

ANNEX B

PART III

B. HONDURAS

DEC 1953
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COMITE DE ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS ANTICOMUNISTAS GUATEMALTECOS EN EXILIO (CEUAGE), AND THE CEUAGE PROPAGANDA ORGAN: BOLETIN DEL CEUAGE.

I. Background

About mid-year of 1951 the existence of the Committee of Anti-Communist University Students, (Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anticomunistas), CEUA, became known to Station, Guatemala City. In late 1951 one of the members of this organization delivered a list of the group(s) membership to the U. S. Embassy in Guatemala City. Copy of this list is not presently available.

The CEUA group initially engaged in sporadic propaganda efforts of the poster and gummed sticker variety, with Communism in Guatemala as the primary target. During 1952 several of the more militant members of CEUA, in addition to stepping up their propaganda attacks on Communism and the incumbent administration in Guatemala, began to engage in certain ill-conceived and abortive sabotage attempts. The Guatemalan government took the sabotage attempts as an opportunity to strike back at CEUA, and did so by first imprisoning, torturing and later ~~by~~ exiling several of the key figures in the CEUA. These exiled CEUA leaders subsequently appeared in Honduras and El Salvador, where they reorganized in both countries under the name of Committee of Anti-Communist Guatemalan University Students in Exile (Comite de Estudiantes Universitarios Anticomunistas Guatemaltecos en Exilio - CEUAGE). On 1 November 1953 the CEUAGE group in El Salvador reorganized again, under the name of Anticommunist Front of Guatemalans in Exile (^{rente} FRENTE Anticomunista de Guatemaltecos en Exilio) FACE). The exile groups CEUAGE in Honduras and FACE in El Salvador remained related to the CEUA organization in Guatemala, but all three groups, CEUA, CEUAGE, and FACE appear

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to operate under the covert direction and/or control of RUFUS) (see [] memo of 11 July 1953). The CEUA group in Guatemala is responsible for the publication of REBELDE; the exiled students' group in El Salvador (FACE) publishes COMBATE. These publications will be treated in separate papers. This assessment deals with the publication, Boletin del CEUAGE, which is published in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, by the CEUAGE group there. Publication of this bulletin began in June of 1953; at the date of this writing approximately thirteen issues have appeared. It is, perhaps, significant that one of the directors of the CEUAGE group in Honduras is a brother-in-law of RUFUS.

II. Key Personnel

A. Leaders of CEUAGE group in Honduras:

1. Federico Paiz Herrera - Secretary of Organization
2. Mario Quinonez Flefil - Secretary of Records
3. Edgar Quinonez
4. Manuel Morales Orell - Secretary of Finances
5. Lionel Sisniega Otero - Secretary General
6. Roberto Gomez de Leon - Secretary of Propaganda
7. Mario Lopez Villatoro - Public Relations Secretary

B. Key figures on staff of Boletin del CEUAGE:

1. Cosme Viscovich Palomo - Director
2. Mario Lopez Villatoro - Printing Chief
3. Lionel Sisniega Otero - Administrator

C. Very little detailed information is presently available on any of the above individuals, except as follows:

1. All are members of the CEUAGE group (CEUA, in exile) and thus, presumably, are ideologically anti-Communist, and politically in favor of replacement of the present Guatemalan government

3.

by a pro-Western, democratic government;

2. Lionel Sisniega Otero is, according to [], a former Chief of Intelligence (Guatemala?)

3. No security clearances have been obtained on any of the above. For ~~biographic~~ biographic information on Lionel Sisniega Otero, Barrios, Mario Lopez Villatoro, and Cosme Viscovich Palomo, see attachments a, b., and c.

D. The business address of the Boletin del CEUAGE is:

Apartado Postal # 462

Tegucigalpa, D. C., Honduras, C. A.

The cable address of same is:

CEUAGE - Tegucigalpa, D. C.,

Honduras, C. A.

III. Modus Operandi (See [] copy attached)

A. Preparation of material

According to []

in El Salvador, and presently resident at []

who approached the [] in San Salvador on 2 November 1953,

the Boletin del CEUAGE is published as follows:

1. The material is prepared in El Salvador.
2. The paper is printed in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on the presses of La Republica.
3. The finished bulletin is returned, after printing, to El Salvador for transmittal to Guatemala. Some copies have been air-mailed directly from Tegucigalpa to Guatemala City.

3-A

B. Printing and publication.

1. As stated above, the actual printing is done in Tegucigalpa. The paper presently appears weekly, although future plans for publication call for semi-weekly, later thrice weekly, and, ultimately, daily issues. Most of the issues, to date, have

~~S~~ been printed on a high quality, air-mail weight paper. The quality of the newsprint is, in fact, superior to that used by most Latin American newspapers. The makeup of the paper was, initially, rather poor, but this fault has been largely remedied in the more recent issues. Publication has recently been increased from 5,000 to 10,000 copies per issue, again according to [] who also told the [] in San Salvador that operating runs are gathered by contribution from persons interested in combatting Communism.

2. Efficiency of printing and publication cannot be judged beyond the points noted above.

C. Distribution

1. According to [] and [] copies of Boletin del CEUAGE are not sold on the streets or newstands, (of Honduras or El Salvador) but are sent free to the press, university faculty members, the Church, Diplomatic Corps, etc. Most copies are dispatched to Guatemala for distribution there.

2. The most effective distribution within Guatemala is that carried on by clandestine means. Most of the copies going to Guatemala are transmitted from El Salvador via a clandestine overland route. This is done in order to avoid confiscation by the Guatemalan government. ESCONSON - 2 was informed by an unidentified source at the "Casa de la Libertad" at #18, 4th Avenue North, Guatemala City (which houses the CEUA and other anti-Communist organizations), that the Guatemalan government regularly confiscates all copies of the Boletin del CEUAGE that enter the country through normal channels. (See copy of HGG-A-493, attached). According to the same source, copies of the bulletin available at the CEUA headquarters in Guatemala City had been brought into the country via the clandestine overland route. ESCONSON-2 could not elicit any information regarding the quantities received by means of the indicated clandestine route. However, Station Guatemala City stated (in HGG-A-493, dated 17 November 1953) that, "we do know that there has not been widespread distribution to date within Guatemala. We are unable to report any public reaction to the bulletin at this time."

3. According to HGG-A-400, dated 23 September 1953, (copy attached), articles appearing in the Guatemalan papers, La Hora and El Espectador on 18 September 1953, stated that the Guardia Judicial (judicial guards) had confiscated 500 copies of the Boletin del CEUAGE from the offices of Pan American Airways in Guatemala. This information was reported by Dario SOTO, a representative of CEUA of Guatemala, who added that the shipment of newspapers arrived from Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on 17 September 1953; that they filled all legal requirements for printed matter, had been legally transported, and that his group wished to protest such action by government officials.

~~4. According to a report of a KUBARK Staff Agent recently returned from Tegucigalpa where he was in touch with Rafael and [] leaders, the following~~

4. According to a report of a KUBARK staff agent recently returned from Tegucigalpa where he was in touch with RUFUS and CEUAGE leaders , the following information applies to the publication and distribution of Boletin del CEUAGE:

a. The paper is printed in the city of Tegucigalpa overtly at the Imprenta La Republica. The government does not interfere with local printing, as CEUAGE has promised no local distribution. CEUAGE has distributed a few copies of the Boletin del CEUAGE within Honduras, but not in such numbers that the government of Honduras would object. About 6,000 copies per week are printed at a total cost of 500 lempiras (US \$250).

b. The majority of the papers are distributed over the border into Guatemala clandestinely. They are taken in bags to Santa Rosa de Copan. From there a trusted Honduran picks them up and breaks them into small packages. These packages are passed over the border as contraband to Chiquimula and from there in trucks to Guatemala City. There they are delivered to a CEUA safehouse where they are picked up by local CEUA area chiefs and distributed by hand. About 4,000 copies are distributed in this manner. *(The present status of this overland route is in doubt due to recently tightened Guatemalan border controls.)*

c. A hundred copies, which are always confiscated, are sent into Guatemala by Pan American Airways air freight. This practice is being continued by CEUAGE, in spite of the confiscation, for various reasons. For one thing, the CEUAGE staff in Tegucigalpa feels that by allowing the Guatemalan government to confiscate a large shipment every week, attention is diverted from the much larger quantities of the paper which are smuggled into Guatemala via the clandestine overland route. Secondly, it is believed that the copies which are confiscated eventually are circulated throughout the higher echelons of the Guatemalan administration, and this is very desirable from the CEUAGE point of view.

IV. Character of Themes

A. General description

1. The Boletin del CEUAGE is a tabloid-type bulletin, and, as such, consists in large part of the somewhat sensational or exposé type of journalism. It is decidedly anti-Communist and every article, editorial, and feature deals with some aspect of Communism, ranging in scope from news and features on international Communism, through Communism in Latin America, down to the central theme of the paper-Communism and Government in present day Guatemala. The symbol-slogan of the CEUAGE group is: "God, Country, and Liberty", and the paper exploits this theme wherever possible, not only through repetition and graphic illustration of the symbol-slogan, but also by framing attacks on Communism in Guatemala in terms of violations of, and contrasts with, the ideals which are characterized by the CEUAGE slogan, symbolized by the Guatemalan flag, and represented by the abstract terms: Labor, Individual Freedom, Equality, Justice, Truth, etc. CEUAGE attempts to define the basic principles of a political program which is ready to aid and materialize in Guatemala. According to [] CEUAGE editorials will focus on Communist actions in opposition to each of the symbols that constitute the flag, and will, at the same time, intensify its present ideological campaign based on the abstract themes mentioned above. The following is extracted from [] memorandum of 11 July 1953 (q. v.):

"CEUAGE will be converted into a semi-weekly, increase its circulation, and continue its attack, denouncing the crimes of the revolutionary governments of Guatemala and showing that the laws decreed in events of a social nature constitute political arms in the hands of the Communist state, to destroy private industry, create legions of unemployed and extend the misery of the diverse sections of the country. It (Boletin del CEUAGE) will have a section exposing the leading public officials, army officers, and labor and farm leaders, publishing their photographs and histories on their political and professional lives."

B. Major themes

1. Central American and Pan American solidarity in the common fight against Communism.
2. Soviet imperialism.
3. Soviet influence over, and interference in Guatemalan internal affairs.
4. Attacks on key officials in present Guatemalan government.
5. Praise of anti-Communist martyrs, especially anti-Communist Guatemalan leaders who have been imprisoned, tortured, executed, and/or exiled.

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5. Security Information

6. Pan-American student solidarity.
7. Malfeasance and corruption in present Guatemalan administration.
8. Abuses of agrarian reform in Guatemala.
9. Present day economic ills in Guatemala blamed on Communists and administration.
10. Salama atrocities.
11. Guatemalans traveling to Soviet Russia and Satellites.
12. Anti-Communist cartoons and jokes.

C. Style of presentation

1. As mentioned previously, the presentation of CEUAGE verges on the sensational, "tabloid" approach. This approach is manifest in many of the photographs which do not spare the reader from the gory details of atrocities. The same may be said of certain articles based on interviews with exiled Guatemalans who have undergone various tortures at the hands of Communist goon squads, and/or the Guatemalan police and security services.

2. In general, the language employed in the paper is of a higher caliber than that to be found in most tabloids. This is to be expected, since most of the writers are presumably from intellectual and university circles. However, it would appear that the style and diction, the arguments themselves, would go over the heads of the masses of the Guatemalan population. If we were to judge solely on the basis of style and content, exclusive of the atrocity aspects, we would conclude that the paper must appeal chiefly to the literate anti-Communist middle class, professional people, disgruntled landowners, students, intellectuals, and anti-Communist elements of the army.

D. Critique of themes and presentation.

1. As mentioned previously, the physical make-up of CEUAGE could be improved. The newsprint is of such superior quality when compared to most Latin American papers as to cause speculation on the bulletin's source of funds. The caliber and style of presentation are above average for papers of this type. The themes and issues are one-sided, but CEUAGE makes no attempt to be anything but anti-Communist; therefore, as a propaganda medium, it is not expected to be completely objective in approaching its targets.

2. It is difficult to assess or critique the themes and presentation of CEUAGE from the target audience point of view. In terms of similar media to which the audience has been exposed it is the opinion of the writer that CEUAGE is above average for its kind, not without faults, but with a significant increase in publication and distribution facilities, would be adequate for the audience previously referenced.

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V. Target Audience

A. Owing to a lack of available and authoritative information on this subject any discussion of the target group and the impact of CEUAGE on that group must be restricted to the category of speculation.

B. It is not known by the writer what the intent of the CEUAGE publishers is in regard to the target audience. However, regardless of the intended audience, whatever it may be, the paper appears to be aimed at the groups mentioned in paragraph IV, C, 2, above. Beyond the fact that the paper is sent free to the press, the Church, university faculties, diplomatic officials, little is known about the recipients of the clandestine distribution within Guatemala, the volume of such distribution, or the impact, influence, and/or effect of the medium's output on the target. If the target audience does, in fact, consist primarily of the groups mentioned in IV, C, 2, ~~the~~ above, then the writer is of the opinion that the paper is appropriate for such an audience. As has been pointed out, CEUAGE is not deemed an appropriate medium for reaching the lower class, illiterate, and strictly agrarian segments of the populace. Foreign Service Despatch # 192 from Amembassy, Tegucigalpa (copy attached) contains the following information on CEUAGE:

"The bulletin of CEUAGE of November 14, 1953 contains a photostatic copy of a slipping taken from DIE TAT of Switzerzlerland and a translation of the item that includes the statement that 'Guatemala is today completely isolated from the policy of the Central American countries and its foreign policy is directed according to instructions from the Kremlin.'

COMMENT: From time to time bits of evidence that the circulation of CEUAGE in Honduras is arousing public interest come to the Embassy's attention."

C. Reaction to CEUAGE on the part of the Guatemalan government has been expressed by means of denunciations of the bulletin in the pro-Communist and/or government-controlled press, intimidation of CEUA leaders in Guatemala, attempts at suppression of the overt and covert distribution, as well as the previously mentioned regular confiscation of those copies sent into Guatemala from Tegucigalpa via Pan American Air Express.

VI. Relation to Other Media

A. Again according to the [] the CEUAGE group in El Salvador (now called FAGE), plans a radio program through San Salvador station YSI. Of interest in this respect is the further information contained in Foreign Service Despatch # 192, from Tegucigalpa, as follows:

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Security Information

7.

"The Embassy has learned that the Honduran Minister of Government informed the editorial staff of CEUAGE that a program sponsored by CEUAGE cannot be broadcast from a Honduran radio station as it would likely offend Guatemala.

COMMENT: It is understood that the Minister examined the script of a proposed program. The Government's objection was reportedly based on a reluctance to give official sanction to Guatemalan political exiles to attack their government by innuendo from Honduran soil."

B. Refusal on the part of the Minister of Government to allow CEUAGE to sponsor an anti-Guatemalan administration program broadcast from Honduras may, in fact, reflect a legitimate reluctance by the Honduran government to a party to such broadcasts. On the other hand, the Minister's refusal may be due to his own personal attitude, and as such would seem to at least substantiate various other reports in our files to the effect that the Honduran Minister of Government is sympathetic towards the Guatemalan Communists, if not actually in their pay.

C. According to [] themes played up in CEUAGE will be coordinated with articles appearing in the other RUFUS-controlled newspapers, COMBATE in El Salvador, and REBELDE in Guatemala. CEUAGE and other elements of the RUFUS group claim that they can purchase space in "independent" newspapers such as EL ESPECTADOR, EL IMPARCIAL, LA HORA, PRENSA LIBRE, IMPACTO, etc. In addition, the CEUAGE campaign will also be coordinated with, and play a major role in the over-all, concerted PW program, under the guidance of [] and RUFUS.

D. When [] approached the [] in San Salvador on 2 November 1953, he [] asked for no money contribution from USIA, but did request anti-Communist materials for both newspapers and radio programs. (See [], copies attached).

VII. Support of CEUAGE

A. CEUAGE claims that it receives overt support in the form of money contributions from individuals and groups interested in combatting Communism. The extent and exact nature of such local support cannot be determined at the time of this writing.

B. CEUAGE also receives covert support from the funds advanced by KUBARK to RUFUS. What part of these funds has gone toward the support of this particular medium is not known to

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the writer. However, according to [] the sum of [] is to be allotted to CEUAGE for both newspaper and radio propaganda, during the first phase of PBSUCCESS. *As noted previously, the cost of publication of Boletin del CEUAGE is about U.S. \$ 250.00 per week*
VIII. Control of CEUAGE

A. As stated previously, the CEUAGE group in Honduras is reportedly controlled by RUFUS, at least insofar as the paper, Boletin del CEUAGE is dependent upon RUFUS for financial backing. In effect then, the paper is controlled by KUBARK, but again, only to the extent that RUFUS and [] are controlled by KUBARK. In the absence of detailed information, including accountings from RUFUS and his subordinates, the matter of control lends itself more to speculation than to accurate determination and evaluation.

IX. Security

A. No [] have been requested on any of the CEUAGE or Boletin del CEUAGE personnel. Appraisal of the security of the publication and distribution of the paper must be deferred until more information becomes available. This subject becomes an integral part of the security of PBSUCCESS as a whole and will be treated as such.

X. Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

A. Paragraphs I - IX, above, represent a compilation and digest of all the information on Boletin del CEUAGE presently available to the writer. In my opinion this information has been inadequate as a basis for an accurate and comprehensive assessment of the bulletin as an effective PW instrument for PBSUCCESS. Nevertheless, certain tentative conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the information contained herein. It is the writer's belief that Boletin del CEUAGE has at least the potential, and perhaps current, effectiveness required for the role assigned to it in project PBSUCCESS. We are not now able to accurately judge such factors as:

1. Amount, method, and efficiency of distribution.
2. Method and efficiency of printing and publication, or costs of same.
3. Target audience intended, reached, and impact on same.
4. Support of medium-overt and covert.
5. Control over medium.

9.

B. The writer recommends:

1. That information be collected to fill in the present gaps in order to make possible a more definitive appraisal of Boletin del CEUAGE.
2. That present support of the paper be continued on the basis of presently available data.
3. That exploitation of this medium be continued and expanded concurrently with the development of other aspects of PB-SUCCESS.
4. That detailed accountings be submitted to RUFUS by the CEUAGE group, and turned over by RUFUS to us.
5. That control of the CEUAGE group be determined in terms of extent of direction by [] and RUFUS and direction of the latter by us.

C. The value of Boletin del CEUAGE as a PBSUCCESS asset depends chiefly on the medium's ability to reach the appropriate target audience and to influence that audience in the desired direction. We cannot now gauge this paper's capabilities to accomplish these two objectives, but we can conclude that the potential exists today, and merits any support necessary to further control, develop, and exploit the Boletin del CEUAGE for our purposes.

List of Attachments: (copies)

- a. Biographic data on Lionel Sisniega Otero Barrios
- b. " " " Mario Lopez Villatoro
- c. " " " Cosme Viscovich Palomo
- d. HGG-A-334, dated 29 July 1953
- e. FSD # 110, from Tegucigalpa, dated 10 September 1953
- f. HGG-A-400, dated 26 September 1953
- G. FSD # 192, from Tegucigalpa, dated 16 November 1953
- h. HGG-A-493, dated 17 November 1953
- i. []-322, dated 20 November 1953
- j. []-325, dated 20 November 1953
- k. []-333, dated 27 November 1953
- l. Clipping from Preense Libre, dated 10 November 1953
- m. [] 1254, dated 25 November 1953, with attachment.