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MAY 2 1954

GUATEMALAN FETE IS ANTI-U.S. AFFAIR

Leader Charges Intimidation at Caracas—Rejects Bid to Indemnify Fruit Outfit

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 1—Guatemala celebrated May Day here today with a huge Communist-organized parade and highly nationalistic speeches by President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and Victor Manuel Gutierrez, secretary of the Labor Federation and one of Guatemala's leading Communists.

It was estimated that more than 10,000 persons marched in the parade, which took three hours in passing the National Palace where it was reviewed from a balcony by President Arbenz.

The theme of the parade floats generally was condemnation of "Yankee imperialism" and "foreign intervention."

This was the theme also, for the most part, of the talks by President Arbenz and Señor Gutierrez. The President told a crowd in Cathedral Plaza, estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000, that the "reactionary opposition" had hinted that Guatemala was going to be destroyed in Caracas at the Tenth Inter-American Conference.

"We were to be intimidated at

N. Y. N. T.

APR 28 1954

Newsman Deplore Guatemala Raid

GUATEMALA CITY, April 27 (AP)—The Guatemalan Newspaper Men's Association adopted a resolution today repudiating a recent attack on the anti-Communist broadcasting station, Radio Internacional.

Five masked men entered the station last Wednesday night, destroyed transmitting installations and carried away part of the equipment.

The resolution described the action as an attack against freedom of expression. The station had been broadcasting a daily anti-Communist program sponsored by a committee of anti-Communist students.

Caracas by hurling Jupiter, the President said, apparently alluding to the United States. "We were to have been annihilated by his destructive rays."

The critics were wrong, the President said, adding: "They were wrong because when a people is right it is brave, and when it is not cowardly it can conquer the greatest enemy."

The President remarked that there was strong opposition to his administration in Guatemala but that it was being successfully combated. He added that "in the international field we have discovered new conspiracies and

foreign intervention in Guatemala."

The President also made reference to the United States State Department's recent demand for more than \$15,000,000 as indemnity for the United Fruit Company's land expropriations.

"Foreign interests, within a month of Caracas, have presented an absurd bill for \$15,000,000 for Guatemalan territory," the President said. He added that Guatemala intended to pay according to the terms of her own laws, paying according to the tax valuation of the expropriated lands.

He declared that the American note represented Guatemala as a "thief." The note, he said, could only be qualified as "monstruous," and he informed the cheering throng that Guatemala had rejected it emphatically.

Señor Gutierrez said that the anti-Communist resolution pushed through by the United States at Caracas was "a mask under which anti-communism was used to tie Guatemala hand and foot for the voracity of the United Fruit Company and other Yankee monopolies."

Referring to the United States, Señor Gutierrez said: "We are faced with a dangerous enemy which has launched an interventionist motion violating all inter-American pacts."

The recent military pact between the United States and Nicaragua was for the purpose of "using Nicaragua as base of aggression against Guatemala," he said, adding: "We protest and denounce foreign intervention directed against our national sovereignty."

While a majority of the forty-five floats were devoted to the international theme, especially condemnation of the United States, some were in open criticism of domestic policies. Most of these dealt with demands for a decrease in living costs and a rise in wages.

Cubans Halt All Work

Special to The New York Times.

HAVANA, May 1—Cuban labor brought commerce and industry to a halt all over the island today in observance of May Day.

MAY 2 1954

Guatemala Takes Over Fruit Lands

By A. T. Steele

By Wireless to The Herald Tribune

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GUATEMALA CITY, May 1.—Expropriated areas of the United Fruit Company's properties in the Tiquisate region are filling up fast with settlers under the Guatemalan government's agrarian reform program.

Originally the United Fruit Tiquisate plantation consisted of 300,000 acres, and of this 240,000 acres was taken by the government on the ground it was not being used. For this seizure the government offered just under \$600,000 in long-term bonds. United Fruit refused this offer as inadequate, and asked for more than \$15,000,000.

This claim, submitted last week by the United States government, was rejected Monday by Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello.

In a visit to the hot coastal lowlands southwest of here, this correspondent was shown through the Tiquisate plantation. The management of the plantation complains that even the lads which were exempted from expropriation are being infiltrated by squatters and settlers, who have so far refused to move.

Of the 60,000 acres to which United Fruit retains title, about 18,000 acres are in bananas. A considerable part of the remainder was made up of pasturage, plantings of teak and cedar; and

In Havana bus transportation was suspended during the greater part of the day. Cafes and bars were closed and moving picture theatres did not open until evening. No newspapers were published, radio broadcasts were few.

The Confederation of Cuban Workers, the central organization controlling the island's labor, held a mass rally this morning at the Palace of Workers.

The workers heard their leaders list a long series of demands that will be presented to President Fulgencio Batista.

a fine stand of African oil palms. Clyde Dalawder, the plantation manager, said this area has been moved into and many trees have been destroyed or damaged. Some outlying buildings have been taken over by settlers.

The banana plantings, however, and the main installations have not been affected, and the plantation operations continue more or less as usual.

In the expropriated zone I talked with newly settled "agrarristas" planting corn in a patch of semi-cleared but unplowed land. One of them, call him

Miguel—offered a few opinions about the United States. "We hear," he said, "that the United States wants to invade our country, and we are not going to allow it."

Asked where he had picked that up, he replied, "In the newspapers and at our meetings."

Maj. Alfonso Martinez, chief of the National Agrarian Department, said that squatters occupying land not officially expropriated and allocated to them will be required to move elsewhere.

N. Y. Times

MAY 5 1954

GUATEMALANS GET APPEAL TO REVOLT

Existence of Anti-Communist Radio Station Near Border of Honduras Announced

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 4—It was acknowledged officially today that a clandestine radio station was broadcasting anti-Communist material and exhorting the country to revolution.

There had been reports the station was operating, but the police remained silent until last night, after the Communist-controlled General Confederation of Labor had brought the matter to the Government's attention.

The confederation reported it had learned the station was in San Marcos Department, near the Mexican border. But the police announcement today said it was believed the station was operating behind the Honduran border.

In the official acknowledgment, the police said the station identified itself as "The Voice of

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Liberation." Its program center the announcement said, advanced "subversive proposals" and attempted to "excite seditious elements to opposition against the constituted Government."

Pressure on Stations Cited

The station's existence, which received particular attention in the press this morning, is of interest just now because the announcement comes when pressure on independent radio stations seems to be reaching a climax.

This pressure has been characterized by threats and even violence over the last year exerted primarily against stations that either have been broadcasting outright anti-Communist programs or have been somewhat anti-Communist in view.

The Government entered the picture last week when the stations received official notice that a restrictive article in the law referring to so-called "radio newspapers" would be strongly observed henceforth. This article requires that programs dealing in domestic or foreign politics must be recorded and presented to Government authorities within twenty-four hours of broadcast time. This is an alternative in which a station may advise the Government of plans for such a program three hours before broadcasting.

Program Is Canceled

Radio newspapers are a peculiar institution to Guatemala. They are operated by professional newspaper men who buy radio time, arrange and write a program, and sell commercial time. The close tie between these directors with working newspaper men has keenly interested independent newspapers, and especially the influential Guatemalan Journalists Association, in the fate of the programs and their directors.

Last week, Radio Telefunken canceled such a program produced by Francisco Baeza on the ground it had expressed political thoughts. While not anti-Communist, the program contained occasional items unfavorable to communism.

On April 21 Radio Internacional was invaded by an armed band. Two attendants were severely beaten and the station was wrecked. The station at that time was broadcasting an "Anti-Communist Hour," a fifteen-minute program sponsored by the Students Anti-Communist Association. The station has returned to the air, but it is not broadcasting the "Anti-Communist Hour."

This program, the source of much violence in the last year, has switched from one station to another following incidents. One conductor of the program, Horacio Decortoba, was sent into

MAY 7 1954

Cache of Russian Arms Is Found

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, May 7—A military patrol has discovered a cache of Russian-made arms and ammunition which authorities believe may have been landed by a mysterious submarine reported operating off Nicaragua's Pacific coast.

The arsenal was shown to diplomats and newsmen last night by President Anastasio Somoza. It included two machine guns, 20 hand grenades, 40 rifles and many rounds of ammunition. All were stamped with the hammer-and-sickle and the date 1938, apparently the year of manufacture.

N.Y. Times

MAY 7 1954

5 DIE IN GUATEMALA RIOT

Peasants Battle Police Over Parceling Out of Land

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 6—The Guatemalan Agrarian Department announced today that five persons were killed and several others wounded in one of the most serious armed clashes over agrarian matters since the issuance of the agrarian bill last year.

The rioting that occurred in the near-by town of San Juan Ermita apparently stemmed from the distribution of land that the peasants from the surrounding villages considered municipal property not affected by the agrarian bill.

Approximately 300 peasants, armed with clubs, machetes and firearms, attacked the Agrarian Committee members who were parceling out the land.

When the police intervened three policemen were killed. Reinforcements from the Civil Guard finally succeeded in dispersing the attackers and restoring order. Several of the attackers were arrested.

exile.

Roberto Vizcaino, owner of Radio Continental, which also broadcast anti-Communist material, was forced out of the country and his station dismantled.

Radio Voz Dela Capitol, another station broadcasting anti-Communist material, ceased doing so after members of its personnel had been attacked by masked persons.

MAY 7 1954

SOVIET BID GETS BACKING

Labor Body Urges Guatemala to Accept Trade Talk Offer

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 6—The Red-led Guatemalan Confederation of Labor announced today it was urging the Government and industrial and agricultural associations to accept the Soviet invitation to a trade meeting scheduled to take place in Moscow in September.

The Confederation, which controls virtually all organized labor in the country, says the Soviet invitation would benefit the country by opening new markets for Guatemala's products.

According to the invitation, the Soviet Union would pay all expenses of three Guatemalan delegates.

N. Y. H. T.
MAY 9 1954

Danger Signals in Honduras

The present general strike in Honduras has political overtones which may well be extremely serious. Taking its rise in a wage dispute between the United Fruit Co. and dock workers in the Atlantic coastal ports, the disturbance took a new turn when General Inestroza, Minister in the Honduran government, intervened. At his suggestion both sides made certain concessions pending classification of the 1949 labor law, and he let it be known that a renewal of work stoppages in the interim would be considered a strike against the government.

Now that work stoppages have been renewed and are, in fact, spreading beyond their original area, the Honduran government has been obliged to call up troops to deal with this threat to its authority. Lending further gravity to the situation is the question of what part may be played by Left-Wing elements across the border in Guatemala.

This flare-up in the ranks of Honduran labor undoubtedly has a close relation to the elections coming along next autumn. The Nationalist party, which has controlled the country for some twenty years, has been seriously weakened by the defection of its Reformist wing, and the Liberal party has its best opportunity, with opposition divided, in a long time. The Liberals' Presidential candidate, at this critical time, is Dr. Villeda Morales, who is generally regarded as sympathetic to the policies of the current Guatemalan regime.

sh. Post

N.Y. Times
MAY 13 1954

MAY 13 1954

Nicaraguan Envoy Links Arms to Sub

International News Service
Nicaragua's Ambassador to the United States said yesterday that a "non-American" submarine was sighted off the Nicaraguan coast recently,

shortly before a cache of arms—some of them bearing Communist insignia—was discovered in the jungle nearby.

The envoy, Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, showed newsmen photographs of the small arms, including 40 rifles, two machine guns, 20 hand grenades and four pistols bearing the hammer and sickle. All the weapons, he said, were made in Europe.

The Ambassador said the arms presumably were unloaded by a strange submarine that had been noticed previously in the area of Masachapa on Nicaragua's Pacific coast.

He said a floating buoy, which apparently was placed in the sea to indicate where the guns had been unloaded, led to their discovery by the Nicaraguan army.

Sevilla-Sacasa called the incident a "grave event which places the peace and security of the continent in real danger."

He said that, at the instructions of his government, he reported the matter to Henry F. Holland, Assistant United States Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and that Holland told him the United States would investigate.

Sevilla-Sacasa declared: "The situation is much graver than it seems, since the Communists, in choosing our country as their first objective, wanted to convert Nicaragua into the Korea of America."

similar movements.

Also, remembering the 1847 war and the 1914 occupation of Veracruz, Mexicans are ready to believe in the possibility of United States intervention.

The greatest proof of the success of the Guatemalan bid for Mexican support is the list of speakers at a meeting called by "The Society of Friends of Guatemala." The new society had a capacity crowd at its first meeting in a 3000-seat Mexican theater.

Known Mexican Communists were present but stayed in the background. The speakers did not include any avowed Communists. But on the list was Senator Pedro de Alba, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who said he did not believe Guatemala was Communist. Also on the list were other influential figures in Mexican government.

The Guatemalan's prize package was a statement from former President Lazaro Cardenas, who expropriated the foreign oil companies in Mexico, is still one of the most powerful political factors in the country. The leftists try hard to give the impression he backs them, but he speaks cautiously.

Nevertheless, he sent a message of greeting to the meeting. It was not particularly strong, but it left no doubt that he sympathizes with Guatemala.

The Guatemalan government sent a strong delegation here for the society meeting. It has followed this up with other delegations.

Newspapers here have been generally benevolently neutral to Guatemala.

Guatemalan Anti-Reds Deterred
Special to The New York Times.
GUATEMALA, May 12—An anti-Communist students' committee disclosed today that the police had seized 4,500 copies of their weekly publication, The Rebel, as they were about to be mailed.

St. Louis Post-Disp
May 18, 1954

GUATEMALA WINS MEXICAN FAVOR IN ANTI-U.S. DRIVE

Charge of American Threat to Sovereignty Arouses Sympathy — Little Proof Offered.

By LAURANCE F. STUNTZ

MEXICO CITY, May 18 (AP)—Guatemala is making a determined—and so far successful—bid to enlist Mexican sympathy in its private cold war with the United States.

Many Mexicans, with their background of suspicion of the United States, sympathize with Guatemala's contention that its sovereignty is threatened.

When you try to pin a Mexican down on precisely what the United States has done against Guatemala, many will concede there is no action they can cite. Others say the United States demand that Guatemala pay for land it expropriated from the United Fruit Co. is an attack against Guatemalan sovereignty.

One disadvantage for Uncle Sam is that there is nobody here to ask loudly and frequently for proof of United States threats to Guatemala. Individual North Americans may do it, but there aren't enough of them to make the challenge effective.

Guatemala has factors on its side in the contest for Mexican sympathy. Having had a land expropriation and agrarian program of its own some 30 years ago, Mexico tends to favor

NY Times
May 14, 1954

Guatemalans Attack Dulles
Special to The New York Times.
GUATEMALA, May 13—An editorial in last night's issue of the official Government newspaper Diario de Centro America strongly attacked Secretary of States Dulles. It charged that he was ill-disposed toward the Guatemalan regime and that he sought the abolition of the October, 1944, revolution that overthrew fourteen years of dictatorship.

The attack resulted from Mr. Dulles' recent declarations in Washington that he thought the United Fruit strike in Honduras was not a purely national affair and that it had occurred in an area of Honduras from which Guatemalan consuls were recently expelled. The editorial said that Mr. Dulles' judgment seemed far-fetched. It added:

"We emphatically declare that Guatemala has not participated directly or indirectly in the Honduras strike. Such a strike is the recourse of Honduran workers, who seek recovery of their rights to Honduras soil."

N.Y. Times

MAY 18 1954

Communist Arms Unloaded in Guatemala By Vessel From Polish Port, U. S. Learns

State Department Views News Gravely Because of Red Infiltration

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 17—The State Department said today that it had reliable information that "an important shipment of arms" has been sent from Communist-controlled territory to Guatemala.

It said the arms, now being unloaded at Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, had been shipped from Stettin, a former German Baltic seaport, which has been occupied by Communist Poland since World War II. The Guatemalan Government has frequently been accused of being influenced by Communists.

"Because of the origin of these arms, the point of their emba-



The New York Times May 18, 1954
Site of arms arrival (cross)

tion, their destination and the quantity of arms involved, the Department of State considers that this is a development of gravity," the announcement said.

Embassy Says Nation of Central America May Buy Munitions Anywhere

A freighter arrived at Puerto Barrios last Saturday, the State Department reported, carrying a large shipment of armament consigned to the Guatemalan Government.

The State Department did not divulge the exact quantity of the arms, their nature or where they had been manufactured.

Reliable sources told The New York Times, however, that ten freight car loads of goods listed in the manifest of the ship as "hardware" had been unloaded from this ship and sent to Guatemala City since Sunday. Guatemala City is 150 miles from Puerto Barrios.

The normal rate of unloading, the sources said, would be 200 to 300 tons a day.

The State Department gave the name of the freighter as Alfhelm. Lloyd's Registry of Shipping does not list a ship under that spelling, but does list the Alfhelm, a 4,900-ton freighter of Swedish registry.

A spokesman of the Guatemalan Embassy here said he had no doubt the State Department's information was accurate. "But what is 'grave' about it?" he asked. "Guatemala is free to buy its arms where it can."

He remarked that there were numerous salesmen from Czechoslovakia, the probable manufacturer of the arms, in Latin America.

The State Department is alarmed over the arms shipment because the Guatemalan Government has been heavily infiltrated by Communists. There was some puzzlement here about the destination of the arms, since the Guatemalan Army is generally considered the main restraining force limiting the influence of the Communists.

Anti-Red Resolution Cited
At the tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela,

on March 13, Guatemala cast the only vote against a resolution declaring that communism was a "threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States, endangering the peace of America."

Domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the Communist movement "would call for consultation and appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties" among the American states, the resolution said.

There was no indication as to whether the United States was planning action. The problem of Guatemala is one of the most delicate the State Department has to deal with in the Western Hemisphere, officials said.

Even though the Latin American states backed the United States' anti-Communist resolution at Caracas, they said, if the United States took political or economic action against Guatemala, protests against "Yankee interventionism" would probably be heard throughout Latin America.

Guatemala Charged Plot

On Jan. 29 the Guatemalan Government charged that it had uncovered a plot to invade Guatemala by land, sea and air. It said the Nicaraguan President, Anastasio Somoza, was preparing the invasion with support from El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and "the Government of the North," meaning the United States.

The State Department said then that it would not dignify the Guatemalan charge with a denial. Other sources speculated that the Guatemalan regime might have used the invasion charge to liquidate opponents at home.

Vessel Owned in Sweden

The Alfhelm was built in 1930 at Odense, Denmark, according to Lloyd's Register of Shipping. Her home port is Uddevalla, Sweden, and her owners are Angbats, Bohuslanska & Kusten, Inc. She was formerly the Gausdal (in 1953), the Hoegh Trader (1936) and Guldborg in 1933.

Strike Called for Tomorrow

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 17 — A strike involving 4,000 United Fruit Company workers on the Atlantic Coast has been set for Wednesday, union representatives announced today. The decision was taken last night following a meeting at which Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Communist Congressman as well as Secretary of Labor conflicts of the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor, was the main speaker.

By a unanimous decision the workers agreed to reject the management's offers of wage increases and other prerequisites made during a conciliatory conference last Friday called by the Court of Appeals. Señor Pellecer had advised the men to strike as the best means of forcing the company to grant the wage increases they seek.

Wash. Evening Star

MAY 19 1954

Guatemalan Military Won't Talk of Ship; Cargo Now Unloaded

By the Associated Press

GUATEMALA, May 19.—Guatemala's military chief said yesterday his country's constitution barred him from making any statement about a Swedish freighter which the United States says arrived here with arms from Communist Poland.

Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz refused to either confirm or deny that the arms were being unloaded at Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean coast of Guatemala.

(Private advices reaching New York said Guatemala's defense minister went to Puerto Barrios to supervise unloading the cargo, said to include small arms. Ten railway carloads were reported to have

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left Puerto Barrios for Guatemala City.)

The freighter has been at Puerto Barrios since Saturday. Unloading of cargo started the day of arrival. The ship is expected to remain in the port until tomorrow. The United States State Department says the ship picked up its cargo at Stettin, a German port before World War II and now part of Poland. Unofficial sources said the unloading of the shipment from the freighter had been completed Sunday and that the special trains with the cargo had arrived here.

These sources said the shipment was being removed from the trains only at night, under military guard. The newspaper *Imparcial* said one of its photographers had taken a picture of the unloading scene but an army official confiscated his film.

Meanwhile union leaders in Guatemala ordered 5,000 employees of the United States-owned United Fruit Co. to walk off their jobs today at Izabel. The leaders said the strike had a double purpose—to seek more pay and to demonstrate sympathy with United Fruit workers in neighboring Honduras who have been on strike since April 30.

Wash. Evening Star
MAY 19 1954

Red Arms to Guatemala

It is significant that the State Department has used the phrase "a development of gravity"—a development that could evolve into a threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere—in commenting on the arms shipment that Guatemala has received from the port of Stettin in Soviet-controlled Poland.

True, there is no rule in international law that debar the country from acquiring weapons from the world behind the Iron Curtain or anywhere else it can get them. But tough and conspiratorial Communist influences are very strong in Guatemala's extremely leftist government, and there is therefore good reason to look with a sharp and suspicious eye on this military importation—a relatively large one—from the dominance-seeking Soviet empire.

It may well be, actually, that the shipment has an altogether sinister purpose. This is the more true because there have been some indications that Guatemalan agitators have been largely instrumental in precipitating the potentially explosive strike now going on in the banana fields across the border in neighboring Honduras. Is major violence in the making there? Are the arms from Stettin destined to

4—Wed, May 19, 1954 ★ New York Journal-American

Guatemala Viewed As Red 2nd Front

U. S. Military Men Predict Action There If We Move in Indochina

By DAVID SENTNER
New York Journal-American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 19.—The shipment of Soviet satellite arms and munitions to Red Guatemala was believed today to be a move by Moscow to establish a diversionary "second front" in Latin America in event the United States intervenes in Indochina.

The 2,000-ton shipment of weapons from a Polish port being unloaded at Puerto Barrios in Guatemala is intended to make this strategically located Central American nation a Red beachhead in South America in case war comes in the Pacific, according to top military sources.

PLAN FOR ACTION.

The State Department is preparing to sound out the Organization of American States, con-

vening here Wednesday, for concerted action in the face of this "grave situation."

Rep. Hillings (R.-Cal.), warned the House that the Soviet arms-shipment is part of a plan to sabotage the Panama Canal if the U.S. intervenes in Indochina. Hillings believes the Monroe Doctrine could be applied in event the OAS fails to take action.

The Soviet arming of Communist-controlled Guatemala is also feared to be the prelude to direct military interference in the Red-fomented general strike in adjacent Honduras.

ALARM HEIGHTENED.

Washington's alarm over the brazen Soviet shipment of arms

to a Western hemisphere nation was heightened by a report that Guatemalan Reds recently attempted to secure a sizeable amount of weapons through the Russian Embassy in Mexico City.

The arms requested were listed as 2,450 Czechoslovakian rifles, 1,419 Mexican rifles, 581 Thompson machine guns, 27 50-calibre machine guns, and a large supply of hand grenades.

The Russians rejected the re-

quest, according to the report, on the grounds the shipload from Poland already was en route to Guatemala and that the arms available in Mexico City would do more good in Honduras.

An armada of fishing vessels was reported being assembled for shipment of the weapons to Honduras.

Direct evidence of Moscow's plan for intervention in Honduras was reported contained in a black envelope seized early this month by Honduras police

from a Guatemalan air force plane which landed without a permit at the Puerto Cortes airport in Honduras.

A search of the plane also revealed a map of Honduras with code marks of properties and government installations believed to represent Communist agents or cells.

The so-called "invasion" of Honduras by the Guatemalan air force plane led to the two Guatemalan consults in Honduras being ordered home.

aid and abet it? Or are they meant primarily to help the Communists stage an internal coup calculated to place Guatemala under their full control?

These questions are speculative, of course, but the State Department's comment on the situation strongly suggests that there is solid ground for concern among Guatemala's immediate neighbors and throughout the whole Inter-American community. Certainly, if the arms shipment really constitutes "a development of gravity" and if it can be viewed as a substantial hemispheric threat, one or another of the Americas ought to take the initiative in seeing to it that the matter is dealt with through invocation of the Caracas resolution or other existing procedures for united action.

Thus, as adopted last March—with Guatemala alone voting "no"—the Caracas resolution declares that the domination of any one of the Americas by international communism would be a threat to all and would require a hemispheric consultative meeting to consider com-

mon protective measures. Accordingly, if a Guatemalan Red coup impends, such a meeting will be in order, or if the weapons from Stettin mean trouble for Honduras, there will be reason to invoke the mutual security treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

Although speculation of this sort may be alarmist, the State Department apparently finds the situation genuinely worrisome. Guatemala, after all, has been anything but a good neighbor for some time past, and the fact that it has obtained arms from Kremlin-controlled sources can hardly be laughed off. The development clearly calls for an on-guard inter-American reaction.

N.Y. Times

MAY 19 1954

U.S. Wants Rio Pact Inquiry On Arms Sent to Guatemala

Inform American Lands of Communist Cargo—Says It Might Possibly Be Threat to Hemisphere Security

By **WALTER H. WAGGONER**

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 18—The State Department indicated today that the Communist shipment of arms to Guatemala might possibly be regarded as a threat to the security of the Americas under the terms of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

A State Department spokesman emphasized that Washington had not yet fully decided whether the shipment constituted such a threat or not. But there was no doubt but that the United States would favor an examination of that possibility under the Rio pact, and would support another Government's proposal to that effect.

Lincoln White, State Department press officer, declined to discuss what action the United States or other American republics might take, but he disclosed at a news conference that this Government had brought the arms shipment to the attention of the Latin-American embassies in Washington yesterday.

Asked whether action could be taken under the Rio treaty, the State Department spokesman replied:

"Yes, certainly something could

be done under the Rio treaty. There are many provisions in this and other treaties under which something could be done."

He was then asked whether the situation could be considered under the Rio pact as "a threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere."

Mr. White said it could. But, reflecting the caution being exercised by the State Department in discussing the matter, he urged against any assumption that the United States itself regarded the incident as a threat to hemispheric unity.

In an announcement yesterday, the State Department described the arms shipment from Stettin, Poland, to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, as "a development of gravity."

Officials would not enlarge on that announcement today, but it was learned that it was regarded with such concern here that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles planned to take the situation up with President Eisenhower tomorrow morning.

The Rio pact, formally known as the Inter-American Treaty of

Reciprocal Assistance, was signed in Rio de Janeiro by nineteen American republics on Aug. 30, 1947. It provides for consultation among the signatories to the treaty for the settlement of controversies and for "reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American state, and in order to deal with threats of aggression against any of them."

Article 6 states: "If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American state should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an extra-continental or intra-continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately in order to agree on the measures which must be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of the aggression or, in any case, the measures which should be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the continent."

The Administration's foreign policy spokesman in the Senate meanwhile declared that the shipment, which he called both "tremendous" and "massive," was "part of the master-plan of world communism."

Addressing the Inter-American Committee of the District of

Columbia Bar Association, Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said the "ominous arrival" of the arms in this hemisphere was one of the "aspects of Communist intervention" that merited "the closest and most continuous consultation" among the Inter-American leaders.

He said that the arms shipment, the size of which the State Department has refused to disclose, was "totally disproportionate" to the needs of Guatemala, and "contrary to the best interests of all that for which the Organization of the American States stands."

News Alarming, Wiley Says

Speaking to the representatives of the Organization of American States and the Ambassadors of the Latin American countries assigned to Washington, Senator Wiley observed that he was sure that his audience was "keenly aware of the grim implications" of the report of arms' being sent to Communist-dominated Guatemala.

"I say that this news is alarming and it is of the utmost gravity to the cause of inter-Ameri-

can unity, the cause of freedom, and sovereignty within the Western Hemisphere," he said.

The United States has taken the matter up with both Sweden and Britain. The ship, the 4,900-ton *Alfhem*, is owned by a Swedish company, but had been chartered by an English concern, identified here as E. E. Dean.

Both British and Swedish sources said they found nothing illegal or illicit about the shipment because there was no embargo or blockade in effect against Guatemala.

The United States is concerned, however, with the prospect of Guatemala's being a point of Communist infiltration and propaganda in this hemisphere. Officials have said that the Soviet Union has used Guatemala for slipping Communist agents into neighboring Latin-American countries.

N.Y. Times

MAY 20 1954

TIES CUT BY NICARAGUA

**Diplomats Leave Guatemala as
Relations Are Severed**

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 19—Nicaragua broke off diplomatic relations with Guatemala today. At noon the Nicaraguan diplomatic staff of seven members and their families, headed by Ambassador Aurelio Montenegro, left the country.

The Ambassador, aside from saying he had received instructions to close the embassy and consulate and leave Guatemala, offered no comment.

A large group of the Ambassador's friends and other members of the diplomatic corps bade the diplomats farewell at the airport.

It is understood the Guatemalan Ambassador to Nicaragua, Col. Gabino Santizo, will be asked to leave the country.

Relations between the countries have been estranged since February following Guatemala's denunciation of an alleged international plot seeking to overthrow the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán. Nicaragua was charged with complicity. These charges were denied by President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua. During the recent disturbances in Nicaragua, five Nicaraguans took asylum in the Guatemalan embassy in Managua.

Washington Not Surprised

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 19—State Department officials indicated today that they were not surprised by Nicaragua's break with Guatemala, but they withheld comment for the present.

It was recalled that relations between the two Central American Governments had been uneasy for some time.

N.Y. Times

MAY 20 1954

LATIN ARMS CARGO UPSETS PRESIDENT

Eisenhower Is Disturbed by the Danger of Communist Outpost on Continent

By **WALTER H. WAGGONER**
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 19 — President Eisenhower declared today it was "disturbing" to have a shipload of arms from Communist Poland delivered to Guatemala. It would be "a terrible thing," he continued, if the Communist dictatorship were to establish an outpost on this continent.

That was the President's comment, offered in reply to a question at his news conference, on the recent disclosure that a ship, sailing out of Stettin, Poland, began to unload a cargo of arms as Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, last Saturday.

Asked for his "reaction" to the arms shipment, which the State Department has called a "development of gravity," President Eisenhower said:

"Well, it is disturbing. I think that, above all, it highlights the circumstances, the background that led to the adoption of the resolution at the Caracas conference regarding communism in this country.

"To have the Communist dictatorship establish an outpost on this continent to the detriment of all the American nations, of course, would be a terrible thing, and that was the reason for the Caracas resolution."

The resolution to which the President referred was the "declaration of solidarity for the preservation of the political integrity of the American states against international Communist intervention." Proposed by the United States, it was adopted at the Tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, on March 13.

The State Department has

maintained a policy of secrecy toward both the details of the shipment and the course of any action that might be taken to meet that "development of gravity."

Reliable informants indicated, however, that about 2,000 tons of arms were delivered and were now en route from Puerto Barrios to the city of Guatemala, about 150 miles away.

Having informed the Latin American diplomats of the shipment, the State Department is prepared to let one of the American republics take the initiative in proposing a method of dealing with the situation.

There was speculation in some quarters that Honduras might be able to make a good case against Guatemala, linking the arms shipment from Communist Poland with possible aggressive intentions on the part of the pro-Communist Government in Central America.

Honduras, a neighbor of Guatemala on the south, is torn by a series of strikes severely crippling the country's commerce and economy. There is evidence that the strikes have been fomented by foreign agents, presumably slipping into Honduras from Guatemala. Latin American circles have contended that the developments in Honduras would qualify that government for invoking the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

If Washington were to take the initiative, it is said, the result would almost certainly be a charge that the United States was acting on behalf of the United Fruit Company, much of whose large land holdings in Guatemala is now in the process of expropriation.

Meanwhile, it was disclosed here, press dispatches from Guatemala have not reported any details of the arms shipment because of a law that bars reporting of so-called military information that does not originate with an official announcement.

Authorities said the ban on such dispatches was a standing prohibition and had not been imposed only on news of the arms shipments.

N. Y. MIRROR

MAY 21 1954

U.S. Tells Why It Wouldn't Sell Guatemala Arms

WASHINGTON, May 22 (INS).—The United States said Saturday it has refused to grant licenses for arms shipments to Guatemala because of uncertainty over what use the Central American republic would make of them.

The State Department made this known in a formal statement following up its disclosure a few days ago that Guatemala has received a large shipment of arms routed through the Communist-controlled port of Stettin in Poland.

SATURDAY'S STATEMENT was in answer to questions to whether this government has refused to permit the export of hunting rifles and other sporting weapons to Guatemala.

A department spokesman said: "The U. S. Government has been unwilling to license commercial shipments of arms to Guatemala because of the obvious uncertainty as to the purposes for which those arms might be used.

"As regards arms procurement assistance which has been made available to the other American republics, Guatemala is ineligible because such assistance is available only to those states which have ratified the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio de Janeiro pact of 1947).

"Guatemala is the only American state which has not completed its ratification of that treaty."

QUESTIONED further, department spokesman Jamieson Parker said there have been specific denials of licenses to ship arms to Guatemala.

Earlier reports indicated the Communists sent 2,000 tons of munitions and arms to Guatemala and that this single shipment was enough to tip the scale of military power in Central America to the side of Guatemala.

N. Y. H. T.

MAY 21 1954

Nicaragua Sees Plot by Guatemala

By James E. Warner
WASHINGTON, May 20. — Nicaragua, in a formal statement explaining the breaking off of diplomatic relations last night with Leftist-controlled Guatemala, today declared that "grave" happenings of recent weeks in Central America give evidence of a well conceived plot of Communist type which menaces the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, Ambassador of Nicaragua, issued the formal statement on behalf of his government, which announced the cessation of diplomatic relations last night in Managua.

At a press conference, Dr. Sevilla-Saska hinted that preliminary talks already may be under way regarding possible further action on the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro and an anti-Communist resolution adopted at the recent inter-American conference in Caracas, Venezuela.

Cites Arms Delivery

Of the cargo of arms recently landed in Guatemala from Stettin, a port in Russian-dominated Poland, a development which both President Eisenhower and the American State Department have labeled as of the gravest significance, Dr. Sevilla-Sacasa said:

"The cargo of arms which reached Guatemala from a country behind the Iron Curtain is considered excessive for the military needs of that Central American republic, and thus it may be affirmed that acquisition of this large quantity of arms threatens the peace of Central America and the security of the Western Hemisphere," he said.

"Without a doubt the foregoing is grave and logically brings us to consider the possibility of inter-American consultation through application of the provisions of the Rio Treaty and the anti-Communist declaration at Caracas."

Consultation Rare

Nicaragua thus became the first Latin-American country to raise the possibility of consulta-

cont.

tion regarding the Communist threat in Guatemala. Such consultations are relatively rare, having been held in 1939, 1941, 1942 and 1951 on such grave question as the implications of the war in Europe, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, now European colonies should be treated during hostilities, and the like.

Dr. Sevilla-Sacasa was chairman of the first, or juridicial-political affairs commission of the Caracas conference, which recommended adoption of the resolution presented by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles denouncing Communist interference in hemisphere affairs.

Today Dr. Sevilla-Sacasa noted that the foreign minister of Guatemala was "eloquent" at Caracas in opposition to the Dulles resolution.

Nicaragua severed relations with Guatemala, said Dr. Sevilla-

Sacasa, who later went to the State Department for a conference with Mr. Dulles, because his country considers "the Communist infiltration which has been taking place, through the Guatemalan Embassy in Nicaragua, a grave threat to the preservation of Nicaraguan democratic institutions."

This was proved, he said, by the foiling of a terrorist plot with Communist backing which had for its aims, among other things, the assassination of the President of Nicaragua and his sons.

The United States is taking over the affairs of Nicaragua in Guatemala.

Wash. Post
MAY 21 1954

Nicaragua Weighs Talks On Red Peril

By William Galbraith
United Press

Nicaragua may call an American foreign ministers conference to devise means of blocking the spreading of communism from Guatemala to other American countries, Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa said yesterday.

Nicaragua, which severed diplomatic relations with Communist-infiltrated Guatemala Wednesday, took the initiative after the United States asked Sweden for information on the Swedish freighter that delivered a cargo of Communist arms to Guatemala.

[Earlier, the Nicaraguan Ambassador said his government broke relations with Guatemala Wednesday because Guatemala had violated an agreement by spreading Communist propaganda in Nicaragua, the Associated Press reported.]

Sevilla-Sacasa said Nicaragua may seek a foreign ministers meeting to discuss "grave" developments in Central America. He said the developments present evidence of "a well-conceived, Communist-type plan."

Meanwhile, Honduran Ambassador Rafael H. Valle said his country has not yet decided whether to break diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

[In Mexico City, Guatemalan Minister to Mexico Gustavo Santiso Galvez accused the United States of being aggression-minded in commenting on the arms story, the International News Service reported.]

He ridiculed United States criticism that the arms shipment creates a danger to the Panama Canal, saying: "The truth is that some political and financial sectors in the United States would desire that Guatemala be without the smallest defensive element against aggressors which for some time have been preparing the imperialist campaign, as for instance the United Fruit Company."

N.Y. Times

MAY 21 1954

STETTIN TO PUERTO BARRIOS

President Eisenhower has declared it "disturbing" to have a shipment of arms reach Guatemala from Communist Poland. It would be a "terrible thing," he added, "to have the Communist dictatorship establish an outpost on this continent to the detriment of all the American nations * * *." The President observed that the incident pointed up the background of the resolution against international Communist aggression, passed at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas. Guatemala alone opposed the resolution, while Argentina and Mexico abstained.

Meanwhile the State Department has informed the Latin countries about the shipment, which it considered a "development of gravity." Implicit in this action was the poser: May the cargo be taken to constitute a threat to collective security under the Rio Treaty of 1947? The department is wise not to draw this conclusion until it has been suggested by others among the Good Neighbors—and, it is to be hoped, not merely by Somoza's Nicaragua, which has just severed relations with Guatemala, or Trujillo's Dominican Republic. A delicate issue of regional policy is involved.

The question of arms sales in Central America precedes by many decades the question of communism there, although in the present instance the two appear to have merged. The area has been a traditional stamping ground for all sorts of adventurers, operators and legitimate intermediaries. In the current case the arms were shipped from Poland but the ship was owned by Swedes and chartered by Britons. An American, Hubert F. Julian, confirmed Wednesday that he has been buying European arms for Guatemala for several years, insisting that the Government there had forbidden him to deal behind the Iron Curtain. But history shows that if a Latin (or other) country cannot buy arms in one place it is pretty sure to seek them somewhere else. And while there has been no formal boycott, Washington has not permitted the shipment of arms and aircraft made here to Guatemala.

As the President has put it, the Guatemalan situation is disturbing. How to cope with it remains the most acute challenge to our hemisphere relations.

N.Y. Times

MAY 22 1954

Guatemala Says U.S. Tried To Make Her Defenseless

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 21—The Guatemalan Government said today that the United States ban on arms shipments here was aimed at leaving this country defenseless before its ene-

mies. Guatemala's recent purchase of arms, presumably from Czechoslovakia, was "perfectly normal," Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello asserted at a press conference.

He offered to produce documentary evidence of his country's long and systematic efforts to buy arms from the United States.

The alarm raised by the State Department over the arms shipment is "malicious and unjustified," Senor Toriello maintained. He accused the Department of aiding exiled Guatemalans intent on invading the country from abroad, or those within the country who hoped to overthrow the Government by force.

He charged the "governing circles of the United States" with having committed an "act of aggression against Guatemala" by withholding arms needed for defense or to repel an invasion.

The State Department had described the arms purchase as "a development of gravity" because of the origin, point of embarkation, destination and quantity of the arms involve. Shipped from Stettin, Poland, the arms arrived at Puerto Barrios last Saturday aboard the Swedish freighter Alfhem.

Senor Toriello refused to discuss the type and quantity of arms bought on the ground that these were "military secrets." The railroad that is carrying the arms between Puerto Barrios and this capital was requested last week by military officials to prepare to transport 2,000 tons of military equipment from the port.

In his attack, Senor Toriello touched not only on the arms question but also on the department's recent actions and statements regarding the wave of strikes in Northern Honduras and

differences between Guatemala and the United Fruit Company.

He denied categorically "that his Government had anything to do with the Honduran strike situation," as he said had been insinuated by the department. Such insinuations are aimed at masking the real causes of the strike and at creating animosity between the "brother republics" of Honduras and Guatemala, he declared.

The Ministers termed "open intervention" a recent note from the department asking nearly \$16,000,000 on behalf of the United Fruit Company as a result of expropriation of company lands under Guatemala's agrarian reform law. He insisted that the company would receive no different treatment from Guatemalans affected by the law.

The Government's formal statement declared that Guatemala had never negotiated the purchase of arms from the Soviet Union or Poland, and that no arms from either of these countries existed in Guatemala. When Senor Toriello was reminded that the State Department had not named either country as a source of the arms, but had stated that they came from Communist-controlled territory, the Minister replied:

"For us, Communist-controlled territory is the Soviet Union. Other countries are sovereign."

In purchasing arms, he said, Guatemala made use of her legitimate right as a sovereign country to trade freely with any country in the world. Heatedly, he added:

Guatemala is not a colony of the United States nor an associated state that requires permission of the United States Government to acquire the things indispensable for its defense and security, and it repudiates the pretensions of this Government [the United States] to supervise the legitimate acts of a sovereign Government."

Senior Toriello rejected what

U.S. Monitor

MAY 22 1954

Guatemala Arms: Shipper Explains

By Reuters

Stockholm

A ship broker who chartered the Swedish vessel Alfhem for the past three months has said he never would have done so if he had known the vessel was going to transport arms from a Communist port to Guatemala.

"I have submitted a report to the American embassy in Stockholm," said Alfred Christensen. "I have papers to show I acted in good faith. If I had known the Alfhem was to pick up Communist arms, I would never have chartered her."

N.Y. Times

MAY 24 1954

Guatemalan Anti-Reds Elect

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 23—The Anti-Communist Labor Committee, an organization founded several months ago by a large group of laborers who repudiate Communist maxims, elected Alberto Merlos secretary general last night. Senor Merlos replaced the late Oscar Luna, whose body was found floating in a near-by lake last Sunday.

he described as accusations that Guatemala constituted a "beachhead of Soviet communism on the American continent," or that she was an "instrument of Moscow" or a "spearhead of the Soviet Union against the United States."

He freshened the picture of Guatemala that he has so often drawn for the world in recent months as follows: A poor country trying to replace with social justice and economic liberty the effects of decades of tyrannical oppression by right-wing dictators and foreign monopolies, particularly the United Fruit Company.

The real cause of the "malicious" propaganda campaign now rising to a climax against Guatemala is to "prepare a climate for intervention," the Minister charged.

He refused to say what action his Government would take if a consultative meeting of the Organization of American States was called on the question of communism in Guatemala, but he expressed doubt that the other Latin-American republics would support "intervention."

N. Y. H. T.

MAY 23 1954

GUATEMALA CITY, May 22 (P).—Two men were killed and three wounded Thursday when Guatemalan troops fought a machine-gun battle with "foreign saboteurs" who tried to dynamite a munitions train, it was announced today.

Interior Minister Augusto Charnaud MacDonald said one soldier and one saboteur were killed and three soldiers wounded in the battle near Castaneda, a banana town ten miles from Puerto Barrios, where a shipload of arms arrived a week ago, reportedly from Communist Poland.

The train was carrying arms unloaded from the ship from Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City. Mr. Charnaud said neither the train nor its cargo was damaged by the sabotage attempt.

He said the saboteurs planted "eight charges of TNT under a railroad bridge" near Castaneda. For some reason, only two of the charges exploded when the train rolled onto the bridge, and the structure escaped serious damage.

Mr. Charnaud said the saboteurs fled toward the border of Honduras, ten miles southeast of Castaneda. He added: "The Army is following them closely, and it is expected they will be captured soon."

H. Y. H. T.

MAY 22 1954

Shipped From Red Countries

Report More Munitions Latin America-Bound

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, May 21.—The United States government has information that other arms-laden ships from behind the Iron Curtain may be on the way to Central America, Rep. Patrick J. Hillings, R., Calif., said tonight.

The State and Defense Departments had no comment on the report, but it is known that this government is pressing both in this hemisphere and in Europe inquiries into the case of the British-chartered Swedish ship *Alfhem*, which discharged 1,900 tons or an estimated \$10,000,000 worth of suspected small arms from Stettin, in Red-dominated Poland, at Puertos Barrios in Guatemala.

"With reports of Russian submarines off the Central American coast and these reports of additional munitions-carrying freighters en route there," Rep. Hillings said, "it is imperative that we deny the use of the Panama Canal to any suspicious vessels. It is obvious from recent developments that the Kremlin is stepping up its drive to establish a beachhead on this continent."

While official silence prevailed over what steps, if any, are being taken to prevent a recurrence of the *Alfhem* arms landing, it became obvious that agencies of the United States government are keeping a sharp eye on such suspect shipping.

A ship was searched in Puerto Rico within the last few days on suspicion of carrying arms, Rep. Hillings reported. None was found. It was known also to this government that the itinerary of the *Alfhem*, originally with Dakar as the port of destination, was changed three times while she was at sea.

These developments accompanied a joint announcement by the Departments of State and Defense of the signing yesterday of a bilateral military assistance agreement between the United

States and Honduras.

Tenth Agreement

It is the tenth such agreement signed by the United States with Latin-American republics within the framework both of the Rio de Janeiro treaty of 1947 and the United Nations Charter. Such treaties previously were signed with Ecuador, Peru, Cuba, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. They result from the continuous planning of the Inter-American Defense Board which sits here.

The two departments, in announcing the signing of the Honduran treaty at a time when attempted Communist penetration of the Western Hemisphere is very much to the fore, said such treaties "illustrate the spirit of co-operation prevailing among the American republics which makes it possible for them to concentrate, through self help and mutual aid, upon increasing their ability to contribute to the collective defense of the Western Hemisphere."

Best information available to this government regarding the *Alfhem* cargo is that it contained \$10,000,000 worth of small arms and light field pieces. The total annual budget of Guatemala is \$60,000,000, so that both the size and the secrecy surrounding the shipment are matters of grave concern to this government. Originally the shipment showed on the ship's manifest as "optical glass and laboratory supplies."

One informed source noted that a Guatemalan diplomat had conceded there were 400 tons of arms in the ship, unloaded under heavy guard under the supervision of the Guatemalan Minister of War, and that 1900 tons of optical glass and laboratory equipment would "supply all the laboratories and equip every Guatemalan with glasses of very thick lenses indeed."

Original sailing orders of the

N.Y. Times

MAY 23 1954

ARMING OF GUATEMALA ALARMS ITS NEIGHBORS

Tension in Central America Rising With Actions of Communist Front

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, May 22—In so far as Central America is concerned, the State Department announcement this week that Guatemala was receiving an arms shipment from behind the Iron Curtain made the drab little Atlantic coast town of Puerto Barrios a focal spot.

People from Panama to the southern Mexican border have, since that announcement, been asking themselves and their neighbors whether now is the time they have been expecting and dreading—the beginning of all-out Communist expansion from a Guatemala bridgehead.

The arms shipment, whether great or small—and none here has learned its magnitude—seems to have provided a highly important piece in the complicated puzzle of Central American politics.

Caracas Resolution

When, by United States pressure, an anti-Communist resolution was pushed through the Caracas conference last March, the reaction in Latin-America generally and in Central America particularly was varied.

Alfhem would have put her in Dakar. Two days out of that North African port the ship was ordered to Curacao, D. W. I. Two days out of this Caribbean port the ship was ordered to Puerto Cortez, in Honduras. But long before reaching that port the ship was ordered to its final destination, Puerto Barrios, Guatemala.

All these facts were known to the United States government, it was learned tonight, before it announces arrival of the arms shipment, a development which both the State Department and President Eisenhower have de-

One body of opinion was that the anti-Communist resolution was a gesture, pure and simple, without strength. Another body of opinion, equally strong, was that the United States had brought to a head a delicate matter and that it was only a question of time until Washington had to back up its move or be out-bluffed.

There was a brief lull following the Caracas conference, and then things began happening.

First off, four United States Ambassadors to Central America were called to Washington for conferences. These men were extremely reluctant to admit there was anything out of the ordinary in the calls, but one of them told this correspondent privately, "Well, we put through our resolution in Caracas, and now we have got to decide what we're going to do about it."

Assassination Attempt

At about the time these conferences were on, there was an attempt on the life of President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua.

At about that time, also, pressures on United States organizations in Guatemala began to be increasingly intense and anti-United States feeling in official circles then increase proportionately.

This growing antipathy to the United States, imposed from above, came to a climax in the May Day celebration in Guatemala, where "Uncle Sam" was made the butt of all conceivable types of bitter jest.

Next in the unfolding pattern came the Honduran strikes. Initially they were directed against the United Fruit Company, but eventually they developed into a general strike in the north coast area.

Then came a discovery of cached arms on a Nicaraguran

Cont

beach, alleged by General Somoza to have been of Soviet make and to have been delivered by submarine.

Now, Nicaragua has broken off diplomatic relations with Guatemala and there are strong rumors of an impending diplomatic break between Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

Cautions Noted

The obvious thing is to read into all this a direct reaction to pressure on burgeoning Communist influences in Guatemala. As a matter of fact, this situation might give rise to possibly erroneous conclusions.

Guatemala's interest in the British Honduras election was so keen and blatant that an immediate thought was that the anti-Government forces in that neighboring country, led by the People's United Party, were perhaps basically Communistic or propelled by Communistic influences.

No evidence was produced by the British Honduras Government or by the large number of foreign correspondents covering the election that this was the case. There was evidence that leaders of the Belige movement accepted funds from Guatemalan officials, but all other evidence was that the movement was indigenous and sometimes fanatically nationalis-

tic but, in its leadership, strongly resistant to communistic influence by outside sources.

The strikes in Honduras undoubtedly have been influenced by outside sources.

There is a strong suspicion that Communists infiltrating from Guatemala and El Salvador were guiding these strikes which some days ago seemed apt to bring the entire nation to its knees economically. The suspicion of Communist organization and propulsion in these disturbances is strong, but no sound proof has been made public.

One way or another, there is not the slightest doubt in anyone's mind but that the Communist influences in Guatemala are making themselves felt in all parts of Central America, despite the efforts of the other governments to curb them.

Militarily, the United States is doing its utmost to draw a circle around this spot of Communist infection. Military assistance pacts—strong, despite the lack of publicity about them—have been concluded with Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras. The conclusion of one with El Salvador appears imminent.

These military assistance pacts, strange arms shipments and assassination reports and rumors are keeping Central America in ferment.

MAY 23 1954

Arms Flash Warning

Guatemala Points Up Danger to Hemisphere

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON. The next few days may produce some highly significant developments, according to the best-informed opinion here.

Four-Fold Interest

Russia's interest in Latin America is four-fold. Direct economic, military and strategic benefits to the Kremlin of a beachhead in this hemisphere are too obvious to mention. But such a beachhead, no matter how tiny, has these other advantages from the Kremlin standpoint:

Possibly the current furor over a shipment of arms from Red Poland to Guatemala is a blessing in disguise, for it directs attention of North American newspaper readers to a highly sensitive and strategic area too often overlooked. Latin Americans long have complained that the United States is so preoccupied with Europe, the Far East and other areas, that it gives scant attention to neighbors in its own back yard.

Brother as Envoy

President Eisenhower has done his best to overcome this feeling on the part of the Latin countries by dispatching his brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, on a tour of the southern continent.

He warned of the threat of Communist infiltration in any Latin country long before the State Department. As long ago as last Oct. 24, when the new Ambassador of the Dominican Republic presented his credentials here, Gen. Eisenhower, in a formal exchange, expressed concern over the threat to hemispheric peace and security raised by Communist activities.

But even though it has information that other arms shipments from behind the Iron Curtain already are en route to Latin America, this government is being extremely careful in building the case against the original shipment to Guatemala. The

next few days may produce some highly significant developments, according to the best-informed opinion here.

Russia's interest in Latin America is four-fold. Direct economic, military and strategic benefits to the Kremlin of a beachhead in this hemisphere are too obvious to mention. But such a beachhead, no matter how tiny, has these other advantages from the Kremlin standpoint:

1. It would be established under the eaves of the strongest anti-Communist country in the world, the United States.

2. It would crack—if established—the oldest collective security organization in the world, the Pan American Union, and also the Organization of American States.

3. It would also crack the century-old concept of the Monroe Doctrine—America for the Americans, and not to be exploited by any foreign ideology, whether colonialism or Communism.

4. It would be at once a terrific propaganda advantage to the Russians (as well as a practical military one), by possibly destroying confidence in any collective security agreement, including those of the United Nations and the important North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Size Not the Point

The Communist problem in this hemisphere is measured by the Eisenhower administration not by the size of the country or the amount of contraband (if they are so proven) arms shipped. If tiny Guatemala were only one-tenth its size or as big



as Brazil—which has enough area to include the entire United States with an extra Texas tossed in—concern of the United States over the purported arms shipment could not be either more or less.

The phrase "hot as a pistol" does not enter into diplomatic conversations or comments. However, that phrase, with no depreciation of the serious situations extant in other regions of the world, can be applied without reservation at this time to Latin America with regard to Communist aims.

That is the view of the Eisenhower administration, and should give comfort to those Latin neighbors who assert with considerable justice that Latin-American news, short of a bloody revolution or something linked to Europe like the Guatemalan arms shipment, seldom gets a page one play in North American newspapers.

The Puzzler

But what to do about Guatemala at the moment is a puzzler.

A cruiser and some Marines could settle the Guatemalan situation over night, say some diehards. Maybe they could—over night. But they would be playing right into the hands of Moscow.

Meanwhile, from both sides of the Atlantic, this government is painstakingly assembling information regarding the Guatemalan incident. The purpose is to build a case, with indisputable evidence, that the incident is, in fact, a threat to the security of the hemisphere. Only with this evidence in hand, short of an overt act in territorial waters, will the United States move, and then only with the backing of its sister republics, one of which, Nicaragua, already has branded the Guatemalan incident as a prime cause for inter-American consultation and action.

N. Y. Journal-American

MAY 23 1954

U.S. Air Fleet In Bolivia Urged To Balk Reds

Bolivian military and air attache Gen. Antonio Seleme suggested yesterday that a major U. S. Air Force be sent to his country "as an answer" to Guatemala's Communist arms shipments.

In an official statement cleared with the U. S. State Department, Seleme, 49, said that to "let this incident pass is to surrender the Panama Canal to the Reds, in case of war."

The General also called for an "emergency conference" of Latin American countries to form a Pan-American NATO to keep "a Korea or Indochina from entering through the back door."

TIME RUNNING OUT.

Seleme, in New York to speak at a Veterans of Foreign Wars Communion breakfast today, warned that "time may be running out on us" if the free nations hope to keep communism from engulfing the Americas.

He pointed out steps must be taken by the American nations to protect the Bolivian tin supply.

A U. S. air fleet, based in Bolivia, would be located in the "most dominant part of South America, so that it could quickly reach any point around its periphery," Gen. Seleme said.

N.Y. Times

MAY 23 1954

GUATEMALA HINTS U. N. CASE ON ARMS

Considers Aggression Charge Against U. S. for Barring Purchase of Munitions

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 22—The Guatemalan Government is considering airing its dispute with the United States before the United Nations Security Council.

Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello let some members of the diplomatic corps in on the Government's intentions last night, although no mention of the possibility has been made publicly.

The diplomatic corps, with the notable exception of the United States Ambassador, was called to the Foreign Office to hear Guatemala's case on her recent purchase of arms, presumably from Czechoslovakia.

The arms, believed to total 2,000 tons, arrived in Puerto Barrios last Saturday aboard the Swedish freighter Alfhem. They were shipped from Stettin, Poland, and the State Department has described the purchase as a "development of gravity" because of the quantity involved, the point of embarkation and the origin and destination of the arms.

Nicaragua, which broke off relations with Guatemala this week, has taken the initiative in sounding out other Latin-American republics on the possibility of calling a consultative meeting of the Organization of American States to discuss the menace of communism in Guatemala. Señor Toriello told the diplomats that Guatemala would attend a consultative meeting if one were called.

Possibility of Boycott

He raised the possibility of Security Council action in discussing this point with some members of the corps. The Security Council would be asked to act if the Or-

voted in favor of an economic or any other kind of boycott of Guatemala, he was reported to have said.

He also mentioned the possibility of bringing Guatemala's case before the Security Council if what he described as the "attacks" against Guatemala continued.

Señor Toriello received the Ambassadors and ministers individually, then five chargés d'affaires as a group. Each received a copy of the declaration made by Señor Toriello to the correspondents yesterday morning, the minister remarking that he wanted the diplomats to have an official copy because the foreign press and particularly newspapers of the United States sometimes left things out.

As he did with the press, Señor Toriello amplified the official declaration with numerous extemporaneous remarks. The major point in the declaration was that the United States had prevented Guatemala from buying arms there and in many other

parts of the world and had left the country no other recourse than to buy where it could.

According to the Minister, this was a deliberate boycott on the part of the United States to leave the present Guatemalan Government in which the Communists have considerable influence an easy prey for its enemies both here and abroad. The boycott extended so far as to prevent the country's hunting and fishing club from obtaining ammunition, the Minister remarked bitterly.

He emphasized to the diplomats that Guatemala had the right to trade with any country in the world. Guatemala, the official declaration said, "is not a colony of the United States nor an associated state that requires permission of the United States Government to acquire the things indispensable for its defense and security."

U. S. Aggression Charged

The declaration foreshadowed the grounds on which Guatemala might take the dispute to the Security Council. As this country's officials see it, a United States military boycott impeded the Government in fulfilling its duty to provide for defense of the country and for internal order and this constituted aggression against Guatemala.

Anticipating what a consultative meeting of the Organization of American States would be likely to be asked to decide, the declaration said an economic or military boycott and the propaganda campaign constituted aggression as grave or even graver than armed aggression.

Señor Toriello told some of the diplomats at the Foreign Office

cont.

N.Y. Times

MAY 25 1954

U. S. FLYING ARMS TO 2 LATIN LANDS NEAR GUATEMALA

Nicaragua and Honduras Get Small Weapons as Result of Red Shipment to Neighbor

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 24—The United States is airlifting arms to Nicaragua and Honduras, the State Department announced today.

The airlift was started after the department discovered a week ago that "an important shipment of arms" from Communist Poland was being unloaded at Puerto Barrios, in Communist-dominated Guatemala.

Honduras is east of Guatemala and Nicaragua east of Honduras. The United States is treating the latter two countries as possible targets of Guatemalan aggression or of internal Communist subversion.

A Defense Department spokesman said that two or three United States Air Force Globemasters, each capable of carrying about twenty-five tons, were transporting small arms—pistols, rifles, machine guns and ammunition—to the two Central American republics.

[Guatemala's Foreign Minister, Guillermo Toriello, after a conference with John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, said the "groundwork" had been laid to end tension between the two countries.]

Defense Pacts in Force

The State Department issued its announcement in response to reports that arms were being flown from Mobile, Ala. Neither the State nor the Defense Departments would confirm that this was the point of origin, however.

tual defense agreement with Honduras only last Thursday and a similar agreement with Nicaragua on April 23. These are the only Central American Republics that have signed agreements providing for United States arms and training programs. Mutual defense treaties had been signed previously with Ecuador, Peru, Cuba, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay and the Dominican Republic.

The arms delivered in the last week to Communist-dominated Guatemala are believed to be of Czechoslovak manufacture and have been estimated at 2,000 tons. A State Department spokesman, Lincoln White, acknowledged that the department was aware of rumors that two additional shipments of Czechoslovak arms were on their way to Guatemala from the Polish port of Stettin.

Mr. White said arms shipments to Honduras and Nicaragua under the agreements had been speeded up because of developments in Central America. But he maintained that delivery of arms by air was in itself "not unusual" since there was little difference between the costs of sea and of air delivery to that part of the world.

"The United States, in implementation of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program agreements recently signed with Nicaragua and Honduras, is making an initial shipment of military equipment to both these countries by air," he said.

Other sources believed Mr. White was mistaken about the relative costs of air and sea transportation.

Guatemala has any army of about 22,000 men and a small air force. Honduras has an army of 2,500 men organized in twenty-three and a battery of artillery, and an air force of forty-six planes. Nicaragua, whose President is Gen. Anastaso Somoza, has a National Guard of 220 officers and 3,000 noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, and a reserve of 4,000 men. Small United States military missions have been stationed in all three countries for several years.

Guatemala has maintained that the United States would not sell her arms and that she had the right to buy them where she could.

N.Y. Times

MAY 25 1954

GUATEMALA EASES STAND TOWARD U.S.

After Meeting With Peurifoy, Foreign Minister Sees Basis for Ending Tensions

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 25—The Guatemalan Government asserted today that the "groundwork for talks to end the tenseness" of relations with the United States had been laid in a conference this morning between Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello and John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador.

Senor Toriello made this announcement at a press conference held immediately after his ninety-minute talk with the Ambassador. It came as a stunning surprise.

Relations between the countries have been deteriorating steadily and had reached a crisis over Guatemala's recent purchase of 2,000 tons of arms from behind the Iron Curtain.

Senor Toriello implied that the atmosphere in which the two countries have been discussing their problems had already or was about to change completely, although he conceded that no specific proposals had been advanced by either side at the meeting.

Envoy Restricts Comment

"We had a long friendly talk, as a result of which I have hopes that the problems between our two countries can be resolved cordially," the Minister declared.

Mr. Peurifoy confirmed that the meeting had ranged over a wide variety of problems. But neither he nor other embassy officials commented on the interpretation placed on the talk by Senor Toriello.

After the press conference the Minister told this correspondent: "The situation just could not continue. It was like an elastic band that had been stretched and stretched until it was at the breaking point."

He added with a smile: "Of course, we were not going to declare war on the United States."

He said further talks had been arranged with the Ambassador, in which they would move from a general discussion to specific problems. It was learned that Señor Toriello had suggested the

cont.

possibility of Guatemala's advancing specific proposals at the next meeting, either late this week or early next week, for settlement of the United Fruit Company dispute.

The initiative for today's meeting came from the Foreign Minister. He asked the Ambassador to call at the Foreign Office to receive an official memorandum rejecting the State Department's claim for nearly \$18,000,000 on behalf of United Fruit. The claim arose out of Guatemala's expropriation of company land under her agrarian reform law.

The memorandum declared: "The Guatemalan Government cannot accept any claim seeking privileged treatment for foreigners, which, under internal legislation, may not be given even to Guatemalan nationals."

According to company figures, the Government had expropriated up to May 1 a total of 392,945 acres. This has left the company 145,187 acres for banana production and other operations.

To date the Government has deposited in the Bank of Guatemala \$1,185,115 worth of agrarian bonds as compensation for the seized land. Compensation has been paid on the basis of tax evaluation of property filed with the Government by the company many years ago.

The company has refused to accept this basis of compensation. Its officials noted that they had tried unsuccessfully since 1948 to have the Government accept increased evaluations for tax purposes.

Discussing the possibility of Guatemala's bringing the arms case before the United Nations Security Council, Señor Toriello said his Government had considered this step. Then he added, "But this was before my conversation with the Ambassador."

Also, he asserted that the shipment of arms that arrived ten days ago was all that Guatemala had purchased. No other arms are on the way, he said, adding that reports of two other shipments en route must refer to "phantom ships."

Cuba Tightens Security

Special to The New York Times.

HAVANA, May 25—President Fulgencio Batista has ordered Army, Navy, police and intelligence chiefs to take stronger measures to prevent a resurgence of Communist activities in Cuba. His action stemmed from the situation in Guatemala.

The President said: "Agents of international communism have been speeding up their activities in this hemisphere recently, and in the face of this danger the Cuban Government will increase and reinforce its measures to prevent a resurgence of Communist

maneuvers, such as espionage and infiltration into distinct sectors that are susceptible to such penetration."

He added that the need for greater precautions was based on recent information obtained by the police.

"I believe it is imperative that we act quickly," the President declared. "Toward that end, I have ordered the Ministers of Labor, Interior, State, Defense, Justice and Education to prepare a legal formula that will permit us to defend the masses and the national peace from those risks that today are greater than even before and constitute an extreme menace to our free people."

Guatemala's arms purchase from the Soviet area and the statement by President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua that his regime has seized a quantity of arms manufactured in the Soviet Union were termed "alarming symptoms" by President Batista.

"It is the duty of the American nations to prevent the possibility of beachheads being established on our coasts by such slave-like and distant nations as Soviet Russia," he asserted.

"If we do not realize the threats in time, if we do not foresee these enormous dangers, we can see repeated here in our own part of the world the endless tragedies that today grip the nations of Europe and Asia."

Mexico Begins to Worry

Special to The New York Times.

MEXICO CITY, May 25—Guatemala's purchase of arms from the Soviet sphere and the mounting uneasiness in Central America have begun to jolt Mexico out of her apparent indifference to events just below her southern border.

There still has been no official reaction. A Foreign Ministry aide said privately that authorities here were discussing the situation among themselves and were growing disturbed.

The press, which normally reflects the Government's attitude closely, has been devoting more attention than usual to Guatemala in the last few days. The tone of it comments has changed from sympathetic understanding of fellow Latin Americans' having their troubles with the United States to frank alarm.

The most forthright comment was contained in a cartoon in the newspaper Excelsior. It showed a switchboard operator marked "Guatemala" plugging a line into a board marked "Central America." Leering from behind the board was the head of Georgi M. Malenkov, Soviet Premier. The girl was saying, "Ready, Sir," and the title of the cartoon was "Direct Contact."

The paper Novedades said it

N.Y. Times

MAY 26 1954

Guatemala Fails to Grasp U. S. Concern Over Reds

If Relations Are to Improve, It Is Felt, They Must Think in Terms of Checking Communists

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 25—The odds are against any meaningful improvement of United States-Guatemalan relations unless a change has come about, unannounced and unnoticed, in the Guatemalan Government's basic thinking on the Communist question.

It becomes more evident daily that Guatemala has a basic misconception of the causes of United States concern over her. Most officials seem unable to realize that this concern is rooted in the Communist problem. The few who do realize it consider it to be unjustified.

Most officials here appear to have convinced themselves that if the trouble over the United Fruit Company could be straightened out, everything else would fall neatly into place. They are mistaking effect for cause, and no amount of pointing this out has made them see it.

Even if a working agreement between the fruit company and the Government were to be reached tomorrow, nothing would be changed unless the agreement was accompanied by steps to halt the Communists' tightening grip on the Land-reform administration, worker peasant union and the Government's propaganda machinery.

Background to be Weighed

It is against this background

foreign right to purchase arms of Iron Curtain origin if she wished. "But it is undoubtedly an act of open hostility to the United States and of complete ignorance of the spirit that animates the Organization of American States," it added.

Previously, the press had shown complete approval for the Mexican Government's stand on Guatemala. Recent developments, however, seem to have given rise to reconsideration. Even more disturbing than Guatemala's arms purchase, according to press comment, is the tension that has suddenly erupted throughout Central America

that the optimism expressed by Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello, after his long talk yesterday with John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, should be considered.

A few details of the talk have become known. The United States Embassy refused to comment on the Foreign Minister's statement that the groundwork had been laid for easing the tense situation between the two countries. Knowing the Foreign Minister's position on the Communist question, an observer would have to guess that he was being vastly overoptimistic.

It has been reported without confirmation that many of the Foreign Minister's remarks dealt with the fruit company problem, and that he skipped the question of Communist influence on the Government. This is entirely in line with the official reasoning here that the United States has raised a Communist bogey in Guatemala as a pretext for intervening on behalf of the fruit company.

Officials like the Foreign Ministers do not see any menace in the Communists' takeover of the labor movement or in their domination of machinery for the administration of land reform.

These officials refer frequently to the constitutional bar against political discrimination, without ever showing any awareness that Communist practice elsewhere in the world has been to destroy such constitutions.

They argue that Guatemala could never become another Czechoslovakia because "Czechoslovakia was close to the Soviet Union and we are close to the United States."

They do not believe what foreign observers and many Guatemalans think: that, left unchecked, the Communists would eventually take over the Government and the country by default.

These officials see no connection between the Guatemalan Communist party and the Moscow-directed international Communist movement. This is prob-

N.Y. Times
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Text of Dulles' Statement on Guatemala

ably the hardest part of the official reasoning to understand, since the Communists here make no secret of their travels to Moscow and other Communist capitals and they echo Moscow propaganda as faithfully as, say, the ruling Communist party of Poland.

There is no evidence available to indicate any desire to check the Communists. They have never had a freer hand than they enjoy today in the agrarian reform department. They have never been as strong in the labor movement and they show signs of wanting to increase their numerical strength in Congress, where they now hold only five of fifty-six seats.

Many persons believe it may already be too late for effective action to halt the Communists' rise even if the Government suddenly decided it wanted to do so. The Reds can summon 3,000 to 5,000 workers for street demonstrations. Their zealous work in land reform has undoubtedly won them ardent support among the Indians, to whom they have given land. Few believe they would accept blocks to their advancement lying down.

The worker and peasant battalions, even if they were armed with nothing more than clubs and machetes, represent the only organized force in the country outside the army and must be considered in any assessment of political factors at work here.

As for the army, there is nothing to indicate that the recently acquired arms shipment from Czechoslovakia has caused it anything but joy. The connections between Guatemala and the Communist world, indicated by the shipment, has caused no apparent concern to the officer corps, on which in the long run the power of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman must rest.

WASHINGTON, May 25 (AP)—Following is the text of Secretary Dulles' formal statement on Guatemala at his press conference today:

The Guatemalan nation and people as a whole are not Communists. They are predominantly patriotic people who do not want their nation to be dominated by any foreign power. However, it must be borne in mind that the Communists always operate in terms of small minorities who gain positions of power. In Soviet Russia itself only about 3 per cent of the people are Communists.

In judging Communist influence in Guatemala, three facts are significant:

1. Guatemala is the only American state which has not completed ratification of the Rio Pact of the Americas.

2. Guatemala was the only one of the American states which at the last Inter-American Conference at Caracas voted against a declaration that "the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extra continental power, would constitute a threat to the American states, endangering the peace of America."

3. Guatemala is the only American nation to be the recipient of a massive shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain.

Now Heavily Armed

It has been suggested from Guatemala that it needs more



The New York Times May 26, 1954

RED BASE FEARED: Secretary Dulles said the recent arms shipment to Puerto Barrios (1) might have been designed to set up a bastion near the Panama Canal (2).

armament for defense. Already Guatemala is the heaviest armed of all the Central American states. Its military establishment is three to four times the size of that of its neighbors, such as Nicaragua, Honduras or El Salvador.

The recent shipment was effected under conditions which are far from normal. The shipment was loaded at Stettin in Communist Poland. The ship was cleared for Dakar, Africa. The operation was cloaked under a series of chartering ar-

rangements so that the real shipper was very difficult to discover. When he was discovered he claimed that the shipment consisted of nothing but optical glass and laboratory equipment.

When the ship was diverted from its ostensible destination and arrived at Puerto Barrios, it was landed under conditions of extraordinary secrecy and in the personal presence of the Minister of Defense. One cannot but wonder why, if the operation was an above-board and honorable one, all of its details were so masked.

In Position to Dominate

By this arms shipment a government, in which Communist influence is very strong, has come into a position to dominate militarily the Central American area. Already the Guatemalan Government has made gestures against its neighbors which they deem to be threatening and which have led them to appeal for aid.

The Guatemalan Government boasts that it is not a colony of the United States. We are proud that Guatemala can honestly say that the United States is not in the business of collecting colonies. The important question is whether Guatemala is subject to Communist colonialism, which has already subjected 800,000,000 people to its despotic rule. The extension of Communist colonialism to this hemisphere would, in the words of the Caracas resolution, endanger the peace of America.

C.S. Monitor
MAY 26 1954

Honduras Recalls Envoy to Guatemala

By the United Press
 Guatemala City

The Honduran Ambassador to Guatemala has been recalled by his government.

Jacinto Octavio Durón left immediately for home. Diplomatic circles thought he would not return here. Although when he boarded the plane he said he did not believe Honduras would break diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

In another development, Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello said his government was concerned about the United States decision to send arms to nations that are "hostile to this country."

Wash. Post
MAY 26 1954

These Days By George Sokolsky

Communists in Guatemala

IT IS NOT casual that the Soviet universal state selected Guatemala as a base for operations against the United States in the Americas. It is a populous country and the second largest in area in Central America. It lies on Mexico and the Hondurases. Its coast line touches both the Caribbean and the Pacific. Its influence can extend throughout Central America and into Mexico. It can be an excellent base to endanger the Panama Canal. The country is rich in raw materials, bananas, hardwoods, chicle, sugar cane, cochineal, and coffee. Bananas became the principal item for export and most definitely affected the standard of living of the people, which was dreadfully low. The population consists of Negroes, Caribs and Indians and the various combinations of these races. The principal commercial

enterprise in Guatemala was the United Fruit Co., which, under the agrarian reform law, June 17, 1952, was divested of about 240,000 acres by expropriation. The assets of the International Railway of Central America were seized as the result of a tax dispute in April, 1953. Other companies have been confiscated.

Guatemala is now in that state of the Communist development known as a people's republic. This means a coalition of left wing political parties, in which the Communists are numerically not prevailing, but which they control anyhow by techniques developed in other countries. The leading party is called the Revolutionary Action Party in New York State. Most of the leading Communists are now in their own Party (PAR), which has 25 out of 56 members in the Congreso Nacional. This used to be a cover for Communists like the American Labor Party in New York State. Most of the leading Communists are now in their own party, but this was done only to make it possible for the dominant party to be able to deny that Guatemala is a Communist country.

It is interesting to note that all political parties in Guatemala are either wholly Communist or have a Communist group within them. The most moderate of these is the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca.

The President of the country is Col. Jacobo Arbenz, who was elected for a six-year term in 1950. Almost immediately after his inauguration in March, 1951, the Communists came out into the open, leaving the cover party, the PAR, and by December, 1952, established their own party, the Guatemalan Workers' Party, which was legally registered and is now a member of the government coalition. Not a single fact justifies the claim that this is not a Communist country except that in the absence of the Communists it would be called a people's republic.

SOVIET RUSSIA has since 1934 sought to establish a base of operations either in Cuba or in Mexico. In Cuba, the Communists encountered the opposition of General Batista, who suspended the functions of Congress and abolished political parties temporarily. Batista seized power on March 10, 1952, and will hold it until the next general election, which has twice been postponed. The Communists have not been able to work under Batista. In Mexico, the Communist parties are legal but not included in the government. The labor leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is generally regarded as the Communist leader not only of Mexico but of Latin America.

The failure to establish a Communist base in Mexico, after the Soviet diplomat, Constantine Oumansky, was killed in an airplane accident in 1945, forced the Russians to develop another base. Other Central American countries were tried, but Marxism took hold best in Guatemala, which is now the first country affiliated with the Soviet universal state in the Americas.

It represents a distinct threat to the peace of these continents because, pursuing a Marxist course, it must encourage revolutionary action among all its neighbors. Immediate trouble is to be expected in the Hondurases, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Venezuela. The most important next objective will be Colombia because of its proximity to the Panama Canal.

In the development of a revolution leading to the establishment of a people's republic, arms are as essential as propagandists and penetrators into government. It must always be remembered that a confirmed Marxist, in whatever country, regards himself as belonging to the Soviet universal state and not to his own country. Some may even be Russian citizens, as are the Communist leaders in Korea. If Guatemala is to be the center of this operation, its operations in other countries will be supported by Marxists in those countries. (Copyright, 1954, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

Wash. Daily News

MAY 26 1954

Hidden Radio Station, and a Pastoral Letter

Underground and a Cardinal Fight the Reds in Guatemala

By CHARLES LUCEY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

GUATEMALA CITY, May 26—A clandestine radio hidden in the mountains sputtered a caustic attack on this country's communist-slanted government—

• An underground passes anti-government pamphlets quietly from hand to hand, or paints the number "32" in big figures on the stuccoed walls—a reference to the section of the constitution which prohibits political organizations of foreign or international character—

• Exiles scattered all thru Central America hope for backing and wait to strike at the government palace here—

• A considerable but curbed anti-communist movement among university students, and a steadily weakened opposition in the Guatemalan congress—

These are the local elements of an opposition, whose strength is impossible to measure, which challenge the potentially solid communist control of this Central American republic.

But these are not the greatest obstacles to the unchecked spread of communism here. Rather this opposition rests in the stooped, slender, gray-haired person of Msgr. Mariano Rossell y Arellano, Catholic Archbishop of Guatemala.

POPULAR SUPPORT

He is the one figure in the country, observers say, who would have the people on his side in any direct conflict with the communists, now entrenched in some of the most important functions of the government.

In recent months he has spoken out courageously in an attempt to rally the people against the communist force, to emphasize that communism and Catholicism cannot be reconciled, to warn that whom communism favors today it sends to the noose tomorrow.

A man in his late 50s, reminiscent in appearance and manner of Pope Pius XII, this man administers the affairs of his church from his cathedral-size residence facing across

a sun-drenched plaza from the government palace, where sits President Jacobo Arbenz.

ANOTHER MINDZENTY?

In any real communist crackdown on the whole country the Archbishop could become the Cardinal Mindzenty of this piece—and he recognized it in the pastoral letter in which he recently rallied Catholics against the Soviet stooges here.

This church leader knows the value of a Catholic action movement in combating communism, but as he observed today in an interview, the constitution severely restricts priests from either political or labor activity.

That means they cannot go among the workers of the fincas, as the large coffee lands are called, alerting them to the Red danger. And, even if this were permitted, there aren't the priests to carry on such a work—in a strongly Catholic country of 3,000,000 there are only something over 100 priests.

But at least a few Catholic laymen are beginning to take up the fight—very late—on a basis that opposes the communists but does not overlook the need to establish social justice for workers in terms of fair wages and individual ownership of land.

The hold the Archbishop has on the masses was demonstrated last year when rumors swept the capital that because he had participated in a "political" meeting he was to be exiled from Guatemala. Msgr. Rossell y Arellano said today the meeting was in fact religious and was political only to the extent of playing the national anthem.

But as the rumor spread, first the women selling flowers and fruit

Cloak and Dagger

Diplomatic sources today said the communists may be using American-labeled arms to make it look as if the United States is plotting to overthrow the Guatemalan government.

They said there are reports that some of the guns recently shipped from communist Poland to Red-tinged Guatemala bear

U. S. markings. They presumably came from lend-lease stocks given Russia in World War II.

The communist idea, the sources suggested, would be to plant the American-made weapons in the hands of foreign agents in Guatemala and then charge them with plotting against the Guatemalan government.

in the market nearby, then others in thousands from all over the city, swarmed about the Archbishop's residence, took up positions on the pavements, stood ready to oppose any government move to lay hands on his person.

Hour after hour they gathered and refused to move. All night they remained. At the end police officials announced there was no thought of expelling or harming the Archbishop. It was a lesson not lost on the officials at government palace.

Today the Archbishop exhibited letters he had received in great number from Guatemalans praising his anti-communist stand in the pastoral letter attacking communism.

He disclosed that 460,000 copies have been reproduced to be passed

from hand to hand and village to village to reach the campesinos, or farm laborers, even in remote mountain areas where there are neither churches nor priests.

"The people are good people," he said. "They have been misled by the communists. If we could have a counter-propaganda to the communists in the fincas where they talk social justice, there would be no division in our country."

The Archbishop condemns the communists for hiding under the cloak of social improvement for the needy classes, warns against the flood of communist literature and a burrowing into the educational system—thru communist control of teacher training—to convert Guatemalan youth.

He proclaims against an illusory Soviet paradise which turns out to be a "concentration camp where, before the force of tanks and cannons, all are obliged to work for

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the state master."

These are strong words in Guatemala today.

So tense has become the situation since the arrival of a 2000-ton arms shipment from behind the Iron Curtain two weeks ago that nobody can guess when or whether an explosive act might inflame this little piece of America.

But all the opposition there is now still doesn't add up, on its face, to getting the communists out of power in the elections in 1955.

Even the Archbishop, the strongest of all forces against the communists, knows the fight is a hard one. It needs much greater strength than it has today.

THE EVENING STAR, Washington, D. C. *
WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1954

Constantine Brown—

Red Subs Near U. S.?

U-Boats Believed to Belong to Russia Reported in Caribbean Waters

Submarines suspected of belonging to the U. S. S. R. are now prowling waters in the Western Hemisphere and particularly in the Caribbean Sea. The number is estimated at between four and six. In official language they are described as belonging to "a nation or nations other than allies or neutrals."

The presence of these submarines may be due to Moscow's desire to test them on long-range cruises, and it is in keeping with its policies to overlook notifying the interested countries of such exercises. A less optimistic speculation is that they are in our back-yard for no such healthy purpose as training cruises.

The highly tense international situation justifies the following two evaluations: (1) The U. S. S. R. has dispatched these vessels to our waters to be ready to perform a special mission, possibly against the Panama Canal; or (2) to help the Communist moves in Central America where the Soviet government is involved in fomenting a general revolution.

The latter evaluation appears more logical at this moment. Guatemala has become a Kremlin proving ground. It is no exaggeration to say that the Guatemalan government has become Moscow's active torch bearer in the Western Hemisphere.

According to reliable esti-

mates, military supplies amounting to nearly 7,000 tons have been sent to Guatemala from various ports in Europe. The latest cargo, some 2,000 tons, was carried by a Swedish freighter. It was sent from the Polish port of Stettin and neither the Swedish captain nor the crew knew what the ship was carrying nor her ultimate destination. On this long trip the skipper, who originally was instructed to put in at Algiers, had to change his course four times.

Simultaneously with the Swedish freighter's sailing, a "pace maker" put out of Libau in Latvia having all the earmarks that she was carrying war materials. The camouflage was successful. When she put in at San Juan, Puerto Rico, she was searched but no war material was found. In the meantime the arms-carrying vessel made port at Puerto Barrios in Guatemala and began unloading its freight.

There is no official account yet as to what type of weapons the Swedish freighter was carrying but the speculation is that the bulk of the material consisted of rifles and machine guns and vast quantities of ammunition, besides some dismantled planes. Two thousand tons might sound small to persons who remember the tens of thousands of tons we have sent to Indo-China. But when we figure out that 10,000

N.Y. Times

MAY 27 1954
In The Nation

A Communist Arms Depot in Central America?

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, May 26—Information coming here from Central America through diplomatic channels is that Guatemala's neighbors to the south see a much greater potential of danger than an increase in Guatemala's military power in the arms supply to that country from an Iron Curtain port. What is chiefly trou-

bling these nations is the thought that, through secret jungle paths, the hard core of Communists in their countries could be supplied from the large shipment with machine guns for the purpose of effecting the internal social disorder in non-Communist states that is a cardinal foreign policy of the world Bolshevik movement.

Such hidden arms, produced during a general strike or a hotly contested election in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica or Panama, could be effectively employed by the Communists toward the objective of civil war. And, while the private advices reaching here are that civil war could be subdued in any of these nations by the power which local armed forces can provide, the effects would be to create new areas of bitterness and desolation and to distract the Americas in some degree from concentration on world Bolshevik threats elsewhere.

According to these advices, Guatemala's neighbors to the south fully recognize that the arms shipment adds to the military advantage over them already possessed by that country, and in this respect presents a sufficient cause for anxiety. Also it has been verified, to the satisfaction of these neighbors, that Guatemala has been assembling troops at the border of Honduras, where the political situation has a special appeal to the promoters of world bolshevism. But, since a border incident plainly provoked by Guatemala would instantly bring into play the Pan-American collective security compact, and this fact is well known in Guatemala City, a border incident does not figure importantly in Central American speculations at this time.

Costa Rica's Experience

But the possible distribution through the jungles of clusters of machine guns to places known to Communists and simple to conceal from the authorities is high among the speculations. Without foreign armament supply, and only with locally acquired weapons that included revolvers and machetes, Costa Ricans fought a civil war in 1948 in which a general strike, of typical Communist nature, was a prominent factor. This strike, imputed by its generators to an infringement of political rights by the party in power, brought on skirmishes in which several were killed and many injured. The fact that the arms shipment for Guatemala from the Iron Curtain port arrived at a time when strikes exist and others are threatened in the neighboring areas has

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MAY 27 1954

evoked vivid memories of the incidents of 1948, and visions of what their repetition would be if Communists were armed with machine guns.

The nations principally concerned with Guatemala are, however, in a quandary what to do about it, and not the least uncertain as to the next collective move is the United States. The President of Costa Rica, as announced, is pondering a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the nations to the south of Guatemala ("the only direction," said one diplomat today, "in which arms leaving Guatemala will go"). That conference could lead to the employment of the hemispheric collective security measures on the initiative of other Latin-American republics. And the United States could not effectively take this initiative, at this juncture anyhow, for reasons very familiar to persons even slightly acquainted with the unifying effect in Latin America of a charge that the "Colossus of the North" is subverting the sovereignty of its member nations.

A Criticism

It was in grateful recognition of this historic fact that Foreign Minister Toriello of Guatemala instantly counterfeited this Government's exposure of the arms shipment from Czechoslovakia to his country by remarking that, after all, Guatemala is not a "colony" of the United States. On the same basis the Administration is being criticized by some, here and abroad, for taking the lead in that exposure. It would have been a simple diplomatic maneuver by the United States, say these critics, to arrange for the revelation to come from a Latin-American country, and that would have spiked in advance the inevitable comment made by Señor Toriello.

Be that as it may, and whether or not in the circumstances the comment will have the usual effect, the initiative has now passed to Guatemala's neighbors. What major part the United States, openly or behind scenes, will henceforth play in the developing hemispheric drama has not been decided. Or the decision, if it has been made, does not appear to be known to the other Pan-American nations. Today's announcement that United States bombers are going to Nicaragua on a "goodwill" mission is merely a maneuver reminiscent of the 1910 muscular diplomacy celebrated by Richard Harding Davis.

Among some diplomats here who represent nations outside this hemisphere there is a disposition to attribute the activity of the United States with respect

N.Y. Times

MAY 27 1954

LEFTISTS TO GET VOICE

Permitted to Join Government in British Honduras

Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, May 26—Britain is going to give the Left-Wing People's United party in British Honduras an opportunity to show good faith in participating in the colony's new government.

Oliver Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary, announced in the House of Commons today that the party's leaders, who got a big mandate from the colony's electorate last month, had promised Gov. Sir Alfred Savage that they would cooperate loyally.

"They are prepared to take the oath of allegiance freely and without reservation," Mr. Lyttelton said. The party officially was found to have accepted financial aid from Communist-dominated Guatemala, but nonetheless Honduran voters gave it eight out of nine Legislative Assembly seats.

N.Y. Times

MAY 27 1954

Guatemala for Talks

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 28—The company. The agrarian reform law, under which two-thirds of the company's vast land holdings have been expropriated, "is not a subject for negotiation or discussion," he emphasized.

The Government's new approach to the problem of relations with the United States has already been felt. Its influence has been exerted to end a strike of 4,000 workers in Bananera, the company plantations near the west coast, and in Puerto Barrios, the near-by port where the company operates wharves and an office of the Tropical Radio Telegraph Company, a subsidiary.

The strike is now in conciliation and is expected to be settled quickly. It has been conducted under the leadership of the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Workers. But unlike every other labor dispute with the company in the last three years, it has not been accompanied by the usual anti-United States, anti-company propaganda barrages.

This new attitude toward the fruit company, whose treatment by the Government has been a major bone of contention between the United States and Guatemala, stems from the belief that, as Señor Toriello put it, "the fruit

strategy designed to increase popular support for intervention in Southeast Asia. But Guatemala's neighbors

company's problems are the main thing between the two countries."

This is a mistaken belief, according to United States officials, who are primarily concerned over the rise of Communist influence here.

Senor Toriello said his Government would put only one limitation on negotiations with the company. The agrarian reform law, under which two-thirds of the company's vast land holdings have been expropriated, "is not a subject for negotiation or discussion," he emphasized.

The Government's new approach to the problem of relations with the United States has already been felt. Its influence has been exerted to end a strike of 4,000 workers in Bananera, the company plantations near the west coast, and in Puerto Barrios, the near-by port where the company operates wharves and an office of the Tropical Radio Telegraph Company, a subsidiary.

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GUATEMALAN RED IS OUT Party Leader Is Temporarily

Retired Because of Illness

Special to The New York Times. GUATEMALA, May 28—The temporary retirement of José Manuel Fortuny as Secretary General of The Guatemalan Labor [Communist] party was announced today by the party's central committee. Senor Fortuny was said to be ill. Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, secretary of the Central Committee, was named to replace him temporarily.

The party announcement said Senor Monzon had reported at the meeting of the Central Committee on Senor Fortuny's health and measures taken to arrange medical treatment and holiday for him. The announcement did not state the nature of Senor Fortun's illness.

It was learned that he had been suffering from severe sinus trouble and probably would leave Guatemala for medical treatment in Europe.

Senor Fortuny has been leader of the party since it was founded. He is credited with being the architect of the strategy that has won the Communists so much influence in Guatemala.

N.Y. Times

MAY 27 1954

Guatemala Air Travel Curbed

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune Copyright, 1954, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

SAN SALVADOR, Republic of El Salvador, May 26.—A pilot for TACA International Airlines reported this morning that the Guatemalan authorities have forbidden flights by private or commercial planes over any part of the railroad linking Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City. Puerto Barrios is on Guatemala's Caribbean coast.

The pilot said the order was issued this morning without explanation. It forces commercial planes through Central America to and from Guatemala to make detours.

The railroad has been transporting to Guatemala City military supplies received recently from behind the Iron Curtain.

TACA pilots say the restriction probably stems from a recent unsuccessful ground attack on a train transporting arms. The Guatemalan Air Force obviously would be concerned about possible aerial bombing by anti-Communists.

N.Y. Times

MAY 28 1954

Guatemala Proposes Pact With Honduras

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 27—Guatemala proposed to neighboring Honduras today that they immediately sign a pact of friendship and nonaggression.

The proposal apparently was aimed at countering increased fear in the hemisphere that Guatemala's recent purchase of about 2,000 tons of arms from Czechoslovakia had created a Communist menace to the safety of the Americas, and particularly the safety of Guatemala's neighbors.

Indications were that the Guatemalan Government, for the first time since the present crisis developed with arrival of the arms May 15, was seriously concerned that what it had always considered a war of nerves against it might turn into a shooting war.

Foreign Minister Guillermo

Toriello sidestepped normal diplomatic procedures to propose the pact. At 3:30 o'clock this morning, about nine hours after an unidentified C-47 plane had showered the city of Guatemala with anti-Government leaflets, he sent a telegram to Dr. Edgardo Valencia, Honduran Foreign Minister.

Señor Toriello and his Government considered the plane incident a "provocation of the utmost gravity." In an unmistakable warning, he said Guatemala would be justified in taking military measures against another similar attempt.

"If they could drop paper leaflets one day, they could drop other things, too," he observed.

The leaflets called on the people to join with Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, who is in exile in Honduras, in the struggle against communism in Guatemala.

A long-time foe of the present regime, Colonel Castillo was arrested Nov. 5, 1950, after an attempt to seize a military base near the capital's airport. He tunneled his way out of prison a year later and rallied a large group of Guatemalan exiles around him in Honduras.

The colonel has become the focal point of the Government's opposition abroad. Officials here make no secret of their fear that he will be used to foment border

incidents and possibly a full-scale armed conflict that may bring about organized armed intervention.

Señor Toriello said the Government did not know where the plane had come from.

It was flown with great skill and by someone who knew the capital well. Because of a day-long rain there was virtually no visibility yesterday when the plane arrived and dropped its cargo over the center of the city.

A Pan American Airways Constellation had just taken off after a four-hour weather delay when the C-47 broke through the low clouds. Señor Toriello, whose wife and daughter were among the United States-bound passengers on the Pan American flight, said the Constellation had been briefly endangered.

As a result, the Government barred private flights over parts of the capital and also closed the northeastern half of the country to private planes.

Senor Toriello reiterated to the Honduran Foreign Minister his position that the arms had been purchased solely for normal security needs. They would never be used with aggressive intentions or to menace Guatemala's brother republics, he asserted.

The State Department had called the purchase a "development of gravity," having said that the amount bought was far in excess of Guatemala's normal needs. According to Senor Toriello, this statement was part of a tendentious propaganda campaign to destroy good relations between Honduras and Guatemala.

He added that Washington's intimation that Guatemala had provoked the present wave of strikes in northern Honduras not only was false, but was an insult to the Honduran people because it implied that they were being led from abroad.

Further, Senor Toriello said Guatemala was being made the victim of a rising campaign aimed at intervention in her internal affairs. He declared his country was beset by the menace of an armed invasion.

A nonaggression pact would strongly reinforce peace and friendship between both countries, he urged, and would eliminate all anxieties in their relations.

U. S. Bombers Visit Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, May 27 (UP)—Three United States B-36 bombers arrived today on a "goodwill" flight.

The visit coincided with this country's Army Day celebration and the birthday of Senora Salvadorita de Somoza, the First Lady.

N.Y. Times

MAY 28 1954

CONGRESSMAN EXPELLED

Arenas, Who Fled Guatemala, Is Accused of Subversion

GUATEMALA, May 27—Congress decreed the expulsion of José Luis Arenas, Opposition member. Señor Arenas is charged with subversive activities and with having failed to attend three consecutive Congressional sessions without excuse.

Señor Arenas, a prominent agriculturist and anti-Communist, was elected to Congress by anti-Communist groups two years ago. In March, following a Government announcement that an Opposition Congressman was implicated in a plot to overthrow the regime, he took refuge in the Salvadorean Embassy. Later he left the country. He is now in Mexico.

Only three Opposition members remain in Congress.

N. Y. MIRROR

MAY 28 1954

Honduras Strikers Toss Out Guatemala Red Agent

By VICTOR RIESEL

There is an impulse for decency and freedom in the "little people" before which we of the Western world should bow in homage. This loathing of shackles on the mind and the foot has just won for us a great military and propaganda battle on the Guatemala-Honduras front.

With their fists, the good people of these steaming jungles and banana towns have beaten back the heavily financed, heavily armed, scientifically trained Comintern cadres which almost tore another Central American nation from our side.

It was done under the leadership of a man the world does not yet know. His name is Manuel Valencia. There is always one such man in each beleaguered nation. If we help him, he beats back the Communist machine. If not—Czechoslovakia!

organize a union, got help. Into his hands, at a moment when trained Communist agents were about to turn a national strike into a Soviet revolution, were placed some documents. Carrying these papers, Manuel Valencia disdained the trigger-happy killer squads assigned by the Comintern's muscle-department to the Communist strike-leading cadres. Valencia rushed to a strikers' mass-meeting in El Progreso. There he faced the Soviet agent who had skillfully scalped him right out of the leadership of the strike committee last month.

The man who Valencia challenged is Thomas Cordona, a Communist agent sent in from Guatemala. With money, muscle and the characteristic behind-the-scenes organizing tactics of Communist cells everywhere, Cordona had driven Valencia and the honest strike leaders from power and personally took over the leadership.

BUT NOW CORDONA was

cont 20

finished. Valencia had the documents to prove to the roaring crowd that Cardona was a Soviet agent. The "little people" followed their instincts, and struck back against the agent of international communism who wanted to exploit their drive for more bread and butter and less hours of toil.

They manhandled Cardona. They found on him papers and credentials linking him with the Guatemalan Communists. They restored their own people and Manuel Valencia to leadership.

They sent a committee to Mexico City headquarters of the anti-Communist, pro U. S. ORIT, which works with the international sections of the AFL and CIO. The anti-Communist Honduran strike committee delegation asked the ORIT for technical help in building a union and for guidance in fighting the Communist invasion from Guatemala.

THEY WILL GET some help from the ORIT, which is a Pan-American federation of anti-Communist unions. But they need more than such help. Their government must reform itself. Honduras is the only modern government which literally has no labor code or laws. Men can be worked 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year without violating any law.

The Honduran strike, which almost toppled the government, was originally an economic move led by Manuel Valencia. There had been no wage increase in four years. The people were restless, bitter and discontented. Valencia got the strike rolling and Cardona's muscle men took over and turned it into a revolutionary move, aided by a native Communist whip called Coto.

The Communists had hoped that Honduran President Dr. Juan Manuel Galvez would declare martial law—and that armed groups would then cross the border from Guatemala disguised as Honduran peasants and laborers. Those armed groups would win as they have in China and Indo-China.

BUT PRESIDENT Galvez outmaneuvered the Comintern. He appointed a three-man commission to negotiate with the strike committee. So long as the Communists controlled that workers' group, there was no hope for a settlement. And each day the strike lasted gave the Communist operatives more time to intensify their violence.

But Manuel Valencia got his documents from some intelligence source—and won leadership. The strike is over for all intents and purposes. Honduras won, and the way to Guatemala, unless its workers go hungry again.

Wash. Evening Star

MAY 28 1954

Recognizing a Threat

It is clear that Communist activity in Guatemala is a threat to the security of the Americas which is causing serious concern in our State Department.

Certainly it is right that this concern should be felt, for an out-and-out satellite Communist state in Central America would be in position to spread evil in all directions on the north and south continents. And while Guatemala for a long time has been less than a good neighbor and plainly has shown the imprint of Communist influence, the brazen buying of armaments from behind the Iron Curtain has served to emphasize the threatening demeanor of that government today. As Secretary Dulles told his news conference, the military strength of Guatemala already is several times that of its neighboring Central American states—and there have been no threats to its security that require a further build-up of arms. Indeed, the real question now is whether Guatemala's security and its independence are not being taken from it by the conspiratorial workings of Communist imperialism.

Mr. Dulles was wise in noting that the Guatemalan people as a whole are not Communists, but that control is being exercised in the familiar Communist manner through a small and diligent minority. Quite logically, the smaller Latin American states are quick to react against what may seem like meddling by the United States and it had been reported in the past few days that many non-Communist and pro-American Guatemalans had been disturbed by the impression that Washington was applying a blanket condemnation to their country.

Mr. Dulles has made clear that this is not so, but he has made equally clear that further movement toward a Communist "capture" of Guatemala—or any other American state—will lead to quick and decisive counteraction, as provided by the Caracas resolution to which all but Guatemala are signatories. It has been adequately demonstrated in the past that there is solidity in the inter-American relationship and there is no doubt that a strong front would be mustered in any step necessary to protect other parts of the hemisphere from Red aggression.

It is greatly to be hoped, however, that the tensions which have arisen between Guatemala and its neighbors can be eased by peaceful means.

4—THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1954

A Name to Remember in Guatemala

Exiled Col. Armas Leads the Anti-Reds

By CHARLES LUCEY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

GUATEMALA CITY, May 28—Paste the name of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in your hat against the day when they may start rolling the tanks into the public squares down this way in the fight against Latin American communism.

He is the exiled former head of this country's Military Polytechnic Institute—the Guatemalan West Point—and a figure of acknowledged brains and daring. He stands today as an important rallying point of opponents of the pro-communist government here.

Castillo Armas is about 40, a handsome man of education and culture who led an abortive attempt to gain control of the Guatemalan army in 1950 and later made a spectacular escape from the country's strongest jail by burrowing under its walls.

MOST FEARED

There is little question that he is the man most feared today by President Jacobo Arbenz and Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello.

A couple of nights ago this capital was surprised by a "mystery" plane flying over the city to drop thousands of pro-Armas, anti-communist leaflets. Observers say the occurrence has given the government real worry—perhaps even a bad case of the jitters.

But concern over what Castillo Armas may do long antedates this occurrence.

He frequently is attacked by the government. A few days ago the foreign minister charged that Armas was being financed by the United Fruit Co., which is in conflict with the government over vast land grabs made under an agrarian reform program.

Colonel Armas has gained the support of many who oppose the present pro-communist regime but who want no return to the dictatorships of other years—who want a government that will carry on social and economic reforms long overdue but without Moscow ties.

Today Colonel Armas bides his time in adjoining Honduras, where he has been since his prison escape stirred the whole country. When and whether he will move, and

with what strength, is an unanswered question here. But his name constantly is before the nation.

Castillo Armas was a member of the 1934 Polytechnic Institute graduating class, as was Arbenz, an army officer and defense minister before becoming president.

LOST OUT

Colonel Armas participated in the 1944 revolution which overthrew the old dictatorship and later showed a personal leadership that won him a following within the army. But there were differences and Castillo Armas lost his place in 1950.

He stayed in civilian life for some months, then led a mere handful of soldiers in an attack on La Aurora, the country's chief military headquarters. It failed because, his supporters say, men inside the army reneged on a promise to deliver the barracks over to him.

The Armas force was wiped out by machine guns. He was wounded seriously. First he went to the hospital, then prison.

One day in 1951 the country woke up to find Colonel Armas had escaped jail and had been given asylum in the Ecuadorean Embassy. He next went into exile in Honduras.

The stir raised in this capital by the leaflet-dropping was plainly apparent today. Everyone talked of it. Toriello said the act violated Guatemalan territory and the government would have been justified in shooting the plane down.

The government, showing deep concern over the diplomatic-military screw-tightening of recent days, proposed yesterday to Honduras the signing of a mutual non-aggression pact. This was seen as an attempt to counteract possible action against the pro-communist government here by the Organization of American States under the Caracas anti-communist resolution.

Observers say the government is worried by this possibility and that its proposal to Honduras is to enable it to say to the rest of the Western Hemisphere: We don't want war—we want peace—this proves it.

May 28, 1954. U.S. News and World Report.

FROM THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

GUATEMALA CITY....WASHINGTON....PARIS....BONN....GENEVA....

>> While Washington worries about Indo-China, 10,000 miles away.....

A U.S. neighbor, Guatemala, two hours distant from the Panama Canal by fast bomber, is acquiring many of the earmarks of a Soviet outpost.

The earmarks, as they have been identified thus far, are these:

Arms are reaching Guatemala from behind the Iron Curtain.

A general strike spreading throughout neighboring Honduras was apparently touched off and encouraged by Guatemalans, including consular officials.

An assassination attempt on the life of Nicaragua's President, widely known as anti-Communist, is being blamed on a plot hatched in Guatemala.

An election in British Honduras, another Guatemalan neighbor, has shown a surprisingly strong leftist trend. Guatemalans had a hand in this, too.

Guatemalans, in short, appear unusually busy outside their borders doing missionary work of the kind that Moscow wants done in the U.S. back yard.

>> In Guatemala itself, when you look into that situation.....

The Government, though not Communist at the top, follows Moscow's line.

Guatemala's "FBI" is in the hands of Communists.

Press and radio, under Government control, are run by Communists.

Labor unions are controlled by known Communists.

Reforms pushed by the Government are those publicly urged by Communists.

U.S. firms, U.S. capital get kicked around, sometimes expropriated.

U.S. policies are bitterly opposed by Guatemala at home and abroad.

>> In addition: Guatemalans regularly attend Communist meetings in Peiping and East Europe. Two leaders of Guatemala's Communist Party recently visited Moscow. This visit preceded the current outbreak of trouble in Central America.

Guatemala may not actually be a Soviet outpost. But it acts like one.

>> U.S. officials, disturbed about Guatemala, are on this spot:

U.S. intervention to drive the Communists out of Guatemala is prohibited by inter-American treaties and by long-standing U.S. policy. Anything that even looks like U.S. intervention arouses the ire of all Latin-American nations.

A Soviet outpost, on the other hand, can hardly be permitted by the U.S. to develop in its own back yard, and close to the Panama Canal.

Only alternative, if the U.S. is not to intervene, is for Latin Americans to take the lead in putting pressure on Guatemala's Government.

This pressure is now beginning. Nicaragua has broken off relations with Guatemala. Honduras recently kicked out two Guatemalan consular officials.

Next step may be agreement by a majority of Western Hemisphere governments

WORLDGRAM--(Continued)

that Guatemala is in fact a threat to Hemisphere peace and security.

Sanctions, including an economic squeeze, might then go into effect.

First, though, Latin Americans have to come around to the U.S. view that Guatemala, as a budding Soviet outpost, deserves attention and action fast.

Wash. Post
Saturday, May 29, 1954

Wash. Evening Star
MAY 29 1954

Spanish Exiles Are Blamed For Guatemala's Red Shift

BALTIMORE, May 28 (AP).—The Evening Sun today said it is the informed opinion in Washington "exiled Spaniards are behind the transformation of Guatemala into a Communist state."

William Manchester reported in a Washington dispatch that exiles fleeing Spain after Franco's victory in 1939 are believed to have concentrated in Guatemala since 1944.

Under their prodding, he wrote, intellectuals of the half-caste Ladino class in Guatemala infiltrated civil service and labor unions so successfully, they now dominate the government.

Leaders of the expatriate Spaniards in Guatemala City, Manchester reported, are understood to include Roberto Basco Alava, Carlos Sennaro Linares and Rafel de Blum.

"With the reported arrival of an arms shipment in Guatemala this month, Washington has become sharply aware of a grave threat to peace in this hemisphere.

"Behind that threat lies an international drama which has been unfolding in America's back yard for 10 years. Although the stage managers were imported from abroad, the performers are half-Spanish, half-Indian Ladinos."

The "curtain raiser" in the drama, the story said, was the overthrow of Gen. Jorge Ubico's dictatorship in Guatemala in 1944.

The Evening Sun did not trace developments in Guatemala since 1944 and said two underground Communist parties in Guatemala came out in the open in 1950.

With the two groups amalgamated and under Cominform domination, Communists have

won control of the government, and have the support of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, the Evening Sun said.

Arbenz, it explained, rules through the National Democratic front, a coalition of four parties, and "of 11 members on the executive committee five are Communists and the others are fellow-travelers."

Secret Radio Continues Attacks in Guatemala

GUATEMALA, May 28 (AP).—A secret radio urging Guatemalans to fight communism and attacking the government continued its broadcasts today despite reports officials had smashed it.

Guatemala issued two emergency regulations today as a result of the crisis with the United States. They require that:

All private planes in effect be grounded under an order banning cross-country flights.

Any messages in code or in a language other than Spanish must be accompanied by a Spanish translation filed at the cable office. This meant all press messages in English must have a Spanish translation.

Outside of this development, the capital settled down to normal after a jittery 24-hour period in which a plane rained anti-Red leaflets over the city. Airline service was resumed. Stores reopened and foreigners sent their children back to school.

The top story in newspapers here was one from Washington saying the United States was thinking of recalling its air and military missions to Guatemala.

Other developments in the picture

Top Guatemala Red Ousted as Party Split Rumors Boost Jitters

Defense Chief Delays Visit to U. S. as Cable Censorship Is Invoked

By the Associated Press

GUATEMALA, May 29.—Communist Party headquarters announced today Jose Manuel Fortuny has been dropped as secretary general of the party. It said Mr. Fortuny, a close advisor to President Jacobo Arbenz, had been relieved because of ill health.

But there was immediate speculation that he had been ousted because of a split inside the party. There also were rumors that Mr. Arbenz forced the party to take the action to remove the stigma of communism from the government.

Mr. Fortuny, as secretary general:

The Swedish freighter Alfhelm, said by the U. S. State Department to have delivered Communist-made arms to Guatemala, was anchored at Key West, Fla., while U. S. officials questioned the captain and crew.

The French Line freighter Wyoming awaited reloading of its cargo before resuming its passage through the Panama Canal. The ship had been halted at the Atlantic mouth of the canal while U. S. authorities searched for possible contraband arms destined for Guatemala and El Salvador.

No contraband was found. Assigned to Guatemala were a box of .22-caliber target rifles, two boxes of 16-gauge shotguns

eral, was rated as top man in the nation's Communist Party. He was also a member of the important National Democratic Front, which some observers believe helps shape government policy.

His removal as party leader automatically removes him from the Democratic Front.

Heated Meeting Reported.

The independent newspaper La Hora said Mr. Fortuny had been ousted after a heated party meeting.

Another announcement today said Defense Minister Jose Angel Sanchez has decided not to visit the United States as planned, until the situation eases.

The move came as tension gripped the country in the wake of United States State Department accusations that Guatemala has received arms from behind the Iron Curtain and reports from Washington that the United States was thinking of recalling its air and military missions to Guatemala.

Emergency Rules Issued.

Last night the government issued two emergency regulations as a result of its crisis with the United States. They require that:

1. All private planes be grounded under an order banning cross-country flights.

2. Any dispatches written in code or in a language other than Spanish must be accompanied by a Spanish translation filed at the cable office. This means all press messages in English must have a Spanish translation attached for study by a government agent.

Secret broadcasts urging Guatemalans to fight communism and attacking the government continued last night.

In Panama at Canal Zone office announced last night that the French Line freighter Wyoming had been cleared for transit through the waterway after a search of its cargo revealed no contraband arms.

C.S. Monitor

MAY 29 1954

N.Y. Times
SATURDAY, MAY 29,**HONDURAS CHARGE
REDS HELP STRIKE****Infiltration, Especially From
Guatemala, Described in
Government Statement**

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, May 28—The Foreign Office has charged that international communism has infiltrated the ranks of strikers on the north coast of Honduras.

Foreign Minister José Eduardo Valenzuela issued a statement last night citing six indications of intervention in Honduran strikes by Communists, particularly from Guatemala.

About 27,000 workers of the United Fruit Company and other industries, mostly controlled by United States interests, are on strike. At their peak the walk-outs affected more than 40,000 workers.

An hour after Señor Valenzuela had issued his statement a note was received from Guatemala inviting Honduras to join her in a friendship and nonaggression pact. The offer caught the Honduran Government by surprise.

Note Under Study

The Foreign Minister said at a special press conference this morning that the Government was studying the Guatemalan note. He declined to comment on his own reaction or to estimate when the note would be answered. He said he had conferred with President Juan Manuel Galvez about the note.

In his statement Señor Valenzuela cited what he termed a "manifest interest" in sabotaging the settlement of the Standard Fruit Company strike last week, in which a majority of the workers were prevented from returning to their jobs.

He said the strikers' demands on the Government were unusually blunt. According to the announcement, the strikers used "language of a subversive character" and defied governmental authority.

Furthermore, the "general comportment and tactics of the strikers" indicated that instructions were issued in the procedure used by international communism, the Minister declared.

He also charged that "strikers of the communistic type" had tried to prolong the strike. Finally, his statement quoted letters to President Galvez and the

Arms in Guatemala

The Western Hemisphere faces a first-rate diplomatic problem in what to do about Communist infiltration in the government of Guatemala. The problem roughly divides itself into three parts.

First, there is the question of how the United States shall continue to deal with a situation which presents no major threat but is nevertheless troublesome and potentially dangerous. The affair continues to build up with discovery of a falsely listed cargo of machine guns.

Second is the question of what action, if any, the Organization of American States should take about recent receipt of a shipment of 1,900 tons of arms from Soviet-controlled Czechoslovakia. This amounts to a 100-car trainload of guns and ammunition for a country the size of Louisiana, and makes Guatemala much the most heavily armed nation between Mexico and the Panama Canal.

Third, there is the question whether Guatemalans themselves can yet awake to the perils in Communist influence in time to prevent their government from being used as an instrument to do serious damage to themselves as well as others.

Guatemala is in the throes of a far-reaching land reform, such as other Latin-American countries have needed from time to time. That program involved seizure, if not confiscation, of lands of the United Fruit

Company, and Guatemalans have attributed North American "interventionism" to mere concern over a company investment.

Much more is involved than that. Spanish Republicans accepted Communist help in the civil war of the 1930's, and found it a dagger at their backs. Czechoslovakia began by electing 114 Communists in its 300-member Assembly, and ended two years later as an iron-ringed police state under Russian orders. Such are the dangers of inviting Communist imperialism.

Latin Americans—in Brazil, Peru, and elsewhere—have had their brushes with communism. But they tend to be less disturbed about it than North Americans. There may be some virtue in this, but it is also something of an uncalculated risk.

To dissuade Latins from taking so casual an attitude about a vast and sinister international intrigue something more than scare talk is required. Alarms such as Secretary of State Dulles has sounded are to a degree necessary. But some other actions also would give North American appeals more impact.

One of these would be a greater concern over suppression of human liberties when those come from reactionary juntas and dictatorships in Latin America. Another would be helpful consultation in working out social problems such as communism exploits. Another—and the Latin countries themselves have a good deal to do with this—is the encouragement of capital investment from the United States.

More can be done than at present in technical assistance, economic aid, and acceptance of imports to help South and Central American countries improve the lot of their people. But while every effort is made to lift the stigma of dollar diplomacy, a certain amount of perceptiveness also is needed on the part of Latin Americans to recognize when their safety is affected by a new kind of Eastern Hemisphere ambitions.

strikers from Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leader of a Mexican pro-Communist faction.

The Foreign Minister's charge is expected to have a strong effect on the course of the strike. Thousands of strikers had been told repeatedly by their leaders, some of whom undoubtedly believed it, that there was no foreign influence or ideology affecting the stoppage.

Indications were that the Government was preparing to take a fully active interest in the strike. Until recently, it had remained distant from the north coast situation.

Wash. Evening Star
MAY 30 1954

Guatemalan Arms Reported Shunted to Honduras Frontier

By the Associated Press

An authoritative source said yesterday Guatemala has shunted part of a \$10 million shipment of Communist arms to a railroad siding near the frontier of Honduras.

Diplomatic circles wondered whether the reported move was part of a war of nerves—or something more sinister. Guatemala offered two days ago to sign a non-aggression pact with Honduras.

Nicaragua appealed meanwhile for nations of the Americas to act promptly to end "subversive movements of international communism" in this hemisphere.

Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Nicaragua's Ambassador to Washington, said he was "very optimistic something will be done."

Wash. Evening Star
MAY 30 1954

Guatemala

U. S. Moves to Block Communist Threat In Central America

The United States moved last week to counter the Communist threat to Central America.

America extended both the gloved hand of diplomacy and the mailed fist of military power in its attempt to handle the Guatemala crisis.

The trouble in Guatemala has been developing for many months. Local Red leaders, in regular contact with Russia and using standard made-in-Moscow techniques, gained gradual control over the Guatemalan government and sent agitators into neighboring countries. The crisis came to a head two weeks ago when a ship from Communist Poland brought some \$10 million worth of Czech-made arms to Guatemala.

Last week the United States studied means of invoking hemispheric treaties which provide for sanctions against countries threatening peace in the area. At the same time, the American Ambassador to Guatemala, John E. Feurifoy, called on Foreign Minister

In a statement he said "the alarming situation in Central America demands the most serious attention of the continent to put an end to subversive movements of international communism and its agents."

The mutual defense pact of Rio de Janeiro and the anti-Communist declaration of the American nations signed at Caracas, Venezuela, last March "face the test of fire," the ambassador said.

Guillermo Toriello.

The talks were secret, but Mr. Toriello told newsmen, surprisingly, that all the problems seemed to be working themselves out and that there was no reason for concern.

No Meeting of Minds

After further elaboration, however, it seemed likely that the Foreign Minister was talking only about the quarrel between Guatemala and the American-owned United Fruit Co., all pretty much beside the point in the present controversy. Obviously there was no meeting of minds on the Communist issue.

Later in the week, Secretary of State Dulles outlined the problem in a press conference. He said he feared that one reason for the "massive shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain" was to build a strong Communist base near the Panama Canal. He pointed out that the new weapons were enough to permit Guatemala to dominate all her lightly armed neighbors.

A Honduras radio station reported that several Soviet technicians landed by Russian submarine at Guatemala at the same time the freighter was unloading arms. The station also reported that five MIGs were included in the shipment of arms. If these reports were true, then the Panama Canal was indeed menaced by Russian Communists. And there was little on the ground to stop the Reds between Guatemala and the Canal Zone itself.

In a move toward restoring the balance of power, the United States last week sent about \$60,000 worth of arms to Nicaragua and Honduras in

HONDURAS WEIGHS WIDE AMITY PLAN

Considers Asking Guatemala to Extend Offer of Pact to All Her Neighbors

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, May 29—The Honduran Government is preparing to ask Guatemala to extend her offer of a nonaggression and friendship pact to all the Central American republics.

This would be a counter-proposal to Guatemala's offer to Honduras Thursday of a bilateral agreement to put an end to international tension, which has been rising steadily. Foreign Minister José Eduardo Valenzuela has the counter-proposal under consideration.

Honduras' proposal would meet with considerable difficulties even if Guatemala cared to

go along, which in itself is doubtful. For one thing, diplomatic relations are severed between Guatemala and Nicaragua and are strained between Guatemala and other Central American republics, notably El Salvador.

However, the fact that Guatemala suggested such a pact in the first place would indicate that even without ulterior motives—of which there are at least some suspicions here—the atmosphere throughout Central America is such that nonaggression assurances are desirable, if not absolutely necessary.

There is no indication when Honduras will reply formally to the Guatemalan note, which was received here shortly after the Honduran Foreign Office had issued an announcement charging that Guatemalan Communists had intervened in the strikes on the north coast of Honduras.

Meanwhile, according to reports reaching here, tension in the strike-disturbed north coast area has been eased slightly. One of the minor industry strikes, that of the British-American Tobacco Company of San Pedro Sula, was settled yesterday and factory operations are reported to have been resumed today.

The settlement came a few hours after the first meeting between the United Fruit Company management and representatives of 25,000 striking employees. The negotiations began yesterday morning and continued into the early evening.

Only a few preliminary matters were disposed of at yesterday's meeting. The meeting today was reported at noon to have accomplished considerably more. Among other concessions made by the strikers was permission for the United Fruit Company to open its commissaries to dispense food three days a week. Permission also was granted to operate one train every ten days to supply the commissaries.

Air Force planes under terms of mutual defense treaties.

There were reports that more arms were coming by sea. And three huge B-36 bombers were sent to Nicaragua for a "good will" visit—a demonstration to the Guatemalans that the United States was willing to help Central American nations contain Guatemala.

There was one strong indication that the pressure was being felt in Guatemala. That country asked Honduras to sign a pact of friendship and nonaggression. It apparently was the hope of the government that this gesture would take the heat off.

And the Communist Party seemed to be having internal problems. The Secretary General of the party was removed last week.

Reports from other Central American capitals said Guatemala's neighbors were becoming more aware that the threat of communism was real, not just another gringo cry of "Wolf." It would take more than gestures from Guatemala to remove the heat.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1954

GUATEMALA GRIM AS TENSION RISES

People Look for a Climax
to End Crisis—Rumors Add
to Nervous Mood

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 29—This is a tense, nervous city at the end of the second week of the crisis stirred up over the Government's purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia.

The climax of the crisis in the immediate future is widely expected. There is talk of a possibility of an economic boycott or of an armed invasion by Guatemalan exiles, or even of the possibility of a landing of United States troops to sweep the Communists from political power.

There are a decreasing few who say: "It's all talk. We have heard it all before. There will be more and more talk and, like before, nothing will happen."

The nervousness is not confined to the ordinary people here. The Government's concern is apparent to observers familiar with the Guatemalan scene. Even more apparent are the jitters spreading among leaders of the non-Communist revolutionary parties.

As a result of the crisis these leaders, for the first time, are talking guardedly of the dangers to the results of the 1944 revolution from having allowed the Communists to gain wide powers. There are reports of serious strains within the National Democratic Front, the organization of the three non-Communist parties, the Communists and the country's two major labor confederations.

Communist Power Felt

This is the country's most important political body. President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman presides over its meetings. It is mainly responsible for defining Government policy. As President Col. Arbenz Guzman holds a veto over its decisions, but it has been within the front that the Communists have been most persuasive in having their views prevail.

The nervousness and tension are compounded not only of talk, rumors, newspaper headlines and daily utterances of Government leaders abroad about Guatemala. The present crisis has been accompanied by an intensification of the "cold war" that the Government's opponents are conduct-

ing from within and without the country.

Armed bands tried to blow up two trainloads of the new military equipment coming to the capital from Puerto Barrios. An unidentified airplane flew over the capital to drop leaflets urging the people to prepare to fight the Communists. Walls only just cleaned were painted over again this week with large 32's, the anti-Government symbol representing the constitutional article barring political parties with international ties.

Leaflets were pushed under doors two nights this week telling the people to prepare lists of known Communists and Communist sympathizers. Immediately after the Government was overthrown, the leaflets said, the people were to take the lists to the new authorities, who would deal out "justice."

The crisis has left the capital a city of little gaiety. The trickle of tourists who came intermittently during the last few years has virtually stopped. Hotel lobbies, restaurants and night clubs are empty, melancholy places. The business depression has worsened as people hoard their assets against an unknown future.

For the public view, the Government's mood was a combination of conciliation and determination. Gestures toward easing its long-standing dispute with the United Fruit Company mirrored the new conciliatory attitude. Col. Enrique Parinello, Army Chief of Staff, spoke in a radio address to the nation of "our determination to die if necessary in defense of the country."

The man who could do more than any other single person to settle the crisis remained silent. What President Arbenz Guzman thought of the latest developments was his own secret. There was an unconfirmed report that army leaders had gone to the national palace to discuss the situation with him and express their concern at the way events were developing.

But it was becoming clearer each day that the President is his own boss and that, although he may listen to advice, he makes up his own mind. Evidence at hand was that recent events had not caused him to change his mind about the internal political situation and that he was prepared to try to weather the crisis, as he has many others.

N.Y. Times

MAY 30 1954

U. S. TAKES A NEW LOOK AT CENTRAL AMERICANS

Guatemala Arms Shipment Awakens
Diplomatic Interest in Affairs There

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 29—For too long there was no planned United States policy, as the word is understood today, for Central America. Governments, mainly dictatorships, came and went and little was asked of them except generous treatment for, and protection of, United States business interests.

This has changed. The week's events showed by how much. World issues have hung in the balance at the Geneva Far Eastern conference. But newspaper headlines and a big share of the State Department's acknowledged worries have been concentrated on the six Central American republics stretching from Mexico to the Panama Canal.

A policy for Central America is being hammered out at long last under pressure of what the United States considers to be a growing Communist menace in Guatemala, largest of the six republics.

Purpose Befogged

The nature of the political friction between, the United States and Guatemala has served the United States poorly. It has obscured the positive aims of Washington's policy and has pointed up what many Latins consider a negativism in standing primarily for a halt to Communist advances in Latin America.

But to anyone willing to look only slightly deeper than the surface in Central America these days, it quickly becomes evident that Washington stands for something more than merely anticommunism.

There are heartening examples of the positive side of United States policy—to improve the living standards, the social welfare and the educational level of

the people of Central America.

El Salvador provides what is perhaps the best example. Scores of United States technicians and many thousands of United States dollars have gone into various programs to give that country more power to help it industrialize, to combat disease, to open nursing centers and to start rural schools.

Case of Costa Rica

Costa Rica provides another kind of example. There, José (Pepe) Figueres came to power in the election last year. There are two very distinct and opposite opinions about Colonel Figueres. To a large group, he is an anticommunist Leftist whose ideas of social progress hold out the only hope of improving a sleepy sun-sodden, jungle-ridden Central American region.

Another group, many of them North Americans who have been in Costa Rica at one time or another, consider him a woolly-thinking, would-be dictator, basically more Communist-inclined than anyone on the Guatemalan scene. Critics of Washington policies assumed that the State Department would fight Colonel Figueres and his reform program bitterly. It did not, and its attitude helped considerably in achieving settlement of Costa Rica's dispute with the United Fruit Company.

Guatemala Since '44

For many people the tragedy of the Guatemalan situation is that, in their opinion, the present acute conflict came about because of a lack of policy after Guatemala freed herself in 1944 from the oppressive dictatorship of Gen. Jorge Ubico.

But Washington then was occupied with World War II, and

since then it has had problems regarded as of far greater magnitude than this tiny Central American republic. The Communists won their position of influence here almost by default.

Is there any means of changing the situation here, short of changing the Government? Apparently not. There is a basic conflict between the United States and the Guatemalan Government on the causes of the dispute between the two countries. Both sides badly want a settlement, but as of this moment the basis for one does not appear to be in sight.

Conciliatory Moves

Guatemalan officials believe that the Communist question is really secondary for the United States. They feel that the dispute centers on United States concern for the United Fruit Company, biggest single employer and biggest single economic unit in the country. Believing this, the Guatemalan Government this week made some conciliatory moves toward the company.

The Guatemalan Foreign Minister, Guillermo Toriello, even went so far as to express publicly his belief that the groundwork had been laid to eliminate the tension between the two countries.

But it is the United States' belief that the campaign against the company is only one of the effects of the dispute, not its cause. The cause, as seen from the United States side, is the toleration and even open support accorded a conspiracy directed by the international Communist movement to establish a Communist state at the United States' back door and close—about 750 air miles—to the Panama Canal.

It is in the light of this reasoning that Washington's concern over Guatemala's purchase of 2,000 tons of arms from Czechoslovakia must be considered. Arrival of the arms two weeks ago established Guatemala as the strongest military power in Central America. Airlifting of U. S. arms to Honduras and Nicaragua this week did little to redress the imbalance.

Communists in Power

The Guatemalan Government shows no inclination to strip Communists of their positions of influence. They have worked well and hard for measures, such as land reform, that President Jacobo Arbenz has made the foun-

N. Y. H. T.

MAY 30 1954

Nicaragua For Rio Pact Conference Finds Guatemala Crisis 'Alarming'

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, May 29.—Nicaragua declared today that the "alarming" situation in Central America with regard to Communist infiltration is "putting to the test" the Rio de Janeiro mutual defense treaty of 1947 and the Caracas anti-Communist resolution of this spring.

Dr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States, in a formal statement and in an hour-long news conference, said he is confident that a meeting of all twenty-one Foreign Ministers of the American republics will be called.

Broke With Guatemala

Nicaragua has broken diplomatic relations with Guatemala,

and the severance of relations is a reflection of his administration. The President values their work.

So long as they have the President on their side the Communists' position in Guatemala cannot be seriously threatened. As in most Latin-American countries the political power in Guatemala resides in the Presidency. The army is always a possible check in Latin-American politics but there is no reason to doubt that the Guatemalan army sides with Colonel Arbenz.

This being the case, it is a good bet that the situation here will not change—at least not for a considerable time. Looking into the future, most observers here believe that there will be many more crises such as the one that arose with the arrival of the Czech arms. But they expect that until the Guatemalan people themselves make up their own minds about the country's political future little can be done to alter the path on which President Arbenz has embarked.

whose Leftist government received a shipment of 1,900 tons of arms from Soviet Poland, and has received an emergency air shipment of arms from the United States to bolster its defenses.

Dr. Sevilla Sacasa's proposal is broader than that of Dr. Antonio A. Facio, Ambassador of Costa Rica, whose government now is conducting conversations which may lead to a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Odeca, the organization of Foreign Ministers of the Central American republics excluding Guatemala, which withdrew from the group two years ago.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender, D., La., meanwhile said in a radio broadcast that there is "little doubt that Guatemala has become the hub of a widespread Communist network which covers South America." He said that "while we have preoccupied ourselves with the problems of Europe and Asia we have neglected our good neighbors to the south" and may have "invited" the Communist evil which thus far has been kept out of this hemisphere.

Nicaragua invited, and her populace received with cheers, a non-stop good-will flight of three United States Air Force intercontinental B-36 bombers from Fort Worth on Thursday.

Envoy's Statement

Dr. Sevilla Sacasa said today: "My government believes that by having a meeting of the consultative organ (Foreign Ministers of all American republics) there will be not only an opportunity to analyze the danger to American security which arises from the unloading in Guatemala of a large quantity of armaments from Poland, but also those other grave events which have a close relationship to the general plan of Communist infiltration, such as the discovery of a plot in Nicaragua to assassinate President Somoza and his sons, planned by agents of international communism and members of the Caribbean Legion who reached Managua from Costa Rica, and the discovery on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua of Soviet arms which presumably were unloaded by a submarine which was sighted in Nicaraguan coastal waters early in May."

The Nicaraguan government obtained photographs of the

submarine, which have been forwarded to Washington for Naval Intelligence study, but this government has refused all comment thus far on the incident or the photographs.

President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles have expressed grave concern over the Central American situation, which Dr. Sevilla Sacasa today called "critical," adding:

"The alarming situation in Central America demands the most serious attention of the entire continent to put an end to the subversive movements of international communism and its agents. Without doubt, I believe the Pact of Petropolis and the anti-Communist declaration of Caracas are being put to the test."

1947 Rio Treaty

(His reference to the Pact of Petropolis was to the 1947 Rio de Janeiro treaty of mutual defense for the hemisphere, which was signed at the Quitandinha Hotel in Petropolis, ancient summer capital of Brazil. The Caracas resolution of this spring has been called the "Dulles doctrine," by Dr. Facio; proposed by the United States, it was opposed only by Guatemala.)

Old diplomatic papers released today by the State Department showed that Nicaragua and El Salvador recognized the danger of Communist infiltration in Central America as far back as 1936, and advised this government of their fears, but nothing was done about it.

Nicaragua proposed formation of a Central American alliance against Communists at that time, the papers showed but the United States Department of State, while declining to take a formal position on the confidential memoranda forwarded to it by both Nicaragua and El Salvador, cautioned Nicaragua to consider the grave nature of the step it was proposing, and nothing was done.

Wash. Daily News

MAY 31 1954

It's Time to Face the Facts

Guatemalan Government Is Incontrovertibly Red

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

There has been a dangerous tendency in this country to blame labor union bosses and other Moscow agents for all the communistic activities in Guatemala, and to absolve President Jacobo Arbenz and his administration from any direct association with the movement. The Guatemalan army is also generally credited with being free of any actual Red affiliations.

Yet, every bit of evidence points to the fact that the Guatemalan President and his cabinet are willing servants of the Kremlin and that the military backs them to the hilt.

President Arbenz was and is the head of the army. Yet neither he, the cabinet nor the army has given the slightest indication that they disapprove of any of the communistic activities in their country.

They have, without exception, openly aided and abetted every communistic move and demonstration. They have ruthlessly put down every open resistance to communism.

Nor can they be ignorant of who and what they are supporting. They have openly and continuously played the game of such avowed communists as Manuel Gutierrez, Manuel Fortuny and other labor leaders.

President Arbenz and his advisors have practiced every radical and extremist policy advocated and instigated by these Red labor leaders.

They have carried out the Reds' expropriation schemes, protected and encouraged them in demonstrations against United States interests and have denounced this country every time it has asked about the arbitrary treatment of its nationals.

CONTROLLED PRESS

The Arbenz government has permitted the avowed Reds to use the government-controlled radio and press to broadcast and openly spread the despicable and false Chinese charges that the United States engaged in germ warfare in Korea.

The Arbenz regime has permitted Red union heads, leaders of student

groups to travel back and forth behind the iron curtain. It has opened the country's doors to and received with open arms all the Russian sympathizers and known Reds from neighboring countries—Vicenti Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Pablo Neruda of Chile and numerous others. It plays host to communist sponsored International Peace Meetings and other conferences.

President Arbenz and his government denounce as subversive every anti-communist comment and criticism and even the warning of the church against the Red menace.

The Archbishop of Guatemala in his recent pastoral letter warning against Russian communists was at pains not to criticize the president personally, or any official of the government. But the government press, radio and government political party leaders all denounced the Primate's statement as a vicious attack on the chief executive and his administration.

NEWSMEN ATTACKED

Altho American correspondents and editorial writers have usually stated that "President Arbenz is himself not a communist," every Guatemalan official, including Arbenz himself, has denounced the "imperialistic and capitalistic Yankee press" for misrepresentation.

At the Caracas conference the United States delegation in its advocacy of an anti-communist resolution never mentioned Guatemala. Yet the Guatemalan foreign minister directed every one of his statements and tirades against what he called "United States intervention."

Guatemalan officials and diplomats have been and are busy interfering and intervening in the affairs of practically all their neighbors.

For three years and more they have openly campaigned, by radio, newspapers, pamphlets and secret agents, against the United States in Honduras. Before Col. Jose Remon was elected president, the

Guatemalan ambassador in Panama openly connived with local extremists and known Reds as President-elect Remon, a militant anti-communist, made it known he would not tolerate any foreign diplomat who consorted with these elements.

The ambassador did not wait for Sr. Remon's inauguration, but left the Isthmian capitol well in advance of the event.

NEIGHBORS COMPLAIN

The El Salvador and Nicaragua governments have frequently charged Guatemalan Reds with interfering with their internal affairs.

Nicaragua has finally broken diplomatic relations with the Arbenz government. There is convincing evidence in Washington that Guatemalans were involved in the recent plot, originating in Costa Rica to assassinate President Anastasio Somoza and his family.

The Honduran government not only blames Guatemalan plotters, including three Guatemalan Counsuls, for the paralyzing strike which has stopped every activity in the United States owned banana fields and other enterprises in the Eastern part of the country.

American business men and American officials have know of and been in possession of indisputable proof of the truthfulness of these charges for more than a year.

ARMS IMPORTED

Now the Arbenz government has imported a large shipment of arms from an "iron curtain" country. Altho Washington has evidence, the Guatemalans deny these arms came from Russia or Poland. They do not deny these arms may have come from Czechoslovakia, which is the principal arm producer of the satellite states.

Just how much more evidence do we need to explode the myth, or disabuse ourselves of the idea that Jacobo Arbenz and Co. are innocent of the tools of Moscow that they are?

N. Y. H. T.

JUN 1 1954

Guatemala Plot to Kill Exile Told

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
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TEGUCIALPA, Honduras, May 31.—A former employee of the United Fruit Co. in Guatemala, Rafael Mendez Rodriguez, this noon unfolded a bizarre plot which he asserted had been hatched by high Guatemala officials to murder or abduct here a Guatemalan exiled and anti-Communist leader, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

Col. Armas is the recognized head of the large exiled Guatemalan anti-Communist groups which oppose the present administration of President Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. His organization reportedly exists in four Central American countries and has underground connections in Guatemala.

At a meeting with foreign correspondents before a Honduran notary public, Mr. Mendez Rodriguez said he had been contacted in Guatemala some months ago by the Guatemalan police chief, Col. Rogelio Crub Wer, with whom he had long been friends. Col. Cruz Wer sent him to Honduras, Mr. Mendez Rodriguez said, to "eliminate" Col. Armas by kidnapping and murder.

Says Arbenz Fears Armas

Mr. Mendez Rodriguez quoted Col. Cruz Wer as stating that President Arbenz and the Communists feared Co. Armas more than any other man and that he was a menace to the Guatemalan government.

The Guatemalan stated he was to have the assistance of six men who would be sent from Guatemala later. These men arrived on the north coast of Honduras last week, and were arrested by Honduran authorities, it was confirmed today. All six were heavily armed.

Victim Told of Plot

Mr. Mendez Rodriguez stated he arrived in Honduras near the end of March and immediately contacted Col. Armas, and, after talking to him, secretly exposed the alleged Guatemalan plans. However, he kept in contact with

NY Times
June 1, 1954

GUATEMALAN AIDE MEETS U. S. ENVOY

Hastily Convened Conference
Indicates Attempts to Ease
Friction in Relations

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 1—Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello and John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, held a quickly arranged conference in the Foreign Ministry today. This and other recent events indicate extraordinary attempts at lightening the tension between the two countries that has been mounting steadily in the last few weeks.

Little information is available of the conference. It is understood it was requested by the

foreign minister shortly after noon. That the request for the conference had come as a surprise to the Embassy was indicated by the fact Mr. Peurifoy's office hastily canceled the Ambassador's calls at approximately 4 P. M., when the conference is understood to have been held.

This conference followed what is regarded as a highly crucial meeting last night between President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and leaders of the parties and groups supporting the administration. These leaders have been highly influential in shaping the Government's top level policies.

United Fruit Issue Raised

Present at a the meeting were the leaders of the Guatemalan Revolutionary party, the Party of National Renovation, the Party of Revolutionary Action and the Guatemalan Labor party.

It is understood that the prin-

the Guatemalan Embassy here to receive funds, and named Guatemalan military attache Col. Luis Morales as his contact.

Although Honduran authorities were advised of the plot it has not been made public inasmuch as Mr. Mendez Rodriguez's wife and children were in Guatemala, he said. They crossed the frontier yesterday, he said. However, tonight he received a message from Guatemala that his wife and children were not

principal matter under discussion last night, and likely to be the main topic of discussion between Señor Toriello and Mr. Peurifoy today, was some new approach

to a solution of the problem of the United Fruit Company against which demands have been made by Guatemala.

The latest dispute involving the company arose last month, when the State Department presented an indemnity claim for company of almost \$16,000,000. However, the State Department has stated repeatedly that the United Fruit issue was not the principal cause of United States-Guatemalan disagreement.

There was no indication that the meeting of the party leaders last night considered what the United States deems is the primary point of the disagreement with Guatemala. The main issue is Communist influence in Guatemalan Government. The United States Government has repeatedly stressed the point that without some action on the latter problem all other points of discussion are next to fruitless.

It is understood that Ambassador Peurifoy's conception of his role in the Guatemalan Government-United Fruit fight is to act

as the transfer medium for Guatemalan proposals to the State Department, which in turn acts as the transfer medium for the fruit company.

Approach Called Difficult

Without so formally expressing himself, Mr. Peurifoy has let it be known unofficially numerous times that he would prefer to devote his diplomatic energies here almost solely to what he considers the greatest obstacle to international understanding, Communist infiltration and expansion in Guatemala.

N.Y. Times

JUN 1 1954

Plot in Guatemala Charged As 5 Flee to Embassy Haven

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, May 31—The Government announced today the discovery of a plot to overthrow President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. The announcement followed a series of raids and arrests in the last forty-eight hours.

At least five Guatemalans, three of them well known, have sought political asylum in two embassies here, and an unknown number of persons have been arrested in the provinces, especially along the Honduran border.

Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, Interior Minister, issued a statement early today promising to give details of the intense police activity as quickly as possible, probably tomorrow. He said a plot had been discovered and smothered in its early stages.

The raids started about 6 A. M. Saturday and were confined to two houses of the Goicoleas, a well-known old Guatemalan family. Jaime Rosenberg, Mayor and chief of police, led the raids. He acknowledged that he had had no search warrant. The police searched the houses for three hours.

Among those who gained political asylum were Dr. Hector Goicolea, former secretary of the economics faculty at National University, and his brother, Domingo. The former fled with three others to the El Salvador Embassy.

Domingo Goicolea, who had been sought by the police since the abortive Salama revolt in March, 1953, found asylum in the Ecuadorian Embassy.

On Saturday night, guards were placed at the embassies of all Western Hemisphere countries, including the United States, presumably to prevent further attempts to obtain asylum.

The raids and arrests were reminiscent of the Salama uprising, and particularly of the Jan. 29 announcement of an alleged plot to overthrow the administration. The quelling of the Salama revolt...

rest of more than 100 persons, of which about seventy have remained in jail without a trial.

There were only a few arrests in the January episode, but several persons were exiled in contradiction to explicit injunctions in the Constitution against such acts.

As in the uprising at Salama, a northern village, and the January seizures, a growing opposition had applied sustained pressure on the Government. In each instance the opposition appeared to be effectively smothered.

The opposition recently had been getting stronger and bolder. It was only a matter of time before the regime would have to lash out again.

In late April, a clandestine radio station began a series of virulent attacks on President Arbenz and his regime. This was followed by minor irritations, such as painting walls with the numeral "32" to signify the constitutional article forbidding Communist activities.

Attacks Renewed Recently

The recent receipt of Czechoslovak arms in Puerto Barrios with the resultant international publicity aroused renewed attacks on the Government by opposition forces abroad. These were epitomized by a group around Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, in exile in Honduras.

The dropping of anti-Government leaflets by an unidentified plane last week possibly set off as much as anything else the police raids.

The appearance of the plane, which flew low and in visibility that few pilots would challenge in this mountainous country, fired the imagination of Guatemalans, at least those in this city. After nearly a week, it is still prime conversational material.

The Interior Minister did not tell of the number of arrests or

where they had occurred, nor did he identify those who had gained

St. Louis
Post-Disp

CLOSE TAB KEPT ON EMBASSIES IN GUATEMALA

Refugees Sought in Roundup of Opposition Leaders Following Reported Plot.

GUATEMALA, June 1 (AP)—Guatemala's leftist government kept a close watch on Latin American embassies here today for fugitives from a roundup of underground opposition leaders in Guatemala.

Local newspapers said widespread police searches so far had uncovered nothing to support the government's charges Sunday that plans were under way for an uprising and that arms had been assembled secretly.

One diplomatic source viewed this as evidence that anti-government forces had "well organized intelligence" forces, enabling them to learn "an hour or two before the raids that they

Diplomatic sources revealed that three others besides the Goicoleas were:

Jose Bernabe Linares, former head of the secret police under President Jorge Ubico; Aquilino Morales and Manuel Gonzales, both described as laborers.

The Foreign Office was advised by both embassies of the granting of asylum. Safe conduct papers will be asked for those in the El Salvador Embassy on the return of Ambassador Abel Romero from his homeland, Embassy aides said.

It was not indicated whether the Ecuadorian Embassy would ask safe conduct for Domingo Goicolea.

Observers who have seen this type of police activity here in the past expect the Government to put out a brief description of the alleged plot, probably involving the United States and the United Fruit Company, against which it

are coming so they can escape or seek refuge."

Five leading opponents of President Jacobo Arbenz's government already have found asylum in the embassies of El Salvador and Ecuador. Reliable reports said the government was maintaining a guard on these and other embassies to prevent other fugitives escaping to them.

Meeting Reported.

Unconfirmed reports said seven of the Latin American ambassadors to the Guatemalan capital met Sunday to discuss possible action if a wave of refugees descended on them. El Salvador's ambassador Alberto Funes, host to four of the oppositionists, made a quick trip home for instructions. He was expected back today.

The continuing police searches for rebels and arms increased the capital's uneasy tension and produced fresh rumors hourly. Guatemalans have been jittery since the United States began blasting their government for receiving a large shipment of arms from Communist Poland two weeks ago.

The refugees in the Salvadorean embassy were Jose B. Linares, secret police chief 11 years ago under the rule of the late President Jorge Ubico; Hector Goicolea, an economics professor; and two anti-Communist workers, Aquilino Morales and Manuel Gonzales. Hector Goicolea's brother, Domingo, a student leader who has been underground for almost a year, was reported in the Ecuadorean embassy.

The newspaper El Espectador said "recruiters" for Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, a leading opponent of Arbenz now living in neighboring Honduras, had been discovered near the Honduran border. Without giving any source for its report, the paper said the government has found evidence of a "vast conspiracy" to build up a rebel army.

To Take Over Radio.

The government announced its plans to take over the Puerto Barrios radio formerly operated by the United States-owned United Fruit Co. The company has operated the station since the 1920s under a contract providing for government takeover on payment of compensation to be agreed on. Under Communist prodding, Arbenz's government already has confiscated large tracts of company land but reimbursement to the company is still under dispute.

In Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras, a 45-year-old man identifying himself as a Guatemalan named Rafael Mendez Rodriguez summoned corre-

spondents to a press conference yesterday and said Guatemala's secret police chief had sent him to kill Col. Castillo.

The man's story closely resembled that told recently by Soviet secret police Capt. Nikolai Khokhlov, who gave himself up to the United States Army in West Germany earlier this year and said he had been ordered to kill a prominent anti-Soviet Russian leader.

Mendez said he had not disclosed his story previously in order to gain time to get his wife and five children out of Guatemala. He said he did not know yet whether they had escaped. Mendez said he had held secret conferences about the plot against Castillo with Col. Jose Luis Morales, Guatemalan military attache in Tegucigalpa.

Most Formidable Attempt.

Asked about Mendez's disclosures, Morales said he had never heard of either the alleged plot or the man, Castillo, however, said "many times Guatemala has made plans to kill me and this was the most formidable attempt." He said Mendez had disclosed to him the names of six other Guatemalans who were to join in the plot.

At Charleston, S.C., the United States Coast Guard last night boarded the Panamanian freighter Franco Lisi as it entered Charleston harbor to take on a load of tall oil, a paper mill by-product.

Capt. George H. Miller, captain of the port, said the inspection was ordered by the Coast Guard commandant in Washington.

EVENING STAR, Washington, Wash. Evening Star
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1954 JUN 2 1954

U. S. Forwards Arms By Ship to Honduras, Trains Troops There

By the Associated Press

TEGUCIAGALPA, Honduras, June 2.—The United States stepped up military aid today to Honduras, southern neighbor of Communist-influenced Guatemala and a potential ally in blocking any Red move toward the Panama Canal.

United States Army Col. M. C. Shattuck, chief of the United States military mission in Honduras, lined up a training program for officers of a new 800-man combat battalion.

The Honduras war minister, Gen. Leonidas Pineda, announced the United States is sending more arms and tanks for the outfit.

Col. Shattuck said his staff would begin training officers and noncoms for the battalion today.

"By the time troops are recruited," he went on, "there will be ample of their own instructors to show the men how to use the weapons."

Munitions Come by Sea.

Gen. Pineda said the additional arms are en route here by ship to supplement weapons airlifted from the United States last week after it was learned Guatemala was getting arms from behind the Iron Curtain.

Authorities here said the total tonnage of arms being shipped—a military secret—was "considerable." There appeared little doubt it would narrow the advantage the Guatemalan army obtained in last month's shipment of arms from Red Poland. A similar air shipment of United States arms went to Nicaragua, south of Honduras.

Gen. Pineda said in an interview the new combat battalion is being formed from the ablest men in Honduras' 5,000-man armed force. He said it was being readied for use "in case of any war or internal trouble."

Honduran Foreign Minister J. Edgardo Valenzuela warned today his government would have to take "some measures" if the crippling, month-old banana workers' strike does not end

Guatemala President Reports Plot Nipped, Sees Tension Easing

By the Associated Press

GUATEMALA, June 2.—Guatemala's President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman said yesterday a well-financed plot of "serious proportions" against his leftist government had been uncovered in this country.

It was the first official confirmation of the widespread rumors which followed the flight of five Guatemalans to foreign embassies here for asylum and reports of unusual police activity.

The President said in an interview he believed, nevertheless, the internal situation in his country was under control and that general conditions throughout jittery Central America apparently had eased.

Safe Conduct Pledged.

Mr. Arbenz said the four Guatemalans who took refuge in the Salvadorian Embassy and the other man, who fled to the Ecuadorean Embassy, would be given safe passage out of the country if they wished to go into exile.

"It always has been Guate-

quickly.

Great Cost Cited.

Mr. Valenzuela told newsmen the strike, involving some 25,000 United Fruit Co. employes, is costing his government hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Company officials said they see little hope of resuming negotiations, which collapsed yesterday when strike leader Cesar Augusto repudiated points settled in previous talks.

Workers of the Tela Railroad Co. became involved in a dispute among themselves over the collapse. One group refused to sign an agreement which would permit a train to run once each 10 days to carry foodstuffs to the strike area. Another group immediately demanded Mr. Augusto resign.

mala's policy to grant such safe conducts," Arbenz declared, "and we will in this case."

The President did not give details of the alleged plot against his government, which the United States has claimed is Communist-dominated.

He said his country has no plans to expand the size of its army despite the shipload of arms which arrived here last week from the Red Polish port of Stettin.

In another development yesterday, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello conferred with United States Ambassador John Peurifoy on the long-simmering dispute over compensation for expropriated lands formerly owned by the United Fruit Co. The foreign minister reported the results of his meeting to Mr. Arbenz and said later he was optimistic a solution would be worked out.

Riot in Interior Reported.

Delayed reports said Communists joined up with members of the government's Revolutionary Party to stage a riot in rural Mazatenango and attacked the mayor. The newspaper La Hora said armed troops put down the violence.

Guatemala's government, meanwhile, got a message of sympathy from former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico. He referred to Guatemala's war against monopolies in the face of a threat to national sovereignty "on the pretext of combatting international communism."

Mr. Cardenas has been identified with the Communist-sponsored World Peace Congress since he was named a vice-president of the group in 1949. He was elected a presidium member by the 1950 peace congress in Warsaw.

N.Y. Times

JUN 3 1954

U. S. Aid to Grow

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 2—Substantial United States military assistance will begin to flow to Honduras and Nicaragua in about a month, defense officials reported today.

A shipload of weapons and supplies, provided under the terms of military assistance agreements with the two Central American republics, will supplement the recent airlift of arms flown to those countries in the wage of an estimated 1,900-ton shipment of arms to Guatemala from Poland.

Officials said that the airlift was intended to give a "psychological" lift to the neighbors of Communist-dominated Guatemala and to dramatize the concern with which the United States regarded the shipment from behind the Iron Curtain.

The airlift included jeeps, weapons carriers and arms and ammunition. The shipload of supplies now being assembled, it was emphasized, will be the "normal follow-up" to the airlift and start the flow of aid under the military aid agreements.

N.Y. Times

JUN 3 1954

PLOT STILL FOUGHT
BY GUATEMALANSRegime Continues to Combat
'Best Organized' Attempt
in History of Nation

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 2—The Guatemalan Government will use all its means to smash the "best organized plot in the history of the country," Interior Minister Augusto Charnaud MacDonald said today.

In a news conference, which he said he had called to acquaint the press "with the gravity of the situation," he implied that the plot had not yet been entirely rooted out. He said he would not give details concerning the

persons arrested and the data already uncovered because it would be "prejudicial" to the rest of the campaign against the plotters.

He implied also that a suspension of constitutional guarantees had been contemplated but that it was not considered necessary at this time. The Government wants to give the press every possible liberty, he added, but there are newspaper men who are writing "sheer lies."

Move Began Last Week

The Government's move against the plot began late last week. The first news was made public Monday morning, when it was discovered that five persons had gained political asylum in the Salvadorean and Ecuadorean Embassies. By Saturday night guards had been placed before the embassies, presumably to head off any other persons seeking asylum.

Since that time there have been an unannounced number of arrests here and in the provinces. Estimates of those arrested here range from seven upward. Señor Charnaud MacDonald said he was going to withhold the names of those arrested because "they form the vanguard of forces abroad."

This is the third major plot uncovered against the present Administration. The first, in April, 1953, was broken up after a small shooting affray in the village of Salama, north of Guatemala City. An unknown number of arrests were made at that time and about seventy persons still remain imprisoned without having been brought to trial.

The second plot uncovered was in January, when the Government reported the seizure of documents

implicating Nicaragua and the United Fruit Company in a plan to overthrow the Government by force. Few arrests were made, but a number of persons were exiled.

The third plot, Señ Charnaud MacDonald said, differed from the others in that it was a highly developed organization that, investigation showed, was "far superior" to that of hte previous ones.

He said the plotters included a

N.Y. Times

JUN 5 1954

Guatemala Moving
To Curb Opposition

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 4—Evidence is multiplying that the Guatemalan Government is moving quickly and forcefully to take over the initiative held briefly by the opposition.

That the boldness of the underground opposition had awakened the regime and its supporting groups to near belligerency was indicated in statements by leaders of Communist-dominated labor organizations.

Cesar Montenegro Paniagua, chairman of the labor-dispute

large number of unspecified technicians.

Of the five persons now in exile, four are in the Salvadorean embassy and one in that of Ecuador. Only the latter individual, Domingo Goicolea, a mem-

ber of a prominent family in opposition to the Communist-influenced Government, has applied for safe conduct out of the country. It is not known whether his request has been granted, but President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman indicated in an interview yesterday that all such applications would be approved. Señor Goicolea has been in hiding since the Salama uprising.

President Denounces U. S.

GUATEMALA, June 2 (UP)—President Arbenz Guzman accused United States interests today of trying to provoke a "fratricidal struggle" in Central America under the "pretext of combating so-called international communism."

The statement was contained in his reply to a message of sympathy received from former Mexican President Lazaro Cardenas. In a letter to Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello, Señor Cardenas said Guatemala was "waging war against monopolies, in the face of a threat to national sovereignty."

committee of the National Peasants Confederation and a Communist member of Congress, caused a sensation last night by declaring that anti-Communists were in danger of being beheaded should trouble start.

It is not necessary to have concentration camps, because at the first shot to be heard in case of an emergency we will order the beheading of all anti-Communists, he said at a press conference.

While those present took this and similar statements more or less lightly, newspapers here did not. The statements were generally of a violent pattern and they evoked an immediate protest from several independent papers.

Leonardo Castillo Flores, Secretary General of the peasant group, sent telegrams last night to all confederation chapters, telling members, in view of the latest alleged plot against the Government, "to be very vigilant for acts of reactionary elements."

In cases of unusual activity, the message said, members should inform the central committee and await instructions "on how to combat immediately the enemies of our revolution."

Prensa Libre, a morning paper, had a big headline on the "Danger of a Saint Bartholomew." This alluded to the massacre of thousands of Huguenots in France on Saint Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24, 1572.

Peasant Group Chided

Impacto, another paper, chided the peasant confederation for an attempt ascribed to it to arrogate to itself the duties of the army.

The Confederation of Labor, also heavily infiltrated by Communists, pledged "our lives in defense of democratic liberties" in a telegram to President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

Meanwhile, the Government itself was pushing its campaign to crush what it called "the best-organized plot in the history of the nation."

While no new arrests were reported, another case of political asylum was made known. Señora Concha Estevez, an outstanding anti-Communist, took refuge in the Papal legation.

She is secretary general of the Women's Anti-Communist Committee. With Horacio de Cordoba, she founded a powerful anti-Red radio program, the operation of which forced Señor de Cordoba

cont.

into exile early this year.

Señora Estevez said she had sought asylum because she was persecuted by the police.

Granted Safe Conduct

Thus far, eight persons have been granted safe conduct from the country and are preparing to leave. They have taken refuge in four foreign missions, those of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Ecuador and the Vatican.

Continued police activity against political suspects, statements by Government and labor leaders and the constant activity of opposition propaganda agencies have kept the people in a nervous state. A clandestine radio and the distribution of pamphlets warning of an air raid are adding to the tension.

The most telling tactic so far has been a warning to all non-Government persons to evacuate residences in a four-block radius of the National Palace. This j hammered out incessantly on the radio. Pamphlets containing the warning were slipped under doors yesterday. Some families have moved out of the neighborhood.

The clandestine announcement say an air raid will be carried out to wipe out Government officials. They add that the time of the raid has not been decided yet, but that it will not be announced until the final minutes.

Wash. Post

JUN 6 1954

Hillings Ends Secret Survey

Red Plot to Seize Latin America Seen

New York News

Representative Patrick Hillings (R-Calif.) returned yesterday from a secret trip to Red-dominated Guatemala and neighboring countries, convinced that the Czechoslovakian Legation in Mexico City is the headquarters of a Russian effort to take over Latin America.

Highlights of Hillings' conclusions during his nine-day survey were:

• "There is no question that the leaders of Guatemala are taking orders from Soviet Russia."

• There is a "definite" anti-Red underground in Guatemala.

• The Communists' next target is Honduras, where a "definitely Communist-led strike is in progress against the United Fruit Co.

• The quick action of the United States in shipping arms to Nicaragua and Honduras has "had a very good effect."

• The House Committee on Communist Aggression headed by Representative Charles Kersten (R-Wis.) should hold hear-

ings on Red infiltration of Latin-America quickly.

"The cancer is definitely there," he declared. "I think the American people must know more about it. The Red menace in the Western Hemisphere is very real, very serious."

Hillings made his trip as a member of the Kersten Committee. Accompanied by a Committee investigator he traveled through Latin-America for nine days. His trip was not announced in advance, and occasionally he found it wise to drop his congressional title.

would fly to Washington today and report to Kersten and Vice President Richard M. Nixon, his close friend. Nixon is expected to relay the report to the National Security Council next week.

Besides holding hearings, Hillings said, Congress should "reappraise" the Foreign Aid Program to give more than 1.3 percent of it to our friends in Latin America.

He urged U. S. labor leaders to invite anti-Red union leaders from south of the border here and show them how Communism has been licked in most American unions.

If a conference of Western Hemisphere nations were called, he said, the conferees should "seriously consider economic sanctions" against Guatemala. A conference "just for talk" would do more harm than good, he declared. But if the United States and its allies stop buying Guatemala coffee, and refuse to sell fuel, the Communist regime "might very well collapse."

"In all this, we should make it clear that the issue is not Guatemala, but international communism directed by Soviet Russia," Hillings emphasized. "We have many friends among the people of Guatemala. I understand that the number of Guatemalan leaders going to the Soviet Union has doubled in the last six months," Hillings reported. "Much of the negotiation has been handled through the Czech legation in Mexico City. In fact, that seems to be the headquarters. Orders are going out from there to Communist leaders throughout all of Latin America."

The investigators twice visited Guatemala and stopped also in neighboring Honduras, apparently the Communists' next target, a few hours away from the Panama Canal.

Hillings' companion, whose name cannot be revealed at this time, is also back in safe terri-

N.Y. Times

JUN 6 1954

GUATEMALANS AIM FOR MOBILIZATION

80,000 Members of Peasant Federation Are Notified— Newspapers Protest

By **PAUL P. KENNEDY**

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 5—Mobilization plants for about 80,000 members of the National Confederation of Peasants are under study.

These plans and the moves that led to them have caused a furor in the local press, adding to the general state of tension. Editorials were virtually unanimous in warning that recent events spelled the formation of a "people's army."

Reports published in this morning's *Preña Libre* and verified by authoritative sources said that trial mobilizations would be held tomorrow in El Progreso and Zacapa, principal cities of the Guatemala Department, or province. The primary object of the call is to study "action against any intent of reactionists and interventionists," according to a telegram sent to all chapters of the peasant organization.

Forerunner to Plan

Leonardo Castillo Flores, secretary of the group, could not be reached today. His circular telegram, however would be a logical forerunner of a mobilization plan.

The telegram urged all members to be "alert and vigilant for reactionary elements." It further advised provincial leaders that should "anything new occur, the central committee will advise immediately as to how to proceed against the enemies of our revolution."

Impacto, a morning newspaper, called this the first step toward a people's army and warned of the possibility of civil war.

It warned that a word from Senor Castillo could launch action against the defenseless people of the country and villages and cities, and start a killing orgy without parallel in the country's history.

The paper voiced the hope that authorities would calm the populace by assurances that a civilian army would not become a reality.

Since yesterday, a clandestine radio has reported that the military's old arms are being stored for distribution among civilians. Events of the last week have

27

laid the groundwork for the mobilization plan. Political arrests and the flight of political suspects to diplomatic asylum heightened unrest. Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, Interior Minister, announced Wednesday the existence of a highly organized plot to overthrow the Government.

On Thursday, both the peasants' group and the Confederation of Workers issued statements pledging their support to the Government.

In the revolt of 1949, arms were passed out to union members. Most of these were never retrieved.

N.Y. Times

JUN 7 1954

GUATEMALA'S CASE DUE FOR SCRUTINY

American States Expected to Convene This Month to Discuss Red Activity

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

MEXICO CITY, June 6—It is almost certain that the Organization of American States will meet by the end of this month to discuss the case of communism in Guatemala.

According to reliable information here, preliminary conversations in the last two weeks among members of the Organization of American States have shown that a sufficient number are agreed on the necessity of a meeting. The negotiations now going on are to decide what action against Guatemala can be agreed on beforehand.

[Col. Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, Guatemala's foremost flier, fled the country Friday in a private plane.]

Under the Rio de Janeiro pact, eleven of the twenty-one nations in the organization must agree before a consultative meeting can be held. For diplomatic or economic sanctions there must be fourteen votes or a unanimous vote, save for the country against whom action is contemplated, in necessary to approve military in-

tervention.

Guatemala has never ratified the Rio pact. However, she can participate in the consultative meeting without the right to vote.

Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, has said he would attend a meeting if one were called. He has also said that Guatemala might appeal to the United Nations Security Council if any action against her were decided on by the O. A. S.

At the very least, according to information here, the United States wants communism in Guatemala condemned by the organization as a menace to hemisphere peace. But there are no illusions among United States officials or Latin diplomats that mere condemnation would resolve the Guatemalan problem.

The administration of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman is far too firmly entrenched to be shaken by resolutions.

It will be difficult to get a sufficient number of Latin-American republics to go further at this stage. The information here is that many of them have agreed to a meeting with considerable reluctance, and only because the United States has been persuasive on the issue of Guatemala's recent purchase of 2,000 tons of arms from Czechoslovakia.

The first reaction of many Latin countries to the arms transaction was that Guatemala had acted normally, especially since the United States had refused to sell her arms and had used its influence to bar purchases in other non-Communist countries.

Patent explaining by United States representatives was said to succeed in putting a different light on the transaction. According to diplomatic sources here, the United States supplied detailed figures to show how excessive were 2,000 tons of arms for a nation with a 6,000-man army.

The United States also drew attention to the fact that the secret and roundabout manner of the arms purchase and shipment hardly fitted the picture of a normal transaction, which Guatemala had tried to paint.

Mexico is an example of the countries that have come to view the Guatemalan case differently since the arms shipment in mid-May. For Mexico, the principles of nonintervention and the right of a people to decide its own political future, without foreign pressure, are sacred.

These were the principles on which Mexico argued so vigorously and effectively at the tenth Inter-American Conference in

Wash. Post

JUN 8 1954

Guatemalan Unions Back Government

GUATEMALA, June 7 (AP)—Guatemalan workers gathered at four Communist-dominated mass meetings yesterday to organize vigilante defense units.

The rallies served as a show of support for President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman's leftist government.

The meetings were called by the Nation's two biggest labor organizations—the General Confederation of Workers (CGTG) and the National Confederation of Farmers (CNCG). Both are controlled by the Reds.

The CGTG sponsored a meeting at Puerto Barrios. CNCG rallies were held in Guatemala City, El Progreso and Zacapa to lay the foundations for a farmer's militia to defend "the national sovereignty."

Some newspapers have reported this militia would be

armed with weapons discarded by the army. Gen. Carlos H. Sarti, Army Chief of Staff, said, however, the army had no connection with the project.

Guatemala received a 10 million dollar arms shipment last month from Stettin in Communist-ruled Poland. As a result, the army reportedly is getting rid of some of its older weapons.

The former chief of the Guatemalan Air Force, Col. Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, fled the country yesterday in a private plane. Informed sources said he had received asylum in El Salvador.

The newspaper Prensa Libre said Mendoza was accompanied on the flight by Ferdinand F. Schupp, 38, a former member of the United States air force mission to this country.

The fact that Mexico has now agreed to participate in a consultative meeting on the Guatemalan case reflects the belief that this country is no longer so sure there has been no Soviet intervention in Guatemala.

However, like many other Latin-American governments, Mexico has not yet decided how for the O. A. S. should go in trying to change the situation in Guatemala. A member of the Government said privately that he thought President Adolfo Ruiz Certines would approve "any reasonable action."

However, as of this moment, "reasonable action" for the Mexicans does not include economic sanctions, and definitely not military intervention. But if economic conditions were voted by the O. A. S., it is most likely that Mexico would observe them, however reluctantly.

This country's help in enforcing such sanctions would be important. Guatemala is dependent on the United States for gasoline. It is known that many Guatemalan officials hope that Mexico would sell enough to Guatemala to sustain her essential services if the United States cut off supplies.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1954

War's Not a Factor

Reds Sent Arms to Guatemala for a Toehold

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

The charges and conflicting opinions arisen here over Guatemala's importation of arms from behind the Iron Curtain is what the Moscow propaganda doctors proscribed. This is the opinion of one of the highest Latin diplomats here in Washington.

"If you take stock in such scare-heads as 'imminent warfare in Central America' and 'threatened attack on the Panama Canal,' you will be underestimating the intelligence of the Red brain trusters in this hemisphere, and losing sight of their main strategy."

• First, the Kremlin, and its stooges in Guatemala, know they could not get away with open war-

fare against anybody in the Americas. That automatically would invoke the hemisphere defense treaty. Nothing would produce unified action so quickly. Nor would any Latin American Government expect Uncle Sam to haggle about what should be done, or who

should do it first.

• Second, it would be contrary to communist tactics employed everywhere else in the world. Their methods are more devious.

HOW THEY DO IT

Their first indoctrinate selected natives, ambitious labor leaders and small bore politicians, who in turn inculcate and subvert their own people. Then follow strikes, demonstrations and pressures against big business enterprises, especially Yankee firms. This is what hap-

pened in Guatemala and is happening in Honduras.

The United States is their main target, no South American Red is naive enough to advise taking us on openly. And if we started distributing rifles and pistols to Nicaragua and flying bombers over Honduras and the Central Americas, they can howl about the Yankee "big stick."

OUR ACHILLES HEEL

Our Achille's heel is our economic stake in Latin America—\$6,000,000,000 worth of investments and our \$7,000,000,000 annual trade. If they could immobilize all the mineral mines and oil fields, branch plants and factories, the agricultural developments which produce raw materials and foods that we need, it would be one of the severest blows they could deal us.

In Central America their immediate aim is to disorganize, destroy the crops of the big United States owned agricultural developments, throw thousands out of work, bankrupt the employing classes and then blame us. This is what they have done to the banana industry in Guatemala.

The Reds are not after the United States Fruit Company, as such. They want to destroy it because it is a U. S. investment, it's big and plays an important part in the economy of these little nations.

If they can destroy the Fruit company in Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama, they could destroy the United States' gigantic oil industry in Venezuela, the American operated copper industry in Chile and others. They won't do it

*NY Times
8 June 54*

Exile Warns of Red Plans

MEXICO CITY, June 7 (UP)—The head of the anti-Communist Guatemalan exiles abroad charged today that the Guatemalan Government, acting under Communist inspiration, were arming "popular militias" recruited from Communist-led labor groups against democratic Latin-American government.

Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas said the \$10,000,000 arms shipment to Guatemala from behind the iron curtain last month was being used "to arm the fifth column that is soon to extend its radius of action against the democracies of this continent."

Colonel Castillo Armas has his headquarters in Honduras, where most of the Guatemalan exiles reside. His statement was made in reply to a questionnaire sent to him at Tegucigalpa, Honduran capital.

with guns or bombs, but by carefully directed labor turmoil, anti-foreign demonstrations and if necessary local civil strife.

THEY NEED A BASE

What, then, were the Russian arms for? To tighten the communist hold on the government and maintain Guatemala as a base of operations. They already were getting worried over the possibility of the Arbenz Government being overthrown.

The broadcasts from secret anti-communist radio stations have them jittery. They also are haunted by signs that substantial numbers are responding to the call of the Catholic Church for a "crusade against communism," and the effect the stories of tortured exiles is having thruout Latin America.

Meantime, Moscow strategists hope their ruse in getting a big cargo of arms into Puerto Barrios under our noses will divert attention, from events elsewhere. Throwing a scare into us in our own front yard will take some of the pressure off in Southeast Asia, Geneva, Germany and other areas of the world.

N.Y. Times

JUN 9 1954

DULLES FOR AIRING GUATEMALAN CASE

Favors Hemisphere Meeting on Red Threat, but Awaits Views of Other Republics

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, June 8—Secretary of State Dulles said today the United States favored a special inter-American meeting on the Communist threat from Guatemala. However, he added that a decision on such a matter must await consultations with other American governments.

Such talks are now going on amid reports that the Organization of American States, the twenty-one nation alliance of this hemisphere, would convene July 1 at Montevideo, Uruguay.

Calling attention to both the anti-Communist resolution adopted at the hemisphere conference in Caracas, Venezuela, last March and the "surreptitious shipment of arms to Guatemala from behind the Iron Curtain," the Secretary said "we are disposed to feel that this situation is one which calls for such a meeting." But he spoke of "keeping our minds open" until arguments on the other side had been heard.

Rules Out Presidential Talk

Mr. Dulles discouraged any suggestion that the President of Guatemala meet with President Eisenhower "to iron out differences between the two countries."

"There is a persistent effort by the authorities in Guatemala to represent the present problem there as primarily a problem between Guatemala and the United States relating to the United Fruit Company," he said.

"That is a totally false presentation of the situation. There is a problem in Guatemala which affects the other American states just as much as it does the United States, and it is not a problem which the United States regards as exclusively a United States Guatemala problem."

If the United Fruit Company "gave a gold piece for every banana," the problem of Communist infiltration in Guatemala would remain, Mr. Dulles asserted.

Support For Costa Rica

Support for the Secretary's position came quickly from Ambassador Antonio A. Facio of Costa Rica, who said his Government had concluded a successful

N.Y. Times

JUN 9 1954

Guatemala Calls Emergency And Suspends Civil Liberty

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 8—The Guatemalan Government today suspended constitutional guarantees of freedom. Affected were the freedom of speech, press and assembly and the inviolability of home and the re-eliminated. This provision also requirement for arrest warrants had been largely overlooked recently.

At an extraordinary session, the Cabinet voted unanimously for the suspension, which customarily is resorted to only in times of national emergency. The last time guarantees were suspended was in July, 1951, early in the Administration of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, when rioting broke out and guards fired over crowds before the National Palace.

[In the 1951 incident, troops fired on anti-Communist demonstrators July 12, killing three persons and wounding thirty. The shooting began when soldiers tried to disperse the marchers. It followed two days of disorders in the city of Guatemala. The demonstrations were touched off by the Government's removal of three Sisters of Charity from an orphanage staff.]

Under the Constitution, suspension of guarantees can be invoked in the first instance for only thirty days. However, that means little because the Constitution further specifies the suspension can be renewed at

agreement with United Fruit.

In a statement issued after a talk with Henry F. Holland, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Senor Facio said that Costa Rica was consulting with her neighbors on the "situation in Central America," and that he expected a "firm and common policy" to develop.

Mr. Dulles was asked whether Washington was requiring the Soviet Union to do such "homework" as Moscow was forcing the United States to do in the case of Guatemala.

The secretary answered yes, and observed that more officials had defected from the Soviet regime in the last six months than ever before.

will. Specifically, suspension of guarantees means:

¶Eleven articles in the Constitution are inoperable during the period. The first withdraws a person's right to remain in Guatemalan territory or to enter it, whether or not he is a Guatemalan national.

¶Services such as transportation and communications can be utilized gratuitously by the Government.

¶Freedom of assembly is automatically suspended. This means that not more than two persons can legally converse at any one place.

¶Liberty to organize political parties is suspended. The right of citizens to exercise suffrage is also suspended. However, no elections are scheduled for some time.

Leaflets Dropped Again

¶All documents, private or otherwise, are subject to examination without a court order.

¶Legal rights regarding home entry are suspended. Authorities may invade a home at any time without a court order.

¶Guarantees regarding the habeas corpus are suspended. Heretofore, persons arrested were supposed to be either arraigned or brought to trial within forty-eight hours. This constitutional provision had been overlooked since the Government began to move against what it alleged to be a plot to overthrow it.

¶Guarantees against arrests for major crimes without written order are suspended.

¶Finally, a provision that authorities must, on demanding an interview with a person, explain the object of this interview is

The immediate cause of the drastic Government action was laid to the reappearance of an unidentified plane over the capital last night. It flew directly westward and dropped opposition leaf-

lets over Quetzaltenango, the second largest city.

On May 24, a C-47 without markings appeared over the capital at almost roof-top height and dropped hundreds of anti-Government leaflets. The pilot braved weather conditions that had grounded all commercial and private flights.

While officials were silent on both plane incidents, speculation centered on the disappearance Friday of Col. Rodolfo Mendoza, the country's foremost flier, and Ferdinand F. Schupp, former United States Air Force major.

According to information received here, Colonel Mendoza took off in a borrowed private plane, landed in a pasture to pick up Mr. Schupp and then flew on to El Salvador.

Censorship in Guatemala delayed receipt of the rest of the foregoing dispatch.

2 at Liberty in El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR, June 8 (AP)—Ferdinand F. Schupp, former United States Air Force mission aide in Guatemala and Col. Rodolfo Mendoza Azurbia, former Guatemalan Air Force chief have received full liberty in El Salvador after their flight here.

Colonel Mendoza said he received information that the Guatemalan Government had ordered his arrest.

"I belong to no party, but I am anti-Communist," he said. Mr. Schupp, a native of Louisville, Ky., resigned his official job in 1952.

N.Y. Times

JUN 10 1954

PANAMA FOR AIRING GUATEMALAN CASE

Accepts U. S. Bid to Attend a Hemisphere Meeting on Communist Threat

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 9—Apparently confident of support by a majority of the other American republics, the United States is prepared to call for a meeting soon of the American Foreign Ministers on the Guatemalan situation.

One sign of that support came today from Panama, where it was reported that the Panamanian Government had accepted the United States "invitation" to a high-level conference on the Communist threat to the hemisphere.

State Department officials "categorically" denied that an "invitation" had been extended, but it was clear that discussions between this and other American governments had encouraged authorities to expect an affirmative decision, possibly as early as next week.

Costa Rica and Nicaragua have also informally but publicly proposed a meeting of consultation by the American Foreign Ministers, charging the Communist-influenced Guatemalan regime with having aggressive intentions on their countries.

When the decision has finally been made to hold a foreign ministers meeting, the procedure might be for some Government—the United States is ready to take the initiative—to go before the Council of the Organization of American States and ask for a meeting of the foreign ministers.

By a majority vote, the council could agree to call a meeting,

and could then fix the time and place for it. Some reports have indicated that the date has been fixed at July 1 and the place at Montevideo, Uruguay, but State Department officials say those details are still to be discussed.

The foreign ministers meeting, which is second in importance only to the full-dress Inter-American Conference, such as the Caracas conference, held every five years, could take the following action against the offending government, in this case, Guatemala:

By a two-thirds vote, diplomatic restrictions or economic sanctions; by a majority vote, excepting the defendant, military action.

United States authorities are encouraged by two developments emerging from their consultations with other American capitals. The first is the public support by Costa Rica, which is credited here with being influential with Latin Americans because of her democratic nature.

The second is the progress being made in winning the support of Mexico. Mexico and Argentina were the only two governments to abstain from the Caracas vote approving the Washington-sponsored anti-Communist resolution. Guatemala, at which it was aimed, opposed it.

N. Y. H. T.

JUN 10 1954

The Real Issue in Guatemala

The problem that confronts the United States in Guatemala was once again clearly stated by Secretary Dulles at his news conference on Tuesday. It is, he said, "the presence of Communist infiltration" in that country. Communist charges that the real issue is Yankee imperialism, and specifically the stake of the United Fruit Co. in Guatemala, are "totally false." Even if the dispute arising from the expropriation of United Fruit banana land were settled on the most generous terms, the essential problem of Communist infiltration would remain just as it is.

The Guatemalan government's attempt to shift blame to the fruit company's shoulders has not been faring very well of late. Its own attitude to its neighbors has been called into question by its extraordinary importation of arms from behind the Iron Curtain, and its relations with Nicaragua and Honduras have turned sharply downward. Mexico, which gave some support to Guatemalan views at Caracas, is reported to be taking a new look at its foreign policy. And Costa Rica, which has been far from hostile to the Guatemalan government, has undertaken consultations with certain of its neighbors which may result in a meeting of a larger organization of American states to consider the Guatemala question.

Meanwhile the United Fruit Co., regarded as a tool of imperialism by some in Guatemala, has been demonstrating a quite unimperialistic attitude a little farther south. Company representatives in Costa Rica have negotiated an agreement with the Figueres government providing, among other things, for an increased income tax on net earnings, an adjusted wage scale and a new schedule of customs duties. This agreement, which should prove a boon to the Costa Rican economy, has been hailed with cordial satisfaction both by President Figueres and by company officials. A diplomatic achievement of no mean proportions, it may well serve to show, as Mr. Dulles suggests, how the governments and peoples of this hemisphere "may profit by the co-operative attitude of United States enterprise."

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1954

Left-Wing Figueres Against Guatemalan Reds Costa Rica Offers Support but Warns Against Big Stick

By CHARLES LUCEY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, June 10—President Jose Figueres, a shrewd, nimble politician of the non-communist far left, said today his country would support the United States at the expected Montevideo conference to act against the rise of Guatemalan communism.

But he warned against Washington brandishing a big stick.

The pint-sized man known as Don Pepe is one of the most controversial figures in Central America. He's in a wrangle at the moment with Anastasio Somoza, the one-man boss of neighboring Nicaragua, who claims Mr. Figueres was in on a plot to bump off Mr. Somoza and overthrow the Nicaraguan Government some weeks ago.

Many charge Figueres with a Messiah complex and a wish to run not only Costa Rica, but all Central America. Which way he jumps in the coming months is important in this whole tense area.

Up and down the mountain ridge that runs from Mexico City to Panama, Mr. Figueres is accused of leftist political beliefs from moderate socialism to pro-communism.

SAT OUT CARACAS

He and Costa Rica sat out the Caracas conference which acted against communism in the Western Hemisphere. He says it was to protest the fact that nobody ever remembers to say anything against dictatorships such as he sees existing in Nicaragua, Venezuela, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere.

In an interview Mr. Figueres denied most of the charges against him. He talked a good case against communism and said he recognized the danger of a Soviet outpost in this hemisphere. He said he understood the U. S. State Department's concern and agreed Red growth could present another Indo-China in Central America.

CITES UNITED FRUIT

"But," he said, "if stern measures are taken it could do more harm than good. The United Fruit Co., powerful in Central America, is a symbol of colonialism.

"If there is going to be a sponsored revolution, who in Guatemala will explain to 160,000,000 Latin Americans that this is not an economic move upholding the fruit company? It would be taken as a sign of the big stick again."

At a time when Guatemala and Honduras are in turmoil over United Fruit Co. operations, Mr. Figueres has been able to get what looks like a model arrangement with the company by comparison with his neighbors.

The fruit company has agreed that Costa Rica gets 30 instead of 15 per cent tax on its income, and this is seen as giving the Government a stake in stabilized operations and continuing good business. At the same time plantation workers will be raised about 20 per cent to a minimum of about \$2.40 a day.

Labor unions have been weak up to now, and mostly communist dominated. Mr. Figueres says he is trying to drive out the Reds and let non-communist unions organize. The communists are outlawed by law but keep burrowing.

MUST BE ALERT

Mr. Figueres says he recognizes the Red danger. He agrees that "It would be ruinous to our institutions if the banana workers went communist." He says the communists have infiltrated Guatemala now the same way they were here a few years ago, and believes the best way to control communism in Central America is for each country to be alert.

The fact is, it's almost impossible; even in Nicaragua with the

strongly anti-communist Somoza regime they are not stamped out. Here Mr. Figueres believes that if the coffee-banana prosperity continues and social measures are developed, communism can be licked.

It is plain to this government, as to others in Latin America, that letting communists run free leads to trouble. Examples are sharp in Guatemala and now in Honduras where strikes have paralyzed the banana plantations for weeks.

Mr. Figueres denies any part in the attempted assassination of Mr. Somoza. He says the Nicaraguan President is trying to make the affair appear an assassination when in fact it was an attempted overthrow which shows the real sentiment among Nicaraguans against Mr. Somoza.

Mr. Figueres is well aware of Mr. Somoza's bitter hatred of him.

"I reciprocate," he says convincingly.

N.Y. Times

JUN 11 1954

GUATEMALA SAYS 'FOREIGNERS' PLOT

New Element Has Taken Over Subversion, Chief of Police Tells Tense Populace

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 10—Foreign elements in Guatemala have taken over the plot against the Government, Maj. Jaime Rosenberg Rivera, chief of the National Civil Guard, said last night.

In a nation-wide broadcast designed to keep the public calm in the face of suspension of constitutional guarantees, Major Rosenberg said:

"These foreign elements have thus taken in the interior of the country the direction of the principal ramifications of this new conspiracy."

He referred again in his statement to a "new plot," and did not clarify whether this meant a later plot than that reported June 2 by Augusta Charnaud MacDonald, Interior Minister.

"The people of Guatemala should be certain that police organizations have complete control over this situation," Major Rosenberg's statement said. It added:

"Not only do we know the new plot thoroughly, but we know the identity of those active in the conspiracy from their foreign inspirers and executives, down to the last of their Guatemalan co-conspirators."

Cites War of Nerves

"We have been able to prove that suspension of guarantees has been sufficiently efficacious to cope with the war of nerves and with the lack of tranquility that had been instilled by the enemies of democracy and independents within the country.

"This war of nerves had as its objective, as is easily proved, the sowing of panic among our people, the paralysis, in short, of all democratic elements within Guatemala, in order to make easier the work of conspirators and produce uprisings within the country."

The police chief said the "entire conspiracy" would be unmasked in due time. He suggest-

ed, meanwhile, that the people "remain tranquil."

His statement obviously was issued to ease concern over rumors that had arisen from censorship.

"The people of Guatemala and conscientious citizens who follow honest and normal activities have nothing to fear from police authorities and official organizations, despite the fact that some constitutional guarantees have been suspended," Major Rosenberg declared.

For the first time it was charged officially that "subversive foreign elements" were involved in sabotage and incitement to overthrow the Guatemalan Government.

Business Shows Effects

So far as could be learned in the capital, the country was calm but tense. It was apparent that the drastic curb on travel had affected business here. Complaints were mounting.

The censorship situation improved last night with an announcement by Carlos Gonzalez Orellana, chief of the Palace press and propaganda, that foreign dispatches henceforth would be censored and cleared during

three periods daily. Censorship of local newspapers and radio appeared to be lightening.

Suspension of guarantees altered little the procedures that had been carried out immediately before the decree was invoked, except for complete control of the press. That the Government had decided hastily to act was evidenced in the censorship, which seemed ill-prepared for the emergency.

The effect of the suspension order was immediate at the United States Embassy. United States citizens flocked there anxiously for information or instructions. They were told to remain in their residences until the situation had been clarified.

Another development was a Communications Department order shutting down all amateur radio stations. Operators of these stations were directed to dismantle sets and bring them in for an official seal.

All afternoon papers Tuesday carried stories of the decree, but there were no editorials about it. Impacto, whose entire edition was seized Tuesday morning, came out yesterday. The Government paper, Nuestro Diario, appeared with several blank columns.

N. Y. H. T.

JUN 11 1954

Guatemalan Exiles Charge Government Readies 'Plot'

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune

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TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 10.—Responsible sources in the anti-Communist movement of Guatemalan exiles here told today about a purported propaganda plot in Guatemala designed to label the United States as a fomenter of revolutions.

According to these reports, the propaganda plot has the backing of the Communist-influenced Guatemalan government and involves also the American-owned United Fruit Co. in Guatemala.

This is the scheme, according to the informants here: The Guatemalan government on Friday will announce the "discovery" of a cache of military supplies on United Fruit property in Guatemala. With the arms will be fake documents purporting to show that the material was imported by the United States government and United Fruit and

labeled "replacement machinery."

This is to be advanced by the Guatemalan government as "proof" that the United States is helping anti-Communist elements in Guatemala in an effort to overthrow by force the government of President Jacobo Arbenz.

[A New York source in close touch with the Guatemalan situation said some details of the purported plot were broadcast a week ago by the clandestine anti-Communist radio in Guatemala. The broadcast did not mention June 11 as the date for the plot.]

Meanwhile, Honduras today formally rejected a Guatemalan offer of a treaty of "friendship and non-aggression made May 27. Foreign Minister Guillermo Tiriello said in a note that existing international pacts cover the situation.

A theory being widely circulated is that the Government acted because it was hard pressed by the opposition abroad,

and felt it must have complete control at home to be free to strike back. This opposition is centered largely in Honduras.

Chile Welcomes Parley

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 10

(UP)—The Foreign Office said today that Chile had accepted a United States suggestion that a conference of American foreign ministers be held to examine the situation in Guatemala.

Honduras Rejects Pact Bid

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras,

June 10—Honduras rejected today Guatemala's proposal for a nonaggression pact. She said such a pact would be viewed with concern by the other Central American republics. She added that existing international and inter-American treaties guaranteed cordial relations.

Wash. Post

JUN 12 1954

Mexico Would Join Guatemala Study

By Laurance F. Stuntz

MEXICO CITY, June 11 (AP).—Mexico—a chief critic of United States efforts to fight communism in the Americas—stood ready today to join in a hemispheric study of charges that the Reds boss neighboring Guatemala.

Acting Foreign Minister Jose Gorostiza announced last night his government would go along with the "general sentiment" among the American republics for such a review.

Since Mexico has been one of Guatemala's staunchest defenders, her consent virtually assured the holding of an Inter-American conference to find out what is going on in the banana-producing republic 1000 miles northwest of the Panama Canal.

Gorostiza's statement recalled that under the Rio de Janeiro Defense Pact any country is entitled to ask for a meeting to discuss defense matters. Thus, he said, Mexico "is in accord" with recent informal proposals for a session.

There was no indication yet who would call the conference. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told newsmen in Washington this week that the United States favors such a meeting to discuss the Guatemalan situation. But the United States, conscious of traditional Latin-American aversion to "pressure" from the big northern neighbor, would like to see another of the republics take the lead.

At the Inter-American Conference in Caracas last March Mexico was one of three coun-

tries which did not support a United States sponsored resolution condemning Red infiltration in the Americas. She abstained along with Argentina. Guatemala voted against it.

The United States argued that establishment of a Communist government in the Americas was intervention from abroad, to be combatted under the terms of the Rio Defense Pact.

Mexico's Foreign Minister

Luis Padilla Nervo argued that it was a country's own affair if it wanted to set up a Red government.

The apparent reversal of this policy by last night's announcement raised speculation here about Padilla Nervo's future. The Foreign Minister has not been at his office for the past week and is reported suffering from "nervous exhaustion."

American concern over Communist influence in Guatemala came to a head last month when the Latin American republic on Mexico's southern border received 10 million dollars worth of arms shipped from Red Poland. The United States promptly increased arms aid to neighboring Nicaragua and Honduras.

Guatemala countered by offering a friendship and non-aggression pact to Honduras, her immediate southern neighbor. The Hondurans announced yesterday they have turned down the bid.

N.Y. Times

JUN 12 1954

GUATEMALA ACTS TO DISPEL RUMORS

Press and Radio Deny Arrest of High Officers and Alleged Disappearance of Planes

By PAUL P. KENNEDY
Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 11 — A drive against rumors that have been gathering momentum here in recent days has been launched by the press and radio.

For the first time since constitutional guarantees were suspended on Tuesday the Government has acknowledged the existence of rumors that have been going the rounds on the streets and in cafes.

Heretofore the publicizing of their existence has been frowned upon by the official censorship.

Two approaches directed toward dispelling of these rumors were made last night by the Government's organ Guardia Judicial. The Guardia Judicial message was published and broadcast last night at the request of the Secretary of the Press and Propaganda and the Censorship chief. The message stated that "in view of a series of rumors that have been manufactured by the enemies of the revolution and of national tranquility the Guardia Judicial considers it its duty to contradict them in order to restore tranquility among our citizens."

The Guardia Judicial bulletin mentioned two of the most prominent rumors racing through the capital in the last day's bulletin stated that "rumors have said that because of the suspension of some constitutional guarantees the chief of the armed forces, the Army Chief of Staff and Col. El-fego Monzon, Minister without Portfolio, have all been arrested." These rumors, the bulletin stated, "are completely false and the officials mentioned are at their respective offices."

In the second instance the bulletin said it had been rumored "that air force planes flown recently in the line of duty had disappeared from the country with their pilots. "This rumor also," the bulletin declared, "lacks truth and the pilots are now performing their normal functions."

A decree canceling flights of all private planes was made public today.

The decree states that authorizations and permissions for all private planes, whether sport or commercial planes, to fly in Guatemalan territory have been with-

drawn.

All flying fields in the national territory and private airstrips belonging to private persons, or sports organizations, or commercial firms, henceforth will operate under the strict control and vigilance of the army air force, the decree says.

The decree further regulates entry and exit procedures for international commercial lines, which generally are excepted from the foregoing articles. It also places the implementation of the decree under the chief of staff of the army.

Cuba to Join Parley

Special to The New York Times.

HAVANA, June 11—Cuba is ready to discuss the Guatemalan situation with other American nations and will attend a meeting of the American foreign ministers when called by the council of the Organization of American States, Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, Minister of State, said today.

The feeling of the Government that Guatemala constitutes a Communist threat in the hemisphere was emphasized by Ernesto de la Fe, Minister Without Portfolio in a broadcast today.

"Guatemala at this time represents the tentacle through which Russia wishes to suck the liberty of America," he said.

Meanwhile the resurgence of Communist influence in Cuba is being viewed with concern by Government, industrial and labor circles and repressive measures have been enacted.

President Fulgencio Batista conceded recently that "Communism is gaining ground."

Last night the Cabinet prohibited the issuance of passports to any persons attempting to visit countries behind the Iron Curtain or to attend international conferences under Communist auspices.

The Ministry of Education has begun the dismissal of Communist teachers and professors and other departments of Government are preparing dismissals.

N. Y. H. T.
JUN 13 1954

U. S. Flyer Menaced in Honduras

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
Copyright, 1954, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.
TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 12.—An American pilot, Capt. L. J. Carlin, of Miami, relates today what he described as a "close call" from hostile natives in the Honduras north-coast strike zone Thursday when his plane crashed in a strike-bound banana plantation.

Capt. Carlin said he was ferrying a new plane from Miami to El Salvador but was forced to detour around Guatemala due to the present ban on foreign aircraft flying over the country. The detour took him out over the Caribbean and to the coast of Honduras where he ran out of gas and crashlanded in the strikebound United Fruit Co. plantation near Puerto Cortes.

The plane nosed over, and Capt. Carlin was shaken but unhurt. "The plane was immediately surrounded by hundreds of hostile and grim-looking natives," Capt. Carlin stated. "They apparently thought I was a Communist from Guatemala, and they certainly were unfriendly but did not actually put their hands on me."

Plane Landings Reported

Guatemalan planes have been recently reported landing in remote sections of the Honduras strike zone with Communist literature and strike agitators. The strikers—of whom there are 25,000—assert they are eliminating any Communist influence.

Capt. Carlin said police arrived and took him into custody "for my own protection, they said, but they sure acted as though I was an international Communist spy." He spent two days in Puerto Cortes jail before his identification was confirmed and he was released.

Capt. Carlin, who left for Miami by commercial plane today, said his plane could be repaired but that he had no plans to return "until that strike is over and they learn to tell a Communist from a non-Communist."

Wash. Evening Star
JUN 13 1954

Guatemala and the Americas

Guatemala's extremely leftist government has now ordered a 30-day suspension of all constitutional guarantees. In effect, this means that freedom of the press and other civil rights affecting individual and group liberties have ceased to exist in the country for the time being. It could also mean something more ominous and permanent than that—something serving as a prelude to a Communist coup.

The staging of such a coup is a very real possibility. Indeed, the government itself—since it is already strongly influenced by them—might connive in turning over full control to the Communists. They are riding high down there, and the recent arms shipment from Red Poland has very probably given them a great deal of additional strength. Accordingly, now that the constitution has been suspended, they may move out in the open to take over the whole of Guatemala for the greater honor and glory of the Kremlin. And if that happens, then Honduras and other neighboring states will be threatened with serious trouble. The situation is thus one that calls for the kind of hemispheric meeting that Secretary of State Dulles has just said he favors—a meeting of the foreign ministers of all the Americas.

Such a get-together—expected to begin in July—will be altogether in order because Guatemala seems definitely in danger of becoming a captive of international communism—a captive that would quickly be a menace to its neighbors. The Rio de Janeiro pact and the Caracas declaration provide for common action to cope with any threats of that kind, and the inter-American community should not hesitate to invoke them if need be.

N.Y. Times

JUN 13 1954

GUATEMALAN PACT ENDS FRUIT STRIKE

Accord, Increasing Pay, Aids Country—More Political Exiles Are Departing

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 12—A United Fruit Company official said today that an agreement had been reached with workers to end the strike that began May 20.

The strike had virtually paralyzed the company's Atlantic Coast plantations, affecting 2,000 acres cultivated to bananas and abaca or hemp plant. About 4,000 men were affected.

The settlement was reached through mediation by Roberto Fanjul, Minister of Economy. Under the new two-year working agreement, 60 per cent of the laborers will receive an immediate daily wage rise of 28 cents. Workers earning between \$1.64 and \$4 a day will get 15 per cent increases, and higher salaried workers will get a 7 per cent rise.

The agreement will be retroactive to May 20, so that the company will pay the strikers full wages for the time of the work stoppage.

Other benefits granted include improved housing, insurance and social security.

Labor Must Ratify

The agreement was signed last night by management and union officials in the presence of Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Communist Congressman representing the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor, which supervised the strike. The agreement still requires ratification in a general assembly of the laborers. Workers are expected to return to work Monday.

The company estimates a weekly loss of 15,000 stems of bananas during the strike.

Eleven persons who had sought political asylum in the Embassies of Salvador and Ecuador in

cont.

recent days are to leave Guatemala today under safe-conduct passes granted by the Foreign Office. This brought the total of such persons leaving the country to about twenty since the announcement by the Government of the discovery of a plot to overthrow the regime.

Col. Miguel Mendoza Azurdia, a Presidential candidate in the 1950 elections and a brother of Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, who fled the country to El Salvador in a borrowed plane last week, was among those who sought asylum.

Others are Capt. Rodolfo Rodas, Capt. Augustin Castro Monzon, José Morales Torres, Ernesto Gomez Savedra, Flavio Segura Ruiz, Maj. Enrique Trinidad Oliya, Adan Manrique Rios, Carlos Alberto Recinos, Juan Fermín Valladares and Rodolfo Castillo Armas. None was active in military service.

The Foreign Office denied that the Government was exercising control over exit visas or passports. No restrictions have been decreed about granting visas to citizens or foreigners wishing to leave Guatemala, a Foreign Office spokesman said. The rumored restriction stemmed from a Government decree last Tuesday suspending several constitutional guarantees for thirty days because of a "national emergency."

Two Policemen Killed

GUATEMALA, June 12 (UP)—Villagers killed two policemen and routed others when officers tried to arrest an opposition leader yesterday in Amatitlan, it was reported today.

Col. Rogello Cruz, director of the civil guard, said the deputy chief of the detachment stationed in the town, nineteen miles southwest of here, and a guardsman had been killed by "thirty men armed with machetes." Colonel Cruz did not identify the anti-government "plotter." Numerous opposition leaders have been arrested in the last two weeks in a reported conspiracy.

Exodus to El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR, June 12 (AP)—Jittery Guatemalans arrived today in a general exodus of wives and children of foreigners, of wealthy Guatemalans and even of some Guatemalan officials.

They reported that rumors of revolt fill the air in Guatemala. To the man in the street, they declared, the big question was not whether but when a revolution would start.

The clash was said to be

in Guatemala by political foes of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was joined openly today by another station in a near-by country and one in the Dominican Republic in predicting that the uprising might come next week.

Parley Call Expected

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 12—The United States is expected to issue a call next week for a special hemispheric conference of foreign ministers on the threat of Communist-infiltrated Guatemala.

A tentative draft of a resolution designed for consideration by the ministers, it is understood, would exhort the people of Guatemala to rid their country of Communist influence.

To avoid doing anything that would resemble intervention, the resolution would not seek any diplomatic or economic action against Guatemala except what the Guatemalans themselves might take.

Because the State Department has all but decided on that course of action, rather than on more drastic measures, it has apparently won the support of the other American republics except Guatemala.

Consultations have been going on between the United States and those states since the arrival at Guatemala of about 1,900 tons of arms from the Polish port of Stettin, behind the Iron Curtain.

Washington sources suggest that the foreign ministers' conference would probably be held early in July, but other diplomatic informants mention June 28 as the tentative date. Montevideo, Uruguay, is mentioned most often as the probable site.

What has also impressed the American republics, it is understood, is the earnestness with which the United States has prepared its case against Guatemala, a case that, despite a fairly skeptical reception at the start, has won wide support.

It is expected that the United States will propose a resolution against communism in Guatemala under the terms of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947.

N.Y. Times

JUN 14 1954

GUATEMALA HELD RIPE FOR REVOLT

Leader of Exiles Says 90%
of People Are Ready to
Rise Against Regime

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 13 (AP)—Guatemalan exiles, eager for their country to throw off its leftist government, say 1954 is "the year of independence from Russian imperialism."

Their leader is a 40-year-old, slender, soft-spoken former lieutenant colonel in the Guatemalan Army, Carlos Castillo Armas. He calls his resistance movement the Anti-Communist Front of Guatemalans in exile.

Colonel Castillo Armas keeps silent on any plans he may have to end the regime of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. But he said in an interview that a "tiny spark" of uprising within the country could trigger a revolt of the entire resistance organization, both inside and outside Guatemala.

People Held Ready to Rise

"I am certain that 90 per cent of the people in Guatemala are thoroughly ready to rise up and fight against the government," Colonel Castillo Armas said. "I think one of the reasons the Arbenz Government bought arms from the Communists is to protect itself from a revolution by the people."

He was referring to a recent shipment of arms from Communist-governed Poland that provoked a sharp protest by Washington.

Asked if his forces had arms, he replied with a smile: "that is our secret."

Guatemalan officials say they attach no importance to Colonel Castillo Armas. But his followers call him the Government's No. 1 enemy in exile. He says the Guatemalan Government has inspired several attempts to kidnap

or kill him.

The main propaganda weapons in the exiles' control are a roving radio station inside Guatemala that has to keep moving to escape detection, two stations in Honduras broadcasting across the border, three newspapers in Honduras and one each in Mexico and El Salvador.

7 Dead in Guatemala Clash

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 13—Seven persons are dead, one seriously wounded and many are under arrest following an armed clash in the village of El Durazno, twenty-four miles from the capital, between Civil Guards and villagers.

A bulletin released today by the Civil Guard said the clash occurred when a guard unit sought to arrest several villagers in a plot to overthrow the Arbenz Guzman regime. The leader of the Guard detachment, Lieut. Antonio Sanchez Gaitan, and another guard were among those killed.

N.Y. Times
JUL 15 1954

AID TO ARBENZ PLEDGED
Three Guatemalan Parties Issue
Manifesto of Support

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 14—Three political parties supporting President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman published today a manifesto pledging to assist this Government "in a moment in which external and internal forces are plotting to subvert the constitutional regime."

The organizations are the Party of Revolutionary Action, Party of the Guatemalan Revolution and the Labor party, which is actually the Communist party.

The manifesto referred to social reforms gained by the administration. It said the three parties had an interest in "maintaining the unity of the popular forces" and to explain "the motives through which amalgamated, imperialistic monopolies, principally the United Fruit Company, with their feudal land management" maintained their policies.

It described unidentified foreign investment companies as "disqualified elements which, through the years, have gained their ends by inhuman exploitation, by denying our sovereignty and by dictatorial oppression."

The document accused the "enemies" of Guatemala of having found a "pretext" at the tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, last March for "presenting an accusation against this nation."

This is "believed to have been indirectly responsible for the debarkation recently of arms in Puerto Barrios," the manifesto declared. It held that the United States was using the arms shipment as a lever to convene the American states.

On Friday, two labor confederations issued a joint resolution calling on members to become active in their support of the regime. They were the General Confederation of Workers and the General Confederation of Peasants.

N.Y. Times
JUN 15 1954

Shells for Guatemala Held
At Hamburg Under Inquiry

Special to The New York Times.

BONN, Germany, June 14—The United States announced today that six tons of anti-aircraft shells in transit from Switzerland to Guatemala had been intercepted in Hamburg. German port police, acting with United States and British authorities, prevented the loading of the 20-mm. shells aboard the Hamburg-American line freighter Coburg about May 20.

An official of the United States High Commissioner's office said the documents that accompanied the shipment were in perfect order. The documents described the contents of six packing cases and covered shipment from Basel, Switzerland, to the free port of Hamburg.

The official explained that the shipment was legitimate export and therefore had been detained but not confiscated. An investigation is continuing.

[Washington has rejected Guatemala's proposal for a conference to study "all causes of tension" between the two countries.]

The legal authority of the occupying powers in connection with the shipment is not clear, since no fraud by the shipper was indicated. Occupation authorities are empowered only to seize weapons and munitions manufactured in Germany.

It was believed the port police would probably have to release the shipment if the consigner were to decide to transship the ammunition through another country.

Shells Pre-War Type

HAMBURG, Germany, June 14
(P)—United States officials in-

sisted today that the ammunition destined for Guatemala was live, although a port representative said it had been marked "dummy ammunition," meaning that the shells were without explosives.

The confusion apparently was cleared up in Berne, where Swiss officials said Guatemala had purchased a quantity of 20-mm. anti-aircraft shells with cheap practice heads several months ago. They added that such shells had been made for a pre-war type of gun, were not high explosives and could not pierce armor.

United States action in requesting the Germans to hold up the ammunition appeared in line with a policy of alertness that Washington has maintained since an arms shipment from Czechoslovakia reached Guatemala last month.

Hamburg is in the British occupation zone. A spokesman for the British consulate said Hamburg-American's refusal to forward the cargo to Guatemala had come after a discussion with British authorities "in which our [British and American] view was made known to the company authorities."

On Central American Run

The 2,399-ton Coburg sailed from Hamburg May 30 for Barranquilla, Colombia. The 311-foot motor vessel was scheduled to call at Venezuelan, Colombian and Netherlands West Indies ports, according to shipping circles in New York.

On her previous voyage the vessel, employed in the line's services to Central America, called at Pacific Central American ports, among them San Jose de Guatemala.

Chicago Daily News
June 2, 1954

CAN'T BE BLUFFED

Gentle Archbishop Leads Fight on Guatemala Reds

*Communists' Aims Stymied
By Prelate's Hold on People*

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY
Daily News Foreign Service

GUATEMALA CITY—The small band of tightly knit Communists in Guatemala bare their fangs occasionally in episodes that might herald the coming of a police state.

But they also show a cautious regard for the anti-Communist forces in this little republic, and tread gingerly in dangerous social zones.

The most powerful single anti-Communist force in the country today is a slender, 64-year-old man, whose ascetic gentleness belies not only his courage but his defensive power against Reds.

He is the Most Rev. Don Mariano Rossell y Arellano, beloved Archbishop of Guatemala, to whom the Communists behind the scenes of government would like to give the Cardinal Mindszenty treatment if they thought they could get away with it.

ARCHBISHOP Rossell y Arellano has been threatened with physical violence and with exile from his native Guatemala, but he has called every bluff, official or unofficial, with increased toughness on his part.

As recently as Palm Sunday in early April, the Archbishop challenged the Communist influence in Guatemala with a vigorously anti-Communist pastoral letter, of which 460,000 copies have already

been distributed through the country.

"Communist propaganda has reached the most remote corners of Guatemala," the Archbishop said, "and has spread its ugly seed in many places."

In the strongest terms, the Catholic prelate denounced "the castoffs of other countries who have paid for the hospitality of Guatemala by spreading class hatred to prepare for the hour of national assassination."

THE ARCHBISHOP called upon all Catholics in this Catholic nation, especially the workers and peasants, to fight against "Communism's hypocritical and criminal intrusion into the social life of Guatemala."

The leftwing press in Guatemala expressed mild criticism of this pastoral letter, and the leftwing political parties that

control the government pretended to ignore the letter, but they were furious at the Archbishop.

The pro-Communists and professed Communists are restrained from silencing the Archbishop because of his deep hold on the sentiments of the people.

THREE TIMES, between 1944 and 1951, in the first years of the "revolution," there were discussions in the government about exiling the Archbishop, but the proposal never came to a head.

"The wise ones knew that if they touched him they would be sunk," an interpreter explained during an interview with the Archbishop in his palace, which looks across the main plaza of Guatemala City at the government palace.

In February, 1953, government officials, under the goading of party leaders, apparently decided to exile the Archbishop and get it over with.

"I had been threatened so many times before, I paid no attention to this report when it came to us," the Archbishop said through our interpreter.

"But the word spread in the streets, and the people came to the Archbishop's palace. The women from the market nearby came first, and said they would defend us. They slept in front of the palace all night."

THE STATE police head finally came over to assure the Archbishop that the government was not going to exile him. The police chief did not dare to enter the front of the Archbishop's palace through the mass picket line, but made his entrance through the rear instead.

There is an ostensible freedom of press in Guatemala, and some of the newspapers

criticize the government freely.

But not more than 25 per cent of the people can read, so the written word is not regarded by the Reds as a threat to their influence among the peasants, or "campesinos."

THE RADIO reaches these people, however, and the Guatemalan radio stations have learned that it is unwise to specialize in anti-Communist programs.

A few weeks ago four masked thugs entered a downtown radio station which had a daily anti-Communist program, and wrecked the place.

Shortly after this radio station had its equipment broken up by the unidentified thugs, another radio station in Guatemala City prudently discontinued using the program of one of its news commentators, who was consistently anti-Communist.

A CLANDESTINE radio has been set up somewhere near Guatemala, and blasts the government daily with charges of Communist domination.

The radio, which calls itself "The Voice of Liberation," recently claimed credit for the "army of liberation" for the dynamiting of a train carrying arms from Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City.

N.Y. Times

JUN 16 1954

DULLES PICTURES GUATEMALAN FEAR

Says People Would Clean Up Country if Red Terror Could Be Overcome

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 15.—Secretary of State Dulles said today that the "Communist type of terrorism" in Guatemala was all that stood in the way of an anti-Communist house-cleaning by the Guatemalan people.

The Secretary, at a news conference, said the State Department had no information about Guatemala "from a clearly dependable source," but he added that "no doubt there is going on somewhat of a reign of terror."

His reference to a lack of dependable information was taken to mean that, in view of Guatemala's tense political situation, normally reliable sources of information had been closed even to John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador.

Hopeful About People

"There is no doubt, in my opinion, but what the great majority of the Guatemalan people have both the desire and the capability of cleaning their own house," Mr. Dulles said.

"But of course, those things are difficult in the face of the Communist type of terrorism which is manifesting itself in Guatemala, and which is perhaps most dramatically expressed by the statement of one Communist member of the Guatemalan Congress that if there was a disturbance, that would mark the beginning of a beheading of all anti-Communist elements in Guatemala.

"I am confident that the great majority of the Guatemalan people do not want that state of affairs."

The Secretary's remarks were in response to a question about a report that Guatemalan Army officers had delivered an ultimatum to President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman to break with communism or resign.

Mr. Dulles disclaimed any first-hand knowledge of the report, although he said the State Department had also heard it.

He was asked, too, about reports that the United States would use tomorrow's meeting of the Council of American States

Wash. Evening Star
JUN 19 1954

Guatemala Arrests Baltimore Reporter

By the Associated Press.

BALTIMORE, June 19.—Staff Correspondent Patrick Skene Catling of the Baltimore Sun reported from Guatemala today that he and another American newspaperman had been arrested and held for a short time by "Communist-prodded police."

Mr. Catling, in a front-page dispatch, identified the other newsman as Tom Gerber of the Boston Traveler.

He said: "We had been taking pictures at the scheduled scene of a loyalty demonstration for President Jacobo Arbenz—a demonstration which, of course, was called off because of the news that the country was at war."

"Before long we were spotted by Victor Gutierrez, Guatemala's No. 1 Communist. Although not officially connected with either the government or the police, the scowling, shabbily dressed Gutierrez ordered a spic-and-span police sergeant to put us under arrest."

of American States to call for an inter-American foreign ministers' conference on the Guatemalan situation.

Tells of Exchange of Views

He could not confirm that report, either, Mr. Dulles said, but that does not mean it is untrue. He explained that the United States had been exchanging views with the other American states on the possibility of such a meeting, but he did not know whether the question would be raised at the council session.

Speculation persists, however, that the United States is ready to propose the meeting in view of the support it has received from almost all of the Latin-American governments. It is believed that the conference may open as early as June 28.

It is understood that the United States position has gained substantial strength since Washington first reported, with some concern, the shipment of about 1,900 tons of arms to Guatemala early last month.

Mr. Dulles said the arms shipment greatly exceeded Guatemala's legitimate defense needs and had given the Communist-infiltrated country military superiority in Central America.

Except for Costa Rica and Nicaragua, there appeared to be little immediate support for the United States expressions of alarm.

N.Y. Times

JUN 16 1954

ARMY SAID TO PROD GUATEMALAN CHIEF

President Arbenz Reported Asked for a Firm Decision on Policy Toward Reds

Special to The New York Times.

MEXICO, June 15.—The Guatemalan Army was reported here today to have called on President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman to make a firm decision on governmental policy toward communism.

The report said that eighty army heads had invited the President to meet with them and that at their meeting had submitted to him a list of questions regarding administration policy. According to the report, the President asked until some time this week to give his replies. The report came from a source whose ability to observe the Government's activities is unquestioned, according to visitors.

[This news threw a different light on reports in Washington Monday night that the Guatemalan Army had given an ultimatum to President Arbenz to break with the Communists or resign. Secretary of State Dulles said in Washington Tuesday that the State Department had heard about the ultimatum reports, but that he had no first-hand knowledge of their basis. He said the "Communist type of terrorism" in Guatemala was all that stood in the way of an anti-Communist house-cleaning by the people of that country.]

This week could be a decisive one in the Arbenz administration, travelers arriving from Guatemala said. Tension has been building up at such a rate in the country that there seems to be little more capacity to maintain pressure without some sort of solution.

This tension is indicated not only in the activity of the opposition, but in the proportionately stepped up activity of the Gov-

official tabulation listed 325 political arrests in the city of Guatemala alone.

Travelers reported that the Guatemalan police were operating in plainclothes and using jeeps. Official police cars are rarely seen in political arrests, they said.

It was reported that the body of a man who had disappeared Friday was delivered to his family this morning. The police said that the man, who obviously had been beaten to death, was a suicide. The family suspected that the man had been seized on political suspicion.

Responsible observers in Guatemala were said to suspect that the regime was indicating desperation by the mass arrests.

This has become apparent, particularly in press censorship, the regime was displaying desperation in the mass arrests.

This has become apparent, particularly in press censorship, which began in chaos, settled temporarily into something described as reasonable and then leaned more and more toward total irresponsibility, according to reports from Guatemala.

One correspondent in Guatemala complained to a visitor that among the items deleted was a comment that the Guatemalan press was paying particular attention to the forthcoming Marciano-Charles heavyweight championship bout.

The effects of suspension of constitutional guarantees were described as becoming more pronounced daily. Several articles in the Constitution guaranteeing basic freedoms were suspended last week in what was officially termed "a national crisis."

Homes Are Invaded

Suspension of guarantees, for the most part, was a legalization of practices that had been in force many days before the formal act was taken. Homes were invaded and arrests made without warrant and informal gatherings were broken up.

According to travelers from Guatemala, the present custom of talking softly and looking over one's shoulders dates to last Tuesday when suspension of civil rights was officially announced. Events have moved with greater tempo since. All political parties and groups supporting the Administration have warned their members in published manifestos of "grave" disaffections

Com + 46

throughout the country and urged them to close ranks and fight off attempts to overthrow the Government.

While these manifestos were printed in the Guatemalan press, foreign correspondents were prohibited from sending reports on them, informants said.

During this build-up of tension, Leonardo Castillo Flores, secretary general of the Communist-infiltrated National Con-

federation of Peasants, issued mobilization notices to the membership. These notices were interpreted by the press, which then was independent, as the first step toward a civilian army.

Señor Castillo denied this emphatically, but visitors from Guatemala cited credible reports that peasants were being armed by the Civil Guard.

Many believe that the spark to ignite an explosion was given off in the town of El Durazno in the jurisdiction of Amatitlan, near the capital. Seven persons, including two civil guards, were killed in a clash there when guards attempted to arrest anti-Communists. Two guards were slashed to death and five civilians were rounded up by reinforcements from the capital and executed.

This incident is having a profound effect on civilian in the capital, according to reports.

Exile Chief Vows Return

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 15 (P)—An exiled Guatemalan leader said today he would return "very shortly" to Guatemala. A showdown there between the army and the leftist Government of President Jacobo Arbenz seemed imminent.

Carlos Castillo Armas, former Guatemalan Army officer who heads the resistance movement here, issued a statement addressed to his compatriots. He told them to "have faith and confidence that I shall be with you very shortly."

A broadcast by the Guatemalan Government radio, heard here today, denied "categorically" the report of the army ultimatum. It said:

"Now, more than ever, the army and people of Guatemala offer their support" to the President.

Germans Bar Arms Cargo

HAMBURG, Germany, June 15 (P)—German officials said today that six tons of Swiss anti-aircraft ammunition consigned to Guatemala, but held up here at the request of the United States,

would be returned to the shipper. The shipper's name was not disclosed.

The officials said the German Shipping Association had agreed not to carry such cargoes in the future.

Wash. Post

JUN 16 1954

Czech Reds Shipped Guns To Guatemala

BONN, Germany, June 15 (AP). Communist Czechoslovakia shipped 100 pistols through the German port of Hamburg in March to Guatemala, American High Commission officials said today.

The pistol shipment was made two months before the United States disclosed that the Communist Czechs had shipped 2000 tons of assorted infantry weapons from the Polish port of Stettin to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala. The United States accuses the Guatemala government of having Communist sympathies.

Yesterday the High Commission disclosed that American, British and West German agents had intercepted in Hamburg 8 tons of Swiss 20-millimeter anti-aircraft training ammunition destined for Guatemala.

N.Y. Times

JUN 17 1954

GUATEMALA SPURS PRO-REGIME UNITY AS UNREST WIDENS

Army Ultimatum to Arbenz Denied—Red Party Role in Coalition Defended

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 16 — Events of potential political importance have been piling up here within the past twenty-four hours.

The Army and the Government denied that President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman had received an ultimatum from the armed services to resign within the twenty-four-hour period ended last night.

Hardly less important was a resolution published by the Communist party organ Tribuna Popular in which the Guatemalan Revolutionary party strongly defended inclusion of the Communist party in the National Democratic front. This coalition of three political parties and two labor confederations supports the regime of President Arbenz. Interior Minister Augusto Charnaud MacDonald is chief of the Revolutionary party.

[President Arbenz called a Cabinet meeting Wednesday to discuss political matters of "transcendent importance," the Guatemalan radio said, according to an Associate Press dispatch from Tegucigalpa, Honduras.]

The director of public relations for the Army Chief of Staff and the Secretary of Press and Propaganda for the National Palace issued a joint statement yesterday denying foreign reports that the Army had given President Arbenz an ultimatum Sunday night. The report "totally lacks truth," the statement said, adding: "Today more than ever the patriotic army of the National

to Citizen President Jacobo Arbenz."

[A dispatch filed from Mexico City Tuesday quoted reports there as having said that eighty army heads had submitted to President Arbenz a list of questions concerning Guatemalan administration policy.]

National Rally Organized

Daily this week the pattern of seeking unification and as much support as possible for the regime through loyalty pledges has continued to expand. The Arbenz supporters hope the pattern will reach its most vigorous point Friday, when a nation-wide rally is scheduled here.

The planning of this rally, at which the sponsoring committee's spokesmen have said 80,000 participants are expected, has taken on the energy and force typical of the organization of a May Day celebration. Through strict discipline and army-like timing, these celebrations usually are models of mass reunion and performance.

For nearly a week the parties and organizations supporting the regime have been calling their forces into conference to consider their plan of action in what has been called in censor-passed press dispatches a "national emergency" and a "time of crisis."

The latest of these was a four-day committee meeting of the Guatemalan Revolutionary party, headed by Interior Minister Charnaud MacDonald. The meeting adopted a resolution that emphasized that separation of the Communists from the Government would result in the destruction of forces supporting the Arbenz regime.

The objective of the "forces of reaction" is to destroy the unity of these supporting factors, the resolution declared. It continued:

"The reactionary forces know that, while the people of the democratic organization maintain their unity around their revolutionary government, it would be practically impossible to conquer their political power.

"To reach their objective, the reactionaries insist that the cause of all difficulties can be traced to the Guatemalan Workers party [Communist] and the support this party gives the Government."

These opposition forces, the

resolution said, "feel that the removal of all those [Communist] officials from the Government would make peace and tranquility prevail in Guatemala. This is completely false."

Señor Charnaud MacDonald's party is one of three supporting the Arbenz regime, the others being the Communists and the Revolutionary Action party. The Central Committee of the latter party met late yesterday to "consider the external and internal political situation of the country at this moment."

Officials' Kin in Mexico

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

MEXICO CITY, June 16—The 16-year-old daughter of the President of Guatemala and the wife of a former Guatemalan foreign minister have arrived in Mexico.

Their arrival here coincided with unconfirmed reports that President Arbenz was on the verge of resigning or of being forced out of office by a group of army officers concerned over the rise of Communist influence in Guatemala.

The President's daughter, Arabella, was said to be en route to a school in Montreal and Señora Bertha Osegueda to be visiting her daughter, who lives in Mexico City. However, Guatemalan exiles here read into the arrivals fresh indications that President Arbenz and his close collaborators of the last few years might be preparing to leave Guatemala.

Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Guatemalan Ambassador to Mexico, arrived here yesterday. He said "there is no truth whatsoever" to reports that the Army had demanded President Arbenz's resignation.

"I have received information from the high command of the Guatemalan armed forces," Señor Fuentes said, "asking me to deny categorically all information that involves the Army in political problems. I have also been asked to state that the armed forces are giving their complete support to the Government presided over by Colonel Arbenz in these trying times."

The ambassador's description of Guatemala as "tranquil and calm" was contradicted by United States travelers who reached here yesterday from Guatemala. They said a tense situation that might "blow up" any minute existed there.

Because of this, Pan American World Airways' regular southward flight to Panama was instructed today to omit its regular stop at Guatemala and pro-

ceed directly from Mexico City to San Salvador. The flight plan was drawn up to avoid flying over Guatemalan territory.

Pan American offices here did not know how long the order to bypass Guatemala would remain in effect. Taca International Airways, which flies there four times a week from Mexico City, said its flight tomorrow morning would be made as scheduled.

Mexican Reds Demonstrate

Meanwhile, Communist leaders in Mexico prepared a series of demonstrations in support of Guatemala and in an effort to dissuade the Mexican Government from joining the United States in the expected meeting of the Organization of American States to discuss the Guatemalan situation.

The Mexican Government abstained from voting on an anti-Communist resolution involving Guatemala at the recent inter-American conference in Caracas. But it has since changed its attitude toward the Guatemalan situation and has implied it would support an anti-Guatemalan resolution at the projected meeting.

The first of the Communist-organized demonstrations was held today. Between 200 and 300 high school and university students paraded with placards proclaiming support of Guatemala and denouncing the United States.

The authorities took no chances. They posted riot policemen armed with tear-gas guns through the downtown area and around a square where the students met briefly. The meeting passed off peacefully.

The afternoon newspaper *Ultimas Noticias* editorially called Gen. Lazaro Cardenas an "indiscreet demagogue" for having sent telegrams of support to the Guatemalan Government. General Cardenas is former President of Mexico who expropriated foreign oil properties here in 1938 and has remained a powerful political figure.

In effect, the newspaper told General Cardenas to mind his own business and advised him that, if he had counsel to give on international affairs, to give it to the President or the Foreign Minister of Mexico. This is the first time in most observers' memory that General Cardenas has been attacked this way publicly.

Parachute Landings Reported

Special to The New York Times.

MIAMI, Fla., June 15—The landing of six paratroopers in the Pacific Coast section of Guatemala was reported to the police there last night.

Information was extremely limited, but according to reports by travelers from Guatemala who reached here today, these paratroopers were seen by an agent at a small international railway station in the San Jose section of the coast. The agent notified his chief dispatcher, who notified

the police in the city of Guatemala. There also were persistent reports of several arms drops in the Tiquisate area of the Pacific Coast.

[Guillermo Palmieri, Guatemalan chief of tourism, said in Panama that he had learned by telephone that ammunition, not paratroopers, had been dropped and that farmers had turned it over to the Government. Señor Palmieri has not been dismissed from office, as reported earlier.]

The reported parachute drop was of a series of events that have been keeping Guatemala on edge for the last few days, according to reports from that country. The most recent to arouse interest in political circles was the revelation that José Antonio Palmieri, an outstanding anti-Communist editor, had taken political asylum in the Salvadoran embassy.

Editor of the evening newspaper *El Imparcial*, Señor Palmieri is known throughout Central America as "Jap" and as a forceful writer on communism. It was considered unusual when his daily column did not appear yesterday.

He is a brother of Guillermo Palmieri, head of the National Tourist Bureau, who yesterday was read out of the Guatemalan Revolutionary party, of which he was secretary for press and propaganda. The two brothers have been at political odds since the start of the present regime.

Guillermo Palmieri went to Panama Saturday to attend the Central American Tourist Congress.

He and Alejandro Silva Falla, another secretary, were stripped of their party jobs for "having abandoned their country in a national emergency." Señor Silva Falla, who was secretary of agriculture in the party, was known to have been openly critical of Communist activities within the national agrarian reform movement.

N.Y. Times

JUN 17 1954

EISENHOWER SEES GUATEMALA PERIL

President Deplores Pressure
on Reds' Foes—Bid for New
Arms Stores Reported

By WALTER H. WAGGONER

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 16

While President Eisenhower described recent developments in Guatemala as very disturbing, the State Department said today that the Communist-dominated government there had been trying to buy large quantities of military vehicles, aircraft and ammunition.

The State Department's disclosure followed by only a few hours the President's news conference remarks deploring the suspension of constitutional rights and the arrest of anti-Communists in Guatemala.

The State Department said it was "significant" that Guatemala has been especially interested in buying machine guns, automatic rifles and small arms. The Department announced last month that Guatemala had received 1,900 tons of arms from behind the Iron Curtain. Although the composition of the shipment has never been officially described, it is understood the bulk of that cargo was small arms and ammunition.

The State Department added in today's statement that this Government was "making every effort to prevent further shipment of arms to that country [Guatemala] and has consulted with a number of the free world [governments] to request their cooperation toward this end."

President Deplores Actions

President Eisenhower directed his comment primarily to actions being taken against the Guatemalan people, such as the arrest of some anti-Communists. Those actions, he said, form the pattern upon which the United States has looked with great displeasure in more than one country.

Yesterday Secretary of State John Foster Dulles charged that Guatemala was held in a "Communist-type" reign of terror.

The President said the developments in Guatemala were the sort of thing that the recent Caracas anti-Communist resolution

was designed to handle.

That resolution, adopted at the Inter-American conference at Caracas in March, makes it possible for the American republics to invoke the 1947 Rio de Janeiro Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance or other hemispheric pacts against Communist aggression or domination of the member governments.

The President said the United States was consulting with the other Latin American countries and that the Guatemalan situation was under the most urgent and serious study.

The United States, meanwhile, is expected in the near future to call for a meeting of the Inter-American foreign ministers to try to develop a hemisphere-wide progress of checking the spread of communism from its foothold in Guatemala.

Some observers had expected the United States to take the matter before the Council of the Organization of American States, which met this morning. The move was not made there, but officials said the Council could be convened on a few hours' notice.

It is assumed that Mr. Dulles would represent the United States at the proposed foreign ministers' conference, but if he could not attend, it would not be improper to send an alternate, authorities said.

Latin Congressmen to Meet

Special to The New York Times.

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 16—

Preparations are well advanced for a meeting here of Latin American members of Congress and other outstanding elements to discuss the Guatemala problem, it was reported today.

The four-day gathering is scheduled to open July 1 and it is expected to cause repercussions throughout the continent before the meeting of foreign ministers to discuss Communist penetration in American republics, principally Guatemala.

A committee of Chilean leftist members of Congress—four senators and nine deputies—has extended an invitation to all congressional bodies throughout the continent.

Wash. Post
JUN 17 1954

Anti-Reds Disappear In Guatemala 'War'

By Edwin A. Lahey

C.D.N. Foreign Service

GUATEMALA CITY, June 16. A small minority of "agrarian reformers" in one week has turned the essentially non-Communist Republic of Guatemala into a pretty good reproduction of a Soviet police state.

Since the Communist-influenced government of President Jacob Arbenz Guzman suspended constitutional liberties last week, potential leaders of the anti-Communist uprising have been arrested by the hundreds. Some have disappeared.

One shopkeeper, a member of a wealthy family, was arrested Saturday for having a store of clandestine arms in his possession. His body was returned to his family Sunday, with an explanation from the police that he had committed suicide.

Another anti-Communist, married to a relative of Col. Castillo Armas, who leads the anti-Arbenz forces from his refuge in Honduras, was found dead on the street near the home of United States Ambassador John Peurifoy, an apparent victim of a hit and run driver.

Jose A. Miranda, editor of a small anti-Communist weekly, who was arrested Saturday after police had confiscated the Friday issue of his newspaper, the Mundo Libre, has disappeared. Police told his wife they knew nothing of Miranda's whereabouts.

The Editor of El Espectador, J. A. Palmyri, critic of the Arbenz regime, has taken refuge in the embassy of El Salvador, awaiting safe passage out of Guatemala. Another anti-Communist editor, Rafael Escobar Aiguella of Correo de Occidente, also has taken refuge there.

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June 17, 1954

Offers to Play Host
MONTEVIDEO, Uruguayan June 16 (P).—The Uruguayan government today formally offered to play host to any inter-American foreign ministers' meeting held to discuss Communist penetration in Guatemala.

A Foreign Office communique welcomed proposals to hold the conference in Montevideo. It added that there has not yet been a formal request to convene such a meeting from any hemisphere nation as required under the 1947 Rio de Janeiro treaty.

Wash. Post

JUN 18 1954

Exiles Say 1500 Are Held Hostage

MEXICO CITY, June 17 (P).—Guatemalan political exiles claimed today that more than 1500 hostages are being held in the presidential palace in Guatemala City and will be put to death the moment a revolution breaks out against the present Communist-tinted government.

The hostages reportedly include many women and children, relatives of government opponents.

N.Y. Times
JUN 18 1954

ANTI-ARBENZ MEN MOVE IN HONDURAS

Open Activities of Uniformed Throgs Bring Plea for Curb From Guatemala's Envoy

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 17 (P) — Recruits for an apparent resistance move against Guatemala's leftist government Tegucigalpa's streets in uniform today, despite a plea from the Guatemalan envoy to curb them.

Foreign correspondents in the Honduran capital were impressed by the numbers of khaki-clad men in the city and gathered at the airport. Wearing no insignia, the men boarded planes without any apparent effort to hide their movements. Reports from San Pedro Sula, a banana center 110 miles northwest of Tegucigalpa and only twenty-five miles from the Guatemalan border, said the resistance forces also were moving about openly there.

Guatemalan Ambassador Amadeo Chinchilla urged Honduras last night to halt the movement of men and arms to points near the common border. But usually reliable sources said Guatemalan exiles loyal to Carlos Castillo Armas, who heads the resistance movement here, still were being airlifted toward their native country.

Señor Chinchilla made his plea to Honduran Foreign Minister J. Edgardo Valenzuela. Later he told news men:

"We have reports that well-equipped soldiers carrying guns are being flown and driven by car to points near our border. They are being flown in chartered planes."

Reports of Friction Heard

The Ambassador said Señor Valenzuela had assured him Honduras "will prevent any incidents at the border and has given orders for the seizure of any arms there."

Señor Chinchilla said Col. Carlos Diaz, chief of the Guatemalan armed forces, had told him by telephone that two planes dropped "modern arms" by parachute Monday near Tiquisate, Guatemala, near the Pacific Coast. He said the arms had been picked up by farmers and turned over to the police.

The Ambassador said many Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans

Cont. 49

were believed to be "around Castillo Armas."

Señor Castillo Armas said his resistance movement was manned by Guatemalans, that some Costa Ricans at his headquarters were not taking an active part in it, and that there are no Nicaraguans with him.

Additional reports of friction between President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and the army and of bloody clashes between the police and anti-Communists filtered through Guatemala's censorship.

Most significant of these was a report President Arbenz had met frequently with leading Army officers in the last two weeks after rumors spread the Government would arm farm workers. Informed sources close to the President said he had been able to placate the officers.

Earlier advices had said eighty officers gave the President a questionnaire last week-end calling on him to clarify this week his relationship with the Communists.

Informed sources said eleven persons were killed last week in continued police round-ups of anti-Communists, at least 450 of whom are being held in the capital's jails.

Flight from Guatemala

Special to The New York Times.

NEW ORLEANS, June 17—All indications are that the mother and two children of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman left Guatemala by military transport plane late Tuesday night, according to visitors reaching here today from Guatemala.

A series of bewilderingly rapid events that has served to keep Guatemala off balance this past week seems to be leading almost certainly to a conclusion that will decide whether the present Communist infiltrated Guatemalan regime can survive.

An opposition force within and without the country has been gaining momentum rapidly these past few days. According to observers from Guatemala, the time must come soon when the two forces must come to grips with the Government or dissolve.

Arrests, Beatings, Torture

Thus far, even without direct clashes, there have been mass arrests, brutal beatings and three known instances in which victims have been killed by authorities during or after torture.

These events have occurred within the past twenty-four hours:

Travelers from the southwest coastal area are being searched dozens of times while en route to Guatemala City. The searches are being conducted by armed peasant groups.

There were drops of arms by parachute over this area, particularly around the port of San

Jose during the past three nights.

The Cabinet met with President Arbenz late yesterday afternoon in an extraordinary session which was called shortly before noon.

The number of political arrests have been increased drastically. The nearest count as of Wednesday morning was that upwards of 800 had been arrested on suspicion of political opposition activity. Eighteen who sought political asylum in the Salvador Embassy left the country by plane this morning, according to travelers.

The flight of the military transport plane caused a sensation in Guatemala, according to visitors from there.

At about six o'clock soldiers with bayoneted guns surrounded the airport and prohibited entrance not only of the public but of airport personnel. Both Pan-American and T. A. C. A. Airline personnel were forbidden to enter, the visitors reported.

According to the witnesses, Col. J. Arturo Mendizabal, commanding officer of the airport, called his superior, Col. Luis A. Giron, chief of the Air Force, to ask for an explanation. He was reportedly told there would be no explanation.

Shortly before ten o'clock the Presidential automobile, a black Cadillac bearing the license plate No. 1, came to the airport entrance. It was surrounded by soldiers for some moments and then witnesses could see a large number of packages being removed.

It seemed likely that one or more persons had entered the airport terminal while the automobile was surrounded, according to witnesses. At about 10:45 P. M., the transport plane, a DC-3, took off. About five minutes later two fighter planes took off, presumably as an escort and disappeared in a westerly direction.

President Arbenz' mother, Senora Octavia Guzman Serra had been living at the Presidential residence some time. The President and his wife have three children, Anabella, 14; Leonora, 12, and Jacobo, 8. The eldest has been visiting in Canada since last week.

According to the visitors, Guatemala abounds in rumors that the days of the Arbenz regime are numbered. The report of the Tuesday night plane flight amplified these rumors to encompass the possibility the President and his wife had fled the country. This was discounted later in the day but as of last night Senora Arbenz had not been seen.

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OIL STORES BOMBED

Minister Says Foreign Forces Join Exiles in an Invasion

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 18—The battle for Guatemala is on, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello announced today.

Speaking from his office in the National Palace, he said that unidentified planes from an unknown take-off point bombed the country's gasoline stores last night. He did not identify the location of these stores, but it was believed one target was San José, major port on the southwestern Pacific coast.

Shortly before 10 A. M. today, word reached this correspondent that shooting had broken out in Puerto Barrios, an East Coast port. No details were available.

A half-hour later, word came that the uprising had begun in the town of Retalhuleu, about thirty miles south of the Mexican border.

[In a broadcast heard in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Señor Toriello confirmed that an invasion had started in Puerto Barrios and San José.]

Minister Shows Strain

Señor Toriello began his press conference with this announcement:

"As most of you know, Guatemala is faced with a grave situation. At this moment, our country is under attack."

He did not say that land forces had invaded Guatemala, but he constantly used the word "invasion." He said planes had invaded Guatemalan territory.

During his explanation, Señor Toriello continually referred to "Guatemalan exiles." When asked whether the invasion forces were composed only of Guatemalans, he replied: "There were others, including Cubans, Nica-

raguans, Dominicans and mercenaries."

Asked whether the attackers were led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, exiled Guatemalan Army officer, the Minister replied: "Exactly."

Señor Toriello emphasized Guatemala's friendship with Honduras and exonerated that country from participation in the attack. He spoke bitterly of Nicaragua, especially President Anastasio Somoza.

He charged that Nicaragua had "helped this attack" and that the invasion had had the direct assistance of General Somoza.

Foreign elements, especially the United Fruit Company, are helping the invasion and trying to establish tyranny over Guatemala, the Minister asserted.

Arms Dropped by Air

The people learned for the first time late yesterday that foreign unidentified planes not only had flown repeatedly over the country without permission, but had dropped a significant amount of arms and ammunition. Also made known in the last twenty-four hours were the following:

Wholesalers and retailers have been notified that further upward price adjustments of basic commodities will be punishable.

Officials are considering the creation of a special police agency to combat smuggling which has been increasing in the national emergency.

The Information Ministry revealed that the appearance of unidentified aircraft had been responsible for the country's first blackout Tuesday night.

The blackout caught the populace completely by surprise. It was evident that many had thought it to be simply a power failure. The drone of the planes was the conclusive clue, however.

According to an official comment, a plane flew over the southern coast Monday night and parachuted arms and ammunition in the area around Tiquisate, where large United Fruit Company holdings are situated. Packages containing the arms were quickly discovered and turned over to the civil guard, the Government said. "Great numbers of farm workers, residents in the area, were said to have cooperated "with great efficiency and patriotism in the work of locating and turning over these parachute drops."

Unofficial reports Tuesday morning said that an agent of

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the International Railway Company in the Tiquisate area had spotted at least six parachutes at the same time as the arms were dropped.

Markings Are Described

The parachuted packages were said to have contained machine guns, automatic pistols, rifles, hand grenades and a large amount of cartridges of various caliber.

The machine guns had no particular markings to identify their manufacture. The cartridge belts appeared to be of a type used by the United States.

The Army announcement said markings on the rifles "lead us to believe they were manufactured in the Soviet Union since they bear a little circle in which is enclosed a hammer and sickle," the Government statement added.

It added that apparently the arms had been directed to "groups of conspirators who, because of suspension of constitutional guarantees, have been brought under national control."

The Government's statement ended by demanding that sanctions be brought against the country responsible for the arms drop.

Meanwhile, the Confederation of Labor appealed today to "all organized labor, federations and democratic forces" to attend a mass meeting arranged by the Democratic University Front to show support for the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

The appeal urged that it was necessary that "we give a clear and categorical answer to imperialist Yankees and their lackeys, the feudal landowners and the great merchants, that the people of Guatemala do not intend to allow delivery of our country to foreign powers or to take one step backward in the support of the Arbenz democratic regime."

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UPRISING PLOTTED EARLY THIS YEAR

Anti-Regime Forces Have Been Massing in Honduras—U. S. Accused by Guatemala

Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, a leader of the resistance movement in the Guatemalan armed forces, has been massing forces in Honduras since early this year in preparation for an invasion.

Just two days ago, when reports filtered out of Guatemala that the army had called on President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman to make a firm decision on his attitude toward communism, Col. Castillo Armas told his followers to "have faith and confidence and I will be with you shortly."

In an effort to forestall the threatened invasion, Guatemala proposed to Honduras late last month that the two nations sign a pact of friendship and non-aggression.

The bid followed the flight of a C-47 plane over the city of Guatemala dropping leaflets calling on the people to join with Col. Castillo Armas in the struggle against communism in Guatemala.

Guatemalan Scores Flight

Guillermo Toriello, called the flight a "provocation of the utmost gravity" and declared: "If they could drop paper leaflets one day, they could drop other things, too."

Earlier Guatemala had charged that the United States, which had protested the country's apparently increasing orientation toward communism, was plotting an invasion through Nicaragua. And it charged the United Fruit Company, which has large banana holdings in Guatemala, with supplying arms to the plotters.

That company had 233,973 acres of its land expropriated by the Guatemalan Government under a land reform program, and is facing the expropriation of 174,000 acres more. The United States has protested the compensation offered to the company.

Col. Castillo Armas calls his resistance organization, which has its headquarters in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, the Anti-Communist Front of Guatemalans in

Exile. Its policies have been called the liberation of his country from foreign domination and exotic doctrines.

Reds Hold Vital Posts

Neither Guatemala's president nor its Government is Communist. But the Guatemalan Workers' party, which is Communist, is part of the Government coalition and the president has allowed avowed Communists to hold important sub-Cabinet posts.

In addition Guatemala recently purchased \$10,000,000 worth of arms from behind the Iron Curtain. This purchase was protested by the United States, and Colonel Castillo Armas charged that the arms were not going to the Army but to a "fifth column that is soon to extend its radius of action against the democracies of this Continent."

Colonel Castillo Armas has been in opposition to the present regime in Guatemala since the March, 1949, assassination of Col. Francisco Javier Arana, then the chief of the country's armed forces.

Colonel Arana was one of the leaders with President Arbenz of the revolution of October, 1944, that overthrew the then acting President, Frederico Ponce.

Two days of riots in Guatemala City followed the assassination of Colonel Arana, and after they were quelled Col. Castillo Armas was removed from his post of chief of the Fourth Military District.

In November 1950, during the elections that made Señor Arbenz president, Colonel Castillo Armas was the leader of an abortive uprising. With a force of seventy civilians he attacked the base of the First Infantry Regiment on the outskirts of the capital, and in the clash sixteen were killed and ten wounded.

Colonel Castillo Armas was arrested and confined in the central penitentiary. In June 1951, however, he succeeded in tunnelling his way to freedom and took refuge in the Colombian legation. He received a safe conduct from the Foreign Ministry and left the country.

Colonel Castillo Armas will be 40 years old in November. He was born in Guatemala, was graduated from the Polytechnical School and was commissioned in 1936. From July, 1945, to February, 1946, he attended a ground and service course at Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

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EXILE REBEL HEAD IN RADIO 'WARNING'

Castillo Armas Broadcasts to Backers and to Guatemala From Honduran Center

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 18—Headquarters of Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the Guatemalan forces in exile, said tonight it would have an important announcement within a few hours. In the absence of Colonel Castillo Armas, believed to have flown to join his supporters at an assembly point near the border, this was taken as confirmation that the invasion of Guatemala had begun.

Earlier, Colonel Castillo Armas in a broadcast monitored here, appealed to friends in Guatemala to withdraw money from banks and to leave the lights in their houses on to guide rebel bombers through the blackout of the capital city.

Colonel Castillo Armas said that otherwise invading airmen could not be responsible for what they might hit in the center of the city.

From Guatemala, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello in a broadcast for the Arbenz Government, made a direct personal appeal to President Juan Manuel Galvez of Honduras to disown the Guatemalan exiles. Señor Toriello said that Guatemala had always respected the inviolability of the territory of her neighbors.

In another government broadcast from Guatemala, it was said that fire had started, presumably in Guatemala City, but the gasoline dumps were nowhere near the flames and that there was no danger of explosion.

The Guatemalan Government also said that two planes had

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flown over the national capital, but had been routed by anti-aircraft fire. The National Palace is a beautiful building, of pale green stone and is noted as a landmark throughout Latin America. It contains the offices of the President and Cabinet members.

The Guatemalan Ambassador to Honduras, Amadeo Chinchilla, received urgent instructions from Señor Toriello to protest to the Honduran Foreign Ministry and, if possible, to see President Juan Manuel Galvez. Foreign Minister J. Edgardo Valenzuela of Honduras left his office this evening before the Guatemalan envoy could arrange an appointment.

Earlier, it was clear that the build-up of a potential striking force of Guatemalan exiles was continuing under the noses and in plain view of Honduran officials. The charter aircraft business at Toncontin airport boomed so that it was virtually impossible to hire a private plane.

It was confirmed that the forces of Colonel Castillo Armas had concentrated in the area between Nueva Ocotépeque and Copan, near the Guatemalan-Honduran border. From either point it is only a few miles to the border. Men from here were being joined along the frontier by other exiles from El Salvador. The three countries come together just west of Nueva Ocotépeque.

Armament assembly by the rebels—some of which has been flown in to Toncontin Airport here in unmarked transports—includes mortars, Bren guns and at least one flamethrower. The man who said he saw the flamethrower in a crate at the airport, an oldtime resident here,

thought he saw the marking, "Veracruz." There is a tiny community by that name a few miles northeast of Nueva Ocotépeque.

Estimates of the number of Guatemalans gathered between Nueva Ocotépeque and the Guatemala border ranged from 300 to 5,000. Since the men were known to be converging from two countries—and possibly three to the extent that some Guatemalans may be coming out across the border to join their compatriots on the Honduran side—there was no way to fix the figure.

At least six chartered flights of DC-3 planes have left Toncontin with twenty-eight passengers each. A four-place Stinson has been making at least one flight daily.

The men who manage and fly these planes naturally do not know the Honduran affiliate

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U. S. CONTACTS CUT

But Reports Assert the Revolt Is Serious— Capital Watchful

By WALTER H. WAGGONER

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 18—The State Department said this evening it had information of "serious uprisings" in Guatemala but had received no word about a bombing announced by the Guatemalan Foreign Minister.

Through sources that it declined to disclose, the Department said it had learned that anti-Communist uprisings were under way in Puerto Barrios, Quetzaltenango and Zacapa.

"Because of these uprisings," a Department spokesman said, "our communications are not functioning as they should."

Despite the difficulty of communicating with the United States Embassy in Guatemala, Ambassador John E. Peurifoy has standing instructions, which apply to all chiefs of diplomatic missions, on the protection of American life and property.

Department officials declined to comment on the Guatemalan Foreign Minister's announcement that his country was being bombed and that the troops were mobilized in Honduras for the invasion of Guatemala.

'Logical Strike' Seen

To Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello's statement that foreign

of Pan American Airways, which has a fleet of eight planes, confirms merely that it has always catered to charter flights at the rate of \$200 an hour.

The ground around Nueva Ocotépeque is fairly high, but the valley of the Lempa River, which flows from Guatemala into Honduras and then into El Salvador, would provide a logical invasion route. At the same time, defending forces would certainly be aware of such a threat.

planes had bombed Guatemalan oil storage facilities, one informant said that appeared to be a "logical strike" if an invasion were actually in preparation.

It is understood that Guatemala's gasoline and oil reserves are severely limited, and may amount to only a two or three-week supply.

Another observer said it was reasonable, too, that an invasion might be timed with the anti-Government uprisings. There were no indications, however, that Guatemala City had yet felt the unrest of the widely separated Puerto Barrios, Zacapa and Quetzaltenango.

The first two are close to Guatemala's border with Honduras, while the third is closer to Mexico in the mountainous region overlooking the Pacific.

Puerto Barrios was the destination last month of a shipload of arms, estimated at 1,900 tons, that originated in Stettin, a port in Communist Poland.

The big question-mark here tonight was the possible effect of the developments in Guatemala on the proposed Inter-American Foreign Ministers' meeting tentatively scheduled for Montevideo, Uruguay, early next month.

There appeared to be no doubt but that the uprisings, the bombings, and the poised invasion force in Honduras—if the report

from Guatemala is true—could seriously disrupt plans for a meeting based instead on the potential threat of Guatemala to its neighbors.

Officials declined to speculate what the purpose of the Guatemalan Foreign Minister's announcement would be, if it is true, but they emphasized that, until its own official reports began coming through, the State Department would adopt a "wait and see" attitude.

Right of Search Urged

The State Department is seeking the backing of Latin American governments for a declaration of the right of the American states to search ships on the high seas for arms destined for Guatemala.

Latin American diplomats said today that the declaration was part of a draft resolution prepared for the meeting of the Organization of American States, which the State Department has circulated among Latin American governments. The Organization of American States is expected to meet in Montevideo about July 1, to consider action to halt the spread of communism in Guatemala.

The resolution was understood to contain the following points:

1. The American States reserve the right to exercise the power

of search and seizure on the high seas. This right would be exercised only as a last resort after other measures to prevent arms shipments to Guatemala had failed.

2. They call upon all American republics to regulate travel of known Communist agents.

3. They call upon the Guatemalan Government and people to rid their country of Communist subversives.

State Department officials declined to confirm or deny that the draft existed, but pointed out that the Department was consulting with Latin American Governments on steps to be taken at a meeting of the Organization of American States.

Under international law a country may exercise the power of search and seizure on the high seas by consent or if it is maintaining an effective blockade. The declaration contained in the proposed United States resolution would therefore constitute a warning that the blockade might be undertaken.

Peruvian Sees Eisenhower

The Peruvian Foreign Minister, Ricardo Rivera Schreiber, conferred with President Eisenhower this morning and later lunched with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

The minister said later that he discussed with President Eisenhower the problems of preserving democracy and combatting communism in the American hemisphere. With Mr. Dulles he said he discussed the possibility that the United States may increase the tariff on lead and zinc or limit its importation by quota.

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Took Credit for Reform**Communists Moved Slowly
And Carefully in Guatemala**

Communist dominance in Guatemalan politics was not an event that occurred overnight, although it seemed so to many Americans, and neither has it reached its ultimate goal: Complete, undisguised rule of Guatemala, Latin America's most populated country.

Preparation and infiltration began after the "October Revolution" of 1944 when the "genial dictator," Gen. Jorge Ubico Casteneda, was ungently holsted from office after thirteen years of rule.

When the Guatemalan army and students of the National University of San Carlos banded together to send Gen. Casteneda into exile at New Orleans, a revolutionary junta—including the then-Capt. Jacobo Arbenz—assumed control.

Professor Elected

Juan Jose Arevalo, a university professor who held rather-vague theories of socialism, was elected president and, with the junta's consent, declared that all political partis were welcome.

The Communists immediately set up a Marxist indoctrination school, the Escuela Claridad, to lure and train Guatemalan youth who knew there had been social injustice but did not know what to do about it. The school told them.

In 1946, President Arevalo, his political innocence seemingly wearing off, closed the school on the grounds that the constitution forbade "political organizations of a foreign or international character" and, in 1947, he exiled several Communist leaders. The damage, however,

had already been done, and Arevalo compounded his initial error by allowing the Communists to return.

Take Credit

When the Congress passed the country's first social security law in 1946, the Communists quietly claimed the credit and continued to build.

They were ready when Jacobo Arbenz, who had risen from captain to colonel since Ubico's removal, won the 1950 election and succeeded to the presidency on March 15, 1951.

There were, and are, relatively few Communists, but, what they lacked in numbers, they made up in determination, energy and willingness to play along with any plan so long as it furthered their ultimate aim.

Land Reform

President Arbenz knew he faced strong opposition in his determination to push through a country-wide program of land reform, including those properties owned by the United Fruit Co., and he gladly accepted the aid of the energetic Communists.

The Communist Party adopted the land reform program as its own, changed its name to the Guatemalan Labor Party, moved more and more into the open, and convinced near-starving peasants that communism, and communism alone, provided the Agrarian Reform Law of June 17, 1952.

President Arbenz, also impressed, has taken more and more outright Communists or fellow travelers into his coalition government, and anti-Communist demonstrations generally have been dealt with severely.

**Guatemala's Arms
Made by Czechs**

By JOHN H. MARTIN

THAT famous ten-million-dollar cargo of arms shipped into Guatemala, where a Communist-backed government reigns 700 miles from the Panama Canal, has been identified as coming from Czechoslovakia.

A reliable report to the Free Europe Committee says that since Jan. 1 in Czechoslovakia the Brno Armament factory has been producing pistols of a known French military pattern.

One interesting part of this information is that the copied French pistols do not bear the usual trade mark of "Made in Czechoslovakia."

The wooden crates in which the arms leave the factory at a rate of 10,000 weekly also are not marked except for serial numbers.

These pistols have been shipped to Poland. The Free Europe Committee does not speculate about the eventual destination of these arms, which are only one type of many turned out by experts in Czechoslovakia.

But the implication seems clear that some of these arms are going to Guatemala, where early last night the anti-Reds invaded the country.

The United States, not Guatemala, first disclosed the landing of the arms in Guatemala. Washington officially said they left the Polish port of Stettin and originated in Czechoslovakia.

Another Red Fraud

A report of another bit of Communist fraud that has reached the Free Europe Committee is that a Soviet Russian company last year filmed "a documentary film" on alleged "American atrocities in Korea." Not in Korea, but made in Czechoslovakia.

Details of this deception reached the Committee through a young Czechoslovakian soldier who was a member of a special military guard covering the film area in the vicinity of Naklerov, near Usti and Labem, North of Prague.

Czechs dressed in American uniforms acted out such atrocity scenes as setting fire to a church in which little Korean children were "burn to death."

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Hundreds Join Rebel Push, Base in Honduras Reports

By **MILTON BRACKER**
Special to The New York Times.

COPAN, Honduras, June 19—Guatemalan insurgents under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas are "marching on the capital" against light resistance and are being joined by "hundreds" of their countrymen as they advance, according to a "liberation" liaison unit here.

Copan is four miles from the frontier and not far from the point where Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras meet. Copan is the site of famed Honduran ruins and is not to be confused with the town of Santa Rosa de Copan farther from the border.

After several days of secret forays into Guatemala, the invasion started officially at 5 P. M. yesterday with heavily armed men crossing into Guatemala at "several points."

The insurgents said that in general regular Guatemalan Army forces had withdrawn, leaving virtually the entire frontier undefended.

Mule Trains Supply Units

There were some clashes, including one at Zacapa, opposite here, but a spokesman said so far no insurgent casualties had been evacuated.

Colonel Castillo Armas has established his headquarters in Guatemala. A supply base exists between twenty and twenty-five kilometers on the Guatemalan side of the border. It is being supplied exclusively by mule train. The country is roadless with thickly forested hills creased by primitive trails.

The invaders have chosen as identification a blue armband bearing a conventionalized short sword with a broad crossbar.

Their motto is "God and Honor." Some units also carry the

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Guatemalan national flag, which is blue and white.

A Guatemalan party, gathered near the tiny airport here, which normally serves traffic to the ruins of Copan, were in informal uniforms and bore side-arms.

The party included Manuel Orellana Portillo, a business man wearing suntans and with a heavy growth of black whiskers, and Manuel Orellana Cardona, a Guatemala City attorney who had a German machine pistol in his belt. He was in the Guatemalan diplomatic service in Europe for twelve years and took exile in the Costa Rican Embassy two weeks ago.

Others in the party were Juan Fermin Valladares, a landowner, whose property is at San José Pinula, near the capital, and who left on June 13; Carlos A. Reinos, another lawyer carrying a German Luger and belted with .38-caliber ammunition; Luis Davis Ekanasy, a chemist who had attended a recent anti-Communist conference in Mexico, and Edrain Espinosa, a Honduran who lives and has a shoe store in Guatemala.

Information Chief Chosen

Señor Orellana Portillo said he had been chosen as chief of information by Colonel Castillo Armas. He said there had been no resistance to rebel planes that bombed gasoline tanks at San José on the Pacific coast, Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic and the capital itself.

Fighting was said to have occurred at Zacapa, twenty miles west of here, but the impression was strong that relatively little combat actually took place along this border region.

Señor Orellana Portillo said Guatemalan farm workers had been making their way to the rebels' supply base where they drew equipment and joined the invaders.

Obviously aware of the political delicacy of the situation, Señor Orellana Portillo said that "with or without the recent declarations of General Eisenhower and Secretary [of State] Dulles [about the Communist menace in Guatemala] we would have entered Guatemala."

He added that the movement did draw "some hope and optimism" from recent expressions of United States policy.

The Castillo Armas group, surrounded by big-hatted Honduran peasants as they spoke, said a two-motored Guatemalan reconnaissance plane, flying very low, had "crossed into Honduran territory" at 12:15 P. M. yesterday.

They said Colonel Castillo Armas had information that the Arbenz regime had transformed the National Palace in the city of Guatemala into a great shelter for women and children and that up to 1,500 refugees were living there.

In Tegucigalpa, the Guatemalan Ambassador, Amadeo Chinchilla, was to see Honduran President Juan Manuel Galvez this afternoon. Señor Chinchilla said he had a conversation with José Edgardo Valenzuela, Honduran Foreign Minister, late last night and received "assurances" that Honduras would not permit abuses by the Guatemalan exiles.

Señor Chinchilla was received by President Galvez this afternoon. He asked the President to assemble all Guatemalan exiles with a view to seeing their status unabused and he asked the expulsion of Colonel Castillo Armas.

According to Señor Chinchilla, "the President said he would immediately give strict orders with a view to granting these requests by Guatemala and seeing to it that relations between the sister republics remained unchanged."

It was noted that Colonel Castillo Armas had left Honduras and was already in Guatemala with his insurgent forces.

An air tour of the border between Copan and Puerto Cortés, with the plane getting as close to Guatemalan territory as possible, showed no indication of action in the frontier zone.

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TORIELLO HITS U. S.

Foreign Minister Tells Telephone Interviewer Here of Casualties

By TAD SZULC

Guillermo Toriello, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, declared early today that the entire nation—the Army, the workers and the peasants—stood united, behind the Guatemalan Government in the current crisis.

Señor Toriello said in a telephone interview with The New York Times that the "internal front of Guatemala is perfectly united."

"The Army is with the Government, and so are the workers and the peasants," he said. "The Government has the most complete support of all the patriotic Guatemalans."

Supplying the most up-to-date Government report on the military operations resulting from the invasion of Guatemala on Friday by anti-Communist forces led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the Foreign Minister said that the rebels occupied at noon Saturday two "small villages" near the Honduras border. These are Esquipulas and Jocatan, he said.

Strafing Plane Kills Child

Speaking from the National Palace in Guatemala City, Señor Toriello said that the capital was attacked once yesterday by rebel airplanes. One little girl was killed when a plane strafed a house in the capital and nine persons were wounded, he declared.

The aerial attack, he said, was primarily directed at the military base in the capital.

The Foreign Minister said that damage caused at the military base in the capital was insignificant.

The capital was attacked twice on Friday.

Another air raid was carried

out yesterday against the Atlantic port of Puerto Barrios. Señor Toriello insisted that, despite rebel claims, Puerto Barrios remained in Government hands.

"We are in full control of the situation," he said.

Señor Toriello said that four rebel planes also attacked yesterday the town of Chiquimula in the Department of Chiquimula and another town in the Department of Chalapa. He said that a young girls' school in the latter town was strafed by the attacking planes.

Señor Toriello said that the Guatemalan Army was purposely refraining from attacking the rebels, whose forces he estimated at between 1,500 and 2,000 men.

Wants World to Know

"The Guatemalan Army does not want to attack," he said. "We want the entire world to become aware of the aggression against our country."

He said later in the interview that the command of the Army would decide if and when an attack on the rebels would take place.

"It all depends," he added.

The Foreign Minister charged that the "aggression" had "the firm support" of the United States Department of State. He said that Honduras and Nicaragua were guilty of aiding and abetting the attack.

"The aggression," he declared, "is directed by the big interests and monopolies, such as the United Fruit Company, which have the firm support of the Department of State and of mercenaries from the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua and Honduras."

"This aggression is carried out with the absolute tolerance of the Honduran Government, with which Guatemala always had unchanging relations of friendship."

He said that instead of disarming the rebels, the Honduran Government was allowing rebel planes to take off and land on its territory on missions against Guatemala.

Señor Toriello said that the United Nations Security Council, meeting this afternoon on Guatemala's request, would be asked to take action under the Charter against Honduras and Nicaragua.

The Foreign Minister, speaking in Spanish in quick, short sentences, charged that those at-

lacking his country aimed at "ending democracy in Guatemala to impose in its place a tyranny that would serve the interests of foreign companies."

"But the people of Guatemala are not disposed to permit the success of this enterprise, undertaken with the complicity of Honduras and Nicaragua, of the foreign companies and of the high officials of the [United States] Department of State."

"The Department of State," he said, "wants to end democracy in Guatemala."

Señor Toriello branded as "absolutely false" the recent charges by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that a Communist terror reigns in Guatemala. He said:

"This declaration is absolutely false. It is completely tendentious and false, because if it were true the entire people of Guatemala would not be supporting the Government and the army. The army would not, either, be standing by the Government."

"This calumny tends to prove that under the pretext of wanting to combat the so-called international communism, efforts are made to destroy the progressive Government of Guatemala," Señor Toriello asserted.

He said that attacks were made on Guatemala because she had insisted on the "exercise of her sovereignty" in her relations with foreign companies.

Call Breaks Barrier

The New York Times interview with the Foreign Minister was believed to be the first telephone call by a New York newspaper to beleaguered Guatemala City since early yesterday. The call was completed many hours after it was placed here, and it was made possible when Señor Toriello agreed to a request channeled to him through the Guatemala City operator that he grant an interview. Earlier yesterday evening the Guatemalan Government had banned all the press calls.

The Foreign Minister made the following appeal to the American people:

"In the name of the people of Guatemala I appeal to the democratic tradition of the people of the United States, asking them not to permit that the economic interests of a handful of stockholders of foreign companies stand as the motivation for this criminal attitude toward Guatemala."

In response to questions, Señor Toriello said that President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, as the constitutional supreme chief of the Guatemalan Army, was directing operations against the rebels. Reports from Tegucigalpa, Honduras, had said that President Arbenz had assumed personal command of the army only yesterday, but the Foreign Minister said this was done as "a matter of course."

He said that the President was in the National Palace, having completed hours earlier a radio broadcast to the nation. When he was told that the broadcast could not be heard in New York, Señor Toriello said that "there is a good reason for it."

"The reason is," he said, "that special jamming stations have been set up in the United States to prevent our broadcasts from being heard."

In an answer to another question, Señor Toriello said that "no more than 100 prisoners" were being held in prisons in Guatemala. He emphatically denied reports of wholesale political arrests in recent days.

The Foreign Minister, who spent nearly thirty-five minutes talking to The New York Times, stressed that rebel planes were "attacking civilian populations because the aggressors have failed in achieving their objectives."

N. Y. Journal-American
JUN 20 1954

Invasion Chief Aided Arbenz

Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the resistance movement in the Guatemalan armed forces, has been mapping the present uprising since he escaped as a political prisoner from the central penitentiary in Guatemala City in June, 1951.

Slender, soft-spoken, and determined, the 40-year-old head of the invasion forces seeks to overthrow the Red-infiltrated regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

He has been in opposition to Guatemala's present leaders since the assassination of Col. Francisco Javier Arana in March 1949. Arana then was chief of the country's armed forces.

LED 1950 UPRISING.

Arana was one of the leaders with President Arbenz in the October, 1944, revolution that overthrew the then acting president Frederic Ponce and resulted in Castillo's removal from his post of chief of the 4th Military District after two days of fighting.

In November, 1950, Castillo led an abortive uprising during the elections that made Arbenz president. Castillo attacked the base of the 1st Infantry Regiment on the outskirts of the capital with a force of 70 civilians.

Sixteen were killed and 10 wounded in the clash which ended with Castillo's arrest and confinement in the penitentiary. He tunneled his way out.

He took refuge in the Colombian legation,

Born in Guatemala, Castillos was educated at the Polytechnical School and commissioned in 1936. In 1945-46 he took a ground and service course at Port Leavenworth, Kan.

N. Y. Journal-American

JUN 20 1954

Kremlin Hailed By Arbenz Pal

By TOM WHITNEY
Associated Press Foreign News Writer

One of Guatemala's top labor leaders, speaking in the Kremlin a few days ago, swore fealty to Moscow.

A Moscow newspaper which arrived here today published the text of a speech made by the secretary of Guatemalan General Confederation of Labor, Vergilio Guerra, whose organization is one of the biggest supporters of embattled leftist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

In his speech Guerra made plain that he and his labor movement look to the Soviet Union for guidance.

Guerra arrived in Moscow in early June, to attend the Soviet trade union conference. He spoke June 11 in the Kremlin to this assembly and his speech was published in the Moscow paper *Trud* June 13.

HE CLAIMS HAPPINESS.

Trud quoted him:

"The attainments of colonial peoples, and in the first place of the peoples of Viet Nam who have thrown off the imperialist yoke, serve us as an example.

"The successes of Soviet

workers, the creators of the happiness of their own people and of all humanity, point out to us the path.

"Hail the friendship between the workers of the Soviet Union and Guatemala! Hail proletarian internationalism, peace and friendship between all the peoples of the world! Hail the glorious Soviet Union.

Guerra said the working class of Guatemala, "with delight, follow the Soviet Union and its successes in the struggle for peace, for the welfare of humanity."

He received, said *Trud*, stormy applause from the Soviet trade unionists.

N.Y. Times
JUN 20 1954

State Department Declares Only a Revolt Is Indicated

Views Events as Uprising of Guatemalans Against Regime—Ambassador Peurifoy Contradicts the Local Version

By WALTER H. WAGGONER
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 19—The United States rejected today Guatemala's assertion that she had been invaded.

The State Department, in a formal statement, said that it had no evidence indicating that the violent developments of the last twenty-four hours were anything but "a revolt of Guatemalans against the Government."

Today's statement was based on telephone and telegraph reports from Ambassador John E. Peurifoy in Guatemala. Ambassador Peurifoy, the department said, also asserted that "there had been no bombings by planes in the Guatemala City area."

There had been "three overflights by unidentified planes" between 4 P. M. yesterday and 11 A. M. today, local time, according to the Ambassador, and while the appearance of the aircraft caused alarm, "there have been no disorders."

What the United States Ambassador reported to Washington was quite different, however, from what Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello had asked him to report.

The State Department related that the Foreign Minister had called Ambassador Peurifoy, the French minister and the British chargé d'affaires to the National Palace last night and had asked them to "inform their Governments that Guatemala City had been attacked by two aircraft which bombed a house near the center of the city and strafed the National Palace."

Senor Toriello also charged, according to the Ambassador's report to the State Department, "that troops had crossed the border and captured El Florido,

fifteen kilometers inside the Guatemalan border, and that this constituted aggression and that he had asked the [United Nations] Security Council to take up the case."

"The department has no evidence," its statement said, "that this is anything but a revolt of Guatemalans against their Government."

Aggression Charge Discounted

The State Department made it clear that it would not be distracted by Guatemala's charges of "invasion" and "aggression" from its intention to bring the Guatemalan Government's own actions before a meeting of the Inter-American Foreign Ministers.

"The latest outbursts of violence," said the Department statement, "are another confirmation of the previously expressed United States view regarding possible action by the Organization of American States on the problem of Communist intervention in Guatemala."

"The Department has been exchanging views and will continue to exchange views with other governments in this hemisphere who are also greatly concerned about action needed to protect this hemisphere from further encroachment by international communism."

Accounts of uprisings in widely separated points of the Central American republic have now reached the State Department through official, first-hand reports.

Those reports have not yet confirmed the Guatemalan Government's announcement of an imminent invasion from Honduras, where "an army of liberation" is said to be on the march across the border. But the response here to the last twenty-four hours is shaping into a conviction that Guatemala may be faced with a full-scale anti-Communist revolution.

The State Department's first formal response to the develop-

ments from Central America reflected a widely-held hope that those developments may in fact be signs that the people of Guatemala may have begun a move in earnest against their government.

If this were the case, it would be a dramatic sequence to a statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles last Tuesday that "the great majority of the Guatemalan people have both the desire and the capability of cleaning their own house."

President Eisenhower was at the Marine Corps base at Quantico, Va., attending a National Security conference, but James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, said that the President was very interested in the Guatemalan situation and was being kept informed of the latest developments by the State Department.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was at his retreat at Duck Island, Ont., and Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, is acting Secretary. It is understood that Secretary Dulles and Mr. Murphy have also discussed the developments by telephone.

The Inter-American Division of the department was on a virtually full-mobilization basis today, and most officials connected in any way with the area expected to return to their offices tomorrow.

Invasion Talk "Suspicious"

Some Latin-American diplomats, meanwhile, found the invasion reports "rather suspicious." Because all of them appeared to be coming from Guate-

malan sources, it was reasoned that the Guatemalan Government might have created the "invasion" story to justify an attack on Honduras.

These informants, who do not represent any of the Central American countries, explained that Honduras would have to be crossed if the Guatemalans were to reach the "most important target," Nicaragua.

The Guatemalan chargé d'affaires, on the other hand, insisted that there had not been "one case of uprising," but that an invasion was underway supported by planes flying from Nicaragua and Honduras.

Alfredo Chocano, the Guatemalan an chargé, said he had not been instructed to make any representations to the United States about the reported invasion, but he added:

"I would not deny nor confirm that the United States Government is behind it, but the United Fruit Company is financing it."

Reaction from members of Congress to the Guatemalan developments ranged from cautious almost to exultant. Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said in a statement issued through his office here that it was "too early to predict the outcome of the revolutionary activities now taking place."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 1954.

Guatemala's Note and U. N. Charter Articles Cited

Guatemalan Note

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 19—Following are the texts of a protest sent by Guatemala today to the United Nations, addressed to this month's President of the Security Council and of the parts of the United Nations Charter referred to:

I have the honor to address Your Excellency on behalf of the Government of Guatemala in order to inform you of the following:

On April 1, 1953, the Government of Guatemala informed the United Nations of the intention of certain international political groups to interfere in the internal affairs of Guatemala and in the document it submitted it set forth a whole series of facts illustrating these intentions. There have now occurred events of such gravity that my Government feels obliged to appeal to the United Nations Security Council in order to prevent a disruption of the peace in the American continent.

Since the arrival in Guatemala of arms for her armed forces, official United States spokesmen have been saying, falsely and tendenciously that this defense equipment, acquired by my Government in the performance of its sovereign rights, was intended for the purpose of attacking neighboring Central American countries. Such statements were and are completely false.

Aggressive Aims Denied

Guatemala has many times declared that it neither had nor has aggressive intentions. Events have shown that while the Guatemalan Government maintains an unshakable policy of friendship and nonintervention, other governments are pursuing a policy of hostility and aggressiveness toward our country.

The first response to the incitement provided by the official United States spokesman came from the Government of Nicaragua, which unilaterally announced the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Guatemala on 19 May, last. The Government of Nicaragua gave explanations which were not only false but which, even if they had been true, would not have justified a rupture of international relations. On 26 May, 1954, unidentified aircraft from the direction of Honduras and Nicaragua violated Guatemalan territory by flying over the city of Guatemala and dropping propaganda leaflets inciting the Guatemalan army to rise against



The New York Times June 20, 1954

GUATEMALAN INSURGENTS ADVANCE: The Government announced a penetration of nine miles (1) inside the border but disputed the rebels' claim of the capture of Puerto Barrios (2). The invaders said they had seized San José (3). Guatemala City (4) was strafed, as several planes flew over, the capital reported.

the legitimate and constitutional government of our country.

On 7 June, 1954, these planes made another incursion and dropped similar propaganda leaflets over various parts of our territory. On 14 June, the planes did not confine themselves to dropping propaganda leaflets: this time they parachuted arms and ammunition into the area of Tiquisate, headquarters of the Compania Agricola de Guatemala, which is a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company. These arms appear to be of Soviet and North American make.

The Guatemalan Government, reliably informed that expeditionary forces situated in Honduras were preparing to invade Guatemalan territory, made representations to the Government of Honduras through the normal diplomatic channels, requesting it, for the sake of international friendship, to restrain and control these armed groups.

The Honduran Government in reply gave assurances that these elements would be restrained, but in fact no measure was taken for that purpose, as may easily be proved by statements in the Honduran press itself. On

15 June the invading aircraft again violated our territory, flying over the same area of Tiquisate and other places.

On 16 June there was another violation, apparently for the purpose of carrying out reconnaissance over various parts of the country. On 17 June I appealed directly to the Chancellor of Honduras, and stated that in spite of the assurances given by his Government, the expeditionary forces preparing to invade Guatemala had not been restrained, I repeated our request in this connection, and demanded that they should be disarmed in accordance with international law and the agreements in force.

Cites Loss of Border Post

The same day the diplomatic representative of Guatemala in Honduras made strong representations to the Government of that country, protesting against the Government's passive attitude toward the preparations being made by the expeditionary forces to invade Guatemala. At the same time we reiterated our desire to maintain the friendliest of relations with that coun-

try and to avoid any breach of the peace in Central America.

However, notwithstanding the repeated requests which we made in friendly fashion, the expeditionary forces which we had condemned captured the Guatemalan frontier post of El Florio in the Department of Chiquimula, and later advanced about fifteen kilometers inside Guatemalan territory. These forces are still in our territory and we have not demanded their withdrawal precisely because we do not want to give other pretexts, this time in connection with frontier incidents.

This morning aircraft from the direction of Honduras and Nicaragua have invaded our country, dropping explosive bombs on stocks of fuel in the Port of San Jose and on the City of Retalhuleu. Today at 4 P. M. P-47 type planes of North American make also from the direction of these two countries attacked the City of Guatemala, strafing government buildings and private dwellings and bombing military bases. The same aircraft later attacked the military base at the Port of San Jose.

The aggressor governments and international provocateurs have felt safe in committing such outrages and acts of aggression because they knew that Guatemala pursues a policy of friendly and peaceful relations with her neighbors, and also, more particularly, because the policy of boycotting our country which has been pursued by United States leaders has left us without an Air Force sufficient to repel repeated acts of aggression.

Those governments probably felt safe, too, because they have recently signed military agreements with the United States of America, while at the same time the Government of Honduras rejected the pact of friendship and nonaggression offered by my Government to that of Honduras in proof of its friendly and peaceable intentions.

Aggression Held Proved

The facts we have just cited clearly prove that open aggression has been perpetrated by the Governments of Honduras and Nicaragua at the instigation of certain foreign monopolies whose interests have been affected by the progressive policy of my Government.

Guatemala has simply defended her sovereign rights, by enacting and applying those laws which seem to her necessary to promote the country's economic and social progress.

For that reason the interna-

cont.

tional crime which has been committed is all the more to be condemned. In view of the foregoing, I would request Your Excellency urgently to convene a meeting of the United Nations Security Council in order that, in accordance with Articles 34, 35 and 39 of the United Nations Charter, it may take the measures necessary to prevent the disruption of peace and international security in this part of Central America and also to put a stop to the aggression in progress against Guatemala. I have the honor to be, etc.

GUILLERMO TORIELLO,
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Sections of U. N. Charter

ARTICLE 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 35

1. Any member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceeding of the General Assembly in respect to matters brought to its attention under this article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

N.Y. Times

JUN 20 1954

REVOLT IN GUATEMALA

The expected has happened in Guatemala. Elements opposed to the slow Communist infiltration of the Government have taken up arms to end it. Censorship yesterday delayed or suppressed news from inside the country. News from outside indicated well-planned movements from Honduras and from Mexico and from the sea into Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic side and San Jose on the Pacific side. Between these two ports runs the country's main railroad. On the plateau on the railroad line between them is Guatemala City—a spic and span metropolis familiar in years gone by to thousands of American tourists.

The setting, with its great variations of climate, with its tall volcanic mountains, is melodramatic. So is the human background. This is a land of an ancient culture and race overlaid by the thin veneer of European civilization. This is not to say that the Mayas who make up most of the population of Guatemala are a truculent or unintelligent people. They are neither. They are quiet, soft-spoken, long-suffering, hampered largely by their lack of knowledge of modern technological equipment.

These toiling millions, clinging to their old traditions, cultivating their corn according to those traditions rather than to the latest findings of the agricultural experts, had nothing to say as to whether Guatemala should be Communist or not. They did have grievances that perhaps made it easy to stir them against any existing situation. They could not be expected to know that if their lot was hard now it would be infinitely worse if a new Moscow-linked tyranny were set up.

Guatemala has had ten years of uncertainty since its dictator, General Jorge Ubico, was thrown out in 1944. For a time it looked as though democratic reform might create and perpetuate a free country. But there was unrest and rivalry among the politicians and these did not express themselves freely in elections and Congressional committee hearings as they do here. There was and is a genuine anti-foreignism, although this has almost never showed itself in open unfriendliness toward individuals, and although American-controlled undertakings in Guatemala have greatly liberalized and humanized their

policies.

It would be dangerously inconsistent for our Government to welcome any revolution in Latin America achieved principally by troops moving in from neighboring states. That practice, if used by reactionaries to overthrow democratic governments, would obviously seem wrong. We have to withhold judgment on what has happened in this instance. We need not, however, conceal our satisfaction if what is happening now in Guatemala were to result in a new trend toward democracy and toward friendlier relations with other democratic countries. We can only hope that this can take place without needless loss of life or destruction of property in that sadly poverty-stricken country.

N.Y. Times

JUN 20 1954

ADVANCE 9 MILES

Anti-Reds' Invasion Progresses—Arbenz Assails Neighbors

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 19—The Guatemalan Government has announced that the invading anti-Communist rebel forces have captured the town of El Florido and have advanced about nine miles into Guatemala from the Honduras border.

Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello told United States, British and French diplomats that ground forces under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, exiled former Guatemalan Army officer, continued to occupy El Florido.

This capital city awakened to its second day under attack to the gunfire of hostile fighter planes and to its own anti-aircraft fire.

An air raid early this morning on the city of Guatemala was the third since Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello announced yesterday afternoon that the battle for Guatemala was on.

One Port Disputed

[President Jacobo Arbenz

cont.

Guzman of Guatemala, in a broadcast speech to his country at 10 P. M., Eastern daylight time, accused Honduras and Nicaragua of "open aggression" in conjunction with the United States. He said his army would throw back the invasion and appealed to the people for support.

[The invaders captured two port towns—Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean and San José on the Pacific—the exiles' headquarters in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, reported, according to The Associated Press. The Guatemalan Interior Ministry denied that Puerto Barrios had fallen. The insurgent army's information chief said the invaders had forces twenty-five miles inside Guatemala.

[The Guatemalan radio said the invaders seized a town thirty miles from the Mexican border and that President Arbenz had assumed personal command of Guatemala's army, "owing to the disaffection of certain elements." The United Press reported.]

The Interior Ministry, in a bulletin issued this morning, said that a plane yesterday, last night and this morning had "produced a new and flagrant act of aggression." The bulletin said a fighter plane had strafed public office buildings and dropped bombs on a military establishment.

The bulletin continued: "The Government denounces before national and international public opinion these incidents, which were brought about by the enemies of Guatemala and their powerful allies."

Peurifoy Sees Torillo

Meanwhile, Ambassador John E. Peurifoy was called to the National Palace last night and was officially informed by Foreign Minister Toriello that the attack on Guatemala had begun and that he had requested a convocation of the United Nations Security Council to study the affair.

The Ambassador, with the French Minister and the British chargé d'affaires, was called to the Palace at 7 P. M. Other members of the diplomatic corps were called in later.

The Foreign Minister also remarked that two planes that

"buzzed" the capital yesterday afternoon had been identified as of North American manufacture. Mr. Peurifoy is reported to have replied that planes of North American manufacture were in all parts of the world.

The planes that "buzzed" the city were identified as P-47 Thunderbolts of post-World War II design. They roared over the downtown section at about 700 feet. They drew several bursts of anti-aircraft fire and disappeared in the southwest, gaining altitude.

Each of the three raids drew anti-aircraft fire, this morning's the heaviest so far. There were bomb detonations, though no hits could be located. According to authorities, these raids resulted in bombing and setting afire the

home of Col. Rodolfo Mendoza's mother. Colonel Mendoza was former chief of the Guatemalan Air Force, but fled this country to join Colonel Castillo Armas.

The clandestine radio announced that Colonel Mendoza was going to fly over the city of Guatemala, but explained that it was to be only a propaganda action and not a bombing raid. No witnesses in the downtown area could see evidence that either plane had dropped bombs yesterday.

Meanwhile, the first casualty of the attack was reported last night when a Guatemalan AT-6 crashed into a mountain north of the capital, killing a man identified only as Castillo.

The United States Embassy announced today that Ambassador Peurifoy had requested all United States citizens to remain indoors as much as possible and particularly not to go into the streets at night. Two United States families in a technical assistance project on the Pacific coast have been evacuated to the capital.

Mr. Peurifoy said the embassy had no immediate plans to evacuate 1,200 United States citizens from Guatemala. He explained, however, that the embassy always had this under consideration when trouble broke out.

Despite the excitement of the air raid, the capital city remained superficially calm. Downtown streets were becoming increasingly deserted and some stores did not open for business today. A majority kept their iron window shutters closed throughout the day. The effect of attack is most pronounced at night, when an eerie silence falls over the blacked-out city.

The police yesterday issued warnings to motorists to draw their cars up to the curb during a raid and to turn out lights. The

police put teeth into this order today with a radio announcement that motorists disobeying would be liable to being fired at.

There was an unverified report that a motorist was picked up last night while giving signals to raiding planes.

Oil Tanks Fliers' Targets

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 19 (AP)—Guatemalan officials said rebel planes had bombed oil tanks and military bases at San José and strafed military targets and Government buildings in the capital in other flights last night and yesterday afternoon. There was no word on any casualties. The planes also dropped leaflets.

The first report of looting said the peasants had stopped a train between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala and forced 150 passengers to get off.

Pan American and other airlines announced suspension of all operations in the capital.

Guatemalan radio stations broadcast frequent appeals to the people to aid the Government in its "fight against invasion."

The exiles' headquarters here said it was possible the Arbenz regime had sent reinforcements into Puerto Barrios and San José, but no word along that line had been received in Tegucigalpa.

Puerto Barrios served as the port of entry for arms shipments received by Guatemala from behind the Iron Curtain—a move that caused deep concern in the United States. San José, a smaller town of 2,683, is the site of gasoline and oil storage dumps, which are the principal source of supply for Guatemala. San José was a United States long-range patrol bomber base in World War II.

A spokesman here for the resistance group warned that

Guatemala's 6,000-man army was strong enough to menace insurgent forces at all occupied points.

REBELS SEVERING DEFENSE

Strategy of Cutting Guatemala Government Lines Is Seen

The strategy of the anti-Communist Guatemalan rebels attacking Guatemala appeared to aim at the severing the nation's only coast-to-coast railroad and bottling up the Government in the capital.

Private advices from persons who left Guatemala last week and remain in touch with the situation through non-official channels indicated that the penetration of the forces under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas followed a predetermined plan of action involving a three-pronged drive overland from Honduras.

The southernmost column of the pincer movement was said to be advancing into Guatemala from Ocotepeque in Honduras near the junction of the frontiers of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. The center column entered Guatemala at a point midway between Copan and Florida, Honduran border towns. The third group attacked from Macuelizo and was apparently headed for the Motagua valley between Bananera and Puerto Barrios.

A rebel triumph in Zacapa, the source said, cut the trans-continental railroad and deprived the Arbenz Government of communications linking it to the eastern seaboard. Zacapa dominates the Motagua Valley and is the junction for the branch of the International Railway leading into El Salvador.

Destruction of the petroleum supplies at Puerto Barrios and San José on the Pacific coast deprived the Government of much of its fuel reserves because only a small quantity is maintained in the capital. One of the first acts of the rebels Friday was to bomb the gasoline dumps in the two ports.

A private telephone conversation from here to Guatemala last night reported that the main police station on Sixth Avenue, near Fourteenth Street, in the Guatemala capital was damaged in a rebel aerial raid yesterday. Reports also said that civilians armed with submachine guns patrolled the streets of the capital, where outward calm prevailed.

Wash. Evening Star

JUN 20 1954

Guatemalan President Arbenz A Nervous and Reserved Man

Belief Widespread That He Is Addicted To Use of Narcotics

By J. A. O'Leary

Sallow, chain-smoking Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, president of Guatemala, speaks so softly I had difficulty catching his words at all when I interviewed him last year in the green Palacio Nacional in Guatemala City.

The interview itself was futile since President Arbenz insisted on submission of the questions in writing and spoke only in Spanish through an interpreter—although he is fluent in English. His replies were to be sent to me, according to the arrangement, but I never received them.

Col. Arbenz, who is only 39-years-old, was very reserved. Since controversial subjects were ruled out, he spoke only in generalities on the beauty and aims of his mountainous land.

Called A Narcotics Addict.

He sat cross-legged through the meeting, nervously rubbing the thumb and forefinger of his right hand. This nervous habit has contributed, in part, to Col. Arbenz' acquisition of the nickname by which he is best known in Guatemala, "El Morfino." This is a reference to the widespread belief that Arbenz is a narcotics addict.

The nation's volatile university students—largely anti-Communist in a country which has lately been controlled by Red sympathizers—made capital of this belief in their annual Good Friday parade last year. One of their floats was a huge papier-mache hypodermic needle labeled "El Morfino" in a pointed reference to the President.

Another parade feature was a procession of students, garbed as undertakers, carrying two large coffins labeled "Hitler" and "Stalin," and a small coffin on which was written in Spanish "Ultimo—El Morfino."—"Arbenz next."

There was no police interference with the students' parade, partly because traditionally anything goes on that occasion and partly because the government

might have stirred up a hornet's nest by attempting to break up the anti-Arbenz demonstration.

Queries on Communism.

The questions I submitted fruitlessly to Col. Arbenz concerned the country's political course and the bitter expropriation wrangle with the United Fruit Co. In one question, Col. Arbenz was asked point blank if he was a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. In another, he was asked to state the measure of Red influence on his regime.

He has on other occasions, however, denied there is any Communist influence in Guatemala, facts to the contrary. It was in Guatemala that the one-chamber Congress decreed a minute of silence in deference to the death of Joseph Stalin although only four members of the body admit to the party label.

Col. Arbenz' course seems to have been to play to the working class and the Indians through land reform and socialized medicine at the expense of United Fruit and the big coffee and fruit growers. His government took over vast tracts of fallow land,

to be paid for in government bonds at an unrealistic tax evaluation. Ostensibly he turned it over to the landless Juan Chapins (the Guatemalan equivalent of John Q. Public):

90% of Population is Indian.

Even if the land reform program had worked out as the Arbenz government claims, there seems room to doubt that such a plan would ever be practical in a country where more than 90 per cent of the population are full or part-blood Indians who will live nowhere except in the village where they were born.

Col. Arbenz himself is of Swiss-Spanish descent. He came up through the Army and holds the rank of colonel—highest title in the 6,000-man Guatemalan Army. The Army is a rag-tag outfit, in which most of the enlisted men are Indians who earn only a few dollars a month. The officers are well-paid, powerful social lions.

The soldiers wear rumpled American khaki uniforms and are armed with little more than rifles and pistols. Except in Guatemala City and on the

marches of British Honduras—which Guatemalans call Belice and covet to the extent of printing postage stamps which show Belice as a part of Guatemala—the troops are not concentrated in more than company strength.

Col. Arbenz' air force is a motley collection of obsolete American planes flown by United States-trained pilots. He has no navy or marine corps.

Arbenz Led 1944 Revolt.

Col. Arbenz is no stranger to the coup d'etat. He was a leader of the revolt of 1944 in which a triumvirate of Guatemalans swept to power while exiling Dictator Jorge Ubico. Another leader of this rebellion was Jorge Toriello, a bold and blustery businessman known as "El Ciudadano," the Citizen. He is a brother of Guillermo Toriello, former Ambassador to the United States and now Foreign Minister of Guatemala.

Many believe that Col. Arbenz master-minded the assassination several years ago of Gen. Francisco Arana who seemed likely to become president. When Gen. Arana was machine-gunned to death near Lake Atitlan by unknown assailants, Col. Arbenz became chief of state.

How long he will continue in office now that the anti-Communist forces are on the march remains to be seen.

Portrait of a Bad Neighbor

Son of Swiss-born druggist and Guatemalan mother, President Jacobo Arbenz (photo inset) is 40, is called "The Sphinx," is shy, tense, nervous.

Organized army revolution which overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico in 1944. Is ardent nationalist, has deep-seated hatred of foreign monopolies.

Gave Reds subsidies for two newspapers. Government runs radio, press, movie propaganda campaigns pitched to Moscow line. Sample: Kremlin-doctored film of alleged U. S. germ warfare in Korea widely shown.

NYJA — 20 June

N.Y. Times

JUN 21 1954

U.S. Likely to Get the Blame However Latin Revolt Ends

Diplomats Believe Situation in Guatemala Will Stir Up All the Old Antagonisms

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 20—No matter how the Guatemalan uprising ends, the United States is bound to be blamed by elements throughout Latin America, diplomatic observers agree.

All the old doubts about intervention will be raised—even in those countries where, officially, there has been applause for the United States, strong stand against the Communist-infiltrated regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

It is assumed in informed quarters that Washington was fully aware of the probable march of events involving Guatemala once the State Department took its strong stand against last month's arms shipments to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, from behind the Iron Curtain. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the anti-Communist rebels, had been appealing to his countrymen by radio and in Salvadorean newspapers for many months.

Since the start of the invasion, Colonel Castillo Armas and his top aides have been careful to avoid suggesting that the United States' attitude in any way brought their plans to fruition.

Effect on Honduras Seen

In the first direct comment by the insurgents in the invasion zone, Manuel Orellana Portillo, the rebel leader's new information chief, answered a direct question about the influence of the United States' attitude this way:

"With or without the recent declarations of General Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles [about the Communist menace in Guatemala], we would have entered Guatemala."

Señor Orellana Portillo acknowledged, however, that the rebels did draw "some hope and optimism" from recent indications of United States policy.

The Hondurans also are fully aware that the United States'

stand has had an encouraging effect both on Colonel Castillo Armas and on the apparent decision of the Honduran Government to look on blandly while invasion preparations were going on under its very nose.

One Honduran source felt that his country was in a delicate position because of the way the Guatemalans had been permitted to build up their forces here despite the token gesture by Foreign Minister José Edgardo Valenzuela, who called in Colonel Castillo Armas the day before the invasion and "warned" him not to violate his status as an exile.

A United States source conceded this but suggested that if Honduras had decided "to blink" at what the exiles were doing, it may have been because Honduras resented the Communist agitation that led to the big United Fruit Company strike at Tela.

Observers agree that Washington was aware of the danger of alienating some sections of Latin-American opinion when its strong reaction to the arms shipment was decided upon. It is noted that a military assistance pact with Honduras was signed within four days of the announcement that the arms were being unloaded in Puerto Barrios. It is felt that hemisphere policymakers in Washington were willing to risk some resurgence of old Latin-American fears in view of the primary purpose: To make absolutely clear the United States attitude on Communist maneuvering in the heart of the Americas.

1903 Incident in Panama

It already has been suggested that the situation is something of a throwback to the Panama incident of 1903, when the United States encouraged revolt in Panama, then part of Colombia, because Colombia had refused to ratify the accord making possible the building of the Panama Canal. On that occasion the uprising came Nov. 3 and United States Marines landed Nov. 4 "to preserve order."

Clearly, the biggest single dif-

ference between that era and this is the word "marines" and all it has come to connote in this part of the world. Even the bitterest foes of the United States these days do not think President Eisenhower would revert to that particular tactic of Theodore Roosevelt's. But the Guatemala case is sure to make them suggest—with or without Communist instigation—that the United States, by extraordinarily underlining its own position, has tended to encourage a violent move against a constitutional Government.

One other matter is clear. The Guatemalan regime certainly had plenty of warning of the United States attitude toward open Communist infiltration. Yet President Arbenz took not the slightest step to alter the situation—and its possible consequences. While President Arbenz failed to be moved by all the diplomatic signs and portents, Col. Castillo Armas plainly was heartened and activated by them.

There lies the crux of the matter. Whatever the United States does—or does not do—in Latin American affairs, it may be interpreted as "intervention." This fact usually shows up most sharply when the question of recognition of a revolutionary regime arises. And Latins here have no doubt the United States would recognize Colonel Castillo Armas the minute he seemed to have effective control of the country.

N.Y. Times

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REBEL CHIEF MAPS FARM LAW CHANGE

Castillo Armas Declares Life of the Guatemala Worker Must Be Improved

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 20—Col. Carlos Castillo Armas' program includes drastic revision of the Guatemalan agrarian reform law. The statute has been considered the heart of the program of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

Colonel Castillo Armas, leader of the Guatemalan revolt, gave an interview Thursday night, just before he flew north to his headquarters in Guatemala.

The colonel, who is 43 years old, emphasized his awareness that the standard of living of

Guatemalan farm workers had been long in need of improvement. But he asserted that the fundamental flaw in the Arbenz agrarian law was that it was a calculated political gesture and was not based on a sincere desire to raise the standard of living.

Colonel Castillo Armas said he thought it would not be necessary to repeal the law per se. What it needs, he asserted is a series of thoroughgoing amendments that would guarantee that the beneficiary would be the farm worker himself, rather than the Government.

Farmers Called Tenants

He observed that, as the agrarian law had worked out, the peasant was often a tenant of the Government, rather than a small landowner in his own right.

With regard to the expropriation of land in Guatemala, the colonel said a study was needed to see that the former owners received fair compensation. He asserted that he saw no reason why a farm worker established on expropriated land for which a fair price had been paid should not stay—assuming he wanted to stay as a sincere worker of the land rather than a small-scale "demagogue."

"In general," Colonel Castillo Armas said, "our desire is that the revised law would give more land and more economic independence to a greater number of campesinos [farm workers]."

The colonel asserted that he had become convinced long ago that communism was an "absurd" doctrine—politically, economically and morally. He said that if President Arbenz had so wished, he easily could have rid his regime of the minority Red element.

One absurdity of communism, Colonel Castillo Armas added, is that it tends to force all men to the state of false equality.

Foreign Directions Denied

Under his own regime, the colonel declared, each Guatemalan would have the chance to develop his own talents according to his own ability.

Colonel Castillo Armas denied strongly that his movement was in any way directed by foreigners. Another spokesman for the rebel forces repeated today the denials that foreigners—such as Dominicans, Nicaraguans, Cubans and Costa Ricans—were part of the invading forces, as has been charged in the city of Guatemala.

Colonel Castillo Armas has been officially designated "supreme chief of the movement of national liberation." He is slightly built and has a black mus-

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tache. In the pink-walled home he has occupied here also live his wife, Señora Odilia Palomo de Castillo Armas; his mother, Señora Josefina Castillo Pivaral, and his brother, Rodolfo Castillo Armas.

The insurgent leader had some backing as a Presidential candidate in 1950, but declined to run. Later he was involved in a small-scale coup involving military supplies at an airport. He was jailed for seven months and is reported to have tunneled to his freedom.

C.S. Monitor

JUN 21 1954

Banana Company

By William H. Stringer

Whenever a United States journalist interviewed a Guatemalan official and began to talk about the Communist menace there that official was likely to shift his ground and say, "Ah, but the United Fruit Company!"

Well, what about the United Fruit Company? Is this constant reference to its alleged "plotting" a diversionary tactic learned from Moscow? Or is the company using its vast economic power against the best interests of poorly organized labor? Is the Fruit company good for Central America, or is it doing harm there?

Not so many months ago, in point of what's happened since, a group of United States publishers and editors including myself were rolling along at a clicking thirty miles per hour on a narrow-gauge railroad in the heart of the United Fruit Company's "empire." We were starting at its plantations in Honduras, would later see Costa Rica, would end up in Guatemala City.

The mood was high-spirited, the repartee clever, and the theme song of the moment was, "Yes, we have seen no bananas"—which we hadn't in two hours of travel through plantations growing everything else under the hot sun. The previous evening, one publisher, a rhythmical gentleman, had taken over the drums in a marimba band at the La Lima golf club. The local players were first given to understand that he was Paul Whiteman's drummer, traveling incognito. I do not think they were deceived.

Did you ever hear a native marimba band, which learns all its haunting music by ear, play the "Third Man Theme" at a fast clip, under the palms and the starry sky of a little club in the far-off nowhere-land of a fruit company port? It is weird and lovely. One thought of O. Henry, the old swashbuckling "banana republic" days, and the early mountain-capital dictators.

This was different. We were living on the twentieth-century side of Central America. We were seeing controlled, scientifically managed agriculture, in vast acreages. We were living at guest houses equipped with modern plumbing and electric refrigerators. And we were riding in a strange kind of private car—a half-ton elongated Ford truck with flanged wheels.

The mestizo driver of the autocar slowed his vehicle, blowing his horn. We had passed in and out of jungles—which looked too dry for jungles, this not being the rainy season—and now, as we neared

a native clearing, there was a cow on the track. A supercargo who passed for brakeman reached a long foot forward from the front platform and booted the bovine off the right of way.

We rolled on. A crane posed beside an irrigation ditch. Hibiscus flamed (proper verb for tropic tales) beside a native Indian hut, four shaky walls with a reed roof. A goat was asleep in the hot front yard. Soon we were approaching a company town, with clean, white, wooden houses, a vast grassy square, a commissary, and a school.

The natives who lived here and worked for the United Fruit Company were of every pigmentation, from light complexion, preponderantly Spanish, through Indian bronze to Negro black. They were being paid the highest wages of any agricultural workers in Honduras, and the same applied in Guatemala. No magnificent sum, but twice the wages of coffee plantation workers. Not many, to be sure, rose to executive rank.

We inspected the fruit company's Lancelilla Experimental Station in the course of our journey, mile on mile of plantings of every tropically useful wood, fiber or fruit—teak and mahogany saplings, the perfume-base Elang Elang, abaca for hemp, varieties of cacao and coffee and bamboo. Some of these could one day become major money crops for Central America. That is, if nationalist pride permitted.

We saw acre on acre of African oil palm, whose berry-like fruit is pressed to produce a thick oil which becomes cooking fat and soap. Finally, we saw miles

and miles of banana plantations, in Honduras, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, and watched the fat green stems being hurried—by railroad, truck, or river-jumping conveyor belts—to the waiting spic-and-span banana freighters.

The scope of activities reminded one of the big oil company operations in Saudi Arabia. This "empire" runs 400 miles of railroad in Honduras alone, repairs its own rolling stock, mixes its millions of gallons of tree spray, operates schools and hospitals, runs company stores, keeps dairy cattle, grows firewood, maintains its "Great White Fleet" of ships, some with tourist accommodations, and has its own wireless company.

A company as big as this could throw

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its weight around dangerously if it wished. But it now maintains correct, cooperative, and friendly relations with Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama. It has just signed a new contract with Costa Rica, increasing its income-tax contribution to the national treasury. In Guatemala there are old grievances, stemming from the long harsh rule of the former Guatemalan dictator, Jorge Ubico. But those days are gone forever.

Guatemala has plenty of opportunities for a bright, progressive future. Its rich coastal areas can grow boatloads of bananas and other tropical products. Outside capital and know-how are needed: whole banana plantations have to be flooded periodically to wipe out fungus attacks; the plants have to be sprayed and irrigated (miles of pipe are laid throughout the flat acres); replanting is necessary when high winds devastate. Its crops need diversification.

Guatemala is also a tourist's delight. Its capital city, 5,000 exhilarating feet in the air on a broad plateau, with two ancient volcanoes brooding on the horizon, has a climate which is close to that ideal: "perpetual spring." Its new tourist hotels are charming. Its ancient Spanish capital in the hills, Antigua, partially wrecked by earthquake, is a treasure house of Spanish colonial architecture and customs. Its Mayan ruins are close at hand. And market day among the Indians at Chichicastenango has you mingling with the colorful but superstitious crowds of long-lost centuries.

Will the ultranationalism of Guatemala, influenced by Moscow's propaganda, curtail and limit Guatemala's normal development? Obviously if Guatemala wants to oust the fruit company, expropriate all foreign firms and try to operate without foreign capital or advice, that is the prerogative of a free country—so long as it pays just compensation, and so long as it does not become a menace to inter-American security.

Our traveling editors interviewed Prof. José Figueres of Costa Rica (who shortly afterward became President of that republic). Señor Figueres said no Central American republic wanted anything to do with North American carpetbaggers who came down there, exploited the country in the interests of "making a fast buck," and then pulled out. But the companies that came to stay, and to benefit or build up the native economies, such as Sears, Roebuck or the United Fruit Company, he welcomed, providing they behaved themselves.

Is there any question as to which attitude better serves the genuine interests of the people—that of Costa Rica or that of Guatemala?

N.Y. Times
JUN 21 1954

REBEL DRIVE LAGS

Anti-Red Front Vague —Plane Strafes Field at Puerto Barrios

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 20—A war front has shaped up across Guatemala from Puerto Barrios to the Salvadorean border, according to the Guatemalan rebels here today.

The insurgents, led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, have no confirmation here that Puerto Barrios, Atlantic port, had been taken by their forces. They said one of their planes strafed gas tanks at the Puerto Barrios Airport about 11 A. M. yesterday.

Luis Coronado Lira, one of Colonel Castillo Armas secretaries, who has been signing manifestos and decrees here, said the pilot of this plane fooled the Puerto Barrios tower by identifying himself as a loyal Army pilot. When he got clearance to land, he zoomed low and opened up with his guns.

[The rebels have occupied the towns of Morales, Bananera and Esquipulas, the Guatemalan delegate told the United Nations Security Council.

[Heavy firing broke out on the edge of the city of Guatemala Saturday night, apparently near an airport, other dispatches said. Communications between the city of Guatemala and the railroad center of Bananera, to the east, were cut. Bananera was reported to have been captured.]

Rebel 'Headquarters'

Colonel Castillo Armas' residence here was rented from a Honduras University official. As pressure has increased on Honduras to control open activities of the so-called Liberation Move-

ment, a rebel spokesman insisted it was not his "headquarters," but his home. The fact is bulletins in the form of Government decrees over the signature of Colonel Castillo Armas and his two secretaries have been issued there since yesterday.

Señor Coronado Lira said also that no "headquarters" existed at Copan in Honduras near the frontier and that any Guatemalans encountered there must have been among those who permanently lived in Honduras. The identity of Guatemalans seen there by correspondents is unmistakable, although it is understandable why the insurgents wish not to give the impression that operations are being directed from or communications maintained via this country.

The only uncontested facts were these:

¶The group of anti-Government, anti-Communist forces under Col. Castillo Armas has secured a rural area around the tiny community of El Florida, in the Guatemalan Department of Chiquimula. This is less than thirty miles west of the Honduran border point of Copan.

¶Insurgent planes have attacked San José on the Pacific coast, the city of Guatemala and the Atlantic port of Puerto Barrios. Certainly as of the hour of the attack, Puerto Barrios had not fallen to the rebels.

¶The rebels are dropping arms and supplies wherever it appears that local uprisings support their cause. But there is no way of telling whether those who get these arms turn them against the Arbenz government or into the Government's hands.

Colonel Castillo Armas has been doing his best to spread the impression that his movement involved thousands of men and was active on a front all across Guatemala from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

At the same time the Guatemalan Government of President

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Jacobo Arbenz Gurman, through its Ambassador here, was countering with insistence that both invading force and ground captured by it were small and that "there is no front" in the usual military sense. President Arbenz' Ambassador here is Amadeo Chinchilla.

In general, time would appear to be on the side of the Arbenz Government. There is no evidence, as of this moment, that the regular Guatemalan Army of 6,000 men has been committed, or that there have been serious defections within its ranks.

Rebels' Description of Front

Here is an outline of the "front," as put together by the reports in Col. Castillo Armas' "residence" here:

From the Gulf of Honduras on the east at a point near the mouth of the Matagua River, roughly westward to the vicinity of Zacapa. Fighting has taken place in Zacapa, but the rebels have no word that it is in their hands.

From south of Zacapa the front dips south to just below the town of Chiquimula. The situation there is apparently the same as in Zacapa—the Guatemalan Government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman retains control, but under harassment from several sides.

From Chiquimula, an irregular line runs toward the Guatemalan village of Asuncion Mita. This village is about ten miles from the border with El Salvador. It lies on the Pan American Highway between Santa Ana, El Salvador and the city of Guatemala.

The belief that no armed conflict on a large scale had yet taken place was reinforced tonight by a Guatemalan Government broadcast indicating that Regular Army units had withdrawn from the borders to positions prepared in advance to defend the capital.

"As of now," the broadcast said, "the rebels have not started any clash of arms. They are located on the Guatemalan-Honduran border, from where they have made some forays into Guatemalan villages. But they have had no contact with the Government's armed forces because our troops are in strategic positions."

Honduran officials deny that their regime has aided or inspired Colonel Castillo Armas movement. Foreign Minister J. Edgardo Valenzuela repeatedly and insistently declined to comment on charges broadcast last night by President Arbenz from Guatemala that Honduras had failed to take necessary steps to halt aggression against Guatemala from this side of the border.

Earlier the Honduran Foreign Minister said a close watch was being maintained over some

Guatemalans in this country. Ambassador Chinchilla said he was unable to find any indication that President Juan Manuel Galvez or Dr. Valenzuela had acted on promises to halt abuses.

Señor Chinchilla belittled the idea that a military front existed across Guatemala. He said a small group of rebels had crossed in the Copan-Nueva Ocotepeque area and taken a village in the Department of Chiquimula. He said this village had a population of about 100 and five armed men could probably have "captured" it. He gave the name of the village as La Florida. It has also been identified as El Florida.

Effect of Arms Drops

Señor Chinchilla said arms being dropped by rebel planes were being picked up by peasants and given to the police. President Arbenz was quoted as having thanked President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua sarcastically for arms received in this fashion.

The Liberation Movement spokesman said arms and other

supplies were being airdropped to several communities where the peasants had arisen against the Arbenz Government. The most important of these was Quezaltenango, west and north of the capital. Other drops were being made around San Marcos, Huehuetenango and Totonicatan.

Fighting had definitely taken place at various points on the International Railroad of Central America, which is the Atlantic-Pacific Coast link across Guatemala and has a spur to El Salvador.

The insurgents here had Government use of the railroad was impossible, but this might have been due to landslides rather than to recent fighting.

It was learned here that a PBY amphibian plane reported missing in Guatemala two days ago, was down in a lagoon on the Samala River west of Tiquisate, on the Pacific coast side. The United States pilot-owner, Lee Crutcher, displayed signals indicating he was safe.

A message reached the Liberation center here, signed by Jorge Gonzales Morales saying he was among fifty Guatemalans now in El Salvador who wished to place themselves under the orders of Colonel Castillo Armas.

New Arbenz Speech

Another broadcast by President Arbenz, or someone reading for him, was monitored here during the morning. It said the recent Honduras-United States military assistant pact was "forced" on the Hondurans who "did not really think it necessary."

The radio voice from Guatemala also said that, although Foreign Minister Valenzuela here had promised to control the exiles

N.Y. Times

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[From Late Edition of Yesterday's Times.]

GUATEMALAN AIDE CALLS ARMY LOYAL

Foreign Minister Tells Phone Interviewer Here of Plane Attacks on the Capital

By TAD SZULO

Guillermo Toriello, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, declared yesterday that the entire nation—the Army, the workers and the peasants—stood united behind the Guatemalan Government in the current crisis.

Señor Toriello said in a telephone interview with The New York Times that the "internal front of Guatemala is perfectly united."

"The Army is with the Government, and so are the workers and the peasants," he said. "The Government has the most complete support of all the patriotic Guatemalans."

Supplying the most up-to-date Government report on the military operations resulting from the invasion of Guatemala on Friday by anti-Communist forces led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the Foreign Minister said that the rebels occupied at noon Saturday two "small villages" near the Honduras border. These are Esquipulas and Jocatan, he said.

Strafing Plane Kills Child

Speaking from the National Palace in Guatemala City, Señor Toriello said that the capital was attacked once yesterday by rebel airplanes. One little girl was killed when a plane strafed a house in the capital and nine persons were wounded, he declared.

The aerial attack, he said, was primarily directed at the military base in the capital.

The Foreign Minister said that damage caused at the military base in the capital was insignificant.

The capital was attacked twice on Friday.

and expel their leaders, "the facts are the contrary."

This new Arbenz speech referred caustically to the United Fruit Company.

The speech was monitored here only with difficulty because of what appeared to be a jamming.

Another air raid was carried out yesterday against the Atlantic port of Puerto Barrios. Señor Toriello insisted that, despite rebel claims, Puerto Barrios remained in Government hands.

"We are in full control of the situation," he said.

Señor Toriello said that four rebel planes also attacked yesterday the town of Chiquimula in the Department of Chiquimula and another town in the Department of Chalapa. He said that a young girls' school in the latter town was strafed by the attacking planes.

Señor Toriello said that the Guatemalan Army was purposely refraining from attacking the rebels, whose forces he estimated at between 1,500 and 2,000 men.

Wants World to Know

"The Guatemalan Army does not want to attack," he said. "We want the entire world to become aware of the aggression against our country."

He said later in the interview that the command of the Army would decide if and when an attack on the rebels would take place.

"It all depends," he added.

The Foreign Minister charged that the "aggression" had "the firm support" of the United States Department of State. He said that Honduras and Nicaragua were guilty of aiding and abetting the attack.

"The aggression," he declared, "is directed by the big interests, and monopolies, such as the United Fruit Company, which have the firm support of the Department of State and of mercenaries from the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua and Honduras."

"This aggression is carried out with the absolute tolerance of the Honduran Government, with which Guatemala always had unchanging relations of friendship."

He said that instead of disarming the rebels, the Honduran Government was allowing rebel planes to take off and land on its territory on missions against Guatemala.

Señor Toriello said that the United Nations Security Council, meeting this afternoon on Guatemala's request, would be asked to take action under the Charter against Honduras and Nicaragua.

The Foreign Minister, speaking in Spanish in quick, short sentences, charged that those attacking his country aimed at "ending democracy in Guatemala to impose in its place a tyranny that would serve the interests of foreign companies."

"But the people of Guatemala are not disposed to permit the success of this enterprise, undertaken with the complicity of

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Honduras and Nicaragua, or the foreign companies and of the high officials of the [United States] Department of State."

"The Department of State," he said, "wants to end democracy in Guatemala."

Señor Toriello branded as "absolutely false" the recent charges by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that a Communist terror reigns in Guatemala. He said:

"This declaration is absolutely false. It is completely tendentious and false, because if it were true the entire people of Guatemala would not be supporting the Government and the army. The army would not, either, be standing by the Government."

"This calumny tends to prove that under the pretext of wanting to combat the so-called international communism, efforts are made to destroy the progressive Government of Guatemala," Señor Toriello asserted.

He said that attacks were made on Guatemala because she had insisted on the "exercise of her sovereignty" in her relations with foreign companies.

The New York Times interview with the Foreign Minister was believed to be the first telephone call by a New York newspaper to beleaguered Guatemala City since early yesterday. The call was completed many hours after it was placed here, and it was made possible when Señor Toriello agreed to a request channeled to him through the Guatemala City operator that he grant an interview. Earlier yesterday evening the Guatemalan Government had banned all the press calls.

The Foreign Minister made the following appeal to the American people:

"In the name of the people of Guatemala I appeal to the democratic tradition of the people of the United States, asking them not to permit that the economic interests of a handful of stockholders of foreign companies stand as the motivation for this criminal attitude toward Guatemala."

In response to questions, Señor Toriello said that President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, as the constitutional supreme chief of the Guatemalan Army, was directing operations against the rebels. Reports from Tegucigalpa, Honduras, had said that President Arbenz had assumed personal command of the army only yesterday, but the Foreign Minister said this was done as "a matter of course."

He said that the President was in the National Palace, having completed hours earlier a radio broadcast to the nation. When he was told that the broadcast could not be heard in New York, Señor Toriello said that "there

Wash. Evening Star

JUN 21 1954

'Soviet—Stay Out'

The real issue of the Guatemalan crisis was summed up, but unfortunately not resolved, when Ambassador Lodge angrily warned the Russian delegate to the Security Council to "stay out of the Western hemisphere. . . Don't try to start your plans and conspiracies here."

For what is happening in Guatemala today is merely another chapter, and one that has been foreseeable in recent months, in a Communist design to establish a beachhead in the Americas. The makeup of the Arbenz government and its behavior in the American community have shown clearly enough its close relationship to the Communist cause and Mr. Lodge's questions were rhetorical only when he asked the Council what could be the interest of the Soviet representative in vetoing the proposal that the Guatemalan problem be referred to the Organization of American States. For the OAS, as Delegate Tsarapkin knows, is dedicated to the objective of protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the American nations—an objective obviously incompatible with Communist international planning.

The OAS, through its five-member Inter-American Peace Committee, will initiate an exercise of its rightful jurisdiction in a meeting here today. Meanwhile, it is too early to tell what effect, if any, will result from the Security Council's call for an end of bloodshed in the little Central American country. Martial law has been declared but rebel forces are reported still moving toward the capital city and there is some question as to whether the Guatemalan Army is strongly inclined to fight for the Arbenz government.

Whatever the immediate developments, American diplomacy is being finely tested. Although the record shows close bonds among the governments of this hemisphere there are strong spots of anti-Yankee feeling. Anti-United States demonstrations, probably Communist-organized, have been reported from several American countries over the week end.

Our continuing conduct in the Guatemalan crisis must be planned carefully lest we walk into the propaganda trap which Moscow is trying to set for us.

N.Y. Times

JUN 22 1954

CUBA URGES REBEL HELP

Says Castillo Armas Movement Should Be Recognized

HAVANA, June 21 (AP)—A Cuban Government official urged today that the Guatemalan revolutionary movement of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas be recognized immediately by other American countries.

Ernesto de la Fe, Minister Without Portfolio, said in a radio broadcast that Colonel Castillo Armas' "heroic action has saved our continent from tragic days; it is only fair that the Americas should lend him immediate aid." He said it would be "fatal for the cause of the free world if the struggle in Guatemala should last longer than what would be prudent."

A flat iron was hurled through a window of The United Press office last night, narrowly missing a teletype operator. A group of persons gathered in front of the office and shouted anti-United States slogans after a pro-Communist demonstration had been broken up.

N.Y. Times

JUN 22 1954

Nicaragua Rejects Charges

Special to The New York Times.

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, June 21—President Anastasio Somoza, labeled as false and ridiculous today charges against Nicaragua made by Guatemala before the United Nations Security Council in connection with the revolt in Guatemala.

N.Y. Times
JUN 22 1954

GOVERNMENT FORCES BEGIN DRIVE ON FOE IN GUATEMALA; REBELS SET UP OWN REGIME

RETREAT CLAIMED

Arbenz Forces Assert They Have Encircled Port Attackers

By The United Press.

GUATEMALA, June 21—Guatemalan Government forces have launched a general counter-attack on invading revolutionists, an Army communique said tonight. They threw the enemy back in the first encounter, fought near the town of Gualan, the announcement said.

The battle started shortly before midnight last night, according to the communique.

"The army, with regular troops, well trained and equipped with modern armament, attacked the rebels' position and forced them to fall back after over-coming stubborn resistance," the communique said. "Latest reports indicate the enemy was retreating in that area."

The communique said the army had not attacked the invaders before because the Government sought to avoid any frontier incidents that might lead the country to an international war.

It said that with invading forces now well inside the country, "the high command decided to launch a general offensive along the entire sector of operations, with all of the combative power at its disposal until attaining final victory."

The communique said that in a "secondary action" the garrison at Puerto Barrios surrounded a rebel force approaching that Caribbean key port and cut off

its retreat.

"We are expecting word from the commander momentarily that such force has been exterminated or captured," it added.

The communique said that although the "offensive movement launched last night is progressing satisfactorily, no other contact with the invaders had been reported in the areas occupied by them."

Rebels Demand Surrender

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 21 (UP)—Col. Carlos Castillo Armas set up an anti-Communist Government inside Guatemala today and called for the unconditional surrender of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and his Communist-supported regime. Colonel Castillo Armas, leader of invading forces striking from Honduras, made his demand after having issued a communique saying his revolutionary forces had captured several important cities while penetrating deep into Guatemala.

The communique announcing the setting up of the Government and calling on the people for support against those who had bowed to Communist-domination also named an anti-Communist coordination committee headed by Carlos Salazar and three other rebel leaders.

"We demand the unconditional surrender of Arbenz and his Communist group because we are not willing to compromise with those who never showed any mercy toward the citizenry whom they tortured and murdered in the prisons," Colonel Castillo Armas said.

The rebel leader reported that his forces were sweeping across Guatemala almost without opposition.

"This is not an invasion, properly speaking," he said. "We

are just thousands of Guatemalans who are forcing the doors of our own country to return to our homes."

Colonel Castillo Armas denied that foreign elements were taking part in the fight against the Communist-backed Arbenz Government.

"In the liberating army," he said, "there is not one officer or soldier who is not a Guatemalan."

Border Towns Fall

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

NUEVA OCOTEPEQUE, Honduras, June 21 — The insurgent forces under Colonel Castillo Armas have captured the pilgrimage town of Esquipulas in Guatemala, just across a mountain ridge from here.

They are marching toward Chiquimula and Zacapa and have given an ultimatum to Zacapa to yield within twenty-four hours.

Since Zacapa is headquarters of the Fourth Military District and normally a stronghold of the regular Guatemalan Army, a full-scale battle may be shaping us.

Zacapa is sixty-five miles northeast of the capital city of Guatemala. Insurgent liaison men in this border point said their own forces had been swelled by at least 500 residents of Esquipulas after the capture of the town yesterday morning. A spokesman said these volunteers were moving up toward Chiquimula "just as fast as they can be armed."

Three pro-Arbenz men were killed by machine gun fire in an insurgent attack on the towns. Liaison men who have been shuttling between Esquipulas and here said mortars had been used by the invaders, but primarily—in this case—to impress the population with the power of the attackers.

Military Governor Named

Col. Miguel Mendoza Azurdia, one of the two candidates defeated by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman for the Presidency in 1950, has been named military commander of the Esquipulas region. He is

a brother of Rodolfo Azurdia, one of the fliers who have flown planes that have attacked San José, Puerto Barrios, Coban and the city of Guatemala.

Colonel Mendoza and his men were joined this morning by hundreds of civilians at "mass of thanksgiving" celebrated at the famous Church of the Christ of Esquipulas.

Insurgent spokesmen, who included an expropriated landowner serving as a liaison pilot and a youth who went to high school in San Francisco said crowds of peasants greeted Colonel Mendoza's forces by forming cross-shaped groups in the streets.

Esquipulas is traditionally a deeply religious town. The residents welcomed the insurgents by stringing arches of greetings and thanks across the main street. Meanwhile, the local Communists, who controlled the agrarian reform committee in the district, appeared to have fled.

At least five Guatemalans, all conspicuously armed, were at the tiny airport here this morning. A small plane that has been shuttling across the ridge to Esquipulas was under guard by regular Honduran soldiers while on the ground.

N.Y. Times
JUN 22 1954

GUATEMALA WAITS FOR NEW U. N. STEP

May Bring Invasion Case Back to Security Council if Fighting Continues

By A. M. ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 21—Guatemalan diplomats said today they probably would bring the case of the rebel invasion back to the United Nations Security Council if the fighting continued.

The Government of Guatemala, the diplomats said, was waiting to see if the rebels and the "countries involved" lived up to the cease-fire resolution adopted unanimously yesterday by the Security Council.

There were these other major developments at the United Nations in the Guatemalan case:

① The United States made it

Cont.

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clear that it considered itself bound by the provision in the resolution calling on all members of the United Nations not to aid any action that could lead to more bloodshed. United States sources emphasized again that this country had not armed the rebels and had no intention of supplying them.

Honduras sent a message to the United Nations rejecting as "absolutely false" Guatemala's charge that, along with Nicaragua, she had participated in aggression against Guatemala. The Hondurans said that no aircraft based in their territory had made sorties over Guatemala.

Guatemala, in a cablegram to the United Nations, said that the Guatemalan Army would "proceed immediately" to repel the "aggressive foreign invasion." The cablegram was written before the cease-fire resolution, but Guatemalan sources here said that the Council action did not prevent the Government from "defending itself."

Legal Implications Studied

Council delegates, meanwhile, were studying the political and legal implications of the cease-fire resolution and the motion killed by the Soviet veto to recommend sending the case to the organization of American states.

One problem that historians and politicians will have to consider is whether the United Nations is bound immediately to investigate itself any claim of aggression made by a member country. Guatemala and the Soviet Union said "yes" at the council meeting. The votes of ten Council members in favor of the resolution to refer the case to the inter-American group was, in effect, a "no," not when other peaceful machinery remained untried.

United Nations attention was centered on the French "no bloodshed" resolution. The Guatemalan delegation said that its attitude toward a return to the United Nations would depend on whether that resolution was carried out by its opponents.

United States sources pointed out that the resolution carried no implication of Honduran or Nicaraguan guilt and by no stretch of the imagination could be considered as an indirect suggestion of an arms embargo against those two countries. Guatemalan diplomats also said that the resolution did not mean that arms could not go to Honduras or Nicaragua for their own use.

Dr. Tiburcio Carias, Honduran delegate to the United Nations, said that his country was bound by the resolution but was not in any position to stop the bloodshed. He said that no Honduran aid had gone to the rebels, that the conflict was not a foreign invasion but an "explosion" by

Peace Commission Defers Action in Guatemalan Case

Hemisphere Group Records Aggression Charge, but Is Asked to Delay Steps Pending Effect of U. N. Cease-Fire

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 21—The Inter-American Peace Commission took official note this afternoon of Guatemala's charge that she was victim of aggression, but at Guatemala's request it deferred action.

Guatemala asked the five-nation body to hold up action until the results of yesterday's cease-fire order by the United Nations Security Council could be observed.

As a result of the fighting that began Friday night, Guatemala, whose Government has been infiltrated by Communists, charges that she is the victim of aggression supported by Honduras and Nicaragua. The rebel forces, un-

Guatemalans against their government.

Honduran Raises Question

The Honduran delegate said that any Guatemalans who were in his country had come from Guatemala. If the Guatemalans could not stop infiltration from Guatemala into Honduras, he wanted to know, how could Honduras be expected to stop it. He said Honduras had a long frontier with Guatemala and it would exhaust his country's resources to keep it patrolled.

Dr. Carias' Foreign Minister, J. E. Valenzuela, sent the formal Honduran denial of complicity to the United Nations. The message, filed from Honduras while the council was meeting yesterday, said the Honduran Government could prove that it was following a policy of non-intervention.

The new Guatemalan message was sent by Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello yesterday afternoon, was received here late in the evening and was made public today.

Señor Toriello said that there was "no uprising" in Guatemala and that the people were offering "their lives to defend the homeland."

Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, describe themselves as a Guatemalan liberation army. They deny Guatemalan Government assertions that their numbers include subjects of other nations.

Alfredo Chocano, Guatemalan Chargé d'Affaires, acting on telephoned instructions from his Government, sent the request for delay to the commission. This occurred a few hours before the commission members—Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and the United States—met at the Pan American Union at 6 P. M.

Señor Chocano, who was not invited to attend the meeting, said:

"There is really nothing for this commission to do today until we see the effects of action by the higher authority of the Security Council. We will see whether Honduras and Nicaragua halt the aggression that is being carried on from their territory."

The charge announced at the same time that the Guatemalan Army had been ordered into action "to throw back the invader at all points."

He said the order for action had been issued by the Guatemalan Commander in Chief after the Security Council vote, which, in the Guatemalan view, "means that no one can call Guatemala an aggressor and makes it quite clear that Guatemala is in fact the victim of aggression."

The Council's cease-fire order, he held, does not deprive Guatemala of the right to self-defense. "For the victim, that overrides the cease-fire," he observed.

Chooses Battleground

Guatemala's request that the commission defer action means she has chosen the Security Council rather than the Inter-American body as her diplomatic battleground.

The peace commission was set

up by the American foreign ministers in Havana in 1940 as a "good offices" committee. It was to operate as a part of the general inter-American organizational structure, but without direct ties to any one division. Its members are chosen by the governing board of the Pan American Union, the parent organization in the inter-American structure.

Since the formation of the Organization of American States at Bogota, Colombia, in 1948, the Pan American Union has functioned as the secretariat of the O. A. S.

The functions of the peace commission are limited to "keeping constant vigilance to insure that the states between whom any dispute exists or may arise may solve it as quickly as possible, and suggesting the means and steps which may be conducive to such a settlement."

Its links with the O. A. S. make the commission part of the regional organization of the Americas that is recognized by the United Nations Charter. That is its connection with the United Nations. Had the Soviet Union not vetoed the United States proposal to transfer Guatemala's case to the Organization of American States the case would have been placed before the peace commission.

The fundamental difference between the United States and Guatemala in the case is this: Guatemala holds that she is a victim of international aggression whereas the United States holds that a civil war has broken out between the Communist infiltrated Government and a group of anti-Communist Guatemalans.

The State Department has reported uprisings inside Guatemala but Guatemalan authorities deny such uprisings.

Although there have been reports that United States agents have been working in Central America since Guatemala received a \$10,000,000 arm shipment from Communist Czechoslovakia six weeks ago, the State

Department has carefully avoided giving any impression that it is supporting the rebellion, much less the invasion of Guatemala.

Guatemala thus far has refrained from bringing charges against the United States, confining her complaints to Honduras and Nicaragua.

Open Session Held

Departing from the peace commission's customary rule, Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, chairman of the group, declared today's meeting an open session.

The commission secretary read two Guatemalan notes. The first, dated Saturday, described military attacks of which it said Guatemala had been the victim.

End

and said that Guatemala was appealing to the United Nations Security Council.

The second, dated today, asked the commission to suspend consideration of the charges pending action by the Security Council.

Ambassador John C. Dreier, United States delegate, then announced that the United States wished the commission to proceed with the case, but not today. In view of the second Guatemalan note, he proposed that the group adjourn and plan to meet again soon.

His views were endorsed by Ambassadors Jose Carlos Vittone of Argentina, Fernando Lobo of Brazil, and Gonzalo Guell of Cuba.

Before adjourning the commission approved a reply to the Guatemalan Chargé. It acknowledged the two notes and declared that the commission was always at the service of the American nations.

Representatives of El Salvador, Panama, Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Honduras and Guatemala were present at the meeting.

Meanwhile Lincoln White, a State Department spokesman, emphasized that the department regarded most of the reports about violence in Guatemala with skepticism.

N.Y. Times
JUN 22 1954

Opera-Bouffe, but Crucial

Guatemalan War Important in Context of Struggle for All of Latin America

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

The almost opera-bouffe quality of the Guatemalan "war"—a war that so far is primarily without battles but is punctuated by pronouncements and rumors—should not conceal the global importance of the struggle.

Compared to the two colossal nations of the modern world, the United States and the Soviet Union, Guatemala is a tiny state, but the struggle there is, at least partly, a derivative of the world conflict.

The armed forces involved are minor. Guatemala normally maintains an army of about 6,000 men, plus a paramilitary national police force about 3,000 strong. There is a small air force, chiefly composed of training planes, and a few pilots.

The opposing "rebels" or "patriots," as they have been variously called, have been reported to number anywhere from 300 to 5,000 men. Those who actually crossed the borders of Honduras into Guatemala probably are few, but the revolution undoubtedly is counting upon the support of much of the army and the police—the two major sources of power in all Latin-American countries.

The revolutionists seem to have hoped that their passage of the border would be the signal for a coup in Guatemala. But so far no coup has occurred and the success of the rebels may be measured by their progress in cutting or dominating the railroad across Guatemala and in moving up the Pan-American Highway toward the city of Guatemala.

Peasants an Unknown Factor

An unknown factor in the struggle is the peasants, normally a majority without power, who have been wooed, however, by the Government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and by the glittering promises of communism. It is possible that some of the 2,000 tons of arms imported into Guatemala recently from behind the Iron Curtain have been distributed to the peasants. If this downtrodden and largely illiterate group has been inoculated with the fanaticism of communism and armed, the present government would have a de-

cid advantage.

Guatemala's armed forces are the strongest in Central America. They compare with the other states of the area as follows:

	Regu- lars	Para- military
Guatemala....	6,000	3,000
Nicaragua....	2,117	1,184
El Salvador...3,500		9,700

Costa Rica ...	430	1,150
Honduras....	12,152	1,239

The recent shipment from behind the Iron Curtain probably provided Guatemala with more arms and ammunition than any of her sister states.

The dimensions of the Guatemalan military force indicate that it cannot possibly be taken as a serious threat to United States interests—though, under a Communist Government, a peasant army of considerable size that would be capable of overawing neighboring states might be formed in time.

Nor does Guatemala's geographic position constitute too serious a threat.

Threat to Panama Canal

The capital is 840 air miles from the Panam Canal, and Communist airfields hacked out of the jungle could pose a potential threat to the Canal. But the concealment of such airfields would be difficult and their construction could not be hidden, and the Canal itself, though important economically and logistically, no longer is the vital lifeline it was prior to the age of air power.

The public importance attached to the Guatemalan situation, therefore, is disproportionate to Guatemalan military capabilities. Yet, in the over-all context of strategy, the problem deserves the attention it is getting though it cannot be solved by the means so far employed. In fact, the military elements of what is essentially a political, economic and ideological problem have been greatly overstressed, with results that are already reacting against the United States.

Guatemala is a land where the many exist primarily for the few who rule; as in much of Latin America, political, economic and social conditions are potential breeding grounds for communism. It is these conditions that

are important in the global context, for communism often has exploited such local situations in the past to the advantage of its global military posture.

It is in these fields, where a rampart must be erected against the erosion of "creeping communism"—not in the title of bullets—that the struggle for Central America, of which the Guatemalan war is only the opening skirmish, ultimately must be won.

N.Y. Times
JUN 22 1954

SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE

The shadow boxing in the Security Council on Sunday and the meeting of the Inter-American Peace Committee in Washington yesterday could not penetrate to the deep causes of the present upheaval in Guatemala. Of the two agencies the Peace Committee is the more suitable to deal with a hemispheric issue, and there is no good reason why the whole dispute should not have been referred in the beginning to the twenty-one-member Organization of American States. The Charter of the United Nations recognizes such "regional arrangements or agencies" and suggests that disputes arising within their area should be dealt with there before being referred to the Security Council. It would have been better if the Guatemalan situation had gone there directly, in which case Russia would not have had an excuse or opportunity to impede a settlement in which she is in no way concerned.

The Guatemalan situation is part of a developing hemispheric situation which directly involves only the twenty-one nations of North and South America. It is not a situation with which the United States can deal unilaterally. It concerns not only Guatemala, which is now the hot spot, but every other nation in the two continents. If the Communists were to control Guatemala that little nation would be more than ever a source of infection and danger to all her neighbors. We cannot deal with this infection and danger in the old-fashioned way of sending down battleships and landing marines. We have grown beyond that stage, and our Latin-American neighbors have grown beyond the stage where they would tolerate it. The "Colossus of the North" is history now and should remain so.

But even though we cannot dictate

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and do not wish to dictate in the Guatemalan crisis, we cannot avoid responsibility. We are the strongest nation in the hemisphere and the richest. We are in a position of leadership whether we want to be or not. We must use this leadership to see to it if we can that orderly procedure—a kind of international due process—is followed. The decision in the end will not be made by armed force but by reason. And reason is one of the values that should be found in such agencies as the Organization of American States.

If we look a little beyond the confusion of the news that we now have we will see that there is a basic predicament from which the hemisphere should try to extricate itself. The estimated Communist membership of 250,000 in the whole of Latin America is no real measure of the unhappiness and discontent that exist there. Latin America, like other underdeveloped countries of the world, is waking up. It no longer accepts poverty and tyranny as inevitable. Great numbers of its people listened to the false promises of the Communists because there were not enough true and honest guarantees from the democratic side.

Since the close of the war this country has given very little in foreign aid to Latin America. This whole vast area has been comparatively neglected. This policy, or lack of policy, must be changed. We have to show these neighbors of ours that we can and will help them infinitely more than they can be helped by the emissaries and mouthpieces of Moscow. The old-fashioned commercial imperialism is dead or dying everywhere. More of our capital, some in the form of grants and some in the form of loans, must be sent into Latin America where it is needed on a humane and democratic basis. If this is done an infinite amount of misery and bloodshed may be avoided.

But we do have to lay down the law, as Ambassador Lodge did at the United Nations on Sunday, that the Russian Communists must "stay out of this hemisphere." This is a logical extension of the Monroe Doctrine. It applies to Guatemala and it must make us sympathize with any honest movement to eliminate the power of communism from the Government of Guatemala.

Wash. Post

JUN 22 1954

The Soviet Veto

Ambassador Lodge accurately described the Soviet veto in the Guatemalan case as the "most cynical" in a long line of cynical actions. The issue was the proposal to refer the Guatemalan complaint to the Organization of American States, and the veto served only to keep the meddling hand of the Soviet Union in Western Hemisphere affairs. The substitute resolution approved by the United Nations Security Council, calling for a cease-fire in Guatemala, by implication accepted the premise that foreign aggression is involved—a proposition by no means proved. Soviet cynicism had already been abundantly demonstrated last week in the veto of Thailand's appeal for a U. N. peace observation team in Indochina.

Obviously the Organization of American States would be the proper body first to consider a charge of aggression in this hemisphere. It has operated successfully several times in the past to restore peace. There is every reason to think that the OAS would render a fair judgment in the present case, including an assessment of whether Honduras has done all within her power to restrain movements of the insurgents within her borders. Guatemala did appeal to the subordinate Inter-American Peace Commission, which discussed the complaint yesterday, but she has studiously avoided any mention of the parent OAS. The inference is plain that, the Arbenz government itself having been cited as a threat to the peace, it wishes to avoid subjecting itself to the judgment of its neighbors.

The effect of the action in the U. N., of course, is to tighten the Soviet embrace of the Arbenz government in Guatemala. The two are working together in the furtherance of Soviet designs. There will be widespread applause, in consequence, for Ambassador Lodge's admonition to the Soviet Union to stay out of this hemisphere.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1954

Who's Intervening Where? Goons in Guatemala

By VICTOR RIESEL

A year ago in Paris, I was told by those who know something of the activity and files of the French secret police that the Communist International had moved some 300 of its toughest Spanish speaking MVD agents and executioners to Guatemala.

The 300 men included Russian army officers, espionage agents, members of the Soviet secret police and trusted Spanish Communist Party "apparatchiks." They were processed through the Guatemalan Embassy in Paris as "Spanish refugees." And the records will show that visas were issued to them, as Spanish refugees. They were then moved into Guatemala for use and dispersion throughout the Caribbean area and the South American continent.

The man who was the liaison

agent was Senor Carlos Manuel Pellecer, while he served in Paris, as is the Communist technique, as Secretary of the Embassy.

The French secret police had Pellecer under surveillance, I was told. Finally the police were ordered to clamp down on him when he returned from a trip outside France—laden with two suitcases of Communist documents and propaganda. For this he was expelled.

QUICKLY he hopped back to Guatemala and was assigned to the sector which always, but always, is the Communists' number one base in any land in which they have power.

Pellecer was then used in typical Communist style. He was made head of the Guatemalan General Labor Union, a catch-all outfit that can move anywhere. And he was under orders to use this catch-all union for assaults

on U. S. merchants, especially the United Fruit Co. He also became a member of the Guatemalan legislature.

It was Pellecer who directed much of the revolutionary strike action there in the past year or so.

Meanwhile, the 300 "Spanish refugees" took over. They organized machinegun squads. They set up technical cadres for the army. They developed the Guatemalan secret police along Cheka-GPU-MVD lines. They set up torture chambers and drew up lists of hostages for assassination if an anti-Communist revolution broke out—as it finally did last week-end.

LESS THAN a month ago the Honduran radio in the capital city, Tegucigalpa, reported that "several Soviet technicians are known to have landed at Puerto Barrios on board a Russian submarine at the same time the freighter Alfhelm was unloading arms for Guatemala. Five MIGs were included in the Alfhelm's shipment," according to two witnesses.

The two charged, with considerable detail, that the Soviet sub-

marine which landed the Russian technicians was the Novgorod. The eyewitnesses, Federico Gamoya Arana and Salvado Grajales Aceituno, anti-Communist radio engineers, reported:

"The Russians were sent to teach the Guatemalan army how to fly the MIGs and use the other weapons. All of them spoke good Spanish." The two radio engineers also stated that the S. S. Alfhelm, in addition, unloaded many drums of gasoline.

The bulk of this cargo was in huge crates which were loaded by special labor squads into closed armored trucks and rushed out to a secret airport at Lake Amatitlan. This lake region has long been the site of secret Communist ammo dumps and military garrisons. This Communist base was discovered years ago by an anti-Communist leader, Francisco Arana, when he was running against Jacobo Arbenz for president. Arana was machinegunned to death near the lake.

Arbenz became president. So who is intervening where?

Follow Riesel's "Inside Labor" in the Mirror Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Friday

N. Y. MIRROR
JUN 22 1954

Deny Guatemala Rebels Use Airlifted U.S. Arms

By KENNETH A. UNGERMAN

WASHINGTON, June 21 (INS).—The U. S. bluntly denied charges Monday by Red-tinged Guatemala that weapons it recently airlifted to Honduras and Nicaragua are being used in the Guatemalan revolt.

State Department spokesman Lincoln White said American officers working with the recipient nations make sure the U. S. weapons are used only for defense purposes.

THE LATEST American statement on the revolt came shortly before a meeting of our inter-American peace commission called at Guatemala's suggestion that the group "take note" of what the Guatemalan government insists is a "foreign aggression" supported by the U. S.

ment scoffed at the contention that the uprising is a Washington-inspired "plot" to unseat the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz.

The peace commission, an offshoot of the Organization of American States, scheduled consideration of the rebellion despite Russia's veto in the United Nations of an American-backed proposal to transfer consideration of Guatemala's complaint to the inter-American group.

quest by Alfredo Chocano, Guatemalan charge d'affaires in Washington, asking the commission merely to "take note" of the situation. He suggested that any formal action by the commission be withheld pending developments at the U. N.

Meanwhile, Chocano rejected the U. S. claim that the situation amounts to internal revolt. He said: "There has not been one case of an internal uprising."

American arms were sped to Honduras and Nicaragua after disclosure that 2,000 tons of weapons had been received in

Guatemala from a port in Communist Poland.

IN REGARD to Chocano's charge that the insurgents are using these U. S. weapons, White commented:

"Arms provided by the U. S. are in implementation of the Rio Defense Treaty (to repel external aggression) and cannot be used for purposes stated by Sr. Chocano.

"This equipment can be used only for defense of hemisphere security."

White was asked about measures being taken to protect about 1,200 Americans now in Guate-

malia. He replied that the Arbenz government "has given assurances it will make every effort to protect American citizens resident in that country."

WHITE ADDED that the Guatemalan government has agreed to permit departure of any U. S. citizens who wish to leave, but he said up to now evacuation has not appeared to be necessary.

The department official said he cannot confirm or deny reports that American pilots flying for the anti-Communist forces have been forced down in Guatemala or neighboring countries.

C.S. Monitor

JUN 23 1954

Guatemala Revolt Follows New Latin-America Pattern

By Robert M. Hallett
Staff Writer on
Latin-American Affairs for
The Christian Science Monitor

The Guatemalan revolt, at this stage at least, is far from the classic type of Latin-American government overthrow.

Revolutions south of the border follow an almost Greek dramatic pattern, if well executed, that leads through various predetermined steps to the inevitable change of government.

In Guatemala the scene is altogether different—and at the moment the result of the conflict is in doubt. Planes are bombing cities (even though ineffectively for the most part), an "invasion" army was launched across the Honduran border, and some semblance of a front in the modern war sense can be mapped.

The most recent example of the technically flawless revolution—or as known in Latin America "cuartelazo" (barracks revolt)—was the Batista overthrow of the constitutional government of Prío Socarras of Cuba in 1952.

77-Minute Coup

The 77-minute Batista coup took place as the country was embroiled in the confusion of an election campaign—a campaign in which Batista was a candidate, but was increasingly unsure of winning.

By carefully exploiting the dissatisfaction of Army leaders with the way things were going under Señor Prío, and carefully guarding the plans for the overthrow, Fulgencio Batista was enabled to get all the machinery going and perfectly timed.

During the predawn hours of March 10 Señor Batista, the master revolutionary, executed his coup. By 9 a.m. the Presidential Palace in downtown Havana surrendered. The President fled the country and the most of the country awakened to a new government. Bloodshed was almost nonexistent.

In Guatemala the very slowness of the rebel advance into the country might be construed as an effort of the forces under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas to give time for dissident Army personnel to go over to the revolutionary banners.

Some Desertions

There have been reports of desertions in the attempted rebellion.

According to a report re-

N.Y. Times

JUN 23 1954

Text of Guatemalan Letter to the U. N.

Special to The New York Times.
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 22—Following is a telegram dated June 21, 1954, from Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello of Guatemala to the President of the Security Council of the United Nations:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, despite the conclusive resolution adopted yesterday by the Security Council which is legally binding on all member states in accordance with Article 25 of the charter, acts of aggression against this republic continued last night and today, from bases in states members of the United Nations, in open contravention of the aforesaid decision of the council, as follows:

Between midnight on June 20 and 2 P. M. on June 21 the following incidents occurred:

(A) At 1:25 A. M. unidentified aircraft dropped by parachute

packages containing arms at Paraje Vega de Chile (a village at Pachalun, Joyabaj, Quiché) and Vega de Godínez (San Martín Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango). These packages were collected by peasants and handed over to the authorities.

(B) At 3 A. M. at "Marineplan," Puerto Barrios bay, the Honduran schooner "Siesta de Trujillo," flying the Honduran flag, was captured in the act of unloading arms. Its cargo consisted of a large number of machine guns, rifles, hand grenades and communications equipment. Many lorries were needed to transport these arms. Several prisoners were taken and the rest of the crew, who fled into the mountains, are being pursued. Another similar schooner is cruising outside the bay waiting a suitable moment to unload.

(C) At 7:16 A. M. unidentified aircraft machine-gunned the town of Zacapa.

(D) At 7:30 A. M. the same aircraft damaged the railway station of the same town.

(E) At 8:35 A. M. unidentified aircraft machine-gunned the towns of York and Cristina, and bombed the northern railway line, causing considerable damage at Mile 68.

(F) At 8:50 piratical aircraft again flew over the town of Za-

capa, and the Zacapa railway bridge was bombed and severely damaged; repairs will require at least a week.

(G) At 2:50 P. M. the foreign invaders dropped parachutes with material for acts of sabotage and destruction near the town of Agua Caliente with a view to the destruction of the railway bridges at Chato, Agua Caliente, El Chile and Platanos and two tunnels in this section.

(H) Throughout this period piratical aircraft carried out many reconnaissance flights over the ports of San José (Department of Escuintla) and Champerico (Retalhuleu).

I consider it necessary to repeat the important fact that all the flights mentioned were without exception made from airfields situated outside the national territory of Guatemala. The rebels have not captured a single landing ground in the country.

In view of the foregoing I have the honor to ask Your Excellency and, through you, the Security Council, that the Council should take whatever steps are necessary and use its authority with the Governments of Honduras and Nicaragua to secure the cessation of all assistance to the mercenary forces which are continuing to attack and invade the national territory of Guatemala.

ceived by this writer, the revolt was betrayed by a conservative who became jittery when he felt he was under surveillance. He drove a supply of munitions straight to the government headquarters and confessed.

Martial law was declared. People were forced to walk down the main streets of Managua, Nicaraguan capital, in single file. Some Nicaraguans report that 20 men were shot outright without trial. Many more were sent to jail. Others fled in disguise out of the country or to foreign embassies.

An altogether different and

much more bitter revolutionary pattern evolved in Bolivia, also in 1952, when peasants, intellectuals, and labor groups revolted against a military junta. Here untrained people won a victory at the expense of the nation's trained professional soldiers, although it is true that the Army was divided in the conflict.

Wash. Evening Star

JUN 23 1954

'Mystery Man' of Guatemala Revolution

Patrick McMahon came to know Col. Carlos Castillo Armas well while surveying the nations of that area. When Castillo Armas unleashed his revolutionaries against Guatemala last week, McMahon went to Tegucigalpa, interviewed the little colonel and came up with this vivid and hitherto-untold story of the "mystery man" of rebellion.

By Patrick McMahon

THE MAN WHO leads the Guatemala revolution—with the look of a poet and the violent background of a veteran rebel—is gambling that substantial elements of his nation's army will come over to his cause.

If this hope of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas fails, the results may not only be disastrous to the little colonel and his followers, but also a severe blow to those in the Western Hemisphere awakening to the serious menace which the anti-Communist expeditionaries are fighting.

Castillo Armas, who already knows from experience the bloody price of betrayed hopes, has spent nearly three years devoting full time to organizing the revolution—the fourth in which he has taken part. He marshalled Guatemalan refugees and dissident elements within the country. He obtained from any available source the arms with which to make the strike for "liberation" of his country which he launched last week.

Barely known in the United States before the current action, and still largely a mystery man to North Americans, Castillo Armas fits into none of the swashbuckling roles popularly cast for revolutionary leaders. With the look, at least to casual acquaintances, of an educator, a professional man, or even a poet, the only signs of his career as professional soldier are the erect carriage of his slight figure and the faint crispness in his low, well-modulated voice when he issues directives to subordinates.

Yet more revealing of Castillo Armas are the gruesome torture, he has undergone in rebellion's name, his penitentiary escape—and the reason he first broke with the present Guatemala government: because it refused to prosecute after a brutal political murder.

Americans who know him in Tegucigalpa regard Castillo Armas as devoid of personal ambition but full of highest patriotism. He is popular among all classes of Guatemalans. He has outlined a detailed social and economic program for use when—and if—his forces overthrow Guatemala's govern-

ment.

He has pledged that free elections will be held once order is firmly restored, and that the Communist elements will be expunged.

His program, in the view of competent American observers, is basically democratic and moderately liberal.

To this slender, precise little man, revolution and the horrible consequences of failure have become a familiar duty. He was one of a group of young army officers who joined with Guatemalan intellectuals, students and professional men in the virtually bloodless revolt that overthrew the iron-fisted regime of the old dictator, Jorge Ubico, in 1944.

A few months later, when the provisional president, Gen. Frederico Ponce Viades, himself began showing signs of dictatorial ambitions, Castillo Armas took part in the movement that overthrew him, expelled him from the country, and installed the junta composed of two young captains, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and Francisco Arana, and a civilian, Jorge Toriello (brother of the present Guatemalan foreign minister, Guillermo Toriello).

The junta violated one of the ancient traditions of Latin American revolutionary politics: It held free elections within the year. But now the Communists moved. Although they had played little part in the coups, they somehow managed to push to the forefront of the election campaign a Guatemalan professor who had been living in exile in Argentina, Juan Jose Arevalo.

Arevalo, professing to be a "spiritual socialist," was nominated for the presidency by the major revolutionary parties, elected by an overwhelming majority, and immediately set about installing Communists and their associates in key positions of his government. As his term drew toward a close (under the constitution he could not succeed himself) two candidates emerged, the then Col. Arana, chief of staff of the army, and Col. Arbenz, the minister of defense.

Arbenz had wholeheartedly supported the pro-Communist policies of the Arevalo government, and was the choice of Arevalo himself and the politically powerful Communist labor leaders. Arana, however, was a bitter and outspoken foe of the Communists, and was immensely popular among all classes of Guatemalans, especially the army. He was heavily favored to win the election.

Months before the election, Arana was assassinated by three men armed with submachine guns. Although his assassins were publicly identified by an

eyewitness, they were never arrested. Instead all were rewarded with powerful government posts by President Arbenz. The Communists took public

credit for Arana's murder, and Arbenz was elected with little opposition.

Castillo Armas meanwhile had risen first to assistant director and, in 1948, director of the Guatemalan Military Academy. In July, 1949, at the time of Arana's murder, he was chief of military zone No. 4. But when the government refused to take action against the assassins, Castillo—who had publicly criticized the Communist policies of the Arevalo government—resigned his army commission in protest.

A year later Castillo Armas, now a bitter, implacable foe of the Arevalo-Arbenz-Communist coalition, engaged on his third revolutionary venture. He led a tiny band of 40 poorly armed followers against the military base at the Aurora Air Field, on November 5, 1950, confidently expecting that it would be surrendered to him without resistance, and that the forces there would join him in a march on the capital.

He had received what he thought were firm assurances from the base commanders.

But Castillo Armas was betrayed, and he and his small band were met with a withering blast of machine-gun fire. A few escaped. Most were killed. Castillo himself fell severely wounded, with two machine-gun bullets in his hip.

Then followed one of the grisliest incidents in the history even of any revolution. The soldiers mistook Castillo Armas for dead. They tossed him, still unconscious, in a truck containing the corpses of his slain followers. On the way to the morgue he recovered consciousness but decided to feign death, hoping for an opportunity to escape.

But as the morgue attendants were carrying him to a marble slab, he winced from the pain of their rough handling. Terrified at the sudden revitalization of the "corpse," the two attendants dropped him and fled. Soldiers standing guard, however, took him to the hospital operating room, where his wounds were attended.

Then Castillo Armas, as many a Guatemalan has since learned, found what it is really like to cross an iron curtain-type government.

He was taken directly to a cell in the police station, dumped on the concrete floor and stripped naked except for his bandages. For the next 48 hours he was subjected to unceasing questions about the names of fellow conspirators.

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He was deprived of sleep, food, water and drugs.

Fearing that he might die on their hands and that his death might provoke new disturbances, his inquisitors gave up—transferred him to the penitentiary.

Castillo Armas proved his toughness by recovering sufficiently to escape six months later. He and five convicts (Castillo Armas of course had never been given a formal trial and official sentencing) tunneled 50 feet from a storeroom, under a compound and an eight-foot-thick wall and fled on June 11, 1951.

He separated from his fellow escapees and made his way to the Colombian Embassy, a short distance from the penitentiary. There he was granted political asylum and a few months later the Colombian government negotiated his safe conduct from the country.

After a few months in Colombia, he went to Tegucigalpa, where he joined his lovely and vivacious wife who had succeeded in fleeing Guatemala the night of his arrest. Ever since he has devoted himself to the new revolution.

(North American Newspaper Alliance.)

N. Y. Journal-American

JUN 23 1954

Communist Warfare:

Spain and Guatemala

By E. F. TOMPKINS

JUST as the Guatemalan conflict was starting, the scholarly "Political Science Quarterly" presented in its June issue a most revealing resume of Communist political tactics in the Spanish civil war.

The "Quarterly" is edited for the Academy of Political Science by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Its article discusses a book entitled "I Was a Minister of Stalin" ("Yo Fui un Ministro de Stalin") written in Spanish by Jesus Hernandez, one of the founders of the Spanish Communist Party. The book has been published in Mexico City by "Editorial America." The "Quarterly's" article appears in the form of a review by Mr. Robert J. Alexander, of Rutgers University.

The review shows what to expect in Guatemala if the rebellion against Communism is at all prolonged.

Armed by Soviets

"This volume," Mr. Alexander observes, "should be of value to all interested in the technique of penetration used by the Communists."

The book describes "political events on the Loyalist side during the Spanish civil war."

It relates that the "Loyalists" were armed mainly by Soviet Russia. Deliveries, however, were slow and never sufficient for victory, but enough to "keep the war dragging on for almost three years." Moreover, they enabled Communists "inside and outside of Spain" to blackmail the "Loyalist" Government and to control its policies by threats to stop the military supplies at critical junctures.

"Within Republican Spain," Mr. Alexander notes, "the aims of Soviet policy were many.

"There were Russian military 'advisers' with virtually all important units of the armed forces.

"The dreaded Russian secret police, the GPU, had its 'apparatus' in Spain, complete with jails which were outside

Minister of Justice.

"The Communist International also had its corps of 'advisers' who were the group through which the Russians made known their desires to the Spanish Communist Party."

Among these alien "advisers" were Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communists, and Andre Marty and Jacques Duclos of France. Spanish Communists collaborating with them included the Red Fury Dolores Ibaruri—"La Pasionaria" she was called—and Vicente Uribe, the Minister of Agriculture, both members of the Spanish Politburo.

Comintern Advisers

Senor Hernandez reveals in his book that the foreign "advisers" instigated and compelled the campaign that overthrew Largo Caballero as "Loyalist" Prime Minister and Indalecio Prieto, the Minister of Defense, and that made Dr. Juan Negrin the successor to Caballero.

"Almost without exception," notes the reviewer, "the majority of the Politburo of the Spanish Party did as they were told by the Comintern 'advisers.'"

After Franco's triumph, Jesus Hernandez—once one of the Communist International—sought security in the Soviet Union. In Russia he "witnessed the terrible mistreatment of most of the Spanish refugees." He also saw Stalin, Manuilsky and Dimitroff abolish the Comintern "without even consulting the other members of the Executive Committee."

"Hernandez' disenchantment with Communism," we read, "was completed there."

Now we wonder what some other fugitive may write about Guatemala.

Arbenz Jeered UN— Now Asks Its Help

By JOHN H. MARTIN

THE attitude of the Leftist Guatemalan government under President

Arbenz

Jacobo Arbenz toward the United Nations is curious.

The Guatemalan government has just appealed to the UN Security Council for action against the insurgents led by Carlos Castillo Armas, a former colonel now billed as a general.

But only last May Day President Arbenz with his entire cabinet reviewed in Guatemala City what literally was a big Red demonstration. Platoon after platoon of marchers passed the reviewing stand carrying such Communist slogans as: "Yankees, hands off Korea," and "UN is a vile instrument of financial forces of the U. S."

The United States has rejected charges that it is behind the insurgent movement of Carlos Castillo Armas and his anti-Communist followers.

Never Solved Killing

Arbenz himself rode into power through revolution. He also profited in subsequent elections when another man was assassinated. He has never solved that killing. His critics say he is not interested in doing so.

Arbenz is accused of these other actions:

Keeping in office Communist and fellow travelers, appointed by his predecessor, President Juan Jose Arenal, or replacing them with other Reds or fellow travelers.

Naming as one of three judges of the election board, Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, who helped organize the Moscow-inspired "partisans for peace committee" in Guatemala. Another judge is Alfonso Orantes, co-chairman of the Partisans Committee. Thus those two have a majority control on a three-man board having final jurisdiction in all election disputes;

Publicly proclaiming that anti-Communist activities in Guatemala are "subversive";

Threatening to use force to suppress anti-Communist meetings;

Allowing the Guatemalan delegate at the UN often to cast his vote on the side of the Soviet bloc.

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*Mr. Martin is Foreign Director of  
 International News Service*  
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N.Y. Times

JUN 24 1954

INSURGENTS EAGER BUT ILL-EQUIPPED

**Troops Are Really Guerrillas
 —Key to Situation Remains
 Guatemalan Army Attitude**

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

ESQUIPULAS, Guatemala, June 23—The military limitations and the political aspirations of the insurgent Guatemalan movement under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas can be observed here in much, much sharper focus than in Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

There is unmistakable visible evidence here that the men under Colonel Castillo Armas' command are for the most part peasants with no experience in warfare and a need of training for it as great as the spirit with which they are willing to try.

The "army" of Colonel Castillo Armas, at least in this section, where the colonel established the first headquarters of his new "government," is strictly a guerrilla group.

It is short on transport and fuel. Yesterday twelve men, one of them barefoot and no two dressed alike, worked all day to tricate one light Ford truck on the mud outside a primitive strip.

The most common weapon is a submachine gun of German make. This morning a pile of brush near the airport concealed the latest rival of supplies—more submachine guns and about a dozen ausser rifles wrapped in oiled blankets.

Colonel Castillo Armas is surrounded by a group of more or less regular officers and maintains reasonably formal headquarters at what used to be the lardhouse in town.

He has named Col. Miguel Mendosa military commander of the district. Colonel Mendosa is one of two presidential candidates defeated by President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in 1950 in Guatemala. His staff also includes alert, intelligent young officers like Major Julio Gaitan.

The key to the Guatemalan situation remains the attitude of the regular army. So far there has been no real contact in this area although a skirmish took place at Chiquimula yesterday morning.

'Someone Will Have' to Die

If an attack should be launched in this direction by a reasonably well equipped unit of regular

troops, it is hard to see how the rebels could withstand it. However, there would be courageous guerrilla resistance and the usual type of sniping and door-to-door fighting.

Obviously both sides know this. That is the curious thing about the situation. Meanwhile, the Guatemalan Army remains uncommitted and Colonel Castillo Armas insists that he is ready for anything.

"It all depends on whether the Communists prefer to fight," said the colonel. And Major Gaitan said quietly: "We are sure someone will have to be killed" in the next phase of the revolt.

Colonel Castillo Armas made clear his primary objective was the City of Guatemala. He said Puerto Barrios was as good as

in insurgent hands. The colonel added that the people were rising to his support all over the country.

On the political side, Colonel Castillo Armas said he had a cabinet tentatively appointed and would announce it soon. He said he also would ask the recognition of other governments before his forces reached the capital.

In military terms the following facts were established here. They tend to confirm the localized nature of the clashes so far—certainly in the region north of the Honduran border.

One of the three men killed here was shot when he drew a knife on one of Colonel Castillo Armas' men in a political argument shortly after the insurgents entered.

At Chiquimula a regular Army captain was captured when he went out to calm the populace. He permitted himself to be sur-

prised by an insurgent with a submachine gun.

Communists near San Jacinto were said to have killed two anti-Communists with a machete.

The nearest thing to a real fight in this area occurred around Chiquimula yesterday morning when shots were exchanged between 8:30 and 9 A. M. But no one claimed to have inflicted casualties.

A group of farm workers reached here from Chiquimula last night with submachine guns. They arrived ragged, unshaved and exhausted at the Comedor Victoria Cafe run by Maria Lemos.

Maria Lemos wears on a blue armband the sword and cross, the insignia of the insurgents. "I am a soldier," she said.

She added that some time ago a Government party contracted a debt of eighty quetzal (\$80) that was never paid. This was her primary motive in choosing sides in the present conflict. It is clear here that many small long-stand-

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ing groups have impelled the people against the Government rather than a clear stand on communism.

When the insurgents arrived, residents displayed not national flags but crude white flags of peace. The most dramatic of these white flags was the one atop one of the church's two massive towers. Msgr. Eduardo Lopez said 100 townspeople had sought refuge in the church when Colonel Armas' men arrived. Last night thirty-five women and children were still sleeping in an open patio adjoining the main edifice.

N.Y. Times

JUN 24 1954

Nicaragua Suggests Meeting

Special to The New York Times.

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, June 22—Dr. Oscar Sevilla Sacasa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said Tuesday he had called Central American Ambassadors accredited to Nicaragua to give them a formal note suggesting a meeting of the Organization of Central American States in Managua Dec. 10.

N.Y. Times

JUN 24 1954

LODGE HOLDS OFF ON GUATEMALA BID

Expected to Call U.N. Council Tomorrow but Will Press for Shift to Americas Body

By A. M. ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.,

June 23—The United States and its Latin-American allies again will urge the United Nations Security Council to allow the American republics to handle an inquiry into the Guatemalan case.

Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., United States delegate and Council President this month, did not act today upon a Guatemalan request for a new Council meeting. The request was received here at 12:30 A. M. Mr. Lodge got it shortly before noon.

But reliable diplomatic sources here said, Mr. Lodge probably would summon the meeting, perhaps for Friday. By that time, it was reported here, the Organization of American States, meeting in Washington, will have had proposals put before it for sending an observer mission to investigate the case.

Guatemala, in an attempt to prevent action by the inter-American group and to obtain United Nations consideration, has withdrawn the case from the Organization of American States. But Honduras and Nicaragua, accused of aggression by Guatemala, are asking that the inter-American organization look into the situation.

Killed By Soviet Veto

On Sunday, ten members of the United Nations Security Council voted to refer the case to the organization, a move killed by the Soviet veto. The Council then adopted a cease-fire resolution unanimously.

The position of the United States and many Council members is that where trouble exists nations are bound by the Charter to try other peaceful methods of settlement—including referral to regional organizations—before bringing the case to the United Nations.

It has been made plain by the United States, too, that Wash-

ington believes Moscow is trying to exploit the situation in Guatemala to gain a foothold in the Western Hemisphere.

Guatemala has insisted that she does not want action by the inter-American group, and that therefore the United Nations must look into her charges of a foreign invasion at once. She has been backed by the Soviet Union, which has accused the United States of trying to swallow up the case in the machinery of the Organization of American States.

Nicaragua, meanwhile, sent to the United Nations a denial of Guatemala's charges. The Honduran denial was received Monday.

Oscar Sevilla Sacasa, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, said his country had broken off diplomatic relations with Guatemala because the Guatemalan Embassy had "transformed itself into an agency for disseminating Communist propaganda."

The Nicaraguan accused Guatemala of "extreme anti-Americanism and rejection of anything which comes from the United States of America, pursued in order to conceal behind that insub-

stantial and transparent shield the Communist affiliations which characterize it."

Guatemala's appeal to the Security Council, he went on, was a violation of Article 20 of the Organization of American States. That article, he said, binds members of the regional group to try to settle their disputes within the family before bringing them to the United Nations.

N.Y. Times

JUN 24 1954

AMERICAS GROUP PROPOSES INQUIRY

Five-Nation Peace Committee Acts on Guatemala Charge—Propaganda Disturbs U. S.

By WALTER H. WAGGONER

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 23—

The Inter-American Peace Committee proposed tonight that a fact finding commission be sent to investigate Guatemalan charges of aggression by Honduras and Nicaragua.

The five-nation group unanimously ac-

cepted the proposal made by Nicaragua and supported by Honduras.

The committee went into closed session at 7:45 P. M. to draft a letter informing the Guatemalan embassy and the Secretary General of the United Nations of the decision.

The members of the peace committee are the United States, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. The meeting tonight was called at the request of the Honduran ambassador, Rafael Heliodoro Valle. The Honduran envoy wrote to the chairman of the peace committee, Ambassador Louis Quintanilla of Mexico, that his Government was "extremely desirous" that the Guatemalan accusations before the committee be "clarified."

'Very Grave' Accusations

The Honduran letter said these accusations were "very grave," because they charged Honduras with being the author of an aggression.

Guatemala has withdrawn her request that the peace committee investigate the alleged aggression and invasion after deciding that the United Nations Security Council was the proper agency for dealing with the questions.

The Soviet Union had taken the same line at the United Nations.

The committee's proposal came as State Department officials expressed concern about a propaganda campaign that is being waged against United States efforts to arouse Latin America to the peril of communism in Guatemala.

Large segments of the Latin American population are accepting the propaganda; "even some of our friends, some who really know better," it is acknowledged here.

Seek to Discredit U. S.

The drive against the United States is designed to discredit Washington on two counts:

First, that its concern with Guatemala is really an effort on behalf of the United Fruit Company. Second, that its attacks on the Guatemalan Government constitute intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The campaign is laid at the door of the Soviet Union, which seeks the destruction of the inter-

American system, authorities believe. But the chief salesman and most effective voice of the drive in Latin America is Dr. Juan José Arevalo, former president of Guatemala and now her Ambassador at large in several South American countries.

The United States is trying to meet the charges against it with the following replies:

Washington is no more con-

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cerned with the United Fruit Company than with any other United States interest in a foreign country. The issue of compensation for expropriated fruit company land in Guatemala has no bearing on the attitude of the United States toward the Guatemalan Government. The State Department proposed, even insisted, that the compensation claim be put before the International Court of Claims at The Hague or an appropriate inter-American tribunal.

"The United States is not intervening in the internal affairs of Guatemala; it is merely trying to check the external aims of the Soviet Union in this hemisphere.

Vigorous Policy Urged

In the Senate, meanwhile, Democrats continued to call upon the Administration for a more vigorous policy. Senator George A. Smathers of Florida declared that proposals for a "hands-off" attitude were "unrealistic and naive."

"We must see that the people opposing communism in Guatemala win this particular battle," he said.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Democratic leader in the Senate, introduced a resolution yesterday warning that the United States would not tolerate any interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of this hemisphere.

Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland of California endorsed the Johnson resolution, almost guaranteeing broad bipartisan support and swift approval in the Senate.

Special to The New York Times.

COPENHAGEN, Denmark, June 23—Denmark's Foreign Minister, H. C. Hansen, indicated tonight Denmark would refuse a United States request to search Danish ships to prevent arms from reaching Guatemala.

"Denmark, no more than other seafaring nations, can accept restriction of this kind on Danish ships' free and unhampered navigation on the high seas," he declared.

Mr. Hansen added that no weapons could be exported from Denmark or sent in transit through Denmark or in Danish ships without permission of the Government. It has for a long time been a firm practice not to give such permission when weapons were intended for countries at war or countries dominated by unrest of such kind that war might be expected, he declared.

N. Y. H. T.

JUN 24 1954

Nicaragua Gives Lie to Guatemala

By Ralph Chapman

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 23.—Nicaragua today called Guatemalan charges against her of open aggression "not only false but insulting." It counter charged that the Guatemalan appeal to the Security Council was "in flagrant violation of the charter of the Organization of American States."

A cable setting forth these views was received here this afternoon from Oscar Sevilla Sacasa, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, for transmission to the president of the Security Council, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., permanent United States representative, is Council president for this month.

Mr. Lodge spent most of the day conferring with his staff at the United States Mission, 2 Park Ave., on whether to call another "urgent meeting" of the Council at Guatemala's request. A spokesman for the mission said that the request was receiving "serious consideration," but no decision was reached tonight. The same spokesman said that no Council member so far had supported the Guatemalan demand.

The Inter-American Peace Commission, an agency of the Organization of American States, met in Washington tonight and it was believed that Mr. Lodge hoped to stall any decision on a Council meeting until he was able to learn what transpired at that session. The view of the United States is that the Guatemalan complaint should have been taken to the Peace Commission in the first place.

Nicaraguan Cable

The Nicaraguan cable was a bitter denunciation of Guatemala and an explanation that diplomatic relations with the country were broken off because the "Guatemalan embassy in Nicaragua transformed itself into an agency for disseminating Communist propaganda."

"The only explanation of the offensive statements made by Foreign Minister Toriello is to be found in his government's

well-known policy of extreme anti-Americanism," the cable continued, "and rejection of anything which comes from the United States of America, pursued in order to conceal behind that insubstantial and transparent shield the Communist affiliations which characterize it."

This appeared a reference to criticism of arms aid granted by Washington recently to both Nicaragua and Honduras.

The latest Guatemalan request for Security Council action was contained in a message from Eduardo Castillo-Arriola, permanent representative of that country to the U. N. It said that a cease-fire resolution adopted by the Council near the end of its five-hour emergency meeting on Sunday, "has not been complied with by those states members of the United Nations who have acquiesced in or assisted from their territories the acts of aggression suffered by Guatemala." The message said that this resolution was "absolutely binding upon them."

Honduras and Nicaragua were again named specifically as those giving assistance to "the mercenary forces."

The Guatemalan message, received here early this morning, was apparently intended to overcome the feeling among Council members that the complaint should have had the full consideration of the Inter-American Peace Commission before it was brought here. The Council voted 10 to 1 on Sunday to refer the matter there, but a Soviet veto killed the move.

Mr. Castillo-Arriola said that the cease-fire resolution, proposed by France and adopted by the Council unanimously, "implicitly recognized that some states . . . were giving assistance to Guatemala's invaders."

"The resolution juridically defined the international aggression against Guatemala's soil," he continued, "and must take precedence over any other decision have the character of a personal or unilateral opinion which it may be wished for selfish motives to give against Guatemala."

The latter part of this statement was considered a slap at the United States, which has been insisting that the fighting in Guatemala is a revolt or civil war, and not an instance of aggression from the outside.

What Guatemala continued to insist upon was that the peace commission is competent to deal only with disputes between members of the Organization of American States and "certainly Guatemala has no dispute of any kind with the United States or Honduras and Nicaragua."

Wash. Daily News

JUN 24 1954

We'll Get a Black Eye No Matter the Outcome

Guatemala Is Merely One Phase of Red Conspiracy

By **EDWARD TOMLINSON** Written for Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Moscow and her Latin American stooges have twisted the facts of the Guatemalan war so that, no matter the outcome, it will be used to give the United States a black eye.

But that's not the worst of it.

The fracas is diverting the attention of the world from the Soviet grand scheme—which is to destroy the unity of the 21 American republics, and by internal conspiracy, dominate all the governments south of the Rio Grande.

While representatives of Guatemala's Red-controlled president, Jacobo Arbenz, perform before the United Nations, Kremlin agents are out organizing and directing groups of political saboteurs in every capital and most villages from Mexico to Argentina.

Communist apologists, in the guise of roving Latin American diplomats, are going from country to country speaking before legislatures, universities and other groups in defense of Guatemala. Their theme song is the "imperialist designs of the exploiting Yankees, supported by reactionary dictators." They refer, of course, to such as Somoza of Nicaragua and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Perez Jimenez of Venezuela and Rojas Pinilla of Colombia, all of whom are anti-communist.

CHIEF OFFENDER

Chief among these diplomatic sirens is Dr. Jose Arevalo, former president of Guatemala and ambassador at large for the Arbenz Government. It was under his administration that the Reds were permitted to penetrate that country. Many Latin Americans insist the doctor is one of the chief mouthpieces of the Soviets.

NOTE: For 31 years, Ed Tomlinson has covered the Latin American beat. Reporter, author, lecturer, radio commentator, Mr. Tomlinson knows our neighbors to the south as few other U. S. citizens do. Here he explains how Guatemala is only a small chapter in Moscow's great conspiracy in the Western Hemisphere.

Guatemalan mountain capital of Tegucigalpa describe attempts of Guatemalan rebel forces to push northward along jungle and mountain trails to rescue their homeland from the Reds.

But—eastward across the mountains, the whole Caribbean Coast of Honduras is in the grip of communist-led strikers who have paralyzed all activity and brought ruin to banana farms, just as their comrades already have wrecked the industry in Guatemala.

TERROR IS RAMPANT

For 47 days squads of goons, armed with machetes and firearms of suspicious origin, have roamed Honduran villages and plantations around La Lima and San Pedro, Tela and Puerto Cortez threatening any of the 30,000 hungry workers who attempt to go back to their jobs. Even nurses in hospitals are terrorized when treating sick women and children. Control of these mobs is so complete that the Government itself must bow to their whims.

Diplomatic circles here and in Nicaragua agree that the recent plot to assassinate President Anastacio Somoza and his entire family was hatched by Red conspirators from neighboring Central American countries.

In Costa Rica one month ago this week, hoodlums in two autos attempted to force the car of former President Otilio Ulate off a high bridge as he was returning to San Jose after a drive in the country side. Mr. Ulate has been a staunch anti-communist.

Next door to the Panama Canal, student riots and attacks on the military, which the Colombian Govern-

ment declares were organized by

communists, once more have drenched the streets of Bogota in blood. A few days prior to the Bogota uprising, similar clashes between students and the military in the old amazon city of Belem, Brazil, resulted in serious bloodshed.

USE PHONY LABELS

Altho communist parties and the publication of communist newspaper are illegal in 13 of the 20 countries, rank and file members and leaders carry on under new banners and substituted labels.

Mexico and Uruguay were the first American nations to establish formal diplomatic ties with Russia. There has been an embassy in Mexico City ever since the 1920's. Some of the most prominent Mexican citizens have openly espoused the Russian cause at home and abroad. Diego Riviera and other famous Mexican artists have prided themselves on their communist affiliations.

Vincente Lombardo Toledano, founder and boss of the Latin-American Confederation of Labor, made up of unions thruout Central America and Caribbean, including the Red-run labor unions of Guatemala, often is called the chief Soviet commissar in the Americas. Lombardo officially endorses, of course, the present strikes in Honduras as he has all of those in Guatemala in the last four years.

U. S. IS DAMNED

The Russian Embassy in Montevideo, capital of tiny Uruguay, is one of the most formidably staffed anywhere in the world. The Uru-

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guayan Chamber of Deputies has just voted a denunciation of "the aggression against Guatemala." In debates the United States was accused of being chief instigator.

Few communist parties operate openly anywhere—even in Guatemala. They work thru extremists and nationalist groups and especially labor unions. In Uruguay they team up with the rabidly nationalist, U. S.-hating Herrerista Party. Today it is almost impossible to distinguish between extreme nationalists and communists anywhere in Latin America.

Communists even have been able to infiltrate several of the biggest Latin American armies. Over the past two years scores of officers and enlisted men in the Brazilian armed forces have been arrested and charged with communist sympathies. Many have been tried and convicted. A few months ago customs officials in Rio inspected suspicious crates shipped from northern European countries. They were stuffed with communist military uniforms, complete with insignia and decorations.

STUDENTS VULNERABLE

University students in practically every one of the republics long have been subject to communist propaganda. It should be no surprise that these groups whooped it up in more than a dozen capitals the very moment the Reds let loose their charges that the "Yankee controlled United Fruit Company, officially backed by Washington" instigated the revolution in Guatemala.

The evidence is clear that the Soviet plan is to infiltrate and eventually gain control of key labor and political organizations, as well as armies in all the nations below the border, just as they have been able to do in Guatemala.

With only Guatemala as a solid beach-head they have been able to tie us into diplomatic knots. By clever maneuvers and a powerful propaganda drive they have induced or caused several American governments to hesitate and delay the calling of an Inter-American Foreign Ministers meeting, until Guatemala was able to throw the whole question into the United Nations, where the Russians can direct diplomatic strategy and tactics.

The ambassador of one of the most important Latin American countries here in Washington expressed it to me this way this morning: "Unless the Organization of American States asserts its jurisdiction over the Guatemalan question immediately, the regional machinery of peace so laboriously built up in the American world over the past 50 years will have suffered a mortal blow, and co-operation and solidarity among us will have been ruined."

CS. Monitor

JUN 24 1954

Red Tension Not New to Americas

By Robert M. Hallett

Staff Writer on Latin-American Affairs for The Christian Science Monitor

The issue of communism in Guatemala, which recently provoked armed conflict in that country, has kept Central America alive with tensions for years.

The people of the United States became acutely aware of the Communist-tinged orientation of that Central American country only in the past few months. However, neighboring countries on the isthmus have been in a recurrent state of conflict with Guatemala over its left-wing policies.

Guatemala continually has suspected its neighbors of harboring "reactionary" opposition exiles until a possible coup could return them to power.

On the other hand, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and to a lesser extent Costa Rica have charged Guatemala, most populous and powerful of the countries, with wilfully providing a springboard for Communist domination of Central America.

Plots and Counterplots

Both sides have frequently accused the other of plots and counterplots against their existing regimes.

As far back as 1948, rumors abounded that Guatemala, along with Cuba, Venezuela, and Costa Rica, was planning to overthrow the Governments of Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. While no definite proof came to light, they served to keep things aboil in Central America.

Two years later, a plot to overthrow the Honduras Government was reported. It was said to have included a plan to assassinate President Galvez and others. A Honduran source charged it was financed by the Guatemalan Government.

More recently, the Honduran Government has been disturbed by alleged Guatemalan Communist aid to 20,000 banana strikers, who tied up much of the economic activity on the Atlantic banana coast of that country for weeks recently.

Strikers Backed

Radio Guatemala broadcast encouragement to the strikers and promised them financial backing. The Honduras Government expelled three Guatemalan

consuls for reportedly aiding in the labor agitation.

The arming of Guatemala with equipment from behind the Iron Curtain—and in quantities which would clearly make it much more powerful than any of its neighbors—stirred many qualms in Central America.

This, together with at least tacit United States approval of the rebel forces now fighting the Guatemalan regime, has encouraged neighboring nations to give aid and comfort to anti-Communist elements.

In September, 1952, tension broke out between El Salvador and Guatemala when Salvadorean officials uncovered a small cache of arms which they said were to have been used in a "Communist plot" aided by Guatemalan sources, to overthrow the government of President Osorio.

About 1,200 persons were arrested throughout the country. Communist literature was re-

ported to have been coming into the country in sizable quantities from Guatemala.

Although some observers held that the reported "plot" had been overdrawn because of the small quantity of arms discovered, there was no doubt about some of the evidence that Communists were attempting to stir up trouble in that coffee republic.

Salvadoreans are especially wary of communism because of a 1932 peasant uprising to demand land reform. Communist agitators were said to have taken part. Then the dictator, Hernandez, stamped out the insurrection but only at the cost of some 17,000 fatalities.

Relations between Guatemala and Nicaragua have been teetering on an uneasy edge for many years. Nicaragua, a strong ally of the United States, is under the firm control of right-wing President Somoza. He has a deep-seated disrespect for Guatemala's leftist government—which is returned full measure.

In recent years they have swapped charges of "plots" to overthrow each other. Nicaragua in late May of this year finally broke off diplomatic relations

Cont.

N.Y. Times

JUN 25 1954

U.N. Council to Meet Today In New Guatemala Session

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 24—The United Nations Security Council will meet tomorrow afternoon to take up the Guatemalan case again. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., United States delegate and Council President for June, late today summoned the eleven-member Council to meet here at 3 P. M.

He acted after Brazil and Colombia jointly requested a meet-

Text of Guatemala's telegram to Honduras is on Page 3.

ing to report "important new developments" that occurred yesterday in Washington. This obviously referred to yesterday's unanimous decision by the Inter-American Peace Committee to send an inquiry team to Central America to investigate Guatemala's charges that Honduras and Nicaragua were continuing to support an attack upon Guatemalan territory.

Guatemala already has made it plain she wants action by the United Nations, not by the regional Organization of American States—the committee's parent body.

[In Guatemala, the Army High Command announced that victory was near. It reported heavy rebel losses and said Government forces were cleaning up occupied areas. The rebels reported a bloody fight in progress for the rail junction of Chiquimla, in eastern Guatemala.]

United States Warning

Mr. Lodge's delay in summoning a meeting in spite of a series of new Guatemalan efforts to get one appeared to be directed at getting the regional body's decision brought to the United Nations. Central American nations possess neither the economic nor the political strength to solve their own problems or to have a major voice in world affairs.

Progress toward this goal will not be made so long as the Central American republics are at each others' throats over the

tions Council table. The United States on Wednesday warned the Guatemalans that their persistent demands for United Nations—not regional action—were playing into Soviet hands and furnishing new propaganda material for the Communists.

A few minutes after the United States delegate sent out the call for Friday's meeting, Semyon K. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate, put in his own demand for a Council meeting "without delay." The Soviet delegate, after a 5 P. M. conference with Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, said he wanted an emergency night meeting called.

The Soviet delegate showed correspondents a telegraphed appeal for a Council meeting sent to him by Dr. Eduardo Castillo-Arriolo, Guatemalan Ambassador. The same message, sent to all eleven Council members late last night, complained that the Council's order for an immediate cease-fire voted on Sunday was not being obeyed and that rebel forces were bombing Guatemalan cities and villages and machine-gunning civilians.

As diplomats continued to confer, a picket line was thrown outside the entrance to the world headquarters by several hundred men and women chanting: "U. N. enforce cease-fire; U. N. stop bloodshed." Many carried placards with the slogan: "No U. S. arms to Nicaragua and Honduras."

Spokesmen for the group said that the demonstration was organized by the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade. The Crusade is cited on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The same organization sent letters today to all delegations demanding that United Nations members press for enforcement of the Security Council's cease-fire. Ambassador Lodge said the

with Guatemala.

Plots by U.S. Charged
Guatemala has repeatedly charged that the United States has been behind plots by other Central American republics to overthrow its government.

The latest instance occurred in January of this year when the Arbenz Guatemalan Government accused President Somoza of Nicaragua of leading a plot

with the support of El Salvador, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela to invade Guatemala and overthrow his regime. The United States was accused of approving and backing this plot.

After its revolution of 1944, Guatemala refused to recognize Nicaragua until 1951. During that time, the two nations had no diplomatic contact. In late May of this year, Nicaragua broke off diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

The British Government through a special investigating commission has charged the Guatemalans with meddling in the internal affairs of British Honduras. The inquiry alleged that links existed between leaders of the PUP (Peoples United Party), an independence group that has won major popular support in that colony, and Guatemalans.

It was said money had come from Guatemala to PUP leaders in the past. This was denied by PUP officials.

Guatemala has long claimed "Belize" (as it calls the colony) as its own territory. It is understood that when the Guatemalans found they could not control the PUP in the way they wanted to, they discontinued such aid.

In the spring of 1953, Guatemala withdrew from the Organization of Central American States (ODECA). Immediate cause of the withdrawal was the insistence of other republics on an item in the agenda of a scheduled May 2 meeting calling for united action to thwart Communist infiltration in Central America.

Guatemala said the other nations were forming an "aggressive bloc" and quit.

ODECA, minus Guatemala, met in Managua, Nicaragua, in the summer of that year and issued a statement condemning international communism on the ground that it tended to suppress the political rights and liberties of the people.

ODECA aims are to form a loosely federated Central American body which would set up a common currency, foreign relations program, and free trade in the area.

This is a worth-while objective because, in the view of

pickets outside the United Nations were concerned that the United States was rendering military aid to Honduras and Nicaragua "to support invasion activities by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas."

Guatemala's request for an urgent Council meeting, which was received before midnight, said "intense air attacks" were being made on open cities in Guatemala and that the insurgent radio had threatened to unleash heavy bombing attacks on Guatemala and other important cities.

Simultaneously, the United Nations circulated a message from Honduras to Guatemala charging that Guatemalan aircraft had bombed a Honduran airstrip and a town inside the border. The Honduran Foreign Minister did not request United Nations Security Council action, but asked assurances from Guatemala that the incident "would not be repeated."

The message denied Guatemalan charges that Honduras was continuing aiding the forces opposing the Guatemalan Government.

Guatemala Rejects Offer

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 24—Guatemala has turned aside "on principle" a proposal by the Inter-American Peace Committee for a fact-finding investigation of charges by Guatemala that she is the victim of aggression.

The Guatemalan reply was made known here as the five-nation committee scheduled a closed meeting for late tonight, presumably to consider the Guatemalan action.

Nicaragua, supported by Honduras, proposed at last night's meeting that the committee name a fact-finding group to go to Central America for an on-the-spot study of the Guatemalan charges.

A spokesman for the Guatemalan Embassy said this evening that his Government "did not accept" the proposal "on principle." He added, however, that Guatemala wanted to "know more about" the proposed investigation.

The spokesman said the basis for the rejection of the investigation was his Government's view that the United Nations Security Council had jurisdiction over the case. The "principle idea," he said, was that there should be "no confusion" in the handling of the issue.

Guatemala had originally taken her charges to the Inter-American Peace Committee, the members of which are the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Mexico. Following the Soviet Union's veto of the United Nations Security Council motion to refer the Guatemalan issue to the Organization of American States, Guatemala withdrew its request that the peace committee look into the case.

N.Y. Times

JUN 25 1954

HONDURAN OUSTER OF ENVOY HINTED

Resentment at Guatemala's Strong Note Denying Raid May Lead to Action

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 24—There were indications here tonight that Honduras intended to declare Guatemalan Ambassador Amadeo Chinchilla persona non grata tomorrow as a result of the bombing incident at San Pedro.

The Honduran Foreign Office had nothing to say officially but strong intimations were permitted that the Guatemalan envoy would be told to leave.

Honduras is known to have taken offense at the strong terms in which Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello of Guatemala rejected the charge that a Guatemalan plane did the bombing at San Pedro. Ambassador Chinchilla said tonight that the communiqués being issued by rebel headquarters here were all lies. He said he was not aware of any move by the Honduran Foreign Office to call him in.

Sabotage Investigated

Honduras also is known to be investigating supposed sabotage of the shops servicing her fighter planes at Toncontin Airport. It is possible that this will be mentioned if action is taken against Ambassador Chinchilla.

Although Honduras has formally protested that the plane that bombed the San Pedro airfield Tuesday "proceeded from Guatemalan territory," Maj. Hector Caraccioli, Deputy Chief of the Honduran Air Force, said after an inspection today he had "no idea" where the plane had originated.

Some residents of this community of fewer than 2,000 said the plane had appeared to come from the "southwest." That part of Guatemala that borders El Salvador is southwest of here. Esquipulas, which is occupied by the insurgents of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, is in that same general area. The insurgents are operating an airfield at Esquipulas.

A second 250-pound unexploded bomb was discovered here today United States Army experts

flown from the Canal Zone at the invitation of the Honduran Government, dug out the bomb.

Struck by Four 'Objects'

At least four "objects" including two obsolete United States-made 250-pound bombs, struck the waterlogged airfield, according to the experts. Mayor Gilberto Portillo of San Pedro, a bushy-haired, 27-year-old mechanic, sawed into the steel jacket of one of them in an effort to see what was inside.

The United States experts said it was impossible to ascertain whether either bomb actually contained a normal explosive load. The nose fuses were filled with a booster charge of tetryl. The first had been opened by Mayor Portillo. It was taken to Tegucigalpa with the bombs for

further examination by the Honduran Air Force.

Capt. James H. Pugh and Sgt. 1/C Clyde Keene, explosive ordnance men from the Canal Zone, touched off the second fuse rather than risk carrying it back unopened.

Heard 'Explosions'

Although some of the inhabitants of this village, which is within twenty miles from the Guatemalan frontier, said they had heard "explosions," it was believed they had heard a thirty-second burst of machine-gun fire from the plane. No one was hit. Estimates of the plane's altitude during the attack varied from 8,000 feet to 600 feet.

The experts were unable to say whether three smaller craters were caused by small bombs that exploded or by water-filled test bombs such as used by the United States to ascertain ballistic qualities.

Passengers in the plane that brought the inspection party included Lieut. Comdr. Joseph M. Tully, assistant United States Naval Attache, and Maj. Michael Alba of the United States Air mission that is training local fliers.

Commander Tully made an inspection yesterday. It was emphasized that the Americans had been invited by the Honduran Government.

The question, "were there any Guatemalans active on or around this air field or in the village," was put to at least a half dozen groups of local residents, but not in the presence of the official visitors. The answer was no in every case.

At the village of Copan proper, northwest of here and much nearer the frontier, a group of correspondents encountered an armed liaison unit of insurgent Guatemalans last Saturday. This fact has obviously embarrassed Honduras ever since.

N.Y. Times

JUN 25 1954

GUATEMALA SAYS VICTORY IS NEAR

'Final Blow' Being Prepared, Army Reports After Telling of Clean-Up of Invaders

REBELS HOLD TO CLAIMS

Bloody Battle Is Raging for Rail Juncture, They Say— List Towns Captured

GUATEMALA, June 24 (AP)—The Army High Command maintained today that victory was near in the fight to repel the rebel invasion.

A communiqué covering operations up to today said good progress had been made in cleansing the "small amount of territory occupied by mercenaries, made up of foreigners and Guatemalan traitors."

"The enemy has suffered heavy losses, and our forces have captured many prisoners, among them foreigners of various nationalities and some Guatemalans," it added.

"Enormous quantities of war materiel have fallen into the hands of our troops. They included light and heavy machine guns, sub-machine guns, a large number of rifles and explosives intended for sabotage. Much materiel dropped by invading planes was seized by farmers and turned over to the authorities."

[Rebel headquarters in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, said a bloody battle was on for Chiquimula, important rail juncture, with Government troops having thrown in artillery reinforcements.]

Control of Port Cited

"In spite of bad weather," the communiqué continued, "Guatemalan troops continue advancing on all fronts."

The Government said its forces were in complete control of Puerto Barrios, important Atlantic seaport, and that port activities were back to normal.

Enemy aircraft made new raids from Honduras in the Chiquimula and Gualan areas of eastern Guatemala, which were subjected to machine-gunning

the communiqué reported.

It said a "final blow" was being prepared against the rebels involving the use of heavy weapons.

After a conference last night between John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, and Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello, an embassy spokesman said precautionary measures were being taken to evacuate women and children from the capital in case of an emergency. There was no indication that evacuation was imminent. The embassy lists 1,575 United States residents.

The latest victories mentioned by the Government were at Chiquimula, Gualan and Puerto Barrios. Communications with the Atlantic port were said to be open for official use only. The rebels said yesterday they had severed the port's communications.

The capital was calm for the first time since the invasion started, no blackout occurred last night.

Army Chief at Front

It was announced that Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, Army Chief of Staff, visited the front today. Conflicting rebel broadcasts yesterday said the invaders had captured Colonel Diaz and that the Guatemalan regime had jailed him and seventeen other officers.

Rebels Foresee Triumph

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 24—The National Liberation movement of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas announced tonight that a bloody battle was raging for Chiquimula, rail juncture in eastern Guatemala. It said Government troops were being reinforced by artillery, mortars and machine guns.

All incoming troops and equipment are under constant attack, the rebels said, adding: "We hope to announce the fall of Chiquimula in our next bulletin."

Capture of the town would cut a spur of the International Railway of Central America between Guatemala and El Salvador.

The insurgent announcement said communications remained cut between the city of Guatemala and Zacapa, and between Zacapa and Puerto Barrios.

It contended that Government forces had failed to recapture any of the localities held by Colonel Castillo Armas. There included Esquipulas, Quetzaltepeque, Morales Jocotan, Bananera, Gualan, Iguana Camotea, Entre Rios, El Estor and Santo Tomas.

A high officer of the Guatemalan Army, who was in command at Chiquimula, has gone over to the rebels and has reported on the low morale of the

Cont.

Government forces, the communiqué said.

Warning to U. N. Members

SAN SALVADOR, June 24 (AP)—The Guatemalan Government radio cautioned today that United Nation members must stop aiding the "aggressors" attacking Guatemala before a proposal for an Inter-American Peace Commission inquiry would be acceptable.

The broadcast, monitored here, said Guatemala had no objection to an on-the-spot investigation by the commission, but she first wanted assurances that a Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire and withdrawal of all aid to belligerent forces would be carried out.

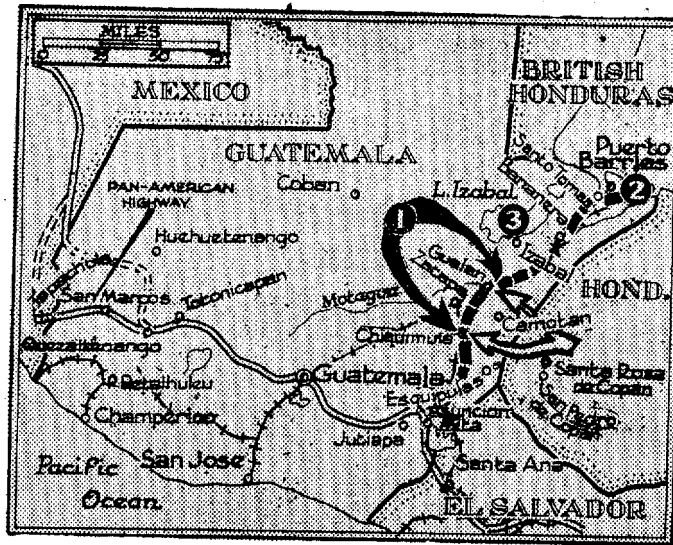
The security police here cracked down on the sale of arms. In some cases, merchants reported their stocks having been confiscated.

**N. Y. H. T.
JUN 25 1954**

Castillo Makes Self a General

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 24 (AP).—The invasion of Guatemala has produced little fighting so far, but the insurgents' leader now has plenty of rank to fight a real war.

The clandestine radio of the rebels announced today that the commander of the invading forces, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, has assumed the rank of general.



The New York Times June 25, 1954

GOVERNMENT SAYS REVOLT WANES: Guatemala announced her forces had defeated the rebels at Chiquimula and Gualan (1) and at Puerto Barrios (2). The insurgents reported heavy fighting at Chiquimula. A plane was said to have dropped food at Izabal (3).

**N. Y. H. T.
JUN 25 1954**

Heavy Fighting Reported By Guatemala Anti-Reds

By Homer Bigart

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune Copyright, 1954, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 24.—The press secretary of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the insurgent forces in Guatemala, gave out a communique here tonight which reported "bloody fighting" in the town of Chiquimula, Guatemala. These communique have been very inaccurate in the past.

The communique said government forces at Chiquimula have been considerably reinforced from Zacapa and were armed with mortars and artillery. The communique reported the capture of seventeen small com-

munities and denied that any town had been recaptured by the Federals. But so far the insurgents have captured no town of any consequence beside Esquipulas.

Tegucigalpa was still reasonably tense today, following last night's rioting in which seven persons were wounded when police fired into a crowd after a student demonstration against alleged intervention by the United States and Honduras in Guatemalan affairs.

A student leader and a professor at the University were arrested. Students announced that they would go on strike until all of the students arrested had been released.

**N. Y. H. T.
JUN 25 1954**

Guatemala Says It's Set For Battle

By The Associated Press

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 24. — The Guatemalan army is preparing for a "big fight" to put a quick end to the anti-Communist invasion, the Guatemalan government radio declared today.

There was no indication as to when the army intends to strike at the rebels, who entered from the Honduran border last Friday in a bid to overthrow President Jacobo Arbenz's Communist-supported regime.

Say Revolt Is Crushed

[The government announced, according to The United Press, that it has crushed the rebellion and defeated the last resistance in the key cities of Puerto Barrios, Guatan and Morales. It said the army is "firmly in control of all strategic and tactical points."]

The general opinion here appeared to be that the rebel drive has lost momentum and that the failure of the peasants in Guatemala to join in a spontaneous uprising has upset the invaders' plans.

Rebel Radio Cautious

The government broadcast said the army has made advances "on all fronts" despite bad weather. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the rebel chief, said yesterday that rain has slowed down his forces.

There was little information from the clandestine rebel radio, which until now has reported daily gains and capture of various towns.

The government radio has been striving to keep the peasants behind the Leftist government, addressing the overwhelmingly illiterate Indian population in various Indian languages and emphasizing a contention that the peasants have never been so well off as now, and should stand fast against the rebels.

At Guatemala City, a government communique said victory is near. It declared: "The enemy has suffered heavy losses and our forces have captured many prisoners, among them foreigners of various nationalities and

some Guatemalans.

"Enormous quantities of war material have fallen into the hands of our troops. Much material dropped by invading planes was seized by farmers and turned over to the authorities."

The government also said a C-47 rebel transport plane used to drop food and other supplies to the invaders was chased off by a government fighter near the Honduran border. The communique said rebel aircraft have made new raids from Honduras in an attempt to frighten the civilian population, and have strafed the Chiquimula and Gualan areas in eastern Guatemala.

A government broadcast heard in San Salvador quoted the Guatemalan Army high command as saying activities are back to normal around Puerto Barrios, important Caribbean seaport, and that troops are engaged in mopping-up operations south of the port. It said the army is in complete control of Puerto Barrios.

A rebel broadcast yesterday asserted the invaders had cut off communications between Puerto Barrios and the rest of the country.

Guatemala City had no blackout last night, for the first night since the invasion began.

N. Y. H. T.
JUN 25 1954

The Two Armies Behind Arbenz

By Daniel James

THE anti-Communist forces attempting to unseat Guatemala's pro-Red government are faced by two armies, not one.

Arbenz' first line of defense is, of course, his regular army. Rumors have abounded that it is torn by dissension and is on the verge of defecting to the anti-Reds. So far, that has not happened, and as time goes on is less likely to happen.

What most speculation has failed to take into account is the state of mind of the ordinary Guatemalan soldier, upon whom devolves the burden of defending the Arbenz regime.

First, the Guatemalan soldier is largely of peasant stock. He can, therefore, be expected to go along with the bulk of the peasantry — which has thus far shown no inclination to join the rebels.

Second, he has been indoctrinated with the government's ideology over a period of ten years, since the 1944 revolution which is responsible for Arbenz ruling Guatemala.

Third, the Guatemalan soldier is not used to making his own political decisions — any more than other soldiers are — and can probably be expected to do what his government tells him. Barring, that is, two possible happenings: (1) an anti-Arbenz peasant outbreak, and (2) an anti-Arbenz officer revolt. Both appear unlikely.

If the Guatemalan Army cannot accurately be termed pro-Communist, it can be called anti-anti-Communist. Since 1949, when it was momentarily split into pro- and anti-Communist factions, the army has consistently fought the anti-Communists or condoned government actions against them.

If any substantial portion of the army has anti-Red convictions, it had until the rebel attack of last week to strike out for them. One cannot, of course, entirely exclude the possibility that it still may. In that event, Arbenz has a second army to rely upon.

This army consists of the Communist party and the labor and peasant forces under its control, plus the pro-Communist nationalist parties.

Five years ago, labor proved decisive in an anti-Communist uprising which did split the army down the middle. It could again prove decisive if such a split should recur.

On July 18, 1949, Arbenz' only serious rival for the Presidency, Colonel Francisco Javier Arana, was assassinated under mysterious circumstances whose trail leads directly to the National Palace. The murder touched off a revolt of more than half the military forces in Guatemala City.

The pro-Arana forces possessed all the available tanks, most of the big artillery and heavy quantities of rifles and grenades. The government, then headed by Juan Jose Arevalo, was short of both materiel and manpower. It appeared doomed.

Arevalo, in desperation, called upon the trade unions for help. Nearly all of them responded with alacrity, regarding Arevalo's as a "labor government."

Labor's battalions held strategic, but hitherto undefended, Aurora Military Airbase and other points, and within two days the Arana revolt was crushed.

That was five years ago. Today, the labor unions are infinitely stronger numerically

and are supplemented by a new and equally strong peasant federation. The question is: If a more or less substantial portion of the Army did revolt, what labor-peasant forces could Arbenz and the Reds put into the field?

The labor federation, called C. G. T. G., claims a membership of more than 100,000 — which is not far from its actual size. Assuming that the Red hard core in it amounts to only 5 per cent, that would give Arbenz 5,000 labor troops to fall back on.

The peasant federation, C. N. C. G., claims nearly 200,000 members but most likely has about half that number. Again figuring the Red hard core at 5 per cent, that would give Arbenz 5,000 peasant troops.

The Communist party itself is no "mere handful," as some have thought it to be. It is a mass party, and probably the largest party in Guatemala.

Three nationalist parties back the government and, in the current crisis, have reaffirmed their support of it.

Arbenz has at his disposal, this writer would guess, a second or reserve army of labor, peasant, Communist and nationalist irregulars totaling a minimum of 10,000 to 12,000 men. If morale is higher in the Arbenz camp than is generally supposed, it is possible that the government might be able to muster up to twice that number.

At the moment, then, the rebel army of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas seems to be up against a force several times its size.

Mr. James is the author of "Red Beachhead in America: Guatemala," to be published in August. This is the first of two articles.

N.Y. Times
JUN 26 1954

Text of the Senate Resolution

WASHINGTON, June 25—Following is the text of a resolution, adopted by the Senate today, on Communist interference in the Western Hemisphere:

Whereas for many years it has been the joint policy of the United States and the other States in the Western Hemisphere to act vigorously to prevent external interference in the affairs of the nations of the West Hemisphere; and

Whereas in the recent past there has come to light strong evidence of intervention by the international Communist movement in the State of Guatemala, whereby Government institutions have been infiltrated by international Communist agents, weapons of war have been secretly shipped into that country, and the pattern of Communist conquest has become manifest; and

Whereas on Sunday, June 20, 1954, the Soviet Government vetoed in the United Nations Security Council a resolution to refer the matter of the recent outbreak of hostilities in Guatemala

to the Organization of American States; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the United States should reaffirm its support of the Caracas Declaration of solidarity of March 13, 1954, which is designed to prevent interference in Western Hemisphere affairs by the international Communist movement, and take all necessary and proper steps to support the Organizations of American States in taking appropriate action to prevent any interference by the international Communist movement in the affairs of the states of the Western Hemisphere.

sion to the Inter-American Peace Commission to send an investigating team into Guatemala to study that country's charge of foreign aggression.]

Before the vote, the Council heard a solemn warning from the United States that the effectiveness of the United Nations could be wiped out if it blocked the right of the Organization of American States to look into Guatemala's charges of "foreign invasion."

During the meeting, Guatemalan diplomats told Council delegations that they had received word that the city of Guatemala had been bombed at 5:30 P. M., New York time.

Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., United States delegate, said that international communism was trying to pit the United Nations against the inter-American group and so destroy the usefulness of both. From the Soviet Union came the counter-charge that the United States was trying to pigeon-hole a case of aggression in the Americas and so was making the United Nations a "shell" without authority.

A Victory for Americas

The vote in the Council was a victory, though not a wide one, for the viewpoint of the United States and its Latin-American allies that the place to take up the Guatemalan case first was the Organization of American

five-nation fact-finding team.

The issue was whether to put Guatemala's charges on the agenda for today's meeting. The council had discussed the case on Sunday and had voted to urge a cease-fire. The Guatemalans had asked for new action to enforce that cease-fire.

After five hours of debate, four members of the Council—the Soviet Union, Lebanon, New Zealand and Denmark—voted to open the case for new discussion. Voting "no" were five nations: the United States, China, Colombia, Brazil and Turkey. Two countries abstained—Britain and France. Under the rules seven affirmative votes are needed to open debate any given day.

Legal Debate Opened

The situation after the vote the observation team of the Organization of American States had made its report.

In the minds of many United Nations delegates, the legal debate touched off by the Guatemalan case was more important than the situation in the Central American republic. The debate touched at the heart of the powers and rights of the United Nations and the regional organizations and the relationship of one to the other. The United States and the Soviet Union were split on the legalities, but they both agreed that the outcome could determine the future of the United Nations.

The argument of the United States and its supporters was put forward by Mr. Lodge, Hugo Gauthier of Brazil and Carlos Echeverri-Cortest of Colombia. Their position was that at the San Francisco founding conference the authors of the Charter had carefully worked out a balance between the United Nations and the regional organization. Under the formula, they said, the Charter specifically recognized the peace-keeping functions of the regional organizations.

The United States and Latin American diplomats pointed out that Article 52 said that members of regional organizations should make every effort to settle their disputes within those groups before taking them to the Security Council.

Demand for Inquiry

Guatemala had presented an accusation to the Organization of American States' Inter-American Peace Committee, then she withdrew it in favor of United Nations action. But Honduras

malan accusations, insisted on an inquiry. A fact-finding group consisting of delegates from Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, the United States and Mexico was set up. Honduras and Nicaragua have said they would open their doors to them and today council delegates urged Guatemala to do the same.

Mr. Lodge and other delegates recalled that on Sunday the Soviet Union had vetoed a move to refer the case to the Inter-American group. But they pointed out that the veto did not prevent the American republics from investigating the case nor did it prevent the Council from receiving reports of the inquiry.

Mr. Lodge told the council that the relationship between the United Nations and the regional groups had been a major issue at San Francisco. If an acceptable formula had not been worked out, he said, the United States Senate would not have accepted the charter.

The United States delegate warned then that a destruction of that balance now could be a "catastrophe"—the elimination of the effectiveness of the United Nations and the regional groups. He declared that the United Nations must supplement the regional organizations, not substitute for them, and he warned that a conflict between the United Nations and the regional groups could endanger the entire international system of peace and security.

Mr. Lodge charged that the Russians were trying to destroy the world and the regional organizations and that international communism was using Guatemala as a "tool" in the game.

The majority of the people of Guatemala, Mr. Lodge said, opposed the attempt to impose "an alien" domination upon them. He said that the United States had no objection to Guatemala's informing the Council of her charges, but he chided the Guatemalans for interrupting the "wholesome" process of conducting an investigation through the Organization of American States.

Mr. Lodge's opponent during the debate in the crowded council chamber was Semyon K. Tsarapkin of the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegate fought to have the Council invite the Guatemalan delegation—not a member of the Council—to the table before the agenda vote was taken. He was outvoted, 10 to 1, since the normal Council custom is to wait till after adoption of

the agenda before inviting non-members to the table.

The Soviet representative accused the United States, in effect, of refusing to allow the United Nations a voice in affairs of the Americas. He told the Latin-

N.Y. Times
JUN 26 1954

U. N. BARS DEBATE OVER GUATEMALA PENDING INQUIRY

Security Council Will Await Americas' Study—Bombing of Capital Reported

By A. M. ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 25 — The United Nations Security Council refused tonight to discuss the case of Guatemala again until the American republics had made their own investigation.

[From Washington The Associated Press reports that Guatemala announced Friday night she had refused permits

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American members of the United Nations that they had better think carefully before they allowed themselves to be put in a position where they "faced the United States alone." The United States, he said, could always make them "knuckle down."

Mr. Tsarapkin said that the United States was misinterpreting the Charter. He told the Council that peaceful methods of settlement outside the United Nations had to have the consent of both parties in a dispute, and that Guatemala already had turned down intervention by the Organization of American States.

MOLOTOV PLEDGES HELP

Tells Guatemala He Will Seek Enforcement of Cease-Fire

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, June 25—Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov pledged to Guatemala today that the Soviet Union would take "all possible measures" to obtain enforcement of the United Nations Security Council cease-fire resolution.

Mr. Molotov's pledge was contained in a cablegram directed to Guatemala's Foreign Minister Guillermo Toreillo in response to an appeal for aid sent by Guatemala that was received in Moscow yesterday. The Guatemalan message begged the Soviet Union to take further action in the Security Council in order to obtain enforcement of the ceasefire resolution of June 20. The Guatemalan message said the resolution was not being observed by such United Nations members as Honduras and Nicaragua, which, it charged, were asserting the forces attacking Guatemala.

Mr. Molotov's reply expressed "deep sympathy for the people of Guatemala defending the freedom and independence of their fatherland."

Mr. Molotov said instructions had been sent to the Soviet delegate to the United Nations to take "all measures available to him with the aim of securing fulfillment of the decision of the Security Council of June 20."

Señor Toriello's appeal said that despite the Security Council action "aggression up to now has not ceased."

"On the contrary," he said, "as my Government has already informed the Security Council, these armed forces continue to of Java alone, about 40 per cent to utilize air dromes in Honduras and Nicaragua and to receive effective aid and utilize illegal force-bearing on the side of the Governments of these states—members of the United Nations."

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INSURGENTS URGE GUATEMALA ARMY TO SEIZE ARBENZ

Radio Calls on Units to Form
a Junta and Discuss Truce
—Zacapa Battle Is On

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 26—The insurgent radio appealed today to the Guatemalan Army to form a military junta, seize President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and consult with the rebels about a cease-fire.

The insurgents said that if these conditions were not met they would use everything in their power to destroy the forces of the Communist-influenced government.

[The United States and nine other American nations called tonight for an inter-American meeting of foreign ministers July 7 to agree upon measures for dealing with Communist "intervention" in Guatemala. The Associated Press reported.]

Meanwhile, an authoritative non-Guatemalan source declared that the center of the fighting had advanced to Zacapa, which is the main railroad point between Puerto Barrios and the capital.

The same authoritative source said that rebels under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas had taken Chiquimula. This is twenty miles beyond Esquipulas and about fifteen miles south of Zacapa, where the main action is now going on.

The same authoritative source who announced last night the heavy bombing of the city of Guatemala City, which the insurgents have not yet confirmed, said there was word that the Guatemalan Government had instructed its army to take hostages and be prepared to shoot prisoners if necessary.

The insurgents had no further

communiqué this morning, but their radio broadcast appealing to the army to seize President Arbenz was viewed as a new approach in their over-all psychological warfare.

The insurgents here had no further word on the possibility that correspondents might be permitted to see for themselves that the provisional government had established itself at Chiquimula. Nor was the long promised cabinet list forthcoming.

Regime Issues Bulletin

TEGUCIGALPA, June 26 (AP)—The latest Guatemalan Government communiqué said rebel troops were being chased into the mountains of eastern Guatemala after a smashing defeat at the country's main seaport, Puerto Barrios.

The government communiqué, covering operations up to 6 P. M. yesterday, said regular Army troops were in control "on all fronts." The communiqué said the defeat at Puerto Barrios struck a heavy blow at the rebels, since the latter had hoped to use the port to bring in needed foodstuffs and war material.

The Government also announced a victory at Gualan on the railroad between the Atlantic coast and the capital.

Both sides said they had possession of Chiquimula, where Colonel Castillo Armas has said he has already set up a provisional government.

Informed sources said the rebels staked the outcome of the revolt on bombing. Leaflet barrages have failed to rally cautious Guatemalan peasants behind the rebel campaign.

The invaders say they have three P-47's and P-38's as well as "a cluster" of small planes at their disposal. They report marked success with bombs hand-fashioned by their ground crews out of dynamite sticks and a hand grenade bundled together.

The pilots heave the bundle through the plane window and yank the grenade pin with a string to set off a delayed explosion.

N. Y. H. T.

JUN 27 1954

Honduras Sees Civil War Plot

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 25 (AP)—The government charged in repeated radio broadcasts today that "anti-democratic" agitators are waging an intensive campaign in Honduras.

A government statement said authorities have proof of a systematic plan to plunge the country into civil strife. It charged that non-student agitators were behind the student demonstrations in support of Guatemala's government which earlier this week resulted in a fight with police.

The statement charged that agitators taking orders from abroad have had a leading part in strikes which have plagued the country for many weeks. The statement implied they were Communists.

Washington Star - June 27, 1954

Report from Guatemala: I SAW THE REDS TAKING OVER!

An exclusive account of how a hard-boiled little gang has turned one of our "good neighbors" into a menacing Kremlin outpost in the Western Hemisphere --and what we plan to do about it quick. By Father Sebastian Buccellato, O.F.M.

THE day I arrived in the sleepy town of Asunción Mita in southeastern Guatemala two and a half years ago, the nightmare of Communist persecution seemed a million miles away.

It didn't seem possible that the odious influence of the Kremlin could reach into this republic of coffee and colorful Indians, only two hours by air from the Panama Canal and 1,000 miles from New Orleans.

Yet during the next two years, with my own eyes, I saw it happen here on the American continent. I watched a handful of power-mad men in Asunción Mita execute a clever Communist plan and take our town -- and the country -- away from its citizens.

Most often I watched with my hands tied. My mouth was sealed by a pledge not to interfere in politics. But even when, as an indignant individual, I spoke to my parishioners against the immorality of Communism, I was silenced by the local Red-led police.

Just as if I had been behind Europe's Iron Curtain, I was arrested, interrogated, and insulted. This was last January 29. On February 3, a day after the arrest of two American reporters, I was put on a plane bound for New York and forcibly expelled from a country whose people I had tried to serve.

When I came to Mita in October 1951, I found it as I had pictured it -- hot, colorful, and poverty-ridden. Three quarters of the 35,000 Spanish-Indian *ladinos* I administered to in the area were landless and illiterate. They worked their meager strips of rented soil with crude hoes much as their ancestors, the Mayans, had done. They had little use for politics. Governments came and went without stirring these honest, simple people.

Asunción Mita itself was small. In addition to our church, the town boasted a police station, town hall, post office, and some 25 shops. We had no newspaper or radio station and only one telephone.

Red Infiltration

THERE were less than a handful of outright Communists in Mita. They had infiltrated some of the important positions -- Chief of Police and leadership of the Peasants Union, the Campesino Federation -- but they were still too weak to show their true hand.

Then in June, 1952, our town was shaken from its slumber. What happened in Mita took place simultaneously throughout Guatemala. The National Congress passed the Agrarian Reform Law and before long, I was witnessing the almost complete Commu-

nization of Asuncion Mita. The law had supposedly been passed to answer the peasant's crying need for land. But I saw it used as a ruthless political tool that accomplished a bloodless Red revolution.

A semi-literate Communist, Isabel Vivar, was brought in as "Agrarian Reformer" for Mita. He was a surly-faced, cocky man who knew how to use his newfound power. His five-man committee, required by law, were members of the Communist labor unions.

Vivar worked swiftly. He expropriated uncultivated land from the *finqueros* and paid them in worthless 25-year bonds. Armed with land the peasants have dreamed of for centuries, he and his cohorts went into the interior, where they were warmly greeted by the impoverished tenant farmers.

Vivar's Scheme

TO GET free land, Vivar told them, all they had to do was join the Red-controlled *Campesino* Federation and support his choice in the elections. He would tell them which of the candidates really wanted land reform.

I viewed the whole diabolical scheme with horror.

Only about 750 peasants, out of more than 10,000 around Mita, received land. But in an area where only 2,000 people normally vote, they became a formidable political bloc.

As a priest who has taken an oath of poverty, I felt closer to these people than the Communists could hope to. But I also knew the Communists were duping these peasants into exchanging the rich *finqueros* for a harder and crueller master.

The clever law, in most cases, even kept title to the land out of the hands of the *campesinos*. The government gave them use of about five *manzanas* (nine acres) during their lifetime, at a nominal price. They could not sell or rent the land or pass it to heirs.

The Communist bribe was still tempting, but I felt strongly that Christianity could give it competition. We redoubled our religious effort. Those parish members who were offered land on Vivar's terms asked my opinion. Naturally I told them that Communism and Christianity are irreconcilable. A few peasants, of course, accepted his offer and left the parish. But with the help of 35 lay catechists, who toured the countryside, most all our members remained true and turned down the Communist offer.

Vulnerable

I HAD done nothing political, but Vivar was infuriated. He greeted me in stony silence when we met at an official function. As I was later to learn, he had a memo sent to the National Police asking for my arrest. I realized that as a Catholic missionary and an American I was doubly vulnerable.

Soon after, I curiously approached one of the *campesinos* who had accepted Vivar's offer. "I know nothing of politics, Padre," he told me, "but if getting land is Communism, I guess I am one, too."

I couldn't explain how the ruthless Red minority was using land reform to steal Guatemala out from under him. But what he couldn't understand was obvious to most of the literate Guatemalans.

The Kremlin Line

IN MANY ways Guatemala was indistinguishable from a Soviet satellite. Occasionally, I picked up a copy of the government newspaper, "*Nuestro Diario*." Both it and the official government radio echo the Kremlin line, including glowing accounts of the progress in Eastern Europe and Red China.

The day Stalin died, Congress observed a moment of silent tribute. In fact, former Congressional Representative Roberto Alvarado

Continued on next page

Fuentes, attended the Cominform's Peace Conference in Vienna and then signed a germ-warfare charge against America.

All the Kremlin's charges get a wide airing in Guatemala. The Reds even used government trucks and projectors to show Chinese films of our boys "confessing" to germ warfare in Korea.

In the elections last November, Vivar himself was the PAR candidate for Mayor. The opposition, the United Anti-Communist Party, "PUA," was backing one man in each town for the first time. Vivar could count on the government employees and his *campesinos*. The anti-Communists counted on the literate people plus most all our parish members. As always, the great majority of the people would not vote at all, some because of no interest, others because they lived in the inaccessible interior.

It was a heated campaign. The Communists desecrated our church wall with "Aqui no queremos Catolicos" — "Here we don't like Catholics," a strange sign for a country that is 90 per cent Catholic.

On the election days, November 21-23, Mita was a busy little town. Vivar was delivering his vote. Government trucks had been sent into the interior to pick up *campesinos* anxious to vote for their "benefactor." But when the anti-Communist PUA tried to hire private trucks to pick up their supporters, they were stopped by police.

Scared the Reds

EVERYTHING considered, I was pleased when the results came in. The anti-Reds had lost to Vivar by only 70 votes. And in nearby Santa Catarina, a member of my parish had trounced the government candidate. A Protestant anti-Communist also won in Jutiapa, the department seat, but the frightened Reds stole the ballots and declared the victory invalid.

I was arrested for the first time a month after the elections. I had just returned from another tour when I was told the police had been looking for me. The next morning before breakfast, I went to the police station. I didn't return until a few days later.

The Indian police chief questioned me for hours, trying to put words in my mouth, before he finally told me he had orders for my deportation.

It seems the local Reds had charged me with four "crimes": 1. Entering Guatemala illegally. 2. Distributing anti-Communist leaflets at my church door. 3. Lacking proper documents. 4. Transporting anti-Red voters to the polls in my jeep.

Insulted by Police

I ALMOST turned blue with anger, it was

such a blatant frame-up, I had entered Guatemala legally on a U.S. passport and was visiting in Guatemala City the day I was supposed to have been electioneering.

At the last minute I was saved by the Governor at Jutiapa (he confided that his cousin was a priest), but not until the Red police had insulted me and driven me in a bumpy jeep to police headquarters in Guatemala City 50 miles away. I was finally released with a warning and a three-month extension of my visa.

Less than a month later, on January 29, I was arrested again. This time, my superior in Guatemala, Father Clemente, succeeded in inducing the Minister of Exterior Affairs to release me from my virtual imprisonment at the El Salvador border, but the Communists pressed for my deportation.

I left the country by plane on February 3, but not until I had broadcast the truth to the people over the anti-Communist radio in Guatemala City.

Since February, the situation in Guatemala has rapidly worsened. Recently our State Department announced that a shipment of 10 freighters of armaments (labeled "hardware") had been sent to Guatemala from Stettin, Poland, behind the Iron Curtain. I can vouch for the fact that this is not the first shipment. Friends of mine in Guatemala had long ago seen Czechoslovak arms at military posts.

The Red-led land-reform administration has arbitrarily expropriated \$16 million of acreage from an American firm and offered to "pay" restitution of a half-million dollars in worthless government bonds. And the cancer is spreading to neighboring republics, especially Honduras.

In those Honduras towns which received special Guatemalan "consuls," labor strife and a rash of strikes have broken out under Communist-dominated unions.

The Guatemalan Reds are getting bolder each day. This May Day, Arbenz again stood alongside Red leader Gutierrez and *campesino* head Leonardo Castillo Flores, but this year he spoke as one of them. He watched giant portraits of Indo-Chinese Communist leader Ho Chi Minh being displayed, listened to speeches extolling solidarity with the Viet Minh, and then personally attacked the United States. Echoing Moscow, Arbenz asked for a ban on atomic tests at Bikini, labeled a U.S. note asking indemnity for confiscated islands as "barbarism."

Since my return, I have been asked: "What can the anti-Communists do in Guatemala?"

They're Confused

IT IS true that, with the exception of Guatemala City (which sent all of the five anti-Red Deputies to Congress), they are floundering and confused — without a positive program to attract the peasant vote.

But it is not entirely their fault. The peasants are illiterate and often difficult to reach. The PUA has also been savagely attacked and recently the Red legislators asked for suppression of the anti-Communist press and radio. Then this January, most of the PUA leaders were arrested for planning a mythical putsch.

An American resolution at the Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, asking for

joint discussion of any Communist threat to the Americas was passed 17 to 1. The one dissent was from Guatemala. But the people of Guatemala are basically anti-Communist, and therefore there is still hope.

The number "32" (the Constitutional article outlawing the Communist Party), is used to symbolize the people's resistance to Arbenz's fellow-traveling. It is scrawled everywhere — on buildings, streets, and even on the walls of the Presidential Palace.

Greatest Weapon

THE great mass of Guatemala's 2,800,000 people who belong to neither side are the free world's greatest weapon. Most are deeply religious souls who would never tolerate Communism once they were taught its ungodliness.

When the Church's spokesman, Archbishop of Guatemala Mariano Rossell y Arellano, recently asked Guatemala Catholics to rise as one man against Communism as an enemy of God and country, he was showered with thousands and thousands of letters of support. "It is the Church's duty to warn Catholics at this moment," the Archbishop said, "when Communism continues its bold advance shielding itself under the cloak of social benefits for the working class."

We too can help. Not by land-

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Wash. Evening Star
JUN 27 1954

ing Marines or instituting a vengeful coffee embargo that would impoverish the nation and strengthen the Reds. We can help by giving economic aid to the non-Communist Latin-American republics, by seeking concerted inter-American action against Red encroachment, and by exposing the Communists for what they are to the world and the Guatemalan people.

The situation is urgent. So urgent that unless Guatemala's moderate, liberal citizens wake up to the danger and act, we will one day soon see an Iron Curtain descend on the American continent. *The End*

"ONE AMERICAN NATION HAS SUCCUMBED..."

"While many persons may now think of Latin America as not being in the line of attack in the modern world struggle, success by the communists in these nations could quickly change all the maps which strategists use in calculating the probabilities of the future.

"One American nation has succumbed to communist infiltration. With this exception, however, the other American republics share our desire for peace, freedom and independence and continue to co-operate effectively in the political councils of the world..."

— MILTON S. EISENHOWER

Report to the President on U.S. - Latin American Relations

N.Y. Times
JUN 28 1954

PEACE UNIT LEAVES TODAY TO EXAMINE GUATEMALAN CASE

Five-Nation Committee Plans to Go Also to Nicaragua and Honduras for War Inquiry

Special to The New York Times.
 WASHINGTON, June 27—The Inter-American Peace Committee decided today to fly to Guatemala tomorrow to investigate the

N. Y. H. T.
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Recognition of Castillo Regime Is Held Likely

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
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TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 26.—The establishment of a provisional revolutionary government under former Army Col. Carlos Castillo Armas this week at Esquipulas, Guatemala, is due to raise a problem for several Latin American governments.

Nicaragua, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and Peru have no diplomatic relations with the Communist-dominated government of Guatemala headed by President Jacobo Arbenz, and it is well known that their sympathies are with Col. Castillo's rebel forces. In fact, Guatemala has charged that Nicaragua and Honduras have been aiding the anti-Communist revolt.

Most diplomatic observers here believe Guillermo Toriello, the Guatemalan Foreign Minister, may have made a mistake in getting tough with Honduras. This country is acknowledged to have the best air force in Central America, including planes ideal for jungle warfare, such as P-38s and Cobras. The pilots have been well trained by a United States Air Force mission which has been here several years.

Air Force Weak

It is pointed out that the Guatemalan air force, unless it has been reinforced by planes supplied from behind the Iron Curtain, consists of a few trainers armed with 30-cal. machine guns and a few two-engine transports.

war there, which Guatemala calls an invasion and the United States calls a revolution.

The committee, composed of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and the United States, planned to spend three days each in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. The members will travel aboard a United States Air Force plane.

Swift action by the five-nation group came after Guatemala had unexpectedly agreed to allow it to make an on-the-spot investigation. The Guatemalan agreement was an about-face.

After having originally complained to the committee against what it charged was aggression

These same diplomatic observers are predicting that before many days several Latin American governments will publicly come out on the side of the anti-Communist provisional government by recognizing the Castillo regime as representing the people of Guatemala. One such government, it is being predicted, will be that of Cuba.

Such a situation would mean that a difficult decision would be required of the State Department at Washington as to whether to follow suit. There is no question where the sympathy of the American government lies. It has publicly described the present government

of Guatemala as representing a Communist menace to the Western Hemisphere.

Chain Reaction

Recognition of the Castillo government by the United States, apart from any material aid that might be forthcoming thereafter, would give it international standing immediately and remove it from the category of a small revolutionary group.

This, in turn, might set off a chain reaction in Guatemala. In the opinion of observers here, it would result in adherence by thousands of Guatemalans to the Castillo camp.

Many Guatemalans favor Col. Castillo's effort to overthrow the Arbenz regime even though they have not made any move to join him publicly. In a typically cautious Guatemalan manner, they are waiting to see which way the wind will blow.

from Honduras and Nicaragua. Guatemala withdrew her request for action, by the committee on the ground that the United Nations Security Council was the body competent to deal with the case.

Explanation by Chargé

Alfredo Chocano, Guatemalan Chargé d'Affaires, told the committee this morning his Government decided to accept an investigation because the Security Council had voted to postpone action until the peace committee reported on the case. He held that this gave the committee power to act, which it previously had lacked.

Meanwhile, the United States and nine other American republics called a session of the Council of the Organization of American States for tomorrow. The ten republics will request a meeting of the hemisphere foreign ministers July 7 to consider steps to combat the threat of communism in Guatemala under terms of the Rio de Janeiro Mutual Defense Treaty. Some diplomats suggested the foreign ministers' meeting might be postponed until July 14.

Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, chairman of the peace committee, said he hoped his group could finish its investigation in time to report to the foreign ministers' conference.

An investigation of the Guatemalan strife was proposed by Honduras and Nicaragua after Guatemala, on June 19, brought charges that she had been invaded.

Señor Chocano told the committee his Government had a "lively desire to facilitate" the investigation and furnish all "aid and information."

On a television program today, he said that "United States merchants" offered only yesterday to sell arms to his Government, but that Washington for some years had refused to issue export licenses.

This refusal is the reason why Guatemala bought arms from Iron Curtain countries, he explained.

In addition to Ambassador Quintanilla, the peace committee is composed of Ambassadors José Carlos Vittone of Argentina, Fernando Lobo of Brazil, Gonzalo Guell of Cuba and John C. Dreier of the United States.

Paul C. Daniels, a retired dip-

omat, will replace Mr. Dreier so that the latter can attend the meeting of the O. A. S. Council.

REBELS AIM FOR CAPITAL

Say They Advance Unopposed in Guatemala Invasion

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 27 (AP)—The "liberation" radio declared tonight that invader columns in Guatemala were moving unopposed toward the capital and were only forty-three miles away. It said the rebels would reach the city of Guatemala in a matter of hours. Matamoros fort in the capital was said to be ablaze from bombings.

The broadcast followed a decree by the provisional regime of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas outlawing the communist-tinged Government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

Although a rebel communique last night reported a battle with 1,500 Army regulars—about one-fourth of the estimated strength of the Guatemalan Army—for the rail center of Zacapa, the broadcast this afternoon said only a handful of "suicidal groups were still resisting" at that town twenty-five miles inside Guatemala.

Zacapa was described as having been completely cut off for four days. The defenders are unable to get supplies because of the activities of the rebel air force, the radio declared.

At the town of Jutiapa, the garrison commander was warned to surrender at once or face an attack by 1,500 rebels, the radio reported. The rebels previously said they had cut the Pan American Highway to El Salvador near Jutiapa.

Luis Coronado, secretary general of the provisional government, said that President Arbenz, if captured, would be tried as a traitor.

The provisional regime put out the first issue of its official gazette. It set forth a new constitution containing an article outlawing the Communist party.

Civilian Draft On

TEGUCIGALPA, June 27 (UP)—The Guatemalan Government announced today it was drafting civilians for a "showdown" with rebel forces.

A communique from the city of Guatemala said fighting was going on in Chiquimula, rail town sixty miles east of the capital, where the rebels reported having set up a provisional government.

New Flag Is Decreed

Special to The New York Times.
TEGUCIGALPA, June 27—The Guatemalan rebels' provisional

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government announced tonight it had adopted five decrees at its headquarters in Chiquimula.

One created a new national flag. Another barred Communists. A third ordered dissolution "of the Communist Congress." Actually, there are four Communist deputies in the present Congress.

The provisional regime urged the Guatemalan Army to support "the people" in the fight for "liberation." It appealed for recognition from the United States and the rest of the world.

Another statute guaranteed civil rights and "legitimate social gains." Strong penalties were decreed for those who disrupted public order.



The New York Times June 28, 1954
ON THE GUATEMALAN FRONT: The rebels reported that there was only slight resistance at Zacapa (1) and that their forces were moving toward the city of Guatemala (2). Government radio reports spoke of a draft of civilians.

L. H. H. T.
JUN 28 1954

Today in Washington

Soviet Moves on Guatemala Threaten Monroe Doctrine

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, June 27.—The Soviet Union has taken the dangerous step of setting up a base in Guatemala from which it would be possible for her to carry on airplane attacks of a sniping nature against the United States as well as the Panama Canal through the medium of a Communist-controlled government. It could mean in wartime an important diversion of American air strength for a defensive task, weakening our offensive power.

Defying the Monroe Doctrine, which for more than 130 years has warned European governments against attempting to set up any new colonies or controls of territory in the Western Hemisphere, Soviet Russia has converted Guatemala into an operating headquarters from which to direct all her subversive efforts in Central and South America.

The revolution—recently begun by patriots in Guatemala who see in the Communist maneuver a menace to the future independence of the republic—is a significant development in a chain of events which ultimately may produce for the United States its biggest crisis since the close of World War II.

'17 German Move

When the Imperial government of Germany was caught in the act of attempting to set up a base in Mexico in 1917—revealed through the interception of the famous note to Herr Zimmerman, the German Minister in Mexico City—the end result was an aroused public opinion, and within a few weeks America had entered World War I on the side of the Allies.

Today the official evidence, while of a different character, is none the less conclusive. It can be summarized as follows:

1. The United States government has long been satisfied, through a well-documented series of circumstances, that the international Communist organization has been developing Guatemala as its primary base

for subversian and for the undermining of various governments. The pattern of overt and covert activity has already been used for penetrating near-by areas.

2. Guatemalan government, under Communist guidance, has been responsible for well-organized strikes which have paralyzed Honduras and nearly caused the all of the government there.

3. The names of the individuals who are the primary operators in the conspiracy are well known to the Washington government, and there is a record of an exceptionally heavy flow of Guatemalan leaders and semi-overt agents who have been traveling between Guatemala and Moscow and certain other capitals of Iron Curtain countries, particularly Prague, which now has become the main center for the infiltration of Latin-American countries.

Pattern of Conspiracy

4. There is also a familiar pattern of movements of individual members of the conspiracy who travel between Guatemala and Mexico City, where embassies and legations of the Communist satellite countries can use their speedy means of

communication to the Communist strategists overseas.

5. There is an international labor circuit operating through the Communist leader, Vincente Lombardo Tolendano, who is based in Mexico City and pulls the strings for the strikes and propaganda demonstrations throughout Latin America. Copies of the instructions he has sent out are in the hands of the United States government. On the eve of the Caracas conference, the so-called "Guatemalan friendship societies" were organized in various Latin-American countries. These were Communist inspired.

6. Protest meetings against alleged instigation by the United States of a revolution in Guatemala have been set up by Communist mechanisms, and of

cont.

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JUN 2 1954

Who Are Guatemala's Anti-Reds?

By Daniel James

course, the propaganda has been aided by certain press correspondents who have been duped into believing the United States initiated the Guatemalan revolt. Actually Guatemalans in exile in Central America needed no inspiration to try to regain independence for their homeland.

Propoganda Blunder

7. Radio Moscow has been transmitting to Latin America copies of propaganda statements allegedly issued in Latin-American countries but somebody blundered, because the local Communist organizations had not yet issued them when the broadcasts were released over the Moscow or Prague radio.

There is no doubt about the synchronized behavior of the Moscow government and the Guatemalan government, especially in the field of diplomacy. Foreign Minister Moltov has been on the job in the Security Council of the U. N. to respond promptly to the requests of the Guatemalan government for moves designed to smear the United States.

Meanwhile, the civil war inside Guatemala looks like a long-drawnout affair unless the Guatemalan army officers now on the side of the incumbent government soon see the handwriting on the wall and start driving the Communists out. The Moscow Radio is already using some cynically written dispatches in metropolitan American newspapers to bolster the charge of American interference in Guatemala. Editorials from Latin-American newspapers which have been misled into placing the blame on the United States are also being exploited prominently by the Moscow Radio.

So far as the American people are concerned, it is important for them to know that the infiltration of Guatemala by the Communists is not a minor matter. The Soviet Union has really put its first team into action in that country and is engaged in a crucial fight to combat the influence which the United States has exerted in the Western Hemisphere countries against Communist imperialism. The United States Senate, by a virtually unanimous vote, has just condemned the action by Soviet Russia. This is an indication that the Guatemalan trouble will not become a partisan affair inside Congress.

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A CAMPAIGN is under way to smear Guatemala's anti-Communists as "reactionaries," "pro-imperialists," "landowners" and "hirelings of United Fruit." Their effort to liberate Guatemala from Communist domination is labeled a "United Fruit war." One hears it said, "Again, we've backed the wrong horse."

These statements are being made despite the fact that little is known here about the forces behind Lt. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the rebel chieftain. Virtually nothing has been published describing those forces—a serious omission which has left a vacuum to be filled by ignorance, prejudice and Red propaganda. Yet it is imperative that we have an answer to the question: "Who are Guatemala's anti-Communists?"

The writer does not pretend to have an intimate knowledge of them, but can supply some pertinent facts.

Like anti-Communists everywhere, and utterly unlike the monolithic machine they oppose, the Castillo Armas forces are heterogeneous. They constitute a coalition which represents divergent political tendencies and has but one common goal: the overthrow of Red-dominated President Arbenz.

The coalition consists of diverse elements: university students, army officers, journalists, legislators, trade unionists, landowners. Its leaders are, for the most part, dedicated to freedom and democracy.

Castillo Armas himself was commandant of Guatemala's West Point, the Escuela Politecnica, when Arbenz was Defense Minister. Had he been a reactionary, Arbenz would never have tolerated his appointment to so important a post. Castillo Armas is, in fact, a middle-roader. He favors the basic social and economic reforms instituted in Guatemala, but would amend them so as to preclude their exploitation for Communist purposes.

Castillo Armas has named a provisional cabinet. If this is not as forward-looking as may be desired, it is nevertheless far from being reactionary.

More significant are two forces not represented in the Cabinet but which may have much to say about the future of the Castillo Armas movement. They are the students and trade unionists.

Guatemala's students are traditionally champions of free-

dom. It was they who began the 1944 revolution which overthrew Dictator Jorge Ubico, and it is they who spark the revolutionary effort of 1954 to destroy Ubico's Red emulators.

Young, idealistic and spirited, the students have been in the forefront of the fight against Arbenz and Communism for years. In February, for example, they led a demonstration before the National Palace where they symbolically burned Guatemala's constitution, which they believed Arbenz had rendered worthless by permitting the Communist party to register for elections in violation of Article 32. (This expressly "prohibits . . . the formation and functioning of political organizations of an international or foreign character.") In carrying out such protests, the students have braved shootings and beatings, arrest and exile.

The trade unionists are even more important. It was a grave mistake — which should be speedily remedied—not to include them in the rebel cabinet. For labor was decisive in communism's rise to power in Guatemala, and labor, together with the peasantry, will prove indispensable to Guatemala's liberation from communism.

The trade unionists are organized in a Union of Free Workers in Exile. This is an outgrowth of the National Union of Free Workers formed in September, 1953, as a challenge to the Red-dominated labor federation. As local unions began to affiliate with it, the Communists tried to absorb it into their federation. The N. U. F. W. rejected their overtures, whereupon the Reds broke into its headquarters, destroyed its files and equipment, and rifled its coffers.

Then Arbenz' police arrested the free labor leaders, tortured them—the body of one was found floating in a lake near Guatemala City—and sent them into exile.

They are affiliated with the anti-Communist Latin American labor federation, ORIT, with which our own A. F. L. and C. I. O. are connected. These auspices should allay any fear that Guatemala's anti-Red labor people are a front for any imperialistic interest.

The rest of the anti-Communists are not really organized. The Army officers work together as a group but have no formal organization. Nor do the land-

owners (some of whom would, it is true, turn the clock back if they could). Lack of organization, in fact, has plagued Guatemala's anti-Communists.

What is Castillo Armas' program?

Essentially, judging by a statement issued in December, 1953, detailing minutely what the anti-Communists want, it is democratic and progressive. It would retain existing social reforms, but purge them of their collectivist implications. It adheres too closely, if anything, to the idea behind the present labor code that "labor must be considered as a personal right and a social obligation"—a benighted expression, borrowed whole from the Arbenz-Communist clique, which has justified the dragooning of labor and the undermining of private enterprise.

The anti-Communist program is fundamentally a reaffirmation of the original aims of the 1944 revolution: establishment of modern capitalism, agrarian reform, social security, free education, and above all, the untrammelled right of the individual to be free.

The main trouble is that this program has not been pressed with vigor. Castillo Armas has been waging a military war when, in reality, his overriding problem is political: to win over the Guatemalan people. That can be done only by persuading them that overthrowing Arbenz means going forward, not backward.

The only fixed fact about unstable Guatemala is this: the people are determined never to return to the pre-1944 semi-feudal era. While they have no love for Arbenz, they have acquired tangible benefits under him and fear losing them if they throw him out. They are likely to desert Arbenz only if Castillo Armas can convince them that he will preserve their gains, and hold out the promise of their permanent enjoyment under a truly independent, democratic and progressive regime.

The war in Guatemala is essentially a war for men's minds. Whoever possesses the strongest political weapons will soon find the military ones necessary to make victory complete.

Mr. James is the author of "Red Beachhead in America: Guatemala," to be published in August. This is the second of two articles.

Wash. Daily News

JUN 28 1954

In the Wake of Guatemala

Communist Domination Threatens Honduras, Too

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

The communist threat to Honduras grows more serious hour by hour. Until a month and a half ago, Honduras had its longest period of internal order and peace in half a century.

But for over six weeks the northern, or Caribbean region of Honduras has been in the grip of communist-dominated strikes, accompanied by a reign of terror only a little less serious than that which prevails in Guatemala.

Only difference is that the government of Honduras is not pro-Red, nor influenced by avowed communists.

But the failure, or the inability of President Manuel Galvez to take strong action against extremists who hold sway over most of the rich banana plantations could easily result in their gaining control of the entire nation.

The Guatemalan Red menace came to power by attacking U. S. business firms, and the United Fruit Co. in particular.

The managers of this terrorism strike are out to destroy Honduras industry, not just because it is the United Fruit Co., but because it is a U. S. enterprise and because it is and has been the economic backbone of the little republic. Killing it means crippling our influence and prestige in Honduras, reducing thousands of Honduran workers to abject want and forcing them into the arms of the Russian Reds.

Honduran strike bosses say they are merely trying to get "decent wages and living conditions" for the "unfortunate plantation workers."

What are the facts?

• The company was already paying the highest wages in the nation.

• It has offered to raise them approximately 100 per cent above those paid by native farmers.

• It has offered to make the new terms retroactive to the day the strike began.

• The rank and file shows a willingness to get back to work. The strike leaders, many of them apparently self-appointed, have remained adamant against any settlement.

As for "decent living conditions" anyone who has actually visited and studied the operations of these plantations, as this writer has, knows that many of our farm workers, whether in Massachusetts, Michigan or Mississippi, would consider life on a La Lima plantation of the United Fruit Co. an improvement.

In the La Lima area, center of the present disorders, workers are provided with:

- Well screened houses.
- Pure running water.
- Up-to-date sanitary appliances and electricity.
- Schools with free books, paper and pencils.
- Playgrounds, clubs and churches.

There are many other facilities not usually supplied employees by big industries in the United States itself. Dairy farms and great cattle ranches are maintained, for instance, to provide pasteurized milk and meat at cost, delivered at the workman's door every morning.

MEDICAL CARE

Plantations, like all United Fruit plantations from Guatemala to Panama, offer the best medical service in Central America. The big central hospital at La Lima, open to every employe, is one of the most modern and best equipped in this hemisphere. It is air conditioned. It is staffed by surgeons and specialists in tropical and other diseases. All were trained at company expense in the finest medical schools of the United States and Europe.

All these and other facilities and

conveniences too numerous to mention, and which no native farmer provides, mean nothing to the Reds, of course.

In addition to the tremendous losses in sales of bananas in this country, the properties—the plantations and farms—are already slipping back into jungle. Bananas are grown on marshy swamp lands, drained and built up at tremendous cost over the years. Levees must be maintained. These must be guarded continuously during the long rainy season, now in full blast. Every tree must be sprayed every three weeks against sigatoka and other leaf diseases. The fruit itself must be shielded from insects and scales while it is maturing. Many crops have already been destroyed because of neglect. Now, with the levees unmanned, the farms themselves are being washed away by the torrential downpours.

PERIL TO THE PEOPLE

Worse still, the lives of thousands of workers and their families are imperiled because vital sanitation and public health services are not permitted by the strikers to function normally.

Managers and native officials of the company are working day and night to prevent epidemics of typhoid, bubonic plague and other tropical scourges.

These strikes came in the heat of a bitter presidential campaign. President Galvez cannot succeed himself. He has lost influence and authority, because most of the politicians who formerly supported him have shifted allegiance to other leaders. Those who hope to succeed the president will not take sides, for fear of losing votes.

Meantime disaster to the fruit company, to the workers and to the country is on the march. And this suits the communists fine.

Wash. Evening Star

JUN 28 1954

David Lawrence—

Dangerous Action in Guatemala

Moscow Defies Monroe Doctrine to Turn That Country Into an Operating Headquarters Against the U. S.

The Soviet Union has taken the dangerous step of setting up a base in Guatemala from which it would be possible for her to carry on airplane attacks of a sniping nature against the United States as well as the Panama Canal through the medium of a Communist-controlled government. It could mean in wartime an important diversion of American air strength for a defensive task, thus weakening our offensive power.

Defying the Monroe Doctrine, which for more than 130 years has warned European governments against attempting to set up any new colonies or controls of territory in the Western Hemisphere, Soviet Russia has converted Guatemala into an operating headquarters from which to direct all her subversive efforts in Central and South America.

The revolution—recently begun by patriots in Guatemala who see in the Communist maneuver a menace to the future independence of the republic—is a significant development in a chain of events which ultimately may produce for the United States its biggest crisis since the close of World War II.

When the imperial government of Germany was caught in the act of attempting to set up a base in Mexico in 1917—revealed through the interception of the famous note to Herr Zimmerman, the German minister in Mexico City—the end result was an aroused public opinion, and within a few weeks America had entered World War I on the side of the Allies.

Today the official evidence, while of a different character, is none the less conclusive. It can be summarized as follows:

1. The United States Government has long been satisfied, through a well-documented series of circumstances, that the international Communist organization has been developing Guatemala as its primary base in the Western Hemisphere for subversion and for the undermining of various

governments. The pattern of overt and covert activity has already been used for penetrating nearby areas.

2. The Guatemalan government, under Communist guidance, has been responsible for well-organized strikes which have paralyzed Honduras and nearly caused the fall of the government there.

3. The names of the individuals who are the primary operators in the conspiracy are well known to the Washington Government, and there is a record of an exceptionally heavy flow of Guatemalan leaders and semiovert agents who have been traveling between Guatemala and Moscow and certain other capitals of Iron Curtain countries, particularly Prague, which now has become the main center for the infiltration of Latin-American countries.

4. There is also a familiar pattern of movements of individual members of the conspiracy who travel between Guatemala and Mexico City, where embassies and legations of the Communist satellite countries can use their speedy means of communication to the Communist strategists overseas.

5. There is an international labor circuit operating through the Communist leader, Vincente Lombardo Toledano, who is based in Mexico City and pulls the strings for the strikes and propaganda demonstrations throughout Latin America. Copies of the instructions he has sent out are in the hands of the United States Government. On the eve of the Caracas conference, the so-called "Guatemalan friendship societies" were organized in various Latin-American countries. These were Communist inspired.

6. Protest meetings against alleged instigation by the United States of a revolution in Guatemala have been set up by Communist mechanisms and, of course, the propaganda has been aided by certain press correspondents who have been duped into believ-

ing the United States initiated the Guatemalan revolt. Actually Guatemalans in exile in Central America needed no inspiration to try to regain independence for their homeland.

7. Radio Moscow has been transmitting to Latin America texts of propaganda statements allegedly issued in Latin-American countries but somebody blundered, because the local Communist organizations had not yet issued them when the broadcasts were released over the Moscow or Prague radio.

There is no doubt about the synchronized behavior of the Moscow government and the Guatemalan government, especially in the field of diplomacy. Foreign Minister Molotov has been on the job in the Security Council of the U. N. to respond promptly to the requests of the Guatemalan government for moves designed to smear the United States.

The Moscow radio is already using some cynically written dispatches in metropolitan American newspapers to bolster the charge of American interference in Guatemala. Editorials from Latin American newspapers which have been misled into placing the blame on the United States are also being exploited prominently by the Moscow radio.

So far as the American people are concerned, it is important for them to know that the infiltration of Guatemala by the Communists is not a minor matter. The Soviet Union has really put its first team into action in that country and is engaged in a crucial fight to combat the influence which the United States has exerted in the Western Hemisphere countries against Communist imperialism. The United States Senate, by a virtually unanimous vote, has just condemned the action by Soviet Russia. This is an indication that the Guatemalan trouble will not become a partisan affair inside Congress.

N. Y. H. T.
JUN 28 1954

Honduras Fruit Strike In 58th Day

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
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SAN PEDRO SULA, Honduras,
 June 27.—As the strike of 25,000 United Fruit Co. banana plantation workers entered its fifty-eighth day the company's manager in the near-by town of La Lima reported that he is "not optimistic about an immediate settlement."

Negotiations between the company and representatives of the workers has been under way for the last two weeks here at the San Pedro Sula Hotel. A government mediation group has been making efforts to settle the differences, but a company representative said today that "we are about as wide apart as we were six weeks ago."

The company has offered the workers a minimum wage of \$2 and increases of 10 and 5 per cent to salaried workers in the low and medium wage brackets respectively.

The workers demand a higher minimum wage plus increases to salaried workers up to 35 per cent. In addition there are fringe benefit demands, including improved housing on plantations, hospitalization for workers and families and "better treatment from the bosses."

The workers, who now are being fed in soup kitchens operated by themselves, say they will not return to work until wage increases and fringe benefits have been granted.

The strikers deny a charge, repeated here yesterday by Foreign Minister J. Edgardo Valenzuela, that Guatemalan Communists had infiltrated into Honduras, had fomented the strike originally and were responsible for prolonging it. The strikers point to the fact that four former strike leaders were jailed as Communists by the government after the strikers themselves had repudiated them and turned them over to police in La Lima early this month.

Wash. Post
JUN 29 1954
**Guatemalan
 Quits, Asks
 U. S. Asylum**

**Embassy Aide Scores
 Red 'Machinations'
 In His Country**

International News Service

The first secretary of the Guatemalan embassy in Washington resigned yesterday and asked the United States government to grant him political asylum.

Francisco Anguiano, 37-year-old diplomat, announced his resignation in protest against the "machinations of international communism" in his country.

Anguiano, who has been with the Guatemalan Embassy since May, 1953, blasted the new military leadership of the Central American Republic as "a new maneuver of the Communist minority to retain political control of Guatemala."

The young diplomat met newsmen in a Washington Hotel room. He said he had asked the State Department to grant asylum to him and his wife as political refugees.

In a prepared statement Anguiano declared:

"The resignation of President (Jacobo) Arbenz does nothing to change the situation. The present military junta will follow basically his identical line of policy, since the members composing the junta have repeatedly expressed themselves to be completely in agreement with that policy."

He said that the reported move to outlaw the Communist Party in his homeland was little more than a hoax. He said that if they were sincere in their anti-Communist beliefs they would immediately jail Communist Party leaders.

Anguiano accused ex-President Arbenz of "cloaking the advances of communism with a mantle of nationalist aspiration."

Wash. Post
JUN 28 1954
**Army Chief
 Diaz Given
 Reins After
 Long Huddle**

**London Confirms
 Bombing of Vessel,
 Unable to Fix
 Guilt in Attack**

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 27 (AP).—Guatemala's leftist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman resigned tonight on the tenth day of an invasion by anti-Communist rebels driving to overthrow his government.

The 41-year-old President turned the government over to his military academy classmate and commander in chief of the armed forces, Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz.

[The announcement of Arbenz' resignation followed earlier Guatemalan government statement that the anti-Communist rebel forces had bombed and sunk the British steamer *Springford* at San Jose, 50 miles south of Guatemala City, said the United Press.

[In London, the British Foreign Office confirmed that the ship had been bombed, but said its cable from the British Legation at Guatemala City was not clear as to which side was responsible.]

Arbenz announced his resignation in speech over the government radio, and the country's constitution immediately was suspended.

It was presumed that Col. Diaz would head a military junta to rule the country during the fight against the rebel forces of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

Diaz pledged to carry on the

tillo Armas to the armed forces to revolt, jail Arbenz and form a military junta to negotiate a ceasefire.

United States Ambassador to Honduras Whiting Willauer, asked for comment on the developments, said.

"I am not sure that there has been a fundamental change in the government. It looks like a maneuver to get themselves into a position where it will not be an unconditional surrender."

Arbenz was forced out after Army leaders had held an all-day huddle. At its conclusion Diaz and two other colonels called on the President to tell him he must go. Arbenz was reportedly angered by their decision but agreed when Diaz and his colleagues promised to guarantee his personal safety.

The resignation came after the rebel "Liberation Radio" claimed hours before that the columns of Castillo Armas' forces were advancing on the capital at Guatemala City with almost no resistance and were within 45 miles of the city's gates.

A later rebel communique made no mention of that claim, but Associated Press Correspondent Jack Rutledge reported through censorship from Guatemala City that the invaders were within 70 miles of the capital. The rebels, too, later confirmed this. He said many cities were in rebel hands.

The "Liberation Radio" said a battle also was raging again at Guatemala's chief Caribbean port at Puerto Barrios.

Arbenz said in his broadcast that "deep within my conscience I do not think I am making a mistake. The day will come when there will be triumph for loyal Guatemalans under Colonel Diaz.

Arbenz defiantly predicted defeat for the rebels in his broadcast.

He said "the enemy is incompetent and cowardly," and the government armed forces will have no trouble defeating them and throwing them out of the country."

He declared "our faith in democratic institutions remains unshaken."

Speaking firmly, Arbenz added:

"With bitter grief but with firm convictions, we shall retain what has cost so much in this struggle of tears and blood. The enemy's arguments have not scared me. It is because of overwhelming tremendous means at the command of enemies of Guatemala that I take this decision."

N.Y. Times

JUN 29 1954

GUATEMALA JUNTA BANS COMMUNISTS; CAPITAL IS BOMBED

TRIUMVIRATE ACTS

Crucial Bid Is Evident to Strengthen Rule— Air Blow Renewed

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 28—The new Government in Guatemala set up a three-man junta today and declared the Guatemalan Labor or Communist party outside the law.

A midday broadcast from the city of Guatemala regarding proscription of the party indicated the junta members were making a crucial bid to relieve outside pressure on their regime by what sounded like a firm anti-Communist stand.

The junta consists of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, who took over command when President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was ousted last night; Col. José Ángel Sánchez, Minister of Defense under Señor Arbenz, and Col. Elfecho H. Monzon, a former Minister of Government.

If the triumvirate could follow up this decree by other acts tending to eliminate Communist activity in the Government, the whole situation might change. The Guatemalan Congress contains four Communists.

Ultimatum Reported

[The Associated Press said the Guatemala radio had announced that rebel planes had bombed and strafed the city

of Guatemala. This broadcast followed an ultimatum from the insurgent radio that the Guatemalan capital would be bombed unless the army rebelled.]

A spokesman at insurgent headquarters here confirmed the junta decree had proscribed the Labor party. He would not comment further pending tonight's communiqué.

In an earlier communiqué, the insurgents had implied their uneasiness that by anti-Communist action, the new regime would rid itself of external pressure and be in a better position to withstand the military assault of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

Whiting Willauer, United States Ambassador would not comment on the possibility that the United States might recognize the Diaz junta once it had established itself as unquestionably anti-Communist and thus leave Colonel Castillo Armas out in the cold.

Mr. Willauer said the core of United States policy toward Guatemala seemed to him to be, "We don't like communism in Guatemala."

The Guatemalan labor party is the Communist party in everything except name. Its members acknowledge that they are the local Communists.

The party by-laws clearly state its Marxist approach toward its aims. Membership cards bear a picture of Lenin. Several party members have been to Moscow. One is Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, general secretary of the labor federation and secretary of the Congressional steering committee.

When he returned from the Soviet Union, he wrote a pamphlet saying, "The Soviet Union points Ambassador Willauer said he

had no way of being certain that the broadcast outlawing the Communist group actually had come from the Government. "It remains to be seen if they will in fact purge themselves," he commented.

Arbenz Departing

TEGUCIGALPA, June 28 (AP)—Rebel planes renewed today the bombing of the Guatemala capital, the Guatemalan Government radio announced tonight.

The raid followed an ultimatum from the "liberation" forces of Colonel Castillo Armas that the capital would be attacked unless the new military junta agreed to cease-fire talks.

Meanwhile, the Government radio reported that Señor Arbenz was departing today for Buenos Aires by way of El Salvador and Panama. Although a Leftist, he was not considered a Communist, but his regime had been under strong Communist influence.

Fall of Zacapa Reported

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 28—Last night's Government changes followed reports that the insurgents had captured Zacapa, on the railroad between the capital and Puerto Barrios, and had driven westward to Cabanas, about seventy miles east of the capital.

The decision to bring about a showdown was made by the highest-ranking Army officers. The Army has been quietly taking over policing of the capital, relieving armed civilians and reservists.

Diaz Stands on Policy

GUATEMALA, June 28 (Reuters)—Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, new head of Guatemala, said in a speech today that his appointment did not mean a change of policy.

In his first pronouncement since taking office, he said he would follow his predecessor's revolutionary policy, and declared that he would resist "the invaders" until they had been expelled from the country.

He said he would ignore the insurgents' ultimatum calling for the arrest of known Communists.

N.Y. Times

JUN 29 1954

Diaz Will Cooperate With Americas Unit

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 28—The New Guatemalan regime of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz pledged full cooperation today with the Inter-American Peace Committee's investigation of the fighting in Guatemala.

The Peace Committee decided to fly to the city of Guatemala tomorrow after receiving the reply to a note it sent to "the authorities in Guatemala" at noon today.

The reply, delivered by telephone by the Guatemalan Chargé d'Affaires, Alfredo Chocano, said that the new regime stood by all pledges of cooperation given before Colonel Diaz replaced President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman as chief of state last night.

Before the overturn in Guatemala the Peace Committee, headed by Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, had been scheduled to depart this morning aboard a United States Air Force plane. The group, composed of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and the United States, will spend three days each in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, the Council of the Organization of American States voted after a four-and-a-half-hour meeting, to hold a meeting of foreign ministers of the American republics at Rio de Janeiro on July 7.

The council voted to study the threat of communism in Guatemala even though the Government of President Arbenz had been replaced by that of Colonel Diaz. Only Ecuador voted against holding the meeting. Uruguay abstained. Guatemala was not present.

The State Department meanwhile took a cautious view of the new regime in Guatemala. Even after Colonel Diaz had "outlawed" the Communist party in Guatemala today the department declined to designate the new regime as "anti-Communist."

A key official maintained that the situation was still unclear and that the United States would

Cont.

Wash. Post
JUN 29 1954

Arbenz 'Resigns'

Behind the Scenes in Guatemala

GUATEMALA CITY.— The Guatemalan government of President Jacobo Arbenz fell Monday.

With it went the Soviet Union's last remaining hospitality center in the Western Hemisphere.

Arbenz didn't go quietly. In bitterness and tears he turned over the reins of government to the

military because the alternative was a hole in the head.

The military chiefs told the President that the buzzards were feasting on the bodies of innocent Guatemalans in the dusty streets of villages 100 miles north of the capital, and that the 10-day battle for Guatemala must be ended.

Invading planes under the command of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas have been raking villages in the Department of Zacapa without mercy since the weather turned in their favor a few days ago.

The Guatemalan army, loyal to the left-wing government of Arbenz at the beginning of the anti-Communist invasion led by Castillo Armas, forced Arbenz to step down in favor of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, chief of the armed forces.

There was some initial doubt whether Castillo Armas, who gets the credit for knocking off the Arbenz government, will achieve any place on the public payroll.

The group headed by Colonel Diaz was reported as dead set against permitting Castillo Armas to have power in the

new government.

But Castillo Armas, who had been on the lam from Guatemala until his invasion began, still had some bargaining power in the P-47s that have been

hammering the open villages to the north of Guatemala City. For the last two weeks the planes have spread terror in the capital city itself.

OFFICIALLY, the United States had no part of this little war, but the real hero in this business was Jack Peurifoy, our Ambassador to Guatemala.

He knows the Communist pitch from his service as Ambassador in Greece, the first spot on the globe where we really built a dike against the spread of communism.

When the Arbenz government started to crack, it was to Peurifoy that the leaders turned.

Guillermo Toriello, the Foreign Minister, broke first, and asked Peurifoy to come and see him Sunday morning. Toriello, horribly aware of the mounting carnage on the northern front, told Peurifoy that he, the U. S. Ambassador, could stop the fighting in 15 minutes if he would.

The Foreign Minister asked Peurifoy if a new government under a military junta would be agreeable to him. Toriello turned violently anti-Communist during the interview, and promised Peurifoy that all the Communists in Guatemala would be sent back to Moscow.

Peurifoy, dressed in sports clothes for the golf course, dragged calmly on his cigarette holder and told Toriello that he really had no control over the situation.

He did suggest modestly, however, that a clean sweep of the officers of the Arbenz government, including Foreign Minister Toriello himself, would seem to be in order if peace were to be restored to this anguished little republic.

Colonel Diaz next sum-

which lasted most of Sunday afternoon.

Defense Minister Jose Angel Sanchez and other military leaders were present at this meeting.

Diaz told Peurifoy that the streets of the villages to the north were littered with dead bodies, abandoned by the fleeing populace, and that "the buzzards are feasting on these bodies at this minute."

Then he asked Peurifoy if the United States would recognize him if he, Diaz, took over the government. Peurifoy replied that he could not make such a guarantee.

THE AMBASSADOR said that the only concern of the United States was the rising tide of Communist influence that had been revealed in Guatemala.

He went on to say that the differences between the United Fruit Co. and the Guatemalan government, which have figured largely as propaganda weapons of the Guatemalan Communists, were things that could be worked out easily be reasonable men.

Diaz immediately promised that he would "eliminate" the Communists and abolish the "Labor Party" in which they operate, if he took over the government.

Peurifoy said that this didn't sound sufficient to him. He thought the Communists literally must go. "The Communists will go," Diaz promised. Diaz insisted, however that he did not want to bargain with Col. Castillo Armas.

Peurifoy did not press this point, but repeated to Diaz that there ought to be a clean sweep over at the National Palace. Diaz agreed, and that was the beginning of the end of the so-called "Revolution of 1949" so aggressively represented by Jacobo Arbenz, and so avidly infiltrated by home-grown and imported Communists.

(Chicago Daily News Foreign Service)

await further acts by the new regime before passing judgment. He said he did not know of anything on the record that would indicate Colonel Diaz was really any more anti-Communist than former President Arbenz.

The United States representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, Ambassador John C. Dreier, told the council this afternoon that it was too soon to pass judgment on how the events of the past twenty-four hours in Guatemala would affect the problem of communism.

U. S. Insists on Talks

He appealed to the council "not to relax" and to proceed with the plan for a July 7 meeting of American foreign ministers.

"The United States asserts that the international Communist movement has penetrated Guatemala," he declared. He said

the United States believes, therefore, that the American states should take action to protect themselves against a danger that threatens them all.

No Guatemalan representative was present. Señor Chocano maintained, however, that his country was not boycotting the meetings. He said he was "just too busy" today to go to the meeting.

Señor Chocano's secretary, Francisco Anguilano, resigned this morning. Señor Anguilano issued a statement later denouncing the government of Colonel Diaz as well as that of his predecessor, President Arbenz, as being subservient to the Communist movement.

Señor Anguilano called upon the Guatemalan Army to overthrow Colonel Diaz.

"The resignation of President Arbenz does nothing to change the situation," he wrote. "The present military junta will follow out basically his identical line of policy, since the members composing the junta have repeatedly expressed themselves to be completely in agreement with that policy.

"And the establishment of the military junta, in this critical hour, should be considered a new maneuver of the Communist minority to retain political control of Guatemala. The apparent change of the government is thus no more than a farce."

Señor Chocano said Señor Anguilano had dealt only with book-keeping and visas and had had nothing to do with politics. Furthermore, Señor Chocano said, the first secretary had not been to Guatemala for twelve years.

Señor Chocano denied a charge made by Representative Albert O. Morano, Republican of Con-

necticut, that he had been expelled from Nicaragua because of his Communist activities in 1948. Mr. Morano had asked the State Department to declare the Guatemalan "persons non grata" (unwelcome) if the charges were true.

N.Y. Times

JUN 29 1954

In the Nation

The Claimants to Power in Guatemala

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, June 28—In diplomatic quarters equipped with what are believed to be excellent channels of intelligence in Guatemala an opinion expressed today was that, while the situation is more favorable from the standpoint of the anti-Communist interest, the claims of several Guatemalans who played a part in deposing President Arbenz must be resolved before anyone can be sure how much damage has been inflicted on the Moscow-directed Communist conspiracy in that country.

"There is the claim of Col. Castillo Armas, who had the guts to re-enter his country in military formation," said one diplomat today who has been close to the situation ever since the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo successfully infiltrated the Arbenz Government. "There is the claim of Colonel Mendoza, whose self-exile in opposition to the influence of the Partido caused the national air force, of which he is the leader and the hero, to go on a sitdown strike, and who returned with Castillo Armas. There is Colonel Diaz, head of the military junta which deposed Arbenz and took over the Government. And there is the officer who 'belled the cat' by confronting Arbenz and giving him the bad news straight. I think he is a Colonel Sanchez.

"If it were not for the number and diverse following of the claimants, for there are others, I might have expected Arbenz to be reinstated as President after an interval devoted to shaking the conviction of this hemisphere that, for the first time, a Communist-controlled state was to be set up far from the military power of Moscow. Now I am disposed to believe in a good chance for the formation of a military junta, made reliably anti-Communist by replacements of some members of the present one, to govern Guatemala until there can be free and democratic elections again."

The Background

Inquiries by this correspondent of others with special qualifications to

analyze what has been happening in Guatemala produced this composite narrative:

¶The world Bolshevik conspiracy to take over the country, though directed from Moscow, has its operating headquarters in Czechoslovakia. There is the source of a stockpile which has been delivered to Guatemalan agents. Czechoslovakia is the natural headquarters because it is the greatest industrial country among the Soviet satellites and, before the Bolsheviks took it over, its business men were very well known in the Americas and still are.

¶As further preparation to the establishment of a thoroughgoing Communist satellite state in this hemisphere, agents of Moscow, before the conference at Caracas, set up Guatemalan Friendship Societies in all the Latin-American countries. The groups filled those countries with propaganda that United States capitalism, intent on maintaining "colonialism" and mass underprivilege, was responsible for the reports that the Arbenz Government was Moscow-controlled.

Effect of Censorship

¶When the Caracas conference assembled the delegates were inundated with this propaganda, and, before and since, the Communist network in the Americas has fomented student and labor disorders as demonstrations against the United States.

¶These activities, designed to spread the belief that the situation in Guatemala was a routine "banana republic" fracas inspired by the dividend greed of a foreign corporation, were importantly supplemented by the censorship on news dispatches out of Guatemala that was clamped down tight early in June. Correspondents of foreign newspapers were restricted in their movements so that the only information they could get came from Government sources. This served to distort, particularly for the reading public of the United States, what was really happening.

¶For example, about ten days ago Foreign Minister Toriello called in British, French and United States diplomats and some correspondents and told them Guatemala City had been bombed. Then, before and since, he has told in specific detail of deaths and property destruction inflicted by hostile aircraft, none of which was true then or thereafter.

That Word 'Invasion'

¶Officials in control of the "news" and the censorship, by referring stead-

ily to Castillo Armas' movement as an "invasion," gave wide currency to that word. Actually, Castillo Armas led back into their native land a small band of political exiles whose weapons are not comparable to the supply landed, with false papers, for Arbenz from Czechoslovakia via Poland, and whose few airplanes date before the Second World War.

¶Meanwhile Radio Moscow was steadily beaming throughout Latin America words like "invasion" in the foreign press reports from Guatemalan Government sources, and employing them and the headlines based on them to win the propaganda battle up to the present hour.

The policy-making units of this Government were slow in realizing these maneuvers, the plausibility lent them by the fact that Radio Moscow could accurately attribute the words to American newspapers and the effects of all this on the struggle for the mass mind of Latin America and Asia. But every indication is that the United States is now fully alerted.

N.Y. Times

JUN 29 1954

OVERTURN IN GUATEMALA

Word came through yesterday afternoon that the new Government of Guatemala, after taking power away from President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, had outlawed the Communist party. Guatemala now has a government, legal or otherwise under the Guatemalan Constitution, which came into power without any fighting in the capital city itself.

The whole series of events might have been foreseen at any time within the last six months. Last January the Arbenz Government charged that there was a conspiracy to invade Guatemala backed by the Governments of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. Col. Castillo Armas was even then named as one leader of the alleged conspiracy. As the months passed the Arbenz Government seemed to come more and more under Communist influence, although President Arbenz denied that he was himself a Communist. Relations with the United States rapidly deteriorated. Within the country the agrarian law of 1952 was being put into effect and a good deal of land was being expropriated and turned over to individual peasants or peasant cooperatives. The Communists infil-

cont.

trated various organizations and took credit for all reforms that were made. They were utilizing an existing situation in order to spread their gospel.

This is not to deny that honest agrarian reforms were needed and are still needed in Guatemala. It was not a healthy situation when 70 per cent of the land was owned by 2.2 per cent of the population. The United Fruit Company was paying relatively high wages on the plantations it controlled. But on many of the coffee, banana and sugar lands the working and living conditions were extremely poor—and still are.

Two facts are evident: first, that the social and economic system of Guatemala needs to be reformed and democratized; second, that Guatemala, like some other Latin-American countries, needs the kind of aid that can be given under Point Four and also needs more intelligently and humanely invested American capital. The answer to communism in Guatemala and in other countries is not reaction but liberal reform. The road is a long one. This country may have made mistakes over the years past and in this particular episode. Now it is for us to show ourselves warm and intelligent friends of all the people of Guatemala.

N. Y. TIMES - June 30

GUATEMALA CEASE-FIRE ARRANGED AS ANOTHER JUNTA SEIZES POWER: REDS JAILED AND CAPTIVES FREED

U. S. OFFERS ITS AID

Agrees to Help Pacify Disputants—Peace Committee Leaves

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 29—The United States Government agreed tonight to help arrange a cease-fire between the anti-Communist regime in Guatemala and the rebel forces under Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

The decision was made known to the Council of the Organization of American States as the group met in "extraordinary session" at 6 P. M.

The United States representative at the meeting, Henry F. Holland, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, announced that the United States had received a request for its "good offices" through Ambassador John E. Peurifoy in Guatemala and had expressed its willingness to cooperate.

The council met amid reports that arrangements already had been made between the Government and rebel forces for a meeting in El Salvador to discuss both a political settlement and a cease-fire.

Dr. Hector David Castro, representative of El Salvador and chairman of the council, said his Government also had been approached by the new Guatemalan regime to "lend its good offices to help bring about a cessation of the fighting currently going on in Guatemala."

Rio Meeting Now Doubtful

Tonight's developments gave new credence to speculation that the meeting of the Inter-American Foreign Ministers on the Guatemalan situation, called by the organization's council for July 7 at Rio de Janeiro, might now be canceled.

Informed observers remarked that, if a government had come

to power in Guatemala with which the United States was substantially in sympathy, there would be little point in asking the foreign ministers to consider a threat of Guatemalan communism no longer present.

But the Inter-American Peace Committee nevertheless left this afternoon, after a postponement caused by the shifting of the Guatemalan political scene, for a fact-finding investigation of a former Guatemalan Government's charges of aggression against Nicaragua and Honduras.

The five-nation committee had deferred its departure plans when the military junta succeeding the Communist-dominated Government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman followed the Arbenz Government into resignation.

Then, however, came "assurances of cooperation" from the third Guatemalan Government, led by Col. Elfege Monzon, a member of the previous three-man junta with a record of anti-communism.

The Guatemalan Charge D'Affaires, Alfredo Cochana, relayed his new Government's pledge of assistance to the peace committee about 11 A.M. and the group, led by Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, took off from National Airport at 2:05 P. M.

Washington's willingness to use its good offices for a cease-fire in Guatemala reflected a general view here that the regime of Col. Monzon merited at least the benefit of the doubt with respect to his getting ahead with a housecleaning of Communists.

Officials here base that confidence on the judgment of those who regard the new Guatemalan leader as a dependable anti-Communist.

The State Department declined to speak officially about the new leadership in Guatemala, but other diplomatic sources made no secret of their hopefulness that the Guatemalan Government might now be stabilized under an anti-Communist banner.

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, announced today that he would make a radio-television tomorrow night. His fifteen-min-

ute talk will be carried beginning at 8:45 P. M. over the radio network of the American Broadcasting Company, and by the Dumont television network.

The Columbia Broadcasting System's radio hookup will rebroadcast the address at 10:15 o'clock, and the C. B. S. television will present it at 11:30 P. M. Radio and television stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company will present Mr. Dulles' report at 11:15 P. M.

Group Pauses in Mexico

WASHINGTON, June 29 (AP)—The Inter-American Peace Com-

mittee, which left by air today for an on-the-spot investigation of Guatemala's complaints of troubles with Honduras and Nicaragua, planned an overnight stop in Mexico City. It is to proceed to Guatemala tomorrow.

The delegation took off at 2:05 P. M. after once canceling flight plans owing to the uncertainty of the situation in Guatemala. Its four-engine United States Air Force plane was kept waiting. The plans called for three-day visits by the committee in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

MONZON NEW CHIEF Congress Is Dissolved

—Rebel Head Agrees to Negotiations

By The United Press.

GUATEMALA, June 29—The Guatemalan Radio announced tonight that a cease fire had been arranged between the second Guatemalan military junta formed within forty-eight hours, and the insurgents led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

The broadcast said the arrest of all Communist officials had been ordered "in accordance with Castillo Armas' instructions" and indicated that peace had been reached on terms outlined by the insurgent chief.

It was indicated that the cease-fire had been arranged in San Salvador through the mediation of representatives of the Organization of American States and the aid of neighboring countries.

98 cont.

Political Captives Freed

The broadcast said: "The military junta, thanks to the aid of the O. A. S. peace group and neighboring countries, has been able to reach an accord with Castillo Armas, supreme chief of the liberation army, to stop the fighting."

Informants said the cease fire would become effective immediately. The broadcast added that all political prisoners had been released. Red Cross officials confirmed they were caring for forty prisoners.

[Insurgent planes bombed and strafed the Guatemala's capital this afternoon in the heaviest raid of the war, the Associated Press reported.]

Col. Elfeago Monzon took over the Government from Col Carlos Enrique Diaz earlier today in a bloodless coup. He promptly started a purge of Communists and made it clear that he was ready to deal with the insurgents.

Colonel Monzon dissolved the leftist Congress, freed 600 political prisoners and began to fill the jails with Communists.

Many Communists sought asylum at foreign embassies. Others fled the city. Still others went underground.

Censorship was abolished. Exiles from the deposed regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman were invited to return without persecution.

The Communist daily newspaper Tribuna Popular was shut and party headquarters placed under surveillance by military police.

The new junta announced it was considering suspending parts of the Constitution because of the emergency.

Colonel Monzon's coup early this morning toppled the junta headed by Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, on which Colonel Monzon had served.

Colonel Diaz, who had succeeded Señor Arbenz, first set up a Government with himself as President. Later, he formed his three-man junta in an effort to stave off the defeat that began to shape up after he had refused to deal with the insurgents.

Colonel Castillo Armas had broadcast an ultimatum to the Diaz junta, demanding the arrest of all Communists. When Colonel Diaz temporized, the rebels demanded unconditional surrender. That brought enough pressure to

bear on Colonel Diaz to produce the Monzon coup.

Colonel Monzon chose as his companions in the new junta Lieut. Mauricia Dubois and Jose Luis Salazar.

U. S. Envoy Has Role

By PAUL P. KENNEDY,
Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, June 29—At 4:45 o'clock this morning a new military junta, distinctly anti-Communist and pro-United States, took over in Guatemala.

Through John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, it immediately moved toward cease-fire talks with Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, who began the revolution twelve days ago.

The new junta succeeded one that had been in power less than twenty-four hours and had been forced to resign because its composition was unacceptable to Colonel Castillo Armas.

Two members of the former junta were reported to have fled to political asylum in the Mexican Embassy here.

Meeting Set Today

By MILTON BRACKER
Special to The New York Times.

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, June 29—A conference will be held in San Salvador tomorrow to arrange an armistice in the Guatemalan conflict.

It was learned on reliable authority tonight that the meeting would bring together Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, chief of the insurgent forces, and a representative of the new three-man junta that assumed power in the city of Guatemala this morning.

According to an official Guatemalan broadcast monitored here, the Government representative will be Jose Maria Moscoso, a top lawyer.

Diplomatic sources were guarded in their reference to the proposed meeting. There was no indication when or where it would begin, or what the terms of reference would be.

Another important decree by the new junta canceled the credentials of Juan Jose Arevalo, former President, who was serving as Ambassador at Large in Latin America. The significance of this action could not be overestimated within the framework of the Guatemalan political situation.

Señor Arevalo became President after the revolution of 1944, which ended the long dictatorship of Gen. Jorge Ubico. It was in the Arevalo regime that the social reforms were instituted that apparently permitted communism to gain a strong foothold in the country.

After Señor Arbenz took office in March, 1951, Señor Arevalo

N.Y. Times

JUL

AID TO GUATEMALA URGED

A.F.L. President Calls on U.S. to Strengthen Democracy

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 30—George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, called on the Federal Government today to "exercise all the influence and pressure in its power to strengthen the democratic forces of Guatemala."

Mr. Meany said in a statement "it would be a calamity with serious repercussions throughout Latin America if the overthrow of the first Communist-controlled regime in the Western Hemisphere were not to be followed by the establishment of a strong democratic regime that would bring Guatemala back into the family of truly democratic American nations."

He said the A. F. L., "which has extended moral solidarity to the Guatemalan trade union leaders during their exile, stands ready to assist them in this difficult task of reorganization, directly and through the medium of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers which it is affiliated."

became in effect the elder statesman of the reformist regime. In recent months he had traveled throughout the hemisphere. United States Embassies had constantly reported that he was a primary source of anti-United States propaganda.

It was obvious that the dismissal of Señor Arevalo reflected the desire of the new junta to impress the United States that it was really through with communism.

Arbenz in Salvador

SAN SALVADOR, June 29 (UP)—Jacobó Arbenz Guzman, ousted Guatemalan President, arrived today and went to the Guatemalan legation.

N.Y. Times

JUL 1 1954

RED DEFEAT IN GUATEMALA

The first formidable and nearly successful attempt of Kremlin-directed Communists to seize a whole state in the Americas has apparently been crushed. In what looks like the first successful anti-Communist revolt since the last war, the Communist-dominated regime in Guatemala has been overthrown and the new provisional regime, headed by a military junta, has taken immediate steps to rid the country of the Communist menace.

There remains the task of establishing a legitimate and stable Government based on the will of the people and able to restore peace and law and order. The responsibility for carrying out this task now rests on two leaders—Colonel Castillo Armas, who first raised the flag of revolt, and Colonel Monzon, who took over in Guatemala's capital after the Communists were ousted. It must be hoped that no personal rivalries will be permitted to interfere.

But the extent to which the Communists succeeded in getting a foothold in the Americas and in precipitating an international situation which threatened both the United Nations and the Organization of American States provides lessons which will have to be heeded if a repetition is to be averted. The first lesson is that Guatemala, like many other Latin-American countries, needs both drastic economic reforms at home and outside aid to ameliorate the poverty and ignorance in which communism breeds. The second lesson is that it is necessary to strengthen the Organization of American States still further, so that never again will there arise a conflict of jurisdiction between that Organization and the United Nations in which even our close allies abstain from taking a stand. The immediate peril to the Americas has been eliminated; the warning remains.

N.Y. Times

JUL 1 1954

U. S. ENVOY PLAYED KEY ROLE IN TRUCE

Peurifoy, Asked to Help Halt Guatemala Fighting, Advised Cleaning Out Arbenz Rule

GUATEMALA, June 30 (AP)—United States Ambassador John Peurifoy played a major part in the negotiations that led to formation of a second governing junta in Guatemala and cease-fire negotiations.

On Sunday Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello telephoned Mr. Peurifoy at home and asked to see him. Asserting he could stop the war in fifteen minutes if a military junta were formed and accepted, Señor Toriello said he would be glad to step out himself. The Foreign Minister expressed the hope, however, that Communist-influenced President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman could remain.

The 46-year-old Ambassador replied he could not commit the United States but personally felt the only solution was a clean sweep of the Arbenz Government. In subsequent talks with Army officers, Mr. Peurifoy learned from the Chief of Staff, Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, that army morale was splintered, mainly because of heavy rebel bombings in combat areas.

Guarantee Requested

Colonel Diaz suggested he might form a junta. He asked if Mr. Peurifoy could guarantee that Col. Carlos Castillo Armas would recognize such a government. The ambassador agreed to sound out the rebel chief. Colonel Diaz promised that if he were successful, he would abolish the Communist party. Mr. Peurifoy insisted, however, on even stronger measures.

"Communism must go," he told Colonel Diaz.

President Arbenz resigned Sunday and the Diaz junta took over. Its members called on Mr. Peurifoy at 4 A. M. Monday to ask that the Ambassador make con-

tact with Colonel Castillo Armas for a cease-fire. Mr. Peurifoy said the United States had no direct contact with the rebels, but under urging, agreed to see what he could do.

That night Mr. Peurifoy got

in touch with Colonel Diaz and Col. José Angel Sanchez, a second member of the three-man junta, to report on his efforts. The third member of the government, Col. Eifego Monzon, was located at 4 A. M. Tuesday. He agreed to go to Colonel Diaz's home where the others were meeting with Mr. Peurifoy.

In the dramatic climax of the negotiations, Colonel Diaz announced he and Colonel Sanchez were resigning for the peace of the country. Colonel Monzon and two other army officers strode in.

The situation was tense. According to eyewitnesses, Mr. Peurifoy leaned back and crossed his arms over his chest—where he had a shoulder holster. A United States Marine aide in civilian clothes edged nearer the envoy, fearing bullets might fly.

Colonel Monzon announced the formation of a new Junta, with himself as president. He asked for an immediate meeting in El Salvador with Colonel Castillo Armas and requested Mr. Peurifoy to sit in on the talks.

Mr. Peurifoy turned down this bid, saying the United States did not want to be involved. He suggested El Salvador's Ambassador Col. Alberto Funes, be invited instead.

Colonel Monzon later sent a note to Mr. Peurifoy asking diplomatic aid to help "put an end to hostilities." A similar request was sent to El Salvador and to the Vatican Nuncio to Guatemala, Msgr. Gennaro Verolino. All agreed.

C.S. Monitor

JUL 1 1954

Peace in Guatemala

Militarily the threat of communism in Guatemala no longer exists. The anti-Communist revolt led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas has succeeded through a combination of factors. Among these were the slow defection of many in the Guatemalan Army when faced with the prospect of fighting for a regime they had begun at least to doubt and against an insurrection which had an indeterminate amount of support from the United States.

The result is an evident improvement, if as yet of only a negative sort, in the government of Guatemala. The outright Communists and their closer fellow travelers who held office under deposed President Arbenz have been cleaned out.

If one can assume that Colonel Castillo Armas will in time take over from Col. Eifego Monzon, who supplanted Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz and opened the way for negotiations, then there is an outlook for a moderate rather than a reactionary government to succeed the one which so roused the anxiety of its neighbors.

For Castillo Armas is committed to the need of social reforms in Guatemala but without the collectivist turn which Communists have given them. He reaffirmed a few months ago the essential objects of the revolution of 1944: modern capitalism, agrarian improvement, social security, free education, and individual freedoms.

The fact that the United States has had an obviously large part in the success of the revolution gives North Americans a share of responsibility for the kind of government that follows, not only in Guatemala but in a large part of Latin America where prosperity depends to some extent on North American favor.

It is important now that Washington should prove that it is interested not only in the military suppression of regimes which seem taken over by

Moscow but that it show concern also in behalf of governments forward looking enough to foster freedom in Latin America and to relieve the conditions which communism tries to exploit. This obligation Secretary John Foster Dulles has accepted for the United States.

Text of Dulles Speech on Guatemala

Following is the text of a speech last night by Secretary of State Dulles on Guatemala, as recorded by The New York Times:

Tonight I should like to talk to you about Guatemala. It is a scene of dramatic events. They expose the evil purpose of the Kremlin to destroy the inter-American system and they test the ability of the American states to maintain the peaceful integrity of this hemisphere.

For several years now international communism has been probing here and there for nesting places in the Americas. It finally chose Guatemala as a spot which it could turn into an official base from which to breed subversion which would extend to the other American republics.

This intrusion of Soviet despotism was, of course, a direct challenge to the Monroe Doctrine, the first and most fundamental of our foreign policies.

It is interesting to recall that the menace which brought the Monroe Doctrine into existence was itself a menace born in Russia. It was Czar Alexander and his despotic allies in Europe who early in the last century sought control of South America and the western parts of North America. And in 1823 President Monroe confronted this challenge with his declaration that the European despots could not extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness. We would not, he said, behold such interposition in any form with indifference.

These sentiments were shared by the other American republics and they were molded into a foreign policy for all of us. For over 131 years now this policy has well served the peace and security of this hemisphere and it serves us well today.

A Ten-Year Soviet Effort

In Guatemala, international communism had an initial success. It began ten years ago when a revolution occurred in Guatemala. The revolution was not without justification, but the Communists seized on it, not as an opportunity for real reforms, but as a chance to gain political power.

Communist agitators devoted themselves to infiltrating the public and private organizations of Guatemala. They sent recruits to Russia for revolutionary training and indoctrination in such institutions as the Lenin school in Moscow.

Operating under the guise of reformers, they organized the workers and the peasants under Communist leadership. And having gained control of what they

moved on to take over the official press and radio of the Guatemalan Government.

They dominated the social security organization and ran the agrarian reform program. Through the technique of the so-called popular front they dictated to the Congress and to the President.

They figured their share in that they had won a valiant attempt to protect his integrity and independence, but the Communists, using their control of the legislative body, caused the Supreme Court to be dissolved when it refused to give approval of a Communist-contrived law.

Arbenz, who until this week was the president of Guatemala, was openly manipulated by the leaders of communism.

Guatemala is a small country, but its power of standing alone is not a measure of the threat. The master plan of international communism is to gain a solid political base in his hemisphere. A base that then can be used to extend Communist penetration to the other peoples of the American Governments.

It was not the power of the Arbenz Government that concerned us, but the power behind it.

If world communism captured any American state, however small, a new and perilous front is established which will increase the dangers of the entire free world and require even greater sacrifices from the American people.

The situation in Guatemala had become so dangerous that the American states could not ignore it. And so at Caracas last month when the American states held their tenth inter-American conference, they adopted a momentous declaration. They said that the domination or the control of the political institution of any American state by international communism would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states endangering the peace of America.

There was only one American state that voted against that resolution. That state was Guatemala.

Recent Arms Shipment

This Caracas Declaration precipitated a dramatic and rapidly moving chain of events. From their European base the Communist leaders moved quickly to build up the military power of their agents in Guatemala. In May a large shipment of arms was moved from behind the Iron Curtain into Guatemala. This shipment was sought to be secreted by false manifestos and false clearances. The ostensible destination of the shipment was changed three times while the shipment was en route.

At the same time the agents of international communism in Guatemala intensified their efforts to penetrate and to subvert the neighboring Central American states.

They attempted political assassinations and political strikes. They used their consular agents for political warfare. Many Guatemalan people protested against their being used by Communist dictatorship to serve the Communists lust for power.

What was the response? It was mass arrests; the suppression of constitutional guarantees; the killing of opposition leaders, and other brutal tactics such as are normally employed by communism to secure the consolidation of its power.

In the face of these events and in accordance with the spirit of the Caracas Declaration the nations of this Hemisphere laid further plans to grapple with the danger. The Arbenz Government responded with efforts to disrupt the inter-American system. And because this Guatemalan regime enjoyed the full support of Soviet Russia, which is a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, Guatemala tried to bring this matter before the Security Council. It did so without first referring the matter to the American regional organization, as is called for both by the Charter of the United Nations and by the treaty which creates the American organization.

Cites Soviet Connivance

The Foreign Minister of Guatemala openly connived in this matter with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. The two were in open correspondence and ill-concealed privity. The Security Council at first voted overwhelmingly to refer this Guatemalan matter to the Organization of the American States and the vote was 10 to 1, but the one negative vote was a Soviet veto. And then that encouraged the Guatemalan Government to go on and with Soviet backing it redoubled its efforts to try to supplant the American system by Security Council jurisdiction.

However, last Friday the United Nations Security Council decided not to take up the Guatemalan matter, but to leave it in the first instance to the American states themselves. That was a triumph for the system of balance between regional organization and world organization, a balance which the American states had fought for and won when the Charter was drawn up at San Francisco.

And then the American states moved promptly to deal with

the situation. Their peace commission left yesterday for Guatemala. And earlier the American states had voted overwhelmingly to call a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American states to consider the penetration of international communism in Guatemala and the measure required to eliminate it. Never before has there been so clear a call uttered with such a sense of urgency and strong resolve.

Throughout this period that I have outlined the Guatemalan Governments and the Communist agents throughout the world have persistently attempted to obscure the real issue, that of Communist imperialism, by claiming that the United States is only interested in protecting American business. We regret that there have been disputes between the Government of Guatemala and the United Fruit Company. We have urged repeatedly that these disputes should be submitted to settlement by an international tribunal or by international arbitration. That's the way to dispose of problems of this sort.

But this business issue is relatively unimportant. All who know the temper of the American people, of the United States people and the United States Government must realize that our overriding concern is that which with other American states we recorded at Caracas, namely the endangering by international communism of the peace and security of this hemisphere.

The people of Guatemala have now been heard from. Despite the armaments piled up by the Arbenz Government, it had been unable to enlist the spiritual cooperation of the people. Led by Colonel Castillo Armas, patriots arose in Guatemala to challenge the Communist leadership and to change it. Thus, a situation is being cured by the Guatemalans themselves.

Last Sunday President Arbenz of Guatemala resigned and seeks asylum, and other Communists and fellow-travelers are following his example. Tonight, just as I speak, Colonel Castillo Armas is in conference in El Salvador with Colonel Monzon, the head of the council which has taken over the power in Guatemala City. It was this power which the just wrath of the Guatemalan people wrested from President Arbenz, who took flight.

Now the future lies at the disposal of the Guatemalan people themselves. It lies at the disposal of leaders loyal to Guatemala who had not treasonably become the agents of an alien despotism which sought to use Guatemala for its own evil ends.

The events of recent months and days adds a new and glorious chapter to the already great tradition of the American states. Each one of the American states

has cause for profound gratitude. We can all be grateful that we showed at Caracas an impressive solidarity in support of our American institutions. And I might add that we are prepared to do so again at the conference, which may be held at Rio. Advance knowledge of that solidarity undoubtedly shook the former Guatemalan Government.

We can be grateful to the Organization of American States because it showed that it could act quickly and vigorously in aid of peace. There was proof that our American organization is not just a paper organization but that it has vigor and vitality to act.

We can be grateful to the United Nations Security Council because it recognized the right of regional organizations in the first instance to order their own affairs. Otherwise Soviet Russia would have started a controversy which would have set regionalism against universality and greatly wounded both.

Above all we can be grateful that there were loyal citizens of Guatemala who in the face of terrorism and violence and against what seemed insuperable odds had the courage and the will to eliminate the traitorous tools of foreign despotism.

Need for vigilance is not past. Communism is still a menace everywhere, but the people of the United States and the other American republics can tonight feel that at least one grave danger has been averted. Also an example has been set which promises increased security of the future. The ambitious and unscrupulous will be less prone to feel that communism is a wave of the future.

U.S. Monitor

JUL 1 1954

Colonels Meet in San Salvador

By the Associated Press

San Salvador, El Salvador

Guatemala's rival anti-Communist rulers were reported ironing out final conditions here of a peace settlement that may give their war-torn land its fourth government in less than a week.

With El Salvador's President Osorio acting as mediator, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, chief of the rebel invasion force, and Col. Eliego Monzon of Guatemala's newest military junta, conferred into the early morning at the presidential palace here.

Real peace seemed remote as Colonel Monzon's junta rushed troops to Communist strong points in Guatemala where Red leaders were reported trying to foment peasant uprisings. Communist indoctrinated farm workers were said to be inciting revolt in Escuintla, Panula, and Concepcion, hotbeds of communism about 100 miles from Guatemala City.

After the two colonels held an initial two-hour secret session June 30, President Osorio told reporters: "I feel very optimistic. I believe they will find a formula. At least that is my desire."

Conferees Dine Together

Later the conferees dined together at Loma Linda, home of Rafael Meza Ayau, Salvadorean Economics Minister.

After dinner they reconvened at the presidential mansion. Shortly after midnight El Salvador's presidential press officer said Colonels Castillo and Monzon had gotten down to terms which promised to lead to a definite settlement.

As the parley continued, word came out of the conference that terms of the settlement would be broadcast by the Guatemalan Government and rebel radios.

El Salvador offered its good offices to settle the Guatemalan conflict after a cease-fire June 29 ended the shooting—in theory at least.

President Osorio said the junta government had asked him to mediate, but that the United States was taking no part in the talks. However, United States Ambassador Michael McDermott Guatemalan lead-

Cont.

Wash. Daily News

JUL 1 1954

Altho Reds Have Fallen in Guatemala

Danger Hasn't Ended

By LUDWELL DENNY Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor

The communist struggle for control of the Western Hemisphere continues despite American victory in the first major battle.

Officials here are elated by the fall of the Red-controlled regime of Guatemala. Nevertheless, they realize that Moscow merely will change tactics and places of pressure in the hemisphere-wide conspiracy. They intend to do more about it in the future than in the past.

They hope to capitalize on the Red reversal in Guatemala. Many Latin American politicians, who were beginning to flirt with ill-disguised Moscow movements in their own countries now are expected to pull back.

But several factors continue to create favorable conditions for Red subversion in both Central and South America.

One is the traditional anti-Yankeeism, a hangover from the old days of "dollar diplomacy" and "marine intervention." This has been diluted somewhat by a generation of the Good Neighbor policy. Still there is a widespread tendency to make Uncle Sam the scapegoat for failures and frustrations of the Latin Americans themselves.

POPULAR TARGET

As in Guatemala, wherever large American corporations operate "foreign capitalist exploitation" is a popular target for every rabble-rouser, crooked politician and inefficient native competitor. The fact that most United States firms have long since ceased their ruthless practices and now provide higher wages, better working conditions, finer social services and steadier

employment than local employers, does not protect them from special attack and discriminatory treatment.

Another factor inviting communism is the low living standard and high illiteracy in many of the countries. Ignorance and poverty make the people particularly vulnerable to propaganda of Soviet agents posing as native humanitarians.

TEMPERMENTAL

Among the educated and governing classes, there is a feeling that the United States is more interested in Europe and Asia than in Latin America. Specifically, they say they have not received their fair share of economic and military aid which the United States has distributed so lavishly since the war. They want to be helped and, perhaps even more, they want to be courted.

Guatemala is not important in itself, compared with larger and key countries. But it had become vastly important as an experimental station and pilot project for Soviet indirect conquest and

disguised control of left unions, anti-American movements, "reform" parties and "nationalist" governments.

The weak rebel army could not alone overthrow the well-entrenched Red regime. The strong popular opposition lacked weapons and organization for a successful revolt. The terrorist regime saw to that.

Guatemala was saved by other Latin American governments. When the United States persuaded two-thirds of the members of the Organization of American States to apply sanctions against the Red regime at the forthcoming OAS conference, the Arbenz government's only hope of survival was thru United Nations obstruction led by Russia. Britain and France first fell for the Red trick, but later stood by the UN Charter which provides for initial regional settlement of such issues. That finished Arbenz.

Future battles also depend on the OAS. The United States can lead, but it cannot act alone in Latin America without a reaction that will help Moscow.

ers when they arrived in their separate planes at the airport here June 30.

During the conference the papal nuncio to Guatemala, Msgr. Gennaro Verolino, stood by outside the closed chamber. The Pope's representative said he had been asked by Colonel Monzon to "do what I can and help if asked."

Coalition Sought

United States and Salvadorean officials expressed hope the talks would lead to an anti-Communist coalition of Colonel Castillo and Monzon which would wipe out the Communists who became entrenched in the Caribbean land during the régime of ousted President Arbenz.

The United States expressed open concern over the Arbenz régime after the arrival of a 10-million-dollar arms shipment in Guatemala several weeks ago from Communist Czechoslovakia. The growing tension came to a head June 18 when Colonel Castillo and fellow exiles launched an invasion from neighboring Honduras.

With the talks underway, the five-nation Inter-American Peace Committee, en route to Guatemala to investigate charges that the country was being subjected to aggression from abroad, paused in Mexico City. The committee, formed by the Organization of American States, indicated it probably would return to Washington and abandon its mission.

Colonel Monzon, clad in a business suit, arrived in a plane piloted by Col. Vernon E. Martin of San Francisco, air attaché to the United States Embassy at Guatemala City.

Castillo Still in Khaki

Colonel Castillo, still wearing field khaki, arrived in a plane piloted by Col. Rodolfo Mendoza, whose brother, Miguel, is chief of the rebel air force.

Colonel Mendoza said the rebel air force—four P-47s and two C-47 transports—had been grounded in observance of the armistice. He said the hardest job would be to get the country back on a normal basis.

He disclosed that Zacapa, key Guatemalan rail junction between the capital and the major Caribbean port of Puerto Barrios, surrendered to the insurgents June 29.

Meanwhile, new violence was reported from Guatemala. Government troops were rushed to Escuintla, Communist stronghold 30 miles south of Guatemala City, where Carlos Manuel Pellecer was reported plotting a peasant uprising.

Farm workers also were reported sparking uprisings at

Concepcion, near Escuintla, and nearby Pinula. Communists were reported telling the peasants the new regime would take away the lands which Señor Arbenz had distributed among them.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1954-

Will Guatemala Avoid Extremes? Signs Point Away From Dictatorship

(See editorial on Pg. 34; Edward Tomlinson and Ludwell Denny, Pg. 35.)
By CHARLES LUCEY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

GUATEMALA CITY, July 1—Can the results of 10 years of diligent implanting of the communist pattern in Guatemala go down the drain without a trace?

Today the leaders of the pro-communist regime of President Jacobo Arbenz are in hiding, have taken asylum in Latin American embassies, or are headed quickly for the border. New decrees aim at smashing communism.

HOW FAR RIGHT?

But the real question is whether it is a moderate swing to the right or one that gives Central America a new member in full standing in the International Dictator's Union.

As of now the signs are of moderation, no extreme dictatorship.

There will be pressures on the new government from interests which have been hurt by the moderate reforms of the revolutionary regime which came out of the 1944 overthrow of the Jorge Ubico dictatorship. It is assumed that Col. Armas will join the governing junta if the peace is solid.

MODERATES ADVISE

But as of today a group of young lawyers of moderate tendencies is advising the provisional government which has taken over from the Arbenz regime.

Ramon Blanco, Guatemala's best-known editor, speculates that Guatemala will become a center government, neither far left nor far right. As of now it is considered unlikely that agrarian reform, heart of the communist program for building Guatemala into a Soviet-type state in this hemisphere, will be abolished.

But administration will be much more moderate. Land owners' appeals from decisions made by the government's agrarian department today cannot be taken to the courts. Review boards are subject to the executive branch.

CHANGE IS DUE

This seems sure to be changed. Section 32 of the Guatemalan Constitution also seems sure to be changed. It provides now against a communist conspiracy but it is considered vague; there will be tightening.

The first transition government after Arbenz's resignation was slow at laying hand on some of the top commie leaders and they are holed up today in the Mexican embassy. But two Arbenz police heads ac-

cused of responsibility for arrests and prisoner brutality, Jaime Rosenberg and Cruz Were, who took refuge in the Argentine embassy, were said today to have been pitched out and to be in the custody of the army. Their future is not bright.

With the communist hierarchy broken, party headquarters closed and many leaders seeking foreign havens, Guatemalan observers believe communism is effectively smashed here, at least temporarily. This is a basically Catholic, anti-communist country. But the Muscovites gathered power thru land reform—long overdue—which passed out land to the peasants, and thru organizations of unions.

OLD CUSTOM

The capital was full of stories today about government leaders in the old regime who looted the till before taking off and made away with about \$200,000. It is an old custom in Central American revolutions.

U. S. prestige has been strengthened by the success of the Armas revolution. Last week when Col. Armas' rebels seemed to be faltering, it looked like the United States was in for a beating all thru Latin America. But events made the State Department and Ambassador John E. Peurifoy look good.

Some weeks ago Mr. Peurifoy, who knows what goes on around him, was getting up a guest list for the traditional big Fourth of July reception all U. S. embassies give.

He told friends privately that the guests would not have to include

top officials of the then-Guatemalan government.

HAPPIER

Save for the adherents of the old pro-communist regime, Guatemalans looked happier today. The big timbers propped against hotel doors to prevent smashing by mobs had come down. Food, extremely short in basic essentials since the revolution began, was coming back into the market. Anti-communists had stopped shifting from one house to another night after night for sleep.

In the Cathedral Del Spiritu Santo presidential palace people knelt to

thank God for peace once more.

U. S. Plans Action to Bolster Anti-Reds

The United States plans quick action to bolster any anti-communist government in Guatemala, U. S. officials said today.

The idea is to demonstrate that Guatemala's action in throwing out the communists will pay off.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said in a nationwide radio-TV address last night that Guatemalan developments indicate the "grave danger" of a Russian attempt to establish a beachhead in Central America "has been averted."

He promised unstinting support in eliminating conditions in Guatemala and elsewhere in Latin America "which might afford communism an opportunity to spread its tentacles."

One of the first acts, it was learned, will be U. S. diplomatic recognition of the non-Red government expected to be formed in talks between leaders of Guatemala's new junta government and rebel leaders.

Economic and military aid is likely to follow.

Mr. Dulles acknowledged that the need for vigilance in the Americas against communism has not passed.

But, he said, "an example is set which promises increased security . . . The ambitious and the unscrupulous will be less prone to feel that communism is the wave of their future."

N.Y. Times
JUL 2 1954

GUATEMALA PEACE IS BELIEVED NEAR AS TALKS PROCEED

Conference Lasts All Night
as Leaders Strive to Reach
Formula for New Regime
PEURIFOY IS CONFIDENT
U. S. Envoy Flies to Salvador
to Participate in Parley—
Red Risings Fought

By The Associated Press.

SAN SALVADOR, July 1—Indications tonight were that the Guatemalan crisis had been settled.

United States Ambassador, said the leaders of

Cont. 107

the rival anti-Communist regimes would issue a joint statement soon. The Ambassador flew here from Guatemala to confer separately with the two leaders, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas of the rebel forces that began the fight, and Col. Elfege Monzon, head of the new junta.

They were working under a cease-fire agreement that had been extended to 9 A. M. tomorrow.

The two leaders resumed their talks today after a futile all-night session that broke up at 3:55 A. M. shortly before Mr. Peurifoy arrived and went to Presidential House, they recessed for a noon rest.

Agree on Top Role

Authoritative sources said it had been virtually agreed that Col. Castillo Armas would head a new Guatemalan Government, a major difference had arisen over control of the armed forces.

In a radio speech earlier today, Col. Castillo Armas said he had high hopes of reaching a settlement within twenty-four hours.

Mr. Peurifoy had been invited to join the talks here at the outset, but chose to remain in the background to counter possible charges of United States intervention in Central-American affairs. President Oscar Osorio has been acting as mediator.

"We will get this straightened out," Mr. Peurifoy predicted on his departure from the city of Guatemala. He had rushed to the airport after receiving a message that Colonel Monzon's plane was returning. He had hoped that Colonels Monzon and Castillo Armas were coming back with a settlement.

When word finally came that no one was returning, the Ambassador decided to fly to San Salvador.

As the peace talks went on, Guatemala's Communist-led landless farmers union staged uprisings in the countryside. The junta rushed troops to Escuintla, Pinula and Concepcion, all within an orbit of thirty miles from the capital.

Jacobo Arbenz Guzman is said to have channeled arms to pro-Communist labor and peasant groups in the closing weeks of his regime to build up guerrilla defense forces. His regime ended when an army junta headed by

Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz took over. Colonel Diaz bowed out to make way for Colonel Monzon.

Continuous Meetings Held

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

SAN SALVADOR, July 1—A series of swiftly arranged conferences involving two United States Ambassadors was held here this morning in an effort to break the deadlock on the Guatemalan crisis.

Earlier, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, insurgent leader, had said he hoped for a final accord in "the next twenty-four hours."

Participants in the morning talks, which had not been scheduled when the weary conferees disbanded at 3:35 A. M. today, included President Oscar Osorio of El Salvador, Col. Castillo Armas, Col. Elfege Manzon, junta chief; Michael J. McDermott, United States Ambassador here; John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador to Guatemala, who arrived earlier, and Jose Maria Peralta Salazar, president of the Salvadoran National Assembly.

The first meeting began at 9:40 A. M. between President Osorio and the Guatemalan principals. Later Señor Osorio, who is chief mediator, saw Cols. Castillo Armas and Monzon separately. The Guatemalans then rested and Señor Osorio met with Messrs. McDermott and Peurifoy, Señor Peralta Salazar and Andrew Donovan, counselor of the United States Embassy here, a former political reporting officer in Guatemala.

A half hour later Mr. Peurifoy conferred with Col. Castillo Armas, whose insistence on having a new Government established in his way is believed to have held up what appeared to be a sure settlement late last night.

Mr. Peurifoy was understood to be particularly concerned, since the idea of bringing the parties together here had been attributed to him. Mr. McDermott had communicated the idea to President Osorio, who apparently reacted favorably at once.

In a radio address, Colonel Castillo Armas said he deeply desired the return of peace in his country. But he said he was "determined" that the "high ideals" that motivated his movement "do not fail of realization, regardless of the sacrifices we may have to make."

The insurgent chief said that although it was unfortunate that the much-awaited peace declaration had not yet been made, "I hope that the next twenty-four hours will see an adjustment of our differences."

He added that his forces fully realized that "the problem of

Guatemala had overleaped the nation's frontiers to become a problem of the America's."

Last night's meeting, which began a few minutes before 9 o'clock was fantastic both in setting and the way it shifted from apparent success at 10 P. M. to a confounding impasse at 3:30 o'clock this morning.

Bulletin Is Issued

Shortly after 10 P. M., Joaquin Caceres Caso, chief press aide for President Osorio, issued this bulletin:

"The talks between the two leaders, the President and the chairman of the National Assembly [Jose Maria Peralta Salazar] concluded at 10 P. M.

"At present, both chiefs are consulting with their technical assistants on details preliminary to reaching a definite declaration that would bring the problem to a solution.

"With Colonel Castillo Armas is Luis Coronado Lira [Secretary General of the provisional regime], Carlos Salazar, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government, and Maj. Enrique Oliva, its Minister of National Defense.

"With Colonel Monzon is Juan Ibarra and Eduardo Caceres Lenhoff [legal advisers].

Crowd Keeps Vigil

As time wore on the palace balcony took on the look of a courtroom, with the inevitable crowd awaiting a late verdict.

In one room waited Mr. Donovan and ranking diplomats of Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Venezuela. Mr. McDermott, who had stayed up all night, was not at the palace. Soldiers were on guard.

At 3:35 A. M. Señor Caceres appeared with another bulletin. It said:

"Both sides declare that they have extended the truce until 9 A. M. on July 2 to consider the various solutions that have been proposed toward the reaching of an agreement."

Colonel Castillo Armas, surrounded by questioners, said he planned to return to Chiquimula, headquarters of his provisional government, at 9 o'clock this morning. He said the "truce" went into effect at 8 o'clock last night. Although it was not put down on paper, he added, it is as binding as if it were written.

N. Y. N. T.

JUL 2 1954

WASHINGTON

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Why Guatemala Was Vital

WASHINGTON.

Those who knew what was at stake in the Guatemalan revolution were almost literally holding their breaths over the uncertain chain of events which are now leading to a good end. The greatest danger is over, Communism has been successfully denied a dangerous foothold in the Western Hemisphere.

The peril of allowing the Soviet Union to plant a headquarters for its conspiracy in the midst of this hemisphere can hardly be over-estimated. It was not easy to avert it. It has been averted—but with difficulty and with many anxious and uncertain moments.

The latest developments are encouraging:

The pro-Communist, pro-Moscow government of President Jacobo Arbenz fell on Monday—unable to resist the united pressure of the Latin-American nations and the gathering force of the anti-Communist rebel leader, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

Its obedient successor, a military junta headed by Col. Carlos Diaz, who appeared to be fronting for the pro-Communist Arbenz, fell on Tuesday for the same reasons.

The third Guatemalan government in three days—and every change appears more anti-Communist—assumed office on Wednesday. It ordered a cease-fire, accepted the terms offered by the counter-revolutionary forces and Colonel Armas will undoubtedly become a leading figure in the new regime. The Communists are out—decisively. They are either in jail, underground or fleeing.

The umbilical cord which bound Guatemala to the Soviet Union has been severed.

It would be a grave mistake to belittle the danger which has presently been averted or to assume that its return does not have to be vigilantly watched.

There are some who have tended to dismiss the danger as puny and petty—a little pro-Communist, pro-Soviet government in a little Latin-American country (3,500,000 people) with little power and little support, like a gnat on the back of your

wrist which could be brushed off at will.

No, that is the appearance but not the substance of what was at the point of fastening itself in the midst of the Western Hemisphere.

The pro-Communist Guatemalan regime had accepted \$10,000,000 worth of Soviet arms.

It offered a spreading base of operations for Soviet maneuver throughout Latin America.

It was amassing a military strength greater than all three of its surrounding neighbors

cont.

combined.

It was becoming a tight, disciplined, tyrannical dictatorship which would shortly have been in a position to begin its undermining operations among the other American nations whose governments are often weak and unstable.

The Guatemalan dictatorship would have been poison to the relations of all the hemisphere republics and a burrowing thorn in the side of the Organization of the American States.

You can never measure the power for disruption of a Communist regime by its size. There are only 6,000,000 members of the Communist party in the Soviet Union. The pro-Communist Arbenz government was dependent upon Soviet arms and was proving itself an obedient tool of Soviet policy and a planned springboard for Communist agents.

Much credit belongs to the O. A. S. (Organization of American States) for setting in motion the series of events which led to the downfall of the Arbenz government. A good clue to its importance is the fact that the Arbenz regime was working to the last to keep the O. A. S. from taking jurisdiction of the fighting in Guatemala. Its hope was to get the matter on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council where the Soviet veto could paralyze all action and where the Soviet delegate could busy himself mixing up the issues.

This maneuver failed. It failed because the Western Hemisphere republics were prescient enough to get into the U. N. charter the provision that first jurisdiction of any regional dispute should be with the regional organization, in this instance the O. A. S.

Through it all the United States has acted within the framework of the O. A. S. and has stood firmly on the principle that the American republics must act together to prevent Communist infiltration into the Western Hemisphere. The O. A. S. voted 18 to 1 to summon the foreign ministers into session and the prospects of collective sanctions against the Guatemalan regime was visibly imminent. With the mounting force of the internal resisters, this prospect was sufficient to put the pro-Communist dictatorship to flight.

There is reason to be longer with us.

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N.Y. Times
JUL 3 1954

Joy in the Capital

GUATEMALA, July 2 (AP)—Church bells rang, firecrackers burst and Guatemalans in fiesta mood draped the streets of their capital with blue and white pennants today to celebrate the end of the two-week-old war.

As crowds waited expectantly for the arrival of the new junta leaders from El Salvador, officials assured the country that Communist-led peasant uprisings were being brought under control. It was said that 400 Communists had been captured in a continuing crackdown. The police reported they had uncovered a complete list of the Guatemalan Communist movement that would help to quell the agrarian revolt quickly.

N.Y. Times

JUL 3 1954

PEACE PACT IN GUATEMALA

The first successful anti-Communist revolt since the last war was apparently brought to a conclusion when the two rebel leaders who overthrew the Communist-dominated Government in Guatemala signed a peace pact. This agreement, signed in San Salvador by Colonel Castillo Armas and Colonel Monzon in the presence of representatives of a dozen countries and the Vatican, establishes a new military junta, comprising both parties, to rule until new elections can be held under a new Constitution to restore democratic government.

In the circumstances this is as good a solution as can be expected. The officers in the junta have demonstrated their patriotism, and they have pledged themselves to wipe out the last vestiges of communism in the country. The junta now faces the task of restoring law and order, of restoring a sense of personal security, of leading the people back to peaceful work to repair the damage done. But the junta also faces two dangers which will challenge its capacity for statesmanship and unselfish service to the nation.

One of these dangers is that in fifteen days the junta is to elect a "permanent" chief, which could revive rivalries now buried and undo its work. The second is that Communist agitators are still trying to stir up revolts among peasants who, as in the early days of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, have been encouraged to seize land in the name of land reform, not knowing that the Communists would soon take it away from them, and who now try to defend their seizures. Only real land reform based on equity and justice to all can eliminate this danger and cut the ground from under the "agrarian Communists" who seek to transplant Mao Tse-tung's methods to Latin America.

N.Y. Times

JUL 3 1954

**GUATEMALA CHIEFS
VOW TO FIGHT REDS****New 5-Man Junta to Choose
President Within 15 Days—
Pledges Elections Later**

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

SAN SALVADOR, July 2—A traditional embrace between two colonels with tears in their eyes symbolized at dawn today the end of the civil war in Guatemala.

The men were Col. Elfego Monzon of the junta that succeeded the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, and Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, who led the revolt that started two weeks ago.

Under the accord, Colonel Monzon will continue as presiding officer of the expanded junta of five men. It was specified that within fifteen days—by July 17—the junta members would vote for a permanent President.

It was also agreed that as soon as a new constitution had been formulated, a popular vote for President would be held.

The joint declaration specifically provided that the insurgent forces would be incorporated into the regular army, and that together they would march to the capital city.

Colonel Castillo Armas, who left for Guatemala with Colonel Monzon this morning, is favored to emerge as junta chief. The other junta members are:

Colonel Monzon, who has already said his only desire is for peace and who has disavowed personal ambitions; Lieut. Cols. José Luis Salazar and Mauricio DuBois, who made up the second of the post-Arbenz juntas with Colonel Monzon, and Maj. Enrique Oliva, whom Col. Castillo Armas named Defense Minister in his provisional Cabinet.

With two United States Ambassadors present at the signing ceremony in the Presidential Palace, the Guatemalans declared:

"The fundamental end of the

revolutionary junta is to combat the communism that established itself in the Republic of Guatemala, and to organize a representative democratic government with full guarantees."

The accord also declared that since an identity of basic ideals existed between the armed forces of both sides, "their chiefs agree to weld them into a single unit, strong and honorable, which will root out communism from Guatemala for all time."

Sees Union Achieved

Both Cols. Castillo Armas and Monzon also referred to communism in brief speeches after the signing. The insurgent leaders said:

"A union has been achieved of the two powerful forces that were converging toward the patriotic end of being the exterminators of the subversive force of communism."

He said he was proud that his movement had been able put to "shameful and precipitate flight flight the communism and Communists of my country, who were going at full speed in their destructive and criminal task."

Colonel Monzon commented:

"We agree on the absolute cessation of hostilities and the unification both of the Guatemalan forces under our command and all the resources we have, in order to fight against the international communism that is our sole and common enemy."

A score of other diplomats present. The signing represented an unmistakable victory for United States policy, and particularly for John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador to Guatemala, who had taken an essential, difficult role in bringing it about.

Mr. Peurifoy, who flew here yesterday when it appeared that a fight over the junta leadership would wreck the settlement, declared: "I am very happy that these negotiations have come to a successful conclusion."

Final Series of Talks

After a day of inconclusive meetings, the final series of talks began late yesterday afternoon. The participants included the two Guatemalans and their legal aides, Mr. Peurifoy and Msgr. Gennaro Verolino, Papal Nuncio to Guatemala and El Salvador.

For El Salvador, whose mediation efforts were praised by all involved, the participants were President Oscar Osorio, Carlos Azucar Chaverz, Foreign Under Secretary, and Jose Maria Peralta Salzar, president of the National Assembly.

Col. Castillo Armas was known to have demanded the primary

executive role. But the formula that Mr. Peurifoy had largely developed and pushed for in the strongest possible measure consistent with the "good offices" of the United States eventually gained approval.

The scene of the culminating act was the Hall of Honor in the palace. Behind the rectangular negotiating table hung a portrait of Jose Manuel Arce Salvadorean liberator. The inscription on a document in his hand reads: "The Army will live as long as there is a republic."

In contrast to the diplomats and regular military men, one side of the room was cluttered with unshaven members of the insurgent forces, dressed in soggy suntans and with sub machine guns slung on their shoulders.

Two Leaders Embrace

Five copies of the final declaration were passed around the table for signatures. When this had been done, Colonels Monzon and Castillo Armas, unsmiling and in what seemed an agonizing personal tension, embraced while camera bulbs exploded.

Just as men separated, a large clock struck 5.

After the colonels' speeches came bursts of applause and the playing of the Guatemalan and Salvadorean anthems. The two leaders embraced again, even with more difficulty.

Probably the most moving exchanges were between Colonel Castillo Armas and the stubbled, ill-uniformed, still-armed men who had fought with him. His forces had begun to disband twelve hours after the final meetings opened.

Thus, as peace came to Guatemala, a new day began, possibly fraught with great significance for Central America.

G.S. Monitor
JUL 2 1954

Guatemala Truce Calls for Popular Elections

By the United Press

San Salvador, El Salvador

An agreement has been signed at the El Salvador Palace forming a new military junta for Guatemala, headed by Col. Elfege Monzon, chief of the existing junta, and Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the anti-Communist rebels.

Serving with them on the junta will be three other anti-Communist leaders: José Luis Cruz Salazar, Enrique Olivia, and Mauricio Dubois.

Under provisions of the truce agreement signed here, Colonel Monzon will serve as president of an interim government for 15 days while the junta arranges for elections to select a permanent president.

An announcement of the truce, which ended Guatemala's 14-day revolt against the Communist-tainted regime of re-

signed President Arbenz, said the new junta will concern itself with legislative and executive powers until a new constitution can be put in effect.

Popular Elections Slated

As soon as a new constitution has been drafted, the announcement said, popular elections will be held to fill positions in both the legislative and executive branches of government.

It was agreed that the revolutionary forces of Colonel Castillo, which forcer Señor Arbenz out of office, shattered communism's North American beachhead, and paved the way for the new junta, will march in triumph into the Guatemalan capital.

They will receive the plaudits of the population and will be incorporated into the country's regular armed forces.

This arrangement eliminated

the last stumbling block to the truce. The disposition of Colonel Castillo's forces was undecided in the night-long truce talks the night of June 30-July 1.

The agreement assures the end of hostilities, which previously had been only halted under a cease-fire arrangement, and establishes a "permanent peace."

Colonel Castillo agreed to dissolve the revolutionary government he had set up at Chiquimula.

Drive on Communism

The signed document said the main purpose of the insurgents was to drive communism from power in Guatemala and organize a democratic government.

Colonels Castillo and Monzon declared their intention to eradicate, once and for all, all Communist influences in the Central American republic.

The agreement was signed in the presence of the United States ambassador to Guatemala, John E. Peurifoy, and El Salvador's President Osorio.

The formal signing of the truce agreement wrote an end to 10 years of Communist efforts to organize a red state in the Western Hemisphere.

The real end came with the resignation of President Arbenz under pressure of the Castillo rebels.

The first maneuver following the Arbenz resignation was the formation of a do-nothing anti-Communist junta under the leadership of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz.

Junta Branded Fraud

Colonel Castillo accused it of being a Communist-coddling fraud. It fell within 24 hours when Colonel Monzon, a member of the junta, ousted Colonel Diaz, seized power, ousted and arrested the Communist leaders, and offered to negotiate with the rebel chieftain.

He ordered the arrest of all Communists on sight, freed political prisoners of the Arbenz regime, suppressed the daily Communist newspaper, and lifted the harsh censorship which had been imposed by the Communists and continued by Colonel Diaz.

Then Colonel Monzon requested a cease fire and the shooting ended June 29, 12 days after Colonel Castillo had crossed the border with the pledge to keep fighting until communism had been wiped out in Guatemala.

During the first talks it was reported that Colonel Castillo insisted on being president or head of a military junta, but finally agreed to Colonel Monzon as temporary leader.

N.Y. Times
JUL 4 1954

Communist Thunder to the South

The storm signals in Latin America are serious. Now our top job, says Mr. Berle, is to revitalize the hemisphere.

By ADOLF A. BERLE JR.

THE Guatemalan crisis is an event of prime importance. It foreshadows for the first time Asiatic-type operations conducted by Communists in the New World. Also it brings up forcibly the neglected duties of the United States toward Latin America.

The Guatemalan adventure is part of a larger picture. In narrow aspect, it stems from the work of an extremely clever Russian, Constantine Oumansky, wartime Soviet Ambassador to the United States, later transferred to Mexico and Guatemala. (Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull called him a "walking insult.") He hated America, and busily organized Communist forces in his new posts. One of these forces—a Communist-dominated labor organization—aided in making a meticulously detailed intelligence survey of the whole Central American region.

Then, in 1944, the Communists of Guatemala got their first clear chance. The thirteen-year sway of Guatemalan President José Ubico had come to an end and a "united front" Government emerged. A small but hard-working group of Communists secured a few key posts and set to work to organize. As in Asia, the primary targets of organization were students, intellectuals, labor and peasants.

The slogans—"Land to the peasants," "Down with American imperialism," and so forth—might have been imported direct from China. The United Fruit Company, a powerful American corporation operating large Guatemalan plantations, furnished a perfect symbol of "monopoly capitalism" of the United States. The movement spread to near-by Costa Rica. Oumansky was killed in an airplane crash in 1945; but his work went straight on.

PRESENTLY an event occurred which may yet prove a turning point in the long drama. In Costa Rica, Communists, operating under the name of the "Vanguardia Popular," got substantial power under President Teodoro Picado in 1944. But there was a fighting

liberal party, headed by American-educated José A. Figüeres, and advised by a fine-drawn Catholic priest, Padre Benjamin Nuñez, whose life had been devoted to the service of Costa Rican workers. It included a remarkable group of younger men trained in business, engineering, economics and law.

The Vanguardia Communists sought to take over the state, and in 1948 the Figüeres group took up arms. The Communists directed the defense of the Government. In a brief but bloody campaign, Figüeres drove out the Communists, set up a provisional government, held a free election which was won by President Otilio Ulate, and returned Costa Rica to its habitual democracy.

In 1953, Señor Figüeres stood for and was overwhelmingly elected President of Costa Rica. His liberals have pushed their own program of credit, education, organization of free trade unions, agrarian reform and support of farm prices. The measures have worked well. The Communists faded under the impact of what has been, thus far, a singularly successful piece of social engineering.

The liberal movement in Guatemala was not of comparable strength. There, the Communists steadily tightened their grip. Soviet-manufactured arms were shipped to the Arbenz Government, not for use of the Guatemalan Army (whose allegiance to a Communist regime was uncertain) but for distribution to "agrarian workers" who would form irregular forces in the Guatemalan jungles. (Similar shipments were made to the Filipino Communist irregulars known as Hukbalahaps, and to "agrarians" in Indochina and Malaya.) Arming the "people" is one of the last Leninist steps before setting up a proletarian revolutionary dictatorship.

From the Communist propaganda

ADOLF A. BERLE Jr., noted diplomat and lawyer, served as Assistant Secretary of State (1938-45) and Ambassador to Brazil in 1945-46.

line it is clear that their chief target in Latin America is the United States. Their second is, naturally, the large American commercial corporations, symbolized by the United Fruit Company.

Whatever its past, that company, in its recent phase, has handled itself extremely well. Its plantations have done more for the Guatemalan Indians and for Guatemalan agricultural labor than perhaps any other interest, local or American, in the region. Its dispute with the Costa Rican Government was settled by an impeccably handled negotiation, in which the Figüeres Government and the United Fruit Company

reached a constructive, common-sense compromise to everyone's satisfaction—except the Communists who wanted the quarrel, not the solution. But the Communists find United Fruit a useful bogey in Guatemala and throughout Latin America.

The third element in the Communist line—this coming recently from Moscow—is especially dangerous. Russian propaganda asserts that the United States was hostile to the Arbenz Government because it was "Indian," and sets up the United States as the enemy of the Indian in this hemisphere. This is a plain bid to let loose a race war far wider than Central America. Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, parts of Columbia, much of Central America and at least three-quarters of Mexico are predominantly Indian by blood.

The over-all Communist plan is to create another Malaya or Indochina in great parts of this hemisphere. Local Communists will spearhead it. The brains, propaganda and arms will come from the Soviet Union.

* * *

IF the United States is to understand the situation, a breach must be made in the ignorance in which Americans indulge about Latin America.

"Latin America" is a geographical expression, comprising twenty independent and quite different nations. Peru is no more like Uruguay than

Spain is like Switzerland. Haiti and Mexico are not even "Latin." From the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, the total population is roughly 165 millions—about equal to that of the United States—of which some 110 millions live on the South American continent, the remainder in Mexico, Central America and the Antilles. About 56 millions are Portuguese-speaking Brazilians, gathered in a single large country making up three-fifths of South America proper and more than a majority of its population.

In the past decade the twentieth-century technical revolution has hit Latin America at a galloping stride. Great cities have emerged in full modern panoply since World War II. Brazil's São Paulo, with a population of two million, virtually rebuilt itself in eight years, and compares favorably with any American city of like size. Caracas, in Venezuela, is a new city, in strength and beauty comparable to San Francisco, Calif. Lima, Peru, is no longer a living museum of past Spanish imperial glory; it suggests Pasadena.

SO throughout the entire continent; but there is a price to pay. American cities were built slowly, constructing their basic installations—water, electricity, roads, docks and so forth—for fifty years. To Latin America, construction of suddenly needed basic improvements in a few years proved an immediate and staggering problem. Its solution was not helped by American dollar inflation, which virtually doubled the price of American manufactures and heavy goods which Latin America must buy. Agricultural workers, aware of the new yeast in the cities, no longer are content to live in nineteenth-century plantation huts; they swarm to the towns.

Strains on capital supply, currency, foreign exchange and economic relations generally have become intense. Latin Americans have been endeavoring to bring this problem to the attention of the United States for the past nine years—with only sporadic tangible results. Loans have been granted, often for the wrong reasons; no thoroughgoing United States policy or plan has been worked out.

AS cities and industry have grown, the ancient and narrow class structure of an agricultural aristocracy has progressively dissolved. Latin Amer-

ican statesmen charge that the United States has wooed the hemisphere when it needed help—and has neglected the huge region at all other times. The charge has merit.

After World War II the United States stimulated the great relief program known as U. N. R. R. A. to ameliorate conditions chiefly in Europe, and asked Latin-American countries to chip in. There was irony in this. Conditions in Europe—bad as they were—were then better than conditions in many Latin-American countries—for example, Bolivia and Ecuador and Guatemala. The Marshall Plan was designed to stabilize and modernize economic conditions—again chiefly in Europe. Latin America, struggling to get out of the nineteenth century, was expected to fend for itself.

One difficulty is that, since Cordell Hull left the Department of State, top United States officials have been chiefly Europe-minded. We do not even have an Under Secretary of State for the Western Hemisphere. During one post-war period, American Ambassadors returning from Latin-American posts had the greatest difficulty even in reporting to the Secretary of State.

DIVERSITY and unsolved social and economic problems have not, thus far, prevented a surprising degree of hemispheric unity. This is due chiefly to an idealist political conception: it could not have been imposed by force. There is a feeling that all the Americas from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn are locked together in destiny (an old dream of the Spanish liberator, Simon Bolivar) and that they will eventually show the way toward peaceful organization of the world.

"Unity of the hemisphere" may be an elusive concept, yet it has proved real enough to enlist the support of Latin-American statesmen ever since 1823 when Bolivar expressed it, and President Monroe fostered it. It rallied the hemisphere in common defense in World War I, and again in World War II.

The inter-American community of nations has many times suffered attack and sometimes defeat. Yet it always returns as an ideal and a hope; and, at crucial intervals, it emerges as a major force. Now, we need it badly.

THE United States in recent years has made some diplomatic errors which must be repaired. Latin Amer-

ican statesmen charge that the United States has wooed the hemisphere when it needed help—and has neglected the huge region at all other times. The charge has merit.

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THE unity of the hemisphere was chiefly maintained by a handful of devoted individuals with wide connections and by a number of universities which worked endlessly at weaving the warp and woof of personal educational and organizational contacts. Official life ignored the region. Too often the American Embassies were ineffectively staffed. At the very end of the Truman Administration (the sins are bipartisan), Secretary of State Acheson visited Brazil. A leading paper in Rio carried a front-page cartoon of him in the costume of Cabral (the Columbus of Brazil) discovering an unknown continent.

Latin-American Governments are not to be handled by "buttering-up" or by striking "practical" deals. Obviously, friendly relations with Latin-American statesmen are needed. Unquestionably Latin Americans are shrewd business men and respect hard and

honest trading. But at bottom, Latin America—Portuguese, Hispanic, Indian, Negro—is idealist. Like other peo-

ples they can desert ideals, violate principles and make grievous mistakes. But their conception of politics and policy is essentially based not on expediency, but on principle and the men they respect are men of principle.

EVEN today, the real force holding the American hemisphere together is a general faith that Americans will make a new world in which nation-states, not able by themselves to solve the crushing twentieth-century problems, can find safety and fulfillment in a community which will safeguard their various heritages in a framework of common endeavor and common respect.

This was the hope when at the conference held at Chapultepec, Mexico, in 1945, the American Republics offered to the United States a regional alliance for common peace-keeping, committing all states to defend the hemisphere against outsiders. The United States Government, under the influence of Nelson Rockefeller, Senator Warren Austin and the writer, accepted the offer.

Incredibly, a serious attempt was made by the State Department to cancel the whole idea. Not until Secretary George Marshall and his great Under Secretary, Robert Lovett, revitalized the proceeding were the negotiations finally embodied in the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

The Rio Pact now is the basis of American defense—model and forerunner of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and of the proposed Pacific pacts. But after its signature, paralysis once more set in. There were men in the State Department who did their best to keep the hemispheric community vital—and got all too little support.

Today it is clear that revitalizing the hemisphere is the top American job. It is not secondary to Europe or Asia. It is basic. Unless it is done the United States will

be unable to do anything in either the Atlantic West or the Pacific Far East.

* * *

THE task is not easy. This is a three-cornered social problem. There are the obsolescent agricultural aristocratic classes. There are great uncommitted masses—white, Indian, Negro, mestizo—seeking opportunity. And there are nuclei of Communist class-war groups all over the hemisphere.

Where the workers in field and city can be brought into the context of twentieth-century opportunity, as the Cost Ricans are doing, the Communist problem is easily manageable. Failing in that, there could be a hemispheric class war—and the United States could find itself on the losing side, as it did in China. Whenever the Communists are unready, they move to support or create local, often corrupt, dictatorships, precisely to head off democratic action by the vast middle group.

This was why, for example, Gheoldi, the Argentine pro-Communist leader, was instructed to work with and not against the dictatorship of Juan Perón; and why, in 1945, Communists moved guardedly to encourage re-establishment of a Brazilian dictatorship.

IT will take more than diplomatic machinery and action to meet the issue now tendered. Diplomacy, at best, is upper-class business, while the deciding force here will be the tens of millions of workers, peasants, agricultural laborers, and small farmers—men and women who want a better life for their children and who want to enter the twentieth century.

For reasons of their own, they trust American teachers and intellectuals ahead of American business men, and are not convinced that bigger business operations automatically bring solutions. To them, a mere free vote, without context, means nothing. Goodwill, without action, is an empty phrase. They expect America to give effective lead as well as effective help; it is time the United States went to work on the problem.

N.Y. Times
JUL 4 1954

UNITED FRUIT COMPANY IS A VAST ENTERPRISE

Anti-Trust Suit, War in Guatemala Focus Attention on U. S. Firm

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

MEXICO CITY, July 3—The United Fruit Company is a business empire with total assets of \$579,342,000—one of the largest American companies in foreign operations.

The measure of the concern's vast scope was indicated in yesterday's anti-trust action by the United States Government against United Fruit Company as a banana monopoly. The hostility that the company has incurred in some Latin-American quarters has been evident in the civil conflict in Guatemala.

The United Fruit Company grows the major share of the world's marketable supply of bananas, mainly in the steamy tropical lowlands of Central America. It produces and ships well over half of the stems imported into the United States annually. This represents about 85 per cent of the company's banana business. The remainder goes mainly to the United Kingdom and Canada.

But bananas are only one phase of the vast complex of operations in which the United Fruit Company engages.

It grows and refines important amounts of sugar in Cuba and Jamaica. On Latin-American plantations it also produces cacao, molasses, oil palm, hardwoods and abaca, the fiber used to make manila hemp.

Railway Operations

It operates a total of 1,514 miles of railway in Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Panama, and it owns outright 1,486 miles of these railroads, along with all the locomotives and railway cars in use on the roads.

At the end of 1953, the company owned

ships — forty-nine fully refrigerated fruit ships, fifteen dry cargo ships and one oil tanker. Among its sixty-odd wholly or partly owned subsidiaries are Tropica Radio Telegraph Company, operating one of Latin America's biggest wireless communication businesses, and a company operating a fleet of steamers from England and Europe to Central and South America and the West Indies.

United Fruit owns about 3,000,000 acres of land in Latin America, the West Indies and the United States, but mainly in Co-

lombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, the Latin-American banana countries.

Incorporated in 1899

It takes many things to run a business like the United Fruit Company — including, as of the end of 1953, 57,000 head of cattle and nearly 20,000 horses.

United Fruit was incorporated in New Jersey in 1899. It was not always as big as it is today. But by consolidation or purchase, it acquired the properties and business of several other fruit and steamship companies operating in Central America and the United States. With the purchase of the Cuyamel Fruit Company and the Cortes Development Company in 1930, it achieved the basis for its present domination of the Latin-American banana business.

In the banana world, it is the United Fruit Company first and the rest nowhere. Standard Fruit, a \$20,000,000 company, is closest to it in the Latin-American picture.

Two Worlds

The nearly 100,000 employes

90,000 working in the tropics, live in a world of their own. It is, in fact, two worlds—one for the North American and top-graded local employes and the other for the tens of thousands of peasants who tend the plantations and the cattle, pick the bananas or labor at the thousand and one menial tasks involved in the daily running of the empire.

In many of the countries where it operates, the fruit company provides all the housing for its employes. Some of the housing is good and some is bad.

The company operates its own schools, hospitals, social services and recreation facilities, and these are usually better than the facilities available to anyone else in these countries.

A Guatemalan Government official in the midst of the last crisis between the company and the deposed Government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman said, "The fruit company is not as bad as we paint it and not as good as it pretends."

In Guatemala, as elsewhere in Latin America where the fruit company and the governments periodically fall into disputes, the past is still too close for Latins to judge the company dispassionately.

Guatemala is about as good an example as any of how the United Fruit Company has changed its behavior in Latin America. Most Latins will argue that even its present-day behavior is far from perfect, but they will also concede that it has improved tremendously.

Political Influence

In the "good old days," the United Fruit Company management would never have tolerated for so long a Government as unfavorable to it as was the Administration of Colonel Arbenz. It always had enough politicians in its pocket and enough money to buy the politicians to be sure of favorable long-term contracts, favorable labor relations and favorable Parliaments.

The welfare of its workers or the welfare of the country in which it operated was secondary. There were no unions for workers, no housing worthy of the name, no provision for the natives' future beyond the day put in working on the plantations.

This is the part of the past

that so many Latins refuse to forget about the company. The Communists in Latin-American countries have made this picture of the United Fruit Company as it operated in the past a major plank in their platforms.

Times have changed in Latin America, however, and the company has changed with them—perhaps not as fast as some people would like, but nevertheless changed for the better.

No one pays better wages in Latin America today than United Fruit. Few if any private companies spend as much money or energy in trying to return lasting benefits to the countries from which the company derives its profits. On one project alone, the Agricultural School in Honduras to train students from all Latin America, the company has spent more than \$5,000,000.

The days when the fruit company stood rigidly on the terms of some contract bought with favors have passed. Costa Rica provided a heartening example of the company's new policies this year. Amicable negotiations between the Costa Rican Government and the company led to revision of the contract so as to provide the Government with about 40 per cent of the profits obtained in Costa Rican operations.

Used as a Pawn

The same willingness to renegotiate had been expressed to the Guatemalan Government a long time ago and had been refused. Instead, Guatemalan officials preferred to use the company as a pawn in a Communist and nationalist game that used foreign business as a scapegoat.

What many Latins have been led to forget by the Communist or nationalist propaganda is that the United Fruit Company has tamed the jungle for them and has brought a measure of prosperity, even if they did not always share fairly in that prosperity. Where the company has been deprived of land, as in Guatemala, the jungle creeps back, for there is nothing, not even Government, big enough or rich enough in Central America to do the vital job of development that the company undertook.

Still, to many observers, the company often seems to have acted only reluctantly to right

what even many of its own people consider to be wrongs.

A case in point is the Honduran strike of the company's banana workers. Elsewhere in its operations the company has granted workers such things as vacations with pay, free medical service and other social benefits. But in Honduras, where there was no Government pressure to make these benefits available, the company lagged in the social service and labor relations program it has instituted elsewhere.

Rightly or wrongly, Latin-Americans believe that the fruit company opposes such social reforms as were instituted in Guatemala after the 1944 revolution threw over the company's good friend, the Right Wing dictator, Gen. Jorge Ubido. So long as this belief persists, it seems inevitable that the company will be more disliked than liked by the majority of articulate Latins.

Criticism of the United States State Department's relations with the United Fruit Company stems from this belief that the company is opposed to the Latin-American peoples' needed social and economic advances. A major criticism of the State Department is that it has identified itself too closely with the fruit company and that it has made Latins believe that what is considered good for the company is considered good for the United States, and vice versa.

Damage Claim

The best example of how Latins feel in this regard came recently in Guatemala, when United Fruit claimed \$16,000,000 damages for land expropriated by the Arbenz Government.

The claim was forwarded by the State Department with all the backing of the department behind it. This infuriated the majority of Guatemalans, including many of the most rabidly anti-Communist landowners, who had lost land themselves. They felt it unfair that the fruit company should be able to marshal the strength of the United States Government behind its claims when they had no one to give them support.

A large group thought it unwise that in such a ticklish political situation the State Department should be identified so closely with what practically all

Guatemalans believed to be an unjust claim.

Protective Intervention

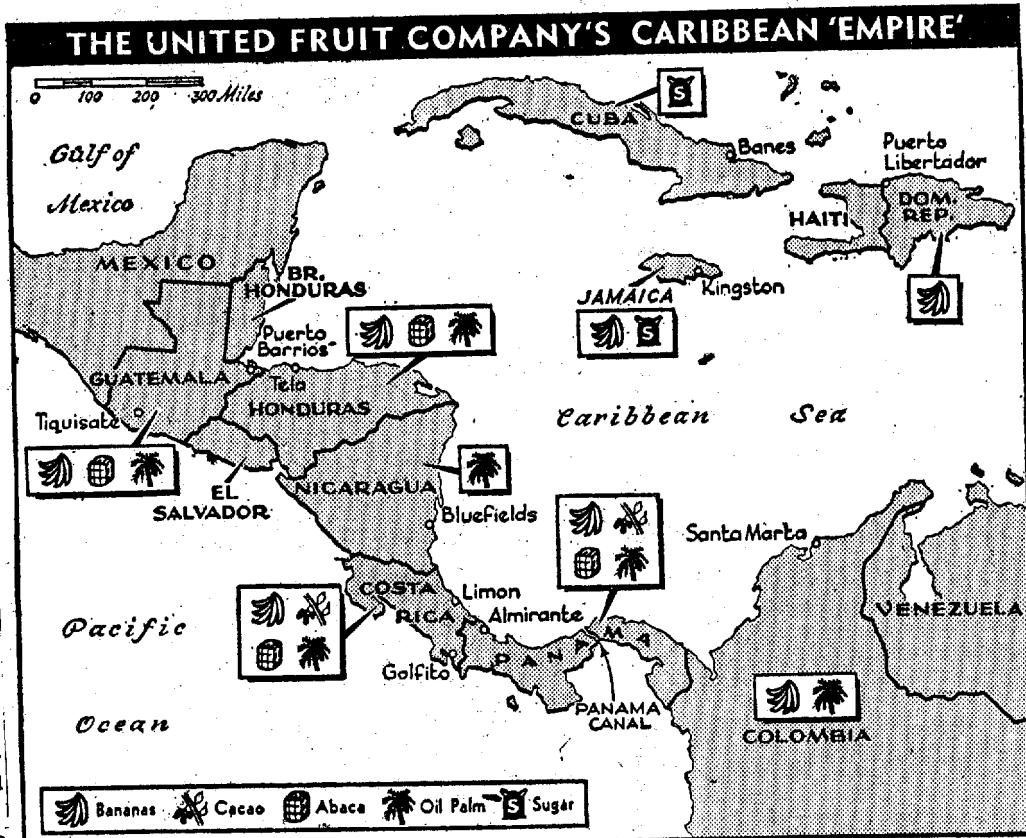
United States officials defend the department on the grounds that the fruit company is as entitled as any other American individual or American business to protection and the intervention of the United States Government when its interests have been abused. There is no other reason for the United States' concern, these officials say.

The United Fruit Company is bigger, financially, than any of the Governments with which it deals. Its very bigness is a han-

dicap to its Latin-American operations in these days of a rising nationalism that inevitably portrays United States big business in the worst possible light.

A Salvadorean recently summed up his feelings about the fruit company this way: "Thank God, we have no bananas."

That is a feeling the fruit company is laboring to break down. The fact that it has had only partial success is a measure of the increased efforts most people believe it must make to convince Latin-Americans that it is as interested in their welfare as in that of its 68,463 stockholders.



United Fruit has principal divisions at the cities and towns named on the map.

N.Y. Times
JUL 4 1954

GUATEMALA GIVES LEADER OF REVOLT ROUSING WELCOME

Castillo Armas Lands in Capital
—Junta Executes Honduran
Red for Assassinations

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 3—Col. Carlos Castillo Armas came home today.

Exactly two years from the day he landed in Bogota, Colombia, a political refugee with a price on his head, he came back to the capital of his country a hero and received a thunderous welcome.

It was a vastly different scene in Palace Plaza today from the one sixty-three days ago, when the Communist-led and directed May Day parade took place in front of the palace where Colonel Castillo Armas and the rest of the military junta stood this afternoon.

[Shortly before the arrival of the Guatemalan leaders, the junta announced the execution yesterday of Romulo Reyes Flores, a Honduran Communist lawyer for alleged assassination of anti-Reds while he was a Guatemalan judge, The Associated Press said. Reyes Flores was killed by a firing squad in the yard of the prison in the city of Guatemala.]

Last May 1, President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman stood on the palace balcony reviewing a parade that liberally depicted Uncle Sam as a bloody handed money grabber and posters generally advised: "Imperialist Yankees go home."

Castillo Armas Gives Pledge

From the same balcony where Colonel Arbenz addressed the throng on May Day, Colonel Castillo Armas addressed an even

larger one today. President Arbenz told the throng that "no force can change the course of present Guatemalan history." Colonel Castillo Armas told the crowd that "all my forces will continue in every moment henceforth, whatever the circumstances, to search for the well being of the majority of the people."

He referred to the works of the Arbenz regime as "the farce that has been taking place here."

Probably 25,000 persons jammed the plaza today and signs read: "Be alert to Communist gangrene." The reception was for the entire junta, and especially the group that had come from the peace conference in San Salvador that ended yesterday. But there was no mistaking for whom specifically the thousands had turned out.

There was an enormous picture of Colonel Castillo Armas in front of the palace. Signs and pennants bore the words "Welcome Castillo Armas."

While Col. Castillo Armas was addressing the throng, the man who spoke on May 1, Colonel Arbenz, must have been listening a half block away, from a park in the Mexican Embassy compound, where he is in political asylum.

Colonel Castillo Armas and his group arrived at 1:15 P. M. in the United States Embassy plane. He was accompanied by Col. Elfego Monzon and Maj. Enrique Oliva, two other members of the military junta, and Ambassadors John E. Peurifoy of the United States and José Alberto Funes of El Salvador. Also in the group was Msgr. Gennaro Belerino, papal nuncio, who assisted in the peace negotiations.

The group was welcomed by the other two members of the newly constituted junta, Lieut. Cols. Luis Cruz Salazar and Mauricio de Bois.

The three miles from the airport to the city were lined with crowds so thick that the cavalcade switched to another route. It roared through the center of the city escorted by cars filled with machine gun carrying soldiers.

As the cavalcade entered Palace Plaza the bells of the cathedral at one end of the plaza began ringing. It was from this cathedral that Archbishop Mariano Rosell Arellano sounded last April a powerful challenge to communism and asked that the Guatemalans "arise to a man to overthrow the Communists."

Correspondents Reach City

GUATEMALA, July 3 (P)—A band of weary, ragged-looking foreign correspondents arrived here today after an overland journey from Chiquimula, rebel headquarters of Colonel Castillo Armas.

Twelve reporters and a cameraman—nine Americans, two Britons and one Frenchman—made the 125-mile journey at a nine-mile-an-hour clip in a rickety bus.

Most of the correspondents aboard had ridden mules and walked over mountains for two days from Honduran border towns to reach Chiquimula in eastern Guatemala.

The bus pulled out of Chiquimula shortly after Colonel Castillo Armas had returned to his headquarters from the signing of the peace pact in San Salvador.

Ten minutes after departure, the bus was rammed in the side on a narrow mountain road by a truck loaded with rebels hastening to Chiquimula. The only damage was broken glass.

The first tense moment came as the bus pulled up to a sentry post of Guatemalan soldiers at the bridge leading to Zacapa—a key rail center that was to be the next rebel objective if truce negotiations had failed. But the soldier in charge read the safe conduct letter and waved the bus on.

General Talks With Rebel Chief

Special to The New York Times.

SAN SALVADOR, July 3—An important political incident went unnoticed to all but a few persons at the airport here today when Colonels Castillo Armas and Monzon left for Guatemala.

Among those who greeted and talked with Colonel Castillo Armas was Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, who ran second to Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in the Guatemalan Presidential election in 1950.

General Ydigoras Fuentes was at one time chief of the Opposition to President Arbenz, but apparently took no active part in the Castillo Armas revolt.

Before leaving for Guatemala, Colonel Castillo Armas returned to his field headquarters at Chiquimula, Guatemala, and to his rear headquarters and residence in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, where his wife and his mother waited.

He visited the two places Friday. During the morning he spoke briefly over the "liberation radio network," which announced that its operation would cease after his speech.

Order to Shoot Police Reported

TAPACHULA, Mexico, July 3 (UP)—Three refugee officers of

the Guatemalan National Police said today that their country's new military government had ordered policemen shot on sight.

Juan Flores, Ramiro Osorio and Carlos Garcia Paredes, who entered Mexico yesterday with a plea for asylum from "enemies who want to assassinate us," were brought here today for questioning.

They said the military junta headed by Colonel Elfego H. Monzon had stationed armed troops around the embassies in the city of Guatemala, traditional havens for the country's political refugees.

N.Y. Times
JUL 4 1954

GUATEMALAN RULE VIEWED AS UNSURE

Colonels Who Head the Junta
Have Deep-Seated Issues
That May Divide Them

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 3—Two strong men in the new Guatemalan military junta, and the two who undoubtedly will have an eventual struggle for supreme power, are Colonels Carlos Castillo Armas and Elfego Monzon.

Their relationship, reasonably amiable, has been subjected to severe strains over the last few years. It was noted during the peace negotiations this week in San Salvador that there was distinct formality between them, especially after the negotiations had finally been concluded.

Both are career army men. There seems little doubt that both are motivated in their present actions by a sense more of patriotism than of personal ambition.

However, the factors that would tend to set them against each other and that will require infinite tact and patience to overcome are numerous and deeply rooted.

First among these are the personal ambitions of the officers backing each of the two. Both are short men, Colonel Castillo Armas on the wiry side and Colonel Monzon stocky. Both speak in pleasantly modulated voices,

cont.

but Colonel Castillo Armas speaks so low on occasion that he is difficult to understand.

Officers such as Col. Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, who fled Guatemala and a secure career in order to become head of Colonel Castillo Armas' air operations, will obviously be looking for advancement over officers who remained here in a cause that eventually was to be a losing one.

Castillo Armas Long in Exile

Furthermore, there is likely to be in Colonel Castillo Armas' mind the fact that he worked long in exile with a price on his head to bring off the revolution, while Colonel Monzon served in a comfortable position in the Arbenz Cabinet.

Colonel Castillo Armas escaped military prison and probable execution to set in motion the revolution that was to cast off President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and his regime, and break the nine-year grip of communism on Guatemalan affairs. He was arrested in November, 1950, after a military uprising here and was later sentenced to death for treason. He and others tunneled their way to freedom on June 1, 1951.

Colonel Castillo Armas gained political asylum in the Colombian Embassy here. He later went to Colombia and from there to Honduras, where he planned the revolution.

Colonel Castillo Armas was born in Santa Lucia Cotzumalcuapa, Escuintla Department, on Nov. 4, 1914, son of a comfortably rich planter family. He got a secondary education in the technical industrial school here and entered Escuela Politecnica, Guatemala's West Point, as a gentleman cadet.

He received a diploma in the School of Applied Tactics and was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery on June 30, 1936. He studied military tactics and logistics at Fort Leavenworth from July, 1945, to February, 1946.

Lectured at West Point

Prior to that he was one of

the Guatemalan representatives in bilateral talks on military matters between the United States and Guatemala.

In 1947 he spent three weeks at West Point lecturing on the organization of Escuela Politecnica, of which at that time he was director.

Colonel Castillo Armas speaks English haltingly. He has been since his earliest army days a friend and admirer of the United States.

Colonel Monzon was born in Santa Barbara on May 5, 1912, of a moderately well-off family. He entered Escuela Politecnica as a gentleman cadet on July 19, 1931. He was graduated in December, 1934, as a second lieutenant of infantry. He finished at the top of his class.

In July, 1946, he received a diploma in the Military School of Instructors. He became a lieutenant colonel in February, 1949, and a colonel in September, 1952. The colonelcy is the highest rank in the Guatemalan armed services.

In December, 1951, Colonel Monzon received the Order of Merit and in September, 1952, the Medal of Constancy in Service.

He is known for his vigorous anti-communism. He was removed from his position as Interior Minister under President Juan José Arévalo after having closed the Jacobo Sanchez Communist school here in September, 1950.

He continued on under President Arévalo as minister without portfolio and took the same position in the Arbenz Cabinet. His position called for liaison between the Cabinet and the military, and brought him close to army-civilian politics.

Wash. Evening Star
JUL 5 1954

U.S. Flies Medical Supplies For Guatemalans

By the Associated Press

The Government yesterday announced a \$25,000 shipment of medical and pharmaceutical supplies is being flown from New York to Guatemala City for use if needed "to alleviate sickness and distress" among the Guatemalans.

In making the announcement, Foreign Operations Administrator Harold E. Stassen said supplies in Guatemala may have been dislocated by recent revolutionary activities there.

A spokesman for Bauer & Bauer, Englewood, N. J., manufacturers of surgical dressings, said the shipment contained 368

cases of surgical dressings, tape, gauze, bandages, surgical sponges and plaster bandages for making casts.

N.Y. Times
JUL 5 1954

POLITICAL DEATHS MAY EXCEED TOLL IN GUATEMALA WAR

**75 Bodies of Executed Foes
of Arbenz Regime Found—
People Unsure of Future**

By **PAUL P. KENNEDY**

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 4—Evidence is piling up that the number of persons executed in Guatemala for political reasons exceeded the number of battle fatalities in the fourteen-day revolution.

Already, more than seventy-five bodies, most of them bearing evidence of torture, have been discovered in three mass graves within fifty miles of the capital. Estimates of battle casualties do not go above 100 killed.

[The new anti-Communist regime ordered out troops to mop up peasant bands still reported raiding villages and highway transport, The United Press said. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the revolution, said he was "gravely concerned" over guerrilla activity.

[Guatemala's five-man junta was recognized by El Salvador, the first nation to do so. El Salvador was the scene of negotiations between the rival Guatemalan groups.]

This morning the nation awakened to its first day of reasonably normal living since June 8.

That was the day on which civil liberties were officially suspended and a police state long in the making became a fact.

Actually the June 8 date is a vague one. The civil liberties suspended by decree by the Communist-infiltrated Government of former President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman mostly had been disregarded a week before. There had been mass arrests and people had begun to talk in whispers.

Yesterday, the capital joyously welcomed home Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, a political exile for three years, whose revolutionary forces overthrew the Arbenz regime and broke Communism's nine-year grip on Guatemalan affairs. His return was the high point of a bewildering week in which five successive governments had taken over.

There is hope—a rather desperate hope—that his return and the new five-man military junta, of which he is a member, will bring permanent peace and a return to prosperity. But realists foresee power struggles ahead and still more turmoil before complete normality returns.

Here is a brief chronology of events that led to the revolution:
June 3—Suspension of constitutional guarantees, including freedom of speech, press and assembly.

June 10—The Government announced a huge plot. Eighty army officers conferred with Señor Arbenz on his views about retaining Communists in high positions.

June 11—Political arrests were placed at 325 in the capital alone.

June 12—Three political parties, including the communists, and two labor confederations pledged renewed support to Señor Arbenz.

June 13—Maj. Rogelio Cruz Were, civil guard chief, began to give arms to radical Revolutionary party youth brigades and members of the Communist-infiltrated General Confederation of Peasants. Leonardo Castillo Flores, secretary general of the peasant group, ordered mobilization rehearsals.

June 14—Arms and munitions were reported dropped by parachute in southern and eastern sections of the country.

June 16—Senor Arbenz held an extraordinary Cabinet meeting. Political arrests in the country were put at more than 800. The capital had its first blackout.

June 17—It was learned that John E. Peurifoy, United States Ambassador, had been approached by intermediaries to consult with President Arbenz in an effort to stave off the revolution. Mr. Peurifoy refused, explaining that he could not deal with intermediaries.

June 18—Guillermo Toriello, Foreign Minister, announced that the battle for Guatemala began the previous night with the bombing of gasoline stores at San Jose, on the Pacific coast. A land invasion began in the afternoon.

They began to move from Honduras to Guatemalan territory.

Three jump-off points and the rebels' immediate objectives were: from Nuevo Ocotepeque to Esquipulas, from Copan to Chiquimula and from San Pedro Sula to Puerto Barrios.

Two of these objectives were achieved, Esquipulas and Chiquimula. Puerto Barrios was fought for, but the rebels were driven out. However, they took an airstrip, the town of Morales and the railway-shipping center of Bananera.

There was a general misconception of the size of these actions. The first force, as at Nuevo Ocotepeque, consisted of fewer than 100 men, some of whom had no shoes. They were well armed, however, with single-action rifles, Madsen sub-machine guns, hand grenades, mortars and some light artillery.

The plan was to recruit and arm peasants and laborers as the rebels advanced. This was generally successful.

The rebels' field strength was estimated at fewer than 2,000 men, and the government's at 5,000. The biggest concentration of rebel troops was in preparation for the clash at Zacapa. This fight was set for last Tuesday, when the scheduled cease-fire was ordered. About 1,100 rebel troops were poised at three points south and west of the town.

At the fight for Chiquimula, June 24, which lasted four hours, the insurgents put their losses at five killed, against twelve for the Government.

Following is a chronology of the war after the invasion:

June 19—Esquipulas and Lela Chanco, in Chiquimula Department, and Morales and Bananera, in Izabal Department were captured.

June 20—A rebel commando force of about fifty, attempting to draw off garrison troops in Zacapa met heavy Government forces for the first time. They took the town but were driven out after an hour. The heaviest air raid was made on the capital, with two P-47's strafing gasoline storage tanks and knocking out a radio station.

June 21—Government forces announced the capture of a launch attempting a seaborne landing at Puerto Barrios. A rebel land attack on the port was also repulsed.

June 23—The capital had its first day without an air raid and its first night without a blackout since June 17, giving rise to reports that the war was near an end.

nera recaptured by the Government. Two P-47's raided the capital, strafing the National Palace and bombing Matamoros fortress.

June 27—President Arbenz resigned, turning over power to a military junta headed by Col. Enrique Diaz.

June 28—A military junta was formed with Colonel Diaz as president. A state of siege was decreed. The Workers party (Communist) was outlawed. The capital had its longest air raid.

June 29—A new military junta was formed with Col. Elfego Monzon as president and including Lieut. Cols. Luis Cruz Salazar and Mauricio DuBois. A cease-fire was agreed upon. Political amnesty was granted. An order was broadcast for the arrest of top Communists.

June 30—Agrarian uprisings began in Esquintla and spread to Santa Rosa Department. An order was broadcast for the arrest of Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Communist leader who was prominent in agrarian reform and was believed to have organized uprisings.

July 1—Peace talks broke down in San Salvador. Ambassador Peurifoy flew there.

July 2—A peace pact was signed in the early morning.

July 3—The new leader returned from Salvador and were joyously greeted.

Troops Ordered Out
GUATEMALA, July 4 (UP)—The new anti-Communist Government ordered out troops today to mop up bands of peasants still reported raiding highway transport and small villages.

The military junta directed garrisons to arrest and disarm any peasants found carrying weapons in areas where the raiding had taken place. The orders were sent both to the regular army and the forces of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas. More than 300 armed peasants have been captured since hostilities ceased.

Colonel Castillo Armas, whose revolution toppled the pro-Communist regime, said he was "gravely concerned" by guerrilla activity, particularly in the Puerto Barrios area.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, JULY 6, 1954

Executions Reported

Guatemala's Junta Digs Up Evidence of Red Atrocities

By United Press

GUATEMALA CITY, Guatemala, July 5—Evidence piled up today that the deposed regime of former President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman carried out a Nazi-style reign of terror and death before collapsing.

The new five-man military junta headed by Col. Efraim Moron ordered troops to round up and punish officials responsible for the mass political atrocities.

Dozens of pro-communist officials and civil guard officers were reported under arrest while others were attempting to flee across the borders.

MASS GRAVES

Mass graves of at least 50 victims of the Red terror were uncovered at Esquintla, still a center of communist resistance, and other villages outside the capital.

Some of the officials responsible for the mass murders were reported executed by the junta's firing squads.

The only widely known executed official was Romulo Reyes Flores, a former Honduran known as the "hanging judge." He was shot to death last Thursday at Salama Prison, where the bodies of several of his victims had been recovered.

Army and rebel troops of Col. Carlos Armas were ordered to mop up bands of pro-communist peasants armed by the Arbenz regime. They were reported to be still raiding highway transport and terrorizing small villages. More than 300 have been captured since the revolt ended last Tuesday.

Col. Castillo Armas, who wanted a bloodless revolution, turned a Fourth of July celebration for Americans in Guatemala City into a victory demonstration yesterday when he appeared at a party given by U. S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy.

More than 500 guests cheered Col. Castillo Armas and congratulated him for carrying out the revolution and getting rid of the Arbenz regime.

Col. Castillo Armas' aides disclosed that the rebels held back a fleet of surplus American-made fighter bombers that could have devastated Guatemala City during the revolt.

The rebel leader told newsmen he limited his air offensive to constant attacks by four light Cessna mono-planes over the capital for psychological purposes.

Wash. Evening Star
JUL 6 1954

Guatemalan Regime Spurns Russians, Makes Bid to West

By the Associated Press

GUATEMALA, July 6.—Guatemala's new government has turned its back on the Communist world in a bid to get on better terms with its Western Hemisphere neighbors.

Elfego Monzon and Carlos Castillo Armas, top colonels in the five-man junta, told a news conference yesterday their administration would reverse the policy of the ousted government of ex-President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and would refuse to deal with the Soviets or their Iron Curtain allies.

The colonels said Guatemala also would rejoin the Organization of Central American States and support the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

Bid for Recognition.

This was considered an appeal for diplomatic recognition. So far two countries—Costa Rica and El Salvador—have served notice they will take up formal relations with the five-day-old military regime.

The leftist Arbenz government dropped out of Central American Organization last year, accusing the other members of aggressive intentions toward Guatemala. Six weeks before Col. Castillo's anti-Communist revolution toppled Arbenz from power, his government received a \$10 million arms shipment from behind the Iron Curtain. Guatemala also now has diplomatic relations with Communist Czechoslovakia.

Col. Monzon, who is titular head of the junta until it elects a permanent chief July 17, said yesterday the police have completely filled the country's jails with 2,000 Communist suspects and now are preparing new places of confinement.

1,000 Hide in Embassies.

Col. Monzon said 1,000 persons have taken refuge in foreign embassies. The case of each of these will be studied, he said, and no safe conducts out of the country will be granted for any persons wanted for crimes.

He said no request for safe

N.Y. Times

JUL 6 1954

AS GUATEMALA SETTLES DOWN

The immediate future of the Government in Guatemala is certain only in one respect, that it will not be Communist. It will be anti-Communist because the offenses of the pro-Communist Arbenz regime have now been revealed, because popular sentiment—in so far as it can be ascertained—has veered away from communism, because there is now sufficient anti-Communist force within the country, and because there is political and economic pressure among the American States to keep communism out.

A struggle for power there has been and no doubt will continue to be among those who stand against the Communists. We can hope that this struggle will be bloodless and that Colonel Castillo Armas and Colonel Monzon will compose their differences and agree on procedure for an orderly election. There will be trouble enough, according to latest reports, in cleaning out the Communist guerrillas in the Puerto Barrios area on the Atlantic, on the Pacific Coast

conduct has been made by Arbenz, who is in the Mexican Embassy.

The colonels announced they would suspend the national land law, under which Arbenz cut up and redistributed large land holdings, until a new constitution is drafted. They said, however, public works projects started under the old government will be continued and social gains consolidated.

The junta announced formation of a cabinet to function under the five military chiefs.

near San José, and perhaps elsewhere.

This country has already shown its sympathy by sending a small shipment of medical supplies and material to Guatemala City. Senator Smathers of Florida suggests that we follow this up by increasing our technical aid to Guatemala and other Latin-American countries. We could do this without much trouble, for the amounts involved are relatively small. More importantly, we should make a new study of our whole system of economic and political cooperation with our Latin-American neighbors. Kind words will not suffice. If we are to take a hand in such episodes as the Guatemalan crisis—and we have done so and will do so in the

future—we must do it in full understanding with the countries affected. We can't dictate, we must not meddle, but we can work together with our neighbors in a spirit of mutual fellowship.

If we do these things we have a right to expect something in return. This is that revolts against the tyranny of the Left shall not bring in a tyranny of the Right. Guatemala is in need of reforms which will give the peasant—who makes up 90 per cent of the population—more freedom and more of the world's goods. Communism promises these reforms, but never produces them. The final answer to communism in Guatemala is a genuinely liberal, democratic Government in Guatemala City.

N.Y. Times
JUL 7 1954

Guatemala Freezes All Property Of Leaders of the Ousted Regime

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 6—All new constitution would not "be property belonging to the most prepared hurriedly." prominent figures of the overthrown regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was frozen today by official decree. The order included cash, stocks and bonds.

Among those affected were Señor Arbenz, Guillermo Toriello, his Foreign Minister, and some of the wealthiest persons in the country.

Another decree published by the five-man governing junta limited suffrage to literate persons. Guatemala's illiteracy rate is about 73 per cent of her 3,000,000 population. The decree emphasized that the fundamental characteristics of an authentic democracy included suffrage by responsible citizens.

It said further that while constitutional order was being re-established and a new Constitution prepared, it was necessary to adopt certain provisional measures to regulate relations between the Government and the people.

In the past, government parties had used illiterate to further their political strength. The illiterate vote invariably had tipped the scales in favor of Government candidates.

It was said that all existing laws that did not hinder security measures taken by the Junta would remain in effect, including guarantees of life, liberty and equality.

Col. Enrique Monzon, Junta president, said yesterday that the

new constitution would not "be prepared hurriedly."

The move to freeze funds did not come as a surprise, since Colonel Monzon made this intention clear in a press conference yesterday. Since taking over, the new regime has been investigating misuse of Government funds by officials of the former Government. Auditors have been examining the books of all Government banking institutions to determine whether funds have been taken to foreign countries.

Among those whose assets have been frozen were: Juan Jose Arevalo, former President, and his two brothers, Javier and Mariano; Jorge Toriello, both of the former Foreign Ministry; Carlos Leonidas Acevedo, president of the Institute of Development and Production; Alfonso Bauer Paiz, president of the Agrarian Bank; Rogelio Cruz Wer, former police chief, and Jaime Rosenberg, former chief of secret police.

The last-named pair have fled to Mexico and their extradition has been requested on criminal charges.

Others on the list were:

Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, former Interior Minister; Alfonso Martinez, head of the Agrarian Department; Humberto Gonzalez Juarez, private secretary to Senor Arbenz; Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, former head of the armed forces; Roberto Fanjul, former Minister of Economy; Leonardo Castillo Flores, chief of the national peasants' federation;

Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Communist Congressman and leader of the Confederation of Labor; Julio Estrada Delahoz, Congressman and leader of the Revolutionary Action party, and Jose Manuel Fortuny, founder of the Communist party.

The junta appointed the following Cabinet:

Foreign Affairs—Carlos Salazar.

Interior—Adan Serrano.

Economy—Hector Giocolea.

Public Education—Miguel Angel Asturias.

Agriculture—Lieut. Col. Ariel Rivera Siliezar.

Defense—Lieut. Col. Enrique Closse de Leon.

Finance — Lieut. Col. Raul Rosal.

Public Health—Carlos Sosa Barillas.

Public Works—Martin Prado Velez.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1954

Hunger and Illiteracy Still Flourish Latin Reds Are Set Back but They're Not Defeated

By CHARLES LUCEY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

GUATEMALA CITY, July 7—Communism is the rare force in Latin American that doesn't knock off for the 12-to-2 siesta. It never stops.

That's why, altho the revolution has eased the pressure, the communist threat continues down this way.

Communism has been set back in Central America, but not defeated. And in many countries the root causes which let it flourish—illiteracy and poverty—weigh down millions.

In Central America millions never have laced on shoes. Social advance can be as simple as moving from a dirt-floor hut to one with a few slabs of galvanized tin for overhead cover.

ALL OR NOTHING

These are countries of very rich and very poor. Sometimes, there scarcely is a middle class. The thousands who work for American interests here usually are the best paid in each country. And even they often live at bare subsistence level.

Catholic Archbishop Mariano Rossell Y Arellano called the turn this week. He called for social reform as the best way to fight the communists and warned communism may emerge again "if we do not improve the living conditions of workers and peasants."

Almost certainly the overthrow of the Arbenz regime here has slowed the communist drive in other Central American countries.

HONDURAS

But cross the Guatemalan border in Honduras a communist-spawned strike has paralyzed the country for three months. Observers have said that unless the anti-communists

day could be another Guatemala. A presidential election this fall, holding the possibility of a political deal with the Reds for workers' votes, gives the communists a trading position.

COSTA RICA

In Costa Rica, communists have dominated the labor movement and threaten to increase their strength unless the opposition recognizes that labor unions are bound to come and that the smart thing is to get anti-communists at the head of the unions. Many in Latin America charge President Jose Figueres of Costa Rica with a soft feeling for communists; he professes opposition to Marxism but adherence to the non-communist left.

NICARAGUA

In Nicaragua, where President Anastasio Somoza runs a one-man show, the Reds are persistent and resourceful. Despite vigorous government opposition Reds are numerous and Mr. Somoza finds it impossible, with all his power, to keep out their propaganda.

EL SALVADOR

In El Salvador, the Ossorio regime fights the Reds. But there is almost no middle class here; most of the 2,000,000 Salvadoreans are very poor. It is fertile ground for communism.

What are the commies peddling down here?

In Guatemala their main pitch was on agrarian reform. Everyone agreed it was overdue. The communists

of nationalism and a latent envy of the United States as the big guy who has everything, and with resentment against the so-called business imperialism of the American-owned United Fruit Co.

The little Indian who got a few acres out of it liked this. Whether expropriation was run fairly or not didn't interest him. The communists took credit, of course.

The communists organized labor unions. They got their fists into the social security program and exploited other economic and social ills.

CHIEF WHIPPING BOY

Inevitably, because of the vast United Fruit Co. Latin American holdings, it weighs in any look at this area. It is the chief political whipping boy. To thousands United Fruit means the United States. Americans down here criticize it for backwardness in labor relations, for paying too little attention to sovereignty of small countries, and other things. It's a fact the fruit company pays better wages and provides better houses and care for its workers than they would get elsewhere. Its public relations in selling this seem especially poor.

You get an argument today on whether United States prestige climbed or slipped in the overthrow of Guatemalan communism. The United States would have been a laughing stock if the Armas affair had fizzled, because the commies had identified the United States with revolution. Yet sovereignty is precious here and intervention cause for bitter resentment.

N. Y. MIRROR
JUL 7 1954

Saw Many Killings, Says 'Chief Red Executioner'

By ROBERT PRESCOTT

GUATEMALA CITY, July 6 (UP).—A former "chief executioner" for the Guatemalan Communists said Tuesday that before the Red regime fell he saw "huge mounds" of murdered anti-Reds piled in secret police headquarters.

Former civil guard Sgt. Reginaldo Achila confessed to members of the new anti-Communist government that he tortured political prisoners for the Reds, but denied he took part in any murders.

HE ADMITTED, however, he witnessed "many murders" by the Red secret police. Rebel officers said they know that more than 400 murders were committed by the Reds during the regime of pro-Communist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

Former Police Chief Rogelio Cruz Wehr and secret police head Jaime Rosenberg were the men who ordered the torture and murder of the anti-Red political prisoners, he said.

Cruz Wehr and Rosenberg fled Guatemala before the rebels overthrew the government, but about 2,000 other suspected Communists

have been jailed. Rebel chief Col. Carlos Castillo Armas has promised "swift justice" for the Reds.

ACHILA SAID that most of the murdered persons he saw in secret police headquarters had been drowned in bath tubs by a team of Red "executioners" who held the victims heads under until they were dead. The rebels charge Achila was the "chief executioner" with 19 aides.

The tortured bodies of victims of the Red purge reportedly have been found in mass graves by the rebels in Esquintla, Antigua, San Lucas and in the outskirts of the capital.

Other persons still are missing, including 32 rebel prisoners of war taken during the fighting on the eastern front. It is feared by rebel authorities that these men have been killed to hide evidence of their torture by the Reds.

N. Y. H. T.

JUL 8 1954

Asylum Strain On Embassies

GUATEMALA CITY, July 7 (AP).—The thousand or more supporters of the Arbenz regime who obtained diplomatic asylum here have imposed a severe strain on the foreign embassies which must house and feed them.

The Mexican Embassy is harboring the largest number—560, including former President Jacobo Arbenz. El Salvador is sheltering 170, Argentina 168, and scores are lodged in the embassies of Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia and Ecuador.

M. Y. H. T.

JUL 8 1954

Guatemala Junta Bans Outflow of Currency

By Homer Bigart

By Wire to the Herald Tribune
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GUATEMALA CITY, July 7.—

Tight currency controls were imposed by Guatemala's ruling junta this morning to prevent Communists, pro-Communists and other supporters of the regime of former President Jacobo Arbenz from leaving the country with dollars and quetzals. The assets of 100 persons regarded as enemies of the new regime were frozen by a previous decree.

Under the new order, money can be exported only by obtaining a license from the new Finance Minister, Raul Reina Rosal.

Showing continued concern over security, the five-man military junta extended for thirty days the suspension of civil liberties—freedom of assembly, speech and the press—and the decree authorizing search and arrest without a warrant.

Simultaneously the junta announced last night the ending of the state of siege, formally lifting the 8 p. m. to dawn curfew.

The thirty-day extension of the curtailment of liberties was considered necessary because of the continued search for Communists, refugees and criminals, plus the fact that virtually the entire male adult population seems to be armed.

Much under-surface tension will continue, at least until the junta selects its permanent president. A power clash between Col. Elfege Monzon, temporary President, and Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the rebel leader whose insurrection toppled the Communist-supported Arbenz regime, is widely predicted by Col Castillo's followers.

Meanwhile, Army circles are nettled by the proprietary air assumed by heavily armed rebel groups. Col. Castillo's house has been converted into a virtual fortress. Automobile traffic

past the residence is prohibited whenever the rebel leader is at home.

Election of a new junta must be held before July 17, according to the San Salvador peace agreement signed by Col. Monzon and Col. Castillo. Col. Castillo's lieutenants, who had been predicting an early showdown, with the rebel leader taking over the Presidency by the week end, are now saying the election will be held Monday.

Still a hero to the capital, Col. Castillo has been suffering from the fact that he is a shy, hesitant speaker, unlike Col. Monzon, who has had considerable experience in government. As Minister of the Interior under the 1945-'51 revolutionary regime of former President Jose Arevalo, Col. Monzon closed the Communist magazine "Octubre" and shut down Communist indoctrination schools. Censured by Congress for this, he resigned in 1950.

Col. Monzon was surprisingly reappointed Minister Without Portfolio under the Arbenz government, but there is no evidence that he supported that regime's Red tendencies.

\$1,000,000 Sought

GUATEMALA CITY, July 7 (AP).—Guatemalan authorities were trying today to find out what happened to \$1,000,000 in public funds. The national treasurer in the Arbenz regime said he turned the money over to former President Arbenz's successor.

A deposition by the ex-treasurer, Roberto Garcia Ortiz, disclosed by the authorities today, said he was directed to turn over 1,000,000 quetzals (\$1,000,000 at the official exchange rate) to Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz June 28.

Col. Diaz headed a military junta which lasted that one day before giving way to the anti-Communist headed by Col. Monzon.

Mr. Garcia said he was directed by the then Finance Minister, Paul Sierra Franco, to

turn the money over to Col. Diaz. Mr. Garcia said all he received to account for the transaction was a receipt on Finance Ministry stationery approved by Mr. Sierra Franco. The former treasurer said this receipt "now forms part of the assets in the national treasury." He added he does not know who has the money, and disclaims all responsibility for it.

Col. Diaz is assumed to be a refugee in the Mexican Embassy.

The office of Attorney General J. M. Moscoso said today fifty-seven charges of murder, beatings, torturings, lootings and abductions of persons presumably shot have been placed against Arbenz and other leaders of his regime. Others involved in the charges include Rogelio Cruz Wer, former head of the civil guard, and Jaime Rosenberg, ex-chief of the judicial police.

Recognition Asked

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP).—Government officials said today the new five-man Guatemalan junta has formally asked the United States for diplomatic recognition. The United States is expected to grant recognition soon. El Salvador, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Honduras have already done so.

N.Y. Times

JUL 9 1954

CASTILLO ARMAS ELECTED TO HEAD GUATEMALA JUNTA

Leader of Revolution Controls Ruling Body Cut From 5 to 3 Members—Monzon Stays

Carlos Castillo Armas has been elected president of the governing junta. The junta itself has been reduced from five to three members.

This action which was taken last night and resulted in the sixth governing arrangement since June 27, came as a surprise. The jockeying for a favorable position between supporters of Colonel Castillo Armas and Col. Elfege Monzon had caused an atmosphere of nervousness.

The disquietude increased yesterday when it was discovered that Colonel Castillo Armas had made a hurried visit to his troops at Chiquimula. There had been rumors that Colonel Monzon, acting junta president under terms of the San Salvador pact, which ended the civil war last week, would resist the election. The rumors proved false.

Immediately after the election, in which the vote was reported to have been unanimous, Lieut. Cols. Luis Cruz Salazar and Mauricio Dubois resigned from the junta. They said in a letter:

"We promised we would retire as soon as the overthrow of communism had been accomplished and peace re-established. Both objectives have now been accomplished.

May Get Diplomatic Posts

It was reported that the two would get diplomatic posts.

The junta had had until July 17 to elect its new president under the peace accord. Considerable pressure had been put on its members to get the election over as quickly as possible to curb rumors and end increasing nervousness.

Observers viewed the election as having eliminated the greatest obstacle to an early return to normality. The composition of the new junta leaves the army with a face-saving device, because Colonel Monzon is a career man who has the confidence of the officers who fought on the Government's side in the revolution.

On the other hand, Colonel Castillo Armas has Maj. Enrique Oliva, a follower, on the junta, giving him a majority should a major disagreement arise.

Apparently, Colonel Castillo Armas' visit to his troops was connected with the election. Indications are that he made the trip both to inform his men of the impending election and to seek their approval of his taking over the presidency.

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The Foreign Office made public a memorandum it circulated yesterday to affected embassies asking them to clamp down on activities of the political refugees they housed. The strongly worded paper said the government had knowledge that arms were entering some embassies and "great quantities of money" were going out.

Asylum Seeker Put at 1,000

The money "obviously is that which was taken from national funds by the refugees," the Foreign Office declared. It added that it was highly irregular for persons in asylum to receive visitors, telephone calls, to enter and leave the embassy at will, to stay in doorways or windows or to talk with persons on the street.

The number of asylum seekers was put above 1,000. A breakdown could not be obtained. Several embassies have stopped answering their telephones; others would not comment on any phase of political asylum.

Available figures on embassy asylum showed the following: Argentina, 175; Mexico, more than 500; Costa Rica, 36; Chile, 76; El Salvador, 42; Brazil, 42, and Ecuador, 35.

It was understood that the Panamanian, Colombian and Cuban Embassies also had accepted political refugees.

Announcement of the arrest of Dr. Raoul Osegueda, former Foreign and Education Minister, aroused considerable feeling. A committee of twenty-five newspaper men went to the Interior Ministry this afternoon to protest the arrest, holding that Dr. Osegueda was not a Communist or fellow-traveler.

Adan Serrano, Interior Minister, promised to look into the case. He advised the newspaper men that if they felt so strongly about Dr. Osegueda they could conduct a press campaign for his release.

Dulles Sees Early Recognition

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 8—Secretary of State Dulles today foresaw today early United States recognition of the new anti-Communist regime in Guatemala.

Asked at a news conference whether Washington was prepared to recognize the ruling junta, Mr. Dulles replied that the United States would apply the same criteria for recognition that

it normally did to changes in government.

Primarily, the United States wants to feel satisfied that the new regime is able and willing to carry out its international obligations, the Secretary said.

At present, he added, Guatemala is in a test period in which the ability and willingness of her authorities to honor international commitments is being determined.

Other criteria normally applied in the test for recognition is that the Government control the territory it claims to govern, and that it have the support of the people.

The Secretary said a successful "housecleaning" of the Communist threat had been carried out in Guatemala. This comment was in reply to a question referring to an allegation that the new junta had deprived 73 per cent of the Guatemalan people of their vote. A recent decree denied voting rights to illiterates, who comprise 73 per cent of the population.

"Do you consider that part of the necessary housecleaning?" Mr. Dulles was asked.

The Secretary said the housecleaning he referred to had been to rid Guatemala of what the Inter-American Conference last March defined as a Communist threat to hemisphere peace and security.

N.Y. Times

JUL 10 1954

Guatemala Ousts Agent Of Arbenz Regime in U.N.

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, July 9—Guatemala ousted today the diplomat who pleaded the case of the deposed Arbenz Government before the United Nations.

Dr. Eduardo Castillo-Arriola said that he had received instructions to sign over the delegation to its secretary, Mario G. Ramirez, and had carried out the order. It was Dr. Castillo-Arriola, who, acting under instructions from the Arbenz regime, had gone before the Security Council to charge that the rebellion was part of a "foreign invasion" of his country.

The Guatemalan said that he would remain in New York a few days to clear up his personal affairs and that he expected to send his family home soon. He declared that he hoped to go back to Guatemala as soon as possible, but added that he had made no definite plans and was not sure of his future.

"My conscience is tranquil," he said.

Letter to the TIMES from First Secretary British Legation Guatemala City,
July 9, 1954:

"Sir,

As First Secretary at the British Legation in Guatemala City from the start of the Arbenz regime until a few months before its fall (I have now left Her Majesty's Foreign Service), I feel impelled to comment upon the letters from Sir Geoffrey Mander and Mr. R. H. Hilton which appeared in the TIMES this morning.

"Colonel Arbenz was elected President of the Republic in 1950 and took office in March, 1951. He stood as the "official" candidate, that is to say, he had the blessing of the government in power, and his election, given the circumstances still prevailing in most Latin American countries, was therefore a virtual certainty. Hordes of illiterate indians in the country districts were in fact rushed from one polling station to another in vehicles provided by the government in order that they might affix their thumb-marks as many times as possible. In so far as these indians have any political consciousness at all they might, in a really free election, be expected to vote for a candidate approved by the Roman Catholic Church, and that would certainly have led them to vote against Arbenz.

"There seems to be a widespread impression that the overthrow of the Arbenz Government was brought about by paid mercenaries of the United Fruit Company with the active encouragement of the United States Government, I believe that this is a distortion of the facts. Arbenz was supported by the Communist-led Federation of Guatemalan Workers and by coteries of Communist sympathizers from other countries such as Spain, Venezuela and Peru, who had settled like leeches in important sections of the administration. He was also supported, up to a point, by the armed forces, for whom he had done much and who were in any case mindful of their oaths. Against him were not only the business and professional sections of the population and the Roman Catholic Church but also, so I firmly believe, the majority of the indian peasants who, in spite of the land reform law, were impressed by the accusations of Communism levelled at the government by their Church. I was His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at the time when humble market women started an anti-Communist riot which resulted in several deaths.

"It should thus be clear that the Arbenz Government was by no means a popular government. It was, furthermore, extremely brutal in its police methods. If the population as a whole had been against the rebels they could not possibly, even with their few planes and their unspecified financial backing, have achieved such quick success. There remains, of course, the undoubted fact that the rebellion was allowed to originate in the neighbouring state of Honduras (not to be confused with British Honduras), the Honduran Government having presumably winked an eye. Our own government was not happy over this matter, but evidently saw no over-riding objection to the case being referred, under Article 53 of the United Nations Charter, to the Organization of American States; hence our abstention in the Security Council vote on that issue.

"Personally, while fully appreciating the principles involved, I cannot believe, with Sir Geoffrey Mander, that this sordid Central American squabble was really of "global" importance.

Signed, Peter Sedgwick."

MESSAGE UNSIGNED

LIFE
July 12, 1954



FREED ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN GUATEMALA CITY SHOW SCARS FROM PRISON BEATINGS TO CROWDS IN THE STREETS

THE END OF A 12-DAY CIVIL WAR

Rebel Guatemalan army, swelled by recruits, forces rough regime to quit

The war in Guatemala came to an end after 12 days, having caused heavier casualties among the politicians than among the combatants. The dilapidated but dedicated rebel army (left) of Colonel Castillo Armas apparently packed enough of a punch to cause a sudden round of *coups d'état*. Pro-Communist President Jacobo Arbenz was deposed by Army Boss Carlos Enrique Diaz, forced to share his power with a three-man military junta, was very quickly replaced by another junta headed by Colonel Elfege Monzon, an old civil servant with a more impressive anti-Communist record.

Through all the fuss at the capital Castillo continued broadcasting from the jungle that he alone represented the only real Guatemalan government.

Guatemala. When his troops took Chiquimula, hundreds of new recruits flocked to rebel headquarters. They were raw peasant stock with no military experience. A few came for the chance to own a gun, but most wanted to pitch in against the Reds. When Castillo's puny air force scored a lucky hit on an ammunition dump, the explosion rocked all of Guatemala City. But the real shock came later when the people got their first sight of political prisoners who had lived through terrible beatings under Arbenz' regime. Then with Arbenz, Diaz and their henchmen safely closeted in the Mexican embassy where they had run for refuge, Colonel Monzon flew off to San Salvador to iron out a cease-fire agreement (next page) Castillo Armas.

RIVALS MEET AND AGREE ON PEACE TERMS

The moving spirit at the San Salvador truce talks was John E. Peurifoy, dapper, determined U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, who brought both the prestige and the weight of the U.S. to the conference. Though they embraced emotionally at the airport, Colonels Castillo and Monzon found some old grudges to settle at the peace table. Castillo regarded Monzon as a Johnny-come-lately in the fight against Communism. He bristled when Monzon rejected incorporating rebels into the regular army. He

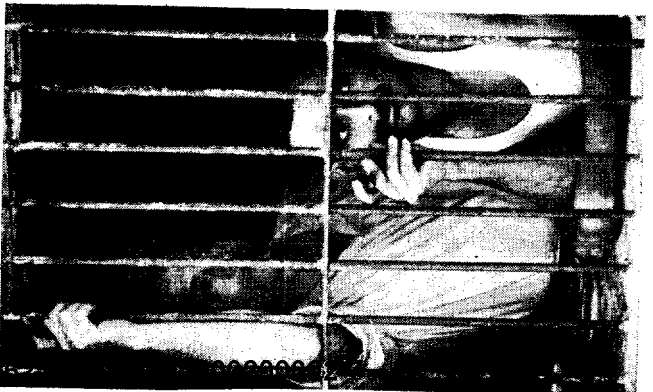
also charged that his supporters had been tortured by the same Arbenz government in which Monzon had once served as a cabinet minister.

When the first meeting failed, Peurifoy took the two leaders aside and pounded home one proposition: forget your squabbles and make peace. The next session lasted about six hours and produced a cease-fire agreement. It established a new five-man junta, including both Monzon and Castillo, to govern Guatemala for 15 days until they could agree on a president.

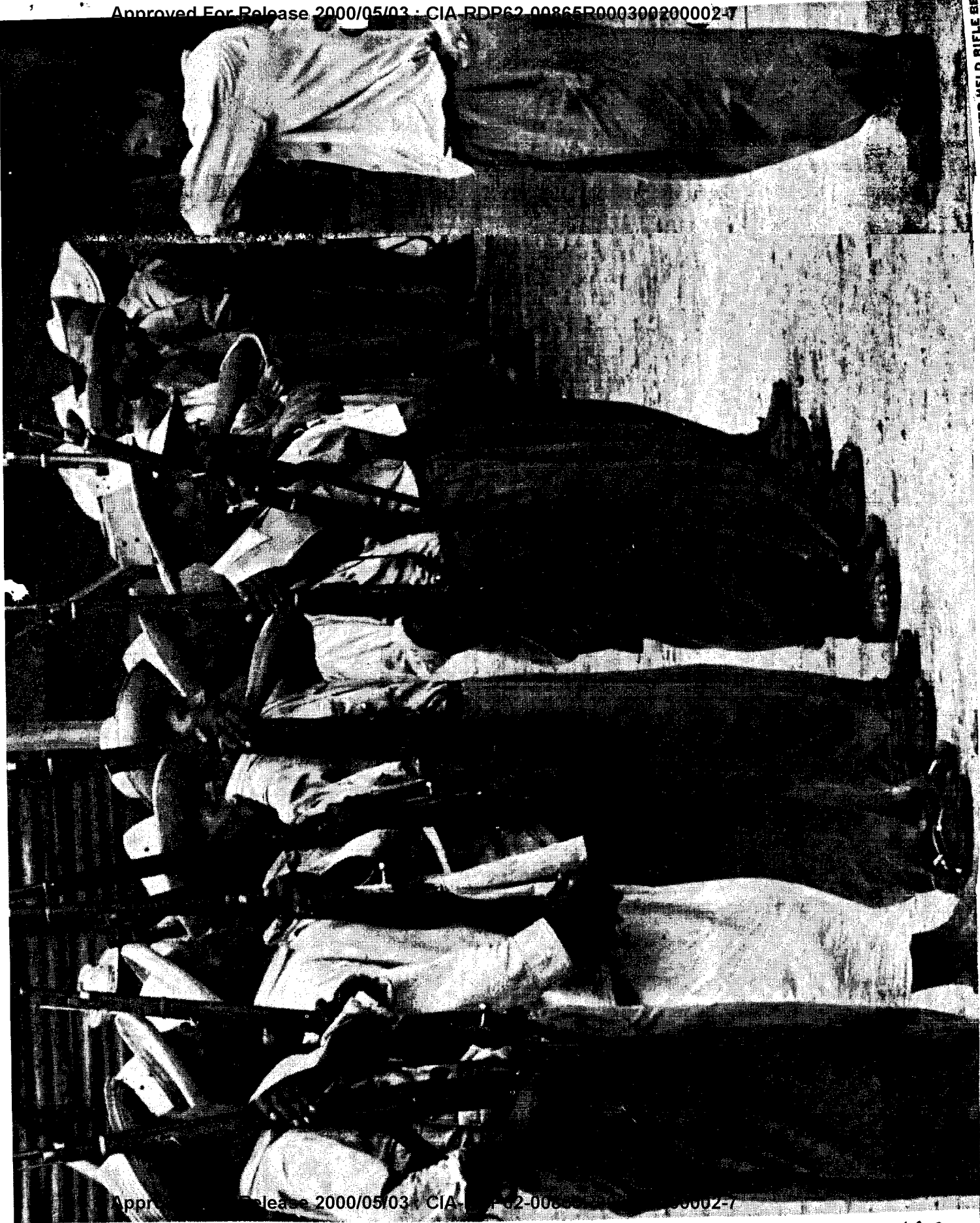


IN GUATEMALA CITY, with Arbenz out but the war still on, anti-Red Mario Andoval (*left*) embraces his fiancée after being set free. A government officer (*center*) surveys Fort Matamoros, bombed by rebels. Hilda Litecia Torres (*right*), shot in lip by ricocheting bullet, was not killed as Arbenz propagandists claimed.

IN REBEL TERRITORY Castillo's forces moved steadily on. At Chiquimula they rounded up and jailed Communist suspects (*left*). Rebel soldiers lug one of their heaviest weapons (*center*); a 20-mm gun, along the mountainous trail to Zacapa, where preliminary peace talks (*right*) were held under a white truce flag.



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DETACHMENT OF REBEL RECRUITS UNDERGOES BASIC TRAINING IN TOWN OF CHIQUIMULA, CAPTURED BY CASTILLO SHORTLY BEFORE WAR ENDED. FEW HAD EVER HELD RIFLE BEFORE

LESSONS OF GUATEMALA

By Daniel James

THE BATTLE of Guatemala is over; the battle of the Western Hemisphere has just begun. The first was short-lived; the second is likely to continue for the duration of the global struggle against Communism.

The rise and fall of Communism in Guatemala was a process which lasted ten years. Guatemala, as such, was never an object of concern. A country of only 3,000,000 inhabitants and totally lacking in basic industry, Guatemala herself endangered no one. The danger lay in the Red beachhead that had been established there, which posed a threat to Hemisphere defense and security, attempted to undermine and subvert Guatemala's neighbors, and established a pattern by which Communism could conquer other Latin American republics.

The Red beachhead has now been washed away, and with it the palpable threat to hemispheric security and Guatemala's neighbors. But to imagine that these developments, welcome as they are, dispose of the problem of Communism in the Americas is to return to that state of mind which helped Communism

establish its first American beachhead.

Communism has lost the Battle of Guatemala—but not the Battle of the Hemisphere. Out of the shambles they created in Guatemala, the Communists have emerged with something more lasting, perhaps, than a



JACOBO ARBENZ: A PROTOTYPE?

beachhead: an ideology specially adapted to Latin America. This ideology was not overthrown with the Guatemalan Communist party by the Liberation Army of Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, but remains a challenge of the first order.

It is doubtful whether the average North American is aware of the nature of that challenge. One wonders

whether U. S. policy-makers are fully cognizant of it. For what we think we have been fighting is classic Leninist - Stalinist Communism, whereas what we really had to contend with in Guatemala, and must now face throughout the Hemisphere, is the more formidable doctrine of Maoism.

Maoism must not be confused with Titoism. It is not national Communism and not in conflict with Moscow. Rather, it has been embraced by Moscow as the doctrine to be employed in the underdeveloped countries, which comprise two-thirds of the earth's surface and include the entire region south of the Rio Grande.

Maoism has given Communism a new face in Latin America, one which makes infinitely difficult the detection and exposure of Communist machinations. Few Guatemalans ever knew anything about such concepts as the dictatorship of the proletariat; for a people regimented and kept landless for four centuries by semi-feudal statism, the prospect of collectivization under a soviet state would scarcely have been inspiring. What attracted so many of them to Guatemalan Communism was that the party promised them land, cradle-to-grave security, destruction of "imperialism," and, above all, "national liberation." Nationalism, not Communism—a nationalism molded to Communist purposes—is what the Guatemalan party preached. And that is the essence of Maoism.

CONTINUED

Daniel James, former Managing Editor of THE NEW LEADER, has written on Latin American affairs for the N.Y. Herald Tribune, the Saturday Evening Post and other publications. His authoritative new book on Guatemala will be published next month by the John Day Company.

July 12, 1954

The most significant event of the civil war, one that overshadows the victory of the anti-Communist forces, did not take place on Guatemalan soil. That was the outbreak of pro-Guatemala demonstrations in at least half of Latin America—in Mexico, Cuba, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay. Doubtless, Communism had a hand in them, but there was about them a spontaneity which cannot be explained away as a Red creation. If it could be so explained, then it appears that Communist strength is far greater than we had imagined, for not only did great masses of ordinary citizens pour into the streets but many national legislatures adopted pro-Guatemala resolutions.

The meaning of these manifestations is clear: They expressed a universal conviction that Guatemala was fighting for her national independence against the "Colossus of the North." They informed us that many Latin Americans regard as their main enemy not Communism, but "Yankee imperialism." They revealed that the new and virulent nationalism which is sweeping over Latin America is highly susceptible to manipulation by Communism in its Maoist form. Thus, the Guatemalan events have heightened, not lessened, the danger of Communism.

Have we learned how to deal with this danger on our doorstep? Guatemala shows that we have not.

The fact is that our highest officials had no inkling of what was happening in Guatemala until matters had gotten out of hand, and to this day they have only a superficial understanding of the forces which gave rise to Communism in Guatemala. Their reasoning, which is still prevalent in official circles, is summed up in the disdainful expressions used by the would-be Hemingways who covered the civil war and thought it characteristic of the Latins that

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The succession of regimes which followed Arbenz's overthrow only en-

hanced their feeling that it was all an "opéra-bouffe" affair.

When, at the eleventh hour, we finally awakened to what had been happening in Guatemala for a decade, we reached for a sledgehammer. We rammed through the Tenth Inter-American Conference an anti-Communist resolution which the others supported without conviction; we rushed to sign military pacts with Nicaragua and Honduras and ship them arms before the ink had dried; we gave Castillo Armas tacit encouragement, at least, to start his revolution; we proclaimed before the UN the doctrine of "America for the Americans" (thus enabling Peking to proclaim back: "Asia for the Asians"), and we passed Congressional resolutions to "block" Communism in the Hemisphere.

Most of these measures, in view of the lateness of the hour, were necessary. But they were measures of desperation that cannot be efficacious in the long run and may turn out to be very costly. Our victory over Guatemalan Communism is not as cheap, quick or complete as it looks in the headlines.

Whether or not we had anything to do with the Castillo Armas revolution, the cold truth is that the Latins believe we did. The pro-Guatemalan manifestations betray that belief, for they were not so much outpourings of sympathy for Arbenz as antipathy toward "Yankee interventionism." Fear of U. S. intervention in Latin American affairs is an obsession; what happened in Guatemala further intensified it.

Paradoxically, if we could convince the Latin Americans that we did not actively intervene on the side of Castillo Armas, they would react with scorn. They would say that the United States has lost its "touch," that it no longer knows how to deal with small-time Caribbean revolutions, that it is weak. And U. S. prestige would have dropped accordingly.

Within the context of the Hemisphere, in short, the United States

could not "win" in Guatemala no matter what it did at the last moment. This highlights the complexity of the problem we must now face, and suggests that it cannot be resolved with a sledgehammer.

The problem begins with Guatemala herself. Having been fastened, willy-nilly, with the responsibility for the overthrow of Arbenz, we must henceforth proceed upon the assumption that we do indeed have a responsibility toward Guatemala. We are obligated, from this point on, to pursue a policy toward Guatemala that will insure her development in the direction of democracy. We are compelled to show by deeds, not resolutions, that the victory of anti-Communism in Guatemala will not spell a return to pre-1944 semi-feudalism. Just as Guatemala was formerly the hemispheric experimental ground for Communism, so today it is the first test of anti-Communism.

If Guatemalan anti-Communism fails to tackle with vigor and intelligence the fundamental political, economic and social problems of Guatemala—if the United States permits it to fail—then our cause in the Hemisphere is doomed. For anti-Communism will inevitably become identified in other Latin American republics, as it was for a decade in Guatemala, with everything the Latins loathe: reaction, imperialism, interventionism, suppression of the popular will. No amount of military pacts or anti-Communist resolutions will then avail us.

Guatemala, as we said, is only the beginning of the problem. In Central and South America are other budding Guatemalas. Next door to the unhappy land of the Mayas lies a country rotten-ripe for Communist plucking: Honduras. The Honduran Reds have been thrown back by the defeat of their Guatemalan comrades, but to suppose that Honduran Communism is dead is to underestimate the resilience of the enemy and to ignore the underlying social-revolutionary forces at work. Still in

cont.

progress at this writing, for example, is a stage of the first general strike in Honduran history.

The writer has pointed out elsewhere the rapidly mounting menace of Communism in Brazil—the Hemisphere's second largest country—and in Chile and Bolivia. Other republics are affected only to a somewhat lesser degree. The Communist cause in those countries has not been harmed one iota by the defeat of Guatemalan Communism; on the contrary, it has been provided with new nourishment—"Yankee interventionism" in Guatemala. In death, the Guatemalan party may prove to be a bigger asset to the Kremlin than in life.

Shall we await the emergence of new Guatemalas before we look again to the south? And shall we then try to fell them with the same old sledgehammer? Next time, "victory" may not be as easy, or even possible. Next time, we may have to pay with more than an alarming rise in *anti-yanquismo*—the cost may have to be reckoned in terms of our own blood.

Guatemala has ushered in a new era in inter-American relations—an era of protracted struggle against Maoist Communism which may be marked by more wars and revolutions, and will almost certainly confront us with situations comparable to those in the non-Communist portions of Asia. To many, the possibility of civil and international strife over Guatemala seemed a joking matter not so long ago. It is hoped that no one will now take lightly the possibility of still greater clashes, over substantially the same issue, in other parts of Latin America.

If we are to avoid such clashes, now is the time. But first we must put the sledgehammer away and put our minds to work. Latin America is not a police problem but a political one. Our security will not be served by bludgeoning others into supporting anti-Communist resolutions, but by giving them a stake in the struggle against Communism, by helping them to solve problems more pressing to them than Communism: inflation, poverty, economic unbalance, and underdeveloped politi-

cal as well as economic institutions.

Perhaps more than anything else, the issue is, at bottom, psychological. Latin Americans have in common a feeling of inferiority toward the United States. The slogan of "national liberation"—which has caught on like wildfire a century and a quarter after Latin America's liberation from colonialism and which is Communism's chief stock-in-trade—expresses consummately the general resentment over Latin America's dependence upon the United States. It cannot be dealt with by economic means alone, vital as they are, but requires a many-sided effort on our part predicated upon a basic change in attitude toward Latin America.

Castillo Armas and his army have fought the good fight—ours as well as theirs—and we should not begrudge them our praise. But their victory will be cause for real rejoicing only if it marks the commencement of a truly democratic and progressive era in Guatemala, and of a reappraisal, before it needs to become agonizing, of our whole policy toward Latin America.

N.Y. Times

JUL 12 1954

Italy Recognizes Guatemalans
 ROME, July 11 (AP)—A Foreign Ministry spokesman announced today Italy has recognized the new military regime in Guatemala. Seven Latin American nations, Spain and Nationalist China extended recognition last week.

N.Y. Times

JUL 13 1954

Cuba Recognizes Junta
 Special to The New York Times.
 HAVANA, July 12—Cuba recognized today the Guatemalan Government headed by Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

N.Y. Times

JUL 13 1954

CASTILLO PLEDGES BETTER CONDITIONS

**But He Warns Guatemalans
Communism 'Still Lives' and
Its Chiefs Await Orders**

By PAUL P. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

GUATEMALA, July 12—The defeat of communism in Guatemala will be completed with greatly improved social and economic conditions, Lieut. Col. Carlos Castillo Armas told several thousand cheering countrymen today.

The President of the governing junta said the back of communism had been broken by arms, but he warned "it still lives in the shadows and many of its leaders are receiving new orders."

In the face of this, he declared, "our new arms will be social justice, sustenance, education, employment, improved economy and respect for the human being."

Colonel Castillo spoke from the balcony of the National Palace on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Anti-Communist Day. The fete, sponsored by the Anti-Communist Students League, commemorated the anti-Communist demonstration of July, 1950, in which students were killed and wounded.

Statement of Policy

Colonel Castillo's address was in a nature of a statement of the Government's policy in such fields as labor, education, land reform and, to a lesser extent, foreign affairs.

"The crimes effected by communism here clamor for justice, and the weight of law should fall on these criminals," the junta chief said. "It is my personal determination that this weight should fall on those directly responsible, even to the point of their being executed, as a public

vindication and an example for the future."

Citing legislative plans for new housing, Colonel Castillo declared that the laws passed before were far from solving the housing shortage, and served only to bring discord between proprietors and renters.

He also spoke of a new agrarian reform law "that will give land to the peasant as his own property." A school construction program will get under way as quickly as possible, he said, adding that Communists or fellow travelers would be searched out and dismissed as teachers.

Plans for Hospitals

The leader of the revolution announced that the hospital program would be broadened immediately, with completion of Roosevelt Hospital as a major step. This 1,000-bed institution was begun in World War II with combined United States and Guatemalan funds, but was never completed because of lack of funds and the antipathy of the previous regime.

Colonel Castillo denounced officials of the ousted regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman as "criminals who attacked liberty and who robbed the national treasury."

He repeated his warning that safe conducts would not be extended to persons who had committed common crimes. His words, carried over loudspeakers, were in plain earshot of the Mexican Embassy, which has granted political asylum to 500 persons.

Speakers who preceded Colonel Castillo brought roars from the crowd when the assailed the attitude of the Mexican Embassy. They denounced the embassy for having refused asylum to anti-Communists during the Arbenz regime and having opened its gates to Communists and other Arbenz supporters upon his overthrow.

They demanded the recall of Primo Villa Michel, Mexican Ambassador.

Appearing with Colonel Castillo were his wife, Señora Odilia Paloma de Castillo; Col. Elfege Monzon and Maj. Enrique Oliva, the two other members of the Junta, and Lieut. Col. Carlos Cruz Salazar and Mauricio Du Bois, members of the former five-man junta.