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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
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Air Pouch

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~~SECRET/RYPAT/PBSUCCESS~~

14 April 1954

Chief of Station, Guatemala

LINCOLN

Operational—KUGOWN
Replies to HGA-845

1. LINCOLN greatly appreciates the careful and realistic assessment of ESSENCE operations contained in HGA-A-845. Its general conclusions dovetail precisely with LINCOLN thinking; you will note that LINCOLN has for some time ceased sending original articles for overt use by El Rebelde and has begun more intensive guidance and assistance on clandestine activities. Not only must we envisage concentration on clandestine activities in the forthcoming period because police conditions leave us no other alternative, but clandestine activities are also the more effective and the more desirable for the ends which we wish to attain in the forthcoming period.
2. We have advised by cable of the possibilities of using photodeveloper to mark numerals and slogans in visible places. By separate dispatch we are sending you the formula for an allegedly highly effective latent paint. We also recommend the use of simple stencils with ordinary paint, for slogans as simple as "Abajo El Comunismo," etc. Chalk, crayon, pencil, etc., all have their uses. Simple, virtually homemade rubber or wooden stamps can be used on many varieties of paper—for example, paper bags could usefully be stamped with an anti-Communist slogan before they leave a grocery store or the like.
3. Undoubtedly, you did not mean the list of places where materials would clandestinely appear to be exhaustive; the places listed on page twelve of the attachment to HGA-A-845 were certainly meant to be only samples. We would like to suggest, if it is feasible, that you also pay attention to mobile means of distribution. For instance, from the LINCOLN vantage point, busses, trucks, and especially the cadillacs of high government officials would seem to be excellent vehicles for the circulation of slogans imposed on those conveyances with photodeveloper or latent paint or any other suitable device. A suggestion has been made here (and is forwarded to you for what it may be worth) that,

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here and there, a goat might be turned loose bearing some such placard as "Yo Soy Cabra pero Comunista es Cabrón." Should you have available the services of some friendly news vendors, it will be useful to insert your leaflets into copies of the pro-government papers.

4. As regards El Rebelde, we are for the present interested in keeping it going, even if reduced in format and with more harmless (to the enemy) content. However, since we share your estimate of the limited value of El Rebelde, we do not recommend that an effort to put it out and improve it, of such proportions that it detracts from the clandestine work, be made.

5. As regards the use of El Espectador, we are forwarding you by separate dispatch a memorandum of the agreements reached between [] and [] in Mexico. Point four of this memorandum points out that [] will contact [] in order to obtain the cooperation of [] El Espectador. This channel may prove more advantageous for your purposes and may serve to lighten somewhat the burdens already resting on ESSENCE. Since you have a channel established with [] you may wish to use that exclusively for the direction and subsidy of El Espectador, or you may wish to use both [] and ESSENCE. To us, using only the [] channel would seem preferable, but we request your comments in the light of local operational practicability. As regards the alternatives of handling Espectador through subsidy or spot payments, it would also be our reaction that spot payments would be more effective, but if, on further consideration, you recommend subsidy, LINCOLN will take a favorable view of that proposal. In view of the time factor involved, if the spot payment method is used, it would seem impracticable for LINCOLN to evaluate the importance of a proposed plant or propaganda line prior to publication. The most effective planted items would presumably be those which depended at least partly for their effect on rapid action and clever timing, things which must be left to the judgment of personnel in the field. The only stipulation that LINCOLN wishes to make is that the Station adhere to the general KUGOWN themes proposed by LINCOLN. Within the framework of these specific themes, LINCOLN believes it more important for El Espectador to concentrate on the needling, irritating, devious kind of items and propaganda, rather than on polemic broadsides against Communism and Communists. Exaggerated and fabricated stories of personal rivalries among the ruling hierarchy, rumours of dismissals and new appointments, "social column" reports of gossip and the like will probably be more effective than programatic anti-Communist attacks.

6. Money, as a lubricant but not as a panacea, is to be used within the general concept you outlined. LINCOLN has repeatedly emphasized that no worthwhile activity must suffer for lack of quick support and adequate funding.

7. At the risk of prolonging the debate over theoretical articles, we wish to emphasize our concurrence in your views that propaganda must incite people to anti-Communism and create fear and disarray in the ranks of the enemy. We also consider it essential, however, even within the short time limits available to us, to give some positive substance to our movement. This does not mean

that we wish to be complicated or scholastic, but simply ^{that} we wish to tell people in positive terms what we are for—an objective which the two preceding objectives of propaganda, as outlined by you, neglect. We do not wish thereby to "appeal" only to a discredited class; on the contrary, we wish to give the opponents of that discredited class some of the weapons which the present ruling "eggheads" have at their disposal. Furthermore, while the people whom you identify as likely to be on our side do not fall within the "egghead" category, they also have minds and a need for positive emotions. What we have described, perhaps mistakenly, as "theoretical" propaganda is designed to attempt to satisfy that side of our followers. In this connection, Enclosure No. 2 to HGG-A-851 seems to us to point out the very great need for positive substance underlying our movement; discipline can be rallied around ideas. We note, with some relief, Enclosure No. 5 to HGG-A-851, which states that "another press campaign which would be effective and...could be attempted is that of trying to get a strong organ of the independent press to open a theoretical section...against Communism. There exists almost no work to counteract the constant and well-directed injection of Communism..." In other words, we interpret this to mean that ESSENCE is beginning to share our point of view. We also interpret his recent decision to run some of the articles we have supplied in this light. Please be assured that we do not wish overly to belabor the point, but that we do believe in the utility of positive as well as anti-Communist ideas, and that we have stressed that brand of propaganda so much because it is usually the one most neglected. Somewhat at variance with ESSENCE, we would prefer Rebelde to print material of this type first and then, to have the independent press reprint it. Since this material is "ours," it would be more desirable to have it appear first in "our" paper, than be buried in a nominally neutral independent newspaper.

8. In summary, we agree fully on the concentration of effort in the clandestine field but encourage the maintenance of what overt assets can be retained. Please alert us by cable to any operational aids we can supply you for your increased clandestine network and we will make our best efforts to procure them as fast as possible.

JEROME C. DUNBAR

[14 April 1954

Distribution

- 2 - Guatemala
- 2 - Washington
- 3 - LINCOLN