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Registry Number } AN3645/436/8
 FROM Mr. Steptoe,
 SAN SALVADOR, to Mr.
 Broad.
 No. B/4/1 Confidential.
 Dated 25th September,
 1948.
 Received in Registry 13th October.

Central American Relations; Communist infiltration into Central America by means of the San Salvador elections.

Encloses copy of letter to Mr. Gallienne of 23rd September, transmitting english translation of spanish document giving resume of information obtained in Guatemala and which was provided by a leading South American Communist.

Copied Mexico City.

Last Paper.
 AN3636

References.
 An 3325.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

See with (Minutes.)
 A) Mr Steptoe San Salvador to Mr Gallienne
 Guatemala 27 Sept.

S.A. Dept of MJA. 12/11 may be interested to read.

I.R. Dept. 8/10 19/11
 National Sec. 13/11
 For J.M. 22/11

Jackson 1/11.

B. 11/11.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

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19/3

Next Paper.

AN 4017

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CONFIDENTIAL

Philip Broad Esq.,
North American Department,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

and
/

With the compliments of

H. M. Minister

Copy of Mr. Steptoe's letter to
W.H. Gallienne Esq., C.B.E., dated
23rd September.
Copy of P.S. to above letter.
Mr. Steptoe's letter of 25th September
with English translation of
document.
Copy of Mr. Steptoe's letter to
W.H. Gallienne Esq., C.B.E., dated
27th September.

BRITISH LEGATION
SAN SALVADOR.

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BRITISH LEGATION,

HNS/FH.

SAN SALVADOR, *AN*

25th September, 1948.



CONFIDENTIAL.

3645

Dear Broad,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have addressed to Gallienne, together with an English translation of the document in Spanish enclosed in that letter. From paragraph 2 of my letter to Gallienne you will see how this document came into my hands.

In addition to the notes on persons mentioned in the body of the document, as given in paragraph 3 of my letter to Guatemala, the Max Brannon also mentioned figures as No. 18 in the list of leading Salvadorean personalities for 1947: the Raul Gamero also mentioned is probably a Salvadorean doctor of that name who owns large properties in Guatemala and who is certainly pro-Arevalo.

The U.T.F. or Railway Workers Union in El Salvador is very well organized and would be an ideal instrument for the creation of trouble. It is established that it is linked with the similar Unions in Guatemala and Mexico.

If this document is authentic it clearly shows that Arevalo is determined to stir up trouble in this Republic. I understand that the local Government has been given a copy of the document and it will doubtless be very much on its guard in the immediate future and during the elections.

I am sending a copy of the Spanish text of the document to Rapp in Mexico City.

Yours ever,

H.N. Steptoe

H.N. Steptoe.

Philip Broad Esq.,
North American Department,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

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HNS/FH

Copy for P. Broad Aug.

BRITISH LEGATION,

SAN SALVADOR,

23rd September, 1948.

CONFIDENTIAL.

(Dear Gallienne),

I send you herewith a copy of a document which has come into my hands. I am not in a position to express any views on its authenticity and I particularly draw your attention to the fact that it is undated. I cannot say therefore whether it was written before certain events referred to in it took place, or whether it was written after those events and so composed in accordance with them. It shows more verisimilitude than might perhaps otherwise have been the case.

It was given to me by the Costa Rican Ambassador and I have subsequently learned that it was handed to him by the Chilean Chargé d'Affaires, who also gave a copy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and to the Americans. According to the latter it is based on a report prepared by a Chilean journalist who was recently in Guatemala City where he was in touch with another Chilean journalist a member of the C.P. The letter apparently is a heavy drinker and it was a case I gather of "in vino veritas". Anyhow that is the story.

Quitglas who is mentioned was until recently the editor of La Tribuna. He is now in Mexico City. Augustin Alfaro Duran (Moran?) took a leading part in the revolution here in 1944 and fled the country after its failure proceeding to Guatemala. José Ascencio Menéndez was a former Under-Secretary for National Defence, but has spent most of his life in exile on account of his political activities. Colonel Rodolfo Morales was President of the National Assembly in 1932 & 1933 and rendered very valuable services to President Martínez. He resigned when the latter fell. He was Salvadorean Minister to Guatemala from 1934/1943. The Labour Code referred to in the document has in fact been drawn up and is now being studied by the Archbishop of El Salvador who I understand is going to insist upon the inclusion of the "campesinos" under its benefits; to-date they have been excluded. It is interesting in this connection to note that about a fortnight ago the railway workers did in fact present a series of demands to the Ministry of Labour.

To go to another subject. I am informed that Facio, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Costa Rica and delegate of the latter country to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, will not, on his return to Central America, continue to hold that post. The story here is that Arevalo was greatly offended by Facio's recent tour to El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua (My letter to Broad of August 26th refers) and that he has brought pressure to bear on Figueres to accomplish his removal from office which has been given to Don Benjamín Núñez, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. The Costa Rican Ambassador naturally will not confirm the story since if he did it would be tantamount to an admission that Figueres is under Arevalo's thumb. Time alone will show whether this story is true.

With reference to my letter of September 20th para: 5 I tackled the Costa Rican Ambassador on the subject of the whereabouts of the arms in question. He was clearly uneasy but finally admitted that he thought it possible that the arms had in fact been returned (or were now in the process

W.H. Gallienne Esq., C.B.E.,
British Legation, Guatemala.

of

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(Dear G's friend)

of being returned). He "supposed" that Figueres had found it difficult not to agree to Arevalo's demands in view of their past at the time when they were supplied to Costa Rica, and it looks very much as though Senior Escio was lying in his teeth when he made the explanation referred to in para. 2 of my letter to Broad of 26th August. I will of course inform him accordingly and I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Broad with a short covering.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

With reference to my letter of 10/25/54, I have been advised by the Costa Rican Ambassador on 11/10/54 that the whereabouts of the same is uncertain. He was slightly uneasy but finally admitted that he thought it possible that the same had in fact been returned (or had been in process of being returned) to the Costa Rican Ambassador.

SECRET

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INDEXED/INDEXED

P.S.

I have now completed my enquiries concerning the less well-known people mentioned in the document

Francisco Arias PEREZ: He is the travelling auditor of the British Salvadorean Railway. He is a thoroughly bad person and has been behind most of the trouble experienced by the Railway since 1944. He is the father of the University student Arias Gomez.

Francisco SANCHEZ: He is President of the U.T.F. and is a ticket seller on the IRCA Railway station in San Salvador: a man of undoubted ability and of violent disposition.

Dr. Jimenez BARRIOS: He is not a railway man but is the "spiritual head" of the U.T.F. He is a declared communist and was intimately concerned in the 1946 railway strike.

Rodriguez RUIZ and ANAYA: Intellectuals of the advanced type and probably communists.

With regard to the demands for a collective contract there were very recently presented to the representative of IRCA who was given 90 days to study and accept or reject them. This period brings the time exactly to coincide with the elections (i.e. in December). The majority of the demands made in the new collective contract go far beyond the new law of work which is now being studied by two Government Commissions.

I hope to obtain a copy of this petition, which will be forwarded if I am able to do so.

Jul

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Ref.

TO 371/67952

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HWL

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TRANSLATION.

RESUME OF THE INFORMATION OBTAINED IN GUATEMALA AND WHICH WAS PROVIDED BY A LEADING SOUTH AMERICAN COMMUNIST.

The instructions which have been sent to El Salvador with reference to the presidential elections consist of the following points.

There has been selected as candidate Colonel Ascencio Menendez (see No. 53) in Personalities) as the method of penetration, because Colonel Menendez as well as his vice-presidential candidate Colonel Rodolfo Morales (see No. 59 in Personalities) offer to the people a certain degree of confidence and because behind these people our movement can conveniently be carried on.

It has been accepted that the people behind this candidate are persons from many walks of life and, although they are antagonistic to our movement, this choice has been made with the object of securing greater safety and not provoking suspicion.

Our action, however, must be guaranteed by the functioning within the election committee H.Q. of this candidate of certain leaders and for this reason we have arranged for our friends of the railway Francisco Sanchez and Francisco Arias Pérez to be on the directorate. We have also arranged for the following to be on the election committee H.Q.: Doctors Jimenez Barrios and Rodriguez Ruiz, Bachiller Anaya and newspaper man Quetglas.

In all decisions priority will be given to comrade Francisco Arias Pérez, whose opinion, together with that of Comrade Sanchez will take preference over that of the intellectuals who co-operate and participate in our movement.

Candidate Menendez in the course of his campaign will link up with an unknown professor who has been put forward by the Society of Workers and Agriculturalists. The combination with this group must not be apparent to anyone. Both movements must work separately as two distinct entities, and apparently opposed to each other, but really at the opportune moment to unite by reason of policy of both movements.

Under the same conditions, Menendez will work together with the National Democratic Party maintaining in the same way the appearance of autonomy and of separate action.

All the workers organizations which participated in the Romerista campaign must work in favour of Menendez, either directly or through the Society of Workers and Agriculturalists or through the National Democratic Party.

The connections which the National Democratic Party and the Society of Workers and Agriculturalists have with organization of the same type working in Mexico, assure us sufficiently of the control and direction of these two groups.

The National Democratic Party must maintain its connections with the U.T.F. by means of comrade Arias Perez, who also will maintain contact with, and exercise control over the university group through Doctors Jimenez Barrios, Rodriguez Ruiz and Bachiller Anaya and University student Arias Gomez.

There has been founded in Guatemala a committee under the presidency of Agustin Alfaro Durán (?Moran) with the object of collecting money, maintaining the help which has been obtained from President Arevalo, and developing the plan of action which is given in detail here.

(Agustin Alfaro Durán (Moran?) see No. 3 in 1947 Personalities)

The

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2.

The newspaperman Guetglas will remain in Mexico, in connection with some newspaper in El Salvador, in order to co-ordinate the plan of action.

This plan of action will developed in the following way. Menendez will make his propaganda on the basis of certain points of democratic doctrines, taking every opportunity which presents itself to exalt Central American Union and specially the works of President Arevalo who will be presented as the one person who offers guarantees of democracy and liberty in Central America.

At the same time Alfaro's committee in Guatemala and Quetglas from Mexico will carry out an intensive campaign designed to praise the work of Arevalo and to present the similarity between the programmes of Arevalo and the programme of Menendez and above all to maintain the workers campaign. This workers campaign will be carried out through the U.T.F.. These railway workers will present a number of petitions different from the contracts signed with the Government of Castaneda Castro in September 1946 and will present a project for a collective contract. In this there will be introduced certain ideas which modify the projects previously presented. But in no way will this project for a collective contract be limited to the conditions which Salvadorean law (the projected labour law or code of work) specifies, but will be more in accordance with the Guatemalan law, because that is fuller and more advanced and also because it establishes the international agreements which the U.T.F. have made with 3S A.M.F.3. of Guatemala and with the pact which the latter signed with the Mexican Railway Workers Syndicate. In accordance with these agreements, the workers must press for reforms in accordance with the most advanced law which exists in the three countries, because in this way the government/employers front will be dislocated owing to the necessity for progress and also because in this way can be satisfied the necessity for collective contracts of any of the three countries being applicable in all and each one of them.

The time for discussing the collective contract of the railway workers must coincide with the beginning of the elections.

The agreements between U.T.F. and the Guatemalan Railway Workers Organization and that which the latter has with the Mexican Syndicate assures us of the following: The orientation of the movement under our own control behind the political leaders of Menendez; and at the same time, the help and solidarity necessary for the strike which will have to be declared during the period of election if the company does not accede to the project of a collective contract.

In general; Menendez and the groups with which he must maintain connection constitute a base for a workers movement of great strength which must assume revolutionary proportions under the control of our leaders.

In this workers movement direct contact must be maintained at all times with President Arevalo not only because the source of funds, which emanate from Guatemala, must not suffer, but also to assure that the campaign of "international order" shall be able to help this workers movement.

On all these points the assistance which the leaders of Menendez campaign may be able to obtain must be achieved by having in the Salvadorean Embassy in Guatemala some politician who has contact with the election committee of Menendez. For this person we have considered Max Brannon because in this way we should have a very important base for operation and the international movement by Arevalo could count on a great force.

(Max Brannon) No. 18 in Personalities for 1947.

It is

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3.

It is of the greatest importance to increase, by means of well directed propaganda, this campaign of international order because we need in the first place to stir up in El Salvador disorders of a social nature which will show Central America a way analogous to ours. But all these disorders and the principal direction of the movement must remain for the moment integrated in Guatemala and personally with Arevalo.

We can work towards this end with the greatest possible direction in the Menendez campaign through Raul Gamero, (Salvadorean living in Guatemala and San Salvador) who without being communist, is on the other hand very pro-Arevalo and is profoundly convinced that Central America must remain ruled by the influence of Arevalo and in accordance with the ideas which Arevalo had put forward that the revolution is of an international order and not national character. The trip which Raul Gamero intends to make to the U.S.A. can be utilized by means of his declarations from New York to reinforce the publicity campaign which is being carried out in Guatemala and Mexico in order to attack the Government at the right moment, and to put forward the objects of the strike and generally to assist the whole movement.

The strength of this action, the elements around Menendez, and the strength of those groups with which they must unite at the given moment must be used as a basis for a movement of a social nature, in concert with that of the other international organizations and if there is no assurance of making progress in this way the international campaign will be intensified with the intention of placing the Government in an untenable situation. All negotiations (with the government) must be resisted even when they seem to wish to talk on the subject: because if the government changes its present candidate it will weaken the shock which our movement will give. Also it will be declared that all these attempts at conciliation are well viewed but they will be frustrated politically, thereby gaining time.

The plan of action will be put into practice giving to those workers responsible for its initiation the appearance of a movement entirely divorced from politics. But the university forces, the workers elements and other forces of Menendez will assist in a decided manner.

The agreement with Arevalo is complete and must be maintained because it constitutes the guarantee of Guatemalan aid. Cash will be sent through U.T.F. The positions which have been offered to Alfaro Duran and other collaborators assure the success of the campaign of public opinion; there being destined for this campaign the money which they collect. Further it is being financed by the workers movement exclusively with monies from S.A.M.F. and the Mexican syndicate. In this way the workers movement will maintain its independence.

Romeristas and advanced thinking elements who do not participate in Menendez campaign, in the Society of Workers and Agriculturalists nor in the National Democratic Party will penetrate into the parties of other candidates, in order to assist in the introduction of others as provocative elements, or as elements to stir up internal trouble so that the social movement grows and the directions of Arevalo have greater weight.

When the battle starts and also in case of a strike the participants and sympathisers will remain peaceful. They will intensify propaganda, reinforce the international campaign but without giving sufficient reason for acts of retaliation against them which would occasion panic and would justify drastic action on the part of the government. Nevertheless, if it should be necessary other instructions will be given after making certain that the Guatemalan aid does not only represent political and economical backing as is the case today, but that it will be translated also into co-operation through the supply of the materials necessary to meet a difficult situation. Against this event comrades Sanchez and Arias, together with the leaders of Menendez campaign, and the leaders of the other organizations secretly connected with them, must form a committee of action which will receive instructions directly through U.T.F. and the Guatemalan and Mexican organizations with whom U.T.F. has agreements.