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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
2003

28 July 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT : Mechanics for Exploitation of Guatemalan Documents

1. Approximately 150,000 records of the Arbenz government, documenting its subservience to the Communist Party, as well as records of the Communist Party itself have become available to us in Guatemala City as a result of Castillo Armas' victory.

2. We believe that exploitation of these records by the three Agencies with primary operational interest in them -- State, USIA, and CIA -- should be a co-ordinated exploitation, even though the interests of each of these agencies varies slightly.

(in the initiation to FBI.)
a. CIA's objective is a systematic search for data which will help us act against Communism -- not just in Guatemala, but everywhere. Much of our interest consequently will concern people who can be controlled and exploited to further U.S. policy as a result of the information about them that these records give us.

b. State, on the other hand, will look primarily for records reconstructing the pattern of Communist influence and subversion in Guatemala. This analysis is needed for foreign policy purposes, as well as for direct use through Ambassador Lodge.

c. USIA's interest parallels much of State's. In addition it is for material which can be used to educate *foreign* public opinion on the nature of the Arbenz regime and the reality of Communism in Guatemala.

JOB NO. _____ BOX NO. _____ FLD NO. _____ DOC. NO. 2 NO CHANGE
IN CLASS/ DECLASS/ CLASS CHANGED TO: TS S (C) RET. JUST. 22
NEXT REV DATE 89 REV DATE 2 Nov 79 REVIEWER [] TYPE DOC. 02
NO. PGS 60 CREATION DATE _____ ORG COMP 49 OPI 46 ORG CLASS 5
REV CLASS C REV COORD. _____ AUTH: NR 70-3

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3. In spite of these variants between the co-operating agencies' programs, all three will be interested in about the same records. Consequently, CIA has invited State and USIA to join it in staffing a single task force which will pool the records and exploit them for each others' interest. The task force will operate under the chairmanship of CIA, and under the general direction of Ambassador Peurifoy. CIA has reserved only two specific authorities: (a) exclusive control over relations with the Guatemalan Government, which maintains ownership of the records, and (b) veto power over the public use by State or USIA of information which can be used most effectively by clandestine operations.

4. CIA has made a very quick preliminary sampling of the document collection; the highlights of this sampling are recorded in the booklet you have been shown today.^{1/} In addition, one member of the task force (a State Department man) already is screening the documents in Guatemala City. The rest of the task force will go to Guatemala to begin work early next week.

[]

Chief, RCM/OIS

^{1/} The booklet referred to is "Documents Obtained in a Brief, Preliminary Sampling of the Documentary Evidence of Communist Infiltration and Influence in Guatemala", prepared by Staff C. Mr. Tracy Barnes is bringing 12 copies of it to the briefing for distribution.

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Success

20 July 1954

[]

For purposes of general goodwill and as trading material, will you please cause to be done a nice, neat job summarizing concisely the nature of your findings and discoveries with regard to the extent of Communist infiltration of the Guatemalan Government, to be illuminated with sections and representations taken from the material which I have examined and return to you herewith. I visualize a booklet of the sort which the Director could pass around to members of the NSC some time toward the middle of next week -- in connection with a high-level briefing which he has in mind on the subject of Guatemala. It should be indicated that this is but a brief and preliminary sampling of the documentary evidence of Communist infiltration and influence and you should enlist the assistance of the printers and others. The classification should be according to your own best judgment, taking into account the fact that we would like to have some fairly broad distribution of this information at some future time and also the fact that you may have good reasons to want to withhold knowledge of our possession of certain of the information which you will include in this dossier.

[]
F. G. Wisner

Attachment - envelope

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**DOCUMENTS OBTAINED IN A BRIEF,
PRELIMINARY SAMPLING OF THE DOCUMENTARY
EVIDENCE OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND
INFLUENCE IN GUATEMALA**

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Introduction

The documents described and exhibited in the following pages were obtained in Guatemala shortly after the fall of the Arbenz Regime. They represent the results of but a brief and preliminary sampling of the documentary evidence of Communist infiltration and influence in Guatemala.

The majority of the documents discussed herein were found among personal effects and papers of Jacobo Arbenz which had been cached within a few hours of his resignation from the Presidency of Guatemala. Other documents were seized by military and police authorities after the fall of both Arbenz and his successor, Colonel Carlos Enrique Diaz, Chief of the Armed Forces.

The documents represent something of a miscellany, but they fall generally into two groups: those which reflect Communist influence in the Arbenz Regime, and those which deal with activities of that Regime in its declining days (May-June 1954).

The documents are numbered 1 through 23. The explanatory text appears on the left-hand page; the corresponding document-exhibit appears on the right-hand page.

ARBENZ' Communist Library



Communist publications found among ARBENZ' personal effects. Included are works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and Malenkov; copies of the Cominform organ, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!"; Soviet and Satellite books, magazines and pamphlets; the Statutes of CP Guatemala (P. G. T.) and copies of a Report of the Central Committee of that Party.

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I. Documents Reflecting Communist Influence in the Arbenz Regime

(Summary Characterizations)

- #1. Report of Secretary General of CP Guatemala, given to Arbenz "with the deep-felt affection of his friend--Jose Manuel Fortuny," author of the Report.
- #2. Edition of Mao Tse-Tung's writings, given to Arbenz by person prominent in Communist activities. Book has special binding, with the name "Arbenz" stamped in gold on the cover.
- #3. Peking-published Chinese Communist materials concerning Agrarian Reforms in China.
- #4. Note transmitting "Memento of the Soviet Union" to Arbenz, from member of Communist-led trade union confederation in Guatemala.
- #5. Moscow-published book, "J. Stalin--A Biographical Sketch," given to Mrs. Arbenz with the inscription: "The lofty example of the great should inspire us with optimism."
- #6. Original of a memorandum addressed to CP Secretary General, found in National Palace (Office of a secretary of Mrs. Arbenz).
- #7. Letter to Arbenz, 5 June 1954, from Army General Staff, transmitting questions regarding the Regime's links with the Communist Party, and the latter's influence on the Regime.
- #8. Attachment to the preceding document. Specific Army questions regarding the Arbenz Regime's links with the Communist Party, the latter's influence in the Regime and its efforts to organize armed forces apart from the National Army.
- #9. A set of answers to the Army's questions (presented in preceding documents). Text reflects strong pro-Communist bias.
- #10. Letter to Arbenz, 31 May 1954, from Rogelio CRUZ Wer, Chief of Guardia Civil (Police), re recommendation that visas of Guatemalan delegates to Anti-Communist Congress in Mexico be cancelled.
- #11. Telegram containing complaint that a Departmental Governor is loosely accusing people of being anti-Communist!

- #12. Certification given by Jose Manuel Fortuny in 1947, as Secretary General of the P. A. R. , that Alfonso Martinez (later head of the National Agrarian Department) was an active member of the P. A. R. and a Delegate of that Party to one of the Electoral Boards. (Martinez' subsequent close association with Fortuny--Secretary General of CP Guatemala--is well known.)

II. Documents Reflecting Some of the Activities of the Arbenz Regime Shortly Before Its Fall.

- #13. Report to Supreme Council of National Defense, dated 19 May 1954, recommending immediate re-establishment of National Army control over the Militia of the Republic.
- #14. File of Guatemalan Foreign Ministry containing open/decoded cables to Guatemalan diplomatic representatives in the United States, Central and South America. The cables flatly deny the charges of the U. S. State Department regarding the origin of the notorious arms shipment. They also issue instructions re thwarting of U. S. State Department efforts to convoke a consultative conference on the matter.
- #15. Letter to "the Government of Guatemala" from a firm in Italy, referencing previous correspondence, and offering for sale airplanes, submachine guns, and rifles. Shipment (of some items, at least) would be from a Swedish port.
- #16. Decoded telegram, 31 May 1954, from former President Arevalo, in Santiago, Chile, to Arbenz, reporting pro-Guatemalan action of Chilean government, political parties, and people.
- #17. Notes for a conversation with Guatemalan Foreign Minister, dated 5 June 1954. Concerned mainly with winning Mexican government and popular support of Guatemala's cause vis-a-vis the United States. Suggestions for winning good will of, or at least neutralizing somewhat, other Latin American countries.
- #18. Guatemalan Foreign Ministry document reflecting an apparent effort on part of Guatemala to induce President Osorio of El Salvador to use his "good offices" to persuade Honduras to check the anti-Arbenz activities of Guatemalan emigres in Honduras, which are being carried on with the "knowledge and patience" of the Honduras Government.

- #19. Memorandum of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of Honduras, dated 7 June 1954, declining to sign a (new) Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression which was requested by Guatemala.
- #20. Memorandum dated 14 June 1954, from Guatemalan Foreign Minister to Minister of Government, protesting against acts of police brutality committed against "honest and respectable" citizens.
- #21. Two telegrams dated 19 June 1954 (the day after Army of Liberation entered Guatemala) concerning the organization of support for the National Army on the part of the coalition of pro-Arbenz political parties.
- #22. A collection of telegrams (dated 19-29 June 1954) concerning the participation of the organized peasants (CNCG), led by the pro-Communist Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, in the defense of the Arbenz regime. Some of the telegrams reflect that news of Arbenz resignation was received with shocked disbelief.
- #23. Two telegrams concerning the shooting down of Chilean pilots by pro-Arbenz forces who later regretted their error in having taken action injurious to "a republic identified with our struggle."

Document No. 1

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Report of Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala, to the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of that Party, held 16-17 February 1952.
Bears inscription:

"To the young and exemplary President of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, with the deep-felt affection of his friend -- Jose Manuel Fortuny."

*Al Joven y Ejecutor Presidente
de Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz,
con el afecto entusiasta de un
amigo - José Manuel Fortuny*

**La Situación Política Nacional, las Tareas
Inmediatas de la Revolución y la Actividad del
Partido Comunista de Guatemala**

* * * * *

**Informe del Secretario General, José Manuel Fortuny,
al Pleno ampliado del Comité Central del Partido
Comunista de Guatemala, celebrado el 16 y 17 de
Febrero de 1952.**

CAMARADAS:

Hace ya tiempo que celebramos el último Pleno del Comité Central. Desde entonces han ocurrido tantos y tan variados sucesos sin que los enfocáramos debidamente en relación con las actividades y tareas del Partido, que se ha hecho sumamente indispensable y urgente reunirlos para examinar, por lo menos, un cuadro de la situación política nacional. Al pasar revista al panorama general que se ha desarrollado desde el último Pleno hasta hoy, nos encontramos con que se han acumulado los problemas que ya deberíamos tener resueltos, cayendo en la cuenta de que hemos cometido un error al no convocar más frecuentemente al Comité Central. Esta es la causa de por qué en este informe enfocamos solamente las tareas revolucionarias más inmediatas en relación con la situación política actual de nuestro país y con las actividades del Partido, ya que era materialmente imposible, especialmente por la circunstancia de tiempo, examinar todos los asuntos que deben ser tratados.

En nuestro último Pleno al poner la vista sobre las condiciones políticas nacionales dijimos: "El triunfo aplastante de Jacobo Arbenz como candidato a la Presidencia de la República, ha venido a reforzar la posición de las fuerzas democráticas y a resquebrajar las de la reacción. El aumento incesante de la presión imperialista como consecuencia de la agresión a Corea y a China fué neutralizado por la acción política en ascenso de las fuerzas democráticas, que al

Document No. 2

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

A one-volume edition of Mao Tse-Tung's two works, "On Practice," and "On Contradiction." Specially bound, with name "ARBENZ" in gold letters on cover. Bears inscription:

"To Colonel Arbenz, the two basic contributions of Mao Tse Tung to universal Marxism,

Matilde Elena Lopez
24 Dec. /53"

Also, inserted in the book is a calling card of Matilde Elena Lopez with the inscription:

"Colonel Arbenz:

I am placing in your hands the two basic contributions of Mao-Tse-Tung to universal Marxism, and other important materials concerning Agrarian Ref. in China. --I want to talk to you to explain my plan for a monograph on Agrarian Reform in Guatemala which will gather together, in clear and simple form, all that has been accomplished. I am awaiting your invitation, as you said some time back that 'we should have a visit.' (To your) health!
(illegible notation: probably Lopez' initials.) Dec. /53"

Matilde Elena Lopez has been active in the Communist Movement in Guatemala for several years.

al
Coronel Arbery,
los dos apuntes fun-
damentales de Mao
Tse Tung, al marxismo,
una revision del
Materialismo, Lenin
27 Dec 1953

**PRESENTACION
DE MAO TSE-TUNG**

Coronel Arbery:
pongo en
sus manos los 2 apun-
tes fundamentales de
Mao - Tse Tung - al mar-
xismo universal y otros
importantes materiales
sobre la Rep. Popular en
China. - Quiero hablar
con Ud. para apli-

Document No. 3

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Typewritten copy of the 1950 Peking publication, "Law on Agrarian Reform of the People's Republic of China," followed by other documents: "Report on the Problems of Agrarian Reform" (by Liu Chao-Chi), and "Statutes of Organization of the Peasant Federation." This probably constitutes the "other important materials" on Agrarian Reform in China, mentioned in the preceding document.

LEY SOBRE

LA REFORMA AGRARIA

DE LA REPUBLICA POPULAR DE

CHINA.

oooo-----oooo

Seguida de otros Documentos.

PEKIN

Ediciones de Lenguas Extranjeras.

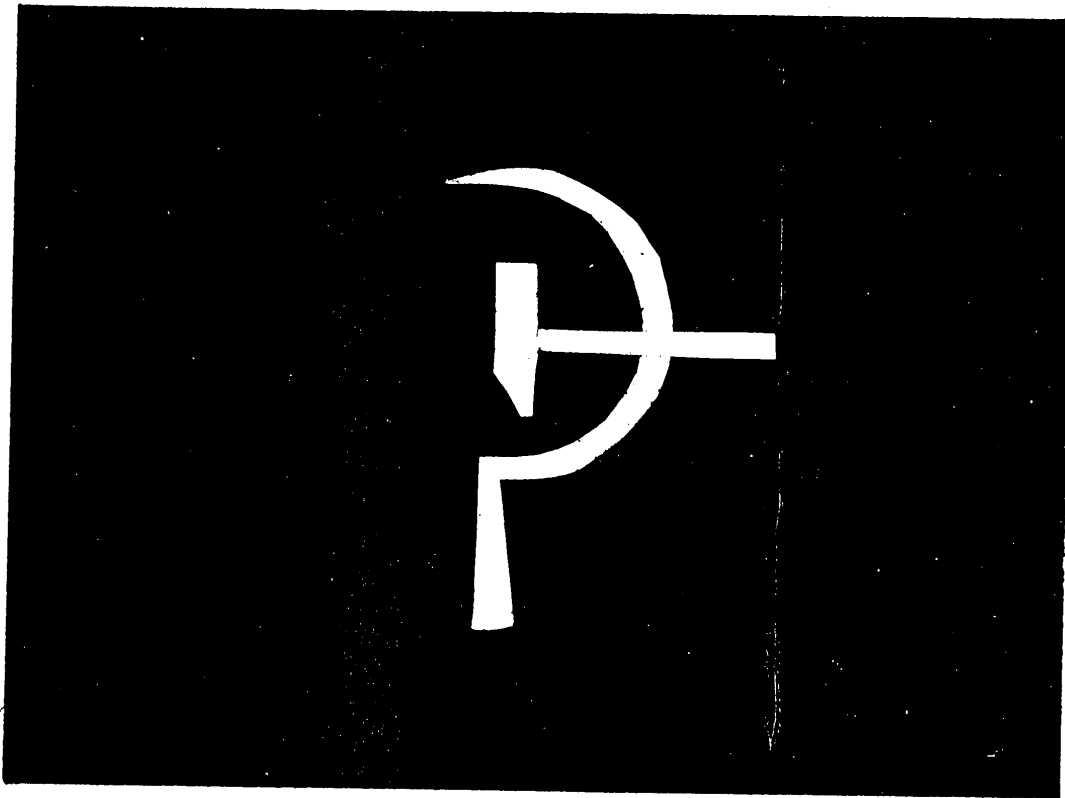
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Document No. 4

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

A note to President Arbenz, written on stationery featuring a white hammer and sickle on a red field, dated January 1954 at Guatemala, transmitting as an attachment (not identified) a memento of the Soviet Union. The writer is identified in the note as Jose Luis CACEROS Rodriguez.

This man is a member of the Communist-led General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (CGTG); he was a delegate to the Third World Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) held in Vienna, 10-21 October 1953.



José Luís Caceros Rodriguez, saluda atentamente al ciudadano Presidente de la República, Coronel Jacobo Arbenz, adjuntandole un recuerdo de la Unión Soviética.

Guatemala, Enero de 1954.--

Document No. 5

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Copy of the book, "J. Stalin--A Biographical Sketch," published in Moscow (1947). Bears inscription:

"To Maria Cristina:

The lofty example of the great should inspire us with optimism.

Matilde Elena Lopez
Dec. 24/51."

Arbenz' wife is Maria Cristina Vilanova de Arbenz.

*a María Cristina:
El alto ejemplo
de los grandes debe inspirarnos opti-
mismo.*

J. STALIN

María Elena López.

Esbozo biográfico Dic 24/51.

AUTORES:

G. F. Alexándrov, M. R. Galaktiónov,
V. S. Kruzikov, M. B. Mitin,
V. D. Mochálov, P. N. Pospíelov.

EDICIONES EN LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS
MOSCU 1947

Document No. 6

(From the National Palace (seat of government)--
Office of a secretary of Mrs. Arbenz)

This document is an original memorandum addressed to Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala (P. G. T.) It is written by a woman (CP member) who has been under fire as Secretary General of the Sindicato de Trabajadores en Comedores y Guarderias Infantiles (Trade Union of Workers in Children's Dining Rooms and Nurseries). The matter had been given considerable attention by Mrs. Arbenz as President of the Association of Children's Dining Rooms and Nurseries. The CP member outlines her situation for Fortuny, and states that she knows what Party discipline means and that she is willing to abide by his decision in the matter. She adds that she is willing to resign immediately if the Party feels that the problems will be solved by the fact that another woman (CP member) is to be Chief of Personnel of the Association, according to word given her by Mrs. Arbenz.

MEMBRANDUM PRESENTADO AL COMPAÑERO JOSE MANUEL FORTUNY SOBRE LA SITUACION ACTUAL DE COMEDORES Y GUARDERIAS INFANTILES, Y MI POSICION FRENTE A LA MISMA.

Estimado compañero:

Antes de mi retiro definitivo de la Asociación de Comedores y Guarderías Infantiles--si es que así se llegase^a/acordar-- quiero hacerle una amplia exposición sobre mi labor desarrollada dentro de la misma, para que Ud. la conozca y la juzgue.

Mi trabajo efectivo durante nueve meses como secretaria de la señora Vice-Presidenta de la Asociación, Gloria Bruni de Shaw, y la causa que motivó mi traslado a la Maternidad de Guarderías Infantiles, ya es conocida por el compañero Fortuny. Haré en consecuencia una exposición posterior a mi traslado, es decir sobre siete meses laborados en la Maternidad:

Con fecha primero de Septiembre del año de 1952 me hice cargo de organizar un archivo que no existía ni siquiera en estado elemental ó primitivo. Hice entrega de él con fecha 2 de Marzo del corriente año, después de haber clasificado por medio de tarjeteros seis mil folders de madres parturientas, en los cuales se puede encontrar todo un historial clínico de cada madre, durante tres años que tiene la Maternidad de funcionar como tal. Al haber dado por concluido el trabajo encomendado, me quedé sin atribuciones específicas y sin ninguna labor determinada. A los 22 días de haberlo hecho del conocimiento de los jefes, tuvo a bien recibirme en audiencia la señora María Milanova de Arbenz el 24 del corriente a las cuatro de la tarde. Mi deseo era el de resolver mi situación personal en que me encuentro relacionada con mi trabajo. La señora de Arbenz me propuso una plaza dentro del Instituto de Seguridad Social, ya que la Asociación de Guarderías y Comedores Infantiles no tiene donde colocarme, y mi presencia dentro de las oficinas centrales es prácticamente imposible. Es decir, en forma cortés se me propuso pusiese mi renuncia. Inmediatamente informé a la señora Presidenta de la Asociación que hacía precisamente tres días (con ocasión de una recepción dada por el Ministro de relaciones exteriores), el señor Alfonso Solórzano

Document No. 7

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Letter to President Arbenz, 5 June 1954, sent by order of the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, attaching a statement of the questions of "the Chiefs and Officers of this Corps, which were prepared in accordance with your own desires, in relation to the informal talk which has been announced for a date in the near future." The talk was to be given by Arbenz to members of the Army General Staff. (The attachment constitutes the next document (#8) in this series.)



ESTADO MAYOR DEL EJERCITO
REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA

00857

SEÑOR PRESIDENTE CONSTITUCIONAL DE LA REPUBLICA,
COMANDANTE EN JEFE DEL EJERCITO.-
Su Despacho:

Señor Presidente:

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a Ud. con el objeto de presentarle el pliego anexo que contiene las consultas resumidas, de los Jefes y Oficiales de este Cuerpo, y que fuera preparado de acuerdo con los propios deseos de Ud., en relación con la plática que se ha servido anunciar para fecha -- próxima.

Protesto al Señor Presidente, mi subordinación y respeto.

POR LA PATRIA Y LA REVOLUCION

Guatemala, 5 de Junio de 1954.



DE ORDEN DEL JEFE DEL E. M. DEL EJERCITO

SUBJEFE

Anexo: Pliego de consultas, contenido en tres hojas.-

c.c. Señor Coronel de Inf. Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas;
Señor Coronel de Inf., Ministro de la Defensa Nacional.

Document No. 8

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

This is the attachment to the preceding Document. It is prefaced with a statement of complete support of the line of Arbenz' policy, whatever it may be, on the part of the Army officers who are submitting the questions which are to follow. The officers want this to be clear to the President at the outset. They also point out that he asked that the questions be formulated.

Because of the significance of these questions, they are being translated in full. The original questions are unnumbered, and they are sometimes preceded or followed by declaratory remarks.

"Is there any evidence that our national and international policy would not achieve its desired ends, without need of the Communist Party?

"The Government presently utilizes the Communist Party for its purposes; but: is there any assurance that at a given moment the Government can nullify it or put it aside, without thereby causing a disaster?

"Would it not be possible that the Guatemalan Communists, and especially the foreign residents, should dedicate themselves wholly to the internal affairs of their party; and likewise (would it not be possible) that they should be separated from posts and positions in which they conduct divisive campaigns among the citizenry, at the same time that they defame and insult foreign governments--all of which is contrary to the ends of the Government? Said posts are, principally:

General Secretariat of the Presidency
National Teaching Profession
Official Press
National Radio Station
Peasant Confederation (of Workers)
Public Administration posts.

"Could not the Government oblige all its collaborators, without distinction, to pursue the nationalist policy of the country; and prohibit groups and individuals from intervening in affairs of other countries?

"Could not the Government proscribe the practice of the related parties of bringing incapable and harmful elements, both citizens and foreigners, into public administration posts, solely on the basis of (party) affiliation and not ability; and (could not the Government) give an opportunity to any Guatemalan who proves he is competent?

"Would it not be more profitable for Guatemala to have an exclusively centrist policy, with a view to achieving a true national unity, which is so necessary at all times, and indispensable at the present time?

"What is your judgment relative to the (much) discussed matter of Article 32 of the Constitution? ||

"Why not make an official, public statement that the organisms charged with the maintenance of national order are: the Guardia Civil in the first place, and, ultimately, the National Army?

"Would it not be profitable to deny authorization, in the same manner, to the calls and threats of leaders such as CASTILLO Flores who, under the real or assumed pretext of reactionary maneuvers, so alarms the public? ||

"Could you not likewise condemn threats such as that made by Deputy MONTENEGRO Paniagua, who said that at the first shot they will order the heads blown off the anti-Communists? || *

"In spite of its numerical smallness, the Communist Party, thanks to its iron discipline, controls the working and peasant masses even when the workers and peasants are not Communists; nevertheless; they have to obey the orders issued by the leaders under (proven) penalty of death or, in the better cases, beatings, encarcelation, or confiscation of property. Why are these things permitted; rather: why are those abuses not prohibited? || *

"Do you know, Mr. President, that when the Communist leaders harass the representatives of the military authority (Commissioners, Adjutants, etc.) whom they kill, wound, jail, or make subjects of evil reports designed to effect their removal (because they will not agree to register in their organizations), they openly manifest themselves as anti-militarists? and that on many occasions they have stated, in addition, that 'the National Army must disappear to make way for the people's militias'? || *

"Does Mr. President have confidence in the information which the services of the Army can provide him, since I consider that this is the most truthful, impartial and sincere source on which he can count?

"Would Mr. President not care to base himself solely and exclusively on his National Army--which is blindly loyal to him--in order to follow freely a sincere and nationalist policy which we all recognize? and in order to be independent of compromises--if there are any--with respect to the groups which carried him to the Presidency for the satisfaction of selfish ends?

"Some days past the newspapers published a letter from Col. BARRIOS Pena, addressed to Mr President; might we know what thought that letter merited?

"According to Mr. President's definition, Communism can be compared to strychnine: it is beneficial in small doses, and fatal in large ones. Who can determine when the 'dose' ceases to be harmless and turns into a deadly poison?

"At the present time in Guatemala, due to extra-governmental influences, agitators and causers of disunity are protected, whereas PASSIVE anti-Communists are persecuted. (Of course, and with all good reason, conspirators are persecuted and punished.) Would it not be advisable to apply the law without distinctions which do so much harm to the Government and the country?

"If all of the people recently captured because of the plot discovered a few days ago have violated the law, why are they arrested without a warrant, and why is their detention later denied?

"It is known that the Communists are armed and that they give military instruction to their followers. Why are measures not taken so that at least they have their arms protected by legal license?

"Why not decisively prohibit the organization of the peasant masses in the form in which the leader CASTILLO Flores is doing it, since that could be considered as a first step toward the organization of the People's Army which has already been announced, and which is contrary to the one and only National Army?

Guatemala, 5 June 1954."

PLIEGO DE CONSULTAS DE LA OFICIALIDAD DEL ESTADO MAYOR DEL EJERCITO, PREPARADO POR SUGESTION DEL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA, PARA LOS EFECTOS DE LA PLATICA QUE DICTARA EL PROPIO ALTO FUNCIONARIO OPORTUNAMENTE, EN ESTE CUERPO.-----

Antes de proponer las consultas expresadas, la totalidad de los Jefes y Oficiales del Estado Mayor, de la Inspección General y de la Ayudantía General del Ejército, desean hacer saber al Señor Presidente de la República que: Cualquiera que sea la línea de su política y cualesquiera que sean los propósitos de la actividad gubernativa que él dirige como Jefe del Ejecutivo, la apoyan y respaldan, íntegramente y sin reservas de ninguna clase. Y que solamente por cumplir con los deseos del Señor Presidente, formulan las preguntas siguientes:

Hay alguna evidencia de que la política nacional e internacional, no rendiría satisfactoriamente los fines que se propone, sin necesidad del partido comunista?

El Gobierno utiliza actualmente al partido comunista para sus fines; pero: hay alguna seguridad de que en un momento dado puede el Gobierno nulificarlo o apartarlo, sin que ello traiga consigo un desastre?

No sería posible que los comunistas guatemaltecos, y especialmente los extranjeros residentes, se dedicaran íntegramente a las cosas internas de su partido; y que por lo mismo se les apartara de los puestos y posiciones en donde hacen campañas de disociación entre la ciudadanía, a la vez que difaman e insultan a gobiernos extranjeros, todo lo cual es contrario a los fines del Gobierno? Dichos puestos son, principalmente:

Secretaría General de la Presidencia.
Magisterio Nacional.
Prensa Oficial.
Radiodifusora Nacional.
Confederación Campesina (de Trabajadores).
Puestos de la Administración Pública.

No podría el Gobierno obligar a todos sus colaboradores sin distinción, a seguir la política nacionalista del país; y prohibir a las agrupaciones e individuos que intervengan en asuntos de otros países?

No podría el Gobierno proscribir la práctica de los partidos afines, de hacer entrar en la administración pública a elementos incapaces y nocivos, nacionales y extranjeros, sólo por el hecho de su filiación y no por capacidad; y dar oportunidad a cualquier guatemalteco que demuestre competencia?

No sería más conveniente para Guatemala una política exclusivamente centrista, con el objeto de lograr una unidad nacional verdadera, tan necesaria en todos los tiempos e indispensable en los actuales?

Cuál es el criterio de Ud. con relación al discutido asunto del Artículo 32 de la Constitución?

Document No. 9

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

This document is a set of "answers" to the Army questions set forth in the preceding document. Whether or not these answers were ever given to the Army is not known. The answers are translated:

- "1. If we consistently follow the national and international policy which we have been following, undoubtedly we shall have the support of the P. G. T. (Note: P. G. T. is CP Guatemala.)
- "2. The Government does not utilize the P. G. T. as an instrument; neither is the cancellation of that Party planned. Whether or not there would be a disaster would depend on a change in policy contrary to the popular interests.
- "3. There are very few Communists in official agencies and it is easy to prove that they do not dedicate themselves precisely to that, which is what the opposition press has been saying all along. In the General Secretariat there is not one single Communist. In the Teaching Profession, there can be as many as they like, because neither the regulations thereof nor academic freedom permit discrimination on that basis. I do not know how many (Communists) there may be attached to Diario de Centroamerica, but those who write mistakenly there are not Communists.
- "4. In the National Radio establishment, the Director thereof is known as a Communist, but it is interesting that he has taken great care to see to it that the Radio should not be a means of provocation; even the foreign radio campaign has not been answered. In the DAN there are several Communists, but they are precisely the most efficient people and the ones who do not sell out to the landholders. With reference to the workers and peasants organizations, the Government has nothing to do with them, unless it is to act like the fascist tyrannies and regimes (Batista, Peron, etc.)
- "4. It is impossible and improper to violate constitutional guarantees in this sense.
- "5. An effort has been made to lessen that vice insofar as it exists, but neither can one trust "just any Guatemalan" who often simulates an "apolitical" position but turns out to be a saboteur.

- "6. 'True national unity,' understood as the denial of the presence of great antagonistic interests, does not exist; for that reason a policy of national unity of the democratic forces against the landholders and exploiting companies should be followed.
- "7. Said Article needs no interpretation; there is no international or foreign party here, and any criterion for considering one of the existing parties to be such, could later be applied to all.
- "8. The Ministry of Government has already said that the authorities will maintain order in the proper manner.
- "9. It is very dangerous at this stage to consider that there is 'an assumed pretext of reactionary maneuvers;' there is a traitorous conspiracy directed from abroad and it is hoped that the people will help even more in continuing to uncover it, since our own security organs are not up to it.
- "10. The first thing would be to learn whether or not Deputy Montenegro said that; the second thing is to consider whether, if we are invaded, we should leave the internal enemies dedicated to their sabotage activities.
- "11. This is the first time that I have learned that the gentlemen of the P. G. T. have recourse to those measures, but the great demonstrations (May Day, etc.) give the impression that leaders like Gutierrez are much beloved and the influence of the Communists depends on their activity and their devotion to guiding the workers and peasants.
- "12. I believe that neither of the two things is true: the majority of cases involving Commissioners that I know of arise because they clash with the peasants and it is known that only some few peasants are Communists. I understand that the party which first issued publications pointing out what CEGUAGE proposed in its program to do with the Army was the P. G. T. ; it also appears that the Communists have always saluted the pronouncements of the Chief of the Armed Forces, as on 13 March.
- "13. Of course, I place much trust in it, but it is proven that it is not sufficient; I could not cease to rely on the Guardia Civil and the Guardia Judicial, and rather what seems to be needed is better work in the three services.

- "14. I fully appreciate the role of the Army and I believe that I could not have continued to govern if it had not been for its solid support, but, together with the Army, I need all possible support from the patriotic, social and political forces. To govern 'solely and exclusively' with the Army--or rather with part of the Army--is what dictators like Perez Jimenez, Somoza, etc., do.
- "15. (blank)
- "16. That expression is not really mine, and I am not interested in formulating one of my own concerning the matter. What I can do is make it very clear that I am not a Communist nor can I be one in the future, but I am not, nor shall I be an anti-Communist, because I know where that leads.
- "17. This question indeed looks as though it were posed in defense of some who consider themselves sincere 'passive anti-Communists,' but the truth is those who are being persecuted are vulgar conspirators sold out to the Fruit Company.
- "18. Our laws are so weak for the defense of the institutions, and the conspirators take such pains to leave no evidence, that it is impossible to do anything else, although when there is true evidence, it is done. It would be naive not to arrest those who are well known to be involved.
- "19. I do not think that one should confuse with that the sincere request of some workers, peasants, and students that they be given military instruction. Unless you have some concrete information which I do not possess.
- "20. No people's Army is being formed, although it is true indeed that the workers and peasants who know well what they defend in this Regime are disposed to do anything. For its part, the Army may rest assured that, maintaining such a firm and clear position, it enjoys sympathy and has no reason to fear the people. On two occasions already popular elements have taken up arms, and it will be remembered that subsequently they have returned them so that the Army could continue performing its Constitutional function."

1. Si se sigue consecuentemente la política nacional e internacional que hemos seguido, indudablemente tendremos el apoyo del P.G.T.
2. Ni el gobierno utiliza como instrumento al P.G.T., ni está planteado su retiro a anulación; el desastre dependería de efectuar un cambio de política contrario a los intereses populares.
3. Hay muy pocos comunistas en dependencias oficiales y es fácil comprobar que no se dedican precisamente a eso, que es lo que ha venido siempre diciendo la prensa opositora. En la Secretaría General no hay uno sólo; en el magisterio puede haber todos los que sean, porque ni el Escalafón ni la libertad de docencia permiten discriminar por eso; en Diario de Centroamérica no sé que haya, pero los que escriben equivocadamente allí no son comunistas.
4. En la Radio Nacional, es conocido su Director como tal, pero es interesante que ha cuidado mucho de que la Radio no sea un medio de provocación; hasta ha quedado sin responder a la campaña de radio extranjera. En el DAN hay varios comunistas, pero son precisamente los más eficaces y que no se venden a los terratenientes.
En cuanto a las organizaciones de trabajadores y campesinos, el gobierno no tiene nada que ver, de no ser que actuara como las tiranías y regímenes fascistas (Batista, Perón, etc).
4. Es imposible e inconveniente vulnerar las garantías constitucionales en este sentido.
5. Se ha tratado de moderar ese vicio, en cuanto existe, pero tampoco puede confiar en "cualquier guatemalteco", que muchas veces simulándose "apolítico" resulta saboteador.
- 6a La "unidad nacional verdadera", entendida como la negación de los grandes intereses antagónicos no existe, por eso debe seguirse una política de unidad nacional de las fuerzas democráticas contra los terratenientes y compañías explotadoras.
7. Que dicho artículo no necesita ninguna administración interpretación, que aquí no hay ningún partido internacional ni extranjera, y que cualquier criterio para considerar así a uno de ellos podría ser luego aplicable a todos.
8. Ya se ha dicho por el Ministro de Gobernación que las autoridades mantendrán el orden debidamente.
9. Es muy peligroso considerar a estas alturas que hay "pretexto supuesto de maniobras reaccionarias"; hay una conspiración traidora dirigida desde el extranjero y ojalá que el pueblo ayudará más todavía a seguirla descubriendo, pues nuestros propios órganos de seguridad no están a la altura.
10. Lo primero sería saber si el diputado Montenegro dijo eso; lo segundo es pensar que si nos invaden debemos dejar a los enemigos de dentro dedicados a sus actividades de sabotaje.
11. Es la primera vez que sé que a esos medios recurren los señores del P.G.T., pero las grandes demostraciones (le. de Mayo, etc.) dan la impresión que dirigentes como Gutiérrez son muy queridos y la influencia de los comunistas depende de su actividad y su entrega a guiar a trabajadores y campesinos.
12. Cree que ninguna de las dos cosas es cierta: la mayor par-

Document No. 10

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Letter to Arbenz dated 31 May 1954, from Rogelio CRUZ Wer, Chief of the Guardia Civil (Police). Refers to the activities of the delegation of Guatemalans to the recent Anti-Communist Congress held in Mexico City. States that CRUZ has suggested to the Guatemalan Foreign Minister the advisability of immediately cancelling the visas of all members of the anti-Communist delegation from Guatemala, to prevent their return to Guatemala.



GUARDIA CIVIL

REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA; C. A.

REF:GGOFM

Of. 468.-

Mayo 31 de 1954.

G. 12204-2-22M-8-53

Señor Presidente:

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a Ud., con el propósito de hacer de su superior conocimiento que, con esta fecha envié al Despacho del Señor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, dos recortes de los periódicos El Imparcial y Nuestro Diario, - correspondientes al 29 del mes que hoy finaliza, que se refieren a la propaganda subversiva que algunos guatemaltecos están haciendo, con motivo del congreso anticomunista efectuado por 13 países americanos en la Ciudad de México.

Permitiéndome asimismo informar al Señor Presidente -- que, esta Dirección General ha sugerido al titular de Relaciones Exteriores, la conveniencia de cancelar inmediatamente las visas de todos los que integran la delegación anticomunista de Guatemala, ya que sus actividades los colocan en un plano que requiere acción para que no retornen al territorio Nacional.

Aprovecho la oportunidad para suscribirme con todo respeto y consideración, como su atento y leal servidor,



POR LA PATRIA Y LA REVOLUCION

DIRECCION GENERAL DE LA GUARDIA CIVIL

Señor Presidente de la República,
Palacio Nacional.

Centenario Prócer de la Libertad

Doctor Pedro Molina

~~SECRET — U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

Document No. 11

(From the Ministry of Government)

Telegram from Departmental leader of the pro-Arbenz Party of the Guatemalan Revolution (PRG), 25 June 1954, to Ministries of Government and Communications. Sender complains that Departmental Governor is loosely accusing certain people of being anti-Communist!

~~SECRET — U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

Ministro de Gobernacion.
Ministro de Comunicaciones y O. P.

3h35m.

Panajachel 25 Junio/54.-

Pude enterarme Gobernador Deptal. aprovecha actual emergencia para rendir ~~feitos informes~~ informes contra empleados afiliados PRG. acusandolos de anticomunistas o estar servicio Castillo Armas, como está haciendolo contra R. Antonio Torres, telegrafista Jefe Comunicaciones esta, y quien hace mas dos años vien actuando como secretario asuntos sociales PRG Panajachel. Torres, no ha querido inscribirse PAR tiene seria enemistad personal con algunos dirigentes y afiliados tal partido. Quienes no miden consecuencias terribles puede tener denuncia relativa estar servicio Castillo Armas, lo que no es cierto, porque estoy posibilidad probar ficha politica todos y cada uno directivos PRG Departamento. Antes actuar ruegole no obstante tener seguridad lealtad y buen servicio Torres favor Gobierno in-

Document No. 12

(From personal papers of Alfonso Martinez)

This is a certificate, on stationery of the Party of Revolutionary Action (PAR) which reflects an early political connection between a leading Communist and the man who later became the head of the National Agrarian Department (DAN) and who continued to hold that post as of the fall of the Arbenz regime. The document is signed by Jose Manuel Fortuny as Secretary General of the P. A. R.; he later became (and is still) the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala (P. G. T.). The document certifies that Alfonso Martinez (the above-cited Agrarian chief) was (as of 5 December 1947) an active member of the P. A. R. and that he held the post of Delegate to the Electoral Boards in the Department of Solola.

Martinez' subsequent close association with Fortuny is well known.

PARTIDO ACCION REVOLUCIONARIA
SECRETARIA DE ORGANIZACION
Comité Ejecutivo Nacional
Guatemala, C. A.

P. A. R.

LA SECRETARIA DEL COMITE EJECUTIVO NACIONAL DEL PARTIDO
ACCION REVOLUCIONARIA:

C E R T I F I C A

Que el señor ALFONZO MARTINEZ, es miembro activo de esta Entidad Política ocupando en la actualidad el cargo de DELEGADO EN LAS MESAS ELECTORALES en el Departamento de SOLOLA. Debiendo informar por escrito todas las actividades que lleve a cabo, y no podrá desempeñar ninguna actividad extraordinaria sin orden escrita emanada de la Central.



Guatemala, 4 de Diciembre 1947

Jose Manuel Fortuny
Jose Manuel Fortuny.
Secretario General del C.E.N.

Document No. 13

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Report dated 19 May 1954, directed to the Supreme Council of National Defense, submitted by a Commission named to prepare the general lines of a Plan for the reestablishment of control of the Militia of the Republic on the part of the National Army. The Commission found that said control had been completely and deplorably lost, and that immediate reestablishment thereof was of the most urgent necessity in view of the threat of invasion and the inadequacy of the Army.

19 de Mayo de 1954.-

HONORABLE CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE LA DEFENSA NACIONAL.
Presente.-

Los suscritos, integrantes de la Comisión nombrada para preparar los lineamientos generales de un Plan tendiente al restablecimiento del control de las Milicias de la República por parte del Ejército Nacional, tenemos el honor de dar cuenta al Honorable Consejo Superior con el referido estudio, en la forma siguiente:

I.- ANTECEDENTES:

El Consejo Superior de la Defensa Nacional, en sesión efectuada el viernes 7 de los corrientes a las 1500 horas, conoció de la moción presentada por uno de los miembros, que se relaciona con la urgente necesidad de iniciar una acción metódica y cuidadosa con miras a organizar en la forma debida, las milicias de la República, cuyo control desgraciadamente está perdido a la fecha.

El propio Alto Cuerpo en pleno, compenetrado de la gravedad e importancia del problema — el cual se ha agravado debido a la situación política de la época — decidió el nombramiento de una Comisión de su seno, la que tendría como finalidad preparar un Plan General para el restablecimiento de prácticas desaparecidas con relación a las milicias nacionales, aunque con las modificaciones que exige el nuevo orden de cosas; ello con el objeto de que: una vez reunidas y consolidadas las opiniones que se manifestaron a lo largo de la referida sesión, se elevara dicho Plan al Honorable Consejo Superior por intermedio de la Comisión Permanente, para discutirlo, previa reunión del Consejo por convocatoria de esta Comisión aludida. El Plan, ya aprobado, en su caso sería puesto en conocimiento, debidamente argumentado, del Señor Presidente de la República y de los demás altos jefes miembros del Mando del Ejército Nacional.

De dicha reunión con los jefes mencionados, la que sería solicitada por el Consejo en pleno, saldrían las órdenes para que el Estado Mayor del Ejército preparara el plan definitivo y detallado que debería ser puesto en práctica inmediatamente.

II.- REALIDAD ACTUAL.

A partir del año de 1944, las altas autoridades del Ejército Nacional soslayaron por completo el mantenimiento de un CENSO MILITAR, la ORGANIZACIÓN de las Milicias y el CONTROL de las mismas. Por otra parte, y debido a la desorganización que trajo consigo al principio el establecimiento de un nuevo orden de las Fuerzas Armadas, se descuidó de llevar un Censo Militar adecuado de

las milicias

Document No. 14

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

File of the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Relations containing a memorandum for the President in which he is specifically informed of open and decoded cables sent to (and from) Guatemalan diplomatic representatives in the United States, Central and South America. The cables, dated 20-21 May 1954, set forth a flat denial of the U. S. State Department's charges regarding the origin of the notorious arms shipment; and they issue instructions regarding that Department's efforts to convoke an inter-American consultative conference in order to apply "the Dulles interventionist resolution and the Rio Treaty" to Guatemala, and urge efforts to thwart said designs.

El Salvador.-

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MINISTERIO DE
RELACIONES EXTERIORES
REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA

MEMORANDUM

Asunto: Armamento y
actitud del
gob.de EEUU

Para el Ciudadano
Presidente Constitucional de la República

El 20 Mayo a la 1 y 20' de la madrugada quedó despachado a nuestra Embajada en San Salvador, el cablegrama abierto, #1892 con las siguientes instrucciones:

" Afirmación Dept.Estado respecto material para ejército recibidos aquí proceden Polonia absolutamente falso. Guatemala no ha gestionado ni recibido nunca material para ejército procedente de Polonia Unión Soviética ni ningún país mencionado en declaraciones Dept.Estado. Debido reiterada negativa Estados Unidos vender material para ejército para seguridad y defensa Guatemala, se obtuvo en otro país, en ejercicio legítimo de soberanía nacional. Absténgase hacer declaraciones prensa hasta recibir boletín llegará hoy".

Simultáneamente envié al Embajador Asturias el cifrado que dice:

"1893. Comuniqué Cancillería ésa conceptos mi 1892 y manifiéstele que gobierno Estados Unidos pretexto venida material para el ejército pretende reunir consulta interamericana fin intervenir Guatemala aplicando resolución Caracas. Solicite apoyo."

Y como complemento del anterior mensaje, envié otro cifrado a San Salvador, en los términos siguientes:

"1951. Dept.Estado sigue maniobrando reunión consulta Cancilleres para aplicar resolución intervencionista Dulles y Tratado Rio a Guatemala. Visite Cancillería solicitando apoyo".

El Embajador Asturias contestó de la siguiente manera:

"CIFRADO San Salvador 20 mayo 1954. No.115. Su 1893. En entrevista sumamente cordial comuniqué Canesa conceptos mismo. Mostróse complacido por atención y díjome creía imposible e inoperante Estados Unidos usaran pretexto convocar reunión interamericana.

A solicitud apoyo respondíome estaríamos en contacto pues no tenía información al respecto. Conversando tema Nicaragua díjome que previa consulta con Presidente El Salvador si fuere posible podría hacerse cargo asilados nuestra Embajada".

El 20 de Mayo envié a San Salvador el cable con el boletín fijando la postura del Gobierno en el asunto.

Y con respecto al caso de los asilados contesté, a mi vez, al Embajador Asturias, lo que sigue:

"21 de mayo 1954.

CIFRADO #1911.
Ent 115. Ayer hablé Embajador Funes rogándole Embajada Salvadoreña en Nicaragua hágase cargo asilados Embaguate a fin personal guatemalteco pueda abandonar Managua. Funes llegará hoy explicará Presidente Osorio esa situación y falsedad aseveraciones sobre participación Guatemala en huelga Honduras así como relativas material para el ejército recién recibido"

~~SECRET~~ - U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

Industrial and Technical Advisory Service.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FACTORIES - ADVISORS FOR TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHEMES;
SUPPLY OF MACHINERY AND MATERIALS-PURCHASING AGENTS-AGENCIES, - EXPORT OF EUROPEAN GOODS

REGISTERED GENOVA N. 01747 & 119999

Telegr. CONCISA - GENOVA

Please correspond in English,
French or German.

To the
Government of Guatemala
Guatemala City :

BANKS:

BANCA D'AMERICA E D'ITALIA, GENOVA (ITALY)
NATIONALE HANDELSBANK N. Y. BOMBAY (INDIA)
BANK OF NEW YORK, 48 WALL STREET, NEW YORK (USA)
BANQUE DE BRUXELLES, BRUXELLES (BELGIUM)
LLOYDS BANK LONDON (ENGLAND)

Ref.

All offers subject to prior
disposal, & change of prices.

Genova, (Italy) May 28th 1954.
2 Via Maragliano - Telephone 581.515

Sirs ,

Ref. to our previous correspondence we beg to offer :

- 1) 2 aeroplanes DC6
Series 19
Engine Pratt & Whitney
zero-ed
Airframe done 14,000 hours
Radio equipment .
- 2) Consolidated Vultures
Convair CV 340
engines : R - 2800 - CB 16 new
- 3) 3 DC4
engines R - 2000 - 13 freshly overhauled
If the planes interest you , please, let us know .
- 4) We offer furthermore towing aeroplanes and gliders from 2 Italian factories
for which we do export .
Would such planes and gliders interest you ?
- 5) We offer :
Ex stock Italian arm's factory for which we are the export sales Delegates
1400 submachine guns , produced in excess for large orders for Italy and
German border police .
Price CIF \$ 38.- For the lot of 1400 .
If this lot interests you we shall send details .
We offer to produce the same weapon in any amount at 48 \$ FOB
- 6) 25.000 rifles Mauser Carabines 98 . - 7,92 with baionet , belt, revised to
newworthy \$ 46/50 FOB
Supply from Swedish port but sale through Italian arm's factory for which
we act as exporter sales delegates .
Inspection in Sweden .
- 7) 92.000 rifles Swedish Carbine 6.5, majority new, rest revised .
These carbines are with 1000 round each .
Price FOB \$ 68/-/-
Supply from Sweden
Seller the Italian Arm's factory as mentioned above .

Yours faithfully



Document No. 15

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Letter to "The Government of Guatemala," 28 May 1954, from the "Industrial and Technical Advisory Service," Genoa, Italy, referring to "previous correspondence," and offering for sale airplanes, sub-machine guns and rifles. The arms are said to be from an Italian arms factory for which the Genoa firm acts as "exporter sales delegates." Some of the arms (at least) would be shipped from a Swedish port.

Document No. 16

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Decoded telegram, dated 31 May 1954 at Santiago, Chile from Arevalo to President Arbenz:

"32. President Ibanez invited me to lunch. We conversed comfortably for two hours. My impression optimistic. Senate and Chamber of Deputies separately will hold special session defense Guatemala. People and parties are agitating in our favor. Imperialist press sole adversary. Cordially.

Arevalo"

No. GCX1 1z

G. 11326-2-5M-9-52

CKS. 51

DEP. 18:38

Cablegrama

TRADUCCION DE CLAVE

TELEGRAMA

DE Santiago de Chile, 31 Mayo 1954

RECIBIDO EN LA CASA PRESIDENCIAL, A LAS 21:30

AL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA

32. Presidente Ibáñez invitóme almorzar. Conversamos dos horas cómodamente. Impresión mía optimista. Senado y Cámara Diputados separadamente harán sesión especial defensa Guatemala. Pueblo y partidos agitanse nuestro favor. Prensa imperialista único adversario. Cordialmente.

Arévalo.

TIP. NACIONAL—GUATEMALA

Document No. 17

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

This is a blind memorandum, dated 5 June 1954 at Guatemala, containing notes for a conversation with Guillermo ("Willy") Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister. The writer has special knowledge of Mexican governmental affairs, and of Guatemalan diplomatic relations with Mexico. (The writer may be former Guatemalan Consul in Mexico, Manuel PINTO Usaga.) Some of the points noted in the memorandum are:

1. Need for prompt appointment of Guatemalan Ambassador to Washington. Important Mexican opinions indicate absence of same hurts our cause.
2. Possibility of assigning special emissaries to Latin American governments to explain Guatemalan problem. Use Arevalo's prestige along these lines. If full support of these governments is not won, at least they will be neutralized somewhat. If someone had been sent to Costa Rica to talk to Figueres perhaps he would not have made the statements he made, even though his support is "precarious."
3. A distinguished and important Mexican has suggested that we should see if we can obtain the "good offices" of other friendly countries. Much emphasis should be placed on the Bogota Charter to avoid the malicious interpretation which the U. S. wants to give to the Rio Pact.
4. Guatemala should send a document to the UN, setting forth its views in the face of the aggression to which it is being subjected, the twisted character of U. S. propaganda, and all the evil activities of the news agencies. Guatemala should not leave the publicity field to its enemies.
5. Distinguished Mexicans who have the ear of President Ruiz, have offered to suggest to him the advisability of Mexico's friendly mediation--in keeping with the Bogota Charter--with a view to avoiding the consultative conference which is being promoted.
6. The Society of Friends of Guatemala will shortly publish an important document.

7. It is being said "very hush-hush" that there are two currents of opinion in Ruiz' cabinet: one in favor of the removal of Foreign Minister PADILLA Nervo, and one in favor of his retention. The one desiring his removal is led by CARILLO Flores.
8. The very important work, "United States Against Liberty," by Isidro Fabela, is about to be republished. Given the value of this book at the present time, could the Government allot some 600 or more quetzales for the purchase of the book? (Note: one quetzal is equal to one dollar U. S.)
- (9. --omitted in original)
10. A student movement in favor of Guatemala is being promoted. A demonstration and a meeting are being prepared. The Embassy has made some expenditures for these and other ends, but its funds are insufficient. Could a sum be allotted for these purposes? or should we abstain completely from these activities?
11. Unfortunately the Mexican press pays little heed to our constant rectifications. We make them daily, but little or nothing is published. We've adopted this policy in order to get some space for Guatemalan information.
12. A document of intellectuals, journalists, writers, etc., is already being circulated for signatures in support of Guatemala.
13. The advisability of having the C. G. T. G. (General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala) call upon the (Mexican) Confederacion Revolucionaria de Trabajadores for an expression of solidarity with Guatemala. Similar action on the part of the Guatemalan Railroad workers' trade union (S. A. M. F.) vis-a-vis the Mexican Railroad workers' trade union. The Guatemalan peasant confederation should do the same.
14. General Lazaro Cardenas received me in his home yesterday. I hadn't visited him before, because he was away. He is much impressed by the problem of Guatemala and has every intention of aiding as much as possible. An audience with General Avila Camacho is being arranged.
15. Mexican personalities from different walks of life should be invited to visit Guatemala. The correspondent of "Novedades" should be treated well; he is a very good fellow.
16. The visit made to don Romulo O'Farril, owner of "Novedades," may possibly produce some results. He gives evidence of being a very good friend of ours.

PARA CONVERSAR CON WILLY TORIELLO

1.- Necesidad de que el Gobierno de Guatemala nombre a corto plazo su Embajador en Washington. Opiniones importantes de México indican que la ausencia de este funcionario en EE.UU. perjudica nuestra causa;

2.p Posibilidad de destacar ante los gobiernos de América emisarios especiales para explicar a las cancillerías y a importantes sectores oficiales, el problema de Guatemala. Aprovechar el prestigio de Arévalo para que en la América del Sur promueva una gestión con esos objetivos. Si no se obtiene un sí de aquellos gobiernos, por lo menos se les neutraliza un tanto. Si a Costa Rica se hubiera enviado a alguien para hablar con Figueres tal vez no habría hecho las declaraciones que hizo, aun cuando su apoyo sea tan precario; si se hizo quiere decir que fallan nuestras apreciaciones;

3.- Ver si se consiguen los buenos oficios de otros países amigos. Hacer mucho énfasis en la Carta de Bogotá para evitar la maliciosa interpretación que EE.UU. quiere dar al Pacto de Río. (Esta sugerencia es de ilustre e importante mexicano);

4.- Otra sugerencia que se nos ha hecho: que así como Guatemala denunció al mundo entero el complot internacional, anterior a este que se está dando a conocer, debe enviar a la ONU un documento -en vía informativa oficial- en que se concreten los puntos de vista de Guatemala frente a la agresión de que está siendo objeto, la deformación de la propaganda norteamericana y toda la acción malévolas de las agencias noticiosas. Este documento tendría la virtud de la antición de Guatemala, y luego, sería motivo de publicidad. Al problema de Guatemala, se nos dice, le falta mucha publicidad de parte de nuestro gobierno para contrarrestar la que se le hace en contra;

5.- Ilustres mexicanos, de gran prestigio y muy escuchados por Ruiz Cortinez, han ofrecido, despues de algunas gestiones, acercarse al Presidente con el objeto de plantearle la conveniencia de la mediación amistosa de México -a tono con la Carta de Bogotá- a fin de evitar la consulta que se está promoviendo. Para ello se necesita conocer si Guatemala aceptaría esa mediación amistosa de México, e igualmente conocer si esa mediación se haría en términos muy generales para tratar la controversia con EE.UU.

6.- En el curso de la otra semana la Sociedad Amigos de Guatemala emitirá un importante documento. (La apatía de aquella parece que es reflejo de la cosa oficial);

7.- Muy "soto voce" se dice que en el gabinete de Ruiz Cortinez hay dos corrientes: la una propugna por la salida del Canciller Padilla Nervo y la otra porque se mantenga. La primera está encabezada por Carrillo Flores, Ministro de Hacienda;

8.- La importantísima obra de Isidro Fabela: "EE UU CONTRA LA LIBERTAD" está por reeditarse. Dado el valor de esta obra en el momento actual, ¿podría el gobierno destinar unos 600 o más quetzales para la compra del libro?

Document No. 18

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Memorandum on stationery of the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Relations, undated, addressed to "Distinguished and dear friend." Typed initials at bottom of page two are "G. T." Internal evidence indicates that this was written by Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, apparently to the President of El Salvador, and that it was to be carried by Salvadoran Ambassador to Guatemala, Colonel Jose Alberto Funes. The author thanks the intended recipient for the "absolute neutrality" which the latter's country has declared, in contrast to the hostile and provocative attitude of other Central American Governments. The author asks the intended recipient to use his "good offices" in inducing Honduras to eliminate the "provocations" effected by Guatemalan emigres in Honduras "with the knowledge and patience of the Government of that friendly country."

MINISTERIO DE
RELACIONES EXTERIORES
REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA

5000-1-54-C.G.

MEMORANDUM

Distinguido y querido amigo:

Aprovecho el viaje del Embajador Coronel Alberto Funes, para enviarle estas líneas que le llevan un cariñoso y atento saludo así como mis mejores votos por su ventura personal.

Recientemente tuvimos con el amigo Funes, en presencia del Canciller Guillermo Toriello, una cordial entrevista sobre los ingentes problemas internacionales y especialmente los que atañen a la situación, artificialmente creada, en Centro América. Le he pedido al Coronel Funes se sirva repetir a Usted, mi querido amigo, los puntos de vista que sostiene mi Gobierno sobre este delicado asunto. Le he dicho a su Embajador, y lo repito con agrado, que la posición asumida por Usted con respecto a Guatemala, no solo ha sido y es francamente cordial y amistosa, sino que la he calificado de extraordinaria.

La llamo así porque en este momento en que otros Gobiernos centroamericanos han tomado actitudes hostiles y provocadoras contra mi país, Usted ha declarado una neutralidad absoluta que, además de ejemplar, es prueba de una franca amistad hacia Guatemala en nombre de cuyo Pueblo y Gobierno le expreso nuestra profunda gratitud.

Sabedor de esos sentimientos suyos, le he solicitado al señor Embajador Funes que le exponga el deseo de mi Gobierno de mantener inalterable nuestras relaciones de amistad también con el Gobierno de la hermana República de Honduras y que pienso que el mejor camino para fortalecer esos lazos amistosos sería

que Usted

Document No. 19

(From Arbenz' personal effects)

Memorandum of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Honduras, dated 7 June 1954 at Tegucigalpa, addressed to Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister. Essence: Honduras declines to sign Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression (requested by Guatemala) on grounds that existing pacts (specifically cited) constitute a full "guarantee of our cordial relations." The signing of a new pact would cause concern on the part of other Central American Republics.

MINISTERIO DE
RELACIONES EXTERIORES
REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA

| |
|------------------------|
| CLASIFICACION: NO..... |
| |

SIRVASE REFERIRSE AL NUMERO Y CLASIFICACION DE ESTA NOTA

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores
de la República de Honduras

Tegucigalpa, D.C., 7 de junio de 1954.

No. 34390 A.G.

EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR MINISTRO:

Tengo el honor de referirme a la atenta propuesta de Vuestra Excelencia, contenida en su mensaje cablegráfico fechado el 27 de mayo último, y formulada en los siguientes términos: "....en confirmación enfática de nuestra política de no intervención, mi Gobierno se honra en someter a consideración del ilustrado Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia, de manera formal, no obstante la existencia del Tratado Multilateral Antibélico de No Agresión y Conciliación (Río de Janeiro 1933) vigente entre nuestros dos países, la conveniencia de la firma inmediata de un Pacto de Amistad y no Agresión entre Guatemala y Honduras, con el objeto de cimentar fuertemente la paz y la amistad, y alejar toda zozobra en nuestras buenas y cordiales relaciones."

Permítame Vuestra Excelencia, como punto general de esta respuesta, que tome nota y le agradezca, en nombre de mi Gobierno, la reafirmación que se sirve hacer en el preámbulo de su propuesta, de la política de Guatemala encaminada, según se expresa, al mayor estrechamiento de la cordial amistad y la completa colaboración con el Gobierno hondureño. A este respecto tengo el honor de reafirmarle, a mi vez, la posición de Honduras de no intervenir, ni individual ni colectivamente, en los asuntos internos o externos de los demás países. Esta posición, que constituye la base de su política internacional, la observa mi Gobierno de manera especial, y con el celo que

EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR LICENCIADO GUILLERMO TORIELLO GARRIDO.
MINISTRO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES DE GUATEMALA.
CIUDAD DE GUATEMALA.

Document No. 20

(From Arbenz ' personal effects)

A memorandum from Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, to Augusto Charnaud MacDonald, Minister of Government, sent via Arbenz, dated 14 June 1954.

The memorandum cites three examples of acts of brutality on the part of the Guatemalan police, committed against "honest and respectable citizens," and further states that Minister Toriello has been informed of "many other similar cases." Toriello wrote, such acts "will gravely prejudice the prestige and good name of the Government and the Revolution." In addition, he wrote that such acts would be exaggerated and capitalized on by the enemies of Guatemala to portray the government as a "brutal dictatorship," and that such acts add to the intranquility of the Guatemalan people.

Toriello also states, "as a man of the Revolution, I respect the necessity of applying the law, as strongly as possible, against subversives; but I cannot be in accord with acts of this nature, contrary to our laws and counter-productive in their effects on the defense of the Government and the Revolution." "Besides, in my capacity as a member of the cabinet, I consider this action entirely unfavorable to the Government, as much so internally as externally."

Guatemala, junio 19 de 1,954.

~~SECRET~~
A
Frente Democrático Departamental
Jutiapa, Zacapa, Quetzaltenango, Suchitepéquez, ~~Mariscal~~, IZABAL,
ALTA VERAPAZ
Urge pónganse contacto Gobernador, quien transmitirales disposición Frente
Democrático Nacional.

Humberto González Juárez

Bernardo Alvarado Monzón

Leonardo Castillo Flores

Víctor Manuel Gutierrez.

Augusto Charnaud Mac Donald

A
Gobernador Departamental
Jutiapa, Zacapa, Quetzaltenango, Suchitepéquez, San Marcos

Cite y reciba urgentemente frente democrático esa, con objeto indicarles:
presentese Jefe Zona jurisdicción, proporcionandole listas afiliados que
hayan prestado servicio y que sean de absoluta seguridad revolucionaria,
así como el nombre de elementos que puedan prestar eficaces servicios
ejército y que sean de insospechable filiación revolucionaria y de parti-
do. Debe darse el mayor número posible, sin sectarismos y dando preferen-
cia a los mejores elementos de los partidos. Los que en propios partidos
son dudosos no deben ser admitidos. Informeme resultados.

L. c. Augusto Charnaud MacDonald
Ministro de Gobernación.

Document No. 21

(From the Ministry of Government)

Rough draft of two telegrams, dated 19 June 1954 (the day after the Army of Liberation entered Guatemala), concerning the organization of support for the National Army on the part of the coalition of pro-Arbenz political parties--the "National Democratic Front." (Communists and pro-Communists figure prominently in the signatures.) The first message is directed to units of the Front in various Departments (provinces) of Guatemala. It urges that members thereof get in touch with the Departmental Governor who will give them the line of the National Democratic Front. The second message, addressed to various Departmental Governors by the Minister of Government, instructs them to call immediately the local Democratic Front and instruct them to go to the Zone Chief in their area and give him a list of affiliates who have performed (military) service and who are of absolute revolutionary security. They should also provide him with the names of elements who can render effective service to the Army, and who are likewise politically trustworthy. As many people as possible should be made available. Sectarianism should be avoided. Preference should be given to the better elements of the parties. Those who are suspected in their own parties should not be admitted. Results should be reported to the Minister of Government.

TELEGRAMA

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TELEGRAMA
Leonardo Castillo Flores
GUATEMALA - AMÉRICA CENTRAL

1 ag-ch 21dh 10. 18.45m.

Catarina 28 Junio/54

Urgenos aclare discursos de Coronels Arbenz y Diaz anoche 21.horas no creemos cambio. Atentamente..

Eduardo Morales
Secretario General Comunidad Campesina El
Sitio

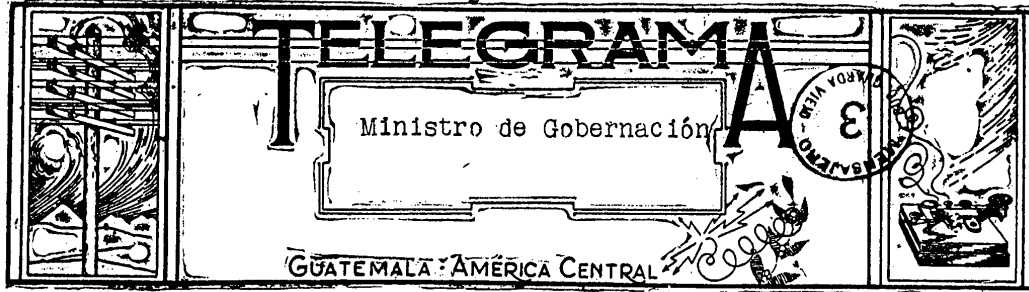
Document No. 22

(From the Ministry of Government)

This document is a collection of telegrams concerning the participation of the organized peasants (CNCG), led by the pro-Communist Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, in the defense of the Arbenz regime under the banner of "defense of national sovereignty."

In summary, the messages (dated 19-29 June 1954) reflect the following actions in various localities:

- a) the peasants are "organized militarily"
- b) arms are requested for use in driving out "the invaders"
- c) airfields which CASTILLO Armas forces might use have been destroyed
- d) peasants with previous military service have been identified and are available to the Arbenz forces
- e) the Chief of the Armed Forces, Carlos E. Diaz, expresses his gratitude for CNCG cooperation with the National Army (23 June 1954)
- f) the news of Arbenz' resignation is received with shocked disbelief and clarification is requested

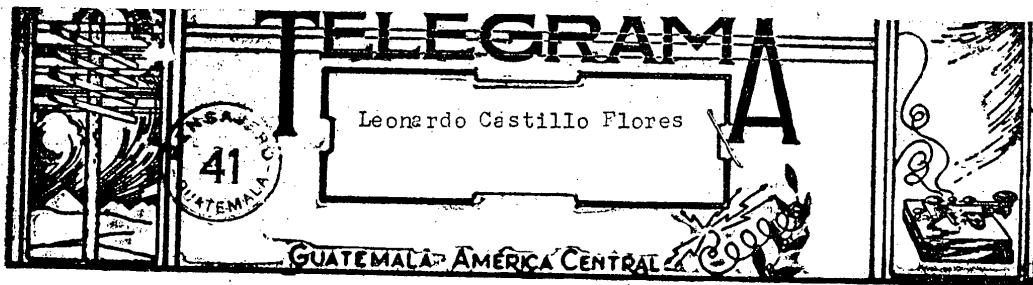


27/ar.ar.42dh.1945.2035.

Escuintla.22 junio-54.

#.61. Informole tripulantes avión derribado Base San José, encuentranse bajo tratamiento en el IGSS de ésta, dicen ser chilenos, carecen documentos identificación, encontre los bolsillos papeles raros que pueden tener importancia, los cuales estoy enviando con propio á Guardia Judicial Respetuoso.

Terencio Guillén Corleto
Gobernador Deptal



5 dz.19-dh.9 10 mp.

Puerto San José, 23 Junio 1954

Lamentamos todos campesinos lamentable equivocación accidente pilotos Chilenos, republica identificada nuestra lucha. Fraternamente.-

Alfonso García V.
Srio. Gral. Union Campesina Los Tubos

al recibir

Document No. 23

(From the Ministry of Government)

This document consists of two telegrams concerning the shooting down of Chilean pilots by pro-Arbenz forces who later regretted their error.

The top message, dated 22 June 1954, is addressed to the Minister of Government by the Governor of Escuintla. He advises that the crew of the plane shot down at the San Jose Base, who are under treatment in the local unit of the IGSS (Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social--Guatemalan Institute of Social Security), say that they are Chileans. They lack identification documents. Some odd papers of possible importance were found in their pockets. These papers are being sent to the Guardia Judicial.

The bottom message, dated 23 June 1954, is addressed by a CNGC leader at Puerto San Jose to the head of the CNGC, Leonardo CASTILLO Flores. It expresses the regret of all the peasants over the "lamentable accident" regarding the Chilean pilots--"a republic identified with our struggle."

~~SECRET - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~