

~~SECRET~~

Letter from [] to J. C. King hand-carried []
from Caracas.

copy
for
PB Success

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

12 March 1954

2003

Dear J. C.:

I begin this note with a point somewhat historical by now which I had intended to include in my previous communication. I recall that the Lincoln people had prepared some suggestions for action against Guatemala here during the Conference. Of course these notes were only intended as suggestions for our consideration. As it turned out, [] did not have the capabilities to execute such a plan, and if it had been in that position I would have counselled strongly against any such action. I make this point not in criticism of the suggestions but simply to transmit my impression of the atmosphere here. To have tried any monkey-business here would have been grossly counterproductive. It would have made the Venezuelan's look like hooligans and would have divided on a point of good taste the democracies from the dictatorships. Moreover, it would have made martyrs of the Guatemalans and vastly improved their show of injured innocence.

Yesterday's proceedings in committee were most interesting. I do not pretend to interpret them accurately on the basis of my short acquaintance with this area, but I think one can easily say that the Argentina-Guatemala-Mexico chorus was certainly pre-coordinated. What does this mean? One possible explanation is that Mexico looks upon Guatemala as being within her sphere of influence and has a paternal attitude toward the '44 revolution, which was patterned somewhat after her own. Perhaps Argentina is by way of forming a psychological alliance with Mexico in order to offer a stronger balance of Latin American leadership in face of United States strength. I am quite inclined to believe that there may be some sincerity on their side in this "liberal" apprehension of United States attitudes. It is a thing that I have seen in recent months in Italy. Of course these people do not go as far as NENNI has, but there is a real concern of ultimate United States intentions. There is no need here to discuss the international liberal attitude towards its interpretation of the Republican Party and of a soldier-led government. We can, however, see with certainty that these apprehensions have been confirmed in people's minds by McCARTHY. There is no doubt in my mind that something of this kind affected strongly the course of events here with regard to Item 5. It cannot be said that this was only a Commie trick into which Mexico has been drawn.

You are probably asking yourself what I have asked myself these past days, namely: What role has PBSUCCESS played in the situation I described above? I feel that I am still too close to the smoke of diplomacy and froth and foam of cross-currents to have a clear opinion on this. My stomach, however, tells me that Mexico's frequent allusion to interference, stated in the context it was, indicated in all probability conviction on Mexico's part of United States complicity. Whether one could go so far as to say that this presumed knowledge was the key that threatened to lock the door on Item 5 it is too soon to say. I am inclined to believe that we would have faced difficulties with Item 5 in any case, and I share the

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-2-

opinion that I have heard hereabouts - that the principal use of this Conference has been to expose to the Americas the meaning of Communism and to reveal to us, or at least to me, the really great task that lies before us. These people on the one hand approach Communism from the attitude of the extreme right. I refer to repression, police measures, and fiat; this works the wrong way in the long run. But on the other hand, the more liberal forces believe in the social economic solution; this is not the answer either, for we have seen in Italy that theory disproved. Until we realize the "struggle for men's minds" that is the challenge of Communism and the fact of its appeal (albeit false) to the highest aspirations of man (be he innocent), we are not able to address ourselves in the full sense to the problem. The three great outlets for men's spiritual, physical, and political aspirations in the modern era have been Christianity, conquest and taming of the world, and the spirit of the American and French Revolutions. These no longer exist in a way to satisfy the dreams, and Communism, although false, is the only force addressing itself to those dreams today.

Needless to say, I have not and do not intend to speculate with anyone here on PBSUCCESS' relation to this Conference. No one has, I am glad to say, discussed the matter with me, and from our point of view it is a thought that we most devoutly desire not to sew.

Discussion of amendments will continue this morning, and I continue to hope that there will be no unpleasantness. I cannot tell you how impressed I have been with the Secretary's handling of the Guatemala situation. We shall be in a good position to go to work on that problem but it must be done with artistry, and it is absolutely essential that we not show up in the picture. It is equally essential that the rest of the hemisphere first be brought to the belief that Guatemala is Communist controlled, and the one way not to accomplish that is to have such charges from official United States lips or United States mouthpieces.

For what it is worth, if one takes as a measure of Moscow control over the government the extent of Toriello's dialectic and Communist postures, we may conclude that penetration and domination by Moscow is far, far down the road.

We continue to expect the vote tomorrow, and I think that we will get a sufficiently strong resolution for our purposes. I look forward to the end of this, as I have found it quite a strain. Monday, unless you have called me back, I shall go in search of some quiet committee and for a few hours listen to some subject such as "Exchange of Rose Petals" before returning to Committee 1 and "Colonialism," which incidentally should be quieter than Item 5.

1500 Friday at Conference.

Things went well today. Bolivia friendly and Argentina less sticky. We are in the last speeches. Guatemala is not on the list to speak; this is hard to believe. My friend Dr. Alfaro told me this afternoon that Guatemala would make another show. We observed them an hour ago working like "bears" in the consultation room. We shall see.

~~SECRET~~