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ATTACH NO. HUL-W-40



TO Chief of Station, Lincoln

DATE 8 February 1954

FROM Chief, WH

SUBJECT { GENERAL KUGOWN Support  
SPECIFIC Current Situation of Labor in Guatemala

1. Attached are two copies of a study prepared by a support office at the oral request of Terence E. GASSETT.

2. The report has been compiled from most readily available sources, brought down to the latest information which has been received, and compressed in summary form. The glossary of abbreviations in Appendix II, compiled for KUJAZZ publication, may be useful for ready reference.

3. In compiling the biographic data in Appendix I, emphasis has been given to tracing experience, acts, and connections bearing on the penetration of Guatemalan labor by International Communism.

4. If station Lincoln requires further information on any aspects of this study, the originating office will endeavor to procure it.

Attachments (2)

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OC

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## THE CURRENT SITUATION OF LABOR IN GUATEMALA

### The Labor Force

More than 50% of the population of Guatemala consists of Indians who cling tenaciously to their traditional ways of life, and are even less familiar than their Ladino\* compatriots with modern industrial techniques. However, Guatemalan statistics in most cases do not distinguish between the two groups. The total manpower of Guatemala is estimated to be only slightly in excess of its labor force, which in 1950 consisted of approximately 1,350,000 individuals out of a total population of 2,788,000.\*\*

Some industrial and commercial advances have been made in recent decades, but the majority of the labor force (70-75% in 1950) is still engaged in agriculture, much of it primitive. Nearly three-quarters of these workers normally are employed on relatively small farms. Those who work on large plantations are engaged chiefly in the production of coffee and bananas.

The non-agricultural segment of the economy, consisting chiefly of handicrafts and small-scale manufacturing, domestic service, and commerce, accounted for approximately 380,000 in 1950; 41% of these were concentrated in crafts and manufacturing, 29% in domestic service, and 9% in commerce.

Industrial workers are employed principally in processing foods, production of textiles and clothing, and construction and repairs. There were in 1952 only 36,296 workers in establishments employing five or more workers. A major portion of these are employed in textile, food, clothing, and beverage industries.

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\* The name used in Guatemala to designate persons of mixed Spanish and Indian blood - the same as Mestizo in other Latin American countries.

\*\* Most recent data available.

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The following table gives most recent available tabulation of the total labor force:

- I. Total population - 2,788,000  
Total labor force - 1,350,000
- II. Agricultural workers - approximately 70-75%
- III. Non-agricultural workers - approximately 380,000
  - a. Crafts and manufacturing - 41%
  - b. Domestic service - 29%
  - c. Commerce - 9%
- IV. Professional workers
  - a. Teachers - 11,000
  - b. Physicians - 390
  - c. Dentists - 115
  - d. Pharmacists - 191
  - e. Graduate nurses - 150
- V. Government workers - 30,000
- VI. Armed forces
  - a. Officers - 749
  - b. Conscripts - 5,471

Labor Income

Many Guatemalans work either partly or wholly outside the money economy -- are paid in produce, housing, health and welfare services, and by use of a garden plot. Tentative calculations of income distribution in Guatemala for the fiscal year 1947-48, as revised on the basis of the 1950 population census, indicate that about 75% of all families had incomes of 600 quetzales (US \$600) or less (90% of Indian families; 55% of Ladino families).

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### Minimum Wage

The first minimum wage decree was approved by the Ministry of Economy and Labor in February 1953. It fixes the minimum daily wage at 1.25 quetzales\* for textile workers. This figure corresponds to the minimum urban wage advocated by the CGTG (Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala), and may be intended as a precedent for minimum rates in other non-agricultural industries. This minimum wage is considerably below the ILO consultant's estimated daily requirement of 1.83 quetzales for food alone in Guatemala City for an average family of five. Therefore, more than one member of a family must work in order to maintain the level of living at an "adequate minimum." The CGTG also urged a nationwide minimum daily wage of 0.80 quetzales for agricultural workers, but so far this has apparently been established only on some government-owned farms. In the postwar years, wages have barely kept pace with the cost of living, having risen about 28% in commercial and industrial fields. While cash earnings of farm workers on privately-owned coffee plantations in the departments of San Marcos and Quezaltenango almost doubled between 1940 and 1948, this increase was more or less commensurate with the increase in food prices.

### Working Hours and Paid Vacations

The Guatemalan Labor Code of 1947 established working hours, and is fairly well enforced. The normal working day is 8 hours, and the normal work week 48 hours for day work. The large agricultural enterprises and commercial and industrial enterprises with 10 or more workers are required to pay their employees 48 hours' pay for 45 hours of actual work. Except in emergencies, the working day, including overtime, may not exceed 12 hours. Workers generally are entitled to one paid day of rest after each ordinary work week, or after 6 consecutive days of work. The Labor Code also provides for minimum annual vacations with pay: 15 days in commercial enterprises; 10 days in industrial enterprises employing 10 or more persons and in agricultural enterprises

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\*.The value of the quetzal is roughly equivalent to US \$1.00.

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having 500 or more employees; 5 days in other enterprises. To qualify for vacations, employees must have worked at least 150 days during the year for the same employer.

#### Employment of Women and Minors

Minors under 16 and women may not be employed in dangerous or unhealthful work, nor are they permitted to work at night, except for domestic servants and nurses. Paid maternity leaves are provided. Minors under 14 may not be employed, except where specific exemptions are made by the Ministry of Economy and Labor for apprentices and for children whose family needs require that they work. The law fixes minimum compulsory educational requirements applicable in all cases.

#### Contracts

Under the Labor Code, both employer and employee are restrained from terminating a labor contract without cause. Just cause for discharging an employee includes property damage, excessive absenteeism, electoral-political propaganda activity during work hours, false statement of qualifications, and insubordination. In addition, an employer may terminate his labor contracts in case of accidents, insolvency, and bankruptcy. In such cases, an employee may be discharged immediately, without indemnification other than back wages. However, if the employee is discharged without "just cause," the employer is required to pay him compensation to the extent of one month's wages for each year of continuous employment, unless, in the case of an enterprise with twenty or more workers, the discharged employee elects reinstatement. In practice, the labor courts rarely find a discharge justified.

"Just cause" for termination of contract by the employee may be failure to pay wages, requiring him to work under conditions dangerous to health and safety, or under certain other circumstances, such termination being considered an "indirect discharge" entitling him to demand indemnity for an unjustified discharge.

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### Working Conditions

Working conditions are set by custom, by shop rules issued by employers and approved by the Ministry of Economy and Labor, by collective contracts, and by the Labor Code. On some large farms and in a few of the larger industrial and commercial enterprises, well-organized programs of safety, health, and welfare exist, and working conditions are good.

### Labor Legislation and Government Policy

The Guatemalan constitution, Labor Code, and Agrarian Reform Law are expressions of the revolutionary principle of "spiritual socialism" which came into prominence following the revolution of 1944. The welfare of the worker became the object of paternalistic state policy. This is reflected in the sections of the Constitution setting forth "social guarantees" for workers. Both the Labor Code and the Agrarian Law reflect Guatemalan desire to emerge from a semi-feudal order and achieve a modern system of labor relations. The Labor Code represents an attempt to change the traditional employer-employee relationship to a formalized relationship with mutual rights and duties. The Agrarian Law envisages the freeing of thousands of agrarian workers from dependence upon the privileged landholding class.

Guatemala rejoined the UN-affiliated International Labor Organization in 1945 and has ratified a number of conventions of that body relating to labor's freedom of association and right to organize, the maintenance of labor-inspection service, restriction of night work for young people, and medical examination of young people as they are employed.

### Specific Provisions of the Guatemalan Labor Code

1. Unions are free to organize with 20 or more members.
  - a. They are required to register with the Ministry of Economy and Labor and to be recognized before they can legally function.
  - b. They are subject to dissolution by the labor courts for engaging in political activity, serving foreign interests contrary to those of Guatemala, or encouraging religious or racial conflicts.

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c. Employers are forbidden to force employees either to join or withdraw from a union.

d. The closed shop is banned.

2. Employer unions are authorized, with a minimum of five employers required.

3. The right to strike is recognized, but may be abridged by law or government decision.

a. A strike is considered legal only after conciliation and arbitration procedures have been exhausted.

b. It must be supported by two-thirds of the total number of employees of an enterprise.

c. A specific labor court declaration is theoretically required before a strike can legally be commenced.

d. Government employees are forbidden to strike, except when the Chief Executive attempts to remain in office beyond the term prescribed by the Constitution, or when a revolution is staged against a legally constituted government.

e. Farm work at time of harvest is classed as a public service, and strikes at such times are illegal.

f. Although workers in essential enterprises may go on strike, minimum services in such enterprises must be maintained.

4. Employers may declare a work stoppage "in defense of their economic interests against the workers." Such a stoppage must be maintained by two or more employers in defense of economic interests "peculiar to them."

5. Right of labor to bargain collectively is recognized.

a. Employer is obliged to negotiate a collective contract when a union represents more than 25% of the employees and requests such a contract.

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b. When a pact is negotiated, all employees of the firm are subject to terms of the pact, even though they may not be members of the union involved.

c. Collective contracts may cover whole industries, economic activities, or a determined area, upon agreement of the parties involved.

6. When no union is qualified to negotiate a collective contract in a commercial or industrial establishment, the Code required that the employer draw up a labor contract with each individual worker. A verbal agreement is sufficient in agricultural and domestic service.

7. The Code stipulates equal pay for equal work.

8. Wages of employees must be paid in legal tender, with the exception that agricultural and livestock workers may be paid in food and other consumers' goods to the extent of 30% of their wages. Payment of wages in kind must be made at cost or less.

9. The Code sets up machinery for determination of minimum wages, and stipulates that the wage base is to be reconsidered each year, or whenever a sufficient number of persons affected requests reconsideration.

10. The Code fixes the working day, and provides for vacation with pay; regulates conditions of work for women and minors.

11. Agricultural and stock-farm enterprises, employing more than 500 workers are required to adhere to provisions of the Code not applicable to smaller agricultural enterprises, but identical with those applying to industrial enterprises.

12. All enterprises are required to employ at least 90% Guatemalan personnel, who are to receive at least 85% of the wages paid. Under special conditions these percentages may be reduced by 10%, but enterprises which have permission to employ less than 90% Guatemalan personnel must institute training programs for the purpose of qualifying Guatemalans to replace foreign workers.

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Administrative Agencies and Practice \*

1. Ministry of Economy and Labor

In charge of over-all direction and coordination of matters relating to labor and social welfare.

a. Administrative Department of Labor - processes union requests for juridical recognition, reviews union financial accounts, and keeps a public registry of unions and of individual and collective pacts. Also gathers other types of information from employers and unions for statistical purposes.

b. Inspectorate General of Labor - through a corps of inspectors and social investigators, secures compliance with the Labor Code, and advises employers and workers in application of Code provisions.

c. Labor Court System - lower labor courts have original jurisdiction over labor cases, and may also serve as tribunals of conciliation or arbitration. Above these are two labor courts of appeal. The labor courts usually lack impartiality, and have been dominated by political parties.

2. Guatemalan Institute of Social Security

-This autonomous agency was established to administer a pay-as-you-go program with equal contributions by employers and employees. So far, social services covered by the Institute have been restricted largely to workmen's compensation and rehabilitation, with emphasis on rehabilitation rather than on relief.

Labor Organization

Labor organization in Guatemala is young and inexperienced. Only a small percentage of the members consistently support their unions and use them for collective bargaining. In this situation it has been easy for a group of well-trained leaders, a majority of

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\* See Appendix I for principal personnel.

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them Communist or pro-Communist, to gain control of organized labor throughout the country. Using this control to deliver mass popular support to the Arbenz administration, these leaders have been able to penetrate the Government and obtain political dominance over the executive.

### Background

Prior to the 1944 revolution, the labor movement consisted largely of mutual aid societies which were generally ineffective. The workers were apathetic and inexperienced, and the Ubico administration was generally hostile to the organization of labor. The post-revolutionary administration of Arevalo and Arbenz encouraged the labor movement through their support of labor legislation, and by giving labor an important voice in the councils of government.

In addition to their efforts to improve the conditions of workers through traditional trade-union methods, the new labor organizations have played an important political role, espousing social, economic, and political causes with broad national and international implications. Organized labor has also been responsible for the dissemination of Communist-oriented propaganda, emphasizing the "economic liberation" of Guatemala from the foreign companies charged with the will to keep it in a "semi-feudal state."

### Trade Union System \*

Two national confederations dominate organized labor in Guatemala: The General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers (Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala, CGTG) and the National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala (Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos de Guatemala, CNCG). \*\*

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\* See Appendix I for principal personnel.

\*\* See Appendix II for checklist of labor organizations.

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CGTG

The CGTG is the more important and influential of the two national confederations. It was established in October 1951 at a special congress, by unification of the most active organizations in the labor movement. This unification was accomplished under Communist auspices, and represents one of the most outstanding Communist successes in Guatemala to date. Among the 29 officers elected to form the Executive Committee of the CGTG, 12 are considered by the US Embassy to be Communists, and a number of others are suspects. The Secretary General of the confederation, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, is one of the two most important Communists in the country.

Most of CGTG's membership is located in and around Guatemala City, and consists mainly of workers in industry, in-port and railway facilities, and in the UFCO plantations. Some white-collar workers are included and there are a few affiliated agricultural unions in rural areas.

CGTG Affiliates:

The Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala, CGT) one of the two principal organizations which joined to form CGTG, has been dissolved. The other principal charter group, Trade Union Federation of Guatemala (Federacion Sindical de Guatemala, FSG) is a national federation of unions in diverse industries and of small regional federations which has remained organizationally intact and constitutes the most important affiliate of CGTG, although many of its former functions presumably are now exercised by the confederation. The present leadership of FSG appears to be pro-Communist; its Secretary General is Victor LEAL.

Two other important federations, the Guatemalan Autonomous Labor Federation (Federacion Laboral Autonoma de Guatemala, FLAG) and the Central Regional Federation of Workers (Federacion Regional

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Central de Trabajadores, FRCT) withdrew from CGTG shortly after its formation; FLAG has apparently rejoined, FRCT apparently has not. They have both opposed CGTG's attempts to dominate the labor movement. FLAG was at one time denounced by the Communists as divisionist, and the principal leader of FRCT, Carlos MARIN, has always been an outspoken anti-Communist.

The following federations of labor are believed to be affiliated with CGTG:

A. General Federations

1. Trade Union Federation of Guatemala (Federacion Sindical de Guatemala, FSG)
2. Guatemalan Autonomous Labor Federation (Federacion Laboral Autonoma de Guatemala, FLAG)

B. Craft Federations

1. National Federation of Leather Workers (Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores del Cuero)
2. National Federation of Construction Workers (Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores de la Construccion)
3. General Federation of Theatrical Workers (Federacion General de Trabajadores del Teatro)
4. Federation of Art and Graphic Workers (Federacion de Trabajadores en artes Graficos)

C. Regional Federations

1. Federation of Workers of the Department of Guatemala (Federacion de Trabajadores del Departamento de Guatemala)
2. Federation of Workers of Escuintla (Federacion de Trabajadores de Escuintla)
3. Federation of Workers of Izabal (Federacion de Trabajadores de Izabal)

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4. Federation of Workers of Retalhuleu (Federacion de Trabajadores de Retalhuleu)

5. Federation of Workers of Sacatepequez (Federacion de Trabajadores de Sacatepequez)

D. Union Affiliates

The strongest of the industrial unions affiliated directly with CGTG - is the Railway Workers Union (Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero, SAMF), with a membership of 4,500. It is in the first rank of national unions, and forms the core of the trade-union movement in Guatemala. SAMF is the only union with a real trade-union tradition, and one of the few powerful enough to influence the actions of CGTG. The Union of Educational Workers of Guatemala (Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Educacion de Guatemala, STEG) outranks it in size with 8,000 members, but these are reportedly largely inactive. Other important unions affiliated with CGTG and their membership are:

1. Workers Union of the Agricultural Company of Guatemala (Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de la Compania Agricola de Guatemala, SETCAG) - 3,600

2. Workers Union of the United Fruit Company (Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de la United Fruit Company, SETUFCO) - 1,000

3. Port Workers Union of Puerto Barrios (Union Sindical de Trabajadores de Puerto Barrios, USTPB) - 1,400

4. Carpenters and Glaziers Union (Sindicato de Trabajadores en Madera y Vidria) - 1,093

5. Masons Union (Sindicato de Albaniles Similares) - 1,147

CGTG's attempt to dominate the labor scene in Guatemala has been complicated by its political activities. Decisions of CGTG are frequently motivated by political considerations which may not be to the best advantage of the union involved. The most striking instance of this difficulty - was a dispute in 1952 between CGTG and one of its affiliates over settlement of a six-month strike at the Tiquisate plantation of UFCO. The breach developed when a settlement was arranged that was satisfactory to the local union but not to CGTG, which apparently was more interested in provoking an incident with UFCO than in settling the labor dispute.

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A further source of major dissension is the confederation's relations with its important affiliate, SAMF. A strong anti-Communist sentiment exists within the railway workers union, and although the leadership is largely pro-Communist, these leaders are required to exercise great agility in maintaining their precarious hold on the union. Some SAMF members appear to have feared that the immediate interests of the union were being subordinated to Communist aims, and a recent election in SAMF increased the strength of the anti-Communist faction and promises further friction. However, the opposition to the pro-Communist leaders results as much from personal rivalry and internal dissension as from anti-communism; even the anti-Communists in the union are clearly leftists, and proclaim their loyalty to the present regime.

#### International Affiliations:

CGTG has within the last year joined the Latin American Confederation of Workers (Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina, - CTAL) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), both Communist-dominated organizations. Efforts of the Argentine government to influence the Guatemalan labor movement have had little effect. The Communist labor leaders of Guatemala are understood to be only slightly less hostile to Argentina than to the United States.

#### CNCG

Technically, CNCG is not a labor organization, and does not engage in collective bargaining. It does, however, represent the interests of many small landholders and tenant farmers, and of some farm laborers. CNCG has been a long-time advocate of agrarian reform, and its primary interest centers around the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law and the consequent distribution of land. Specific location of CNCG affiliates is not known, but they are scattered widely through the rural areas. Originally controlled by Socialists, CNCG has come under Communist influence, and the Secretary General, Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, is regarded as pro-Communist. CNCG is not openly affiliated with any regional or international labor groups.

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### UNTL

In October 1953, a group of unemployed formed a National Union of Free Workers (Union Nacional de Trabajadores Libres, UNTL), with the announced objectives to promote harmony between capital and labor, and to combat Communist domination of labor. The organization is an outgrowth of public demonstrations by unemployed workers in Guatemala City during the summer of 1953. However, the group is largely a paper organization, without affiliates, funds, or Government recognition, and its leader, Ruben VILLATORO Barrios is known to be unscrupulous and opportunistic. Several leaders of UNTL have been arrested in recent weeks, and VILLATORO himself is said to have fled to Mexico, asking political asylum. UNTL is definitely anti-Communist, but its potentiality for effective counter-action is not known.

### Labor, Politics, and Government

Organized labor has supported both the Arevalo and Arbenz administrations, and has been principally associated with the pro-administration party, the Party of Revolutionary Action (Partido de Accion Revolucionaria, PAR). It has also given some support to the Party of the Guatemalan Revolution (Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca, PRG) and is closely associated through its leadership with the Guatemalan Labor Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo, PGT), the party of Guatemalan Communists.

In 1950, labor leaders formed the now defunct National Political Committee of Workers (Comite Politico Nacional de Trabajadores, CPNT) direct labor's participation in the elections of that year. The committees which made up the organization were nominally independent of the unions, since Guatemalan law forbids political activity on the part of labor unions. However, this separate identity was but a legal fiction. The Committee played an active part in the campaign for the election of Arbenz, and this political activity met little open opposition from the rank-and-file members. The Committee disappeared during 1951 with some speculation that this was due to the fact that Manuel PINTO Usaga, its Secretary General, was considered too ambitious to be trusted by other Communists.

Currently, labor's influence in the government is exercised through labor leaders who hold positions in the pro-government political parties.

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GUTIERREZ was formerly an officer in the leading pro-government party, PAR, and still apparently exercises a strong influence in its councils. He was elected in 1950 as a deputy in the National Congress, representing the PGT. In January 1953, the PGT, with the help of the other pro-government parties, elected to Congress Carlos Manuel PELLECCER, a Secretary of Disputes of CGTG and a member of its political committee.

Aside from its direct political support, labor has described itself as an ever-ready militia willing to "defend the Revolution." In June 1952, PELLECCER declared that he had directed the formation of committees of self-defense within CGTG which would be able to fight at a moment's notice against enemies of the Revolution. CGTG is said to maintain a well-stocked arsenal in its headquarters.

Organized labor has evinced great interest in agrarian reform, considering it an opportunity to lead the rural workers into leftist political and labor organizations. Since labor representatives have been given a share in allotting land to individual workers and in determining whether the recipient should retain such land, organized labor is increasing its influence over the Indian agricultural workers.

Labor groups have supported legislation limiting use of alien workers, have protected their workers from disciplinary action resulting from slowdowns, and have agitated for minimum wages.

#### Official Attitude Toward Labor:

The willingness of the government to collaborate with Communist leadership of organized labor is clear. President Arbenz advocated the establishment of an all-inclusive centralized labor organization, — undeterred by the foreseeable Communist character of such an organization. The formation of CGTG possibly appeared useful as part of a general unification of leftist forces.

The government favors organized labor in many ways and provides the Communists with the support necessary to dominate the labor movement, but has retained for itself a strong legal position vis-a-vis labor. The Communist labor leaders have been restive in their situation of — dependence, and in May 1952 attempted to increase their popular following and secure greater independence by passing through Congress revisions of the Labor Code which would have given them greater freedom from government control, and credit for substantial benefits. President Arbenz, however, vetoed the revisions. Those government officials

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Those government officials who are anti-Communist are not publicly so, subscribing to the view that to be publicly anti-Communist is to be anti-government.

#### Public Attitudes Toward Labor:

Conservative and aristocratic elements in Guatemala see in organized labor, with its close affiliation to political parties, a serious challenge to their own status in society. Employer organizations have carried on public relations campaigns against various tactics of the labor movement and can be expected to continue efforts to prevent labor from realizing what they term "unjust" demands. The small-business and commercial-class opposes the organized labor movement as a threat to its own economic standing and political future. The large mass of agricultural workers are apathetic to the labor movement. However, the Agrarian Reform Law and the probable consequent expansion of peasant organizations such as CNCG may increase their interest. Some of the leadership for the labor movement is furnished by intellectuals of Guatemala.

Organized labor is an unstabilizing influence, in that it is a factor in forcing important changes in the traditional relations between employer and employee, exercises considerable influence in the establishment of new patterns of land ownership, and provides an entirely new base for political power in Guatemala.

#### Labor Relations and Disputes

The traditional relationship between employer and employee in Guatemala has been, particularly among the agricultural workers, paternalistic. The plantation owner who is most successful in handling labor relations problems does not necessarily pay maximum wages, but gives a great deal of personal attention to the problems of the individual workers. On some of the large commercial plantations, however, especially those owned by UFCO, and in the limited industrial sphere, labor relations have already taken on a new characteristic. The old personal ties have tended to disappear, and the relationship has become impersonal and formal, governed by law and contract. This requires adjustments of both employers and employees.

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Labor disputes have been frequent since the 1944 revolution. Only a small portion involved actual strikes. The great majority concerned individual complaints against employers, most frequent of which was probably that of unjustified discharge. Strikes have occurred fairly frequently, however, and in most of the important sectors of the economy. Foreign-owned enterprises have come in for the bulk of labor disputes. However, the government itself has frequently been involved in disputes with its workers. In spite of its revolutionary aims, the government has at time exploited employees as much as any private employer. Postal workers and municipal employees have been paid substandard wages; teachers have often failed to receive their salaries for long periods of time. In one such instance, the teachers union, STEG, called a strike which forced the government to pay back salaries. National labor organizations have usually given enthusiastic support to striking government workers.

The government has at times taken the role of an active participant in labor disputes. On one occasion, it suspended constitutional guarantees to facilitate the imposition of compulsory arbitration; in another it gave the Colombian manager of a US firm a month to leave the country when a union threatened an illegal strike to force his discharge; on still another occasion President Arbenz loaned funds to striking workers of Pan American Airways until an agreement was reached. Because of the political relationship between organized labor and the government, it has often appeared expedient for the government to place itself in the role of defender of Guatemala against "imperialist" foreign-owned companies. However, when the government has felt that a strike would be disadvantageous to it, it has not hesitated to put pressure on union officials to settle the dispute.

Guatemalan employer organizations do not bargain with labor organizations, but carry on public relations campaigns against the labor policies of the government, and have resisted the various campaigns waged by labor to secure amendments to the Labor Code. As pressure groups, however, they have insufficient influence to change markedly any governmental or labor policies.

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Current Developments

The Second National Congress of the CGTG met 29-31 January 1954 in Guatemala City, at which time a reorganization of the board of directors was announced. This board is composed of the following members:

Executive Committee:

Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ	Secretary General
Jose Alberto CARDOZA	First Vice Secretary General
Jose Luis CASERES	Second Vice Secretary General
German BELAEZ*	Secretary of Propaganda
Virgilio GUERRA	Secretary of Organization
Marcos A. CUELLAR	Secretary of Culture
Guillermo Max GONZALEZ	Vice Secretary of Culture
Carlos Manuel PELLEGER Francisco GONZALEZ Cesar MONTENEGRO Ricardo LINCOLN*	Secretaries of Conflict
Antonio OVANDO Sanchez	Secretary of Records and Agreements
Rene AGUIRRE*	Vice Secretary of Records
Eduardo Mundi CHAVEZ*	Secretary for Foreign Affairs
Rafael David RAMOS*	Secretary of Finance
Max SALAZAR	Secretary for Farm Relations
Victor A. LEAL Narciso ESPEDAR* Sr. BARRERA*	Business Secretaries

\* These names are taken from a radio broadcast and are subject to later correction.

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Like many Communist-sponsored congresses this meeting was held after a series of postponements. First announcement regarding it appeared in May, 1953, at which time it was scheduled for October. It was again announced in August for the next October; subsequently it was postponed until December; finally on 22 December the press announced that the congress would be held 29-31 January.

Prior to this date Jose Manuel Fortuny and Victor Gutierrez returned from the Vienna meeting of the WFTU and tours behind the Iron Curtain. They returned separately via Mexico City. Fortuny is known to have made a short stopover there and is reported to have been in touch with Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

Also prior to the congress the Guatemalan Ambassador in Mexico— was reported to have returned to Mexico from Guatemala with information for Vladimir PAVLICEK, Czech Minister in Mexico City, from President Arbenz concerning a proposed trip by Pavlicek to Guatemala. On 25 January Pavlicek reportedly had a two hour meeting with Mikhail CHERKASOV, Counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. On 29 January Pavlicek flew to Guatemala, where he spoke with delegates to the CGTG Congress. Following this, one of the recommendations made at the congress was that diplomatic and commercial relations between Guatemala and Czechoslovakia be established. On 2 February the government announced that relations would be established, and on 3 February Pavlicek presented his credentials to President Arbenz.

Communist orientation of the CGTG Congress was unmistakably indicated by resolutions calling for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and repudiation of the "treacherous and imperialist conspiracy against our country." Also, during the Congress, Communist red flags flew beside the Guatemalan emblem over the EGT (sic) building which was presented to the confederation cost-free by the government two years ago. Large banners protesting "foreign intervention" were distributed by the CGTG following the government revelation of a "North American" plot against the regime.

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APPENDIX I

PRINCIPAL PERSONNEL FOR CHECKLIST OF LABOR  
ORGANIZATIONS

A. Administration Leaders Concerned With Labor

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| 1. Roberto FANJUL                     | Ministry of Economy and Labor                  |
| 2. Julio VALLADARES Castillo          | Inspector General of Labor                     |
| 3. Alfonso SOLORZANO                  | Administrator, Institute of<br>Social Security |
| 4. Daniel Alfonso MARTINEZ<br>Estevez | Chief, National Agrarian<br>Department         |
| 5. Amor VELASCO de Leon               | Deputy in National Congress,<br>1951-55        |
| 6. Jaime DIAZ Rozzotto                | Secretary General of the Presidency            |

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1. Roberto FANJUL

The present Minister of Economy and Labor, Roberto FANJUL, is a successful young businessman with extensive agricultural and commercial interests. He has held no political office before, and is not known to belong to any political party. He apparently owes his present position to his life-long friendship with President ARBENZ.

He is regarded as pro-US, and by business elements in Guatemala as "sound and progressive." He has stated that he is opposed to Communism, but eschews the designation "anti-Communist" on the ground that in Guatemala "'anti-Communist' means 'anti-government'." He opposed the Agrarian Reform Law as being too drastic and impractical for Guatemala, and recommended to President ARBENZ the latter's veto of the Labor Code revisions passed by the National Congress.

Reports on his personal situation vary from those which remark that his private fortune is dwindling to rumors that he has become a wealthy man during his tenure in the Ministry of Economy and Labor. He appears to be opportunistic, and without strong political or ideological convictions.

2. Julio VALLADARES Castillo

The Inspector General of Labor is known as "pro-labor, but independent," and has been under attack by the CGTG. He is said to have tried to maintain objective standards in administering his position, but some of his labor inspectors have indulged in labor agitation. Despite public requests that he resign, he has continued in office.

3. Alfonso SOLORZANO

SOLORZANO is administrator of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security. Under the direction of this experienced labor organizer and agitator the Institute has become a powerful and influential political agency of the government.

While a law student in Mexico City, Solorzano came under the direct influence of Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano, and was his co-worker in the labor-organizing activities of the CTAL. He put these experiences and contacts to use upon returning to Guatemala in 1944, and began quickly to organize labor groups into unions. There is strong evidence

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that he was instrumental in obtaining financial aid from LOMBARDO Toledano to assist in the return of Juan Jose AREVALO from exile to the presidency.

In 1944, he became one of the principal leaders of the extreme leftist political party, National Vanguard (Vanguardia Nacional). He was exiled in 1945 and went to El Salvador and Mexico, where he allegedly received financial support from Soviet and Marxist Mexican sources.

A lawyer by profession, his special interest is in the field of labor and social laws, and he took an active part in drafting the Labor Code and Agrarian Reform Law. He was an organizer of the CTG and of the PAR. When the latter merged into PRG, he became a member of that body's political committee. He has not openly joined the PGT, but clearly identifies himself with the Communist cause. He has given aid and support to numerous front organizations and the "peace" movement.

Basically a Marxist intellectual, and excellently prepared by experience, he is a formidable figure in Guatemalan political activities. He lacks experience and knowledge in the field of social security and is a poor administrator. He has used the Institute of Social Security to further his own political ends and has allowed continued Communist penetration of the social security agency.

4. Daniel Alfonso MARTINEZ Estevez

Major MARTINEZ Estevez, Chief of the National Agrarian Department and ex-officio President of the National Agrarian Council, is an intelligent, unscrupulous, highly calculating person who owes his meteoric political ascent to his association with President Arbenz. Just past 30, and regarded as shrewder and more ruthless than his chief, he has been, in effect, the President's trusted aide and administration "tough man." Formerly private secretary to the President, he is most noted for his part in the 1949 assassination of Col. Francisco Arana, Arbenz' strongest political rival, for his liaison duties with the Caribbean Legion, and for his influence over the Chief Executive. Since his appointment to take charge of the agrarian reform program, he has become probably the most publicized man in Guatemala.

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In 1944, MARTINEZ was awarded a West Point scholarship granted Guatemala through US State Department offices. However, he spent only one year here, and then left the Academy for undisclosed reasons. Returning to Guatemala, he was attacked as aide-de-camp to Defense Minister Arbenz and given an assignment as military attache to Honduras and El Salvador. In the fall of 1946 he was relieved of his duties, presumably to run for National Deputy, although it has been rumored that he left El Salvador under a cloud.

Elected Deputy to the National Congress for the period 1947-1951 on the PAR ticket, he aligned himself with the dominant leftist bloc. Today, however, in efforts to disassociate himself from any party entanglement, he denies having ever been enrolled as a PAR member.

MARTINEZ recently demonstrated his immaturity as a leader and inability to cope with the tactics of a seasoned agitator like Pellecer. In January 1954, when the Communist-led campesino riots in Escuintla became embarrassing to the administration, the President ordered MARTINEZ to settle the disturbances. Despite his announcement that he would not return to the capital until affairs were under control, Martinez soon realized that he was incapable of taking command of the situation and fled to Europe.

MARTINEZ appears to have no interest in ideological questions, other than their usefulness in gaining power. While giving lip service to the revolutionary line, he has refrained from taking part in Communist causes. His views about the United States are not known. His young son attends the American school in Guatemala City, which may indicate that he has no strong ideological bias against the United States.

5. Amor VELASCO de Leon

A deputy in the National Congress (1951-55), VELASCO de Leon was formerly Secretary of Organization in CNCG, and the second most influential member of that organization. He was expelled from CNCG in 1952 because he favored continued close political ties with the PRG, (Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca), which was considered too moderate by the CNCG. He has continued to be decidedly left-wing in his ideology, and has hewed closely to the Communist line. He was reportedly a member of the Guatemalan Communist Party suppressed by President Ubico in 1931, and has taken a prominent part in the "peace" movement and other Communist activities.

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VELASCO de Leon has held several executive positions in CTG, and was active in the CTG-sponsored labor school "Escuela Claridad," regarded as a center of radical agitation. When Charnaud MacDonald organized CNCG in June 1950, Velasco was appointed its Secretary of Organization and Propaganda. He was elected to the National Congress on the PAR (Partido Accion Revolucionaria) ticket in 1950, but followed Charnaud out of the party in 1951 and was appointed to the Political Commission of the latter's Socialist Party. He became affiliated with PRG when it was formed in 1952 by amalgamation of the Socialist Party with PAR.

6. Jaime DIAZ Rozotto

DIAZ, Secretary General of the Presidency since March 1952, is rumored to be a possible successor to Fanjul as Minister of Economy and Labor. He is a product of Communist-line youth and intellectual organizations which have flourished in Guatemala since 1946. He first became active in politics at the National University in Guatemala City, where he won the university prize for oratory in 1948. He was active in the Alianza Juventud Democratica de Guatemala, the national affiliate of the Soviet-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth, and in the Saker-Ti, a local Communist-line organization of "young intellectuals." He has been active in the "peace" movement. It has not been proved that he is a member of the Communist party, but his behavior coincides with Communist convictions and there is no available evidence that he has ever been attacked by Communists.

His rabble-rousing leadership of the National Reform Party reflects his undisciplined character and dictatorial actions. He is energetic, belligerent, and unpredictable, and likes to carouse. Although he was selected by an American pharmaceutical corporation for a short training course in the United States before attaining political prominence, he has expressed strong anti-American views throughout his recent career.

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B. Leaders of Labor Confederations \*

CGTG

1. Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ Secretary General
2. Carlos Manuel PELLECCER Secretary of Conflicts  
Duran
3. Maximiliano SALAZAR Garcia Secretary of Organization
4. Victor Alberto LEAL Vice Secretary of Organization  
Fernandez
5. Jose Luis RAMOS Secretary of Agricultural Relations

CNCG

6. Leonardo CASTILLO Flores Secretary General

UNTL

7. Ruben VILLATORO Barrios President

\* See reported changes as of 1 February, p. 18.

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1. Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ

Secretary General of CGTG and a Communist deputy in Congress, GUTIERREZ has been one of those principally instrumental in welding Guatemalan labor into a tightly organized political force in the short space of eight years.

A teacher by profession, he entered the labor field in 1944 as an organizer of the teachers union, Sindicato de Trabajadores de Educacion de Guatemala (STEG). As STEG representative to the CTG, he became Secretary General of that body in 1945, and upon its reorganization in 1951 he was elected Secretary General of CGTG.

Concurrently with his rise in labor circles, GUTIERREZ took an active role in the October 1944 revolution, and became a member of the executive committee of the PAR (Partido Accion Revolucionario). In 1946 he was elected a National Deputy on the PAR ticket, and played a prominent role in drafting the labor code. He remained with the PAR until 1949, when he resigned and later organized the Workers Revolutionary Party of Guatemala (Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala, PROG), an action designed to give political status to the labor movement. Upon his return from a visit to the USSR and satellite countries in 1951, GUTIERREZ dissolved the PROG and openly joined the Communist Party. Until that time he had opposed an open declaration of a Communist Party per se, and had advocated a policy of infiltrating leftist political parties and government circles and a long-range program of training leaders for the indoctrination of the working classes.

His international Communist ties are well established. He has attended numerous major labor and cultural Communist-front meetings outside and within Guatemala. He is a member of the executive committee of CTAL, and in 1949 was elected to the executive committee of the WFTU. His activities have extended into El Salvador.

GUTIERREZ was a member of the Congressional Committees on Agrarian Reform and Labor Code Revision, and is credited with assisting in the drafting of the Agrarian Reform Law. He actively supported the candidacy of President Arbenz, and in 1941 he was reelected to the National Congress.

A thorough Lenin-Stalin Marxist, he adheres undeviatingly to the Communist Party line and is a proponent of bitterly anti-US agitation. Although only 30 years of age, has displayed considerable executive ability, and is a most effective public speaker.

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2. Carlos Manuel PELLEGER Duran

Author, intellectual, one-time diplomat and former editor-manager of El Libertador, the news organ of the PAR, PELLEGER is one of the most fiery and least inhibited Communist leaders in Guatemala. He has long demonstrated enmity towards the US and other foreign business interests in Central America. Estimates of his Communist orientation as long ago as 1944, have since been confirmed by a steadily growing body of evidence. He is vigorously active in the Communist party of Guatemala (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo, PGT), serving on the political committee. He is currently Secretary of Conflicts in the CGTG, and as such participates prominently in the progressively Communist domination of that confederation.

PELLEGER was a leader of the students' political party known as the Popular Liberation Front which helped to elect President Juan Jose AREVALO in 1944. PELLEGER was elected to Congress at that time but resigned in 1945 to accept appointment as secretary of Guatemala's diplomatic mission to the USSR and the Baltic states. This appointment was offered him partly in return for his support of Arevalo, and partly to rid the country of a labor agitator who was becoming troublesome to the government. He later served in the embassy at Paris, and returned to Guatemala in 1948. Recent attempts on his part to return to the diplomatic service were frustrated when both France and Great Britain refused agreement to proposed appointments.

Upon his return to Guatemala in 1948, PELLEGER praised the "democratic development" of the eastern European countries, deplored the situations existing in countries outside the "vitalizing influence of the Red Army," and denounced the Truman and Marshall Plans. He quickly assumed positions of leadership within the PAR and the CGTG, and for a few months in 1949 headed the government's Traveling Cultural Missions, a mobile education unit designed to reach the outlying regions where formal school facilities are not available, until his demagoguery became so flagrant that the appointment was terminated. He has seized every opportunity provided by his positions constantly to expound pro-Soviet views and to further Communist causes.

3. Maximiliano SALAZAR Garcia

SALAZAR, Secretary of Organization of CGTG, is a registered member of PGT. While he holds no important office in the party, his whole career has been devoted to furthering Communist control of labor in Guatemala and nearby countries. He was one of two members of CTG who were sent to advise a convention called by the Salvadoran Communist

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front, the Workers Reorganization Committee (Comite de Reorganizacion Obrera, CRO) in San Salvador in October 1950. His activities were so highly subversive in character that within two days he was deported to Guatemala by the Salvadoran authorities.

SALAZAR was an early member of CTG, and its Secretary of Organization for some time. When that organization was incorporated into CGTG, he received the same office in the new confederation. He publicly proclaimed his membership in PGT when that party was officially inscribed in 1952. He has participated in various Communist international meetings.

4. Victor Alberto LEAL Fernandez

Vice Secretary for Organization of CGTG, LEAL was Secretary General of the FSG (Federacion Sindical de Guatemala) until 1952. He has associated closely with Communist leaders in the Guatemalan labor field and has participated actively in the "peace" movement.

He reportedly belonged to PROG until it was dissolved in 1952, at which time he and a group of PROG members announced their intention to join PAR.

5. Jose Luis RAMOS

RAMOS is first and foremost a Communist, and has been the editor of the Communist newspaper Octubre since its founding in 1950. He now holds positions as Secretary of Agricultural Relations of CGTG and Secretary of Training of CNCG, and is a member of the Secretariat and Political Committee of PGT. His appointment as an official in the two main labor confederations seems a clear Communist move toward control of organized labor in Guatemala.

RAMOS held various offices in the CTG, and was one of the early organizers of the CTG Political Action Committee. In 1952 he was named CGTG representative on the National Agrarian Council. He has also been active in the "peace" movement.

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Politically, RAMOS belonged to the so-called "left-wing" of PAR, together with Jose Manuel FORTUNY, Mario SILVA Jonama, Manuel PINTO Usaga, and other Communists. He followed this group in resigning from PAR in May 1950, and in forming first the Communist Party of Guatemala and then PGT. He became a member of both the Political Committee and the secretariat of the PGT Central Committee.

6. Leonardo CASTILLO Flores

CASTILLO is Secretary General of the powerful small landholders and tenants association, CNCG. Trained for the teaching profession, CASTILLO has become closely identified with the labor movement, and the scope of his influence has broadened with the growing emphasis of the government on agrarian reform. Through political maneuvering, he has wrested control of CNCG from Augusto CHARNAUD MacDonal, and brought it closer to the Communist fold.

CASTILLO entered the labor field as a member of the leftist teachers union STEG, and was also a member of CTG. One of the four CTG members included in the PAR list of candidates for the legislature, he was elected as a deputy in 1947, and served on the Committee on Labor Code Revision.

7. Ruben VILLATORO Barrios

VILLATORO is a native of Quezaltenango with a reputation for opportunism and dishonesty, and is known as a class agitator. In 1948 he and Ernesto MARROQUIN Wyss led a rabble disturbance in Quezaltenango, stirring up the illiterate Indians, who make up 90% of the workers in that coffee-raising section, against the middle classes and landowners. He was a member of the board of directors of the PAR in Quezaltenango, and during 1950 his home was the site of meetings called to launch the candidacy of President ARBENZ. At the conclusion of the presidential campaign, VILLATORO was not rewarded with a good political job, whereupon, as a means of revenge, he dedicated himself to attacking Communism in Guatemala. Under the pretext of conducting anti-Communist campaigns, VILLATORO has collected large sums of money which he actually used to defray personal expenses. Numerous complaints were lodged against him in Quezaltenango, including charges of swindling.

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VILLATORO is president of UNTL, founded in October 1953. The political orientation of this union is ostensibly anti-Communist. However, in view of the derogatory information reported regarding VILLATORO, it appears that UNTI may be primarily a vehicle for VILLATORO's opportunistic, selfish aims.

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C. Anti-Communist Leaders

1. Jose Arcadio CHEVEZ

Secretary General of Frente  
Autentico Revolucionario de  
Orientacion Socialista, FAROS

2. Arturo MORALES Cubas

Influential member of Sindicato  
de Accion y Mejoramiento  
Ferrocarrilero, SAMF

3. Aristeo SOSA, Jr.

Secretary General of Sindicato  
de Accion y Mejoramiento  
Ferrocarrilero, SAMF

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1. Jose Arcadio CHEVEZ Guillen

CHEVEZ is Secretary General of a small, socialistic, anti-Communist party, the Authentic Revolutionary Front of Socialist Orientation (Frente Autentico Revolucionario de Orientacion Socialista, FAROS), and was that party's unsuccessful candidate in the presidential election of 1950. He is not known to have held any political office.

He is one of the most prominent, although opportunistic, self-styled anti-Communist labor leaders in Guatemala. A leftist lawyer, he has been counselor of the banana workers unions in their more serious and protracted disputes with UFCO. At the same time, he has a long record of political and labor agitation. Although widely regarded as a clever and successful lawyer and an expert on Guatemalan labor law and procedure, he is better known for shrewdness than for integrity. He has been charged with stirring up labor disputes which he then settles, upon payment of fees by management. Nevertheless, his adjustments have secured real advantages for labor, thus assuring a continued demand for his services.

CHEVEZ studied labor law in Mexico, and has followed an active career in Guatemala as a labor counselor and organizer. He claims to have been the guiding spirit in organizing SAMF (Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero), the railway workers union, and in the spring of 1950 he announced the formation of FLAG (Federacion Regional Central de Trabajadores), which was denounced by the Communists as divisionist.

He appears to be one of the principal opponents of Communist domination of labor in Guatemala. During the presidential campaign of 1950, he described himself as a "man of the left, a Socialist, who had worked for many years at the side of President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico." He has been described by a leftist Guatemalan labor judge as "intelligent, skillful in maneuver, a good organizer, ambitious for power and money, and unprincipled, capable of aligning himself with the Communists one moment and with the anti-Communists the next, whichever was more advantageous".

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2. Arturo MORALES Cubas

MORALES is a labor leader of pronounced leftist leanings who has become an outspoken opponent of Communist domination of labor in Guatemala. He was suspended as general manager of the Consumers Cooperative of SAMF in 1952. Although he holds no executive position in that union, he has long been regarded as SAMF's most influential members and is personally well liked among the rank and file. Through a series of bitter struggles, he fought Communist domination of the union by Manuel PINTO Usaga, and finally succeeded in having PINTO Usaga expelled, but not in overcoming Communist control.

He rose to prominence with the growing labor movement after the 1944 revolution. He was a PAR deputy in the National Congress from 1945 to 1947, and reportedly resigned his membership on the committee which drafted the Labor Code when Congress voted down the closed-shop provisions in the draft. He was Secretary General of the SAMF Political Action Committee and Secretary of Organization of the National Political Committee of Workers (Comite Politico Nacional de Trabajadores, CPNT), which supported ARBENZ in the 1950 presidential campaign.

Both Morales and SAMF have been storm centers in Guatemalan labor circles. Without identifying himself as a party-line follower, Morales has worked closely with Communist labor leaders; yet his reception of an American Federation of Labor representative who visited Guatemala in 1947 was cordial. Morales was a member of the faction of PAR which withdrew in 1951 to form the Socialist Party, and became an officer in it. When the Socialist Party fused with PRG in 1952, he was appointed to the Preliminary Political Committee and later was confirmed as one of the secretaries of the enlarged Political Committee.

3. Aristeo SOSA, Jr.

SOSA has been Secretary General of SAMF, the important railway workers union, since 1951. His major problem has been that of preserving unity in his organization. He is credited with accomplishing its affiliation with the CGTG, but in so doing he incurred the opposition of the strong anti-Communist faction within SAMF. Although he has received some non-Communist support in the past, he is generally regarded as a faithful follower of the Communist line. He was one of the collaborators in the Communist-sponsored preparations for International Labor Day in Guatemala on 1 May 1953.

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APPENDIX II

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

A. Confederations

1. CGTG - Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers)
2. CTG - Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala (Confederation of Workers of Guatemala)
3. FSG - Federacion Sindical de Guatemala (Trade Union Federation of Guatemala)
4. CNCG - Confederacion Nacional de Compesinos de Guatemala (National Confederation of Rural Workers of Guatemala)

B. Federations

1. FLAG - Federacion Laboral Autonomia de Guatemala (Guatemalan Autonomous Labor Federation)
2. FRCT - Federacion Regional Central de Trabajadores (Central Regional Federation of Workers)

C. Trade Unions

1. SAMF - Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero (Railway Workers' Union)
2. SETCAG - Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de la Compania Agricola de Guatemala (Workers' Union of the Agricultural Company of Guatemala)
3. SETUFCO - Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de la United Fruit Company (Workers' Union of the United Fruit Company)

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4. SLF - Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza (Trade Union of Light and Power Workers)
5. STEG - Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Educacion de Guatemala (Union of Educational Workers of Guatemala)
6. UNTL - Union Nacional de Trabajadores Libres (National Union of Free Workers) (anti-Communist trade union)
7. USTPB - Union Sindical de Trabajadores de Puerto Barrios (Port Workers' Union of Puerto Barrios)

D. International Organizations

1. ATLAS - Agrupacion de Trabajadores Latino Americanos Sindicalistas (Association of Latin-American Trade Union Workers)
2. CTAL - Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (Latin-American Confederation of Workers)
3. ILO - International Labor Organization
4. WFDY - World Federation of Democratic Youth
5. WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions

E. Employer Organizations

1. AGA - Asociacion General de Agricultores (General Association of Agriculture)
2. AGI - Asociacion General de Industriales (General Association of Industry)
3. CCIG - Camara de Comercio e Industria de Guatemala (Chamber of Commerce and Industry)

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F. Parties and Political Organizations

1. CPNT - Comite Politico Nacional de Trabajadores (National Political Committee of Workers)
2. CRO - Comite de Reorganizacion Obrera (Workers' Reorganization Committee)
3. FAROS - Frente Autentico Revolucionario de Orientacion Socialista (Authentic Revolutionary Front of Socialist Orientation)
4. PAR - Partido de Accion Revolucionaria (Party of Revolutionary Action)
5. PGT - Partido Gualtemalteco del Trabajo (Guatemalan Labor Party)
6. PRG - Partido Revolucionario de Guatemala (Revolutionary Party of Guatemala)
7. PROG - Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (Revolutionary Workers' Party of Guatemala)

G. Guatemalan Government Organizations

1. IGSS - Instituto Gualtemalteco de Seguridad Social (Guatemalan Institute of Social Security)
2. INFOP - Instituto Fomento de Produccion (Institute for Production Development)

H. Business Concerns

1. IRCA - International Railways of Central America
2. UFCO - United Fruit Company

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