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**Para la defensa de las Americas: The Pictorial Magazine *En Guardia* in  
Nelson A. Rockefeller's Propaganda Campaign for  
Latin America during World War II**

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Propaganda models recommend the use of familiar media, such as existing local or national newspapers and magazines, because target audiences are inclined to trust them more than newly established and untried publications. It is assumed that if the media cannot be used or needed to be supplemented with a more directly controlled and plentiful message, then the propagandist could not do any better than to replicate their formats. By reproducing the tested design and mode of information delivery of these trusted conduits, the sponsor of propaganda capitalizes on existing readings habits and this increases the likelihood of attaining his or her objectives.<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the reason why in 1941, the Coordinator of Inter American Affairs (CIAA), headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller (NAR), began the publication of a monthly pictorial magazine, titled *En Guardia*. J. C. Stark, the *En Guardia* editor, explained in a small article published in *Printers Ink* that the idea for the magazine came about in 1941 as part of the CIAA information program designed to convince Latin American nations to support the allied side of World War II. The concept called for a large illustrated monthly, based on the format of *Life* magazine, on the United States industrial and military developments, “always emphasizing the topic of hemispheric defense and the common interest of all the Americas.”<sup>2</sup>

Since the turn of the century, pictorial magazines, such as the Argentinean *El Hogar*, which began in 1904, and the Brazilian *O Cruzeiro* after 1928, were staples of the Latin American urban visual culture. With the wide dissemination of rotogravure in the late 1930s, page design and the overall message of Latin American pictorial magazines became even more complex and effective in conveying increasingly more evocative content, such as notions of moral conduct, sentimental education and political indoctrination. At the outset of the *Total War* – an expression frequently used in *En Guardia* – the prestige and circulation of this type of publication had grown alongside the visual literacy necessary for the consumption of their new and ever more sophisticated remediation of text and images, especially photographs.

There is very little written on *En Guardia*, and for that reason, I requested and was granted a Rockefeller Grant-in-Aid to study the magazine.<sup>3</sup> My research at the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) in the summer of 2011 lasted five working days during which I examined the entire four years worth of issues of the Spanish edition of *En Guardia*, as well as some miscellaneous documentation related to the magazine.

I wanted to begin a description and analysis of *En Guardia* in order to insert this publication in the debate about the unprecedented series of experiments in the use of mass media for propaganda conducted in Latin America in general, and in Brazil in particular, during and after World War II. Since it is nearly impossible today to gauge the audience's response to the magazine's message, my research questions were all related to its content: What is the type of thematic material it disseminated? War propaganda is a one-sided discourse with a clear sense of its otherness, the enemy. Latin America, the target audience of *En Guardia*, on the other hand, is an uneven and unstable concept and Latin Americans were perhaps as foreign to Americans as

the Germans or Japanese. What were the textual and visual strategies used to produce a coherent and effective message back then?

These questions are derived from a semiotic methodology I have been using for the analysis of mass printed media. It consists in treating their messages as a semiotic continuum resulting from the sponsor's intentional, progressive and iterative deployment of content on a target audience. Recognizing that there are many possible readings for any message and that the model indicated only the "actualization of values" proposed by the sponsor,<sup>4</sup> it is contended that propaganda messages constitute a coherent semiotic field of meaning akin to a narrative. By mapping its main themes, plots and actors, motifs etc., the researcher can build an analytic instrument useful to understanding the world view proposed by the propagandist. Once established, this story line of the propaganda message can then be pitched against other messages, documenting audience's reactions and perceptions, and the historical context in order to unveil the type of ideological reproduction intended by the propagandist.

Francis S. Jamieson, the head of the CIAA information section and Michael J. McDermott, the spokesman for the State Department,<sup>5</sup> were in charge of the magazine. Business Publishers International, Inc., a subsidiary of The McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc., was involved in the production, but most of the content was created by the CIAA editorial staff in Washington and printed in rotogravure by Edward Stern & Company Inc., a division of Western Publishing Group in Philadelphia. The reasons for the privatization of part of a governmental propaganda effort were first the technical difficulties of publishing and printing a pictorial magazine, for which the CIAA was not equipped, and second the advantage of giving a private imprint to the publication, which would increase its credibility.<sup>6</sup>

*En Guardia* followed a four or six columns per spread layout, with the photos cut square and the illustrations didactically connected with the text. After issue number three, the magazine was printed in forty 10 ¼” x 14” pages, with a front cover, back cover, and a four-page supplement printed in color. It was distributed free of charge to a circulation list including influential people by embassies and CIAA offices throughout the continent. According to Stark, the first issue appeared in November of 1941 in an edition of 50,000 copies, 35,000 in Spanish and 15,000 in Portuguese. The RAC however, does not have issues of the Portuguese and the French editions of *En Guardia* mentioned in many documents or of *Die Guardia*, an elusive German counterpart mentioned by Cary Reich, in his biography of Nelson A. Rockefeller.<sup>7</sup> Issues 1 and 2 are not dated, but the magazine was registered with the United States Postal Office on April 8, 1941. Reich however, mentioned August 1941 as the releasing date. The fact that issue number three was circulated in October, as stamped in its cover, seems to confirm this assumption.

Following the pictorial magazine’s formula, *En Guardia* placed great emphasis on illustrations with around sixty percent of its space occupied by photographs, diagrams, maps, and drawings. Images used in propaganda did not differ much from those used to convey other types of messages about the war. In fact, many of these images were published elsewhere, notably in *Life* magazine. Since the production of war photographs was part of the war effort, they already arrived at the editors’ desk ideologically framed, that is censored and selected according to the interests of pre-established propaganda objectives. It was the context provided by the captions and the *mise en page* in a publication in Spanish and under the byline *Para la defensa de las Américas* that linked them more closely with the magazine’s Latin American emphasis. Perhaps due to the propaganda message’s necessary invitation to suspended disbelief, the combination of

text and image was most of the time simple and direct, with little room for connotative interpretation on the part of the reader. Features dealing with the enemy's ideology frequently contained visual metaphors of their behavior or images that suggested punishment or the misguided nature of their actions. A feature whose titled translated "Hitler hate the people he conquest"<sup>8</sup> for example is illustrated with a ghost image of a hanging man dangling in the center of the page, while the German dictator discoursed at the bottom.

The narration in *En Guardia* is very similar to that conducted by an omniscient all-knowing third person *extra diegetic* voice common in fiction. The most frequent mode of narration is a type of soliloquy suggestive of a three way conversation. The *narrator's* utterance implies the existence of a counter discourse, that of the *enemy*. He frequently mentions the *reader*, which also gives a tacit presence in the discourse. The narrator tried to entice sympathy for the allied cause, but from the point of view of the reader, his ingratiating utterance was perhaps as foreign as that of the enemy itself. He seems to recognize that, and responds with rhetoric of demonstrative comparison, in which his voice utters both its own moral, religious, and ideological superiority, and the equivocated and malevolent nature of its opponent. This characterization relies on stereotypes of the German and Japanese nationalities. The former are frequently equated to soulless machines, and the latter to barbarian enemies of Christianity. Their tenacious resistance is explained as the result of the selfish fanaticism of their principals.<sup>9</sup> Another example of this contrast pitches the benign relationship the United States had with its neighbors and colonies, for example the Philippines,<sup>10</sup> against the wicked attitude and actions of the Japanese in the territory they conquered.

Two narrative lines can be deduced from the catch phrases used in the text: the promotion of the idea of democracy, as opposed to the allegedly totalitarian ways of the so-called Axis, and

the industrial might of the United States, which allowed it to out-produce its enemies. Already in the first issue, from the fall of 1941, this message is clearly on display. In the first page, a statement by President Roosevelt, equates pursuing democracy with the very history of humanity. This issue, dedicated to the U.S. Navy, was illustrated with images of visually powerful cruisers, submarines and naval airplanes. America had the largest and most powerful fleet in existence, bigger than even the English, and only through the unanimous will of a free people could such a large, powerful and well equipped force be created.<sup>11</sup>

Issue number two continued to stress the industrial might of the United States. Long range victory in war depends on industrial readiness and on the country's technological potential, and that in turn is based on the total and voluntary mobilization possible only in a democratic system. Graphics drive the point that in energy, manufacturing, mining and other basic production areas, the United States is out-performing its future enemies. Numbers and comparisons of a hyperbolic and at times prosaic nature were used to illustrate the superiority of the American worker over its German counterpart. For example, an illustration in an article on productivity suggested that the daily output of the American worker was ten automobiles, while the German worker could only produce two and half. In the same article the anonymous writer, (few articles were ever signed), informed us that each North American worker used the equivalent of five horse power in tools and machines in daily tasks, while another illustration suggested that his or her salary was twice that of their English counterpart and three times more than that of a German.<sup>12</sup>

At first the Latin American readers of *En Guardia* received only a recycled version of the domestic propaganda message, made peripherally topical to Latin America through the frequent mentions of particular commodities. Brazil for example, is often associated with coffee, which is

the subject of an article in which we are informed that it represented thirty-two percent of the exports from Latin America to the United States.<sup>13</sup> Uruguayan wool helped to keep the foot patrols warm in Iceland, and oil from Peru and Venezuela sustained allied airplanes in the air and their ships at sea. Also, rubber production from a dozen tropical countries gave mobility to the modern mechanized armies, from the deserts of North Africa to the frozen plains of Ukraine and the jungles of the Salomon Islands.<sup>14</sup>

The treatment of the topic of resources obeyed a careful balance between abundance and scarcity. The need for Latin American raw materials existed because the United States was using its potential to maximum capacity, and not because the country is destitute of this type of resource. To the abundance of food and even luxury goods and organized thriftiness of life in the United States, *En Guardia* contrasted the shortages experienced by the German and Japanese. The tendency to personify the contrast is prosaically illustrated in a feature about food shortages in German occupied territories. Here photographs showing squalid people were printed with another of the robust and fat Hermann Goering at a banquet.<sup>15</sup>

It seemed that as Allied fortunes in the war improved *En Guardia* producers felt confident enough to provide the reader with a less sugary version of events<sup>16</sup> while suggesting that in spite of the war's costs, everything was under control at the home front. All national resources were mobilized into arming, feeding and clothing an army of ten million men. Because of this, the amenities of peace time were in shortage and the quality of life was downgraded. In spite of hardships, Americans are coping well with the system of quotas and coupons that allowed the United States to send one fourth of its food production to its allies.<sup>17</sup> An article on the so called Victory Gardens stresses the same point: the people of the United States are tightening their belts to help their allies.<sup>18</sup> In a feature commenting on the rising cost



of living, the attenuating factor is the governmental intervention in the economy, without which the situation would have worsened.<sup>19</sup>

Articles dealing with subjects such as women, children, senior citizens and families indicate a tendency of presenting the *Total War* as a universal experience across ages and genders, while suggesting total mobilization and the equal validation of everybody's contribution. There are few direct references to young girls, but boys involved in mechanical activities such as airplane modeling and toy building, are presented as the proud inheritors of a long tradition of inventors and the future specialized workers.<sup>20</sup> Features on orphans,<sup>21</sup> refugees and children are meant to humanize the suffering which is mostly attributed to the actions of the enemy. An article on children whose parents, specifically their mothers, were at work while they stay in day care facilities, exemplify the notion of total mobilizations, and once more helped to humanize the war.<sup>22</sup>

The family is portrayed as a supplier of willing bodies to the war effort<sup>23</sup> and as the foundation for a way of life suitable to the austerity of the times.<sup>24</sup> An interesting example of the use of families to humanize the war coverage is titled, "*La Fortaleza Volante Perdida*" on the effect of the loss of a whole bomber crew on the families involved.<sup>25</sup> Mothers and housewives are mentioned in specific articles that once more emphasize total mobilization. "*Los que esperan en casa*" is about the plight of housewives on the home front.<sup>26</sup> An important emphasis is placed on middle-age workers, or as one article on the increasing demand for specialized labor put it, "the sixty year old who does not think that he is too old to do hard work," and was willing to pass his working experience and skills to the younger generation.<sup>27</sup>

Propaganda favors narrative settings and time lines that are easy to relate to and understandable to any audience. These include the formula of a day in the life of common folk in

a typical place. “*La familia y la Guerra,*” published at the end of the first year of *En Guardia* circulation, detailed a day in the life of an exemplary family, the Winnebalds from Evansville, Indiana. Here the family is mainly the backing for Carlos Winnebald (his first name was certainly translated), a middle-age specialized worker in a refrigerator factory. In spite of the conflict, the Winnebalds continue to enjoy free time and sports. Their lives are austere, but not miserable, so much so that they are also pictured contributing their savings to the war effort.<sup>28</sup>

In a poll conducted most likely in 1944 in ten countries, readers were asked if they were interested in articles concerning women. A majority of two-hundred and forty-two answered negatively while one-hundred and fifty-three interviewees said yes.<sup>29</sup> In spite of that, and throughout the life of the magazine, women as civilian workers or individuals more directly involved in the war as pilots and in civil defense actions were a ubiquitous presence. The offensive missions of war should be reserved to men alone, and the most frequently featured role for women in war was as nurses. However, in order to free more men for combat, *En Guardia* stressed the importance of women’s contributions at the home front, and even in some selected and directly related war tasks.<sup>30</sup> After the nurse, the specialized factory worker and the pilot were the most common images of women in the pages of *En Guardia*. The cover of issue number nine of the second year showed a female pilot in a flight uniform looking up to the sky, while the cover of issue number five of the third year, is a photograph of women working in an airplane assembly line. Paradoxically this interest on the contribution of women to war aviation is accompanied by an overall tone of amusement, suggested in part by the very insistence on these themes, perhaps based on the implicit disbelief that women could perform such work.<sup>31</sup> *Las “Mujeres fabrican aviones”* (women manufacturing airplanes), mentioned the exceptional ability of women, clearly superior to men according to the article, in producing small and complex

parts.<sup>32</sup> As specialized workers, women are shown holding shells, manufacturing large guns and operating complex machinery, in contrast to their feminine appearance. While performing these tasks women were frequently depicted in overalls and uniforms, but wearing makeup or with their hair a bit overdone in a way that suggested staging and perhaps an attempt at introducing an element of seduction in these images.<sup>33</sup> Many images of men and women contain an element of discreet and proper flirting. “*Diversiones de combatiente*” disguises the hardships of the war by showing couples at leisure and men playing sports, singing and reading. The level of fun is moderate. For example there is no consumption of alcohol, but service men are shown drinking coffee.<sup>34</sup> Women are never shown naked or scantily clad, but soldiers are many times displayed in shorts or without shirts.<sup>35</sup> The German soldiers also were never shown naked while there is more than one image of naked and semi-naked Japanese.

Propaganda must be read through what it says and through what it did not say and the conspicuous scarcity of African Americans in the pages of *En Guardia* is telling. They were almost absent from the magazine until 1943, when an article on peanuts featured a photograph of the inventor George Washington Carver, and a whole feature dedicated to the famous African American singer Marian Anderson.<sup>36</sup> After that, African Americans nearly disappeared, shown only in the background of a few photographs. “*Los Estados del Sur*,” a six-page, thirteen photograph feature on the southern States, did not depict a single African American person. Racism is not mentioned except for some coded references to the “dramatic conflicts” or the existence of regional problems in a rapidly changing region where blacks and whites worked with pride and patience.<sup>37</sup>

The infantry men appeared as a topic for the first time in the fourth issue of the first year, and would become a constant. Paratroopers were featured in more than one article of *En*

*Guardia*, reflecting the romantic aura they acquired during the War. In highlighting the heroism of soldiers of Hispanic origin, the propagandist is effectively insinuating the commitment of the Latino community with the war on many levels. Sergeant José Mendoza Lopez, a Mexican-American, from the border town of Brownsville, Texas, won a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star for his performance in the Battle of the Ardennes. In the article that appeared in *En Guardia*, Lopez is quoted as saying, “I pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe and Sacred Heart of Christ, and they saved my life.” He is shown in a photograph, receiving another medal from the President, Manuel Avila Camacho, who called him “the first citizen of Mexico.”

In printed propaganda, the size of the matter (photographs and text) and its prominence or lack of it in the page, many times reveals the propagandist’s intention and even his political agenda. An article on the Rio de Janeiro 1942 Conference is perhaps an example of this visual syntax at work. The same equanimity in the distribution of space we observed in other items dealing with more than one country can be observed here. In the second feature for example, there is an ecumenical display of equal-size portraits of all twenty-one principals involved in the conference. Curiously, the Argentinean representative Ruiz Guineas appeared only in a double portrait with Brazilian foreign minister Oswald Aranha, possibly a quaint indication of the CIAA’s displeasure with his country’s neutrality and disguised sympathies towards the Axis.<sup>38</sup>

In spite of the discourse of Pan Americanism, *En Guardia* did not feature Canada as much as it did Brazil or Mexico. In fact, the only article on Canada, “Our Neighbors from the North,” appeared in 1943, and treated the Northern Country almost the same way as it did the North American places.<sup>39</sup> A 1944 readership poll indicated the need for more coverage of Latin America, judging by the overwhelming positive answers to the question “Would you like more articles dealing with current life and developments in the American republics?”<sup>40</sup> As early as 1942

features entirely dedicated to select countries began to appear. Again, in order to preserve the evenhandedness described above, countries were featured in more or less alphabetic order. Revealingly there is nothing on Argentina and the first country featured was Bolivia,<sup>41</sup> followed by Brazil and Colombia. These features were invariably composed of four pages containing an image of the local leader, some aspects of the geography, the most important economic products, photographs of the people, images of the country's capital and its armed forces. Follow-up articles on important or picturesque cities such as São Paulo in Brazil, and Montevideo in Uruguay or Valparaiso in Chile, provided most countries, except Argentina, with a larger localized and sympathetic coverage. Brazil and Mexico were the object of more coverage than other countries, due in part to their direct participation in the war. The air bases in Brazil for example, were the feature of an article,<sup>42</sup> while "*Mexico en pie de Guerra*" describes that country's mobilization.<sup>43</sup> The entry of Mexico into the War on the allied side was celebrated in a lengthy article<sup>44</sup> with the same treatment given to Brazil's declaration of war to the Axis potencies.<sup>45</sup> The first reference to the Brazilian contingent fighting with the Allies in Italy appears in 1943,<sup>46</sup> while in this and two more articles that followed, there were no images of injured or dead soldiers. "*Los aviadores mexicanos*" featured the famous "Aztec Eagles," the 201st Fighting Squadron active in the Philippines after 1944.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the covers of *En Guardia* highlight photographs of important military chiefs and political figures. They are generally accompanied by articles in which the featured biography, and in some cases, points of views are presented. After 1942, two new thematic additions were United States and Latin American history and institutions such as the United States Supreme Court.<sup>48</sup> The presidential elections of 1940<sup>49</sup> and women serving in Congress during the war<sup>50</sup> were the subject of articles. There were articles on Thomas Jefferson<sup>51</sup> and Abraham Lincoln,<sup>52</sup>

which together with “*La nacion apoya la labor del president,*”<sup>53</sup> were considered the most well-received by the audience.<sup>54</sup>

In the treatment of these themes, the propaganda message always tries to establish a connection between North America and Latin America. An article on the Library of Congress for example, featured preeminently the murals painted in 1942 by the Brazilian Candido Portinari in the vestibule of the Hispanic Reading Room.<sup>55</sup> This connection with the United States was also stressed in features on historical figures, such as the Cuban Jose Marti,<sup>56</sup> the Mexican Benito Juarez,<sup>57</sup> and uncharacteristically the Argentinean national hero Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.<sup>58</sup> Simon Bolivar was the most frequent player in this strategy. A note on him illustrated with one of the famous portraits by the Peruvian painter Jose Gil de Castro,<sup>59</sup> was followed by a feature on an airplane baptized by its crew as The Bolivar,<sup>60</sup> and a full article on an American general called Simon Bolivar Buckner, commander of the American 10<sup>th</sup> Army in the pacific campaign.<sup>61</sup>

The polysemic character of *En Guardia*'s propaganda message is present once more in features dealing with health, which included the treatment of injured soldiers, the work of the Red Cross, and the importance of donating blood. The overall message inferred is that America cares for its people, its soldiers, and its neighbors, while the Axis does not. In these, the connection with Latin America is light at best, but features on sanitation and the fight against tropical diseases are meant to suggest the good will of the United States towards its neighbors. “Health in the Time of War,”<sup>62</sup> and “Exterminator of Tifu”<sup>63</sup> on the insecticide DDT, stressed CIAA work in these areas, while another on curative effects of quinine<sup>64</sup> accentuated once more the importance of Latin American resources for the war effort.

The earliest images of injured Allied soldiers appeared in 1942. Initially they were published within features dealing with other subjects. A feature on the Air Ambulance Service

for example, was illustrated with photographs depicting many injured soldiers being transported and cared for by female nurses.<sup>65</sup> Another photo showing a soldier visibly in pain, being attended to by another soldier, was published in a featured dedicated to penicillin.<sup>66</sup> “*Estos son los que regresan*”<sup>67</sup> (These are the ones who came back) published in the same year, was one of the first articles entirely about wounded soldiers. The text described the impact of injuries on the life of Francisco H. Sternberg wounded in a tank somewhere in Italy.<sup>68</sup> Wounded soldiers appear in hospitals undergoing physicals or playing, but rarely in pain. Other images on these themes appeared to be staged as the image of a wounded gunner that opens “*Artillero.*”<sup>69</sup> This sanitized view of the wounds and rehabilitation suggests a communication strategy of incremental introduction of these themes.

Images of dead soldiers from all sides began to appear in 1942, initially showing only photos of dead enemies, of which there were more Japanese soldiers shown than German. For example, a photograph of a Japanese sniper killed in the Gilbert Islands battle, with blood coming out of his mouth, is more explicit than an image of a dead German soldier with his legs up in the air in a trench, published a year earlier.<sup>70</sup> Dead Allied soldiers could not be found on the pages of *En Guardia* until 1943,<sup>71</sup> when the famous photograph of three dead Americans on a beach in Buna, published in September of 1943 in *Life* magazine was published.

As the war neared its end, coverage became centered more on people, and less on the production and the efficacy of weapons, as was the focus in the beginning. One example is a feature dealing with the importance of mail for soldiers, on the front, and for families on the home front.<sup>72</sup>

In the above mentioned poll on readers’ preferences regarding content, the overwhelming majority of responders (617 out of 896) answered affirmatively to the question “Would you

prefer more articles about science, literature, the arts, or life happening in the United States?”

The most popular topics in this rubric were: science, life events or happenings in the United States, the arts, literature, fine arts and education, in that order.<sup>73</sup> After 1942 there were articles on how movies are made and descriptions of the Hollywood film industry,<sup>74</sup> on opera, ballet and classical music.<sup>75</sup> The Boston Symphony, for example was the subject of an article suggesting once more, that in spite of the war, life in the United States was normal.<sup>76</sup>

Fine arts appear in an article on the Navy painter Dwight Shepler, whose images barely differ from others about naval power. The American Regionalism School of painting is featured in an article published in the last year of *En Guardia*, and illustrated with works by Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood and John Steuart Curry.<sup>77</sup> An article on the protection of European artistic treasures by the Allies<sup>78</sup> was followed by another one on the art stolen by the Nazis.<sup>79</sup> There was even an entire feature on fashion.<sup>80</sup> Latin American culture was showcased first in its folk and popular forms. For example, a photograph of Carmen Miranda appeared in a feature on radio broadcasting for the troops. Later there were articles on the Mexican film industry featuring Cantinflas, Maria Felix and Jorge Negrete,<sup>81</sup> and on Mexican<sup>82</sup> and Cuban<sup>83</sup> painting. The subject of religion refers almost exclusively to the Catholic Church, featuring i.e. a Catholic priest on the front<sup>84</sup> or the Pope Pius XII's reception of Allied soldiers in Rome.<sup>85</sup>

After 1942 the tone of the propaganda discourse in *En Guardia* gradually changed as the war started to turn in favor of the Allies. Now the emphasis was not on resistance, but on the conclusion of the campaigns in North Africa<sup>86</sup> and the invasion of Italy.<sup>87</sup> Many articles now dealt with important victories in the European and Pacific theaters, such as the symbolic entry into Paris of American troops.<sup>88</sup> These features emphasized the warm reception given to allied soldiers by the civilian population. Features on air power describe the bravery and dedication of



air crews, but contain almost nothing on the effects of bombing on the civilian population.<sup>89</sup> Destroyed cities, when they appear, are always the result of the work of the enemy or of the enemy's selfish determination in resisting,<sup>90</sup> while allied bombing was described as concentrated on industrial installations.

As the war came to an end, economic and political issues related to Post-war conditions and plans were also prominently<sup>91</sup> featured and indicated a new concern with planting the seeds of American hegemony in Latin America after the war. An article on television suggested that some of the improvements in broadcasting will fructify only when peace finally arrives.<sup>92</sup> Another story on jet propulsion suggested that three years after the end of the war, airplanes would be equipped with a new type of jet engine.<sup>93</sup> The theme of reconstruction appeared in 1943, first in connection with Italy and increasingly in reference to other countries. "Los problemas de la readaptacion industrial," published in the last issue of *En Guardia*, is an example.<sup>94</sup> The message is that the United States and its allies were strong economically and that the post war era promised to be a period of prosperity.

In one of the last issues of the magazine, an article announced the beginning of the atomic age, with a simple explanation of the fusion process and a reference to the atomic bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.<sup>95</sup> "Los Crimenes de los Nazis en La Guerra" contained shocking photographs of recently liberated concentration camps.<sup>96</sup> The end of the war in the Pacific was featured in the antepenultimate issue in the article "La regeneración del Japan."<sup>97</sup> In the last issue, Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel are shown at the Nuremberg trials, while the back cover, the last page of *En Guardia* ever printed, showed a group of skiers practicing in the mountains of Chacaltaya in Bolivia.

By 1945, when the magazine ceased publication, 550,000 copies were being printed, 375,000 in Spanish, and 175,000 in Portuguese, together with a smaller French edition addressed to Haiti.<sup>98</sup> A letter from NAR to Fiorello La Guardia, dated April 3, 1946,<sup>99</sup> mentioned an average of 600,000 readers. If one multiplies this average of readers for printed material by three, the circulation of *En Guardia* easily surpassed the 1,000,000 reader mark.

Several attempts to revive *En Guardia* resulted in more or less innocuous initiatives. T.S. Chermont, a Brazilian national in charge of editing the Portuguese edition, expressed in a letter to NAR dated October 20, 1945, the desire to continue publishing the magazine with the same name and under private sponsorship.<sup>100</sup> J. C. Stark mentioned another attempt to continue publication after the end of the war and lamented the harsh disposal of the magazine's structure, including its much painstakingly organized mailing list, which according to him, was made available to various government agencies and finally disappeared.<sup>101</sup>

In 1947, Leonard William Doob and Hadley Cantril, two major experts of Cold War propaganda, participated in so-called Quisenberry Meeting, organized by Arthur Quisenberry. A proposal for the revival of *En Guardia* as part of a new and larger campaign of public relations and propaganda for Latin America in the context of the Cold War was discussed there. The campaign included the placing of paid material in local newspapers and the creation of content for radio, advertising, and other media. The release of a magazine with the same name based on the old model was discussed and accepted by those present.<sup>102</sup> There is no indication that this recommendation resulted in any action, but Gerald Heines in his book on American Cold War diplomacy and Brazil mentioned the brief circulation during the 1950s of a publication called *En Marcha*, based on the *En Guardia* model.<sup>103</sup>

The *fabula* narrated through the themes in *En Guardia* is that of the superiority of the American way of life vis-à-vis its enemies. This superiority, based on the democratic system, allowed this country to outperform and better its enemy in all fields. For the sparsely industrialized Latin American countries the message is clear: because the United States is the richest country, it is also the best option as an ally. The great hero of the propaganda message is the American people, who are endowed with the attributes of bravery, kindness, resourcefulness, excellent work ethic, love of freedom, etc. America cares for its people, its soldiers, and its neighbors, while the Axis does not. The crux of *En Guardia*'s narrative is set by presenting the Germans and Japanese as having values and interests antagonistic to those shared by the peoples of the Americas.<sup>104</sup> Hitler hated his good neighbors,<sup>105</sup> the Japanese are barbarian enemies of Christianity who conquered by sword,<sup>106</sup> while the United States is extending a fraternal embrace to Latin Americans,<sup>107</sup> with whom they share Christian and democratic values. However, the features on the surrender and final deliberations of the war, in which there was no mention of Latin American countries, indicates they were not counted as equals at the time of the final victory. In *En Guardia*'s narrative, Latin Americans occupied the important, but auxiliary role of helpers. They provided some of the exotic materials needed to win, and in exchange they received protection, know-how and economic benefits. A headline announced "The United States Manages the Machines, Latin America Takes Care of the Materials."<sup>108</sup> This emphasis on production of raw materials by Latin American counties had the effect of suggesting a type of colonial division of labor that reinforced the perception of Latin American countries as exotic producers of low-tech items. The United States is prized for its technological conquests in the field of airplane manufacture, Panama for its sombreros.<sup>109</sup>

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## ENDNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> FM 33-5 Psychological Operations - January 1962: Department of the Army Field Manual; Department of the Army; (US Government, 1962), pp. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Stark, J. C. "A Brief history of En Guardia," in Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Project, Magazines: En Guardia, Correspondence, III 41, 109. 1062.

<sup>3</sup> See Douglas G. Griffin, "Pan-Americanism and the Press." in *The Phi Delta Kappan* 24 (November 1941), pp.104-105, 112; Hart Phillips "The Future of American Propaganda in Latin America." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 9: 3 (Autumn 1945), pp. 305-312; Donald Meyer, "Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy." in *American Music* 18: 3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 233-250.

<sup>4</sup> Greimas, A. J and J Courtés. *Semiotic of Language: An Analytical Dictionary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979, pp. 270-277.

<sup>5</sup> Stark, J. C. "A Brief history of En Guardia." in Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Project, Magazines: *En Guardia*, Correspondence, III 41, 109. 1062.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, *Ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> Reich, Cary. *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer 1908-1958*. New York: Doubleday, 1996, pp. 220-221.

<sup>8</sup> "Hitler odia a los buenos vecinos." *En Guardia* 1: 10 (year 1), p. 15, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group (RG) 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.

<sup>9</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 12 (year 4), pp. 14-17, Idem.

<sup>10</sup> "El espíritu de las Filipinas." *En Guardia*. 1: 8 (year 1), pp. 30-34, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>11</sup> *En Guardia*. 1: 1 (year 1) Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>12</sup> "Las maquinas multiplicadors de las armas." *En Guardia*. 1: 2 (year 1), page(s) unknown, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>13</sup> "Las bebidas de las Américas." *En Guardia* 1: 8 (year 1), page(s) unknown, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> "Caucho del Amazonas." *En Guardia*. 2: 7 (year 2), pp.26-28, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> "Privaciones y destruction." *En Guardia*. 2: 3 (year 2), pp. 22-23, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>16</sup> See Roeder, George H. *The Censured War: American Visual Experience During World War Two*. New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

<sup>17</sup> "Compartiendo los víveres." *En Guardia*. 2: 6 (year 2), pp. 24-25. Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.

<sup>18</sup> "Las huertas de la Victoria." *En Guardia* 2: 8 (year 2), pp. 26-27, Idem, *Ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> "Costo de Vida." *En Guardia* 2: 8 (year 2), pp. 14-15, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> "Futuros obreros." *En Guardia* 1: 2 (year 1), page(s) unknown, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> "Niños sim patria." *En Guardia* 2: 12 (year 2), pp. 39-40, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>22</sup> "Huerfanos de la Guerra." *En Guardia* 2: 3 (year 2), p. 33; "Centros Infantiles." *En Guardia* 2: 10 (year 2), pp. 36-37, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>23</sup> "Hocho hijos al servicio de la patria." *En Guardia* 4: 6 (year 4), pp.34-35, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>24</sup> "La familia en la Guerra." *En Guardia* 1: 9 (year 1), page(s) unknown, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> "La Fortaleza volante perdida." *En Guardia* 3: 4 (year 3), pp. 8-15, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 2 (year 4), pp. 38-39, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>27</sup> "Demanda de mano de obra." *En Guardia* 2: 7 (year 2), pp. 10-11, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>28</sup> *En Guardia* 1: 9 (year 1), pp. 38-39, Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>29</sup> III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 109, Folder 10.

<sup>30</sup> "Demanda de mano de obra." *En Guardia* 2: 7 (year 2), p. 19, Idem, *ibid*.

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- <sup>31</sup> “Las mujeres fabrican aviones.” *En Guardia* 3: 3 (year 3), p. 32, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Idem, ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> See for example, “Las mujeres fabrican aviones.” *En Guardia* 3: 3 (year 3), p. 32, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> *En Guardia* 2: 3 (year 2), pp. 38-39, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> *En Guardia* 2: 7 (year 2), p. 8, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> “Cacahuets el fathor important en nuestra economía.” *En Guardia* 3: 4 (year 3), pp. 22-23, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> “Marian Anderson. *En Guardia* 3: 4 (year 3), p. 31, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>38</sup> “Las Américas en Acción.” *En Guardia* 1: 6 (year 1), pp. 3-7, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>39</sup> “El Veciño mas al norte.” *En Guardia* 3: 2 (year 3), pp 34-37, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>40</sup> III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 109, Folder 1062.
- <sup>41</sup> “Bolivia...” *En Guardia* 1: 9 (year 1), pp. 18-21, Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.
- <sup>42</sup> “Base aerea en el Brasil.” *En Guardia* 2: 1 (year 2), pp. 34-35, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> “Mexico en pie de Guerra.” *En Guardia* 2: 7 (year 2), pp. 14-17, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> “Mexico entra en la guerra.” *En Guardia* 1: 10 (year 1), pp. 2-5, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> “Brasil entra en la Guerra.” *En Guardia* 1: 12 (year 1), pp. 2-5, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> “Tropas brasileñas en Europa.” *En Guardia* 3: 11 (year 3), pp. 6-7, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>47</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 8 (year 4), p. 35, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> “La Suprema Corte.” *En Guardia* 2: 12 (year 2), page(s) unknown, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> “Elecciones em medio a la Guerra.” *En Guardia* 3: 11 (year 3), pp. 14-17, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> “Las mujeres en El Congreso.” *En Guardia* 4: 5 (year 4), pp. 24-25, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> “El Segundo Centenario de Jefferson.” *En Guardia* 2: 9 (year 2) pp. 38-40, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 11 (year 4), pp. 12-13, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>53</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 12 (year 4), page(s) unknown, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>54</sup> III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 109, Folder 1062.
- <sup>55</sup> “La biblioteca del Congreso.” *En Guardia* 4: 5 (year 4), pp. 8-10, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>56</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 4 (year 3), p. 40, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>57</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 5 (year 3), p. 40, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>58</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 6 (year 3), p. 39, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>59</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 12 (year 3), p. 19, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>60</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 9 (year 4), pp. 22-23, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>61</sup> *En Guardia* 4: 9 (year 4), p. 39, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>62</sup> “La salud en tiempo de Guerra.” *En Guardia* 1: 12 (year 1), pp. 30-31, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> “DDT exterminador del tifo.” *En Guardia* 3: 11 (year 3), pp. 36-37, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>64</sup> “Quinina.” *En Guardia* 3: 3 (year 3), pp. 22-23., Idem, ibid.
- <sup>65</sup> “Ambulancia aerea.” *En Guardia* 2: 9 (year 2), p. 14, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>66</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 1 (year 3) pp. 40-41, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>67</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 2 (year 3), page(s) unknown, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>68</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 2 (year 3), pp. 30-40, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 5 (year 3), p. 39, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> “Las Islas Gilbert.” *En Guardia* 2: 4 (year 2), p. 37, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> *En Guardia* 3: 13 (year 3), p. 13, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>72</sup> “El correo cumple.” *En Guardia* 4: 7 (year 4), pp. 30-31, Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.
- <sup>73</sup> Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Magazines: *En Guardia*, Correspondencem III 41, 109. 1062.
- <sup>74</sup> “Como se hacen las películas.” *En Guardia* 4: 8 (year 4), pp. 20-23, Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.
- <sup>75</sup> “La opera.” *En Guardia* 3: 5 (year 3), pp. 16-18; “La Música en Los Estados Unidos.” *En Guardia* 4: 4 (year 4), pp. 10-11; “El ballet en los Estados Unidos.” *En Guardia* 3: 9 (year 3), pp. 32-33; “El baile moderno.” *En Guardia* 4: 7 (year 4), pp. 40-41, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> “La orquesta sinfónica de Boston.” *En Guardia* 3: 12 (year 3), pp. 14-18, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> “La escena en el oeste central.” *En Guardia* 4: 4 (year 4), pp. 30-31, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> “Los aliados protegen los tesoros de Europa.” *En Guardia* 3: 8 (year 3), pp. 39-40, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>79</sup> “Los tesoros artísticos robados por los Alemanes.” *En Guardia* 4: 9 (year 4), pp. 38-39, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>80</sup> “La moda entre buenos vecinos.” *En Guardia* 4: 11 (year 4), pp. 20-23, Idem, ibid.

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- <sup>81</sup>“Las películas Mexicanas.” *En Guardia* 3: 4 (year 3), pp. 32-35, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>82</sup>“El Arte Mexicano 1920-1945.” *En Guardia* 4: 10 (year 4), pp. 22-23, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>83</sup>“La pintura de Cuba hoy día.” *En Guardia* 4: 8 (year 4), pp. 32, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>84</sup>“Un Padre va a la Guerra.” *En Guardia* 3: 6 (year 3), pp. 6-9, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>85</sup>“Roma está ya lejos de la batalla.” *En Guardia* 3: 12 (year 3), p. 9, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>86</sup>“El desfinio de la victoria.” *En Guardia* 3: 1 (year 3), pp. 20-21, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>87</sup>“Pueblos liberados.” *En Guardia* 3: 1 (year 3), pp. 16-19, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>88</sup>“En París se respira nuevamente el aire de La libertad.” *En Guardia* 3: 12 (year 3), pp. 6-9, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>89</sup>*En Guardia* 3: 9 (year 3), pp. 26-29, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>90</sup>“Bombas sobre el Japón.” *En Guardia* 4: 9 (year 4), pp. 10-13; “Bombas sobre Alemania.” *En Guardia* 3: 1 (year 3), pp. 34-35, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>91</sup>“Mirando hacia el future.” *En Guardia* 3: 9 (year 3), pp. 36-37, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>92</sup>“Television.” *En Guardia* 3: 7 (year 3), pp. 8-9, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>93</sup>“Retropropulsion.” *En Guardia* 4: 11 (year 4), pp. 28-29, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>94</sup>*En Guardia* 4: 12 (year 4), pp. 12-14, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>95</sup>*En Guardia* 4: 10 (year 4), pp. 33-35, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>96</sup>*En Guardia* 4: 7 (year 4), pp. 28-29, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>97</sup>*En Guardia* 4: 11 (year 4), pp. 16-17, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>98</sup>Stark, J. C. “A Brief history of En Guardia.” in Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Project, Magazines.” *En Guardia*, Correspondence, III 41, 109. 1062.
- <sup>99</sup>III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 104, Folder 1000.
- <sup>100</sup>III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 109, Folder 1062.
- <sup>101</sup>Idem.
- <sup>102</sup>III (Rockefeller Family Archive), RG 4, NAR Personal Papers, Series L (Projects), Box 109, Folder 1062.
- <sup>103</sup>Haines, Gerald K. *Americanization of Brazil: A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945-1954 (America in the Modern World) (American in Modern World)*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997, pp. 170-171.
- <sup>104</sup>“El mundo libre o esclavizado.” *En Guardia* 1: 8 (year 1), pp. 23-25, Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 4, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Series 0.1 CIAA.
- <sup>105</sup>“Hitler odia a los buenos vecinos.” *En Guardia* 1: 10 (year 1), pp. 14-17, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>106</sup>“El Japón se impone por la espada.” *En Guardia* 1: 9 (year 1), pp. 26-28, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>107</sup>“Lazos de amistad.” *En Guardia* 1: 9 (year 1), pp. 23-25, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>108</sup>“Trabajo para todos.” *En Guardia* 1: 3 (year 1), page(s) unknown, Idem, ibid.
- <sup>109</sup>“Los sombreros de Panama.” *En Guardia* 1: 2 (year 4), pp. 40, Idem, ibid.