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My dear don PANCHO:

Our mutual friend, who spent some days with you, placed in my hands your letters written to me 21 April. In them you set yourself to answer my letter of the 9th of the same month in which I stated, among other matters of real interest, that which I judged of least importance, as it is and as I really consider it, that of my separation from the tasks which for so long a time and with such great hardships and sacrifices we have been attempting, inspired by sincere and high ideals and firm and generous proposals. My decision was not made in the heat of a willful reaction but (as the result of) a cold analysis of a series of facts which do not conform to my way of feeling and thinking. My health was the matter of least weight in my decision; we who have set ourselves upon a course of life fraught with our most noble enterprises and who have sworn all, absolutely all, on the altars of an ideal motivated by convictions of marked solidity, we can think of ourselves in order to tend our bodies when duty calls us to comply with the mission which we have set ourselves. This I demonstrated on my trip to (Mexico) and for this reason I indicated to you in my last letter that such a journey had been one of falling down and raising myself, for this was the truth, receiving in recompense the satisfaction of having complied with the ends which I pursued in the manner which I considered most appropriate. There are other things of a spiritual character which pain and which disillusion and which obligate us in a given moment to make that which in other circumstances we might call great decisions. It is not the first time in which I have found myself in similar circumstances, many are the anecdotes to which I could refer, if I did not (thus) have to make allusion to my own person.

I was greatly pleased by the conceptual aims of your letter of the 21st. Only the immense goodness of a friend, the sensitivity of his feelings and the heights of his mind could have dictated words so ecological and so undeserved by me. In them there is an over-estimation of my values and an affecting overflow which as I said before I found very pleasant. That little which I have been able to do has not succeeded in the colors nor with the reliefs which your goodness paints it in. That which there has been and always will be is a great sincerity within a greater esteem, as much for you as for our true friends. The unity of ideas, convictions and proposals, as you said, has kept us unified, for distance does not count when the mind and the sentiments find themselves ruled by the same causes and motivated by the identical forces, and that identification will be maintained, for I believe that the reasons which have maintained us in so strong a bond are born of convictions strongly rooted within ourselves. A thousand thanks for your warm sentences, then, for your words of encouragement and for your letters which signify to me your preoccupation with my health and your desires for my well-being. Many thanks.

If you carefully read my letter of 9 April, you will find in it a series of events which impelled me to make that decision to which I made reference before, and all these events, in spite of the explanations given by the representative of our friends and the promise to change their attitude and to heed my complaints, -- these events continue in force even today without being to have a firm confidence of being able to change a resolution which had its origin in the execution of said events. At the risk of tiring your mind, I am going to refer to some of them in order to gain a better comprehension (of the situation).

PPChrono

(Mexico)

My trip to the house of this person was in obedience to reasons which according to my criteria were of great importance. Our enemies have assumed a position and have thrown themselves into the attack. Realizing their powerful influence, almost decisive influence, which this senor (RAMIREZ) had in October of 1944 in (Guatemala), I believe we must not underestimate his intervention within the general framework of our affairs. The political responsibility has been placed on my shoulders and within these attributes which were ascribed to me, I decided that we must combat our adversary in his own house. What to do? To visit him, to determine and weigh his ~~force~~ strength, and to study and to consider the way to combat him effectively. And this was what I did. I determined his weak flanks and I prepared a plan to attack them. I sounded out and I discovered the forces which we could move against them: student, workers organization, catholic organizations, social secretariat, press and radio, the Frente Popular Anticomunista, organized capital, etc. And I began negotiations with said groups and investigated the possibility that they might be able to act in the moment in which we needed them. I also analyzed the force, situation, and aid of our adversary compatriots. The logical and elementary investigations having been made, I designated the persons who could maintain the necessary relationship and a greater rapprochement for the employment of our forces. The focus of the attack on the Committees of Friends (com.) were laid out along lines which were to be followed in an immediate manner; the instructions to enter our newspaper into Guatemala and the necessary investigations in order to determine enemy concentrations along the frontiers were also demanded, and the conduct of our relations with the students, workers, Church, catholics, press and capital were determined. You can understand what I felt when on my return one of our principal workers informed me that he had received different orders and the proposal to subject it to the direction and control of Colonel RAMIREZ, who has acted as our adversary and who refused to have any connection with me. All the information which I have received demonstrates that this person has the support of our friends, including that of an economic order. Our people feel confused and possibly have even come to think that I had tried to sound them out (on their loyalties).

Faced with the given situation, all my plans are in suspense, all the tasks which demand urgent and immediate attention have been paralyzed and we have lost precious time in which to work and to consolidate our positions. Pronto continues to come out, but with a tardiness which prejudices our proposed plans and I have not had news again of our representative in Mexico and the instructions have been given by other people, without my knowledge and by those whom I have no confidence. The campaign has stopped being planned and coordinated at least in relation to my ideas and in relation to the layout drawn up within a general framework of operation. It may be that it is in accord with better lines which I am ignorant of.

With respect to the Comité de Liberación de Guatemala I must state to you: they are opposed to you one hundred percent; their work far from being constructive is negative, what's more, destructive; intrigue occupies the mind of its directors. And this latter in an underhand labor unfolds in a constant manner; the bulletin, as you know, evinces the feeling and thought of those who direct it, not in the high spirit of a constructive, patriotic and national campaign. I obtained photostatic copies of matters to be published which I qualified as hardly elevating and I recommended the immediate suspension of these attacks. Nevertheless, the Bulletin with the material which had been prepared and which was pointed out as undesirable and its directors continue to enjoy the support of our friends. In the last budget, there were two sections which added up to two thousand dollars and which -- as they had no other explanation or concrete explanation, -- led me to think that it was destined for the adverse group's support and for the bulletin which

I do not intend that our friends should subject themselves to what I think and feel. They will have their reasons to act in this way, but as I believe that such a proceeding will prejudice us and will harm a movement which they are patronizing and to which they have given without haggling all their support, I feel it my duty to call their attention to the harm which they are doing to us and not being in agreement with such a position to retire for the moment from our organization, for I consider that my work is subordinate to greater plans which I do not wish to prejudice.

In Mexico I called together some carefully selected friends and together with them discussed ideas and plans; as my thoughts were accepted, we were able to arrive at conclusions easily as well as to programs of action which in their full unfolding involve four phases: a) the conduct of the moment (action); b) tasks for a period of fifteen days prior to D-Day; c) collaboration in the moment of conflict; and d) support and aid, one hundred per cent, in the consolidation of the new government. I do not know the final program which is to be discussed in Guatemala along the lines the aforementioned lines and I expect to know them at the end of the coming week, a period in which I will confer with persons charged with this task. The work has been initiated but the campaign must be directed and su ordinated to the military operation. In order for this proposal to be carried out it is indispensable to get exact information en our preparations/~~XXXXXX~~ the organization of all the

as well as

Catholic forces under one chief. To this end I gave instructions for the cementing of these great sectors and on the form of operations at this moment in expectation of the information which I must receive the 15th on the plans and organization and with this knowledge to impart new instructions. This is of great import ~~and~~ ~~for~~ ~~you~~ position in our affairs will not escape you. On the other hand, I have desired to extend the movement to the houses of Francisco, Gonzaloo and Dagoberto (, and Mexico for the moment and to initiate tasks in Albertina and in the land of the Doctor (), and if possible to Colombia, Venzuela and the Dominican Republic where there is rich soil. From these aims came the idea of recommending to you an active journey in Francisco and Gonzalo () and of giving instructions to Mexico. For the greatest success of this enterprise there must be selected those persons to whom such delicate missions can be intrusted and who, if possible, can achieve an exchange of ideas and action between the chiefs of the different churches. In the last issue of Pronto an important position for this moment was defined. The anticommunist action directed from these bases, and in a coordinated form, in my judgement represents the most powerful resource that we can utilize in the fight against communism and I believe that with the exception of Costa Rica all sympathy and support will exist on the part of the governments and peoples of the before-named nations.

Well then, the campaign must be focused from a high plane and with a social christian conscience. Constructive action among the people and destructive for communism. Therefore its development must be in obedience to clearly defined lines and to themes of progressive labor. For example: first the social programs for the benefit of the people must focus on drawing away the greatest weapons of marxism and, this consciousness having been formed, to draw the masses into an open, positive and total fight.

Taking into consideration that which I said before, I beg of you to give your prompt and active collaboration in carrying out our proposals, to spark the plans to which I have already referred and to begin to work in those countries where

nothing has been done and which I pointed out. The support of the Head of our Church is basic; the support of our catholic people, fundamental, and the planning and execution of the fight against communism, in a unified and coordinated action, of great import. I do not know what will be your thoughts on all that I have stated to you and therefore it will be of great interest for me to know your ideas and comments.

Broadening the foregoing concepts, I believe it advantageous to suspend in our publicity organs the publication of images and to finish off acts which might confuse the political and social position with religion doctrine with regard to what Religion is of itself, as apart from the social cristian orientation and the church's position of combat, and to concentrate our fundamental problems under judicious political, economic and social plans in order not to spoil our lines of government and administration -- without loosing sight of this, to comment substantially on each of the basic thoughts of the pastoral letter.

I still do not know if you received my letter and its attachment which I sent to you in separate pieces to the postal boxes which you gave me. This has concerned me and I have been sorry not to have any report of its receipt and its response which I considered urgent. I beg of you to let me know if such documents did reach your hands.

I hope to have from Mexico reports on the tasks which were assigned in connection with that which I reported in the above paragraphs before the end of the next week. If you could give me, prior to this time, information on the tasks which I did for you, it would be of great interest for me, for then I hope to have an exchange of impressions with our friends from Guatemala, as I explained to you.

Our friends have left the direction of these matters in my hands, of course with your close collaboration and approval. This they let me know at the end of last week and for this reason I did not act as I should have wished, immediately, but in that interval of the suspension of my work, I sent them my ideas and made my requirements known in order that if they were acceptable they would be given immediate attention by those persons whom you indicate. As from the beginning I have explained in a clear manner that my retirement ~~did~~ not entail an immediate suspension of activities but on the contrary I was prepared to be useful in that which was underway, I have continued and I shall continue contributing my ideas and work for the time that I still remain in these lands.

On a recent date I received news from people of importance in which they asked me about our relations with General YDIGORAS for they have received demands to work from him and he has sent them credentials in the name of the organized opposition of which he is the self-named president and countersigned by Julio SANDOVAL and Alberto GALICIA R., as secretary and executive member respectively. This asks of the (recipients) an active collaboration in destroying the present government. These persons have directed themselves to

me, calling me the civil chief of our movement, and asking for instructions. I have answered them that I do not represent nor do I hold such a trust but I did explain to them the foregoing, exhorting them to fight in our ranks, which I know for a certainty they will do. As you see, the ~~infirmary~~ and person does not cease to play his game, believing himself the predestined man and trying to disconcert and disorient people who have not been informed of the true situation. It seems that the contacts which were made with him on the part of our friends have given him new hopes and he is trying to take the greater part of them. The tiny group in Mexico has the same attitude and of these you have to take care, today, tomorrow, and always, for they bear within themselves resentment at distraction and impotency which are very bad counsellors. This you must maintain very soon, especially in the hour of the great resolutions, for they are disposed to engage in the last battle without concerning themselves with the fundamental interests of our country. In your plans for action you must consider this possibility and be prepared to neutralize it. This does not mean that you should go to extremes, but rather to maintain yourself alert and take all appropriate steps. Thus at the same time you must take care of GARCIA Granados, who -- as I explained to you in my piece-meal letter-- has been active in a counter-coup. One must not forget that one of the forms of political action is infiltration which has brought such magnificent results to the marxists: infiltration in the movement and infiltration in the government, and with this knowledge, to work in the present and in the future.

Another of the matters dealt with in my letter of the 9th is that which has to do with the responsibility of the task which was assigned to me. Apart from the matters to which I have already referred, everything else relative to political direction remains subject to ~~that~~ what which was discussed in Miami when I returned, consequently the situation has still not been clarified but I feel myself freed of ~~that~~ responsibility. The tasks which were born of some position or some charge have been for me always the cause for profound concern. If I felt myself in the position to respond to such duties, I accept them, if I know that I can count on all the elements necessary to be able to carry them out-- to the contrary, I do not accept them or I decline them. This being my norm of conduct I made the decision to separate myself from our enterprise, believing it impossible because of a lack of the ^{proper} cooperation to continue along the lines which the fulfillment of obligations which involve responsibility imposes. In practice, in large percent, the situation has not changed as I stated to you in the third paragraph of this long letter. I cancelled my offers to Margarita DRESSLER. GANDARA returned to his family and even today I do not have any new information about the offers which they made to him and which I asked you for in an urgent manner, for I wanted to analyze his case on the basis of complete fairness and understanding. With regard to the first, I am sincerely sorry because I know the prestige which she enjoys and I know of her bravery and patriotism and the use to which we could have put her in the moment of action; but this matter must be considered cancelled. GANDARA seems to have been as always disagreeable, a disagreeableness stemming from the position which he held in Guatemala, a disagreeableness which I would have been able to resolve in finding myself near him, but before doing it I wanted to find out the antecedents in order to be able to act, but as I

said before, these background facts have not reached me. The affairs in Mexico are being managed as I explained to you. [] has not sent me the plans and budgets which I have asked for repeatedly, which I consider fundamental for it is urgent that El Rebelde assume a combative position in the present circumstances; it is not important that they close it for on the following day another newspaper can be opened up with another name and with another director, giving us material with which to attack the liberty of expression. You must judge my ideas and their appropriateness, but in the instant in which we live and given the depressing events and a movement on the way, it cannot be continued along the lines in which it operates today. You shall arrange that which is most fitting. The affairs in Mexico, which I know are not planned and therefore are not tightening relations and creating the bonds which I believe indispensable. I do not know if Pronto is getting into Guatemala in the manner in which it was planned, but I have indeed seen, and consider it hits the target, that proclamation which was made of you as the chief in that place by emigrant compatriots.

In accord with that which I promised our common friend (Francis T. MYLRES) I cancelled my reservations to leave the United States 4 June 1954, transferring them to the 14th of July of the present year, a date on which I will absent myself with my family for a period of eight to ten months. My trip will be for study and observation through countries of greater culture and progress in the political, economic and social order than that which we have achieved in our own land: but meanwhile I will leave for [] the 8th of the current month in order to engage in all that may be urgent and in which I might be useful. For this purpose I have called LUIS (either Herlindo SOLORZANO or Lic. FONSECA), [], and I have asked him to call [] and if possible another lawyer of high abilities. I am thinking of entrusting them, along perfectly defined lines which I shall give them, the study of a juridical statute which will prevail during the transition government; the law of public order which must be immediately put into effect, the arrangements which have to do with the reorganization of the judicial organism, the labor code and social security, together with those that refer to public health and social assistance. These will be the first tasks, without discarding the discussion of the new law of agrarian reform which is so crude but which in my judgement must focus on the created problems and let us review a totally unconstitution aspect with courage, decisiveness and energy. I do not know even today how we are going to make these matters concrete, but if we have raised a flag of constitutionality, guarantee and respect, we cannot sanction transgressions and arbitrary actions by reason of political necessities. Therefore you will have to consider the effects that such a position is going to produce among the workers, until today the beneficiaries, and in order to answer them, to establish norms which will ~~provide~~ ^{offer} compensation for the advantages obtained by them. If you do not act thusly, we cannot ask for the confidence of capital and offer security to investors, but the problems of misery must be resolved under progressive plans, respecting private property on the condition that it be placed under plans for production. The reserves of industry for development and diversification of products have to be considered. We shall work within these ideas. We shall study also the fundamental plans for a strong

agricultural development in relation to internal and external markets, the features of credit development and the programs for cooperative development. In short, we must concern ourselves with the most urgent and important in order that something is prepared for the moment in which it is needed. I have news that the lawyers who are near you have been working on some of these matters and I would appreciate it if you would send me your studies in order to consider them within a coordinated plan which must be done. I have also discussed with our friends the political memorandum which I wrote in Tegucigalpa and from which the plan, which you have designated by the name of that city, was derived.

One of the matters which has most concerned me and which deeply preoccupies me, is that which relates to the agents which you are going to have at your disposal in the crucial moments. I have maintained the criteria, and thusly I have expounded it on repeated occasions, some in your presence, that their support and their availability is indispensable. I consider and I cannot conceive of the fact that the action might be lost. Triumph must be assured and if it is true that I have confidence in the people incorporating themselves in the movement, I cannot fail to think that such confidence will derive from a strong and decisive action. The army will be with us in the majority if it seems provided with powerful resources. You could argue with me with just reason that I know little or nothing of these matters, but I cannot forget that I was in contact with all our organizations and I know perfectly well the psychology of our men and of our people, and that, with that knowledge I am able to achieve a basis on which to expound ideas which do not lack substance fundamentally. I have been thinking of the so great responsibility of the directors and I tell you sincerely that within those standards which I have always followed, I do not desire such responsibility if I do not have the certainty of a high percentage of success. This is another of the vital points of view which oblige me to maintain the resolution which I have decided upon. I have the impression that ALBERTINA will give us bases from which to operate and I know perfectly that the triumph will give him full justification for a setback or a defeat would be an inexhaustible source of accusations and responsibilities.

You suggested a visit to me and I believe it would be of great usefulness and benefit, but I cannot fail to realize that this would involve dangers for you which in the present moments should not be risked for this reason I have tried to explain to you in these lines (of the letter), which are certainly many, my points of view, my feelings and my method of thinking. Equally you can relay to me your ideas and if through this proceeding we cannot arrive at conclusions, then, only then, to carry out the conference which you have indicated to me. I think that with better channels of communication than those which we have today, we could point out and discuss the men who are going to be effective collaborators in the government, taking into consideration their integrity, their preparation, capacity for work and identification with our ideals and proposals. I know that in the hour of triumph the tools for work be more than enough to spare.

You were pleased to tell me that, knowing me, "I could never feel any satisfaction in having failed in the highest engagement with the Patria; that never could I justify my absence in the crystalization of our supreme ideals, especially in the precious moments in which the people calls and demands our presence." I take pleasure in these exhorting phrases because I know that that is your sincere thought and is that which is appropriate to one who loves his country, but I think also that in those instants which you point out, my usefulness would be very relative and, if you wish, secondary. As I said before, in the moments of triumph you will have at your side our most highly valued men disposed to give you ~~their~~ their efforts in all that you demand. Persons of greater ability and high note will obscure my limited abilities and because of that my cooperation would be very relative. When the nation demanded sacrifices, I was there without reserve, to respond to positions of greater responsibility and danger and it is for that reason that I believe that unwillingness does not exist in me of not having acted in accord with my sacred duties. If much later the Patria or you demand my services, because you consider that in something I might be of use, as I stated to you in my previous letter, I was be there promptly in order to present myself in the ranks, and if this should not come about, I shall maintain myself apart, with the satisfaction of having contributed my share to free the Patria from the communist cancer which today destroys it and and to place it in the hands of persons of great integrity and morality, of high capabilities, of firm convictions and ~~sublime~~ ideas which have oriented them and conducted them noble

through the solid course of progress, prosperity and justice. To see our Republic under the symbols which we have created and under the postulates which we have expounded to our people, furnishes my spirit with the well-being derived from a duty complied with.

I ask the Greater that he guide the directors of our movement and that he bless our cause, because it is the cause of honor, of good, of liberty and of ~~the~~ the highest and most noble ~~sublime~~ ideals.

You and my friends will have all my sympathy and in regard to collaboration it will be effective until the last day of the coming month, for I will need the first fifteen days of July for the arrangements for my trip. I hope to have all your news and all your charges during this period of work which I am disposed to utilize the maximum of my abilities.

I beg of you to manifest to your remembered and very estimable wife the affectionate remembrances of all my family, in whose sentiments I too participate, and with a warm ~~embrace~~ for you from all, I embraces you your greeting

loyal friend who appreciates you most sincerely,

[]

c.c. Grupo
c.c. archivo