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DD/PZ

6 August 1954

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
U. S. Mission to United Nations
Two Park Avenue
New York, New York

SUBJECT: Documentary Information on Communist
Infiltration in Guatemala.

Dear Cabot:

I enclose two copies of a pamphlet we have just produced including a few of the documents picked up by our people in Guatemala immediately after the collapse of the Arbenz regime. The pamphlet is classified only because of the circumstances under which we secured the documents. We hope to be able to clear up this point with the Guatemalan authorities and remove the classification. As soon as we can work this out we will let you know.

The pamphlet contains a few selected specimens out of a very large number of papers picked up in Guatemala which we have just begun to sort and analyze. They tend to show the nature and extent of the Communist infiltration of the Guatemalan Government under Arbenz. Please note particularly numbers 7, 8, and 9. These show the party line.

As we find additional Guatemalan documents of interest to you, we will see that they are sent on.

Faithfully yours,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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Enclosures (2)

AWD:hea Distribution: Addressee - Orig DCI - 1 cc DD/P - 2 cc ✓
ER - 1 cc

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273

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DD/P 1-1636

3 August 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Documentary Information concerning Guatemalan situation; attached proposed letter to Ambassador Cabot Lodge.

1. Attached hereto is the draft of proposed letter to Cabot Lodge which I discussed with you Sunday and again yesterday morning. I appreciate that the letter is a bit longer than you customarily like to write, but I should like to point out that at least a part of my reason for this apparent verbosity is that I was trying to grind quite a number of different axes. First I intended this as an additional opportunity to mollify Cabot and show him that we do stand prepared to provide him with information. Second, I think it would do him good to read the brochure, but since he may not be inclined to do so, I have picked out and put into the letter some of the most essential contents. Thirdly, it was necessary to explain the reason for the secret classification and to inform him that we hope shortly to be in a position to lift this classification entirely. Next, I wanted him to do a little missionary work with Sir Pierson Dixon, who was still a bit "huffy" about Guatemala when I saw him at Roger Watkins' dinner on Saturday night. (His complaint was that obviously nobody had taken any trouble to inform anybody at the "H" of what was going on.) Finally, I wanted to get in a whack at the British White Paper, which I am told may contain a lot of repetition by way of documents of the old Arbenz-Fordillo lies. We are trying in other ways to obtain an infusion of truth and factual information into the White Paper, but thus far have received no assurances that our efforts will be successful.

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W. A. WICKER
Deputy Director (Plans)

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D R A F T

~~How.~~
~~Ambassador~~ Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
U. S. Mission to United Nations
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York

SUBJECT: Documentary information ~~concerning~~
Guatemala Situation

Dear Cabot:

I am sending to you herewith two copies of a small brochure containing reproductions of some twenty odd documents which were collected by our people in Guatemala within a few hours after the collapse of the Arbenz regime. I am aware of the fact that generally speaking you prefer not to receive documents which are classified, but in this particular case it has seemed to me that for a number of reasons you might like to have a chance to read this small collection of documents. The only reason why this document is classified as it is, is because of the fact that in the confusion that prevailed in Guatemala during the period of the first three juntas which followed in rapid succession after Arbenz' resignation, there was no way of obtaining appropriate official permission to collect these documents without seriously prejudicing our opportunity of getting them. This is in the process of being regularized at the present time and within a very few days I should be in a position to notify you of their complete declassification. This will remove any restraint upon

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~~upon~~ your public use of them or your reference to them in any private conversations which you may wish to have with your associates and foreign colleagues.

The ^{brochure} ~~document~~ which I am sending to you contains only a few hastily selected specimens of a much larger number of documents which we have seen but only just begun to sort out and analyze.

The documents are especially interesting to me because they serve to confirm the accuracy of our ^{previous} estimates of the nature and extent of the communist infiltration and control of the Guatemalan governmental mechanism under Arbenz. Your attention is invited in particular to documents 7, 8 and 9, being a list of questions drawn up by the military leaders in Guatemala for submission to ~~President~~ Arbenz, together with a draft of his proposed reply to these questions.

We were aware at the time that the questions were being submitted to Arbenz and we were most interested to discover the exact nature and content of the questions, revealing as they are of the many points of concern in the minds of ^{this group of essentially} patriotic Guatemalans who were viewing with increasing alarm the steady progress of the Communist plot to take over the government completely. The answers to the questions are likewise most illuminating, since they reveal ~~tx~~ rather clearly the extent to which Arbenz had become a captive to the Moscow and

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Prague trained communists by which he permitted himself to be surrounded and guided. We suspect that Jose Manuel Fortuny and perhaps one or two other of the leading communists either drafted or strongly influenced the preparation of Arbenz' reply, although we have not as yet been able to confirm this fact due to the unavailability of any of the necessary witnesses. The party line shows through so clearly, however, as to lead us to the conclusion that Arbenz either answered or was about to answer the ~~military~~ ^{of the military} questions which were both pertinent and revealing, with a series of replies craftily calculated to turn aside or gloss over every single question raised. I believe you will find other of the documents enlightening and as opportunity arises, you may find it both desirable and convenient to share some of this information with others as I have suggested.

I ~~believe that it would be particularly desirable to furnish a~~ ^{you may wish} ~~brochure~~ ^{brochure} of the ~~dossier which I am sending to you~~ to Sir Pierson Dixon for his ~~personal and~~ confidential information. ^{we} ~~I have made available~~ ^{given} copies of this brochure to the British Embassy in Washington and I hope that at least one copy will be forwarded by them to the Foreign Office. However, in view of the obstacles which seem to impede the flow of essential information to the senior delegates who represent their nations respectively at the United Nations, it has seemed to me that it would be useful for Sir Pierson Dixon to receive a copy from you. I am ^{the} more persuaded to this conclusion because of my understanding

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that he was not well informed at the time of the Security Council debates and that he may ^{still} be under some misapprehension regarding the facts and the true nature of the events which led up to the Guatemalan uprising against the Arbenz regime. Moreover, I have followed with concern the parliamentary debates, as well as the British press, on the subject of recent Guatemalan developments, and it seems very clear to me that there has been the most appalling lack of understanding on the part of our British friends, ^{generally}. There are many reasons why this was so, but at any rate it is still important to get the record straight. I do not know whether the Foreign Office will feel compelled to reraise the Guatemalan issue in the Security Council, but I have been told that they may do this because of their concern about what they consider to be a bad precedent, ^{ie} the reference of a part of the dispute to the OAS Regional Organization. I gather their concern arises out of ^{the} possibility that the Soviet government and/or its Communist satellites and confederates, might attempt to have recourse to a similar device based upon a concocted regional organization, just in case they have in mind taking any aggressive actions against such countries as Finland, Burma, Siam or even Laos or Cambodia.

Irrespective of what decision the Foreign Office may ultimately take with respect to further Security Council proceedings on the

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Guatemalan issue, I am informed that the Foreign Office is in the process of preparing for publication a "White Paper" on Guatemala. I am somewhat concerned lest this "White Paper" be released without the inclusion of a sufficient amount of factual information which would tend to balance, if not cancel out, the well established mis-~~representations~~ representations of Arbenz, Toriello and their Soviet friends both in the United Nations and elsewhere. Perhaps you ~~might~~ might be willing to say something to Sir Pierson in this regard.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if you are interested in additional material on this subject. We will shortly have large additional quantities of documentary and other material which I shall be most happy to make available to you for your purposes.

Faithfully yours,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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