

English Translations of Documents from Mexico's Secret Police Archive

Edited by

Tanalís Padilla, Dartmouth College

and

Louise E. Walker, Northeastern University

Working Paper

July 2013

This working paper is openly accessible to the world.
Copyright of the translations held by translators.

This working paper is a supplement to:

Padilla, Tanalís and Louise E. Walker, eds. "Spy Reports: Content, Methodology, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive." Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 1-103.

JILAR dossier includes articles by historians who use these spy reports, as well as transcriptions of the documents (in the original Spanish). It also includes an article about the archive, entitled "In the Archives: History and Politics" by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker, and an article on the historiographical impact of the archive, entitled "Comments: How to Build Perspective on the Recent Past" by Pablo Piccato.

JILAR dossier available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjil20>

Original documents are available at Mexico's National Archive

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Documents related to Patrick Iber's "Managing Mexico's Cold War" | 3 |
| Document related to Tanalís Padilla's "Espionage and Education" | 7 |
| Document related to Gabriela Soto Laveaga's "Shadowing the Professional Class" | 11 |
| Document related to Alexander Aviña's "An Archive of Counterinsurgency" | 16 |
| Document related to Louise E. Walker's "Spying at the Drycleaners" | 21 |
| Document related to María L.O. Muñoz's "State Spying on the State" | 24 |
| Documents related to Adela Cedillo's "Tracing the Dirty War's Disappeared" | 27 |

Editor's note: Articles and documents in original Spanish are published in the *JILAR* dossier "Spy Reports: Content, Methodology, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive." The translators made every effort to convey the agents' style and tone, therefore the reader will note the wordy, and at times awkward, sentence structure of the document prose.

Translation of documents related to Partick Iber's article

The following two documents are analyzed in:

Iber, Patrick. "Managing Mexico's Cold War: Vicente Lombardo Toledano and the Uses of Political Intelligence." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 11-19.

Archival citations (in order of documents presented below):

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Dirección Federal de Seguridad, Vicente Lombardo Toledano public version (hereafter AGN, DFS, VLT PV), leg. 1/9, exp. 34-2-48, h. 26, "Complicidad del Doctor Quiroz Cuarón del Banco de México, en el asunto del Padre Jiménez," 9 January 1948.

AGN, DFS, VLT PV, leg. 4/9, exp. 30-3-55, h. 66-67, "Se informa en relación con el comunismo," 19 September 1955.

Translation of the following two documents by Patrick Iber. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Patrick Iber.

SUBJECT: Complicity of DOCTOR QUIROZ CUARON OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, IN THE MATTER OF FATHER JIMENEZ.

Mexico City, D.F., 9 January 1948

To C.
DIRECTOR OF FEDERAL SECURITY

Allow me to place in your superior understanding, the following information obtained from the police reports of this Capital, related to the activities of the Doctor QUIROZ CUARON:

The detention of Father JIMENEZ, with relation to the SAMPIETRO affair, was the handiwork of THE COMMUNIST PARTY to discredit the clergy in the eyes of the Mexican people.

All of the acts to involve Father Jiménez in this matter were planned by VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO and DOCTOR QUIROZ CUARON.

Further, Doctor QUIROZ frequents the house whose photograph is attached, where there is an office of FREE HUNGARY, and which acts as the central hub of SOVIET ESPIONAGE IN MEXICO. Its chief, Mr. LAZLO RADVANY, resides there.

██████ of Doctor QUIROZ, by the name of TERROBA, a former Agent of the Police Command, is currently at the SERVICE OF THE U.S. F.B.I. IN MEXICO and together with MONREAL, his responsibility is to monitor the actions of Soviet espionage in Mexico. TERROBA advises ██████ QUIROZ of the names and things that the AMERICANS order him to investigate. QUIROZ sends that information to RADVANY, who in turn sends it to the Soviet Embassy in Mexico, which in turn transmits it to the N.K.V.D. in Moscow.

This is the activity of Doctor QUIROZ CUARON IN FAVOR OF RUSSIAN ESPIONAGE IN MEXICO.

Respectfully,
[signed]
Agustín Daroca Ponsa
Agent 44

SUBJECT: Information related to COMMUNISM.

Mexico City, D.F., 19 September 1955.

It is known that the funds necessary to sustain the Latin American Workers Confederation (C.T.A.L.) are sent directly by the World Federation of Trade Unions, by means of a bank transfer through the International Bank of Mexico. The funds come allocated to JOSE MORERA or to VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, who have a joint checking account in the aforementioned Bank.

With reference to what is expressed in the previous paragraph, it is known that the World Federation of Trade Unions sends the quantity of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS triannually to the C.T.A.L., which is distributed in the following manner:

| EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. OFFICERS.- | MONTHLY SALARY: | |
|--|-----------------|---------|
| VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO | \$ 2,000.00 | Monthly |
| JOSE MORERA. Cuban | 2,000.00 | " " |
| LAZARO PEÑA. Cuban | 2,000.00 | " " |
| LOURIBAL VILLAR Brazilian | 2,000.00 | " " |
| ANTONIO CABRERA Argentine | 2,000.00 | " " |
| ILDEFONSO ALEMAN Chilean | 2,000.00 | " " |
| ANTONIO GARCIA MORENO Chilean | 2,000.00 | " " |
| VICTOR MANUAL GUTIERREZ Guatemalan | 2,000.00 | " " |
| OFFICE STAFF: | | |
| Two Assistants to V.L.T. | \$ 1,500.00 | " " |
| Two Stenographers | 1,500.00 | " " |
| Two Clerks | 500.00 | " " |
| OFFICE EXPENSES: | | |
| Rent: | \$ 600.00 | M.N. |
| Electricity. | 100.00 | " " |
| Telephone. Fluctuates because of constant Long Distance calls. | | |

The rest of the money, after deducting the expenses of the C.T.A.L., or rather, what remains from the TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, is spent to pay for the World Federation of Trade Union's propaganda in Latin America: consisting of pamphlets, magazines, etc.

During the government of General LAZARO CARDENAS, the C.T.A.L. received from it an annual subsidy of \$750,000.00 pesos, which is stopped receiving when Lic. MIGUEL ALEMAN came to power. It was then that the C.T.A.L. appealed to the World Federation of Trade Unions to contribute financially to sustain it.

JOSE MORERA receives the directives to follow from the World Federation of Trade Unions through the mail.

Respectfully,
THE CORONEL DIRECTOR OF FEDERAL SECURITY.
[unsigned]
LEANDRO CASTILLO VENEGAS.

Translation of document related to Tanalís Padilla's article

The following document is analyzed in:

Padilla, Tanalís. "Espionage and Education: Reporting on Student Protest in Mexico's *Normales Rurales*, 1960-1980." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 20-29.

Archival citation:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Dirección Federal de Seguridad, "Memorandum," 100-5-3-64, leg. 1, hs. 413-416.

Translation of the following document by Tanalís Padilla. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Tanalís Padilla.

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTORATE

MEMORANDUM.

Mexico, D.F., 20 February 1964.

CHIHUAHUA, CHIH.- What follows is a list of land invasions that took place yesterday in various parts of the State by elements linked to the General Union of Mexican Workers and Campesinos.

About 80 (EIGHTY) campesinos from the new Agricultural Population Center named "Narciso Mendoza", invaded a lot, property of ALONSO TERRAZAS, located in the municipality of Delicias, Chih.

Approximately 100 (ONE HUNDRED) ejidatarios from the new Agricultural Population Center "Plutarco Elías Calles," invaded the property of EVARISTO ROJO and CARLOS MUÑOZ LEYVA in the municipality of Saucillo, Chih.

About 60 (SIXTY) campesinos from the new Agricultural Population Center "Ignacio Allende", invaded various lands belonging to Mrs. PAULA CARDONA, WIDOW OF MUÑIZ, which are located in the municipalities of Lázaro Cárdenas and Delicias, Chih.

The authorities from the 5th Military Zone, commanded by General ANTONIO GOMEZ VELAZCO, circulated instructions to the Military Groups located near the invaded properties, to persuade the "squatters" to abandon those properties and so that their demands for land could be made to the relevant authorities through the proper channels.

In the cases in which the Military Authorities referred to above, make arrests, the detained campesinos are consigned to the relevant Authorities, accused of the offences of "destruction of property" and "criminal association."

MANUEL SABINAS CASAS, FELIX MONTIEL LOPEZ, BERNARDO ZAPATA RODRIGUEZ, JESUS HERNANDEZ BACA and EMILIO ALAMOS FERNANDEZ, leaders of the new Agricultural Population Center "Ignacio Allende" and who headed the invasion of various lands property of Mrs. PAULA CARDONA WIDOW OF MUÑIZ, were detained by elements of the 5th Military Zone and placed at the disposal of the Meoqui Authorities for their transfer to Delicias, Chih. where MANUEL CABALLERO CABALLERO, RAYMUNDO SANCHEZ MARTINEZ and JUAN AGUIRRE M., heads of the New Agricultural Population Center "Narciso Mendoza" are already located for having led the invasion of ALFONSO TERRAZAS's land. They, as it has already been expressed, have been or will be charged with the Crimes mentioned in the previous paragraph.

In the land invasions that took place yesterday en the Municipalities of Saucillo, Delicias, Lázaro Cárdenas and Meoqui, the campesino squatters were advised by students from the Normales Rurales of Saucillo and Salaises and in some cases, some of those students led the invasions.

According to some Military and civilian Authorities from the region "it was observed that some of the young lady students from the Normal Rural of Saucillo, dressed as men, were among the campesino invaders."

It should be noted that the students from the Normales Rurales of Chihuahua are linked to the "Federation of Chihuahuan Students" led by JACOBO OLGUIN GUERRA, a student of the Normal Rural of Salaises, and both this element and his collaborators are active members of the Popular Socialist Youth. This Federation is characterized by the defense and support it gives to the General Union of Mexican Workers and Campesinos and in fact, on several occasions it has organized public acts of support for said Union or to protest against the State Authorities for the arrest of campesino leaders affiliated with the U.G.O.C.M.

SAUL CHACON, a normalista student and Press and Propaganda Secretariat for the state U.G.O.C.M. committee made it known today that "new land takeovers are taking place in the north of the State, in which elements of said Union are participating, affecting the property of private citizens" mentioning among others:

Lot Num. 9 of the ESQUIVEL AND OSCAR CHAVEZ brothers located in the Municipality of Madera, Chih., invaded by approximately eighty campesinos from the New Agricultural Population Center "Casa Dorada."

The campesinos from the New Agricultural Population Center "Independencia" are invading "some forested properties of the Bosques de Chihuahua Company, in the Municipality of Madera."

The ejidatarios from the New Agricultural Population Center "Revolución," invaded a property of JORGE QUIJADA, located within the "Bosques de Chihuahua" land, in the Municipality which is previously mentioned.

Members of the New Agricultural Population Center "Plan de Sabinas," are invading lots of individuals not yet identified, in the Municipality of Nuevas Casas Grandes.

The campesinos of the new Agricultural Population Center "Terranetes," are doing the same thing in properties of people not identified, in the Municipality of Flores Magón, Chih.

The coordinator of the campesinos affiliated to the U.G.O.C.M. in the south of the State, is the teacher PABLO GOMEZ RAMIREZ, active member of the Popular Socialist Party, who last year was remitted to the State Judicial Authorities for leading several invasions, leading the then Governor of the state to ask that said teacher be transferred, which was not granted. Currently the teacher GOMEZ RAMIREZ lends his services on a campus in the municipality of Delicias and it is rumored that "it is likely that the current government will ask the Ministry of Public Education for his transfer as General PRAXEDIS GINER DURAN did so previously."

The current representative of the U.G.O.C.M. in Chihuahua is ALVARO RIOS RAMIREZ and the state president of the committee is ARTURO GAMEZ GARCIA. Both are currently outside the State, the former in Mexico City, D.F. and the latter in the State of Durango, just as occurred in 1963 when several simultaneous land invasions took place. It is said that "it is possible that the land invasions taking place are being directed by ARTURO GAMEZ GARCIA, by way of the teacher PABLO GOMEZ RAMIREZ, although as was stated some time ago, these movements had already been organized in advance."

These invasions by U.G.O.C.M. elements are designed to "pressure the Authorities of the Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization to speed up the bureaucratic paperwork of the land requests that have been made on other occasions by members of said Union, and to demand the implementation of several Resolutions of land endowment, as a positive sign that the agrarian question in Chihuahua will really be resolved."

State Authorities have declared on several occasions that “those responsible for leading or encouraging the land invasions in the State will be remanded.”

-- -- -- -- --

Until 19:00 today, around three hundred young ladies from the Normal Rural of Saucillo Chih, joined by 90 (NINETY) campesinos from the outskirts, and 100 (ONE HUNDRED) male students from the Normal Rural of Salaices, were in front of the Municipal Headquarters of the town mentioned in the first instance, with the goal of pressuring the local authorities to free CESAREO MORALES RENTERIA, CARLOS RAMOS P., JUAN RODRIGUEZ ESPINO and ANTONIO SAENZ PAUROA, from the New Agricultural Population Center "Plutarco Elías Calles"; who yesterday were apprehended for leading on the same date, the invasion of property belonging to EVARISTO ROJO, located in the Municipality of Saucillo.

The teacher MIGUEL MACIAS VAZQUEZ, accompanied by other teachers from the school of Saucillo went before JESUS CARLOS TERRAZAS, the Municipal President of said town, to demand guarantees since the students from the Normal Rural there have shown themselves hostile to the teachers.

Updates about the situation in Saucillo will continue.

Respectfully.
COLONEL D.E.M.
FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR.
[unsigned]
MANUEL RANGEL ESCAMILLA.

MRE/c.-

Translation of document related to Gabriela Soto Laveaga's article

The following document is analyzed in:

Soto Laveaga, Gabriela. "Shadowing the Professional Class: Reporting Fictions in Doctors' Strikes." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 30-40.

Archival citation:

Archivo General de la Nación, Dirección Federal de Seguridad, Mexico City, Alianza Mexicana de Médicos Residentes e Internos, public version, exp. 50-1-65, leg. 14, hs. 368-373.

Translation of the following document by Gabriela Soto Laveaga. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Gabriela Soto Laveaga.

Federal Security Directorate.

MEMORANDUM

Mexico City, D.F. 8 May 1965.

MEDICAL PROBLEM.

I.M.S.S. - Today from 10:40 to 11:20 a meeting of residents and interns from the residential unit of the National Medical Center took place in said Center, with approximately 125 (ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-FIVE) doctors in attendance. The event was presided by Drs. JORGE VELEZ TREJO, ROLF MAINERS HUEBNER and MIGUEL CRUZ RUIZ. The meeting was informational in nature and related to the interview that took place yesterday between the Commission of I.M.S.S. physicians with the head of said Institute, Lic. SEALTIEL ALATRISTE.

The following banner was placed in the room:

"THE I.M.S.S. IS THE ONLY INSTITUTION THAT BLOCKS THE SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS. -PRESIDENTIAL ACCORD.- LABOR CONTRACT"

During the session the Debate Leadership explained that what is being requested is covered in the Nation's General Constitution and it pertains to no longer being a part of the I.M.S.S. union and that the country's Magna Carta stipulates that "no one is obligated to belong to any organization," which illustrates that they are within the Law and no one can attempt against physicians.

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND ASSISTANCE.- From 10:30 to 11:30 on this date in the General Hospital an assembly of medical residents from the same hospital was held. Nearly 50 (FIFTY) professionals attended, and it was presided by Dr. DAVID CAL VILLO GARIBAY. During the act, this element informed those there about yesterday's events that took place in the general offices of the Centro Medico as well as the results of the conversations with Pro. CARITINO MALDONADO, senior officer of the S.S.A., with regard to medical interns labor contracts.

In the assembly it was mentioned, with dissatisfaction, that every day there are fewer physicians in the assemblies. It was also decided to give a 6-day deadline to Authorities, in support of the decision taken yesterday by the Medical Society of Hospital General, in the sense of a complete strike of activities if by the 13th of this month the problems of the I.M.S.S. doctors have not been solved.

From 12:15 to 13:15 today in the Aquilino Villanueva hall of the S.S.A's General Hospital an A.M.M.R.I. meeting took place attended by nearly 90 (NINETY) physicians, presided by doctors JORGE ESPINOSA TURCOT y JOSE ALVAREZ TOSTADO.

During this reunion they were informed about the talks that have been happening with the authorities of Public Health and the I.M.S.S. and the different commissions of this Association. They have agreed to create a document with various proposals that will be made public during the A.M.M.'s Plenary Assembly, which will be held tonight. The aim is that participants will offer the necessary support to the proposals that are being made.

It was announced that on the 10th of this month, the A.M.M.R.I will host its assembly at 16:00 in the Mexican Red Cross ballroom.

When the meeting concluded there circulated a version that the A.M.M.R.I. will host its convention next July 27 in Guadalajara, Jal., the program for that event has already been planned.

CENTRO HOSPITALARIO "20 DE NOVIEMBRE". - Today from 12:30 to 13:30, residents and interns of this Centro Hospitalario held a meeting to which nearly 120 (CIENTO VEINTE) doctors assisted. It was presided by Dres. ALBERTO RAMIREZ VALENZUELA y NICANOR CHAVEZ SANCHEZ.

In this meeting those present were informed of the talks held yesterday with the I.M.S.S. General Director and it was indicated that tonight this matter will be put forth for

consideration of the A.M.M General Assembly, with the goal of finding how authorities at this Institute can be pressured, with the aim that they will be more willing to find a resolution to the signing of individual contracts.

In the aforementioned meetings Dr. MIGUEL SCHULTZ CONTRERAS was present and he asserted that he would use all his influence or that which was necessary so that during tonight's A.M.M. assembly they will offer financial, moral and other support to pressure the I.M.S.S. authorities, even mentioning the possibility of a general strike.

In this hospital center a meeting will take place at 22:00.

Today from 11:30 to 14:00 talks were held between the commission of medical residents and interns and the senior officer of the S.S.A. the latter was composed of 20 (TWENTY) doctors headed by the doctors HUMBERTO AYALA VILLAREAL and NOE VARGAS TENTORI.

During the talks it became known that they are trying to bring together the different parties so that they can establish an agreement or a contract for the medical interns since, as it was previously mentioned, the residents' and interns' contracts has been approved by both parties.

Members of the commission mentioned that contract talks were being rushed with the goal of getting the signatures as quickly as possible.

Since no decision was reached both parties agreed to meet the following Monday at 10:00 to continue the talks.

With regard to the Hospitals that are affected by the strike in Mexico City, today there was no new development in them, and the medical rotations took place as usual.

A.M.M. PLENARY ASSEMBLY.- From 22:00 today to 2:30 May 9 in the main auditorium of the old school of Medicine a meeting was held attended by approximately 200 (TWO HUNDRED) doctors, presided by the doctors MIGUEL PADILLA PIMENTEL and MIGUEL SCHULTZ CONTRERAS, President and Vice-President, respectively.

First, it was agreed that the behavior that characterized the movement will not be altered for to alter it would harm the movement.

Afterward it was mentioned that the government has been developing a campaign in the Mexico City newspapers to distort the behavior and position of the doctors, making it seems as if they are only seeking to agitate and imbalance the Regime.

It was mentioned that in yesterday's assembly a video-tape was shown, filmed among the G-B-H factory workers, who were prepared and predisposed against the

medical class and, also, some interviews were conducted with hospital directors who spoke against physicians, among these the Hospital Francés.

With regard to that it was mentioned that the Government is seeking to “close a circuit with those maneuvers, so that in a given moment, they can end the medical movement, end the unity that it has, end the organization that it represents.”

It was also mentioned that newscaster JACOBO ZABLUDOVSKY clearly stated yesterday to the public that the medical movement is unjustified and since that person is a direct mouthpiece for the President the doctors feel justified in thinking that there is an attempt to close a circuit and end their movement and for that reason the Legislative Department of the A.M.M. will look into the declarations made by said person so as to sue when they think that it is convenient.

It was agreed that participants in the meeting should share the plebiscites with their respective hospitals and propose the following points:

- 1.- Hold a general strike.
- 2.- Suspend in a series of steps the medical rotations that emergency service personnel conduct.
- 3.- Suspend the rotations and labor without affecting emergency services.

The results of the plebiscites will be announced at A.M.M.’s Extraordinary Assembly the 15th of this month.

It was agreed that a one-page spread about the actual state of the movement should be published to render meaningless the slander that has been published against the doctors.

Similarly, they agreed to send telegrams to Telesistema Mexicano on behalf of the the country’s medical associations protesting the actions of JACOBO ZABLUDOVSKY and because the aforementioned company has refused to televise interviews filmed by physician members of the A.M.M.

In addition to problems faced by I.M.S.S. physicians, the Red Cross is experiencing an unsolvable conflict because in that institution they do not want to pay physicians the salary increase agreed upon in the Presidential Decree. For that reason the commission that spoke with the Red Cross will be reinforced with A.M.M. members.

With regard to the I.M.S.S. problem it was agreed that on May 9 at 11:00 they will meet with Lic. MARIO DE LA CUEVA and with the also Lics. JOSE y MANUEL VILLAFUERTE MIJANGOS y GUILLERMO CALDERON members of the the Conflict Commission of the A.M.M. in the former’s home located at Nicolas San Jan No. 341 in this capital city, to find a solution to the problem of I.M.S.S. medical residents and if they

exhaust all legal means they have no option but to try to convince the representatives of Social Security doctors that they can join this Institution's union, which they believe will be very difficult for those mentioned to accept this proposition.

The A.M.M. Conflict Commission has an appointment for Monday the 10th of this month with I.M.S.S. Technical Council in which, based on the results of the aforementioned meeting with the lawyers, they will attempt to find a solution to the problem.

Very Respectfully.
THE SUBDIRECTOR OF FEDERAL SECURITY
ACTING FOR THE DIRECTOR
[unsigned]
CAP. FERNANDO GUTIERREZ BARRIOS.

FGR/V

Translation of document related to Alexander Aviña's article

The following document is analyzed in:

Aviña, Alexander. "An Archive of Counterinsurgency: State Anxieties and Peasant Guerrillas in Cold War Mexico." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 41-51.

Archival citation:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Dirección Federal de Seguridad, 100-10-16-4, leg. 5, h. 315, "Estado de Guerrero, Grupo Guerrillero de Lucio Cabañas Barrientos, Denominado 'Partido de los Pobres,'" 25 August 1972.

Translation of the following document by Alexander Aviña. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Alexander Aviña.

MINISTRY
OF THE
INTERIOR

STATE OF GUERRERO [25 August 1972]

LUICO CABAÑAS BARRIENTOS' GUERRILLA GROUP,
NAMED "THE PARTY OF THE POOR"

In relation to the guerrilla group mentioned above, we have located its operational zone in the municipality of Atoyac de Alvarez, Gro., which contains the main towns of Coyuca de Benitez, El Paraíso and Tepetixtla—with a surface area of approximately 1,500 square kilometers that encompasses an area of operation listed at 625 square kilometers that includes the group's primary base camps.

The principal communities located within the municipality of Atoyac de Alvarez include: Rincón de las Parotas, San Andrés de la Cruz, Llanos de Santiago, Santiago de la Union, Río de Santiago, San Vicente de Benítez, San Vicente de Jesús, San Francisco del Tibor and El Paraíso.

The Party of the Poor is subdivided into the following groups:

- 1.- The Campesino Brigade of Justice, which corresponds to the Armed Group, with military instruction.
- 2.- Committees of Struggle, integrated by small groups that carry out intelligence gathering missions mainly in cities.
- 3.- Brigades of Struggle, constituted by small armed groups that carry out kidnappings, assaults, and robbery.

The abovementioned organization carried out the kidnappings of JUAN GALLARDO VEGA on 24 June 1970; Dr. TELESFORO ANDALON on 17 March 1971; Dr. JOSE BECERRA LUNA, who was executed, on 25 June 1971; Ing. JAIME FARILL NOVELO on 7 January 1972; and, CUAUHTEMOC GARCIA TERAN on 14 March 1972; along with the robbery the "Cuauhtémoc" branch of a Commerce Bank franchise in Acapulco, Gro., in late October 1971.

At first, the organization only engaged in defensive actions, but on 25 June of the current year it carried out an ambush against a military transport convoy belonging to the 50th Infantry Battalion—killing 10 soldiers and wounding 2 more. The wounded received medical attention from their assailants, along with the instructions that they should inform their commanding officers that they had been attacked by LUCIO CABAÑAS and his fighters.

In that attack, the assailants acquired weapons, munitions, and military equipment. Additionally, we know that they possessed high-powered automatic weapons.

The circumstances regarding armament were corroborated through the declarations of soldiers who survived that latest [guerrilla] ambush on 23 August 1972—an ambush organized against a convoy from the 48th Infantry Battalion, in which they [guerrillas] used high-powered weapons superior to those used by the soldiers and officers belonging to the ambushed convoy.

It is known that the Party of the Poor is led by the following main leaders: LUCIO CABAÑAS BARRIENTOS; SALOMON RIOS GARCIA, who acts as second in command; ZACARIAS CABAÑAS FIERRO, chief of the Committees of Struggle; ISIDRO CASTRO FUENTES; Dr. ENRIQUE VELAZQUEZ FUENTES aka "ENRIQUE CHAMI;" ANTONIO CABAÑAS; ONOFRE BARRIENTOS; CARMELO CORTES CASTRO; CARLOS CEBALLOS LOYA and two other individuals who go by the names of "CESAR" and "MARCOS"—the latter, we know, is a South American who provides military training and instruction to the members of said Party.

To date it has been detected that the organization is composed of approximately 400 members, 40 of which are currently detained by Judicial Authorities. Active members and collaborators comprise the 40 detained members of the organization.

Of course, CARMELO CORTES CASTRO and CARLOS CEBALLOS LOYA previously belonged to the latter detained group, until their escape from prison in Chilpancingo, Gro. on the 20th of the current month and year.

After the first ambush against members of the Mexican Army, soldiers continued to patrol, reconnoiter and guard the area considered critical, focusing on the detention of individuals justly identified as having participated in the ambush; and even when the detained do not suffer harsh treatment, the sole fact of their detainment produces negative comments voiced against the Mexican Government and generates sympathy for the guerrillas in the critical region. This is evidenced by the high number of members who belong to the Party of the Poor, along with the notorious and well-evidenced support they [guerrillas] obtain from local communities—such support consisting mainly of intelligence gathering and food.

Motivated by the recent ambushes and the time spent combating the referenced guerrilla group, the morale of army troops is totally minimal, because they realized their armament is of inferior quality when compared to that of the guerrillas, which in its majority are 7.62mm Caliber Musketeers, of national make and they have been given defective munitions—including ammunition cartridges that fail to function at the time of deployment, as occurred during the second ambush, and the lack of military reinforcements, food, supplies, radios, and rest.

As such, the sending of reinforcements from other parts of Mexico, at least 800 soldiers, is of the utmost importance in order to constantly renew and refresh the groups in operation; and to extend operations in the critical geographical area to achieve the capture and extermination of this guerrilla organization.

Soldiers currently deployed in the area where the Party of the Poor operates are not from the area of the State of Guerrero, with few exceptions. The vast majority of soldiers hail from other states.

In relation to Municipal Authorities of the Region, in general they have adopted a passive attitude, taking care to not identify themselves as enemies of the Party of the Poor and allowing them to act freely. But it is worth noting that, Municipal Administrators who act as the political leaders of smaller communities located within the Municipality, and Ejido Delegates—in public, visible fashion—display sympathy and support for the Party of the Poor—including providing them with protection, intelligence, and information. To cite an example: PABLO LOZA PATIÑO, Municipal Administrator in El Porvenir, Municipality of Atoyac de Alvarez, Gro. directly participated in the first ambush that occurred on 25 June of the current year.

At the same time, state authorities also demonstrate a passive attitude in relation to the delineated guerrilla activities—which is evidenced by the lack of activity conducted by state police forces that, in general, abstain from intervening in the direct and effective persecution of Party of the Poor members who participate in criminal acts.

Taking into consideration the recent escape from the Prison of Chilpancingo, Gro. by CARMELO CORTES CASTRO and CARLOS CEBALLOS LOYA, and the growing size of the Party of Poor, it should be feared, and it is feared that the lack of effective vigilance at said Prison as well as the one in Acapulco of the same State will lead to more escapes by elements there imprisoned that include JOSE BRACHO CAMPOS and JORGE MOTA GONZALEZ—prisoners considered highly dangerous.

On a different matter it is important to note that the news coverage produced by local newspapers—they invariably publish all guerrilla communiqués and report on the criminal acts committed by the guerrillas—is scandalous and sensationalized. Placing guerrilla actions on the front page using the biggest possible font for headlines, functions as positive propaganda for Party of the Poor activities.

On Monday, the 21st of the current month, agents from the Federal Security Directorate intercepted a letter signed by MARIO LOPEZ C., by the “Committee of Struggle No. 24,” linked to the Brigade of Campesino Justice of the Party of the Poor, was addressed to the director of the Acapulco, Gro., newspaper “Diario del Pacífico”, the last paragraph of the letter reads verbatim:

“The discontent that such acts cause among laboring campesinos generates more support and sympathy for the actions and presence of armed revolutionary groups; and, provides justification for possible additional executions demanded by the working class in order to free itself from the dictatorship that we suffer.”

The quoted communiqué is attached to this report.

In relation to the current situation in this particular region of the State of Guerrero, we suggest the following solutions:

I.- The deployment of a larger military contingent, armed with fully functioning automatic weaponry, sufficiently equipped in order to relieve the troops currently in the theater of operations—troops that have been in the field for 60 straight days and are, as previously described, physically worn out and in a state of low morale, conditions compounded by the losses suffered in two described ambushes that include 28 dead and 18 wounded.

II.- Additionally, the sending of advanced radio communication systems, food supplies, uniforms, and equipment that fulfill military necessities and suited to the area of operations.

III.- The use of helicopters to provide aerial observation and immediate assistance in cases of emergencies or ambushes.

IV.- The possibility of covering the entire area of operation in order to locate and exterminate the guerrillas using select special troop units, such as: paratroopers, armored divisions, military police, and marine infantry—all which would realize and execute a massive and permanent military operation.

V.- If the above is not possible, we suggest a counter-guerrilla campaign, which would consist of direct actions realized against collaborators and sympathizers of the Party of the Poor—against them personally or against their properties—by plain-clothed Government agents, civilian or military, specially trained to do so. The object is to disrupt and break apart the Party's intelligence, supply, and recruitment networks.

A map and copies that indicate the geographic locations of actions carried out by militants belonging to the Party of the Poor are attached to this report.

Most Respectfully.
DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTORATE
[signed]
CAPTAIN LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/cor.

Translation of document related to Louise E. Walker's article

The following document is analyzed in:

Walker, Louise E. "Spying at the Drycleaners: Anonymous Gossip in 1973 Mexico City." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 52-61.

Archival citation:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales, c. 709, exp. 1, "Diversas críticas que se oyen en la vía pública en contra del actual régimen de gobierno," 12 October 1973.

Translation of the following document by Louise E. Walker. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Louise E. Walker.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INVESTIGATIONS

12 October 1973.- 16.00 Hrs.

FEDERAL DISTRICT

DIVERSE CRITICISMS THAT ARE HEARD IN PUBLIC SPACES
AGAINST THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT REGIME.

In relation to some comments, accounts, criticisms that have been heard among the public against government authorities, it could be known that:

The high cost of living with respect to the elevated prices of basic goods is discussed in places of agglomeration, such as markets, supermarkets, and convenience stores, and as a complement to those comments, the low wages of employees, for which the government was blamed because it does not act with a tough hand against

the ones who raise the price of food, considering that the recent salary increase of 15 to 25% does not solve the problem, because that while the increase ranges between 15 and 25, staples have risen by up to 100%, as in the case of oil, detergents, and bars of soap, that there is no total control, and it also happens with drycleaners that without previous authorization have increased from 6 to 10 pesos the price per suit in establishments of second category, while in those of first, the increases have skyrocketed, so that the salary increase that is obtained from the bosses for the workers goes into the hands of different merchants.

In addition, it has been possible to hear criticisms against the government in relation to its policies, which are being considered as a road to socialism, because there have been several acts of support for the Chilean people to which important personalities have attended, and there has been much benevolence toward Ms. HORTENSIA BUSSI DE ALLENDE, considering that as an asylee she should not be making statements at every moment or give her opinion about what happened in her country.

In relation to these criticisms, they declare that the Government of Lic. LUIS ECHEVERRIA is taking the same path as that of DR. SALVADOR ALLENDE, and they even dare to say that Lic. ECHEVERRIA should not forget there was a mass rally held in support of SALVADOR ALLENDE a few days before his Government was overthrown, like the one that will be held for Lic. ECHEVERRIA next Sunday; there is no need for these actions because all the people who attend are paid or threatened to be fired if they do not come to such rallies.

Another criticism is that of the constant changes of regime functionaries, for which Mr. President is blamed because it is asked if he did not know how to select his collaborators; they criticize how some D.D.F. offices have been divided into the political Boroughs, considering this, they declare that if before there was one crook, now there are 16, and these multiplied by 10 for each unit, and that now a political delegate feels like he is the governor of Mexico City.

About the latest events in the Guadalajara, Jal. kidnappings, they comment that why does the police arrest offenders if they release them soon after and even with expenses paid; Mexico's Government should act with an iron fist, and adopt the same

position of a Central American Government that refused to exchange political prisoners for hostages who were held by kidnappers, that if this demand is accepted from the Guadalajara kidnappers, it will set a precedent and a day will come when someone will ask for the dismissal of the President of the Republic himself, and, in order not to lose one or two lives, this will be accepted.

There are people who dare to say that a lesson could be given to criminals if when apprehended they would be executed in the same way they commit their crimes, as it was done in the Regime of Gral. MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO, when the civil defense had to execute some people, including foreigners, who were trying to conspire against the Government.

Other people comment that despite the attacks against the President of the Republic, he has been very soft on the agitators, that the only measure he has taken is to not allow groups of people to come close to the Los Pinos residence, intercepting people one block away by the riot police when they try to make any request or present a complaint.

Some housewives comment and ask who knows what is going to happen in November, because there are rumors that a big movement is going to unfold, and that it is possible that even the shops will close down, and therefore they are trying to stock up on some basic goods in case this happens.

[unsigned]

I.P.S.

P.L.B.

C.C.C.

mfpjg.

Translation of document related to María L.O. Muñoz's article

The following document is analyzed in:

Muñoz, María L.O. "State Spying on the State: *Consejo Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas* Meetings in 1980." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 62-70.

Archival citation:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Ramo Secretaría de Gobernación, Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales, caja 1554B, exp. 7, F.S. 323, Informe 728, 28 November 1980.

Translation of the following document by María L.O. Muñoz. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by María L.O. Muñoz.

Ministry of the Interior
General Directorate of Political and Social Investigation

Date: 28 XI 80
Time: 22:55

REPORT 728

Sector: General
Place: Federal District

Matter:

AT THE INDIGENOUS MEETINGS TAKING
PLACE AT THE OFFICES OF THE NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES THE
DISCUSSION OF THE INTERESTS ELICITED BY ITS
GOVERNMENT TO FOMENT AGRARIAN
PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY GOALS

The third day of general meetings of the Indigenous Parliament was held at the offices of the National Council of Indigenous Peoples, which began at 9:15, ended at 22:20 hours, with 70 Presidents and Ministers of Supreme Councils from around the country in attendance.

The topic of discussion at the meeting was the interests awakened by its government's activities in terms of efforts to reach production and productivity goals in the agricultural sector.

Although the phase of formal discussion in the House of Representatives has not yet begun, it already has generated different currents of opinion and because of this indigenous peoples want to express their concerns.

They declared support for the objectives and purposes proclaimed by said initiative in the sense that it would promote and support agribusiness activities and they believe that it is of vital importance, to establish a national plan for agricultural production as part of the Mexican Food System and furthermore, with a clear objective to produce basic foodstuffs for national consumption.

The latter is undoubtedly beneficial to reach the economic independence of our country, nevertheless it has been observed that though, the nationalist objectives are indisputable, the method to reach them still provokes doubts and uncertainties.

We have extensive experience of what it means to be associated to a small property-owner or not, for example in the area of forestry where the presence of lumber companies are reaching acceptable levels of production and productivity, but this only leaves us witnessing the disappearance of our forests, to benefit our communities.

The law initiative that was sent to the House of Representatives declares in its body what the goals of the law are in terms of agricultural and forestry production, but within the document the methods to elevate and improve the forestry environment are absent, and we believe with all due respect, that this should be addressed in the initiative to create new forestry legislation that would protect the interests of our communities.

Article 32 of the law initiative mentioned above, prevents the possibility of integrating production units, through voluntary agreement of ejidos and communities with small property-owners. In this sense we consider that enough ejidos and indigenous communities, are already units that count with land on which to build productive businesses, for which it is very encouraging that your government seeks to make available to us capital to transform our living conditions, but why do so with private investment, if it is always looking to profit from us, ejidos and communities, that have available labor and land, nevertheless we are convinced that your intent is not to necessarily provide small proprietary-owners with advantages, but in fact stimulate the possibility to legalize present rental situations and the exploitation of cheap labor.

It is to be noted that these discussions were carried out without incident, calling together the members of the Indigenous Parliament for tomorrow at 9:00 hours to discuss other general matters.

Respectfully.

[unsigned]

Translation of documents related to Adela Cedillo's article

The following documents are analyzed in:

Cedilo, Adela. "Tracing the Dirty War's Disappeared: The Documents of *Operación Diamante*." In "Spy Reports: Content, Method, and Historiography in Mexico's Secret Police Archive," edited by Tanalís Padilla and Louise E. Walker. Dossier, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (July 2013): 71-90.

Archival citations (in order of documents presented below):

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Federal Security Directorate (hereafter AGN, DFS), exp. 11-212-74, leg. 14, h. 34, Estado de Chiapas, 20 March 1974.

AGN, DFS, exp. 11-212-74, leg. 14, h. 61, Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional, 22 March 1974.

AGN, DFS, exp. 11-212-74, leg. 14, h. 79, Estado de Chiapas, 24 March 1974.

AGN, DFS, exp. 11-212-74, leg. 14, h. 88, Estado de Chiapas, 1 April 1974.

AGN, DFS, exp. 11-212-14 leg,14 h. 109, Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional, 9 April 1974.

AGN, DFS, exp. 11-212-74, leg.14, hs. 62-77 [Declaración firmada de Carlos Arturo Vives Chapa], 22 March 1974.

Translation of the following documents by Peter Krupa. This working paper is openly accessible to the world. Copyright of the translation held by Peter Krupa.

MINISTRY
OF THE
INTERIOR

Chiapas State

Cintalapa.- ARTURO VIVES CHAPA, a member of the "National Liberation Forces" guerrilla group, was captured on the 18th of this month at 21:00 hrs. by elements of the 46th and 57th Infantry Battalions in the place known as "El Chamizal," Cintalapa Municipality, when he came down from the mountains to ask for provisions for him and his companions who had not eaten for five days, according to his statements.

The arrest took place after a dragnet of an area extending from the El Diamante ranch in the Ocosingo Municipality to Cintalapa.

Today, at 13:00 hrs., he was transferred to the Headquarters of the 31st Military Zone based in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chis., where he was being interrogated, with the knowledge that an airplane from the Mexican Air Force will transport him to Mexico City.

Respectfully.

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR

[signed]

CAPT. LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/pvm.

MINISTRY
OF THE
INTERIOR

NATIONAL LIBERATION FORCES

Today, CARLOS ARTURO VIVES CHAPA - aliases "Ricardo," "Luis," and "Lucio" - was interrogated at Military Camp No. 1; he is a member of the Urban Network of the "National Liberation Forces" in Villahermosa, Tab. He was fleeing along with CESAR YÁÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Brother Pedro," and ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA, alias "Blanca," after they were located on a farm called "El Diamante," belonging to the Ocosingo Municipality, Chis.

A photocopy of their statements is attached.

Respectfully

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR

[signed]

CAPT. LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/ags.

CHIAPAS STATE

Tuxtla Gutiérrez.- RAUL ENRIQUE PEREZ GASQUE, alias "Alfonso," and ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA, alias "Blanca," members of the group called the "National Liberation Armed Forces" captured in an unspecified place in the jungle region of this State, are being held in the facilities of the 31st Military Zone.

Respectfully

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR

[unsigned]

CAPT. LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/pvm.

MINISTRY
OF THE
INTERIOR

Chiapas State

Tuxtla Gutiérrez.- At 07:00 hours today, a C-47 airplane - registration number 6006, of the Mexican Air Force - landed at the airport in city in order to transfer ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA and RAUL PEREZ GASQUE - members of the guerrilla group known as the "National Liberation Armed Forces" - to the Capital of the Republic; both individuals were captured on the 23rd of March in the Rancho de Santa Rita, Ocosingo Municipality, Chis., by a group of campesinos accompanying members of the 46th Infantry Battalion

The aforementioned plane took off from this city at 1805 hours, and is estimated to arrive in Mexico City today at 21:00 hours.

Respectfully.

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR

[signed]

CAPT. LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/cor.

MINISTRY
OF THE
INTERIOR

National Liberation Forces

Attached to this is a photocopy of the statements of RAUL ENRIQUE PEREZ GASQUE - aliases "Alfonso" and "Miguel" and ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA - aliases "Carmen," "Blanca," "Murcia" and "María" - leaders of the National Liberation Forces, who were detained in the Sierra Madre mountains in Chiapas.

Respectfully

FEDERAL SECURITY DIRECTOR

[signed]

CAPT. LUIS DE LA BARREDA MORENO

LBM/hsn.

[Editors Note: Carlos Vives's declaration; no letterhead in original. Vives's file includes two statements. The first statement, dated 21 March 1974, does not have his signature. The second statement, dated 22 March 1974, has his signature on the side margin of each page, and is transcribed below. However, we caution against thinking one is more accurate than the other since prisoner's statements were often extracted under torture.]

Mexico City, Federal District, at 1030 hrs. on the twenty second of the month of March of nineteen seventy-four, the man who normally calls himself CARLOS ARTURO VIVES CHAPA - alias "Ricardo," "Luis," or "Lucio" - being present in these offices in order to give a statement on his activities with regard to the facts under investigation, statement of which this record was kept.

Once exhorted pursuant to the law to speak the truth and warned of the punishments incurred by those who give false witness, he stated the following: That his name is as written above, CARLOS ARTURO VIVES CHAPA, from Dr. González, Nuevo León, with no fixed domicile, 31 years of age, single, no religion, employed as a guerrilla, and with regard to the incidents under investigation STATED:

That he is the son of CARLO VIVES GARCIA and CLEOFAS CHAPA DE VIVES; having been born on 1 April 1942, in Dr. González, N.L., and that his parents currently live at Calles de Diego Montemayor, No.1300, Norte, in Monterrey, N.L.; that his father is a retail employee, while his mother is a homemaker. That this couple has four other children: MARIA ANTONIETA, 33 years old, married to PABLO GARZA TREVIÑO, employee of the Custom's Storage House of the 1st Customs Zone; GRACIELA YOLANDA, 29 years old, single, employed at Teléfonos de México in Monterrey, N.L.; SAMUEL, 25 years old, single, employed at Teléfonos de México in Monterrey, N.L.; EULALIO, 25 years old, single, employed at Teléfonos de México in Monterrey, N.L. That he went to grade school at the 16 de Febrero School in Ciudad Miguel Alemán, Tamps., from 1948 to 1954; secondary school at the Jesús M.Monemayor School No. 2 from 1954 to 1957, in Monterrey, N.L; Preparatory school at No. 2 of the Universidad de Nuevo León, from 1957 to 1959; and the School of Law and Social Science at the aforementioned university through his 5th year of professional studies, from 1959 to 1964. That while in his second year studying law in 1961, at the invitation of classmates

JOSE MANUEL REYNA DE LA FUENTE, EVEN GARZA, he requested to join the A.J.E.F, Youth, Hope and Fraternity Association, Young Mason's Association, having been admitted to that Association, despite the opposition of the other more radical members of that Association, those being CESAR GUERRA DEL CASTILLO, CESAR YAÑES MUÑOZ, ALEJANDRO IZAGUIRRE, because they believed that the individual in question was right-wing and part of a pro-government group, for which reason on joining the Association, he entered the "Vicente Guerrero" Lodge, which was distinct from the other Lodges for being one of the most radical as it accepted doing Marxist-Leninist studies, dedicating itself to analyzing and studying different political systems that exist in the countries of the world, comparing the capitalist system with the socialist and communist system, deepening its studies in issues of benefit to the populace, reaching the conclusion that communism was the best political system for governing the people that capitalism exploited with its system. That in a word, this Lodge was actually a viaduct in disguise that could bring together all the young people with radical leftist ideas to plan future change for the Mexican political system. That when the declarant was in his third year in the Law School, JOSE ALVARADO SANTOS became the Rector of the University and EDUARDO LIVAS VILLARREAL governed the Entity in Nuevo León, giving rise to a strike among university students on the right, and despite the fact that the leftists, where the declarant was active, were also not in agreement with the Rector, they chose to support him as a way of waving a flag of ideological resistance against the right-wing university students; however, at the end of the strike and after incidents of disturbances, Rector JOSE ALVARADO SANTOS resigned and ALFONSO RANGEL GUERRA was named Rector, an individual who had no ideology, as he was a simple university bureaucrat. And in 1963, Dr. ARTURO SALINAS MARTINEZ was named the Director of the School of Law of the Universidad de Nuevo León; he was a known member of, and legal advisor to, the large corporations in the State, for which reason he caused discontent among students due to his reactionary origins and for this reason in the month of August of 1963 the young AJEF members met with other students with the school who were also AJEF members but were young people aware that it was not possible for an individual who was a reactionary and a veteran of capitalism to be the director, and leading this student protest and strike

movement were the declarant, TOMAS GONZALEZ DE LUNA, EDUARDO LIVAS CANTU, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, EUGENIO PEÑA GARZA, ARTURO CHARLES, and it was agreed first to publicized on the first day of classes a protest manifesto revealing the profile of the aforementioned director in order to find out what possible support could be provided by the student body. That on noting the student support against the Rector, representative groups are formed, while the Student Society headed by CARLOS CANTU ROSAS remained on the sidelines of that movement, and due to the activities of the representatives of the group and because the Director refused to resign, on September 23, 1963, the Law School declared that it would be on strike - forming the University Student Directorate - until the Director was dismissed. In order to get the Director dismissed, the declarant and his schoolmates organized public demonstrations. That at the conclusion of the strike, student elections were held in the Law School and CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ was named President of the Student Society. Part of the agenda of this new society was to advance the cause of the Social Sciences such as Economics and History in the School, for which reason they named a Commission to go to the Capital of the Republic to meet with students with the School of Economics and the Law School at U.N.A.M., with the purpose of raising student consciousness and encouraging exchange between all universities in order to form a true front of young university students and at the same time invite conference speakers to the Universidad de Nuevo León to present their ideas with regard to the country's situation and other political issues. This Commission was formed by the declarant [and] EUGENIO PEÑA GARZA, who came to this Capital and met with a student with the School of Economics - surname DE HOYOS - who organized a series of conferences to be given at the School of Economics of the U.N.A.M. and invited a student delegation from the Universidad de Nuevo León headed by the declarant. That these conferences were attended by the declarant, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, ALEJANDRO IZAGUIRRE, BOLIVAR HERNANDEZ, MAXIMINO HERNANDEZ, JOSE LUIS TREVIÑO, HESQUIO SOLIS and others, and although the conferences have the appearance of lectures, in reality they sought to awake the political consciousness of the student body in order to establish a socialist government for our country in the future, given the left-wing ideological concerns of the students from Nuevo León, the student ANTONIO

TENORIO ADAME invited them to the offices of the National Liberation Movement on Calles de República de El Salvador, and there they had the opportunity to meet Lic. ALONSO AGUILAR MONTEVERDE, Dr. GUILLERMO MONTANO, and Lic. Fernando Carmona, who gave them propaganda for the National Liberation Movement and an overview of that Organization's ideology and goals, which coincided with those of the visitors, for which reason they - specifically the declarant, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ and EUGENIO PEÑA GARZA - join that movement. That on returning to the City of Monterrey, N.L., they organized the State Committee of the National Liberation Movement, with the declarant in the position of spokesperson of the directorate, LUCAS DE LA GARZA as State Secretary, uniting with Communist Party elements as its members. That in 1965, there was a split in the National Directorate of the National Liberation Movement in the Capital of the Republic, leaving the MLN under the directorship of HEBERTO CASTILLO, and for this reason the declarant, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, and others left the National Liberation Movement and continued meeting, with the purpose of activating on their own the social movements that had been planned with the M.L.N., and they dedicated themselves to visiting communal lands to advise the campesinos, raise their consciousness and incite them to take over the land. They also dedicated themselves to participating in and advising strikes carried out by workers during that time, and in 1965 or 1966 they provided advice to the workers strike movement at Anderson Clayton and the Medalla de Oro Shirt Factory. That later, in order to continue causing disturbances among students, workers and campesinos, they decided to publish a newspaper to distribute their ideas of struggle; they decided to call the newspaper People and Revolution, published by the declarant as Director, MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, MARIO SAENZ GARZA, and CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ. That considering that they had always sympathized with the Cuban revolution and seeing that the Mexican-Cuban Institute of Cultural Exchange directed by Dr. EDUARDO AGUIRRE PEQUEÑO did not function as it should have and was not organizing conferences in order to report on the objectives accomplished by the Cuban revolution, they met with the Cuban Consul in Tampico, Tamps., who was in Monterrey, and after the declarant, MARIO SAENZ, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA and GRACIANO SANCHEZ talked with him, they made him see that the

Institute was functioning poorly and committed to him that they would foment the ideas of Castroism in the event that they - and principally the declarant - were given the directorship of the aforementioned Institute, and that the Consul was ISMAEL CRUZ, who of course accepted the idea of replacing the directorate of that Institute, and at the beginning of 1968 the declarant was named President of the Institute of Mexican Cuban Intercultural Exchange, with CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ and others on the board of directors. And later the declarant and CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ traveled to the Capital of the Republic and met with Ambassador JOAQUIN HERNANDEZ ARMAS, whom they informed of their desire to foment on a large scale, through the Institute of Cuban Mexican Cultural Exchange of Monterrey, N.L., the Cuban revolution, a project for which they requested his absolute support, movies from that revolution, as well as a broad range of propaganda from it, and in that way they made the aforementioned Institute function such that the number of students sympathizing with the Cuban revolution increased, and in July of that year, the declarant was invited by the Friendship between Peoples Cuban Institute to attend the celebration of the Cuban revolution on July 26, 1968; when he received that invitation, he had the idea of taking advantage of it by traveling to Cuba with the fundamental purpose of speaking with some Cuban official in order to request support for them and training in guerrilla warfare so they could establish themselves as militants in a guerrilla group in any Country in the world. That after he expressed his idea to CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, MARIO SAENZ GARZA, GRACIANO SANCHEZ, and MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, they were in agreement, and so on 25 July 1968, the declarant left for Havana, Cuba, on flight 465 with the airline Cubana de Aviación, using a provisional passport under his name, granted to him by the government of the state of Nuevo Leon. That as soon as he arrived to Cuba, he met with one GARY, who was the director of the Friendship between Peoples Cuban Institute and told him "That in Mexico, there was a group of young people ready to fight for the socialist revolution, but that they did not know how, for which reason they asked the Cuban Government to train them in guerrilla warfare," to which the director of the FPCI told him "that it was a delicate matter, that it couldn't be approached in that way, but that he would ask the Cuban authorities about it." That during the month he was in Cuba, he met and became friends with IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ, who told him

that in Mexico, a very strong group was already being prepared to go into the mountains, and that they had money and weapons, and it was under the leadership of MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ. That after failing to receive a response to his proposal from the Cuban Government, he returned to Mexico on 19 August 1968, on Cubana de Aviación. Back in Monterrey, N.L., he told his companions MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, GRACIANO SANCHEZ - whose full name is GRACIANO ALEJANDRO SANCHEZ - and MARIO SAENZ GARZA that the Cuban Government had not responded to his proposal and told them what IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ had told him, for which reason they decided to come to the Capital of the Republic to meet with MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ and see about the possibility of joining with him. After this, the declarant traveled to Mexico City, and once in this city he called MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ at the magazine Por Qué?, requesting an interview and saying that he was a young man from Monterrey recommended by IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ. That later, they met in a café on Avenida Universidad and when they met, the declarant said that they knew how honest he was thanks to his magazine and that in Monterrey there was a group of young people who are interested in social struggle and that when he was in Cuba he had met IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ, who had spoken to him about the organization of a guerrilla group that was to be established in Mexico, headed by him. That MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ denied this at first but that he nevertheless asked for his address in order to communicate with him later, for which reason that same day, the declarant returned to Monterrey and several days later received a letter from MARIO MENENDEZ inviting him to continue their talk in the same café. That he again returned to Mexico to talk with MENDEZ in the month of November of 1968, and when they met, MARIO MENDEZ asked him how many of them there were and who they were, to which the declarant replied that there were five of them, giving him the names of MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, MARIO SAENZ GARZA, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, GRACIANO ALEJANDRO SANCHEZ, to which MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ replied to expect him in Monterrey in a few days to meet them. That in January of 1969, MENENDEZ alerted them to his arrival and told them he would be staying at Hotel Ancira, and that they should see him. That in that city and in that hotel, they met with the aforementioned MARIO MENENDEZ, who said it

would be necessary for them to move to Mexico [City] in order for him to take them into the mountains in February. That they did so, and that the aforementioned individuals and the declarant left Mexico City with MARIO MENENDEZ for Emiliano Zapata, Tab. GRACIANO ALEJANDRO SANCHEZ, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, and the declarant, while MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, MARIO SANEZ GARZA and MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ left for Tenosique, Tab. That on arrival at Emiliano Zapata, the declarant and his two companions make contact with an individual they called "alán" who took them by highway to Chancalá, Chis., and from there in a plane to a ranch called San Martín de Torres, and he told them to say they were barbasco explorers, and from there they left for a place known to the guide "alán" in the Chiapas mountains, where there were already three young people, who had the pseudonyms "Juan" and "Justo," and a third with the pseudonym "Eduardo," who in reality was IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ; these three already had an encampment and weapons of different calibers. That the following day, MARIO MENENDEZ arrived with his two companions, MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA and MARIO SAENZ GARZA, as well as a third unknown individual they called "Ángel" but who in reality was named Alfredo Zárate Mota. That frequently during the months they were in the mountains, MARIO MENENDEZ came and went, bringing new recruits, weapons and food, until the month of July of 1969, when desertions began, upon which MARIO MENENDEZ decided that the rest of the group should come down and go to Progreso, Yuc. MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, MARIO SAENZ GARZA, GRACIANO ALEJANDRO SANCHEZ, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, Alfredo Zárate Mota, the declarant, and two kids from Yucatán with the pseudonyms Pacho and Justo went to that city. That after being in Progreso, Yuc., for 15 days, MARIO MENENDEZ told them that due to a pending re-organization, it would be necessary to dissolve the group that until then had been called the "Mexican Insurgent Army," upon which, following these instructions, the individuals from Monterrey, N.L., led by the declarant, returned to their place of origin, where they met with FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, but he clarifies that before returning to Monterrey, MARIO MENENDEZ collected the weapons they were carrying. That in Monterrey, once they spoke with FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, who provided them with a so-called "safe" house located on 15 de Mayo, between Diego Montemayor and Dr. Coss, where they

took refuge and held meetings in order to continue the armed struggle and organize again the guerrilla group, but this time they also included ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA, alias "Blanca," and FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Leo." In agreement to continue with the struggle, it was decided to communicate with the members of the group that MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ had led and that had stayed until the end to invite them to the meeting on 6 August 1969, where a new guerrilla group would be organized democratically and those responsible for the guerrilla actions of that group would be elected, and it was also agreed to meet with MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ to inform him of this and ask for him to return the 20,000 pesos that the Monterrey group had given him when they joined MARIO MENENDEZ's armed group. That at the meeting on August 6, 1969, that included the declarant, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, MARIO SAENZ GARZA, MARIO SANCHEZ ACOSTA, ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA, RAUL PEREZ GASQUE, and Alfredo Zárate Mota, they agreed to form the "National Liberation Forces" recognizing rural guerrilla fighting as the best way of pursuing the struggle, supported by urban networks for maintaining the rural guerrilla fighters, focused essentially on frontal attacks and ambushes against the Mexican Army, first of all, to establish a center for overseeing the urban networks in cities to sign up new members who, once ideologically prepared, would join the ranks of the rural guerrilla fighters. It was also agreed to meet MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ in Mérida, Yuc., to inform him about the new organization and ask for the return of the 20,000 pesos that had been contributed, with CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, RAUL PEREZ GASQUE and Alfredo Zárate Mota designated for this meeting, who were able to get MARIO MENENDEZ to return the 20,000 pesos and weapons consisting of three .30 M-1 submachine guns, an automatic shotgun, three .22 caliber rifles and a 30.06 rifle, in addition to three pistols whose calibers he does not remember, and for greater security they agree to look for another house, and given that Lic. EUGENIO PEÑA GARZA, who had shared their ideas at the Institute of Mexican-Cuban Cultural Exchange and was aware of the decisions from the group's beginnings, but who had only offered to help them as part of the urban network, declining to join the rural guerrilla group because he had a family, he provided them with a house on his property located at Calle de Vista Ocaso 601 in Colonia Lindavista, Monterrey, N.L.,

faking a contract indicating that the property was being rented by a woman from the United States of America. That upon the formation of the National Liberation Forces on 6 August 1969, the following individuals became members as follows: CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Pedro," first in command; Alfredo Zárate Mota, alias "Salvador," second in command; and MARIO SAENZ GARZA, third in command. To establish the networks in different cities throughout the Republic, which was accomplished and to date those are: in Monterrey, led by NAPOLEON GLOCKNER, alias "Jaime;" in Villahermosa, Tab., led by FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Leo;" in Puebla, Pue., [led by] EWALLESTER CEBRIAN, alias "Víctor" or "Sergio;" and in Mexico City on the road to Desierto de los Leones, a house run by one "Lucrecia," whose name he does not know, but who he knows worked in the UN and is the sister of IGNACIO GONZALEZ RAMIREZ. That from the day on which the National Liberation Forces was founded through 20 July 1971, they dedicated themselves in Monterrey to studying the movements of the Monterrey Military Camp, its movements and its strength, as well as monitoring the movements at a number of banks and industries, street traffic, stoplight timing, the country's basic infrastructure, etc., when on 20 July there arrived at the domicile where JUAN GUICHARD and MARIO SAENZ GARZA were staying several Federal Judicial Police officers who knocked on the door and asked MARIO SAENZ GARZA if they were traffickers and, if they were, to which mafia they belonged, and at that time SAENZ GARZA told them to allow him to speak with another colleague, so he could take up weapons and attack the officers in order to be able to escape, which is what he and JUAN GUICHARD did, injuring the officers. That because of this situation, they told FERNANDO YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA and CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ what happened, and they decided to flee to the City of Puebla and take refuge in the safe house set up under the responsibility of NAPOLEON GLOCKNER. That the declarant was not at that time in the City of Monterrey because he had been entrusted by the group with going to the State of Chiapas, a place that had been selected for establishing the rural guerrilla forces and that in the meantime he would get a job in the Municipality of Juárez, Chis., where the municipal president was a brother of JUAN GUICHARD, and the position would allow him to get to know the Chiapas region and select the proper place for establishing the rural guerrilla forces. That effectively, in

December of 1969, the declarant went to the town of Juárez, Chis., where he worked as secretary of the municipal president, surname GUICHARD, a position from which he selected a brother of JUAN GUICHARD, named NAUM GUICHARD, alias "Dimas," whom he indoctrinated and made to see the need for guerrilla warfare in Mexico, and whom he charged with finding a place to establish the guerrilla encampment, which they called a "ranch" and that is located in a place known as "El Diamante" in the Ocosingo Municipality, Chis. That in March of 1972, CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Pedro," RAUL PEREZ GASQUE, alias "Alfonso," JUAN S. GUICHARD, alias "Héctor," and NAUM GUICHARD, alias "Dimas," set up at the ranch, or rather the guerrilla encampment, and in July of that same year, the declarant joined the rural guerrilla fighters, and later in the month of August MARIO SAENZ GARZA arrived with one "Tomás," whose name he does not know but who is from the State of Tabasco, and in January of this year ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA arrived, who comes from the so-called central house or big house that was established in the State of Mexico, although the declarant does not know its exact location because he never visited the aforementioned house. That since the El Diamante guerrilla encampment was established, armed guard duty was established in order to watch the Mexican Army pass by, in order to proceed to attack it and establish armed contact with troops that may come close to that place. That the Big or Central House, under the leadership of the second-in-command, that is Dr. Alfredo Zárate Mota "Salvador," was in charge of collecting archives and financial donations that were collected by the different urban networks established in the cities previously indicated, and from that house money and weapons were sent out, along with new recruits considered ready for the rural guerrilla forces. That on the past 16 February, guard JUAN GUICHARD "Héctor" realized that several civilians and soldiers were approaching, which is why he fired several shots to warn that the Army was approaching, at which they decided to flee from the place, taking some weapons, with CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ, alias "Pedro," RAUL PEREZ GASQUE "Alfonso," JUAN GUICHARD "Héctor," ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA "Blanca," "Tomás" and the declarant fleeing, heading to a place located 2 kilometers from the guerrilla encampment, and there they spent one night, and the following day crossed the lake called Xibaná, camping in the mountains, where they spent several days. That

while they were camped, they came across a Carib Indian named "Tano," whom they asked to buy them something to eat, which the following day he brought, consisting of cans of sardines and milk, that every day they had to go down to the lake that was located 1 kilometer from the camp for water, that one of those times they met the aforementioned Carib, who refused to talk and left nervously by the same way he had come, such that those who were going for water, who were the declarant and RAUL PEREZ GASQUE, "Alfonso," decided that one should stay on the path and the other go down for the water; that PEREZ GASQUE would stay on the path, and he had a .45 caliber submachine gun, while the declarant had a .30 M-1 carbine; that when the declarant reached the lake, he heard shots from the place where he had left RAUL PEREZ GASQUE, so he went up again to meet with him, firing at the place from where he supposed they had been shot at; that they went around the hills seeking to flee from the Army, after having been able to injure two members of the Armed Forces; that they met with the other four above-mentioned companions, that is, JUAN S. GUICHARD, "Héctor", CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ "Pedro", ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA "Blanca" and "Tomás"; that they slept about half a kilometer from the place where they had been camping and that the following day they went out looking for the highway that goes from Pénjamo to Lacanjáh, which they reached at 01:00 hrs., two days after the events that took place at Lake Xibaná. That there they sought to assault a vehicle and head toward Cintalapa and hide in the mountains there, that JUAN S. GUICHARD, RAUL PEREZ GASQUE and "Tomás" were on the side of the road, while the declarant, ELISA IRINA SAENZ GARZA and CESAR YAÑEZ MUÑOZ stayed in the scrub brush, guarding their things. That at around 7:00 in the morning, they stopped a pickup truck, whose brand and model he does not remember, which was green with a very worn finish and very deteriorated, which seems to have belonged to CONASUPO, whose insignia was visible on the doors, but that at that time was being used by a private individual by the name of DONACIANO, who afterwards he learned had a butcher shop in the Southeast Railway Station called Pénjamo. That the owner of the vehicle was accompanied by an employee whose name the declarant does not remember. That using threats, they took control of the vehicle and detained the individuals traveling in it, and drove toward the aforementioned place of Cintalapa, with RAUL PEREZ GASQUE driving, and stopped

to buy some food, cans of sardines and milk and crackers and cigarettes. That they made those purchases at a store on the side of the highway, and the purchases were made by ELISA IRINA SAENZ and JUAN S. GUICHARD, and they reached the town of Cintalapa, passing through it until they reached an opening used by the Bonampak Logging Company to get lumber out of the area, that they entered with the pickup truck and went about 2 kilometers, and that there they abandoned the owner of the vehicle and his employee telling them to wait there without moving for one hour and then go back to Cintalapa, and that at some point on the highway they would find the pickup truck; that later the declarant and his five companions returned to Cintalapa, going through town and about 1 km in the direction of Pénjamo, they entered the jungle and abandoned the vehicle. That it seems like the idea was to find a path leading them to a more mountainous place, such as for example the Laguna del Ocotál, or the places around where they had been when MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ was leading them; that they got lost because on failing to find the path, they tried to navigate by following the sun, and they failed. That after about three days, they reached the town that was just getting started and whose name he does not remember, and having ELISA IRINA SAENZ and JUAN GUICHARD pass for lost North Americans, guided by "Tomás," they obtained information on a path that led to the towns of Plan de Ayotla and Chamizal, and that from the latter, paths went out toward Ocosingo, Chis., along the edge of Lake Ocotál; that they followed that path and spent the night in the town of Plan de Guadalupe, and that from there they went the following day toward El Chamizal, which they reached in the afternoon; that the people there received in a suspicious manner, asking them to spend the night in town, to which the declarant and his companions refused and instead continued on the path toward Ocosingo; that a campesino from El Chamizal came to the place where they camped that night on the pretext of looking for a beast of burden who had been lost; that the first in command, CESAR YANEZ MUNOZ, became suspicious, and once the campesino had left, he ordered that they keep going as long as the night allowed it and that they take out the weapons that were hidden in a jute sack; that they did this in the morning and when they had gone a little way into the forest to rest, two campesinos came following their trail, and CESAR YAÑEZ ordered they be detained in order to find out why they were

following the group; that at first they stated that they were "mountaining," that is, hunting, and that while this was going on, the declarant was a little ways off from the group, that a shootout began with the Army, that it was about 7 in the morning and that it lasted approximately two hours; the declarant fled and took refuge in some scrub brush that whole day without knowing the fate of the rest of his companions, that that night he left the area and that during the shootout the declarant's M1 carbine was unused; that he then got lost because he did not know the area and for five days he could not establish contact with the rest of the group; that on the night of the fifth day, he found a path that he later learned led from the town of El Chamizal to the town of Ocosingo, and that there he came across a family of campesinos whom he asked for food, but they told him that they did not have any at that time, and that if he went down to the town they would give him something. That since the declarant had not eaten anything for six days, he decided to accompany them in order to eat and then return to the mountains, that they arrived at about 19:00 hrs. in the town of El Chamizal and that while they were eating, a group of armed campesinos arrived to the town and detained him, tying him up, telling him that they would take him to the soldiers that were in Cintalapa. That the following morning, he was taken to the aforementioned place where they were told that the soldiers had withdrawn to a place known as El Diamante, that the campesinos boarded a vehicle in order to transport the declarant and that on the highway near an agricultural community called Siria, the Army patrol intercepted them and detained the declarant.