

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
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Air Touch **2003**

HUL-A-418

~~SECRET/RYPAT/FBSUCCESS~~

7 April 1954

LINCOLN

EUGOWH
Material for Francis R. HEGARTY

1. Attached are English language instructions and some Spanish language material for transmittal to Francis R. HEGARTY. Only the English language instructions need be returned. Also, the English language women's scripts should be returned when HEGARTY's friends have finished working with them.
2. The Spanish language material attached is that previously sent to El Rebelde (referred to in HUL-A-383).
3. The paragraph numbers stapled to each attachment are keyed to the respective paragraphs in the English language instructions. Please note that there are no copies provided for [] of either the Rebelde articles or the women's scripts.
4. It is requested that you familiarize yourself with the attached materials.

JEROME C. DUNBAR

JCH/JTN/eaf
7 April 1954

Distribution

2 - [] w/attachments
2 - Washington
3 - LINCOLN

~~SECRET/RYPAT/FBSUCCESS~~

April 5, 1954

1. We are very pleased with the increase in detailed information which we are receiving, and with the evidence that a close working relationship has been established. Your messages give us a much better picture and feel of the situation than heretofore and should help us to assist you and guide you more effectively.

2. As we note from your reports, the problem of distribution remains acute. If, as you suspect, there is a leak in the local airline which is used for part of the way, we can only recommend that you stop using air transportation and change to ground. Perhaps the car that you will be using starting 1 April, and of which we approve, could be used for this purpose. We must leave it to your greater familiarity with the local situation to decide whether shipment to the border by truck, the shipments being appropriately disguised, would be more effective. With regard to your proposal to use air and smugglers by the southern route, we realize your sense of urgency to get another means of distribution, but, on the basis of the information you have thus far furnished, we doubt the advisability of this alternate proposal. If there is a leak in the local airline, as you report, is there not also considerable danger and likelihood of a leak in the two other lines you propose to use? In addition, shipments by air are more noticeable and more easily spotted than ground shipments. You could get into a situation where the actual route that the enemy had to watch, namely from the southern airport to the border, would be shorter than the route they have to watch now. Not knowing precisely who the smugglers that you intend to use are, we can only state general reservations about the use of smugglers under any circumstances. At first glance, the idea always sounds good, because it appears that craftsmen are being used to transport materials across the border. However, the morality of smugglers is notoriously low and their motivation, for our purposes, generally leaves much to be desired. We find it difficult to conceive that a smuggler would have many scruples about simply running across the border and dumping his bundle in the first convenient ditch or hole. If the smugglers you plan to use also happen to be anti-Communist, the situation might look better, although even then there would be doubts and reservations. The only sure way of getting materials where you want them is through trusted and interested personnel, who are concerned with the content as well as with the fee. On this basis, we also have our reservations about the efficacy of the smugglers presently being used; we refer to the ones that your friend from the south described. What assurances have we that the material is actually being received at the other end? We strongly recommend that a simple and secure system of receipts be instituted. Would it be possible to arrange a simple code with the recipient inside, so that the smuggler, on delivery of his bundle, would receive in return a sealed envelope containing a coded acknowledgment of receipt? In the light of these remarks, we recommend that you review the question of the use of smugglers, as proposed and come up with ~~the~~ more definite recommendations for ensuring performance by the smugglers. We also lack information to judge the justifiability of the quite heavy initial outlay for setting up the smuggling route that you propose. In this matter, as in all future matters, the more complete the information that you furnish us, the more rapidly will we be able to give you a decision and the more likely we will be to give a favorable decision, but it is virtually impossible for us to approve a fairly expensive proposition of which we know only that it involves using an unidentified group of smugglers.

3. The plan to form a feminine auxiliary is sound and its development is encouraged. It will be wise to avoid giving such an auxiliary an excessive suffragette tone and flavor. Whatever the women are told, they should be told it with a view to their influencing their husbands, male relatives and friends, and their children. Please do not give the auxiliary a flavor of "emancipated" women. What mothers should do is to teach their children that "Communism" is practically a swear word and they should teach their children to ostracize known Communists. Women should persuade their husbands and their male relatives to shun Communist activities, beliefs and meetings, and they should be encouraged to keep their husbands and the men they know from collaborating. All appeals to women should give them such specific assignments to do; the women should be roused to persuade others, not merely to take an anti-Communist stand themselves. We are enclosing a series of English-language manuscripts addressed to women, which may serve as the basis for both articles and radio broadcasts. However, these manuscripts are unsatisfactory in form and should be revised in accordance with the foregoing recommendations. That is, each article or script should begin with an injunction to the effect that women should circulate the ideas contained in it to the men; the articles and scripts should close with a similar injunction.

4. The labor auxiliary is a good idea in principle, but much more difficult to execute satisfactorily. It can be actually harmful to set up a labor group simply for the sake of having a labor group, since labor union and trade union movement jargon are specialized, and since the efficient organization of labor propaganda requires fairly extensive experience in the union field. Judging by the fact that no specific labor auxiliary yet exists, and by other evidence that bona fide labor leaders are not particularly in your friends' movement, it appears quite risky to proceed with this plan. Bad or indifferent labor propaganda can have much more serious repercussions than bad or indifferent propaganda to women, since there are known experts and since there is a standardized body of technical knowledge in the labor field. If we do not have anyone who can speak on the basis of intimate knowledge of labor conditions inside the country and can anticipate skillfully all the counter arguments of the opposition, it would be better not to venture into the field. Please advise the names of qualified personnel available to your friends for this task and give us an impression of the types of arguments and materials that it is desired to put out. Meanwhile, we are sending you (on a separate sheet) a number of suggestions for articles in the general labor-economic field. We believe that this type of material should be concentrated in the paper in the south, both because it can hit harder and because it appeals more to the broad readership than to the military readership toward which your publication is being re-oriented.

5. The need for you to screen personnel for our use has probably been eliminated by some recent trips taken by our various friends. If we really need your advice and your suggestions for candidates, we will call on you again, with specific instructions. In the meantime continue your present system of contacts with one individual only.

6. The plan for the four April paper looks excellent and shows what appears to us to be a very sound adaptation of our general guidance to local needs and conditions.

7. Despite our strong desire to help out with the radio facilities, we are blocked temporarily by the sheer time factor involved in procuring the equipment you have requested. Also, as you know, until the political understanding in that area is arrived at, it is an impossibility to function as we would like in the radio field. Please be assured that we are pursuing this matter to the best of our ability, but the facilities and equipment requested require custom construction and, as previously stated, the uncertainties of the political situation create further obstacles.

8. We have listened to a number of the radio tapes prepared by your friends and consider them of sufficient quality that the dispatch of tapes to us for polishing and for subsequent return to you appears superfluous. We have enough evidence of the competence of yourself and your friends in this matter so that we urge you to go ahead and put what you have produced directly on the air.

9. We are looking forward to seeing the use made of the material on the current arrests. We are also extremely anxious to know what has happened to the material for which we supplied a picture of a Communist Party card.

10. The weekly meetings with the friends down south sound very good. On the separate sheet referred to above (paragraph 4) you will find suggestions destined primarily for exploitation by that paper. Please bear in mind our intentions to have that paper serve the people who have a "what-is-in-it-for-me" attitude toward the situation, that is, the average politically neutral or indifferent individual.

11. We heartily concur with your decision to keep the emblematic drawing (the octopus) off the front page. We also concur with your battle against the profusion of lemas.

12. We note that in your reports you frequently refer to having "instructed" your friends. We presume that this is a formal expression, since your relationship is obviously one of cooperation and leadership rather than of direct command. ~~-----~~

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April 5, 1954

The attached materials are for use by the feminine auxiliary, as previously noted. In addition to the slant that has been previously recommended, it is important that local references, i.e., to specific people, places and events in the target country, be worked into the materials. The chief difficulty of the material is that it is too abstract, vague and general. From their local knowledge, your friends should be able to give it a local flavor.

April 5, 1954

1. Herewith are suggested themes for articles on labor and economic subjects:

a. Predict financial instability of the nation and dangers to the currency. Point out that the government is spending so much on arms and for the Communist profiteers that it cannot keep the finances in sound condition. Drive the point home to the reader that the money he receives for work today may be worth much less and have a much lower purchasing power tomorrow.

b. Predict the danger of growing unemployment. Predict that money may not be available to meet payrolls or to finance production. Predict especially that sizeable dismissals of government workers are contemplated. For rural interest, reveal "secret" plans of the government to curtail coffee production because its coffee markets are threatened.

c. Describe as many instances as are known and available of poor housing, inadequate social services, etc. These instances can be selected from the papers inside and rewritten and embellished.

d. Hit the theme that prices are too high and wages too low with every possible variant.

e. Discuss the fiscal, budgetary and financial plight of the government. Claim that the government credit is in doubt and the currency unstable.

f. Do an article on the plight of labor. Wages are too low and prices too high. Housing is poor, social services are inadequate, diets are poor, clothing is shabby.

g. An article on the plight of farmers. Farm prices are too low, urban prices too high. The government is unwilling to aid on farm improvements. There is chaos in the land reform program.

h. An article on the plight of government workers. Wages too low, prices too high. Job uncertainty. Generally onerous conditions at work.

i. The responsibility for Guatemalan misery lies with the government and the Communists. Communism equals misery. Cite the allegedly high number of deaths from starvation in other Communist countries. Cite industrial inefficiency in Communist-dominated countries. Cite Red incompetence in economics. Bring it all home to the audience by saying that they already have a foretaste of these conditions and full-scale Sovietization will make them much worse off.

j. Point out that the Guatemalan government pays tribute to Moscow and is therefore less able to care for its own people. In particular, point out that the Guatemalans have to pay the Soviets for propaganda that the Soviets launch on their behalf. In this connection, claim that the Guatemalans have to pay more per line or per column than other Communist countries.

k. Hit the high living of functionaries as often as possible. Use all the personal examples available.

l. Point out that the first government department whose funds are reduced is always the social welfare department. This is done because Arbenz and the Communists believe the people will put up with anything. The second government department to suffer, when funds are short, is the Department of Education. Thus the people remain sick and illiterate because of government contempt for them.

m. Describe the expense incurred by the government because it maintains its internal spy system.

n. Do an article on the high cost of government propaganda. Thus the people are given words instead of bread.

o. Hit the theme of Communist remittances to Moscow as often as possible.

p. Print whatever pictures of the big homes of government officials are available. Right next to these pictures, print pictures of a hovel in which an ordinary citizen lives.

q. Frequently review specific government fiascos, such as the October fair and the failure to finish the Roosevelt Hospital outside of the capital city.

r. Predict that there will be an investigation of the Ministry of Economics and that a large number of scandalous practices, some of which should be enumerated in the article, will become public knowledge.

s. Write a tongue-in-cheek article pleading with government leaders to account for their personal finances so that the ugly rumours that they are profiteering may be dispelled.

t. Write an article challenging the Communist-dominated unions to open their books to the public and reveal how much money they have sent to Moscow.

u. Write another tongue-in-cheek article pleading with the government to assure the people that their money will keep its value. Exploit the "have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife?" angle.

v. Write a series of articles about specific areas in the country, requesting that social and economic improvements be made there. For instance, do an article on a given town, blaming the government for the lack of paved streets, pure drinking water, etc. and for the fact that wages are too low and prices too high.

w. Write another article, ostensibly on behalf of the people, calling upon the government to take effective measures against unemployment and to make public its plan for dealing with this issue.

x. Do articles on mythical city and rural families, showing their economic plight.

April 5, 1954

1. Herewith a series of articles of an ideological and theoretical nature. They have previously been sent inside but it was impossible to use them there because of police restrictions. We commend them to your use, one or at the most two per issue, in either your publication or the one to the south. As you will see, the purpose of these articles is to provide a gradual ideological transition to the audience. These articles are definitely intended to apply to the scholarly or to the theoretically inclined segment of the population which, those small, is vital. Please see that these articles get good play in the papers and a good make-up in order to set them off properly.