

INDEX

Italicized page numbers refer to illustrations.

- Acebedo, Hernán, 135, 152
Adams, Clifford, 63
ADN (Alianza Democrática Nacional, National Democratic Alliance), 115, 117–18, 120, 122, 125
AFE (Alianza Femenina Ecuatoriana, Ecuadorian Women's Alliance), 16, 100. *See also* women
AFL (American Federation of Labor), 78
Agee, Philip: CIA campaigns against PCE, 138, 156, 278n45, 288n58; CIA disinformation campaigns, 240; CIA informants, 214, 278n45, 288n58; CIA mail interception, 176; CIA organization in Ecuador, 31–32, 34, 186–87, 208
agrarian reform, 12–13, 23, 88, 232, 245, 252n9
Aguirre, Manuel Agustín, 3, 125, 147, 248
Alarcón Falconí, Ruperto, 23, 115–16, 120–23, 155
Albornoz Peralta, Oswaldo, 135, 152, 173–74, 209–10
Alcarás, Eduardo, 49–50
Alcívar Zevallos, Clodoveo, 115
Alexander, Robert, 11, 19–20, 54–55, 205–6
Alfaro, César, 43, 45
Alfaro, Eloy, 13, 201–2, 254n7
All American Cable Company, 178
Allende, Salvador, 234
Alvarez Fiallo, Efraín, 145–46
Amaguaña, Tránsito, 140, 221
Amazon colonization, 166, 171
Ambato, 130–32, 134
Ambursen Engineering Company, 111
American Philosophical Society, 253n19
Ameringer, Charles, 250
anarchists, 9
Andrade, Bernardino, 76
Andrade Marín, Carlos, 214–16, 219–20
Antorcha (PCE), 85
Arbenz government, 3, 30, 49, 192, 236–37
Arcenales, Luis, 169
Arechandieta Ortega, Francisco, 36–37
Arellano Gallegos, Jorge, 56, 162, 222
Arenas Coello, Manuel, 150
Arias, Juan, 153
Army Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), 137
ARNE (Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana, Ecuadorian Nationalist Revolutionary Action): and 1952 elections, 121–22; on FDN, 199–200; formation of, 14–15; and Guevara Moreno, 43; and PCE, 64, 137–38, 154; and Spanish and Italian fascist movements, 14, 215; and Velasco Ibarra, 15, 123, 156–57
Arosemena Monroy, Carlos Julio, 23, 126, 247
Arroyo Delgado, Enrique, 218
Arroyo del Río, Carlos Alberto, 21, 47
Asia and Pacific Rim Peace Conference (Beijing, 1952), 149

- Astudillo, Dario, 144
 Ayala Mora, Enrique, 19–20, 23
- Bacon, John, 31
 Baquero de la Calle, José Antonio, 131, 214–20, 287n38
 Barba, Pedro, 150
 Barreto, Primitivo, 72, 78, 132, 143, 150–52, 157, 181, 225
 Barrezueta, Enrique, 79
 Barrios, Jaime, 136, 140–41, 147, 149, 151
 Bartel, Doris, 253n19
 Bartonova de Echeverría, Ana, 65
 Bastian, Walter, 178–79, 187, 192
 Batista, Fulgencio, 119, 233
 Batvinis, Raymond, 28–29
 Beulac, Willard, 72–73
 Becerra, Gustavo, 40, 76, 151
 Beria, Lavrentiy Pavlovich, 163
 Bernbaum, Maurice, 30, 44, 47–48, 82, 218
 Blasier, Cole, 55
 Block, Tim, 253n19
 Blum, William, 253n17
 Boggs, Adelbert, 17, 70, 130
 Bogotazo, 50–51, 167
 Bolaños, A. D., 178
 Bolivian revolution (1952), 119, 125
 Borja, Rodrigo, 238
 Bracker, Milton, 104
 Bragonier, Reginald, 58, 203–4
 Brewer, Sam Pope, 121, 124, 255n18
 British Embassy, 105, 115, 117, 120–23, 126, 146, 180–82
 Browderism, 81, 86
 Bucheli, José, 165
 Bustamante Pérez, Carlos, 245–46
- Cabeza de Vaca, Alberto, 118
 Cacuangó, Dolores, 140, 151–52
 Calderón, Rubén (Calderio), 136–37, 147, 149–52
 Calderón Moreno, Alfonso, 142, 232
- Calle, La* (Quito), 147; and 6th PCE congress (1957), 211; PCE and destalinization, 210
 Cañarte, Guillermo, 152, 164
 Cañarte, Simón, 166
 Cárdenas, Mario, 187
 Carr, Barry, 8–9
 Carrasco Miño, José Arcadio, 131
 Carrera, Édison, 248
 Carrión, Benjamín, 106, 175
 Carvajal, Mariana, 98–103
 Carvajal Ruiz, Luis, 99–101
 Carvell, John, 90, 104
 CAS (controlled American source), 32, 37, 84. *See also* CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)
 Casa de la Cultura (House of Culture): organization and political importance, 12, 17; and PCE, 59–61, 72–73, 106, 144, 175, 204, 226; USIS infiltration of, 204
 Castro, Fidel, 3, 53, 233–34, 244, 247
 Catholic Church: Catholic attacks on Evangelicals, 170; and CIA, 214; Concordat (1862), 121; and García Moreno government, 121, 155; and interpellation of Ponce, 170, 172; and Latin American political structures, 12–13; PCE and, 146, 155; support for conservatives, 23, 108, 121, 193–94, 204; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 126–27
 Central University (Quito), 166, 169, 173, 219, 222, 238
 Cevallos, Luis, 52
 Cevallos Cedeño, Joel, 165, 170, 173–74, 180
 CFP (Concentración de Fuerzas Populares, Concentration of Popular Forces): and 5th PCE congress (1952), 137–38, 154; and 6th PCE congress (1957), 224–25; and 1952 elections, 121–22; and 1956 elections, 194, 247;

- and 1960 elections, 246; and coup attempts, 116, 157; formation and early strength, 15–16; PCE on, 112, 115, 119, 121, 123, 158, 180; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 123, 157, 166
- Chaupi hacienda labor action (Pesillo, 1959), 239
- Chávez, Fernando, 195
- Chávez, Nelson, 170, 173
- Chiang Kai-shek, 94
- Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition), and capitalization of names, 252n9
- Chiefs of Base (COB), 31
- Chilean Line, 143
- Chinese Communist Party, 94, 225
- Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), 94
- Chinese Revolution (1949), 87, 249; establishment of People's Republic of China, 94; international influence of, 93, 139; and PCE, 94–98, 108, 225; and Soviet Union, 185, 248
- Chiriboga, Alfredo, 168
- Chiriboga family, 12
- Chiriboga Villagómez, José Ricardo: and 1952 elections, 115–17, 120–22; and 1956 elections, 194, 204; on PCE, 188, 238, 241; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 126
- Chung Jurado brothers, 139
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency): covert action in Ecuador, 2, 16, 65, 102–3, 132, 172, 176–79, 208–9; covert action in Guatemala, 22, 30; formation and organization of, 6, 30–33, 36, 96, 186–87, 207–9; surveillance procedures, 6–8, 28–29, 34–38, 69, 75, 83–86, 176–77, 185–88, 249–50, 264n22; surveillance reliability, 27–28, 34, 37–38, 52–53, 134, 138, 140–41, 205; surveillance value for scholars, 2–7, 25–27, 33, 129, 182–83, 205; as US covert action arm, 26–27, 65, 134, 185–88
- CIG (Central Intelligence Group), 28, 35–37, 57. *See also* CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)
- civil attaché, 36
- Clark, James McAdam, 14–15
- Cline, Ray, 27
- Coello Serrano, Rafael, 15, 112
- cold war: and CIA, 38, 96; and historians and media, 228, 234, 238; and Latin American politics, 3, 11–12, 19, 24, 105, 182–83, 192; study of, 7–9
- Colegio Mejía (Quito), 148
- Coleman, Francis Vincent, 161
- Coloma, Enrique, 118
- Combate, El* (ARNE), 199–200
- Comercio, El* (Quito): on events of 1953, 160; on interpellation of Ponce, 167–68; as paper of record, 132, 223; on PCE, 66–67, 80, 132, 156, 220, 222–23, 237; on Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 126; and War of the Worlds broadcast (Radio Quito, 1949), 1–2, 49–50
- Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), 138–39, 146, 178
- Comintern (Communist International), 8, 13, 18–19, 70
- Comité de Defensa de la Democracia del Barrio de San Roque, 167
- Communist Party, Section of the Communist International (Ecuador), 15
- “Communist Party Activities” (CIG, 1947), 35
- Concordat (1862), 121. *See also* Catholic Church
- conservatives. *See* PC (Partido Conservador, Conservative Party)
- Constitution (1946), 44
- Cordero Crespo, Gonzalo, 246
- Córdova Moscosa, Wilson, 217
- Corporación de Fomento, 59
- Corral, Luz María, 98–103

- COS (Chief of Station), 30–31
- Costanzo, Joseph, 149, 193, 203
- CPUSA (Communist Party USA), 220
- CREST (CIA Records Search Tool)
database, 7, 34, 205, 250
- Crisol* (PCE), 86
- CTAL (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina, Confederation of Latin American Workers), 16, 78
- CTE (Confederación de Trabajadores del Ecuador, Confederation of Ecuadorian Workers): American Federation of Labor and, 78; organization, 16; and PCE, 17, 88, 125, 179, 221, 226, 230; and popular protests, 235, 240, 245; and PSE, 125
- Cuban Communist Party, 53, 90, 136, 236–37
- Cuban Revolution (1959), 20, 185, 225, 232–35, 237, 244, 247–49, 252n11
- Cueva Jaramillo, Mariano, 182
- Cueva Jaramillo, Patricio, 146–47, 157, 162, 182
- Cueva Tamariz, Carlos, 105, 108, 146, 182
- Cullather, Nick, 258n21
- Culley, Perry, 208
- Czechoslovakia, 208–9
- Czechoslovakia Today*, 179
- Daniels, Paul, 133
- Darling, Arthur, 256n1
- Daughters, Anton, 27
- Daughters, Donald, 27
- Dávalos, José María, 135, 152
- Davis, Dusty, 253n19
- Dearborn, Henry, 18
- Decree 302 (1944), 174
- “Democracy, Independence and Peace for the People of Ecuador” (PCE), 228–32
- Democratic Alliance (ADN, Alianza Democrática Nacional), 115, 117–18, 120, 122, 125
- democratic spring (Latin America, 1944–1954), 10–12, 21–22
- Día, El* (Quito), 2, 80
- Díaz Granados, Manuel, 50, 66, 116, 118–20
- Donnelly, Walter, 73
- Donner, Frank, 258n19
- Don Pepe* (PCE), 65
- Dulles, Allen, 30, 185
- Dulles, John Foster, 186–87
- Duncan, Brad, 5
- Duque Arias, Pablo, 83, 215
- Durán Ballén, Sixto, 14, 256n39
- Durán Carrión, Corsino, 52
- Durango, Augusto, 195
- Durango López, Wilson, 158
- Dustmann, Walter, 204, 227
- earthquake (1949), 89–91
- Echeverría, Rafael, 137, 142, 150–52, 157, 181, 248–49
- Eisenhower administration: and assassinations and military coups, 3; and CIA covert action, 41, 65, 134, 250; and conservatives in Ecuador, 204; election of in 1952, 185
- Eleventh Inter-American Conference, 199, 235–39, 244, 249
- Ellis, Perry, 70, 74, 144
- Endara, César, 76, 151
- Enríquez Gallo, Alberto, 39–40, 44, 46, 105
- Espejo Theater (Quito), 214–17, 219–20, 225
- Espinosa Páez, Miguel, 217
- Estrada family, 12
- Evangelicals, 166, 170
- Export-Import Bank (Eximbank), 111, 235
- FAS (Foreign Agricultural Service), 32
- fascism: ARNE and, 14; CFP and Guevara Moreno and, 112, 115, 119, 121, 123, 158, 180; PCE and, 18–19,

- 62, 72, 127, 179–80; Ponce Enríquez and, 203
- Favero, Jared, 253n19
- FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), 6, 28–32, 36, 40, 59, 176
- FBI in Latin America, The* (Becker), 3–4, 6
- FDN (Frente Democrático Nacional, National Democratic Front), 13, 193–96, 199–201, 204–5, 216
- Febrés Cordero, León, 256n39
- FEI (Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios, Ecuadorian Federation of Indians), 16, 70, 140–41, 191. *See also* Indigenous peoples
- Femme soviétique, La* (Moscow), 178
- feudalism, 22, 131, 199, 232, 242
- FEUE (Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Ecuador, Federation of Ecuadorian University Students): and IUS, 16, 243; and La Industrial strike (1950), 99, 102; PCE and, 61, 211, 226, 230, 242, 245; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 169
- Finally Got the News* (Duncan), 5
- Fisher, William August (Rudolf Ivanovich Abel), 257n8
- Flickinger, Su, 253n19
- Flor, Zoila, 138
- Flores, Eduardo, 166
- Flor Torres, Manuel Elicio, 23, 39–40
- For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* (Cominform), 146, 178
- Foreign Service List* (Department of State), 186
- “For Peace, Democracy, and Progress” (PCE, 1949), 86
- FPTG (Federación Provincial de Trabajadores del Guayas, Provincial Federation of Workers of Guayas), 16, 74, 144, 161–62
- Franco, Francisco, 88
- Frank, Waldo, 73
- Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Electronic Reading Room, 7
- French Communist Party, 74, 79
- FTP (Federación de Trabajadores de Pichincha, Pichincha Workers Federation), 16, 99–100, 125, 132, 235, 245
- Gaitán, Jorge Eliécer, 50, 167, 214, 237
- Galarza Zavala, Jaime, 135, 148, 153–56, 244, 248
- Galte hacienda massacre (Chimborazo, 1953), 190–91
- Gálvez, Bolívar, 48
- Gamble, F. Herbert, 189
- Gangotena, Emilio, 82, 125
- García Macías, José, 239
- García Moreno, Gabriel, 12–13, 155
- García Moreno, Juan Esteban, 107
- Garrett, Colin, 253n19
- gender relations, 66, 136, 190. *See also* women
- Gerberich, Albert, 191
- Gil Gilbert, Enrique, 40, 72–74, 135–36, 151–52, 161, 163–64, 220
- Gilstrap, Comer Wiley, 186, 208
- Gleijeses, Piero, 253n18
- global sixties, 234
- Gómez, Tirso, 152
- Gómez de la Torre, María Luisa: and La Industrial strike (1950), 100, 102–3; and mail interception, 172, 176; and PCE finances, 57; and PCE handbill (1949), 76; and political dissension in PCE, 141, 148, 151–52, 157, 248–49
- González, César Florencio, 99
- González, Eduardo, 152
- González Videla, Gabriel, 19, 107
- Goya, Francisco, 162
- Goya cell, 162
- Grace Line, 143–44
- “Gran Asamblea Popular Pro China Democrática” (PCE), 97

- Gran Concierto, El* (movie), 67
 Grandin, Greg, 7, 25
Granma (Cuba), 147
 Grijalva, Guillermo, 165, 173–74
 Guachalá hacienda massacre (Pichincha, 1953), 190–91, 202
 Gualavisí, Jesús, 140, 152–53
 Guayaquil city council, 59
 Guayaquil dockworkers strike (1959), 238
 Guayaquil protests (1959), 244–45
 Guerrero, Isidro, 149
 guerrilla activity, 52, 151, 233–34, 248, 278n45
Guerrilla Warfare (Guevara), 233
 Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 233–34, 247
 Guevara Moreno, Carlos: ARNE and, 43; and CFP, 15–16, 194, 247; and coup attempts, 43, 116, 119–20; expulsion from Ecuador, 165–67, 175; and PCE, 16, 43, 112, 115, 119, 121, 123, 143, 158, 180; and Velasco Ibarra, 15, 121–22
 Guzmán, Miguel Angel, 245
- Hamlin, John, 106, 116
 Haney, Albert Richard, 28–30, 36–37, 40–41, 58, 69, 84–85, 96
 Haney, Irene Budlong, 29
 Hatter, Baylee, 253n19
 Hernández Martínez, Maximiliano, 21
 Herter, Christian, 209
 Higdon, Charles, 130
Hispanic World Report (Stanford University), 48, 114, 124
 hispanismo, 14
Historia del Partido Comunista de la URSS, 64
 Holman, Ned, 186–87, 208, 285n52
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 6, 28–29
Hora, La (Guayaquil), 120, 166, 169, 172–73, 175
 Houk, Walter, 51, 81
 Huerta, Raúl Clemente, 194–95, 200–202, 204, 216, 227
- Hungarian uprising (1956), 184–85
 Hurley, Sharon, 31
- Ibáñez del Campo, Carlos, 125
 Ibarra, Hernán, 4, 22, 62, 71, 231–32
 ICA (International Cooperation Administration), 32
 IMF (International Monetary Fund), 230
 Indigenous peoples: FEI (Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios, Ecuadorian Federation of Indians), 16, 70, 140–41, 191; and PCE, 136, 140–41, 152–53, 164, 221, 228–30; terminology, 252n9
Inside the Company (Agee), 31, 138, 240
 Inter-American Press Association, 166
 interpellations: of Bustamante Pérez, 245–46; origin and use of term, 279n8; of Ponce Enríquez, 160, 163–76, 179–82
 Intriago, J. Federico, 145, 164
Iron Curtain (1948), 65–67
 Italy, 34
 Iturralde Rivera, Vicente, 158
 IUS (International Union of Students), 16, 137, 169, 211
- Jaramillo, José, 227
 Jaramillo, Víctor Alejandro, 235
 Jaya, Ecuador (aka Manuel), 150
 JCE (Juventud Comunista del Ecuador, Young Communists of Ecuador), 136–37, 145–47
 JCF (Juventud Comunista Femenina, Young Communist Women), 136, 145. *See also* women
 Jijón family, 12
 Johnson, Chalmers, 28
 Joliot-Curie, Frédéric, 178
 Jones, George, 33, 208
 Juridical Committees for the Defense of Western Democracy, 211
- Karnis, Michael, 211
 Karolys, Gonzalo, 118

- Kent, Sherman, 28
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 184–85, 210
 Kofas, Jon, 52
 Kuhns, Woodrow, 9
- Labor Code (1938), 98
 La Industrial strike (1950), 98–104
 La Merced hacienda massacre (Pichincha, 1953), 166, 171, 173–74, 190–91, 202
 Larrea Alba, Luis, 43, 46
 Larrea Benalcazar, Hugo, 118
 Larrea Jijón, Modesto, 117, 120–22
 Lasso, Guillermo, 66
 latifundia, 12–13. *See also* agrarian reform
 Latner, Teishan, 253n14
 Leatherman, Frederick, 242–43
 legal attaché, 36
 Lenin, Vladimir, 162
 Lester, Allen, 84
 Lewis, Kaitlin, 253n19
 Liberal Revolution (1895), 13, 22, 121, 201–2
 liberals. *See* PLR (Partido Liberal Radical, Radical Liberal Party)
 Librería Ecuador, 166, 172, 174
 Linke, Lilo, 15, 18, 124–26, 161
 literacy, 13, 21, 23–24, 114, 246
 Lombardo Toledano, Vicente, 36
 Lovato, Juan Isaac, 49, 195, 216, 219, 227
 Ludeña, Eduardo, 43
 Luna Yepes, Jorge, 14
- Macías Hurtado, Miguel, 166, 175
 Manguashca, Juan, 114
 mail interception, 172, 176–79
 Maldonado Estrada, Luis, 118
 Maldonado Renella, Jorge, 146, 162
 Mancheno, Carlos, 14, 45
 Manosalvas, Juan, 44
 Mantilla Mata, Jaime, 215
 Mantilla Ortega, Carlos, 49–50
 Mantilla Ortega, Jorge, 50
 Maoist parties, 9, 139, 151
- Mao Zedong, 94, 135, 139
 Mariátegui, José Carlos, 213
 Marks, John, 259n35
 Márquez, Pompeyo, 82
 Marshall, George, 72
 Marshall Plan, 87, 176
 Martínez, Nela: and Cuban Revolution, 225; and dissension in PCE, 142–43, 145–46, 148, 151–52, 156–57, 225, 248–49; and La Industrial strike (1950), 99–103; and mail interception, 177–78; and PCE in 1940s, 76, 79; and women's organizing and leadership, 93, 145–46
 Marx, Karl, 20
 Matthews, Herbert, 104–5, 119, 124
 Mayers, Norman, 12, 18, 122, 172, 180–81, 188
 May revolution (1944), 21, 88
 MCDN (Movimiento Cívico Democrático Nacional, National Democratic Civic Movement), 14, 107, 115
 McGarvey, Patrick, 34
 McGehee, Ralph, 9, 134
 McGinnis, Edgar, 123
 McPherson, Alan, 7
 Medina Castro, Manuel, 143–45, 150–51, 157, 177
 Mendoza Avilés, Rafael, 15
 Mera, Mentor, 65
 Mériguet, Raymond, 52, 142, 148, 157
 Miller, Austin, 253n19
 Ministry of Economy, 46, 105, 164
 Ministry of Education, 59, 61, 105–8, 126, 142, 146, 158, 182, 190
 Miño, Reinaldo, 98
 MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, Movement of the Revolutionary Left), 248
 MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), 119, 125

- Molestina, Raúl, 52
 montuvios, 88, 196
 Morales y Eloy, Juan, 135
 Moreland, William, 70, 239, 241–42, 245
 Morena, Roberto, 139, 144
 Moreno, Ana, 46–48, 79, 143, 150,
 157–58, 177
 Moreno, Julio, 48
 Morrison-Knudsen, 135
 Moscow gold, 2, 54–55, 57, 59, 63, 68, 180
 MSC (Movimiento Social Cristiano,
 Social Christian Movement), 14
Mujer Soviética, La (Moscow), 64
 Muñoz, Olga, 136
 Muñoz Vicuña, Elías, 73–74, 93,
 210–11, 231
 Musch, Cheryl, 253n19
 Mussolini, Benito, 34
- Nación, La* (Guayaquil), 166, 169, 172–73,
 175
 Naranjo, Plutarco, 82
 Narváez, Juan Pío, 148, 150, 157, 163
 National Security Act of 1947, 6
 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty
 Organization), 87
 Navarro, César Humberto, 99
 Neruda, Pablo, 135
 new left, 185, 232
New Times (USSR), 178
New York Times: on 5th PCE congress
 (1952), 156; on 1952 elections, 121,
 123–24; on Grace Line dispute, 144;
 on social and political upheaval in
 Ecuador and Latin America, 104–5,
 119, 236–38, 243–44
 Nicolalde, Hipatia, 99
 Noland, James, 187, 208–9
 Normal Juan Montalvo
 (Guaranda), 148–49
 North, Liisa, 114
Nuestro pan (*Our Daily Bread*, Gil
 Gilbert), 72
- OIR (Office of Intelligence Research),
 17–18, 107, 123, 125–26
 Oleas, Gonzalo, 83, 220–21, 227
 Olmedo Muñoz, Julio, 164
 Oña (café owner), 56
 Operation PBSUCCESS, 30
 Oramas, Marco Tulio, 152, 161, 163
 Ortiz Aldas, Pedro, 62
 OSA (Office of South American Affairs),
 123, 203–5
 Otavalo massacre (Lago San Pablo,
 1959), 235
- Pacheco León, Neptalí, 152–53
 Páez, Leonardo, 49
 Palomino, Pascual, 152
 Paredes, Ricardo: and 4th PCE congress
 (1949), 81, 86; and 5th PCE congress
 (1952), 136, 138–43, 145, 148, 151–53,
 156–57; and 6th PCE congress (1957),
 220; and conflicts in PCE, 70–72, 81,
 86, 111, 138–43, 145, 148, 151–53, 156–57,
 220; and Indigenous movement, 70,
 140–41, 164; international travel,
 136–37, 176; and PCE formation and
 organization, 13, 62–63, 70–72, 93, 151,
 164, 220; personal life, 70–71, 138
 Paredes Martínez, Leonardo, 142
 Parra Velasco, Antonio, 246
 Pazmiño, Héctor, 150
 Paz y Miño Cepeda, Juan, 287n31
 PC (Partido Conservador, Conservative
 Party): and 5th PCE congress (1952),
 131, 134; and 6th PCE congress (1957),
 214–17, 220; and 1948 elections, 23;
 and 1952 elections, 23, 105–6, 108,
 115–17, 120–23; and 1955 midterm
 elections, 193; and 1956 elections, 23,
 184, 194, 201; and 1960 elections,
 246; and 1984 and 1992 elections,
 256n38; and Catholic Church, 23,
 108, 121, 193–94, 204; founding of,
 13–14; and interpellation of Ponce,

- 165, 168, 176; support in 1950s and 1960s, 14, 19, 22–24, 194–95; United States officials on, 204; and Velasco Ibarra government (1944–1947), 14; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 126–27
- PCC (Partido Comunista de Colombia, Communist Party of Colombia), 136, 140–41, 147, 149, 151, 236
- PCE (Partido Comunista del Ecuador, Communist Party of Ecuador), 17; 4th congress (1949), 69, 78–92; 5th congress (1952), 129–59; 6th congress (1957), 207–32; and 1948 elections, 39–49; and 1952 elections, 110–15, 117, 122, 125; and 1955 elections, 193; and 1956 elections, 195; and 1960 elections, 246; and Afro-Ecuadorians, 136; and ARNE, 64, 137–38, 154; and bourgeois national development, 21, 87–89, 199; and Casa de la Cultura, 226; and CFP, 16, 112, 224–25, 246; and Chinese Revolution (1949), 108, 225, 248; coups and illegal activity, 2, 38, 43–48, 58, 86, 201; and Cuban Revolution (1959), 20, 237, 247–49; and earthquake (1949), 90–91, 111–12; and Eleventh Inter-American Conference, 236–39; and fascism, 18–19, 62, 72, 127, 179–80; and FEUE, 61, 211, 226, 230, 242, 245; formation, 13; in Guayaquil, 75, 161–64; and guerrilla actions, 52, 151, 278n45; and Indigenous peoples, 136, 140–41, 152–53, 164, 221, 228–30; internal dissent, 70–78, 81, 93–94, 108–9, 138–59, 173, 225, 232; and *Iron Curtain* movie disruption, 65–67; and June 1959 protests, 241–46; and Khrushchev revelations (1956), 210–11, 226; and La Industrial strike (1950), 98–104; mail interception, 65, 177–79; and military, 94–95; Moscow gold and control, 2, 54–59, 61, 63, 68, 80, 180, 215; organization, 17–18, 34–36, 54–68, 70, 76–78, 95–96, 162–64, 191–92, 207–8, 212–13; outlawing of, 157, 202, 211–12, 218, 247; and peaceful and parliamentary road to power, 17–18, 24, 38–41, 46, 86–89, 127–28, 151, 182, 196–99, 205, 247–49; and peasants, 2–3, 88, 136, 207–8; and Plaza Lasso, 38–49, 66, 90–91, 94, 105–6, 112–13, 230; and Ponce Enríquez, 165, 179–82, 201–3, 212; and popular fronts, 19–21, 86, 110, 113–15, 117, 216, 229; and PSE, 83; publications and distribution, 61–65, 74, 85, 166, 172, 174, 192, 224, 228; religion and religious groups, 146, 155, 170; on Rio de Janeiro Protocol (1942), 237; and Salazar Gómez, 116; and social movements, 20, 71, 109, 153, 185, 226, 232, 272n1; and social security system, 111; and Soviet Union, 154–55, 163, 225, 248; strength and influence, 17–21, 65, 74–75, 161, 188, 191, 203–6, 211, 226, 250; and Velasco Ibarra, 127, 142; and War of the Worlds broadcast (1949), 49–52; and women, 103, 136, 145–46
- “PCE Finances” report by CIA, 60
- PCMLE (Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista del Ecuador, Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador), 81, 151, 248
- peaceful and parliamentary road to power: and Communist parties, 4, 10, 18, 211, 233–34; and PCE, 17–18, 24, 38–41, 46, 86–89, 127–28, 151, 182, 196–99, 205, 247–49
- Pearson, Amatista, 253n19
- Pedro Saad cell, 56
- Peñaherrera, Alfredo, 144
- Peñaherrera, Luis Antonio, 64–65, 126
- People’s Republic of China, 94. *See also* Chinese Revolution (1949)
- Pérez, Simón, 162

- Pérez Castro, Franklin, 62–63, 75, 79, 137, 148, 150–52, 157, 163, 166
- Pérez Castro, Ismael, 63
- Pérez Guerrero, Alfredo, 175, 219
- Perón, Juan, 123–24, 137
- Phillips, David Atlee, 31, 133, 258nn11, 21
- Plaza family, 12
- Plaza Gutiérrez, Leónidas, 22
- Plaza Lasso, Galo: and 1948 elections, 14, 22; and 1952 elections, 105, 114–28; and 1960 elections, 246; and coup threats, 39, 104–6, 116, 120; and earthquake (1949), 90–91; government of and stability, 22, 24; and imperialism, 22, 107–8; and MCDN, 14; PCE and, 38–49, 66, 94, 105–6, 112–13, 230; and PLR, 14; PSE and, 94, 105–8, 246; US officials on, 106–8, 208
- Plaza Lasso, José María, 195, 201
- Plaza Monzón, César, 174
- PLR (Partido Liberal Radical, Radical Liberal Party): and Liberal Revolution (1895), 13; and 1948 elections, 39; and 1952 elections, 115–17, 120–22, 126; and 1955 midterm elections, 193; and 1956 elections, 194, 196, 204; and 1960 elections, 246–47; coalitions with socialists and communists, 13; and Mancheno coup (1949), 45–47; and populist candidates, 14, 24
- Point Four program, 143
- Ponce Enríquez, Camilo, 14, 65; election and government (1956–1960), 22, 184, 194–206; and feudalism, 22; interpellation of, 160, 163–76, 179–82; and June 1959 protests, 239–41; and PCE, 165, 212, 218, 230, 236, 238–39; and Velasco Ibarra government (1944–1947), 189–91; and Velasco Ibarra government (1952–1956), 126
- Popoca Estrada, Manuel, 51
- Poppino, Rollie, 11–12
- Popular Alliance coalition, 74–75
- popular front, 18–21, 86, 107, 110, 114–15, 117, 229
- populism, 13–16, 24, 110, 124–25, 127–28, 192, 247, 255n10
- Por la defensa de la vida del pueblo: Manifiesto del Comité Central del Partido Comunista* (1949), 76–78, 77
- Portoviejo protests (1959), 239, 245
- ¡Por una paz duradera, Por una democracia popular!* (Cominform, Bucharest), 64
- Por un gobierno democrático al servicio del pueblo; contra la reacción, los golpes de estado y el continuismo; programa electoral del Partido Comunista del Ecuador* (PCE, 1956), 197
- Poveda, Bernardino, 164
- Prados, John, 259nn35, 48
- Prazbские Novosti* (Prague), 178
- Prestes, Luís Carlos, 135
- PSE (Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano): and 4th PCE congress (1949), 80–81; and 5th PCE congress (1952), 133; and 6th PCE congress (1957), 220–21, 223–24; and 1952 elections, 115–18, 122, 124–25; and 1960 elections, 246; formation and early history, 13, 70; and interpellation of Ponce, 165, 170, 173–74, 180; and *Iron Curtain* movie disruption, 67; *La Tierra*, 67, 80–81, 107, 133, 214, 223–24; and Plaza government, 82–83, 90–91, 94, 105–8, 118, 246; political dissension in, 82–83, 248; Riobamba regional congress (1957), 226–27; and Velasco Ibarra government (1944–1947), 142; and women, 136
- PSRE (Partido Socialista Revolucionario del Ecuador, Socialist Revolutionary Party of Ecuador), 132, 248
- Pueblo, El* (PCE), 61–65, 74, 192, 224, 228
- Puerto cell, 164

- Quevedo, Antonio, 113
 Quevedo, Galo, 239
 Quevedo-Manta Road, 111, 135
 Quijano Cobos, Alfonso, 62, 146, 164
 Quintana (Colonel), 46
 Quintana, Jorge, 99–100
 Quito city council, 59
- Radio Quito, 1–3, 49
 Ramírez Gutiérrez, Gustavo, 52
 Ramos, Segundo, 90–91, 139, 143–44, 148, 151–52, 157, 161, 240–41
 Ravndal, Christian, 184, 209–10, 217, 220–21, 224–26
Realidad (PCE), 86
 Record Group 59 (Department of State Central Decimal Files), 257n9
 Record Group 84 (Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State), 257n9
 Red Cross, 90
 red scare and redbaiting, 105, 199
 Revolución Gloriosa (1944), 21, 88
 Revolution of July 1925, 21
Revue Partisans de la Paix (World Peace Council), 103
 Rio de Janeiro Protocol (1942), 88, 199, 237
 Rio Treaty (1948), 87
 Rivadeneyra, Jorge, 248
 Rivera, Modesto, 140–42, 152, 157
 Roca, Blas, 90, 136
 Rojas, Angel F., 106
 Romo-Leroux, Ketty, 52
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 6
 Rositzke, Harry, 185, 240
 Rossi Delgado, Ernesto, 146
 Roura Cevallos, José María, 148–49, 152, 157, 200–201, 278n45
 Rubottom, Roy, 208
 Rumiñahui press (Quito), 56
 Russian Revolution (1917), 93, 162. *See also* Soviet Union
- Saad, Kalil, 36
 Saad, Pedro: and 4th PCE congress (1949), 79–81, 86, 89; and 5th PCE congress (1952), 129, 132–35, 137–39, 142–43, 146–48, 150–53, 156–58; and 6th PCE congress (1957), 219–22, 224–28, 231–32; and 1949 coup attempt, 43–44, 46; and 1949 earthquake relief, 90–91, 132; and 1952 elections, 125; becomes PCE secretary general, 81, 93, 129, 150–52, 156, 158; and Bustamante Pérez, 245–46; and conflicts in PCE, 70, 81, 138–39, 142–43, 146–48, 150–51, 157–58, 220; international travel, 36, 55, 208, 225; interpellation of Ponce Enríquez (1953), 160, 165–76, 179–82; political approach of, 70–71, 80–81, 86, 89, 137, 153, 164–65, 222, 248; and War of the Worlds broadcast (Radio Quito, 1949), 51–52
 Safadi, Elías, 158
 Safadi, Fortunato, 79
 SAIIC (South and Meso American Indian Rights Center), 252n9
 Salazar Cortez, Tatiana, 225
 Salazar Gómez, Eduardo, 58, 115–20, 154, 200, 211–12, 219, 287n38
 Sánchez, Jaime, 186
 Sancho Jaramillo, Neptalí, 131–32
 Sandoval, Bolívar, 143, 157
 San Pablo del Lago massacre (1960), 245
 Santos, Abelardo, 164
 Scotten, Robert, 142
 Sebacher, Tom, 253n19
 Second World Student Congress (Prague, 1950), 137
 Segura, Nelson, 152
 Serrano, Colón, 105–6
 Shaw, George, 36
 Shetterly, Howard, 133–34, 186
 Shoulders, Chloe, 253n19
 Simbaña, Floresmilto, 4

- Simmons, John, 37, 48, 58, 66–67, 96,
 131–32, 260n51
 Sino-Soviet split, 185, 248–49
 Smith, Harold, 111
 Smugala, Kelsey, 253n19
 Social Christians, 194
 social movements: and PCE, 20, 71, 109,
 153, 185, 226, 232, 272n1; and political
 organizing, 11–18, 114; and populism,
 110; study of, 2, 4–8. See also *specific
 organizations*
Sol, El (Quito), 106
 Somoza García, Anastasio, 22, 87, 244
 Sotomayor y Luna, Manuel, 105
 Soviet Union, 249; and China, 185, 248;
 Khrushchev revelations (1956), 184–85,
 210, 226; Moscow gold, 2, 54–55, 57,
 59, 63, 68, 180; and PCE, 10, 80, 88,
 154–55, 162–63, 215, 225, 248; Russian
 Revolution (1917), 93, 162
 Sowell, Benjamin, 18, 66–67
 Spanish names, 254n7
 Stalin, Joseph, 135, 162, 184–85
 Standard Oil, 230
 State Department, 30, 32, 186, 209, 257n9
 Stockwell, John, 31
 Stroessner, Alfredo, 238, 244
 Suárez (Colombian communist), 140
 Suárez Veintimilla, Mariano, 194, 256n39
 Sulc, Tad, 243–44

 Tamayo, José Luis, 21
 Tamayo, Oswaldo, 195
Telégrafo, El (Guayaquil), 237
 Third World Youth Festival for Peace
 (Berlin, 1951), 107
 TIAR (Tratado Interamericano de
 Asistencia Recíproca,
 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal
 Assistance, 1948), 87
Tiempos Nuevos (Moscow), 64
Tierra, La (PSE), 67, 80–81, 107, 133,
 214, 223–24

 Tigua agrarian cooperative, 56
 Toachi River guerrilla uprising (1962),
 248
 “Towards a Democratic Front for
 National Liberation” (PCE, 1952), 130
 Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales
 (tribunal of constitutional
 guarantees), 72
 Trotsky, Leon, 9, 109, 163
 Troy, Thomas, 256n1
 Trujillo, José Vicente, 126
 Trujillo, Rafael, 3, 87, 237, 244
 Truman administration, 87, 143
 Tucker, Taylor, 253n19

 Ubico, Jorge, 22
 UDNA (Unión Democrática Nacional
 Anti-Conservadora, National
 Democratic Anti-Conservative
 Union), 246
 UDU (Unión Democrática Universitaria,
 University Democratic Union), 166, 169
Unión Soviética (Moscow), 64
 United Fruit Company, 230
 United States government: covert action
 in Cuba, 3; covert action in Ecuador,
 16, 187, 204, 211–12. See also CIA
 (Central Intelligence Agency)
Universo, El (Quito), 63, 148
 UPR (Unión Popular Republicana,
 Republican Popular Union), 15
 URJE (Unión Revolucionaria de la
 Juventud Ecuatoriana, Revolutionary
 Union of the Ecuadorian
 Youth), 153, 248
 URME (Unión Revolucionaria de
 Mujeres del Ecuador, Revolutionary
 Union of Ecuadorian Women), 248.
 See also women
 USAID (United States Agency for
 International Development), 32
 USIA (United States Information
 Agency), 32, 187, 192

- USIS (United States Information Service), 187, 204
- USOM (United States Operations Mission), 32
- Vacas Gómez, Humberto, 173
- Valdano Raffo, Nicolás, 15
- Valencia, Aquiles, 135, 152
- Valverde, Cesario, 143–44, 157, 163
- Vargas, Getulio, 124
- Vargas, Luis, 187
- Veintimilla, Mario, 182
- Velasco Alvarado, Juan, 252n9
- Velasco Ibarra, José María: ARNE and, 15; and Baquero de la Calle, 214; and CFP, 166; government (1944–1947), 44, 119, 121; government (1952–1956), 22, 110, 114–29, 188–89; government (1960–1961), 23, 208, 246–47; and Guevara Moreno, 165–66; and Lasso Plaza, 22; and oligarchy, 22; PCE on, 137, 230; and Peronist government, 123–24; and populism, 14, 192
- Velasquista movement, 13, 122, 156, 193
- Venceremos Brigade, 253n14
- Vera, Alfredo: and 5th PCE congress (1952), 135, 142–45, 148, 150–52, 157, 164; and 1949 coup attempt against Plaza Lasso, 46–47; expulsion from PCE, 158
- Vera, Pedro Jorge, 245
- Vieira White, Gilberto, 177
- Villacreses, José, 152
- Villagómez Yepes, Jorge, 126
- Villalba, Gonzalo, 127
- VM (Vencer o Morir, Win or Die), 248
- voting rights, 21, 24, 114, 194, 205, 230
- VRSE (Vanguardia Revolucionaria del Socialismo Ecuatoriano, Ecuadorian Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard), 13, 43–44, 107, 115, 117
- Walker, Meghan, 253n19
- War of the Worlds, The* (Wells), 1
- War of the Worlds broadcast (Mercury Theatre on the Air, 1938), 1, 49
- War of the Worlds broadcast (Radio Quito, 1949), 1–3, 39, 49–52, 260n51
- Weatherwax, Robert, 31–32
- Weiner, Tim, 29–30
- Welles, Orson, 1, 49
- Wells, H. G., 1
- WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), 16, 208, 215
- Wheeler, Richard, 31
- Wieland, William, 186–87, 193–94
- Williams, Albert Rhys, 108
- Winkeler, Artemis, 253n19
- Witting Shipyard strike (1952), 161–62
- women: AFE, 16, 100; in CIA, 31; and communists and socialists, 103, 136, 145–46; gender relations, 66, 136, 190; URME, 248; and voting, 24, 194
- World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), 146
- World Festival of Youth and Students: 3rd (Berlin, 1951), 59, 146; 6th (Moscow, 1957), 147, 187, 208
- World Peace Congress (Beijing, 1952), 170
- World Peace Congress (Paris, 1949), 177
- World Student News, The*, 179
- World War II, 21–22
- WPC (World Peace Council), 90, 103, 177–78
- Ycaza family, 12
- Zúñiga, Víctor, 221