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2003

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Henry F. Holland
Assistant Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Recommendations for use in connection with
further proceedings in the United Nations
and/or the OAS Peace Commission, Guatemala.

1. Confirming our telephone conversation of this afternoon, I am submitting to you herewith a series of recommendations which we feel should receive the serious consideration of the Department. At the moment it is not clear to me whether the next significant proceedings will take place in the OAS Peace Council or in the United Nations Security Council, but these recommendations are submitted with a view to their use in either or both eventualities.

2. These recommendations may be drawn on for the substance of statements to be made by our spokesman in the UN as well as in the OAS; and it would be our thought that they should be included in any set of terms of reference which may be drawn up governing the conduct of any investigating body. I should like to incorporate by reference in this memorandum the paper which I left with you yesterday entitled "Memorandum of ideas * * * concerning Guatemalan situation", and I should like to reiterate at this time the importance of having some very firm terms of reference which will at the very least include the points made in the memorandum just above referred to. (Of course, if matters turn out in such a way that there is no UN action and the entire action is referred to the OAS Peace Council -- and if that body elects to remain in Washington and not to proceed to the field for the purposes of its investigation -- then there would be no point to so much of this or the other memorandum as pertains to the field trip, as such.)

3. The United States or probably other delegates should call upon the Guatemalan Government to submit all facts concerning the ALFHEM arms shipment, including true manifests -- since the present ones are known to be false -- to enable the investigating body to determine whether this very large shipment of arms was for offensive or defensive purposes, noting especially the comparative amounts of arms available to Guatemala as distinguished from other neighboring countries and also in relation to the normal requirements of an army of the size of the Guatemalan Army. And in addition to this single shipment, the Guatemalan regime should be called upon to present full particulars of

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all of their other procurements of arms within the past two years, as well as their efforts to obtain still additional quantities of arms -- with full specifics as to the kind and quantity thereof. I, of course, appreciate that this is the kind of evidence you propose to present at the OAS conference in the not too distant future, but I see no reason why it would not be a very useful thing to call upon Guatemala to produce this evidence, and all of it, at the present time. Even if this is only a speech by one of our representatives at the UN and even if the Guatemalans refuse to submit information -- or submit false or inadequate information, it seems to me that this would help to set them up for the punch which you will deliver at the conference later. [Of course, if this demand or any of the following ones are canceled by a Soviet veto, this also is good for your case.]

4. The Guatemalan Government should also be called upon to give a statement concerning the nature and extent of its support of the strikes in Honduras. They cannot deny this completely because of all their published statements and there's a lot of other interesting evidence such as the timing of the arrival of the three Guatemalan Consuls in Northern Honduras shortly before the commencement of the strikes, etc. The Guatemalan Government should also be called upon to state the nature and extent of its support to the clandestine newspaper of the Honduran Communist Party which is printed in Guatemala; and also the kind and quantity of Communist propaganda brought into Honduras by the Guatemalan Government in various ways. (We have considerable evidence to substantiate these charges and they should carry some impact.)

5. In connection with the point in the other memorandum, having to do with an investigation of the causes of the present situation in Guatemala, there should be the fullest investigation into arrests of and attacks upon anti-Communists in Guatemala, the harassment of the anti-Communist press, the torture and killing of political prisoners; the assassination of certain leading anti-Communists; and the like. Some of the persons who have escaped from Guatemala or who are still there in asylum might give affidavits through the Embassies in which they are located or near, and live witnesses might be found who could come forward to give their testimony in person

O/DD/P-FGW/bjm 6/22/54

Orig. to addressee

1 cc each:

cc: Mr. R. G. Leddy

Mr. []

Mr. []

Mr.

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1 cc - (WH)

FRANK G. WISNER
Deputy Director (Plans)

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