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EXPOSE - RIGHTIST TERROR IN
GUATEMALA
By Lionel Martin

A clandestine terror stalks Guatemala. The MANO and the NOA, the two leading organizations of Guatemalan style "Minutemen" sow fear and death among intellectuals, students, workers and peasants. The white terror has already struck down an estimated 300 victims, many of them supporters of the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAR) and others who have simply spoken in favor of social justice and change, including many leading Catholics. There are a purported 6000 whose names have been put on the list for future extermination.

These events have been little publicized in the outside world. The big press and U.S. propaganda glow over the so-called achievements of President Montenegro and his "democratic experiment." However, while the Guatemalan government speaks of constitutionalism, legality, agrarian and fiscal reforms, it allows to operate with impunity well armed, financed and organized secret groups that terrorize and assassinate persons who by word or deed manifest their desire to free their long oppressed and poverty-stricken country from the clutches of foreign control.

The initials MANO (the word means "hand") stands for Organized National Anticomunist Movement; the NOA stands for

New Anticomunist Organization. There are other organizations, possibly fictitious inventions for the purposes of psychological warfare like El Rayo (Thunderbolt), CRAG and ASA whose signed proclamations occasionally appear and whose purpose is the same as the two major organizations. In May 1967 the Anticomunist Council of Guatemala (CADEG) was organized to coordinate the efforts of the secret terrorist organizations.

These organizations proclaim their mission as "purifying and nationalist." They boast "Communist seen, Communist dead." Their definition of Communist is broad enough to include all progressive, humanitarian, and anti-imperialist sectors of the country.

In late April of this year, Congressman Marco Antonio Soto Beteta, a member of the government party and candidate for president of Congress, announced that he had received death threats. He pointed the finger at the MANO or the NOA. On May 3, he was machine-gunned down. The same happened to the dean of the University's School of Economy.

The rightist organizations publish periodic lists with as many as a hundred names of men and women marked for death. Many of these fingered, especially the businessmen, intellectuals or professionals, flee the country. Others, who might have voiced some anti-imperialist sentiment, are cowed into fearful and

hopefully protective silence. These two reactions suit the powerful men who back the rightist organizations. It is part of their aim to produce a climate of fear that will isolate the militant progressive elements from all their potential allies.

Some of those listed for death make the decision to continue the struggle and join the units of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

operate

The terror groups not only operate in Guatemala City but also in the countryside, domain of the great landowners. In a statement issued in April, the MANO boasted that it had assassinated the peasant leaders Leopoldo Castillo Chaves from the village of Huitzixil in Escuintla, Arturo Schelling and others.

In recent months Catholic priests and activists have been included in the death lists of the terror organizations. The Christian Social Action organizations has been working intensively among the peasants, organizing "social cooperatives" and crusading for agrarian reform. The latifundist elements of the country, major supporters of the MANO and NOA oppose all these activities which awaken the thirst for social justice of the peasants, remove them from their age-old lethargy and stir them into action. For that reason these Catholic Social Action groups are accused of helping the "Communists." Many of the 300 victims of the rightist terror have been peasants some of whom aided the

the revolutionary movement, but to others who had simply protested against their inhuman existence.

Among those most avidly sought are men and women activists of the Revolutionary Armed Forces or its active supporter, the Guatemalan Workers' Party (Communist Party). Recently, engineer Eduardo Sosa Montalvo, chief of propaganda of the FAR, died as a result of a street corner gun fight in Guatemala City.

The MANO and NOA are ultra-secret organizations with a commando structure, that is, with small, mobile action units. The relationships between groups and levels are established through contact men.

One of the ideological leaders of these organizations is said to be latifundist Mario Sandoval Alarcon, a collaborator of Castillo Armas who under the auspices of the CIA overthrew the democratic government of Arbenz in 1954. It is he who proclaimed the idea of "organized violence" against the people. Other ultraright intellectual leaders are Raul Lorenzana and Raul Lopez Villatoro.

Torture and mutilation of the victims is part of the procedure of the terrorist organizations. The bodies of many victims are tossed on the roadside, on the outskirts of the cities, horribly disfigured, often with the genitals stuffed in the mouth, with a

hand cut off, or with a stave in the rectum.

These organizations operate under the protective cover of high military police and civil officials. The government --- or a government organ -- supplies them with guns, ^{headquarters} houses and vehicles. According to credible information, there are special high-signs to allow quick recognition by the police and army. The immunity of the terrorist organizations to capture and prosecution is considered by many to be sufficient proof of the link between them and high government officials.

The relationship between the secret organizations and U.S. government agencies are, of course, hard to substantiate in the form of concrete evidence. Leaders of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement fl claim to have proof, based on confessions of captured officials, of these links. They say that U.S. specialists guide the terrorist organizations and that there are special training schools in Puerto Rico. According to them, the "green berets" now operating in Guatemala are not only military men, but highly trained political cadres.

What is known publically to all students of Latin American ^{politics} history is the intimate link between the Guatemalan government, its army and police with the U.S. State Department, Pentagon, or the CIA.

The use of secret terror organizations within the framework of a liberal "representative democracy" is considered by many observers to be an important experiment in strategy to substitute the open military dictatorships of Latin America. This procedure allows for an elected government that proclaims reforms, while at the same time, a fascist terror operates in the country to destroy physically --- outside official governmental organs --- any movement of popular protest.

The Uruguayan magazine Marcha, in an article published in June 1967, commented on the use of fascist terror organizations to complement the Guatemala's "representative democracy":

"It is such a good idea that one suspects that the CIA, if it hasn't done so ~~already~~, will not delay in recommending it to other Latin American governments."

Published material from Guatemala City ^{reveals} ~~discloses~~ the chief of the Guatemalan military police, Colonel Maximo Cepeda, is the general coordinator of all terrorist activities. The MANO is purportedly backed by the Minister of Defense Rafael Arriaga. The air force is said to be the guiding light in the NOA. All these military elements, as is natural, have high level relationships with one or another of the U.S. agencies operating openly or covertly in Guatemala.

These terrorist activities of secret organizations do not preclude equally ~~equally~~ brutal acts on the part of official government bodies, such as the Army. A good example is the brutal murder of 28 men and women whose still bleeding bodies were placed in plastic sacks and thrown from an airplane into the ocean. According to the testimony of Sgt. ~~Mano~~ Julio Ruano, a participant in the affair, (Cuba Magazine, August-1967), their deaths were ordered directly by the Vice Minister of Defense Arriago Bosque and carried out by military officers.

The most militant sectors of the progressive movement in Guatemala are fighting back against rightist terrorism. In May, the FAR proclaimed a policy of "revolutionary violence to meet fascist violence." Since that proclamation, the revolutionary forces of the country have ~~executed in reprisal~~ executed in reprisal some of the leaders of MANO and MIA, almost all of whom had taken part in the overthrow of the Arbenz government in 1954.

In J The first one was Enrique Trinidad Oliva, ~~one of the~~ ~~leaders of MANO~~, executed in May.

~~by FAR executed~~

In June Major Carlos Cheesman was ~~executed~~, a Guatemalan who served in the U.S. airforce and who led a bombing squad over Guatemala from Honduras in the '54 CIA-organized overthrow

In July Luis Orantes Alfara was executed and in the same month Jose Toron Barrios, whose vicious "Night Letter" instigated violence against the progressive forces of Guatemala.

In August, an attempt was made on the life of the military chief of the secret organizations, Maximo Cordero.

In September, Jorge Cordova Molina, U.S. trained chief of police under the former dictator Ydigoras F. Fuentes was executed by the FAR.

In spite of the attempt to still the opposition, three major trade unions including the Christian-Democratic oriented National Federation of Christian Workers of Guatemala have voiced strong protest against vigilante-type violence.

The Episcopate of Guatemala composed of 12 bishops in a pastoral exhortation of May 9 condemned the violence of the Right. The MANO and NOA publically turned down their plea for a dialogue between left and right.

Moreover, the National Catholic Secretariat, linked to the Christian Democratic Party, has issued a statement branding the MANO and NOA as murderers and calling them to account for their threats against priests and Catholic activists.

The Guatemalan revolutionary movement is now preparing a White Paper that will expose to world public opinion the rightist reign of terror now stalking their country.

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CASTRO SPEECH - ^{Sept} OCT. 28

by Lionel Martin

In a major three and a half hour speech to the nation that ended at 1:30 a.m., Prime Minister Fidel Castro addressed more than half a million intent and enthusiastic Cubans wearing red berets in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution. The occasion was October 28, the seventh anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The sea of red berets was Cuba's symbolic answer to the use of the U.S. Green Berets against the liberation movements of Latin America.

The major part of Dr. Castro's speech dealt with the domestic economy. He observed that the Revolution could be divided into three stages: the Years of Ignorance, the Years of Agony, and the Years of Triumph. Cuba, although no longer in the Years of Ignorance, characterized by lack of organization and economic perspective, has not ~~reached~~ yet reached the Years of Triumph, meaning abundance of foods and other necessities. He called recent years the Years of Agony, of alternating good and bad crops, rationing, shortage of qualified technical personnel, administrative and planning difficulties, lack of human and material resources to carry out all the desired plans of the Revolution. The Prime Minister said that the transition between the Years of Agony and the Years of Triumph had already begun with the new agricultural and industrial projects now in process, the improved planning

never printed

and organization, and with the growing number of qualified technical personnel.

Castro spoke glowingly about the recently completed two days of mass voluntary work in the Escambray Mountains of Las Villas Villas province, during which 160,000 persons, including small farmers, planted more than six million coffee seedlings.

A large part of his speech was devoted to the special plan for the development of agriculture around the nation's capital, Havana. He called the project "a movement for national liberation," because the city of Havana "in a certain sense ... colonizes and exploits the rest of the country." This is in line with Castro's idea that Havana, with its large unproductive population depends parasitically on the undeveloped rural regions.

This project comes at a time when the food supply has taken a downturn after having improved in 1966. Many products such as root vegetables, fruits and butter have been in short supply, although eggs, the major source of unrationed protein in Cuba, have been plentiful.

Castro outlined an ambitious plan to change the face of Havana's surrounding countryside, which traditionally has been a low productive area with week-end farmers, or small farmers who produce little, but are able to sell their products at high prices, often on the black market.

In April or May of next year half a million Havanans will be called upon to plant ~~xxx~~ hundreds of thousands of fruit trees interspersed with more than 100 million coffee plants. Other fertile land will be used for vegetables, while other large areas will be sown to pasture for milk cows. Rice will be produced in the badly drained lowlands.

As part of the plan to create a huge agricultural green belt around the city, the small farmers will be given help to pull them out of their technological backwardness. Castro announced that the state will build houses, sheds, water supplies and canals for the farmers, all free of charge and that volunteers from the city will at times work on the private lands. He said that while some claim that this State aid to the private sector is not "good business" in the long run it is, because the greatest crime is unproductive land. He stressed that the existence of the small farmer is guaranteed by the Revolution, but that whenever farmers wish to sell their land, the state reserves the prerogative of purchase.

The Havana project is also part of the "strategic dispersion of crops" necessary to meet the devastating effects of the yearly hurricanes.

Speaking with characteristic optimism, Castro said, "little by little we will leave behind these shortages, these problems

that limit our development and the speedy satisfaction of the necessities accumulated during hundreds of years."

Cuba's Prime Minister touched once again on the theme of bureaucracy.

"Why does bureaucracy constitute an evil, a vice? Every citizen understands why: intelligences are sterilized; physical work is wasted; the efforts substracted from the creation of the material goods than man needs; the tendency -- in the mind and consciousness -- to accomodate; the tendency to create a group apart from the rest of the people. Our Revolution has valiantly confronted and is now confronting this problem, and it will triumph."

Dr. Castro related bureaucracy with the attempt to invent institutional and economic schemes divorced from concrete experience. He pointed out that the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution had been organized to meet the threat of the counter-revolution in 1960, and that its major task, vigilance, had been complemented by many educational and public health responsibilities.

"... in what classical book of revolutionary theory did they ever speak of a similar institution? In what program, in what manifesto, in what pronouncement? It just wasn't in the book."

He went on to explain how, in practice, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, organized in every block and rural zone, have become important forms of communication between the masses and the state institutions. Castro declared that a constitution written in 1959 or even in ensuing years could not have foreseen institutions like the Committee for Defense that had grown out of concrete problems.

"And when our country in the tenth or eleventh year of the revolutionary process -- in 1969 or 1970 -- decides to write a Constitution that will include the new social relations, as well as the aspirations of this revolutionary process, it certainly will not be a perfect creation; it will still suffer, as all human creations, things, from many imperfections, but it will be infinitely superior to what we could have done in the first months of 1959."

The final portion of Castro's speech dealt with international affairs. He noted that the Organization of American States had condemned Cuba for intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and it had voted to bring the charge before the United Nations. Castro observed that the real interventionist is the United States:

"How can we speak of the moral aspect of this farce, this new and ridiculous meeting of the lackeys and puppets of the United States? The United States is present in the

OAS to judge Cuba for subversion. No less than the United States, the king of subversion, the father of subversion, the state that interferes in every corner of the world, the barbarous and bloody state that utilizes the most cruel and inconceivable weapons against the people of Viet Nam; the state that has constituted the scourge of this continent during a century; the State that took an immense territory from Mexico; the state whose insolent marines have landed so many times and trampled with dirty boots the sacred soil of Latin America... one day sending mercenary troops to Mexico... another day landing troops in Nicaragua to occupy it during years and murder its finest sons ... or overpowering Panama or sending expeditions of buccaneers to the countries of Central America or landing troops in Santo Domingo, several times, or in Haiti... And we are not even mentioning Cuba -- the criminal acts, the piracy, the banditry -- from the explosion of Ea Coubre (a French munitions ship that blew up in Havana harbor in 1960 with great loss of life) to recent days when, in the presence of journalists from all over the world we interrogated the agents of the CIA that were sent here, with maps, pistols, silencers and cyanide pellets to assassinate..."

Castro promised that when the case did come up in the United Nations, Cuba would take the offensive and accuse the United States of gross intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba