

1) Read the following background information. On a separate piece of paper, **write** FIVE Level 1 questions and answers, FOUR Level 2 questions and answers and THREE Level 3 questions and answers. *(12 questions / 4 points each = 48 points)*

Following the Second World War, the containment of communism was a primary concern for the United States. The United States feared that communist forces would gain a foothold in post-colonial, developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. To avoid a direct military confrontation with the Soviet Union, and to protect its image, the U.S. government increasingly used the newly-formed Central Intelligence Agency in covert operations to respond to perceived threats. In 1954, the focus of the Cold War turned to the Western Hemisphere and the nation of Guatemala.

In the late nineteenth century bananas had become a regular part of the American diet. By 1901, the profitable, American-owned United Fruit Company (UFCO) was working extensively out of Guatemala to supply produce to the American market. With the support of dictatorial, right-wing Guatemalan leaders, the UFCO had built an empire in the country, securing vast tracts of land for commercial farming and economic privileges.

Jorge Ubico came to power in Guatemala in 1931. While credited with improving roads and public works, Ubico harshly suppressed political dissidents. The UFCO continued to flourish, though, gaining control of more than 40% of the country's land and an exemption from taxes and import duties. The company also controlled International Railways of Central America and Empress Electrica, monopolizing Guatemala's transportation and power industries; making the United States Guatemala's major trade partner.

Growing unrest among the middle class led to the overthrow of Ubico in the October Revolution of 1944, ending his thirteen-year rule. In 1944, Juan José Arévalo, a philosophy professor, was elected by a majority of the popular vote. Arévalo faced significant challenges, with a poor, illiterate population and land ownership concentrated among the nation's elite. After the passage of a new constitution, based on that of the United States, Arévalo began to implement education and land reforms and establish workers' rights, modeling his programs on the New Deal agenda of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

President Jacobo Arbenz succeeded Arévalo in 1951. Political freedom was of particular concern to Arbenz, who allowed communists in the Guatemalan Labor Party to hold key government seats. While their numbers were small, the inclusion of Labor Party members in the Guatemalan government was troubling to the United States, despite evidence that demonstrated very little, if any, communist activity or influence in the Arbenz administration.

Arbenz legalized labor unions and passed further land reform legislation to expropriate idle land for redistribution to the poor. Small farms and those between 223 and 670 acres were not affected. Farms of any size that were fully utilized were exempt as well. Decree 900, approved in 1952, however, empowered the government to seize control of idle portions of plantations. The UFCO held about 500,000 acres of uncultivated land, in part to keep it out of the hands of competitors. The company, which had devalued the land for tax purposes, rejected the compensation then offered based on assessed and paid taxes on the land, as offered by the Guatemalan government, stating it was insufficient. When the dispute could not be settled,

the U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, intervened, taking the matter before the Tenth Inter-American Conference on the grounds that Guatemala was in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

A majority of Guatemalans resented the United Fruit Company, believing the corporation had prevented the country from gaining economic independence. For years, UFCO had freely operated with the support of a series of Guatemalan dictators. The success of the UFCO, claimed official Alfonso Bauer Paiz, Minister of Labor and the Economy under President Arbenz, had come at the expense of the people. In his mind, the UFCO was a corrupt enemy of Guatemala.

When challenged by Arbenz and the land reform movement, UFCO designed a propaganda campaign to link the Guatemalan president to a growing communist threat in the region. The campaign consisted of carefully-planned press junkets for influential and sympathetic American reporters from the New York Times, Time, U.S. News and World Report, and The Christian Science Monitor. During the arranged tours, the members of the press were presented with information, provided by the UFCO, which indicated that communists had infiltrated the government of Guatemala. Guillermo Toriello, Guatemala's Ambassador to the United States, formally protested the depiction of his country by these news organizations.

In this climate of elevated public fear of communism, and with mounting pressure from the UFCO, President Eisenhower decided to take action in Guatemala. Eisenhower had previously vowed to reduce the federal budget and cut Cold War spending. He believed that new tactics were needed to fight the Cold War and turned to the CIA to conduct clandestine operations that would prove less costly than large-scale military operations. This was Eisenhower's "New Look" program.

Aware that direct military engagement in Guatemala would damage the image of the U.S. and could lead to a confrontation with the Soviet Union, Eisenhower authorized the CIA in August 1953 to begin planning for the overthrow of President Arbenz. Complicating the matter, CIA director, Allen Dulles, and his brother, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, both had financial ties to the United Fruit Matter.

The CIA handpicked Castillo Armas to lead rebel forces in an invasion of Guatemala, promising to support him as provisional president after Arbenz was removed. Armas, an exiled ex-Guatemalan military officer, had long opposed Arbenz. He had a few hundred rebel forces supporting him in Honduras. Alone they were no match for the Guatemalan military, however, with the assistance of the CIA, the plotters believed they could weaken Arbenz's popularity.

On 26 May 1954, Armas' forces flew over the Palacio Nacional (National Palace), dropping anti-communist leaflets that urged Guatemalans to join the resistance. Then, on June 18th, Armas and his few hundred American-trained rebel forces, armed with American weapons, launched an invasion. They were initially unsuccessful, but rumors that American troops might join the invasion were enough to turn many officials and the military against Arbenz, who resigned a few days later.

Castillo Armas became the leader of Guatemala and quickly reversed land reform and labor union laws. He also created a National Committee of Defense Against Communism, making it a priority to crush communist activity in Guatemala. In doing so, he put an end to the relative political freedom that Guatemalans had known for ten years. Armas was assassinated three years into his presidency. Over the next thirty years, a series of military dictators ruled Guatemala using terror tactics to secure their power, with the tacit support of the United States.

In 1997, the CIA released the secret files of the covert Operation PBSUCCESS. These files have led many historians to re-visit the motivations of the American players in Guatemala. Was Eisenhower protecting the United States from a national security threat in Guatemala, or using communism as an excuse to protect powerful business interests with direct ties to his administration? Regardless of the motives, the United States' actions in Guatemala left the Guatemalan people without a democratic government and facing decades of oppression, civil war and violence.

2. Read and answer questions for “Two Textbook Accounts.” Then, answer the following questions: (3 points each = 18 points)

- a. Why did the United States get involved in Guatemala?

- b. What are some differences between Textbook A and Textbook B?

What details appear in only one of the textbooks and not the other?

- c. How do the details affect the overall story?

- d. Why do you think one textbook found these details important to include but the other did not?

- e. What more do you want to know about what happened in Guatemala? (3 – 4)

3. Read “Declassified CIA Memo” and answer the following questions: (3 points each = 18 points)

- a. What type of document is this?

b. What does it say about the U.S. involvement in Guatemala?

c. What else was happening in 1954 that would have influenced the United States' decision to use covert methods in Guatemala?

d. Why is this event in Guatemala considered part of the Cold War?

e. How does this event help you understand the United States' behavior during the Cold War?

f. Are you surprised by this story? Why or why not?



1) Read the articles on *El Salvador – Another Vietnam?* and *Nicaragua: Solidarity or Treason?*. On a separate piece of paper, **write** FIVE Level 1 questions and answers, FOUR Level 2 questions and answers and THREE Level 3 questions and answers. (12 questions / 4 points each = 48 points)

2) Write a two paragraph letter to then President Reagan about U.S. policy toward Nicaragua and El Salvador. Use at least 4 pieces of evidence from the readings to support your position either in support of U.S. policy or in opposition to U.S. policy. (up to 25 points: 5 points for clearly stating your position; 5 points for two complete paragraphs; 10 points for use of logical evidence to support your position; 5 points for grammar / sentence structure)

Levels of Questioning

<p>1st level who-what-when-where</p>	<p>When did this happen? What happened? Where did it happen? Who was involved in the events?</p>
<p>2nd level why</p>	<p>Why did this happen? What influenced these events? How did it happen?</p>
<p>3rd level meaning</p>	<p>What might happen if.....? What outcome would you predict for..." Why is _____ more significant than _____? What evidence supports _____? What might occur if _____? If _____, then _____ because _____ _____</p>