



A Judicial Watch Special Report:

**George Soros' Open Society Foundation Activities in
Guatemala**



*Advancing a Radical Globalist Agenda Through "Lawfare" and
Political Subversion*



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Introduction

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Judicial Watch promotes transparency, integrity and accountability in government, politics and the law. We carry out our mission through investigations, research, litigation and public education. As part of our educational activities we produce Special Reports on important public policy matters in order to illuminate the operations of government in a way that informs the public and holds our trusted public servants accountable.

This Special Report describes the activities of billionaire “philanthropist” George Soros and his Open Society Foundation concerning Guatemala. Soros, his foundation and their affiliates promote and advance a radical, progressive agenda that seeks to destabilize legitimate governments, erase national borders and identities, target conservative politicians, finance civil unrest, subvert institutions of higher education, and orchestrate refugee crises for political gain. The Soros network is engaged in an active and ongoing effort to affect politics, economics, and societies across Latin America. Guatemala, in particular, has been subjected to an aggressive, insidious campaign of subversion and political manipulation that threatens the sovereignty of a constitutional republic and ally of the United States.

The Soros operations are highly sophisticated and multi-faceted, working across academia; the courts; labor and agriculture; “social justice” organizations; co-opted religious associations; and, of course, political groups. Soros operations also utilize U.S.-based non-profit organizations to further their agenda in Guatemala. The U.S. taxpayer is also funding Soros’ efforts in the country.

Judicial Watch will continue to investigate and litigate to obtain evidence that we will analyze as we pursue additional lines of inquiry concerning Soros and the Open Society Foundation – not just in Guatemala – but around the world, in particular, the United States.

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Summary

In 2018, Hungarian billionaire George Soros' Open Society Foundations (OSF) are projected to expend \$573,000,000 in grants and program funding throughout the world. While the OSF's self-professed goals of strengthening the rule of law, supporting democratically elected governments, promoting fairness in political, legal, and economic systems, and safeguarding fundamental rights may seem innocuous-- or even noble-- the reality is far different. Under the guise of philanthropy, Soros, through his web of organizations in more than 40 countries, has promoted a radical globalist agenda in every corner of the globe. In the United States, this has included:

- Promoting an open border with Mexico and fighting immigration enforcement efforts
- Fomenting racial disharmony by funding anti-capitalist black separatist organizations
- Financing the Black Lives Matter movement and other organizations involved in the riots in Ferguson, Missouri
- Weakening the integrity of our electoral systems
- Promoting taxpayer funded abortion-on-demand
- Advocating a government-run health care system
- Opposing U.S. counterterrorism efforts, and
- Promoting dubious transnational climate change agreements that threaten American sovereignty
- Working to promote gun control and erode 2nd Amendment protections

Despite the Open Society Foundations' status as non-profit entities, much of their work in the United States is highly political in nature. They have funded the liberal think tank Center for American Progress (which is headed by former Hillary Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta), the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and its related entities, and Democratic voter turnout initiatives. In 2003, Soros described defeating President George W. Bush as, "the central focus of my life," and donated more than \$15 million to anti-Bush organizations and efforts.ⁱ At the January 2018 World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, Soros attacked President Trump and described him as a "danger to the world."ⁱⁱ

Similarly, in Europe, Soros and his foundations have sought to erase national borders and identities, targeted conservative politicians, financed civil unrest, infiltrated institutions of higher education, and orchestrated a massive refugee crisis that will leave the continent forever changed.

The president of the Open Society Foundations, Patrick Gaspard, has a long history in Democratic party politics and community organizing in support of left-wing causes. This included serving as the political director for ACORN's New York Chapter, an organizer for the socialist New Party, and for Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign. He went on to a position as the political vice president of a powerful Service Employees International Union (SEIU) chapter in New York and an activist with the ACORN-aligned Working Families Party. He served as the director of President Obama's Office of Political Affairs from 2009 to 2011 and as the executive director of the Democratic National Committee from 2011 to 2013, when Obama appointed him to be the Ambassador to South Africa. Shortly after the ruling African National Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to expropriate land from predominately white farmers without compensation, Gaspard sent a tweet lauding South Africa's constitution as "more inclusive" than that of the United States.

The Soros network has also been engaged in an active and ongoing effort to affect the politics, economics, and societies of Latin America. The Open Society Foundations are projected to spend more than \$36 million in the region this year, with most of the funding dedicated to human rights, justice reform, and democracy promotion projects.ⁱⁱⁱ The foundations have spent more than \$100 million in the region since 2015.

The intervention of the Open Society Foundations in Latin America has coincided with the so-called "pink tide," the resurgence of left-wing leaders throughout much of Latin America. This has included the installation of socialist presidents Evo Morales in Bolivia, Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, and Salvador Sánchez Cerén in El Salvador, as well as the disastrous reigns of Hugo Chávez and Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela.

In 2007, Guatemala elected its first left-wing president in more than half a century, Álvaro Colom. After his corruption-plagued term, however, Guatemalans rejected the "pink tide" trend by electing former General Otto Pérez-Molina to the presidency. In 2016, the country elected conservative populist Jimmy Morales, marking a renewal of conservatism and pro-U.S. sentiment in the country.

Concurrent with this revival, Guatemala has found itself increasingly targeted by the Soros network. In 2016, Soros' Open Society Foundations provided more than \$1,000,000 to organizations there, and hundreds of thousands more to U.S.-based organizations supporting his agenda in the country. Relative to GDP, OSFs spend more than twice as much in grant and program funding in Guatemala than in the United States. As in the United States, these programs include funding liberal media outlets, supporting globalist politicians, advocating for open borders, fomenting public discord, and influencing academic institutions. In Guatemala, however, Soros' efforts are enhanced by two significant factors: the exploitation of alleged atrocities committed during the Guatemalan Civil War for political purposes, and a close alignment with the United Nations, which

maintains a colossal footprint in the nation. These factors have enable the Soros network to exert tremendous influence over the political and judicial systems in Guatemala.

This report will examine how Soros and the entities he controls have adversely impacted the nation of Guatemala and review the organizations and programs that the Soros network has funded there. It will also summarize how the Open Society Foundations are utilizing U.S.-based non-profit organizations to further their agenda in Guatemala. Perhaps most shockingly, it will review the role of the U.S. government in using taxpayer funding to support the Soros' efforts in in the country.

Open Society Foundations' Interference in Guatemala's Judicial System

In May 2010, following an unusually public selection and vetting process, liberal Guatemalan President Álvaro Colom appointed Conrado Reyes to serve as the country's Attorney General. Reyes, an attorney with extensive public and private sector experience, had been endorsed by the deans of nine Guatemalan law schools and the Chief of the country's Supreme Court of Justice.^{iv} Despite these qualifications, and without presenting any evidence of wrongdoing, United Nations diplomat Carlos Castresana criticized the appointment and alleged that Reyes had ties to criminal organizations.^v At the time, Castresana, a Spanish jurist, was the director of the *Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala* (CICIG), an extremely powerful U.N. body designed to investigate corruption the country. Shortly thereafter, Castresana resigned from his position.

Despite the lack of evidence and the fact that no charges were ever brought against Reyes, the Guatemalan Constitutional Court, bowing to U.N. pressure, annulled his appointment and removed him from the position of Attorney General after only 17 days. In its ruling, the court made no finding regarding the allegations, but ruled that the selection process "had not followed proper procedure."

The Open Society Foundations have been strong supporters of the CICIG. Just weeks before Reyes' appointment, Castresana was a featured speaker at the OSF event entitled, "Fighting Impunity in Guatemala: The Experience of the CICIG."^{vi} The OSF has also published numerous papers lauding the work of the CICIG, including one that praises the body for its interference in the country's judicial system:

"In a judicial election process which produces intense political maneuvering, CICIG has publicly, and with some success, challenged the election of judges unfit to serve on Guatemala's highest courts. CICIG intelligence and advocacy has led to the dismissal of two attorneys general, and facilitated the appointment of the country's most reform-minded chief prosecutor in a generation."^{vii}

The “reform-minded prosecutor” that the Open Society Foundation credits the United Nations with bringing to power was Claudia Paz y Paz, who assumed the position of Attorney General after Reyes’ removal. In a break with tradition, Paz y Paz’ appointment was notable for its political nature. As journalist and Guatemala expert Steve Hecht noted, “Unlike her predecessor, whose credentials had been free of partisanship, Paz y Paz was qualified by her political associations. She was especially known and liked for her work with the United Nations and other transnational organizations. She came to the office with a firm agenda.”^{viii} In the assessment of Guatemalan attorney Moises Galindo, “She is the attorney general by law, but she did not get there legitimately. It was a fraudulent maneuver by the UN commission, which pushed Guatemala’s institutions to remove the prior attorney general. Then, under the umbrella of the same UN commission, her supporters in civil society propelled her into office.”^{ix}

Paz y Paz’ appointment was clearly a successful effort by the United Nations to install “one of their own” in the position of Attorney General. She had previously served as the National Consultant to the United Nations Mission in Guatemala and has an extensive background in human rights issues.^x In 1994, she founded the Institute for Comparative Criminal Studies of Guatemala (ICCPG), a human rights organization that has received funding from the Open Society Foundations.^{xi}

Paz y Paz tenure as Attorney General is best known for her prosecution of former Guatemalan President and Army General Efraín Ríos-Montt and other military officials for alleged human rights violations committed during the country’s civil war. Despite the fact that Guatemala had the world’s fifth-highest homicide rate, when she took office^{xii}, Paz y Paz focused much of her office’s efforts on the prosecution of 86-year old Ríos-Montt for crimes committed 30 years earlier during the government’s efforts to suppress a Marxist rebellion.

Ríos-Montt was convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity in May 2013; however, the verdict was annulled by the Guatemalan Constitution Court ten days later. A new trial has been postponed due to his age and declining health.

The Open Society Foundations have reported extensively on the Ríos-Montt trial. As detailed below, they have also donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to non-governmental organizations working to support the prosecutions of Ríos-Montt and other former military officials.^{xiii}

On December 15, 2011, Paz y Paz was one of four women honored by then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at the International Crisis Group’s “In Pursuit of Peace” awards dinner.^{xiv} The International Crisis Group is heavily funded by the Open

Society Foundations, having received grants of more than \$2.3 million from the OSF in 2016.

In May 2014, Paz y Paz was replaced as Attorney General by Thelma Aldana. Since her departure, she has taken up residence in the United States and continues to be a darling of the human rights industry. Shortly after leaving office, the Open Society Foundations awarded a \$100,000 grant to Georgetown University in Washington, DC to allow the university's Institute for Women, Peace, and Security to host Paz y Paz as a visiting scholar.^{xv} Former Secretary Clinton serves as the Institute's Honorary Founding Chair.^{xvi}

On October 13, 2015, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power spoke at an Open Society Foundations event honoring Claudia Paz y Paz and Judge Yassmín Barrios, the presiding judge in the Ríos-Montt genocide trial. Her judicial authority was later suspended for one year pursuant to a misconduct complaint filed by one of Ríos-Montt's attorneys.



Ambassador Samantha Power with Judge Yassmín Barrios and Claudia Paz y Paz^{xvii}



Judge Barrios celebrating while announcing her guilty verdict in the Rios-Montt trial.^{xviii}

In 2015, Paz y Paz published a book, *Transforming Justice in Guatemala: Strategies and Challenges Investigating Violent Deaths*, that was funded by the Open Society Foundation.^{xix} In 2016, she was appointed a Senior Fellow at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA),^{xx} a human rights advocacy organization that received nearly \$1 million in grant funding from the Open Society Foundations in 2016.^{xxi} By its own account, “WOLA was instrumental in the creation of the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG).”^{xxii}

WOLA, one of the more influential activist groups operating in Guatemala, is closely tied to both the Soros network and the United States Government. Robert Varenik, the Director of Open Society’s Justice Initiative, also serves on WOLA’s board of directors.^{xxiii} The former Executive Director of WOLA, Dr. George Vickers, left that position to become the Senior Policy Analyst for Latin America with the Open Society Policy Center (Soros’ (c)(4) entity).^{xxiv} Vickers is also on the board of the East-West Management Institute, another Soros-funded project.^{xxv}

During the Obama administration, then-WOLA executive director Joy Olson visited with White House officials on approximately 20 occasions. These included private meetings with former NSC South America Director Benjamin Gedan and White House Domestic Policy Council Director Cecilia Muñoz, as well as two meetings with the National Security Council Western Hemisphere Affairs Director Dan Restrepo. WOLA Project Director and head of the organization’s Cuba Project Geoff Thale visited the Obama White House 10 times. Most notably, he met with former NSC official Mark Feierstein in June 2015 (just a couple of weeks before Obama’s announcement of reopening diplomatic relations with Cuba). Feierstein’s professional biography notes that, “he helped implement the president’s normalization policy toward Cuba”.^{xxvi}

WOLA has actively lobbied for weakened immigration enforcement and has been particularly critical of the proposed border wall.^{xxvii} It has also supported ending the economic sanctions against the Castro regime.^{xxviii}

WOLA has supported the work of the CICIG in Guatemala, including participating in a social media campaign to improve public perception of the body among Guatemalans.^{xxix}

Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala (CICIG)

The United Nations’ International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) was established in 2007 via a treaty between the Republic of Guatemala and the U.N. It was created in response to historical, endemic corruption in Guatemala’s governmental institutions with the following objectives:

- To investigate the existence of illicit security forces and clandestine security organizations that commit crimes that affect the fundamental human rights of the citizens of Guatemala, and identify the structures of these illegal groups (including the links between such groups and State officials) as well as their activities, operating modalities and sources of financing.
- To help the State to disband clandestine security structures and illegal security groups, and promote the investigation, criminal prosecution and punishment of the crimes committed by the members of such groups.
- To make recommendations to the State of Guatemala regarding public policies to be adopted—including the necessary judicial and institutional reforms—to eradicate and prevent the re-emergence of clandestine security structures and illegal security forces.^{xxx}

While the CICIG has successfully investigated numerous cases of official corruption in the Guatemalan government, it has also been widely criticized for exceeding its mandate by exerting a great deal of influence in Guatemalan politics. In 2015, a CICIG investigation led to the removal and arrest of President Otto Perez-Molina for his involvement in a customs service bribery scheme. In 2016, the body accused conservative Guatemalan President Jimmy Morales' brother and son with a scheme to defraud the government.^{xxxi}

In 2017, the CICIG announced that it was investigating President Morales for alleged campaign finance violations. In August 2017, in response to the CICIG's increasingly political activities, President Morales ordered the expulsion of CICIG director and former Colombian prosecutor Ivan Velasquez. Despite significant public support for the ouster of Velasquez, the Guatemalan Constitutional Court immediately blocked Morales' order, contravening the right of sovereign nations to expel foreign diplomats under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.^{xxxii}

Despite the controversy, the United States government continues to strongly support the work of the CICIG.^{xxxiii} In 2015, former Vice President Joe Biden threatened to withhold foreign aid to Guatemala if the CICIG's mandate were not extended.^{xxxiv} In a February 2018 speech, former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson stated that the Trump administration, "continue[s] to support the CICIG – a UN body created in 2006 – to uphold the rule of law, strengthen accountability, and independently investigate illegal, corrupt activity affecting government institutions." They are joined by George Soros, whose Open Society Foundations described the CICIG as, "a potential model for other states."^{xxxv}

The United States government has also financially supported the CICIG, giving approximately \$36 million to the organization since 2008.^{xxxvi} During the Obama administration, U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala Todd Robinson was particularly supportive of the CICIG.



U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala Todd Robinson, an Obama appointee, presenting a \$7.5 million donation to CICIG Director Ivan Velasquez in January 2017

In furtherance of the United Nations’ and George Soros’ shared objectives for Guatemala — weaponization of the judiciary against political adversaries, vilifying former military officials for alleged, decades-old crimes, and subjugating the sovereignty of the republic to United Nations control – Soros’ Open Society Foundations have contributed millions of dollars to leftist organizations in, and operating in, the country.

Entities Financially Supported by the Open Society Foundations

Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos (Center for Legal Action in Human Rights, CALDH)

CALDH is a human rights organization founded in 1990 that investigates alleged abuses by the Guatemalan government during the civil war and promotes indigenous and women’s rights. The organization was heavily involved in the prosecution of former President Efraín Ríos-Montt. It received a \$100,191 human rights grant from the Open Society Foundations in 2015. In 2013, it received a \$25,000 grant from the OSF, “to contribute to access to justice for survivors of mass atrocities in the Ixil Region (Quiché Department in Guatemala), promote the participation of witnesses in the upcoming trial for such abuses, and strengthen the organization’s legal team in this process.”

Soros has been a financial supporter of CALDH since at least 2001, when the Soros Foundation – Guatemala funded a political radio program run by the organization.^{xxxvii} In

that year, the Foundation gave \$3.6 million in grants to Guatemalan entities, including \$1.9 million for “civil society” projects.

The director of CALDH, Juan Francisco Soto-Forno, was previously an investigator in the Guatemalan Archbishop’s Human Rights Office and worked with the UN-sponsored Commission of Historical Clarification (CEH). Following a speaking tour in the U.S., he participated in a vigil/protest organized by School of the America’s Watch outside Fort Benning, Georgia.^{xxxviii}

In 2013, Soto-Forno and CALDH attorney Edwin Canil were featured speakers at a forum co-sponsored by the Open Society Foundation Justice Initiative, WOLA, and other organizations regarding the Ríos-Montt trial.^{xxxix}

La Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos-Guatemala (Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, UDEFEGUA)

Founded in 2000, UDEFEGUA is a non-profit organization that monitors and investigates threats and attacks against human rights advocates in Guatemala. In 2014, the organization received a \$65,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations to, “address the increasing stigmatization of human rights defenders in Guatemala by increasing cooperation with other human rights actors and better communicating the importance of their work to the public.”

In 2015-2016, the organization received \$70,000 in grant funding from the Open Society Foundations. UDEFEGUA’s 2016 annual report identifies OSF as one of its major sponsors.^{xl}

The *Fundación Contra el Terrorismo* (Foundation Against Terrorism, FCT) has accused UDEFEGUA’s director, Claudia Samayoa, of having been a member of the *Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo* (Guatemalan Labor Party, PGT), a defunct Marxist terrorist organization and minor political party.^{xli} (Note: The FCT is an organization of former Guatemalan military officials to defend the institution against criticism from the human rights industry. Its allegations against Claudia Samayoa have not been proven).

Universidad Rafael Landívar

Founded in 1962, *Universidad Rafael Landívar* is a private Catholic institution in Guatemala City, with satellite campuses throughout the country. In 2014, it received a \$30,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations to, “carry out in-depth media coverage of the justice sector selection process in Guatemala in 2014.”^{xlii} It received \$260,000 of grant funding from the OSF in 2015-2016. As a Jesuit university, URL has historically had strong social justice and liberation theology orientations. Despite its short history, the university

is the alma mater of three former Guatemalan presidents (Ramiro de León Carpio, Álvaro Arzú, and Óscar Berger).

Former Attorney General Claudia Paz y Paz graduated from *Universidad Rafael Landívar's* school of law.

Nómada

Nómada is an independent newspaper in Guatemala. In 2015-2016, it received grant funding of \$123,216 from the Open Society Foundation. In September 2017, *Nómada* reported that 45 percent of its funding comes from donations from foundations, including the Ford Foundation, Hivos, Open Society Foundations, Free Press Unlimited and Planned Parenthood.^{xliii} The article also includes a defense of George Soros.

Nómada's Director and CEO, Martín Rodríguez Pellecer, previously founded the online Guatemalan media outlet *Plaza Pública*, which is also financially supported by the Open Society Foundations. *Nómada's* coverage is uniformly critical of President Morales and supportive of the CICIG.

Bufete Juridico de Derechos Humanos (Human Rights Legal Office, BJDH)

BJDH is a human rights-focused law firm in Guatemala. It has been involved in investigating and bringing legal action related to alleged abuses by the Guatemalan military during the civil war. In 2015, the BJDH received \$155,000 in grant funding from the Open Society Foundations to, “support litigation and documentation of emblematic cases related primarily to grave violations that occurred during the internal armed conflict.”^{xliv}, ^{xlv}

The organization’s founder and director, Edgar Pérez Archila, was one of the plaintiffs in the Ríos-Montt trial.^{xlvi} He was previously a litigator for the Soros-funded CALDH.

Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales de Guatemala (Institute for Comparative Studies in Criminal Sciences, ICCPG).

The ICCPG is a criminal justice reform and human rights organization founded in 1994 by former Attorney General Claudia Paz y Paz. In 2013, the organization received a multi-year, \$190,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations to support the Attorney General’s office.^{xlvii}

Asociación por una Vida Digna (AVD)

The Association for a Dignified Life received a grant of \$99,996 from the Open Society Foundations in 2016 to support the organization’s *Jóvenes Contra la Violencia* (Youth Against Violence) initiative. AVD was founded in 2012 with a mission to,

“strengthen public security and peaceful coexistence through the prevention of violence.”^{xlvi}

Entities Financially Supported by the United States Government

Checchi and Company

Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc. is an international consultancy that has been a USAID contractor for more than 40 years.^{xlix} Since 2004, it has received at least \$57,500,000 in contracts to implement USAID’s Security and Justice Sector Reform Project, fund an anti-corruption prosecutor, support the creation of an independent forensics institute, finance the activities of the Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala (CICIG), and other judicial reforms. USAID’s current contract with Checchi and Company is in effect until August 2018.^l

Comité de Desarrollo Campesino (Committee for Rural Development, CODECA)

CODECA is a human rights organization founded in 1992. Its issues include improving wages for farmers, land reform, indigenous and nationalizing Guatemala’s electric power system. Its activists have conducted large street demonstrations and road blockages throughout the country.^{li}



CODECA and the other organizations have stated that the protests will continue and escalate if the president does not resign.^{liii} In addition to calling for the resignation of Morales, his cabinet, and 158 congressional delegates, CODECA seeks to abolish the current Guatemalan government and, “establish a new state, one that reflects the consensus of all

the people, and respects their will.”^{liv} The organization’s leader, Leiria Vay, recently told a media outlet, “We have to remember that the state was founded for the elite – the Indigenous peoples are left out. We know that there are [elite] sectors that do not want change, and the CICIG needs to continue to root them out.”

In 2016, CODECA received a grant from Front Line Defenders, a non-profit organization that supports human rights activists and is financially supported by the Open Society Foundations.^{lv}

Despite its overtly political mission, in 2010, CODECA received a 3-year, \$134,890 grant from the Inter-American Foundation.^{lvi}

Alcaldía Maya de Canillá (AMC)

The *Alcaldía Maya de Canillá* (Mayan Council of Canilla, AMC) is a social service and community organization comprised of indigenous residents of the municipality of Canillá, Quiché. In 2013, it received a \$34,000 grant from the Inter-American Foundation.^{lvii} In 2015, the IAF awarded the AMC a grant worth \$166,650.^{lviii}

International Resources Group (IRG)

IRG is a large professional services firm and government contractor working primarily in the areas of energy, water, and natural resources. In 2012, it received a \$38,000 USAID contract. In 2016, its parent company, Engility Corporation, received a \$21,786 contract from the Department of Justice for justice system reform work in Guatemala under the auspices of the Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance, and Training program (OPDAT). In February 2018, Engility received a \$4,576 Justice Department contract to fund the Judicial Studies Institute – Guatemala.

Asociación de Abogados y Notarios Mayas

The Association of Mayan Attorneys and Notaries, a/k/a Nim Ajpu, is a non-profit legal services organization focusing on indigenous rights and government reform issues. In 2013, the organization received a \$190,000 grant from the Inter-American Foundation.^{lix}

Pastoral Social de Ixcán

Pastoral Social de Ixcán is a Catholic relief and social works agency located in El Quiché Department, Guatemala (near the border with Mexico). In 2011, PSI received a 3-year, \$195,310 grant from the Inter-American Foundation for an agricultural training and assistance program.^{lx}

Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Campesinas Agropecurias de Peten (Associations of Rural Farmers in Petén, COACAP)

COACAP is an indigenous farmers' rights and development organization in northern Guatemala. In 2014, the organization received a three-year, \$161,210 grant from the Inter-American Foundation for a crop diversification program.

Consortio Para Elecciones y el Fortalecimiento de los Procesos Politicos

The Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) is an international organization working on voting rights issues. In 2015, U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala Todd Robinson signed an agreement with the Guatemala's Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) affirming that CEPPS would implement USAID's electoral assistance program in the country.^{lxi}

Red Para la Defensa de los Derechos Human (Network for the Defense of Human Rights, REDEH)

REDEH is a human rights organization focusing on rural farmers and the indigenous population. In 2015, the organization received a \$139,700 grant from the Inter-American Foundation for a program to train agricultural workers in Guatemala in their labor rights.^{lxii}

Entities Financially Supported by both the Soros Network and the United States Government

Myrna Mack Foundation

Myrna Mack was a Guatemalan anthropologist of Mayan and Chinese descent who was murdered in 1990 by members of the Guatemalan military, allegedly in retaliation for her research of Mayan communities displaced and otherwise impacted by the civil war. At the time of her death, Mack was working with the Guatemalan Association for the Advancement of Social Studies, which, according to USG reporting, may have been under the control of the rebel Guerrilla Army of the Poor, a Marxist terrorist organization.^{lxiii}

Following her murder, her sister, Helen Mack, established the Myrna Mack Foundation, a non-profit organization working on human rights, government accountability, and social development issues.

The Myrna Mack Foundation received a \$24,000 "democracy and governance" grant from the Open Society Foundations in 2015, "to support two investigators/researchers to compile information on the Military Diary case."^{lxiv} This grant relates to the Myrna Mack Foundation's representation of families of alleged victims of the Guatemalan government in the *Diario Militar* case (*José Miguel Gudiel Álvarez and Others v. Guatemala*), in which the Open Society Foundation Justice Initiative was also heavily involved.^{lxv} On May 21, 2013,

the Myrna Mack and Open Society Foundations, along with the UC Berkley School of Law and the Washington Office on Latin America, co-sponsored a forum in Washington, DC regarding the trial of former President Efraín Ríos-Montt. Myrna Mack Foundation President Helen Mack and OSF Legal Officer Emi Maclean participated in the forum.^{lxvi}

The Myrna Mack Foundation has also received extensive funding from the United States government. In 2013, the foundation received a \$100,000 grant from the Department of State to monitor violence against women in Guatemala. In 2017, they received a \$500,000 grant from the Department of State to, “increase civil society and public sector coordination in the implementation of public safety and violence programs and prevention measures.”

Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation, FAFG)

The FAFG is a non-profit organization of forensic scientists. Its primary activities have been related to identifying victims of violence by the Guatemalan military during the civil war, including identifying remains located in mass graves. The FAFG has previously received significant funding from USAID.^{lxvii} In 2015, the Open Society Foundations contributed \$167,000 to the FAFG.^{lxviii}

The Director of FAFG, Fredy Peccerelli, has spoken at a number of events sponsored by the Open Society Foundations.^{lxix}

Fundación Para El Ecodesarrollo y la Conservación (Foundation for Ecodevelopment and Conservation, FUNDAECO)

FUNDAECO is an environmentalist group founded in 1990. In 2013, it received a \$1,000,000 USAID grant to fund a sustainable water management project in Guatemala. In 2010, FUNDAECO received a \$156,000 grant from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service for a rainforest protection project.^{lxx}

The organization has received past financial support from the Soros Foundation Guatemala.^{lxxi}

Chemonics

Chemonics International is a private international development firm founded in 1975. The organization has partnered with the Open Society Foundation for justice sector reform projects in Albania.^{lxxii} In 2016, Chemonics received a \$37,390,000 grant from USAID for its Youth and Gender Justice Project in Guatemala.^{lxxiii}

The Open Society Foundations have also donated millions of dollars to U.S.-based organizations to support their agenda in Guatemala. These include the following:

George Mason University

Between 2012 and 2014, the university received approximately \$105,000 in grants from the Open Society Foundations to “support strategic litigation on right to truth issues in Peru and Guatemala: and to create a database of federal criminal cases in Guatemala.

Global Fund for Women

In 2013, the Open Society Foundations granted the Global Fund for Women \$150,000 to award grants to women’s rights organizations in Guatemala that are “addressing violence against women, promoting access to justice, and contributing to women’s movement building.”^{lxxiv}

Oxfam America

The Open Society Foundations awarded Oxfam America with grants of \$85,000 in 2012 and 2013 to, “contribute to the reduction of gender violence in indigenous Maya communities through awareness campaigns, education, and advocacy.”^{lxxv} Oxfam International Chairman Juan Alberto Fuentes Knight was arrested along with former President Álvaro Colom in Guatemala in February 2018 on corruption and embezzlement charges.^{lxxvi}

Public Health Institute

PHI was awarded a \$90,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations in 2013 to support an adolescent girls’ advocacy and leadership initiative in Guatemala.

Seton Hall University Law Center

In 2013, the Open Society Foundations gave Seton Hall’s law center \$1,500 to produce a legal analysis, “to lay the groundwork for identifying opportunities for strategic litigation related to right to information, with a focus on contemporary human rights violations in Guatemala.”^{lxxvii}

The New School

In 2013, the Open Society Foundations granted \$41,918 to the New School, a private university in New York City, for a project to support the *Centro de Estudios Para la Equidad y Gobernanza en los Sistemas de Salud* (Center for the Study of Equity and Governance in Health Systems) in Guatemala.^{lxxviii}

Women’s International Network for Guatemalan Solutions (WINGS)

WINGS is a non-profit organization based in Minnesota. In 2012 and 2013, the organization received approximately \$157,000 in funding from the Open Society

Foundations for its family planning and advocacy programs. The organization has also received significant funding from USAID and from the International Planned Parenthood Federation.^{lxxix}

Woodrow Wilson International Center

In 2013, the organization received a \$240,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations to “assess U.S.-funded security programs and influence the debate on drug policy” in Guatemala and elsewhere in Latin America.

Due Process of Law Foundation

The foundation received a \$45,000 grant from the Open Society Foundations in 2014 to monitor the judicial selection process in Guatemala.

Fund for Global Human Rights

The Fund for Global Human Rights, a non-profit organization, was awarded a \$480,000 grant by the Open Society Foundations in 2016 to support prosecutions of alleged atrocities committed during the Guatemalan civil war.

Conclusion

Since the formal ending of the Guatemala’s 36-year civil war in December 1996, political stability in the country has been elusive. Three of the six presidents elected since the signing of the peace accords have been arrested on corruption-related charges, as have countless other government officials. Corruption and other endemic problems within the country’s security apparatus have contributed to a precarious public safety situation and engendered credible fears of Guatemala devolving into a “narco-state.” The judiciary has been similarly afflicted. In 2017, Supreme Court justice Blanca Stalling was arrested on official corruption charges. Hector Trujillo, a former justice on the country’s Constitutional Court, was convicted last year for charges related to the FIFA bribery scandal.

Due in large part to the citizenry’s frustration with endemic corruption perpetrated by the country’s political elite, Guatemalans elected political neophyte Jimmy Morales to the presidency in 2015 with nearly 70 percent of the vote. His campaign slogan, “neither corrupt, nor a thief,” reflected his commitment to address the pervasive culture of corruption. Morales, a conservative, has also sought to increase private investment in Guatemala and improve bilateral relations with the United States.

The relative fragility of Guatemala’s governmental institutions has prompted aggressive intervention in the country by the United States, the United Nations, and civil society organizations. Though ostensibly designed to strengthen the integrity of the state

and to contribute to economic and societal development, the true impact of these interventions is more complex.

The United Nations' *Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala* (CICIG) has overstepped its authorized mandate by interfering directly in domestic political affairs. The United States government, led by former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and former U.S. Ambassador Todd Robinson, weakened Guatemala's sovereignty by uncritically supporting the CICIG's overreach and financially supporting organizations that promote disruptive and dangerous public demonstrations. Perhaps most insidious has been the involvement of George Soros' Open Society Foundations, which have contributed millions of dollars to organizations that have destabilized Guatemalan society, threatened the ability of the elected president to govern the country, and targeted conservative politicians. In light of these threats, Judicial Watch proposes the following recommendations to U.S. policy makers involved in our diplomatic relations with Guatemala:

- Support the work of the CICIG that is consistent with its authorized mandate, while opposing the body's increasing interference in domestic political affairs.
- Reconsider USAID and other U.S. Government funding for organizations that engage in politically-motivated civil disobedience and those that concurrently receive financial support from the Open Society Foundations.
- Ensure that the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala and the Deputy Chief of Mission respect Guatemalan sovereignty by refraining from engaging in domestic political interference and constructively engaging with President Morales the other elected officials.

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