

## Notes

37. **GUATEMALA 1962 to 1980s**  
 The details of the events and issues touched upon in this chapter through 1968 were derived primarily from the following sources:
- a) Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *Guatemala — Another Vietnam?* (Great Britain, 1971) Chapters 9 to 16; particularly for the conditions of the poor, and US activities in Guatemala. Published in the United States the same year in a slightly different form as *Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership*.
  - b) Eduardo Galeano, *Guatemala, Occupied Country* (Mexico, 1967; English translation: New York, 1969) passim; for the politics of the guerrillas and the nature of the right-wing terror; Galeano was a Uruguayan journalist who spent some time with the guerrillas.
  - c) Susanne Jonas and David Tobis, editors, *Guatemala* (Berkeley, California, 1974) passim; particularly "The Vietnamization of Guatemala: U.S. Counter-insurgency Programs" pp. 193-203, by Howard Sharckman; published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA, New York and Berkeley).
  - d) Amnesty International, *Guatemala* (London, 1976) passim; for statistics about the victims of the terror. Other AI reports issued in the 1970s about Guatemala contain comparable information.
  - e) Richard Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America* (Great Britain, 1973, revised edition) Chapters 2 to 8; for the politics of the guerrillas.
1. *The Guardian* (London), 22 December 1983, p. 5.
  2. The plight of the poor: a montage compiled from the sources cited herein.
  3. *New York Times Magazine*, 26 June 1966, p. 8.
  4. US counter-insurgency base: *El Imparcial* (Guatemala City conservative newspaper) 17 May 1962 and 4 January 1963, cited in Melville, pp. 163-4.
  5. Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York, 1982), p. 242.
  6. Georgie Anne Geyer: *Miami Herald*, 24 December 1966. Also see: *New York Herald Tribune*, 7 April 1963, article by Bert Quint, section 2, p. 1; Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 236-44.
  7. Galeano, p. 55.
  8. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.
  9. *Time*, 26 January 1968, p. 23.
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. Atrocities and torture: compiled from the sources cited herein; also see A.J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors* (New York, 1978) pp. 139, 193 for US involvement with the use of the field telephones for torture in Brazil.
  12. Melville, p. 292.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
  14. *Washington Post*, 27 January 1968, p. A4, testimony of Rev. Blase Bonpane, an American Maryknoll priest in Guatemala at the time.
  15. Panama: revealed in September 1967 by Guatemalan Vice-President Clemente Marroquin Rojas in an interview with the international news agency Interpress Service (IPS), reported in *Latin America*, 15 September 1967, p. 159, a weekly published in London. Eduardo Galeano, p. 70, reports a personal conversation he had with Marroquin Rojas in which the vice-president related the same story. Marroquin Rojas was strongly anti-communist, but he apparently resented the casual way in which the American planes violated Guatemalan sovereignty.
  16. Norman Diamond, "Why They Shoot Americans", *The Nation* (New York), 5 February 1968. The title of the article refers to the shooting of John Webber.
  17. Opening quotation: Clyde Snow, forensic anthropologist, cited in *Covert Action Quarterly*, spring 1994, No. 48, p. 32. Right-wing terrorism: compiled from the sources cited herein.
  18. *Washington Post*, 4 February 1968, p. B1. The historic dialogue in Latin America between Christianity and Marxism, begun in the 1970s, can be traced in large measure to priests and nuns like Bonpane and the Melvilles and their experiences in Guatemala in the 1950s and 60s.
  19. Galeano, p. 63.
  20. *El Imparcial* (Guatemala City), 10 November 1967, cited in Melville, p. 289.
  21. Richard Gott, in the Foreword to the Melvilles' book, p. 8.

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22. AID, OPS, Alliance for Progress:
  - a) "Guatemala and the Dominican Republic", a Staff Memorandum prepared for the US Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, 30 December 1971, p. 6;
  - b) Jonas and Tobis, pp. 199-200;
  - c) Galeano, pp. 72-3;
  - d) Michael Klare, *War Without End* (Random House, New York, 1972) pp. 241-69, for discussion of the OPS curriculum and philosophy;
  - e) Jack Anderson, pp. 242-3 and elsewhere, for discussion of OPS practices, including its involvement with torture; the author confines his study primarily to Brazil and Uruguay, but it applies to Guatemala as well;
  - f) *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington), November 1980-January 1981, pp. 54-5, lists the names of almost 300 Guatemalan police officers who received training in the United States from 1963 to 1974;
  - g) Michael Klare and Nancy Stein, "Police Terrorism in Latin America", *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York), January 1974, pp. 19-23, based on State Department documents obtained by Senator James Abourezk in 1973;
  - h) Jack Anderson, *Washington Post*, 8 October 1973, p. C33.
23. AID figure cited in Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean* (Latin American Bureau, London, updated edition 1982) p. 67.
24. George Corter, "Spies, strings and missionaries", *The Christian Century* (Chicago), 25 March 1981, p. 321.
25. Eqbal Ahmad, "The Theory and Fallacies of Counter-insurgency", *The Nation* (New York), 2 August 1972, p. 73.
26. Relationship of Arana to US military: Joseph Goulden, "A Real Good Relationship", *The Nation* (New York), 1 June 1970, p. 646; Norman Gall, "Guatemalan Slaughter", *N.Y. Review of Books*, 20 May 1971, pp. 13-17.
27. *Le Monde Weekly* (English edition), 17 February 1971, p. 3.
28. *New York Times*, 27 December 1970, p. 2; *New York Times Magazine*, 13 June 1971, p. 72.
29. US Senate Staff Memorandum, op. cit.
30. *New York Times*, 18 February 1976.
31. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1977, p. 2.
32. Jonathan Marshall, Peter Dale Scott, Jane Hunter, *The Iran-Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert Operations in the Reagan Era* (South End Press, Boston, 1987), chapter V, passim; *The Guardian* (London), 9 December 1983; *CounterSpy*, op. cit., p. 53, citing Elias Barahona y Barahona, former press secretary at the Guatemalan Ministry of the Interior who had infiltrated the government for the EGP.
33. *CounterSpy*, op. cit. (Barahona) p. 53.
34. Pearce, p. 278; a book was published later which transcribed Menchú's own account of her life, in which she recounts many more atrocities of the Guatemalan military: Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, ed., *I ... Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (London, 1984, English translation).
35. Pearce, p. 176; Sherwood's role in 1954; Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 116, 122, 128. His statement is partially quoted in Penny Lernoux, *In Banks We Trust* (Doubleday, New York, 1984), p. 238, citing CBS News Special, 20 March 1982: "Update: Central America in Revolt".
36. *Washington Post*, 22 February 1981, p. C7, column by Jack Anderson; Anderson refers only to an "official spokesman" of the MLN; the identity of the speaker as Sandoval comes from other places — see, e.g., *The Guardian* (London), 2 March 1984.
37. *Washington Post*, *ibid.* For a discussion of the many ties between American conservatives and the Guatemalan power structure, see the report of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (Washington), by Allan Nairn in 1981.
38. *New York Times*, 19 March 1981, p. 10.
39. *Washington Post*, 14 May 1981, p. A16.
40. *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, 18 May 1981, p. 18; Report issued by the Washington Office on Latin America (a respected human-rights lobby which has worked in liaison with the State Department's human-rights section), 4 September 1981.
41. Washington Office on Latin America report, op. cit. Presumably it was the traditional right-wing fear of the poor being educated which lay behind this incident.
42. *New York Times*, 28 December 1981.
43. *Ibid.*, 21 June 1981; 25 April 1982; *The Guardian* (London), 10 January 1983.
44. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 August 1981, p. 57.
45. *Washington Post*, 21 October 1982, p. A1.
46. *The Guardian* (London), 10 January 1983; 17 May 1983.
47. *New York Times*, 25 April 1982, p. 1.
48. *Ibid.*, 12 October 1982, p. 3 (deaths, citing Amnesty International); *Los Angeles Times*, 20 July 1984, p. 11 (villages, citing "human rights organizations"). For the gruesome details of death squads, disappearances, and torture in Guatemala during the early 1980s, see *Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder* (Amnesty International, London, 1981) and *Massive Extrajudicial Executions in Rural Areas Under the Government of General Efraín Ríos Montt* (AI, July 1982).
49. *New York Times*, 6 December 1982, p. 14.
50. *Contemporary Marxism* (San Francisco), No. 3, Summer 1981.
51. *The National Catholic Reporter* (Kansas City, Missouri weekly), 31 January 1968.

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52. *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1988.
53. Occurred on 2 December 1990; Report, Summer 1991, from Witness for Peace, Washington, a religious-oriented human rights organization concerned with Central America.
54. *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May 1990.
55. DeVine and Bamaca cases: *New York Times*, 23 March 1993, p. 1; 24 March, p. 3; 30 March, p.1; *Los Angeles Times*, 23 March, p. 4; 2 April, p. M2; *Time* magazine, 10 April 1995, p. 43. Alpirez had actually been linked to the Bamaca case two years earlier in testimony to the OAS, information which the State Department of course had access to. (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 April 1995, letter to the editor from Madeline Rios, editor of *Guatemala Review Magazine*, LA).