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9 July 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEFS, ALL AREA & IO DIVISIONS

ATTENTION: PP CHIEFS

SUBJECT: The End of the Communist Regime in Guatemala
(Operational Recommendations and Propaganda Guidance)

REFERENCES: (a) Memorandum, dated 4 June 1954, subject "Recent Developments in Guatemala";
(b) Memorandum, dated 9 June 1954, subject "Additional Guidance on recent Developments in Guatemala";
(c) Memorandum, dated 24 June 1954, subject "Background Material on Guatemalan Situation";
(d) Memorandum, dated 30 June 1954, subject "Support Material on Guatemala (Soviet Communism in Guatemala)".

1. The overthrow of the communist-manipulated regime of President Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala and its replacement by an anti-communist, provisional military government headed by Colonels Castillo Armas and Enrique Monzon have brought events in that small, but focal, Central American republic to a climax. World-wide reaction thus far has been predominantly unfavorable and even sharply hostile to the United States. Such reaction was not only engendered by the international communist movement (which unleashed a propaganda campaign of virtually unprecedented scope and intensity -- especially considering the comparative size and remote location of the country involved), but also by non-communist and anti-communist sources, such as the British and Swedish Labor Parties, vocal sections of public opinion in India and other Asian countries.

2. Counteracting unfavorable world reaction is a matter of highest priority and it is therefore necessary to undertake with all means at our disposal a world-wide campaign presenting the true facts as quickly and effectively as possible. Attached hereto is a statement of objectives for this campaign and propaganda guidance with background information on the real situation in Guatemala. Support material on Guatemalan events has been and will continue to be carried in the Daily News Highlights.

Attachment--
As noted above.

for []
Acting Chief
Psychological and Paramilitary
Operations Staff

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I. OBJECTIVES:

1. To present the true facts about Guatemala showing that it was the beachhead of international communism in the Western Hemisphere.
2. To describe the overthrow of the communist government of Guatemala as a major setback for Moscow thereby encouraging anti-communist resistance everywhere.
3. To expose the global character of Soviet-communist imperialism as illustrated by the case of Guatemala, a country far removed from the Soviet orbit, in order to combat neutralism and complacency everywhere.

II. THEMES AND BACKGROUND FACTS:

1. Emphasize that the overthrow of the Arbenz regime was accomplished by patriotic Guatemalans and was the result of civil war not invasion.

Background facts: Many newspaper correspondents referred to the fighting between the insurgent forces led by Castillo Armas and the Arbenz regime as an "invasion" while it actually was civil war brought about by the armed return of Guatemalan exiles who had been forced by communist persecution to flee their homeland. Castillo Armas, a political refugee returning to free his people from the communist yoke, is as little an "invader" as was Lenin who returned from exile in Switzerland to Russia to assume leadership of the Bolshevik revolution.

2. Highlight the communist character of the Arbenz regime by exposing the support given it by the Soviet orbit and by pointing out that its own actions in every sphere enhanced the objectives of the Kremlin.

Background Facts: Both Communists and non-communists who have charged the United States with "intervention" in Guatemala assert that neither Arbenz nor the members of his cabinet were communists. This allegation can be refuted by the following facts: Arbenz' most trusted political advisor and ideological mentor was Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Guatemalan Communist Party. All key government agencies, including the President's Executive Office, the Police, the Security Service, the Foreign Ministry and diplomatic missions abroad, the Department of Agriculture and the Propaganda Secretariat were controlled by communists in key posts. The other three political parties supporting the Arbenz regime were combined with the CP in a "National Democratic Front" dominated by the Communists. Labor unions, peasant organizations and virtually all other mass organizations were under complete communist control. Government radio, newspapers and other information media, at home and abroad, faithfully followed the Moscow party line even to using standard communist slogans and phraseology. Government funds financed many communist activities, paid for the communist press (through "institutional" advertising by government agencies) and for

visits of communist leaders to Moscow, Prague and Peiping. More recently the Kremlin connections of the Arbenz regime had been demonstrated by these facts: It had been fortified by \$10 million worth of modern arms received from the Soviet orbit only two months ago, was aided by a Soviet veto in the United Nations Security Council, was supported by a world-wide communist propaganda campaign -- including mobilization of all international communist fronts from the WFTU down, and establishment of special organizations of "Friends of Guatemala" in quite a few countries -- and sent a special plea to the Soviet Union 25 June that it take further action in the Security Council.

3. Point out that the atrocities and illegalities perpetrated by the Arbenz regime followed the pattern established by the Soviet Union in the USSR and elsewhere for subjugating people to communist domination.

Background Facts: Arbenz was elected president only after his stronger rival, Col. Arana, had been assassinated by Major Alfonso Martinez (18 July 1949). Arbenz subsequently appointed the assassin, Martinez, to be Chief of the Department of Agriculture. The entire system was based on police terror and complete disregard for constitutional guarantees. For more than a year 150 political prisoners were held without trial. A number of these prisoners were mistreated and some of them were murdered immediately before Arbenz resigned. Police interrogation of anti-regime suspects was regularly accompanied by intricate tortures. Murders for political reasons were committed by the police. A few days before his resignation, Arbenz ordered that ten anti-communists be shot for every bomb dropped on Guatemala City. Issuance of weapons to bands of communist-led peasants also caused numerous cases of arbitrary assassination.

4. Communist charges that U.S. hostility toward the Arbenz regime stemmed from the fact that the latter, in the course of its agrarian reforms, had expropriated vast territories belonging to the United Fruit Company can be substantially deflated by bringing out the fact that a few days ago the United States Justice Department initiated an anti-trust suit against the United Fruit Company. In this connection recall also that the United States has helped a number of countries with their agrarian reform efforts within the framework of the Marshall Plan, Point Four Program, F.O.A., etc.

5. Expose the agrarian reform carried out under Arbenz as nothing more than a communist political instrument designed to lure the people into accepting communist control and to destroy the power of the landowning class.

Background Facts: Peasants who wanted to benefit from the reform program first had to join communist-controlled organizations, notably the Peasants Federation (CNEC). Recipients of lands received neither the training nor the equipment to develop into independent farmers.

6. Highlight the fact that Guatemala, like all communist countries

bent every effort toward subverting the stability of neighboring countries and toward fostering the international communist movement beyond its borders.

Background Facts: The Guatemalan Communist Party used its domination of the Arbenz Government for extensive external activities. Government propaganda media, especially radio, spread communist versions of local and international affairs throughout Central America. Guatemalan diplomatic missions smuggled communist propaganda material into countries where the CP is outlawed, financed local communist activities, and assisted the escapes of communist fugitives from justice. The protracted strikes in Honduras, the distribution of a clandestine newspaper of the outlawed Honduran CP, participation in a plot to assassinate President Somoza of Nicaragua are but a few recent examples. Several Guatemalan diplomats in different countries had been declared persona non grata because of such activities. On the other hand, Guatemala had become a safe haven for communist fugitives from all over Latin America who organized political plots with the active support of the Arbenz regime. Some of these fugitives had been organized into the paramilitary "Caribbean Legion."