

Latin American Historical Awareness Society of the Americas

*Juan José Arévalo*

# GUATEMALA

---

## DEMOCRACY AND THE EMPIRE

---

Part I

*In Honor of a Patriot whose words will live forever,*

*In Memory of the missing and tortured who will always be remembered,*

*For a new Latin America in the 21st century.*

This book has never been translated for a U.S. audience. The audacity to which a former President of a country whose government was overthrown and denied the opportunity to share information of the events as they occurred until now- sixty-five years later- is inexcusable. Those who have read the *Shark and the Sardines* are familiar with Juan Jose Arévalo as a man of great dignity and patriotism who battles to bring light to the tragic events of his beloved country. How and why his earlier works did not receive the same attention is a matter that needs further investigation. We have preserved all the dates, names, and events for those who wish to research further. The discussions on media, nazism, private business and public policy, communism in the U.S. and other matters are maintained in their entirety for evaluation. **There is a reason why this book was never translated for a broader audience.** Please keep that in mind when reading this valuable testament to history. We will continue to tear down the language barrier and break the silence in the name of transparency and justice for Latin America.

Of the original edition 1954

# INTRODUCTION

---

In contradiction with my norms of intellectual work, I give these pages to the presses immediately after they have been written. Included are some details about the reality of that Caribbean sea, still unknown in the 34th parallel. Someday, due to the spiritual peace that we Guatemalans have lost for the time being, the topics could be taken up again to update the book that I have prepared. If there are errors of dates and names, I apologize. Likewise, excuse all errors of stylistic order, because the prose, this time, is very full of emotion. I started writing these pages on June 20 when it was proven that North American planes, with North American aviators, were bombing my country. The magnitude of the infamy will explain to my brothers in Latin America the vehemence and the nervous irony in which this little book is written. I want it to serve as testament to the Chilean, Argentinean and Uruguayan crowds that have taken to the streets to shout their fraternity to Guatemala. I would also like to thank those who, in this extreme south of the incorruptible Spanish, have raised the flag of Guatemala as a symbol of a secular struggle for our independence, which began with Bolivar and has not yet ended.

27 of June 1954.

# TWO MEN WITH ONE GRIEVANCE

---

General Dwight D. Eisenhower (Ike), President of the most powerful nation in the world, expressed in a round of journalists on June 16 of this year, that his government and the one hundred and seventy million inhabitants of the United States were extremely concerned about the events in Guatemala. What occurs at a point in life of the world is known through the US news agencies A.P., U.P., and I.N.S.. The President of the United States and his compatriots were distressed by what the American news agencies said about Guatemala. Those agencies reported facts relatively common in Latin America and almost daily in the Caribbean Sea. But, apart from being very common news, the news coming from Guatemala was written this time with malice, with the intention to produce an explicit response. The American news agencies can fabricate news, taken out of nowhere, and let them fly around the world, and no human power can stop, examine, or deny them. When the news has not been fabricated, facts are presented to the readers of the world in such terms that universal opinion becomes frightened, distressed, desperate.

The American news agencies not only produce news, or conjure up a special newsletter for certain news, but they also create the psychological phenomenon called "public opinion". In the contemporary world, thanks to these powerful advertising companies that have become an English-speaking monopoly, public opinion is not born out of the immediate experience of each country, These "public opinions" are transient, rolling, traveling, moving with the speed of telegraph, radio, television. The United States, manufacturers and industrialists of the deadly weapons that European ingenuity has invented, have created a psychological phenomena that moderates the way people understand the world.

General Eisenhower is a good man, he is a good man. He is a man who laughs and smiles. British journalists like William Neil Connor, of the "Daily Mirror", after visiting the United States, have opined that the current governor of the United States is a "headless

duck" and have also published a painful opinion about the personality of the new President of the Americans. The author of this book does not share the same sentiment of General Eisenhower. I think General Eisenhower laughs not because he is stupid, but because he is a healthy man, with no ulterior motives, no pettiness, a friend of good causes. Of course, we are not going to demand from General Eisenhower that he have a philosophy on life, or that he have a knowledge of humanity, as his exiled compatriots Emerson, James and Dewey have had before him. General Eisenhower is not a professor of sociology, but a military man of a culture suited to his profession, with knowledge on the things of the modern world mainly taken from the American magazines, among which the "Reader's Digest" stands out for its universality.

The educated man of our days no longer reads books; he goes to the movies and reads magazines. And movies and magazines publish what their directors approve as good. And what the directors approve as good is what appears good to the capitalists who pay for the film company or the edition of the magazine. The ideas that the capitalists, the North American millionaires, may have about what is good or bad in life, are easily imaginable. They spend their lives accumulating millions, inventing ways to "invest" their millions, associating with each other to avoid street problems called "competition", reduced in our days to a simple misfortune of the poor merchants. The great merchants of the world have devised a way of not having dislike for each other, and they are associated, forming chains of formidable companies, whose capitals are mixed, fraternized, protected. The director of a company is an advertising agent in another or secretary of a third. The advertising agents of the monstrous North American business consortiums are all-powerful characters, who visit the directors of the magazines, pay for the advertisements of automobiles, oil, perfumes or cigarettes, and then leave the director at liberty to choose those collaborations that should be accepted as good. General Eisenhower, like any cultured man of our day, reads the "Reader's Digest" or at best the biography of a glorious predecessor of his called Napoleon. But about Guatemala he may not know anything more than what the "Reader's Digest" said in its latest articles, admitted as good by the millionaires who finance the small magazine that publishes opinion. From that miserly source of information he could not, the glorious comrade of Stalin and Montgomery, extract correct news about life and death in the little country that so grieves him.

General Eisenhower expressed to the journalists that both his government and the one hundred and seventy million Americans were distressed by the latest events in Guatemala. But we are not going to dwell on the problem of grief, because that is a matter of philosophy. Now we are at a drafting table, per se, because this writing should come out immediately. The grief of the president of the almighty nation was motivated, according to

his own words, because in Guatemala some constitutional guarantees had been restricted for a term of thirty days; because anti-communists had been arrested while others- also anti communists- had left the country. If General Eisenhower knew more about Guatemala than what the US news agencies report, he would be aware that in Guatemala there is a Constitution of the Republic, whose article 54 authorizes the executive body to restrain some guarantees when an emergency situation justifies it. The Guatemalan government knew, and General Eisenhower knew (because his government rejected the allusion made to the United States in January), that an invasion of the Guatemalan territory was being prepared from Honduran and Nicaraguan territory. The threat of invasion of the national territory is one of the reasons which most justifies the temporary restriction of some constitutional guarantees. The very fact of "restricting" these guarantees implies that Guatemala is a country where the people enjoy guarantees, which are restricted only in cases of emergency.

In the Caribbean Sea there are several countries where that does not happen. Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, for example, are countries where guarantees are never restricted, because they live perpetually under the reign of rulers. The constitution in those countries is not a legal instrument but a psychological organ called "the will" of the President. Anastozio Somoza and Rafael Leonidas Trujillo belong to that category of Governors that the American world qualifies as good, that American news agencies paint as good, that American universities consecrate to posterity with Honoris Causa, and the White House of Washington receives with banquets and speeches. In Nicaragua and in Santo Domingo there is no problem of constitutional guarantees or restrictions. Hence, the President of the United States is grieved only by what happens in Guatemala, which is a nation where there are guarantees set by a constitution and a government that respects it. The "Reader's Digest" should at sometime, when the millionaires approve it as good, publish the Constitution of Guatemala, promulgated in 1945 by representatives of all sectors, political, social and ideological of the country. But to the millionaires who rule the world - sorry, Mr. President (1)- perhaps that does not interest them. Nor would they be interested in publishing the constitution of Nicaragua or of Santo Domingo, because for that they would have to reproduce the portraits of Somoza and Trujillo, and it is known that the "Reader's Digest" does not publish photographs.

Another reason for the President's grief - (As President, I also experienced grief) - is because some "anti-communists" have been arrested. In previous opportunities, the American news agencies, linked to the Yankee plutocracy by physiological nexuses, used the word "opposers". The people who have been arrested in Guatemala are neither anti-communists nor opposers: they are conspirators. North American news agencies are not

interested in using the word conspirators; they must use anti-communists and opposers. Using the last two, the impression is given that in Guatemala there is no free democratic government, that the fact of being in opposition motivates a brutal police persecution, which in turn generates a state of mind that leads to persecution forcing refuge in some embassy. The United States, whose President is grieved by the "persecuted" politicians in Guatemala, has never wanted to admit the right of asylum. They give it when the American government agrees. But they are not subject to commitments of this kind with any government, much less with the mestizo peoples of Latin America who fight against their dictators. In Guatemala, one of the countries that has struggled for the right of asylum in recent times, the opposers are not persecuted because of their position, but rather, they voluntarily complicate themselves in conspiracies against the government freely elected by the nation. But the conspirators of Guatemala, who wish to please the State Department and have adopted the common nickname of anti-communists, usually fail: sometimes because the conspiracy is discovered from their roots, sometimes because they have been caught in the possession of illicit weapons or with documents eloquently drafted. Then they flee to the embassies. Or they take a plane, like a certain Guatemalan aviator who fled the country at the beginning of this month, accompanied by a Yankee aviator ... (In effect: the INS transmitted from Guatemala, on June 7, the news that together with Guatemalan aviator Rodolfo Mendoza, the American aviator Fernando Schupp escaped from Guatemala to join the invaders. Schupp was the former Second Chief of the United States Air Mission in Guatemala).

These leaks from Guatemalans and Americans distress the President of the United States. But it is that the good Ike did not know anything about a powerful conspiracy against President Arbenz. The President of the nation that confronts the most international problems of this time could not be aware that Guatemala, forty eight hours later as he gave his statement to journalists, was going to be invaded by an army of mercenaries recruited by the United Fruit Company in Honduran territory. The conspiracies are prepared with all secrecy. The secret is the secret of the conspirators, and they did not conform much to the professional norms as they announced to the world, from Tegucigalpa, capital of the little sister of Honduras, the invasion of Guatemala to save it from Russian communism and atheism. The President of the United States was not aware,

(1) About the speculation of who governs in this monstrous nation called the United States, I like to reproduce a criticism of the Democratic Party. According to the Reuter text, which from Washington told us on October 10, 1954: "There is much comment to the fact that, in the midst of recent global crises, President Eisenhower has spent in Denver, more than 2,500 kilometers from Washington, the longest vacation that a president of the republic has taken, since the United States became a world power". Eisenhower was eight weeks absent from his office, while the world was in tremendous trouble.

but the republican representative of the state of Ohio was. Mrs. Frances Bolton, member of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the United States, which on June 17 had the kindness to inform us from Washington that the Guatemalan Castillo Armas, military leader of the conspiracy, had "a lot of money". The honorable representative in the Congress of the Union, according to the Associated Press, "added that the anti-communist forces had a lot of money. One of the chiefs - former Colonel Castillo Armas- had one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a month to start recruiting soldiers, to whom he could pay in gold and to whom weapons and ammunition would be provided ".(2)

How much money do you make per month, General Eisenhower? My question refers exclusively to the salary that the American state pays for the provision of the destinies of the powerful country. I do not mean the private goods that you could have that would produce private profits, nor the actions that you could have in commercial monopolies that suck the wealth of our Africanized peoples. I am quite sure that you, who are the President of the richest nation in the world, do not have a hundred and fifty thousand dollars per month. But Castillo Armas, according to the confession of the republican representative for

Ohio, does have that amount. And who pays for it, Mr. President? Do you believe it to be Anastasio Somoza, the "leader of democracy"? No... Somoza, who is very rich, richer than Croesus, is very greedy. It would be convenient for the republican representative for Ohio to expand her confessions to tell Latin Americans the wonderful source that provides Castillo Armas with that fabulous sum. An emigrant with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per month! Leave for another opportunity the qualification of Castillo Armas, which so publicly commits his future "government" for the day he may assault it. For now what we are interested in is not a problem of citizenship or nationality, of loyalty to the country or the bargaining of the country, or a problem of morality: what interests us is simply a publicity problem.

We mean that the representative of Ohio, member of the Congress of the Union and Senator Wiley's companion, was aware that in Guatemala the invasion of the fruit army was expected (what flag could we put to that army, General Eisenhower?) from the little sister

(2) Washington, June 17, (AP) - "The Republican representative for Ohio, Mrs. Frances Bolton, said today that she had learned that in Guatemala a conspiracy was denounced to assassinate President Arbenz and stop the current reign of terror in that country. Mrs. Bolton, who belongs to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber, said that the plan had been found at Doctor Goicolea's work table. " She added that the anti-Communist forces had a lot of money. One of the chiefs had said he had one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a month to start recruiting soldiers, to whom he could pay in gold and to whom arms and ammunition were provided. Mrs. Bolton said that the plan contemplates air invasion and internal resistance. ("El Mercurio", Santiago, Chile, June 18, 1954.)



republic of Honduras. The President of the powerful nation of the north did not have, however, to be aware of things that are organized in secret. The grievances of the President for the events of Guatemala, expressed in a round of journalists on June 16, was therefore clean of all malice, of all complicity in the facts that ... forty eight hours later they were going to produce.

But let us leave in his Presidential Office the glorious ally of Stalin and Montgomery, who deserves good rest after his daily weariness, and meet a man who never smiles, a man who coughs with a lot of noise, a man who on the outside seems an evil man, but who inside is a white dove, like that of the communists or like the one that symbolized the holy spirit. Secretary Foster Dulles is the most famous man of our day, who twenty-four hours before the declaration of the President- his boss- had warned the world that terror reigned in Guatemala, due to the escape of the conspirators; of Guatemalans and Americans who were leaving the country to join that army of invasion that the representative for Ohio has allowed us to locate not only in Honduras but also on the streets of New York, particularly Wall Street. Secretary of State Foster Dulles, who worries about Guatemala, does not love Guatemala or the Guatemalans. Allow me for the first time in these pages to question the sincerity of the words of such an eminent official as Mr. Foster Dulles.

He has said that he is grieved by the fate of the Guatemalan people, submitted in its entirety to a merciless minority of communists installed in key positions, to dominate the masses, prepare Panzer divisions, cross the mountainous and muddy regions of the rest of Central America and fall as a disaster on the Panama Canal. I do not believe in the sincerity of the grievance of Mr. Foster Dulles, because in that love for the Guatemalans there is a contemptuous estimation. Who would think that a minority of three hundred communists, of which there are seven with second or third rank positions in the government, are going to mobilize the Guatemalans to the Panama Canal? If we conclude that President Ike Eisenhower knows nothing about Guatemala, it is because the President lives locked up in his country, like any good president, devoted to the problems of war and peace. Do the readers remember that Eisenhower campaigned on the promise to end the Korean War? Well, the only trip that such a high official has made is precisely that: that of Korea. On the other hand, Mr. Foster Dulles, who does not have the austerity of the military or fear of travel, has given himself the task of traveling the world by plane. Eight days after the inauguration of the government of the Republican Party, Mr. Foster Dulles and another official with the surname Stassen (excuse me if I am inexperienced in the names of American officials: Guatemala has not yet organized within the United States in contrast to the espionage they perform in each of the countries of Latin America) took a plane of ten

engines to make a first inspection visit to the capitals of what they considered as associated nations of the United States: Rome, Bern, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, London.... An owner of estates or factories would not have shown such a hurry to review what is theirs.

Mr. Stassen, if I remember correctly, was then the highest official in terms of loans and collections in finance. I was in Paris when I heard the noise of the powerful plane that brought the Republican party officials. Since I do not have the will to spy, I have not felt any interest in finding out how many trips Mr. Dulles has made outside his homeland to visit friends of the United States. The only thing I know is that the world is small to this tremendous globe-trotter of world politics, without forgetting, as a good Guatemalan, his dream of Caracas, which we discuss later. Well, I wanted to say this Spanish loquacity, so cumbersome ... -I wanted to say that Mr. Foster Dulles could have already gone to Guatemala, even if it was on a four-engine plane, because the airstrips do not allow for more. And in visiting Guatemala he could have seen how the "opposers" of the current government are walking the streets, giving their opinions in a loud voice to those who want to hear them: the opposers, Mr. Foster Dulles, not the conspirators. The conspirators you know (sorry- your brother Allen Dulles knows, organizer of the conspiracy, but you ignore), live in the shade, and when the messenger from Washington tells them it is time to take action , they go to the embassies to flee under the protection of the flag of a brother country (this time, by mere chance, those of Honduras and El Salvador) and move to the operations center where the mercenaries (paid by the United Fruit to reason of three hundred dollars each year) meet, without the president of Honduras knowing. The presidents of the democratic nations generally ignore these things, and President Galvez, of Honduras, apart from having been the author of the massacres of San Pedro Sula in 1944, has been for many years a lawyer of the United Fruit.

Visiting the country and seeing with your own eyes, with those big eyes augmented by the lenses, the secretary would have been able to know something about that minority of communists-minority, as you and your news agencies have reiterated- and you could have verified that although the Guatemalan communists, like those of the whole world, read Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin, but lack, nevertheless, the hypnotic power that you attribute to them, to the degree of having hypnotized a non-communist president, eighteen non-communist cabinet members, one hundred high non-communist state officials, and the entire national army, publicly recognized as non-communist. The honorable Mr. Foster Dulles would then see that the people he loves so much and who we, the Guatemalan governors, seem to hate, are a peaceful people, devoted to agriculture, eager to get out of

their economic misery, in need of medicine, hungry for literacy, but above all things dominated by a furious thirst for individual and collective dignity, fed up as we are of being subjected to an empire of banana exploiters. I apologize, Mr. Foster Dulles, if in these last words you "heard" that the tone of my speech rose a little red ... but you, who have had so many businesses with the industrial monopolies of your country, and who have been linked by very close ties with the United Fruit Company, will admit that we men who were born in the Caribbean do not like to continue saying that we are "Banana Republics". And not because the inhabitants of the Caribbean view the products of our country as bad, but because the Guatemalan people do not consider the production of bananas as the most important for their own health. The soil of Guatemala, Mr. Foster Dulles, should be devoted to the crops that primarily provide food for the Guatemalans.

That the fifteen million inhabitants of New York need bananas or that the chemical biologists have discovered that the banana's vitamins has something to do with the impetus of the skyscrapers, is a problem for Americans and not a problem of the Guatemalans. But to satisfy the desire of New Yorkers, do several republics of the Caribbean, including Guatemala, have to mortgage their best lands in crops by feudal method and imperial trajectory? If Mr. Foster Dulles had visited Guatemala, before his brother organized the invasion that is now bleeding our soil, he would have discovered by his own eyes that the people of Guatemala do not have a mind to submit to Russia, nor to Australia nor to the United States. And for that reason, the minority of Communists- insistently qualified as a minority by your own- does not play another role in the country than that of being exercised by a minority, with the rights that the Guatemalan people give them, in the organization of a functional democracy, made by Guatemalans and for Guatemalans. And if in Guatemala today one could speak of terror, it will no longer be the terror of a regime of government that the people themselves have given to themselves and continue to hold, but the terror of bombs manufactured in the United States, dropped on the soil of Guatemala by planes manufactured in the United States, driven by North American aviators who escaped from Guatemala days before their excellency the President of the United States and the honorable Secretary Foster Dulles expressed their love to the world for the Guatemalans and their grievance for "the things" that happened in the small, great country of the Caribbean.

# A CHAIN OF GRIEVANCES

---

The grievances of the two main characters of this tragic comedy that lives in the contemporary world was not born yesterday, as they say. It is a grievance concatenated to events that had taken place a month ago. In mid-May, in fact, a Swedish ship had crossed the wide Atlantic Ocean to land on the rocks of Puerto Barrios, property of United Fruit (a gift given to them by a ruler of Guatemala in 1904), with a few boxes that contained weapons for the Guatemalan National Army. The American news agencies, and the Latin American newspapers subjected to them, spread throughout the world that it was a shipment of two thousand tons at a cost of ten million dollars(3), adding that the volume and origin of the shipment clearly indicated that Russia had chosen Guatemala as an operational beach to ignite the Third World War here in the Americas. I was in Santiago de Chile when the flowering of this event occurred in the month of May, taken to the extreme by the North American news agencies. Newspapers, magazines, radio stations: all the "military" power of advertising linked to the North American industrial and commercial monopolies, in turn linked to the Republican Party, was discharged as an offensive on small Guatemala, which was to be presented to the eyes of the world as a traitorous nation to democratic principles, to solidarity, to the dogmas of the race, to the Bolivarian tradition of continental unity.

The small country of Guatemala was overwhelmed, embarrassed, with all the epithets that publicity is accustomed to in such offensives, to create in the minds of all Latin American readers the awareness that a turbulent country of the Caribbean was in military understanding with the world's second power- the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics ... and continental distress should be aroused, not only the grievances of the republican party. It should be the grief of a continent that felt pierced as a subway to the Jules Verne, that the forces of Moscow opened its mouth and spread its agenda from the high plateaus of Guatemala, where the majestic volcanoes and a clear blue sky preside over the destinies of a population of three million. The Latin American people read every day the news about the hellish landing of two thousand tons of weapons, at a cost of ten million dollars. We Guatemalans who live abroad, in the humble function of informing our Spanish speaking friends about the truth of what is happening in Guatemala, do not know

(3). "Castillo Armas, de facto president of Guatemala, has confessed on September 29, 1954, that the cost of these weapons could not reach two million dollars."

how the State Department could find out so quickly the weight, the cost and even the loading content. Something else; when the boxes had not been opened yet, the news agencies reported on the actual content of them. The Guatemalan government itself has not said a word on the matter, because the Constitution of the republic- that Constitution that one day may be published in the bible of contemporary American culture called the "Reader's Digest"- establishes that everything military and everything diplomatic is secret. But the "Intelligence" services (beautiful word) of the government of the United States had already discovered, with the inquisitive power of their atomic spies, that the sickle and the hammer, and a compact edition of "The Capital", came with each one of the rifles and cartridges purchased in Switzerland by Guatemala.

Latin American readers, who are the least ignorant of the size, location and population of Guatemalan territory, had - however - the honesty to study a map of America, and found that Guatemala is cornered in the deepest bosom of the Caribbean Sea, tightly positioned between Mexico and Honduras, and very close to the United States. Then, examining more carefully that mare nostrum, they proved once again that from the peninsula of Florida (Yankee military stronghold) to the island of the Trinity (English military stronghold) they follow each other in large and small islands, from the British they are called Bahamas, passing through Cuba and through Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, up to the island possessions of France and the Netherlands and even the Guianas themselves, who are the continental territory, the greatest protection of the European powers. The Latin American readers, seeing the map and not knowing neither Eisenhower nor Foster Dulles, began to think that the grievances telegraphed from the United States about the dangers of a country of three million inhabitants, thus enclosed in that bristling Caribbean sea, was a bit exaggerated for foreign troops. The armed forces of the United States have a total of 3,357,266 men at that time!

What the Latin Americans did not know, but the distressed American President did know, was that Guatemala had gone five years wandering in the humble search of weapons for a small army. Since 1948, when I was president of the republic, military officials of the State Department received the normal request for the provision of weapons to the army. In the offices of the State Department, which is a model of organization, lay the Guatemalan documents in which the request for weapons is recorded, not counting the verbal requests that our ambassadors or army officials reiterated before that friendly government. For what reasons does the government of the greatest power in the world deny since 1948 (the labor code was instituted in 1947) the sale of arms to Guatemala?

That goes into the military secrets of that country and we are not going to demand that they confess to us.

The tragic events that take place today in Guatemala are clarifying many more things. But before the mercenary fruit army bombed Guatemala City, the Latin American people wanted an explanation at least about the number of Guatemalan applications that the United States had and have in their archives. Things went further in the State Department with respect to the weapons needs of Guatemala. As time passed and Guatemalan army supplies were spent, the need for these weapons grew. I myself, in 1949, take advantage of the presence of a commercial agent selling arms in Guatemala, a representative of a large Danish factory, and formalize the order of a thousand submachine guns, with their respective cartridges. If I had known all that is happening, I would have taken the name of the agent and the Danish factory to make public. The agent telegraphed to prepare the de facto request by the Guatemalan government, and when it was about to be dispatched, the agents of the American espionage intervened, by magic, and vetoed the shipment of arms. The advances of funds that I had made were returned to me expeditiously by the honest commercial agent. Denmark, a free nation, could not sell arms to Guatemala, country of the Caribbean! Then we began to feel that an official American condemnation was weighing on us. Our crime seemed to have been committed in 1947, a code of work that fundamentally transformed the living conditions of Guatemalans, which until then had been exploited by United Fruit and by the feudal capitalists of the country. At that time a diplomatic pressure on me began so that this code could be corrected. But going back to the arms business, the State Department knew all this. Years later, President Jacobo Arbenz military needs grew desperate. They made requests in Mexico and Cuba (before the government of the General Batista) and in Argentina; this last one I personally fulfilled before the General Peron. For reasons that are very explicable, no Latin American country wanted to get rid of the few weapons that their armies are equipped with.

It was then that Guatemala turned its' eyes to Europe, and hired the services of an American aviator, Colonel Hubert Fauntleroy Julian, the "Black Eagle of Harlem", to obtain them in Sweden or in Switzerland. It seemed that in the first country he did not achieve it. Switzerland, on the other hand, was more accessible. Everyone knows that President Arbenz, a Guatemalan by birth, is the son of a Swiss citizen, and that the surname Arbenz is very common in Switzerland. The Swiss were enthusiastic when they learned that in a small country of America, a man of Swiss origin with the surname Arbenz had become president. Swiss newspapers gave the news the importance it did not have in any other country in Europe. The daughters of President Arbenz are being educated in Switzerland. Well, the American aviator, Colonel Julian, acquired arms and ammunition in Switzerland, and

embarked them by some port in northern Europe, to New York, where they would be transhipped to continue on another ship to Guatemala. Greater transparency can not be ordered: an American buyer agent and transfer in New York ... the weapons were captured by the customs police of the port of New York. The news was published without slander or alarm on January 15, 1954, by the Reuter Agency, not by the Yankee news agencies.

What was the intention of the United States? Why was the small Republic of Guatemala condemned to maintain its army without the natural provisions of armament? Ah ... at the end of 1953, in November, the United States and Nicaragua had signed a military pact of mutual defense against communism, and the Mexican press immediately reported that seven hundred American sailors disembarked to Nicaragua under the pretext of the pact. What was the purpose of that landing? The cargo called "communist" had not yet been discovered, but already the United States was providing arms and marines ... when they, the United States, knew that Guatemala had the greatest shortage of military supplies(4).

The grievance of the State Department when the European armament disembarked in Puerto Barrios is the type of grief that psychology will have to study some day. They knew that Guatemala was unarmed thanks to the tactics of the United States, and that Nicaragua was already well armed- by the government of the United States. They also knew that in Honduran territory the United Fruit was preparing a mercenary army to invade Guatemala! Even if the two thousand tons of weapons in Puerto Barrios were true, that could not scare a first world power that had in Central America a General Somoza, powerfully armed to continue serving the ideals of the democracy, and in Honduras a Carlos Castillo Armas, betrayer of Guatemala.

The objectionable impression caused to an honest conscience by the knowledge of these facts mounts if we remember that in January 1954 President Arbenz was fortunate enough to discover the reliable documents to verify and denounce the existence of that conspiracy of the arming in Honduran territory with money from the fruit company and direct links with the current government of Nicaragua. The documents spoke in addition that "a government of the north" had given its approval to the invasion of Guatemala.

(4). Claude Bowers, former ambassador of the United States in Spain and Chile has recently published in English a book entitled "My Mission in Spain". In that book, Bowers, blames the British government of Neville Chamberlain and the policy of non-intervention advocated by him at the beginning of the French revolt that the government of the republic could not crush the revolt in its infancy. That policy of no intervention denied the loyal government of Spain the right to acquire the necessary weapons to repress the uprising. Published in "La Nacion" of Santiago of June 11, 1954, it would seem consecrated by the U.P. to illuminate the tragic case of Guatemala.

President Arbenz did not know then that Foster Dulles' own brother (Allen Dulles, head of the Intelligence Service of the United States) was organizing the invasion. The State Department felt alluded to when it spoke of "a government of the north" and protested, denying its complicity in the adventure of the fruit army. And it was also said that Arbenz's complaint responded to a slogan from Moscow, to disrupt the interventionist plans that would be taken to Caracas in March. The American bombs that continue to fall on the helpless people of Guatemala show that the denunciation of President Arbenz, made in January 1954, was rigorously true, and that the reference to the assurance they had by "a government from the north" was not false. The "New York Post", with the signature of Max Lenner, gives us, on June 23, the definitive key to unmask the fraud.

We are giving this information in order for psychology researchers, among whom my beloved Argentine teacher Luis Juan Guerrero, may have greater elements to understand and explain in the high universities the problem of grief. The grief shown by the President of the United States, Mr. Foster Dulles and all the American news agencies before the purchase of European weapons for the small army of Guatemala, is the most chilling example offered to those researchers who want to know how much nobility and misery there is in the human soul, without counting on a new speculative vein that would study the relations between the psychological and moral problem of grief and the destinies of contemporary democracy; so closely linked to the President of Nicaragua Anastasio Somoza and the shareholders of the United Fruit, installed in the State Department and in the seats of the Congress of the Union.



# IN THE MONTH OF MARCH, GRIEVANCES LAND IN CARACAS

---

If revising the calendar of this tormented year backwards, we move, from mid-May - the date of the landing of European weapons in Guatemala- to the month of February of this same year, where we will find ourselves with the terrible reign of grievance. The American news agencies, the big newspapers of the powerful country governed by millionaires, the magazines paid for by the announcements of these millionaires, and the radio stations linked to all the monopolies that have and will have, as well as the Latin American newspapers subjected to the paper monopoly, had already unleashed against Guatemala a propaganda offensive that led to a cowardly bombing of the defenseless Guatemala. I was in Paris at the beginning of 1953 when this relentless offensive started. Wonderfully synchronized throughout the world, Guatemala began to be mentioned as the most dangerous country in the democratic West. North American editors traveled to Guatemala, with the articles already written, to spend eight days in the beautiful tropical city, to know up close the Indians who balance water vessels on their heads, to smell in their origin the best cut coffee in the world, and then to return home, the "editors", to the city of the skyscrapers to justify that everything written in their chronicle about communism had been seen by them, seen with their own eyes, in a lavish journey that they had not paid with their own money.

And when the editors did not already have what the State Department needed to be said, the Embassy of the United States in Guatemala, with its copious files, gave them the fundamental material and freed the editorial to the mood of the adversaries of the new Guatemala. Thus the Yankee newspapers and the great Latin American newspapers were served articles that gave Guatemala an intentional- and ill-intentioned- version of events, photographed with nothing more than those aspects that agree to the fabrication of an international public opinion. The existence of a small group of communists in Guatemala, the freedom with which these practitioners of the fearsome doctrine were given to say what they thought of Russia and of the United States, the sympathy with which the Guatemalans of different ideas look at Guatemalans of other ideas, that some Guatemalan communists are also participants in public functions, that they constitute a political support to the government in emergencies, etc., etc., served to infiltrate the readers skillfully by North American news, a diabolical image of Guatemala. We have to remember that this

systematic offensive against Guatemala is exclusively American in origin. And, if in some Latin American countries journalists appear insisting on the subject, it is never a question of new information but of the simple repetition of what the American news agencies say so consistently about Guatemala.

It was with this great instrument of penetration on the consciences, that is the contemporary notoriety, which made of the small Guatemala an absolutely inadequate image with its reality. But the Washington State Department needed to saturate the Latin American governments with precise notions in order to obtain in Caracas a resolution that put an end to the communist penetration in the continent, to the interference of Russia in the affairs of Guatemala, the rebellion of the workers of the Caribbean Sea, who by inspiration of Russia have had the idea of requesting new living conditions, increase of salaries, hospitals for their women, education for their children. The United Fruit Company, which has its claws placed in fourteen American countries, including Jamaica and the United States, can not with benign eyes see such a social current, called by them communism. Secretary Foster Dulles, in his official mission to protect American interests, wherever they reside, took the plane to Caracas, ready to end once and for all the plague of communism contrary to the interests of the powerful American company, which has invested some six hundred million dollars in the Caribbean and extracts tremendous profits year after year. The source of all this- the banana! That is why a Chilean journalist who witnessed Foster Dulles' grief in Caracas opined to say it was a grievance that smelled of banana.

# BETWEEN GRIEVANCE AND THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX

---

The publicizing goal of softening had been followed by individual agreements to each country- that is, to each Latin American Government, to secure the vote of the majority to the mantra of Washington. Each Latin American country has its own problem, and the United States knows it. The ambassadors assigned to the local governments exercised the additional function of pressing, insinuating, promising, coercing, and intimidating the government of which they were entrenched, according to the commitments contracted with the great lender of our time, according to the urgent need of machinery for agriculture or for industries. Not all governments are necessarily coercive. In the Caribbean there are usually governments that rush to offer more than the United States needs. In South America, on the other hand, there are governments that do not consent even to a millimeter of coercion. On the other hand, the State Department knows very well how many votes it needs to reach conclusions. The remaining votes may merit the privilege of insubordinate to the majority, and make parliamentary rhetoric. They can even afford, five or six countries, to vote against Washington's conceived proposition.

All in all, Caracas was not so brilliant for the powerful creator of the Korean misfortune. The displeasure began when the small country of Guatemala, accused of being, convicted the accuser. Guatemala has had no choice but to assume that unfriendly attitude, because the anti-communist motion of the United States was simply a request for authorization to intervene in the internal affairs of Guatemala and a justification for the military thievery prepared by United Fruit from Honduras. Chancellor Toriello, in one of the most memorable oratorical pieces of this Latin American century, accused the United States, without naming them, of having unleashed against Guatemala an infamous slander campaign, for the only crime of attempting to establish new conditions of life for the inhabitants of the country. I accuse them equally of having prostituted the practitioners of international diffusion, putting them not at the service of the truth, but of lies and slander, until it vilified Guatemala as a power of first class militarily allied to Russia. I denounce that all these errors of the United States were due to the shameless protection of the State Department in favor of the powerful and voracious interventionist monopoly that exploit the surrounding lands of the Caribbean Sea since the end of the century. And I conclude

by pointing out that the US monopolies, with the complicity of the State Department, were at this moment forging an armed conspiracy against Guatemala that aimed to overthrow President Arbenz in order to return to the United Fruit Company the joyful use of the riches of the insubordinate country against it. And finally, the Guatemalan Chancellor made a mockery of the accusation of communism, demonstrating that it only served the purpose of intervening in the internal affairs of Guatemala on the part of the United States, now governed again by the Republican Party, which years ago put into practice the diplomacy of the dollar and the politics of the big stick.

Many more things were said by Toriello in the name of President Arbenz, of the Guatemalan government and its people. But it is enough to remember the reason for the apotheosis with which the Latin American delegates were greeted by the gallant Chancellor of Guatemala, who there, face to face, began to remove the mask from the protectors of Western democracy; the furious enemies of communism, the saviors of Christian humanity. And I begin to meditate on the degree of inferiority to which the present governors of the great nation of the north exhibited, such that a small country of the Caribbean sea, protected exclusively by moral forces, will bring to the public such justified accusations. We have news that the city of Caracas lived that day one of the most emotional moments of its history. I was in Quito and I testify to the joy of all Ecuadorians, the Spanish pride of Juan Montalvo's compatriots, who believed they were represented at the conference, by a Guatemalan spokesman who spoke the Bolivarian language. Weeks later, in Chile, and now lately in Uruguay and Argentina, I could see that Toriello's voice had been an American voice of the best libertarian traditions.

With that speech from Caracas, the initial prestige of the Guatemalan revolution came to a pinnacle, touching deep into the hearts of all Latin Americans. From that moment Guatemala has been like the bride of those who speak Spanish. But also from the Brazilians, because a magazine from Rio de Janeiro had the kindness to make the headlines that Guatemala had spoken on behalf of Latin America.

# WHERE GRIEVANCE BEGINS TO BE EXPLAINED BY AMNESIA

---

The Latin American delegations present in Caracas - even that of Santo Domingo! - applauded Toriello; we no longer speak of the public that filled the salons and the inhabitants of the city of Bolivar, who heard the Guatemalan Chancellor as when a call to the resurrection is heard for a new life. On the other hand, the response of Secretary Foster Dulles, when he had to explain what the State Department means by "international communism," was heard with the feeling that the powerful official of the powerful nation was not telling the truth. And how was the man with big eyes going to tell the truth, when the American news agencies, this time the Associated Press, had transmitted to the whole world on October 30, 1953 - just four months ago - sensational information from the Subcommittee of Foreign Relations of the North American Senate, that same day said: "The Communists do not have in the present hope to dominate any Latin American government by electoral means". The agencies of that Subcommittee had been given the task of investigating the power and dangers of communism in each of the countries of our continent, and in accordance with the results of the official exploration "the number of members of the communist party has gone down from the 300,000 thousand in Latin America in the period 1944-1947, to 200,000 currently". Mr. Secretary Foster Dulles did not have those reports in sight or he had forgotten them. Two hundred thousand communists throughout Latin America could not generate a danger to the security of the continent, to the destinies of Western democracy, to the tranquility of those officials who are so weary in this America of blonds and brunettes for the happiness of each. Two hundred thousand communists divided into twenty nations .... And this was an official data of the United States Government, officially transmitted to the world by the only sources of information that the world has, that with its news agencies. Then - the ingenious man in the street asks - why the anguish of Secretary Foster Dulles before the communist dangers in twenty nations that together add up to one hundred and fifty million inhabitants?

Is it that Mr. Foster Dulles suffers from amnesia before the numbers? Is his amnesia referring to the official reports of the Senate of the powerful northern nation? But Foster Dulles cried in Caracas. Foster Dulles spoke with the voice of Jupiter Tonante to inform the Latin American governments represented there, that America- Monroe's, Theodore

Roosevelt's- was in danger. The representatives of the Latin American governments had the theatrical spectacle of a big man, seventy years of age, who is moved to his very bones before the communist danger. But what about the Senate? Ah ... the United Fruit Company has very different information from the Senate. The gigantic company that operates in the Caribbean Sea has more serious sources than the American Embassies; She has Creole agents for hire, she knows of the natives of the Caribbean what the bozos of the American Senate will never know. And the United Fruit Company had given different material to those published in the American press on October 30, 1953. Therefore, said Foster Dulles, it is time that we forget about the remaining problems that the Latin American governments - the peoples? What Peoples! - have planned for this meeting. The only important thing in the world of our days is the communist penetration in America, the formation of deep cracks that threaten the security of finances - forgive me; of the institutions-, the appearance of minorities of hypnotists who captivate, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin, the unsuspecting masses, and from one moment to the next unleashed on the continent of bananas, copper, tin, coffee and oil a kind of apocalypse not foreseen by any of the prophets.

And the agenda of problems planned for Caracas had to be reduced to the "communist danger in America", a wonderful opportunity to postpone to Rio de Janeiro (in which year?) the painful economic issues that each Minister of Relations naively carried in his suitcase. And Foster Dulles wept in the presence of the delegations the anguish of a world that collapses, of a geological structure that is disarticulated. According to Foster Dulles, the happiness of men was at stake for ever and ever ... "And let's vote today, because I must travel tomorrow!" ...

The Latin American delegates, handkerchief in hand, crying along with the enormous Secretary of State, wanted to leave the vote for later when the grief did not shake their hands. But no: the theatrical actor who is Foster Dulles, a character from the Far West, gun in hand, continued to cry while the delegates voted. First Nicaragua, the favorite daughter of the State Department. Then Santo Domingo, protected by the United States, by the divine Trujillo, prophet of western democracy, custodian in the name of God. Trujillo and God! After him Honduras, presided over by an official of the United Fruit Company, a lawyer who has consecrated his patriotism and his knowledge to defend, with the codes in hand, the interests of United Fruit against those of the Honduran worker. One after another after another ... but In the gloom of the horizon, Mexico and Argentina refused to sign. And beyond, like a distant star, tiny Guatemala, signaling to Spanish-speaking men a different course, an unwavering line: to live or to die with dignity.

# HOW GRIEF, DECEPTION, AND AMNESIA WALLOW

---

But Guillermo Toriello, the youthful Chancellor who spoke that time for Latin America, did not want to say everything he had to say. It was enough, according to him, to start raising the tip of that carnival mask with which Mr. Foster Dulles arrived in Caracas. The mission of the Guatemalan delegation limited itself to expressing that in Guatemala it is struggling to structure a creole democracy, an intent hindered by the millionaires of United Fruit, owners of the great press of the contemporary world, that press that has put into motion the representation of a dangerous Guatemala with its three million inhabitants of the tropics. But Guillermo should have gone further, because Guillermo knows that in the archives of Guatemala we have some documents related to the conspiracies that have been taking place under the direction of the US embassy and with monies from United Fruit. But that was a domestic problem. What was to be discussed there were international problems, problems that have some relation with the anguish of the President of the United States and his Chancellor "heavyweight" Mr. Foster Dulles.

Even in this plane of international grievances, Guatemala has and will always have something to say. I myself remember the great American propaganda in favor of Russia, over the years from 1940 to 1944. Those were the years in which England and the United States needed the help of the communist Russians to achieve the collapse of German military power. And just a few months later when the Japanese danger rose, they also needed the powerful help of the Russian communists. Those were the tragic days of Pearl Harbor. Do you remember, reader, of Pearl Harbor? We, the Latin Americans, will never forget it. We will never forget the Japanese treachery that unloads its bombs at night, at the same time that its diplomats speak of peace in Washington. The Latin Americans, who do not suffer from amnesia, we had at that time and we still have now the anguish of the criminal event with which a fatal change for the destinies of democracy could have began. But we, the Latin Americans, remember it because our psychological structures are different. I understand that the Americans, on the other hand, have forgotten about Pearl Harbor. And it was in the wake of Pearl Harbor, when the powerful American nation, offended and humiliated by the Japanese assault, and even the great England, that asked

the Russian on his knees - yes sir, on his knees! - to declare war on Japan. Without Russia, the leaders of Western democracy would never have broken Hitler. But let's also say that without economic and material aid from the United States, the Russian people, the Red Army, would not have come out alive with Stalingrad.

Subsequent publications have said that the United States gave Russia twenty billion dollars to defend itself, to defend communism threatened with death. In addition to the millions on paper, they provided ships of all kinds, tanks, planes, and ammunition in fabulous quantities(5). The United States turned over, splendidly as never before, on that occasion when communism and Western democracy played their fate together. The glorious General Eisenhower had interviews with Stalin and the chiefs of the Red Army; He ate with them, slept with them, smiled at them and ended up believing in the superior virtues of the Russians, as confessed by Harry C. Butcher on page 502 of the second volume of "My three years with Eisenhower"(6). And Guatemala, from these pages, asks the powerful Governors of the United States, now anguished by the communism of a small country enclosed in the Caribbean Sea, Guatemala asks with the ingenuity of Latin Americans: why did they save communism in Stalingrad? Is not Communism a plague? Or

(5), American General John R. Deane, declared that at that time the Soviets were given the following weapons and elements: 427,284 trucks, 13,303 combat vehicles, 35,170 motorcycles, 2,328 artillery vehicles, 2,670,371 tons of oil, 4,478,116 tons of food, 1,960 steam locomotives, 66 diesel locomotives, 9,920 flat cars, 1,000 flat cars, 120 tank cars, 11,000 aircraft and 2,660 ships. The defense secretary, Charles Wilson, later recalled that the entire German submarine fleet had been handed over to the Russians. General James A. VanFleet denounced, in September 1954, that the United States, by threats, forced Greece to accept communists in the government in 1950. The threat was, "he said," that economic aid should not be given. Van Fleet lived then in Greece ...

(6). "All those who admire the courage and the capacity for suffering can not but be impressed by the fierce resistance of the Russian people. The Russians are fighting for their land and their homes. Russia needs help of all kinds- airplanes, tanks, canons, medical material - to continue his defense against the invaders, he is receiving everything he needs from the United States and from Great Britain. " President Roosevelt's speech on October 27, 1941.

"I give thanks to all of you, and when I leave this Russian soil, and this Crimea that the Russians redeemed from the dirty plants of the Huns, and the Soviet territory, I express to all of you and your leaders, and in particular to your great chief, the supreme commander-in-chief Marshal Stalin, the gratitude and admiration that the English race, scattered throughout the world, by the Oceanographers and by all the regions of the globe, feels for the Russians, for their brave army and for their people. We wish that they will never again be subjected to the cruel tests that have come out with such glory. " Winston Churchill, after the Yalta Conference, March 1944.

"We are all convinced that it is more important for the world, as for nations, that a solid base of understanding exists between the United States and Russia." It is not necessary to interpret the small frictions as signs that there are insoluble problems. As much as the USSR, it is our responsibility to apply our policy of mutual friendship effectively. " General W. Bedel Smith, speech on the day of the Red Army (1946).



is it that communist doctrine has changed philosophy and essence after Stalingrad? Is it that communism is a divine nectar when one is in a trance of death, as was the United States in Pearl Harbor, and is pestilential poison when it is after dinner, fed up with food and drunk with happiness? We the small countries of Latin America knew very little about Russia and communism. It was they, the Americans, who invited us to meditate on the greatness of the new Russia, who invited us to judge the military achievements of the Red Army: it was the American and English radio stations that invited us in those years to shout with everyone at the top of our lungs Viva Russia! Live Stalingrad! Long live the Red Army! But while Latin Americans continued to believe in the sincerity of such invitations, we ignored that the communist doctrine had ceased to be ambrosia in the life of democracy, to become a vile poison. Vice President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, according to a cable of the associated press published in Santiago, Chile, which on a trip around the world at the end of 1953, was commissioned to produce the greatest of all the astonishments of all the inhabitants of the earth, when arriving in Japan, addressed seven hundred Japanese personalities and apologized for what happened in the last war. The United States apologizing to the Japanese author of Pearl Harbor! Vice President Nixon went a little further in his apology and came to accuse the United States of aggression against Japan, when he said that the biggest mistake - fortunately he did not say crime - of the United States had been to destroy Japanese militarism.... well - you hear such things by the doors of an asylum. How is it possible, the naive Latin American asks himself, that the Vice-President of the United States is going to apologize to the Japanese in those terms? And then it occurs to us that instead of saying "Remember Pearl Harbor," the United States should have originated the most patriotic phrase yet: "Forget about Pearl Harbor."(7)

7. "On December 17, 1954, a photograph of a Japanese aviator was published in the "Diario de Quezaltenango" (Guatemala), sent, of course, by the press services of the United States. Lieutenant Colonel Shigehisa Yamoto, who piloted one of the planes in the attack on Pearl Harbor. He is among the first thirteen Japanese pilots of the new North American Air Force in Matsushima, after completing a five-month course supervised by North Americans. "

# BUT FRANCE DOES NOT SUFFER FROM AMNESIA

---

I lived in Paris, since June 1952, when things happened that Guillermo Toriello did not know either. The Republican party won the presidential elections using the military glories of a man who does not belong to the party. The Yankee people, who are as healthy and confident as any of the Latin American peoples, voted in favor of the glorious soldier who had won the war, with Stalin and Montgomery, without mentioning Churchill and Roosevelt in this regard, two civil geniuses. The American voters could not haggle their vote for the man who represented at that time the greatest military glory of the United States. But they did not notice that by voting for Eisenhower they were voting for the Republican party. And the Republican party, in one of its most politically strategic maneuvers, defeated Stevenson, who represented the orthodox line within the progressive American democracy. All this digression serves only to take us to the following: eight days after President Eisenhower took office, Messrs. Foster Dulles and Stassen, took a plane of ten engines and crossed the Atlantic, and arrived in Europe with an inspection plan and to give instructions. The French, intellectually the finest people in the world, never ceased to notice such an intention, and began to smile at those two travelers who came to the punished capitals of old Europe before visiting Alaska. In those days, a frivolous film called "An American in Paris" was shown on the screens of Parisian cinemas. The newspaper "Le Monde", which is not a communist newspaper, much less soaked in the irony of the French eager to laugh at the claims of the inspectors of the world, received the visitors with a wonderful editorial that was entitled "Two Americans in Paris ... (February 2, 1953).

The French who have already suffered in their own homes the bombings that the Americans have never suffered in theirs, were certainly not to be frightened of that bomber who was carrying two loan inspectors with him. Because the truth is that Stassen was the main member of the couple; Foster Dulles went along to frighten the Governors. And the French could not be scared, because they had started, like us Latin Americans, to experience surprises of an ideological nature. Krupp, the last representative of the family of German arms manufacturers, had just left the prison, dismissed with all kinds of apologies - the same ones that were later given to the Japanese - and with a compensation of fifty billion francs. Krupp, the man who has provoked the greatest number of deaths in

France, Hitler's principal ally in the blitzkrieg, that same; Krupp, released, after being recognized as a war criminal, sentenced to death first and sentenced to life imprisonment afterwards; now in freedom because the international military command of the West, which presides over the Americans, had resolved in January 1953, to remove from the men of the great industrialist - (ah..is true, the great industrialist) - the admonition of war criminal. Not even a prison sentence deserved. A man who had done so much good to humanity - and who could continue doing it, why not? - should take the public road again, go home, lock himself in it, advise the new German canon manufacturers, always that he did it in private, after selling -priced apart- the manufacturing secrets that were only in his great brain.... the Parisians took to the streets.

Never was the outrage so great in the postwar period. It was a mockery for the dead French. It was a mockery for Western democracy. Or was it something more than a mockery? Would not it be a change of "ideological" position in the military command of the West? Ah ... the French did not get their bad faith there. They preferred to understand the freedom of Krupp, the request for apology and the large compensation, as a gesture of generosity from overseas friends, who have been generous many times. "You have not traveled France, sir?" the French told me, my friends. "We are still shattered by the Normandy battles, and now they take to free Krupp". Edouard Daladier denounced, months later, that Krupp was already at the head of German industry.(8)

But France has suffered in the world more than any country. They suffered the kings until the 18th century, they suffered the Prussians in the 19th century, and they suffered the military occupation of the Germans and the "allies" in the 20th century. They have of life, in this hour, an opinion that does not reach to be a philosophy. They, who contributed to the genius of Descartes to create a new philosophy for modern humanity, now prefer to leave philosophy in the academias. A philosophy can not come out of pain, disappointment, kneaded infamy. It will leave, at best, a stance before life, a grimace at death.

(8). On March 25, 1953, "Le Monde", from Paris, publishes a special dispatch from Tokyo, which begins with these words: "The great Japanese war criminals will be the object, here, on April 19, date of the elections, of a measure of clemency ". The Japanese government had obtained the consent of the powers that were its enemies. On September 7, 1954, the U.P. from Weri, Germany, tells us: "Former Nazi Major General Kurt Meyer, who had been sentenced to death for ordering the execution of numerous Canadian prisoners of war, was released today, having served ten years in a British prison."

But they have not lost their love for France. Everything can be lost, even Paris, but France is still for them the bride of his heart. And behold, the republican party, a few months after capturing power, hiding under the coat of the glorious Eisenhower, insulted France. Why the injury to France? Because the French parliament, presided over by Herriot, denounces that the projected European Army conspires against the security of France and advises, conforming to the alarm issued by Herriot in October 1952, during the congress of the radical party of Bordeaux, which does not get approved. The French are right; the European army project, just like the Americans, have wanted to impose it, and it places France and Germany on equal military conditions, with the same rights of remilitarization. The pretext, say the French, is the "communist danger in Europe." Then, under this umbrella, the Hitlerite Germany will be reborn quickly, known as the militaristic whims of the Germans, and we would have - say the French - short term, an invasion of Alsace and Lorraine. The French know Europe more than the Americans and know more about communism than the Americans. Any newspaper seller in Paris knows more about politics than Eisenhower and Foster Dulles, who, by the way, do not have to know anything about political theory because they sell newspapers. But the French do read and inform themselves, and they know that Russia has traditionally been a friend of France, and there is also the Franco-Soviet pact of friendship and mutual aid of December 1944, who were thinking of the German danger to the Russians and the French, not to the Americans. In terms of communism, the French know that it was released thanks to the powerful French Communist Party, which carried the burden against the occupiers of the big capital, when the merchants and the anti-Communist French capitalists had fled to the ports, with their valises packed with valuable papers. The French, although they are not communists, do not hate the French communists, and do not hate the Russian communists, without whose heroic contest Hitler would have turned France into a German colony.

These are, by great lines, the reasons why the French people, led by men who have not lost their memory or dignity, refuse to sign a military treaty that imposes, in exchange for paper money, to mend the damages caused by the last great war. But the republican party, which has another opinion on the things of Europe and on the motivations of the conduct of men, considers that France, for having received so many and such millions of dollars, is bound to sign a bill that definitely sinks to the foot of Germany. And LIFE magazine then (January 1953), endorsing the official mentality of the State Department, publishes an article in the background, calling France a harlot ... people who were not in Paris in that painful moment could never imagine the reaction of the French people to injury. There was not a newspaper, a magazine, a radio station that did not answer in appropriate terms to the North American magazine, that like all the great magazines of the powerful country

respond ideologically to the interests of the industrial and commercial monopolies that pay them, and that now are capable of creating a new war in any part of the world, even in Guatemala! Of course, the communist newspapers and magazines said their word against the American insult. But it was this time "Le Figaro" who by the signature of Mauriac, Nobel Prize for literature and militant of the most reactionary parties in France, answered the Wall Street magazine, reminding him that now the United States had money, or rather, they print paper to export it instead of raw materials. But there was in the history of France- Mauriac said- a more glorious age than the present, in which France had gold and not paper, and gave gold to her friends, and gave soldiers and generals to promote freedom in the countries that needed her. And Mauriac recalled that it was the current United States that at that time benefited most from the gold and the soldiers of France in order to conquer their independence against England. On the other hand, in our days, in which France suffers the prostration of two consecutive wars, the United States, through the pages of a semi-official magazine, reproach France, the mother politician of the United States, to sign a military treaty that will put France at the feet of fascism ... The Mauriac editorial is entitled "Le billet dans le bas" and was published on January 27, 1953.

# FROM THE GERMAN REARMAMENT TO THE MILITARY TREATY WITH GENERAL FRANCO

---

The United States of our days have given surprise after surprise. The obsession of the American diplomats, who have used all conceivable coercion, to get the signing of the European military treaty, which rearms Germany "against the communist danger" is still the subject of all the talks in the cafes on the boulevards and in family circles. The unexpected freedom of Krupp, the excuses that Mr. Nixon presented to the militaristic Japan, the faith of the Americans in the kindness of the German people ... because we forgot to say that only ten years after that militaristic regime that endangered the culture of the West under the pagan fire of Hitler, we are now listening to propaganda that contends to convince us that the Germans are the most peaceful beings in the world, are no longer Nazis, that they loved France above all else, and that their only hatred is Communism ... I have to say, from my own position on this subject, that few philosophical scholars love the spiritual greatness of Germany as much as I do, and have obtained so many formative ferments in the reading of their classics and their philosophers. But from there to assert, kissing a cross, that Germans love peace and love France, is quite the stretch.

The world had not left the surprise of that desperate revaluation of German and Japanese militarism when the United States offers us, through the work of the great politicians who lead the nation, a new surprise. The General Francisco Franco, bulwark of Western democracy! The great North American nation, dazzles the astonished readers of the press, when it affirms that General Franco, direct heir of Hitler and Mussolini, will give his support for the defense of Western democracy. A dream? A nightmare? A journalistic joke for the day of the innocent? No; a terrifying truth. General Franco ...! Well; we are not going to say who he is or what he did, because the resolutions of the United Nations are still there, condemning the robbery perpetrated against the Spanish people and advising the rupture of relations with the phalanx leader. But the souls of those who live in this unfortunate hour of the world are already accustomed to these types of surprises.(9)

I myself, fulfilling the wishes of my government, concurred in representation of Guatemala to the sessions of UNESCO, held in Paris, between November and December 1952. Great uproar had been produced by the news that Francoist Spain would be accepted in that entity of culture, when precisely in those days the French press accused Franco of subjecting schools and universities to the Catholic clerical domain. But the votes in UNESCO were ready months before the sessions. The English-speaking countries and some Latin American countries, governed by men of the same stature as Franco, were assured of the majority. But there was a danger; that the adversary governments of Franco said terrible things there. Then the unexpected occurred. A representative from Peru, an intellectual of great prestige in the boulevards and in the embassies of Paris, proposed that he go to vote WITHOUT DISCUSSING. Without discussion ... There, in UNESCO, which by law is the entity that promotes culture in the world; there, at the head of the entity, it was proposed that voting be held without discussion. All of us who attended were, to a certain extent, intellectuals.

And we intellectuals, we forbade the opportunity to discuss one of the most exciting topics for Western culture; the meaning of Franco's government, not in politics, but precisely in culture; its laws, its dogmas, its schools, its textbooks, the regulations of its universities, its achievements in the matter of persecution of teachers and culture. And it was a Spanish-speaking delegate who asked for silence on those issues. I thought that such a proposal would have to be rejected with indignation. Why were we afraid of intellectual ideas? Well, some governments are afraid of ideas. But we ... And the Peruvian motion was put to a vote ... a building does not collapse with as much noise as the scandal we experienced, some in the deepest of the soul, when the Peruvian proposal was supported by a disciplined majority of speaking delegations English and.... Spanish. France, Israel, Mexico, Uruguay, and some other, had the modesty of not converting with their votes the majority in unanimity. Guatemala did not have a vote at that moment, because the international mail had expressly delayed the delivery of the last quota that had authorized it to vote.

9. The treaty was signed on September 26, 1953.

So when the military of the Pentagon had agreed to defend Western democracy with the clean supplies of the Spanish Fascist Falange, we intellectuals had seen in UNESCO that not only the military had a similar opinion of democracy and their destinies.

The truth is that the Americans do not want the atomic bombs of Russia to fall on New York. Given that England and France refuse to serve as bomb launchers against Russia, the Yankees have rented the Spanish peninsula with the friendly intention of attracting the fury of the enemy there. The skyscrapers of New York will be saved and the cathedrals of Spain will perish....



# GRIEF IN THEM, NAIVETY IN US

---

Why has the United States gone from the support of communism to an alliance with international Nazism? Latin American politicians are inclined to explain the painful phenomenon as a result of the victory of the Republican Party, which throughout its history has shown democracy to have a very particular idea, different from that of Democrats and much more different from the Democracy that we have. The victory of the republican party would be, in any case, the occasion to carry out a policy different from that of the democratic party. However, the change of ideological front in the United States occurred long before this electoral victory. On March 15, 1951, while still under President Harry Truman, I denounced in the speech by which I handed over the presidency of Guatemala to Colonel Jacobo Arbenz that ideological change. I Proclaimed to the sixty thousand people that day in the national stadium who witnessed the only constitutional transmission in Guatemala to occur in the twentieth century, and before the thousands who listened to the radio broadcast ceremony. I proclaimed that the last war had been won by Hitler. I demonstrated in a speech that made the youths of the Caribbean tremble, that Hitler's ideas were now in command of the Western world, that the Nazi discipline had conjugated a Carthaginian propensity which places business and commerce in the foreground of official concerns.

But all this is nothing more than a private matter for the United States. They have the right to organize themselves politically as they please. There is not a nation, small or large, that can claim the pretension to inquire why the United States allied with communism in 1943 and why in 1953 they allied with General Franco to defend the same thing - democracy. The people of the United States, who are a sovereign people, have their own destiny in their hands, and they give themselves the government they consider adequate to carry on their anguish and their amnesias. That the American democracy has gone from a political genius like Roosevelt to a military man like Eisenhower, is something that only belongs to them. That the statesmen of the State Department have been pro-communist, like Braden in 1947, or anti-communist like Foster Dulles in 1954, is also a matter that only the Americans are responsible for. That the vice president of the United States goes to Japan, remorseful and vehement, to apologize for the events of Pearl Harbor, is also a

problem that does not admit more judges than the American judges. That the statesmen of the past, until Roosevelt, worried about the destinies of this rag of meat and bone that is called the man, have turned to statesmen "accounting inspectors" like Stassen and Foster Dulles, who are very worried in guaranteeing their investments in the Caribbean, in Asia or in Europe, expropriating a policy of crushing all forms of popular expression- that also only concerns the Americans.

HOWEVER.... leave us Latin Americans with our antiquated and Spanish ideas of democracy. Just as we would never ask them why they burn books that have certain ideas, that they leave us with our sensibility in favor of the needy men of each of our countries. If they are concerned about the fate of the dollars they have printed to get their raw materials out of each country, at least leave us in freedom to believe in Bolivar, with San Martin, with O'Higgins, with Marti and with Rodo; that the Latin American people prefer freedom to money. It is good for them to prosper in swift ways, as they have done, until they reach the atomic power available to them, thanks to the genius of European inventors; but that they allow us to progress, even as ants, millimeter by millimeter, by way of dignity and well-being of the compatriots. For what reason, according to what international code, are Latin American republics obliged to change policies every time that the military of the Pentagon, Braden or Foster Dulles have the idea of changing the directives of the United States? What degree of connection do we have with them so that our trials of democracy, timid and poor, have to be stopped in an hour like this of the world? In other words and forthright- Are we Republics or are we colonies?

# IN THE SHED OF THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL FARCE

---

The events in Guatemala are serving to clarify many things in this upheaval. We already heard the President of the United States to be anguished by the disturbances of Guatemala, propagated and magnified by the Yankee news agencies, with respect to some conspirators who settled in the Central American embassies to join the invasion of the territory, planned two years ago. We have already seen the fearsome secretary, Foster Dulles, swindling the Caracas agenda for Latin American delegations for the exclusive benefit of a single urgent issue- the communist danger in America. We already know the indignation that the United States experienced because the small Guatemalan bought some weapons in Europe, using an American buyer agent. And we already know the outrage of the State Department reached the point of ordering Anastozio Somoza to the immediate rupture of relations with Guatemala. And many people, who read between lines, realized the intentions of the State Department to provoke a war between Honduras and Guatemala to have the excuse of occupying both countries militarily and quell once and for all, without a license from the republics of mestizas, the danger of communist infiltration in the Caribbean. The landing of the weapons occurred on May 15. As of that date, the army of American and Latin American journalists who serve the interests of Wall Street unleashed an unprecedented offensive emphasizing the idea that the communist weapons were sent by Russia, and a transatlantic invasion by Russians using the small and distant Central American country as a beachhead had begun.

We talked about other ships that came behind the first one and that apparently disappeared on the high seas. The news that weapons embarked from a port Switzerland uses for exports did not let go of the first page of the newspapers. It saturated the conscience of the defenseless readers with the impression of a traitorous Guatemala that was selling the American continent to the Euro-Asiatic power. This news was repeated in a disgusting manner, growing until mid-June, when I was in Buenos Aires. In those days, the news agencies, for a real military oversight, release the news that on May 20 - FIVE DAYS AFTER THE LANDING IN PUERTO BARRIOS - the North American police of the port of Hamburg had captured a shipment of arms for Guatemala. Arms for Guatemala, coming from Switzerland, and in the port of Hamburg.... nothing more clear and reassuring for the

anguish of American Democrats. But that news of May 26 did not get publicity, and they held it desperately, while the Latin American countries swallowed the purgative of the military alliance between Russia and Guatemala. The news was finally filtered and published throughout America on June 15, twenty six days after the date on which it should be known. But at the time of announcement, it was no longer dangerous because most of the Latin American governments had accepted a Conference to discuss Guatemala. And no Latin American government is going to withdraw from the conference in the face of that news delayed by the Yankee police, which goes against the theory that the weapons Guatemala buys are of communist origin and the fable that there is a military alliance with Russia. Switzerland, the country where Jacobo Arbenz, of Swiss origin, has found some provisions for the army, is not a communist country nor has a communist government. On the contrary, it is one of the most anti-Communist governments in Europe. And if Guatemala had pacts with Russia the powerful one, it was not going to need small or big purchases in Switzerland ... (10).

We are then faced with what in Spanish is called a scam, a farce, a monstrous lie, one of those that cause terrible damage to the weak and noble people of Guatemala. But the scruples of the rulers of the United States do not worry. They do not care about the human lives of the United States taken in Korea, to defend with young blood the wealth of the millionaires, much less Guatemalan human lives. President Truman, however, the same one who authorized the war in Korea, has felt some scruples.

10. Bonn, June 14 (A.P.) - The High Commission of the United States for Germany announced today that six tons of 20-millimeter Swiss ammunition were seized in Hamburg for anti-aircraft batteries sent to Guatemala. The same informant says that the ammunition arrived in Hamburg on May 20 and that the high commission requested the German government to prevent the shipment. The "Coberg" of the Hamburg Amerika Linie should have carried the ammunition. But I sail without them on the 26th. ("El Mercurio", Santiago, June 15.)

Bern, June 15 (Reuter) - An official with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said today that the shipment of Swiss anti-aircraft grenades to Guatemala, which was intercepted in Hamburg, had normally been authorized by the Swiss government. These were practice grenades, without a fulminant, and for cannons of 20 millimeters. The federal authorities saw no reason to prevent this shipment, made at the beginning of May. "(Diarios de Santiago, June 16)

When he saw the machinery coming upon his own person, he could not help but express himself as President about the anti-communism that was becoming industrialized by American monopolies for selfish intentions. In the speech delivered by President Truman on October 25, 1948 in the Chicago Arena of the great American city, in the presence of 30,000 attendees, thirty-eight days before being re-elected president, said these words that now charge a topical impressive: "The real danger to American democracy is not the communists, who mean nothing, but the one that comes principally from the powerful reactionary forces that silently undermine our democratic institutions. These forces work through the republican party."

They are the words of a seventy-year-old American citizen, who spoke as President of the nation, and who does so as a warning of where "the powerful reactionary forces" "working through the Republican Party" wanted to lead the voters. It is not the opinion of a Guatemalan betrayer of democracy, nor of an agent of Soviet Russia. And as if this were not enough, we find ourselves with another opinion that is very appropriate to the discussion of the Guatemalan case, which the news agencies have presented to the world with dull shades. Tragically, former President Truman, to whose home came the McCarthy hounds, in the search of all influence or complicity with the communists, had to come out in his own defense, outraged by the audacity and irresponsibility of those suffering from anguish and amnesia. On that occasion - (See "La Nacion" of Santiago, November 22, 1953) - the former President of the United States said "It is evident that the current government has embraced McCarthyism for political reasons." And then, referring to that official McCarthyism, that is, the official way of proceeding, he adds "It is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play, it is the abandonment of the due procedures of the law". And to end in this defense of what the former president of the United States considers as an American moral patrimony, he said "This is not a matter of party politics, this horrible cancer is eating the vital organs of the United States and It can destroy the great building of freedom".

They are the words of a Yankee- not the words of an agent of Moscow! And they give us light, with an American light, which is the background, the low background- of the dirty game, different from the fair game- of this miserable aggression to Guatemala, qualified as a satellite of Moscow by the news agencies of Wall Street, with the purpose to stop in its clean origins the longing of an oppressed and exploited people.

# A NEW NEGLECT OF NEWS AGENCIES

---

Dear reader, let's now go back to the anguish. We were with a State Department that feels chills before the communist doctrine, by the penetration of it in the Latin American media. We were with the United States sponsor and the formation of a European army that gives parity of military conditions to France and Germany, in order to form in Western Europe a front to fight the Russian bear and its plague. We were with the arrival of a small shipment of European weapons to Guatemalan soil destined to be the beginning of a maritime invasion of apocalyptic proportions akin to Ghengis Khan. We were with the Caracas conference swindled by their problems and coerced in their votes. And so much tragedy and so much scandal, why? Because communism is a pest of which humanity must beware, starting with us, those of the western world.

But here, confident reader, that on June 6, the press of Montevideo, where I was working at the time explaining to the Uruguayan people how the invasion of Guatemala was prepared by a fruit army in training, transmits a news provided graciously by the United Press from which he no longer spoke. It seemed to be an oversight within the military organization that presides over the distribution of information in this world reported by the United States. The news that President Eisenhower, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the landing in Normandy, made it impossible for him to attend the ceremony on the beaches of France, delegated his personal representation to Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, intimate friend of the President of The United States. The important American news agency added that Mr. Cabot Lodge, spokesman for President Eisenhower, and known among the most powerful shareholders of the United Fruit Company, had read a message from President Eisenhower on the beaches of Utah; This is the name of the place where the first Normandy landings took place. Apart from other considerations, President Eisenhower's message referred with nostalgia to his companions in arms of those glorious days, without haggling the praises that he and Churchill have made of the Red Army so many times. "Well I remember," says the text of the United Press, which puts these words in the mouth or by the pen of the presiding Eisenhower, "I remember of my pleasant association with that distinguished Soviet soldier, Marshal Zhukov, and the victorious members of the armies of the west and east. "

And the message from President Eisenhower, of which the news agency gave few quotations, ends with an invitation to Soviet Russia to return to the great alliance of the past ... invitation from the United States to Russia to return to the alliance and structure the lasting peace that the world needs. Russia, yes; she, the great military power, she can return to the bosom of the great alliance; Guatemala, no.... the communism of Russia, that is not dangerous for the friendship of the United States, nor for the security of the American continent; with that communism an alliance can be established. Ah.... but it is not the same the communism of the Guatemalans, of that minority of Guatemalans who have organized in a corner of the Caribbean Sea some sixty Panzer divisions to assault the canal of Panama....

The news of an invitation to Russia is not false; it is news that can find the most sincere support in the good soul of Eisenhower, the soldier who fought arm in arm with the communist Russians in 1943 and 1945. The Eisenhower general, capitalist and intellectual partner of the victories of the Russians , may very well believe in the need for a military alliance with Russia. But the United Fruit does not think the same as Eisenhower. Hence the news has been crushed, covered immediately by scandal against Guatemala. And in any case, the United Fruit, with its spokespersons Foster Dulles and Cabot Lodge, could well authorize President Eisenhower to be understood with Russia and to share the world with Russia, provided that the investments in the Caribbean and the rest of Latin America continue to be considered as a separate chapter of international politics.

It is good to note as failure the advertising machinery to denounce, at the time of asking for the head of Guatemala due to communist influence, that President Eisenhower wishes that real communism, Russian communism, return to fraternity and alliance with the United States.

And even greater carelessness to Cabot Lodge, powerful shareholder of the fruit, to go as a spokesman for General Eisenhower, to deliver a speech inviting friendship with the Communists. In the precise moments when the western world begins to suspect that the United Fruit and the remaining monopolies of Wall Street have become the monstrous power behind the State Department!

-End of part 1