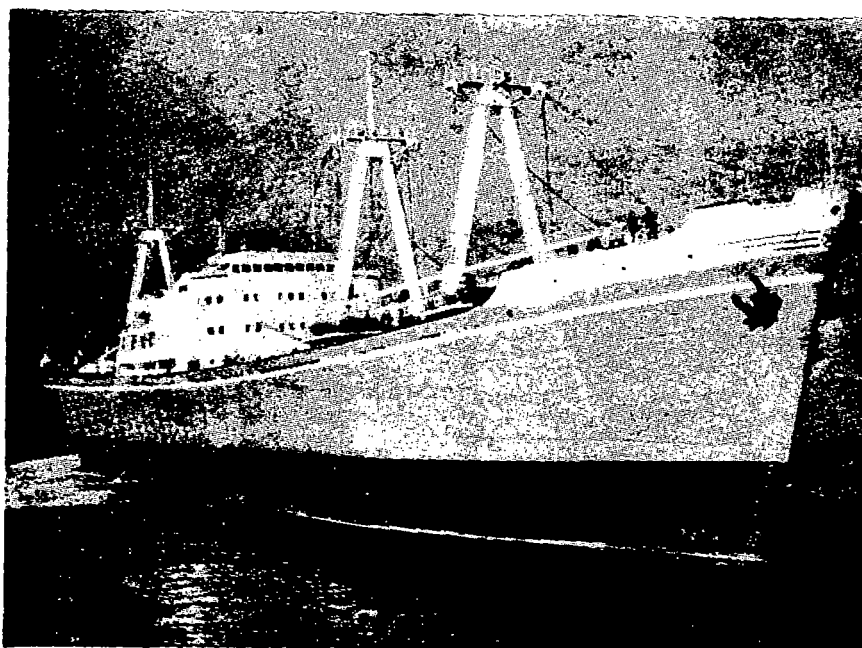
P. Parece haber un receso en las navieras del mundo. ¿Ha sentido sus efectos?

R. Como ya he dicho anteriormente, 202,000 B. R. Tons. de barcos están en nuestros muelles, en adición a los ya mencionados, 93,000 Tons., que serán entregados este año. Nuestra capacidad está totalmente vendida. Tenemos órdenes por 16 barcos para firmas extranjeras. Estos son barcos de 12,000 a 32,000 Tons. en total, casi todos de poco tonelaje. Varios de estos barcos tendrán, sin embargo, 10,000 B. R. Tons. Para las compañías navieras nacionales construimos barcos, Tons. y habrán también barcos-tanques de más de 25,000 B. R. Tons.

Suspenderemos temporalmente algunas órdenes hechas recientemente a nuestra firma. Los inversionistas que han ordenado los barcos son los siguientes: JUGOSLOVENSKA LINIJSKA PLOVIDBA, Rijeka, 3 barcos de 2,500 B. R. Tons. cada uno ("POBJEDA", "BRATSTVO", "SLOBODA") JUGOSLOVENSKA



Uno de los tipos de buques de carga construidos en Yugoslavia.



Astillero Naval "Split", el segundo en amplitud de los que cuenta Yugoslavia.

KA OCEANSKA PLOVIDBA, 3 barcos de 10,250 B. R. Tons. cada uno ("Kotor", "Zeta" y "Boka"); GEORGES CHRISTOS LEMOS, Lausanne, Suiza, 4 barcos de 12,850 B. R. Tons. cada uno ("Captain M. Lyras"); PHOCEAN SHIP AGENCY Ltd. Londres, 2 barcos de 12,850 B. R. Tons. cada uno; WEST HARTLEPOOL STEAM NAVIGATION Co. Ltd., 1 barco de 12,850 B. R. Tons. ("Siltonhal"); LYRAS BROS. LTD, 2 barcos de 12,850 B. R. Tons.; M. LEMOS & Co. Ltd. Londres, 2 barcos de 25,000 B.R. Tons. cada uno; OCEANA SHIPPING, Génova, Suiza, 2 barcos de 12,850 B.R. Tons. cada uno; JUGOSLOVENSKA OCEANSKA PLOVIDBA, Kotor, 4 barcos de 12,850 B. R. Tons. cada uno; JUGOSLOVENSKA LINIJSKA PLOVIDBA, Rijeka, 6 barcos de 10,800 B. R. Tons. cada uno; JUGOSLOVENSKA BANKA, Belgrado, 2 barcos de 33,000 B. R. Tons. cada uno.

A través de este programa y otras actividades, nuestra capacidad está vendida hasta 1961.

000679



# POSIBILIDADES DE EXPORTACION DE LA INDUSTRIA DE LA ELABORACION DEL METAL EN YUGOSLAVIA

Por Nedeljko Kondic, Director de la Sección de Exportación de la Empresa de Importación-Exportación "Jugotehna"

La industria elaboradora de metal en Yugoslavia tiene una larga tradición —en algunos ramos de la actividad— desde hace varios siglos. Cuando hablamos de tradición, nosotros, en primer lugar, pensamos en la producción de herramientas forjadas —martillos de todas clases, guadañas y hoces, hachas, azadas, palas, etc. Estos artículos han sido exportados de Yugoslavia a varios mercados por más de un siglo. La tradición en esta producción de herramientas forjadas data de los tiempos romanos. Y esa es la razón por la que la calidad de varias herramientas e implementos yugoslavos —obtenida a través de siglos de experiencia— ha llegado a ser apreciada en todo el mundo. Un número de otros artículos metálicos han por mucho tiempo sido producidos en Yugoslavia y exportados, tales, por ejemplo, son: claves, cadenas de todas clases, mercancía esmaltada, útiles de cocina y cuchillería, planchas eléctricas, linternas para vagón, etc.

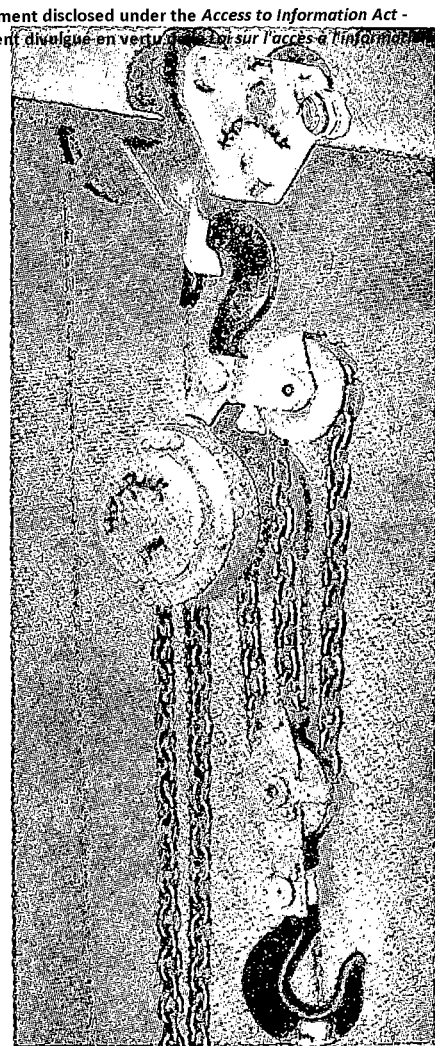
Aunque no tenemos espacio suficiente aquí para entrar en mayores detalles acerca de la producción de artículos individuales, enumeraremos

brevemente los grupos fundamentales de productos manufacturados y los mercados extranjeros a los cuales son exportados.

**HERRAMIENTAS FORJADAS** de varias clases son exportadas a Grecia, Túnez, India, Congo Belga, Bulgaria, Líbano, Siria, Africa Oriental Británica, Marruecos, Irán, etc. Lo que debe ser mencionado aquí es que la industria yugoslava, en adición a los tipos standard de herramientas, fabrica varias herramientas e implementos de acuerdo con los deseos y especificaciones de los consumidores.

**CLAVOS** de todas clases y tamaños son embarcados, en grandes cantidades, a los Estados Unidos en primer lugar, luego a Burma, Indonesia, Turquía, Aden, Kuwait, las Bahreins, Ceylán, etc., y **CADENAS** de alta calidad son compradas por India, Egipto, Sudán, Suiza, Irán, Siria, el Líbano, etc.

**UTILES ESMALTADOS** de buena calidad y en una gran variedad desde hace más de medio siglo han sido exportados a varios mercados, principalmente a los países mediterráneos, a los de Africa, Central, del



Polea manual con capacidad de cinco toneladas.



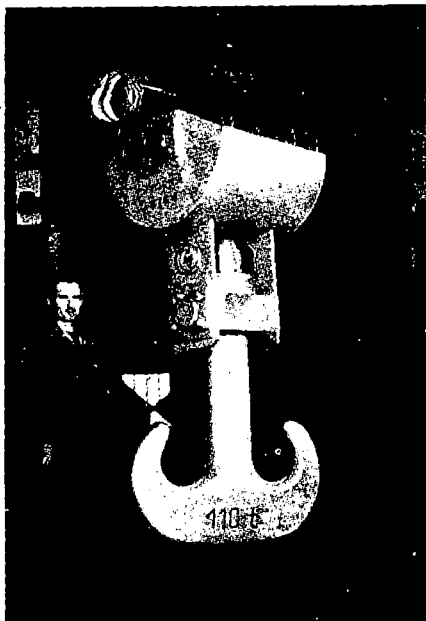
Utiles de uso doméstico de manufactura Yugoslava.

Norte, Oriental y del Sur, a los Estados Unidos, Gran Bretaña y varios países de Europa.

**UTILES NO ESMALTADOS** son los nuevos productos de la industria elaboradora de metal (comenzaron a ser producidos después de la guerra). Pero, debido a la alta calidad de la materia prima y a la habilidad de los técnicos empleados, estos productos —también, han sido bien recibidos, tanto en el mercado interior como en el exterior. Nuestra industria no ha desarrollado completamente su producción en este campo, y nuevas clases de artículos son producidos mes tras mes.

**TUBOS DE ESTAÑO**, también, comenzaron a ser producidos en grandes cantidades después de la guerra. Su calidad mejoró año con año, y ahora se exportan a muchos países, incluyendo Egipto, Alemania, Siria, Líbano, Arabia Saudita, Irán, Jordania, etc.

**INSTALACIONES DE CALEFACCION CENTRAL**, tales como, por ejemplo, radiadores de varios tama-



Gancho para levantamiento de 110 toneladas.

ños y clases, son también vendidos en varios países. Sin embargo, la producción de estas instalaciones es demasiado pequeña para satisfacer todas las demandas de los compradores extranjeros.

**PRODUCTOS DE HIERRO DE MEDIO PROCESO.** Representan un triunfo más de la nueva industria yugoslava y son exportados a Italia, Grecia, Brasil, Egipto, el Líbano, Siria, etc.

**ELECTRODOS PARA SOLDADURA** son producidos ahora y exportados en grandes cantidades a varios países, principalmente a la Unión So-

viética, Egipto, Brasil, Francia, África Occidental, etc.

**TORNILLERÍA** tuvo que ser importada hasta hace recientemente en grandes cantidades. Algunos años atrás, comenzaron a trabajar varias fábricas en esta producción, pero al principio sólo satisficieron las necesidades del país, hoy, surten al país ampliamente y tienen considerables sobrantes que son exportados a los Estados Unidos, Turquía, Gran Bretaña, Grecia, Egipto, Siria, etc. Debido a la excelente materia prima y a los modernos métodos de producción, estos artículos están aumentando constantemente.

**FERROENVASES**, tales como botellas para gas butano y otros cilindros de gas, tambores para aceite, etc., son los nuevos productos de la industria yugoslava.

## EXPORTACION DE CIZALLAS DE FUERZA MOTRIZ

Las cizallas de acero laminado con fuerza motriz, son un producto de la industria constructora de máquinas yugoslava, que ha sido encontrado muy aceptable por los compradores extranjeros. La estructura de la cizalla está forjada de acero, mientras que los cortadores están hechos de un acero para herramientas de muy alta calidad. Las cizallas pueden cortar lámina hasta de un espesor de 4 milímetros en longitudes de 2 metros. El motor eléctrico que da fuerza a las cizallas es un componente de máquina y es seleccionado de acuerdo con los requerimientos de fuerza motriz del país del comprador.

Finalmente, una amplia variedad de artículos de fantasía, productos usados en la industria elaboradora de cuero, y en la artesanía, artículos para uso casero, —estufas, cubetas galvanizadas, lámparas de petróleo, linternas para vagón, etc —, son vendidos en un buen número de mercados extranjeros.

Estamos convencidos de que muchos hombres de negocios extranjeros no conocen nuestra industria y lo que ella puede hacer, esperamos que este breve resumen les sea útil y sostenemos que nuestras grandes y bien organizadas ferias en Belgrado y Zagreb proveen oportunidades excelentes para que todos vean los productos de la industria elaboradora de metal yugoslava, y los conozcan, con mayores detalles que no pueden ser explicados aquí.

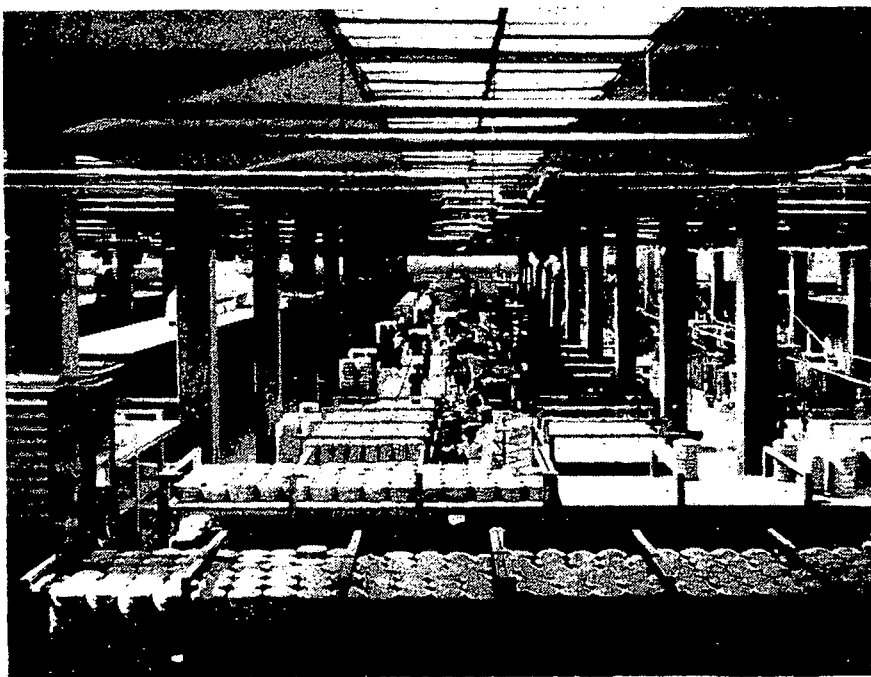
Las cizallas ya mencionadas son fabricadas por la Planta Constructora de Maquinaria y de Tractores de Belgrado. Hay un número de estas cizallas en bodega, siempre listo para ser embarcado. El precio bajo de la máquina ha contribuido a su uso amplio y económico en la industria manufacturera de metal y especialmente en el ramo de muebles de metal.

Para fábricas más pequeñas y talleres de metal, la fábrica produce cizallas de un pie más pequeño, que cortan lámina de un espesor de 1 milímetro y de 1 metro de longitud. Ambos modelos de cizallas para lámina, han sido vendidos en los países de Europa, Asia, Africa y Sud-América.

## LINEA DE GAS AUSTRIACA QUE USARA TUBERIA DE ACERO DE LA FABRICA "SISAK"

Una nueva alimentadora de gas que suplirá a la región industrial de Sytria en Austria, usará en su mayor parte tubería de acero de la Fábrica de Acero "Sisak". Un contrato recientemente firmado, dice de tal pedido. El contrato fue recibido con una gran satisfacción entre los productores de acero de Yugoslavia, considerando que Austria, una tierra de altos standards industriales, firmó un contrato por la tubería de acero para sus líneas de gas, de la Fábrica de Acero "Sisak".

La Fábrica de Acero espera firmar un nuevo contrato, ahora en plan negociable, muy pronto.

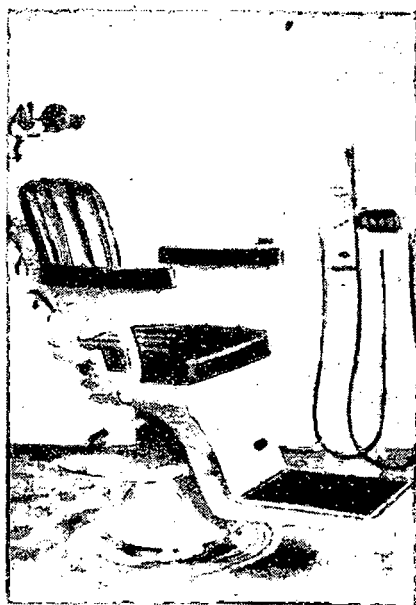


Un aspecto de la fábrica de porcelana en Zapresic.

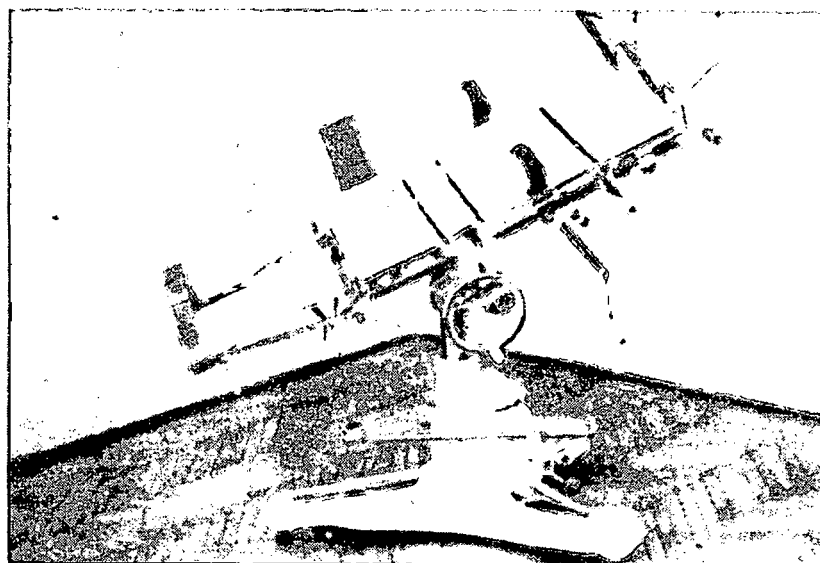
# Equipo e instrumentos médicos

La producción de equipo e instrumentos médicos tiene un lugar especial en el desarrollo de la industria yugoslava.

Los mayores productores de equipo e instrumentos médicos en Yugoslavia son la Fábrica de equipo e Instrumentos Médicos "Sutjeska", en Belgrado y la Fábrica de Instrumentos Médicos "Instrumentarija", en Zagreb. La fábrica Instrumentarija se especializa en la producción de instrumentos médicos y veterinarios. Produce más de 300 clases de instrumentos indispensables en la medicina humana y veterinaria. Entre otros, estos incluyen varios instrumentos de cirugía tales como distintas clases de forceps, raspadores, tijeras, cinceles y pinzas, portaagujas, etc. así como instrumentos de ginecología, espéculos vaginales de varias formas y tamaños y sistemas, jeringas, etc. La "Sutjeska" y la "Instrumentarija" son las únicas productoras de jeringas de 2, 5, 10, 20, 30 y 50 cm<sup>3</sup> en Yugoslavia. También producen agujas para transfusión de sangre hechas de acero inoxidable. "Sutjeska" es la mayor productora de equipo médico en el país. La cadena de productos de esta fábrica es también muy amplia e incluye la producción de aparatos y equipo clasificado en 7 grupos con más de 150 diferentes artículos. Estos grupos incluyen jeringas y agujas para transfusión de sangre, esterilizadores de presión por vapor, aparatos de redestilización, extrac-



Gabinete dental. Productos de "Sutjeska". Belgrado.



Mesa de operaciones. Productos de "Sutjeska". Belgrado.

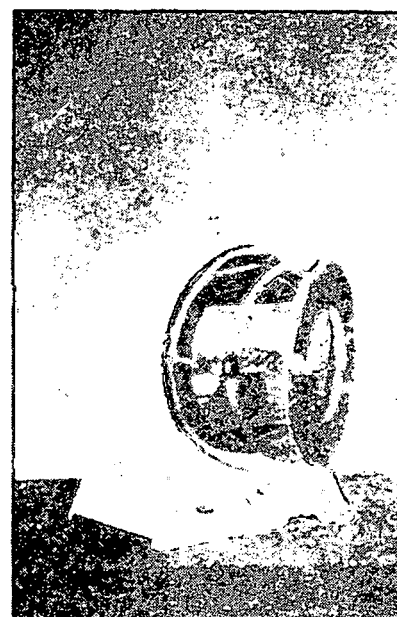
ción o desinfección y varios esterilizadores sin presión, equipo y aparatos de esterilización, desinfección y secadores con calor, equipo y accesorios para consultorios y cuartos de operación, etc., así como aparatos de gasoterapia. La gran variedad de aparatos médicos producidos será apreciada por la enumeración de los artículos característicos: autoclaves de una esterilización por presión de vapor de 2.5 atm., de vendajes de forma vertical, horizontal, cilíndrica o cuadrada; aparatos para destilación de agua, eléctricos, con una capacidad de 2.5, 10 y 20 litros de agua destilada por hora; tinas, redondas y cuadradas; secadores y esterilizadores de forma cuadrada o cilíndrica para temperaturas hasta de 220° C., termostatos, secos y con agua para mantener una temperatura constante, de forma cilíndrica o cuadrada tambores para vendajes esterilizados; jeringas y agujas; redondas y cuadradas con un diámetro de 80 a 490 mm. mesas de operación; aparatos para anestesia con gas; aparatos para oxigenoterapia; aparatos de anestesia de trylon; incubadoras para niños recién nacidos antes de tiempo, etc.

Un lugar muy principal lo ocupa la producción y montaje de equipo completo de esterilización para cuartos grandes de operación, institutos, laboratorios e instituciones similares.

La producción de equipo e instrumentos médicos en Yugoslavia, es considerable, y actualmente también se exporta al extranjero.

## NUEVOS CONTRATOS COMERCIALES

Recientemente, los hombres de negocios yugoslavos firmaron un contrato de venta de puentes nuevos y puentes de vigas a la India, valuados en cerca de 1.200,000 dólares.



Termostato eléctrico. "Sutjeska". Belgrado. 000682

# EXPORTACION DE PRODUCTOS DE CARNE

Con la terminación y la entrada en la producción de carnicerías el año pasado, el modelo de exportaciones de carne de Yugoslavia fue considerablemente modificada a favor de productos finales de carne, y Yugoslavia llegó a ser factor importante

en el mercado de la carne europeo e internacional.

Así la carne enlatada yugoslava y otras exportaciones de productos de carne mostraron los siguientes resultados:

	1954	1955	1956	1957
a) Carne enlatada en toneladas ..	2 024	2,043.6	6,521.9	11,283
b) Otros productos en toneladas ..	403.4	425.6	555.9	150.7

La Gran Bretaña es la mayor importadora de carne enlatada del mundo porque más de un 50% de las exportaciones del mundo van a través del mercado británico. Así ha ido sosteniendo por muchos años el lugar principal en las exportaciones yugoslavas. El año pasado el mercado inglés consumió cerca de un 59% de la cantidad total de exportaciones de carne enlatada yugoslava. Este es indudablemente un gran triunfo particularmente en vista del hecho de que éste es un mercado donde los mayores exportadores de productos de carne del mundo compiten, Dinamarca, Holanda, Alemania Occidental, Polonia, etc.

El siguiente mayor importador de carne enlatada yugoslava desde 1956 ha sido la Unión Soviética. El contrato de venta por 1957 cubrió una cantidad de 3,000 toneladas, de la cual cerca de dos terceras partes fueron embarcadas durante el curso del año y el balance durante el primer trimestre de este año. El acuerdo comercial del año pasado dio para la entrega de 2,000 toneladas durante 1958, 1959 y 1960 cada año. Es par-

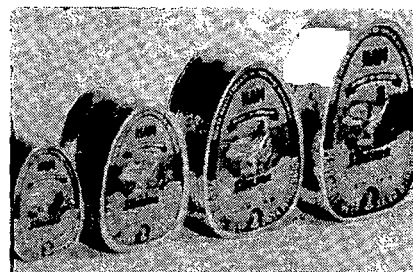
ticularmente favorable para Yugoslavia que los embarques de este año incluyen principalmente carne de res enlatada.

Cantidades considerables de carne enlatada y productos de carne son compradas por Alemania Occidental.

Cinco de las mejores empresas yugoslavas producirán productos de carne para ser exportados a los EUA. tales productos cumplirán con las condiciones americanas para control veterinario de la producción, calidad, empaque y marcado.

Las exportaciones de productos de puerco incluyen jamón y jamón de lomo en latas, puerco picado, lengua, pasta, goulash, varias clases de salami y salchichas.

Finalmente, debería ser mencionado que los mercados extranjeros han estado mostrando un especial interés por la carne de puerco seca. La carne de puerco seca incluye mitades, jamones, lomos, cuellos, costillas, riñones y tocino. Hay una especial demanda por el tocino de Tyrol. Hamburgo e Inglaterra, producido de puercos carnosos.



## LA EXPORTACION DE PESCADO ENLATADO AUMENTA ANUALMENTE

La producción de pescado enlatado en Yugoslavia tiene una tradición de cerca de 100 años. Antes de la guerra esta producción estuvo en su apogeo sólo durante el verano, cuando el pez azul era pescado. Hoy, sin embargo, hay más de 3,000 trabajadores empleados en 25 fábricas para pescado enlatado en Croacia y Montenegro. Además de sardinas, macarela, atún y anchoas, las fábricas empacan ahora más de 100 clases de pescados. Se debería acentuar la producción de nuevos artículos, tales como sardinetas, picnic, provenzal, carpa plateada, alburnus, y truchas, langostas etc. Todo esto ha aumentado la producción y la exportación de pescado enlatado. 3,297 toneladas de pescado enlatado fueron exportadas en 1954 y 3,752 toneladas en 1956, mientras que en 1957 se obtuvo un récord de exportación de 5,333 toneladas valuadas en cerca de 3 millones de dólares.

El pescado enlatado yugoslavo de las marcas registradas "Istria", "Dalma", "Adria" y "Moreska" así como las marcas registradas "Arena" y "Consul", tienen una gran demanda hoy en más de 30 países de los 5 continentes.



Granja de cria de cerdos en Panchevo, cerca de Belgrado.

# DESARROLLO FAVORABLE DE LAS RELACIONES COMERCIALES CON URUGUAY

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El Dr. Ramón Valdez Costa, Presidente de "Contralor", visita Yugoslavia.

El Presidente de "Contralor", organización de comercio exterior uruguayo, Dr. Ramón Valdez Costa, visitó Yugoslavia a fines del mes de junio como huésped de la Cámara Federal de Comercio Exterior. En esa ocasión, el Dr. Valdez Costa se puso en contacto directo con los representantes del Comité de Comercio Exterior, la Cámara Federal de Comercio Exterior, el Banco Central de Yugoslavia, el Banco de Comercio Exterior Yugoslavo, y con los representantes de las empresas yugoslavas de comercio exterior que están negociando con Uruguay.

Las posibilidades de aumentar el volumen de intercambio de artículos de primera necesidad entre Yugoslavia y Uruguay, y especialmente la ampliación mutua de artículos de exportación fue examinada detenidamente durante las pláticas que el Dr. Costa sostuvo con los representantes de la economía yugoslava. Además de esto, se discutieron planes para la venta de un equipo industrial completo yugoslavo para estaciones hidroeléctricas y termales, intercambios telefónicos, vagones de ferrocarril, barcos, etc., a Uruguay. También se hizo notar que Yugoslavia estaba dispuesta a vender cierto equipo capital a Uruguay en una base de crédito.

## EXPORTADORA DE MATERIAL AISLANTE SOBRE UNA BASE DE TELA DE VIDRIO

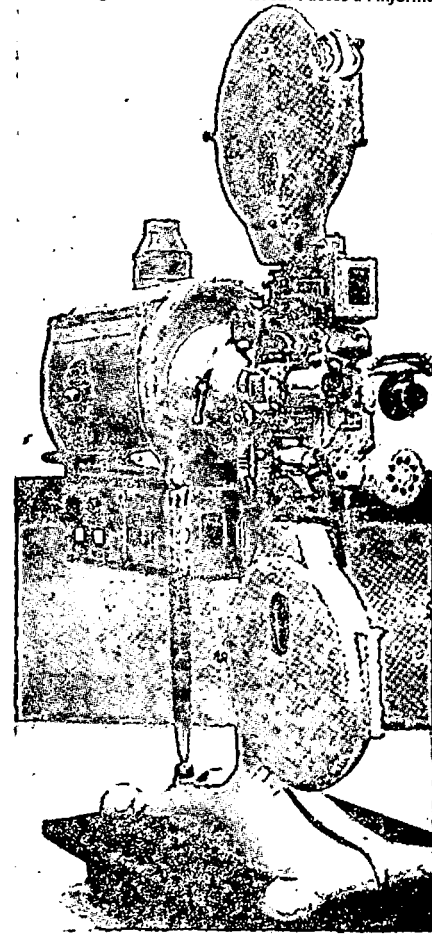
Hace unos años, una nueva y moderna fábrica de vidrio fue terminada en Skoplje y en 1955 una nueva planta productora de tela de vidrio entró en producción, que, además de producir la tela bruta, produce almohadas, colchones, cordón, bloques para cubrir superficies planas, y tela de vidrio.

En el curso del año pasado y durante este año, la Fábrica Skoplje se anotó un significativo triunfo con

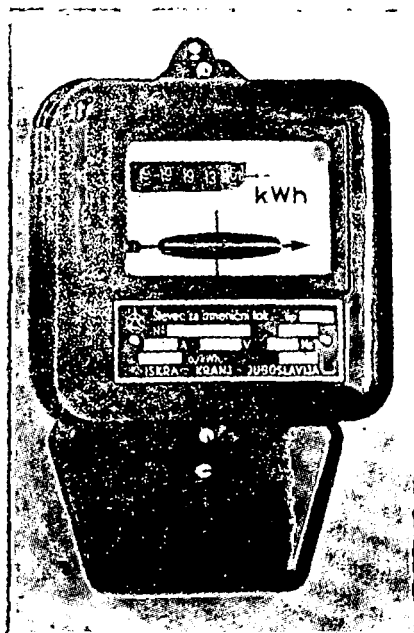
la exportación de sus productos, particularmente a los países del Medio Oriente.

Las propiedades universales de aislamiento aseguran un uso completo de la tela de vidrio y sus productos, tales como son los cojines eléctricos.

La Fábrica de Vidrio Skoplje ha estado examinando la posibilidad de producir la llamada tela de vidrio superfina para la producción de hilo y otros tejidos.



Proyector de cine, producción de la fábrica "Iskra".



Medidor de corriente eléctrica, producto de la fábrica "Iskra".

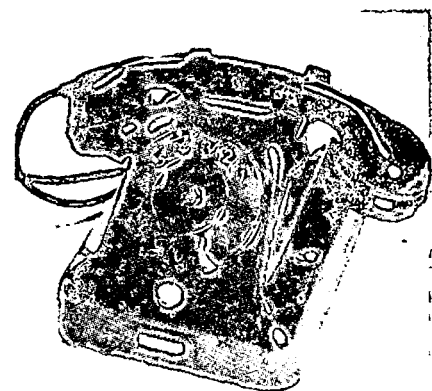
## LA FABRICA "JUGOHROM", CERCA DE TETOVO COMIENZA SU PRODUCCION REGULAR

Los productos cromados y aleaciones ferrosas de la Fábrica "Jugohrom", cerca de Tetovo (Macedonia), uno de los mayores proyectos industriales de Yugoslavia, comenzó su producción regular, después de seis meses de operación de prueba.

Esta gran planta consiste de tres unidades separadas. Además de un sector de aleaciones ferrosas, hay también uno de cromato de sodio y otro de ácidos de cromo, cuya producción está todavía en periodo experimental. El tercer sector de la planta, el sector de carburo de calcio y de fertilizantes sintéticos, está aún en construcción y entrará en operación el año entrante. El sector de bicromato de sodio estará en operación este verano. El bicromato de sodio es una materia prima muy ra-

ra y valiosa para las industrias del cuero, las textiles, las químicas, las metalúrgicas, las militares y otras.

Un pequeño porcentaje de la producción será suficiente para cubrir los pedidos del interior y dejará un sobrante para exportación.



Aparato telefónico de la fábrica "Iskra".

# YUGOSLAVIA EXPORTA TABACO ORIENTAL DE ALTA CALIDAD

Los más importantes productores de tabaco en Europa son los países bálticos que producen principalmente varios tipos de hojas finas de tabaco aromático oriental conocidas en todo el mundo. En ninguna otra parte del mundo se puede producir el tabaco de este tipo. Yugoslavia guarda un lugar especial como productor y exportador de tabaco oriental de tan alta calidad que tiene un lugar especial en el mercado mundial.

Geográficamente Yugoslavia tiene 4 regiones climáticas que al mismo tiempo constituyen 4 áreas productoras de tabaco. Dependiendo de las condiciones naturales y los requerimientos del mercado, Yugoslavia produce ahora las siguientes variedades de tabaco:

**"Yacca"**—en términos de sus propiedades es el principal representante del tipo de tabaco oriental aromático. Se usa para impartir aroma en la producción, de los más finos cigarrillos. **"Prilip"**—esta variedad de tabaco se extiende sobre una área más extensa que **"Yacca"**. Pertenecen a grupo de tabacos aromáticos con un olor pronunciado. Es también usado para impartir aroma a productos de tabaco. Da mayores producciones y es más popular entre los cultivadores de tabaco.

**"Otlja"** — es un tipo de tabaco oriental con una hoja un poco más grande. Produce tabaco amarillo fino. Tiene un sabor suave al fumarse. Pertenecen al grupo de tabaco ligero y se usa para llenar la producción de cigarrillos.

En la región del Adriático crece un tipo único de tabaco, conocido con el nombre de **"Hercegovina"**. El tabaco de esta área forma un grupo



Presentación de algunos cigarros de los que se producen en Yugoslavia.

especial de cigarrillos de tabaco con unas excepcionales propiedades que lo hacen apropiado para el uso en la manufactura de tabaco. Estos son tipos específicos de tabaco adaptados al área de Cars en la zona del clima mediterráneo. Los representantes del tipo de tabaco Hercegovina son:

**"Ravnjak"** — la variedad más conocida de tabaco **"Hercegovina"** que da buenas producciones. La hoja es

fina llena y jugosa, de un color amarillo pálido. Su aroma es agradable, específico y peculiar que de los otros tipos de tabaco Hercegovina. Su sabor agradable es un placer para los fumadores. **"Tance"** — el área que crece esta variedad es muy limitada en tamaño. Produce menos que las áreas de **"Ravnjak"**. También tiene un sabor agradable y lleno. Fisiológicamente es mucho más fuerte y se usa como un complemento en los cigarrillos fuertes.

En el área central dos variedades son producidas: **"Bajina Basta Yacca"**, **"Prosocan"**, que es una variedad de tabaco adaptada a los bajos y a las planicies del Valle Morava y la región de Grusevac.

En Vojvodina las variedades de cigarros son: la **"Segedin Rose"** que es adaptada a las planicies de tierra fuerte. **"Nova Crnja"** se obtiene por selección en la Estación Experimental de Tabaco de Zrenjanin. Es adaptada a tierra ligera y arenosa.

Las exportaciones de tabaco se desarrollaban como sigue:

Año	Producción exportada Tons.
1924-1940 .....	3,468
1953 .....	6 162
1954 .....	7,007
1955 .....	14,646
1956 .....	20 041

Yugoslavia exporta ahora su tabaco a 22 países europeos y a otros.



Cultivo de tabaco en Hercegovina.





# TURISMO



Planica, lugar invernal de fama mundial donde se han celebrado encuentros internacionales de skis.

Yugoslavia es un país de encanto para los turistas del mundo entero. Las cumbres alpinas de Eslovenia, las mesetas croatas y servias, las extensas y lisas llanuras de Vojvodina y del Danubio, las fértiles cuencas de los ríos, las montañas selváticas y los bellísimos lagos, los tupidos bosques de Bosnia, la majestuosa meseta calcárea con sus cascadas espumantes, los ríos subterráneos, las grutas misteriosas, las enormes peñas de Montenegro y desnudas rocas de

Dalmacia y otros mil paisajes de Yugoslavia son inolvidables para cuantos los han visto una vez. El turista se encuentra lo mismo ante las ruinas de un antiguo baño romano, como de una mezquita, ante templos griegos o frescos medievales de las iglesias servias y macedonias, ante ruinas de importantes castillos feudales o ante modernos rascacielos en la.000686 dades. ¡Viajando a Europa vale la pena conocer estas maravillas de la naturaleza!



Македонија

Србија

Борна-Херцеговина

Чоасија

Елзевина



# EXPOSICION "LA FAMILIA Y LA CASA EN 1958", EN ZAGREB

Durante la Gran Feria de Zagreb —del 6 al 21 de septiembre y bajo el auspicio del Presidente de la República, Tito— tuvo lugar la II Exposición periódica internacional "La Familia y la Casa en 1958". En una superficie de unos 40 mil metros cuadrados y en siete nuevos pabellones modernamente construidos, los organizadores de la Exposición —21 organizaciones políticas y sociales (el Consejo Central de la Unión de Sindicatos de Yugoslavia, el Comité Central de la Unión de Sociedades Femeninas de Yugoslavia, el Consejo de las Sociedades de Protección a la Infancia y la Juventud de Yugoslavia, la Conferencia Permanente de las Ciudades, el Instituto de Fomento de la Casa, la Unión de Artistas de las Artes Aplicadas de Yugoslavia, la Cámara Federal de Industria y otras)— dieron a conocer las posibilidades para mejorar las condiciones de vida del hombre yugoslavo, y sobre todo de la población de las grandes urbes y de centros industriales.

Esta permanente manifestación social y económica persigue el objetivo de fomentar el desarrollo de las nuevas formas en las relaciones sociales en las comunidades de inquilinos, de contribuir a la solución del problema



Uno de los modernos supermercados de Yugoslavia.

de obtener una vivienda más económica y racional, como también a la edificación de viviendas, al fomento de la producción y organización de la venta de los artículos para las necesidades de la familia y la casa, y de crear el interés para racionalizar y mecanizar los trabajos del hogar.

Además de los productores yugoslavos, que ocuparon la mayor parte del espacio de dicha Exposición, varias firmas de Italia, Alemania Occidental y Checoslovaquia expusieron sus productos.

La II Exposición periódica Internacional "La Familia y la Casa en 1958" se componía de cinco secciones:

## Sección I

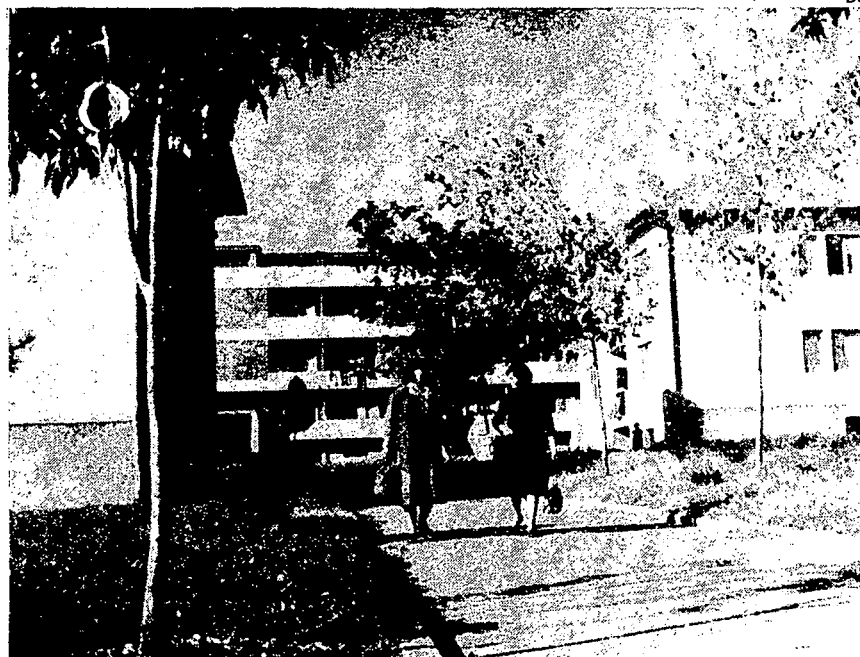
El organizador de la Sección "Representación general de la comunidad de inquilinos" —la Conferencia Permanente de las ciudades— mostraba a los visitantes las funciones y el papel social de la comunidad de inquilinos, es decir, las facilidades que ofrece a la familia del trabajador, o sea, la socialización de las faenas de casa. Los visitantes pudieron conocer diferentes formas de asociación dentro de la institución de comunidad de inquilinos: servicios encargados de resolver el problema de cuidar a los niños, cocinas colectivas y distribución de comidas por casas, servicios de lavado, secamiento, planchado y zurcido de ropa, servicios encargados de limpieza de viviendas, otros para cuidar a enfermos o para resolver los asuntos financieros de la comunidad de inquilinos, etc.

## Sección II

Los visitantes de esta parte de la exposición "Servicios e insti000688



Una casa de la Colonia de Artistas en los alrededores de Belgrado.



Grupos de casas habitación con grandes espacios de verde, que se construyen actualmente en Yugoslavia.

de la infancia en la comunidad de inquilinos" pudieron conocer a través de diferentes objetos expuestos (maquinaria e instalación de diferentes servicios, cuadros gráficos, utensilios para las instituciones de la infancia y otras) los diversos tipos de servicios y de instituciones de la infancia que se prestan a organizar dentro de las comunidades de inquilinos.

Entre estos servicios figuran los de talleres "Hazlo tú mismo" organizados por la "Técnica Popular" para los niños preescolares y escolares dentro de las comunidades de inquilinos cocinas escolares, campos de juego infantiles, jardines de la infancia, salas de proyección de películas, etc.

### Sección III

En la Sección III de esta exposición, "Hogar individual", fueron expuestos muy interesantes objetos de casa que llamaron la atención de los visitantes: muebles, instalaciones y aparatos, como también productos alimenticios, que dieron una idea del funcionamiento de las instalaciones de la cocina como también de una casa racional y económica. Se perseguía el objetivo de indicar las ventajas de los productos alimenticios semipreparados y para influir en la modificación de la estructura de la alimentación.

### Sección IV

Una atención particular se prestó al problema de "Vivienda y construc-

ción de viviendas". En la Sección IV se presentó una construcción racional y económica de viviendas dotadas de instalaciones modernas y económicas. Se pudieron conocer los métodos modernos para conservar las viviendas y sus instalaciones en

### Sección V

En esta sección, que ocupó una importante parte de la exposición, se pudieron apreciar las demandas de los consumidores con respecto a las necesidades de adaptar las organizaciones comerciales a las exigencias de la familia y de la casa.

Un interés especial despertó un gran almacén comercial dotado de las más modernas instalaciones que funciona a base de autoservicio.

Igualmente se pudo visitar un moderno almacén de confecciones, con modelos de vestir. En este almacén se compraron modelos y vestidos a medida, hechos a base de las necesidades de nuestro consumidor medio.

Había varias tiendas donde se podían adquirir productos alimenticios y otros de amplio consumo.



Jóvenes de la Federación de Sociedades Femeninas, consultando los cursos de corte y costura.

# EL CLERO EN YUGOSLAVIA

La Constitución yugoslava garantiza a todo ciudadano la libertad de religión y con la Ley relativa a la situación jurídica de las comunidades religiosas está legalizada la práctica del libre trabajo de la iglesia y les están asegurados los derechos y deberes a la iglesia y a sus organizaciones. La libertad de sus actividades a las comunidades religiosas está garantizada de una manera eficaz y todo eventual estorbo a las reuniones o ritos religiosos o impedimentos de manifestaciones de sentimientos religiosos se castiga de acuerdo con Código penal.

El seguro social y la protección sanitaria acogidas por las asociaciones clericales, aseguran al clero y a sus familiares en la vejez y en la enfermedad. Las asociaciones clericales de diferentes credos religiosos han concertado con el Estado 15 acuerdos en base de los cuales quedaron asegurados más de cuatro mil miembros del clero. Bajo estas mismas condiciones al igual que los obreros y empleados también el clero tiene el derecho a la protección sanitaria y a las garantías materiales en caso de imposibilidad temporal para trabajar o a consecuencia de una enfermedad. El clero también ha adquirido el derecho a remuneración por invalidez y a la jubilación de invalidez, vejez y a pensión familiar como también a los gastos de entierro. En los años de servicio se reconoce a los miembros del clero todo el tiempo empleado por ellos en los servicios religiosos. Han firmado acuerdos relativos al seguro social con el Estado los siguientes miembros de los credos religiosos: la Iglesia ortodoxa servia, la Comunidad religiosa musulmana, el clero de la Iglesia ortodoxa de Rumania, el clero católico de la asociación "Sanctos Cirilo y Metodio" en Eslovenia, de la Iglesia católica antigua de Croacia, los miembros de las asociaciones católicas clericales de Croacia, Servia, Montenegro, Bosnia y Hercegovina, y seguidamente los sacerdotes de la Iglesia cristiana reformada y la Iglesia baptista.

A todas las comunidades religiosas, respectivamente iglesias (aunque la iglesia está oficialmente separada del Estado) el gobierno yugoslavo otorga, en forma particular, constantes ayudas financieras como donaciones. El monto total de estas donaciones pasa la suma de 130 millones de dinares anuales y no se utiliza solamente como una subvención a una iglesia determinada, sino se otorga como una ayuda personal a los sacerdotes. En la práctica, el Estado ayuda materialmente a todos los credos religiosos del país, —ortodoxo, católico, romano, islamita y otras—. Por ejemplo, para las necesidades de

la iglesia católica se ha distribuido el año antepasado 63 millones de dinares. También los ciudadanos mismos dan libremente sus óbolos a la iglesia, mientras los sacerdotes reciben de los feligreses compensaciones en dinero o en otra forma acostumbrada en el servicio de los ritos religiosos que, entre paréntesis, ejercen en la iglesia, en el cementerio, o en casas particulares (bautizos, etc.), o en lugares públicos cuando se organizan procesiones. El Estado otorga también la ayuda para las reparaciones de las iglesias y libra de derechos aduaneros las encomiendas en forma de paquetes y regalos que les llegan del extranjero.

Todas las comunidades religiosas ejercen libremente sus ritos y manifiestan sus sentimientos religiosos. Hasta la fecha no se ha prohibido a ninguna comunidad religiosa su actuación dentro del territorio de nuestro Estado. Más aún, por los datos pueden verse los trabajos normales y el desarrollo de todas las comunidades religiosas en el país como también su relación activa hacia la sociedad, que se manifiesta en las actividades sociales a través de la Unión Socialista del Pueblo Trabajador, de la Unión de Combatientes de la Guerra de Liberación Nacional, de la Organización de la Cruz Roja, de diferentes sociedades artístico-culturales, comunidades y organizaciones por el estilo.

Todas las religiones editan y distribuyen sus publicaciones.

Los sacerdotes de la Iglesia ortodoxa servia ejercen sus servicios en 3,970 iglesias y monasterios, de los cuales 17 fueron construidos después de la guerra y reparados 350.

La Iglesia católico-romana cuenta con más o menos 5 millones quinientos mil feligreses. Forman su clero 29 obispos, 13 entre provinciales e inspectores, 75 canónigos, 2,400 sacerdotes, 1,100 monjes y 5,300 monjas. En las iglesias, monasterios y capillas, católico-romanas cuyo número pasa de 6,300 se hallan (así

como en las iglesias ortodoxas) muchos objetos de gran valor artístico e histórico.

Los sacerdotes católico-romanos cuentan con dos facultades de teología, una en Zagreb y la otra en Ljubljana, más de 6 escuelas superiores y 10 escuelas medias de teología frecuentadas actualmente por 1,688 alumnos.

La comunidad religiosa islamita es la organización única para todos los musulmanes de Yugoslavia. Esta comunidad cuenta con 2,100 sacerdotes (imanes) y dos escuelas, cuenta con más de 6,000 mezquitas y con 153 monasterios musulmanes (tequias moradas de los derviches).

Todas las demás comunidades religiosas de Yugoslavia representan por el número de sus feligreses grupos muy pequeños. Pero también estas comunidades cuentan con una organización interna completamente elaborada y gozan también de los mismos derechos como las tres comunidades mayores —ortodoxa, católico-romana y musulmana. Además entre estas comunidades figuran también la Iglesia metodista, la Iglesia cristiana adventista, la Unión de iglesias baptistas, la Iglesia de Cristo de hermanos libres, la Iglesia ortodoxa rumana, la Iglesia hebrea y otras.



Dos religiosas saliendo de un hospital del Estado donde ejercen de enfermeras.

# EL CINE YUGOSLAVO

La Revista "Selecciones Cinematográficas" de México, publica en su número correspondiente al 15 de octubre último un artículo en el que entre otras cosas se dice lo siguiente:

Los espectadores mexicanos casi ignoran el cine que se hace en Yugoslavia. Y es que apenas tenemos ocasión de ver los films que la República Popular Federativa hace. Y ahora vemos en los escenarios de Venecia una obra que es una verdadera revelación para el mundo entero: "El valle de la paz", primer premio en Venecia.

Me dirijo en mi coche con enorme velocidad por una amplia vía; de pronto mis ojos se detienen en una figura de antaño conocida. Detengo el coche. Es un joven macedónico, profesor de literatura en Skopje: —¡Qué tal, cómo te va!— nos estrechamos la mano, y casi al instante, surge mi acostumbrado tema de conversación: el cine.

Nos dirigimos a Pula (Istria), villa soleada, señalada por los guías turísticos, por sus arenas monumentales y las antiguas ruinas romanas. Pula: Puesto Militar, arsenal de la marina, cantera de fornidos hombres. Pula: lugar donde tendrá lugar, en el más sano ambiente, el próximo festival de cine yugoslavo. Nunca antes había podido contemplar la Macedonia: es simplemente divina.

En el lugar central, el Mariscal Tito, batiendo las manos en cordial saludo. El mariscal Tito es un apasionado del cine. Después que asume la presidencia, se anuncia la exhibición de películas inéditas: americanas, francesas, rusas, italianas y yugoslavas. La oportunidad de aplaudir todo lo bueno, de criticar, está, una vez más, al alcance de todos.

Los productores de Hollywood, de Londres, de París, tenían al cine yugoslavo como de valor exclusivo interno del régimen titoísta. Estábamos equivocados. El cine está, por completo, aquí, liberado de lo político o mejor, de las querellas políticas internas.

Ahora, sin lugar a dudas, hemos encontrado los cineastas de Europa, de América, un nuevo rival: el cine yugoslavo.

La ruta ha sido larga; relatémosla.

Nacido al final de la guerra, por razones de prestigio nacional, este cine está organizado hoy en día, en seis estudios, que se hallan instalados en Belgrado, Budva, Sarajevo, Skopje y Lubiana.

El equipo utilizado es francés, y se producen anualmente, unos 15 films de largo metraje, un ciento de documentales: turísticos, artísticos, musicales y de vanguardia.



Una escena de la película Xanka.

Las películas de guerrilleros —que a nosotros nos son fastidiosas, por la cantidad que hemos hecho— ocupan un lugar prominente en la cinematografía Yugoslava. Por ello es que la tarea de resistencia ante el fascismo invasor, tiene tanta publicidad. Son realizadas con mucha prudencia, tratando de realzar los valores del pueblo —y los paisajes— y de no darle mucha importancia a individuos aislados.

En la escuela del Este, el cine yugoslavo tiene gran prestigio y preponderancia.

Una de las cintas de más prestigio nacional, es la titulada "4 Kms. PH", en la que tomaron parte una gran cantidad de artistas conocidos, populares. Con un tema sumamente sencillo, se hizo una obra que mantiene al espectador en tensión durante 1.45 horas.

"El Valle de la Paz", es una cinta inmejorable. Tiene la virtud de tratar un tema también sencillo, con una intensidad y una acción poco común del cine europeo o americano. Sus intérpretes parecen haber nacido en el valle en que la cinta se desarrolla. Como la obra dura poco más de una hora, los directores han tenido la idea de hacerla de una intensidad constante, pero no exhaustiva.

Pero esta cinta, ganadora de un primer premio en el festival de Ve-

nevia no es la única de calidad que se ha hecho en los últimos tiempos en Yugoslavia.

En Yugoslavia, también se hace buen cine de comedia "Cow-Boy" "El ingreso" y otras cintas de este orden, alcanzan mucha popularidad. La primera de las mencionadas, es una crítica bastante buena, yo diría magnífica, a las cintas de "caballitos" norteamericanas.

¿Y de los artistas, qué podemos decir? Son, sencillamente, magníficos. Marija Kohn, con sólo 22 años, es una actriz comparable a la Magnani, en Italia, o a Giulietta Masina, italiana también. En Francia podría esta catalogada como la Feuillère. Boris Buzanvic, joven y novel actor, es también poseedor de un gran talento, intérprete de escenas de amor como los mejores, y con una gran vocación por lo dramático. Mila Nikolic, es también una actriz joven de gran talento; que habla el francés a la perfección, y tan bella como cualquier vedette francesa o italiana. Su especialidad, de cine hablado, es la comedia y lo musical.

Tenemos un nuevo competidor en el marco del cine internacional; con grandes proyecciones futuristas y de una vitalidad que sólo la da el impulso nuevo y creador.

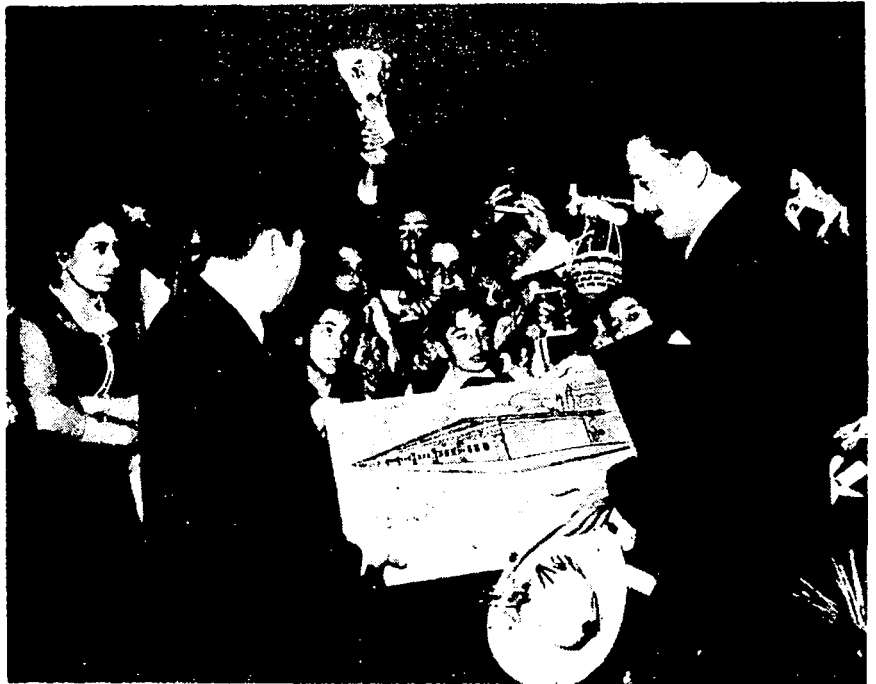
Felicitaciones del cine yugoslavo.

# Regalos de los alumnos de la Escuela "República de Yugoslavia" de México a los niños de la Escuela Primaria "Veselin Maslesa" de Belgrado

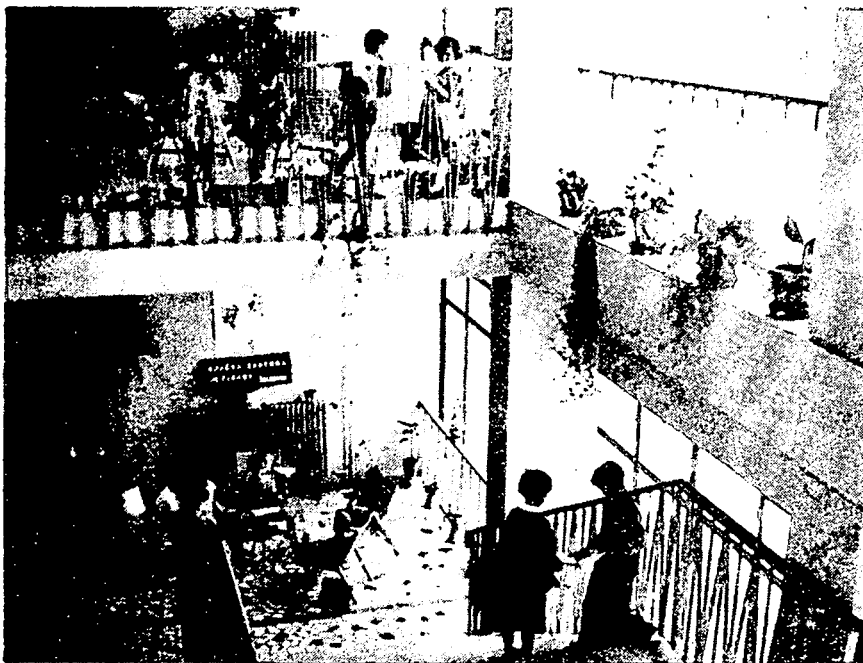
En el jardín de la Embajada de Yugoslavia tuvo lugar una emotiva recepción en la que fueron agasajados con dulces y refrescos los niños y niñas de la Escuela Primaria "República de Yugoslavia", y se entregaron los Diplomas de fin de curso obsequiados por la Embajada y el Instituto Cultural Yugoslavo-Mexicano.

Correspondiendo a los regalos que los niños de la Escuela "Veselin Maslesa" de Belgrado les enviaron hace algunos meses, los alumnos de la Escuela "República de Yugoslavia" hicieron entrega al Embajador, señor Dalibor Soldatic, para que los haga llegar a su destino, un conjunto de preciosos objetos elaborados a mano por los mismos niños en horas extra-escolares, como presentes para sus amiguitos yugoslavos.

Durante varias horas los niños y niñas, los profesores y directores de la Escuela y el personal de la Embajada y del Instituto Cultural participaron en alegre y amistosa convivencia, reflejo de las fraternales relaciones culturales que han establecido por encima de la distancia los niños de ambas escuelas de Belgrado y México.



El director de la Escuela "República de Yugoslavia", señor Carlos Ramírez, a la izquierda, mostrando al Embajador de Yugoslavia los regalos confeccionados por los alumnos de dicho plantel para los niños de la Escuela "Veselin Maslesa" de Belgrado.



Las escuelas modernas en Yugoslavia responden a las más recientes exigencias de la enseñanza, la higiene y la estética.

## GRAMATICA YUGOSLAVO- CASTELLANA

Gracias a la ayuda del prestigioso miembro de la colectividad yugoslava de Lima, don Mateo Galjuf, no hace mucho ha aparecido la primera gramática del idioma servio-croata en versión castellana. El autor de este libro, que ha de resultar sumamente útil para todos quienes se interesan por el idioma extranjero, es el Dr. Milko Lazaric, residente en Buenos Aires.

Los interesados en adquirir esta gramática, pueden dirigirse a la casilla 13657, Correo 15, Santiago, Chile.

# 29 DE NOVIEMBRE EN LA EMBAJADA YUGOSLAVA EN MEXICO

En ocasión de la Fiesta Nacional de Yugoslavia se celebró el 29 de noviembre en los salones de la Embajada de Yugoslavia en México, una solemne recepción a la que asistieron los representantes de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, del H. Cuerpo Diplomático, la Colonia yugoslava residente en el país y cientos de otros invitados entre los que se encontraban destacadas personalidades de la política, de la cultura y de la vida económica y social de México.

Los huéspedes fueron recibidos por el Embajador señor Soldatic y por su esposa a los que acompañaba el Sr. Brkic, miembro del Consejo Ejecutivo Federal de Yugoslavia, jefe de la Misión Especial de Yugoslavia que asistió a la transmisión de poderes en México.

Durante varias horas los invitados departieron en amistosa charla, amenizada con un coctel en el que se sirvieron algunas bebidas típicas de Yugoslavia.

## NUEVO EMBAJADOR DE YUGOSLAVIA EN CHILE

El Señor Faust Ljuba ha sido nombrado Embajador de Yugoslavia en Chile.

El embajador Ljuba es un destacado economista que ha representado a Yugoslavia en numerosas conferencias económicas internacionales, y ha desempeñado distintos cargos diplomáticos en varios países.

El nuevo representante diplomático yugoslavo es oriundo de Dalmacia, desde donde proviene la gran mayoría de yugoslavos radicados en Chile.



El Sr. Hasan Brkic y el Sr. Soldatic y su esposa acompañados por un grupo de jóvenes ataviadas con trajes típicos yugoslavos, en la recepción del 29 de noviembre en la Embajada de Yugoslavia.

## EL HERALDO YUGOSLAVO

"Revista Yugoslava", saluda calurosamente la reaparición en su segunda época de "GLASNIK". El Heraldo Yugoslavo, de Santiago de Chile, cuyo primer número nos ha llegado.

"Glasnik" contiene una profusa e interesante información y en su editorial se afirma que:

"El Heraldo Yugoslavo" aspira ser el portavoz de los yugoslavos y de todos los amigos que simpatizan con

ellos y quieren colaborar en pro de un mutua acercamiento, procurando estrechar las relaciones y fomentando un intercambio entre Yugoslavia y los países de la América Latina. Nosotros anhelamos reanudar una labor patriótica, que es la base fundamental del progreso y de la concordia internacional".

Deseamos a "GLASNIK" a a su dirección y redacción el mayor éxito en su loable y noble tarea.

## EXPOSICION DE ARQUITECTURA DE MEXICO EN YUGOSLAVIA

La Exposición de Arquitectura de México que actualmente se exhibe en Yugoslavia ha sido presentada con gran éxito en la capital, Belgrado, en Skopje, Nis, Banja-Luka, Rijeka, y

en estos días se mostrará en Travnik. En cada uno de estos lugares la Exposición ha logrado una gran afluencia de público y una excelente crítica.

**SUPPLICAMOS A NUESTROS LECTORES TENGAN A BIEN RENOVARNOS SU PETICION DE LA "REVISTA YUGOSLAVA", CONFIRMANDO SUS DOMICILIOS, AL OBJETO DE CONTINUAR SIRVIENDOLES NUESTRA REVISTA EN EL PROXIMO AÑO DE 1959. LA CORRESPONDENCIA DEBE REMITIRSE A "REVISTA YUGOSLAVA", AV. PRADO SUR 225 (LOMAS). MEXICO, D. F.**

# EL NUEVO AÑO EN YUGOSLAVIA

En Yugoslavia se festeja el nuevo año con dos días, el uno y el dos de enero, de fiesta oficial. Los primeros que se apresuran a celebrar la fiesta son los ciudadanos más jóvenes del país. En toda la República se organizan festejos y se cambian regalos entre las amistades, muy especialmente entre los niños que por costumbre esperan al "Abuelo Hielo" que llegue cargado de golosinas y juguetes, que previamente han indicado a los padres, y que anhelosos aguardan la visita del "Abuelo Hielo". Estas fiestas para los niños se organizan en las Escuelas, empresas y lugares de trabajo de los padres y en las organizaciones de base de la Federación Socialista. fiestas con variados y adecuados programas que culminan con la entrega de los regalos a los pequeñines por parte del "Abuelo Hielo".

Los empleados y los obreros orga-



"El Abuelo Hielo", haciendo entrega de los regalos a los niños en ocasión del Año Nuevo, en Yugoslavia.



nizan las fiestas del nuevo año en los Clubs y centros recreativos. En todos los hoteles, restaurantes y demás lugares públicos se organizan festejos para despedir al viejo y recibir al nuevo año con bailes y diversas formas de diversión.

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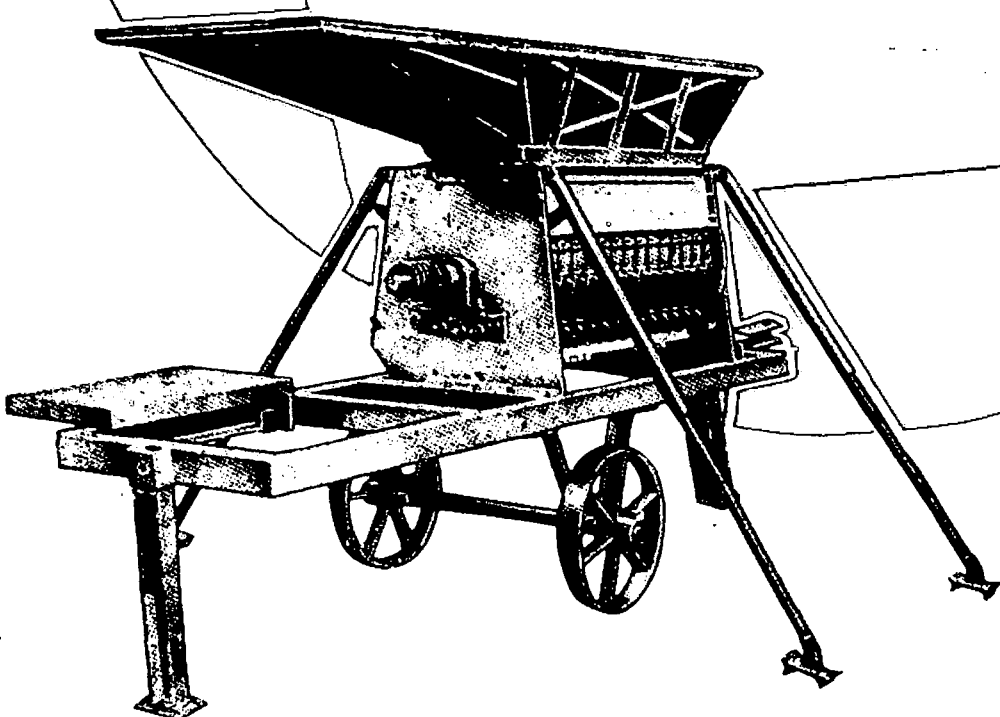
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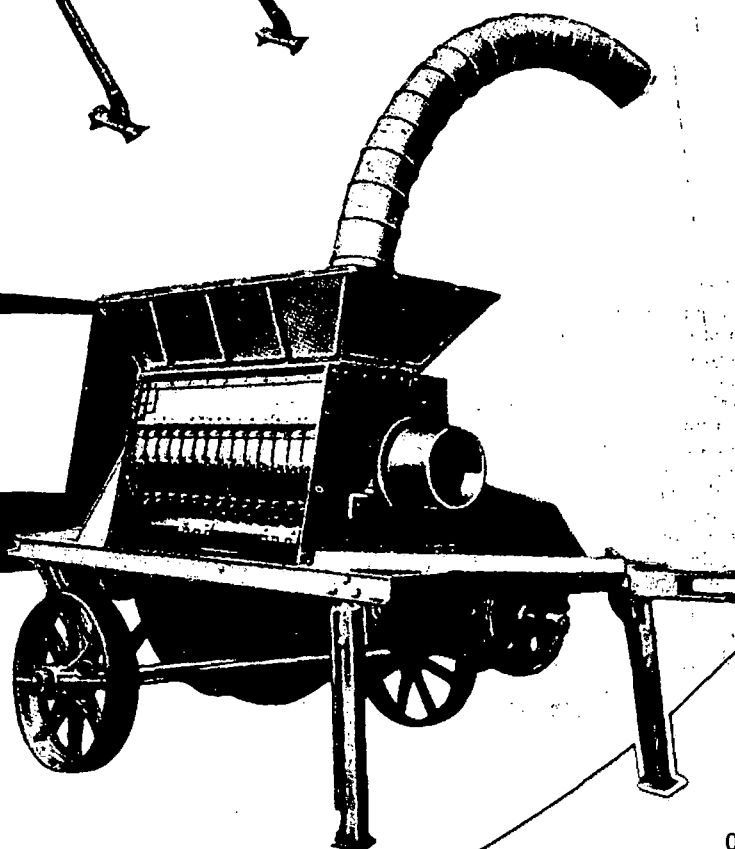
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## A PROPOSITO DE LOS DISCURSOS DE GOMULKA Y DE JRUSCHOV

El 10. de noviembre de 1958 tuvo lugar en Moscú, en el Palacio de los Deportes, un mitin de la amistad soviético-polaca, en que los camaradas Gomulka y Jruschov pronunciaron discursos, dedicando una atención especial a Yugoslavia y al "revisionismo yugoslavo" (lo que, al parecer, ha llegado a ser una norma en las visitas mutuas de las delegaciones de Estado y de Partido de los países socialistas, una norma no solamente para los discursos sino también para los documentos oficiales). El periódico "Borba", órgano de la Unión Socialista del Pueblo Trabajador de Yugoslavia, en su número de 14 de noviembre de 1958, ha reproducido íntegras las partes de dichos discursos que se refieren a Yugoslavia. A continuación, reproducimos el comentario que "Borba" ha hecho a dichos discursos:

Nikita Jruschov dijo que "el más importante resultado de este año, después de la Conferencia de noviembre" consiste "en que se ha fortalecido aún más la unidad del movimiento comunista internacional", y que la prueba y la expresión de esta unidad "la constituye la unánime actitud de los partidos comunistas y obreros contra el revisionismo contemporáneo que ha hallado su plena expresión en el Programa de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia". Además, Jruschov afirmó que "todos los partidos revolucionarios de la clase obrera han juzgado el Programa yugoslavo como revisionista y han condenado enérgicamente la actitud subversiva y divisionista de los dirigentes de la LCY".

Así mismo, la intención principal del discurso de Gomulka tenía que ser la prueba y la manifestación de esta "unanimidad".

Dejemos al lado la cuestión de si tales afirmaciones reflejan la realidad existente en el movimiento obre-

ro internacional. Mas sería lógico que aquel que las expone se vea movido a deducir que tan vociferado peligro de "revisionismo yugoslavo" para el movimiento obrero internacional, si las cosas son así, es una insignificancia que no merece gran atención. ¿Por qué entonces tanto ruido en torno a "la actitud subversiva y divisionista", por qué esta inagotable y cada vez más fuerte torrente de declaraciones, discursos, artículos y de toda clase de otros tipos de manifestaciones públicas con la principal y frecuentemente la única finalidad de luchar contra el peligro del "revisionismo yugoslavo"? ¿Por qué tan monstruosa movilización de las fuerzas y recursos en esta lucha? ¿Es que los protagonistas de la lucha contra el "revisionismo yugoslavo" abrigan una esperanza seria de poder convencer a la opinión pública socialista del mundo contemporáneo en que un partido, que representa un pueblo de 18 millones de habitantes, pueda "minar" con éxito la unidad de tantos partidos que hoy hablan en nombre de

mil millones de habitantes del globo terrestre, mientras estos mismos partidos no son capaces de romper la unidad del "miserable" grupito de los "revisionistas yugoslavos", pese al hecho de que durante los últimos diez años hayan empleado en esta empresa formidables medios de presión política, económica y propagandística?

Basta con formular esta pregunta para que se vea que no se trata de una subversión revisionista de la unidad, sino de algo mucho más profundo e importante para las fuerzas socialistas del mundo. La fuerza y la tenacidad del "revisionismo yugoslavo" sería inexplicable si no se comprendiese que ésta tiene sus orígenes en las profundas necesidades del desarrollo ulterior de las relaciones sociales socialistas. ¿Es que la historia de diez años de la campaña antiyugoslava no es suficiente para explicar este "enigma"? Sin embargo, ya es hora de que lo comprenda, ya que, de lo contrario, los vanos combatientes contra el "re-

visionismo yugoslavo" se verán cada vez más embarazados y en una situación que les obliga cada día, sin cesar y con toda la fuerza a "destronar" este "revisiónismo" para despertar al día siguiente ante un "enemigo" aun más grande y monstruoso.

Contra la Yugoslavia socialista se hecha lodo por haber planteado abiertamente los problemas que son esenciales para la situación y el desarrollo contemporáneo del socialismo, es decir, problemas que tienen que resolverse aunque haya gente en el movimiento obrero internacional que desea que tales problemas no existan. No obstante, el griterío conservador de esta campaña sin principios contra el hecho mismo de la existencia de tales problemas, no conseguirá quitarlos de las espaldas del mundo actual. Mas no hay que "quitarlos" sino hay que resolverlos, porque se trata, en realidad, de los problemas del crecimiento, del desarrollo progresivo del socialismo.

En vano se consuela Gomulka con la afirmación de que "el Programa",

aprobado por el VII Congreso de la LCY ha resonado en la masa de millones de miembros de nuestro Partido sólo con un eco negativo". Dicho de paso, este Programa ha sido accesible en Polonia a un número reducidísimo de personas, pero esto no es lo esencial. El problema no consiste en una u otra resonancia que haya tenido el Programa de la LCY, como algo extrínseco, sino en las necesidades y problemas intrínsecos del desarrollo del socialismo en cada país socialista por separado. Si respecto a estas necesidades y problemas el Programa de la LCY no tuviese ningún interés, en tal caso la clase obrera de todo el mundo lo ignoraría incluso en caso de que alguien tratase de imponérselo. Por esto está fuera de lugar "la preocupación por la causa del socialismo, por la unidad del movimiento obrero internacional" de Gomulka ante la obstinación de la "dirección" (Gomulka también se deja llevar por la ilusión de que se trata de la obstinación solamente de una "dirección") de seguir en sus posiciones "revisionistas".

En una cosa nos pondremos de

acuerdo con Gomulka con mucho, o sea, que "la práctica de la vida siempre señalará a los comunistas lo que es bueno y lo que es malo para el socialismo". Sin embargo ¿no sería necesario que Gomulka manifestase más paciencia con respecto a dicha "práctica de la vida"? El habla como si esta "práctica de la vida" hubiera dicho ya su última palabra sobre el "revisiónismo yugoslavo". Sin embargo, precisamente la práctica de la vida es muy obtinada y cada vez con más evidencia y más ampliamente demuestra que tales propósitos son una grave quimera que conduce a amargos desengaños.

Esta quimera ya está llevando a Gomulka a la situación de asumir el papel de un destacado combatiente contra el "revisiónismo yugoslavo", de presentarse con "una serie de declaraciones" cuyo "gran significado" Jruschov ha considerado necesario destacar con particularidad. En esas declaraciones Gomulka manifiesta especialmente su pesar de que la LCY "se ha aislado de todos los partidos comunistas y obreros del mundo".

## *En la campaña anti-yugoslava se pisotean los principios del internacionalismo socialista\**

Es evidente que Gomulka trata con mucha simplicidad la cuestión del supuesto aislamiento de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia frente a los partidos comunistas y obreros del mundo. A este respecto también se debe esperar a lo que va a demostrar la "práctica de la vida". Solamente ella dará respuesta a la pregunta de quién y en qué medida se ha aislado de la composición íntegra de todas las fuerzas socialistas y de los factores progresivos del mundo actual. No hay que olvidar que muchos individuos de otros partidos comunistas y obreros, y entre ellos también destacados funcionarios, se habían inhibido personalmente ante los comunistas yugoslavos de la campaña que se había seguido contra la Yugoslavia socialista después del año 1948, asegurando que íntimamente condenaban dicha campaña. ¿No quiere decir esto que hasta el "ais-

lamiento" de aquel entonces era irreal, que era solamente un intento fracasado? Desde luego, hay algo más importante y más elemental que la actitud de los partidos comunistas y obreros, y esto es el mismo proceso real de la evolución del mundo contemporáneo hacia el socialismo y el desarrollo concreto de las formas cada vez más superiores de las relaciones sociales socialistas, y de estos procesos no se ha aislado la Yugoslavia socialista ni existe la fuerza que la pueda aislar. Todos estos cuentos sobre el aislamiento y las diferentes teorías sobre la imposibilidad de edificar el socialismo en Yugoslavia en caso de no aceptar las concepciones del "campo", expuestas en diversos artículos y discursos, sirven, en realidad, para ocultar el hecho de que en toda la campaña antiyugoslava se pisotean despiadadamente los principios del internacionalismo socialista y se obstaculiza el progreso socialista contemporáneo. Se trata de los delibe-

rados daños políticos y materiales y de toda clase de sinrazones que se hacen a un país socialista porque éste no quiere aceptar ciertas concepciones. Se trata no solamente de una actitud injustificada frente a un país socialista, sino también de un intento de imponer las relaciones de desigualdad de derechos. Los organizadores de la campaña antiyugoslava de ninguna manera podrán reconciliar esta actitud con los principios del internacionalismo socialista y el marxismo-leninismo por más tinta que gasten en sus "pruebas" escolásticas en numerosos artículos e informes.

¿No es suficiente todo esto para comprender cuán ilusorias son las "esperanzas" de que la LCY "tarde o temprano volverá del equivocado camino por el cual va ahora"? ¿Es que Gomulka cree de veras que los profundos problemas de las necesidades contemporáneas del desarrollo del socialismo se van a resolver con el bíblico regreso del hijo perdido? El

(\*) Los subtítulos son de la redacción de R. Y.

camino de la LCY está claro y, lo que es más importante aún, está ahí ante los comunistas yugoslav. Está abierta la perspectiva y ellos no tienen motivos para abandonar el camino desde el cual miran tan claramente hacia el futuro. Mas esto no quiere decir que ellos no desean regresar a una colaboración lo más estrecha y constructiva posible con los partidos de otros países socialistas. lo que se ha mostrado ya no solamente posible sino también muy beneficioso, sobre las bases en las que se había realizado en el período comprendido entre 1955 y la aprobación de la Declaración de 12 partidos comunistas. Nosotros también abrigamos esperanzas de tal regreso, pero estas esperanzas se podrán realizar únicamente si se procede, con seriedad y buena intención, a sacar todas las enseñanzas necesarias de las experiencias habidas hasta ahora en la lucha contra la Yugoslavia socialista.

Vladislav Gomulka dió a publicidad en su discurso que antes del VII Congreso de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia, y después de haber enviado el CC de la LCY el Proyecto de Programa a todos los partidos comunistas y obreros, dos miembros del Buró Político del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco estaban en nuestro país. Ellos expusieron ciertas observaciones al Proyecto de Programa, coincidiendo algunas con las enmiendas que ya habíamos introducido nosotros mismos en el Proyecto de Programa, y con lo cual ellos estaban de acuerdo, mientras algunas otras observaciones expuestas por ellos mismos fueron tomadas

en consideración al redactarse el texto definitivo del Proyecto de Programa. De esto habló también el camarada Tito en su discurso de Labin, apreciando como constructivo ese intercambio de opiniones.

No obstante, en el discurso de Gomulka, pronunciado en Moscú, todo esto ha sido presentado diferentemente. Aunque en el tiempo de los preparativos del Proyecto de Programa los camaradas polacos habían hecho observaciones solamente a algunos puntos de vista de la Liga de los comunistas (hallándose muy lejos de calificar tales puntos de vista de revisionistas), ahora Gomulka, destacando que la dirección de la Liga de los comunistas "no ha abandonado las posiciones revisionistas", viene afirmando que esta dirección se hallaba y que se halla precisamente sobre tales posiciones.

Este es solamente un nuevo paso en la "evolución" de la posición de Gomulka frente al Programa y, en general, frente a la política de la Liga de los Comunistas, paso dado en una evolución negativa que se puede seguir y registrar claramente paso por paso.

Hablando en Gdansk, a fines del mes de junio de este año, Gomulka por primera vez mencionó "las falsas teorías revisionistas de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia", las que "separan Yugoslavia de la comunidad de los países socialistas". En esa ocasión criticó solamente "la actitud negativa" de los comunistas yugoslavos frente al "campo socialista" sin hacer objeciones a otros

puntos de vista expresados en el Proyecto de Programa.

Sólo algunos meses más tarde, en el XII Pleno del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco, al tratar el problema del revisionismo en su propio partido, Gomulka dijo: "De la sana actitud antirrevisionista de todo el Partido es el mejor testimonio el hecho de que ha apoyado la posición que la dirección del Partido ha tomado frente al Programa revisionista aprobado por el VII Congreso de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia". Y aquí, con una sola frase, todo el Programa de la Liga de los comunistas, o sea, toda la política y las concepciones formuladas en este Programa, han sido ya proclamadas como revisionistas.

Este punto de vista ha sido comprobado en Moscú con la afirmación de que la dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco ha venido considerando desde el mismo principio al Proyecto de Programa de la LCY como revisionista, afirmación que evidentemente se contradice con las anteriores declaraciones de Gomulka. Además, en su discurso de Moscú se ha dado un paso más al afirmar que la Liga de los Comunistas de Yugoslavia "tanto teórica como prácticamente ha bajado a las posiciones del revisionismo". En una forma apenas camuflada "la teoría y la práctica" de la Liga de los comunistas han sido calificadas como instrumento "de los enemigos del socialismo" en la realización de los "planes para debilitar y minar la unidad de los Estados socialistas".

## ***Los comunistas yugoslavos han elaborado un programa para ellos y para sus propias necesidades***

Naturalmente, nosotros no hemos abrigado ilusiones de que nuestro Programa no sería objeto de observaciones, ya que en el mismo han sido expuestas las concepciones que no coinciden con las concepciones reinantes en algunos otros partidos. No obstante, no hemos podido creer que nuestro Programa y nuestras concepciones se presentaran como un intento de minar la unidad del campo socialista (y tanto menos cuando estas concepciones se conocían y era sabido que existía una actitud diferente frente a las mismas), que fue-

ran utilizadas como pretexto para iniciar una campaña sin principios contra nuestro país y que se adoptara una línea exigiendo, como la condición de la colaboración, que renunciáramos a nuestros propios juicios y posiciones. Desgraciadamente, esta línea hoy día la defiende abiertamente también Gomulka. ¿Cómo es posible coordinar esto con sus propias palabras pronunciadas en la Conferencia de los activistas del Partido de Varsovia y de la Provincia de Varsovia, en noviembre de 1957, cuando varias veces destacó: "Noso-

tros tomamos soberanamente las decisiones que atañen a nuestro Partido y a nuestro país"? Nosotros también mantenemos tal actitud. Partiendo de ello, hemos elaborado el nuevo Programa para nosotros y para nuestras necesidades. Que este Programa no coincida con las posiciones y concepciones de Gomulka y de otros, esto, por sí solo, no es prueba de que no sea marxista.

Y para que la "evolución" de Vladislav Gomulka sea más patente, hay que dar un recorrido por el pasado.

Todavía nos resuenan en los oídos las palabras de Gomulka que hemos escuchado en ocasión de su visita a Yugoslavia, en el mes de septiembre del año pasado:

"Nuestros países edifican el socialismo, cada uno a su modo y de acuerdo a sus condiciones, apoyándose en ello sobre las comprobadas bases comunes, del marxismo-leninismo". "...Hemos visto el país, hemos hablado con los representantes del Partido y del Gobierno, con los obreros y científicos, con los hombres que durante años se han visto obligados a edificar el socialismo en las condiciones más difíciles que las nuestras. ¡Cuántos peligros os amenazaban, cuán grande tenía que ser la verdadera firmeza comunista para hacer frente a estos peligros!"

Algunas semanas más tarde, en el X Pleno del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco, Gomulka dió una definición general del revisionismo, describiéndolo como el rechazo de la concepción marxista sobre el socialismo y su substitución con "una fantasmagoría", como "la siembra de desilusiones, como socavación de la fe en el socialismo, en el partido, en la clase obrera y en el pueblo".

¿Cómo reconciliar ahora esta definición del revisionismo y esas declaraciones sobre Yugoslavia y la política yugoslava con la afirmación de que la política de los comunistas yugoslavos, su "teoría y práctica" son revisionistas? ¿Es que la desilusión, el entreguismo, la desconfianza en el socialismo, los siembran aquellos que

lo han edificado y defendido con la "firmeza comunista" en las más difíciles condiciones, en las condiciones que, según la declaración de Gomulka, eran más difíciles que las de Polonia?

Desde luego, nada ha cambiado en los puntos de vista y en la política de los comunistas yugoslavos desde el mes de septiembre del año pasado hasta los discursos de Gomulka pronunciados en Gdansk, en la reunión del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco y recientemente en el mitin celebrado en Moscú. Todas estas concepciones, expresadas en el Programa de la Liga de los comunistas, se conocen desde hace tiempo, y la Delegación polaca las conoció de nuevo y detalladamente durante su estancia en nuestro país. También en ese tiempo había, como es natural, ciertas diferencias entre las opiniones polacas y yugoslavas, mas estas diferencias evidentemente no le impedían a Gomulka hacer aquellas declaraciones tan evidentemente contrarias a sus actuales acusaciones a cuenta de nuestro supuesto revisionismo.

Además, ha "evolucionado" también el punto de vista de Gomulka sobre los métodos para resolver los problemas litigiosos en las relaciones entre los partidos comunistas y los países socialistas. Al informar a los activistas del Partido de Varsovia sobre los resultados de las conversaciones entre los representantes de los partidos comunistas y obreros, que tuvieron lugar en el mes de noviembre del año pasado, en Moscú, Gomulka dijo:

"Generalmente se necesita tiempo, y a veces mucho tiempo, para que una u otra cuestión se vuelva debidamente y de acuerdo con los intereses del desarrollo y del fortalecimiento del socialismo. Mientras no pueda resolverse de acuerdo mutuo hay que dejarla aparte para que no estorbe la colaboración recíproca".

Basta con dar sólo una mirada al discurso de Gomulka pronunciado en Moscú para comprobar cuán lejos se halla su actual posición frente a las divergencias con la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia de esos pensamientos expresados no hace precisamente mucho tiempo.

Finalmente, una novedad chocante en la posición de Gomulka la constituye también el hecho de que insiste en que el Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco, "intentó hacer desistir a los camaradas yugoslavos del camino erróneo, revisionista" ya antes de "haber conocido la actitud de otros partidos comunistas", ya antes de "haber conocido la actitud del Partido comunista de la Unión Soviética frente al Proyecto del Programa de la LCY". ¿Qué debe significar todo esto? ¿Un intento de demostrar que la dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco es la más sensible a los fenómenos de "revisionismo"? ¿Un intento de adquirir méritos particulares en la "lucha" contra la LCY? ¿Un intento de convencer innecesariamente de que la dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco adopta libremente sus posiciones?

## ***Necesidad de superar con paciencia y tolerancia las divergencias***

En cuanto a la misma afirmación de que la dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco había hecho dicho intento "antes de haber conocido la actitud del Partido comunista de la Unión Soviética", las cosas son muy diferentes, lo que se puede ver de los datos siguientes: El Proyecto de Programa fue entregado los días 8 y 9 de marzo de 1958, en Belgrado, a la consideración de las direcciones de Partido de todos los países socialistas. El 28 de marzo, la dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado

Polaco comunicó que enviaría una delegación al VII Congreso de la LCY. El Comité Central del Partido comunista de la Unión Soviética envió, el 5 de abril, una carta al Comité Central de la LCY en la que expuso sus observaciones críticas al Proyecto de Programa y renunció al envío de la delegación al VII Congreso de la LCY. Los representantes del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco llegaron a Yugoslavia el 11 de abril y por las conversaciones con ellos se supo que

ya estaban enterados de la actitud del Comité Central del Partido comunista de la Unión Soviética, expuesta en dicha carta. La dirección del Partido Obrero Unificado Polaco renunció el 18 de abril a enviar la delegación al VII Congreso de la LCY. Opinamos que estos datos ofrecen un cuadro bastante claro de cómo se han desarrollado las cosas.

Naturalmente, también a nosotros se nos podría formular una pregunta: ¿habíamos visto anteriormente

esta negativa "evolución" de algunos puntos de vista de Gomulka, es decir, de la dirección del Partido Obrero Calificado Polaco? Y si la habíamos visto ¿por qué no hemos hablado de la misma? Era imposible no ver los hechos que hemos señalado aquí. Pero nos hemos callado por habernos mantenido sobre los principios de la necesidad de superar con paciencia y tolerancia las divergencias de las que habló también Gomulka el año pasado.

En sus discursos Jruschov y Gomulka insisten particularmente en que la unidad del movimiento obrero comunista se ha fortalecido en una "actitud unánime" contra el Programa de la LCY, es decir, contra la Yugoslavia socialista. ¿Y cómo se expresa esta "actitud unánime"? ¿Qué puntos de vista se toman como base y la expresión de la "actitud unánime"?

Así, por ejemplo, según las opiniones de la dirección china —a temor de los artículos publicados en masa por la prensa china y según las intervenciones de diferentes dirigentes— Yugoslavia no es país socialista; en ella se ha llegado a la "degeneración" del desarrollo social; ella ha tomado el camino del capitalismo después de 1948, y las raíces de ello residen todavía en los elementos "burgueses nacionalistas" de la Guerra de Liberación Nacional. Ahora Yugoslavia va por el camino del desarrollo capitalista, crece la influencia de la burguesía, el poder no es dictadura del proletariado, la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia ideológicamente es antimarxista y revisionista, y por su estructura social es un partido pequeñoburgués. La dirección yugoslava de Partido y de Estado ha sido "comprada" por los imperialistas ("ante todo por los imperialistas norteamericanos"). En el plano internacional Yugoslavia desempeña el papel de "agente", "diversante", al servicio de los imperialistas contra el movimiento obrero internacional y contra los países socialistas.

En este sentido la revista china "Civilización", en su número de agosto de este año, publicó un artículo intitulado "Qué camino sigue la camarilla de Tito" en que se pueden leer los siguientes juicios sobre el sistema social de Yugoslavia y el

papel y carácter de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia:

"Bajo la dirección de la camarilla de Tito el socialismo es solamente la forma exterior del sistema yugoslavo, mientras la verdadera esencia de este sistema consiste en el estímulo al desarrollo del capitalismo.

"En las actuales condiciones de vida en Yugoslavia la burguesía no sólo ejerce indirectamente su influencia sobre esta vida, sino que las fuerzas económicas capitalistas apoyadas abiertamente por los organismos gubernativos de la camarilla de Tito, atacan a la clase obrera y al socialismo. Por lo tanto, no es casual en absoluto, que el revisionismo se haya podido desarrollar precisamente en Yugoslavia y que Yugoslavia se haya convertido en el centro del revisionismo contemporáneo".

El Presidente del Gobierno de la República Popular de Albania, Mehmed Shehu, en su discurso pronunciado durante la solemne velada celebrada con motivo del XV Aniversario de la creación de la Unión de las Mujeres de Albania, el 6 de noviembre, en Tirana, hizo, entre otras cosas, el siguiente análisis del sistema social de Yugoslavia.

"El actual régimen de Yugoslavia no es sino un régimen trostkista-revisionista y diversante, la más patente y concreta expresión de la influencia de la burguesía imperialista en las filas del movimiento comunista mundial, camuflada por el manto del marxismo-leninismo".

Además, la dirección estatal y política de Yugoslavia ha sido calificada no una vez, por los responsables dirigentes albaneses y por la prensa albanesa, como una "banda fascista" y cosas por el estilo.

En el órgano del Partido comunista de Albania "Zeri i Popullit" (un artículo titulado "La contrarrevolución húngara y el revisionismo", del 5 de noviembre) se dice lo siguiente:

"En Hungría ha tenido su primer bautismo la "Santa alianza" del imperialismo norteamericano y sus agentes europeos, fuerzas reaccionarias fascistas de Hungría y los revisionistas yugoslavos".

La dirección china y albanesa insiste obstinadamente en que se debe llevar contra el "revisionismo yugoslavo" una lucha definitiva, que deber ser "aplastado", "destruido", que el "caballo de Troya" ha de ser "aniquilado", destacando claramente que el "revisionismo" en Yugoslavia se ha constituido en el poder y que por esto es tanto más peligroso.

Mas ¿qué quiere decir la lucha hasta la aniquilación definitiva, la necesidad de "destruir", de "aplastar"? ¿Quiere decir esta lucha hasta la aniquilación que, por ejemplo, los dirigentes chinos ordenen el boycott de los puertos yugoslavos, de los buques yugoslavos que llevan mercancía a China, etc.? ¿Quiere decir esta lucha también que a Yugoslavia se le causen daños y perjuicios mediante las más variadas acciones en diferentes mercados extranjeros, como por ejemplo en el Próximo y Medio Oriente, etc., acciones que ya se están realizando? ¿Es que a los organizadores de la campaña antiyugoslava esta lucha también les parece ideológica?

¿No es evidente que este deseo de "aplastar" y de "destruir" expresa una determinada política de enemistad frente a la Yugoslavia socialista, política que persigue la finalidad de destruir a Yugoslavia tal como es hoy día? Si no fuera así ¿a qué entonces debería servir la campaña chovinista y las pretensiones territoriales manifestadas en los discursos de Albania y de Bulgaria y en los artículos periodísticos de esos países?

¿Es que estos propósitos de la lucha contra el "revisionismo" yugoslavo, definidos de esta manera, constituyen aquella "unánime actitud" de la que hablan Jruschov y Gomulka?

Hemos visto en varios ejemplos las conclusiones a las que llegan algunos "marxistas" que aplican el marxismo con un "espíritu creador" en sus análisis de los acontecimientos contemporáneos. Es menester reflexionar sobre tales y parecidos análisis y opiniones en otros países socialistas, pues según Vladislav Gomulka, resulta como si se tratase de los análisis marxistas. El dijo:

"La enseñanza del marxismo-leninismo es una. Ha habido sólo un Marx y un Lenin. Todos los

partidos comunistas y obreros se guían por sus enseñanzas. En el espíritu de estas enseñanzas se elaboró el año pasado la Declaración de los doce partidos de los países socialistas como guía de nuestras actividades en la situación actual. Si la LCY rechaza el camino que siguen todos los partidos comunistas y obreros, aunque protestase más fuerte aún contra las acusaciones por el revisionismo, nada cambiará en el hecho de que, tanto en la teoría como en la práctica, ha bajado a las posiciones del revisionismo".

¿Será el arriba citado juicio sobre

la LCY, hecho por las revistas chinas y albanesas (parecidos juicios se hallan también en la prensa de otros países), aquel juicio "marxista" por el que se guían todos los partidos comunistas y obreros?

¿Será la campaña chovinista y las amenazas a la integridad territorial de Yugoslavia, manifestadas en los discursos de los dirigentes de Albania y Bulgaria y en los artículos de prensa de esos países, también la expresión de aquella "unánime actitud" en el espíritu del "marxismo-leninismo", tan altamente enjuiciado por Jruschov y Gomulka en sus discursos?

¿Debe entenderse el último discurso de Vladislav Gomulka en tal sentido como si su evolución prior conducirá a aceptar y apoyar tales concepciones y actitudes frente a Yugoslavia?

Gomulka ha insistido en su discurso en que existe la diferencia entre el período actual, cuando "sólo la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia es exclusivamente culpable" por el "aislamiento" de Yugoslavia, y el período pasado, cuando "en la gran medida la culpa estaba en nosotros".

## ¿En que consiste la verdadera diferencia?

Sin embargo, ¿en qué consiste la verdadera diferencia? En el año .. 1948 los comunistas yugoslavos eran "culpables" por no haber querido supeditarse a la Resolución del Cominform. En el año 1957 son culpables por no querer renunciar a sus puntos de vista ni supeditarse a la Declaración de los 12 partidos.

¿Qué diferencia esencial existe entre las actuales acusaciones contra Yugoslavia y aquellas que antes se fabricaban en los monstruosos procesos contra Dzodze, Rajk y otros?

El único "pecado" de los comunistas yugoslavos consiste en su anterior y actual decisión de no renunciar a sus puntos de vista, ante la presión desde fuera. Nada pues se ha cambiado entre ellos en este sentido, y precisamente por ser así se ha reproducido la campaña contra Yugoslavia. En vista de esto, son ilusorios y falsos los propósitos de los actuales protagonistas de la campaña de aliviarse con la afirmación de que "Yugoslavia antaño era víctima" y que hoy día "la culpa es exclusivamente de ella".

Tanto Jruschov como Gomulka subrayan que con respecto a la línea estatal tratarán de desarrollar las relaciones culturales y comerciales sobre la base de provecho mutuo. No es esta la primera vez que se insiste de este modo en el principio de provecho mutuo, principio que otros países socialistas se han visto

supuestamente obligados a adoptar en sus relaciones con Yugoslavia a su propia demanda, mientras las relaciones mutuas entre ellos se edifican presuntamente sobre el principio socialista de ayuda fraternal.

Es cierto que nosotros siempre hemos venido destacando el principio de provecho mutuo, pero no es cierto que éste contradice al principio de ayuda fraternal. En nuestra opinión, todo país socialista tiene la obligación de ayudar, a medida de sus posibilidades, a los demás países socialistas, ya que esto beneficia al fortalecimiento del socialismo en general. Si esta ayuda a los otros no sería al mismo tiempo un provecho general, y por lo tanto también propio, para el país que lo ofrece, entonces esta ayuda no tendría una base real, sería realmente imposible. Por consiguiente, la colaboración económica recíproca entre los países socialistas no se puede imaginar realmente al margen de este provecho general, es decir mutuo, y este provecho se puede definir únicamente a base de igualdad de derechos y de ayuda mutua de todas las partes interesadas. Dicho brevemente, el principio de provecho mutuo es para nosotros solamente otra expresión del consecuente respeto al principio de voluntariedad, de igualdad de derechos y de ayuda mutua en las relaciones entre los países socialistas.

Sin embargo ¿cómo interpreta la otra parte este provecho mutuo? Veamos las medidas y pasos prácti-

cos. Esta interpretación se ha manifestado hasta ahora en la renuncia de las obligaciones fijadas, en la violación de los determinados arreglos de colaboración económica que en el momento de su firma habían sido tratados como recíprocamente provechosos. Además, esta interpretación se ha manifestado en la restricción artificial del mismo intercambio comercial, llegándose hasta tales fenómenos como es el propósito chino de evitar el territorio y los puertos yugoslavos para el tránsito de sus mercancías, con el evidente daño económico causado a sí mismo. ¿Qué relación puede tener esto con el principio de provecho mutuo, si su base consiste solamente en causar, de cualquier modo, un perjuicio a Yugoslavia aunque fuese en perjuicio propio y en perjuicio general al socialismo? Se trata pues, de algo muy diferente que nada tiene que ver con las normas económicas y comerciales, se trata de una forma de presión económica artificial, inspirada por motivos netamente políticos. Y ésta es precisamente la manifestación de que no están dispuestos a aceptar totalmente el principio de provecho mutuo como ayuda mutua, a través de voluntariedad e igualdad de relaciones con Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, que ha hecho tantos esfuerzos por normalizar las relaciones con los países socialistas y que ha hecho todo de su parte para que esta colaboración adquiriera, después de la normalización, las más amplias y concretas formas posibles en

todos los sectores, seguirá, desde luego, en este sentido y apoyará también en lo futuro tales deseos.

Yugoslavia siempre ha partido del hecho de que las diferencias ideológicas no deben ser un obstáculo a la colaboración en otros sectores, sino que precisamente por esta vía también se crearán progresivamente las condiciones para superarlas. No obstante, la práctica y la actitud de algunos países socialistas van en sentido contrario, obstaculizando o hasta rompiendo totalmente las relaciones

en muchos sectores: económico, cultural, etc. Además, por medio de brutales acciones frente a nuestras representaciones diplomáticas, dificultan el mantenimiento de normales relaciones diplomáticas. Solamente gracias a la paciencia de nuestros hombres, que frecuentemente se ven expuestos a malos tratos, estas relaciones con algunos países siguen manteniéndose todavía.

Jruschov también dice que procurará que haya un amplio intercambio de diferentes delegaciones con Yu-

goslavia, trabajadores culturales, koljosianos, obreros y otros, para que se conozcan mutuamente, añadiendo: "si los obreros de la Unión Soviética pudiesen viajar a Yugoslavia". En cuanto a nuestra actitud respecto al intercambio de delegaciones en diferentes sectores, opinamos que ésta se manifiesta de la mejor manera en el considerable número de diferentes delegaciones culturales, de científicos, de obreros industriales y otros, que este año visitaron a la Unión Soviética.

## *Yugoslavia nunca ha sido un país cerrado para nadie*

Pero respecto al hecho de "si los obreros de la Unión Soviética pudiesen viajar a Yugoslavia", esto no depende de Yugoslavia en lo mínimo. Yugoslavia nunca ha sido un país cerrado para nadie, y sobre todo para los obreros y campesinos de los países socialistas. Sólo en este año, en el período comprendido entre el 1 de enero y el 1 de octubre, 430 mil turistas y otros ciudadanos de diferentes países visitaron Yugoslavia, y entre ellos 215 individuos de la Unión Soviética. Ante todo depende del camarada Jruschov y del Gobierno soviético que más obreros soviéticos puedan venir a Yugoslavia. Si el camarada Jruschov tiene sincero deseo de que los obreros, koljosianos y otros visiten a Yugoslavia, él probablemente hallará modos y posibilidades para que esto se realice. Pero lo que podría hacerse ahora, sin viajes de los obreros, koljosianos y trabajadores culturales, consiste en que se haga una información objetiva sobre la vida y el trabajo de nuestros trabajadores, sobre los éxitos y las dificultades de nuestra edificación socialista, y de este modo ya se haría bastante para el conocimiento mutuo entre nuestros pueblos. Sin embargo, no se puede decir que la prensa y la radio en la Unión Soviética y en otros países socialistas lo estén haciendo.

Jruschov dice además que después de la normalización de las relaciones con Yugoslavia "se han conseguido bastantes resultados positivos, tanto

en las relaciones mutuas entre nuestros países, como en las cuestiones de colaboración en la lucha por la paz". El hace constar con satisfacción que respecto a muchos principales problemas de la vida internacional "nuestros puntos de vista coinciden con frecuencia", manifestando la esperanza de que nuestros países seguirán también en lo futuro "aunando sus esfuerzos en la lucha activa por mantenimiento y la consolidación de la paz". En lo que se refiere a Yugoslavia, hasta ahora ha apoyado y en lo futuro apoyará a toda actitud positiva, tanto de la URSS como de todo otro país, si ésta constituye una contribución al fortalecimiento de la paz. Pero nuestro país igualmente espera que las positivas acciones yugoslavas encontrarán apoyo de la URSS y de otros países socialistas y que la opinión pública de esos países estará informada de estas acciones, lo que últimamente no ha sido el caso en absoluto.

La campaña contra la Liga de los comunistas y contra Yugoslavia ha venido creando un clima amargo que causará bastante daño al movimiento obrero internacional, a cada país socialista por separado, incluido también nuestro país. La responsabilidad por este clima y por las consecuencias que de esto resultarán, caen sobre los organizadores y participantes en esta campaña. Con su actitud y con su modo de reaccionar a esta campaña, nuestro país ha hecho todo lo posible para no agravar

las relaciones y para eliminar lo antes posible el clima que se ha creado. Pero sus posibilidades son limitadas. Guiándose también en lo futuro, en su política práctica, por estos deseos, los pueblos yugoslavos y la Liga de los comunistas no podrán ni pueden pasar por alto las calumnias contra su pasado revolucionario ni las tendenciosas falsificaciones de su realidad socialista.

Gomulka aconseja, en su discurso, a los comunistas yugoslavos que ellos den iniciativa para que Yugoslavia "se vea de nuevo entre la familia fraternal de los países socialistas y los partidos comunistas y obreros". Si Gomulka entiende con ello la renuncia de la Liga de los comunistas de Yugoslavia a sus concepciones de principio, entonces ya hubiera podido sacar la conclusión, a base de la política yugoslava seguida hasta ahora, que esto es más que ilusorio, pero si Gomulka se refiere a la iniciativa con respecto al mejoramiento de nuestras relaciones mutuas con respecto al regreso a aquel camino que se había iniciado después de 1955, es decir, a la colaboración basada en los principios de las Declaraciones de Belgrado y de Moscú, en este caso ha habido iniciativas de parte de los comunistas yugoslavos, las hay también ahora y las habrá en lo futuro; solamente es necesario que los demás también manifiesten más deseos y hagan esfuerzos en este sentido.



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES, a.i.....  
MEXICO CITY, D.F.....

Reference:.....

Subject: Cuban Refugees in Mexico -  
Protest against British-Cuban Relations...

Security:.....RESTRICTED.....

No:.....670.....

Date:..November 18, 1958.....

Enclosures:..None.....

Air or Surface Mail:..Courier.....

Post File No:..6-CUBA.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

54

## References

On November 22 some three hundred Cuban refugees assembled in a public square and were marching to the British Embassy singing the Cuban national anthem when they were surrounded by the police and some eighty-five of them were arrested and taken to jail where very shortly after, however, they were released.

2. The British Ambassador told me that he had heard that Cuban refugees intended to manifest against the intended sale by the United Kingdom of planes to the Cuban Government. He had advised the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and steps had been taken to disperse the demonstrators before they reached the Embassy.

3. The following day the Cuban refugees published in the most important newspapers the text of the letter that they intended to present to the British Ambassador, which was a protest against the proposed sale of arms to the Batista Government. In the letter the refugees stated that Batista was a dictator ruling over Cuba by force and moved solely by personal ambitions and that the Government was terrorizing the people, had even bombed open cities, that the police were arresting individuals indiscriminately and that the Batista Government should not obtain the support of a country who spoke so much of human rights, justice and liberty.

4. It is difficult to know how many Cuban refugees have found political asylum in Mexico but they have been very active in the past. In fact General Castro sailed from Veracruz to Cuba to start his rebellion which is indeed still being effectively carried out in Cuba.

5. This is the second incident about Cuban refugee activities that has reached the press. During the month of August a Cuban rowing team came to compete as they had every year against the Mexicans and when they visited the capital they deposited a wreath on the Monument to the Boy Heroes. The Cuban Ambassador accompanied them and while the wreath was being laid there were refugees who started shouting against the Batista Government. "Tyrant" and "Dictator" they shouted. At that time the Cuban Ambassador filed a protest with the Mexican authorities but such manifestations are not easy to control or prevent.

6. The Cuban Ambassador believes that these refugees are under the tutelar wing of the Communists. He claims Fidel Castro's expedition was organized by an ex-Spanish general at the service of the Russian Embassy.

L.V.J. ROY

L.V.J. Roy  
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

(ORIGINAL)

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR  
CARACAS VENEZUELA

Subject: Communism and Latin American  
Economic Ideology

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No. 251 X ref. 2348-40

Date: June 13, 1958

Enclosures: Copy on 2251-F-40

Air or Surface: Air

Post File: 12-3-1

Ottawa File No.

J-30

T.C.  
Panama  
Buenos Aires  
Superintendent  
SIB (6)  
C.C.O.I.  
M-2 (Williams)  
Econ  
M. Lord  
a/s  
17/7/58  
J.H.

Under Secretary

Before President Getulio Vargas shot himself through the heart on the morning of August 24, 1954 he composed a letter to the Brazilian people. The following sentences have been extracted from that letter. "I follow the destiny that has been imposed on me. After years of domination and looting by international economic and financial groups, I made myself champion of an unconquerable revolution. I began the work of liberation and I instituted a regime of social liberty. I had to resign. I returned to govern on the arms of the people ...."

2. "I wished to create national liberty by developing our riches through PETROBRAS (Government Oil Development Company) and a wave of agitation clouded its beginning. ELECTROBRAS (Government hydro-electric agency) was hindered almost to despair. They do not wish the workers to be free. They do not wish the people to be independent....."

3. "I fought against the looting of Brazil. I fought against the looting of the people. I have fought bare breasted. The hatred, infamy, and calumny did not beat down my spirit. I gave you my life. Now I offer you my death. Nothing remains. Serenely I take my first step on the road to eternity and leave my life to history."

4. Vargas' action focuses attention on a deeply rooted Latin American suspicion of the private enterprise system. In the clash of economic ideologies which divide the world today, Latin American thinking is unquestionably closer to the collectivism of the communist camp, than it is to free enterprise capitalism as advocated by the United States. This gives the Communists a sharp advantage in the battle to win the allegiance of South America and is a factor which must be considered in any attempt to gauge the chances of ultimate communist victory in this area.

5. If the antipathy toward capitalism were directed toward "international" or foreign capital, it would be unfortunate and would tend to retard the pace of development, particularly in those fields where such capital would contribute to marketing arrangements around the world, e.g. iron ore from Venezuela for the steel mills of the United States. Such handicaps would be the price of "nationalism" and it would probably be paid willingly. Where, however,

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private enterprise. The only other area of possible opposition to the capitalist system is among the vast mass of illiterate peasants, and their political thinking is primitive to an extreme.

5. I have been talking about Colombian private enterprise. The picture is slightly different as regards foreign companies. On the whole, Colombia has treated foreign capital well, but there is inevitably a certain amount of resentment against them. In my opinion it is not directed against the capitalist system but is not dissimilar to the feeling in Canada against United States economic penetration. Foreign capital in Colombia is largely American and there is an uneasy feeling that the giant to the north dominates too great a sector of the national economy. This has been accentuated by the unwise behaviour of some United States companies, and, of course, memories of the Panama steal.

6. This is not to say that there are not occasional movements in favour of establishing national companies, - for example, in the oil industry. But the Colombians recognise perfectly well that they have neither the financial resources nor the technical skill to exploit their oil and mineral reserves, and certainly the example of their big neighbour, Brazil, has not encouraged them. But to save national "face" they have established a semi-autonomous company, ECOL, for the purpose of marketing oil products in the country. The railways, of course, are nationalised, and AVIANCA, the main airline, occupies a position somewhat similar to TCA. Given the importance of transportation in the economy of Colombia this is understandable, as it is in Canada.

7. I admit the case of Colombia may be rather special but, having travelled in almost every country of Latin America at one time or another, I may be permitted to offer a comment on Mr. Bower's statement that "this distrust of private enterprise, foreign and domestic, is strong in every country in South America." That it exists and has formed the ideological basis for many important political movements, I entirely agree. But I think there have been equally strong movements of resistance to these ideas, and, in any case, the nationalism which it is so easy to engender in Latin American politics was not always anti-capitalistic, at least insofar as it applied to national capital. I have the impression, for example, that private enterprise is now the strongest force in Mexico, in spite of the lip-service paid to the ideals of the revolution, though I stand open to correction by our Embassy in Mexico.

8. The answer in many cases is for the large foreign companies to gauge the nature and strength of nationalism in Latin America and to take measures in good time to forestall it. The easiest way to do this is by giving the company a local flavour, by bringing important citizens into the management as quickly and as fully as possible, and by training local technicians and engineers to take the place of foreigners. One local company, Cia-General Auto-Matriz, largely owned by a Canadian, W. A. McCarthy, now has not one foreign employee. Mr. McCarthy told me that he recognised from the beginning that it was neither necessary or desirable to have a large number of foreign

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personnel. In addition he has learned Spanish fluently, contributes very generously to local charities, schools and universities and has identified himself with the community, with the result that he and his company are very popular. It is, of course, easier to apply these principles in a relatively small company than in a big corporation, but much more could be done in this direction.

9. The main danger in my opinion is not so much an anti-capitalist movement as such, but rather an increase of nationalism that will be directed against foreign companies, particularly American, even though it will be self-defeating and dangerous for the countries concerned and help to exacerbate even further the relations between Latin America and the United States. One very intelligent Colombian told me that there would eventually be a nationalist explosion in Latin America which would make the anti-western movement in the Middle East look like child's play. It would be equally illogical and equally damaging to the economic interests of Latin America, but that would not deter it.

10. I do not want to imply that xenophobia may not go hand in hand in some countries with an anti-capitalist movement. But I think it would be a mistake to claim that opposition to the system of private enterprise will be the dominant political trend in Latin America. It has a certain political and intellectual appeal, but it will always be countered by an equally strong trend in the other direction. It will feed on nationalism, of course, and therefore it behooves supporters of the system of private enterprise to try and reduce its impact by making the operation of foreign capital in Latin America as benevolent and as acceptable as possible.

  
R.A.D. Ford

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the objection is to "capitalism" per se, and with no distinction made between the domestic and the imported variety, the consequences are much more ominous. Not only does the concept forfeit the full help of the overseas marketing facilities which imported capital so often supplies; not only is the virility of the free enterprise capitalist system lost but the community has taken a step toward "collectivism" and moved closer to communist economic thinking.

6. This distrust of private enterprise, foreign and domestic, is strong in every country in South America. It definitely dominates the thinking of the intellectuals, and of those politicians who enjoy mass support. Infinitely more is written today in Spanish journals and books condemning private enterprise than extolling it.

7. The major ideological movements in Latin America in the present century have all been collectivistic to some degree in their economic philosophies and programmes. Accion Democratica is a Venezuelan manifestation, though there are other powerful political groups with similar ideas in this field. The MNR movement in Bolivia, the ESTADO NOVO in Brazil and APRISMO in Peru, and the Mexican Revolution in Mexico are illustrations in other countries.

8. The attitude of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico toward the development of their oil resources illustrates these theories at work. Venezuela under Pérez Jiménez encouraged private enterprise to a degree unknown in any other South American country. Nevertheless even his regime revealed an attachment to the "State in business". His Department of Fomento competed with - and tried to push aside - private enterprise in a number of fields, particularly in the generation of electricity. The State steel mill and the petrochemical industry are further illustrations. Now that he has been overthrown and freedom of press and discussion restored, the underlying addiction to State control of business has been exposed. There are still advocates of the private enterprise system, but the two most influential political parties (Acción Democrática and URD) have both come out in favour of State ownership of resource industries. Neither has demanded the immediate nationalization of the oil and iron ore industries, but both have demanded State competition with private enterprise in these fields. Spokesmen for these parties have advocated an end to further oil and mining concessions to private enterprise; a re-negotiation of royalty and profit sharing arrangements, and the institution of State marketing agencies.

9. This distrust of the private enterprise system leads to suspicion of the system's chief protagonist, the United States and is behind much of the "anti-Americanism" of the continent. Vicente Saenz in his "Hispano América contra el cohonraje" describes the North American firm operating in Latin America, as "pirates and slavers". He says that foreign capital has left Latin American "mines empty of their riches and soils exhausted of their fertility". Such thinking was back of the nationalization of the tin mines of Bolivia and the troubles of the United Fruit Company in Central America. Sánchez Camacho in "El Problema Colonial de América" (University of Mexico 1950) says that United States capital invested in Latin America has given the United States such a stranglehold over certain aspects of the continent's life as to make it a semi colony. Alberto Monge, General Secretary of the ORIT stated as recently - as 1957: "there is no doubt that many North American firms - and also those of other countries - are pillaging the riches of Latin America under the protection of lop sided agreements".

10. These attitudes were conspicuous at the Economic Conference of the O.A.S. at Buenos Aires last August. Working papers and draft resolutions dealt with the low prices paid by the United States for Latin American exports and the relative rigidity of the prices which the United States charged for the items they sold in exchange. The failure of the United States to entertain any of the Latin American proposals to deal with the situation only added fuel to the belief that they were being consciously exploited.

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11. Two questions arise: what has caused this suspicion of the private enterprise system and what can be done to build confidence in it? Undoubtedly Latin American history has played an important part in creating doubts about the virtues of private enterprise. Spain and Portugal dominated their American possessions by establishing a system of mercantilism which controlled all aspects of economic life in the New World. While the original conception underwent a number of modifications and refinements, "mercantilism" in the words of George Wythe "in Latin America has never died". (Industry in Latin America). Rather than shift from the Old World conception of mercantilism to the rigours of private enterprise, it was an easier transition to accept centralized economic planning. Political and economic writing, as well as constitutional concepts, tended to accept "collectivist" doctrines. Besides, there appeared to be living proof that foreign private enterprise capital was predatory. The United States, high priest of the private enterprise cult, was the richest country in the world. Was it not the result of exploitation of the under-developed countries, particularly those of Latin America? All too often, the behaviour of the foreign companies (mainly United States but others as well) has been unenlightened. It is not enough to claim (as many United States companies in Latin America do) that their responsibilities end when they pay their taxes and that it is the duty of the host governments to safeguard the interest of their nationals. They have frequently given political support to the regimes that offer them the most. (unquestionably the large oil companies in Venezuela encouraged the United States Government to sustain the Pérez Jiménez regime).

12. Latin American distaste of the private enterprise system has two consequences, both unfavourable to the Free World. The first is the sympathy which it produces for the collectivism inherent in Communist theory and dogma. This affinity in economic thinking makes it much simpler to accept Communist doctrine in other spheres - political and social. It makes the Soviet task of winning Latin American allegiance just that much easier. I am not suggesting that Latin American resistance to Communist blandishments is about to collapse; I am suggesting that the task of preventing it may be considerably harder than is generally believed in the United States.

13. In the second place, the belief that private enterprise capital is basically rapacious is bound to inflame anti-American tendencies in the hemisphere. The anti-Nixon demonstrations revealed the depth of these feelings and should lead the United States to critically examine their Latin American policies. Such an examination should study what might be done to make their particular brand of free enterprise capitalism more palatable to all the countries in the hemisphere - and beyond. They owe it to the system, if they believe in it, to correct such faults as it may display and then to sell it on a world-wide basis. We have mentioned more than once the resentment at the failure of many United States firms operating in Venezuela, to give Venezuelans an opportunity to obtain equity participation in local subsidiaries. The same resentment has been revealed in Canada. The United States Government which should combat Communism with every weapon at hand, should give a lead in this, perhaps giving tax concessions to United States companies which set up their foreign subsidiaries in such a way that citizens in the host countries can share in the equity capital of the local subsidiary, if they wish to do so. Something must be done to stop the rot, and United States companies with foreign subsidiaries must be given some encouragement to help in solving a problem which ultimately is as much their concern as that of the United States Government.

14. Another step which would help would be to step up production and distribution - in Spanish - of literature on the virtues of private enterprise, and the capitalistic system. As it is now, the amount of literature attacking the system far outweighs that in its support. As such material has a profound effect on the thinking in influential circles in Latin America it is vital that the output should be enlarged. Perhaps a beginning could be made by translating into Spanish some of the material that is currently available in English - and then seeing that it is properly distributed. Articles in support of private enterprise in the Latin American dailies and in magazines would also be useful. At present this important side of United States relations here appears to be going by default.

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the objection is to "capitalism" per se, and with no distinction made between the domestic and the imported variety, the consequences are much more ominous. Not only does the concept forfeit the full help of the overseas marketing facilities which imported capital so often supplies; not only is the virility of the free enterprise capitalist system lost but the community has taken a step toward "collectivism" and moved closer to communist economic thinking.

6. This distrust of private enterprise, foreign and domestic, is strong in every country in South America. It definitely dominates the thinking of the intellectuals, and of those politicians who enjoy mass support. Infinitely more is written today in Spanish journals and books condemning private enterprise than extolling it.

7. The major ideological movements in Latin America in the present century have all been collectivistic to some degree in their economic philosophies and programmes. Accion Democratica is a Venezuelan manifestation, though there are other powerful political groups with similar ideas in this field. The MNR movement in Bolivia, the ESTADO NOVO in Brazil and APRISMO in Peru, and the Mexican Revolution in Mexico are illustrations in other countries.

8. The attitude of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico toward the development of their oil resources illustrates these theories at work. Venezuela under Pérez Jiménez encouraged private enterprise to a degree unknown in any other South American country. Nevertheless even his regime revealed an attachment to the "State in business". His Department of Fomento competed with - and tried to push aside - private enterprise in a number of fields, particularly in the generation of electricity. The State steel mill and the petrochemical industry are further illustrations. Now that he has been overthrown and freedom of press and discussion restored, the underlying addiction to State control of business has been exposed. There are still advocates of the private enterprise system, but the two most influential political parties (Acción Democrática and URD) have both come out in favour of State ownership of resource industries. Neither has demanded the immediate nationalization of the oil and iron ore industries, but both have demanded State competition with private enterprise in these fields. Spokesmen for these parties have advocated an end to further oil and mining concessions to private enterprise; a re-negotiation of royalty and profit sharing arrangements, and the institution of State marketing agencies.

9. This distrust of the private enterprise system leads to suspicion of the system's chief protagonist, the United States and is behind much of the "anti-Americanism" of the continent. Vicente Saenz in his "Hispano América contra el cohonraje" describes the North American firm operating in Latin America, as "pirates and slavers". He says that foreign capital has left Latin American "mines empty of their riches and soils exhausted of their fertility". Such thinking was back of the nationalization of the tin mines of Bolivia and the troubles of the United Fruit Company in Central America. Sánchez Camacho in "El Problema Colonial de América" (University of Mexico 1950) says that United States capital invested in Latin America has given the United States such a stranglehold over certain aspects of the continent's life as to make it a semi colony. Alberto Monge, General Secretary of the ORIT stated as recently as 1957: "there is no doubt that many North American firms - and also those of other countries - are pillaging the riches of Latin America under the protection of lop sided agreements".

10. These attitudes were conspicuous at the Economic Conference of the O.A.S. at Buenos Aires last August. Working papers and draft resolutions dealt with the low prices paid by the United States for Latin American exports and the relative rigidity of the prices which the United States charged for the items they sold in exchange. The failure of the United States to entertain any of the Latin American proposals to deal with the situation only added fuel to the belief that they were being consciously exploited.

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15.

Where Canada is the source of foreign capital in Latin America, the same conditions apply. So far, we have managed to escape the hostility which has been the lot of the United States, but this will not go on forever. The good name of the companies involved and of Canada itself depend upon the proper course being taken before it is too late. The Gordon Report underlines the shortcomings of certain foreign investors in Canada. It is important that where Canada is the source of the foreign capital, we should not practice what we condemn in others.



AMBASSADOR.

000711



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ...Canadian Ambassador, Bogotá.....

Activities of Dr Endicott - D-102-AZ W-40  
Reference: My Despatch 234 of June 10, 1958.....

Subject: ...Communism in Latin America.....

*Mr Hardy*

Security: ...RESTRICTED.....

No: .....244.....

Date: .....June 23, 1958.....

Enclosures: .....

Air or Surface Mail: ...Courier.....

Post File No: .....12-8-1.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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No 232 - June 6/58 Communist Activities in Colombia  
on 50066-40

References

X ref on 50301-B-40 D-cc. on 7018-40

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A short time ago the Colombian Intelligence Service, I understand with the assistance of the United States Embassy, intercepted a copy of instructions sent by the Communist Party of Colombia to the Communist cells in the principal industrial cities of the country. At the suggestion of the United States Labour Attaché, the letter was turned over to the new joint organization of the Colombian Confederation of Workers and the Union of Colombian Workers (C.T.C. and U.T.C.). The latter made the letter available to the press and it was published on June 17. I attach a translation.

2. The article which accompanied the letter also produced evidence to indicate that the Communist party is making a determined effort to infiltrate into the trade unions, particularly the C.T.C. It is also attempting to organise the rural labourers and to form a united front of rural and urban workers.

*R.A.D. Ford*  
R.A.D. Ford

Internal  
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1958 JUL 9 PM 4:10

OFFICE TRANSLATION

"El Tiempo" June 17, 1958

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

## BOGOTA COMMITTEE

Comrades of Cell No.:

The new Regional Committee elected at the recent Party Conference extend to you brotherly greetings and best wishes for the most successful results in your revolutionary work. It also brings to your attention the need to study and to put into practice the conclusions reached at the Conference, since these are considered the most effective means to obtain an immediate organic and ideological reconstruction of the Party within this important local organization.

In order to work out the conclusions reached at the Conference pertaining to the organization, and with a view to carrying out a well planned and organized campaign to attract new members, well adapted to special conditions within each city district, we are requesting in this circular letter, the gathering of the data here in called for as it would be of real value establishing the general and the special, working plans we are now preparing.

The maximum delay allowed to return this information is fifteen days. The data requested is as follows:

- a) Approximate population in each city district.
- b) Social stratification of same.
- c) Number of workers.
- d) Urgent problems in the district (water supply, electric light, schools, transportation facilities, cost of living, housing, canalization, sewerage, sanitary and other problems).
- e) Contact opportunities with workers.
- f) Prospects for establishing women organizations.
- g) Prospects for establishing juvenile mass organizations, (sporting clubs, theatrical and musical groups or primary schools.)
- h) What are the immediate prospects for publishing a bulletin in your district, very broadminded in its approach to all subjects, with legal aspects, without letting the name or the Party's style show, but in which the urgent needs and problems would be properly denounced. The bulletin to serve as a means to organize mass action. We would be in a position to print any such bulletin, should you furnish written material and suggestions as to the best way to treat the many problems which are to be dealt with. Your organization is to take care of the financial angle of this journalistic enterprise.
- i) How many new militants would you be able to enlist up to April 1959?

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We are certain that you would give due consideration to this circular letter which has been issued in response to the general yearning expressed at our last convention to bring the Party's organization up to date, giving a sharp turn in order to do away with unnecessary formalities and "Red Tape" in partisan work; making the cell organizations a real means to contact the workers and popular masses which in turn would enable us to establish effective and close contacts through our taking part in their own struggles.

With brotherly greetings

(Signed) Camilo Carvajalino-The Organization Secretary's Office.

~~NUMBERED LETTER~~ DESPATCH

TO: ~~THE UNDER~~ SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Security: **CONFIDENTIAL**

No: 478

Date: October 2, 1958.

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: **Air**

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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225-7348-40

FROM: The Canadian Ambassador  
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Reference: My Despatch No. 138 of April 3 and  
No. 155 of April 16, 1958.

Subject: The Communists and Brazil's 1958  
Election Campaign.

## References

You will recall from my despatch No. 138 of April 3, reporting on the rescission of the arrest warrant against the Brazilian communist leader Carlos Prestes, that Prestes at that time, gave several press interviews setting out some of his objectives, particularly as regards federal and state elections.

2. "It is not a question," he said, "for us to elect communists. We desire the victory of the nationalist forces. We will contribute to elect democrats and nationalist whether they be communists or not". And he added: "It is difficult, but not impossible, to support Adhemar de Barros"; and "Vice President Goulart has had attitudes favourable to the unification of the labour movement."

3. It is interesting to see how far the events of the election campaign just concluded have borne out Prestes' declared intentions. The communists have been supporting Adhemar de Barros as candidate for Governor of São Paulo. They offered, and the P.T.B. party, through its leader, Vice-President Goulart, accepted their support, while communist support was also given to selected candidates whom Prestes regards as "democrats and nationalists." These have included Luthero Vargas, son of the late President and leader of the P.T.B. in the Federal District, who is a candidate for senator; Cid Sampaio (U.D.N.) who is running for governor in Pernambuco; Virgilio Tavoro (U.D.N.), candidate for governor in Ceará; Roberto Silveira (P.S.D.-P.T.B.), gubernatorial candidate in the State of Rio; Leonel Brizzola, Vice-President Goulart's brother-in-law and P.T.B. candidate for Governor in Rio Grande do Sul; Pedreira de Freitas (P.S.D.-P.T.B.) candidate for governor in Bahia.

4. In this report, I should like to trace briefly the manner in which Prestes and his party through deals of this type became a factor of importance in this year's campaign.

5. It might first be noted that election alliances between parties are characteristic of Brazilian politics. What matters is to get a man elected; and it is not the tradition for political parties to honour pre-election deals after the voting. The Communists, however, have a certain staying power which might well survive attempts by their election-time friends to repudiate them after the balloting.

Alliance with Labor Party

6. The public story of the P.T.B. - Communist alliance opened on September 4, in Recife, when Vice-President Goulart issued a press statement to the effect that, while there was no deal between

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Washington  
Buenos Aires

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his party and the communist party, the communists had many of the same objectives as the P.T.B. in the national field and also defended the interests of the workers. It was, he said, therefore natural that they should march together.

7. The Goulart statement immediately evoked strong protests in many sectors, including some in his own party. It was, no doubt, because of this that the Vice-President went to São Paulo shortly thereafter and arranged to be received by Cardinal Archbishop Mota. There have been suggestions that the São Paulo Prelate was unaware of Goulart's pronouncement at Recife, but, at any rate, he had his photograph taken with Goulart and was quoted as saying that "the leadership of Sr. Goulart at the head of the P.T.B. party inspires to us of the Church great confidence." In the wake of the confusion caused by Cardinal Mota's endorsement of Goulart, Prestes appeared in Rio Grande do Sul, where he announced his support for Brizzola, Goulart's brother-in-law, as candidate for governor of that state. Sensing, no doubt, that communist support in this conservative state was not an asset, Brizzola promptly and strongly repudiated it.

8. Prestes then came to Rio de Janeiro to attend a political meeting in support of Luthero Vargas. This again caused a furor. The Cardinal Archbishop of Rio, issued a strong warning against the danger of political alliances with the communists. For his part, the House leader of the P.S.D., the government majority party, which is also President Kubitschek's party, said that the P.S.D. would have nothing whatever to do with the communists. Then, the Chief of the Rio Police sent an enquiry to the Electoral Tribunal, as to whether it was permissible under the Constitution for Prestes to take part in political meetings, to make radio speeches and appear on television.

#### Feud in Labor Party

9. The reaction against Luthero Vargas' fraternization with Prestes grew so strong that, apparently at the insistence of his sister, Alzira Vargas (who is also the wife of Almaral Peixoto, the Brazilian Ambassador to Washington who ran for senator in the state of Rio on the P.S.D. ticket) issued a strongly worded statement to the effect that it was Vice-President Goulart, and not he, who was responsible for the P.T.B. receiving communist support. This implicit disavowal of his party chief's leadership threatened an open split in the P.T.B. Vice-President Goulart's rebuttal was swift and obviously effective, as Vargas immediately issued a servile retraction saying that he had not the slightest disagreement with Goulart and that he had not at any time questioned his policy as P.T.B. leader either in terms of party line or in terms of alliances. (To add weight to his retraction, Vargas appeared with Prestes at a meeting in Rio, on the closing day of the campaign.)

10. Prestes, in the meantime, was continuing a tour of the country. He appeared at Recife, in the northern state of Pernambuco, in support of the U.D.N. candidate for governor, Cid Sampaio. There he received a hostile reception. The Archbishop of Pernambuco issued a pastoral letter saying that Catholics could not support communist candidates and while Prestes talked at political meetings, the church bells of Recife tolled in protest.

11. In Rio, the Electoral Tribunal said in its reply to the Police Chief that Prestes could not speak over the radio nor appear on television, but could address political meetings, so long as he did not advocate communism. This brought forth from the Police Chief a second enquiry seeking clarification as to what constitutes communist propaganda, but the Tribunal issued no opinion on this.

12. One surprising feature of this political jockeying was the success with which President Kubitschek managed to keep out of it, at least publicly. That the P.T.B.-communist alliance has been embarrassing to the Administration, there can be no doubt. But the presence of the P.T.B. in the government coalition made it almost impossible for the President to intervene directly. However, it seems probable that he showed his hand in at least two of the moves mentioned. In the first place, he is said to have inspired the repudiation of communist alliances by the House leader of the P.S.D. It is also believed that it was the President who arranged for the Chief of Police of Rio to seek the opinion of the Electoral Tribunal as to the legality of the participation of Prestes in political meetings and in radio and television programmes.

13. Although Vice-President Goulart did his best to deny that his party made any "deal" with the communists, Prestes was of little help to him in proving this point. In a press conference, Prestes said that the communist alliance with the P.T.B. was aimed at forming a new nationalist front of which the two objectives were:

- (a) To fight for the rescission of the articles of the security law which deny legality to the communist party.
- (b) The abrogation of article 58 of the electoral law which prohibits communists, including Prestes himself, from running for elective office.

Prestes went on to say that "the affinity existing between the communists, the P.T.B. and the P.S.P. (Adhemar de Barros' party)...fully justifies communist support for those parties." (He ended his remarks by saying that "the three most popular figures in Brazil are Goulart, de Barros and myself.")

14. As regards communist support for some of the U.D.N. candidates, Prestes explained it by saying that the U.D.N. was "closer to the people" in the North than in the South where it is the "repository of reaction." He said that the two U.D.N. candidates which the communists are supporting (Tavora and Sampaio for governor in Ceara and Pernambuco respectively) are "progressists".

#### Prestes' Position

15. The prominence which Prestes has gained in the recent election campaign, raises, of course, several questions concerning his strength within his own party, the strength of the party itself and of the communist vote, as well as the effects which Prestes' recent role in national politics is likely to have, now only on his own personal fortune and that of his party, but also on influencing the policies of the P.T.B. party and of those candidates who have received his support.

16. As to Prestes' position in his own party indications are that although his alliance with Adhemar de Barros has caused disaffection among its members and there still exists apparently a faction led by Agildo Barata (who broke with Prestes a year ago), Prestes remains the acknowledged leader of the party. Despite the publicity it has gained, the party's strength continues to be estimated at somewhat less than sixty thousand. Its power resides mainly in the industrial South, although there are reports that it has been making some gains in the depressed areas of the North and in the interior. As to the size of the communist vote, estimates vary greatly; in the past elections there have been claims that the communist vote has gone as high as ten percent of the total vote. What this election will indicate remains to be seen, but obviously it is regarded as being substantial if other parties, such as the P.T.B. are prepared to seek its support in the face of wide public condemnation.

17. Since coming out of hiding, Prestes has been assuming an air of respectability. Communists, he has said many times, are just good 000718

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Brazilians. Indeed, he recently stated in the court (where he is still undergoing interrogation) that a man could not be a good communist if he was not also a good father. The line obviously is for the communists to gain popular acceptance as good Brazilians, thus creating a climate which would facilitate the attainment of the immediate objective of regaining legality. Even, however, if this should not come about in the foreseeable future, the inclusion of some communists as candidates on the P.T.B. ticket, the communist support for a number of selected candidates of other parties who the communists expect will perform as "nationalists" in both the House of Congress and as governors in some states, is likely to provide a background favourable to policies which, if not communist inspired, may be such as to receive communist support and be exploited by the Communists for their own ends. Prominent among those are the "defence" of Petrobras, of Brazil's atomic minerals and of national industry, as well as the carrying out of an agrarian reform and nationalization of the electric power enterprises.

18. Even if the Communists do not succeed in regaining legality or in obtaining resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, which is reported to have been part of the deal with the P.T.B., they stand to gain from their election strategy. The comradeship of election time is bound to have removed some of the odium which, to date, has, among other things, pretty well kept them out of public office and some candidates although probably not many, elected under other party labels, will be either communist or under communist influence.

W.A. Irwin

Ambassador



DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ..The Canadian Ambassador, Bogotá.....

Reference: My Despatch 106 of March 11, 1958....

Subject: ...Communist Activities in Colombia,....

Security:.....**SECRET**.....

No:.....232.....

Date:.....June 6, 1958.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail: Courier.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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References

Recently the United Kingdom Embassy,  
which has very good contacts with the Colombian  
counter espionage service since the latter was  
trained by Scotland Yard, received very detailed  
information on Communist activities in this  
country since 1950. The Embassy very kindly  
made a copy of their translation available to  
me and I now attach it as of possible interest.  
I should be grateful if the source could be  
protected.

R.A.D. Ford

Internal  
Circulation

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1958 JUL 3 PM 3:23

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Summary of a Colombian Study on the Communist  
situation in that country

Eighth period 1950 - 1953

In 1950 the Twelfth Communist plenum was held in which purely clandestine work was studied. In 1952 the first national conference of guerrilleros took place in Viota and was attended by the most prominent bandit chiefs in the country. At the Tenth conference of the Confederación Trabajadores Colombianos in 1950, the Union split up into Communist and Liberal sections, the Liberal one being recognised by the government.

During this period the P.C.C. realised that the Colombian political situation favoured the creation of guerrilla bands under the pretext of supporting the Liberal party, and that this enormously favoured the creation of "regions of self defence". The anarchy predominating among Liberalism and in general among left-wing forces favoured the dominating influence of Communism. Conservatism too, being profoundly divided, presented a suitable field for Communist infiltration. Communist tasks, therefore, were set at organising self-defence regions and supporting the Alzatist element in the Conservative party. Already in this period Communism did not act as a party in an isolated country, its plans were formed in accordance with continental policy. The Colombian Communist party had to act clandestinely but without giving the impression that it had disappeared. The Communists used this stage not only for reconstruction but also for training in illegal work. For this purpose it kept offices open where it purported to work but where no important reunions took place or documents were kept. The cells met secretly. "Legal propaganda" was done through the newspaper "Vanguardia del Pueblo" and its language was guarded. "Illegal propaganda" was mimeographed and circulated clandestinely. It incited the citizenry to violence without associating the Communist party with this.

1953 - 1958

This later stage of the history of the Communist party is divided into two parts. The first dates from the end of 1953 to the 10th May, 1957 when President Rojas Pinilla was overthrown. From 1954 onwards the Communist party was operating clandestinely with great difficulty, especially from the time when in 1954 the Communist party was officially outlawed. The Communist party, however, took advantage of the civil movement led by Liberal and Conservative parties to overthrow Rojas Pinilla, and through April and May of 1957 they were able to take advantage of the subversive actions of the normal political parties and of the prudence of the government in repressing them to obtain a considerable amount of freedom of action and put into practice their teachings of resistance and sabotage. The Communist leaders, referring to events in the earlier part of this period said "that the dictatorship had us almost neutralised and the Communist party had physically disappeared from many towns and villages. Now we are beginning to return to the cities and develop an activity tending to awaken the enthusiasm of all sections of the party. We are developing our plans with the greatest success in Bogotá, Medellín, Bucaramanga, Cúcuta, Cali, and in the Departments of Tolima, Caldas, and even in Narino (Pasto).

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### Events after the 10th May.

Once Rojas Pinilla had fallen the P.C.C. was quick to take advantage of its participation in the victory and collaborated actively with the newspapers of the country giving them details of alleged tortures, massacres and illegal behaviour by the civil and military authorities. A good deal of this material was published. The Communists were able to get favourable comment published about notorious Communist agitators.

The P.C.C. in the universities led the movement for retaliation against those who had held office under Rojas Pinilla. The Communist party takes a favourable view of the present attitude of the armed forces in supporting the democratic cause since under such conditions the Communists have greater chances of prospering.

On the 3rd August, 1957, the Twentieth plenum of the P.C.C. took place in Bogotá and the following disconcertingly successful policy was formulated:-

#### a) Denigration of military institutions.

The campaign against S.I.C. was intensified. The National police has been provoked in numerous cases and has had to take forcible measures either in its own defence or to avoid injury to third parties. Unfortunately, the Liberal and even much of the Conservative press have echoed this campaign. The party is being careful not to attack the army directly being in considerable fear that to do so might bring back another dictatorship, resulting in the state of prostration of the Communists which existed before the 10th May. It has, however, started a campaign against "key officials".

#### b) Infiltration into traditional political parties.

Neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals are exempt from this danger. Both parties have extreme left wings. In Colombia all types of psychological idealism can be grouped under the flag of the same party. It is difficult to unmask an infiltrator since members of his party will not believe information given to them from secret sources. The S.I.C. has serious information on a considerable number of people masquerading under the flags of both political parties, and even holding office, who are really militant Communists and key men in the Communist party. Within the government infiltration is considerable and it is noteworthy that the Communists choose nerve centres in the administration.

#### c) Infiltration among the working masses.

The Communists have used Liberal and Conservative camouflage to do this. They are conducting an intelligent campaign in bars and coffee houses among workers and peasantry protesting against the cost of living, unemployment, capitalist oppression and Yankee imperialism, and the exploitation of the worker by his employers.

#### d) Trade Unionism

The first action of the Communists after recuperating their influence following the 10th May was to re-exert their influence in trade union fields. To this end they promoted meetings for the "excommunication" of the labour leaders under the Rojas Pinilla régime. In a short time they achieved control over the F.T.C. in Cundinamarca. They infiltrated

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agents into the C.T.C. and arising out of the strike in Talleres Centrales, formed a new organisation known as the National Commission for Trade Union solidarity. The most important strikes fostered by this organisation were the ones of Talleres Centrales, Cementos Portland Diamanta, the strike of unsalaried drivers in Villavicencio, the drivers' strike in Bogotá in September, 1957, and labour disorders with Eternit and Caucho El Sol.

e) Re-education of Cadres.

This is done through the sending of young Communists abroad taking advantage of the scholarships offered by Eastern Germany. Under this measure a number of youths have been sent to Eastern Germany on scholarships for the study of one of the professions which, in fact, includes a complete programme of theoretical and practical Communist doctrination. Another group of students has been sent to the Communist schools of Chile and Brazil. The National Cadre School of the P.C.C. is functioning in Viota and all those who have to travel abroad are compelled to attend the course there. In this school workers, employees and peasants are given instructions in their respective spheres of activity. Special care is given in the instruction of those who lead guerrilla bands or regions of self-defence.

f) Position of the party in relation to the "Frente Civil".

The Communists believe in supporting the Civil Front being assured that it will be a failure and that the consequences will be greater violence, misery and despair.

g) Guerrilla Front

Creation of Committees of Self-Defence

In order to secure a withdrawal of the military the Communists gave orders in August, 1957 that all guerrillas should endeavour to come to an agreement with their local military chiefs for a cease fire, but they would not surrender their arms. Simultaneously with the order to cease activities on the military front, the Twentieth plenum ordered the creations of Committees of self-defence in both town and country. These committees are military training schools for the formation of guerrillas. This indicates that Communism intends to carry on the fight at the appropriate moment. These regions of self-defence have been started in San Juan de Rioseco, Viota and Sumapaz where there is practically no supervision by the armed forces. War material is continuing to be brought in destined for the guerrillas of Juan de la Cruz Varela.

h) In the Economic field

The attitude of the Communists was that the cost of articles of prime necessity and official violence made the proletarian masses suffer and contributed to exasperate them and bring closer triumph of the proletariat.

Commentary.

There has not been a demonstration, trade union meeting or guerrilla activity in which the Communists have not intervened or at least attempted to infiltrate themselves. The strike in

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Talleres Centrales at the end of 1957 and the preparations for the invasion of farms in the districts of Tequendama and San Juan de Rioseco are notorious examples. The intervention of Cubans and Venezuelans in campaigns undertaken by Communism in Colombia makes the situation specially dangerous on account of the support received from the Colombian press and the irresponsibility with which the press incite the public against the authorities.

#### Legalisation of the Communist Party in Colombia.

On the 1st December, 1957 the Colombian people approved the plebiscite formula under which all constitutional reforms made after 1946 were annulled. This brought about the rebirth of the P.C.C. as a legal party. The head of the party, Dr. Gilberto Vibira W. issued a pamphlet announcing the fact and giving instructions to the party for the new situation.

#### Communist press

In October 1957 the P.C.C. published the newspaper "Voz de la Democracia" which was printed by "Cromos" in Bogotá. Communist youth expressed itself through the newspaper "Junio" and the workers and students Intellectual Committee supported the newspaper "Llamarada". In Medellin the newspaper "Crisis" is still published by the "El Bateo" press. Since the Communist party cannot under the present system submit its own list of candidates for election the Central Committee has ordered the formation of a dissident Liberal group called the "People's Liberal Front" headed by Diego Montana Cuellar and Jorge Regueros Peralta. The P.C.C. hopes to obtain seats in the Assembly for Diego Montana Cuellar (Cundinamarca) and possibly Fidel Cano as well as Juan de la Cruz Varela (Tolima), who has never openly declared himself a Communist. In Santander they hope to get in Jorge Regueros Peralta who, however, is a known Communist and has never been a member of the Liberal Party.

#### Communist Connections.

Apart from the course abroad for Communists previously referred to an important international activity is that of the "Colombian political assessors" who are constantly informing the Comintern (SIC) about the political situation in the country and its possible repercussions in the social and economic fields. Formerly the Russians were inefficient in the planning of their political activity for Colombia because they did not have this information. In addition there is the Czech mission which is perhaps the most important connection between international Communism with Colombia. It must not be forgotten that the Czech secret police was specially trained by the Russians and although it is at present directed by Czech nationals, all its advisers are Russians. According to studies made by British and North American experts the personnel composing any commercial, cultural or diplomatic mission from Russia or from any other country behind the Iron Curtain contains at least 60 per cent of Communist secret police in its personnel.

S E C R E T

000725

DESPATCH

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Ambassador, Bogotá.....

Reference: Your Letter S188 of August 16, 1957...

Subject: Lectures on the U.S.S.R. ....

Security: ...RESTRICTED.....

No: .....237.....

Date: .....June 12, 1958.....

Enclosures: .....

Air or Surface Mail: Courier.....

Post File No: .....

Ottawa File No.	
50066 - 40	
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References

In accordance with the contents of your letter, I have just completed a series of lectures at the University of the Andes on the subject of "Position of the Intellectuals in the U.S.S.R." and "Life in Russia today". These lectures were attended by 200 students and professors and seemed to be very well received. In addition to the lectures there was another hour devoted to discussion of the subject matter.

2. I have now been asked by the head of the U.T.C. (the principal Catholic trade union in Colombia) to address a joint meeting of the executive officers of the U.T.C. and the C.T.C. (Confederation of Colombian Workers) on the same subjects. I have naturally agreed as I think this is a very fertile field for talks of this sort.

Internal Circulation

Distribution to Posts

R.A.D. Ford

The U/S. considered this somewhat unorthodox but it was decided not to take action.

H.W.

Noted. My information is that the CTC is non-Communist. We know nothing of UTC.

guss  
Aug 12

1958 JUL 9 PM 4:10

NO ENCLOSURES



## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ... The Canadian Ambassador, .....  
..... Mexico, City, Mexico, .....

Reference: ... Our Despatch No. 111 of March 19, 1958. ....

Subject: ... Communist Parties in Mexico: The Presidential  
..... Campaign. ....

Security: .... CONFIDENTIAL .....

No: ..... 209 .....

Date: ..... May 23, 1958 .....

Enclosures: .....

Air or Surface Mail: ... COURIER .....

Post File No: ... 8-1-5-5 .....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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## References

Washington

Original on 6729-40

In our despatch under reference, we attempted to analyze the Communist parties in Mexico and to assess their general strength and political influence in recent years. We pointed out that the differences between the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) and the Mexican Workers and Peasants Party (POCM) were mainly personal rather than ideological, and that both could be said in general to follow an orthodox Marxist-Leninist line in accordance with the dictates of Moscow. We indicated that the combined numerical strength of the two parties was puny relatively to the population of Mexico, and that their effective political strength was minimal, particularly because the all-powerful "Government" Party, the PRI, with its revolutionary traditions and moderate New Dealish programme, has always been able to steal the thunder from the extreme Left. It will also be recalled that these two Communist Parties sought an alliance for electoral purposes with the fellow-travelling Partido Popular, which is the most powerful element in the Mexican Left Wing, headed by the effervescent Vicente Lombardo Tolendano. The PP, however, rejected these overtures and came out in support of Adolfo Lopez Mateos, candidate of the Government Party, PRI, and certain to be chosen President of the Republic for the period 1958-64 when the Presidential elections are held this July.

2. The situation at the end of last year therefore was that the major Left Wing party, the PP, had decided not to put forward a presidential candidate of its own nor to enter into an alliance with the two Communist parties for the purpose of nominating a joint, three-party candidate. And on the Communist side Manuel Terrazas, of the PCM, issued a statement on New Year's Day in which he said that the "coalition of the independent parties, when it is organized, will most likely not put forward a candidate for the presidency of the Republic". He explained that the PCM was seeking unity among all independent groups and, if the PP's decision were not taken into consideration, disunity might prevail.

3. Disunity, indeed, has apparently prevailed ever since among the Left Wing parties of Mexico. The two Communist parties have in fact been staging an opera bouffe by nominating a presidential candidate of their own who is not only a political nonentity of 74 years of age, but who at various times since has stated "I don't profess Marxist Communism" and "I am a complete Roman Catholic". The Communist Party's candidate is a lawyer by the name of Miguel Mendoza Lopez, and the decision to nominate him was taken at a meeting of the Plenum of the PCM held at the beginning of February. The PCM announced at that time that, in deciding to take this step, they had taken into

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account the necessity to "promote, mobilize and organize in the present electoral campaign the participation of the popular masses and of all those democratic and progressive sectors of the country who are prepared to fight on the basis of an independent electoral movement ... which authentically expresses the struggle ... for the defence of sovereignty and national independence against the growing economic and political penetration of North American Imperialism in Mexico ... and for peace between peoples". At the time the PCM made this announcement, the names of a number of Communist presidential candidates were bandied about, and Mendoza's was not amongst them.

4. The nomination of Mendoza was made public in the middle of February. He was proclaimed to be the president of an organization called the "Agrarian Party". According to press reports at the time Mendoza is a former supporter of the famous agrarian leader of the Mexican Revolution, Emiliano Zapata, and he has also held several minor posts in the Mexican Government. Following his nomination Mendoza informed the press that he had been surprised at his selection by the Communists as their presidential candidate and that he did not yet know whether he would accept. He declared that he was a Communist because he was a Roman Catholic but that he had socialist ideas and that he did not believe that there was any contradiction between his socialist ideas and his religion. A couple of days later, at a meeting at Communist Party headquarters, Mendoza accepted his nomination and, in his acceptance speech, stated that he had not been impelled to do so by selfish motives or "the morbid desire to be a new master of Mexico". He added that "our Party knows fully well that it is impossible to win the elections, but our electoral struggle is not limited only to the morbid ambition for power but is trying to achieve a unity of the masses of workers and peasants."

5. By early March Mendoza duly set off on a campaign tour which took him from the north Mexican city of Torreon, famous in the annals of the Mexican Revolution and Pancho Villa, as far as the Gulf port of Tampico, equally famous in the early heydays of British and United States' development of Mexico's petroleum resources. Mendoza was accompanied on this tour by strong Party henchmen.

6. Just before starting out on his campaign tour Mendoza gave another press interview at Party headquarters, which "Excelsior's" correspondent described as "dusty, smelling of perspiration and run-down". When asked what was the difference between Marxist and spiritual socialism, Mendoza replied that they were the same except that the Marxist philosophy was atheistic and spiritual socialism was Christian. They both advocated, he said, the defence of the property of the working class, "which we consider to be sacred". As a consequence of this they fought against capitalist propaganda. When a reporter asked what sort of socialism existed in the USSR and whether "spiritual socialism" had any chance there, Mendoza replied that it was an error to think that all Russians were atheists, and "open and full churches" clearly demonstrated that this was not so.

7. The impending split among Mexico's Left Wing parties came into the open during the first week of March. Lombardo's Partido Popular, which had already refused to support a joint Left Wing presidential candidate, announced that in addition it rejected the proposed alliance with the PCM to nominate joint candidates for the Chamber and the Senate. In a letter to the Secretary General of the

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PCM, Lombardo declared that "the pact is absolutely impossible" and he then went on to make an extraordinary charge against the Communists. Lombardo complained that two of the organizations which had signed the notice convening the Independent (i.e. Communist) National Electoral Convention -- the Agrarian Party and the Vanguardia Revolucionaria Benito Juarez -- did not exist and that the PP could not accept the "simulation of political reality" by sharing its authority "with imaginary groups". This procedure, Lombardo stated, deceived no one but on the contrary detracted from the authority of the PCM and POCM, which had signed the convening notice together with the "fictitious organizations". Lombardo's letter then went on to criticize Mendoza on the grounds that he was a Catholic; if Mendoza were faithful to his own convictions he would have to go around preaching Catholicism to the Mexican people which, in view of the ideology of the Communist Party, was "rather a ridiculous situation". Lombardo also complained about Communist procedure: in convoking the Independent National Electoral Convention, the PCM had invited both individuals and groups to participate and had announced that individuals would be treated as equals with political parties; the PP, Lombardo emphasized, could not attend a meeting in which any individual, "who represented nobody but himself" and was not a member of any political organization, could enter into discussion on equal terms with the PP.

8. All this evoked a prompt reply from Manuel Terrazas of the PCM. He criticized Lombardo for passing his letter to the press before sending it to the addressee. He could find no "valid justification" for the PP's rejection of joint action and accused Lombardo of jumping on the Government Party's bandwagon. He denied that there was any contradiction in the fact that the PCM had nominated a Catholic presidential candidate; this proved that the Communists and the Catholics could unite for the elections. In any case Mendoza had accepted the Party programme and was "an anti-imperialist and a defender of the people". Despite the "negative attitude" of the PP, however, the PCM hoped that the PP "may agree to work together with the PCM on many other questions of the political and social life of Mexico".

9. The great Mexican painter and fire-brand Communist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, then joined the public controversy by accusing the PP of having repeated "the manoeuvre of the false patriotic front" which in the past had given "such atrocious results to the people of Mexico". He pleaded with the PCM, POCM and PP to form "an authentic popular proletarian opposition" while there was still time. Another prominent Communist, Jose Revueltas, insisted that the quarrel between the PP and PCM was caused by the "right wing opportunism of Lombardo and the left wing opportunism of the majority of the Central Committee of the PCM -- the party to which I belong and within whose ranks I maintain my differing opinions with the national leadership". Lombardo's right wing opportunism lay in the fact that he attached the PP to the Government's "electoral front". Lombardo pretended that this Government bloc had a "revolutionary and anti-imperialist virtue" simply because it contained the great popular masses. It was therefore obvious, according to Revueltas, that Lombardo's position could only "fortify the leading role of the bourgeoisie and the political monopoly which this class has in the life of the country".

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The Left should therefore make it a basic task to remain a true democratic-revolutionary opposition capable of successfully opposing the next government.

10. Revueltas next devoted his strictures to his own party. He stated that the left wing opposition of the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was evident by the fact that they substituted what should be the authentic and true independence of the proletariat of their party for an apparent fictitious independence expressed in the ad hoc nomination of their own candidate. This position would, without<sup>fact</sup>, only distract the working class from their historic tasks and finally strengthen the government bloc. Revueltas concludes by asserting that both his own party and Lombardo have avoided the basic aspect of the whole problem. As from now on, he says, the Left should make it a basic task to organize a true democratic-revolutionary opposition capable of successfully opposing the next government. "This would unquestionably represent the exercise of an independence, the immediate result of which would be the dissipation of the smokescreen which prevents seeing the true class content of all political struggles and which in Mexico, or so it seems, even the left wing forces contribute to disguise with all kinds of sophisms, false appreciations and errors."

11. The next public criticism of the Communists came from a priest, the leader of an important Catholic organization in Mexico, who stated that Mendoza committed a mortal sin by accepting his nomination and that he will be automatically excommunicated if he propagates Marxist ideas during the campaign. Mendoza promptly denied that he was "in mortal sin". In a letter published in, of all places, the PP's daily newspaper, Mendoza stated "the Communion of souls of the spiritual order and the community of worldly goods in the material order" is the basis of the programme that he will sustain. Mendoza said that he had publicly proclaimed on many occasions his religious concept of life "which is certainly at variance with the materialism of Marx". The PCM and POCM, when they nominated him as their candidate, had taken into account his "unceasing struggle in favour of suffering humanity" and his "deep rooted democratic and anti-imperialist convictions". Nevertheless, Mendoza lamented that "those independent groups noticed my modest person" when they had far more suitable people than he. After referring to the condemnation by Christianity of the "satanic goal of gold", Mendoza concluded by insisting that he did not think it wrong to take advantage of the opportunity given him to fight for democracy and against the "absorption of the economy by the North American plutocracy".

12. In April Mendoza announced that he was in favour of relations between Mexico and the Vatican, "without prejudice to the separation of Church and State within Mexico". He explained that this opinion was not inconsistent with his Communist Party candidacy, "for those who have nominated me have their programme and their platform as a political group, and I have my programme and my platform as a Mexican citizen and faithful follower of my religion". Mendoza said that the material progress of the USSR was impressive, but that the people were enslaved and individuals had no spiritual patrimony or exclusive rights because the State came first. These remarks promptly drew a retort from a well-known woman Communist, Dr. Esther Chapa, who considered it absurd that the PCM should keep Mendoza as their candidate when he had "shown that he was against the programme of the Party". According to Dr. Chapa, Mendoza "has never been to Russia, nor is he a Communist. I believe he is a fake."

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Lombardo's paper, the official organ of the PP, also reported that the opinion of "Mexican political circles" was that Mendoza is a "raving man". The PP organ therefore asked how it was possible that any political party could support the stupidities of a man like Mendoza "who on several occasions had demonstrated that he was mentally ill".

13. It will be apparent from the foregoing that Mexico's Left Wing, never very effective at its strongest, is apparently torn by internal inter-party and intra-party dissention. The most powerful element on the Left, Lombardo's Partido Popular, is certainly moving away from the official Communist Party in the election campaign. The Communist Party's current campaign has not only been subject to public ridicule but has apparently resulted in some internecine warfare within the party. Nor can it even be said that Lombardo has emerged stronger from this opera bouffe. It is therefore unlikely that the Communists will pick up any Catholic votes through Mendoza's curious convolutions and this whole episode tends to ~~convince~~ and strengthen our conviction of the effective political impotence of the extreme Left in Mexico, and its capacity for pique and buffoonery that may well be unique amongst the Communist Parties of the world.

DOUGLAS S. COLE

The Ambassador.

## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ...The Canadian Embassy,.....  
.....Buenos Aires, Argentina.....

Reference:.....

Subject:..Communists.in.Argentina.....  
.....  
.....

Security:...CONFIDENTIAL.....

No:.....155.....

Date:..May.15,.1958.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:....Air.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

## References

On the eve of the February general election, the Communist Party changed its line, and instead of continuing to advocate the formation of a "popular front", decided to support Dr. Frondizi, on the grounds that "his policies were those that approximated its own more closely". A few weeks after Dr. Frondizi's victory, the Secretary of the Communist Party, Victorio Codovilla, declared that "all efforts would be devoted to the battle against the oligarchists and the imperialists". Since 1946, when it joined the Union Democrática, an anti-Peron popular front, it remained in the opposition and was never seriously threatened by the dictatorship which put in force many totalitarian measures it approved. At that time, the Communists received nearly 100,000 votes, and represented about two and one-half per cent of the electorate. In 1957, they secured more than 200,000 votes, and represented the same proportion of the electorate, some two and one-half per cent. In the general election, they managed to elect two municipal councillors in the Capital and nine in the Province of Buenos Aires. A communist was also elected mayor of a town in the Cordoba area.

2. Since they have no hope of achieving much by themselves in the political field, the Communists have no alternative but to concentrate on labour organization and the formation of a central workers' association in which they might rise to key positions. "Our policy", Codovilla stated, "must be to encourage the Government in its positive action and criticize its negative attitudes."

3. Two days before President Frondizi's inauguration, the public relations officer of the Communist Party, Ernesto Giudice, announced at a press conference that the daily organ, La Hora, would reappear on the newstands on May 2nd, "since all former restrictions are incompatible with the rule of law". Founded in 1940, suspended in 1943 until 1945, and seized in 1950 after the Investigating Committee of Anti-Argentine Activities under Deputy Visce ordered confiscation of its properties, it was definitely closed in September 1956 by the Provisional Government. To the Communists, as to the Peronists, Dr. Frondizi's accession meant the automatic repeal of all previous limitations on their activities even before Congress had had an opportunity of legislating in this regard (see Despatch No. 152 Of May 12).

Internal  
CirculationDistribution  
to Posts

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La Hora is an eight-sheet morning paper, carrying local information and a few foreign despatches from Agence France-Presse. Its only foreign correspondent is Paulino Conzalez Alberdi, in Moscow. There is little editorial comment, although the news seems to be selected and slanted to suit Communist tastes.

4. To a reporter from La Razon, who was asking him when the Communist Party would break away from Dr. Frondizi, Giudice replied, "There can be no rupture since there was no previous agreement." He went on to say that it was bad tactics to counter British imperialism by soliciting United States help. Even if Dr. Frondizi tried to grant concessions to foreign interests, Congress would prevent him from following the dangerous counsel of some of his economic advisers. "Communists", he added, "are not against the formation of a progressive bourgeoisie counteracting the oligarchic bourgeoisie, which Dr. Frondizi hopes to foster through his investment programme, but will keep on defending the working classes". He enlarged on the possibilities of increased trade with Eastern European and Asian countries, particularly with the Soviet Union and Popular Democracies, in order to balance the influence of United States and West German capitalists in Argentina.

5. Three of the Communist Special Ambassadors to the Inauguration ceremonies were Vice-Presidents, and the Rumanian representative, was the President of the Praesidium. The other three were Cabinet Ministers. Most of them stayed on a few days and held talks on trade and other matters with members of the new Government. On May 4th, Vice-President Mikhail Petrovich Tarasov of the Soviet Union, accompanied by the Vice-Foreign Minister, V.V. Kuznietsov and the Soviet Ambassador, Michael Kostylev, gave a press conference in which he mentioned that Soviet machinery, plants and equipment for oil extraction, boats, ships, automobiles and other articles could be sold in Argentina in exchange for leather, hides, wool and quebracho extracts. Asked whether the Soviet Union would be prepared to grant Argentina the same kind of credit it had accorded to India some time ago, Tarasov stressed the advantages accruing to India under this agreement, but evaded the question. Nothing concrete apparently came out of the interview, and the Soviet representatives avoided any precise answer, save to confirm the purchase of oil extraction equipment and rails for five million dollars by the Ondarts Mission. I was told that the main centre of interest was the Soviet photographer who took innumerable pictures of all journalists present.

6. I attended the Czechoslovak National Day Reception in their Embassy residence, which was also held in honour of the Special Mission to the Transmission of the Mandate. As usual all the local important Communists were present and Victorio Codovilla, the Party Secretary, was much in evidence, surrounded at times by Soviet Attaches and members of other Communist Missions. A well-known writer, Sra. Maria Rosa Oliver, member of the Peace Council, who is supposed to receive a Lenin prize for literature, is also the centre of attention at all these parties. She is an invalid and her special chair is rolled from room to room where she is greeted by all Communist Missions personnel as well as by local party big-whigs. There was also at the Czech reception a fairly good turnout of newly-elected members of Congress and of the Municipal Council. In fact, since it was the first official reception after their swearing-in on May 1st, it was their first occasion to attend diplomatic receptions which may account for their large attendance as only about two in the whole group were elected as Communists and this to the Buenos Aires Municipal Council.



The Czech Minister made sure to present to as many people as possible a Czech priest who was a member of the Special Mission to the Inauguration of the President, Rev. Dr. Alexander Horak, who ranked as number two in the delegation and has the title of Minister of the Commissar's Corps. He is a tall, big fellow who speaks many languages and tried to make himself friendly everywhere he went. After the Czech Minister presented him to me, his first words were. "There is a great percentage of Catholics in Canada and I am told they are very devout. In Slovakia of which I am one of the representatives in the Government, the Catholics are also very numerous and enjoy all liberties." He then added, "One of the best remembrances of my stay in Buenos Aires will be my interview with Archbishop Lafitte (the administrator of the Diocese of B.A. and the recognized head of the Catholic Church in Argentina since the fall of Peron and the discreet retirement of Cardinal Capello). He gave me permission to say Mass in the Cathedral and I was quite elated at receiving that privilege." My first words came perhaps as an anti-climax. "How can you be a Catholic priest and a Communist at the same time?" He protested, "I am not a Communist!" and I said, "But you are a member of a Communist government", to which he answered, "The Czechoslovak Government is not a Communist government but one of national unity and I represent a Slovak minority party which is not Communist". As to the proportion of non-Communists in the government and in the administrative posts, he admitted that it did not reach twenty per cent. When I asked him if, as a priest, he had obtained the Vatican's consent to belong to a government considered Communist and according to his own words 80 per cent Communist, he answered, "I am in good standing with my Bishop". At that point I think he had had enough of my questions and was brought by a legation secretary to speak to Argentine ladies who may have proved to be less indiscreet in their questions than I had been.

8. The Rumanian Minister, Dr. Victor Dimitriu, gave a big reception for the President of the Praesidium, which I also attended. It was held in the same big Plaza banquet and reception rooms where I give my First of July receptions and I must say that he had about the same number of people. I get somewhat around one thousand people. It was a big lavish party with plenty of drinks and hors d'oeuvres and what I said about the Czechoslovak party attendance applies also here with the exception that the guests were even more numerous.

9. Although Dr. Dimitriu himself does not appear to be a rabid Communist and has succeeded in rallying around him in Buenos Aires quite a large number of non-Communist Rumanians and even refugees from the Communist Government, his staff appeared to be helped by that of other Communist countries, except Yugoslavia, in making things work smoothly at the party. In honour of Michael Petrovic Tarasov, Vice-President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Ambassador gave a big reception at his Embassy on May 3rd to which he asked Mrs. Fairclough as well as the Embassy officials. As Mrs. Fairclough's plane left at four p.m. on that day and the airport is an hour distant from my country place and the Plaza Hotel, I could not summon enough vim to change and go to another party after the festivities and ceremonies of Inauguration Week.

10. It is certain that sending persons considered as Heads of State, as did Rumania, and Vice-Presidents as did the USSR, Bulgaria and Poland, as well as members of the Government as did Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, has certainly enhanced their prestige here. In fact, the Rumanian Head delegate ranked with the Presidents of Uruguay and Peru and was always to the fore.

11. It is to be noted, however, that the Yugoslav and Polish delegates, both Cabinet members, were more discreet than the others in this propaganda effort.



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CONFIDENTIAL

12. Although they knew that all that was done to counteract the presence of Vice-President Nixon the Argentines, who are proud and sensitive, were delighted to see the importance given by the Communist countries to the Transmission of Mandate.

13. Above all, the presence of the Communist dignitaries has given the occasion to the Missions to increase their prestige with local Communist leaders and in turn helped the latter in their work with their sympathizers.

14. I must add anew that I was delighted that the Prime Minister sent a member of the Cabinet; and the fact that our only Lady Cabinet Minister, came also attracted sympathetic attention from the Argentines.

15. I should also say that I have heard Argentine friends discreetly complain that some friendly countries had not bothered to send Cabinet Ministers but had only accredited local heads of Mission or heads of Mission in a neighbouring country, which was even more resented. In all thirty-three countries, seven of which were Communist sent Cabinet Ministers or higher ranking officials, which gave great satisfaction to the Argentines. To them were added twenty two Ambassadors already accredited here or in neighboring countries.

16. The Communists certainly made the best of their having Senior delegates and did not lose occasion to make it evident.

17. This appears to me to be in line with their new effort in South America nad their new approach in general to court world public opinion.

(sgd.) PHILIPPE PICARD

Ambassador.

## NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY, CARACAS, VENEZUELA ...

Reference: .....

Subject: ... Manifesto of Venezuelan Communist Party ...

Security: ... RESTRICTED .....

No: ... 190 .....

Date: ... April 25, 1958 .....

Enclosures: ... 2 .....

Air or Surface Mail: ... Courier .....

Post File No: ... 12-3-1 .....

Ottawa File No.

5 00 66 - 40

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## References

We are enclosing in duplicate a summary translation of the manifesto adopted by the Communist Party at its 15th Plenary Session held in Caracas between the 2nd and 6th of April.

2. The manifesto is essentially a propaganda stunt but not necessarily ineffective. It is successful in giving the impression that the Communist Party played a major role in the overthrowing of the Perez Jiménez regime. It presents itself as the champion of freedom, free institutions, social justice, national independence, etc. It capitalizes on the anti-American feeling which, as we are indicating in a separate despatch, gains popularity in Venezuela. At the same time the party avoids attacking the other parties and declares itself prepared to cooperate with them in the interests of the nation as a whole.

3. The main points are the following:

(a) The Communist Party supports the Junta and also the Cabinet even though it expresses some reservations about the latter which it considers too conservative;

(b) The Communist Party favours the present climate of political unity;

(c) The Communist Party will support any non-party Presidential candidate;

(d) The armed forces must be "democratized";

(e) The national resources must be returned to the people;

(f) All labour unions must be organized into a single federation;

(g) On foreign affairs the Communist Party advises friendly relations with all countries regardless of their political or economic regimes;

(h) The U.S.A. Government and businessmen are the main target of attack by the Communist Party.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

EMBASSY

Translated Summary

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VENEZUELAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY

The following is the Political Resolution of the, XV Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party who met on March 2-6. The document was presented to the Government Junta on April 11.

I - The increasingly important rôle of the masses.

There has been, in this country, a very important change from a police state with a military dictatorship to an atmosphere of freedom, legality for the labour movement, democracy and anti-imperialism.

The main elements of the new situation, as we see it, are as follows: 1) The fall of the reactionaries and terrorists who dominated the country and contributed to the progressive colonization of Venezuela by the American monopolists. These sectors have not been completely liquidated, but their more aggressive elements are no longer in control. 2) The installation of a government pursuing a policy of democratic freedom, which has committed itself to organise elections so that the people can recover their sovereignty, an aim which has the backing of all Venezuelans. 3) The starting of a new and unified organization of labour and popular movements. 4) The building, on a broad basis, of a national unity, formed not only to bring about the fall of the dictatorship, but also to survive into posterity, with the political truce between the parties and the different social sectors represented in the Patriotic Junta. A unity designed to lead to a return to constitutionalism and repel the machinations of "perezjimenismo". 5) With the profound change in the balance of forces in the country wide prospects have been opened for the democratic development and national liberation of our people.

II - The Communist attitude to the Government Junta and the Cabinet.

The composition of the Government Junta and the Cabinet is not the truest or most complete expression of the forces that defeated the dictatorship, which explains its hesitations and timidity in confronting the torturers and swindlers. The Government supports the people in their patriotic claims, but does not fight the American imperialism that maintains its grasp on our natural resources. The prevailing tendency in the Cabinet, although containing liberal and progressive Ministers, is conservative, and the President pays attention to the views and preoccupations of every section of the National Unity. The raison d'être of the

- 2 -

present Government is the return to constitutionalism and in this they have the support of the vast majority of Venezuelans, including, of course, our Party. We consider that the Government Junta should not be reformed, but that elections should be held as soon as possible, since the Junta is inherently provisional. But the Cabinet must be reorganized, by strengthening it politically, so that it can better perform the duties imposed upon it by the Government Junta. Our Party, while retaining the right to criticize them freely, will support the Junta and the Cabinet in the early holding of free elections and the return to institutional normality.

### III - The Communists and the National Armed Forces.

Since the dictatorship, a new class of democratic military men of all ranks has emerged who are prepared to defend our democratic liberties and it is the duty of Venezuelan democracy to strengthen in them the realisation of their constitutional character and their rôle as guardians of our territorial integrity.

The civic-military entity should be the guarantee of our institutions, treating all Venezuelans alike, as sons of the same country, where the only difference between the military and the civilian is that the former happens to have been armed by the State and belongs to an institution whose mission is to defend the country against aggression, preserve our frontiers and see that our laws and constitution are respected.

The idea that the National Armed Forces are called upon to set up and replace Governments must be eliminated. The Army must be given a national and patriotic character and the interference of foreign missions must be eradicated. The Armed Forces must be taught, like all Venezuelans, that sovereignty rests with the people, whose sole right it is to decide who shall govern them, by means of universal, direct and secret suffrage.

### IV - The principal enemies of democratic liberties.

The petrol and iron ore companies, and other investors, are alarmed at developments, and are conspiring against the national unity and its extension. They regard with fear the reorganisation of a united Workers' Movement. Their anxiety is increased by possible demands by the masses for a greater Venezuelan participation in their natural resources, putting an end to the shame-faced looting of these treasures by the monopolists which took place especially under the dictatorship. It is the North American petrol and iron-ore Companies who feel most gravely affected by the fall of the dictatorship, their docile tool, which they described

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as "The Government most suited for the North American investors" and whose Leader, Pérez Jiménez, Eisenhower decorated. These foreign interests will do all they can to defeat the democratic process in our country, and these monopolists are thus the principal enemies of Venezuelan constitutional stability. They will fight democracy and we must be alert. Then there are the "Perezjimenistas" and other reactionary forces who will plot, spread rumours, provoke criminal acts against the economy of the country. They are unpunished and they hate our people. The masses must move to prevent them from gaining strength to fight the people.

#### V - The Communists and national unity.

We Communists do not conceive of the national unity as a unity of the four parties only, and even less of the three, but of everybody, economic sectors, students, the youth, workers, women, the professional classes and, above all, the military with a democratic mentality. This unity is essential for the following objectives, on which the vast majority of Venezuelans are agreed: (i) to defend the present Government and help it in its task of calling elections; (ii) to solve the housing and unemployment problems and the needs of the masses; (iii) to purge the Public Administration and the Armed forces of "Perezjimenist" elements; (iv) to return to constitutionalism as soon as possible; (v) to enforce respect for the election results, whatever they are; (vi) to defend democratic freedom and the new Constitutional Government elected by direct, universal and secret suffrage. And the national unity must not end at the elections, for the return to constitutionalism is not the task of a few months. To break with the vices of dictatorship, militarism and despotism requires a great labour of civic education, of the regular working of our institutions, of independence for the Legislative and Judicial Powers and the Municipal Councils.

A great contribution can be made by educating the militant members of our Party and other popular and democratic movements, in a spirit free from all sectarianism, in a spirit of tolerance towards differing opinions. Educate them in the necessity of elevating the political struggle to the doctrinaire level, the level of the free exchange of ideas and the avoidance of personal antagonisms.

#### VI - The Communist Party's attitude towards elections.

As regards the elections, we are in favour of: One National unity non-party candidate; united platforms for all elections for Congress, Legislative Assemblies and Municipal Councils; an electoral platform submitted for the people's

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consideration. We consider that the present situation should be brought to an end by.

1. Elections by means of free and voluntary suffrage, direct, universal and secret for Venezuelans above 18.

2. All the forces which participated in the downfall of the dictatorship should unite for these elections and support one candidate, preferably non-party, for the Presidency. We should reach agreements, even if local or regional, to set up National Unity platforms for Congress, Legislative Assemblies and Municipal Councils.

3. We call upon all other political forces to start conversations on the electoral theme. For the present we are inclined to support a National Unity non-party candidate who is supported by all the political forces symbolised by the Patriotic Junta.

4. The Junta must be replaced, through the elections, by a Constitutional democratic Government. The new Government must adopt urgent measures to solve the economic problems which arose under the dictatorship, as a result of the American monopoly of our natural resources and from the existence of large properties and other feudal remnants.

5. The first duty of the new Congress must be to approve a Constitution for the Nation.

6. We submit for the consideration of the other political forces and the Venezuelan people the following points to serve as the basis for a united electoral programme:

- (i) The Government must guarantee the democratic freedoms and full freedom of political, trade union and popular organisation. Also freedom of press, assembly, strike, speech and radio broadcasting.
- (ii) Emergency measures must be adopted to face the problems of unemployment, low salaries, high cost of living, insecurity of employment, housing, education, abandoned children.
- (iii) An emergency plan must be elaborated to counter the American restrictions and the effects on us of their economic crisis.
- (iv) The agricultural problem must be faced, our markets expanded, and our industries and farm and cattle capitalists protected and helped.
- (v) A policy of peace, friendship and commerce with all peoples of the world irrespective of their régimes and economy.

VII - For Trade Unions, federation and a single workers' centre for the unified organisation of the masses.

. Our position on the organisation of labour is the creation of single trade-unions for industry, removing all union



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duplication. The reorganisation of the trade union movement on the basis of single sindicatos should lead to the formation of single federations for industry and state federations to group together all the regional unions. On the basis of these organisations should be set up a Workers Congress from which emanates the Unified National Centre of Venezuelan Workers.

The working class cannot renounce its rights, especially the right to strike, but it must learn to use them, especially the right to strike, in a responsible manner.

We agree with the formation of a single organisation for Venezuelan women, intellectuals, artists, youth, students, teachers, professors, etc.

#### VIII - Present dangers in the national political situation.

The reactionary forces still have large material resources and still hold posts in the public administration and the Armed Forces, and they are stimulated by the help of foreign imperialists and war-mongers. The masses are however beginning to see that dictatorships arise from the presence in our country of U.S. investors, and from the alliance between these foreign elements and the U.S. military mission and Venezuelan capitalists and reactionary sections of the Armed Forces.

Two alternative paths exist for the development of the political situation. One is the loss of democratic liberties and a recession in the economic development of the country through disunity in the democratic forces and a re-grouping of the reactionary forces. The other is the one which will lead to the progress of Venezuela, namely the consolidation and extension of civil-military unity, punishment of the reactionary conspirators; both inside and outside the Government, the satisfaction of the just demands of the people by emergency measures, the guaranteeing of the organisation and mobilisation of the working classes, the peasants, the bourgeois and all who desire a sovereign and independent Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Communist Party fights, and will continue to fight, for the triumph of this second course. It will spare no efforts to preserve the national unity, to defend democratic liberties, to guarantee the independent and sovereign development of Venezuela.

It asks upon the country to increase its vigilance, because the political situation is still not stabilised and there exists serious dangers for the democratic movement.

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The Communist Party's duty is to educate the masses to be alert and combatative, ready to sacrifice in resisting, by any means called-for, any reactionary attempt against our progress towards the constitutional and democratic life of the Venezuelan people.

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Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela



## DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, CARACAS, VENEZUELA

Reference: Your Letter No. X-35 of February 5, 1958...

Subject: Communism in Latin America

Security: SECRET

No: 186

Date: April 24, 1958

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No: 13-0-0

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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Copy - "D" 50301-B-40

We are inclined to agree with the United States State Department that communism is no immediate threat to Latin America. Our impressions are naturally more clear cut as far as Venezuela is concerned, and while there would appear to be no immediate danger, we are more pessimistic about the possible Soviet influence in the distant future. The United States reasons for confidence are:

- (a) Latin America's awareness of the dangers of communism as illustrated by the O.A.S. Resolution of March 1954,
- (b) The deep religious convictions of the Latin American peoples and
- (c) The increasing cultural exchange and cooperation between the republics of the continent.

2. The O.A.S. Resolution has significance only to the extent that it represents a real determination on the part of its members to deny to Communism every opportunity to set a foot in Latin America. At present the Communist party in Venezuela has all the freedom "to dominate the political institutions" of this country. Argentina entertains diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. How effective would this Resolution be if tomorrow other republics of Latin America should find it advantageous economically to deal with the Soviet bloc on a larger scale and/or to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. What would happen if one of these countries' governments became dominated by their Communist Party? Would Chile or Peru wage war as a result under Resolution 93? The answer is evidently no and as large Latin American countries are becoming more and more politically independent of the U.S.A., the possibility of the latter's intervention on the Guatemala pattern in such circumstances is more doubtful. We must therefore conclude that Resolution 93 would be ineffectual.

3. As far as religious convictions are concerned, this factor in the fight against communism should not be over-estimated. Religion in Latin American countries and especially in Venezuela has a strong flavour of superstition. It is practised mainly by women and the upper class for whom it is part of a traditional institution they wish to preserve. Venezuela is basically a secular state and the Church has little influence over politics. The role of the church played in the

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last Revolution was commendable but it can be described as "too little and too late" for the Church to obtain much credit for its action. Mexico and Argentina have probably a deeper Catholic faith than Venezuela, yet this has not prevented the growth of communism or materialistic political thinking. To use the expressions of Mr. Rubottom that "Atheistic communism is an anathema to the deeply-religious Latin American people" or that "its inhabitants are endowed with a profound belief in God and the spiritual treasures of free men" or "that there is no place in this God-given and God-fearing New World of 360 million souls for anything resembling the materialistic and atheistic concepts of godless Communism" is, indulging in a most dangerous form of wishful thinking which should have no place in the field of international politics.

4. The third point advanced by the State Department as a barrier to communism in Latin America is the cultural exchange programmes between the Republics of the American continent. Can it be said that these exchanges necessarily work against Communism? In many instances, Soviet cultural gestures in Latin America have greater appeal than similar gestures from the U.S.A. The Chinese Minister in Caracas for example was most disturbed at the good impression created by a communist Chinese dancing troupe that visited Chile, Uruguay and Argentina last year, and used his influence to see that the troupe did not get to Venezuela. It is agreed that they are useful but to say that they necessarily are a deterrent to communism is about as invalid as to say that an educated person will necessarily be anti-communist.

5. The huge gap which exists between the living standards of a privileged minority and the great mass of undernourished people is a serious danger to the political stability of this area. The high percentage of illiteracy is another factor which renders the Latin American peoples highly susceptible to demagoguery and communistic propaganda. (In Venezuela illiteracy has actually increased by two percent in the last five years - fifty-three percent of the population are illiterate; 600,000 children are denied education simply because there are no schools and this in a country which professes to be one of the most advanced in Latin America and the richest per capita!) Nationalism is a growing force in Latin America and it manifests itself not only in its legitimate forms but also in emotional and explosive phobias. The pattern may differ from that encountered in newly independent countries, but it is no less dangerous if misdirected. Anyone who has knowledge of the Latin American temperament will realize that if nationalism can become a force in the U.K. or Canada, it can become omnipotent here. We have reported previously that the recent revolution in Venezuela unleashed considerable anti-foreign feeling, directed mainly at the United States. The recent United States actions in restricting imports (oil from Venezuela; copper, lead and zinc from other countries) have added fuel to an already explosive situation. Threats of nationalization are already made in the press and not only in the communist local newspaper. Furthermore, the press, in general, is advocating closer trade relations with Iron Curtain countries as an additional market for Venezuelan oil. One newspaper, El Nacional, proposed recently that the Government take its oil royalties in the form of oil and that it dispose of this through setting up its own domestic outlets and by developing new foreign markets. Barter deals have been advocated as a means of overcoming currency barriers.

6. It is difficult to judge what would be the result of a Soviet economic offensive in Latin America. It cannot be said that the Soviets have really made a start and, in the circumstances, the figures given in paragraph 11 of Washington letter No. 119 of January 21, 1958, are more disturbing than they may appear on the surface. The figures for 1955 show an increase of Sino-Soviet Trade in Latin America of 343% over 1953, while the Latin American overall total trade increase in the same period was 6%. We must also take into consideration that during that period the Western world trade was in a better position to check a

- 3 -

Soviet trade offensive than it is now. With the present recession and its inevitable disastrous effects on Latin America, the time is ripe for a successful economic offensive on the part of the Soviet Bloc. The Soviets could definitely start an offensive in Venezuela, this bastion of American capitalism, as they did in 1945 (see our despatch No. 80 of March 21, 1957). This would be particularly dangerous in the event of a serious economic set back in Venezuela. At the moment, the Junta does nothing which might antagonize the United States because its position is too precarious. No one can say what their successors would do. If Acción Democrática came to power through a democratic and popular vote, there is nothing to prevent them taking the same anti-American line they followed when they were in power before. An economic set back might push a socialistic Government in Venezuela to bilateral trade or barter deals with the Soviet Bloc. What could the United States do to prevent such a step without automatically being accused of interference in the affairs of another nation. I can see many possibilities for barter deals with the Soviets offering equipment, flour, aluminum, jeeps, tanks, boats, etc. in exchange for oil.

7. Undoubtedly there exists a strong suspicion in Venezuela of Soviet motives but this suspicion is not necessarily shared by the politicians of A.D. and U.R.D. nor by the great mass of Venezuelans. As far as the Army is concerned, it is believed to be a right-wing factor. If a civilian government with left-wing tendencies were to obtain power, through popular support, it is not inconceivable that the Army would be purged of its right-wing leaders while the rank and file would obey blindly its new leaders.

8. I should like to conclude these remarks by a brief assessment of the communist party strength and possibilities in Venezuela. As we have pointed out in our letter 126 of March 20, the Communist Party is a nonentity at present in Venezuela but we must not conclude that it has no future. The Communist Party so far has few followers in Venezuela but it appears to be well organized. It has a newspaper called "Tribuna Popular" and its members are active in the Junta Patriótica. The Communist Party apparently is following the pattern of communist activities in other countries. It is infiltrating labour unions and at the same time associating itself with other more moderate political elements. The present policy of unity or political truce offers an occasion to the Communist Party to take part in what amounts to a kind of Popular Front. This association with the other political parties gives to the Communist Party an air of respectability which makes it more acceptable to the people who would normally be suspicious of its activities. The attitude of the Communist Party up to now has been fairly reasonable and it has avoided extreme positions which could weaken its chance of being accepted as one of the legal voices of opinion of the population. There have been indications that the three other parties, A.D., U.R.D., and COPEI are attempting to give the cold shoulder to the communists but the present political truce and the fact that the Communist Party has (a) legal status in this country makes it difficult for them to dissociate themselves entirely from the representatives of the Communist Party in the Junta Patriótica or other democratic movements.

*W. K. ...*  
for AMBASSADOR

000746

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ...Canadian Embassy,.....  
...Port-au-Prince, Haiti.....

Reference:.....

Subject:..."LA VOX DOMINICANA". AND LUCIEN DAUMEC  
.....Private Secretary to the President..  
.....of the Republic of Haiti.....

Security:.....UNCLASSIFIED

No:.....113.....

Date:.....April 18, 1958.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:.....Air.....

Post File No:.....7-4-D.....

Ottawa File No.	
5 0066-40	
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References

Original - 6407-46

For the past three weeks the radio station, "La Vox Dominicana", has been transmitting programmes daily in Créole from Ciudad Trujillo, destined for Haitian audiences. The programmes are intended to undermine the régime of President Duvalier in the eyes of the Americas by showing that a number of Duvalier's high Government officials are known members of the Communist International.

2. In their news edition of Wednesday last, the Vox Dominicana denounced as a paid agent of Moscow, one René Dépestre and his wife. René Dépestre recently returned to Haiti from exile. During his absence, while travelling behind the Iron Curtain, Mr. Dépestre married a Hungarian national who is reported to be in the service of Moscow. Among other high officials of the Government frequently denounced by Vox Dominicana was President Duvalier's brother-in-law and private secretary, Lucien Daumec. The April 16th broadcast gave an alleged report that Mr. Daumec had been refused a visa by the Canadian diplomatic mission on the grounds that he had a communist file, both in Canada and the United States. The broadcast further stated that he had been refused a visa to visit his wife who is presently in Canada.

3. We have no record of a visa having been applied for by Mr. Daumec, but our records show that his wife, Mrs. Marie Lucia Lamothe Daumec, proceeded to Canada on a scholarship for a period of one year, destined to the "Institut Familial, 1185 rue St. Mathieu, Montreal", and that she travelled on official passport No. 7 issued in Port-au-Prince on October 7, 1957, and a courtesy visa granted on October 9, 1957, under number CG 521.

4. The above is for your information.

The Embassy

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
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- 2 -

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*W. Halliwell*  
for AMBASSADOR

NUMBERED LETTER

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ...Canadian Embassy,  
...Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Reference:.....

Subject:..."LA.VOX.DOMINICANA".AND.LUCIEN.DAUMEC  
.....Private.Secretary.to.the.President..  
.....of.the.Republic.of.Haiti.....

Security:.....UNCLASSIFIED

No:.....113.....

Date:.....April 18, 1958.....

Enclosures:.....

Air or Surface Mail:.....Air.....

Post File No:.....7-4-D.....

Ottawa File No.

5 0 6 6 - 4 0

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## References

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4. The above is for your information.

The Embassy

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

## DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

## NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY, CARACAS, VENEZUELA...

Reference: Our Letter No. 126 of March 20, 1958.....

Subject: Communist Party Views on the Compulsory.....

Vote.....

Security:.....RESTRICTED

No:.....153.....

Date:....April 1, 1958.....

Enclosures:.....1.....

Air or Surface Mail:..Courier.....

Post File No:..12-3-2 & 12-3-1.....

Ottawa File No.

## References

A few weeks ago, the Government established a commission to study the problems related to the forthcoming elections (X) in Venezuela and to submit recommendations accordingly. One of the recommendations of the commission, which has been made public, concerns the question of how the vote should take place, whether it should be compulsory or free. All the political parties with the exception of the communists have pronounced themselves in favour of the compulsory vote. In an article which appeared on March 29, in La Esfera, the leader of the Communist Party, Gustavo Machado, has stated the reasons why his party is against compulsory vote. Attached is the English translation of Machado's article on the subject as it appeared in the Caracas "Daily Journal" of March 30.

2. Taken at its face value, the communist argument against compulsory vote appears sound and logical. Considered in the context of Venezuela, it is essentially a cunning means of assuring itself of a larger proportion of votes than the communist party really command. There is no doubt whatsoever that at present the communist party in Venezuela has a relatively small following and that the proof of that would be revealed if the great majority of the Venezuelans were to take part in the vote. On the other hand, if the Venezuelans are left free to vote or not, the apathy of the great majority, especially in the villages and small towns, would result in giving to the communist party a greater percentage in the total vote. It is in this context that the communist argument reveals its true intent and significance.

EMBASSY

(X) President Larrazábal indicated on March 30, during a press conference, that the elections will take place next November - most probably on the 29th.

Internal  
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Distribution  
to Posts



Original on 3872-AR-40  
Copy on 2057-40-E

Ext. 180A

OTTAWA FILE

No. 50066-40

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION  
RESTRICTED

Despatch No. 126  
March 20, 1958  
Date

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, CARACAS, VENEZUELA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

Reference: Appearance of Communist Weekly in Venezuela  
Subject:

On March 1st, the Communist Party put on sale for the first time its weekly newspaper, called "Tribuna Popular". It has 24 pages and its format is 12 x 16. The title "Tribuna Popular" is printed in red and followed by a red star under which the following motto appears "Bread, House, Land and National Liberation". The first edition was sold in a matter of a few hours and we have not been able to obtain a copy. We have, however, been told that its last page consisted of a number of photographs of the former Chief of the Seguridad Nacional, Pedro Estrada, seen with U.S. high officials, amongst them Dulles and Hoover taken at the U.S. State Department in Washington, at the U.S. Embassy in Caracas and at the F.B.I. headquarters in Washington. Under the pictures were captions to the effect that the U.S. Government maintained the very best of relations with the "infamous torturer and enemy of the people."

2. We have now obtained the second issue of the "Tribuna Popular" dated March 8. On its front page appears a photograph of Pérez Jiménez receiving from Mr. McIntosh, the former U.S. Ambassador to Caracas, a certificate of honorary membership in the U.S. Submarine Fleet. Under the photograph is a caption which says "In this way and through such flattery, the U.S.A. were able to obtain new oil concessions and to impose restrictions which today affect the Venezuelan economy". Page 4 contains a message from Walter Ulbricht addressed to Jesus Faria, the actual leader of the Communist Party in Venezuela while its present leader, Gustavo Machado, was in exile in Mexico. The message says, "Congratulations for liberation after so many years of jail. We wish new successes to the fight against the dictatorship of the North American monopolies and for independence and democracy". On the same page appears an article attacking the judges and local tribunals for having been the tools of the Seguridad Nacional. On Page 5, there is an article calling for the nationalization of basic industries such as oil, chemicals and steel. It accuses foreign and international interests of divesting Venezuela of its national resources and taking away its economic independence. The article goes on to blame foreign interests for the concentration of the wealth in the hands of a few while the majority of the population lives in abject conditions. It calls on the government to extend greater education and technical facilities to the rural population as well as to the lower income bracket people in the cities.

3. The U.S. oil restrictions are also a target in another article which suggests that Venezuela should go after other markets in South America (which it does already), Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the U.S.S.R., China and India "where more profitable prices could

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be obtained than the controlled prices established by such monopolies as Shell and Standard Oil". The whole argument is obviously fallacious since the U.S. regardless of restrictions on imports of oil are trying to avoid a fall in world oil prices. To the average reader however it sounds good and it is certainly very successful propaganda when Venezuelan government officials are prompt to blame the U.S. for conditions / the result of a general recession in the whole Western world. The article also suggests barter deals with the above mentioned countries and recommends a denunciation of the Trade Treaty with the U.S.A. as well as restrictions on import of non-essential and luxury goods.

4. Page 10 contains an article accusing Shell and Creole Oil Companies of violating the labour laws of this country. It states that employees working "on a part time basis" do not receive the benefits of holidays, paid Sundays, shares in profits, house premiums and other benefits to which they are supposed to be entitled according to the law. It accuses the Creole Company of overcharging its employees for housing, water and electricity, of reducing salaries and dismissing workers by employing lower salaried workers to replace old employees.

5. On Page 22, there is an open letter addressed to R.R. Rabbott, U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Latin America, who happened to be in Caracas at the time the paper appeared. The letter, which is accompanied by a photograph of President Eisenhower and former President Pérez Jiménez, smiling at each other during the Panama Conference, protests to the U.S.A. for granting visas to supporters of Pérez Jiménez now accused of oppression and criminal actions.

6. It is significant that so soon after the revolution and regardless of the fact that the Communist Party is still a nonentity in this country and has been virtually inactive during the last ten years, it is able to publish a 24-page weekly. (A financial campaign is now on to turn the paper into a daily). The tenor of the newspaper is much the same as that of other communist newspapers in the rest of the world. It appeals to the emotions and backs its arguments with the same unfounded and unsupported statements. It is difficult to believe that the "Tribuna Popular" could be so sensational and so well oriented from the point of view of propaganda without being directed by professionals with a long experience in communist means of influence. If we are to judge the Communist Party in Venezuela by its paper, we must come to the conclusion that it is directed by or is under the strong influence of an unofficial cominform.

7. The more recent edition of "Tribuna Popular" dated March 15 contains on its last page a photostat copy of a letter from Fletcher Warren, former U.S. Ambassador to Caracas, to Pedro Estrada. It is dated January 10, 1958 and refers to the "attempted coup...that was put down successfully and quickly". The full text of the letter is attached.

8. As despatches from this office so often said in the past, - the U.S. Embassy was much too closely linked to the former regime in this country. Because of that they have antagonized others besides the Communists.

*W. J. R. Bower*  
AMBASSADOR

P.S. Since this despatch was written, we have succeeded in obtaining a copy of the first issue which is of the same pattern as the issue described in this despatch: attacks against the U.S.A., foreign investments, calls for nationalization of basic industries, etc....

THE FOREIGN SERVICE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,  
Ankara, Turkey,  
January 10, 1958.

Dear Friend:

Your letter of November 12, 1957, contributed to making the holidays happier for Wilhelmina and me. We wish we were near enough to call on you and Alicia during the holiday season. At any rate, we send you our warmest regards and best wishes. May 1958 bring you everything you desire.

It would be nice if the four of us could sit down together with Francisco. He means very much to Wilhelmina and me. I feel toward him almost as if he were my son. Our warmest greetings to him and Gladys when you see him.

Willa and I were surprised at the attempted coup but note that it was put down successfully and quickly. I wish I could come in and discuss it with you. According to the Paris papers, you must have been very much on the job, as usual.

My cordial and most respectful greetings to your Chief. Willa and I send him our best regards for 1958 and trust that it will bring him his heart's desires.

We like the Otto Scotts very much. They got off to a good start and have now been joined by the Jose Campbells. It is good to have Venezuelan representation here in Turkey. We feel closer to our friends in Venezuela.

With warmest regards,

Your friend,

(Fletcher Warren)

Mr. Pedro Estrada,  
Director of National Security,  
Ministry of Interior Relations,  
Caracas, Venezuela.

Department of External Affairs, Canada

DESPATCH

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, a.i.,  
MEXICO CITY.

SUBJECT: Communism and Communist Parties in  
Mexico.

SECRET

No. 111

Date: March 19, 1958.

Via: Courier

File No.: 8-1-5-5.

References

Washington  
Madrid  
All Latin  
American and  
Caribbean  
Posts.

There are three left-wing parties in Mexico, the "official" Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), the splinter but equally Marxist-Leninist Partido Obrero - Campesino (POCM) and the fellow-travelling Partido Popular (PP), headed by Vincente Lombardo Toledano. These three parties have often proclaimed their desire for a "united front" but, so far as we have been able to observe, they have tended to behave as rivals as often as collaborators. The explanation for this phenomenon, which appears to be peculiarly Mexican or at least Latin American, may be found in the fact that the divisions between the three parties are rooted more in personal than in ideological differences, and in Mexico politics have historically revolved around personalities rather than platforms.

2. Local alliances have sometimes been arranged between the three parties, either overtly or covertly, but these have usually been on an ad hoc basis and primarily for electoral purposes. Such electoral alliances are more likely to take place on a state rather than a federal level, and particularly in out-lying areas. For example the three parties did ally last year to present a candidato unico for the governorship of the states of Durango and Veracruz; notwithstanding, their common candidate was heavily defeated by the all-powerful governmental party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Paradoxically enough such ad hoc alliances appear to have been more easily achieved between the official Communist Party and the Partido Popular than between the former and the POCM. However there have been signs in recent months that the POCM is beginning to make more serious efforts than hitherto to combine forces with the PCM. On the other hand the PCM and the PP did not achieve an electoral alliance to present a candidato unico for the forthcoming presidential elections, which will be held in July 1958. The PP, as we noted in our despatch No. 15 of January 10, 1958, has proclaimed its support of Adolfo Lopez Mateos, candidate of the PRI and therefore almost certain to be elected President of Mexico for the term 1958-64, whereas the PCM has belatedly put forward its own candidate. This presumed split will be discussed in a subsequent despatch.

3. Several of our despatches during the past couple of years have been devoted to a review of the Partido Popular and to an analysis of the manoeuvrings and current status as a national and international left-wing leader of its head, Lombardo Toledano. In this despatch I will attempt to provide up-to-date information on the two orthodox communist parties,

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the PCM and POCM, and provide as many names as possible of their leaders and officials. I shall also attempt to assess the current and future prospects of the communist movement in this country, whose population is growing at an unprecedented rate, whose prestige and influence amongst the Latin American nations advances steadily, and whose relationship to Canada is bound to increase in importance in forthcoming years.

#### MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCM)

4. The PCM is a legal organization in Mexico. However it does not qualify for the status of a "recognized" political party, because it cannot claim the 75,000 members, with appropriate geographical distribution, that the Constitution requires as a minimum number for registration for electoral purposes. This does not mean however that a party with less than 75,000 members cannot present a candidate; such a party, and there are a number of them in Mexico with less than 75,000 members, simply does not receive "official recognition" and its name on the ballot paper.

5. The PCM has recently been claiming a membership of 25,000 but I doubt whether its effective membership -- which has tended to remain at about the same level in recent years rather than to decline as in some other countries -- is today more than 5,000. The party is carrying on a membership drive with a view to obtaining the 75,000 required for official recognition and registration in the forthcoming presidential campaign, but there is not the slightest likelihood that it will achieve that goal. The No. 1 man in the party, at least in the eyes of the general public, is its Secretary General, Dionisio Encina. The following are the members of the PCM's Central Committee:

Dionisio ENCINA Rodriguez	Secretary-General
José Encarnacion VALDEZ	Secretary of Organisation
Manuel TERRAZAS Guerrero	Press Secretary
J. Encarnacion PEREZ Gaytan	Secretary of Education
Camilo CHAVEZ y Melgoza	Secretary for Trades Union Affairs
Paula MEDRANO de Encina	Secretary of Feminine Action
Jorge FERNANDEZ Anaya	Secretary for Agricultural Affairs
Juan José MERAZ Rodriguez	Secretary of Finance
Juan Pablo SAINZ Aguilar	Secretary for Peace Activities
J. Pilar RODRIGUEZ	Secretary for Economic Affairs
Maximo de LEON Garza	Secretary for Youth Activities
Abel CABRERA	Assistant Secretary
Arturo GAMEZ Orona	" "
Reyes FUENTES Garcia	" "
Josefina de LEON	" "
Carmen Esther CHAPA Pijerino	" "
Fernando GRANADOS Cortes	" "
José MONTEJANO	" "
José Alejo SANCHEZ Perez	" "
Gregorio MOLINA	" "
Heriberto SAUCEDO	" "
Jesus LAZCANO Ochoa	" "
Antonio MEDINA	" "
Amelia VILLALBA de Perez	" "
Arnoldo MARTINEZ Verdugo	" "
Miguel CASTILLO Cobos	" "

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6. The PCM held its XIIth Party Congress from September 20-25, 1954, and at that time drew up a new programme and statutes closely following those of the Communist Party of Brazil. This programme called for a united front against "United States Imperialism". In February 1956 the PCM sent a delegation, headed by Encina, to Moscow to attend the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. On Encina's return the PCM newspaper published the text of a resolution adopted by the Political Commission of the PCM's Central Committee and Encina himself gave an interview to the general press. The import of Encina's press interview, and also of the Political Commission's resolution, was that the PCM readily accepted the momentous changes in the party line then being propounded by Khrushchev to the XXth Party Congress in Moscow. The PCM resolution emphasized the "evitability" of war, the possibility of peaceful co-existence, and the discovery of a variety of different roads to socialism without necessary recourse to civil war. Encina admitted in his interview that the PCM too had been guilty of practising the cult of personality (with respect to himself as well as Stalin) and for that reason it had failed to detect possible weaknesses in its collective party leadership. Encina urged the party to utilize the results of the XXth Party Congress in Moscow for a profound study of its own errors. Mexico, he said, must take her place in the people's struggle for democracy, in order to frustrate imperialist efforts to keep Mexico apart from the great currents of change in the world and make her a redoubt for continuation of the cold war. Above all, Encina emphasized, the PCM must redouble its efforts "to free Mexico from Yanqui Imperialism".

7. The leaders of Mexican Communism do a good amount of travelling abroad, for the purpose of attending international party congresses and the like. Undoubtedly the most widely travelled of all, although he is officially not a member of the Communist Party, is the Partido Popular's leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Lombardo travels widely in his capacity of President of the the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (CTAL), which has its headquarters in Mexico City, and in fact, is the Latin American arm and liaison bureau for the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Some of Lombardo's travellings have been mentioned in our despatches on the PP and I will not elaborate on them here. As far as officials of the PCM itself are concerned, it may be worth noting that Manuel Terrazas and J. Encarnacion Perez went to Moscow to attend the XXth Party Congress in February 1956 with Dionisio Encina. In July 1956 J. Encarnacion Valdez represented the PCM at the XVIIth Congress of the French Communist Party, and in September Manuel Terrazas, Reyes Fuentes Garcia and Juan Jose Meraz travelled to Peking to attend the VIIIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. In November 1957 Encina, Heriberto Sancedo and Paula Medrano attended the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow. All of these people overfly the United States on Canadian Pacific or other airlines.

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8. The official organ of the Mexican Communist Party is "La Voz de Mexico", a very poorly edited newspaper which is about as far behind "The Daily Worker" of London and New York as "Excelsior" and "Universal" are behind "The New York Times". "La Voz" was a weekly up to September 1955, at which time it blossomed into a daily publication (see our despatch No. 51 of January 24, 1956). "La Voz" does not appear to be on sale at even major newstands downtown, and I have never yet seen anyone reading it in a public vehicle or plaza.

#### MEXICAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS PARTY (POCM)

9. The Mexican Workers and Peasants Party was founded in 1950 by a group of individuals who had been expelled from the PCM by Dionisio Encina. The reasons for the expulsion were widely believed at the time to have been personal and in no way ideological. In any event the POCM appears to be simply a splinter group of straightforward Marxist-Leninist orientation. In June 1956 a plenum of the POCM's National Commission accepted the decisions of the XXth Party Congress in Moscow, proclaimed the need for united action, proposed the establishment of a Congress of Unity and manifest a readiness to open unity discussions with the PCM. At the end of 1955 the POCM published a pamphlet containing its Declaration of Principles, programme and statutes. These appeared to be on orthodox Communist lines.

10. The POCM is insignificant both in influence and numbers and its membership cannot exceed more than a few hundred persons. It maintains a youth organization, the Juventudes Socialistas de Mexico, and the party publishes a weekly newspaper "Noviembre" which is even more shabby and ill-edited than the PCM's "Voz".

11. Every so often the POCM expresses willingness to cooperate with the PCM and the PP (particularly the former) if they will cooperate with it. Nothing tangible appears to have resulted from these unity initiatives if only because the POCM is apparently not reconciled to playing the role of the PCM's prodigal son.

12. The present leaders of the POCM are:

Alberto LUMBRERAS	Secretary-General
Valentin CAMPA	
Consuelo URLANGO	(probably CAMPA's wife)
Miguel AROCHE Parra	
Miguel Angel VELASCO	

#### COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN MEXICO

13. Notwithstanding Mexico's antiquity, it seems fair to describe this country as still being in an early first stage of the revolutionary process. In view of the size of the nation's population, which now exceeds 32,000,000, the Communist Party proper is insignificant in number, although it does occasionally command disproportionate public attention through the activities of such prominent Mexicans as the late great mural painter Diego Rivera (see our Despatch No. 462 of November 26, 1957 and No. 163 of April 18, 1956) and his equally illustrious and perhaps more sinister Communist fellow-painter, David Alfaro Siqueiros. In any event the public antics and direct

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influence of the Left Wing in Mexico should not be taken too seriously and are perhaps not nearly so important for the immediate future as the subversive process.

14. Economically and socially, Mexico should be an ideal ground for communist subversive activity. Notwithstanding great strides in fundamental education, the population of this country is still 50% illiterate and two or three millions still speak Indian dialects rather than Spanish. As recently as 1910, considerable segments of the rural population lived -- if one could call it living -- in abject slavery more vicious than that prevailing in the United States prior to the Civil War, and the vast majority of the people existed in conditions of medieval and feudalistic peonage surely no less barbarous than those of Czarist Russia. It is no surprise that the first fundamental social revolution in the West in modern times occurred in Mexico, from 1910-1920. In spite of the great progress made in this country following that revolution, many millions of the population still live under primitive conditions, in incredible poverty and in semi-peonage. Many millions, in fact the great majority of the people, still live in adobe or straw huts and in utter isolation, in mountainous areas where even the ubiquitous Singer Sewing Machine or the products of Standard Oil have failed to penetrate.

15. Mexico has inherited traditions of authoritarianism, of collective enterprise and of governmental intervention from the Spanish colonial regime. Furthermore, for many centuries and right down to the present time, millions of the inhabitants have lived and worked in ejidos, which can best be described in our context as Indian village communes or cooperatives. A middle class in Mexico has only just begun to emerge in recent years, with the advent of industrialization and modern commercial enterprise; notwithstanding, the country still has about 90% very, very poor people and a handful of very rich. Marxism (although not Leninism) is quite respectable in some quarters here and is a source of a small amount at least of official doctrine of the Mexican revolution. A considerable proportion of Mexican public officials -- possibly as high as 50% (and from the present Foreign Minister downwards) -- might have some difficulty passing loyalty tests in Washington. Although modern Mexican administrations have been reasonably middle-of-the-road and hardly farther to the Left than the New Deal of the 1930's, the revolutionary mystique still lives on or is worked up as the occasion requires. In fact, during a trip last weekend through several of the states adjoining the capital, I saw PRI signs in several villages heralding the presidential candidate Adolfo Lopez Mateos as a "fellow-revolutionary" and pledging the support of "the revolutionaries of this village".

16. For ~~three reasons~~ it might be expected that a penetrating subversive process would find an ideal breeding ground in this country, but the situation is complicated by many factors, some of them peculiarly Mexican. Most important, Mexico -- for Soviet purposes -- may already have gone dangerously far -- too far -- along its own road. Mexico has her own peculiar brand of Left Wing philosophy and it is certainly not of the Soviet variety; it is best described, perhaps, as an amalgam of Indian (i.e. Aztec) communalism, and Swedish-New Zealand-New Deal social democracy. Notwithstanding the bitter

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and protracted strife between Church and State, and the pronounced anti-clerical content of its present Constitution, Mexico has Catholicism (still with a generous admixture of Indian paganism). There also seems to be a propensity in Mexico, possibly in common with other Latin American countries, against abstract idealism and doctrinairism. Although vestiges of colonial rule are still surprisingly evident, it is really by now a dim memory to the present generations.

17. Mexicans have enjoyed baiting the Gringos for so long that they may be growing out of it, and the anti-Yanqui theme -- so powerful for so many years in Mexican history -- may be gradually losing some of its force, notwithstanding the surprisingly vitriolic bitterness which most Mexicans may still feel towards the United States. Business, at least as Mexicans know it, has been quite good, the climate is warm and the vast majority, while living on the margin of existence, are not all desperately unhappy. So long as the United States economy, which has no less a centrifugal influence on the Mexican as on the Canadian, remains reasonably prosperous and so long as the predominant "governmental" party, the PRI, choose middle-of-the-road presidents and continues to propagate a moderate New Deal programme, Communist subversion should prove an uphill job in spite of the latent breeding ground for it that exists here. And before subversion could succeed Mexico may well have achieved a more stable political-economic system and more refined democratic institutions on the North American or Western European pattern. On the other hand, there may be another Great Depression or the PRI, in spite of the trumpeting of its revolutionary slogans, may instal a succession of right wing presidents. It is in anticipation of this, perhaps, that the Soviet and local Communists will try to prepare their ground.

18. Mexico is so big and its complex society divided into so many esoteric groups, most of which welcome neither strangers nor the klieg lights of modern publicity, that it is peculiarly difficult for the outsider here penetratingly to assess the war of ideas. The one obstructing characteristic that appears common to all Mexicans, in spite of their extreme diversity and their mixture of races and tribes, is xenophobia. However for precisely these reasons it may be even more difficult for foreign communism to make effective headway in Mexico, and for its agents effectively to assess their progress.

19. The Soviet Embassy in Mexico is extraordinarily large in relation to what might be considered normal Embassy activities in this capital. The diplomatic list for March cites an Ambassador, a Counsellor, a Commercial Secretary, a Military Attaché, a Naval Attaché, three First Secretaries, two Assistant Military Attachés, two Assistant Naval Attachés, four Second Secretaries, two Third Secretaries, and three unspecified Attachés. In addition, there always appear to be an unduly large number of unidentified individuals at Embassy functions; a local anti-communist group claims that total Embassy personnel exceeds 500. Few informed observers here believe that this large entourage is stationed in Mexico for anything other than intelligence purposes; in fact the Soviet Embassy in Mexico, as you will be well aware, is commonly considered to be Moscow's intelligence and

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espionage centre for all of Latin America.

20. Overtly at least, the Russian Embassy staff work away most industriously at making contacts in the hope of winning a few friends and influencing some people. Apart from keeping the converted in line, it is doubtful whether they can do more than persuade some Mexicans that Russians are neither apes nor ogres. I would be inclined to suspect that most Mexicans, quite apart from or in addition to their inherent xenophobia, are rather shy of them, treat them with diffidence and keep them at somewhat more than arm's length as they do most other unfamiliar foreigners. Furthermore, so many Mexicans -- ranging all the way from the intelligentsia and the professional classes to the most humble braceros -- like to keep alive the possibility of applying for United States visas, and for this reason alone may be well inclined to dissociate themselves from the Russians.

21. The Mexican-Soviet Cultural Institute has some semblance of official support through its fellow-travelling Chairman, Jose Mancisidor, a fairly senior official of the Ministry of Education, and a person of some literary prominence. This institute is a quite active body, but its activities and influence appear to impress the converted only; few other Mexicans -- if only for United States visa purposes -- would expose themselves to view there.

22. Of all the segments of Mexican society, the educational world is likely to be the most vulnerable to Soviet ideas. One hears the view expressed quite widely that the Ministry of Education and teacher and student groups are a quite fertile breeding ground for extreme left wing ideas and for potentially dangerous malcontents. This whole world erupted into quite sensational ferment during the widespread student strikes of 1956, centering principally in the huge National Polytechnic Institute in the capital, in the Teachers Training College here and in the University of Morelia (see our monthly reports during the summer and autumn of that year). Whilst the Communist element - which to some extent has already worked itself into key posts in student and teacher organizations - may not have started these great strikes, local Communists appear in retrospect to have been instrumental in prolonging the disorders and in inciting widespread agitation and no little personal violence and physical destruction. During that whole period the authorities maintained an attitude of complacency, perhaps fearing martyrdom. The most notorious strike leader, an avowed Communist, was finally thrown into jail where he remains until this day. Further serious disorders broke out last summer between students of the state university and of Catholic colleges in the republic's second city, Guadalajara. A number of local Communists became identified with the disorders, or at least climbed on the band-wagon, and it is widely believed here that the then Cultural Attaché of the Soviet Embassy, Papurov, was both present and active in Guadalajara at the time; shortly thereafter he left the country without the customary goodbyes for diplomatic colleagues.

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23. Fortunately for the government, the student body of the famed National University in Mexico City -- a paradise of modern architecture and a national showplace -- remained aloof from both the Polytechnic 1956 and the Guadalajara 1957 student strikes. By concentrating some 30,000 of the nation's best students at the National University -- a large group of buildings on the southern outskirts of the capital -- the government may really have given hostage to political fortune. Luckily, or perhaps deliberately, the authorities have not built hostels at University City. Practically none of the teachers and students live out there, and they disperse each day to their homes throughout the entire Federal District.

24. Although the educational world in general may be potentially the most dangerous in Mexico for the hatching of Communist ideology and the perpetrating of subversion, nevertheless this situation is surely susceptible of amelioration. The situation is a classical one and the remedy is obvious -- more pay for teachers and better facilities for students. There is little doubt that the political leaders in the Administration and in the PRI, who are the same in effect, are well aware of the problem and equally aware of the possibilities of solution. Their handling of the 1956 and 1957 strikes, the most serious public disorders that Mexico has known in many years, may have appeared complacent to the naked eye but it was definitely efficacious. And while teachers' pay may be very low and student facilities poor if measured by Canadian standards, the educational world is becoming one of the more pampered segments, at least relatively, of Mexican society.

25. The adult literary and artistic milieu in Mexico is perhaps 50 to 75% rojillo, but its varying shades of pink take on a more nationalistic and Indian than Communistic or pro-Soviet hue. For several decades since the revolution, a great part of Mexican literary and artistic activity has been focused on a resurgence of Indianism rather than on the cultivation of Marxism or Leninism.

The fascinating pre-Columbian civilizations of Mexico, rather than dialectics and the class struggle, have captured the imagination of many of the finest young writers, artists, sculptors and musicians. However these literary and artistic circles may to some extent be a channel for at least "peace" and "co-existence" smoke-screens and they do have a certain influence in government departments. For example, poets flourish in the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and literary craftsmanship there is sometimes mistaken for administrative ability; in all fairness I should at the same time note that two of Mexico's outstanding poets, Jose Gorostiza and Octavio Paz, are two of the most able and active men in the entire Ministry (they are respectively Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Director of the Department of International Organizations).

26. There is a fairly steady traffic of pink intellectuals going on expense paid tours behind the Iron Curtain but it is doubtful whether they have much contact with the real militants. If these people do in fact serve Soviet ends, it is likely to be by way of enhancing

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Mexican nationalism and isolationism. It might also be worth noting in passing that the journalistic world does not appear too susceptible to left wing penetration. The publishers of Mexico's leading newspapers lean rather to the Right than to the Left. While they may harbour occasional Left Wing writers on their staffs, the latter simply do not find their own newspaper columns open for the propagation of their ideas. However at least a warning note should be sounded here. Bribery is still rampant in Mexico and the news columns of even the leading newspapers are still open for sale. Paid publicity finds its way into news columns to a surprising extent and the rank and file of journalists and photographers are not less wretchedly underpaid by our standards **than** teachers. Ipsso facto, the remedy is obvious.

27. For the record it might be worth noting here the principal organizations in the artistic, literary and publishing fields which are considered to be controlled or penetrated by the Mexican Communist Party:

Movimiento Mexicano por la Paz  
Union Democratica de Mujeres Mexicanas  
Sociedad de Amigos de Guatemala  
Sociedad de Amigos de Cuba en Mexico  
Frente Revolucionario de Pintores  
Frente Nacional de Artes Plasticas  
Union Mexicano de Pintores, Muralistas & Escultores  
Artistas Mexicanos Unidos  
Sociedad Mexicana de Amistad con China Popular  
Circulo de Estudios Mexicanos  
Fondo de Cultura Popular  
Editorial Popular  
Impresora Impulso S.A.  
Juventud Comunista

28. Communism does not appear to be much of a problem in the Mexican labour movement. The central body of organized labour, the Confederacion de Trabajo Mexicana (CTM) headed by Fidel Velasquez, is a powerful organization and one of the strongest arms of the governmental party. The Communists have had very little success in penetrating the CTM and at the present time control only some branches of the electricity, railway workers and teachers unions. Lombardo Toledano and his Partido Popular maintain a trade union front organization -- Union General de Obreros y Campesinos Mexicanos (UGOCM) -- which is affiliated with Lombardo's CTAL and with the WFTU, but it is pretty much of a paper organization. And while the CTAL, the Latin American arm of the WFTU, has its headquarters in Mexico City, it should also be noted that the Organizacion Regional Interamericano de Trabajo (ORIT), the Latin American arm of the ICFTU, has its headquarters here (with a Canadian high in its secretariat) and is active in watching and countering Communist efforts to penetrate the organized Mexican labour movement. General speaking, the rank and file of Mexican labour, notwithstanding its militant history, has neither the knowledge nor the desire to look beyond national boundaries, or at least not farther than the California and Texas borders. Although wage levels are incredibly low by our standards, and although a half million braceros migrate each year to do seasonal work for a pittance on United States farms, there is still employment in this

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country for those who seek it. Here again a note of caution should be observed: in the event of a major depression, Mexican labour should be considered potentially vulnerable.

29. The following is a list of the unions in which the Mexican Communist Party appears to have been active during the past two or three years.

Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas through Augustin  
SANCHEZ Delint  
Sindicato de Trabajadores Petroleros de la Republic  
Mexicana  
Sindicato de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros de la Republic  
Mexicana in Guadalajara and Monterrey  
Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion(S.N.T.E.)  
Sindicato de Trabajadores Progresistas de la Fabrica de  
"El Angel" - (textiles)  
Sindicato de Trabajadores Mineros, Metalurgicos y Similares  
de la Republica Mexicana

30. Penetration of the commercial and financial community presents all the difficulties of penetrating any other segment of Mexican society. While there has been a considerable influx of politically-conscious immigrants from Spain and to a lesser extent from the rest of Europe during the past two decades, they have been prospering by and large; in fact, most of them are the most thoroughgoing capitalists imaginable, regardless of previous political colourization. Their main concern is anything should be that they have prospered too well and thereby arouse jealousy on the part of their Mexican competitors. Mexican businessmen themselves are for the greatest part very nationalistic. Many of them appear to have a suspicious attitude towards foreigners, and the remainder are more inclined to respect and emulate their United States counterparts than the reverse. Foreign businessmen, and the investment of foreign capital, are subject to strict controls and Soviet penetration of this whole sphere would be particularly difficult. Although there has been some attempt to stimulate trade with East Germany and Czechoslovakia in particular, this inevitably makes for heavy going against the United States.

31. I think it fair to conclude that Communist activities in Mexico are still in their formative stage, seeking out contacts and establishing lines of communication. The Soviets must contend with indifference, with a disinclination to look beyond one's pueblo or tierra, with suspicion of foreigners and extreme xenophobia in spite of all the superficial Mexican politeness and, incidentally, with a large and flourishing branch of the FBI. In short, subversion is unlikely to make serious headway here in the immediate future, except in the event of a major change in Mexico's present relatively enviable economic situation, sheltering under the wing of the United States, unless the political leaders of Mexico lose their astuteness and cease to apply themselves to moderate social and economic reforms, and unless the United States fails to remember the lessons

..../11.

- 11 -

of the past century of Mexican-USA relationships. Moderate "New Dealism" should keep Mexico out of danger; a sharp change to the Right, particularly under American pressure, might prove disastrous.

*Ludney A. Freifeld*

Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

DESPATCH

ORIGINAL

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Ambassador, Bogotá

Reference: Your Letter X-29 of Feb. 5/58

Subject: Communism in Latin America

Security: SECRET

No. 106  
March 11, 1958

Date: ~~NOV XXX 1958~~

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

90

73

References

*Dr. J. W. C. M. G. T. C. 22 Apr 58*

I have read with considerable interest despatch No. 119 of January 21 from our Embassy in Washington on this subject together with the address of Roy Rubottom, Jr. on "Communism in the Americas." The latter says little new but is a useful resumé of the situation. It tends perhaps to warn the Latin Americans in a rather paternal way of the danger of playing with the bogey-man and I think this is one of the difficulties in handling the problem. Certainly here the United States Ambassador's admonitions to the Colombians of the dangers of dealing with the Russians, during a recent visit by a Soviet trade team, only annoyed the Foreign Minister. I think it is largely a question of sizing up the officials responsible and deciding when and how a warning is necessary. It certainly seemed to me that the Colombians were perfectly aware that there was little chance of doing much in the way of profitable trade with the Soviet Union. They also seemed to have very much in their minds the experience of the period during which a large Soviet Embassy was established in Bogotá.

2. I did take the opportunity, when it was presented to me, to give the Secretary-General and the Foreign Minister an outline of the manner in which we had negotiated a trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. in 1955-56, as well as what information I had concerning Soviet trade practices and was able to give him some first hand facts which conceivably may have helped in forming the Colombian attitude.

3. In my despatch No. 44 of February 7, 1958 concerning the Soviet Trade Mission to Colombia, I indicated that the promises of the Russians had been a nine-day wonder but that I did not think that anything much would come of it. There is no doubt that the Colombians are watching very carefully the Brazilian and Argentinian experiences, and if they see an opportunity to sell coffee, they would have to take it. It also seems clear that they are moving very cautiously on this and certainly nothing concrete was accomplished by the Soviet Trade Mission. The East Germans, on the other hand, have a small, non-official trade mission here and are attempting to arrange some kind of barter deal. They have recently placed large advertisements in the newspapers urging Colombian businessmen to visit the Leipzig fair.

Internal Circulation

Distribution to Posts

All Latin American Posts and Washington

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4. As regards the political front, an attempt was recently made by a group of left wing Liberals to establish a separate list of candidates for the forthcoming elections. This party, which calls itself the Frente Liberal del Pueblo, is said to be sympathetic to the Communists but I have been unable to get any firm information about it. It is not at any rate a serious group at the moment. The Government also recently charged that Communists have been responsible for the invasion of a number of haciendas by landless peasants. No evidence was adduced to prove this and I would be inclined to think that this was simply an easy way to explain the natural pressure of landless farmers on the big and often half cultivated estates.

5. With regard to the general question of Communism in Latin America I am inclined to agree with the State Department's analysis that the newspapers have greatly exaggerated the threat. But I think that the danger exists and will continue to exist so long as a very large portion of the population of these countries remain illiterate and seriously depressed economically and politically. At the same time the Soviet approach will have to be more able than it has up to now if it is seriously to exploit the economic potentialities here and the great morass of political dissatisfaction.

  
R.A.D. Ford



DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY, HAVANA, CUBA.

Reference:.....

Subject: Communism in the Dominican Republic.

Security: UNCLASSIFIED

No: L-87

Date: February 28, 1958.

Enclosures: None

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

73

References

We are forwarding by the next sea bag one copy of "Libro Blanco del Comunismo en la Republica Dominicana" sent to us by the Embassy of the Dominican Republic in Havana. It is presumed that you will have already received copies of this publication from our Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo together with any comments that the publication may call for.

*ThwReah.*  
The Embassy

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

NO ENCLOSURES



## INSTRUCTIONS

1. This form may be used in sending material for informational purposes from the Department to posts abroad and vice versa.
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*Mr. C. A. Peterson*  
*Ottawa*  
*G. S.*

**WHO ARE THEY?**

Vicente Lombardo Toledano  
and Luis Carlos Prestes  
[Mexico-Brazil]

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY THE  
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE  
OF THE  
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

PART 8

February 21, 1958



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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CLYDE DOYLE, California	BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York
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WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia	GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio
	ROBERT J. MCINTOSH, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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Luis Carlos Prestes.....	7
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III

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

V



## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## FOREWORD

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**Don't Say Things. What You  
Are Stands Over You the  
While, and Thunders So That  
I Cannot Hear What You Say  
to the Contrary.**

*Ralph Waldo Emerson,  
Essay on Social Aims.*

During the past year, the Committee on Un-American Activities has published a series of biographies of key figures of international communism, prepared with the cooperation of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. The current part of the series deals with the Communist leaders whose mission it is to lead nations of the Free World into the grip of the Kremlin.

In preparing these biographies, the committee has been impressed with the words of the American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted above. In a nation such as ours, which prides itself upon its appreciation of reality and commonsense, there would seem to be no need to dwell upon a truth as elemental as Emerson's. With the records of hypocrisy and deceit of the rulers of the Communist world so clear and irrefutable it is amazing, therefore, to find men of high office in this country and among our allies who counsel us to enter into negotiation with them as if they were men of good faith.

Despite the savage suppression of the Hungarian revolution; despite the slave camps and secret-police terror in the Soviet Union and throughout its satellites; despite the collapse of the recent disarmament talks, the rulers of communism can still find an audience for their hypocritical avowals of peace.

Can we enter into agreements with the gangsterdom that has as its only goal the annihilation of freedom for all mankind? Can we accept the words of men whose broken promises stand as milestones in their careers of butchery and despotism? Their careers leave no doubt of the answer.

In this publication, the Committee on Un-American Activities presents biographies of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Popular Party of Mexico; and Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Lombardo and Prestes rank as two of the Kremlin's key agents in the Western Hemisphere; they command enormous influence in two nations whose resources and geographical location are vital to the defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

Although they profess to be concerned with the legitimate political aspirations of their countrymen, they are in fact concerned only with advancing the interests of the international Communist conspiracy at the inevitable expense of their countries' welfare. Both men are dedicated enemies of the United States and the democratic institutions

of the West. To gauge their importance, it is significant to note the appraisal of one Latin American diplomat who, shortly after Pearl Harbor, characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." His power is greatly amplified by his position as president of the Communist-dominated Confederation of Latin American Workers which embraces all of Central and South America, and a vice president of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is well to remember that despite ostensible changes in Soviet policy, the ultimate objective of international communism remains constant: world conquest. We can disregard the records of the leaders of international communism only at the price of our freedom.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

## WHO ARE THEY?

### VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

#### (Secretary General of the Popular Party of Mexico)

Vicente Lombardo Toledano claims that he is only a "scientific Marxist" and not a Communist Party member. But whether or not he carries a Communist Party card is a mere technicality; even he would agree that he is the most prominent leader in Latin American pro-Communist labor circles and the foremost dispenser of Communist propaganda in Mexico.

At present Lombardo is president of the Communist-dominated CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers), secretary general of the pro-Communist Popular Party in Mexico, and one of the vice presidents of the Communist-dominated WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). He makes frequent "orientation" trips behind the Iron Curtain and is in direct contact with members of the Soviet hierarchy.

For decades Lombardo has played the Comintern game, snaking his way along every devious twist and bend in the party line, and trying to drag Mexican labor along with him. In the process he has performed some spectacular mental contortions. He lambasted Hitler and Mussolini until the day of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, when he immediately turned to reviling Roosevelt and "the imperialists intent on dragging Mexico into war." When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Lombardo reversed himself 180 degrees, leveling his venom on the Nazis and speaking in honeyed tones about Mexico's northern neighbor. At the time of the Hungarian uprising, Lombardo faithfully parroted the party line regarding a "counterrevolutionary Fascist plot" designed to destroy "the people's democracy." A loyal Stalinist, Lombardo balked at first at Khrushchev's de-Stalinization process, saying on June 5, 1956, that, in his judgment, "Joseph Stalin is one of the greatest men of world history"; however, the habit of years of unswerving party loyalty seems to have won out because he backtracked enough to add that he considered the 20th Party Congress in Moscow to have arrived at an objective and valid judgment of Stalin's work; and that the Congress' discussion of Stalin's errors was "useful and necessary since it serves to prevent them in the future."

Lombardo's favorite game, and one which serves particularly well the designs of his Communist overlords in Latin America, is his hate-the-United States campaign. While Lombardo had concealed his enmity during World War II, in 1945 he was again telling a mass meeting of workers in Mexico City that, "North American imperialism will use all its resources to fight the progressive forces of Europe and the world." But article 81 of the program of the Popular Party, a

Lombardo-created body, sums up best the message Lombardo, as been trying to drill into Latin American minds for years. It reads:

The expansionist policy of North American imperialism constitutes the principal menace for the sovereignty of the Latin American countries, as well as the major obstacle to the rapid and adequate industrialization and the full economic development of these countries.

With regard to the position of the United States in the cold war, Lombardo Toledano again walks the Communist line. On return from a European tour in 1952, he declared:

The United States Government wants the Western European peoples to make war for its benefit, but I am convinced they will not do it.

This top Latin American labor boss is a man of medium build, somewhat swarthy, with dark eyes, big ears, and curly hair. He is abstemious and a Puritan in his personal life. Highly educated, cultured, extremely well read, he has traveled widely in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and has visited the United States. He speaks French, Italian, and some English, in addition to his native Spanish. In dress, he is dapper, affecting a British, Bond Street appearance. An effective public speaker who avoids harangue and customary platform gestures, Lombardo, opportunistic in his attitudes, has a dynamic personality which has won him adherents among intellectuals and underprivileged alike.

Lombardo Toledano was born into a reasonably wealthy family of Italian extraction in the State of Puebla, Mexico, on July 16, 1894. It is reported that he was brought up in a devout Catholic environment. In 1909, after his family moved to Mexico City, he enrolled in the French Commercial School in that city. In 1919 he received his law degree at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and in 1933 he obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy at the UNAM, reportedly the first Mexican to do so.

During his student days in Mexico City, Lombardo with a group of friends formed a circle called the "Seven Sages;" together they first devoured and discussed Tolstoi and Dostoevski, then Engels and Marx. This little band was among the first to staff the official "Popular University," which was founded in 1917 to educate the masses, Lombardo becoming its secretary.

Throughout his career, Lombardo Toledano continued his activities in the field of education, being connected with the National Preparatory School and the UNAM. It is said that he could not tolerate the quiet atmosphere of the university and that he was discharged from the UNAM in 1933 for his radical views. That same year he collaborated in the founding of a new university in Mexico City, which 2 years later was transformed into the Workers' University (Universidad Obrero). Lombardo, who has acted as its director since its founding, has used the institution as an indoctrination center for Marxist labor leaders and as an outlet for Communist propaganda. With his great persuasiveness Lombardo is said to be having much success in instilling his Marxist interpretations of history, politics, and economics into the minds of the young people with whom he comes into contact.

Besides his teaching, Lombardo has served the Communist cause in the field of journalism. In 1938 he founded and became director of the leftist daily, *El Popular*, now the official organ of his Popular Party.

In Trotsky denounced Lombardo as a "moral participant" in the attempt to assassinate him in May 1940 in Mexico; according to Trotsky, Lombardo used *El Popular* to set the stage for what Trotsky believed to be a Stalin-ordered GPU plot.<sup>1</sup>

A prolific writer, Lombardo is the author of numerous works on education, philosophy, history, sociology, and law, and has written more than 80 pamphlets on labor and politics. In 1943 he further collaborated in founding the weekly magazine *Tiempo*, which he used to spread his propaganda; however, the magazine is no longer controlled by Lombardo.

Lombardo achieved his greatest renown and power through his work in organizing Mexican labor. From 1923 to 1932 he served as a member of the executive committee of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM), the most powerful labor organization in Mexico of the time. In 1932 he broke with Luis Morones, the leader of CROM, on tactical and ideological grounds. At that time Lombardo was the most active socialist in Mexico.

Under the Cárdenas administration (1934-40), Lombardo Toledano performed his most successful work as a labor organizer. After defecting from CROM, he helped organize the General Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico. In 1936, with the blessings of President Cárdenas, he transformed his new union into the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which soon became the most powerful labor union in Mexico. The organization's constitution, drafted by Lombardo, demanded among other things the establishment of a classless society and total abolition of the capitalistic system. Lombardo remained the secretary-general of CTM until 1940.

In 1937 Lombardo branched out by founding the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), with the idea of achieving unity among the laboring classes of all Latin America and, incidentally, enhancing his own power. Lombardo's control of the CTM and the CTAL made him a very influential figure indeed. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a Latin American diplomat in Washington characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." Vice President Wallace remarked: "Hitler would be glad to hand \$15 million over to Lombardo Toledano, if he could be bought."

But Lombardo had already sold out to the Communists. During the war he faithfully pursued the goals of international communism. He toured the whole continent conferring not only with heads of trade-union groups, but also with the chiefs of the Communist Parties as well. In each case he urged the necessity of supporting the war effort of the Soviet Union (which only incidentally, as far as Lombardo was concerned, happened to be joined with that of the Allies.)

After World War II Lombardo affiliated the CTAL with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the CTAL now being the WFTU's most important arm in the Western Hemisphere. The CTAL has currently in operation affiliated unions in Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and it also claims to have affiliates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Cuba. Its propaganda, reeking of its origins, is strongly anti-United

<sup>1</sup> Trotsky, Leon. *Los Gangsters de Stalin*. Editorial America, Mexico, 1940, p. 28.

States, denouncing United States influence in Latin America as in Europe, the Marshall Plan, the Schumann Plan, NATO, and in general opposing all United States policies as being "imperialistic."

There is little doubt that Lombardo uses his position as president of CTAL and vice president of WFTU to meddle in the affairs of neighboring countries in the interest of international communism. It is reported that he was instrumental in establishing Communist control of organized labor in Guatemala, a control which played an important role in the Communist takeover of the Central American republic. The latest report of his machinations comes out of Ecuador, where the Minister of Interior protested last December that Vicente Lombardo Toledano had given orders to his labor forces to provoke disorders in various Latin American countries.

The energetic Lombardo Toledano has also taken active part in other facets of Mexican politics. From 1921 to 1926 he held positions as executive officer of the Government of the Federal District, interim governor of the State of Puebla, alderman in the municipal government of Mexico City, and deputy of the Labor Party in the National Congress. In 1937-38 he figured prominently in President Cárdenas' reorganization of the National Revolutionary Party, which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana—PRM).

In 1944, when his influence in the PRM began to wane, Lombardo formed the Mexican Socialist League (Liga Socialista Mexicana) in an endeavor to regain political power. In the early postwar period Lombardo Toledano was the outstanding political leader outside the government, and was one of the most powerful figures in Mexico, making and controlling the policies of the CTM, and through that organization having influence in the mining, petroleum, railway, electrical, and textile unions. Under the administration of President Miguel Alemán, who lined himself up solidly with the West in the emerging cold war, Lombardo's influence declined.

In 1948 Lombardo, with the help of Marxist intellectuals and others, succeeded in luring leftwing elements into a new political association, the Popular Party (Partido Popular). The party's program was anti-United States, opposed to "North American imperialism," and called for the political and economic liberty of Puerto Rico.

As a result of Lombardo's differences with the Government party, the other leaders of the CTM ousted him from the federation which he had founded. Luis Morones, Lombardo's former mentor in CROM, stated flatly that Lombardo's every move was financed by Moscow and he was widely labeled as a "Kremlin agent." A competent observer of the Mexican scene has referred to Vicente Lombardo Toledano as a "faded valentine." It is certainly true that Lombardo has descended far from his peak of power in Mexico in the 1940's. But though numerically and electorally weak, the Popular Party, under Lombardo's leadership, has been successful in arousing nationalist feeling against the United States, particularly in the cultural, educational, and economic fields, not only in Mexico but also throughout Latin America. And Lombardo's hatred of the United States and his devotion to the Soviet Union, coupled with his vast experience in political intrigues, propagandizing, and labor organization, keeps him as before in the forefront of those persons who are most dangerous to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.



## LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

(General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil)

Luis Carlos Prestes, a short, frail man with intense, somber black eyes and a sonorous voice, is the most outspoken opponent of the United States south of the Rio Grande. For more than a quarter of a century he has spumed venom aimed at poisoning Brazilian-United States relations. He is underground today, but from his secret hiding place he is actively directing the policies of the Communist Party of Brazil. As an example of his hate campaign, he has written:

The North American imperialists are infiltrating into the nooks and crannies of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. They are endeavoring to reduce Brazil to the position of a United States colony, and threaten its people with complete enslavement. \* \* \* The United States ruling circles, furthermore, are attempting to draw Brazil into military ventures which they are preparing the world over, and to use our young people as cannon fodder. \* \* \* It is the United States alone that threatens the lives and security of our people.

Born in 1898, Prestes graduated from the Brazilian Military Academy in 1919, and soon showed his qualities as an unyielding rebel. In 1924, he joined other Army officers in a revolt against the Government. Although the uprising was crushed, he refused to surrender, and led a 1,500-man detachment some 18,000 miles through the vast, uncharted Brazilian interior. The column fought skirmishes almost daily and succeeded in outmaneuvering and outbattling a number of strong Government expeditions sent against it.

Prestes exploited the notoriety he gained through this guerrilla warfare, especially among the rural masses of Brazil who lived in abject poverty. Although he had not thought through a program to help them, he managed to become known as "The Knight of Hope." In the cities, Prestes' exploits won the admiration of some of his countrymen for the sheer audacity of his feat.

When the Prestes column was disbanded in 1927, he left Brazil and spent the next 4 years in Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina. In exile he began to study communism, and by 1930 his conversion was complete.

The following year Prestes went to the Soviet Union, where he worked as an engineer in factories and hydroelectric plants and continued his studies of communism. In 1935 he was made a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and is reported to have earned the confidence of Stalin.

The same year Prestes and his wife, whom he married in Russia, both thoroughly indoctrinated, returned to Brazil, where he shortly became the principal leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. The party adopted the popular-front techniques, and, capitalizing on Prestes' personal prestige, was able to draw into its National Liberation Alliance various student groups, army and navy units, intellectuals, reformist groups, and others opposed to the Vargas regime.



In November 1935, led by Prestes, the National Liberation Alliance gave the signal for revolt. The city of Natal fell into the hands of the rebels; for 4 days a Soviet-style regime ruled the city. Simultaneously, uprisings took place in Recife and Rio de Janeiro; in the latter city, the rebels, headed by part of the garrison, proclaimed Prestes to be the president of Brazil.

However, the revolts were quickly crushed, and the leaders were tried for sedition in 1937. Prestes, arrested a year earlier, was sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 1943, while in prison, Prestes was elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Prestes was released in May 1945 in an amnesty for political prisoners. Once more he plunged into the political arena. His years in prison had not dimmed the luster of the Prestes legend; indeed, the aura of martyrdom promoted his appeal.

With about 6 months in which to work before the presidential elections, Prestes set about reorganizing the Communist Party, which numbered only 4,000 members. In the very last days of the campaign, Prestes put up an unknown as a presidential candidate, claiming that he wanted to test the power of the party and not his own personal prestige. The Communists showed unprecedented strength in the elections, polling some 700,000 votes, or about 15 percent of the total. Prestes himself was elected senator from the Federal District, and he also won as a candidate for deputy in five constituencies.

Prestes' election as senator coincided with the beginning of the cold war. With his usual unswerving devotion to the Communist line, Prestes opened a violent campaign against the United States. In a widely publicized interview in 1946, he openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Soviet Union:

If Brazil should fight Russia, I would form guerrillas and together with my followers I would fight for Russia.

A year later he vigorously opposed the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance, saying:

It is obvious that, in the case of Brazil and of the other Latin American nations, the possible and probable enemy is the United States. So it would be absurd to standardize weapons with them, to give them bases, and thus facilitate their eventual task of conquest.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Government outlawed the Communist Party, and Congress followed suit by ousting its Communist members. Prestes immediately went into hiding, and his disappearance has led to much conjecture as to his whereabouts in the past 10 years. An old hand at conspiratorial activity, Prestes remained busy on behalf of the Kremlin, and the Communist Party, though illegal, remained neither inactive nor underground. It continued to hold meetings, to issue manifestos, and to publish over 30 journals in which articles signed by Prestes frequently appeared.

In 1950 the Brazilian police were ordered to arrest Prestes as an outcome of a Communist manifesto which he had published denouncing the Korean war as "a criminal attack on the people of Korea by the United States Government" and calling upon Brazilians to revolt and join in the formation of a "broad democratic front of national liberation." The elusive Senhor Prestes was tried in absentia.

or all his theorizing, Prestes made it abundantly clear that his program to communize Brazil includes the bloody tactics endorsed by the Kremlin. "We must not recoil from using the highest forms of struggle," he said, "including violent shocks with the forces of reaction." He further added that his followers should not hesitate "in taking power" in local areas, "even though our stay in power may be brief."

However, during the 2 years when Prestes was free to function openly, he managed to alienate a number of people who had been drawn to him by their admiration for his pretended "idealism," by his colorful personality, or by sympathy for his hounded kind of existence. As senator, Prestes' appeal on the intellectual level was weakened by long dissertations on a wide range of subjects on which his knowledge was weak or out of date. Recent events within the Soviet orbit have led him to alienate still others. Khrushchev's denunciation of Prestes' sponsor, Stalin, and Russian aggression in Hungary had repercussions even within the Brazilian Communist Party; Prestes refused to embrace the new Moscow line on the personality cult but supported the Russian savage action in Hungary. This year, Agildo Barata, the party's financial secretary, and Bruzzi de Mendonça, the party's mouthpiece in Congress, bolted the party. But despite these defections, and a fall in the party's membership from its peak enrollment between 1945 and 1947 to a total of only 50,000, Prestes is still in full control of the organization and represents a danger for his own country as well as for the United States.

Under Communist guidance, a vicious anti-American campaign is in progress; anti-United States slogans are painted with tar on walls of buildings, pamphlets are distributed, rallies and other meetings are held at which anti-United States speeches are delivered, and not only Communist publications but also Communist fellow travelers in the non-Communist press harp on the theme of "United States imperialism." Prestes and his followers have been particularly successful in preventing American companies from developing Brazil's oil resources; its petroleum deposits are still remaining underground for lack of capital to exploit them, and the oil used by Brazil's industry must be imported. Through the catchy slogan, "the petroleum is ours," Prestes has made the petroleum issue too hot to handle.

Prestes' record shows that he was and remains today the mastermind behind the Communist plots to deliver Brazil to his overlords in Moscow.

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# WHO ARE THEY?

Vicente Lombardo Toledano  
and Luis Carlos Prestes  
[Mexico-Brazil]

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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III

## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.  
(A) Un-American activities.  
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

V

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

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\* \* \* \* \*

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\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.



## FOREWORD

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**Don't Say Things. What You  
Are Stands Over You the  
While, and Thunders So That  
I Cannot Hear What You Say  
to the Contrary.**

*Ralph Waldo Emerson,  
Essay on Social Aims.*

During the past year, the Committee on Un-American Activities has published a series of biographies of key figures of international communism, prepared with the cooperation of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. The current part of the series deals with the Communist leaders whose mission it is to lead nations of the Free World into the grip of the Kremlin.

In preparing these biographies, the committee has been impressed with the words of the American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted above. In a nation such as ours, which prides itself upon its appreciation of reality and commonsense, there would seem to be no need to dwell upon a truth as elemental as Emerson's. With the records of hypocrisy and deceit of the rulers of the Communist world so clear and irrefutable it is amazing, therefore, to find men of high office in this country and among our allies who counsel us to enter into negotiation with them as if they were men of good faith.

Despite the savage suppression of the Hungarian revolution; despite the slave camps and secret-police terror in the Soviet Union and throughout its satellites; despite the collapse of the recent disarmament talks, the rulers of communism can still find an audience for their hypocritical avowals of peace.

Can we enter into agreements with the gangsterdom that has as its only goal the annihilation of freedom for all mankind? Can we accept the words of men whose broken promises stand as milestones in their careers of butchery and despotism? Their careers leave no doubt of the answer.

In this publication, the Committee on Un-American Activities presents biographies of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Popular Party of Mexico; and Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Lombardo and Prestes rank as two of the Kremlin's key agents in the Western Hemisphere; they command enormous influence in two nations whose resources and geographical location are vital to the defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

Although they profess to be concerned with the legitimate political aspirations of their countrymen, they are in fact concerned only with advancing the interests of the international Communist conspiracy at the inevitable expense of their countries' welfare. Both men are dedicated enemies of the United States and the democratic institutions

of the West. To gauge their importance, it is significant to note the appraisal of one Latin American diplomat who, shortly after Pearl Harbor, characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." His power is greatly amplified by his position as president of the Communist-dominated Confederation of Latin American Workers which embraces all of Central and South America, and a vice president of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is well to remember that despite ostensible changes in Soviet policy, the ultimate objective of international communism remains constant: world conquest. We can disregard the records of the leaders of international communism only at the price of our freedom.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

## WHO ARE THEY?

### VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

(Secretary General of the Popular Party of Mexico)

Vicente Lombardo Toledano claims that he is only a "scientific Marxist" and not a Communist Party member. But whether or not he carries a Communist Party card is a mere technicality; even he would agree that he is the most prominent leader in Latin American pro-Communist labor circles and the foremost dispenser of Communist propaganda in Mexico.

At present Lombardo is president of the Communist-dominated CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers), secretary general of the pro-Communist Popular Party in Mexico, and one of the vice presidents of the Communist-dominated WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). He makes frequent "orientation" trips behind the Iron Curtain and is in direct contact with members of the Soviet hierarchy.

For decades Lombardo has played the Comintern game, snaking his way along every devious twist and bend in the party line, and trying to drag Mexican labor along with him. In the process he has performed some spectacular mental contortions. He lambasted Hitler and Mussolini until the day of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, when he immediately turned to reviling Roosevelt and "the imperialists intent on dragging Mexico into war." When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Lombardo reversed himself 180 degrees, leveling his venom on the Nazis and speaking in honeyed tones about Mexico's northern neighbor. At the time of the Hungarian uprising, Lombardo faithfully parroted the party line regarding a "counterrevolutionary Fascist plot" designed to destroy "the people's democracy." A loyal Stalinist, Lombardo balked at first at Khrushchev's de-Stalinization process, saying on June 5, 1956, that, in his judgment, "Joseph Stalin is one of the greatest men of world history"; however, the habit of years of unswerving party loyalty seems to have won out because he backtracked enough to add that he considered the 20th Party Congress in Moscow to have arrived at an objective and valid judgment of Stalin's work, and that the Congress' discussion of Stalin's errors was "useful and necessary since it serves to prevent them in the future."

Lombardo's favorite game, and one which serves particularly well the designs of his Communist overlords in Latin America, is his hate-the-United States campaign. While Lombardo had concealed his enmity during World War II, in 1945 he was again telling a mass meeting of workers in Mexico City that, "North American imperialism will use all its resources to fight the progressive forces of Europe and the world." But article 81 of the program of the Popular Party, a

Lombardo-created body, sums up best the message Lombardo<sup>he</sup> has been trying to drill into Latin American minds for years. It reads:

The expansionist policy of North American imperialism constitutes the principal menace for the sovereignty of the Latin American countries, as well as the major obstacle to the rapid and adequate industrialization and the full economic development of these countries.

With regard to the position of the United States in the cold war, Lombardo Toledano again walks the Communist line. On return from a European tour in 1952, he declared:

The United States Government wants the Western European peoples to make war for its benefit, but I am convinced they will not do it.

This top Latin American labor boss is a man of medium build, somewhat swarthy, with dark eyes, big ears, and curly hair. He is abstemious and a Puritan in his personal life. Highly educated, cultured, extremely well read, he has traveled widely in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and has visited the United States. He speaks French, Italian, and some English, in addition to his native Spanish. In dress, he is dapper, affecting a British, Bond Street appearance. An effective public speaker who avoids harangue and customary platform gestures, Lombardo, opportunistic in his attitudes, has a dynamic personality which has won him adherents among intellectuals and underprivileged alike.

Lombardo Toledano was born into a reasonably wealthy family of Italian extraction in the State of Puebla, Mexico, on July 16, 1894. It is reported that he was brought up in a devout Catholic environment. In 1909, after his family moved to Mexico City, he enrolled in the French Commercial School in that city. In 1919 he received his law degree at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and in 1933 he obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy at the UNAM, reportedly the first Mexican to do so.

During his student days in Mexico City, Lombardo with a group of friends formed a circle called the "Seven Sages;" together they first devoured and discussed Tolstoi and Dostoevski, then Engels and Marx. This little band was among the first to staff the official "Popular University," which was founded in 1917 to educate the masses, Lombardo becoming its secretary.

Throughout his career, Lombardo Toledano continued his activities in the field of education, being connected with the National Preparatory School and the UNAM. It is said that he could not tolerate the quiet atmosphere of the university and that he was discharged from the UNAM in 1933 for his radical views. That same year he collaborated in the founding of a new university in Mexico City, which 2 years later was transformed into the Workers' University (Universidad Obrero). Lombardo, who has acted as its director since its founding, has used the institution as an indoctrination center for Marxist labor leaders and as an outlet for Communist propaganda. With his great persuasiveness Lombardo is said to be having much success in instilling his Marxist interpretations of history, politics, and economics into the minds of the young people with whom he comes into contact.

Besides his teaching, Lombardo has served the Communist cause in the field of journalism. In 1938 he founded and became director of the leftist daily, *El Popular*, now the official organ of his Popular Party.

1 Trotsky denounced Lombardo as a "moral participant" in the attempt to assassinate him in May 1940 in Mexico; according to Trotsky, Lombardo used El Popular to set the stage for what Trotsky believed to be a Stalin-ordered GPU plot.<sup>1</sup>

A prolific writer, Lombardo is the author of numerous works on education, philosophy, history, sociology, and law, and has written more than 80 pamphlets on labor and politics. In 1943 he further collaborated in founding the weekly magazine *Tiempo*, which he used to spread his propaganda; however, the magazine is no longer controlled by Lombardo.

Lombardo achieved his greatest renown and power through his work in organizing Mexican labor. From 1923 to 1932 he served as a member of the executive committee of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM), the most powerful labor organization in Mexico of the time. In 1932 he broke with Luis Morones, the leader of CROM, on tactical and ideological grounds. At that time Lombardo was the most active socialist in Mexico.

Under the Cárdenas administration (1934-40), Lombardo Toledano performed his most successful work as a labor organizer. After defecting from CROM, he helped organize the General Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico. In 1936, with the blessings of President Cárdenas, he transformed his new union into the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which soon became the most powerful labor union in Mexico. The organization's constitution, drafted by Lombardo, demanded among other things the establishment of a classless society and total abolition of the capitalistic system. Lombardo remained the secretary-general of CTM until 1940.

In 1937 Lombardo branched out by founding the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), with the idea of achieving unity among the laboring classes of all Latin America and, incidentally, enhancing his own power. Lombardo's control of the CTM and the CTAL made him a very influential figure indeed. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a Latin American diplomat in Washington characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." Vice President Wallace remarked: "Hitler would be glad to hand \$15 million over to Lombardo Toledano, if he could be bought."

But Lombardo had already sold out to the Communists. During the war he faithfully pursued the goals of international communism. He toured the whole continent conferring not only with heads of trade-union groups, but also with the chiefs of the Communist Parties as well. In each case he urged the necessity of supporting the war effort of the Soviet Union (which only incidentally, as far as Lombardo was concerned, happened to be joined with that of the Allies.)

After World War II Lombardo affiliated the CTAL with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the CTAL now being the WFTU's most important arm in the Western Hemisphere. The CTAL has currently in operation affiliated unions in Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and it also claims to have affiliates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Cuba. Its propaganda, reeking of its origins, is strongly anti-United

<sup>1</sup> Trotsky, Leon. *Los Gangsters de Stalin*. Editorial America, Mexico, 1940, p. 28.

States, denouncing United States influence in Latin America and in Europe, the Marshall Plan, the Schumann Plan, NATO, and in general opposing all United States policies as being "imperialistic."

There is little doubt that Lombardo uses his position as president of CTAL and vice president of WFTU to meddle in the affairs of neighboring countries in the interest of international communism. It is reported that he was instrumental in establishing Communist control of organized labor in Guatemala, a control which played an important role in the Communist takeover of the Central American republic. The latest report of his machinations comes out of Ecuador, where the Minister of Interior protested last December that Vicente Lombardo Toledano had given orders to his labor forces to provoke disorders in various Latin American countries.

The energetic Lombardo Toledano has also taken active part in other facets of Mexican politics. From 1921 to 1926 he held positions as executive officer of the Government of the Federal District, interim governor of the State of Puebla, alderman in the municipal government of Mexico City, and deputy of the Labor Party in the National Congress. In 1937-38 he figured prominently in President Cárdenas' reorganization of the National Revolutionary Party, which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana—PRM).

In 1944, when his influence in the PRM began to wane, Lombardo formed the Mexican Socialist League (Liga Socialista Mexicana) in an endeavor to regain political power. In the early postwar period Lombardo Toledano was the outstanding political leader outside the government, and was one of the most powerful figures in Mexico, making and controlling the policies of the CTM, and through that organization having influence in the mining, petroleum, railway, electrical, and textile unions. Under the administration of President Miguel Alemán, who lined himself up solidly with the West in the emerging cold war, Lombardo's influence declined.

In 1948 Lombardo, with the help of Marxist intellectuals and others, succeeded in luring leftwing elements into a new political association, the Popular Party (Partido Popular). The party's program was anti-United States, opposed to "North American imperialism," and called for the political and economic liberty of Puerto Rico.

As a result of Lombardo's differences with the Government party, the other leaders of the CTM ousted him from the federation which he had founded. Luis Morones, Lombardo's former mentor in CROM, stated flatly that Lombardo's every move was financed by Moscow and he was widely labeled as a "Kremlin agent." A competent observer of the Mexican scene has referred to Vicente Lombardo Toledano as a "faded valentine." It is certainly true that Lombardo has descended far from his peak of power in Mexico in the 1940's. But though numerically and electorally weak, the Popular Party, under Lombardo's leadership, has been successful in arousing nationalist feeling against the United States, particularly in the cultural, educational, and economic fields, not only in Mexico but also throughout Latin America. And Lombardo's hatred of the United States and his devotion to the Soviet Union, coupled with his vast experience in political intrigues, propagandizing, and labor organization, keeps him as before in the forefront of those persons who are most dangerous to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.



## LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

### (General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil)

Luis Carlos Prestes, a short, frail man with intense, somber black eyes and a sonorous voice, is the most outspoken opponent of the United States south of the Rio Grande. For more than a quarter of a century he has spumed venom aimed at poisoning Brazilian-United States relations. He is underground today, but from his secret hiding place he is actively directing the policies of the Communist Party of Brazil. As an example of his hate campaign, he has written:

The North American imperialists are infiltrating into the nooks and crannies of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. They are endeavoring to reduce Brazil to the position of a United States colony, and threaten its people with complete enslavement. \* \* \* The United States ruling circles, furthermore, are attempting to draw Brazil into military ventures which they are preparing the world over, and to use our young people as cannon fodder. \* \* \* It is the United States alone that threatens the lives and security of our people.

Born in 1898, Prestes graduated from the Brazilian Military Academy in 1919, and soon showed his qualities as an unyielding rebel. In 1924, he joined other Army officers in a revolt against the Government. Although the uprising was crushed, he refused to surrender, and led a 1,500-man detachment some 18,000 miles through the vast, uncharted Brazilian interior. The column fought skirmishes almost daily and succeeded in outmaneuvering and outbattling a number of strong Government expeditions sent against it.

Prestes exploited the notoriety he gained through this guerrilla warfare, especially among the rural masses of Brazil who lived in abject poverty. Although he had not thought through a program to help them, he managed to become known as "The Knight of Hope." In the cities, Prestes' exploits won the admiration of some of his countrymen for the sheer audacity of his feat.

When the Prestes column was disbanded in 1927, he left Brazil and spent the next 4 years in Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina. In exile he began to study communism, and by 1930 his conversion was complete.

The following year Prestes went to the Soviet Union, where he worked as an engineer in factories and hydroelectric plants and continued his studies of communism. In 1935 he was made a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and is reported to have earned the confidence of Stalin.

The same year Prestes and his wife, whom he married in Russia, both thoroughly indoctrinated, returned to Brazil, where he shortly became the principal leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. The party adopted the popular-front techniques, and, capitalizing on Prestes' personal prestige, was able to draw into its National Liberation Alliance various student groups, army and navy units, intellectuals, reformist groups, and others opposed to the Vargas regime.

In November 1935, led by Prestes, the National Liberation Alliance gave the signal for revolt. The city of Natal fell into the hands of the rebels; for 4 days a Soviet-style regime ruled the city. Simultaneously, uprisings took place in Recife and Rio de Janeiro; in the latter city, the rebels, headed by part of the garrison, proclaimed Prestes to be the president of Brazil.

However, the revolts were quickly crushed, and the leaders were tried for sedition in 1937. Prestes, arrested a year earlier, was sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 1943, while in prison, Prestes was elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Prestes was released in May 1945 in an amnesty for political prisoners. Once more he plunged into the political arena. His years in prison had not dimmed the luster of the Prestes legend; indeed, the aura of martyrdom promoted his appeal.

With about 6 months in which to work before the presidential elections, Prestes set about reorganizing the Communist Party, which numbered only 4,000 members. In the very last days of the campaign, Prestes put up an unknown as a presidential candidate, claiming that he wanted to test the power of the party and not his own personal prestige. The Communists showed unprecedented strength in the elections, polling some 700,000 votes, or about 15 percent of the total. Prestes himself was elected senator from the Federal District, and he also won as a candidate for deputy in five constituencies.

Prestes' election as senator coincided with the beginning of the cold war. With his usual unswerving devotion to the Communist line, Prestes opened a violent campaign against the United States. In a widely publicized interview in 1946, he openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Soviet Union:

If Brazil should fight Russia, I would form guerrillas and together with my followers I would fight for Russia.

A year later he vigorously opposed the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance, saying:

It is obvious that, in the case of Brazil and of the other Latin American nations, the possible and probable enemy is the United States. So it would be absurd to standardize weapons with them, to give them bases, and thus facilitate their eventual task of conquest.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Government outlawed the Communist Party, and Congress followed suit by ousting its Communist members. Prestes immediately went into hiding, and his disappearance has led to much conjecture as to his whereabouts in the past 10 years. An old hand at conspiratorial activity, Prestes remained busy on behalf of the Kremlin, and the Communist Party, though illegal, remained neither inactive nor underground. It continued to hold meetings, to issue manifestos, and to publish over 30 journals in which articles signed by Prestes frequently appeared.

In 1950 the Brazilian police were ordered to arrest Prestes as an outcome of a Communist manifesto which he had published denouncing the Korean war as "a criminal attack on the people of Korea by the United States Government" and calling upon Brazilians to revolt and join in the formation of a "broad democratic front of national liberation." The elusive Senhor Prestes was tried in absentia.



or all his theorizing, Prestes made it abundantly clear that his program to communize Brazil includes the bloody tactics endorsed by the Kremlin. "We must not recoil from using the highest forms of struggle," he said, "including violent shocks with the forces of reaction." He further added that his followers should not hesitate "in taking power" in local areas, "even though our stay in power may be brief."

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Under Communist guidance, a vicious anti-American campaign is in progress; anti-United States slogans are painted with tar on walls of buildings, pamphlets are distributed, rallies and other meetings are held at which anti-United States speeches are delivered, and not only Communist publications but also Communist fellow travelers in the non-Communist press harp on the theme of "United States imperialism." Prestes and his followers have been particularly successful in preventing American companies from developing Brazil's oil resources; its petroleum deposits are still remaining underground for lack of capital to exploit them, and the oil used by Brazil's industry must be imported. Through the catchy slogan, "the petroleum is ours," Prestes has made the petroleum issue too hot to handle.

Prestes' record shows that he was and remains today the mastermind behind the Communist plots to deliver Brazil to his overlords in Moscow.

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# WHO ARE THEY?

Vicente Lombardo Toledano  
and Luis Carlos Prestes  
[Mexico-Brazil]

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PART 8

February 21, 1958



UNITED STATES  
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WASHINGTON : 1958

## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana

WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia

BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York

DONALD L. JACKSON, California

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

ROBERT J. MCINTOSH, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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III

## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

V

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

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\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## FOREWORD

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**Don't Say Things. What You  
Are Stands Over You the  
While, and Thunders So That  
I Cannot Hear What You Say  
to the Contrary.**

*Ralph Waldo Emerson,  
Essay on Social Aims.*

During the past year, the Committee on Un-American Activities has published a series of biographies of key figures of international communism, prepared with the cooperation of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. The current part of the series deals with the Communist leaders whose mission it is to lead nations of the Free World into the grip of the Kremlin.

In preparing these biographies, the committee has been impressed with the words of the American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted above. In a nation such as ours, which prides itself upon its appreciation of reality and commonsense, there would seem to be no need to dwell upon a truth as elemental as Emerson's. With the records of hypocrisy and deceit of the rulers of the Communist world so clear and irrefutable it is amazing, therefore, to find men of high office in this country and among our allies who counsel us to enter into negotiation with them as if they were men of good faith.

Despite the savage suppression of the Hungarian revolution; despite the slave camps and secret-police terror in the Soviet Union and throughout its satellites; despite the collapse of the recent disarmament talks, the rulers of communism can still find an audience for their hypocritical avowals of peace.

Can we enter into agreements with the gangsterdom that has as its only goal the annihilation of freedom for all mankind? Can we accept the words of men whose broken promises stand as milestones in their careers of butchery and despotism? Their careers leave no doubt of the answer.

In this publication, the Committee on Un-American Activities presents biographies of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Popular Party of Mexico; and Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Lombardo and Prestes rank as two of the Kremlin's key agents in the Western Hemisphere; they command enormous influence in two nations whose resources and geographical location are vital to the defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

Although they profess to be concerned with the legitimate political aspirations of their countrymen, they are in fact concerned only with advancing the interests of the international Communist conspiracy at the inevitable expense of their countries' welfare. Both men are dedicated enemies of the United States and the democratic institutions



of the West. To gauge their importance, it is significant to note the appraisal of one Latin American diplomat who, shortly after Pearl Harbor, characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." His power is greatly amplified by his position as president of the Communist-dominated Confederation of Latin American Workers which embraces all of Central and South America, and a vice president of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is well to remember that despite ostensible changes in Soviet policy, the ultimate objective of international communism remains constant: world conquest. We can disregard the records of the leaders of international communism only at the price of our freedom.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

## WHO ARE THEY?

### VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

(Secretary General of the Popular Party of Mexico)

Vicente Lombardo Toledano claims that he is only a "scientific Marxist" and not a Communist Party member. But whether or not he carries a Communist Party card is a mere technicality; even he would agree that he is the most prominent leader in Latin American pro-Communist labor circles and the foremost dispenser of Communist propaganda in Mexico.

At present Lombardo is president of the Communist-dominated CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers), secretary general of the pro-Communist Popular Party in Mexico, and one of the vice presidents of the Communist-dominated WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). He makes frequent "orientation" trips behind the Iron Curtain and is in direct contact with members of the Soviet hierarchy.

For decades Lombardo has played the Comintern game, snaking his way along every devious twist and bend in the party line, and trying to drag Mexican labor along with him. In the process he has performed some spectacular mental contortions. He lambasted Hitler and Mussolini until the day of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, when he immediately turned to reviling Roosevelt and "the imperialists intent on dragging Mexico into war." When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Lombardo reversed himself 180 degrees, leveling his venom on the Nazis and speaking in honeyed tones about Mexico's northern neighbor. At the time of the Hungarian uprising, Lombardo faithfully parroted the party line regarding a "counterrevolutionary Fascist plot" designed to destroy "the people's democracy." A loyal Stalinist, Lombardo balked at first at Khrushchev's de-Stalinization process, saying on June 5, 1956, that, in his judgment, "Joseph Stalin is one of the greatest men of world history"; however, the habit of years of unswerving party loyalty seems to have won out because he backtracked enough to add that he considered the 20th Party Congress in Moscow to have arrived at an objective and valid judgment of Stalin's work, and that the Congress' discussion of Stalin's errors was "useful and necessary since it serves to prevent them in the future."

Lombardo's favorite game, and one which serves particularly well the designs of his Communist overlords in Latin America, is his hate-the-United States campaign. While Lombardo had concealed his enmity during World War II, in 1945 he was again telling a mass meeting of workers in Mexico City that, "North American imperialism will use all its resources to fight the progressive forces of Europe and the world." But article 81 of the program of the Popular Party, a

Lombardo-created body, sums up best the message Lombardo has been trying to drill into Latin American minds for years. It reads:

The expansionist policy of North American imperialism constitutes the principal menace for the sovereignty of the Latin American countries, as well as the major obstacle to the rapid and adequate industrialization and the full economic development of these countries.

With regard to the position of the United States in the cold war, Lombardo Toledano again walks the Communist line. On return from a European tour in 1952, he declared:

The United States Government wants the Western European peoples to make war for its benefit, but I am convinced they will not do it.

This top Latin American labor boss is a man of medium build, somewhat swarthy, with dark eyes, big ears, and curly hair. He is abstemious and a Puritan in his personal life. Highly educated, cultured, extremely well read, he has traveled widely in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and has visited the United States. He speaks French, Italian, and some English, in addition to his native Spanish. In dress, he is dapper, affecting a British, Bond Street appearance. An effective public speaker who avoids harangue and customary platform gestures, Lombardo, opportunistic in his attitudes, has a dynamic personality which has won him adherents among intellectuals and underprivileged alike.

Lombardo Toledano was born into a reasonably wealthy family of Italian extraction in the State of Puebla, Mexico, on July 16, 1894. It is reported that he was brought up in a devout Catholic environment. In 1909, after his family moved to Mexico City, he enrolled in the French Commercial School in that city. In 1919 he received his law degree at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and in 1933 he obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy at the UNAM, reportedly the first Mexican to do so.

During his student days in Mexico City, Lombardo with a group of friends formed a circle called the "Seven Sages;" together they first devoured and discussed Tolstoi and Dostoevski, then Engels and Marx. This little band was among the first to staff the official "Popular University," which was founded in 1917 to educate the masses, Lombardo becoming its secretary.

Throughout his career, Lombardo Toledano continued his activities in the field of education, being connected with the National Preparatory School and the UNAM. It is said that he could not tolerate the quiet atmosphere of the university and that he was discharged from the UNAM in 1933 for his radical views. That same year he collaborated in the founding of a new university in Mexico City, which 2 years later was transformed into the Workers' University (Universidad Obrero). Lombardo, who has acted as its director since its founding, has used the institution as an indoctrination center for Marxist labor leaders and as an outlet for Communist propaganda. With his great persuasiveness Lombardo is said to be having much success in instilling his Marxist interpretations of history, politics, and economics into the minds of the young people with whom he comes into contact.

Besides his teaching, Lombardo has served the Communist cause in the field of journalism. In 1938 he founded and became director of the leftist daily, *El Popular*, now the official organ of his Popular Party.

10 Trotsky denounced Lombardo as a "moral participant" in the attempt to assassinate him in May 1940 in Mexico; according to Trotsky, Lombardo used *El Popular* to set the stage for what Trotsky believed to be a Stalin-ordered GPU plot.<sup>1</sup>

A prolific writer, Lombardo is the author of numerous works on education, philosophy, history, sociology, and law, and has written more than 80 pamphlets on labor and politics. In 1943 he further collaborated in founding the weekly magazine *Tiempo*, which he used to spread his propaganda; however, the magazine is no longer controlled by Lombardo.

Lombardo achieved his greatest renown and power through his work in organizing Mexican labor. From 1923 to 1932 he served as a member of the executive committee of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM), the most powerful labor organization in Mexico of the time. In 1932 he broke with Luis Morones, the leader of CROM, on tactical and ideological grounds. At that time Lombardo was the most active socialist in Mexico.

Under the Cárdenas administration (1934-40), Lombardo Toledano performed his most successful work as a labor organizer. After defecting from CROM, he helped organize the General Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico. In 1936, with the blessings of President Cárdenas, he transformed his new union into the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which soon became the most powerful labor union in Mexico. The organization's constitution, drafted by Lombardo, demanded among other things the establishment of a classless society and total abolition of the capitalistic system. Lombardo remained the secretary-general of CTM until 1940.

In 1937 Lombardo branched out by founding the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), with the idea of achieving unity among the laboring classes of all Latin America and, incidentally, enhancing his own power. Lombardo's control of the CTM and the CTAL made him a very influential figure indeed. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a Latin American diplomat in Washington characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." Vice President Wallace remarked: "Hitler would be glad to hand \$15 million over to Lombardo Toledano, if he could be bought."

But Lombardo had already sold out to the Communists. During the war he faithfully pursued the goals of international communism. He toured the whole continent conferring not only with heads of trade-union groups, but also with the chiefs of the Communist Parties as well. In each case he urged the necessity of supporting the war effort of the Soviet Union (which only incidentally, as far as Lombardo was concerned, happened to be joined with that of the Allies.)

After World War II Lombardo affiliated the CTAL with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the CTAL now being the WFTU's most important arm in the Western Hemisphere. The CTAL has currently in operation affiliated unions in Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and it also claims to have affiliates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Cuba. Its propaganda, reeking of its origins, is strongly anti-United

<sup>1</sup> Trotsky, Leon. *Los Gangsters de Stalin*. Editorial America, Mexico, 1940, p. 28.

States, denouncing United States influence in Latin America as in Europe, the Marshall Plan, the Schumann Plan, NATO, and in general opposing all United States policies as being "imperialistic."

There is little doubt that Lombardo uses his position as president of CTAL and vice president of WFTU to meddle in the affairs of neighboring countries in the interest of international communism. It is reported that he was instrumental in establishing Communist control of organized labor in Guatemala, a control which played an important role in the Communist takeover of the Central American republic. The latest report of his machinations comes out of Ecuador, where the Minister of Interior protested last December that Vicente Lombardo Toledano had given orders to his labor forces to provoke disorders in various Latin American countries.

The energetic Lombardo Toledano has also taken active part in other facets of Mexican politics. From 1921 to 1926 he held positions as executive officer of the Government of the Federal District, interim governor of the State of Puebla, alderman in the municipal government of Mexico City, and deputy of the Labor Party in the National Congress. In 1937-38 he figured prominently in President Cárdenas' reorganization of the National Revolutionary Party, which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana—PRM).

In 1944, when his influence in the PRM began to wane, Lombardo formed the Mexican Socialist League (Liga Socialista Mexicana) in an endeavor to regain political power. In the early postwar period Lombardo Toledano was the outstanding political leader outside the government, and was one of the most powerful figures in Mexico, making and controlling the policies of the CTM, and through that organization having influence in the mining, petroleum, railway, electrical, and textile unions. Under the administration of President Miguel Alemán, who lined himself up solidly with the West in the emerging cold war, Lombardo's influence declined.

In 1948 Lombardo, with the help of Marxist intellectuals and others, succeeded in luring leftwing elements into a new political association, the Popular Party (Partido Popular). The party's program was anti-United States, opposed to "North American imperialism," and called for the political and economic liberty of Puerto Rico.

As a result of Lombardo's differences with the Government party, the other leaders of the CTM ousted him from the federation which he had founded. Luis Morones, Lombardo's former mentor in CROM, stated flatly that Lombardo's every move was financed by Moscow and he was widely labeled as a "Kremlin agent." A competent observer of the Mexican scene has referred to Vicente Lombardo Toledano as a "faded valentine." It is certainly true that Lombardo has descended far from his peak of power in Mexico in the 1940's. But though numerically and electorally weak, the Popular Party, under Lombardo's leadership, has been successful in arousing nationalist feeling against the United States, particularly in the cultural, educational, and economic fields, not only in Mexico but also throughout Latin America. And Lombardo's hatred of the United States and his devotion to the Soviet Union, coupled with his vast experience in political intrigues, propagandizing, and labor organization, keeps him as before in the forefront of those persons who are most dangerous to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

## LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

### (General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil)

Luis Carlos Prestes, a short, frail man with intense, somber black eyes and a sonorous voice, is the most outspoken opponent of the United States south of the Rio Grande. For more than a quarter of a century he has spumed venom aimed at poisoning Brazilian-United States relations. He is underground today, but from his secret hiding place he is actively directing the policies of the Communist Party of Brazil. As an example of his hate campaign, he has written:

The North American imperialists are infiltrating into the nooks and crannies of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. They are endeavoring to reduce Brazil to the position of a United States colony, and threaten its people with complete enslavement. \* \* \* The United States ruling circles, furthermore, are attempting to draw Brazil into military ventures which they are preparing the world over, and to use our young people as cannon fodder. \* \* \* It is the United States alone that threatens the lives and security of our people.

Born in 1898, Prestes graduated from the Brazilian Military Academy in 1919, and soon showed his qualities as an unyielding rebel. In 1924, he joined other Army officers in a revolt against the Government. Although the uprising was crushed, he refused to surrender, and led a 1,500-man detachment some 18,000 miles through the vast, uncharted Brazilian interior. The column fought skirmishes almost daily and succeeded in outmaneuvering and outbattling a number of strong Government expeditions sent against it.

Prestes exploited the notoriety he gained through this guerrilla warfare, especially among the rural masses of Brazil who lived in abject poverty. Although he had not thought through a program to help them, he managed to become known as "The Knight of Hope." In the cities, Prestes' exploits won the admiration of some of his countrymen for the sheer audacity of his feat.

When the Prestes column was disbanded in 1927, he left Brazil and spent the next 4 years in Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina. In exile he began to study communism, and by 1930 his conversion was complete.

The following year Prestes went to the Soviet Union, where he worked as an engineer in factories and hydroelectric plants and continued his studies of communism. In 1935 he was made a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and is reported to have earned the confidence of Stalin.

The same year Prestes and his wife, whom he married in Russia, both thoroughly indoctrinated, returned to Brazil, where he shortly became the principal leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. The party adopted the popular-front techniques, and, capitalizing on Prestes' personal prestige, was able to draw into its National Liberation Alliance various student groups, army and navy units, intellectuals, reformist groups, and others opposed to the Vargas regime.



In November 1935, led by Prestes, the National Liberation Alliance gave the signal for revolt. The city of Natal fell into the hands of the rebels; for 4 days a Soviet-style regime ruled the city. Simultaneously, uprisings took place in Recife and Rio de Janeiro; in the latter city, the rebels, headed by part of the garrison, proclaimed Prestes to be the president of Brazil.

However, the revolts were quickly crushed, and the leaders were tried for sedition in 1937. Prestes, arrested a year earlier, was sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 1943, while in prison, Prestes was elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Prestes was released in May 1945 in an amnesty for political prisoners. Once more he plunged into the political arena. His years in prison had not dimmed the luster of the Prestes legend; indeed, the aura of martyrdom promoted his appeal.

With about 6 months in which to work before the presidential elections, Prestes set about reorganizing the Communist Party, which numbered only 4,000 members. In the very last days of the campaign, Prestes put up an unknown as a presidential candidate, claiming that he wanted to test the power of the party and not his own personal prestige. The Communists showed unprecedented strength in the elections, polling some 700,000 votes, or about 15 percent of the total. Prestes himself was elected senator from the Federal District, and he also won as a candidate for deputy in five constituencies.

Prestes' election as senator coincided with the beginning of the cold war. With his usual unswerving devotion to the Communist line, Prestes opened a violent campaign against the United States. In a widely publicized interview in 1946, he openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Soviet Union:

If Brazil should fight Russia, I would form guerrillas and together with my followers I would fight for Russia.

A year later he vigorously opposed the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance, saying:

It is obvious that, in the case of Brazil and of the other Latin American nations, the possible and probable enemy is the United States. So it would be absurd to standardize weapons with them, to give them bases, and thus facilitate their eventual task of conquest.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Government outlawed the Communist Party, and Congress followed suit by ousting its Communist members. Prestes immediately went into hiding, and his disappearance has led to much conjecture as to his whereabouts in the past 10 years. An old hand at conspiratorial activity, Prestes remained busy on behalf of the Kremlin, and the Communist Party, though illegal, remained neither inactive nor underground. It continued to hold meetings, to issue manifestos, and to publish over 30 journals in which articles signed by Prestes frequently appeared.

In 1950 the Brazilian police were ordered to arrest Prestes as an outcome of a Communist manifesto which he had published denouncing the Korean war as "a criminal attack on the people of Korea by the United States Government" and calling upon Brazilians to revolt and join in the formation of a "broad democratic front of national liberation." The elusive Senhor Prestes was tried in absentia.

For all his theorizing, Prestes made it abundantly clear that his program to communize Brazil includes the bloody tactics endorsed by the Kremlin. "We must not recoil from using the highest forms of struggle," he said, "including violent shocks with the forces of reaction." He further added that his followers should not hesitate "in taking power" in local areas, "even though our stay in power may be brief."

However, during the 2 years when Prestes was free to function openly, he managed to alienate a number of people who had been drawn to him by their admiration for his pretended "idealism," by his colorful personality, or by sympathy for his hounded kind of existence. As senator, Prestes' appeal on the intellectual level was weakened by long dissertations on a wide range of subjects on which his knowledge was weak or out of date. Recent events within the Soviet orbit have led him to alienate still others. Khrushchev's denunciation of Prestes' sponsor, Stalin, and Russian aggression in Hungary had repercussions even within the Brazilian Communist Party; Prestes refused to embrace the new Moscow line on the personality cult but supported the Russian savage action in Hungary. This year, Agildo Barata, the party's financial secretary, and Bruzzi de Mendonça, the party's mouthpiece in Congress, bolted the party. But despite these defections, and a fall in the party's membership from its peak enrollment between 1945 and 1947 to a total of only 50,000, Prestes is still in full control of the organization and represents a danger for his own country as well as for the United States.

Under Communist guidance, a vicious anti-American campaign is in progress; anti-United States slogans are painted with tar on walls of buildings, pamphlets are distributed, rallies and other meetings are held at which anti-United States speeches are delivered, and not only Communist publications but also Communist fellow travelers in the non-Communist press harp on the theme of "United States imperialism." Prestes and his followers have been particularly successful in preventing American companies from developing Brazil's oil resources; its petroleum deposits are still remaining underground for lack of capital to exploit them, and the oil used by Brazil's industry must be imported. Through the catchy slogan, "the petroleum is ours," Prestes has made the petroleum issue too hot to handle.

Prestes' record shows that he was and remains today the mastermind behind the Communist plots to deliver Brazil to his overlords in Moscow.



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# WHO ARE THEY?

Vicente Lombardo Toledano  
and Luis Carlos Prestes  
[Mexico-Brazil]

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE  
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UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

V

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## FOREWORD

---

**Don't Say Things. What You  
Are Stands Over You the  
While, and Thunders So That  
I Cannot Hear What You Say  
to the Contrary.**

*Ralph Waldo Emerson,  
Essay on Social Aims.*

During the past year, the Committee on Un-American Activities has published a series of biographies of key figures of international communism, prepared with the cooperation of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. The current part of the series deals with the Communist leaders whose mission it is to lead nations of the Free World into the grip of the Kremlin.

In preparing these biographies, the committee has been impressed with the words of the American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted above. In a nation such as ours, which prides itself upon its appreciation of reality and commonsense, there would seem to be no need to dwell upon a truth as elemental as Emerson's. With the records of hypocrisy and deceit of the rulers of the Communist world so clear and irrefutable it is amazing, therefore, to find men of high office in this country and among our allies who counsel us to enter into negotiation with them as if they were men of good faith.

Despite the savage suppression of the Hungarian revolution; despite the slave camps and secret-police terror in the Soviet Union and throughout its satellites; despite the collapse of the recent disarmament talks, the rulers of communism can still find an audience for their hypocritical avowals of peace.

Can we enter into agreements with the gangsterdom that has as its only goal the annihilation of freedom for all mankind? Can we accept the words of men whose broken promises stand as milestones in their careers of butchery and despotism? Their careers leave no doubt of the answer.

In this publication, the Committee on Un-American Activities presents biographies of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Popular Party of Mexico; and Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Lombardo and Prestes rank as two of the Kremlin's key agents in the Western Hemisphere; they command enormous influence in two nations whose resources and geographical location are vital to the defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

Although they profess to be concerned with the legitimate political aspirations of their countrymen, they are in fact concerned only with advancing the interests of the international Communist conspiracy at the inevitable expense of their countries' welfare. Both men are dedicated enemies of the United States and the democratic institutions

of the West. To gauge their importance, it is significant to recall the appraisal of one Latin American diplomat who, shortly after Pearl Harbor, characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." His power is greatly amplified by his position as president of the Communist-dominated Confederation of Latin American Workers which embraces all of Central and South America, and a vice president of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is well to remember that despite ostensible changes in Soviet policy, the ultimate objective of international communism remains constant: world conquest. We can disregard the records of the leaders of international communism only at the price of our freedom.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*



## WHO ARE THEY?

### VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

(Secretary General of the Popular Party of Mexico)

Vicente Lombardo Toledano claims that he is only a "scientific Marxist" and not a Communist Party member. But whether or not he carries a Communist Party card is a mere technicality; even he would agree that he is the most prominent leader in Latin American pro-Communist labor circles and the foremost dispenser of Communist propaganda in Mexico.

At present Lombardo is president of the Communist-dominated CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers), secretary general of the pro-Communist Popular Party in Mexico, and one of the vice presidents of the Communist-dominated WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). He makes frequent "orientation" trips behind the Iron Curtain and is in direct contact with members of the Soviet hierarchy.

For decades Lombardo has played the Comintern game, snaking his way along every devious twist and bend in the party line, and trying to drag Mexican labor along with him. In the process he has performed some spectacular mental contortions. He lambasted Hitler and Mussolini until the day of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, when he immediately turned to reviling Roosevelt and "the imperialists intent on dragging Mexico into war." When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Lombardo reversed himself 180 degrees, leveling his venom on the Nazis and speaking in honeyed tones about Mexico's northern neighbor. At the time of the Hungarian uprising, Lombardo faithfully parroted the party line regarding a "counterrevolutionary Fascist plot" designed to destroy "the people's democracy." A loyal Stalinist, Lombardo balked at first at Khrushchev's de-Stalinization process, saying on June 5, 1956, that, in his judgment, "Joseph Stalin is one of the greatest men of world history"; however, the habit of years of unswerving party loyalty seems to have won out because he backtracked enough to add that he considered the 20th Party Congress in Moscow to have arrived at an objective and valid judgment of Stalin's work, and that the Congress' discussion of Stalin's errors was "useful and necessary since it serves to prevent them in the future."

Lombardo's favorite game, and one which serves particularly well the designs of his Communist overlords in Latin America, is his hate-the-United States campaign. While Lombardo had concealed his enmity during World War II, in 1945 he was again telling a mass meeting of workers in Mexico City that, "North American imperialism will use all its resources to fight the progressive forces of Europe and the world." But article 81 of the program of the Popular Party, a

Lombardo-created body, sums up best the message Lombardo has been trying to drill into Latin American minds for years. It reads:

The expansionist policy of North American imperialism constitutes the principal menace for the sovereignty of the Latin American countries, as well as the major obstacle to the rapid and adequate industrialization and the full economic development of these countries.

With regard to the position of the United States in the cold war, Lombardo Toledano again walks the Communist line. On return from a European tour in 1952, he declared:

The United States Government wants the Western European peoples to make war for its benefit, but I am convinced they will not do it.

This top Latin American labor boss is a man of medium build, somewhat swarthy, with dark eyes, big ears, and curly hair. He is abstemious and a Puritan in his personal life. Highly educated, cultured, extremely well read, he has traveled widely in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and has visited the United States. He speaks French, Italian, and some English, in addition to his native Spanish. In dress, he is dapper, affecting a British, Bond Street appearance. An effective public speaker who avoids harangue and customary platform gestures, Lombardo, opportunistic in his attitudes, has a dynamic personality which has won him adherents among intellectuals and underprivileged alike.

Lombardo Toledano was born into a reasonably wealthy family of Italian extraction in the State of Puebla, Mexico, on July 16, 1894. It is reported that he was brought up in a devout Catholic environment. In 1909, after his family moved to Mexico City, he enrolled in the French Commercial School in that city. In 1919 he received his law degree at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and in 1933 he obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy at the UNAM, reportedly the first Mexican to do so.

During his student days in Mexico City, Lombardo with a group of friends formed a circle called the "Seven Sages;" together they first devoured and discussed Tolstoi and Dostoevski, then Engels and Marx. This little band was among the first to staff the official "Popular University," which was founded in 1917 to educate the masses, Lombardo becoming its secretary.

Throughout his career, Lombardo Toledano continued his activities in the field of education, being connected with the National Preparatory School and the UNAM. It is said that he could not tolerate the quiet atmosphere of the university and that he was discharged from the UNAM in 1933 for his radical views. That same year he collaborated in the founding of a new university in Mexico City, which 2 years later was transformed into the Workers' University (Universidad Obrero). Lombardo, who has acted as its director since its founding, has used the institution as an indoctrination center for Marxist labor leaders and as an outlet for Communist propaganda. With his great persuasiveness Lombardo is said to be having much success in instilling his Marxist interpretations of history, politics, and economics into the minds of the young people with whom he comes into contact.

Besides his teaching, Lombardo has served the Communist cause in the field of journalism. In 1938 he founded and became director of the leftist daily, *El Popular*, now the official organ of his Popular Party.

L. Trotsky denounced Lombardo as a "moral participant" in the attempt to assassinate him in May 1940 in Mexico; according to Trotsky, Lombardo used *El Popular* to set the stage for what Trotsky believed to be a Stalin-ordered GPU plot.<sup>1</sup>

A prolific writer, Lombardo is the author of numerous works on education, philosophy, history, sociology, and law, and has written more than 80 pamphlets on labor and politics. In 1943 he further collaborated in founding the weekly magazine *Tiempo*, which he used to spread his propaganda; however, the magazine is no longer controlled by Lombardo.

Lombardo achieved his greatest renown and power through his work in organizing Mexican labor. From 1923 to 1932 he served as a member of the executive committee of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM), the most powerful labor organization in Mexico of the time. In 1932 he broke with Luis Morones, the leader of CROM, on tactical and ideological grounds. At that time Lombardo was the most active socialist in Mexico.

Under the Cárdenas administration (1934-40), Lombardo Toledano performed his most successful work as a labor organizer. After defecting from CROM, he helped organize the General Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico. In 1936, with the blessings of President Cárdenas, he transformed his new union into the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which soon became the most powerful labor union in Mexico. The organization's constitution, drafted by Lombardo, demanded among other things the establishment of a classless society and total abolition of the capitalistic system. Lombardo remained the secretary-general of CTM until 1940.

In 1937 Lombardo branched out by founding the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), with the idea of achieving unity among the laboring classes of all Latin America and, incidentally, enhancing his own power. Lombardo's control of the CTM and the CTAL made him a very influential figure indeed. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a Latin American diplomat in Washington characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours." Vice President Wallace remarked: "Hitler would be glad to hand \$15 million over to Lombardo Toledano, if he could be bought."

But Lombardo had already sold out to the Communists. During the war he faithfully pursued the goals of international communism. He toured the whole continent conferring not only with heads of trade-union groups, but also with the chiefs of the Communist Parties as well. In each case he urged the necessity of supporting the war effort of the Soviet Union (which only incidentally, as far as Lombardo was concerned, happened to be joined with that of the Allies.)

After World War II Lombardo affiliated the CTAL with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the CTAL now being the WFTU's most important arm in the Western Hemisphere. The CTAL has currently in operation affiliated unions in Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and it also claims to have affiliates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Cuba. Its propaganda, reeking of its origins, is strongly anti-United

<sup>1</sup> Trotsky, Leon. *Los Gangsters de Stalin*. Editorial America, Mexico, 1940, p. 28.

States, denouncing United States influence in Latin America and in Europe, the Marshall Plan, the Schumann Plan, NATO, and in general opposing all United States policies as being "imperialistic."

There is little doubt that Lombardo uses his position as president of CTAL and vice president of WFTU to meddle in the affairs of neighboring countries in the interest of international communism. It is reported that he was instrumental in establishing Communist control of organized labor in Guatemala, a control which played an important role in the Communist takeover of the Central American republic. The latest report of his machinations comes out of Ecuador, where the Minister of Interior protested last December that Vicente Lombardo Toledano had given orders to his labor forces to provoke disorders in various Latin American countries.

The energetic Lombardo Toledano has also taken active part in other facets of Mexican politics. From 1921 to 1926 he held positions as executive officer of the Government of the Federal District, interim governor of the State of Puebla, alderman in the municipal government of Mexico City, and deputy of the Labor Party in the National Congress. In 1937-38 he figured prominently in President Cárdenas' reorganization of the National Revolutionary Party, which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana—PRM).

In 1944, when his influence in the PRM began to wane, Lombardo formed the Mexican Socialist League (Liga Socialista Mexicana) in an endeavor to regain political power. In the early postwar period Lombardo Toledano was the outstanding political leader outside the government, and was one of the most powerful figures in Mexico, making and controlling the policies of the CTM, and through that organization having influence in the mining, petroleum, railway, electrical, and textile unions. Under the administration of President Miguel Alemán, who lined himself up solidly with the West in the emerging cold war, Lombardo's influence declined.

In 1948 Lombardo, with the help of Marxist intellectuals and others, succeeded in luring leftwing elements into a new political association, the Popular Party (Partido Popular). The party's program was anti-United States, opposed to "North American imperialism," and called for the political and economic liberty of Puerto Rico.

As a result of Lombardo's differences with the Government party, the other leaders of the CTM ousted him from the federation which he had founded. Luis Morones, Lombardo's former mentor in CROM, stated flatly that Lombardo's every move was financed by Moscow and he was widely labeled as a "Kremlin agent." A competent observer of the Mexican scene has referred to Vicente Lombardo Toledano as a "faded valentine." It is certainly true that Lombardo has descended far from his peak of power in Mexico in the 1940's. But though numerically and electorally weak, the Popular Party, under Lombardo's leadership, has been successful in arousing nationalist feeling against the United States, particularly in the cultural, educational, and economic fields, not only in Mexico but also throughout Latin America. And Lombardo's hatred of the United States and his devotion to the Soviet Union, coupled with his vast experience in political intrigues, propagandizing, and labor organization, keeps him as before in the forefront of those persons who are most dangerous to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

## LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

(General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil)

Luis Carlos Prestes, a short, frail man with intense, somber black eyes and a sonorous voice, is the most outspoken opponent of the United States south of the Rio Grande. For more than a quarter of a century he has spumed venom aimed at poisoning Brazilian-United States relations. He is underground today, but from his secret hiding place he is actively directing the policies of the Communist Party of Brazil. As an example of his hate campaign, he has written:

The North American imperialists are infiltrating into the nooks and crannies of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. They are endeavoring to reduce Brazil to the position of a United States colony, and threaten its people with complete enslavement. \* \* \* The United States ruling circles, furthermore, are attempting to draw Brazil into military ventures which they are preparing the world over, and to use our young people as cannon fodder. \* \* \* It is the United States alone that threatens the lives and security of our people.

Born in 1898, Prestes graduated from the Brazilian Military Academy in 1919, and soon showed his qualities as an unyielding rebel. In 1924, he joined other Army officers in a revolt against the Government. Although the uprising was crushed, he refused to surrender, and led a 1,500-man detachment some 18,000 miles through the vast, uncharted Brazilian interior. The column fought skirmishes almost daily and succeeded in outmaneuvering and outbattling a number of strong Government expeditions sent against it.

Prestes exploited the notoriety he gained through this guerrilla warfare, especially among the rural masses of Brazil who lived in abject poverty. Although he had not thought through a program to help them, he managed to become known as "The Knight of Hope." In the cities, Prestes' exploits won the admiration of some of his countrymen for the sheer audacity of his feat.

When the Prestes column was disbanded in 1927, he left Brazil and spent the next 4 years in Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina. In exile he began to study communism, and by 1930 his conversion was complete.

The following year Prestes went to the Soviet Union, where he worked as an engineer in factories and hydroelectric plants and continued his studies of communism. In 1935 he was made a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and is reported to have earned the confidence of Stalin.

The same year Prestes and his wife, whom he married in Russia, both thoroughly indoctrinated, returned to Brazil, where he shortly became the principal leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. The party adopted the popular-front techniques, and, capitalizing on Prestes' personal prestige, was able to draw into its National Liberation Alliance various student groups, army and navy units, intellectuals, reformist groups, and others opposed to the Vargas regime.



In November 1935, led by Prestes, the National Liberation Alliance gave the signal for revolt. The city of Natal fell into the hands of the rebels; for 4 days a Soviet-style regime ruled the city. Simultaneously, uprisings took place in Recife and Rio de Janeiro; in the latter city, the rebels, headed by part of the garrison, proclaimed Prestes to be the president of Brazil.

However, the revolts were quickly crushed, and the leaders were tried for sedition in 1937. Prestes, arrested a year earlier, was sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 1943, while in prison, Prestes was elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil. Prestes was released in May 1945 in an amnesty for political prisoners. Once more he plunged into the political arena. His years in prison had not dimmed the luster of the Prestes legend; indeed, the aura of martyrdom promoted his appeal.

With about 6 months in which to work before the presidential elections, Prestes set about reorganizing the Communist Party, which numbered only 4,000 members. In the very last days of the campaign, Prestes put up an unknown as a presidential candidate, claiming that he wanted to test the power of the party and not his own personal prestige. The Communists showed unprecedented strength in the elections, polling some 700,000 votes, or about 15 percent of the total. Prestes himself was elected senator from the Federal District, and he also won as a candidate for deputy in five constituencies.

Prestes' election as senator coincided with the beginning of the cold war. With his usual unswerving devotion to the Communist line, Prestes opened a violent campaign against the United States. In a widely publicized interview in 1946, he openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Soviet Union:

If Brazil should fight Russia, I would form guerrillas and together with my followers I would fight for Russia.

A year later he vigorously opposed the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance, saying:

It is obvious that, in the case of Brazil and of the other Latin American nations, the possible and probable enemy is the United States. So it would be absurd to standardize weapons with them, to give them bases, and thus facilitate their eventual task of conquest.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Government outlawed the Communist Party, and Congress followed suit by ousting its Communist members. Prestes immediately went into hiding, and his disappearance has led to much conjecture as to his whereabouts in the past 10 years. An old hand at conspiratorial activity, Prestes remained busy on behalf of the Kremlin, and the Communist Party, though illegal, remained neither inactive nor underground. It continued to hold meetings, to issue manifestos, and to publish over 30 journals in which articles signed by Prestes frequently appeared.

In 1950 the Brazilian police were ordered to arrest Prestes as an outcome of a Communist manifesto which he had published denouncing the Korean war as "a criminal attack on the people of Korea by the United States Government" and calling upon Brazilians to revolt and join in the formation of a "broad democratic front of national liberation." The elusive Senhor Prestes was tried in absentia.

For all his theorizing, Prestes made it abundantly clear that his program to communize Brazil includes the bloody tactics endorsed by the Kremlin. "We must not recoil from using the highest forms of struggle," he said, "including violent shocks with the forces of reaction." He further added that his followers should not hesitate "in taking power" in local areas, "even though our stay in power may be brief."

However, during the 2 years when Prestes was free to function openly, he managed to alienate a number of people who had been drawn to him by their admiration for his pretended "idealism," by his colorful personality, or by sympathy for his hounded kind of existence. As senator, Prestes' appeal on the intellectual level was weakened by long dissertations on a wide range of subjects on which his knowledge was weak or out of date. Recent events within the Soviet orbit have led him to alienate still others. Khrushchev's denunciation of Prestes' sponsor, Stalin, and Russian aggression in Hungary had repercussions even within the Brazilian Communist Party; Prestes refused to embrace the new Moscow line on the personality cult but supported the Russian savage action in Hungary. This year, Agildo Barata, the party's financial secretary, and Bruzzi de Mendonça, the party's mouthpiece in Congress, bolted the party. But despite these defections, and a fall in the party's membership from its peak enrollment between 1945 and 1947 to a total of only 50,000, Prestes is still in full control of the organization and represents a danger for his own country as well as for the United States.

Under Communist guidance, a vicious anti-American campaign is in progress; anti-United States slogans are painted with tar on walls of buildings, pamphlets are distributed, rallies and other meetings are held at which anti-United States speeches are delivered, and not only Communist publications but also Communist fellow travelers in the non-Communist press harp on the theme of "United States imperialism." Prestes and his followers have been particularly successful in preventing American companies from developing Brazil's oil resources; its petroleum deposits are still remaining underground for lack of capital to exploit them, and the oil used by Brazil's industry must be imported. Through the catchy slogan, "the petroleum is ours," Prestes has made the petroleum issue too hot to handle.

Prestes' record shows that he was and remains today the mastermind behind the Communist plots to deliver Brazil to his overlords in Moscow.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY  
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Reference: Our unnumbered letter of November 14, 1957

Subject: Communist Diplomatic and Trade Drive  
in Brazil.

Security: RESTRICTED

No: 69

Date: February 21, 1958

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No:

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50066-40	
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For your records, the number of this  
letter is 451.

D. K. Phang  
Embassy.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

ENCLOSURES

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

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75

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For your records, the number of this  
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D. K. Sherry  
Embassy.

Internal  
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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Canadian Ambassador,  
.....

Mexico City, Mexico  
.....

Reference: Your Letter No. X-23 of Jan. 22/58  
.....

Subject: Report of Senator Mike Mansfield  
.....  
.....

Security:.....

No:.....57.....

February 11, 1958.

Date:.....

1

Enclosures:.....

Air

Air or Surface Mail:.....

8-4-3

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

5 00 66 - 40

90

References

Through the courtesy of the United States Ambassador, Mr. Robert Hill, Mr. Melbourne Spector, Officer-in-Charge of the Technical Cooperation for the ICA Program with the United States Embassy has called upon me in connection with the report prepared by Senator Mansfield, a copy of which you were good enough to send us.

2. Mr. Spector informed me that his Ambassador has a thorough knowledge of the ICA Program and during his two previous postings, as well as his time spent in the State Department in Washington, worked very closely with this project. The present report is a follow-up on the 1955 one prepared by Senator Mansfield.

3. Mr. Spector's personal comments on this objective report are briefly as follows:

1. There are certain areas in the Mexican Federal Government, including Education and Agriculture, which are definitely interested in technical assistance.

2. In a country such as Mexico with a population of 32 millions, coupled with a national production of 8 billion dollars, technical assistance of 4 to 5 times as much as is presently given could not make much impression because of the very low standard of living in Mexico.

3. It is not true that Mexico no longer needs this assistance. In view of the very low standard of living coupled with their tremendous birth rate, economic advisors are truly needed. This is best demonstrated by working with Mexicans in the various technical fields and by training them to do the work properly. Mr. Spector believes that the Mexican Government can help them by the various planned demonstrations in the different fields. He believes that the approach to Mexicans on technical assistance should be a completely honest one and the United States interests will best be served by making Mexico a better partner both economically and business wise.

4. The Communist opposition in Mexico to the ICA Program is coupled with three factors; extreme nationalism, anti-Americanism and a certain amount of direct Communist activities. An interesting comment made by Mr. Spector

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Circulation

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to Posts

2.

is that Communist influence is not a leading factor in such an opposition movement, but rather it has ridden on the "Coat Tails" of the extreme nationalism and anti-Americanism. Mr. Spector finds that it is not strange that the greatest opposition to the program lies in the fields of Agriculture and Education where the traditional Mexican revolution is being maintained. He informs me that the Communists have openly attacked the program in the Mexican press and their most effective approach has been through a so-called student group at the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City and is sponsored by a certain Mexican politician who has created Communist cells in this Institution. During one of the ICA's programs in Agriculture in Saltillo, a strike occurred at a School of Higher Education at Antonio Narro and a group of student agitators from the Polytechnic Institute were called in from Mexico City to lead this strike.

The Ambassador.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,  
 FROM: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
 EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.  
 Reference:  
 Subject: Communism in Latin America -

Security: SECRET  
 No: X-  
 Date: February 5, 1958  
 Enclosures: 2  
 Air or Surface Mail: air  
 Post File No:

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
8	73

References

X Ref. 50301-B-40 "D"

Herewith you will find a

- copy of despatch 119 of January 21 from the
- Ambassador in Washington and a copy of an address by Mr. Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, on the above quoted subject. We think you will find these two documents interesting and we would be glad to have your comments in due course.

Internal Circulation

*AA*  
 Under-Secretary of State  
 for External Affairs.

Distribution to Posts

All Latin American Posts-

- |                   |      |
|-------------------|------|
| ✓ Buenos Aires    | X-41 |
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| ✓ Montevideo      | X-22 |
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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

(DUPLICATE)

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

Security: SECRET

No: 119

Date: January 21, 1958.

Enclosures: 1

Air or Surface Mail: Courier

Post File No: .....

FROM: The Canadian Embassy,  
Washington, D.C.

Reference: Our Letter #743, May 29/57

Subject: Communism in Latin America

Ottawa File No.	
50066-40	
70	—

References

Coinciding with the preparations of our report on an interview with Henry Hoyt (who replaced Spencer King as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, Office of Inter-American Affairs) as a follow up to our letter under reference, we have received a copy of State Department Press Release No. 10 of January 14, containing the text of an address by Roy Rubottom Jr. on "Communism in the Americas" (copy attached). This of course simplified our task as much of the information obtained from Hoyt is covered in this talk which may be considered as an official expression of State Department views on the subject.

2. In his address, Rubottom, who is the Assistant Secretary in charge of Latin American Affairs, examines the strength of the Communist threat in Latin America, its resources, its possible courses of action, and appraises its chances of success when faced with a number of strong deterrents. Among the deterrents mentioned are a greater awareness of the dangers of Communism as illustrated by the adoption of a Resolution by the OAS at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas in March 1954 - "Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics"; the deep religious convictions of the Latin American peoples, and the increasing cultural exchange and cooperation between the republics of the continent.

3. Rubottom deals with the economic offensive of the Communist world in Latin America, the dangers of too intimate relations with the Soviet bloc, whether diplomatic or commercial, and cites the previous record of non-fulfilment of contractual obligations of the Soviet bloc. He also cautioned the Latin Americans against the activities of Soviet bloc personnel who, protected by diplomatic immunity, work against the security of the State which receives them.

4. Rubottom's address was meant for public consumption and of course was not all-inclusive. But it will serve as a useful background to the information obtained from Hoyt on the State Department appreciation of the situation.

Internal  
Circulation

Distribution  
to Posts

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5. On the Soviet economic offensive Hoyt said it was State Department thinking that the United States press was in part responsible for the exaggerated concern of American opinion about Communist economic inroads. He hastened to add that there was much concern nevertheless in the State Department as to how far the Soviets would be successful. Many Latin Americans would be tempted by Soviet promises and by the desire to improve their unsettled economies, but there was at present no reason for panic. In order to support this, Hoyt gave us a "run-down" on Latin American trade missions to the Sino-Soviet Bloc and on Bloc missions to Latin America.

6. Only seven Latin American countries, he said, have sent official or semi-official trade missions to the bloc in recent years (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador and Uruguay). However, trade promotion activity by front groups and private bloc traders has included travel to Iron Curtain countries and private participation in bloc trade fairs.

7. Bloc trade missions, on the other hand, have visited fourteen Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela), although only five Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Uruguay), have received more than one or two bloc missions over the past several years. Only two countries, Dominican Republic and Guatemala, have completely excluded bloc commercial representatives who are in Latin America either as representatives of bloc trade firms attached to diplomatic and consular missions or as members of resident trade missions without official status.

8. Hoyt added that both Argentina and Brazil are currently planning to send trade missions to the bloc nations to promote commerce. An Argentine economic mission, headed by Under Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Raul Ondarts, is expected to leave Buenos Aires on January 12th for countries behind the Iron Curtain and Yugoslavia. The mission reportedly will arrange the purchase of raw materials and various types of industrial goods, including machinery and parts for oil industry development and coal mining and telephone equipment. The mission, which is scheduled to visit the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, is composed of representatives of the Argentine Central Bank, the Argentine oil monopoly YPF, the state telephone company (Telefonos del Estado) and officials of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

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9. Brazilian President Kubitschek announced in early November the creation of a Brazilian economic mission which will visit many countries, including those under communist influence, to find new markets for Brazilian exports. Kubitschek said that the mission would be formed of representatives of various production corporations and factories, headed by a leader to be appointed by the Government. Not much however has been accomplished to make this Commission operative.

10. There appears to be no substance according to reports from the United States Mission in Bogota to rumours that Colombia will exchange permanent trade missions with the Soviet Union. This would not necessarily preclude, Hoyt added, reciprocal visits by temporary missions seeking to promote trade.

11. Hoyt then gave us the following comparative table from 1953 to 1957 of Latin American trade with the Sino-Soviet Bloc:

1953 Latin America's trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc in 1953 totaled \$69.7 million or about 0.5% of total Latin American trade. Argentina and Brazil in order of importance accounted for some 80% of this total.

1954 Bloc trade totaled \$262.7 million or about 2% of total commerce. Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay accounted for about 90% of this total.

1955 Bloc trade totaled \$340 million, or nearly 3% of total commerce. Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Uruguay accounted for some 90% of this total.

1956 Bloc trade totaled \$239.7 million, or about 1.5% of total commerce. Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Uruguay again accounted for 90% of this total.

1957 Bloc trade is estimated to have totaled about \$220 million or probably about 1% of total commerce. Brazil, Cuba, Argentina and Uruguay probably again accounted for about 90% of this total. Only increased Cuban sugar sales to the bloc at double 1956 prices kept the decline from being more drastic.

<u>Country</u>	<u>1956</u> (in millions of dollars)	<u>1957</u>	
Argentina	102.5	40.)	90% of
Brazil	85.6	90.)	total L.A.
Cuba	19.9	55.)	trade wit
Chile	18.6	15.)	bloc
	<u>226.5</u>	<u>200.</u>	

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12. As Rubottom reported in his address, these figures represent only 1% of the total Latin American trade. As can be seen there has been a reduction of total trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc in 1957 - which would not seem to justify the impression of extreme alarm given by the United States press.

13. The State Department sees the Soviet economic offensive in Latin America as related to the Sputnik Era. The Soviets want to capitalize on the propaganda advantages brought about by their technical achievement. Their main purpose in the offensive is to bolster local communist organizations and to arrive at a resumption of diplomatic and trade relations with the Latin American Republics. According to Hoyt, however, there are increasing indications that the Latin Americans are not taking Soviet approaches and promises at their face value and are having a good look at the benefits, if any, which might accrue from a resumption of normal relations. The important question in their minds is whether this Soviet approach is not merely intended as a temporary or short-term plan in order to allow them to put their foot in the door and are examining various factors which may have a bearing on the future.

14. Hoyt told us that the United States position was that they were not opposed to Latin American trade relations with the Soviet bloc if genuine benefits were derived from such trade agreements (as long as they did not comprise strategic materials,) but that they naturally have strong doubts as to their possible benefits.

15. The Brazilians, as an instance of the Latin Americans taking stock of the Soviet gesture, are wondering whether the Soviet motives are as altruistic as represented. The Soviets, in their recent conversations on trade agreements, have not mentioned coffee which, to the Brazilians, is an item of the utmost importance, on the basis of which they had hoped for trade agreements or arrangements. The Brazilians are wondering whether the Soviets are not awaiting an expected drop in the price of coffee in the hope of getting it at a lower price. Hoyt added that the State Department has received reports from their mission in Rio indicating that the Brazilian administration is resisting the resumption of trade and diplomatic relations, planning to clamp down on the communist organizations agitating to regain their legality, and to take their place among political parties. They are also pressing for close relations with the satellite countries. You will have seen from reports from our missions that the Poles, particularly in Brazil, are reported to be making serious efforts to arrive at a trade agreement. The reports on the results of these negotiations seem to be contradictory. According to Hoyt, the United States mission in Rio attributes some success to the Polish efforts while the United States mission in Warsaw reports to the contrary.

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16. The Chinese Bank Mission to Montevideo, was not able to arrive at an agreement as they could not meet the Uruguayan requirements. The Czechs are still trying very hard in Montevideo and continuing their bid for the installation of telephone facilities in that city.

17. The areas most sensitive to this economic offensive are Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.

Communist Influence - General Situation

18. Hoyt informed us that the State Department had as recently as November last completed a general survey based on reports from all United States missions in Latin America. The State Department, he said, had reached the following conclusions:

- (a) There is no threat, for the moment, nor for the foreseeable future, of communists taking over control in any country either by vote or by force through their own efforts.
- (b) The communist objectives have so far been limited. They have concentrated their efforts mainly on labour and have played on nationalist sentiments. During 1957 communist influence in Latin America declined in a number of countries, or just held its own in others, except in Argentina where it has increased.
- (c) The situation warrants great concern but so far does not justify alarm (and certainly not panic). Increased activities are expected as the Soviets will make every effort to avail themselves of the propaganda advantage gained by their technical and scientific achievements which opened the Sputnik Era. The situation is one which calls for continued attention, particularly in view of the fact that the Soviets have stepped up their efforts in Latin America.

Communist Influence in Individual Countries

19. On a country by country basis, Hoyt gave us the following run down:

Cuba There has been a decrease in the membership of the communist party due in part to financial troubles. Communist efforts have been aimed principally at youth organizations. Some of the most effective communist leaders and organizers in Latin America are found in Cuba. Nevertheless, they have not been too successful in their efforts in the labour movements.

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Costa Rica The enthusiasm and vitality of the communist party has declined.

El Salvador Communist activities have been concentrated in labour movements and in the universities. The communists, in that country, have the power to cause unrest. However, there are indications that the administration is gradually cracking down on them.

Guatemala The situation there warrants being watched closely. There are indications that the communists have gained some ground if only because of the fact that the principal communist exiles have returned to Guatemala. Infiltration in government circles and in the administration, as well as in the labour organization, is of concern.

Honduras Communist activities are concentrated among labour organizations on the north coast. They have a potential force for creating unrest.

Mexico This capital is considered by the Soviets as their headquarters in Latin America because of the presence there of diplomatic representatives of almost all the countries of the Soviet bloc. The situation there is not seen with too much concern by the State Department as long as the communists are not more successful than at present in capitalizing on present propaganda advantage. There is, nevertheless, a potential danger of communist infiltration in the government.

Nicaragua There is no communist problem there.

Panama Communist influence is on the decline.

Argentina The party membership in that country is said to have increased from 60,000 to 85,000. They are particularly active in the labour organizations, in the press and in academic groups. A similarity between the Soviet economic ideology and that which Peron followed for a number of years, and which has left its mark, particularly on the labouring class, is an important factor in explaining Soviet successes among members of that group. The State Department is seriously concerned that expanding economic relations with the Soviets will afford the latter a broader scope for infiltration, give them greater political influence and facilitate espionage.

Bolivia Communist infiltration in government circles and in labour organizations is keeping the United States on the alert. The success of the communists in that country are due mainly to the unfortunate economic situation. The State Department consider it almost a miracle that the MNR Government has been able to swing away from the left. The question is how long will the President be able to continue this policy.

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Brazil The membership of the party has not increased substantially. There are approximately 60,000 members. However, as you have been made aware by reports from our mission there, there has been an important increase in the activities of the communist groups in the political life of the country, notwithstanding splits within the party following the Hungarian situation. The party is trying to regain legality and to be recognized as a political force. The State Department is not without concern about the situation there, although Hoyt added there are indications that the resistance of the Brazilian Government is also growing.

Chile The Sputnik Era has positively helped communist leader Allende in his Popular Front electoral campaign. It is in Chile that the best communist organization in Latin America is found. Due to the efforts of Allende and of other important communist leaders, the leftist following for the 1958 presidential election is gaining importance. Even President Ibanez is reported to be leaning more towards the left. Hoyt told us that indications have been reported from Santiago that Ibanez may soften, if not repeal altogether, the law for the permanent security of the state, which would permit the communists to work overtly and to regain their legality as a political party.

Colombia Under the Rojas Regime the communists have enjoyed greater freedom and are reported to have made a certain gain in labour organizations. The great influence of the Church in that country, however, is considered by the State Department as a very strong deterrent. The State Department's concern in Colombia has grown in the last two months of 1957, because of reports received that the government of Colombia had agreed to discuss the possibility of a trade agreement with a Soviet mission (presently in Colombia, we are told) composed of members of the USSR Embassy in Buenos Aires.

Ecuador The United States mission there claims there has been a weakening of communist influence due mainly to their lacking funds and to the confusion which reigns in the ranks of the communist party. Communist infiltration in labour organizations and among academic circles has decreased.

Paraguay The United States Embassy in Asuncion reports that the communist group has almost no influence.

Peru An increase of communist influence has been reported in intellectual circles and has been detected also in the mining industry. The communists have a greater influence under the new regime which permits them more freedom of action.

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Uruguay The situation there, according to the State Department, is serious because of the complete lack of concern of the authorities. Soviet diplomats accredited to Uruguay work overtly and there are no measures to control their activities. The principal targets of the communist party in Montevideo are labour and infiltration in government. The efforts of communist agents are supported directly by the Soviet Embassy in Montevideo.

Venezuela The communist party is particularly active in labour organizations. However, we were told that one must take into account that important leaders of the communist movement in Venezuela are reported to be operating mainly for personal political gains.

20. You will recall our letter #743, May 29, 1957 under reference. In paragraph 5 we reported Spencer King as having expressed his amazement at the lack of imagination the Soviet bloc had shown in its efforts to saturate Latin American markets. He had thought that a most serious situation would develop if a more imaginative approach were made in that, for instance, the Soviets would agree to absorbing certain surpluses to establish a credit on which Latin American industries could draw in order to develop certain of their basic industries such as petroleum exploitation, mining, etc. Recent developments confirm that the Communists are not lacking in imagination in their approach to Latin America and have in fact made such propositions as King had feared. It would seem, however, that, interesting as this plan might seem, and notwithstanding the strong temptation for some Latin Americans, the sum total of the results is not likely to be as disastrous as might have been thought earlier. As regards suggestions which have been made that the United States should change its policy towards the oil industry in Latin America, Hoyt said that there were no indications of United States authorities even considering, for the moment at least, encouraging the support of this industry other than by private capital investment. He said that awareness of the implications of dealing with a totalitarian government rather than with private capital seems to be growing, particularly in Brazil.

Resumption of the Diplomatic Relations  
Between the Soviet Bloc and Latin American States

21. Hoyt repeated the information King had given us and which was reported in paragraph 6 of our letter under reference. The State Department policy concerning advising Latin American officials against resumption of diplomatic relations still stands, that is informally to discourage them from reestablishing direct diplomatic relations, reiterating to them warnings against the dangers

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of their having Soviet listening posts established in their countries while they have neither the organization nor the necessary experience to deal with them in an efficient manner, and to attempt to control their activities.

22. We are sending you under separate cover fifteen additional copies of Rubottom's address should you wish to distribute this letter to other posts.

The Embassy.

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### FOR THE PRESS

JANUARY 13, 1958

NO. 10

### CAUTION - FUTURE RELEASE

FOR RELEASE AT 12:15 P.M., E.S.T., TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1958.  
NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED, QUOTED FROM, OR USED  
IN ANY WAY.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ROY R. RUBOTTOM, JR., ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, BEFORE  
JOINT LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE MIAMI-DADE COUNTY CHAMBER  
OF COMMERCE AND UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF GREATER  
MIAMI, COLUMBUS HOTEL, MIAMI, FLORIDA,  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1958, 12:15 P.M.

#### Communism in the Americas

For a number of reasons I am pleased to be here with you today. Of course, it's always nice to be in Miami in January. Moreover, since my interests are centered on inter-American affairs, I find myself particularly at home in what you people call "The Gateway to the Americas". If I am rightly informed, ten percent of Miami's population is of Latin origin, and I have seen some of your policemen wearing patches which say "hablo espanol". Here in Miami is published one of our country's most important and influential daily newspapers in the Spanish language; and through the port of Miami last year passed over 600 thousand persons bound to and from Latin America.

Today I want to talk to you about the role of communism in the Americas. It is a thoroughly sinister role. It is the same role in North America, Central America and South America -- or elsewhere in the world. It is unchanged. It may have taken on a new coloration, protective to the communists themselves but always destructive to the rest of us.

This role involves both aspects of the international communist movement, the ideology of the party line held out by communists, and even worse -- their subversive intervention in the internal affairs of other states and peoples. This, of course, is utterly contrary to our way of life in the Americas and will never succeed. The basic task of communist parties all over the world in trying to carry out both aspects is, in the words of Lenin, to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism with an ability to make all the necessary practical compromises. In the thirties, with the communist parties then only small minorities, one of the compromises which was developed to establish contact with the masses, either through collaboration with the leaders of non-communist organizations or through appealing to the masses over the heads of their leaders, was the so-called "popular front".

Especially

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Especially in times when communists wish to lull others into complacency and relaxation such as the present, the "popular front" tactic is applied through the development and infiltration of organizations, often having objectives or appeals which appear to coincide with the legitimate aspirations of a group -- the technique of the soporific -- which are then used to achieve communist objectives. In this way hundreds of thousands of peoples are made the innocent tools of the communist conspiracy. We have had this problem of "fronts" in the United States: it is particularly serious in Latin America.

The Soviets now control thirteen major international front organizations, each with dozens of subsidiary organizations all over the world. Each is a huge "interlocking directorate" linking the Kremlin to a vast network of national organizations operated by local communists or dupes. All have a common purpose -- to draw as many social groups as possible closer to communism and to make amenable to them the global aims of the communist party of the Soviet Union. These fronts are divided, one from another, on functional lines so that, despite their similar operational patterns, they can "offer all things to all men". There is a front for "peace", perhaps the cruelest of all, since all mankind yearns for that; there are others for youth, women, labor, international traders, journalists, intellectuals and professionals. Each has a theme designed to attract a following from the particular target group. They have several things in common: they are all controlled at the top by communists, directly or indirectly; they engage in vast propaganda activities; today they emphasize "national liberation" and, particularly in Latin America, "economic independence". Through these fronts, and with Soviet financial support when required, local, national and international meetings are organized; travel to the communist hinterland is arranged and financed; selected candidates are trained and indoctrinated; and an infinite variety of propaganda publications in all languages is distributed.

Sometimes, some of the machinations of the Soviet "front men" in Latin America get unexpected publicity. You have undoubtedly read, as I have recently, about how the No. 1 communist labor leader of Latin America, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, has been busy denying the authenticity of a letter attributed to him by the Government of Ecuador. In the letter, described as a copy of a circular he is supposed to have sent to all affiliates of the communist-dominated union he heads -- the Confederation of Latin American Workers -- Lombardo Toledano calls on his lieutenants to furnish him with the answers to a long list of questions bearing on the military and general security status of their respective countries to be used in connection with a communist offensive in Latin America in 1958. To those of us conversant with communist techniques and tactics, it is not surprising to find a foreign communist leader calling on his various underlings to betray their own countries.

Just a week ago, the Associated Press carried a dispatch from Rio de Janeiro concerning a report prepared by the Brazilian Foreign Office. According to the AP, the Brazilian Government has copies of minutes of meetings held in Moscow last November by Latin American communist leaders when it was decided to use Soviet offers of aid to Brazil as part of a campaign to make Brazil a spearhead of Latin American hostility to the United States.

Behind the "front" organizations we find the communist party proper. Nominally, the communist party is legal in only five Latin American Republics -- Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Uruguay -- but in almost all of them communists are trying to play their kind of subversive game. Party membership apparently varies from a few dozen communists in several of the Middle American countries, to around 50 and 80 thousand in Brazil and Argentina, respectively. The grand total has been calculated at little more than 200 thousand, but numbers do not necessarily describe their influence.

The communists have both immediate and long-range objectives in Latin America, as elsewhere. Ultimately, of course, they would like to seize power and try to set up "popular democratic" regimes in which communism would reign. That being out of the question, they are attempting a gradual approach, minimizing their difference with the non-communist left, playing down their ties with international communism and, in general, seeking to gain some degree of respectability and acceptance. In this, they have been notably unsuccessful. The communists concentrate on trying to infiltrate as best they can into intellectual circles and also into key positions in government, organized labor, student groups and public opinion media. They then attempt to sow the seeds of chaos, disunity, and other conditions designed to break down the normal democratic functions.

In appraising communism's chances in the Americas, there are, it seems to me, certain fundamental points to be recognized. I outline them, with the sober reminder that neither we nor our friends to the south can ever be complacent in the face of communism's eternal threat to man's freedom and welfare.

The first and foremost point to remember is that the communists by themselves represent no immediate threat to the Latin American countries themselves nor to United States national security, for they are in no position anywhere in the hemisphere to gain power through legitimate means. This is not to say that even though they are by themselves a minority, the communists do not represent a constant danger. With their underground cadres ever alert to take advantage of popular discontent arising out of turbulent political conditions or widespread economic crisis, the communist apparatus requires continued vigilance. To gain power through the ballot, communist agents masquerade as super-nationalists, hoping to penetrate behind the scenes where they can effectively work for a foreign principal. The example of the Arbenz regimes' betrayal of national interests

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interests in favor of alien ideology and its subsequent overthrow at the hands of the very Guatemalan people it sought to defraud is too fresh in memory to be forgotten throughout the hemisphere.

It was because of the events in Guatemala following the election of President Arbenz that the Tenth Inter-American Conference (the pro-communist Foreign Minister of Guatemala dissenting) approved at Caracas in March 1954 a resolution on the "Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics". Known as Resolution 93, it declares that, if the international communist movement should come to dominate the political institutions of any American state, that would be a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of us all, endangering the peace of America and calling for immediate consultations regarding appropriate action to be taken. On a permanent basis, it further calls for continuing disclosures and exchanges of information between the various American Republics which would counteract the subversive activities of the international communist conspiracy. In line with this resolution, there is a new vigilance and awareness on the part of virtually all the signatories to the so-called Caracas Resolution of the need to identify those who spread the propaganda or who travel in the interests of international communism. There is an awareness of the need to ascertain the source of their funds and the identity of their agents. Nevertheless, there is much more to be done, as the communist web of intrigue and subversion continues to spin itself out under ever-changing guises.

The second encouraging factor I would emphasize is that behind this shield of organized governmental anti-communist effort stands an equally-individual but none the less potent defense. I refer to the fact that atheistic communism is an anathema to the deeply-religious Latin American people. For if the continent to the south of us is blessed with a rich storehouse of still-buried raw materials, its inhabitants are endowed with a profound belief in God and the spiritual treasures of free men. I am convinced that those Latin Americans who enjoy personal liberty and social justice, along with others who still aspire to reach the eternal goals of all really democratic societies, will not sell their precious birthrights for a mess of Soviet totalitarian pottage -- no matter how alluring its description or how deceptive its package.

The third factor to be counted on to work against the communist cause is the very nature of human intelligence, as keen and perceptive in the Americas as anywhere. The "cult of personality" in the Soviet Union, theoretically banished after the end of Stalinism's bloody tyranny, again raises its head on the shoulders of a Khrushchev, as the Molotovs and Zhukovs suddenly fall at his feet. American public opinion was deeply shocked when the Soviet overlords crushed a valiant unarmed Hungarian people by brute force. It is to the everlasting credit of the peoples of America that their appointed representatives to the United Nations last month, in the name of human rights and the very dignity of man, sought to save the lives of Hungarian freedom fighters.

fighters arrested because they had sought to liberate their homeland from communist oppression. Soviet propaganda boasts following the Sputnik launchings conveyed veiled military threats against the Free World. These attempts at intimidation were not lost upon the American Republics.

Symptomatic of this recognition in Latin America of the communist danger was the forthright order of the day issued last November 27, anniversary of Brazil's abortive communist uprising of 1935, by the Brazilian **Minister of War**, General Henrique Teixeira Lott. General Lott likened communism to a "venomous serpent seeking to poison all humanity", said its "materialistic and brutish philosophy" was repugnant to Brazilian sentiments and reaffirmed "with conviction our decision to remain faithful to the sacred principles which govern the Brazilian nation". I could also cite here such recent public announcements as that of President Manuel Prado of Peru, in favor of closer cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the struggle against, as he very well put it, "Marxist imperialism"; or the address of President José María Lemus of El Salvador in which he warned of the existence of a communist threat aimed at gaining control of local labor unions and political parties; or the newspaper interview of Brazilian Foreign Minister José Carlos de Macedo Soares in which he said that, despite cultural and sports missions and offers of economic and technical assistance, the Soviet Union's attempts to divide Brazil from the United States and to win new converts for its ideology in Latin America had achieved no noticeable success.

The fourth point to be made in this summary review of basic forces working in the hemisphere against communism is the ever-increasing cultural exchange and cooperation between the various American Republics, based on century-old ties. Our official programs, important as they are, form only a small part of the over-all picture. Of the Latin Americans who study abroad, over 75 percent come to the United States. As more of our Latin American neighbors visit here as tourists, more United States citizens are going to live in Latin America, while Latin Americans, unrestricted by quota visa regulations, are relatively free to take up permanent residence in this country. If Spanish is becoming the second language of the United States, so English is rapidly on its way to similar status in Latin America. As the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, has so succinctly pointed out: Fortunately, while there are wide variations in the types of institutions and degrees of democracy among the American nations, their peoples are all motivated by deep underlying spiritual forces. They desire independence, they want to live in peace and to work for rising economic, educational, and social levels. Such is our common cultural heritage. Such are our common aspirations.

Let us turn for a moment to the United States companies doing business in Latin America. More and more, they have come to realize that public relations is a vital part of the substance of their operations. They recognize that the American

business community abroad is just as much a target of the agents of international communism as is the United States Government itself. Communist agents seek to discredit American businessmen, to disparage American products, to stir up criticism of American financial methods, to invite labor difficulties. Even though American industrial concerns abroad are in the vanguard of those who practice modern industrial relations, communist agents are always trying to promote strikes or violence against them. It is reassuring to note greater awareness in the United States business community of the need for their representatives to possess a breadth of culture and a perceptiveness which will enable them to quickly understand, and to adjust themselves to the atmosphere in which they are working abroad. Of equal value is an intelligent curiosity and a human approach expressed through a genuine, sympathetic and active interest in the welfare of the communities where they are stationed. American private enterprise has much of which to be proud, including its role in the vanguard against communism in America and elsewhere. Indeed, its best reference is the high level of our own economy and the lasting contributions to other nations the world over which have flowed from our system of the "People's Capitalism".

If the foregoing are perhaps the most obvious factors successfully at work combatting communism in Latin America, there is one rather new development which may well portend what could be a real revolutionary contribution on the side of democratic social betterment and civic progress in the hemisphere. You will recall that at the Buenos Aires Economic Conference last August, Secretary of the Treasury Anderson raised the question as to whether excessive military expenditures on the part of many Latin American Republics were not in fact draining their national resources and impeding highest living standards for their populations. Now we recognize the need to maintain forces adequate to provide internal security and for the mutual defense of the hemisphere. The problem for any country, of course, is to determine how much is necessary to spend for these purposes. It might be argued that unnecessary expenditures play into the hands of communist propagandists. Conversely, therefore, spending on productive private industrial capacity or public work would improve standards of living, thereby helping to develop a fundamental and lasting immunity to communist subversion. Hemisphere reaction to Secretary Anderson's query has reflected, in my judgment, a widespread readiness to study this question further and it is my hope that in 1958 some constructive action along these lines may be achieved.

The most persuasive reason to question the need for large and expensive military establishments arises out of the realization that in the Americas we have developed a hemispheric approach to security which is sealed in the Rio Treaty. We have unanimously agreed that an attack on any one State would be considered as an attack on all. This concept of collective security has served as a pattern for the strengthening of the entire Free World.

Our purpose is peace, both with the rest of the world and among ourselves. The repeatedly successful application of the Rio Treaty in halting almost immediately outbreaks of armed aggression has proved beyond doubt the desire and ability of the countries of the Americas to live peacefully together. In short, resort to war as a means of settling disputes in the Americas has become virtually unthinkable.

Against this background of a peaceful American continent, determined to work together as free men to improve our lives and those of our children, we now are confronted by press headlines of a so-called Soviet trade offensive in Latin America. The phrase, of course, is dramatic, but what does it really mean? Undoubtedly, as compared to the situation of previous months, there have been more reports recently of offers being made by Soviet spokesmen and salesmen to exchange Russian manufactured goods for Latin American raw materials. But, of course, as businessmen you know that there is a long way from an offer to a closed deal. We need to keep the facts as we know them in perspective.

In 1957, according to latest estimates, Latin American trade with the Soviet Bloc actually decreased around 12 percent, which means that Latin American trade with the Soviet Bloc represented a little more than one percent of all Latin American trade. This one percent in turn was concentrated largely in four Latin American countries -- Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Uruguay. If the dollar value of Cuban sugar exports to the USSR had not shown a temporary sharp rise as a result of exceptionally-high world prices, Latin American trade totals with the Soviet Bloc in 1957 would have shown an over-all drop of nearly 40 percent as compared to 1956. According to unofficial figures, Argentine trade was off more than 50 percent, while Brazil's slight increase contrasted with Uruguay's small decrease.

There is understandably a desire on the part of our neighbors to examine cannily their trade with the Soviet Bloc, particularly with an eye to the utilization of credits which have accumulated as a result of previously unsatisfactory trade relations. Undoubtedly, my colleagues in the various Foreign Offices of Latin America are well aware of the many pitfalls involved in trade with the Soviets. Their countries have already experienced bitter dissatisfaction with Bloc compliance under commercial agreements and especially the growth of unconvertible balances. To wipe out such a balance, reported to be 20 million dollars, I understand, the Argentine Government has just announced dispatch of a mission to Eastern Europe. Another probable cause of Latin American caution, if experience is any teacher, is the knowledge that the Soviet Bloc often seeks to use trade as a means of getting "a foot in the door".

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What this then invites, as we have seen in this country, as well as in Canada, Argentina, Iran, Australia and Peru -- to name a few with somewhat the same bitter experience -- is the use of Soviet Bloc personnel, protected by diplomatic immunity, for improper and illegal activities, including subversion and espionage.

In citing the dangers of trade with the Soviets, I do not wish to overlook that some of the Latin American Republics are now faced with serious economic problems, characterized in most cases by abnormally-large supplies of raw materials unable to find their way into normal export channels. We are also concerned with these problems, for we realize we live in a world of interdependence, with the fates of Latin America and the United States inextricably intertwined.

When critical needs have arisen, the record shows that we have not failed to assist our American allies. A glance over the last two years reflects the varied and numerous channels of our assistance. The Export-Import Bank issued loan authorizations totalling 659 million dollars. Our share of the jointly-operated United States Technical Assistance Program reached 68 million dollars. Through the Technical Assistance Programs of the Organization of American States and the United Nations we contributed an additional 11.7 million. Eighty million dollars was granted as special aid. Under P.L. 480 legislation for the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the United States made available to Latin America 221 million dollars. In 1957, the only year of its existence, a special fund authorized under the amendment sponsored by your distinguished Senator, Mr. Smathers, provided about 20 million dollars of long-term credit for colonization, public health and sanitation purposes. Through the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, of which we are members, Latin America drew down 160 million dollars to meet balance of payments requirements and borrowed another 120 million dollars.

United States assistance to the other American Republics has also taken the form of our participation in financial stabilization programs amounting to over 200 million dollars, consisting of U.S. Treasury, Federal Reserve Bank and IMF pledges of currency. These programs still serve as invisible partners, ever-ready to lend a friendly helping hand to overcome monetary emergencies. Thanks to such a program, the rate of increase in the cost of living in Chile, for instance, was reduced by more than 50 percent in 1957 -- for the second consecutive year. This is a record of courage and determination of which the Ibañez administration and the Chilean people can well be proud. The same might be said for the achievements of the other countries fighting back valiantly against the ravages of inflation.

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The current reports of Soviet trade offers were very well described by Secretary Dulles at his last press conference. He pointed out the communists always like to fish in troubled waters, but concluded he did not think the Soviets would catch many unwary Latin American customers. And, the Secretary declared: if the need of Latin America grows as a result of its present economic difficulties, our desire to meet that need will correspondingly grow.

What I feel is most important to grasp is that the communists, no matter how ultra-nationalist their pretensions and protestations, are really not interested in helping solve Latin America's problems but rather in complicating them. For in their Marxist credo, the end always justifies the means.

If I have repeatedly emphasized the communist use of nationalism as a Trojan horse of political penetration, it is because I consider such deception a most despicable betrayal of one of our most precious American heritages. The love of one's country is one of man's noblest sentiments. But like the other great sentiments, it is susceptible to base exploitation, to a perversion that can convert the love of one's nation to a fierce chauvinism and to hatred for one's neighbor.

Our American system stands for genuine and legitimate love of nation. It is an ever-evolving system for national self-realization. It calls for the kind of cooperation which will make it possible for each nation in our inter-American system to develop its human and natural resources so that its highest national aspirations will be fulfilled.

Our American system is true international cooperation for it is based on respect for national self-determination and on respect for the will-to-develop the national community, which is so alive in Latin America today.

Communism, however, is the grave enemy of the national community. Whenever it penetrates, it seeks to disturb, to agitate, to subvert, to destroy. It is not a movement of conscience which seeks to bring to light the responsible quarrel with conditions as they are, in order to improve those conditions. Its aim is to pick the quarrel which will confuse and destroy the national community, the quarrel which will paralyze the will to develop the nation, the quarrel which will pervert the love of nation to hate of one part of the nation for another part, and hate of the nation's neighbors.

I bear great faith in our American system; I have an abiding belief in our common patriotic love of country; and I feel deeply that communism's cancerous threat to the national life of each of the twenty-one American Republics clearly exposes communism as the dangerous enemy of our finest traditions of nationhood.

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I am confident that I echo the sentiments of the leaders and the peoples of the Americas when I leave you with this closing thought -- that there is no place in this God-given and God-fearing New World of 360 million souls for anything resembling the materialistic and atheistic concepts of godless communism.

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State--FD, Wash., D.C.

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### FOR THE PRESS

JANUARY 13, 1958

NO. 10

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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ROY R. RUBOTTOM, JR., ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, BEFORE  
JOINT LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE MIAMI-DADE COUNTY CHAMBER  
OF COMMERCE AND UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF GREATER  
MIAMI, COLUMBUS HOTEL, MIAMI, FLORIDA,  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1958, 12:15 P.M.

#### Communism in the Americas

For a number of reasons I am pleased to be here with you today. Of course, it's always nice to be in Miami in January. Moreover, since my interests are centered on inter-American affairs, I find myself particularly at home in what you people call "The Gateway to the Americas". If I am rightly informed, ten percent of Miami's population is of Latin origin, and I have seen some of your policemen wearing patches which say "hablo espanol". Here in Miami is published one of our country's most important and influential daily newspapers in the Spanish language; and through the port of Miami last year passed over 600 thousand persons bound to and from Latin America.

Today I want to talk to you about the role of communism in the Americas. It is a thoroughly sinister role. It is the same role in North America, Central America and South America -- or elsewhere in the world. It is unchanged. It may have taken on a new coloration, protective to the communists themselves but always destructive to the rest of us.

This role involves both aspects of the international communist movement, the ideology of the party line held out by communists, and even worse -- their subversive intervention in the internal affairs of other states and peoples. This, of course, is utterly contrary to our way of life in the Americas and will never succeed. The basic task of communist parties all over the world in trying to carry out both aspects is, in the words of Lenin, to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism with an ability to make all the necessary practical compromises. In the thirties, with the communist parties then only small minorities, one of the compromises which was developed to establish contact with the masses, either through collaboration with the leaders of non-communist organizations or through appealing to the masses over the heads of their leaders, was the so-called "popular front".

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Especially in times when communists wish to lull others into complacency and relaxation such as the present, the "popular front" tactic is applied through the development and infiltration of organizations, often having objectives or appeals which appear to coincide with the legitimate aspirations of a group -- the technique of the soporific -- which are then used to achieve communist objectives. In this way hundreds of thousands of peoples are made the innocent tools of the communist conspiracy. We have had this problem of "fronts" in the United States: it is particularly serious in Latin America.

The Soviets now control thirteen major international front organizations, each with dozens of subsidiary organizations all over the world. Each is a huge "interlocking directorate" linking the Kremlin to a vast network of national organizations operated by local communists or dupes. All have a common purpose -- to draw as many social groups as possible closer to communism and to make amenable to them the global aims of the communist party of the Soviet Union. These fronts are divided, one from another, on functional lines so that, despite their similar operational patterns, they can "offer all things to all men". There is a front for "peace", perhaps the cruelest of all, since all mankind yearns for that; there are others for youth, women, labor, international traders, journalists, intellectuals and professionals. Each has a theme designed to attract a following from the particular target group. They have several things in common: they are all controlled at the top by communists, directly or indirectly; they engage in vast propaganda activities; today they emphasize "national liberation" and, particularly in Latin America, "economic independence". Through these fronts, and with Soviet financial support when required, local, national and international meetings are organized; travel to the Communist hinterland is arranged and financed; selected candidates are trained and indoctrinated; and an infinite variety of propaganda publications in all languages is distributed.

Sometimes, some of the machinations of the Soviet "front men" in Latin America get unexpected publicity. You have undoubtedly read, as I have recently, about how the No. 1 Communist labor leader of Latin America, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, has been busy denying the authenticity of a letter attributed to him by the Government of Ecuador. In the letter, described as a copy of a circular he is supposed to have sent to all affiliates of the communist-dominated union he heads -- the Confederation of Latin American Workers -- Lombardo Toledano calls on his lieutenants to furnish him with the answers to a long list of questions bearing on the military and general security status of their respective countries to be used in connection with a communist offensive in Latin America in 1958. To those of us conversant with communist techniques and tactics, it is not surprising to find a foreign communist leader calling on his various underlings to betray their own countries.

Just a week ago, the Associated Press carried a dispatch from Rio de Janeiro concerning a report prepared by the Brazilian Foreign Office. According to the AP, the Brazilian Government has copies of minutes of meetings held in Moscow last November by Latin American communist leaders when it was decided to use Soviet offers of aid to Brazil as part of a campaign to make Brazil a spearhead of Latin American hostility to the United States.

Behind the "front" organizations we find the communist party proper. Nominally, the communist party is legal in only five Latin American Republics -- Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Uruguay -- but in almost all of them communists are trying to play their kind of subversive game. Party membership apparently varies from a few dozen communists in several of the Middle American countries, to around 50 and 80 thousand in Brazil and Argentina, respectively. The grand total has been calculated at little more than 200 thousand, but numbers do not necessarily describe their influence.

The communists have both immediate and long-range objectives in Latin America, as elsewhere. Ultimately, of course, they would like to seize power and try to set up "popular democratic" regimes in which communism would reign. That being out of the question, they are attempting a gradual approach, minimizing their difference with the non-communist left, playing down their ties with international communism and, in general, seeking to gain some degree of respectability and acceptance. In this, they have been notably unsuccessful. The communists concentrate on trying to infiltrate as best they can into intellectual circles and also into key positions in government, organized labor, student groups and public opinion media. They then attempt to sow the seeds of chaos, disunity, and other conditions designed to break down the normal democratic functions.

In appraising communism's chances in the Americas, there are, it seems to me, certain fundamental points to be recognized. I outline them, with the sober reminder that neither we nor our friends to the south can ever be complacent in the face of communism's eternal threat to man's freedom and welfare.

The first and foremost point to remember is that the communists by themselves represent no immediate threat to the Latin American countries themselves nor to United States national security, for they are in no position anywhere in the hemisphere to gain power through legitimate means. This is not to say that even though they are by themselves a minority, the communists do not represent a constant danger. With their underground cadres ever alert to take advantage of popular discontent arising out of turbulent political conditions or widespread economic crisis, the communist apparatus requires continued vigilance. To gain power through the ballot, communist agents masquerade as super-nationalists, hoping to penetrate behind the scenes where they can effectively work for a foreign principal. The example of the Arbenz regimes' betrayal of national interests

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interests in favor of alien ideology and its subsequent overthrow at the hands of the very Guatemalan people it sought to defraud is too fresh in memory to be forgotten throughout the hemisphere.

It was because of the events in Guatemala following the election of President Arbenz that the Tenth Inter-American Conference (the pro-communist Foreign Minister of Guatemala dissenting) approved at Caracas in March 1954 a resolution on the "Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics". Known as Resolution 93, it declares that, if the international communist movement should come to dominate the political institutions of any American state, that would be a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of us all, endangering the peace of America and calling for immediate consultations regarding appropriate action to be taken. On a permanent basis, it further calls for continuing disclosures and exchanges of information between the various American Republics which would counteract the subversive activities of the international communist conspiracy. In line with this resolution, there is a new vigilance and awareness on the part of virtually all the signatories to the so-called Caracas Resolution of the need to identify those who spread the propaganda or who travel in the interests of international communism. There is an awareness of the need to ascertain the source of their funds and the identity of their agents. Nevertheless, there is much more to be done, as the communist web of intrigue and subversion continues to spin itself out under ever-changing guises.

The second encouraging factor I would emphasize is that behind this shield of organized governmental anti-communist effort stands an equally-individual but none the less potent defense. I refer to the fact that atheistic communism is an anathema to the deeply-religious Latin American people. For if the continent to the south of us is blessed with a rich storehouse of still-buried raw materials, its inhabitants are endowed with a profound belief in God and the spiritual treasures of free men. I am convinced that those Latin Americans who enjoy personal liberty and social justice, along with others who still aspire to reach the eternal goals of all really democratic societies, will not sell their precious birthrights for a mess of Soviet totalitarian pottage -- no matter how alluring its description or how deceptive its package.

The third factor to be counted on to work against the communist cause is the very nature of human intelligence, as keen and perceptive in the Americas as anywhere. The "cult of personality" in the Soviet Union, theoretically banished after the end of Stalinism's bloody tyranny, again raises its head on the shoulders of a Khrushchev, as the Molotovs and Zhukovs suddenly fall at his feet. American public opinion was deeply shocked when the Soviet overlords crushed a valiant unarmed Hungarian people by brute force. It is to the everlasting credit of the peoples of America that their appointed representatives to the United Nations last month, in the name of human rights and the very dignity of man, sought to save the lives of Hungarian freedom

fighters:

fighters arrested because they had sought to liberate their homeland from communist oppression. Soviet propaganda boasts following the Sputnik launchings conveyed veiled military threats against the Free World. These attempts at intimidation were not lost upon the American Republics.

Symptomatic of this recognition in Latin America of the communist danger was the forthright order of the day issued last November 27, anniversary of Brazil's abortive communist uprising of 1935, by the Brazilian Minister of War, General Henrique Teixeira Lott. General Lott likened communism to a "venomous serpent seeking to poison all humanity", said its "materialistic and brutish philosophy" was repugnant to Brazilian sentiments and reaffirmed "with conviction our decision to remain faithful to the sacred principles which govern the Brazilian nation". I could also cite here such recent public announcements as that of President Manuel Prado of Peru, in favor of closer cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the struggle against, as he very well put it, "Marxist imperialism"; or the address of President José María Lemus of El Salvador in which he warned of the existence of a communist threat aimed at gaining control of local labor unions and political parties; or the newspaper interview of Brazilian Foreign Minister José Carlos de Macedo Soares in which he said that, despite cultural and sports missions and offers of economic and technical assistance, the Soviet Union's attempts to divide Brazil from the United States and to win new converts for its ideology in Latin America had achieved no noticeable success.

The fourth point to be made in this summary review of basic forces working in the hemisphere against communism is the ever-increasing cultural exchange and cooperation between the various American Republics, based on century-old ties. Our official programs, important as they are, form only a small part of the over-all picture. Of the Latin Americans who study abroad, over 75 percent come to the United States. As more of our Latin American neighbors visit here as tourists, more United States citizens are going to live in Latin America, while Latin Americans, unrestricted by quota visa regulations, are relatively free to take up permanent residence in this country. If Spanish is becoming the second language of the United States, so English is rapidly on its way to similar status in Latin America. As the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, has so succinctly pointed out: Fortunately, while there are wide variations in the types of institutions and degrees of democracy among the American nations, their peoples are all motivated by deep underlying spiritual forces. They desire independence, they want to live in peace and to work for rising economic, educational, and social levels. Such is our common cultural heritage. Such are our common aspirations.

Let us turn for a moment to the United States companies doing business in Latin America. More and more, they have come to realize that public relations is a vital part of the substance of their operations. They recognize that the American

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business community abroad is just as much a target of the agents of international communism as is the United States Government itself. Communist agents seek to discredit American businessmen, to disparage American products, to stir up criticism of American financial methods, to invite labor difficulties. Even though American industrial concerns abroad are in the vanguard of those who practice modern industrial relations, communist agents are always trying to promote strikes or violence against them. It is reassuring to note greater awareness in the United States business community of the need for their representatives to possess a breadth of culture and a perceptiveness which will enable them to quickly understand, and to adjust themselves to the atmosphere in which they are working abroad. Of equal value is an intelligent curiosity and a human approach expressed through a genuine, sympathetic and active interest in the welfare of the communities where they are stationed. American private enterprise has much of which to be proud, including its role in the vanguard against communism in America and elsewhere. Indeed, its best reference is the high level of our own economy and the lasting contributions to other nations the world over which have flowed from our system of the "People's Capitalism".

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State--FD, Wash., D.C.

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#### Communism in the Americas

For a number of reasons I am pleased to be here with you today. Of course, it's always nice to be in Miami in January. Moreover, since my interests are centered on inter-American affairs, I find myself particularly at home in what you people call "The Gateway to the Americas". If I am rightly informed, ten percent of Miami's population is of Latin origin, and I have seen some of your policemen wearing patches which say "hablo espanol". Here in Miami is published one of our country's most important and influential daily newspapers in the Spanish language; and through the port of Miami last year passed over 600 thousand persons bound to and from Latin America.

Today I want to talk to you about the role of communism in the Americas. It is a thoroughly sinister role. It is the same role in North America, Central America and South America -- or elsewhere in the world. It is unchanged. It may have taken on a new coloration, protective to the communists themselves but always destructive to the rest of us.

This role involves both aspects of the international communist movement, the ideology of the party line held out by communists, and even worse -- their subversive intervention in the internal affairs of other states and peoples. This, of course, is utterly contrary to our way of life in the Americas and will never succeed. The basic task of communist parties all over the world in trying to carry out both aspects is, in the words of Lenin, 'to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism with an ability to make all the necessary practical compromises'. In the thirties, with the communist parties then only small minorities, one of the compromises which was developed to establish contact with the masses, either through collaboration with the leaders of non-communist organizations or through appealing to the masses over the heads of their leaders, was the so-called "popular front".

Especially

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Especially in times when communists wish to lull others into complacency and relaxation such as the present, the "popular front" tactic is applied through the development and infiltration of organizations, often having objectives or appeals which appear to coincide with the legitimate aspirations of a group -- the technique of the soporific -- which are then used to achieve communist objectives. In this way hundred of thousands of peoples are made the innocent tools of the communist conspiracy. We have had this problem of "fronts" in the United States: it is particularly serious in Latin America.

The Soviets now control thirteen major international front organizations, each with dozens of subsidiary organizations all over the world. Each is a huge "interlocking directorate" linking the Kremlin to a vast network of national organizations operated by local communists or dupes. All have a common purpose -- to draw as many social groups as possible closer to communism and to make amenable to them the global aims of the communist party of the Soviet Union. These fronts are divided, one from another, on functional lines so that, despite their similar operational patterns, they can "offer all things to all men". There is a front for "peace", perhaps the cruelest of all, since all mankind yearns for that; there are others for youth, women, labor, international traders, journalists, intellectuals and professionals. Each has a theme designed to attract a following from the particular target group. They have several things in common: they are all controlled at the top by communists, directly or indirectly; they engage in vast propaganda activities; today they emphasize "national liberation" and, particularly in Latin America, "economic independence". Through these fronts, and with Soviet financial support when required, local, national and international meetings are organized; travel to the communist hinterland is arranged and financed; selected candidates are trained and indoctrinated; and an infinite variety of propaganda publications in all languages is distributed.

Sometimes, some of the machinations of the Soviet "front men" in Latin America get unexpected publicity. You have undoubtedly read, as I have recently, about how the No. 1 communist labor leader of Latin America, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, has been busy denying the authenticity of a letter attributed to him by the Government of Ecuador. In the letter, described as a copy of a circular he is supposed to have sent to all affiliates of the communist-dominated union he heads -- the Confederation of Latin American Workers -- Lombardo Toledano calls on his lieutenants to furnish him with the answers to a long list of questions bearing on the military and general security status of their respective countries to be used in connection with a communist offensive in Latin America in 1958. To those of us conversant with communist techniques and tactics, it is not surprising to find a foreign communist leader calling on his various underlings to betray their own countries.

Just a week ago, the Associated Press carried a dispatch from Rio de Janeiro concerning a report prepared by the Brazilian Foreign Office. According to the AP, the Brazilian Government has copies of minutes of meetings held in Moscow last November by Latin American communist leaders when it was decided to use Soviet offers of aid to Brazil as part of a campaign to make Brazil a spearhead of Latin American hostility to the United States.

Behind the "front" organizations we find the communist party proper. Nominally, the communist party is legal in only five Latin American Republics -- Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Uruguay -- but in almost all of them communists are trying to play their kind of subversive game. Party membership apparently varies from a few dozen communists in several of the Middle American countries, to around 50 and 80 thousand in Brazil and Argentina, respectively. The grand total has been calculated at little more than 200 thousand, but numbers do not necessarily describe their influence.

The communists have both immediate and long-range objectives in Latin America, as elsewhere. Ultimately, of course, they would like to seize power and try to set up "popular democratic" regimes in which communism would reign. That being out of the question, they are attempting a gradual approach, minimizing their difference with the non-communist left, playing down their ties with international communism and, in general, seeking to gain some degree of respectability and acceptance. In this, they have been notably unsuccessful. The communists concentrate on trying to infiltrate as best they can into intellectual circles and also into key positions in government, organized labor, student groups and public opinion media. They then attempt to sow the seeds of chaos, disunity, and other conditions designed to break down the normal democratic functions.

In appraising communism's chances in the Americas, there are, it seems to me, certain fundamental points to be recognized. I outline them, with the sober reminder that neither we nor our friends to the south can ever be complacent in the face of communism's eternal threat to man's freedom and welfare.

The first and foremost point to remember is that the communists by themselves represent no immediate threat to the Latin American countries themselves nor to United States national security, for they are in no position anywhere in the hemisphere to gain power through legitimate means. This is not to say that even though they are by themselves a minority, the communists do not represent a constant danger. With their underground cadres ever alert to take advantage of popular discontent arising out of turbulent political conditions or widespread economic crisis, the communist apparatus requires continued vigilance. To gain power through the ballot, communist agents masquerade as super-nationalists, hoping to penetrate behind the scenes where they can effectively work for a foreign principal. The example of the Arbenz regimes' betrayal of

interests in favor of alien ideology and its subsequent overthrow at the hands of the very Guatemalan people it sought to defraud is too fresh in memory to be forgotten throughout the hemisphere.

It was because of the events in Guatemala following the election of President Arbenz that the Tenth Inter-American Conference (the pro-communist Foreign Minister of Guatemala dissenting) approved at Caracas in March 1954 a resolution on the "Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics". Known as Resolution 93, it declares that, if the international communist movement should come to dominate the political institutions of any American state, that would be a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of us all, endangering the peace of America and calling for immediate consultations regarding appropriate action to be taken. On a permanent basis, it further calls for continuing disclosures and exchanges of information between the various American Republics which would counteract the subversive activities of the international communist conspiracy. In line with this resolution, there is a new vigilance and awareness on the part of virtually all the signatories to the so-called Caracas Resolution of the need to identify those who spread the propaganda or who travel in the interests of international communism. There is an awareness of the need to ascertain the source of their funds and the identity of their agents. Nevertheless, there is much more to be done, as the communist web of intrigue and subversion continues to spin itself out under ever-changing guises.

The second encouraging factor I would emphasize is that behind this shield of organized governmental anti-communist effort stands an equally-individual but none the less potent defense. I refer to the fact that atheistic communism is an anathema to the deeply-religious Latin American people. For if the continent to the south of us is blessed with a rich storehouse of still-buried raw materials, its inhabitants are endowed with a profound belief in God and the spiritual treasures of free men. I am convinced that those Latin Americans who enjoy personal liberty and social justice, along with others who still aspire to reach the eternal goals of all really democratic societies, will not sell their precious birthrights for a mess of Soviet totalitarian pottage -- no matter how alluring its description or how deceptive its package.

The third factor to be counted on to work against the communist cause is the very nature of human intelligence, as keen and perceptive in the Americas as anywhere. The "cult of personality" in the Soviet Union, theoretically banished after the end of Stalinism's bloody tyranny, again raises its head on the shoulders of a Khrushchev, as the Molotovs and Zhukovs suddenly fall at his feet. American public opinion was deeply shocked when the Soviet overlords crushed a valiant unarmed Hungarian people by brute force. It is to the everlasting credit of the peoples of America that their appointed representatives to the United Nations last month, in the name of human rights and the very dignity of man, sought to save the lives of Hungarian freedom

fighters

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fighters arrested because they had sought to liberate their homeland from communist oppression. Soviet propaganda boasts following the Sputnik launchings conveyed veiled military threats against the Free World. These attempts at intimidation were not lost upon the American Republics.

Symptomatic of this recognition in Latin America of the communist danger was the forthright order of the day issued last November 27, anniversary of Brazil's abortive communist uprising of 1935, by the Brazilian Minister of War, General Henrique Teixeira Lott. General Lott likened communism to a "venomous serpent seeking to poison all humanity", said its "materialistic and brutish philosophy" was repugnant to Brazilian sentiments and reaffirmed "with conviction our decision to remain faithful to the sacred principles which govern the Brazilian nation". I could also cite here such recent public announcements as that of President Manuel Prado of Peru, in favor of closer cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the struggle against, as he very well put it, "Marxist imperialism"; or the address of President José María Lemus of El Salvador in which he warned of the existence of a communist threat aimed at gaining control of local labor unions and political parties; or the newspaper interview of Brazilian Foreign Minister José Carlos de Macedo Soares in which he said that, despite cultural and sports missions and offers of economic and technical assistance, the Soviet Union's attempts to divide Brazil from the United States and to win new converts for its ideology in Latin America had achieved no noticeable success.

The fourth point to be made in this summary review of basic forces working in the hemisphere against communism is the ever-increasing cultural exchange and cooperation between the various American Republics, based on century-old ties. Our official programs, important as they are, form only a small part of the over-all picture. Of the Latin Americans who study abroad, over 75 percent come to the United States. As more of our Latin American neighbors visit here as tourists, more United States citizens are going to live in Latin America, while Latin Americans, unrestricted by quota visa regulations, are relatively free to take up permanent residence in this country. If Spanish is becoming the second language of the United States, so English is rapidly on its way to similar status in Latin America. As the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, has so succinctly pointed out: Fortunately, while there are wide variations in the types of institutions and degrees of democracy among the American nations, their peoples are all motivated by deep underlying spiritual forces. They desire independence, they want to live in peace and to work for rising economic, educational, and social levels. Such is our common cultural heritage. Such are our common aspirations.

Let us turn for a moment to the United States companies doing business in Latin America. More and more, they have come to realize that public relations is a vital part of the substance of their operations. They recognize that the American



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business community abroad is just as much a target of the agents of international communism as is the United States Government itself. Communist agents seek to discredit American businessmen, to disparage American products, to stir up criticism of American financial methods, to invite labor difficulties. Even though American industrial concerns abroad are in the vanguard of those who practice modern industrial relations, communist agents are always trying to promote strikes or violence against them. It is reassuring to note greater awareness in the United States business community of the need for their representatives to possess a breadth of culture and a perceptiveness which will enable them to quickly understand, and to adjust themselves to the atmosphere in which they are working abroad. Of equal value is an intelligent curiosity and a human approach expressed through a genuine, sympathetic and active interest in the welfare of the communities where they are stationed. American private enterprise has much of which to be proud, including its role in the vanguard against communism in America and elsewhere. Indeed, its best reference is the high level of our own economy and the lasting contributions to other nations the world over which have flowed from our system of the "People's Capitalism".

If the foregoing are perhaps the most obvious factors successfully at work combatting communism in Latin America, there is one rather new development which may well portend what could be a real revolutionary contribution on the side of democratic social betterment and civic progress in the hemisphere. You will recall that at the Buenos Aires Economic Conference last August, Secretary of the Treasury Anderson raised the question as to whether excessive military expenditures on the part of many Latin American Republics were not in fact draining their national resources and impeding highest living standards for their populations. Now we recognize the need to maintain forces adequate to provide internal security and for the mutual defense of the hemisphere. The problem for any country, of course, is to determine how much is necessary to spend for these purposes. It might be argued that unnecessary expenditures play into the hands of communist propagandists. Conversely, therefore, spending on productive private industrial capacity or public work would improve standards of living, thereby helping to develop a fundamental and lasting immunity to communist subversion. Hemisphere reaction to Secretary Anderson's query has reflected, in my judgment, a widespread readiness to study this question further and it is my hope that in 1958 some constructive action along these lines may be achieved.

The most persuasive reason to question the need for large and expensive military establishments arises out of the realization that in the Americas we have developed a hemispheric approach to security which is sealed in the Rio Treaty. We have unanimously agreed that an attack on any one State would be considered as an attack on all. This concept of collective security has served as a pattern for the strengthening of the entire Free World.

Our

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Our purpose is peace, both with the rest of the world and among ourselves. The repeatedly successful application of the Rio Treaty in halting almost immediately outbreaks of armed aggression has proved beyond doubt the desire and ability of the countries of the Americas to live peacefully together. In short, resort to war as a means of settling disputes in the Americas has become virtually unthinkable.

Against this background of a peaceful American continent, determined to work together as free men to improve our lives and those of our children, we now are confronted by press headlines of a so-called Soviet trade offensive in Latin America. The phrase, of course, is dramatic, but what does it really mean? Undoubtedly, as compared to the situation of previous months, there have been more reports recently of offers being made by Soviet spokesmen and salesmen to exchange Russian manufactured goods for Latin American raw materials. But, of course, as businessmen you know that there is a long way from an offer to a closed deal. We need to keep the facts as we know them in perspective.

In 1957, according to latest estimates, Latin American trade with the Soviet Bloc actually decreased around 12 percent, which means that Latin American trade with the Soviet Bloc represented a little more than one percent of all Latin American trade. This one percent in turn was concentrated largely in four Latin American countries -- Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Uruguay. If the dollar value of Cuban sugar exports to the USSR had not shown a temporary sharp rise as a result of exceptionally-high world prices, Latin American trade totals with the Soviet Bloc in 1957 would have shown an over-all drop of nearly 40 percent as compared to 1956. According to unofficial figures, Argentine trade was off more than 50 percent, while Brazil's slight increase contrasted with Uruguay's small decrease.

There is understandably a desire on the part of our neighbors to examine cannily their trade with the Soviet Bloc, particularly with an eye to the utilization of credits which have accumulated as a result of previously unsatisfactory trade relations. Undoubtedly, my colleagues in the various Foreign Offices of Latin America are well aware of the many pitfalls involved in trade with the Soviets. Their countries have already experienced bitter dissatisfaction with Bloc compliance under commercial agreements and especially the growth of unconvertible balances. To wipe out such a balance, reported to be 20 million dollars, I understand, the Argentine Government has just announced dispatch of a mission to Eastern Europe. Another probable cause of Latin American caution, if experience is any teacher, is the knowledge that the Soviet Bloc often seeks to use trade as a means of getting "a foot in the door".

What

What this then invites, as we have seen in this country, as well as in Canada, Argentina, Iran, Australia and Peru -- to name a few with somewhat the same bitter experience -- is the use of Soviet Bloc personnel, protected by diplomatic immunity, for improper and illegal activities, including subversion and espionage.

In citing the dangers of trade with the Soviets, I do not wish to overlook that some of the Latin American Republics are now faced with serious economic problems, characterized in most cases by abnormally-large supplies of raw materials unable to find their way into normal export channels. We are also concerned with these problems, for we realize we live in a world of interdependence, with the fates of Latin America and the United States inextricably intertwined.

When critical needs have arisen, the record shows that we have not failed to assist our American allies. A glance over the last two years reflects the varied and numerous channels of our assistance. The Export-Import Bank issued loan authorizations totalling 659 million dollars. Our share of the jointly-operated United States Technical Assistance Program reached 68 million dollars. Through the Technical Assistance Programs of the Organization of American States and the United Nations we contributed an additional 11.7 million. Eighty million dollars was granted as special aid. Under P.L. 480 legislation for the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the United States made available to Latin America 221 million dollars. In 1957, the only year of its existence, a special fund authorized under the amendment sponsored by your distinguished Senator, Mr. Smathers, provided about 20 million dollars of long-term credit for colonization, public health and sanitation purposes. Through the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, of which we are members, Latin America drew down 160 million dollars to meet balance of payments requirements and borrowed another 120 million dollars.

United States assistance to the other American Republics has also taken the form of our participation in financial stabilization programs amounting to over 200 million dollars, consisting of U.S. Treasury, Federal Reserve Bank and IMF pledges of currency. These programs still serve as invisible partners, ever-ready to lend a friendly helping hand to overcome monetary emergencies. Thanks to such a program, the rate of increase in the cost of living in Chile, for instance, was reduced by more than 50 percent in 1957 -- for the second consecutive year. This is a record of courage and determination of which the Ibañez administration and the Chilean people can well be proud. The same might be said for the achievements of the other countries fighting back valiantly against the ravages of inflation.

The current

The current reports of Soviet trade offers were very well described by Secretary Dulles at his last press conference. He pointed out the communists always like to fish in troubled waters, but concluded he did not think the Soviets would catch many unwary Latin American customers. And, the Secretary declared: if the need of Latin America grows as a result of its present economic difficulties, our desire to meet that need will correspondingly grow.

What I feel is most important to grasp is that the communists, no matter how ultra-nationalist their pretensions and protestations, are really not interested in helping solve Latin America's problems but rather in complicating them. For in their Marxist credo, the end always justifies the means.

If I have repeatedly emphasized the communist use of nationalism as a Trojan horse of political penetration, it is because I consider such deception a most despicable betrayal of one of our most precious American heritages. The love of one's country is one of man's noblest sentiments. But like the other great sentiments, it is susceptible to base exploitation, to a perversion that can convert the love of one's nation to a fierce chauvinism and to hatred for one's neighbor.

Our American system stands for genuine and legitimate love of nation. It is an ever-evolving system for national self-realization. It calls for the kind of cooperation which will make it possible for each nation in our inter-American system to develop its human and natural resources so that its highest national aspirations will be fulfilled.

Our American system is true international cooperation for it is based on respect for national self-determination and on respect for the will-to-develop the national community, which is so alive in Latin America today.

Communism, however, is the grave enemy of the national community. Whenever it penetrates, it seeks to disturb, to agitate, to subvert, to destroy. It is not a movement of conscience which seeks to bring to light the responsible quarrel with conditions as they are, in order to improve those conditions. Its aim is to pick the quarrel which will confuse and destroy the national community, the quarrel which will paralyze the will to develop the nation, the quarrel which will pervert the love of nation to hate of one part of the nation for another part, and hate of the nation's neighbors.

I bear great faith in our American system; I have an abiding belief in our common patriotic love of country; and I feel deeply that communism's cancerous threat to the national life of each of the twenty-one American Republics clearly exposes communism as the dangerous enemy of our finest traditions of nationhood.

I am

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I am confident that I echo the sentiments of the leaders and the peoples of the Americas when I leave you with this closing thought -- that there is no place in this God-given and God-fearing New World of 360 million souls for anything resembling the materialistic and atheistic concepts of godless communism.

\* \* \*

State--FD, Wash., D.C.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN LEGATION, WARSAW

Reference: Rio de Janeiro's despatch 451 of Nov. 14/57

Subject: Communist Diplomatic and Trade  
Drive in Brazil

Security: CONFIDENTIAL

No: 47

Date: January 16, 1958

Enclosures:

Air or Surface Mail: Air

Post File No:

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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FD-24

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Rio de Janeiro  
Washington  
L. X. B.  
CCOS (S)  
T. C.  
Finance  
E. P. A. C. A. I. (P. 7.)

For comments of any nature, 7.  
Econ. Dir.  
D. L. 2 (Millon) Dir.  
P. M. Cond. Dir.  
P. M. Cond. Dir.

We were interested to read Rio de Janeiro's despatch No. 451 of November 14, 1957 regarding the East European diplomatic and trade drive in Brazil and in particular the part being played by Poland.

2. Because statistical material in Poland prior to 1956 leaves even more to be desired than the current data provided by the authorities, we cannot say with certainty exactly when Polish-Brazilian trade relations began to reach the point of possible significance. We assume, however, that it was by 1956, when Polish exports to Brazil represented 1.3 percent of all exports, that Polish interest became a little better than nominal. Certainly the inclusion of Czeslaw Bajer, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, as second ranking member of the Polish special delegation to the inauguration of President Kubitschek at the end of January of that year, might be taken as such an indication. It is understood that at that time he had discussions with the Brazilian authorities with a view to Polish participation in their new industrial development schemes.

3. Published trade figures for what they may be worth are:

(in millions of zlotys\*)

Year	POLISH IMPORTS			POLISH EXPORTS	
	Total Exchange	Value	% of Total	Value	% of Total
1956	83.3	31.4	0.8	51.9	1.3
1957 I-VI	69.5	39.5	1.7	30.0	1.6

4. Over the last two years, Polish exports to Brazil have included ships (circa 5,000 tons), textile machines, machine tools, railway rails and transportation equipment, agricultural machines, diesel engines, aluminum, "plate and cast tin", iron bars, chemicals, raw material for pharmaceutical products and brewery malt. What the Poles call investment goods in 1956 were valued at U.S. \$2,700,000 or a little over 20 percent of exports to that country. Polish imports, as best as we can fathom have been made up of cotton,

\* to convert to U.S. dollars use commercial rate  
exchange U.S. \$1.00 = Zl. 4.0

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Moscow  
Prague

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CONFIDENTIAL

hides, cocoa and high grade iron ore.

5. In March 1957, Dr. Oltolomy Strauch of the Brazilian Ministry of Transport accompanied by Mr. Julion Poetzscha, Director of the Guild of Tradesmen arrived in Warsaw "to negotiate the purchase of floating units and port equipment and study the possibilities for a further expansion of trade relations... particularly in the sphere of deliveries of Polish investment goods." At the beginning of the third week in November, it was reported in the local press that Dr. Czeslaw Babinski and a party of four experts from CEKOP (Central Agency for Export of Complete Industrial Projects) left for Brazil to discuss the possibility of constructing (a) an ore transshipment port near Angra des Rais, (b) an iron ore mine further inland, and (c) a 300 km. railway between port and mine. If the Polish tender were accepted, the Polish side would provide "technical documentation and complete installations" receiving in exchange high percentage iron ore from the new mine. At the same time it was also reported that the Brazilian press was indicating the possibility of the purchase in Poland on long credit terms of installations for a steel works (mainly at Vale do Parapeba) which would increase Brazilian production over a period of three years by some 300-400,000 tons per annum. Finally on December 27, there was a report that CENTREZAP (Central Agency for Foreign Trade) had signed a contract for the export of U.S. \$17,000,000 worth of rails and rail equipment to Brazil. It was noted that this was the second such contract, the first one, which is nearing completion, having been for 75,000 tons of rails worth U.S. \$10,000,000.

6. A further, but not very substantial development, in Polish-Brazilian trade relations occurred at the Poznan International Trade Fair of 1957 during which the Poles claim they signed contracts with the Brazilians for a turnover of roubles 1,775,000 (equivalent to U.S. \$443,750) made up of roubles 1,117,000 worth of goods to be imported from Brazil and roubles 605,000 of goods to be exported thereto.

7. We should be interested to receive in due course your appreciation of whether, in the investment proposals bruited about in Brazil by the Poles, the Polish trading authorities are acting as a front for, or with funds provided by the Soviet Union as suggested in para. 4 of the despatch under reference. For our part, we are inclined to doubt it.

8. It is our view that it is not a particularly difficult matter for Poland with its "socialized" industry to offer rather substantial deliveries of certain types of heavy plant and equipment on long term credit principally because such goods can have very little, if any, foreign content. They have the facilities to produce the goods:

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CONFIDENTIAL

the initial cost to Poland, therefore, is a book entry in zlotys. Admittedly there are some domestic inflationary aspects to this form of financing. This would, however, be mitigated to some extent by the fact that it takes a number of years to produce the installations to be exported and the additional factor that the factories would have to keep producing something in any case. Probably the only foreign exchange costs which would arise would be for ocean transport (only in part if the goods were carried in Polish bottoms) and for labour and ancillary materials on the site. These it is likely would to some, if not to the full, extent be met by the Brazilians, under an investment contract, immediately and mostly in their own currency, thus leaving only the heavy capital costs for repayment over an extended period of years.

9. Therefore, when our mission in Rio passed on the view that the Poles (whose foreign exchange position is a difficult one) obviously "did not have this kind of money" we suggest that it was not fully appreciated that the hard currency portion of an investment nominally quoted at even U.S. \$300,000,000 can in practice be very small indeed when dealing with a communist state enjoying a fairly substantial heavy industrial plant and most of the raw materials for it. It is rather the domestic inflationary effects of such an undertaking which would have to be weighed by the Poles against, on the one hand, their ability to sterilize those effects and, on the other, the cheerful prospect of a substantial hard currency income in the future. Short term assistance from the East would be useful in resolving such an equation but probably not essential.

10. So much for theory. From conversation with the Brazilians here, we gather that the investment proposals have fallen through. In the specific case of the railroad in Minas Gerais, it is the Brazilian Chargé's view that the need to take up a concession (this was the term of the call for tenders) finally scared the Poles off: their practice is to build, not to be responsible for the running of an installation. We were also told that it had been the foreign exchange auction system which had made it attractive for Brazilian importers to buy in Poland. This system had undergone a change some time ago which is tending to reduce the attractiveness of some Polish manufactures such as textile machines.

*LESD*  
The Legation.



DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: ..The Canadian Embassy,.....  
..Washington, D.C.....

Reference:.....

Subject:....United States-Mexico Relations.....

Security:.....Unclassified

No:.....62

Date:.....January 10, 1958

Enclosures: (Three)

Air or Surface Mail:.....

Post File No:.....

Ottawa File No.

50066-40

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References

Original - 2827-40

We are sending you enclosed copies  
of Senator Mansfield's report to the Senate Committee  
on Foreign Relations of a study trip to Mexico. The  
purpose of that study was to determine the value of  
United States Technical Assistance to that country.  
The report however contains information which while  
related to the assistance programme is most revealing  
on other aspects of the United States-Mexican relations  
and in particular as regards Communist activities in  
Mexico and Latin America.

2. We are certain this document will be of  
interest to many divisions of the Department and  
to other Departments also. It might be interesting  
to ask our Embassy in Mexico to give their reactions  
to this report which for our part we consider an  
accurate appreciation of the situation as seen by  
an experienced and objective United States observer.

Internal  
Circulation

The Embassy

Distribution  
to Posts

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Congress }  
Session }

COMMITTEE PRINT

# MEXICO

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## REPORT

OF

SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD

ON A

STUDY MISSION



NOVEMBER 17, 1957

Printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

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UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1957

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COMMITTEE PRINT

1957

# MEXICO

## REPORT

OF

### SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD

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II



NOVEMBER 17, 1957

Printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

UNITED STATES  
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WASHINGTON : 1957

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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NOVEMBER 1, 1957.

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,  
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,*  
*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR GREEN: I am submitting herewith a report on a study trip to Mexico which I made in September of this year.

In doing so I welcome the opportunity to express my deep and personal appreciation to all those who contributed to make my visit a successful one, particularly Ambassador Robert C. Hill and the personnel of the American Embassy in Mexico City. We are indeed fortunate to have such an outstanding group representing the United States in a sister Republic.

Sincerely yours,

MIKE MANSFIELD:

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## MEXICO

### 1. INTRODUCTORY

In a report prepared after a study mission to Mexico which I undertook in 1955, I called attention to some of the principal deficiencies of our technical assistance program south of the border and to the difficulties which had to be overcome if that program were to serve the mutual interests of Mexico and the United States.

One of the purposes of the present report will be to develop briefly the major developments which have taken place in the 2 years which have elapsed since my previous trip with respect to this and other aspects of Mexican-American relations. After commenting briefly on some of the implications of these developments, I shall offer a few suggestions as to courses of action which might be pursued in order to cement further our relations with the people of Mexico.

In the earlier report I suggested that, if even a limited technical assistance program were to be maintained, it was, above all, essential for the two governments to reach a common understanding as to the areas in which technical assistance was not only needed but honestly desired. If this were not possible, continuation of the program could not, I believed, be justified on grounds of mutual self-interest.

These impressions were reinforced on my last trip to Mexico. I found little evidence that responsible officials in both the United States and Mexico share any particular enthusiasm or even interest in continuation of the program as a whole. It has substantially deteriorated, having little impact outside of Mexico City; and such impact as it has is accompanied with certain adverse side effects which can hardly be said to have improved amicable relations between our two countries.

For this reason and in view of the resistance which United States technical cooperation has encountered (with one possible exception discussed below), I believe that serious reflection should be given to the termination of the program at an early date. The causes (or explanation) of this resistance, linked in part, as it is, with Mexican national pride and a deep spirit of sovereign independence, need not detain us.

To suggest termination, moreover, is not prompted merely by the desire to effect economies in the expenditure of public funds by eliminating an unproductive effort. Instead, it should be acknowledged that a variety of factors have combined to render the program highly dubious. Any decision as to its final liquidation should depend in large part upon the findings of our Mexico City embassy, as the office best equipped to appraise the effectiveness of technical cooperation between the two countries on the government level.

The current status of the technical assistance program in Mexico is discussed below in more detail.

## 2. TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Probably the most distinctive feature of United States technical cooperation south of the border is the substantial number of projects which have been discontinued either because of lack of support or failure to reach agreement with Mexican officials on the matter of implementation.

Cooperation programs, by late 1955, had been initiated in the fields of agriculture, health and sanitation, education, industrial productivity and research, transportation, mining, geology, and training. Area development programs were in the planning stage.

In February of 1956 the Mexican Government notified the United States that all the area development projects, as well as the agriculture program, were to be discontinued. Other projects which were dropped, after efforts to complete them proved fruitless, were the programs in education, industrial research, and health and sanitation (an activity which the Mexicans have now taken over entirely on their own).

Substantially greater interest has been manifested by the Mexicans in the industrial productivity program which was initiated 2 years ago. An Industrial Productivity Center was created by the Combined Industry Chambers to centralize work in this field. Its Board of Directors includes such organizations as the Bankers Association, the National Confederation of Chambers of Commerce, the Mexican Employers Association, and two of the leading labor organizations (CTM and CROM). ICA provides approximately \$50,000 for the operating budgets of the Center, an equal amount being contributed from Mexican sources both public and private. The Mexican contribution will be increased during fiscal year 1958, to permit further expansion of the program.

The objectives of the program include, among other things, implementation of efficient management and production techniques in Mexico, to achieve a higher rate of production with corresponding benefits to labor and consumer groups. Technical help has been given to such industries as cotton textiles, shoes, tanneries, fruit and vegetable preservation, and readymade garments. Some 18 productivity teams have visited the United States. ICA has projected \$269,400 for this activity for fiscal 1958, an increase of some \$45,000 over the 1955 program.

ICA has also provided a permanent technician and several short-term training consultants for the El Olivar transportation training center. The United States contributed \$50,000 for the purchase of equipment and supplies; and in 1957 provided \$100,000 to be deposited to a joint fund for the organization and equipping of a number of training road camps. A greatly reduced contribution (\$16,000) is planned by ICA for fiscal 1958.

In view of the nature of the training center, which has the full support of the Ministry of Communications and Public Works, and which is financed almost entirely from Mexican funds, the continued participation of the United States, even on a modest basis, would not seem to be warranted.

The current status of the technical cooperation is discussed below in more detail.

MEXICO

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8 C cost of other United States technical cooperation projects in Mexico, from 1955 to date, appears in the following table:

[In United States dollars]

Fiscal year	Geology	Mining	Central banking	Labor training	Vocational rehabilitation
1955	\$133,500	\$34,100	0	\$53,000	
1956	84,000	22,000	\$1,000	88,100	
1957	59,000	34,500	34,200	122,600	
1958 (proposed)	37,000	46,000	47,000	110,000	\$29,000

As already indicated in this report, there is serious question whether United States technical cooperation in Mexico should be continued, with the possible exception of the industrial productivity program, in view of the previous record.

This is not to ignore that some extremely important benefits have accrued from cooperative efforts during the postwar years in certain matters. An example is the eradication of hoof-and-mouth disease. Within 5 years from the institution of a joint vaccination program in 1947, under which 17 million animals were treated, the Mexican cattle industry was freed from the contagious affliction which had compelled the United States to quarantine cattle shipments from Mexico.

### 3. THE CORN DROUGHT AND PUBLIC LAW 480 ASSISTANCE

The destruction of Mexico's principal food source, corn, due to this year's drought, could have caused a considerable drain of Mexico's exchange reserves to pay for the large quantities which had to be imported. However, on October 23, 1957, an agreement was concluded between the United States and Mexico for a Public Law 480 loan, for the sale of 500,000 metric tons of corn to Mexico, involving a total of \$28,500,000. In addition to this, Mexico has purchased approximately 200,000 metric tons under long-term loan provisions, through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

No further Public Law 480 sales are contemplated at this time, as it is believed that the transactions already completed will satisfy Mexican requirements. In this crisis, again, the utility of Public Law 480 procedures have once again been demonstrated.

### 4. MEXICAN LABOR RELATIONS

In no phase of its recent history has Mexico exhibited greater advancement and maturity than in the area of labor relations. This factor has been of particular significance in the progress which has taken place south of the border. Despite problems of inflation and the monetary devaluation which took place in 1954, Mexico has had very few strikes in the past 6 years; and the labor movement, although militant, has shown increasing responsibility in its relations with employers.

The Mexican labor movement is well organized, comprising six major labor federations. Of these the most important are the Mexican Confederation of Labor (CTM), with a membership of approximately 1½ million; and the Federation of Federal Workers (FSSE), consist-



ing of some 300,000 members. A Labor Unity Bloc was formed in 1953, representing and coordinating the activities of about 90 percent of the Mexican labor movement.

During a stormy period from 1937 to 1941, Mexican labor was dominated by the fiery Vicente Lombardo Toledano, whose long and ardent adherence to Communist doctrine was manifested in policies followed by the CTM. Since 1952 undisputed direction of the CTM has been in the hands of Fidel Velázquez who had assumed leadership jointly with Fernando Amilpa in 1941. Between 1941 and 1947, Velázquez succeeded in eliminating Lombardo Toledano's influence and followers, finally breaking with him completely when the CTM pulled out of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions in 1948, and its Latin American counterpart, the CTAL.

Today the CTM is one of the firm pillars of the Regional Inter-American Labor Organization (ORIT), the Western Hemisphere branch of the democratic, anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The CTM maintains a close and cooperative relationship with the AFL-CIO. This provides an important vehicle for cultivating greater friendliness throughout a broad range of interests between our two countries, and for developing an understanding of the problems faced by our working people.

A strong and independent labor movement is of paramount importance in combating the inroads of communism. This responsibility has been accepted by Mexico's Labor Unity Bloc, which has an anti-Communist committee to prevent Communist penetration into labor's ranks. Its action has been very effective, and today, with some exceptions, the labor movement in Mexico is anti-Communist.

#### 5. SOVIET ACTIVITY IN MEXICO

Continued vigilance is required, however, to meet the unrelenting efforts of the Soviet Union to spread propaganda hostile to the United States.

Mexico is one of three nations in Latin America which maintain diplomatic relations with Moscow (the other two being Uruguay and Argentina). The existing interests between the two governments hardly justify the disproportionate size of the Soviet Embassy, which has 19 officials named on the diplomatic list, and which is estimated as staffed by 112 persons. The subversive objectives which this activity reflects should not be lightly dismissed.

The Republic of Mexico has always ranked high as a target of Soviet intrigue. Although emphasis has been on cultural relations, this activity does not explain the presence of many staff members with military backgrounds, or the contacts engaged in by known Soviet agents. Extensive propaganda units of an anti-American character have been established in Mexico under the guise of economic study groups. These units serve as instruments to create a facade of public opinion on matters of vital concern to the United States and other nations of the free world.

Soviet operations in Mexico are complemented by a Czechoslovak mission, whose activities along commercial and cultural lines permit wide travel and study of the area. The opportunities so presented in areas remote from tighter metropolitan surveillance are obvious. Moreover, the Soviets have not been loath to play upon latent sus-

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and mistrust to fan the flames of hostility against the Yanqui colossus.

Here, too, security considerations during this critical period would seem to justify closer collaboration between the United States and Mexico in a common defense against Communist penetration of the Western Hemisphere.

## 6. THE BRACEROS QUESTION

One further aspect of Mexican-American labor relations deserves mention. This is the problem of braceros, or migratory workers, and illegally entered laborers (so-called "wetbacks"). Essentially the problem arises because of the inability of Mexican agriculture and industry to absorb local labor, which finds the higher wages paid in the United States too strong an attraction to resist. Although Mexicans generally feel somewhat unhappy at the necessity for their workers to seek employment in the United States, bracero remittances in the past have been a rather important source of foreign exchange. The disadvantage, according to some economists, is that skilled workers, of which Mexico is already short in supply, often do not return from the United States. But, on the whole, the net effect of braceroism has been to produce warm feelings on the part of the workers for the United States.

Because hundreds of thousands of these Mexican workers have been entering the United States illegally in recent years (over 1 million in 1954), the traffic provoked a flood of protest from labor organizations in this country. It was contended that the presence of braceros tended to displace American workers and to depress wages; whereas, on the other hand, as a fugitive, the migratory laborer had no recourse to our laws for enforcement of minimum wage and other requirements.

Both governments saw the need for replacing the uncontrolled worker traffic by some kind of an orderly system, and entered into an agreement in August 1951 concerning the contracting of Mexican farmworkers. The agreement, which has been extended to June 30, 1959, provides protection for the Mexican worker in wages, working conditions, and fair treatment; but it also prohibits the hiring of Mexicans in case of strikes or lockouts, as well as for any jobs for which American workers were available. Despite the agreement, thousands of Mexican workers continued to cross the border illegally, although there has been an increase in the amount of contracted labor.

It does not appear, therefore, that Government action has solved the problem by any means, and new controversies continue to arise. The latest difficulty relates to the Mexican desire for including non-occupational insurance coverage in the program. Negotiations on this issue have been ineffectual thus far.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

It is, of course, true that the future of technological and scientific collaboration with Mexico is not something which can be divorced from the larger problem of developing a more harmonious association between the peoples of the two countries.

During my latest visit to America's closest southern neighbor I sought to ascertain what lines of action might be followed to advance

still further the friendship and mutual esteem which, happily, have become more evident in American-Mexican relations. It is too sanguine to expect that the harsh memories, suspicions, and apprehensions generated in an earlier day can be erased overnight. Yet, to accomplish this result should be given a high priority in our policy.

It will take determined patience and effort on both sides. And it will require a sustained manifestation of American sincerity in persuading our Mexican friends that their national progress, economic advancement, and the welfare of their peoples are very much in the interest of their northern neighbor. The United States already enjoys a gratifying degree of good will among the Mexican people, with what must be regarded as a minimum of distrust in view of the recriminating atmosphere of the 19th century.

In my opinion, the destinies of Mexico and the United States—indeed, of all of the nations of the Western Hemisphere—have become inextricably linked as a consequence of the surging forces in international life during the past few decades. To such a degree is this true that there should be a frank and open recognition of the interdependence of the two Republics. I am convinced that the mutual respect which prevails will be accompanied by steadily increased cooperation in all matters of common concern.

I believe there is much we can do to advance the objective of better relations. My recent trip to Mexico has convinced me that the United States is neglecting several courses of action which could substantially contribute to greater understanding between the two countries.

In the first place, we should radically expand our educational exchange program to stimulate a much broader interchange with Mexico of students, professors, technicians, and scientists. Few neighbors in the world have as much to offer each other as the United States and Mexico; and in few areas can this understanding be more appealing and more rewarding. An intensified exchange program would encourage harmonious relations between our respective peoples on a level which is most essential to an understanding of their problems and their aspirations; while the social milieu of the exchanges will also be enriched by such contacts.

It is hardly necessary to observe that Mexico has much to offer to American visitors of an artistic, sociological, and archeological nature. Conversely, there are many ways which American experience can benefit Mexico in areas where our own culture has made especial progress. I know of few better means to efface whatever bitterness and resentment may still be entertained toward the United States in Mexico than by close collaboration of our peoples in fields of common professional and cultural interest.

This exchange of educational and professional personnel should be further broadened so as to institute a regular system of interchange between the service academies of the two governments. The natural feelings of friendliness and good will resulting from such exchange would thereby be supplemented by an indoctrination in the strategic, tactical, and logistic problems of each country and familiarization with training methods best suited to meet them.

The hitherto limited extent of United States-Mexican participation in athletic and cultural programs should likewise be expanded. Arrangements could be made, for example, for participation in sporting activities popular in both countries. A tradition of such activity

and produce much good will and fellowship, as it has in American university life.

On the political level, consideration should be given to the establishment of a North American Parliamentary Union, which could also include Canada. Periodic meetings of delegates to the Union would provide a common forum for these countries' representatives to become better acquainted, and to become more aware of factors which underlie national legislative policies whose overtones too frequently have a most disturbing effect across the border.

At the same time, efforts should be made, in collaboration with Mexico, to find the solution to a number of problems which have produced irritation in the past. As one example, an agreement should be reached with Mexico as quickly as feasible on the thorny problem of jurisdiction in territorial waters, with particular reference to shrimp and other fishery resources.

It is to the interest of the United States to pursue this course. To a very great degree, Mexico has come to represent the cornerstone of our long-range relations with the rest of Latin America. Yet, because of its very proximity, we have perhaps tended to take Mexico for granted, failing to recognize its importance to us, to perceive how far it has advanced, or to appreciate what Mexico can be in knitting the nations of the Western Hemisphere into that closer unity which may prove vital to the preservation of freedom in the Americas.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

The transformation in Mexico since 1940 has been nothing short of phenomenal. From a strike-plagued and insecure society wracked with recurrent labor unrest which destroyed the confidence of private investors and threatened the existence of the entire Mexican economy, has emerged a mature, solid, and highly respected member of the family of nations. Mexico today is a stable, progressive society, and a leader in inter-American affairs. Its development has leaped forward, with advances in industry and in the welfare of its people that would not have been believed possible 20 years ago.

What is even more encouraging has been the gradual appearance in Mexico—at least in the metropolitan areas—of a middle class. American private investment has contributed in no small way to this important development as well as to Mexico's increased productive capacity by fostering and financing local sources of manufacturing and distribution, which, in turn, is opening internal markets within Mexico for low-cost merchandise. Investment capital from abroad now enters Mexico with assurance of fair treatment. Similar encouragement has been given by the Mexicans to developing foreign travel. The tourism program, an important basis of dollar exchange for this fascinating country, is being pushed with marked success. The stream of American tourists flowing southward represented last year an income source of \$279 million.

Numerous internal problems remain, however; and serious differences still exist between the United States and Mexico on several matters, some of which have been long-standing. These problems are not insoluble, but they will yield only to prompt and courageous leadership and a determined effort by both our peoples. The oppor-

tunities of such leadership and effort are the privilege and responsibility of free and independent nations. Q10

The United States and Mexico have it within their power to eradicate the festering memories of a former unhappy association by building a new and more enduring foundation for cooperation in a spirit of equality, mutuality, and respect. This can be achieved by working out a more satisfactory pattern of equal relationships in the fields of trade, military defense, and culture. The revolutionary technological changes in modern warfare now taking place make it all the more imperative that the defense of their common border be regarded by the two governments as a matter of mutual concern. The cultivation of continued peaceful and cooperative relations with the neighbor on our southern flank is not, therefore, merely something to be desired: It is vital to our national security.

In a world in which totalitarianism relentlessly seeks to proliferate its way into national freedom, no nation can pretend to suffice unto itself, aloof and alone, its future survival jeopardized by smoldering antagonisms and suspicions of the past.

## APPENDIX

### REPORT BY SENATOR MANSFIELD ON UNITED STATES TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA (EXCERPTS)<sup>1</sup>

(1955)

#### Mexico

The technical assistance program in Mexico which has increased in size from \$765,000 in 1953 to some \$1.8 million in 1956, is in need of careful attention. In an area of critical importance to the United States, it is doubtful if the program as presently operated serves the interests of either this country or Mexico as well as it should.

The fault does not lie with the officers engaged in administration of the program, who exhibit ability and understanding. Rather, it grows out of an apparent failure at the governmental level to reach certain basic understandings essential to the success of the program at the operating level.

If technical assistance in Mexico is to serve the national interest of the United States, it must be based on a mutuality of interests as between the two Governments concerned, and those Governments must recognize that mutuality of interest. In other words, it is doubtful if the technical assistance program in Mexico is worth continuing unless the policymaking officials of both nations agree that each nation will reap benefits from the program.

There was little evidence that such officials of the United States are giving their wholehearted support to the technical assistance program in Mexico. Likewise, there was little evidence that their counterparts in the Mexican Government are particularly interested in the program. As a result, the day-to-day operating people on the American and Mexican sides must carry on in a somewhat sub rosa fashion.

If the technical-assistance program in Mexico is worth doing, it is worth doing well. The time has come for officials of both Governments at the ministerial level to reach a clear understanding on whether it is in the mutual interests of the United States and Mexico to continue the program. If it is agreed that the program should be continued, as I believe, then it must receive the wholehearted support of officials of both Governments at all levels.

#### THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

It is my belief that a limited technical assistance program is in the mutual interests of the United States and Mexico.

So far as the United States is concerned, a Mexico with a higher standard of living and a larger national income would be a better

<sup>1</sup> Technical Assistance. Final Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations pursuant to the provisions of S. Res. 214, 83d Cong., 2d sess.; S. Res. 36 and S. Res. 133, 84th Cong., 1st sess.; and S. Res. 162, 84th Cong., 2d sess. [Extended by S. Res. 60 and 99 of the 85th Cong.] S. Rept. 139, March 12, 1957.

customer for the United States. By the same token, Mexico would find this country a better customer for its products. Moreover, from the point of view of the United States it is not desirable for the disparity of standards of living as between the two countries to become greater. Rather, the gap should be narrowed so that the material and cultural wealth of the Americas can be put to the joint job of expanding the area of man's individual freedom and of contributing to his spiritual strength.

The technical assistance program to be in the national interests of the United States and Mexico cannot be a one-way street. Mexican art and architecture, rooted in the Mexican civilizations of the past, can make immeasurable contributions to the life and culture of the United States. Similarly, United States techniques in some agricultural and industrial areas can make substantial contributions to the Republic of Mexico.

Technical assistance can contribute not only to improvement of living standards in Mexico and consequent expansion of trade between the two countries, but it can help bring the peoples of these nations more closely together. As the bonds of friendship are strengthened, it may be expected that on the international stage the Mexican Government will better understand the policies and attitudes of the United States. The same would be true with respect to United States understanding of her great neighbor to the south.

There are many factors in the Mexican situation which make the operation of a technical assistance program most difficult.

In the first place, Mexico is not an underdeveloped country in the usual sense. She has engineers, doctors, architects, scientists, educators, industrialists, and other professional people among the most able in the world. Her mineral resources are in the process of development.

Under these circumstances, it is but natural that there is resentment in some circles in Mexico at "gringo" meddling. There is no question but that in time Mexico would be able to engineer her own economic development without outside assistance. Nevertheless, Mexico does need more trained mechanics, better agricultural production, and, in general, assistance in the development of a middle class. The main contribution the United States might make to this development would be to expedite the process already underway.

A second difficulty encountered in operating a technical assistance program in Mexico stems from the strong nationalism of her people.

Strong nationalism, a characteristic of every proud people, including ourselves, is not to be regretted. But nationalism must be understood and worked with. This means that the tendency of some American officials, not in Mexico in particular but also elsewhere, to couch the technical assistance program solely in terms of gifts of superior technical knowledge, must be avoided. Nationalism, insofar as it may operate to impede a technical assistance program, can best be dealt with by making it clear that our aid programs are undertaken because of their mutual value to both participants. This assistance is not an activity carried on by the United States for charity purposes. The program rather has been undertaken because we believe these expenditures in foreign countries serve to promote the

general welfare and interests of the United States. We cannot expect Mexico, or any other country, to participate wholeheartedly in such programs unless they believe the programs are also in their national interest.

A third factor which impedes the successful operation of the technical assistance program is attributable to the activities of the Communist underground in Mexico. Although the Communist party is recognized as legal, it has not registered as a party for purposes of participating in elections. Nevertheless, there is little doubt but that there has been some Communist penetration in governmental and educational circles. Furthermore, the Soviet Embassy in Mexico has been a source of considerable Communist propaganda throughout Latin America.

While communism does not pose an immediate threat to Mexico and while the Government is firmly dedicated to the principles of democracy, there is evidence that Communist elements in Mexico seek to pervert nationalism into anti-Americanism. They have sought, also, to brand the technical assistance program as 20th century American imperialism. To some extent they have been successful in equating technical assistance with imperialism, thereby inducing some Mexicans to make a mistake similar to that made by some Americans who have equated the liberalism of the Mexican Government with communism.

The greatest difficulty in carrying on the technical assistance program, however, is not attributable to the nature of the country, to nationalism, or to communism. The greatest difficulty arises, as indicated earlier, in the failure of the two Governments candidly to explore the area in which their joint national interests might be advanced by a technical assistance program. This will be a stumbling block to future technical assistance programs in Mexico, as it has been to past programs—several of which have literally withered away because of the lack of interest of responsible officials in both countries.

#### CONCLUSION

It is beyond the province of this report to try to tell either the executive branch of the United States Government or the Government of Mexico how to operate the technical assistance program in Mexico. Observation of the program for the few days available did not provide a sound background or basis for submitting detailed recommendations. It was possible during this period, nevertheless, to determine with some degree of confidence that the program as presently operated does not serve either the interests of the United States or of Mexico as fully as would be possible if both countries were wholehearted in their support of the program.

It is suggested, therefore, that the United States Government at the ministerial level should find an opportunity in the near future to make a straightforward statement to the Government of Mexico to the effect that the United States believes that it is in our national interest, as well as in the national interest of Mexico, to carry on a limited technical assistance program for the purpose of reducing the disparity in economic conditions which now exists to the end that trade and mutual understanding be increased. Should it be possible to reach a clear agreement on the basis of such a mutuality of interest,



present difficulties at the operating level should be mitigated, assistance would be far more effective than it is at present, and mutual confidence and publicity might be given to the joint efforts of these two North American neighbors.

Should Mexico believe that the technical assistance program is not in her national interest, there should be no recriminations from the United States. As has been indicated earlier in this report, Mexico may be expected in time, and on her own, to get the same results, albeit they may be delayed more than might be the case were she to participate in the technical assistance program.

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Department of External Affairs, Canada

D E S P A T C H

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RESTRICTED

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR,  
MEXICO CITY.

REFERENCE: Our Despatches No. 263 of June 17,  
1957 and No. 293 of July 3, 1957,

SUBJECT: Partido Popular: Internal Crisis,  
Negotiations with Communists,  
Presidential Campaign.

No. 15

Date: January 10, 1958.

Via: Courier

File No.: 8-1-5-4

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Washington  
Madrid  
All Latin  
American Posts

In our two despatches under reference, we reviewed trends in recent years in Mexico's most important left-wing party, the Partido Popular, analyzed the widening split that had developed between the PP's founder and leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano and the faction headed by Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez, and we indicated that the PP might not wish to present its own presidential candidate in the July 1958 elections, but to join with the all-powerful Governmental party PRI for the presentation of a candidato unico. Two important PP gatherings, one regional and one national, have been held in recent weeks and there is every indication that the party's internal crisis is continuing and, if anything, deepening.

2. The first of these gatherings, the Third Ordinary General Assembly of the PP's Federal District Branch, was held in Mexico City at the end of October. This Assembly got off to a bad start because the meeting, which was due to begin at 10:00 A.M. October 26, had to be postponed until late in the evening. Only about a dozen delegates turned up in the morning and Lombardo was unable to attend as he had "very important personal matters" to deal with. When the session finally got under way, a document on the "party crisis" was distributed to delegates, members of the praesidium and the press. This document was signed by six ex-leaders in the Federal District, and complained that the crisis resulted from the existence of a derisive group in the party which maintained itself in office and carried out a policy of "opposition to all attempts at criticism and self-criticism". The document went on to say that attack on the internal democracy of the Party and the policy of intolerance and authoritarianism applied by the leadership "are not appropriate to prepare for vigorous participation in the presidential campaign". The signatories then complained that on many occasions they had tried to discuss these questions but had been prevented from the Party's leadership from doing so. As a result of its weaknesses and divisions the Party's policy was plagued with omissions, confusion, contradictions and errors which seriously limited its influence on national life. The document accused the Federal District Committee of carrying out "a vicious process of divisive struggle without principles", of political confusion and of the authoritarian predominance of groups who rule at whim. It was charged that the current Assembly had been convened to give a

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facade of a local and democratic election of the new Executive Committee but, the signatories claimed, the committee which signed the convening notice was not the group that had been locally elected back in 1954. It was charged that the committee had and now contained members who were not elected democratically for the position that they are occupying, while at the same time it did not contain persons who had been elected legally. To overcome the party's crisis the signatories suggested that there should be a "frank discussion", that the party's statutes should be respected, and that its tactical and strategical line should be overhauled.

3. Lombardo, when he finally showed up, apparently decided that the best tactic was to pay little heed to these strictures against his leadership. He confined himself to saying simply that he tolerated his enemies within the party only because they were "useful to it", and that since these people were "full of inferiority complexes", no importance should be given to them or to their criticisms.

4. During the Assembly it was announced that a communication had been received from the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) and the Communist splinter group, the Workers and Peasants Party (POCM), proposing an alliance with the PP in the forthcoming presidential campaign. The Assembly decided to refer this matter to the National Committee. Meanwhile Lombardo told the delegates that the PP hoped to reach an agreement with the PRI on some "concrete points" but he emphasized that this depended on the PRI rather than on the PP.

5. A fortnight later, the PP and PCM newspapers announced that representatives of their parties and of the POCM had met to discuss the 1958 elections. It was apparent that the two Communist parties were attempting to combine with the PP to present an agreed presidential candidate, but Lombardo announced that his party could not contract electoral obligations with any group until after its National Assembly was held later in the month. The three parties did agree however "to examine questions relating to the electoral platform of the 'democratic forces'", and to recommend changes in the electoral laws.

6. The PP's National Assembly then met in Mexico City from November 20th to 23rd with an estimated 1,000 delegates present. These sessions started with the distribution to delegates of a document highly critical of Lombardo's leadership. In this case the document was signed by nine dissident members of the National Committee, headed by Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez. The document urged that the PP support the PRI candidate, and it praised Lopez Mateos for his "nationalistic and democratic tendencies and his personal qualities" which made him the "appropriate citizen to win the voluntary and free vote of the vast majority of Mexicans". The document also re-hashed earlier criticisms against Lombardo (see our two despatches under reference) and explained why the nine signatories had decided not to attend the Assembly. Incidentally, representatives of the PCM and POCM did attend the sessions.

7. Lombardo's main report to the National Assembly dealt at length with party history, the national and international situation, the question of a united front and the party program. The main purpose of his report was to recommend that the PP should support the PRI candidate. Lombardo justified this by comparing the PP program "Thesis on Mexico" (see our despatch No. 293 of July 3, 1957) with campaign statements made by Lopez Mateos, in which he had found "coincidences which it is necessary to take up". Lombardo noted that in fact there were at least twenty-two points on which the PRI and PP platforms coincided. The PP's National Committee, Lombardo pointed out, had held a meeting with Lopez Mateos, to obtain a better idea of his opinions and they had decided that the PRI candidate "is not a reactionary like some of the members of the present cabinet who at one time were mentioned as possible candidates for the presidency".

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8. Other justifications which Lombardo gave for supporting the PRI candidate were that the PP had insisted and still insisted on the formation of a patriotic and democratic front of "all groups and forces prepared to reach the goals of the Mexican Revolution and to fight for the independence of the country". Such a front should be made up not only of "independent forces" but also of some of the official sectors.

9. It will be apparent that the PP was faced with at least three alternatives in connection with the forthcoming presidential elections. In the first place it could run a candidate of its own, as it had in 1952. Secondly, it had the offer from the two Communist groups of an electoral alliance for campaign purposes. Thirdly, it might attempt to climb on the PRI band-wagon by supporting Lopez Mateos, possibly in the hope of being granted some House or State representation. Whatever else may be said these days about Lombardo, he showed considerable political shrewdness in rejecting the first two alternatives. It is quite likely that, in view of the serious and protracted internal crisis in the party, he might have ruined it forever if he had once more forced his own candidature upon the large and voluble group of dissidents. And during the present economic boom at least, an open electoral alliance with the Communists might well turn out to be a political kiss of death.

10. To Lombardo's apparent surprise, his proposal to support Lopez Mateos was the subject of a heated debate which occupied the National Assembly for nearly a full two days and in which some thirty speakers took part pro and contra. It took all of Lombardo's powers of persuasion to convince the Assembly to accept his report and support the PRI candidate. The Assembly then approved the following resolutions, inter alia:

- a) The PP will take part in the presidential elections, will not present its own candidate for the presidency and will recommend to its followers that they vote for Lopez Mateos.
- b) It will participate in elections for the Senate and House.
- c) The National Committee will be authorized to sign agreements with other political groups to support joint candidates for the House and Senate.
- d) The National Committee will be authorized to sign a minimum electoral platform with other parties.
- e) A vote of confidence will be given the National and State Committees for the way in which they have led the party.

The Assembly also decided to dismiss the nine dissident signatories from their membership of the National Committee and ordered them to rejoin their "basic unions".

11. We might note that the PRI has displayed a marked indifference to these overtures from the PP. Lopez Mateos told reporters after conclusion of the PP National Assembly that he would in no circumstances accept the support of any party which did not have "friendly relations" with the PRI. When asked if he would accept the support of the PP he said simply that that party's members were "free citizens in a free country". Furthermore, he emphasized that PP support did not oblige him to accept the point of view of its program; the PRI was quite strong enough and did not need "vitamins".

  
Ambassador