

diff-jfk: record 104-10176-10006 - Page 1 - (diff between 2025 and 2023)

Highlighted changes between 2025/104-10176-10006.pdf and 2023/104-10176-10006.pdf

| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PROCESSING ACTION | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|----------------|----------------------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| TO: Chief, WH Division INFO: Chief of Station, Guatemala City FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/The LIRING-3 Operation | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> X <small>MARKED FOR INDEXING</small> | <small>NO INDEXING REQUIRED</small> | <small>ONLY DUAL-FED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING</small> | | | | | | | | | |
| <small>RECORDED/FILMED JAN 5 1969 DCC MICRO SER.</small> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Action Required: See paragraph 2. References : A. HMMA-35905, 27 November 1968 B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27 November 1968 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>1. Forwarded herewith as attachment #1 are four reports on the latest developments of the LIRING-3 operation prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON and dated 5, 10, 11, and 12 December. The most important points covered in these reports are as follow:</p> <p>a. LIRING-3 made contact on 5 December with one Humberto GONZALEZ Vega (no Station traces), who has apparently been designated by the FAR as the latter's contact with LIRING-3 in Mexico City. A description and a sketch of GONZALEZ provided by LIRING-3 are contained in ROWTON's 10 December report.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Continued.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reconnection with 201-798301</u></p> <p>Attachments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reports (4), h/w 2. Letter (1), u/s/c 3. Identity sheet (1), u/s/c <p>Distribution:</p> <p>Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each #1 and #2; 3 copies att #3) 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each #1 and #2; 2 copies att #3)</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>S/c att: 2 h/u att: 1</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>AS COPY</i></p> <table border="1" style="margin-top: 10px; width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%; padding: 5px;">CROSS REFERENCE TO</td> <td style="width: 40%; padding: 5px;">DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 36114</td> <td style="width: 30%; padding: 5px;">DATE 27 December 1968</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding: 5px;">CLASSIFICATION</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">FILE NUMBER 201-798301</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding: 5px; text-align: center;">S E C R E T</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> </td> </tr> </table> | | | | | CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 36114 | DATE 27 December 1968 | | CLASSIFICATION | FILE NUMBER 201-798301 | | S E C R E T | |
| CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 36114 | DATE 27 December 1968 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | CLASSIFICATION | FILE NUMBER 201-798301 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | S E C R E T | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMIA - 36114 |
| <p>b. According to GONZALEZ, Identity D, who left for Guatemala with LIRING-3 and, according to the latter, was probably executed after a period of detention, may still be alive and may have made a "deal" with the Guatemalan authorities. Identity D had apparently misappropriated FAR funds before going to Guatemala. LIRING-9's remarks to LIRING-3, as mentioned in ROWTON's report of 5 December, may be connected with Identity D's misdoings.</p> <p>c. LIRING-3 hinted to LIRING-9 that he may accept a teaching job at the University of Jalapa. (Such a job was indeed recently offered to him.) LIRING-9 advised LIRING-3 not to accept this as he would much rather send him on a trip to PBRUMEN.</p> <p>d. From a letter received from Gustavo <i>Fict. Guatemala</i> <i>*COLINDRES Barrios, LIRING-3 gathered that the</i> <i>Guatemala</i> <i>*BARRIOS brothers (Miguel and Juan Leon) may soon</i> <i>be released and may, in fact, contact him in Mexico</i> <i>City. The original text of that letter and its</i> <i>envelope are forwarded under separate cover as</i> <i>attachment #2. LIRING-3 interpreted some remarks</i> <i>made to him by Humberto GONZALEZ as another indica-</i> <i>tion of a possible contact by the BARRIOS brothers</i> <i>in the near future. LIRING-3 plans to write back</i> <i>to the address given by COLINDRES and mention that</i> <i>he is in contact with GONZALEZ in the hope of getting</i> <i>a reaction from COLINDRES.</i></p> <p>2. The Station plans to check further the identity given by GONZALEZ. Among other things, an attempt will be made via LIKAYAK-2 to check whether a file in that name exists in the archives of the Mexican Ministry of "Gobernacion." The Station may, at a later date, attempt spot surveillance of GONZALEZ. Meanwhile, any information that can be provided by the Guatemala City Station to further identify GONZALEZ would be appreciated.</p> <p><i>XX</i> <i>BARRIOS, Miguel 201-216006</i> <i>X BARRIOS, JUAN Leon</i></p> <p><i>Raymond A. Fradgi</i> <i>for Willard C. CURTIS</i></p> <p><i>MAY 24 INDEX</i> <i>ATT. 3</i></p> | | |
| FORM 53a 5-64 1401 | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PAGE NO. 2 of 2 |

14-00000
SECRET

HEREWITH ATTACHMENT TO
HMMA-37739

AGENT SERVICE RECORD

21 Aug 69

1. Agent Cryptonym: LIKING-3
 2. Project: LIL WINE
 3. Agent Recruited By: Wallace P. RUTON
 4. Capacity in Which Agent Served: Access agent to Cuban Embassy; Informant on Central American revolutionary groups and activities.
 5. Rate of Pay: Did not receive regular salary, but was given between 3000 and 3500 Mexican pesos per month. (Equivalent to \$240 to \$280).
 6. Other Commitments: None
 7. Agent Dismissed By: Leonard S. TORRET. Dismissal effective 1 July 1969.
 8. Reason for Dismissal: Agent in effect terminated himself, since he failed to initiate contact with Station after being turned over to TORRET by RUTON.
 9. Security Risks: LIKING-3 was not made fitting of EMBASSY interest in this case. He knew both RUTON and TORRET in alias. No safehouses were exposed to LIKING-3. LIKING-3 was met once in TORRET's QF vehicle.
 10. Security Risks:
 11. Manner of Dismissal: As stated above, no direct dismissal was made, since LIKING-3 broke off contact with the Station.
 12. Letter of Termination Signed: No
 13. Cost of Termination: None
 14. Station Case Officer: Leonard S. TORRET *Leonard S. Torret*
Acting (Signature in Pseudonym)
 15. Chief of Station: Horace E. PRIMETT *Horace E. Prallet*
Acting (Signature Pseudonym)
- APPROVED: *[Signature]*
WH CONTRACT APPROVING OFFICER
Sep. 18, 1969
- SECRET
- REVIEWED: *[Signature]*
Special Contracting Officer
- h/w att.
CS COPY
- HMMA-37739
- 201-798301

ATTACHMENT #1
HNMIA-36114

5 December, 1968

JAN 6 1969

DOC. MICRO. SER.

FP

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/3
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1100, 5/12/68; Identity A
3. Next Meeting: 1700, 6/12/68; Iden A
4. Administrative: Rowton asked LIRING/3 to rent a small apartment that they could use as a safehouse, in lieu of Iden A, for the future. This was not only in the interest of economy, ~~for obvious~~ ^{for} security reasons. Rowton gave LIRING/3 1,500 pesos as an advance for this purpose.
5. Reports/Information Passed by Agent:

LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had dropped into the LIRING office on 4/12/68 in the hope of running into the LIRING Chief so that he could mention to him casually the proposed trip to PBRUMEN at the end of the month. LIRING/3 told Rowton that he did not see the Chief inasmuch as he was intercepted by LIRING/9. The latter appeared as cordial as on the previous occasion, but this time made a brief reference to LIRING/3's report. He asked: "Are you sure you included everything?" L/3 told Rowton that he replied in a rather puzzled tone, "Of course. Everything, that is, that I could remember." To which L/9 explained: "I mean about the 'motivos' of the arrest. It seems there's more to it than you wrote. We have some interesting data on that subject. We'll discuss it with you on Friday." LIRING/3 then reported to Rowton that when he and LIRING/4 dropped in to Identity B on 3/12/68

the secretary of the Director,

Identity C, gave them a message that a person by the name of Humberto Gonzalez Vega, residing at Calle Manzanillo 42, in apartment 8, had visited Iden B several times asking for the address of LIRING/3.

LIRING/3 continued to Rowton that he attempted to contact Humberto Gonzalez Vega at the address given on 4/12/68 but was told by a woman of about 35 years of age with a slight Guatemalan accent that he was out at the time. She took L/3's address with interest and suggested that L/3 return after 1500 the following day in the event Gonzalez did not contact him at his home. L/3 told Rowton that he guessed (and hoped that this was "Favel").

b/w att:1

HNMIA-36114

CS COPY

WPSV/ 201-798301

ATTACHMENT #1
117, IA-36114

10 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with Humberto González Vega.

1. At 1000 on 9/12/68 at Identity A , LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had met with Humberto González Vega on 5 and 6 December. He related that he had gone back to the apartment on Calle Manzanillo on the afternoon of 5 December, met González and made a date to see him again on the morning of 6 December. When he returned about 1030 on that day González' wife said that he had just stepped out to telephone the embassy of Ecuador. L/3 went out and found González at a nearby telephone booth and managed to have a relatively detailed chat with him.
2. According to L/3, González started off by saying that he had been looking forward to meeting L/3 for some time, since he had heard a great deal about him from mutual friends. González went on to say that although he had been away from Guatemala for the past four years, he kept in touch with his friends there. He dropped the names of Sandoval Alegría, Jorge Torrón and a certain Avecillas (phon) who he assumed were known to LIRING/3. He concluded his introductory remarks with the statement that he hoped he and L/3 would become friends, since they could be of mutual help.
3. González added that he was making a living selling books and was planning to open a book store at the University. He indicated that he might be able to help L/3 financially if the latter were interested in this business venture. González then stated that he was aware of L/3's arrest and detention and alleged that he had advance information concerning L/3's trip to Guatemala in the company of Identity D . He then asked L/3 whether he knew the real purpose of Iden D trip. When L/3 replied in a non-committal way, González alleged that Iden D had been accused of misappropriation of funds and took the trip in the hope of defending himself against these charges, González then produced a typewritten letter, undated and addressed to himself and signed by "Cruz", advising him of the charges against Iden D. González told L/3 that the letter was from FAR headquarters and was received some time before Iden D and L/3 left on their trip.
4. González then went on to say that he and his friends were not at all certain that Iden D had been executed, as L/3 and many other people assumed. He stated that some months ago Iden D mother in Mexico City had received a letter from him informing her that he was then at Salamá (phon). González added that it was not to be excluded that Iden D had made some sort of deal with the authorities to save his skin in exchange for services he might perform against Far in the future.
5. González then cautioned L/3 against indiscriminate contacts with persons

2.

representing themselves to be from legitimate "revolutionary" movements. González recounted that he himself had to go into hiding for the previous two months as a result of his having been exposed to a certain Nuñez who had arrived in Mexico City with a group of Guatemalan exiles. González described Nuñez as a known member of the "Mano Blanca" and a former police officer ("tercero jefe de la Judicial").

6. González then asked L/3 whether he had made any close friends while in Guatemala. This, L/3 felt, was an attempt to smoke out his relationship with the Barrios brothers (Miguel and Juán Beón Barrios). He told Rowton that he evaded the issue by giving a vague reply, to which González replied: "Well, I hope to have a great surprise for you soon ('alegría')". González then suggested that they meet again on 12 December and promised to visit L/3 at his home in the company of his wife, "so that L/3's and his wife could keep each other company while they themselves were talking in L/3's apartment." L/3 told Rowton that he shot this idea down by explaining that although his wife was revolutionary and trustworthy, he preferred to keep any political discussions strictly between himself and González. The latter, then suggested that he simply drop by L/3's house and that they both proceed somewhere for a coffee on a suitable pretext.

7. LIRING/3 described Humberto González Vega as a "rather tall" man (about 1.78) heavy (about 85-90 k.), apparent age 42, with light eyes ("ojos claros") and straight ("lacio") black hair. He drew Rowton the attached sketch for possible identification.

8. LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that it was advisable for him to tell LIRING/9 at his next meeting of his contact with González Vega to provoke a reaction from the LIRING establishment.



Wallace B. Rowton

HUMBERTO GONZÁLEZ VEGA



HUMBERTO GONZÁLEZ VEGA

40-45 años

alto 1.68 1.75
ojos claros

85-90 K.
pelo negro lacio

ATTACHMENT #1

HORN-36114

11 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with LIRING/9 and LIRING/10.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1300 on 10 December, 1968, that he had finally succeeded in talking again with LIRING/9. He related that when he went to the LIRING office as requested at about 1030 on 9/12/68 he was told by the receptionist that LIRING/9 was still out. L/3 was asked to telephone later, about 1300, to check whether L/9 had returned. LIRING/3 telephoned, as requested, a little after 1300 (in Rowton's presence) but was told that LIRING/9 had not returned. L/3 left a message for L/9 that he would come to his office again the following morning.
2. LIRING/3 continued that he reappeared at the LIRING office about the same time the next day (10/12/68) and was told this time by the receptionist (the wife of LIRING/10's assistant) that LIRING/9 was in. At this moment LIRING/9 himself emerged from his office with papers in his hand, winked at LIRING/3, and returned without addressing him. A few minutes later L/3 was told by the receptionist that L/9 would see him. The following is Rowton's reconstruction of the conversation that took place between LIRING/3 and LIRING/9, based on L/3's report to Rowton:

- L/9: "Come in. I'm sorry I couldn't see you Friday or yesterday. I was out of town."
- L/3: "It's alright with me, except that I have a number of things pending as far as my own plans are concerned."
- L/9: "Well, how are you doing?"
- L/3: "Fairly well. I just received a letter from my good friend, Prof. Carlo Antonio Castro of the University of Veracruz. He has been insisting that I go down to Jalapa to see him. He wants to organize an exposition and also to offer me an interesting position at the University."
- L/9: "But would that mean that you would have to stay in Jalapa?"
- L/3: "Yes, of course; that is, if I accept. It's a tempting solution to my personal problems. As I told you I'm still 'up in the air'."
- L/9: "But I don't think that's the solution. A trip would be much better."
- L/3: "Yes, but I have to make a decision soon. Also my wife received a letter from her father inviting her to New York. Here's the letter. Do you want to read it?"
- L/9: "No. What does it say?"
- L/3: "Her father says that he can give her medical certificates to prove he is very sick so that she can get a visa without any

2.

difficulty."

L/9: "But as I said before, she shouldn't go to the American Embassy. Keep her away from it. That would be bad, as I explained last time."

L/3: "I'm doing my best, but it's not easy. Things are still up in the air with us."

(At about this moment in the conversation, LIRING/10 entered the office, and, after greeting LIRING/9 rather perfunctorily, carried on the following conversation with LIRING/3:)

L/10: "How have you been?"

L/3: "Rather well, thanks?"

L/10: "And your wife? Is she recovering from the strain?"

L/3: "Just about. The nightmare is finally over and she feels better now."

L/10: "Well I hope you'll come by here often - as often as you like. We enjoy chatting with you."

(After this brief exchange, LIRING/10 left the office.)

L/3: "By the way, how is your Chief doing? I'd like to drop in to express my appreciation for the interest he showed and his wife showed in helping my wife during my absence."

L/9: "Well, he's not doing too well."

L/3: "Oh, another thing. I finally met that Guatemalan 'Pavel' I mentioned in my report."

L/9: "Yes, how did it go?"

L/3: "His name is Humberto González Vega. He's been in Mexico for some time. A former activist in the PTG. You must know him."

L/9: "Yes."

L/3: "He wants to see me again on Thursday for a more detailed talk."

L/9: "Fine. Well, I hope you keep coming around to see us whenever you can."

3. LIRING/3 commented to Rowton that he felt that LIRING/10's intrusion had not been coincidental, and that L/9 had advised him of L/3's arrival before he himself received L/3 into his office.

WB/RJL
Wallace B. Rowton

ATTACHMENT #1
HM7A-3611f

12 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Receipt of Letter from Gustavo Colindres.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1700 on 12/12/68 that he had received a letter from Gustavo Colindres, a Guatemalan of about 40 years of age whom he had met in the Pavón prison in Guatemala City. LIRING/3 stated that Colindres is the uncle (mother's side) of the León Barrios brothers, although he does not have the same name of sra. Barrios. L/3 explained that they were born of different fathers. L/3 added that Colindres was imprisoned some 18 months ago for responsibility in an arms cache discovered in or near his home.

2. The following is Rowton's translation of the original letter which LIRING/3 gave Rowton for copying:

"I hope that when you arrived in your Mexico, you found only peace and satisfaction in being once again in the warmth of your home. Here on the farm we have missed you and felt badly at not hearing from the artist and the professor, and now that I have succeeded in obtaining your address, I am taking the liberty of dropping you a few lines. I want you both to keep abreast of what's going on at the old farm, even though we're still struggling to turn it over to new owners, but they haven't as yet agreed to the price. I guess I'll be the last to leave the ship, since I haven't a chance to get off. The lions are the next to leave their cage. 'Lorenzana' left a month ago and the Queen left on the 2nd of December. Promise me that when you take a drink you'll toast the farm and the date that is approaching.

My best to your wife, kisses to your child, and my best wishes for your welfare. May this year of strange experiences engrave in your mind the memory of a friend.

Guat. 7/12/68

/s/ G. Colindres

Please send your correspondence to me in the name of my wife, Isabel Donis de Colindres, 5 av. y 7a Calle, lote 6-Manzana 26, Colonia Santa Marta, Zona 19, Guat. Ciudad, América Central. Translators or uncorrected

3. LIRING/3 told Rowton he understood the "lions are next to leave their cage" to mean that the León Barrios brothers are soon to be released and that this letter is a signal to him to be on the alert for a contact from them in the near future. L/3 told Rowton that he intended to reply to this

letter at once, and to take the occasion to mention casually that he has met a Guatemalan in Mexico City by the name of Humberto González Vega who seems to know everyone there quite well. L/3 hopes that this will provoke some sort of comment from the León Barrios brothers either directly or indirectly.

4. LIRING/3 stated that Gustavo Colindres, who is still in the Pavón prison, obviously smuggled out this letter through his wife who visits him regularly. L/3 commented that Colindres told him that he is a faithful FAR member, but refused to belong to the PTG, or even to accept the financial aid doled out at the Favón prison by Francisco Corado, the PTG representative there.


Wallace B. Rowton

IP

S E C R E T

Separate Cover Attachment #3
HMMA-36114

Identity Sheet

- Identity A: Suites Marne
Identity B: Salón de la Plastica Mexicana
Identity C: Sra. Lourdes GOMEZ L. de Chumacero
Identity D: Francisco ^{FR} LARA Barrios

(201-832457)

S E C R E T

sk att 3

HMMA-36114

CS COPY

201-798301

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILM

Señor
Carlos J. Madero Jiménez
Edificio Brandon, 1-a. Piso
P. Veracruz, Méjico D. F.

CORREO AEREO
VIA AEROMAR



STE Caja de Correos 531, P. 2 serie Z. 2
Ciudad Guatemalteca, G. E.



sk att 2

HMMR-36114

CS COPY

201-798301

Continuación
- Estimado amigo y querido hermano: como
también tiene otra cosa que solo trae gozo, alegría
y satisfacción. Se acuerde de mi en el color familiar.

Siempre apreciando en la iglesia, el hermetismo
del artista y el profesor, ya no se pone manta de
olor. y ya que conseguí su dirección, me tomo la
libertad de dirigirte estas líneas, puesto que estás al
día de las noticias de las que más te interesan.
Luchando por devolver a tu vida ciertos sentimientos
que han llegado al fin, ya con que será de los
últimos en abandonar la nave, nos hemos posibilita-
do para dirigirte, ~~Lengua~~, ~~León~~ ya
están próximos para dejar la fruta; ~~Lengua~~ salió
hace un mes, la ~~Riviera~~ se puso el 2 del
mes que terminó, prometiendo que el tocará una
copa brindé por la finca y la finca que se
aproxima.

Me saluda a la señora, dice a la señora
y recuerda con la más sana intención que sea
discreta. Que este año no suponemos extrañas
escuchas en su mente el recuerdo de sus amigos.

Costat 2/12/05

Continuación
Por favor su correspondencia a mi parte de mi
casa y mis historias de ~~La Lengua~~
etc. y ~~La Lengua~~ late 6 - Marqués de Colonia Pantoja
Hasta finales de Junio 14 quedarán en mi poder.

so effizient ab ist der von mir geplante.

Spuren

Die Spuren sind sehr verschieden
und es ist schwer zu bestimmen.

Ein Spurtyp ist sehr einfach und
der andere sehr kompliziert und
es scheint, dass die Spuren
in beiden Typen unterschiedlich sind.

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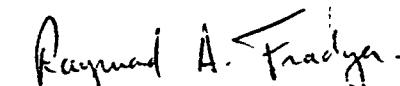
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| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PROCESSING ACTION |
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| TO | Chief, WH Division | X | MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| INFO. | Chief of Station, Guatemala City | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| FROM | Chief of Station, Mexico City | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING |
| SUBJECT | PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Report | | MICROFILM |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | | |
| Action Required: FYI References : A. HMMA-35905, 27 November 1968 B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27 November 1968 | | | |
| Forwarded under separate cover are Xerox copies of the handwritten report prepared by LIRING-3 and given by him, per reference B, to LIRING-9. The report was written in two instalments, the first titled "Situacion General" and the second titled "Antecedentes" and various other notes. | | | |
|  for Willard C. CURTIS | | | |
| Attachment: Report, u/s/c | | | |
| Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 2 copies) 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy) | | | |
| <i>S/c att:1</i> | | CC COPY | |
| CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 36115 | DATE 27 December 1968 | |
| | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | NOS FILE NUMBER ✓ 201-798301 | |

S/c att:1
HMMA - 36115

201798301

Citación General:

Durante los días que permaneció en la Celda 400 del 2º Cuartel de policía Trató oportunamente de comunicarse con Rolando Ortiz "Cebolla-Tu" sobre la situación general de Guatemala especialmente de FAR, por aquél entonces Cesar Vinton no habría sido destituido y se vivía una campaña de terrible represión por parte del Gobierno; al acuerdo con las autoridades se desprendió lo siguiente: La división entre PGT y FAR provoca una situación difícil pero al igual que los del PGT renunciaron a este y pasaron a las filas de FAR, aunque teóricamente el PGT dio apoyo a la ~~lucha armada~~ lucha armada e incluso ~~tuvo~~ disponer de Contingentes en la Montaña (Zona de Garapa?) lo cierto es que provoca más la división y no apoya en lo más mínimo la lucha de FAR esto es a grandes rasgos ya que los detalles han been conocidos. En los últimos tiempos el PGT ~~se ha establecido~~ ~~se ha establecido~~ Trata de aliviar las tensiones Trata de aliviar las tensiones entre las dos facciones. Como ejemplo de la situación que prevalece en París, donde el representante del PGT Trataba de que se aceptara entre los policías pertenecientes a FAR

oficiales ayuda económica - insistiendo en que la Unión (FARC) era la que votaba en muchos aspectos.

Al no encontrarse con Dña. Consuelo Pante General ~~del~~ se esperaba que el grupo 13 de noviembre se aglutinara. ~~en~~ Sin teoría esta aglutinación se llevó a cabo, pero en la práctica se ha demostrado que este grupo sigue actuando por su cuenta asesinamente.

Todas estas circunstancias: divisiones, falta de organización, falta de madurez ideológica etc. han traído por consecuencia un debilitamiento de la lucha armada en Guatemala. C. esto controla el fortalecimiento Pachá. De acuerdo a las fuerzas se precisan abierta de los montemoreanos. Un ejército equipado con las armas más modernas y asesorado y entrenado por ellos, controla cada vez más la situación en la montaña. La consecuencia de todo esto ha sido la intensificación de la guerrilla urbana. Los jóvenes de FAR han tenido que llegar a la ciudad y hacerlo esfuerzos desesperados pero aniquilados para

efectuar acciones que mucha veces, muestra
al Contador Gordon Main por ejemplo.
Tales consecuencias negativas, ya que las
fuerzas ~~de~~^{de} ~~desarrollan~~^{desarrollan} intensifican la depre-
sión apabullando con cuadros valiosos y níscisa-
mos. En la montaña se han sufrido reveses
muy grandes, la muerte de Nestor Valle,
Efigenio, Sa di Camilo en la Ciudad etc. han
dibilitado aun mas las acciones de FAR, pese
a las especiales circunstancias que hoy se
viven en, igualmente impiden la rápida
sustitución de estos cuadros. La falta de
fondos para financiamiento es uno de los
problemas mas grandes, pues actualmente
el dinero tiene que conseguirse a base de
asaltos a Empresas Comerciales, dando por
resultado conciliaciones, que por consegui-
rse, cantidad pequeña han hecho variar
revolucionarios.

En mis charlas con los hermanos de
fuer Párris se me hizo notar el sentido
negativo que algunos aspectos de la ayuda
exterior representan. Se criticó duramente
a los cuadros que se formaban allá, tales
pequeños, en la medida en que establecían
en Cuba se inadaptaban

14-00000
a la realidad Guatamalteca, o, cuando en
su multa conflictos anteceden. El Ejemplo
más concreto es el inicente caso de César Montero,
destituido por no haberse incorporado a
la realidad en el momento necesario.

En Guatemala existe un fuerte reclamo al-
ma; por ésto los jóvenes de FAR reclagan
cinto tipo de ayuda procedente de Cuba;
de igual modo que entre ellos de fracasos
obtenidos por los Ciudadanos formados allá y
~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ de un supuesto oficio munici-
pio cubano de ayudarlos incluso con
membres.

Por otra, hablando francamente,
la lucha en Guatemala se ha debilitado.
Los golpes sufridos han sido muchos y fuertes
y es de extrema urgencia una reorganiza-
~~cion~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~
~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~

Uno de los más apetitos vinos necesarios
para el desarrollo de la lucha armada.

14-0000
de Guatemala es una mayor Comprensión
de la situación interna del país, y prestar
por lo Consiguiente la ayuda más adecuada.
Es visible que el fortalecimiento de
esta fuerza será a largo plazo, pero para ello
es necesario que la ayuda sea más efectiva
y realista; de acuerdo con las opiniones del
Excmo Ministro de Hacienda Barrios, elemento
presente para entusiastas y valientes, ~~que trabajan~~
~~en la confidencialidad de sus labores~~
~~que trabajan~~
~~en la confidencialidad de sus labores~~ (ellos trabajan
en servicio de inteligencia, otro abastecimiento)
yo Tengo que seguir trabajando ~~en la confidencialidad~~
con las FAR; la especial situación
de México, mis experiencias personales y
la Confianza que ellos me depositan han
hecho que mantenga mis contactos, esper-
ando por estos días la llegada de una
persona muy responsable que me busca-
rá con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguir
trabajando en un sentido positivo.

14-0000
Día 18 de abril de 1968, Francisco Gallo Jr.
para Barrios (Rep. de Guatemala)

Antecedentes

En México y por conducto de Carlos Pérezbal
Marcel, establece contacto con F. A. S. Barrios
Guatemalteco quien según se me informó, era
~~miembro~~ ~~de~~ ~~FAR~~ ~~des~~ encargado de la pro-
paganda en esta ciudad. Para Barrios tenía
necesidad de hacer un viaje a Guatemala, pero
dada su situación de exiliado político no podía
abandonar el país en forma legal y por ese
motivo se me pidió ayuda, ya que
porque por tener conocimiento de la regresión
al país y además un pequeño negocio
establecido en Pan Cristobal las Casas estaba
la posibilidad de llamar a para Barrios hasta
la Ciudad de Guatemala.

C. Tras el viaje pláticas Tuvieron
con él, se llegó a la conclusión de que
podrían, además de realizar dicho viaje,
hacer algunos movimientos que tuvieran
por finalidad presentar una ayuda efec-
tiva a las FAR.

14-0000
En estas instancias que se establecieron en el país, cuya finalidad era quedar a la vista a la autorización de elementos directivos en Guatemala. Esencialmente este plan consistía en el establecimiento de un sistema de impresiones en Honduras; es decir, establecer las posibilidades en ese país para montar una pequeña máquina de offset para editar un Telegráfo que pudiera servir a otros países Centroamericanos incluyendo Guatemala. Se en Barrios Tercio conocimiento de este tipo de negocio, ya que seguía en su oficio, había trabajado antes en varias empresas de publicidad. El motivo principal de esto era el de colaborar para obtener, por estos medios, ayuda financiera para los FAR. Con esa intención y desde antes, yo habría montado en San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, un negocio paralelo de impresiones periódicas con la razón social de EMARTEL de San Cristóbal.

Para realizar el viaje se planteó con la razón de las posibilidades más débiles. La mejor, dada la seguridad que proporcionaba, era conseguir

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Documentación Mexicana para hacer la
para el efecto elaboré, con la mayor perfección
posible una Credencial de maestro de la SEP,
ya que un Documento de este tipo es suficiente
para obtener visado en la frontera.

En los últimos días antes de realizar dicho
viaje ya temiendo todo preparando, don
Barrios me informó que Carlos Pérez al al-
mismo día, Teresa Rodada querían alcun-
paranos pues temían molinos ~~que se fueran~~
pasar. Conoci la situación que esto plan-
teaba era difícil me opuse al viaje de
estas personas, pero don Barrios argumentó
que tenían necesidad del entrevistador
con motivo periodístico a algunas perso-
nalidades en Guatemala. Las discusiones
al respecto se prolongaron varios días pues no
era conveniente cancelar los tipos de trabajos
en un viaje que de por si tenía sus riesgos; por
lo tanto suscitaron varios inconvenientes que
luego retrasaron dicho viaje, uno de ellos fue
que don Barrios - ~~Miguel~~ quien era el encargado
de la comisión - se hiri accidentalmente la
mano con una pistola calibre 25 al hacer

una multa de \$10, y otro que por esta Causa
hubo necesidad de proporcionar la calida y buscar
un medio mas adecuado, ~~para~~ lo que el
el Cuerpo por mi parte a Conseguir que una persona
de Confianza no llevara en Automovil ~~que~~
dicha persona fue Raúl Moreno quien se prestó
para hacerlo. Los detalles sobre Todo esto son
varios y obviamente este informe, pese a muy
que hace nota que hubo muchos incidentes
y errores por parte de Todos los que iban o
participaron en esta misión.

El 10 de abril de 1968 salimos de la
Ciudad de México T^{co} Adalberto para Bamío,
Raúl Moreno, Carlos Ponzabal y ~~que~~ un
ceridos, pues la señora Teresa fósada desis-
tio del viaje debido a que estaba embarazada
y se consideró peligroso para ella.

Minutos el Trámite y a la altura
de, Minatitlán Morelos Oaxaca, debido a la
alta velocidad a que conducía Moreno
el automovil, sufrió un aparatoso acci-
dente que dejó severamente dañado el
automovil. Al llegar a Taxila Raúl
Moreno habló por teléfono con su

firmó a favor informar del accidente y
que dijese que le pidieron voluntaria más su padre
había manifestado su gusto para viajar. Todo
nuestro mío llevó hasta Pan Cristóbal, desde
donde montó continuando el viaje.

Carlos Pérezabal llevaba consigo unas publica-
ciones de TAR impresas en la imprenta
del Dr. Mariano Fernández Pachínas, las
que había ocultado entre las páginas de unas
revistas de modas, pero él vivió mucho tiempo
visible que no creyó oportuno ~~que~~ revelar
las llevaba. Al llegar a ~~las~~ ^{impresas} de
Ciudad Guatemala en su taxi él alquilar
pretendió a documentarse para el paso a
Guatemala. Si Credencial que se elaboró
para ir a Barrios funcionó perfectamente
y le fue dado un permiso para viajar en
Guatemala válido por tres meses. En ese lugar
yo díjele que no alcanzara Tercio dificultad
algunas para no entregarlos nuestros norteamericanos.
Tanto para Barrios como yo le pedímos
a Pérezabal que no llevase las revistas, a
lo que accedió depositándolas en una banca
cerca de la frontera usada como letrina.
El paso se llevó sin dificultad apa-

mente, solo que para Barris debía haber sido
un pésimo del Consul de Guatemala, Tramí-
te consular para todos los Turistas. El Consulado
de Guatemala que debería funcionar en Comitán
o Cd. Cuernavaca, se encuentra por extraños
razones en la mesilla dentro del Timitorio
Guatimalteco. Para Barris se presentó
Tanto retraso cuando acudímos al Consul
para el pésimo servicio que este tuvo de
sin dificultad. Nos distante pensamos que
el ministro de Barris le provocó
alguno despecho mismo que le ~~le~~ ~~le~~ liberó
~~de su~~ ~~despacho~~ ~~Taxi que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~
~~que~~ que después confirmaron pues ~~el~~ ~~el~~
de las autoridades guatimaltecas (después
de tristes oido detenidos) nos mostraron
a los terroristas donde Peralta habría estudiado
las facilidades de FAR, o que solo pudieron
haber sido obteñidas por el Consul ~~que~~ ~~que~~
proporcionadas por el Chofer del Taxi que
nos llevó, ~~que~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~ que Tornando de
Comitán, ~~que~~ que esté durante el Trajeo
nos llevó de su amistad con el Consul
y regresó a sueldo de los terroristas el
que "algo sospechoso" dejó Peralta
en la Banca.

En la noche, después de pasar la aduana donde se nos hace una revisión superficial y donde estuvo presente el Consul, abordamos una fiamioneta de pasajeros rumbo a Huatulco. Yo, pero al ir en este nos dimos cuenta que este señor nos rebasó en su automóvil.

Al llegar a la gruta de su posición en el campamento militar "EL CABLE" fuimos recibidos por indicaciones del dicho Consul quien ordenó al oficial más conocido. Antes de bajar de la fiamioneta y al darrío cuando él que habrá problema, para Barro me entregó una serie de documentos que llevaba (parapente auténtico, cédula de vecindad etc) mismo que por fortuna pudimos desaparecer antes del registro que el oficial no lo practicó después, echándolo por entre las baldosas de la banaca ~~y~~ prefabricadas donde nos encontraron.

Poco desgracia al practicarlos ~~en~~ el registro, a Carlos Pergalal le fueron encontradas un par de botas borboticas, una entrevista inconclusa con ~~nestor~~ Nestor Valle, ~~un~~ ~~un~~ Carnet de la Universidad de La Habana y otros documentos. A prisión

de ese momento quedaron a disposición del ejército imperial que detuvo a sus asociados.

Del Campamento el "Cable" fueron trasladados por la policía militar aérea hasta a otro Campamento en el poblado de "Buenos Aires" en el límite de Huachuca-Temanguero. El Transporte se hizo en un avión de Carga que nos llevó primero a Huachucavaca donde Peralta fue brevemente interrogado por un Coronel quien no dijo que Berriozábal fuese fusilado. En el poblado de Buenos Aires fueron maltratados y maltratados durante toda la noche, los interrogatorios fueron llevados por separado. Al día siguiente fueron trasladados a Guatema en un avión de las FAG # 540, que fue enviado por el ministro de la Defensa, mismo que nos recibió en Lípera, mismo que nos recibió en el aeropuerto militares la noche del día 14. Todavía dentro del avión, a la mitad del Campo, subió a bordo de este un

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misteriosos. Con respiro me militares
militares, que me preguntó
de manera violenta si yo me llamaba
"Efígenio".

Del aeropuerto militar fuimos trasladados
al 2º Cuartel de la policía (Pezabalejo) en
una Camioneta, fosa en un jeep) don-
de fuimos encerrados en las bartoli-
nas de la Celda N° "400." Durante varias
noches fuimos sometidos a ~~interrogatorios~~ ~~interrogatorios~~
"interrogatorios". Querían darme, si pre-
mis iban a ser, era la polvorapalos
que Tercero. En la Celda 400 estaban
preso algunos miembros de las FAR,
los hermanos de Leon Barrios (Juan José
y Miguel), así como el conocido por "cibollita",
~~acusado~~ acusado del atentado a la base mili-
tar de "Los Caporales" y miembro destacado
de las FAR. A estos compañeros fosa Ba-
rrios informé con detalle de lo que nos
había sucedido. El día 20 de abril
pedímos ~~que~~ enviar clandestinamente
a la prensa una nota escrita en una
caja vacía de cigarrillos que publicó

el diario "El Gráfico" el día 21 de abril.
Posteriormente fueron visitados por el
Consulado Mexicano al día siguiente, li-
mitando así el primer intento de asesina-
to contra nosotros. Faga Barnes pasó a
intercés habría sido identificado ya a la
semana.

Al darse cuenta públicamente de la detención
de las autoridades Guatemaltecas sin venturas
ni delito, separamos una granja ubicada
en las calles de la Ciudad y fuimos
designados por esto a un juicio para
ser sometidos a un juicio.

El 26 de abril fuimos trasladados al
Cuartel de Concentración "Granja Real"
Parroquia Cuerda Dorada. También
iba el "Chollita" y posiblemente para
que los barrios la fueran dejando de ver el día
que fueron designados y trasladados
a la Cruzada general. En el Cuartel
a Parro desapareció "Chollita" a
quien según el parte policial, "desapareció
con sus compañeros" pero que fue

llevado por la policía.

De la Oficina Penal Poco llegaron en
compañía de los funcionarios de Icón Ramírez
quienes fueron misión Compañeros durante
los meses que allí permanecieron y donde
pude conocer más a fondo la realidad de
Guatemala y establecer contactos para dejar
trabajando posteriormente.

Durante esos meses (Casi 7) tuve una
estrecha comunicación con estos dos mucha-
chos, quienes por sus condiciones, pudieron
explorarme la verdadera situación de
los FAR en relación con la situación gene-
ral del país.

Es necesario hacer notar que en ese
tiempo estaban recluidos allí 9 miembros
del PGTR esperando la sentencia de los
tribunales. El representante del Grupo,
FCC Corado, era quien administraba los
fondos que recibiría para repartir entre
los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales no
apostó mucha nada a ningún beneficiario
de las FAR. Cuando nosotros llegamos
trató de "acimularnos", pero cuando yo le

Al que no se le permitió ni aun en su partido
ni en el de "Trotskista" o sus aliados que
pidió por parte de Perzabal ~~que es miembro del PES~~
una investigación en Méjico por parte de
la peligrosa esposa Teresa Sorada.

Por su parte las FAR hicieron lo mismo.
Constatando que yo no pertenecía a ningún
grupo y demandando así con una de-
mación modesta que se habría generado,

A medida que pasó el tiempo fué
llevando a la cárcel personal C. O. S. P.
muchachos para entonces no habían
pedido, para enviar a la dirección de FAR
informe a cada uno de los otros de los
~~que~~ que los llevaron a Guatemala. De
manera franca y abierta quería decir
que Carlos Perzabal (quien en muchas
circunstancias se portó bien) en este caso
ocultó los verdaderos motivos de mels-
tra detención. Por fortuna ej. q. salió
a los informes que dio personalmente
José Barrio ~~a las FAR~~ ~~que~~ ~~que~~
por conducto del "Chollito" de la

Almendros de León, dictó ~~una~~ ^{una} orden ejecutiva.
Me he obligado a mencionar esto, ya
que durante el Tiempo que estuve en
encarcelados, la ~~función~~ ^{la} Srta. Teresa Sodada
y la señora marina de Pergalal así como
el M. Manuel Matizel Ordóñez,
propagaron falsos informes la Carreta de
ministros, haciendo aparecer como
"delatora" a gestor de la Cia, etc. etc; in-
cluidos Reguarralde para ocultas respon-
sabilidades y los problemas de índole
personal que mucha élites en megabas.
Así mismo ayer dígas bien Claro que
por lo que a esto respecta estoy dispuesto
a deslindar responsabilidades y ante
a ellos, si es que insisten en esa posición.

(impressions con "CEBOLLITA"
(intuición de FAR, Angustiones trabajo futuro etc)

fraccionamiento radical entre los diversos
grupos (PGT, 13 nov. FAR) motivo del fracaso
máximo, rompimiento con el PGT, asimilación
del 13 de nov. Membrando en junio Dada la 1^{da}
concedante. Críticas buenas y malas
a Cuba, motivo de las críticas

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falta de Cen., tienen atrinches por los
FIR a Cuba sus más problemáticas internas.
Al Guatemala, sindicado uno de los fondos
progresistas, etc. Critica a los partidos
formados en la Habana; quienes al regresar
no se integraron a la realidad de las
realidades de las FAR.

Situación actual de FAR.

Aisquen, falta de organización, debilita-
miento, elemento juvenil con entusiasmo
pero sin formación ideológica correcta y
medios materiales. Un profesional de
FAR "percibe un monto de \$40.00 al
mes para su trabajo".

Fallamiento del Gobierno, apariencia
del Ejército con la ayuda de USA.

Millonarios de las Guerrillas de
acostumbrar que obligan al Trabajo en la
Ciudad (guerrillas urbanas) que motiva a
los terroristas.

Una represión cada vez mas fuerte
y contra productivo.

Presidenta de Maestras voluntadas
Méjico Ville, Epigmenio, "Cebollita" "el
Barro", etc. dibujadas a falta de organiza-
ciones de maestras ni al fortalecimiento de
las fuerzas represivas.

* Nacionalismo Guatemalteco que rechaza
nunca ayuda directa en el sentido del partici-
pación exterior por extranjeros, ellos no entien-
den por ese nacionalismo, que este tipo de
ayuda es necesaria a veces para el desarrollo
de la Rev. Latinoamericana. Situacion
que no se planteó en mi caso gracias a la
comprensión de la mentalidad guatema-
teca por razones de ser Chiapaneco y tener
bifurcaciones culturales de años contados.

Ud. institución de César Montes por
motivo de haber estado mucho tiempo
fuera y no integrarse a la lucha en el
momento necesario; impresión que se
tiene en Guatemala de algunos elementos
Guatemaltecos que hace tiempo vivieron
en Cuba.

Vitacura: General:

Durante los días que permaneció en la Celda
uno del Cuerpo de policía Trío apresado de
Cochabambas sus pasajeros César Rolando Ortiz "Cebolla-
ta" y Nabie la situación general de Guatemala es-
pecialmente de FAR, por aquél entonces César Vásquez
no había sido destituido, y se vivía una cam-
paña de terrible represión por parte del Gobierno;
yo acuerdo con las informaciones al respecto de
lo siguiente: La división entre PGT y FAR
provoca una situación difícil para el Ejército Mision.
Los del PGT renunciaron a él y pasaron
a las filas de FAR, aunque históricamente el
PGT dice apoyar la ~~lucha~~ lucha armada e
incluso ~~el~~ despliega contingentes en la
montaña (Zona de Jacapa?) lo cierto es que
probable mas la división no apoya en lo más
criminoso la línea de FAR, esto es a grandes
rasgos ya que los detalles son bien conocidos.
En los últimos tiempos el PGT ~~se ha separado~~
~~de la lucha armada~~ Trata de aliviar las
mas las divergencias. Como ejemplo digo
la intervención que presentó en Pasion, donde el
representante del PGT Trataba de garantizar
acuerdo entre los partidos pertenecientes a FAR.

14-00000
Obligaciones acuerda el Comité y insistiendo en
que en linea (FAR) sea el que vota en
múltiples aspectos.

El día mencionado Monseñor Cornejo pante
General ~~del~~ se expresa que el grupo 13
de Monterrey se aglutinará. ~~en~~ Sin
teoría esta aglutinación se lleva a cabo, pero
en la práctica si se demuestra que este
grupo sigue actuando por su cuenta sin
apresuramiento.

Todas estas circunstancias divisiones, fal-
ta de organización ~~del~~, falta de madurez ideolo-
gica etc. han traído por consecuencia un
dilectamente de la lucila armada en
Guatemala. Si esto controlase el fortale-
cimiento cada día acusos de las fuerzas re-
plicadas sobre de los montemoreanos. Un
ejército equipado con las armas más moder-
nas y asesorado y entrenado por ellos, con-
trola cada vez más la situación de la
sociedad. La consecuencia de todo esto
fue visto la intensificación de la Guerra
urbana. Los jóvenes de FAR han tenido
que llegar a la ciudad y hacer esfuerzos
desproporcionados para aniquilarlos para

efectuar acciones que muchas veces, muestra
el Comisionado orden Main por ejemplo.
Tienen consecuencias negativas, ya que las
fuerzas ~~de~~<sup>del Gobierno minimizan la repre-
sion apoyando con cuadros validos y nicas-
mos. En la montaña se dan sufrido severos
y muy grandes, la muerte de Mester Valle,
Efigenio, la de Camilo en la Ciudad etc, han
dribitado aun mas las acciones de FAR, pues
son especiales circunstancias que hoy al
verlos, gravemente impiden la rapidez en
restitución de estos cuadros. La falta de los
fondos para financiamiento es uno de los
problemas mas grandes, pues actualmente
el dinero tiene que conseguirse a base de
asaltos a Impresos Comerciales, dando por
resultado prendas tales, que por conseguir
una cantidad pequeña han tenido varios
revoluciones.</sup>

En mis charlas con los dirigentes de
lein Barrios se me hizo notar el sentido
negativo que algunos aspectos de la ayuda
estaban representada. Al criticó duramente
a los cuadros que se formaban allá, pues
señaló, en las zonas rurales donde estaciona-
ron Cuba se inadaptaban

14-0000
a la realidad Guatimalteca, o' iniciada en
sus sueltos conflictos a veces serios. El Ejemplo
más concreto es el reciente caso de Cesario Mendoza,
destituido por no haberse visto preparado a
la realidad de el momento necesario.

En Guatemala existe un fuerte nacionalis-
mo, por esto los jóvenes de FAR rechazan
cierlos tipos de ayuda procedente de Cuba;
se habla mucho más entre ellos de fracasos
algunos por los Cuadros formados allá y
~~de~~ de un supuesto ofrecimien-
to cubano de ayudarlos incluso con
miembros.

Por ahora, hablando francamente,
la lucha en Guatemala se ha deturpado.
Los golpes militares han sido muchos y fuertes
y es de extrema urgencia una reorganiza-
~~cion~~
~~que establezca~~
~~que establezca~~
~~que establezca~~
~~que establezca~~
~~que establezca~~
~~que establezca~~
ción de los principios más necesarios
para el desarrollo de la lucha armada.

100000
Mi opinió es una mala comprensión
de la situación interna del país, y por tanto
por lo consciente la ayuda más adecuada.
Es evidente que el fortalecimiento de
esta fuerza será a largo plazo, pero para ello
es necesario que la ayuda sea más efectiva
y realista; de acuerdo con las opiniones de
los mexicanos de Señor Barrón, elemento
que son entusiastas y valiosos, ~~que~~
~~que~~~~que~~~~que~~
~~que~~~~que~~~~que~~~~que~~
que tienen que seguir trabajando ~~que~~
con las FAR; la especial situación
de México, mis experiencias personales y
la confianza que ellos me depositan han
hecho que mantenga mis contactos, esper-
ando por estos días la llegada de una
persona muy responsable que me busca-
rá con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguir
trabajando en un sentido positivo.

1400000
Día 13 de abril de 1968, Francisco Gallegos
para Barrios (ejecutivo) ~~para Barrios (ejecutivo)~~

Antecedentes

En diciembre y por conducto de Carlos Pérezabal Macuil, estableció contacto con F. A. S. Barrios Quatemalteco quien según se me informó, era ~~miembro de las FAR~~ encargado de la propaganda en esta ciudad. Fara Barrios Tenía ~~la necesidad de hacer un viaje a Guatemala, pero~~ dada su situación de exiliado político no podía abandonar el país de forma legal y por ese motivo se me pidió ayuda, ya que ~~porque~~ por tener conocimiento de la regresión del país y además un pequeño negocio establecido en San Cristóbal, las Casas estaba en ~~la~~ posibilidad de llevar a Fara Barrios hasta la Ciudad de Guatemala.

A través de varias pláticas Tuvimos que él se llegó a la conclusión de que además del realizar dicho viaje; podríamos hacer algunos movimientos que tuvieran por finalidad molestar una apretada ejecución a las FAR.

que entonces que se elaboró un plan, cuya realización quedó a sujeta a la aprobación de los directores en Guatemala. Inicialmente este plan consistía en el establecimiento de un sistema de impresiones en Honduras; es decir, estudió las posibilidades en ese país para montar una pequeña máquina de offset para editar un Telégrafo que pudiera servir en otros países Centroamericanos inclusive Guatemala. Fue Barrios Tercio conocimiento de este tipo de negocio, ya que al año me informó, habría trabajado antes en varias Compañías de publicidad. El motivo principal de esto era el de colaborar para obtener, por esos medios, ayuda financiera para los FAR. Con esa intención y desde antes, yo había montado en San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, un negocio similar de impresiones periódicas con la razón social de EMARDEL de San Cristóbal.

Para realizar el viaje se planteó con la razón de las posibilidades más diligentes. La mejor, dada la seguridad que proporcionaba, era conseguir

14-00000
determinación definitiva para hacerlo.
Pues el efecto elaboré con la mayor prudencia
posible una Credencial de maestro de la SEP,
ya que un documento de este tipo es suficiente
para obtener aviso en la frontera.

En los últimos días antes de realizar dicho
viaje ya temiendo todo preparado, fui
Barrios y le informó que Carlos Pérez alal
ej. de ospeda Teresa Rosada querían alcum-
paratnos pues temían ~~que nos detendrían~~
pasar. Como la situación que esto planteaba
era difícil me opuse al viaje de
esta personas, pero fasa Barrios desquimes
tú que tienen necesidad de entrevistar
con otros periodistas a algunos perso-
nalidades en Guatemala. Sas discusiones
al respecto se prolongaron varios días pues no
era conveniente negar los tipos de trabajo
en un viaje que de por si tiene sus riesgos; por
entonces suspiraron varios inconvenientes que mi-
gieron retrasando dicho viaje, uno de ellos fue
que fasa Barrios - ~~Hall~~ quien era el encargado
de la munición se llevó accidentalmente la
metral con ~~la~~ una pistola calibre 25 al hacer

para practica de uso, ni otro que p. esta Causa
hubo necesidad de proponer la salida y busco
un medio mas conveniente, ~~p~~ lo que se
obtuvo por mi parte a Conseguir que una persona
de Confianza nos llevase en automovil, pase
dicha persona fue Raul Moreno quien se presto
para hacerlo. Los detalles sobre todo esto son
varios y obvian en este informe, pero hay
que hacer notar que hubo muchos incidentes
y errores por parte de Todos, los que iban o
participaron en esa misión.

El 10 de abril de 1968 salimos de la
Cittad de Mexico T^o Adalberto Saro Barro,
Raul Moreno, Carlos Perezabal y ~~ellos~~ un
segundo, pues la señora Teresa fijada desis-
tio del viaje debido a que estaba embarazada
y se considero peligroso para ella.

Durante el Traecto y a la altura
de Matias Romero Oaxaca, debido a la
alta velocidad a que conducia Moreno
el automovil, sufriu un aparato acli-
deste que dejó severamente dañado el
automovil. Al llegar a Taxtila Raul
intento llamar por Telefono con un

letral a para a personas del ac. dentro y
afuera que le pidían valvira pues su padre
había confidado un refugio Pandiaco. De todos
lados nos llevó hasta San Cristóbal, desde
dónde nosotros continuamos el viaje.

Carlos Peralta llevaba consigo unas publica-
ciones de TAP impresas en la imprenta
del Dr. Vicente Nicaragua Padilla, las
que habían resultado entre las páginas de unas
revistas demasiadas, pero de un modo tan
visible que no estuvieron ocultas en
las llaves. Al llegar a las ~~aduanas~~ ^{impresos} de
Ciudad Guatemala en un taxi de alquiler
procedimos a desmontarlos para el paso a
Guatemala. La Credencia que se elaboró
para sacar Basíos funcionó perfectamente
y se le dio un permiso para viajar en
Guatemala válido por tres meses. En ese lugar
se dieron que no hicieron tanto dificultad
al general para no entorpecer nuestros movimientos.
Tod. tanto saca Basíos como yo le pedimos
a Pizabal que no llevase las revistas, a
lo que accedió depositándolas en una llanura
cerca de la frontera usada como letrina.
El paso se hizo sin dificultad apa-

ante, solo que ^{en} Barrios d' ya oblijar
con permiso del Consul del Guatimala, Traimi-
te usual para Todos los Turistas. El Consulado
de Guatimala que dillerá funcionar los Comitán
o Cdad. Ciudadanos, se encuentra los extranjeros
regres en la víspera, dentro del Timón.
Gutiérrez. Para Barrios se puso un
tanto nervioso cuando acudió al Consul
para el permiso, oyeron que este estando
sin dificultad. No obstante pensamos que
el nerviosismo de Juan Barrios lo provocó
al jefe. Se sospecha misma ~~que lo llevó~~
~~en el chofer del Taxi que~~ para haberse falso
~~que después confirmaron, pues~~
que los autoridades guatemalecas (después
de haber sido detenidos) nos mostraron
y las denostas donde Pezalal habría escondido
las valijas de F.A.R. y que solo pudieron
haber sido obtenidas por el Consul quizás
proporcionadas por el Chofer del Taxi que
nos llevó; ~~que~~ que Tomaron en
Comitán, ya que este durante el Trabajo
no llevó de su amistad con el Consul
y seguramente se puso de acuerdo el
que "algo sospechoso" dejó Pezalal
en la banca.

En la misión, después de pasar la aduana donde se nos hace una revisión superficial y donde estuvo presente el Cónsul, abordamos una camioneta de pasajeros rumbo a Huachuca - Ap., pero al ir en esta nos dimos cuenta que este señor nos rebasó en su automóvil.

Este señor nos rebasó en su automóvil.
Al llegar a la Oficina de inspección en el
Circoparqueo "EL CABLE" fuimos detenidos
por autoridades de dicho Consulado quien
el oficial nos informó que el orden
de los de la Comisión al darse cuenta
de que habría problema, para Barrios me
entregó una serie de documentos que llevaba
(para que autenticas, Cédula de ciudadanía etc.)
mismo que por fortuna pudimos desapa-
recer antes del registro que el oficial nos
practicó. Luego, el claudicar por entre las
mieddias de la barana ~~en~~ prefabri-
cada ~~en~~ donde nos encerraron.
Al practicáronos ~~en~~ el

~~Miudencias de~~ Cada ~~que~~ donde nos encerramos
Poco desgracia al practicar en el
registro a Carlos Perzabal de fueron
encontradas un par de botas sombrías,
una entrevista inconclusa con mestor Valle,
~~que~~ Panet de la Universidad de La
Habana y otros documentos. A parti-

de el mismo quedando a disposición del Ejército Represando que Berriano asesinado.

Del Campamento el "Cable" fuimos trasladados por la policía militar desbarcarse a otro Campamento en el poblado de "Buenos Aires" en el Depto. de Huilue-Tirangué. El Transporte se hizo en un Camión de Carga que nos llevó primero a Huilue-Tirangué donde Perzabal fue brevemente interrogado por un Coronel asimismo dijo que Berriano fusilados.

En el poblado de Buenos Aires fuimos interrogados y maltratados durante toda la noche, los interrogatorios fueron malos y separados. Al día siguiente fuimos trasladados a Quatendá en un avión de las FAG # 540, quien fue enviado por el ministro de la Defensa, informo que nos recibió en el aeropuerto militar la noche del dia 14. Tardaría dentro del avión, a juzgar en el Campo, sobre a bordo de este un

contaminación con miembros militares
y policiales. Aquel me preguntó
de manera violenta si yo me llamaba
"Efígenio".

Del aeropuerto militar fui trasladado
al 2º Cuerpo de la policía (Pezabalec) yo
en una Camioneta, fui en un Jeep) don-
de fuimos incomunicados en las bartoli-
mas de la Celda N° "400". Durante varias
noches fuimos sometidos a ~~interrogatorios~~
a interrogatorios. Querían descubrir a que
nos iban a nos era la preocupación
que tenían. En la Celda 400 estaban
varios otros miembros de las FAR,
los hermanos de Leon Barrios (Juan José
y Miguel), así como el Comité por "Cibollita",
~~que~~ acusado del atentado a la base mili-
tar de "Los Cipresales" y miembros destacados
de las FAR. A estos compañeros saca Ba-
rrios informe con detalle de lo que nos
había sucedido. El día 20 de abril
mismo ~~me~~ envió clandestinamente
a la prensa una nota escrita en una
caja vacía de cigarrillos que publicó

el Diario "EL GRÁFICO" el día 21 de abril.
Por este motivo fuimos visitados por el
Consul de México al día siguiente, l-
evitando así el primer intento del asesina-
to contra Morón. Saúl Barrios pasa
entonces habría sido identificado ya como
Guatemalteco.

Al dia dese publica nuevamente en
las autoridades guatemaltecas inventaron
nunca visto "repartir propaganda subversi-
va en las calles de la Ciudad" y fueron
consignados por esto a un juzgado para
des conjetos a "un juicio".

El 26 de abril fuimos trasladados al
Pamplona de Concentración "Granja Peñal"
Pavón: en una cuerda horde también
iba el "Cebollita" y posiblemente Saúl
Barrios a quien dejamos el resto el día
que fueron consignados y trasladados
a la Cruzeta general. En el Camino
a Pavón desaparecio "Cebollita" a
quien algún el parte policialo, "desapareció
con sus compañeros" pero que fue".

asesinado por la policía.

En la Granja Penal Paron llegaron en
Compañía de los liberados de San Ramón
quienes fueron nuestros compañeros durante
los meses que allí permanecimos y donde
pude conocer más a fondo la realidad de
Guatemala y establecer contactos para seguir
trabajando posteriormente.

Durante esos meses (casi 7) tuve una
frecuente comunicación con estos dos mucha-
chos, quienes por sus condiciones, pudieron
explicarme la verdadera situación de
los FAR en relación con la situación gene-
ral del país.

Es necesario hacer notar que en ese
tiempo estaban recluidos allí 9 miembros
del PGT esperando la sentencia de los
tribunales. El representante del Grupo,
Fco Corado, era quien administraba los
fondos que recibiría para repartir entre
los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales no
apostó mucha nada a ningún miembro
de las FAR. Cuando nosotros llegamos
trató de "asimilarnos," pero cuando yo le

1400000
dijo que no pertenecía a nadie ni nadie
me llevó de "Trotskyista" a "Trotskyista" que
miércoles por parte de Pérez Alfonso se me llevó
una investigación en México por parte de
la clínica esposa Teresa Posada.

Por mi parte las FAR hicieron lo mismo.
Constatando que yo no pertenecía a ningún
grupo y llamándome así con una si-
tuación modesta que se habría generado;

A medida que pasó el tiempo fui
haciendo amistad personal con estos
muchachos y para entonces no habían
pedido, para enviar a la dirección del FAR,
nunca ni a cada uno de nosotros de los
~~que~~ que nos liberaron a Guatemala. De
manera franca y abierta quise decir
que Carlos Pérez Alfonso (quien en muchas
ocasiones al punto bien) en este caso
ocultó la verdadera motivación de nues-
tra detención. Por fortuna y gracias
a los informes que dio personalmente
a la FA de ~~esta~~ ~~esta~~ ~~esta~~ ~~esta~~
p.d. Comandante del "Chollito" y los

14-00000
Llamadas de Leon, distorsiona el Comisionado.
Me veo obligado a mencionar esto, ya
que durante el Tiempo que estuve en
Encarcelados, la ~~Franquista~~ Bra. Teresa Sosa da
a la Difesa Mama de Bengual así como
el M. Manuel Maricel Pardinas;
mis agencias falsearon los Contratos de
minicipal, luciendo aparecer como
"dellatora" agente de la CIA, etc. etc; in-
decisos permanentemente para ocultar respon-
sabilidades y por problemas de control
personal que genera illusions megalab.
Así mismo queremos decir bien claro que
no lo que a esto respecta están dispuestos
a deslindar responsabilidades frente
a ellos, ni los que resisten esa posición.

Impresores con "Cebollita"
(Intervención FAR, Angustias trabajo futurista)

intervencionismo radical entre los grupos
Opresivo (PGT, 13 nov. FAR) motivo del Franco-
militar, compimento con el PGT, asimilacion
del 13 de nov. Membrando a ejer. Poda 1^{er}
Estimulante. Entregas luchas y malas
a Cuba, motivo de las criticas.

Falta de Comprensión: Atribuida por las FAR a falta en los problemas internos de Guatemala, individualismo de los fondos propietarios, etc. Crítica a los caudillos formados en la Habana; quienes al olegosas no se integraban a la realidad de las milicias de las FAR.

Información actual de FAR.

Anarquía, falta de organización, desorganizado, elemento juvenil con entusiasmo pero sin formación ideológica correcta y medios materiales. Un "profesional de FAR" percibe un promedio de 40.00 al mes para su trabajo.

Fallamiento del Gobierno, expansión del Ejército con la ayuda de USA.

Militarizamiento de las guerrillas de montaña que obligan al Trabajo en la Ciudad (guerrillas urbanas) que motivó a una represión cada vez más fuerte y brutal.

Presidenta de "academias nacionales":
Méjico, Valle, Efigenia, "Cecilia" el
Barro, etc. abridas a falta de organiza-
ciones de medios ni al fortalecimiento de
las fuerzas represivas.

* Nacionalismo Guatemalteco que recibe
una apertura directa en el sentido de partici-
pación política por el flujo y flujo, ello no contie-
niente por ese nacionalismo, que este tipo de
apertura es necesario a veces para el desarrollo
de la Rev. Latinoamericana. Nacionalismos
que no se planteó en su caso aparte a la
comprensión de la mentalidad guatemalteca
toda por razones de ser desparecido y tener
afinidad cultural de años con ello).

Historiación de César Merites por
necesidad de haber estado mucho tiempo
fuera si no integrarse a la cultura en el
momento necesario; impresión que se
tuvo en Guatemala de algunos elementos
Guatemaltecos que hace tiempo vivieron
en Cuba.

| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PROCESSING ACTION |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| TO | Chief of Station, Mexico City | XX | SEARCHED FOR INDEXING NO SEARCHING REQUIRED |
| INFO. | Chief, Western Hemisphere Division | | ONE QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING |
| FROM | Chief of Station, Guatemala City | | SEARCHED |
| SUBJECT | PERMEN/LIRING-3 Operation | | |
| ACTION REQUIRED: For Mexico City, please see Paragraph 3 | | | |
| REFERENCES : A. IIGA-35905, 27 November 1968 B. IIGA-35904, 27 November 1968 | | | |
| <p>1. Guatemala City has the following information on Oscar Rojas ROLDAN Espinoza, who is undoubtedly identifiable with the Oscar Abises KILLIAN E. who sent one of the letters to LIRING-3 forwarded with Reference A: ROLDAN was arrested by the National Police in El Ix, Ixco, along with one Oscar Rolando ESTIADA Aldana, after robbing a taxi driver of his car. In his interrogation by the Guatemalan authorities, KILLIAN admitted to being a member of the rebel Armed Forces (FAR). He stated that the car was to have been used for a kidnapping, but he refused to name the target of the planned kidnap attempt. (Note: KILLIAN named "CARLOS" (deceased FAR leader Carlos Francisco ORDOÑEZ Montaño), "ARMANDO" (unidentified FAR Urban Resistance leader), "JADE" (Luis Felipe CARVAJAL, FAR Urban resistance leader) and Percy Arilcar JACOB de Leon, among others, as FAR members with whom he was in contact. This would tend to indicate that ROLDAN was an important militant in the FAR Urban Resistance Front.) According to information available to the Station, ROLDAN was consigned to the courts. He apparently was later sent to El Falso prison, where he met LIRING-3.</p> <p>2. A check of the files of Miguel and Juan Jose de LEON Barrios shows that the home address given by them to the police was the same as the return address on the letter sent to LIRING-3 by "Tarta," the mother of the de LEON brothers.</p> | | | |
| Distribution: 2-CDS, Mexico City 2-C/MID | | | |
| CS COPY PC 13 1968 | | | |
| CLASS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH NUMBER AND NUMBER | DATE | |
| | IIGA- 3697 | 13 December 1968 | |
| CLASSIFICATION SECRET | | IIGS FILE NUMBER 21-798301 | |

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|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HOGA- 9697 |
| <p>3. Guatemala City notes in the letter which LIRING-3 received from the mother of the de MEX brothers reference to greetings being sent from "Miguel, Elsa, La Negra, La Chiquita, Felisa, Maria Elena, and La Cordita." It is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for any details he can provide to further identify these individuals and any information he knows as to the FAR roles of these individuals. Equally, it is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for similar information on RULAN, whom he apparently knew as "Espinoza." Finally, Guatemala City will be greatly interested in all of the information LIRING-3 can provide on "PAVEL," including a full physical description, if and when he is put in contact with this individual. Since "PAVEL" is supposed to be a "genuine FAR representative," he may well turn out to be "Javier Contreras," or the "MIGUEL" known to EL-MEX-1.</p> <p>4. For Paragraph 3 of Reference B, Guatemala City feels that it would be best to wait until LIRING-3 received a clear idea of what, if any, role he is to be given by LIRING, before any further direct discussions are necessary between Guatemala and Mexico City. As discussed during TORIBI's recent visit, Guatemala City's interests would be best served if LIRING-3 can convince his LIRING contacts that he is now ready to help in PBRUINI's efforts to support the FAR, that because of his poor financial position he will in the future be forced to work in a controlled fashion for LIRING, and that because of the contacts which he established with FAR leaders during his Guatemalan imprisonment it is crucial to the FAR and ourselves can be influential in helping achieve LIRING's ends in its dealings with the FAR. Also, once LIRING-3 has been put into direct contact with the FAR support network in Mexico City, as he has been promised, we should have a clearer idea to what extent the FAR itself plans to utilize LIRING-3.</p> <p>5. Guatemala City awaits with interest the results of LIRING-3's further discussions with LIRING.</p> <p>6. For Headquarters: A separate dispatch will be forwarded containing the information available to the Station on RULAN.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Leonard S. TORIBI</p> | | |
| FORM 5-64 1401 | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PAGE NO. <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED 2 of 2 |
| 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION. | | |

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SECRET 12172Z DEC 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8397

DIRECTOR INFO WH/MIAMI

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PERUNEN

J/

1. PER LITAIN-2 LIRING-10 LEAVING DEFINITELY FOR PERUNEN 20 DEC. HAVING "DESPEDIDA" 12 DEC WHICH LITAIN-2 SCHEDULED ATTEND. REPLACEMENT TO BE LIRING-24. REPLACEMENT CONFIRMED BY LIRING-3 TO WHOM LIRING-10 INTRODUCED LIRING-24 AS "MY SUCCESSOR."
2. FILE 201-759016, 201-776733.

SECRET

WH/ file:
 LIRING-10 } 201
 LIRING-24 }
 LIRING-3 }

SECRET

Keke

| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PROCESSING ACTION | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| TO | Chief, WH Division | X | MARKED FOR INDEXING | | | | | | |
| INFO. | Chief, Finance | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED | | | | | | |
| FROM | Chief of Station, Mexico City | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN HANDLE INDEXING | | | | | | |
| SUBJECT | Transmittal of MOC for LIRING-3 | | MICROFILE | | | | | | |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>Action Required: FYI</p> <p>Forwarded herewith is a Memorandum of Oral Commitments for LIRING-3.</p> <p><i>Ragman A. Frager</i> for Willard C. CURTIS</p> <p>Attachment: MOC (1), h/w</p> <p>Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att. - 2 copies) 2 - C/FINANCE (w/att - 1 copy) ✓</p> <p><i>1 b/w ATT.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">CS COPY</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>GROSS REFERENCE TO</td> <td>DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35908</td> <td>DATE 29 November 1968</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T</td> <td>MOS FILE NUMBER 201-798301 ✓</td> </tr> </table> | | | | GROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35908 | DATE 29 November 1968 | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | MOS FILE NUMBER 201-798301 ✓ |
| GROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35908 | DATE 29 November 1968 | | | | | | | |
| | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | MOS FILE NUMBER 201-798301 ✓ | | | | | | | |

S E C R E T

MORANDUM OF ORAL COMMITMENTS

ATTACHMENT

HITPA-32908

Date 29 November 1968

TO : Chief, Finance Division
VIA : Contract Approving Officer
FROM : Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Engagement of LIRING-3 as Independent Contractor

1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE. The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 1968 subject to termination by ODYONE upon 30 days' actual notice.

2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type . Date 196 .

3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (X) is () is not a foreign national.

4. COMPENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in PEPPELLE currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject () will (X) will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to . Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None.

5. TAXES: Subject () is (X) is not subject to PEPPELLE income taxes. If subject to PEPPELLE income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner:

6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject () will (X) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters expenses:

7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (X) will () will not be reimbursed for operational travel. (b) Subject (X) will () will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed: operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses.

8. CONTINGENT OBLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYONE. Give reason for each contingent obligation:

9. No commitments other than those stated above have been made to the Subject.

(Wallace B. Rowton)

SIGNED Wallace B. ROWTON

CASE OFFICER

APPROVED Willard C. CURTIS

Field Contracting Office (CO)

REVIEWED:

John W. Martin
Contract Approving Officer

Jan. 7, 1968

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REVIEWED:

Paul R. Weis
Special Contracting Officer

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DISPATCH

S E C R E T

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MICROFILM

TO: Chief, WH Division
INFO: Chief, Finance
FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City
SUBJECT: Transmittal of MOC for LIRING-3

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

CAPS

Action Required: FYI

Forwarded herewith is a Memorandum of Oral Commitments
for LIRING-3.

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
MOC (1), h/w

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31 DEC

| CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER | DATE |
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| | HOMA - 35908 CLASSIFICATION | 29 November 1968 |
| | | SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED 201-792301 |

S E C R E T

ATTACHMENT
H177A-30908

MEMORANDUM OF ORAL COMMITMENTS

Date 29 November 1968

TO : Chief, Finance Division
VIA : Contract Approving Officer
FROM : Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Engagement of LIRING-3 as Independent Contractor

1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE. The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 1968 subject to termination by ODYONE upon 30 days' actual notice.

2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type . Date 196 .

3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (X) is () is not a foreign national.

4. COMPENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in US\$PRIME currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject () will (X) will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to . Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None

5. TAXES: Subject () is (X) is not subject to US\$PRIME income taxes. If subject to US\$PRIME income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner:

6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject () will (X) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters expenses:

7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (X) will () will not be reimbursed for operational travel. (b) Subject (X) will () will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed: operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses.

8. CONTINGENT OBLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYONE. Give reason for each contingent obligation:

9. No commitments other than those stated above have been made to the subject.

SIGNED Wallace B. Rowton
CASE OFFICER

APPROVED Willard C. Curtis
Field Contracting Office (CGS)

REVIEWED:

Contract Approving Officer

DISTRIBUTION: 3 Authentic copies of HQs
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REVIEWED:

Paul R. Wilen for
1s/ Robert C. Brooks

Special Contracting Officer

S E C R E T

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION

IP

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|---|--|---------------------------------|--|
| TO Chief, WH Division | | X | MARKS FOR INDEXING |
| INFO. | | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| FROM Chief of Station, Mexico City | | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING |
| SUBJECT PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Transmittal of Cuban "Literary" Pamphlet | | MICROFILMED | MICROFILMED |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | DEC 12 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER. | |

Action Required: FYI

1. Forwarded under separate cover is an issue of a supposedly "literary" Cuban publication containing two short essays by the Salvadorian poet and writer Roque DALTON. The first of these essays is dedicated to LIRING-3. The interesting thing is that LIRING-3 was at that time imprisoned in Guatemala. The essay may thus be viewed as a tribute to "a suffering supporter of the cause."

2. Roque DALTON (201-215097) is, according to the files of the Station, an agent of the Cuban Intelligence Service engaged in clandestine activities for the Communist Party of El Salvador. DALTON spent some time in Czechoslovakia and is now living in Cuba. He is the brother of Margarita DALTON (201-751261), whom the Cuban IS recruited to work in Mexico. LIRING-3 got to know DALTON in Havana in 1962-63 and became a close friend of his (see HMMA-32283, 19 June 1967). DALTON at one point confided to LIRING-3 that he had been approached by WOFIRM while incarcerated in El Salvador.

3. The Station is hoping that DALTON's essay is an indication that LIRING-3 is going to be viewed by the Cubans in much better light after his incarceration in Guatemala. A report of LIRING-3's complete debriefing by ROWTON was forwarded with HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968.

Urgent & Priority
for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Magazine (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
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| CROSS REFERENCE TO 201-215097 201-751261 | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35915 | DATE 29 November 1968 |
| CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | | EXCISES: FILED PRO NUMBER 201-798301 |

S E C R E T

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2011-798301

S E C R E T

RC - 10

**Adolfo Sánchez
Vázquez • Alberto
Moravia • Jacques
Charriere • Charles
Bettelheim • Roque
Dalton • José Leza-
ma Lima • Cmdte.
Jorge Serguera**

ENTREMESES JAPONESES

**Director Artístico
ROLANDO FERRER**

**Escenografía
RAUL OLIVA**

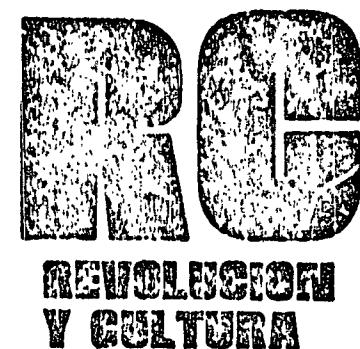
**Vestuario
MARIA ELENA MOLINET**

**Conjunto de Arte Teatral
LA RUEDA**

**SALA HUBERT DE BLANCK
Calzada entre A y B / Vedado**

este número:

La Industria azucarera analizada dentro del contexto histórico de Cuba, es el tema del trabajo PROMETEO ROMPE UNA CADENA del Comandante Jorge Serguera • QUE ES LA PRAXIS? de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, capítulo de su libro Filosofía de la Praxis, editado en México. Sánchez Vázquez es profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Autónoma de México y autor de diversos trabajos filosóficos: Marxismo y Existencialismo, Las ideas estéticas de Marx, etc., este último libro ha sido publicado en Cuba por el Instituto del Libro • BASE ECONOMICA Y SUPERESTRUCTURAS IDEOLOGICAS de los economistas franceses Charles Bettelheim y Jacques Charron, este trabajo forma parte del libro La construcción del Socialismo en China, publicado en México por la editorial ERA • LA PALMA DE LA MANO, poema del cubano José Lezama Lima (Dador, Versos Órficos, Parádiso). Lezama Lima trabaja en el Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de la Academia de Ciencias • LA CASA DE CARLOS y PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI, textos del poeta salvadoreño Raquel Dalton (El turno del ofendido poesía) • DEBATE, entre el escritor Alberto Moravia y cinco estudiantes italianos. Este debate fue organizado por L'E-presa, de Roma, y en él se planteó de manifiesto las contradicciones existentes entre la actual generación de intelectuales y la anterior, de la que forma parte el escritor Moravia.



REVISTA BIMENSUAL

Año 1
Mayo 15 de 1968

Número 10

"Año del Guerrillero Heroico"

Director: Lisandro Otero
Secretaría de Redacción:
Rebeca Chávez

Impresa por el Instituto del Libro,
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Prometeo rompe una cadena

Cmdte. Jorge Serguera

Cuando aquel aparato comenzó con su ruido atronador a echar paja por detrás, caña en trozos por el costado izquierdo, humo por arriba y cortaba hojas verdes y cogollo, alante, hacia la Izquierda; alguien dijo: ¡Es bárbaro! Se había realizado un sueño que tenía 100 años. Parece que lo va a dejar la hora de museo al machete. Pero todavía falta; allá hay que construir mañas y sobre todo mejoraría. Hay que intentarla para que todo el mundo pueda aspirar y uno solo no se enriquezca con el trabajo de todos; la patente revolucionaria.

La esclavitud fue sustituida por el latifundio. Una época de servidumbre que se hizo tan común en nuestro país que cualquiera no hubiese acobrado lo que así no fuese. Cuando el precio aumentaba en el mercado mundial la alegría del cubano hacia carnaval y se enfrentaba a una dura de millones. Cuando bajaba el precio del azúcar la tasa de crecimiento de muertes aumentaba así vía del suicidio como ocurrió en 1930-1932. Si hubo paz entre naciones poderosas hubo crisis económicas en Cuba, si había guerra, prosperidad. Así faltamente puede inferirse que la base del progreso estaba en la guerra. Teoría muy común en el pasado. Cuando el precio era bajo había la esperanza del aumento. Cuando era alto el temor de que bajara. Así la mentalidad azucarera del pueblo a causa del monocultivo, o como técnicamente dicen, economía unilateral, era inestable. Y si se tiene en cuenta además la historia de los

últimos 60 años, sus ecos vulsiones, guerras, etc., el desequilibrio económico tenía que ser factor de angustias y alegrías, esperanzas y desilusiones que gravaban profundamente el pensamiento del pueblo. Cualquier oscilación de precio se sentía desde el último bohío hasta la primera residencia. Claro está que en forma muy diferente.

No obstante saber todo el mundo o darse que el problema era el monocultivo y que había que diversificar los cultivos para liberarse de la dependencia de un producto, sobre todo después de la crisis económica de los años 30, no se hizo porque el uso de las maquinarias cortadoras, para realizar la más dura de todas las operaciones de recolección "no se permite en Cuba donde hay superexistencia de mano de obra y las leyes sociales vigorosas hacen su uso extremadamente difícil" (carta de Agregado Agrícola de los Estados Unidos, La Habana, 16 de febrero de 1954). Y también porque "la mecanización en cualquier campo de actividad humana incluyendo la agricultura, no debe ser llevada demasiado lejos si ha de amarrar a los hombres que aman la tierra, la libertad y la dignidad personal". Por eso en la Unión Soviética, donde la mecanización sobrepasa incluso la agro-industrialización, de la producción cubana del azúcar, se dice que los campesinos "tararean canciones de protesta aun a riesgo de ser enajenados severamente" (Azúcar Amargo, Byron White, pág. 48).

Todos estos pretextos y otros, reflejos de una realidad social, de una contradicción insuperable en las condiciones en que

se plantaba, caracterizó el período pre-revolucionario. Era verdad que el 50% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. Que el cultivo era extensivo; pero sobre todo porque "una mecanización óptima y precipitada de los campos cañeros podría tener consecuencias catásticas, a menudo de encontrar inmediatamente otros empleos para esa fuerza de trabajo". Byron White, pág. 50.

La Contradicción que sólo una Revolución podía resolver:

Cuba era un país de monocultivo. El 50% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. El producto no mayores dividendos, por vía de exportación, era el azúcar. El volumen de las importaciones estaba determinado por la cantidad de azúcar exportada. El desbalance podría ser resultado de la oscilación del precio en el mercado mundial. La especifica o especial calidad del suelo cubano para el cultivo de la caña, más los bajos salarios de la mano de obra para el corte fueron determinantes en el análisis de la costeabilidad más baja de la producción azucarera cubana en comparación con Hawái y Louisiana, donde la mecanización agrícola del corte, alta y sencilla pudieron haber determinado un costo más bajo en la producción, en la década del 40 al 50.

Con una población de más de 5 millones de habitantes entre los años 40 y 50, Cuba destinaba 500 000 al corte de caña o sea cerca del 10% de la población. Pero si se considera la población activa en edad de trabajo, los números varían esencialmente.

Los propietarios necesitaban mano de obra, barata, y en cantidad para realizar la zafra. La recolección duraba cuatro meses. Los temporeros de zafra se convertían en desempleados cuando ésta terminaba. Mejorar la industria azucarera podría significar un aumento de las utilidades por el bajo costo de producción que conllevaría; pero el desempleo aumentaría agravando una situación social cuyos resultados eran imprevisibles. Por otra parte, a nivel internacional, una disminución en costo de producción azucarera de Cuba, óptima en este caso, sería determinante del precio, por cuanto éste, lejos de venir determinado por la oferta y la demanda, es resultado de los promedios sociales de producción a nivel internacional. Esto hubiese provocado la quiebra en Hawái, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, etc. Y los norteamericanos, dueños y beneficiarios de la explotación neocolonial velaban por un cierto equilibrio en sus neocolonias. El desplazamiento de otros productores hubiese permitido una con-

currencia privilegiada de Cuba en el mercado mundial. Este surío doncello de los capitalistas cubanos fue cortado con un simple sistema de cuotas que la metrópoli norteamericana impuso, poniendo así paz entre los tróqueles tutelados. Naturalmente que la medida determinó también un estancamiento económico.

Internamente, los obreros se oponían a todo lo que fuese mecanización porque esto acarreaba un desempleo en massa y no se veían, por no existir, posibilidades de opción en otros trabajos que no fuese la industria azucarera.

El sueño de industrializar y diversificar la agricultura del país no podía realizarse porque su estado de dependencia económica y neocolonial no se lo permitía. La política del comprador determinaba el producto. Para industrializar y diversificar hay que ser libres y los gobiernos cubanos eran dependientes de la metrópoli norteamericana que no había previsto en su planificación de obtención de beneficios estas aspiraciones. La importación de materias primas y la exportación de excedentes manufacturados es un privilegio de grandes y desarrollados. El chiquito que llegaba tarde a la mesa no podía sentarse a comer. Tenía que esperar a que los "grandes" terminasen; pero eran de una voracidad sin límites. Martí lo había previsto. "El pueblo que compra, manda. El pueblo que vende, sirve. Hay que equilibrar el comercio, para asegurar la libertad. El pueblo que quiere morir, verde a un solo pueblo; y el que quiere salvarse, vende a más de uno" (Obras completas, Vol. II, Tomo I, pág. 262).

La verdadera liberación se halla en esas palabras: La evolución tenía que resolver esa contradicción.

Una ley de desarrollo capitalista es que la acumulación se hace a expensas de la explotación, empobrecimiento y depauperación progresiva de los proletarios. Porque el valor de la fuerza de trabajo viene determinado por la posibilidad de reproducción de dicha fuerza. Al aplicar esta ley del desarrollo capitalista, la clase dominante obtiene beneficios a expensas de la clase obrera; pero en la interrelación de fuerzas y con el propio desarrollo del capitalismo, la dirección principal de la explotación en los países capitalistas, pasó de la clase obrera nacional a las colonias y neocolonias, sufriendo estas últimas el mayor rigor de la ley del valor y produciéndose la actual acumulación de capital de los países desarrollados a expensas de los subdesarrollados. Por eso mientras más desarrollados son unos, más atrasados son otros.

Esta contradicción para poder desarrollarse hay que liberarse del explotador, se planteaba en Cuba de forma confusa, como un círculo vicioso. Para salir del monocultivo y dependencia económica de un producto hay que diversificar e industrializar y para lograr la industrialización y diversificación agrícola hay que liberar la fuerza de trabajo dedicada al azúcar a través de la mecanización cañera y para mecanizar hace falta la seguridad económica de que ésta rendirá utilidades.

El Círculo Vicioso:

- Los obreros se oponían a la mecanización porque no existía otra alternativa de trabajo.
- Los capitalistas no mecanizaban por la inequidad del precio en el mercado mundial.
- La mecanización debe habérselle presentado a algunos como una inversión dulciosa. Por otra parte la mano de obra era barata y en grandes cantidades. El suelo tenía tales características que casi sin atención producía en condiciones explotables.
- Hay un factor más complejo: La industria azucarera no tenía perspectivas a largo plazo; pero tampoco era desecharable en lo inmediato por la rentabilidad que producía. Su futuro era incierto; pero su presente daba utilidades. Estas características, causas de inestabilidad, vacilaciones, crisis, altas y bajas, lejos de provocar decisiones en una u otra dirección, mantuvieron un estatismo en los propietarios y gobernantes. Tal parece que hubiesen esperado que un imponente, o el simple transcurso del tiempo resolviese una situación que a la par que les preocupaba, demostraban ineptitud para resolver.
- Si el azúcar era la fuente principal de ingresos y acumulación, por tanto la base financiera del desarrollo debía ser ésta.

Problemas específicos:

- 500.000 cortadores de caña. Representa el 10% del total de la población y cerca del 40% de la población en edad laboral.
- El 50% de la tierra cultivada destinada a caña.
- La concentración de la caña; la única actividad productiva que podía permitir ingresos casi seguros, se encontraba distribuida entre un número relativamente bajo,

d) La repartición demográfica de la fuerza de trabajo es, como las instalaciones azucarera, horizontal, es decir, a lo largo y ancho de la isla. Concentrar las instalaciones azucareras en tierras de mayor productividad y acorde con las instalaciones de mayor capacidad, suponía también la concentración de la mano de obra.

Las dos fuentes de riesgos principales de Cuba, suelo y mano de Obra, quedaron sujetados a un monocultivo cuyo futuro era incierto.

Pudieron haber arriesgado la diversificación e industrialización del país no tanto con las probabilidades de ganancia de un producto seguro, sino con la realidad de un suelo rico y una fuerza de trabajo apta, pero por ineptitud y conformismo unidos a las presiones y tutela de los Estados Unidos no encararon con resolución un proceso dinámico que supervisó estrecha les hacia aparecer estática.

El simple transcurso del tiempo con sus consecuencias inevitables, una social y otra económica (crecimiento de la población y concentración de capital), en las condiciones de la economía cubana, condujeron a una crisis del sistema imperante; la Revolución fue la respuesta. Allí donde la burguesía en su doble condición de propietaria y gobernante demostró incapacidad y vaciló, la Revolución tenía que superarla. La Revolución heredó los problemas que no habían sido encarados y las contradicciones que no habían sido resueltas.

Las soluciones que algunos escritores progresistas, estudiosos o economistas planteaban a los graves problemas de la economía nacional, no sólo resultaban con el tiempo meros paliativos que solamente lograron la dilación de la crisis e irresolución de los problemas, sino que resultaban reformas impracticables por las contradicciones que a su vez creaban. Véase a modo de ejemplo el apéndice No. 5 de José Antonio Gómez, de fecha 28 de septiembre de 1942. También algunas conclusiones de Elyon White en "Azúcar Amargo", pág. 173 y siguientes.

Pero la Revolución no solamente heredó problemas y contradicciones, sino que por su sola presencia y naturaleza del proceso como otros problemas y contradicciones que se vieron agudizados tanto por la agresividad que desde el primer momento desarrollaron los imperialistas estadounidenses como por la ignorancia y falta de madurez del pueblo, quien permaneció por las ideas tópicas del pasado creyendo que con la simple nacionalización de

la industria azucarera y otros sectores podían superarse los problemas. La dilación de la riqueza, acumulada por la burguesía hasta entonces, no hubiese servido para sobrevivir más que pocos años y además de ser utópica hubiese enfriado el desarrollo industrial del país. Por otra parte, el capital acumulado no bastaba para financiar una diversificación agrícola ni instalaciones industriales. También el mercado seguro que los Estados Unidos representaba para las exportaciones azucareras y las importaciones, tanto de alimentos, artículos de lujo y piezas de repuesto, desaparecía. La seguridad que la burguesía aceptaba, a punto de angustia e incertidumbre, esta seguridad relativa, desaparecía con la Revolución.

Esta era resultado de una contradicción que en el plano de las relaciones internacionales, bilaterales y casi exclusivas entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos, los últimos llevaban la mejor parte. El desarrollo económico tenía que haberlo encarado la burguesía cubana a pesar de los Estados Unidos. Desarrollar si se quiere una concepción nacionalista, chauvinista, de independencia económica, pero su concepción de fatalismo geográfico, sus temores y balbuceos le impidieron realizar una política para la que hacía falta, además de coraje, inteligencia. De una parte la naturaleza del imperialismo se revela incapaz para conceder reformas y por otra, es una característica subencial de las burguesías nacionales latinoamericanas, su temor a rebelarse contra los tutores de una política y economía que por su poder y riqueza les infunde temor. En el caso de Latinoamérica no es tanto que no haya cristalizado una conciencia nacional burguesa, sino que la existencia de esta clase tiene una conciencia de dependencia de Estados Unidos que la incapacita en este período histórico para ver la posibilidad de una existencia independiente.

Con el triunfo de la Revolución, los burgueses y pequeños burgueses abandonaron Cuba, no solamente por las intervenciones revolucionarias, sino también por la convicción que tenían de que no podía mantenerse un gobierno que aplicase una política no sólo a pesar de los Estados Unidos, sino contra los intereses y objetivos de los Estados Unidos. Habían sido muy dependientes y cobardes. Desarrollaron y aceptaron como inuestionables, conceptos que elevaron a categorías de axiomas políticos, sin percatarse que eran el reflejo de una ideología y concepción temerosa: "Sin azúcar no hay País", "El pueblo cubano es haragán", "Cuba está muy cerca de los

Estados Unidos para hacer lo que le plazca", etcétera.

Sí al gobierno de los Estados Unidos y a las burguesías latinoamericanas causó asombro y estupefacción la proclamación socialista de la Revolución cubana, en los cobardes burgueses y pequeños burgueses, así como en los cubanos en Miami, el origen del temor no era tanto económico, sino que provenía del hecho de que se mantuviese la Revolución. La cobardía jamás concibe otras soluciones que las ya experimentadas. Para ellos las reformas eran difíciles, casi utópicas. ¡Una Revolución, imposible!

Los soviéticos y demás países socialistas ofrecieron mercadeo para el azúcar.

Las inversiones económicas para el desarrollo de la industria que la lógica priorizaba, se vieron obstaculizadas por el bloqueo impuesto por los no-americanos y por la necesidad de desarrollar un aparato militar fuerte y modernísimo, capaz de enfrentar tanto las agresiones, como las amenazas constantes que los Estados Unidos y gobiernos latinoamericanos realizaban.

Hoy la situación se plantea con agudeza. Para llevar adelante la diversificación agrícola e industrialización del país, hace falta mano de obra. Los cubanos en edad laboral somos unos 2.000.000 y el 30 por ciento está dedicado a la recolección azucarera.

Liberar esta fuerza de trabajo supone la posibilidad de dirigirla a otros sectores donde su productividad y desarrollo permita la acumulación de riquezas necesarias al desarrollo económico. Para esto hay que mecanizar la industria azucarera. La maquinaria que existe y que operaría no sólo 500.000 cultivos, formaría fuerza de trabajo, sino que terminaría por primera vez con el fatigoso corte de caña, uno de los trabajos más duros y violentos que en el planeta se conoce. El machete, símbolo de libertad y esfuerzo del cubano, también signo de dependencia y angustia, se convertiría en una pieza de museo.

Todavía por algunos años habrá que depender del monocultivo cañero, y del cañero como producto principal de exportación. Esta prioridad a la caña es una de las razones que determina la imposibilidad de contar con mano de obra suficiente para desarrollar otros cultivos de manera intensa. Es positivamente sólo en Cuba, donde se da el fenómeno de un equilibrio entre la densidad de población y las tierras cultivables, equívoco en nuestro caso desfavorable al desarrollo económico, y que se ve causado o agravado por el predominio cañero.

Si en vez de 7 millones fuésemos 10 millones de cubanos el problema se plantearía en otros términos. Podría tal vez encararse la mecanización azucarera como paulatina y paralela al desarrollo de otros sectores; pero en nuestras condiciones la mecanización resulta un requisito sino que una.

Pero la mecanización no sólo produce efectos económicos, sino que el más profundo es de carácter social. La verdadera liberación será de la fatigosa carga del corte manual.

Algunen ha dicho que el verdadero fin de la Revolución es una máquina cortadora, que cuando esto ocurra la Revolución habrá roto una de las cadenas más pesadas y difíciles.

Esto representará la liberación de una parte considerable de la población en edad laboral y romperá las barreras de una baja productividad cuyos resultados a mediano y largo plazo, son difíciles de prever. La industria azucarera sigue siendo incierta, en tanto existe la posibilidad de producir azúcar sintético; en condiciones económicas. Pero hasta tanto eso no ocurre, la industria azucarera de la caña, seguirá siendo la base de nuestro desarrollo económico, y en pocos años, desencadenando en las riquezas de nuestro suelo

y en la fuerza de nuestro pueblo, la Revolución habrá resuelto las contradicciones y problemas que timoratos y vacilantes no supieron encarar con el valor y el coraje que le habían legado las tradiciones mambisas; el machete que sirvió para romper el nudo con España, sirve hoy también como garante exclusivo, por la mano que lo empuña, de un desarrollo económico en el que sin riesgo de ningún tipo pueden convivir todos los gobiernos y pueblos del mundo.

- a) La combinación de corte y alta quívima en la Básica del Caño representa una ayuda insuperable al prolongado esfuerzo y sacrificio que hay que realizar en alto: de una acumulación de riquezas para financiar tanto la industria como la diversificación agrícola.
- b) Representa un incremento de la población en edad laboral.
- c) Hará desaparecer una especie de sentimiento de culpabilidad que naturalmente tenemos que sentir todos respecto al obrero agrícola cortador.
- d) La máquina de corte y alta constituye el primer establecimiento de la Revolución Industrial necesaria a nuestro desarrollo y nuestra total liberación.

¿Qué es la Praxis?

Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez

Actividad y praxis.

Toda praxis es actividad, pero no toda actividad es praxis. Al señalar Marx que el idealismo, en contraste con el materialismo, admite el lado activo de la relación sujeto-objeto, y al subrayar, a su vez, su defecto —no ver esta actividad como práctica—,⁽¹⁾ nos proviene contra todo intento de establecer un signo de igualdad entre actividad y praxis. De ahí que para delimitar el contenido propio de esta última y su relación con otras actividades, sea preciso distinguir la praxis, como forma de actividad o específica, de otras que pueden estar incluso intimamente vinculadas a ella.

Por actividad en general, entendemos el acto o conjunto de actos en virtud de los cuales un sujeto activo (agente) modifica una materia prima dada.⁽²⁾ Esta caracterización de la actividad justamente por su generalidad no especifica el tipo de agente (físico, biológico o humano) ni la naturaleza de la materia prima sobre la que actúa (cuerpo físico, ser vivo, vivencia psíquica, grupo, relación o institución social) ni determina tampoco el espacio de actos (físicos, psíquicos, sociales) que conducen a cierta transformación. El resultado de la actividad, a su vez, su producto sea un asimismo, en niveles diversos: puede ser una nueva partícula, un concepto, un útil, una obra artística o un nuevo sistema social.

En este amplio sentido, actividad se opone a pasividad, y su esfera es la de la

efectividad, no la de lo momentáneo posible. Agente es lo que obra, lo que actúa y no lo que está solamente en posibilidad o disponibilidad de actuar u obrar. Su actividad no es potencial, sino actual. Se da efectivamente en lo que pueda ser separada del acto o conjunto de actos que la constituyen. La actividad muestra en las relaciones entre las partes y el todo los rasgos de una totalidad concreta. Varios actos desarticulados o yuxtapuestos casualmente no permiten hablar de actividad; es preciso que los actos singulares se articulen o estructuren, como elementos de un todo, o de un proceso total, que desemboca en la modificación de una materia prima. Por ello, a los actos del agente y a la materia sobre la cual se ejerce esta actividad, hay que agregar el resultado o producto que es esa materia misma ya transformada por el agente.

Nuestro concepto de actividad es lo suficientemente amplio para que englobe, por ejemplo: a un nivel físico, las relaciones nucleares de determinadas partículas que conducen a la transformación de unos elementos químicos en su conjunto, o la actividad de un órgano en particular; a un nivel psíquico, las actividades del hombre o del animal del tipo de la sensorial, refleja instintiva, etcétera; en este plano instintivo, la actividad puede manifestarse como una serie de actos tan complejos como es de la construcción de un nido por un pájaro, sin que por ello deje de ser una actividad meramente biológica, natural. El hombre también puede ser su-

jeto de actividades —biológicas o instintivas— que no rebasan su nivel meramente natural y que, por tanto, no podemos considerarlas como específicamente humanas.

La actividad propiamente humana sólo se da cuando los actos dirigidos a un objeto para transformarlo se inicien con un resultado ideal, o fin, y terminan con un resultado o producto efectivos, reales. En este caso, los actos no sólo se hallan determinados esencialmente por un estado anterior que —se ha visto— efectivamente —determinación del pasado por el presente—, sino por algo que no tiene una existencia efectiva aún y que, sin embargo, determina y regula los diferentes actos antes de desembocar en un resultado real; o sea, la determinación no viene del pasado, sino del futuro.

La adecuación a fines.

Este modo de articulación y determinación de los diferentes actos del proceso activo distinguen radicalmente la actividad específicamente humana de cualquier otra que se halle a un nivel meramente natural. Dicha actividad entraña la intervención de la conciencia gracias a la cual el resultado es dado —y en tiempos distintos—, como resultado ideal y como producto real. El resultado real que se quiere obtener, existe primero idealmente, como mero producto de la conciencia, y los diferentes actos del proceso se articulan o estructuran conforme al resultado que se da primero en el tiempo, es decir, el resultado ideal. Por esta anticipación del resultado que se pretende obtener, la actividad propiamente humana tiene un carácter consciente. Lo característico de ella es que por mucho que diste el resultado real del ideal se trate, en todo caso, de adecuar intencionalmente el primero al segundo. Esto no significa que el resultado obtenido haya de ser forzosamente una mera duplicación real de un modelo ideal preexistente. No; la adecuación no tiene por qué ser perfecta. Puede asemejarse poco, e incluso nada, al fin originario, ya que éste sufre cambios, a veces radicales, en el proceso de su realización. Ahora bien, para que pueda hablarse de actividad humana basta que se plante en ella un resultado ideal o fin a cumplir, como punto de partida, y una intención de adecuación, independientemente de cómo se plasme, en definitiva, el modelo ideal originario.

Esta inadecuación entre intención y resultado se pone de manifiesto tanto en la actividad de los individuos como en la propiamente social. Aquí, mientras los hombres no son conscientes de las leyes

que rigen el proceso económico-social, la persecución de diferentes fines por los miembros de la sociedad da lugar a actividades diversas de los individuos o grupos sociales en los que dichos fines se contraponen, equilibran o se subordinan entre sí produciendo resultados que no concuerdan con sus intenciones o que se dan con independencia de éstas. Las relaciones de producción, por ejemplo, son relaciones que los hombres entran independientemente de su voluntad y de su conciencia. Es decir, son producidas por los hombres como productos suyos intencionales.⁽⁵⁾ El progreso histórico se caracteriza, entre otras cosas, por una superación de esta intencionalidad. Los hombres que en el pasado prefijaron intencionalmente la esclavitud, el feudalismo y el capitalismo se propusieron hoy, conscientemente, la destrucción de las relaciones capitalistas de producción y la instauración del socialismo. Pero aunque la historia humana registra resultados que nadie ha querido, esta intencionalidad no es sino la forma que socialmente adopta el resultado de la actividad desplegada por los individuos como sujetos sociales que actúan conscientemente.⁽⁶⁾ Volveremos más adelante (en el capítulo V) sobre esta cuestión.

La actividad humana es, por tanto, actividad conforme a fines, y éstos sólo existen por el hombre, como productor de su conciencia. Toda acción veránderamente humana exige cierta conciencia de un fin, el cual se supedita al curso de la actividad misma.

El fin es, a su vez, la expresión de cierta actitud del sujeto ante la realidad. Por el hecho de trazar un fin, adopta cierta posición ante ella. Quien se propone realizar un viaje, construye una silla, plantea un cuadro o transformar un régimen social, muestra determinada actitud ante una situación real, presente. Si el hombre viviera en plena armonía con la realidad, o en total conciliación con su presente, no sentiría la necesidad de nejarlos idealmente ni de configurarlos en su conciencia una realidad inexistente aún. Carece de sentido, en verdad, proponerse un fin ya alcanzado, o un resultado obtenido. El fin prefigura idealmente lo que aún no se logra alcanzar. Por el hecho de trazar fines, el hombre niega una realidad efectiva, y afirma otra que no existe todavía. Pero los fines son productos de la conciencia, y, por ello, la actividad que rigen es consciente. No se trata de la actividad de una conciencia pura, sino de la conciencia de un hombre social que no puede prescindir de la producción de fines en ninguna forma de actividad, incluyendo, por supuesto, la práctica material.⁽⁷⁾

Marx hace resaltar el papel del fin en una actividad práctica como el trabajo humano: «Al final del proceso de trabajo, brota un resultado que antes de comenzar el proceso existía ya en la mente del obrero: es decir, un resultado que tenía ya existencia ideal. El obrero no se limita a hacer cambiar de forma la materia que le brinda la naturaleza, sino que, al mismo tiempo, realiza en ella su fin, fin que él sabe que rige como una ley las modalidades de su actuación, y al que tiene que suceder su voluntad».⁽⁸⁾

Al subrayar aquí el papel de la producción de fines en el proceso de trabajo, Marx destaca asimismo el papel del objeto —la materia que le brinda la naturaleza— sobre el cual se ejerce dicha actividad. La transformación de la naturaleza material en productos mediante el trabajo no podría darse sin estas condiciones materiales, pero, a su vez, Marx subraya justamente por tratarse del trabajo como una actividad específicamente humana el papel determinante del fin, y su carácter de ley en dicho proceso de transformación material.

El fin, por tanto, prefigura aquí el resultado de una actividad real, práctica, que ya no es pura actividad de la conciencia. Gracias a ello, el hombre no se halla en una relación de exterioridad con sus diferentes actos y con su producto como sucede cuando se trata de un agente físico o animal, sino en una relación de interinidad con ellos, ya que su conciencia establece el fin como ley de sus actos, ley a la que se subordinan, y que rige, en cierto modo, el producto. Este dominio jamás puede ser absoluto, ya que se halla limitado por el objeto de la acción y los medios con que se lleva a cabo la materialización de los fines.

Así pues, al anticipar idealmente el resultado efectivo, puede ajustar sus actos como elementos de una totalidad regida por el fin. Esta prefiguración ideal del resultado real diferencia radicalmente la actividad del hombre de cualquier otra actividad animal que, externamente, pudiera asemejarse a ella. «Una araña —dice Marx— ejecuta operaciones que sirven para las manipulaciones del tejedor, y la construcción de los panales de las abejas podría avergonzar, por su perfección, a más de un maestro de obras. Pero hay algo en que el mejor maestro de obras aventaja, desde luego, a la mejor abeja, y es el hecho de que, antes de ejecutar la construcción, la proyecta en su cerebro».⁽⁹⁾

Tomando en cuenta la semejanza externa que puede darse entre ciertos actos animales y humanos, hay que concluir que la actividad propia del hombre no

puede reducirse a su mera expresión exterior y que de ella forma parte esencialmente la actividad de la conciencia. Esta actividad se despliega como producción de fines que presuponen idealmente el resultado real que se quiere obtener, pero se manifiesta, asimismo, como producción de conocimientos, es decir, en forma de conceptos, hipótesis, teorías o leyes mediante los cuales el hombre conoce la realidad.

Entre la actividad cognoscitiva y la teórica hay diferencias importantes, pues mientras la primera tiene que ver con una realidad presente de la cual se pretende dar razón, la segunda hace referencia a una realidad futura, y, por tanto, inexistente aún.⁽¹⁰⁾ Por otro lado, mientras la actividad cognoscitiva de por sí no entraña una exigencia de acción efectiva, la actividad teórica lleva implícita una exigencia de realización, en virtud de la cual se tiende a hacer del fin una causa de la acción real. En efecto, en cuanto anticipación ideal de un resultado real que se quiere alcanzar, el fin es también expresión de una necesidad humana que sólo se satisface con el logro del resultado que aquél prefigura o anticipa. Por ello, no es sólo anticipación ideal de lo que está por venir, sino de algo que, además, queremos que venga. Y, en este sentido, es causa de acción y determina —como porvenir— nuestros actos presentes. Claro es que el hombre no sólo anticipa el futuro con su actividad teórica; al dar razón de una realidad presente, y sobre la base de su conocimiento puede prever una fase de su desenvolvimiento que no se da aún. Tal es la legítima función de la previsión científica. Con ella, se anticipa idealmente lo que todavía no existe efectivamente. Pero esa anticipación ideal del futuro no entraña necesariamente que queramos su existencia real, o apropriarnos a contribuir a que advenga. En este caso, el futuro no determina nuestros actos; es decir, la prefiguración ideal de una realidad inexistente no rige como una ley —a diferencia del fin— nuestra acción. En pocas palabras, la actividad cognoscitiva de por sí no nos mueve a actuar.

Pero eso no significa que una y otra actividad de la conciencia se hallen separadas por una muralla insalvable. No se conoce por conocer, sino al servicio de un fin, o serie de fines que puede tener como culminación inicial el de la conquista de la verdad; a su vez, como antes señalamos, los fines que la conciencia produce llevan en su seno una exigencia de realización, y esta realización presupone —contra otras condiciones— una actividad cognoscitiva sin la cual dichos fines jamás podrían tocar tierra, es decir, cumplirse. Por otro lado, todo fin presupone deter-

attività obiectiva de la realidad que el hombre identifica; y en este sentido —es decir, desde el punto de vista del hombre— no podrán desvincularse tampoco del conocimiento.

Ast. pues, la actividad de su conocimiento, que es la expresión de toda actividad antropóloga humana, se hace presente combatiéndola de otra y produciendo sus resultados en una unidad. Si el hombre acentuará siempre el mundo como es, y si, por otra parte, se acuerda siempre a sí mismo en su estado fetal, no sentirá la necesidad de transformar el mundo en lo transformarse él a su vez. Se acuerda recordando, de la misma manera que recordó —recordando más importante— su condición fetalidad. El conocimiento humano en su conjunto se infiere en la doble e intrínseca del hombre de transformar la naturaleza exterior, y su propia condición. Pero el conocimiento no sirve directamente a esta actividad práctica, transformadora; se pone en relación con ella a través de los fines. La actividad entre el conocimiento y la acción requiere la mediación de los fines que han de producirse. Es ésta la actividad de la resistencia y la transformación, y van demandando de una operación de realización, esta realización —o transformación de un material dada para producir determinado resultado— requiere el conocimiento de su objeto, de las metas o instrumentos para transformarlo y de las condiciones que abren o cierran las posibilidades de esa realización. En este sentido, las actividades técnicas, científicas y teológicas de la civilización se basan en una dualidad individual.

La actividad de la conciencia da por el hombre un carácter que podemos denominar actividad práctica, actividad que no puede comprender por sí sola, entre tanto actividad de su conocimiento, a una otra formación de la actividad, actividad de la transformación de la actividad. Tanto el desarrollo de la conciencia de Marx como de la producción de la actividad, la condición de la labor, su plena finalidad, es decir, su actividad no se objeta o materializa. Por esta razón el uno y otra son actividades que solo, en tanto actividad, actividad objetiva, real, es decir, práctica.

La actividad práctica

Cuando habla actividad práctica, hablamos de actividad que se desarrolla en el trabajo humano. Si la actividad práctica es en la práctica reguladora, es una actividad dirigida a fines, ésta cumpliendo exigir —como hemos señalado— cierta actividad cognoscitiva. Pero lo distinto de la actividad práctica radica en el carácter real, objetivo, de la materia prima sobre la cual se actúa, de

los medios o instrumentos con que se ejerce la acción y de su resultado o producto. En la actividad práctica, el sujeto actúa sobre una materia en la que existe independientemente de su acción, y de las diferentes operaciones o manipulaciones realizadas por su transformación. La transformación de esa materia —cubre todo, en el trabajo humano— exige una serie de actos físicos, corpóreos, sin los cuales no podría llevarse a cabo la alteración o destrucción de ciertas propiedades que hace posible la aparición de un nuevo objeto, con nuevas propiedades. En el trabajo, dice Marx, el hombre se enfrenta con un poder natural con la materia de la naturaleza. Pone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corporeidad, los brazos y las piernas, la carne y la sangre, para de ese modo assimilarse bajo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda.¹⁰ Finalmente, el producto es la actividad transformadora es un objeto o material que subsiste en la dependencia del proceso de su producción, y que, con su sustentabilidad propia se afirma ante el sujeto, es decir, ante la actividad independiente de la actividad subjetiva que lo crea.

En este sentido, la actividad que la actividad práctica es real, dirigida a material. Y a muestra tiene en la formulación Marx en sus Tesis sobre la filosofía del conocimiento la distinción entre actividad y actividad objetiva. Marx subraya el en acto real, objetivo, de la praxis en tanto transformación del mundo exterior que es independiente de su conciencia y de su existencia. El objeto de la actividad práctica es la naturaleza, la actividad de los hombres reales. El fin de esa actividad es la transformación real, objetiva, del mundo natural a través para satisfacer las demandas necesarias humanas. Y el resultado es una nueva realidad que subsiste independientemente del sujeto o de las sujetas concretas que la originan con su actividad subjetiva, pero que, en definitiva, solo existe por el hombre y para el hombre, como ha señalado.

En esta actividad real, obviamente sobre una realidad —natural o humana— que existe independientemente del sujeto práctico, no puede hablarse propiamente de la actividad objetiva ni de la actividad de conocimiento y objetividad por tanto, la actividad transformadora —práctica— o transformación en particular que no se objeta o materializa no puede considerarse como praxis.

Formas de praxis

La materia prima de la actividad práctica puede estimular dando lugar a diversas formas de praxis. El objeto sobre el

cuál ejerce su acción el sujeto puede ser: a) lo dado naturalmente, o entes naturales; b) productos de una praxis anterior que se convierten, a su vez, en materia de una nueva praxis, como los materiales ya preparados con que trabaja el obrero o crea el artista plástico; c) lo humano mismo, ya se trate de la sociedad como materia o objeto de la praxis política o revolucionaria, ya se trate de individuos concretos. En unos casos, como vemos, la praxis tiene por objeto al hombre y, en otros, una materia no propiamente humana: natural, en unos casos, artificial, en otros.

Entre las formas fundamentales de la praxis tenemos la actividad práctica productiva, o relación material y transformadora que el hombre establece —mediante su trabajo— con la naturaleza. (1) Cuando el trabajo, el hombre vence la resistencia de las materias y fuerzas naturales y crea un mundo de objetos útiles que satisfacen determinadas necesidades. Pero como el hombre es un ser social, este proceso solamente se realiza en determinadas condiciones sociales, es decir, en el marco de ciertas relaciones que los hombres contraen como agentes de la producción en este proceso y que Marx llama justamente relaciones de producción.¹¹

En el proceso de trabajo, el hombre valiéndose de los instrumentos o medios adecuados transforma un objeto con arreglo a un fin. En cuanto materializa cierto fin o proyecto, se objetiva en cierto modo en su producto. En el trabajo —dice Marx— el hombre asimila «dijo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda», pero solo puede assimilarlas objetivándose en ellas, es decir, imprimiendo en la materia trabajada la marca de sus fines. Marx señala esta adecuación a un fin como uno de los factores esenciales del proceso de trabajo: «Los factores simples que intervienen en el proceso de trabajo son: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o sea, el propio trabajo, su objeto y sus medios».¹²

En esta caracterización del proceso de trabajo, podemos hablar de condiciones objetivas —la actividad del hombre y las condiciones materiales del trabajo— representadas tanto por el objeto del trabajo como por los medios o instrumentos con que se lleva a cabo esa transformación. Sin embargo, esta división no puede considerarse absoluta. En primer lugar, el hombre transforma el objeto con arreglo a fines viéndose de instrumentos que él mismo usa y fabrica, razón por la cual Marx dice que su uso y fabricación «caracterizan el proceso de trabajo específicamente humano». Al reducir Marx

el instrumento de trabajo —condición material y objetiva del proceso laboral— a trabajo humano, el instrumento aparece así humanizado también —tanto por su uso como por su fabricación—. Cierto es que esta humanización no puede concebirse en un sentido abstracto, antropológico, sino como expresión tanto de una determinada relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza como de las condiciones sociales en que los hombres producen (relaciones de producción). Por ello dice Marx: «Los instrumentos de trabajo no son solamente el barómetro indicador del desarrollo de la fuerza de trabajo del hombre, sino también el exponente de las condiciones sociales en que se trabaja».¹³ Gracias a los instrumentos, la relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza deja de ser directa e inmediata. La aparición de instrumentos más perfeccionados modifica el tipo de relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza, y, en este sentido, es un índice revelador del desarrollo de su fuerza de trabajo y de su dominio sobre la naturaleza. El poder de mediación del instrumento se ha extendido y elevado con la introducción de la máquina hasta llegar a la automatización con la que el hombre queda separado radicalmente del objeto de la producción. Pero esas queridas que sean los instrumentos de que se valga para transformar la materia conforme a sus fines, es, en definitiva, el hombre quien los usa y fabrica, y es él, en última instancia, el que viéndose de ellos actúa sobre las materias y las transforma conforme a sus necesidades. El papel dominante de los medios de producción, subrayado por Marx, lejos de eliminar la presencia del hombre concreto, como sujeto de la producción, lo revela inequívocamente. Pero esa presencia se pone de manifiesto abiertamente con el tercer factor del proceso de trabajo señalado por Marx: su carácter de actividad personal adecuada a un fin. No se puede desconocer el papel de este factor al analizar el proceso de trabajo aunque ello se haga para subrayar la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominante de los medios de producción.¹⁴

Se puede afirmar el carácter teleológico de la actividad práctica, material, que es el trabajo humano, sin que ello impida que hacer abstracción de la materialidad misma de ese proceso, materialidad que no se reduce, por otra parte, al objeto de trabajo y a los instrumentos materiales, sino que incluye también, la propia actividad subjetiva del hombre que se enfrenta con sus instrumentos o la materia ya que en el trabajo «pone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corpo-

reldad, los brazos y las piernas, la cabeza y la mano...».¹⁰⁰

La praxis productiva es así la praxis fundamental porque en ella el hombre no sólo produce un mundo humano o humanizado, en el sentido de un mundo de objetos que satisfacen necesidades humanas y que sólo pueden ser producidos en la medida en que se plasman en ellos fines o proyectos humanos, sino también, en el sentido de que en la praxis productiva el hombre se produce, forma o transforma a sí mismo. «A la par que de ese modo actúa sobre la naturaleza exterior a él y la transforma —dice Marx en *El Capital*—, transforma su propia naturaleza desarrollando las potencias que formulan en él y sometiendo el juego de sus fuerzas a su propia disciplina». ¹⁰¹

Otra forma de praxis es la producción o creación de obras de arte. Al igual que el trabajo humano es transformación de una materia a la que se imprime una forma dada, cada vez ya por una necesidad práctica-utillaria, sino por una necesidad general humana de expresión y objetivación. En cuanto que la actividad del artista no se halla limitada por la utilidad material que el producto del trabajo debe satisfacer, puede llevar el proceso de humanización que —en forma limitada— se da ya en el trabajo humano hasta sus últimas consecuencias. Por ello la praxis artística permite la creación de objetos humanos o humanizados que elevan a un grado superior la capacidad de expresión y objetivación humanas, que se revela ya en los productos del trabajo. La obra artística es, ante todo, creación de una nueva realidad, y puesto que el hombre se afirma, creando o humanizando cuanto toca, la praxis artística —al ensanchar y enriquecer con sus creaciones la realidad ya humanizada— es una praxis esencial para el hombre.¹⁰²

Como toda verdadera praxis humana, el arte se sitúa en la esfera de la acción, de la transformación de una materia que ha de ceder su forma para adoptar otra nueva; la exigida por la necesidad humana que el objeto creado o producido ha de satisfacer. El arte no es mera producción material ni pura producción espiritual. Pero justamente por su carácter práctico, realizador y transformador, está más cerca del trabajo humano —sobre todo, cuando éste no ha perdido su carácter creador—, que de una actividad meramente espiritual.

Entre las formas de actividad práctica que se ejercen sobre una materia dada hay que incluir también la actividad científica experimental que satisface, primordialmente, las necesidades de la investigación teórica, y, en particular, las de la

comprobación de hipótesis. Esta forma de praxis es la que se pone de manifiesto cuando el investigador actúa sobre un objeto material modificando a voluntad las condiciones en que se ope a un fenómeno. Tal es el sentido de la experimentación como praxis científica. El investigador produce fenómenos que se i una reproducción de los que se dan en un medio natural, pero los produce justamente para poder estudiarlos en un modo artificial —el del laboratorio— sin las impurezas y perturbaciones con que se presentan en el medio natural y que, por esa razón, dificultan su estudio. En cuanto que se trata de producir determinados fenómenos con ayuda del instrumento más adecuado, la actividad científica experimental es, evidentemente, una forma de praxis. Se trata de una actividad objetiva a que da lugar a un producto o resultado real y objetivo.

En este tipo de praxis el fin inmediato es teórico. El experimento se lleva a cabo para probar una teoría, o determinados aspectos de ella. Se expone intentando respondiendo a ciertas exigencias teóricas con el fin de facilitar el desarrollo de ella. Un determinado experimento —por ejemplo, los resultados en agronomía— puede tener consecuencias prácticas, pero no directamente, sino a través de la teoría que trata de comprobar.

Ahora bien, la experimentación no es privativa de la ciencia; es lo habitual también de una actividad experimental en otros campos: artístico, educativo, económico o social. En estos casos, a diferencia de la actividad experimental científica, el experimento no está al servicio directo e inmediato de una teoría, sino de una forma específica de praxis; el experimento artístico o educativo tiene por fin el impulso de la actividad práctica correspondiente, el arte o la educación. De este modo, vemos que mientras en la ciencia el fin de la actividad experimental es teórico —fortalecer o impulsar el desarrollo de una teoría—, y, de un modo mediato, sirve por tanto a determinada actividad práctica, en otros campos la experimentación contribuye al desenvolvimiento de la praxis correspondiente, pero de una manera directa e inmediata: en cuanto que sus resultados se aplican en la esfera práctica adecuada.

Tales son las formas fundamentales —aunque no exclusivas— de la praxis cuando la acción del hombre se ejerce más o menos inmediatamente sobre una materia natural —naturaleza inmediata, o naturaleza ya mediata, o finalizada que sirve de objeto de nueva acción—. Veamos, ahora, el tipo de praxis en que el hombre es sujeto y objeto de ella; es decir, praxis en la que actúa sobre sí mismo.

Esta actividad práctica del hombre ofrece diversas modalidades. Dentro de ella caen los diversos actos encaminados a su transformación como ser social, y, por ello, a cambiar sus relaciones económicas, políticas y sociales. En cuanto que su actividad toma por objeto no a un individuo aislado, sino a grupos o clases sociales, e incluso a la sociedad entera, pueda denominarse praxis social, aunque en un sentido amplio toda práctica (incluyendo aquella que tiene por objeto directo a la naturaleza) reviste un carácter social, ya que el hombre sólo puede llevarla a cabo contrayendo determinadas relaciones sociales (relaciones de producción en la praxis productiva) y, además, porque la modificación práctica del objeto no humano se traduce, a su vez, en una transformación del hombre como ser social.

En un sentido más restringido, la praxis social es la actividad de grupos o clases sociales que conducen a transformar la organización y dirección de la sociedad, o a realizar ciertos cambios mediante la actividad del Estado. Esta forma de praxis es justamente la actividad política.

En las condiciones de la sociedad dividida en clases antagonistas, la política comprende la lucha de clases por el poder y la dirección y estructuración de la sociedad, de acuerdo con los intereses y fines correspondientes. La política es una actividad práctica en cuanto que la lucha que libran los grupos o clases sociales se halla vinculada a cierto tipo de organización real de sus miembros (instituciones y organizaciones políticas, como son, por ejemplo, los partidos) en segundo lugar, aunque la actividad política vaya acompañada de un choque y contraposición de ideas, proyectos, programas, etcétera, y esta lucha ideológica ejerce una influencia indudable en las acciones políticas reales, concretas, el carácter práctico de la actividad política exige formas, medios y métodos真是, efectivos, de lucha; así, por ejemplo, el proletariado en su lucha política se vale de huelgas, manifestaciones, mitines e incluso de métodos violentos. En tercer lugar, la actividad política gira en torno a la conquista, conservación, dirección o control de un organismo concreto como es el Estado. El poder es un instrumento de importancia vital para la transformación de la sociedad.

La praxis política presupone la participación de amplios sectores de la sociedad. Pero no se trata de una actividad espontánea, aunque se den en ella actos espontáneos de determinados individuos o grupos. Persigue determinados fines que responden a los intereses radicales de las clases sociales, y en cada situación concreta la realización de esos fines se halla

condicionada por las posibilidades objetivas inscritas en la propia realidad. Una política que responda a esas posibilidades y que excluya todo aventurismo, exige un conocimiento de esa realidad y de la correlación de clases para no proponerse acciones que desembocuen inexorablemente en un fracaso. La lucha tiene que ser, por tanto, consciente, organizada y dirigida, y la necesidad de librirla en esta forma explica la creación de los partidos políticos.

Los partidos trazan, con una mayor o menor conciencia de los objetivos, posibilidades y condiciones, la línea de acción. Los métodos para transformar lo ideal en real, es decir, para realizar prácticamente la línea política trazada por un partido constituye la estrategia y la táctica. La estrategia señala las tareas correspondientes a una etapa histórica general, y la táctica determina el modo de cumplir la línea política de un período relativamente breve. Estrategia y táctica se relacionan dentro de la línea política y de su aplicación como lo general y lo particular.

La praxis política, en cuanto actividad práctica transformadora, alcanza su forma más alta en la praxis revolucionaria como etapa superior de la transformación práctica de la sociedad. En la sociedad dividida en clases antagonistas, la actividad revolucionaria permite cambiar radicalmente las bases económicas y sociales en que se asienta el poder material y espiritual de la clase dominante, e instaurar así una nueva sociedad. El agente principal de este cambio es el proletariado a través de una lucha consciente, organizada y dirigida, lo que presupone la existencia de un partido que eleve su conciencia de clase y trace claramente los objetivos de esa lucha, su estrategia y su táctica, que organice las fuerzas y los dirigir.

Si el hombre existe en cuanto tal como ser práctico, es decir, afirmando con su actividad práctica transformadora frente a la naturaleza exterior y frente a su propia naturaleza, la praxis revolucionaria y la praxis productiva constituyen dos dimensiones esenciales de su ser práctico. Pero, a su vez, una y otra actividad, junto con las restantes formas específicas de praxis, no son sino formas concretas particulares de una praxis total humana gracias a la cual el hombre como ser social y consciente humaniza los objetos y se humaniza a sí mismo.

La actividad teórica.

La actividad teórica en su conjunto —como ideología y ciencia—, considerada también a lo largo de su desenvolvimiento histórico, sólo existe por y en relación

con la práctica, ya que en ella encuentra su fundamento, sus fines y criterio de verdad, como trataremos de poner de manifiesto más adelante. Pero por estrechas que sean las relaciones entre una y otra actividad, la actividad teórica de por sí no muestra los rasgos que hemos considerado privativos de la praxis, y, por ello, no debemos ponerla en el mismo plano que las formas de actividad práctica que antes hemos examinado. A nuestro modo de ver, la actividad teórica no es de por si una forma de praxis.

Aunque la «práctica» teórica transforme percepciones, representaciones o conceptos, y crea el tipo peculiar de productos que son las hipótesis, teorías, leyes, etcétera, en ninguno de esos casos se transforma la realidad. No se cumplen en ella las condiciones que señalábamos anteriormente con respecto a la materia prima, la actividad y el resultado en el proceso práctico. Falta aquí el lado material, objetivo, de la praxis, y por ello no consideramos que sea legítimo hablar de praxis teórica.

Lo que a nuestro juicio veda caracterizar así es precisamente lo que hay de distintivo en la actividad teórica, entendiéndose por ésta tanto la producción de ideas como de conocimientos. Por su objeto, fines, medios y resultados, la actividad teórica se distingue de la práctica. Su objeto o materia prima son las sensaciones o percepciones —es decir, objetos psíquicos que sólo tienen una existencia subjetiva—, o los conceptos, teorías, representaciones o hipótesis que tienen una existencia ideal. El fin inmediato de la actividad teórica es elaborar o transformar idealmente, no realmente, esa materia prima, para obtener, como productos, teorías que expliquen una realidad presente, o modelos que prefiguren idealmente una realidad futura. La actividad teórica proporciona un conocimiento indispensable para transformar la realidad, o traza fines que antelilan idealmente su transformación, pero en uno y otro caso queda intacta la realidad efectiva. Las transformaciones que lleva a cabo la actividad teórica con relación a esta —paso de una hipótesis a una teoría, y de ésta a otra, coria más fundada— son transformaciones ideales; de las ideas sobre el mundo, pero no del mundo mismo.⁽²²⁾ Y las operaciones que el hombre lleva a cabo para producir fines o conocimientos son operaciones mentales: abstraer, generalizar, deducir, sintetizar, prever, etc., que si bien exigen un sustrato corpóreo y el funcionamiento del sistema nervioso superior, no dejan de ser operaciones subjetivas, psíquicas, aunque puedan tener manifestaciones objetivas.

Por otra parte, pensamos que la admisión de una praxis teórica se halla en con-

tradicción con la crítica que Marx formula en sus Tesis sobre Feuerbach. Si recordamos el contenido de la Tesis I veremos que Marx critica a Feuerbach justamente por concebir la relación sujeto-objeto (u hombre-naturaleza) como una relación meramente contemplativa, o sea teórica. En esto radica el defecto fundamental de la filosofía Feuerbachiana, así como del materialismo tradicional. En este sentido, Marx contrapone relación (contemplativa) teórica y práctica. Y en ese mismo sentido contrapone también en su Tesis XI la filosofía como intuición, es decir, como teoría desligada de la práctica, y la filosofía vinculada conscientemente a la transformación del mundo.

Esta contraposición («comtemplación (teoría) y praxis») demuestra que Marx, lejos de admitir la teoría como una forma de praxis, establece por el contrario una contraposición entre una y otra. Por otra parte al distinguir claramente en su Introducción a la crítica de la economía política, lo concreto real y lo concreto pensado, y presentar la actividad teórica cognoscitiva, es decir, la producción de conocimientos como un proceso ascensional de lo abstracto a lo concreto —proceso que se opera en el pensamiento y que consiste en la reproducción espiritual del objeto real bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado—, Marx señala claramente que se trata de una actividad o producción que no produce nada efectivamente, es decir no transforma la realidad.⁽²³⁾ Una actividad que se opera sólo en el pensamiento y que produce el tipo peculiar de objetos que son los productos de éste no puede, por tanto, identificarse con la actividad práctica que llamamos praxis.

Si llamamos praxis a la actividad práctica material, adecuada a fines que transforma el mundo —natural y humano—, no cabe incluir la actividad teórica entre las formas de praxis ya que falta en ellas la transformación objetiva de una materia mediante el sujeto, cuyo resultado subsiste independientemente de su actividad.

Sólo cuando subjetivizamos el concepto de praxis hasta borrar toda diferencia específica con el de actividad en general, podríamos hablar de una praxis teórica. Pero, en cuanto que la actividad teórica de por sí no modifica realmente el mundo —aunque si nuestras ideas sobre él— no nos parece legítimo hablar de praxis teórica.

La actividad filosófica transforma nuestra concepción del mundo, de la sociedad o del hombre, pero no la modifica —directa e inmediatamente— na la real. Cabría preguntarse, sin embargo, si esto es válido para toda actividad filosófica, inclui-

yéndola aquella que define el mundo no sólo como objetos de interpretación, sino de filosofización. De hecho es en la Tesis XI de Marx donde Filosofía política divide la filosofía, desde un punto de vista histórico, en filosofías que se limitan a tratar de dar razón de lo existente y que desembocan, como muestra palmarmente el sistema de Hegel, en una contemplación del pensamiento con la regla filosofía como aceptación del mundo), y filosofías que sirven —por su vinculación consciente con una praxis revolucionaria— a la transformación del mundo (filosofía como instrumento, teoría o guía de una transformación histórica radical). Ahora bien, ¿no podría decirse que, en este último caso, la actividad filosófica es ya una forma de praxis, que podríamos llamar filosofización práctica? ¿No es así tal vez se constituyan tanto las filosofías en el mundo pleno (de los y la historia) la diferencia esencial que Marx establece en la Tesis citada entre uno y otro tipo de filosofía?

Dicho análisis llevándolo a esta conclusión que nos parece de suma importancia para ilustrar el contenido de la Tesis XI.

Describiéndolo, en primera lugar, el condicionamiento práctico de la filosofía por el desarrollo histórico de que una filosofía tenga consecuencias prácticas. Ya decímos en nuestra introducción que todas las grandes doctrinas filosóficas las han tenido siempre, en mayor o menor grado, una o varias directamente en el desarrollo que específicamente de la historia del filosofía, han cumplido cierta función social. Esto vale incluso para filosofías que —como el idealismo nazi— distan mucho de pertenecer solamente a la filosofía práctica del mundo. NO se trata, pues, de tra-

Al plantearnos la cuestión de si la actividad filosófica puede ser praxis de por sí, nos referimos a la filosofía que, vinculada históricamente a la práctica, se practica por filosofía. Puede decirse que la actividad filosófica —en la transformación de la realidad. Pensamos principalmente en el propio marxismo como filosofía que —de acuerdo con la Tesis XI sobre Feuerbach— tiene presente que se trata no sólo de interpretar el mundo, sino de transformarlo. Puede decirse que la actividad filosófica, en este caso, sea prima, sin duda por un momento el concepto conceptual que lleva ésta a este resultado? A nuestro juicio, la filosofía es como interpretación del mundo en suyo instrumento teórico de su transformación es de por sí de un modo directo e inmediato, praxis. La filosofía marxista, siendo ésta filosofía filosófica de la interpretación científica del mundo, responde a necesidades

prácticas humanas; expresa, a su vez, una práctica existente y, por otro lado, aspira conscientemente a ser guía de una práctica revolucionaria. Con ello se subraya la función teóloga y social de una filosofía que sólo puede ser práctica en medida que lleva la filosofía y trasciende sus planteamientos puramente filosóficos para servirlos. Lo que la diferencia de las otras filosofías es que sigue Marx en la primera parte de su Tesis XI sobre Feuerbach, así como de otras filosofías socialistas es que, si bien tienen identidad, pero también —y lo secundariamente— el establecerse a si misma en función de la práctica; es decir, como filosofía el servicio de la transformación efectiva, real, del mundo, llegando así la praxis revolucionaria a través de la teoría.

La teoría de por sí —en este caso como en cualquier otra— no transforma el mundo. Puede contribuir a su transformación, pero para ello tiene que nacer de sí misma, y, en primer lugar, tiene que ser impulsada por los que han de seguir, con sus actos reales, efectivos, dicha transformación. Entre la teoría y la actividad práctica transformadora se habrá una labor de educación de las conciencias, de organización de los medios materiales y planes concretos de acción; todo esto como paso indispensable para desarrollar acciones reales efectivas. En este sentido, una teoría es práctica en medida que materializa, a través de una serie de instituciones, lo que éstas solo existen idealmente, están constituidas en realidad o anticipación ideal de su transformación.

Pero si la teoría de por sí no cambia al mundo solo puede contribuir a transformarla históricamente como teoría. Es decir, la condición de posibilidad —necesaria, aunque insuficiente— para transformar conscientemente de la teoría a la práctica, y por tanto, para que la primera cumpla una función práctica, es que sea históricamente una actividad teórica —en la que los ingredientes: abstracto, teórico y filosófico se fusionen perfectamente y sustituyan completamente las teorías—. En este sentido, una filosofía vinculada a la práctica, que aspira conscientemente a realizarse, lejos de apartarse de un contenido propio, histórica, es la teoría socialista de la forma utópica que tiene en Saint-Simon, Fourier o Owen, o de las doctrinas científicas filosóficas. Ambas, si Marx y Engels entrañas, pudieran decir, junto a una elevación de su función práctica, una elección de su contenido teórico, con la particularidad de que ambas

aspectos se hallan en una relación indisoluble.

La filosofía que se ve a sí misma como instrumento teórico de la praxis es teoría, y como tal no transforma real y efectivamente de por si. Interpretar no es transformar. Pero de lo que se trata —como dice Marx en la Tesis XI— es de transformar; de ahí que la teoría haya de ser arrancada de su estado meramente teórico y, por las mediaciones adecuadas, tratar de realizarla. Pero este segundo aspecto que es vital cuando no se acepta el mundo como es y se trata de transformarlo, lejos de abolir el contenido teórico de la filosofía, o de reducirlo a un ingrediente meramente ideológico, presupone aquél, necesariamente —al nivel de la ciencia—, como condición ineludible para guiar la acción. Así, pues, la actividad filosófica en cuanto tal no es praxis. Y no lo es tampoco la filosofía de la praxis o teoría de la actividad práctica del hombre en sus relaciones con la naturaleza y con otros hombres.

La concepción de la filosofía de la praxis como actividad práctica de por sí es, a nuestro juicio, una concepción idéntica, incompatible con el verdadero concepto de la praxis que antes hemos delineado, y entraña la vuelta a puntos de vista filosóficos —como el de los jóvenes hegelia-

nos—, que ya fueron criticados y superados por Marx precisamente para poder elaborar una filosofía como guía o instrumento teórico de la transformación de la realidad, y hacer posible así la transformación efectiva de ésta.

La actividad filosófica —desligada de la práctica o vinculada conscientemente a ella—, como mera interpretación o como instrumento teórico de su transformación, cultivada por intelectuales de origen burgués o de origen proletario, es siempre una actividad intelectual, teórica. La diferencia cualitativa por su carácter esencial —ideológico o científico—, o por la función que una u otra filosofía puede cumplir, no basta para hablar legítimamente de una praxis teórica.

En suma, la praxis —e nos presenta como una actividad material, transformadora, y adecuada a fines. Fuera de ella, queda la actividad teórica que no se materializa, en cuanto que es actividad espiritual pura. Pero por otra parte, no hay praxis como actividad puramente material, es decir, sin la producción de fines y conocimientos que caracteriza la actividad teórica. Ello quiere decir que el problema de determinar qué es la praxis requiere delimitar más a fondo las relaciones entre teoría y práctica.

(1) C. Marx, Tesis (I) sobre Feuerbach, en C. Marx y F. Engels, La promoción alemana, traducción de W. Bönes, 1974, Montevideo, 1980, página 639.

(2) Actividad es aquí sinónimo de acción entendida también como acto o conjunto de actos que modifican una materia exterior o que es inherente al agente.

(3) Asimismo la contradicción fundamental del modo de producción capitalista es también intencional, es resultado —dice Maurice Godelier— de la acción de todos los agentes del sistema y del desarrollo del sistema mismo, pero no ha sido nunca el motivo de ninguna conciencia al no fin querido por nadie. (M. Godelier, Racionalidad e irracionalidad en economía, Ed. Maspéro, París, 1966, página 79).

(4) Cf. a este respecto la carta de Engels a J. Böhm, del 21.2.29 de septiembre de 1890, en la que el primero dice: ... La historia se hace de tal modo, que es resultado final siempre derivado de los conflictos entre muchas voluntades individuales, cada una de las cuales, a su vez, es lo que es por efecto de una multitud de condiciones especiales de vida; son, pues, innumerables fuerzas que se entrelazan las unas con las otras, un grupo infinito de paralelogramos de fuerzas, de los que surgen un resultado —el acontecimiento histórico—, que, a su vez, puede considerarse producto de una potencia única, que, como un todo, actúa sin conciencia y sin voluntad... De este modo hasta aquí toda la historia ha discursado a modo de un proceso natural y sometida también, sustancialmente, a las mismas leyes dinámicas. Pero del hecho de que las distintas voluntades individuales... no alcanza lo que desean, sino que se fundan todas en

una medida total, en una resultante común, no debe inferirse que estos voluntades sean igual a cero. Por el contrario, todas contribuyen a la resultante y se suman, por tanto, incluidas en ella. (C. Marx y F. Engels, Obras escogidas, en dos tomos, ed. esp., tomo I, Moscú, 1952, páginas 459-100.)

(5) Sobre la finalidad como categoría específica de la actividad humana y sus relaciones con la causalidad, véase mi estudio «Contribución a la distinción de la finalidad y la causalidad», Anuario de Filosofía, UNAM, año I, México, 1961, páginas 36-61.

(6) C. Marx, El Capital, Crítica de la economía política, traducción de W. Bönes, 3a. ed. especial, t. I, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México-Buenos Aires, 1961, páginas 130-131.

(7) Marx, El Capital, ed. esp. cit., t. I, p. 131.

(8) Hablamos aquí de lo teórico en un sentido amplio que abarca tanto la esfera de los fines como de los conocimientos. En el sentido lo teórico se contrapone —no de un modo absoluto, sino relativo, como veremos en el capítulo siguiente— a lo práctico. En un sentido más restrictivo, lo teórico —el dominio de la teoría— se aplica a un conjunto de conocimientos aglutinados en torno a un principio unificador que los articula y sistematiza constituyendo así un campo teórico dado.

(9) C. Marx, El Capital, t. I, página 131.

(10) C. Marx, Tesis (I) sobre Feuerbach, ed. cit., página 633.

(11) «El trabajo es, en primer término —dice Marx—, un proceso entre la naturaleza y el hombre, proceso en que éste se transforma, regula y controla mediante su propia acción, su intercambio de materias con la naturaleza». (El Capital, I, página 130).

(12) C. Marx, Prólogo a la Contribución a la crítica de la economía política, en C. Marx y F. Engels, Obras escogidas, ed. esp. cit., t. I, páginas 322-323.

(13) C. Marx, El Capital, I. ed. cit., página 130.

(14) Ibidem, página 131.

(15) Ibidem, página 132.

(16) Ibidem.

(17) Al analizar la concepción de Marx del proceso de trabajo en El Capital, Louis Althusser subraya, interpretando el pasaje correspondiente, la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominante de los medios de producción en dicho proceso. A sueldo suyo, el proceso de trabajo se halla determinado por esas condiciones materiales (el proceso de trabajo como mecanismo material se halla denominado por las leyes físicas de la naturaleza y de las tecnologías). Al mostrarse así las condiciones materiales irreductibles del proceso de trabajo, Marx rompe con la concepción del trabajo como esencia del hombre y con el idealismo del trabajo que esta concepción —propia de los Manuscritos de 1844— entraña (cf. L. Althusser, «L'objet du Capital», en el t. II de Lire Le Capital, F. Maspéro, París, 1965, páginas 144-149).

L. Althusser tiene razón al pronunciarse contra una ideología antropólogica del trabajo y, por ello, procede justamente al subrayar la importancia de las condiciones materiales del trabajo, lo que lo lleva a detenerse sobre todo en dos de los elementos constitutivos de dicho proceso, según Marx. Pero en su análisis omite por completo el estudio del tercero de ellos: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o trabajo propiamente dicho. Es esa omisión la que le permite contraponer radicalmente en esta cuestión los Manuscritos de 1844. El Capital al reducir la concepción de la primera obra a idealismo del trabajo y la de la segunda a una concepción materialista de la producción. A nuestro juicio, la importancia de ese tercer factor del proceso de trabajo —señalado en distintas formas tanto en los Manuscritos de 1844 como en El Capital— es la que mantiene clara continuidad entre una y otra concepción sin que por ello se borren sus diferencias esenciales.

(18) C. Marx, El Capital, I. ed. cit., página 130.

(19) C. Marx, El Capital, t. I, ed. cit., página 130.

(20) Sobre las relaciones entre el arte y el trabajo, y la concepción del trabajo artístico como ejecución, véase mi libro, Las ideas políticas de Marx (Ed. Era, México, D. F., 1965), particularmente los estudios titulados «El marxismo contemporáneo y el arte» y «Las ideas de Marx sobre la fuente y naturaleza de lo estético».

(21) Ya en La Sagrada Familia declaran Marx y Engels: «Las ideas no pueden conducir nunca más allá de las ideas del viejo Estado universal de cosas. Las ideas no pueden nunca ejecutar nada. Para la ejecución de las ideas hacen falta los hombres que pongan en acción una fuerza práctica» (C. Marx y F. Engels, La Sagrada Familia, ed. esp. cit., página 165).

(22) «... El método que permite elevarse de lo abstracto a lo concreto no es otra cosa que el modo como el pensamiento se apropié lo concreto bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado. Pero no es de ninguna manera lo concreto mismo... (Contribución a la crítica de la economía política, ed. francesa, París, 1957, página 165).

(23) En ocasiones se emplea la expresión «práctica teórica», para designar una «práctica específica que se ejerce sobre un objeto propio y reduce a su producción propia un conocimiento» (L. Althusser, Pour Marx, París, 1963, página 275). En este caso, se presenta como una forma específica de la práctica en general, extendida como proceso de transformación de una materia prima dada y determinada en un producto determinado, transformación que se lleva a cabo por un trabajo humano determinado, utilizando medios (de producción) determinados. (Ibidem, página 167). La práctica teórica así entendida corresponde en gran parte —no totalmente, puesto que nosotros incluimos también en ella la producción de fines— a lo que nosotros denominamos actividad teórica.

Althusser no emplea, por tanto, esta expresión en el sentido idealista, tan firmemente rechazado por Marx, de producción de ideas que transforma por sí misma la realidad. La expresión «conciencia» para subrayar el carácter distintivo e irreductible de la «práctica teórica» (cf. también a este respecto su estudio Teoría, práctica teórica y formación teórica. Ideología y lucha ideológica, en la revista Casa de las Américas, número 34, La Habana, Cuba, páginas 33-37). Sin embargo, la extensión del término «práctica» a todo tipo de relación o aplicación del mundo real, incluyendo no sólo la teoría e ideología, sino también la ética y la religiosa (cf. Lire Le Capital, I, página 85) hace que se borre el carácter esencial de la praxis que Marx justamente pretendió destacar (como transformación efectiva, real de un objeto real) frente a un idealismo de la praxis (reducción de ésta a la actividad teórica o moral). Creemos, por ello, que el empleo del término «práctica» allí donde no se ocupa esa transformación objetiva y real induce a confusión pese al empeño en diferenciar sus formas específicas.

Base económica y superestructuras ideológicas

**Charles Bettelheim,
Jacques Charrère**

Los objetivos fundamentales perseguidos por todos los países que han iniciado la vía del socialismo, consisten en principalmente en esforzarse en realizar tanto transformaciones de base como transformaciones superestructurales. Es decir, mediante una reestructuración social (y no sólo económica) y por transformaciones ideológicas profundas; aunque hay distintos puntos de vista sobre los lazos que unen a esas diversas transformaciones.

En China se subraya con frecuencia que el criterio para considerar algo en ligero riesgo de desarrollo para rápidos que los más plantea claramente el capitalismo si lo hubieren y sobre todo promover una nueva formación social con sus normas de comportamiento y superestructuras específicas.

Desde el punto de vista marxista la persecución de ese objetivo no se debe a una opción arbitraria sino al reconocimiento de una exigencia histórica impuesta por el nivel del desarrollo posible de las fuerzas productivas modernas. El reconocimiento de tal exigencia histórica significa la aceptación de que sin un cambio radical no sólo de las relaciones de propiedad sino también del conjunto del modo de producción y de la superestructura de la sociedad las fuerzas productivas no pueden desarrollarse o sólo se desarrollan de manera contradictoria, es decir, engendrando fuerzas destructivas crecientes tanto en el plano

material como en el de los pueblos libres. Estos últimos son esclavizados cada vez más por sus propios productores, incluyendo la esfera del consumo.

Más específicamente, el análisis antropológico que el autor de *El mundo de producciones*, el fundador del idealismo socialista, no puede progresar y mantenerse sin la edificación de estructuras adecuadas, es decir, particularmente de relaciones sociales, arribando así a la idea de libertad y libertad social. Si superestructuras adecuadas, en base económicamente sobre lo que se designa en socialismo, esta articulada por transformaciones de las actitudes y sistemas de relaciones de producción como a nivel de las propias fuerzas productivas. Estas últimas, en efecto, corren el peligro de retroceder cada vez en la medida en que no encaren con rapidez las actitudes y comportamiento que exige el desarrollo de la sociedad socialista y, sobre todo, si dichas actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores adecuados tiende a fortificarse sin a estancarse, en favor de actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores que caracterizan a las formas sociales anteriores y que conservan todavía una base objetiva en las condiciones materiales, mientras el nivel de las fuerzas productivas no se haya elevado suficientemente.

Por lo tanto, la cuestión que se plantea es la de las relaciones entre la base eco-

nómica y las superestructuras correspondientes. Según la interpretación mecanicista de dicho problema, se puede pensar que toda forma de producción engendra en última instancia nuevas actitudes, nuevos sistemas de valores, una nueva ideología y un hombre nuevo.¹⁾

Por el contrario, la interpretación dialéctica del problema nos lleva a pensar que si el progreso de una forma de producción (es decir, de sus fuerzas productivas y de sus relaciones de producción) constituye la condición necesaria de la transformación de la superestructura, esta última, dentro de ciertos límites, tiene un dinamismo propio y, sobre todo, que puede ejercer una acción regresiva sobre la misma base económica. No es innútil recordar aquí algunas de las interpretaciones que se han formulado de ciertos textos de Marx y Engels.

Una interpretación estrecha de algunos párrafos del Manifiesto Comunista o del Anti-Dühring ha originado a veces una interpretación mecanicista que, sin embargo, es contraria a los análisis globales que nos han dejado Marx y Engels. En efecto, éstos insistieron siempre en el carácter global de las transformaciones sociales y, por tanto, en la interacción de los diferentes elementos cuya suma constituye la totalidad de una formación social.

Por ejemplo, Engels en su libro sobre El origen de la familia, de la propiedad privada y del Estado, ha puesto de relieve las profundas influencias que pueden tener ciertos elementos de la superestructura ideológica sobre la evolución social. Así, cuando analiza la incapacidad de la sociedad esclavista para dar lugar directamente a un nuevo método de producción favorable al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas. Insiste en el "desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo" heredado de la sociedad esclavista, y que representa un freno al desarrollo.

Engels escribe: "La esclavitud... al morir, dejó detrás de sí su agujón venenoso bajo la forma de proscripción del trabajo productivo por los hombres libres. Tal es el callejón sin salida en el cual se encontraba el mundo romano: la esclavitud era económicamente imposible, y el trabajo de los hombres libres estaba moralmente proscrito. La primera no podía ya y el segundo no podía aún ser la forma básica de la producción social. La única salida posible era una revolución radical."²⁾

En ese texto podemos ver claramente de qué manera una actitud ("el desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo"), se convierte

en un obstáculo al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y cómo Engels estima que sólo una revolución completa podía transformar suficientemente el elemento de la superestructura para que fueran posibles nuevos progresos.

Ya que hemos recordado el anterior texto de Engels, que tiene su equivalente para otras épocas en multitud de análisis marxistas,³⁾ no es innútil recordar igualmente que Engels prolonga su análisis de la revolución que tuvo lugar entre el quinto y el noveno siglos de nuestra era, ya que se trata esencialmente de una revolución que se efectuó al nivel de las superestructuras ideológicas y que adaptó estas últimas a las exigencias de las nuevas fuerzas productivas.⁴⁾

Engels subraya que a lo largo de los cuatro siglos durante los cuales tuvo lugar dicha revolución, no hubo prácticamente ningún progreso, ni en las fuerzas productivas, ni en las relaciones de producción. A pesar de los grandes cambios a que dio lugar la caída del Imperio Romano y las invasiones de las tribus germánicas, encontramos bajo una nueva etiqueta, las viejas formas de propiedad y las viejas relaciones de producción.

Escribe Engels: "Así, pues, parecía como si al cabo de cuatro siglos la masa de la población hubiese vuelto a su punto de partida".⁵⁾ Sin embargo, añade inmediatamente, se había avanzado, porque nun cuando las clases sociales seguían siendo casi las mismas, "los hombres que formaban estas clases habían cambiado".⁶⁾

La referencia a estos análisis sólo en apariencia nos aleja de nuestro tema, el del mayor especialmente importante que se atribuye en China a la adhesión de las masas al sistema de valores, de actitudes y comportamiento que corresponde a las exigencias de la construcción de la sociedad socialista.

Por otra parte, los anteriores análisis nos conducen a rechazar ciertas interpretaciones mecanicistas de las relaciones entre la base económica y la superestructura. Incluso autores que, por lo demás, abordan buen número de problemas desde un punto de vista dialéctico, han sugerido interpretaciones de ese tipo.

Así, hay una cierta interpretación mecanicista en el capítulo 2 de Tomo I del Tratado de Economía Política de Oskar Lange. En ese texto, la eliminación de la no-correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción, por una parte, y el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y el carácter de esas fuerzas, por la otra, apa-

reco como el resultado de la "acción de la primera ley fundamental de la sociología". Esta última, afirma Oskar Lange, "restablece la correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción y las nuevas fuerzas productivas".¹¹

En la misma obra, se dice: "Es la acción de la segunda ley fundamental de la sociología (nótese) restablece la correspondencia entre la superestructura y las condiciones de la nueva base económica...".¹²

Tales formulaciones sugieren la acción unilateral de las fuerzas productivas sobre las relaciones de producción, y de la base económica sobre la superestructura. El mismo esquema aparece en la página 38 de la obra mencionada; en ese esquema, las "flechas" sólo significan que hay un movimiento de "abajo hacia arriba".

Un corolario lógico de esta concepción es la idea del "carácter conservador tanto de la base económica como de la superestructura".¹³ Una y otra son virtus esencialmente como obstáculos al progreso de las fuerzas productivas y como algo incapaz de adaptarse sin retraso, bajo la acción de las dos "leyes fundamentales de la sociología".

Aun cuando Oskar Lange reconoce que el cambio de una forma social a otra constituye un proceso dialéctico, porque resulta de la solución de una serie de contradicciones, la descripción que ofrece de dicho proceso es unilateral. Se limita a invertir la dialéctica hegeliana, pero deja escapar la especificidad de la dialéctica histórica. Esta última se desarrolla a través de contradicciones no solo operadas, sino pensadas. Por otro lado, las contradicciones no se resuelven por la intervención de una "ley" abstracta, sino por la intervención de las clases o capas sociales que integran objetivamente uno de los polos de la contradicción principal de una época, y que toman conciencia de ella.

Sólo así puede nacer una ideología o una conciencia revolucionaria, es decir, los elementos de una nueva superestructura. La superestructura, lejos de tener un carácter conservador, conduce, por el contrario, a la transformación de la base económica y a un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas.¹⁴

Cuando se analizan en términos marxistas las transformaciones de la superestructura que condicionan un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas, con frecuencia se consideran esenciales en el análisis las transformaciones políticas y jurídicas, la sustitución de un tipo de Estado por otro, del dominio de una clase por otra, de relaciones de propiedad y de producción por otras. En efecto, se trata de transforma-

ciones decisivas, ya que permiten la sustitución de una vieja superestructura que obstaculiza el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, por una nueva, mejor adaptada a ese desarrollo. Sin embargo, tales transformaciones son posibles porque las clases antiguas dominadas han rechazado la ideología anterior (que les había hecho aceptar el antiguo orden de cosas) y se han adherido, al menos en lo esencia, a una nueva ideología que expresa mejor las exigencias de las fuerzas productivas y de las relaciones de producción correspondientes, es decir, las exigencias de la base económica. En este caso se hace evidente que la ideología no es un factor de resistencia al cambio, sino, por el contrario, uno de sus elementos motores.

El papel de la ideología no se limita a la fase más negativa de una transformación social. De hecho, todo avance formal social sólo puede desarrollarse si la ideología que exige su funcionamiento es cada vez más profundamente, y ideología dominante. Así, según la naturaleza y el grado de dominación y penetración en las masas de una ideología dada, ésta puede frenar el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas o, por el contrario, contribuir a su desarrollo.

Las indicaciones precedentes no sólo tienen un interés teórico. En efecto, si se subraya de una manera unilateral el papel de la base económica, distará la tendencia a impulsar esencialmente el progreso de esta base, y en particular, el progreso de las fuerzas productivas, el surgimiento de una superestructura ideológica adecuada (en virtud de la "segunda ley fundamental de la sociología").

Por el contrario, si se reconoce que hay una acción recíproca entre la base y la superestructura, al mismo tiempo que se impulsa directamente el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (por la política económica), se buscará también en las masas el progreso de la ideología que corresponde a la nueva base económica, en particular a través de la educación. Esta última debe procurar que desaparezcan las actitudes y comportamientos heredados del pasado y sustituirlos por actitudes, comportamientos y sistemas nuevos de valores, correspondientes a las exigencias mismas del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas.

Parece indispensable reconocer que este papel de la educación, de la ideología es tanto más necesario, cuanto más avanzadas estén las relaciones de producción y propiedad, establecidas por un proceso revolucionario, sobre el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas en un país dado.

El avance¹⁵ del régimen político y so-

cial sobre el nivel local del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, da lugar, en efecto, a un tipo particular de contradicción, a una contradicción que favorece el progreso rápido de las fuerzas productivas, con la condición de que éste influya correctamente y conscientemente dominada. Esta última formulación no significa que sólo a través de un desarrollo de la conciencia se encuentra asegurado el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas¹⁶, sino más bien que, en ese caso, la conciencia de las relaciones reales de producción y de las contradicciones que pueden caracterizarlas, así como la capacidad de dominar estas contradicciones por un comportamiento

adecuado, son necesarias al progreso de las fuerzas productivas.

Para ser socialmente significativas, la conciencia y la capacidad deben expresarse no sólo en términos de conceptos y conocimientos, sino también en forma de organización y actitudes que interpreten de manera apropiada los sistemas de valores y de acción. Si faltan estos últimos, las categorías conceptuales y el conocimiento o la conciencia no son más que abstracciones sin eficacia social.

Sólo después de este largo rodeo podemos volver a ciertas características específicas de la construcción del socialismo en China.

lidades que los romanos habían perdido... ¿Qué eran sino los rasgos característicos de los bárbaros del mundo superior de la barbarie, los frutos de su civilización germánica?"

(ibid., página 29), y precisa: "Sus hábitos de gentiles, las supervivencias, vivas entre ellos, de los tiempos de 'derecho mariano' y sus 'comunidades de las pequeñas ciudades'".

Aquí, Engels subraya el aporte decisivo de las instituciones, de las ideas y de las cualidades morales características del "estadio superior de la barbarie" a la revolución que se desarrolló entre el quinto y el noveno siglo. En tanto que la sociedad surgida del antiguo esclavismo había perdido toda su vitalidad, "los bárbaros eran capaces de rejuvenecer un mundo servil que sufría una civilización moribunda". (Engels, ibid., página 29).

7. Oskar Lange, *Économie Politique*, Presses Universitaires de France, París, 1952, XVII-403, página 42.

8. Ibid., página 42.

9. Ibid., página 43; cf. también páginas 29 a 31 e, igualmente, páginas 43 a 48 de 14 misma obra.

10. Dicho progreso revolucionario es descrito brevemente y de manera parcial por Oskar Lange en la obra citada (páginas 47 y 48), pero sin demostrar que en esto consiste el progreso real de toda transformación social radical, ya que tal proceso implica necesariamente una acción revolucionaria que no se presenta sino cuando ciertos elementos de la superestructura, las ideas, las actitudes, etcétera, se han integrado y encarnado en la "conciencia de clase revolucionaria", y en la forma concreta de organizaciones a través de las cuales esta conciencia de clase toma cuerpo y se expresa.

11. Según la expresión bien conocida de Lenin, cuando habla de la Rusia Soviética como un "país particularmente avanzado y económicamente atrasado".

12. Tal interpretación parece ser la de Ernesto Che Guevara en su artículo: "La planificación socialista, su significado", en "Cuba Socialista", junio de 1961, páginas 13 a 24, cf. página 17 in fine.

LA PALMA DE LA MANO

José Lezama Lima

La palma de la mano sobre el río.
 La palma paso a paso, hacia mí, leyéndome.
 Narciso maseado por la niebla ascendente,
 vuelven los dioses descensores, Orfeo
 y Stephanophorophoro.
 El índice demuestra, señala la inflexible
 llanura de la nieve, demuestra.
 El índice demuestra la carreta sobre un hilo,
 la diagonal con cuerpo de cocodrilo
 y cabeza de gavilán,
 el anillo de oro en el tumor de la luna.
 La mano se extiende sobre la llanura
 de nieve, la palma de la mano
 acompaña la boga del río.
 La carreta conduce un cañoso
 reloj de pared. Icaro con dos guadañas.
 Saturno se come las alas de cera.
 Se extiende, demuestra, se deja leer.
 Icaro, ya caído, nadando,
 habla con el Resucitado sentado en el lágamo.
 El vencido por el sol regresa con las estaciones
 y el que triunfa de la muerte se vuelve a morir.
 Es un bodegón de cebolla, manzana y amapolas.
 El aire está exprimido en el puño
 que se cierra, el arador por la palma de la mano
 deja el reminiscente batido y batihojas,
 el desco paliducho, la serpiente, el doble
 del comienzo, el truchimán vindicativo,
 círculo que golpea en las narices.
 La capota caída se mide por su sombra.
 Icaro vencido y el Resucitado vencedor,
 el Resucitado esperando la muerte
 y el Icaro eterno relator.
 En su sangre el laberinto y el torete
 oscuro luchando con el tigre dormido.

¿Quién de briznas nemomendando en la chiedad del relojero?
 Arrugado, puro detesto, cara de rompeolas.
 El Príncipe de Praga, relojero sin deseos,
 aliviado en el reloj de agua,
 ola por ola, ola sin sucesión,
 ola para oja.
 El tiempo caminando detrás de las pastafitas
 vino elefantej estafetas, medallunas,
 fumoslijados monos floritones,
 Verde portezuela y amarillo prestdigitaro,
 abrían el bostezo en la cantina escandinava,
 un penique por cada bostezo
 y va de contra el bigotillo
 para el perroqueote circulante,
 pero el tiempo no es como el aguacero
 que tapa las grietas
 y baideá el puente parabólico de la guitarra.
 Tantambé que trillar el tiempo por el entrem
 de los ojos y cerrar los ojos
 y el himenillo que hueva va devolviendo
 vistiendo nos silenciosos en la madre de carbón.
 Silenciosos volta indecible puede llegar a ser culpa,
 tan pronto surge la pelismaida del otro,
 los mortillazos desconchados
 en el vallejo de la testalquela sombreada.
 Los entorchados del fusilamiento, el pez egipcio
 saltando al sol, pueden hacer el pecado inocente.
 El tie-tac raspatía es pecador en Isis
 y después es inocente en Osiris.
 El jinete esclata peca sin testes y la franja
 celeste rompe el cántaro de las bodas.
 Así seguimos colocabdo ladrillos en el muro
 y sobre los muros cascós de botella,
 así nos cosimos la oreja en el cáncan.

1967

LA CASA DE CARLOS

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Roque Dalton

Carlos Jurado sufrió tanto en su infancia, que en cuanto se cayó escorrió como hogar aquella casa de la zona 12 del DF, adornada con una cabeza de caballo en el portón. Era una casa enorme, dividida en innumerables pisitos, buhardillas y simples rincones, donde las veraneras y los jardines parecían engordar de humedad y de sol matutino, con ojos pupilas de metrónoma provinciana que llevase una alcacena repleta de mermelada de grosella en vez de corazón y quiebra, luego de la merienda de las diez, habiése gastado un cuarto de hora en consumir su puro de mariguana que le abría el apetito para el almuerzo. En el laberinto de sus jardines y corredores se perdió hace años Chalán, aquél olvidado cómico de cine mexicano, del cual tuvieron luego que decir que había muerto, ahogado o apoplégico, en el extranjero. Precisamente la mujer de Carlos, Chichal, encontraría su esqueleto bigotudo detrás de una maceta de ge-

raniolos en marzo de 1963 y, a fin de rescatarlo para hacerlo vivir en la gran cruz de la biblioteca-dormitorio, tuvo que disputarlo seriamente durante toda una mañana a una vasta junta de cucarachas doradas. Carlos prudencialmente, se había enamorado a primera vista de las rejillas españolas que año nacían muchísimos de los ventanales interiores de la casa, porque le recordaban las de San Cristóbal de Las Casas y las de su propio hogar allá, que por cierto le servían de jaula-prisión cuando lo castigaban por mojar la cama a los ocho años de edad, exponiéndolo a las miradas de los transvintes que marchaban triplemente a misa, con aquel cartel autocritico colgado del pecho: "Soy moón y eagón". Carlos nunca perdonó a su familia la imputación calumniosa del segundo pecado. Aquella casa, para empezar a decir algo favorable a su respecto, era deliciosa de haber, tal esos sueños que se nos repliegan cuando en cuando y

nos van configurando poco a poco un ideal de no sé qué, cuyos deficitivos perfiles y texturas venimos tan sólo a comprender 23 horas antes de morir. Hablamos, desde luego, para personas que han nacido o viven en el Hemisferio Norte. Era eso sí, una casa enemiga del invierno. Cuando llegaban las lluvias, el caballo del portón se volvía rojo de ira y desde debajo de las tejas surgían miles de tentaculillos vibrílicos, rematados en diminutos paragüitas color sangre azul que formaban una capa de pluma monumental que rechazaba el agua y convertía las calles adyacentes en Niágaras de barrio. Las paredes echaban una pelusa lanosa de un centímetro de espesor, lo cual no les impedía, sin embargo, trillar en las madrugadas, derrumbando en los interiores reproducciones de Siqueiros, depósitos de agua bendita, diplomas de Abogados y Dentistas. Desde sus patios, ventanas, claraboyas, no se podía ver nunca la luna en esa temporada, aunque explendiere, llena, en sus escampadillas para ello había que cruzar la calle. De allí que algunos opinen qué, además de la pluma aquella, la casa se ergría entonces una cúpula invisible que para el ojo humano no detenía sino los rayos de la luna. Porque las estrellas se miraban lo mismo, y los pájaros. En el invierno cumblaba en la casa el tono del eco hasta adoptar el de un viejo bicho acatarrado impostando la voz con pésimo oficio teatral para demostrar ira patética. No importaba entonces que la voz original fuera del niño de una familia de violinistas, acostumbrado a hacer sus requerimientos fundamentales a fuerza de chillidos especialmente agudos, o de una señorita asustadiza, ubicable en algún Párroco Político de la Orden Tercera del Santísimo Sacramento, en plena reacción oral ante los sustos curativos del hipo. No es que la casa se volviese en aquel tiempo incómoda o agresiva. Todas aquellas transformaciones poseían su propia gravedad y hermosura y más bien construían un mundo especial de seres objetos y fenómenos relacionados entre sí con una disciplinada, responsable armonía, similar a la de las pasiones shakespeareanas, que, desde luego, podríamos

objetar, en uso de una moralidad agnósticas, únicamente con el argumento de que toda ella estaba basada en el odio al invierno. Y hablar luego con toda hipocresía de las necesidades de la producción de cereales, de los pastos para el ganado de leche, de las sequías en el Brasil y sus hambrunas concomitantes. Hasta allí somos capaces de llegar, estéticamente combados como, de vez en cuando, somos. Oh, queridas lectoras, pero ¿qué indiscutibilidad reina sobre la belleza de aquella casa cuando llegaba la primavera! Ni los espíritus más audaces serían capaces de racionalizar a primera vista la absoluta integralidad de la misma y más bien comenzarían por confundirla con una simple, aunque espléndente, paz, un orden de integración a los días en que la naturaleza se despereza y se lava la cara, una —con el perdón de ustedes y en última instancia— táctica. Por el contrario, la casa en primavera era la casa como nunca, lógicamente cerrada sobre sí, poblada de innumerables datos que nos decían de su relación directa con lo Absoluto, fulgurante en medio de una sequedad de agua dura, como una esmeralda o una espada pulimentada para muestra, soberbia en fin, como una bailarina de dieciséis años cuando se incorpora al lecho sobre la segunda hora de amor y nos deja, mientras se mete en el cuarto de baño para sentarse en el bidet, con una mano en alto, lenguida y expectante a la vez, como en el instante de iniciar el Pas de Quatre, y nos deja, decía, felices, pero con una bolita de duda entre las manos que de pronto comienza a crecer hasta tomar un tamaño tal que nos vemos abismados a iniciar con ella (o sea, la ex-bolita de duda), angustiados, un nuevo cuerpo a cuerpo con el que no confabamos, que a lo mejor no nos permitirá ese cuarto episodio, el que decidimos preferir por cuanto nos permite conocer desde ahora las urgencias de los placeres de la madurez y cuya misma posibilidad se nos torna de pronto problemática porque Ella nos ha llamado con suavidad desde el baño y nos ha dicho que no encuentra la llave del agua caliente, pero a pesar de todo nos quiere mucho y además va a pedirnos que

nos asomemos porque se le antoja vernos desnudos un poquitín. Como un joven Jefe de Estado Mayor que dirige, antes que nadie, la batalla. Poro me parece que las blábamos de alguien, en algún lugar de México. Y como momentáneamente no sé

si se trataba de alguna referencia, en algún sentido, política, permítaseme que haga un parentesis preventivo para ubicarme en mi normal estado de responsabilidad. Alguna de ustedes podría ayudarme, algo yo.

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Colores anárquicos, una verdadera Patagonia de colores, ardeantes, anfitriones de la duda, impermeables a la mayor voracidad, orgánicamente salvajes, anandeadas como una neo sinfonía japonesa escuchaba junto al sol que te ha despertado de la más larga noche de humor. Los pajarillos no temen de Osvaldo Barreto ni de mí, posiblemente nos confunden con dos obreros de las fábricas de embutidos de Praga. Por el contrario, silban sobre nuestras cabezas valses para Banda Municipal y nos hacen avergonzarnos (vergonzosa vergüenza) de los gritos de nuestras uerrazas y nuestros querques, de la chachalaquera de las bandadas de pericos, de la pesonada sonora del azacuán herido en tiempo de frío. "A las seis de la mañana no va bien la cerveza —nos dice Ingrá al traer los tauros humoros. Es, pues, este, un peligroso lugar. Como para decir, a la hora del crepúsculo (aunque es aún demasiado temprano para pensar en él, estimadas todas las cautelas); "La vida, en general, ha sido bella". Recientemente ayer, después de discutir sobre la excesiva carga sexual de la literatura moderna, visitamos una grana de corderos. Veterinarios con gabardas blancas examinaban a los gigantescos animales rosados con estetoscopios resonantes, a la vez que comovedores, mientras demandaban de nosotros que no habláramos en voz alta. Antes de entrar, nos habían cubierto el rostro con bolas de gasa, para evitar que nuestros microbios personales se quedaran allí. Se nos dijo que el lugar estaba

Incluso alejado de las carreteras y las vías de ferrocarril, pues todo ruido extraño asusta infinitamente a los cerdos, los hace perder peso y los hace morir del corazón. Nunca vi cerdos con más aspecto de hijo de puta que éstos. Son jamones vivientes, con horribles ventanas azules por todos lados, lucen os, idénticos a Monseñor Francisco Castro y Ramírez, un exageradamente sobrio obispo del oriente de mi país, Osvaldo Barreto, de pronto y sin advertirmelo, emitió el más agudo alarido que recuerde haber oído en los últimos cinco años. El desconcierto cumidió como diría un novelista hondureño, sobre todo porque los cerdos comenzaron a mostrar síntomas de angustia que pronto se transformaron en una especie de ataque de asma colectivo. Los veterinarios corrían espantados, lo agujó huela allá y nuestro guía, absortamente furioso y temblón, lo dijo a Osvaldo: "La regia aquí es el silencio". "Yo suelo gritar" —contestó éste— «y venezolano». "Al pala que fueres haz o que vieres" —dijo, popular, pero no menos tenazmente, el guía, "Cuando Uds. llegan a Venezuela no los obligamos a gritar" —sentenció Osvaldo imperturbable— antes de que yo lo sacara casi a cinquenta metros del lugar. Así vomité de la rba. C mo cuando vi aquél rotulado en una calle a Santiago de Chile: "Zorobah el Galeno, i ustre militar". Aunque ahora no recuerdo lo que tal anuncio tenía de gracioso. Os valió pagó, no obstante, su delito; uno ha soñó que lo habían echado para a rba en sus estudios

y que se encontraba de nuevo en cuarto año de secundaria, iniciando un examen final de trigonometría sin saber ni siquiera pronunciar la palabra entero. Despertó sudando en plena madrugada y me ha despertado también para pasear un poco y beber cerveza. Entonces es que yo he decidido hablar sobre la primavera. Época del año en que florecen hasta los futbolistas, como todo el mundo sabe. Y que en Checoslovaquia se transforma en una orden edilicia para bañarse entre las truchas o buscar hongos y muchachas des-

nudas bajo el sol que los jirones del bosque deján bajar al suelo. Muchas volveremos a ir con la cara quemada por ese sol. Osvaldo Barreto y yo debemos salir de estos lugares lo más pronto posible, se pena de ponernos a tener hijos rubios con Zdenas y Janas y engordar a fuerza de grandes filetes, algodonones melocotones y fresas con crema, hasta olvidar que alguien está muriendo mal en nuestra vieja casa, preguntando por nosotros con perentoriedad. Viva esta primavera, sin embargo;

DEBATE CON ALBERTO MORAVIA

"L'Espresso" de Roma organizó, recientemente, un debate entre el escritor Alberto Moravia y los estudiantes Massimiliano Fuksas, Sergio Petruccioli y Duecio Staderini, quinto año de Arquitectura; Valerio Veltroni, primer año de Filosofía, y Oreste Scalzone, tercer año de Filosofía. El tema del debate se centra en la crítica y en la oposición a esta última generación de intelectuales contra aquellos que se dicen izquierdistas y contra aquellos que dominan el mundo de la cultura oficial. Este debate polémico pone de manifiesto las contradicciones entre ideología y vida práctica de algunos intelectuales.

Moravia: Yo pertenezco a ese tipo de proletariado que se llama a sí mismo artista. Los objetos que yo fabrico son novelas y dramas, o sea, que logro crear de la nada, con mis manos o mejor dicho con mi mente, algo que antes no existía, y lo vendo. Si estuviera en la China no podría coloar mis productos porque no hay demanda, en la China de hoy, para productos como los mios. En Italia esa demanda existe paralelamente; de todas formas yo vendo estos productos a quienes los pagan según las leyes del mercado, porque, como he dicho, vivo de mi trabajo en un país, que es Italia. No podría colaborar en diarios partidarios pues no pertenezco a partido alguno, es decir tengo mis propias ideas que, en ciertas ocasiones, preden o no coincidir con las de algún partido. Si yo colaborara con *Unità* (Órgano del Par-

tido Comunista), por ejemplo, no podría escribir todo lo que se me ocurriera; y por otra parte, si bien actualmente no tendría dificultad en compartir la línea de *Unità* con respecto a *Viet-Nam*, durante veinte años en cambio (hasta el XX congreso) el stalinismo me habría impedido colaborar en forma absoluta. De manera que yo publico mis novelas en el *Corriere della Sera*. Sin embargo, ustedes no encontraron en el *Corriere della Sera* una sola palabra en favor del sistema existente hoy en Italia.

Scalzone: Quisiera recordarle a Moravia que cualquier obra literaria, cualquier producto intelectual es ya hecho político. Ignorar eso significa hacer ya una elección política, entrar en el Juego de los intereses creyendo, en otras palabras integrarse. Publicando novelas en el *Corriere della Sera*, cualquier que sea su contenido, usted, Moravia, está teniendo una posición política bien definida.

Moravia: No más que cualquier proletario en un régimen capitalista. ¿Por qué entonces los pintores deberían eximirse de esa necesidad? ¿Por qué los profesores? ¿Por qué los arquitectos, o los directores de cine? ¿Por qué los obreros que trabajan supongamos, en una fábrica de automóviles?

Scalzone: En efecto, nosotros no proponemos como modelo la figura del obrero esclavizado, sino la del obrero que se libera de la esclavitud. El obrero puede liberarse políticamente, volviéndose revolucionario

militante. El escritor, en cambio, manipula material intelectual y a menudo identifica y limita su actividad en el acto de escribir.

Petruccioli: El obrero dentro del sistema, es un esclavizado. El intelectual, en el momento en que acepta moverse dentro del aparato de la cultura dominante, acepta un papel que no es el del esclavizado; se vuelve un intermediario entre la clase que está en el poder y los consumidores. Cuando, para vender su producto, él usa como medios de comunicación justamente aquellos canales que constituyen la fuerza y la continuidad de la cultura dominante, entonces está asumiendo una posición clara, prescindiendo del contenido de sus obras.

Scalzone: En otros términos, no se trata sólo del contenido o de las ideas, sino de la función que el libro pasa a asumir en la estructura económica.

Moravia: En un sistema capitalista los editores son capitalistas y el escritor es un proletario al igual que cualquier otro que está en condiciones de ser aprovechado (y a menudo lo es), y el libro es un producto a ser consumido. Si ustedes afirman que el arte no es expresión sino producto, entonces, no pueden pretender que el escritor sea un intelectual, o sea un creador con privilegios y responsabilidades mayores que los demás. Deben en cambio admitir que es una especie de artesano, o con un proletario. Hay contradicción entre el papel que ustedes le exigen al intelectual, y el valor de producto que le atribuyen al arte. Por otra parte, habría que ver si el producto literario está hecho para el consumo o para la representación. Hay una gran diferencia entre la industria cultural y la expresión artística. La primera produce un arte de élite, que en los países capitalistas obedece a las leyes del beneficio y en los países comunistas, a las leyes del Estado; es lo mismo, por lo menos para los fines del arte.

En Occidente existe el límite del beneficio; en Oriente el de la propaganda. Se trata siempre de un arte de élite. O sea una literatura que tiene que ser constante, no importa donde, en el tren o en los bancos de las escuelas. Nunca revolucionó alguna cosa eso. Las revoluciones tuvieron la libertad de la expresión artística. Es decir, considerando que para todos los contenidos (o sea la crítica del poder) no cuentan, querían la libertad del lenguaje.

El escritor que no quiere ser intermediario entre las clases dominantes y el

público puede encontrarse operando en tres situaciones históricas diferentes. Si la situación lo permite, o sea los tiempos son cómodos, puede hacer arte de cualquier tipo; si los tiempos apremian deberá abandonar la representación y la poesía para el ensayo, el artículo; finalmente, si los tiempos no dejan otra alternativa, dejará de ser escritor, hombre de cultura, y será el caudillo que desiente su libertad con un fusil. Ahora yo les pregunto: ¿en cual de estas situaciones nos encontramos hoy? En mi opinión podemos trabajar todavía con un margen bastante amplio, en Italia por lo menos, como para hacer representación artística aunque, como sabemos, es ambiguo de por sí.

Cuando los tiempos apremian claramente la poesía ya no alcanza; se necesita la publicación periódica. Cuando finalmente empiezan a entrar los nazis en la casa de uno (como me pasó a mí) entonces es necesario la lucha armada.

Petruccioli: Me parece que la diferenciación de Moravia entre el momento del artista, del periodista y del ciudadano, vuelve a presentar el error que ha existido en la cultura izquierdista en los últimos veinte años. ¿Qué significa individualizar tres niveles de integración para un intelectual que opera en el interior de un ejército régimen? Significa procurarle una protección ideológica.

Scalzone: Significa darle la posibilidad de considerarse inocente cuando vende las novelas al *Corriere* en nombre de la búsqueda estilística y comprometido cuando firma un cartel por la paz en nombre de sus recuerdos de la Resistencia. Significa darle la posibilidad de jugar en dos mañas.

«Dónde puedo escribir» —dice Moravia—, ¿qué canal puedo utilizar, que me deje ser plenamente libre? Si yo escribiera en *Unità* no podría criticar por ejemplo una película soviética como *Natasha*. Por lo tanto, escribir en el *Corriere della Sera*.

Scalzone: Esta forma de razonar refleja la personalidad del intelectual de izquierda de la década del 50. Refleja la psicología de cierta generación de intelectuales de izquierda para los cuales el compromiso político ha sido exclusivamente actividad de resistencia, que es algo muy diferente de una orgánica actividad revolucionaria. ¡No te parece, Moravia, que usted se está quedando estérilmente atado a ese mundo?

Moravia: Creo que no soy extraño a lo que está pasando alrededor de mí. Antes 20

de la guerra tenemos el fascismo. Despues de la guerra, la lucha de clases. Hoy tenemos la civilización industrial o de los consumos. Hoy, a pesar de que siguen existiendo las clases y las luchas de clase, me interesan principalmente los males de la civilización industrial.

Veltroni: Yo quiere hablar de nuestra situación de universitarios, de nuestra política. Nosotros nos damos cuenta de que la universidad, en la sociedad occidental, solo sirve para proveer los técnicos que contribuyen al fortalecimiento de la estructura capitalista. No es instrumento de libertad, no sirve para sustituir la recepción policial con el libre juego intelectual. Por eso creemos tanto a un determinado tipo de hombre de cultura. Ciertos intelectuales para nosotros son simplemente agentes, sujetos representantes a la izquierda, pero en realidad no hacen otra cosa que servir al sistema.

Moravia: La relación entre arte y política no es tan simple como ustedes creen. Cuando escribía Gliindierenti, por ejemplo, yo era prácticamente改良的. Sin embargo todo el mundo vio allí una denuncia política.

Staderini: Mire señor Moravia, a mí no me interesa cómo usted organiza sus relaciones con la sociedad. Solo me preocupo de que usted no trate de justificarlas que no trate de salvar su alma, como han estado haciendo los intelectuales de izquierda en los últimos veinte años. Han conciliado lo que no es conciliable. Han repetido a cada instante "Sev un comunista, soy un marxista y por lo tanto no estoy de acuerdo con esta sociedad". Pero enseñada agregaban: "Pero ésta es la sociedad en que vivo y la actividad que yo puedo desarrollar en ella es el arte". En otras palabras han reservado para sí mismos una intervención que no encaja nada. Es una memoria de falso verso, aunque sea una manera un poco hipócrita.

Moravia: Yo no debo salvar mi alma aquí en Italia, ni en Rusia, ni en Estados Unidos ni en ninguna otra parte.

Veltroni: Usted dijo que la autogestión de las fábricas por parte de los obreros y el aprovechamiento de los obreros, aun bajo un dueño iluminado soy la misma cosa. Como comunista, cuando escuchamos cosas como ésa nos rebelamos: Es una postura socialdemócrata.

Moravia: Ya dije solamente que el eslabón de la cadena de montaje es factor de alienación tanto en una fábrica en

autogestión como en una fábrica capitalista. En otros términos, la cuestión de fondo sigue sin resolverse: el hombre integrado en una cadena de montaje, ¿cómo hará para ser hombre? ¿Cómo hará para comunicarse?

Fukasas: Este es el secreto y la finalidad de la revolución cultural: permitirle comunicarse.

Moravia: Si usted hubiera leído mi libro sobre China, habría entrado aquí que, para mí, una de las grandes esperanzas de la revolución cultural consiste justamente en hacer pasar al hombre desde la condición campesina a la tecnológica sin que tenga que pasar por la etapa burguesa de los consumos.

Petrucelli: El intelectual de izquierda está atado a un tipo de actividad desarrollada en el pasado, que hoy él llama revolutionaria pero que objetivamente no lo es.

Moravia: ¿Qué actividad?

Petrucelli: A la actividad desarrollada durante la Resistencia, que actualmente se usa para justificar una serie de operaciones equivocadas.

Cuando usted dice que hoy el problema ya no consiste en la lucha de clases sino en la lucha contra la civilización industrial y la alienación de los consumos, asume una actitud de esclavo. Su posición es análoga a la de aquellos que creen que es suficiente el hecho de estar insertos en alguna organización políaca para enriquecer sus productos. Ese es un razonamiento fatal. En otras palabras, nortan más sinceros si se llamaran a decir: "Yo necesito ganar plata, Trato de cumplir con mi trabajo libremente, pero cuando no lo consigo tengo el atenuante del estado de necesidad". Esto es el discurso que hay que rebatir; vuestra mala fe es demostrada por la venta milana de vuestros productos. Presentando vuestros productos de esa forma, como fruto de la ideología de la clase obrera ustedes desacreditan a la clase obrera misma. Ustedes se presentan como inocentes de cómo andan las cosas en el mundo capitalista a pesar de compartir la responsabilidad de todas esas cosas.

Sealzone: Quisiera recordarle la frase de Carmichael, el líder del Poder Negro, "El intelectual no nos interesa por lo que hace, sino por lo que hace por nosotros". Esto es también nuestro criterio. Con él medimos la posición política del artista.

■ Moravia: Ustedes, en otras palabras, quisieran un arte completamente politizado. Por mi parte, yo no escribo artículos políticos en el Corriere, como no los escribía en Unita. No tengo partido, odio a los partidos. No me utilizaría a ninguno de ellos. Me transformaría en un instrumento y no podría serle útil a nadie, ni siquiera al partido al cual cativiera afiliado.

Fukasas: ¿Pero usted está seguro, en su condición actual, de no ser un instrumento?

Moravia: Permitame definir al artista. El artista es el hombre, el único hombre que tiene el deber de mantenerse parecido a un niño, o sea no reprimirse y condicionarlo en favor de sociedad alguna. La función social del artista, en otras palabras, es la de ser en alguna medida un antisocial.

Veltroni: Y afirmando eso, ¿usted sigue creyéndose marxista?

Moravia: Desde luego soy marxista. Pero no existe sólo el marxismo. Creo que éste es un excelente instrumento de conocimiento, pero no el único.

Sealzone: El marxismo no es un instrumento de conocimiento, sino de transformación del mundo.

Moravia: Conocimiento, para un artista, quiere decir transformación del mundo. Yo no soy hombre de acción; si lo fuera todo sería mucho más simple, aceptaría al marxismo como instrumento de transformación, como doctrina para la acción.

Veltroni: El "Che" Guevara ha dicho: "Los intelectuales deberían suicidarse, como clase". Eso significa que el intelectual no debe usar su pluma como instrumento para hacer lo que le gusta y evitarse el enfrentamiento con la realidad. ¿Qué piensa usted de esa frase, que en parte es aceptada también por Mao?

Moravia: Digo que es la frase de un hombre de acción, revolucionario de profesión. Un hombre que coloca la acción política por encima de todo lo demás. Pienso también que la pluma es un instrumento para hacer lo que nos gusta y en consecuencia enfrentarnos a la realidad.

Veltroni: ¿Su juicio sobre las obras de Mao y Guevara?

Moravia: Opino que Mao es un excelente escritor. Permitame citar mi libro sobre China, Página 45: "Ha sido

al mismo tiempo el Lenin, el Trotsky y el Stalin (pero también el Malakovski) de China". En cuanto a Guevara, lo conozco poco como escritor. Como hombre de acción su figura (lo afirmó en una entrevista a Parse Sera) es histórica.

Sealzone: Usted, Moravia, ¿cree que sus reportajes desde China o desde Corea, o sobre Podgorny, pueden contribuir a la lucha que los países socialistas o del tercer mundo están llevando en contra del imperialismo?

Moravia: Nunca escribí nada acerca de Podgorny. El artículo desde Corea (Ver ANALISIS, No. 334) era una descripción verídica de la captura Suyúk de Corea del Sur. Leíalo, o yárlavalo a leer, y verán. Junto con otros escritores europeos he firmado en una página del New York Times, un llamado contra la guerra de Vietnam. Llamé hace poco tiempo a la Academia de Artes y Letras americana, de la cual formo parte como miembro honorario, con el fin de que se decidan a tomar posición en contra de la guerra. Naturalmente firmé manifiestos contra la guerra, no se hace otra cosa desde hace veinte años. ¿Pero para qué sirve? Se debiera hacer más. Deberíase impedirlo a Estados Unidos hacer la guerra. Pero yo, como escritor, ¿qué puedo hacer?

Veltroni: Debería hacer dos cosas. Primero: en el momento en que usted escribe reportajes o artículos por ejemplo, no debería apoyar al imperialismo. Segundo: no debería preocuparse sólo de lo que escribe, sino también de donde lo escribe, y quien lo leerá.

Sealzone: Otra pregunta a Moravia. La relación entre hombre y obra de producción es de todas formas una relación alienada. La contradicción que interesa en el plano social es la relación entre aprovechador y aprovechado. ¿Usted de qué lado está? Si está con el segundo, ¿piensan combatir el primero? ¿Con cuáles medios? ¿Piensa que pueden ser los propios de su profesión de escritor? ¿O que se pueda y deba combatir con otros medios?

Moravia: Representar, en arte, es combatir, porque la representación es acusación y juicio. Fuera de ello, queda la acción política o armada.

Fukasas: La "generación intermedia" a la cual Moravia pertenece, ha formado una especie de monopolio cultural y económico de toda la producción. Esta es la razón por la cual rengamos de los hombres de cultura de aquella generación.

Moraviat: Yo no participo de ningún monopolio cultural ni mucho menos económico. Yo protesto siempre, en mis libros. Protesta ustedes también. Pueden a escribir una novela en contra del monopolio.

Staderini: Una última pregunta: ¿Usted dijo que firma llamados por la paz en Vietnam?

Moraviat: Es cierto.

Staderini: Firma también en el *Corriere della Sera*, que es el órgano de la oposición imperialista en Italia. ¿No es una contradicción?

Moraviat: Si es cierto que el *Corriere della Sera* es el órgano de la oposición imperialista en Italia, es una contradicción. De todas formas no escribo artículos ideológicos, y si los escribiera, no los publicaría en el *Corriere della Sera*. Finalmente, a pesar de que yo no sea stalinista, permitame citar a Stalin: "Dicen que nos contradecimos. Pues si, nos contradecimos". Sólo los igl-profs no se contradicen.

(Tomado de la revista "Análisis", Argentina, marzo de 1958)

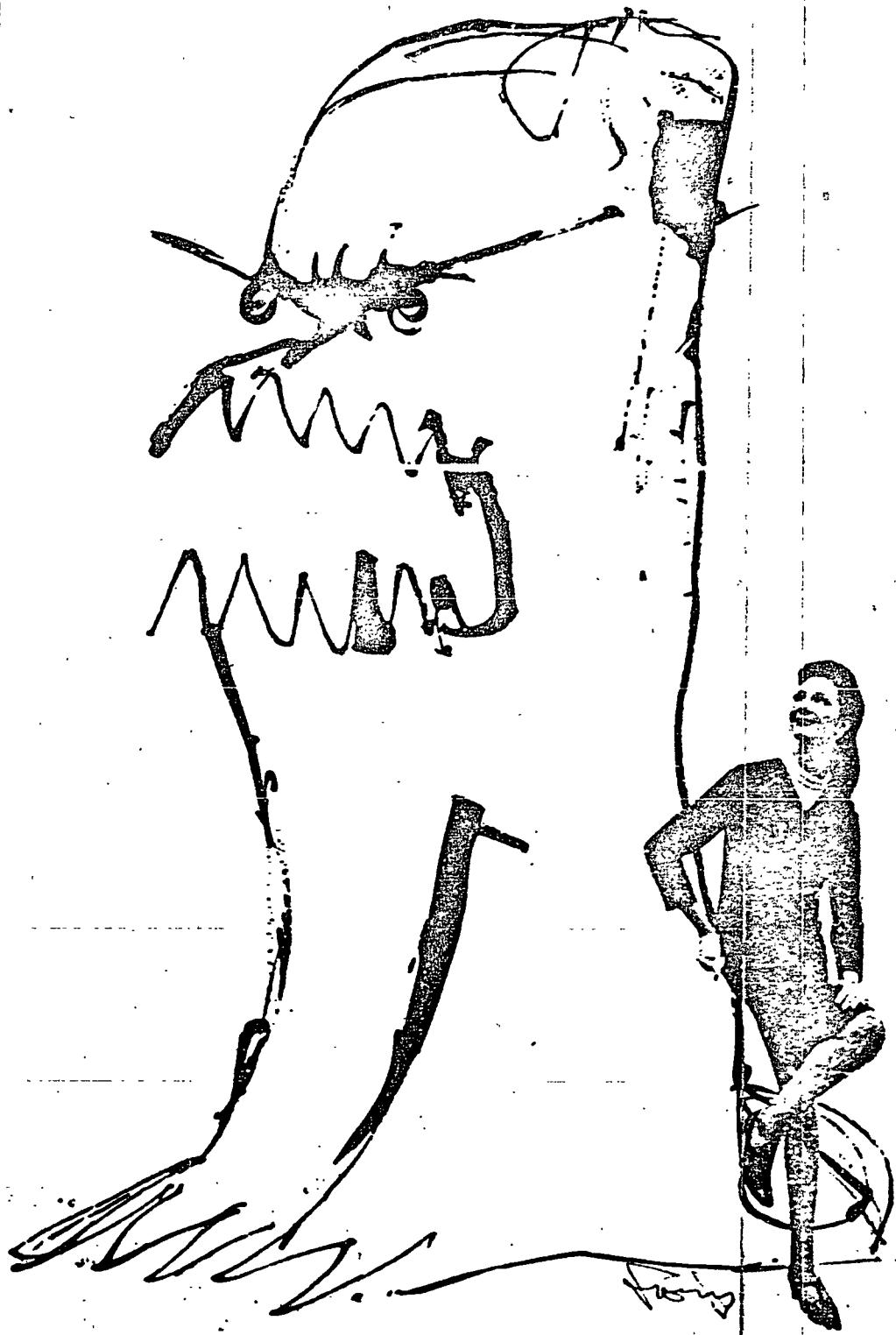
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Los Siete Pecados Capitales

comedia musical de
Héctor Quintero



to W. J. KAUFMAN
C/NR/1
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23 November 1968

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23 Nov 68

1. AGREE POINTS REF A PARA 1 A THRU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND ^{R6P0272-0 C-84} ~~AMERICAN~~ INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REF B.

2. BELIEVE AS STATED REF C THAT LIRING-3 SHOULD BE FACTUAL AS POSSIBLE IN PREPARING REPORT ON CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WHILE IMPRISONED GUATEMALA, AND IN GIVING OPINION ON HOW ^{C-621} ~~AMERICAN~~ HAVE FAILED THERE. TO MAKE HIM APPEAR TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OR PAR/PGT COULD AROUSE SUSPICIONS LIRING-9 AND COLLEAGUES.

3. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE LIRING-9 MAY HAVE BEEN RELATING DIRECTLY TO ACTIVITIES OF HECTOR SANCHEZ GONZALEZ PER MEXICO CITY 7744 (IN 18686) IF LIRING-2 REPORT INDEXED BASED ON FACT.

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MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. COORDINATE, OF COURSE, AS TO BREAK UP GUAT INFORMATION FLOWED AND ~~ANY CUBAN~~
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BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME
WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

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Hqs Comments:) References attached
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WH/COG: Paul Oberst (telecon)

WH/2: *Jerry Murphy* (draft)

J. H. H.
Chief, WHD

Kaufman
H. J. Kaufman
C/M/E/1

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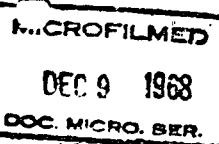
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| Chief, WH Division Chief of Station, Guatemala City Chief of Station, Mexico City PBRUMEN/The LIRING-3 Operation | | | | | | | | | |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>Action Required: FYI</p> <p>References : A. HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968 B. MEXICO CITY-8159, 22 November 1968</p> <p>1. Forwarded herewith as attachment #1 are three reports on the most recent developments of the LIRING-3 operation, one dated 17 November and two dated 22 November, prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON. The gist of the 22 November report relating the conversation which LIRING-3 had on that date with LIRING-9 was cabled in reference B. Some additional comments by LIRING-9 passed on orally by ROWTON and not included in his report were included in reference B.</p> <p>2. Forwarded as attachment #2 are Xerox copies for both addressees of two letters received by LIRING-3 from FAR contacts in Guatemala. The third letter was prepared as an answer by LIRING-3.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Raymond A. Frerke</i> for Willard C. CURTIS</p> <p>Attachments: 1. Reports (3), h/w 2. Letters (3), u/s/c 3. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c</p> <p>Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each) 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each)</p> <p>S/c att:2 h/u att:1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CS COPY</p> <p style="text-align: right;">201-798301</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>CROSS REFERENCE TO</td> <td>DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35905</td> <td>DATE 27 November 1968</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T</td> <td>EXPIRY DATE 1968 FILE NUMBER 201-798301</td> </tr> </table> | | | | CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35905 | DATE 27 November 1968 | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | EXPIRY DATE 1968 FILE NUMBER 201-798301 |
| CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35905 | DATE 27 November 1968 | | | | | | | |
| | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | EXPIRY DATE 1968 FILE NUMBER 201-798301 | | | | | | | |



ATT 1

HMMA-35905

17 November, 1968

7P

Subject: TIRING/3 met with LIRING Office.

1. During the period 4-15 November, 1968, Rowton met with LIRING/3 on four occasions to debrief him on his activities. LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that there were several phases to his renewed operational activity that needed careful planning and co-ordination. He commented on these as follows:

- (a) Maintenance of "o" contact with FAR: LIRING/3 sent a letter to Rafael Argueta A. giving him his current address so that "Pavel" could be informed how to contact him. In response to this letter, LIRING/3 received a note from the mother of the Miguel and Juan Leon Barrios on 14/11/68 enquiring about his health. Since the letter was addressed to LIRING/3's new address he felt it was proof that his reply to Argueta's letter had been received. He stated that he hoped "Pavel" or some one else representing FAR would soon appear.
- (b) RE-establishment of Contact with LIRING AND PERUMEN: LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that his ultimate objective would be a trip to PERUMEN to act as liaison between the authorities there and FAR. Rowton stressed the need to keep the local LIRING establishment informed and in support of his activities, to avoid hurting their feelings by going over their head (as happened before the last trip). LIRING/3 commented that he would have to maneuver matters so that he was extended an invitation. He would try this through LIRING/10, but if it did not succeed he would try a discreet approach through Orlando Suarez who, he felt, could arrange a cultural invitation without difficulty.
- LIRING/3 subsequently reported to Rowton that he met with LIRING/10 on the morning of 15/11/68 in the patio area of the LIRING establishment and that the latter had introduced him to his replacement, who invited LIRING/3 to meet with him any morning about 1100 except Mondays and Fridays. LIRING/3 also asked LIRING/3 to meet with him privately at his convenience so that he could debrief him on his experiences. LIRING/3 commented that LIRING/3/2 was very cordial but did not ask him any specific questions or show interest in debriefing him. LIRING/3 promised Rowton that he would attempt to gain access to LIRING/10's office for the debriefing.
- (c) Cover Problems: LIRING/3 told Rowton that he would make every effort to obtain some kind of cover employment so that he could justify any funds given to him by Rowton. He stated that he was attempting to

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HMMA-35905

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arrange for an exposition to display his products and at the same time persuade a leading member of his profession to permit him to work in his establishment (for a nominal salary). LIVING/3 then suggested a better possibility - an exposition in Montreal, Canada, where he had contact with a person who could arrange matters for him. LIVING/3 confided that he favored Canada for another personal reason. He explained that LIVING/4's father was suffering from what appeared to be terminal cancer of the throat or esophagus and that L/4 was very anxious to see him before he died. L/3 had stated several times that she planned to request a visa for travel to New York since it was out of the question for her father to travel to Mexico City to visit her. LIVING/3 told Rowton that in any case he felt it unwise to permit L/4 to visit New York where she would inevitably fall in with all sorts of refugees who would report on her attitudes. He preferred to travel with her to Montreal under cover of the exposition and then ask her father to join them there - a trip within reason for a person in his condition. L/3 added that he felt he and L/4 could travel by boat at a modest fare and this would permit him to carry as many of his products as possible for the exposition.

Rowton agreed that this might be a solution, but recommended that L/3 look into the possibility of returning to Mexico via PERUEN (on the boat) since this would kill two birds with one stone. Rowton suggested that L/3 determine whether L/4's father was actually in a condition to travel even the relatively short distance. If not it might be possible for L/4 to travel to New York via Montreal by train at less expense than by air.



Wallace B. Rowton

ATT 1
HNNR - 35905
22/11/68

1. LIRING/3 received letter ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ from "Marta" postmarked 9 November, Guatemala, C.A. acknowledging receipt L/3's letter and expressing relief from anxiety. Gives greetings from "los canchitos" Miguel, Elsa, "La Negra", "La Chiquitia", Felisa, Maria Elena, "La gordita". Envelope written by other hand is addressed to L/3 at his new residence and bears return address: M.Bol., 28c "B" 8-25 Zona 8. LIRING/3 told Rowton this letter from mother Juán and Miguel ~~XXXXXX~~ León Barrios, sent apparently to test commo channel. L/3 replied to letter 22/11/68 stating he expects soon make trip "outside country" and asking ~~Marta~~ Marta to tell "los canchitos" (her sons Miguel and Juán) to send him the assignment ("encargo") soonest since he in position to help them in some way. L/3 enclosed clipping from "Siempre" of letter to editor describing his experiences in Guatemala.
2. L/3 also turned over ~~to Rowton~~ letter from "Espinoza" postmarked 7 November, Guatemala, C.A., sending warmest greetings, but containing phrase, "the León Barrios send you greetings", which L/3 interprets to be signal from Juán and Miguel that contact with FAR imminent. Envelope addressed to L/3 at his new address bears return address: Oscar Moises Raldán E., Granja Penal Pavón, Fraijanes, Guatemala.
3. LIRING/3 also reported ~~that~~ he had private talk with LIRING/9 on late morning 21 November in which L/9 stated he most interested in any observations L/3 might wish make concerning attitude and opinions his FAR contact with respect to PBRUMEN support. He asked L/3 to put his thoughts in writing and submit them to him at 1730 on 26 November. At L/3 request he promised invite LIRING/10 and other interested LIRING officials to this meeting. LIRING/9 expressed opinion that LIRING/3 should subsequently travel to PBRUMEN for "more detailed" discussions and offered arrange cultural cover invitation. He added that it would not be necessary for L/3 make formal application for visa.
4. LIRING/3 will submit to Rowton draft of his report on afternoon 25/11/68 so that Rowton may amplify as desired. L/3 told Rowton he plans take line that PBRUMENs do not understand local problems and that their aid in past has been dissapated in factionalism. L/3 asked Rowton for as many details as Rowton can gather to strengthen his report (such as

2.

local FAR attitude toward César Montes and CPG leaders through whom PBRUMEN has worked in past. Also in French girl who executed recently about whom L/9 asked L/3 a number of questions, indicating PBRUMEN interest in exact role she played via-à-vis FAR.

#Rowton

Att 1
Hnra - 35905

22 November, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Meeting with LIRING/9.

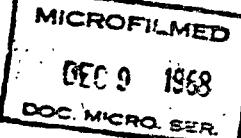
1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at the safehouse (Identity B) at 1015 on 22 November, 1968, that he had met with LIRING/9 at the latter's private office late the previous morning for a very serious discussion. L/3 explained that he had visited the LIRING offices with LIRING/4 to pass out invitations to the exposition scheduled to begin on 23/11/68, and that L/9 approached him immediately and asked him to come into his office for a chat, "if he could spare the time." Early in the conversation, Rowton's reconstruction of which follows, LIRING/3 got the impression that L/9 had been delegated by LIRING/10 to talk privately with him on the matters he broached:

- 9/. "I'm glad, chico, that you have a few minutes, since I wanted to talk over a few things very seriously and in private."
- 3/. "I'm at your disposition. What do you have in mind?"
- 9/. "Well, what are your plans?"
- 3/. "What plans do you mean? After all I have a lot of plans for different things, as you can imagine."
- 9/. "I mean your plans for the immediate future."
- 3/. "Well, I plan giving this exposition (to which you are invited, of course) in the hope of raising enough money to take a trip to Montreal where I expect to have another exposition already being arranged by CPIC. This will enable LIRING/4 to come up there to see her father who is very ill, as you probably know. Her father will gladly help us financially to cover some of the cost of the trip."
- 9/. "Yes, but I mean what about your plans for continued political activity?"
- 3/. "Well, that's different. As you know I have had a long standing interest in Central America politically, and, despite the fact that it has cost me a great deal personally, I hope to continue helping my friends within my capabilities. Fortunately, there is really nothing that I know of against me here in Mexico, since I have not become involved with organizations and parties."
- 9/. "I see. But has your experience in Guatemala affected your attitude towards us?"
- 3/. "Frankly it has. I have a much better idea of the struggle from first-hand experience, and much more sympathy for the difficultia

- that the comrades there had had to undergo."
- 9/. "But could you be more specific?"
- 3/. "Well, it's a long story. I had hoped to discuss it in some detail with several of you together, particularly LIRING/10 and his replacement."
- 9/. "Yes, that will be arranged. But first I would appreciate your going over everything with me."
- 3/. "Well first of all, I would like to have present Iden A with his wife since I want once and for all to clear up any questions about the circumstances of our mutual experience there."
- 9/. "Don't be childish. We know all about Iden A, just exactly what kind of person he is as well as his wife. Such a confrontation is a waste of time, as far as we're concerned."
- 3/. "But don't forget the fact that the parents of the wife of Iden are very close friends of the LIRING Chief and it's quite natural that they'll present their point of view when they see him."
- 9/. "Don't worry about that. It's a purely social relationship, and, in any case, our Chief really hasn't got very much to do with these things, and his opinion won't matter."
- 3/. "I hope so. I'd feel better in any case to talk about the details in Iden's presence, so that he will agree, as he must on his responsibility. You realize, of course, that he carried with him such compromising material that it was a miracle that we were not assassinated on the spot."
- 9/. "Yes, but that is unimportant now. What is important is the fact that you have learned a great deal about the mentality of our friends down there, and that this could prove very useful to us in our future dealings."
- 3/. "Yes, for instance, they told me among other things that César Montes had spent too much time with your people, on trips to your country and to Mexico, and had completely lost touch with the revolution. That's the reason he was "destituido".
- 9/. "So, you know that!"
- 3/. "Yes, and many more details of why they are unhappy - the lack of adequate financial support, the inability of KPRIMEBAUMEN to embarrass FSPRIME in their increasing trade success."
- 9/. "Very interesting! I have a suggestion. Suppose you prepare a written report (informe) and bring it in at 1730 sharp on 26 November. I'll have some of my colleagues present so that we

- 14-00000
- 3.
- can all discuss your opinions and suggestions. I suggest 1730 because it will be quieter then and we can go to a better place to talk privately."
- 3/. "Fine, but I would like to be able to amplify my report in person in the EBROKEN capital. Perhaps I could stop off there on the way back from Montreal."
- 9/. "But there are no passenger ships making that run. Only cargo ships. I have a better suggestion. We could arrange an invitation for a cultural exposition that would appear innocuous."
- 3/. "Fine. I agree that would be best. Do I have to make any formal application?"
- 9/. "No. It won't be necessary. I'll handle everything. But what about LIEUNG/4?"
- 3/. "That's a rather delicate matter. She has not quite gotten over my experience, and might object to my re-involvement in political matters. I therefore would request you not to mention this aspect to her. She could go off to her home town and visit her family and think that the whole trip is cultural."
- 9/. "Yes, I agree that would be best under the circumstances."

Wallace B Rowton



R/Calle Madero Rojas
Casa Rural Rancho
Tajumulco Guatemala



DIA DEL SANTO
12 DE NOVIEMBRE

Señor:
Carlos Juárez
Edificio Cardesa A-6
Pachuca 4 av. 16 de Septiembre
Mexico 11 D. F.

CORREO AEREO
VIA AIR MAIL

ENVIOS PENDIENTES
CONTROL

S/C att: 3

HQ/MA - 35905

cc: COPY

201-798301

7/11/68

Estimado Carlos

No sabes la alegría
que recibí al tener noticias
tuyas ya que one imaginaba
muchas cosas a veces gracias
no fue así, y me siento pe-
dido en que te encuentres con
los tuyos.

De este lugar pues
te diré seguimos siempre
en el maratón de enton-
ciones privadas de nuestras
lamentaciones y pues siempre
standale a la pelota tu sa-
bes que es la única dis-
tracción que hay te agra-
des infinitamente por las
cosas que me cuentas

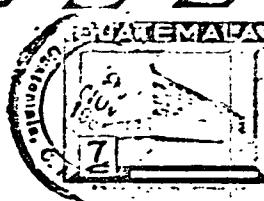
14-00000

Señor Dr. Juan B. Arrieta
Querido doctor entiendo de
versatil que se que me quereran
sean mi recordar este lugar
que tienen mucha riqueza
pero siempre me escribas
de que me siente tiene mis
micos amigos pocos eran
algo, of tu saber que en este
lugar hay que saber elegir
sus amistades. Buenos
días despues te contare
muchas cosas saluda
me a tu esposa y a
días, los recuerdo al
ver la Champa q me da
tristeza viendo una
posta. tu amigo sincero

Castro

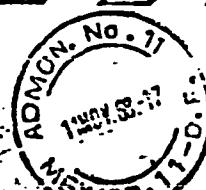
ATT 2
INNIN-35905

REMITTER: M. B. C.
206 "B" 8-25-2003
CONCEPCION, U.S.



SEÑOR. CARLOS JIMENEZ
EDIFICIO CONGRESO A-6
PRESIDENCIA Y MINISTERIOS
MEXICO D.F.

CORREO AEREO AIR MAIL PAR AVION



14-0000
Cartagena, 8 de octubre de
1968.

Buenos días que gusto nos
vivir en misa para no
nos guste la angustia que
nos quedamos. Hoy ante dios.

Nosotros siempre祈りて
esperando la voluntad de Dios
y del Señor Pd.

Los cambios con tu les
dices estás bien y te mandan
saludos amigos y miembros de tu familia
a ti y a tu esposa y nietas.

yo cada vez que voy alla' tan
yo la impresion de verte p'm
supuesto no lo tomes a mal
que es sin duda el cariño
que te profeso pero no deseo
mucho mucha garras ver
te esa condición.

Resibé saludos de Miguel al
rigor todo. Elsa, la negra
la chiquitía, Tliza, María
Elena, la gordilata de los carí
y de tu amiga que muere
de olvidarla. y dile a tu es
posa que no valle e writer celos

14-00000
de esta niña que pase que
les interesa, y quiere con todo
el Gobernación.

Hasta

Profe perdona el trago
ortografía pero no se es
cribado. Que no valga decir la
primera apilada, salieron de

ATT 2
MOMA 35905

AIR MAIL AVION AIR MAIL AVION

Santa Barbara
Calle 100
Méjico 77 D.F.

Juana
Santa Barbara
28 Calle "B" 8-25 Zona 8
Guatemala, Guatamala
C. A.

PAR AVION
VIA AIR MAIL

AVION AIR MAIL AVION AIR MAIL

MAY 10 1971 MEXICO 68

Mexicita:

Se le envio un avion. Por favor -
que tiene que trae en su maleta
sus documentos de identidad
y su billete de avion de ida y vuelta
de aqui, por el momento no se le
permite traer de aqui ni de otra parte

Deseo que me devuelva mi cargo
ya que no se le dio la oportunidad de
que lo devuelva. Gracias.
Atte.

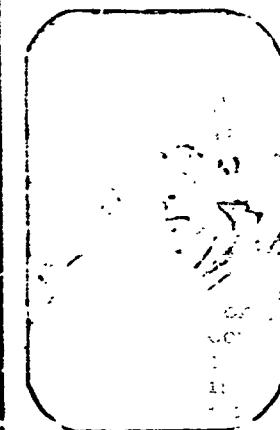
Espero

que me devuelva mi cargo

14-09000
Siempre! Mayo. 1971 - G.G.

AVVENTURA DE JURADO EN GUATEMALA

C. José Pérez Llergo
Director de SIEMPRE!



Hace unos días volví a la ciudad de México, después de haber permanecido encarcelado durante casi 7 meses en Guatemala, sujeto a un juicio —el cual salió absuelto— ocurrido por las autoridades de aquel país de "atentar contra las instituciones democráticas".

No pretendo hacer una crónica de los circunstancias de mi detención, del proceso judicial, etc., pues estos detalles en parte fueron dados a conocer en su oportunidad por SIEMPRE; pero si quisiera relatarle en una forma breve algunas de las cosas que observé durante esos meses en el campo de concentración de Pavón, mejor llamado "Granja Penal de Pavón", donde estuve confinado.

Dicha "granja" está situada a más o menos 20 Kms. de la ciudad de Guatemala en el Departamento de Fraijanes y consiste en un hoyo artificial rodeado de cercas eléctricas y torretas de vigilancia como las de las fábricas de concentración nazi. Se supone que en los países civilizados los sistemas carcelarios disponen de los medios suficientes para proporcionar a los reclusos un mínimo de comodidades o elementos que le permitan su desarrollo o rehabilitación; pero en este sitio sólo imperan el terror y el hambre, así como las condiciones más inhumanas y espeluznantes, ya que la insalubridad y la falta de atención en todos los aspectos es lo que allí impera.

La población aproximada de "la Granja" oscila entre 1,300 y 1,500 reos, de los cuales los "presos políticos" no llegan a 20, ya que los detenidos por delitos de esa naturaleza son generalmente asesinados después de su detención y estar sujetos a tortura.

Por lo tanto, la casi totalidad de los presos son "delincuentes comunes", pero podría decirse que en un 40%, son inocentes del delito de que se les acusa: pues en Guatemala, para ser encarcelado no es necesario tener pruebas en contra. Una simple acusación policial o de particulares basta para quedar sujeto a un proceso en el cual es común salir absuelto después de uno o dos años de encarcelamiento.

La administración interna del penal está encargada a los reclusos, para lo cual se escoge a los delincuentes más depravados y que tienen cargos: asesinos, drogadictos, etc.

Para mantener la disciplina se ha formado un cuerpo de represión denominado "servicio especial" o "garroteros", como vulgarmente se les llaman. Este grupo, cuya impunidad es ilimitada, mantiene a los reclusos en terror constante, ya que basta la fuerza más mínima para que golpeen con saña brutal al infractor, llegándose a causar hasta la muerte.

El penal no proporciona a los reclusos ningún medio de trabajo, pero si propicia la formación de mafias internas que explotan a quienes tienen mayores necesidades, haciendoles trabajar en fábricas elementales de algunas artesanías: canastos, juguetes rudimentarios o pelotas de fútbol; productos que envían a la calle para su venta y de los cuales esas mafias obtienen grandes ganancias que comparten con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más productivos, y del cual participan las autoridades en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de seconales sódicos y marijuana a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el asesinato.

Como mencioné antes, la "Granja Penal de Pavón" consiste en un hoyo artificial cuyo espacio habitable se reduce a un rectángulo de 170 por 70 metros, aproximadamente, el cual incluye 5 cuadras y una explanada al aire libre, irónicamente llamada "campo deportivo". Cada una de las cuadras alberga un promedio de 250 personas que viven en la más absoluta promiscuidad. Para agraviar esta situación funciona diariamente —durante 12 horas— un altoparlante, audible en todos los rincones, y que se utiliza para acrecentar el amedrentamiento y el terror. Por ese altoparlante se llama a los reclusos, que son solicitados para presentarse a la autoridad del penal, pero siempre llevando hincapié en la amenaza y en la intimidación.

Los reincidentes o reos peligrosos, están confinados en el "Triángulo", que es un espacio pequeño, protegido por alambradas, del cual no pueden salir ni siquiera a la explanada. En las cuadras, sólo una parte de los reclusos dispone de literas; la mayoría duerme en el suelo cubriéndose con trapos viejos o cartones. La alimentación que el penal proporciona consiste en dos pequeños platos y caldo por la mañana, seis tortillas y un poco de caldo, o de frijoles al mediodía, y otro poco de frijoles por la tarde. Una parte de los reos se alimenta con los excesos medios que sus familiares les llevan los días de visita o en pequeñas fondas que algunos han instalado para obtener ingresos. Tampoco existe atención médica adecuada: sólo una enfermera con algunos implementos medicamentarios básicos, para cualquier enfermedad, se presentan cada media hora dos capitanes, o un enfermero de alabarda y gaza, si es una herida, ya sea lanza o cuchillo.

Un solo año reviste gravedad extrema; pero si se continúa, se pierde la vida.

Un solo año lleva requiere de voluntad.

Un solo año lleva la muerte.

14-00000
teros e puros en latido. Tienen que ser, sin duda, los más peligrosos de la prisión. En las esas madres obtienen grandes ganancias que comparan con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más proc-
tos, y del cual participan las autoridades, en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de sacerdotes y monjas a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el asesinato.

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Un hecho que reviste gravedad extrema para los reclusos acusados de delitos políticos, es el de cómo llegar seguros de vuelta a sus hogares el día que reciben su libertad de ese infierno. En todas las "cárcel" del país el total de presos políticos no llega a 100. Una gran mayoría de estos se muere en el penal. (Sigamos en la página 70)

SUSTITUTA DE ESTADÍSTICA DE...

(Viene de la página 6) cuestionados" y desaparecidos en la carretera por cualquier grupo de los innumerables cuerpos policiales represivos que existen en Guatemala, previo aviso, claro, está de la dirección del Penal, que comunica con toda anticipación el día que un preso político obtiene su libertad.

En general, la "Granja Penal Pavón" es posiblemente una de las prisiones más terroríficas que existen en Latinoamérica y sería oportuno que la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU organizará una revisión de inspección, para desenmascarar así una de las tantas formas de violencia que imperan hoy día en tan bello pero desafortunado país.

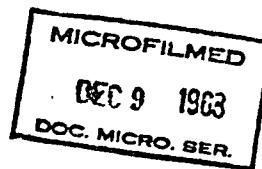
Le agradezco muy sinceramente las informaciones y defensa que la revista SIEMPRE! ha hecho de mi caso.

Atentamente,

Carlos Jurado

S E C R E T

Attachment #3
HMMA-35905



Identity Sheet

Identity A: Carlos X PERSABAL Marcue

Identity B: Suites Marne

CIT: Mexico

Δ: Mexico

re: connection with

Subj. of 201-798301

S E C R E T

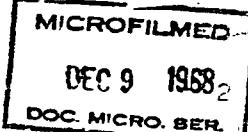
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S/c att 2 HMMA- 35905

201-798301

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|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PROCESSING ACTION Att 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> WORKED FOR INDEXING |
| TO Chief, WH Division | INFO. Chief of Station, Guatemala City HGG | FROM Chief of Station, Mexico City | REASON NO INDEXING REQUIRED ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING |
| SUBJECT PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 | ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | MATERIALS MICROFILM | |
| | | MICROFILMED | DEC 9 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER. |
| <p>Action Required: See paragraph 3.</p> <p>1. Forwarded herewith is one copy each for Headquarters and the Guatemala City Station of the report covering the debriefing by Wallace B. ROWTON of LIRING-3 on his imprisonment in Guatemala. Identity A of ROWTON's report is a Guatemalan rebel living in Mexico who, as addressees will remember, accidentally shot himself in the leg a few days prior to his departure for Guatemala with LIRING-3. This wound may have convinced the Guatemalans that he had recently been involved in terrorist activities and may, in fact, have cost him his life. Identity B of the same report is the nephew of Identity F, a Mexican Communist who was arrested on 19 September 1968 during a student demonstration in Mexico City; he is still in jail.</p> <p>2. As this dispatch is being written, LIRING-3 has an appointment to talk at length about his experience in Guatemala with the LIRING Station Chief, LIRING-10. The general idea is for LIRING-3 to go to PBRUMEN in the hope that he can be used to penetrate PBRUMEN-sponsored subversion efforts in Latin America or become, at least for a time, a reporting source in PBRUMEN.</p> <p>3. ROWTON and the undersigned are prepared to travel to Guatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatemalan/FAR implications whenever the Guatemala City Station, after reviewing the available information, feels ready for such discussion. Please advise.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Kaynard F. French</i> for Willard C. CURTIS</p> <p>Attachments: 1. Report (1), h/w 2. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c</p> <p>Distribution: CS COPY Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each) 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each)</p> <p>201-798301</p> | | | |
| CODE REFERENCE NO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35904 | DATE 27 November 1968 | |
| | CASE NUMBER S E C R E T | NEED-PER NUMBER 201-798301 | |

Liring-2

Subject: Report of Debriefing of LIRING/3.



ATTACHMENT 1
HOMA-35904

GP

1. Upon his return from TDY, Rowton made discreet efforts to re-establish contact with LIRING/3 as directly as possible. He checked on the last known residence of L/4 on the nights of 24 and 25 October but found the third floor apartment totally blacked out. He therefore assumed that LIRING/3 had abandoned the apartment either because of fear of the Gobernación agents that had attempted to extort 500 pesos from her (as indicated in CINCPAC
take for 11 Sept) or as a result of her inability to pay the October rent, or both. Rowton checked his telephone answering service but found no message from LIRING/3 as he had hoped. Rowton concluded that L/4 must have assumed that Rowton had left the country on an extended trip. Since prior to his departure (15 September) Rowton had left a note on the afternoon of 11 September under the door of the apartment advising L/4 that he had to leave the country and hoped to see her the following morning at 1000 at the "consulorio". LIRING/3 did not show at 1000 the following morning or the next, probably because of the visit of the police to the apartment.
2. Rowton then telephoned Identity C and, on the pretense of interest in the watercolors of LIRING/3, asked sra Carillo who answered for the address of LIRING/4. Sra Carillo replied that unfortunately she did not have the present address but did have the watercolors and could show them to Rowton. She added that LIRING/3 was in Guatemala and that LIRING/4 passed by Identity C from time to time to check on the sale of the pictures. When she offered to give L/4 any message Rowton might have, the latter asked her to tell L/4 to telephone Rowton at his telephone answering service(alias).
3. Rowton then felt his only other source of L/4's whereabouts that would not attract undue attention (particularly on the part of the LIPING office) would be a check with LIRING/3's first wife, since he recalled that she had taken care of LIPING/3 and L/4's child almost every week-end, even after L/3's arrest. Rowton therefore obtained the telephone used by LIRING/3 to contact his first wife (from the Station file) and decided to call on the morning of 29 October. In the meantime, however, Rowton learned from the Station that LIRING/3 had been released and returned to Mexico City on 18 October.
4. When Rowton called the number of the first wife (apparently a small store in the Casas Grandes development), he asked for Carlito, the eldest son of L/3, (whom Rowton had already met) rather than for the first wife of L/3 whom Rowton did not know. A young girl replied saying that her brother Carlito was not at home at the moment. Rowton then explained that he was actually

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trying to locate LIRING/3. The child then exclaimed that L/3, her father, was at what very moment upstairs in her home. Rowton asked her to ask her father to come to the phone as soon as possible. After a few minutes delay, L/3 came to the phone and talked directly to Rowton.

5. LIRING/3 appeared from his tone of voice, to be rather depressed and showed no sign of enthusiasm in re-establishing contact with Rowton. Rowton explained that he had been out of the country and had unfortunately not been able to see I/4 before he left. Rowton added that he had returned on 19 Oct, the day after LIRING/3 himself had returned (Rowton said this for effect, since he knew it would impress L/3 to indicate that he was fully aware of the exact date of L/3's return). When he then asked to see L/3, the latter replied "of course, when?" Rowton then made a date to meet that same day at the Miss restaurant on Reforma. He then telephoned Identity D and reserved a room for that afternoon so that he would be able to give L/3 the safehouse at their first meeting..

6. LIRING/3 appeared on time and looked reasonably well, despite his long confinement. He explained that he had been able to recuperate during the past ten days and felt much better for the normal diet he had been able to resume. The only physical effect he still felt, besides the weakness from loss of weight and dysentery, was a recurring pain in the side, which L/3 feared resulted from a fractured rib that had healed without medical treatment. He explained that he had been beaten severely on several occasions during the initial interrogation both by the military and the police and "of course" did not have the benefit of medical treatment afterwards.

7. Rowton then alleged to LIRING/3 that he had done "everything possible" to arrange his release, principally through a notional GMA colonel whose brother was a business friend of Rowton. He explained that when he had learned that L/3 had left Mexico City for the trip as planned, he telephoned the colonel and explained that a Mexican friend, LIRING/3, was planning to visit his country and might conceivably need help at some point. Rowton continued that this gesture proved to be literally a life-saver for L/3, since a few days later, the colonel called Rowton back and reported the arrest of L/3 in the company of "very dangerous persons." At the colonel's request, Rowton met with him several days later at the border and they both planned the best course of action to save L/3. Rowton alleged that the colonel on his own initiative arranged to have L/3 transferred from the frontier to Guatemala City so that he could be released from army custody to the civilian authorities. L/3 apparently accepted this story at once, remarking that it did appear strange to him that he was flown with his companions in a twin

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engine plane and that the Minister of Irrigation was present at the airport when they disembarked. L/3 told Rowton that he felt certain that had he remained in the control of the army he would have been executed without trial or publicity of any kind.

8. LINING/3 added that when he arrived he found LINING/4 in a state of virtual exhaustion from nervous tension and worry. He stated that L/4 had become understandably bitter at the attitude of the police and felt abandoned by everyone, including Rowton, during the last weeks of L/3's imprisonment. L/3 added that, as Rowton suspected, L/4 was not anxious for him to resume any kind of political activity and would try her best to dissuade him from resuming collaboration with Rowton, if it meant reinvolvement with FAR and the LINING office. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that L/4 had managed financially since Rowton's departure by selling a few of his paintings, one of which was purchased by a "northamerican woman" at an excellent price and then donated to Bellas Artes (after the purchaser learned of L/3's flight).

9. Rowton met with L/3 again that same evening at 4000 in the saffron of Identity D and was able to debrief him at some length under more secure conditions. LINING/3 showed no reluctance to provide Rowton with all the details of his trip to Guatemala and to answer Rowton's questions frankly. At Rowton's request L/3 gave the following chronological account of his experiences over the past six months:

"Idens A and B and myself crossed the border on Easter Saturday (April 13) without incident, Iden A using the false Mexican documents I had provided and Iden B and myself traveling with our legal passports that had been properly vised in Mexico City before we left. I had originally planned to get Iden A across the border illegally north of Mesilla and meet him subsequently in Guatemala City, but I was dissuaded from this plan partly by Iden A's fear of traveling alone without properly vised papers and partly by the fact that it was an important holiday and there was more than usual movement across the border.

"Incidentally Iden B joined us at the invitation of Iden A when Iden B expressed an interest in concluding an interview with Nestor Valle of FAR (the first interview had occurred some months previously during Iden B's last trip to Guatemala). Iden B did this on his own initiative to impress his uncle with his newspaper initiative and ability, and Iden A felt that bringing Iden B with him would enhance his own prestige in the eyes of the FAR headquarter officials he hoped to meet. I myself realized that Iden B's presence was not altogether unfavorable for me, since if anything happened I would not have to bear the responsibility alone but could share it with Iden B.

"In any event we passed through the Mexican immigration and customs without difficulty, although Iden A was told that he would have to stop off at the Guatemalan consul's office (strangely enough on the Guatemalan side) to get a tourist visa, which was described as a "mere formality". At this point Iden A began to show signs of nervousness and refused to enter the Consul's office alone. I therefore accompanied him to calm him down. He found that the Consul was a colonel in the GMA, and a very observant person, despite his rather polite treatment of Iden A. Iden A, incidentally had dyed his hair at my suggestion to reduce the chances of his being spotted by an acquaintance.

"But I forgot to mention that the real reason for Iden A's nervousness was an unfortunate incident at the immigration office shortly before. One of the immigration officers mistook Iden A for a person wanted for some sort of fraud and insisted on examining him closely and even checking his height with a tape measure. Fortunately Iden B proved to be several centimeters taller than the person wanted by the police and we were allowed to pass on. This delay however did attract considerable attention and produced a state of nervous tension in both Iden A and, of course, B.

"Iden A was granted the tourist visa without delay and we proceeded to the Customs, about 200 yards up the road. Iden A, who had only a briefcase, refused to enter the Customs shed, but waited for us in a nearby cafe to keep as calm as possible. Iden B and I had to open our valises in Customs for the routine check. It was then that I myself got a nervous shock. My own bag had nothing but clothing in it, but Iden B was carrying a camera, a Czech recording machine, Soviet-made hiking boots, and, worst of all, a Mexican magazine between the pages of which he had concealed (very crudely) several FAR propaganda leaflets (which he told me later he was carrying to "impress" the FAR with the work being done on his uncle's press in Mexico City). Altho the Customs officers asked no questions and allowed Iden B to proceed I am certain that they spotted the leaflets and noted the rather unusual equipment Iden B was carrying with him.

"When we joined Iden A at the cafe, he asked anxiously, 'No hubo clavo?' and when we assured him that there hadn't been a problem ('clavo') he regained his composure. We then hailed a small, six-passenger autobus that was bound for Huehuetenango with three passengers (Guatemalans) already aboard. About 3 kilometers outside the town (Mesilla) the driver told us we were approaching the military outpost of 'El Cable' and that we would be checked again. He, to our surprise, warned us to

hide any guns we might have been carrying "under the seats" since the military would search the bus. Just then we saw a car pass us a rather high speed and recognized the Consul in the driver's seat. Eden A's nervousness seized him again and he shoved into my hand his Guatemalan passport and a few other of his legal papers. I quickly put them into my pocket and hoped that I would not be searched. When we reached the control point, we saw the Consul, by then wearing a side-arm, leaning against his car, waiting for the arrival of the bus. As soon as we stopped, he shouted to a nearby soldier to have the Colonel Comandante come out. When the soldier refused saying that it was more proper for him, the Consul, to go to the office of the Comandante, the Consul insisted in a rather stern voice. Finally the soldier disappeared and returned in a few minutes with the comandante, a young officer of excellent bearing. After a few minutes consultation with the Consul, the Comandante ordered us (Eden A, B and myself) out of the bus. The driver then returned our fare and was allowed to proceed on to Huehuetenango, after we had removed our luggage. We then found ourselves surrounded by soldiers and escorted into the "El Cable" compound. There we were assigned to different prefabricated huts and questioned separately. At an opportune moment, when the soldier guarding me (through the window of the hut) went off to get me some water, I managed to squeeze the passport of Eden A and his other papers through a crack in the floor boards where I felt sure that they would not be discovered.

The Comandante, who was fairly polite and even gave us coffee, asked me the purpose of my trip and how well I knew the other two. I replied that I was simply sightseeing and that I had known Eden B in Mexico City since he was a well-known estudiantico at the University but that I had run into him at San Cristóbal. With regard to Eden A, I alleged that I did not know him and had simply run into him by chance at the Immigration Office and had joined him and Eden B on the bus to save money in traveling to Huehuetenango. The Comandante then asked me to open my valise and he proceeded to search the contents carefully. He was particularly attracted to a clay bell which Eden A or B had placed there without my knowledge. (I later found out that they had stolen three bells from the hotel at San Cristóbal in a spoof and had put one on my valise). I told the Comandante that I did not know the bell was in my valise but recognized it as one sold at the tourist stand of the Hotel in San Cristóbal. I subsequently realized that they thought that the bells were some sort of recognition signal and wanted to get to the bottom of the apparently perplexing matter.

"After about three or four hours an army truck arrived driven by sergeant who appeared to have been drinking heavily (it was Holy Saturday and a festive occasion in the village). He ordered us tied hand and foot and literally thrown into the back of the truck. He then took off at reckless speed without any thought of the pain he was causing us (our hands were tied behind our back and we were forced to remain lying on the floor of the truck). At one point he stopped and instructed the soldiers to shoot us if we made any attempt to escape. Later one of the soldiers brutally kicked Eden A in the side when he moved suddenly, apparently to ease the strain on his arms.

"We were finally taken from the truck at the village of Buenos Aires, on the outskirts of Huehuetenango, and escorted into another military establishment where we were again interrogated. I stuck steadfastly to my original simply story, and, although I am sure that they did not believe me, there was no incriminating evidence in my luggage or on my person to serve as a basis for their suspicions. After several hours, from a good vantage point just inside the main door, where I had been deposited (still tied up) by the last interrogator, I overheard an officer sending a radio message to the Ministry in Guatemala City reporting our arrest and asking for instructions. He must have been told that a helicopter would be coming to pick us up, because I heard him reply that a helicopter would not be adequate and that a plane should be sent, since we were "dangerous types".

"The plane, a twin engine military aircraft, finally arrived and we were hustled into it and forced again to lie on the floor even while in flight. When we landed at the Guatemala City airport we were not removed from the plane for several hours. I recall hearing someone say, 'Leave them inside. The Minister hasn't arrive yet.' Shortly thereafter, a Northamerican army officer came aboard the plane and came straight toward me. He rolled me over roughly with his boot and began interrogating me. He appeared under the impression that I was a FAP leader and at first did not believe him when I gave him my true identity. I remember him very well since he spoke with a distinct northamerican accent and had a bandage around one of his legs (apparently he had been wounded in a skirmish)."

"We were finally removed from the aircraft and taken directly to the 2nd Police Corps Headquarters in Guatemala City and assigned to cell block 400, which is reserved for political prisoners (incidentally I later learned to my amazement that they are no more than 40 political prisoners in Guatemala - the others all having been executed before trial).

7/

of the Pavón prison. In cellblock 4004 where I spent several weeks awaiting arraignment, there are six cells with thick wooden bars, three on each side, in three of which Idén A, Idén B and myself were confined. I discovered that in one of the other cells was Polán "Cebollito", an important FAR leader, and in another cell were two young FAR members, the brothers Miguel and Luis Juan León Perrión, who later told me that they were members of the G-2 of FAR. In the remaining cell were three members of the "Mao Blancos", one of whom I later learned was named Inez Mufioz Godilla.

"As soon as we became acquainted, 'Cebollito' made an investigation of the circumstances surrounding our arrest, as he said, on behalf of FAR. 'Cebollito' who had already been arraigned had more freedom than the others and was able to wander in and out with relative ease (I noted that the door of his cell was often unlocked). He therefore was able to talk discreetly with each of us through the bars to 'interrogate' us to his satisfaction. After several days he reported that he found Idén A's conduct 'inexcusable' and Idén B completely stupid in his unnecessarily exposing his companions with the compromising material he was carrying. He told me that he felt I had been the victim of very unfortunate circumstances and my only mistake was to have attempted to cross the frontier with the other two. He added that he intended to sent his report to FAR via his brother, who was able to visit him more or less regularly. Several weeks later I saw 'Cebollito' being pushed into an army truck and learned from the León brothers that he was taken out and executed before his trial was completed. The last time I saw Idén A was about April 25, when he waved to me from his cell (I had already been taken out of cellblock 400 and moved into the large compound).

"Fortunately the Mexican Consul, Serrano, recognized my family name and told me that he was a friend of my father. He did what he could to help me get messages out to my wife and to supply me with materials to write and do some painting. Also of great help and comfort to me was Mario Armando Amador, the First Secretary, whose life, I learned later, was threatened because of the interest he took in me and Idén B. Armando confided to me on one occasion that he had to be very discreet in sending messages to Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico since the "North-americans decipher and read everything we send." He therefore had to send everything concerning me by diplomatic pouch despite the delay involved.

"I managed to get a message out to the press in a very strange way. I

had gotten to know one of the 'Mano Blanca' (the oldest of the trio that had been arrested for the kidnapping of the Archbishop), Inez Nufio Padilla, and felt he was sympathetic toward us. I therefore prepared a brief message on the inside of an empty package of cigarettes 'To whom it may Concern' stating that we had been arrested and were being held unjustly, and on the day that the trio were called out to appear in court, where I knew there would be newspaper reporters present I slipped the note to Nufio with a plea that he give it to a reporter as soon as he could. I later learned that he did so and that my note appeared verbatim in the local press.

"Several weeks later the mother and wife of Iden B visited us all either because of what he told them or on their own initiative spread the party rumor that I had been responsible for the arrests and that I was a Trotskyite (the wife and mother of Iden B are both members of the CP Mexico). This proved very disquieting to me but I was reassured to some extent by the León brothers who told me that they would 'investigate' and clear up the matter as soon as they could. About two months later, they took me aside in the prison compound and show me a report they stated they received from "FAR sources in Mexico". In this report I was described as "an anarchist without party affiliations, of good character and conduct, trustworthy and responsible but difficult to control". Iden B, on the other hand was described as "an opportunist, without sincere ideology, in reality a bourgeois of superficial convictions."

"From that moment the León brothers took me into their confidence. They revealed that FAR had broken completely with the CP Guatemala because of complete dissatisfaction with the party's handling of support matters. They pointed out to me Francisco Corado in the compound as the CP representative and commented that all financial help from the outside was being channeled through him despite the fact that he distributed the aid to his friends who were not even party members and neglected everyone else. The brothers also told me that FAR had stripped César Montes of all his authority and that he was in exile in Mexico. They commented that Montes had spent almost all his time outside Guatemala and had not accomplished the missions he was sent on. They also stated that financial and material aid from Cuba had dwindled to almost nothing because of FAR refusal to accept Cuban terms. They explained that the Cubans insisted on sending their experts to direct everything and channeled all their financial aid through the CP Guatemala. The León brothers also suggested that if and when I returned to

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Mexico, I should maintain contact with a "genuine FAR representative" and that I should do everything possible to convince the Others to take a more realistic position vis-a-vis their revolution. I welcomed this suggestion, assuring them that I could and would make a trip to Havana as soon as feasible. Since I was not certain of my wife's whereabouts, I asked the brothers to have their representative in Mexico, whom they described simply as "Pavel", contact me through

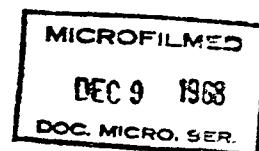
Identity C . I suggested that "Pavel" could contact the director, **Identity E** or her secretary stra Carillo, and introduce himself as a person representing a certain stra Violete who was interested in purchasing the watercolors I had already sent to my wife. "Pavel" could then ask for my address or leave a message telling me where I could contact him. They agreed and promised to communicate with me as soon after my release as possible.

"The trial of myself and Iden B was nothing more than a formality, since the judge was well aware that the prosecution had no solid evidence (fortunately for us Iden A had already been eliminated and could not testify even under duress). Since at least three attempts had been made to execute us before the trial (on the well-known pretext of removing us from the prison and assassinating us while supposedly attempting to escape), I demand an escort after the acquittal to accompany us to the airport. We arrived in Mexico City on 18 October and I was met there by my wife."

10. After relating the above, LIRING/3 asked Rowton to keep the proposed contact with "Pavel" in strictest confidence, particularly from his wife, since he felt she would be very upset to learn that he, L/3, was planning to resume political activity on behalf of FAR. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that as yet he had not had time to recontact anyone in the LIRING office but promised to do so as soon as the opportunity presented itself. He agreed with Rowton that LIRING/4 would be the logical person to arrange a discreet meeting with LIRING/10. L/3 told Rowton incidentally that L/4 had protested to LIRING/10 some weeks previously that Rodolfo Reyes was spreading rumors to the effect that the LIRING office did not trust LIRING/4. L/10 replied indignantly that if there was anyone they did not trust it was Rodolfo Reyes, and that L/4 could bring him in and L/10 would tell him such to his face.

Wallace B. Rowton
Wallace B. Rowton

S E C R E T

Attachment #2
HMMA-35904

IP

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Francisco *LARA (201-564701)

Identity B: Carlos X PERSARAL Marcue

ACIT: Mexico 4
G 4: Mexico 4

Identity C: Salon de la Plastica Mexicana

Identity D: Suites Marne

Identity E: /Sra/ Lourdes X CHOUMACERO Sex: F

Identity F: Manuel MARCUE Pardinas, former editor of Politica magazineReconnection with:Subj of 201-798301 G

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B A C K A T

X

Chief, WH Division

Chief of Station, Guatemala City

Chief of Station, Mexico City

PBUEHEN/LIRING-3

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Attachments:

for Willard C. CURTIS

1. Report (1), h/w
2. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c

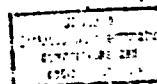
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27 November 1968

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INFO JMCOBRA

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

27 Nov 68 IN 43465

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159 *(*)*
B. GUATEMALA CITY 9739 *(*)* *40612*

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|------------|-------|
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1. LIRING-3 WRITTEN REPORT PER LIRING-9 REQUEST WAS
REVIEWED BY STATION WITH ASSISTANCE LEONARD S. TORMET. REPORT
LIMITED TO ACTUAL EXPERIENCES WHILE INCARCERATED GUATEMALA CITY
AND INFORMATION ACTUALLY RECEIVED FROM FAR MEMBERS IN SAME JAIL.
LIRING-3 BRIEFED TO DECLARE HIMSELF READY HELP GUAT REBELS FOR
IDEOLOGICAL REASONS AND AT SAME TIME IMPLY HE IS IN NEED MATERIAL
HELP AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT.

2. LIRING-9 WAS WAITING AT LIRING GATE 1730 HOURS WHEN
LIRING-3 ARRIVED WITH REPORT. MEETING HELD IN BACK ROOM CONSULATE
AND LIMITED TO LIRING-3 AND LIRING-9. FOLL HIGH POINTS THIS
MEETING:

A. LIRING-9 DID NOT READ REPORT BUT HAD LIRING-3 GIVE
HIM MAIN POINTS ORALLY. APPEARED MOST INTERESTED IN LIRING-3
STATEMENTS ON HOW GUAT REBELS FEEL TOWARDS PBRUMEN. NODDED WHEN
LIRING-3 STATED WHAT REBELS NEED IS ADEQUATE FUNDS NOT ADDITIONAL

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| DEC 19 1968 |
| DOC. MICRO. SER. |

Liring/4
B 201-81842 *NO RECORD IN CLS 28 NOV 68 0300Z.

B. 201-340938 Liring/9

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INFO

FILE VR

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8228 S E C R E T

NEW (MEANING ADVISORS).

B. LIRING-3 EXPLAINED HE ANARCHIST, LEFTIST, IDEALIST
AND FELT TRUE REVOLUTION GOING ON GUATEMALA. THIS WHY HE
INTERESTED IN HELPING GUAT REBELS ANY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS SEEMED
TO SATISFY LIRING-9.

C. LIRING-9 AGAIN MENTIONED TRIP TO HIS COUNTRY FOR
LIRING-3 AND WIFE AND AGREED ARRANGE FOR PASSAGE LIRING-4 ON
PERUEN SHIP TO CANADA SO LIRING-4 COULD SEE FATHER WHO NEW YORK
RESIDENT AND ILL. LIRING-9 ADAMANT LIRING-4 SHOULD NOT SEEK VISA
TO UNITED STATES AS THIS WOULD EXPOSE HER TO "GRILLING" BY LOCAL
EMBASSY.

D. LIRING-9 MADE VAGUE PROMISES HELP LIRING-3 IN CURRENT
DIFFICULT SITUATION ALTHOUGH NO FINANCIAL HELP MENTIONED.

E. LIRING-3 WAS REQUESTED TO RETURN TO LIRING 2 DEC
FOR FUTHER TALKS. LIRING-9 WAS SHOWN LETTERS REVENTLY RECEIVED
BY LIRING-3 FROM FAR CONTACTS IS GUATEMALA. LIRING-3 DECLINED
HOWEVER TO LET HIM KEEP THEM AND LIRING-9 MADE NO ATTEMPT COPY
THEM.

3. POUCHING LIRING-3 REPORT. WILL CABLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.
APPRECIATE TORMET VISIT AND ASSISTANCE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

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SECRET 280122Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8223

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY INFO MC COBRA

RYEAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

27 Nov 63 IN 43465

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159

S. GUATEMALA CITY 9739 (140612)

✓. LINING'S WRITTEN REPORT FOR LINING'S REQUEST WAS

LIMITED TO ACTUAL EXPERIENCES WHILE INCARCERATED GUATEMALA CITY
AND INFORMATION ACTUALLY RECEIVED FROM FAR MEMBERS IN SAME JAIL.

LIRING-3 BRIEFED TO DECLARE HIMSELF READY HELP GUAT REBELS FOR
IDEOLOGICAL REASONS AND AT SAME TIME IMPLY HE IN NEED MATERIAL
HELP AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT.

2. LIRING-9 WAS WAITING AT LIRING GATE 1730 HOURS WHEN
LIRING-3 ARRIVED WITH REPORT. MEETING HELD IN BACK ROOM CONSULATE
AND LIMITED TO LIRING-3 AND LIRING-9. FOLL HIGH POINTS THIS
MEETING:

A. LIRING-9 DID NOT READ REPORT BUT HAD LIRING-3 GIVE
HIM MAIN POINTS ORALLY. APPEARED MOST INTERESTED IN LIRING-3
STATEMENTS ON HOW GUAT REBELS FEEL TOWARDS PBRUMEN. NODDED WHEN
LIRING-3 STATED WHAT REBELS NEED IS ADEQUATE FUNDS NOT ADDITIONAL

*NO RECORD IN CJS 28 NOV 68 OREGON

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8228 S E C R E T

MEN (MEANING ADVISORS).

B. LIRING-3 EXPLAINED HE ANARCHIST, LEFTIST, IDEALIST AND FELT TRUE REVOLUTION GOING ON GUATEMALA. THIS WHY HE INTERESTED IN HELPING GUAT REBELS ANY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS SEEMED SATISFY LIRING-9

C. LIRING-9 AGAIN MENTIONED TRIP TO HIS COUNTRY FOR LIRING-3 AND WIFE AND AGREED ARRANGE FOR PASSAGE LIRING-4 ON PERUMEN SHIP TO CANADA SO LIRING-4 COULD SEE FATHER WHO NEW YORK RESIDENT AND ILL. LIRING-9 ADAMANT LIRING-4 SHOULD NOT SEEK VISA TO UNITED STATES AS THIS WOULD EXPOSE HER TO "GRILLING" BY LOCAL EMBASSY.

D. LIRING-9 MADE VAGUE PROMISES HELP LIRING-3 IN CURRENT DIFFICULT SITUATION ALTHOUGH NO FINANCIAL HELP MENTIONED.

E. LIRING-3 WAS REQUESTED TO RETURN TO LIRING 2 DEC FOR FUTHER TALKS. LIRING-9 WAS SHOW LETTERS REVENTLY RECEIVED BY LIRING-3 FROM FAR CONTACTS IS GUATEMALA. LIRING-3 DECLINED HOWEVER TO LET HIM KEEP THEM AND LIRING-9 MADE NO ATTEMPT COPY THEM.

3. POUCHING LIRING-3 REPORT. WILL CABLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. APPRECIATE TORMET VISIT AND ASSISTANCE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

S E C R E T

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SECRET 230102Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8225

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY INFO JMC02RA

27 Nov 68 IN 43465

REYAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (X) 201

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9739 (140612) CC: LIRING-9

1. LIRING-3 WRITTEN REPORT PER LIRING-9 REQUEST WAS
REVISED BY STATION WITH ASSISTANCE LEONARD S. TORMET. REPORT
LIMITED TO ACTUAL EXPERIENCES WHILE INCARCERATED GUATEMALA CITY
AND INFORMATION ACTUALLY RECEIVED FROM FAR MEMBERS IN SAME JAIL.
LIRING-3 BRIEFED TO DECLARE HIMSELF READY HELP GUAT REBELS FOR
IDEOLOGICAL REASONS AND AT SAME TIME IMPLY HE IN NEED MATERIAL
HELP AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT.

2. LIRING-9 WAS WAITING AT LIRING GATE 1730 HOURS WHEN
LIRING-3 ARRIVED WITH REPORT. MEETING HELD IN BACK ROOM CONSULATE
AND LIMITED TO LIRING-3 AND LIRING-9. FULL HIGH POINTS THIS
MEETING:

A. LIRING-9 DID NOT READ REPORT BUT HAD LIRING-3 GIVE
HIM MAIN POINTS ORALLY. APPEARED MOST INTERESTED IN LIRING-3
STATEMENTS ON HOW GUAT REBELS FEEL TOWARDS PBRUMEN. NODDED WHEN
LIRING-3 STATED WHAT REBELS NEED IS ADEQUATE FUNDS NOT ADDITIONAL

*NO RECORD IN CLS 28 NOV 68 0300Z.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 3228 S E C R E T

MEN (MEANING ADVISORS).

B. LIRING-3 EXPLAINED HE ANARCHIST, LEFTIST, IDEALIST AND FELT TRUE REVOLUTION GOING ON GUATEMALA. THIS WHY HE INTERESTED IN HELPING GUAT REBELS ANY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS SEEMED SATISFY LIRING-9.

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3. POUCHING LIRING-3 REPORT. WILL CABLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. APPRECIATE TORMET VISIT AND ASSISTANCE.

4. FILE 201-798381.

S E C R E T

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SECRET 262200Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8203
GUATEMALA CITY, INFO DIRECTOR

26 Nov 68 WA 42426

ADMIN

REF: GUATEMALA CITY STA(11 NOV 70)

1. TORMET WILL RETURN GUATEMALA PAA 531, 27 NOV.
2. APPRECIATE HIS VISIT, WHICH VERY HELPFUL.

SECRET

WH file: 201
LIRING-3 201-74301
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SECRET 232206Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9739

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 8159 IN

23 Nov 68 IN 40612

B. DIRECTOR 53469

1. LEONARD S. TORMET (IDEN) GUATEMALA CITY CASE OFFICER TO TRAVEL
MEXICO CITY FOR REF DISCUSSIONS. TORMET ATTEMPTING BOOK PASSAGE
PAN AM FLT 502, 24 NOV. WILL ADVISE FIRM ETA BY CABLE, 24 NOV. REQUEST
MEET AND ACCOMODATE.

2. FILE: 201-798301

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SECRET 232215Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9740

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REF: GUATEMALA CITY 9733 (IN) 40612

23NOV68 IN 40611

IDEN: BARRY G. ROYDEN.

SECRET

*WHL file 3
LIRING 201
201-198301*

SECRET

*C/2041-WM
D/2041-WN
K/2041-WK*

W. J. KAUFMAN
C/RH/1
9354
23 November 1963

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CSDO 11-15-1963 (date and time) (loc)

(el/no) (reference number)

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IMMEDIATE
MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

ROUTINE: JMCORRA

CITE DIRECTOR

53469

RIBAT/PERUMEX

- REPS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 9736 (IN 40291) *
B. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN 40273) **
C. DIRECTOR 47408 *** (NOT SENT JMCORRA)

1. AGREE POINTS REP A PARA 1 A TERU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND ~~REPORTER C/SD~~ INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REP B.

2. BELIEVE AS STATED REP C THAT LIRING-9 SHOULD BE FACTUAL AS POSSIBLE IN PREPARING REPORT ON CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WHILE IMPRISONED GUATEMALA, AND IN GIVING OPINION ON HOW ~~REPORTER C/SD~~ HAVE FAILED THERE. TO MAKE HIM APPEAR TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE ON FAR/PCT COULD AROUSE SUSPICIONS LIRING-9 AND COLLEAGUES.

3. IT SEEKS POSSIBLE LIRING-9 MAY HAVE BEEN RELATING DIRECTLY TO ACTIVITIES OF HECTOR SANCHEZ GONZALEZ PER MEXICO CITY 7744 (IN 18686) IF LIRING-9 REPORT INDEXED BASED ON FACT.

CONTINUED

DISSESSING OFFICE

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CITE DIRECTOR

53765

PAGE TWO

MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO BREAK UP GUAT SUBVERSIVE UNDERTAKINGS AND NEGATE ANY CUBAN EFFORT THERE. AT SAME TIME DESIRE ENTICE ~~HAWAII~~ ^{CUBA/IS} TO EXPOSE HAWAII AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FEASIBLE KNOWLEDGEABILITY LURING-3. ACCORDINGLY BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

END OF MESSAGE

Eqs Comments: * } References attached
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 *** }

WH/COG: Paul Everett (telecon)

WH/2: *J. Murray* Jack Murray (draft)*J. Murray*
Chair, WHB

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24 W. J. KAUFMAN
n C/H/1
1 9354
2 23 November 1968

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(location)

1000 hrs 23 Nov 68

(date)

(reference numbers)

S E C R E T

IMMEDIATE
1 MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY ROUTINE: JMCOPRA
RYBAT/PERUMEE

CITE DIRECTOR

53460

- REF ID: A. GUATEMALA 0411 7100 (IN 40471) -
B. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN 40273) **
C. DIRECTOR 47408 ** (NOT SENT JMCOPRA).

23 Nov. 68

28

1. AGREE POINTS REF A PARA 1 A THRU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND ~~RGP-070 CUBAN~~ INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REF B.

2. BELIEVE AS STATED REP C THAT LIRIEG-9 SHOULD BE FACTUAL AS POSSIBLE IN PREPARING REPORT ON CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WHILE IMPRISONED GUATEMALA, AND IN GIVING OPINION ON HOW ~~C. S.A.C.~~ HAVE FAILED THERE. TO MAKE HIM APPEAR TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE ON FAR/POT COULD AROUSE SUSPICIONS LIRIEG-9 AND COLLEAGUES.

3. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE LIRIEG-9 MAY HAVE BEEN RELATING DIRECTLY TO ACTIVITIES OF HECTOR SANCHEZ GONZALEZ PER MEXICO CITY 7744 (IN 18686) IF LIREL-2 REPORT INDEED BASED ON FACT.

MICROFILMED
DEC 20 1968
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23 Nov 68

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CITE DIRECTOR

53465

[PAGE TWO]

MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO BREAK UP GUAT INSURGENCY FORCES AND NEGATE ANY CUBAN EFFORT THERE. AT SAME TIME DESIRE PNTICE ^{CUBAIS} MEMBERS TO EPOSE HAND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FEASIBLE KNOWLEDGEABILITY LIRING-3. ACCORDINGLY BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

END OF MESSAGE

Hqs Comments:) References attached
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WH/COG: Paul Oberst (telecom)

WH/2: Jack Murray (draft)

J. Kaufman

C/NH/1

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SECRET 232206Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9739

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 8159 *(IN)*

23 Nov 68 IN 40612

B. DIRECTION 53469

1. LEONARD S. TORMET (IDEN) GUATEMALA CITY CASE OFFICER TO TRAVEL MEXICO CITY FOR REF DISCUSSIONS. TORMET ATTEMPTING BOOK PASSAGE PAN AM FLT 502, 24 NOV. WILL ADVISE FIRM ETA BY CABLE 24 NOV. REQUEST MEET AND ACCOMODATE.

2. FILE: 201-798301 *loring 3*

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Keisha WU*

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INFO

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clsd, clwhl0065, DDP, ADDP,

csd, clc, clalps, clfiz, clsood3, sks1560

PRECEDENCE

SECRET 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 8129 (W) *

22NOV68 0029!

I. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA DURING ENCARCERATION, DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSIBLY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.

A. EMPHASIZE FRAGMENTATION, DISORGANIZATION AND COMPETITION OF INSURGENT FORCES HAVE SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH NOW STAGNANT.

B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.

C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONVEINED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

*No record in O/S 23 NOV 68 0400Z.

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

LOSSES FROM GOG RETALIATION. GOG ABLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPULSIVE ACTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS BEFOREHAND.

E. ESSENTIAL THAT NEW LEADERSHIP CADRE BE FOUND TO REPLACE PRESENT COMMAND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO SUCCEED.

2. FYI: OBJECTIVE OF ABOVE IS TO PAINT AS DISMAL A PICTURE AS POSSIBLE FOR CUBANS, AND TO SUGGEST THAT LATTER IMPOSE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PRESENT INSURGENT LEADERSHIP. FEEL THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY CUBANS TO REPLACE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD FURTHER FRACTIONALIZE AND DEMORALIZE INSURGENTS.

3. NO INDEX. FILE: 261-798301.

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SECRET 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/PERUNEN/LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 0100Z *✓*

22 Nov 68 IN 40291

1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA DURING INCARCERATION, DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS APPROVAL, WHICH OBTINIBLY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.

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**No record in C/S 23 Nov 68 0400Z.*

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

LOSSES FROM GCG RETALIATION. GCG ABLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPULSIVE ACTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS BEFOREHAND.

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3. NO INDEX. FILE: 261-798301.

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PRECEDENCE

S E C R E T 250032Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOERA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7902 [25321]

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~wrong~~. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PBRUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER ^D DEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "HIS OPINION DOES NOT MATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 NOV WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN
DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN BETTER
PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT
AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN PERSON IN DRAVEN CAPITAL, LIRING-3
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TRIP APPEAR INNOCUOUS AND OFFERED TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGE-
MENTS.

3. REQUEST GUAT CITY STATION OFFICER FAMILIAR WITH FAR/
FGI OP PROCEED MEXICO CITY MORNING 23 NOV TO DISCUSS ABOVE AND
PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT TO LIRING. IN
ADDITION TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE LIRING-3 COULD ATTRIBUTE INFO
WHICH WOFIRM MIGHT WANT REACH PERUMERS TO NOW DEAD JOSE IGNACIO
ROLANDO LOPEZ RUIZ WITH WHOM HAD CONTACT IN JAIL. PLS ADVISE
ETA BY IMMEDIATE. WILL MEET AT AIRPORT BUT IF ANYTHING GOES
WRONG OFFICER SHOULD PHONE IDEN.

4. FILE 281-798301.

S E C R E T

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PRECEDENCE

SECRET 232032Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7900 [Ex 253-2]

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WRONG~~. HE ADDED ^{LIRING-3} SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER ^D DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

- MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 NOV WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN BETTER PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN PERSON IN MEXICO'S CAPITAL, LIRING-3 SUGGESTED HE MIGHT BE INVITED FOR CULTURAL EXPOSITION TO MAKE TRIP APPEAR INNOCUOUS AND OFFERED TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS.

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4. FILE 201-798301.

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PRECEDENCE

SECRET 230232Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7900 [Ex 25321]

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22 Nov 68 0273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WRONG~~. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8153 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 09 25 HQ/ WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN
DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN BETTER
PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT
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ETA BY IMMEDIATE. WILL MEET AT AIRPORT BUT IF ANYTHING GOES
WRONG OFFICER SHOULD PHONE IDEN.

4. FILE 281-798381.

S E C R E T

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c/ci. c/f12*

SECRET 233332Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7922 [Sr 25321]

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT 1700 25 NOV WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~wrong~~. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 NOV WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN
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 WRONG OFFICER SHOULD PHONE IDEN.

4. FILE 201-798301.

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PRECEDENCE

SECRET 230231Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 3168

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY ,DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

DIRECTOR

22 Nov 68 IN 40270

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 3159 [IN 40273]

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRI, PHONE NO. 20-76-66.
2. FILE 201-798301.

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| CABLE SECRETARIAL DISSEMINATION PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED <i>PSDO</i> | | ASSIGNED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES 18 | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY | |
| | | SECRET (When Filled In) | CLASSIFICATION EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION AND DISPOSITION | 6 | |
| ADVANCE COPY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ISSUED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | 2 | 7 | |
| <i>80</i> AT 0140 | | INDEX <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | 3 | 8 | |
| DISSEM BY 28 PER * | | CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. | 4 | 9 | |
| ACTION c/jw/46 <input type="checkbox"/> RID COPY | | FILE AND <input type="checkbox"/> RET TO | 5 | 10 | |
| | | INFO FILE NR. c/lej5d, cs/bo, c/jwjk005 | | | |
| | | 358 | c/c, c/fj2 | | |

SECRET 230031Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8160

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

DIRECTOR

22 Nov 68 IN 40270

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 8159 [IN 40273]

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRY, PHONE NO. 28-76-66.

2. FILE 201-798301.

SECRET

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CABLE SECRETARIAL DISSEMINATION
PERSONNEL UNIT NO FED

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DISSEM BY *28* PER *0*
ACTION *cjw/446* RID COPY
358

| CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | | TOTAL COPIES <i>18</i> | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS | SENDED |
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| SECRET (When Filed by) | | GROUP 1 EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC REPRODUCTION AND DECLASSIFICATION | 1 | 6 |
| REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | | 2 | 7 | |
| INDEX: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | | 3 | 8 | |
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| INFO | | PRECEDENCE | | |
| FILE VR | | <i>cjw/446, csp/446, cjw/446-5</i> <i>c/ci, c/f12</i> | | |

SECRET 230031Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8160

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCCERA

DIRECTOR

22 Nov 68 IN 40270 *1P*

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 8159 *[IN 40273]*

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRY, PHONE NO. 28-76-66.

2. FILE 201-798301.

SECRET

MICROFILMED
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ES CITY
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Liring-3
22 Nov 68
B 201-798301

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| CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED | | CLASSIFIED BY (Initials) | TOTAL COPIES | TING AND/OR INITIALS - SENT BY |
| <u>CSDO</u> | | <u>SECRET</u> <i>(Initials Filled In)</i> | GROUP 1 EXCEPT FOR APPROVED DISSEMINATION BY EXCLUDED UNITS | 6 |
| ADVANCE COPY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ISSUED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | 2 | 7 |
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| SPEC | | INFO | DESTROY <input type="checkbox"/> END. |
| <u>RELCWHI</u> | | <u>CSDO, CWH/COG 5, DDP ADDP,</u> | |
| | | <u>CSDO, CWH/CIPS, CLE/Z, C/SOD3, CWSISGO</u> | |

~~SECRET~~ 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/FBRMEN/LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 8159 *(W/K)*

101
22 NOV 68 IN 40291

IWH/1

1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA DURING ENCARCERATION, DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSIBLY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.

A. EMPHASIZE FRAGMENTATION, DISORGANIZATION AND COMPETITION OF INSURGENT FORCES HAVE SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH NOW STAGNANT.

B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.

C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONCEIVED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

**NO RECORD IN C/S 23 NOV 68 0400Z. Liring-3*

SECRET

CS 671

22 Nov 68
201-798301

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| CABLE SECRETARIAL DISSEMINATION PERSON/UNIT NO. 10 | | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY | |
| | | SECRET (Who Filled In) REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | 1 2 3 4 5 | 6 7 8 9 10 | |
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| DISSEM BY _____ PER _____ ACTION <input type="checkbox"/> RID COPY | | INFO FILE VR | BRANCH <input type="checkbox"/> DESTROY <input type="checkbox"/> SIG | | |

PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

LOSSES FROM GOG RETALIATION. GOG ABLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPULSIVE ACTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS BEFOREHAND.

E. ESSENTIAL THAT NEW LEADERSHIP CADRE BE FOUND TO REPLACE PRESENT COMMAND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO SUCCEED.

2. FYI: OBJECTIVE OF ABOVE IS TO PAINT AS DISMAL A PICTURE AS POSSIBLE FOR CUBANS, AND TO SUGGEST THAT LATTER IMPOSE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PRESENT INSURGENT LEADERSHIP. FEEL THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY CUBANS TO REPLACE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD FURTHER FRACTIONALIZE AND DEMORALIZE INSURGENTS.

3. NO INDEX. FILE: 201-798301.

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SECRET

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| CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED <i>PSD</i> | | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES 18 | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SPEN BY |
| | | SECRET <i>(When Filed In)</i> | 1 GROUP DISCRETE FROM AUTOMATIC ROUTING AND ROUTING CODE | 6 7 8 9 10 |
| ADVANCE COPY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ISSUED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | | |
| BY <i>6140</i> AT <i>28</i> | | INDEX <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | | |
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| | | INFO <i>FILE VR cje/SD CSPO, cluwh/cog-5, cjl, cjl12</i> | | |

SECRET 233038Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7902 [S 253-2]

PRECEDENCE

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 AND AI LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 25 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WRONG~~. HE ADDED² LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "THIS OPINION DOES NOT MATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

SECRET

Kerbe

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| CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED | | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE SECRET (When Filled In) | TOTAL COPIES | ROUTING AND ORIGINALS SEEN BY |
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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8:59 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 NOV WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN
DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN BETTER
PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT
AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN PERSON IN PARMEN CAPITAL. LIRING-3
SUGGESTED HE MIGHT BE INVITED FOR CULTURAL EXPOSITION TO MAKE
TRIP APPEAR INNOCUOUS AND OFFERED TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGE-
MENTS.

3. REQUEST GUAT CITY STATION OFFICER FAMILIAR WITH FAR/PGT OP PROCEED MEXICO CITY MORNING 23 NOV TO DISCUSS ABOVE AND PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT TO LIRING. IN ADDITION TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE LIRING-3 COULD ATTRIBUTE INFO WHICH WOFIRM MIGHT WANT REACH PERUMENERS TO NOW DEAD JOSE IGNACIO ROLANDO LOPEZ RUIZ WITH WHOM HAD CONTACT IN JAIL. PLS ADVISE ETA BY IMMEDIATE. WILL MEET AT AIRPORT BUT IF ANYTHING GOES WRONG OFFICER SHOULD PHONE IDEM.

4. FILE 201-798301.

S E C R E T

SECRET

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION

X
Att

MARKED FOR INDEXING

| | | |
|------------|--|---|
| S INFO. | Chief, WH Division Chief of Station, Guatemala City HIC-4 | X INDEXING REQUESTED |
| RECOR | Chief of Station, Mexico City | ONLY QUALIFIED SENIOR CAB JUDGE IN CEEAG |
| SACRED | | MICROFILM |
| 0 | Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala | |

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

Reference : MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

1. Forwarded under separate cover for each addressee is a Xerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala mentioned in reference.

2. The Station hopes that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

Raymond A. Shultz
for Willard C. CURTIS

MICROFILMED
NOV 29 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

Attachment:
Letter (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 1 copy)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy)

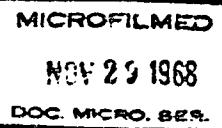
S/c att: 1

CS COPY

201-798301

| DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER | DATE |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| HMMA - 35822 | 18 November 1968 |
| S E C R E T | 201-798301 |

Guatemala 22 de Octubre de 1968.



Señor :
 Carlos Jurado Del Mar
 Mexico D. F.

Apreciable y distinguido amigo Carlos cuanto gusto es para mi saludarle desandole dicha y felicidad.

No sabé cuato me alegra que ya hayan recobrado esa angustiada libertad espero en Dios que se restablesca pronto de esa gran angustia le causaron mi País y tambien que esto no vuelva a suceder ya que eso es muy duro de soportar .

es- Es cuanto tengo que decirle y perdone las faltas de ortografia que he cometido pero todavia me encuentro un tanto nervioso saliendo a Porsatral y este es un curioso saludo de su amigo que verlo desea :.

Rafael Arrieta

cit: Guatemala

mi dirección es la siguiente :

2 Av. 27-57 zona 12
Guatemala C. A.

en el sobre le voy a poner otra si es que me contesta Agalo a esta por favor.esta que le anote aca acentro

re: contact with, 501-798 301

A DALIA AZUL
 ENRIQUE PUENTE C.
 ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS
 6A AVENIDA Y 10A CALLE
 TEL 44-72
GUATEMALA C. A.



Señor:
 Carlos Jurado del Mar
 Havre. # 7
 Col. Juárez Mexico D.F.

O AEREO

S/ affid

ES PROV

AGT HMTDA-35322

Remito: Rafael Arrieta A.
11 Av. 29 de Dic 12
Guatemala C. A.

14-00000
S E C R E T
Chief, WH Division
Chief of Station, Guatemala City

X
Att

Chief of Station, Mexico City

Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala

Action Required: FYI

Reference : MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

1. Forwarded under separate cover for each addressee is a Xerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala ~~mentioning in subject~~.
2. The Station hopes that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Letter (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/TED (w/att - 1 copy)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy)

HQMA - 35822

18 November 1968

Trans
Rec'd
Circ'd
File

201-798301

S E C R E T

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

TO COPIES

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BY _____ AT _____ Z

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DESTROY SIG.

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C/W/H-6 R/D/COPY

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| CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION PERSONNEL NOTIFIED | | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES | ROUTING AND/OR METALS - SEEN BY |
| | | SECRET (When Filled In) | GROUP 1 RELEASED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE | 1 6 2 7 3 8 4 9 5 10 |
| ✓ ADVANCE COPY <input type="checkbox"/> ISSUED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | | |
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| ACTION | | <input type="checkbox"/> RFD COPY | | |

PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9675 S E C R E T

DUE LACK EVIDENCE.

C. ON 15 SEPT 1967 LIAISON REPORTED IT INVESTIGATING RIGOBERTO ARGUETA ALVARADO WHOSE NAME IN DOCUMENTS CAPTURED DURING RAID ON GUERRILLA MEETING SITE IN GUATEMALA CITY. HIS RESIDENCE GIVEN AS 11 AV. 25-22, ZONE 12, WHERE HE LIVED WITH MOTHER AND TWO BROTHERS. HIS SONS WORKED IN INTERIOR. PRENSA LIBRE OF 25 MAY 1967 AND 28 AUGUST 1968 REPORTED, RESPECTIVELY, THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL DETAINED 1 MAY 1967 AND RELEASED FROM PRISON AUGUST 1968 FOR LACK EVIDENCE.

D. MSGA-5975, 28 SEP 1967, REPORTED THAT LIAISON INVESTIGATING MIGUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO WHO IT WAS LEARNED "HAD CONTACTS WITH SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WHO RESPONSIBLE FOR SABOTAGE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES." LIAISON MADE ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT HIM BUT "DURING INTERVIEW HE SHOWED SIGNS OF FEAR INDICATING HE BELIEVED HIMSELF TO BE ASSASSINATION TARGET."

3. FILE: 221-248917. INDEX: ALVARADO, AND RAFAEL, RIGOBERTO, MIGUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO.

S E C R E T

SECRET

SECRET

| FROM FRANCIS MARY INT/1 EXT. 4168 | | DY-175 3E05 TUBE OUT | NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|--|--|------|----|-----------------|------|------|
| | | | DATE 6 Nov 1968 | RID CONTROL NO. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TO | TUBE | FROM | DATE | INITIALS | | | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | 11/6/68 | PGW | | | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | (1) | | | | | | | |
| RID/FILES | BT-8 | | | | | | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | (1) | | | | | | | |
| RID/ANALYSTS | BT-7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| RID/201 | BR-8 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | 11/6/68 | GR 2 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | DB NL AC | | | | | | | |
| SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SURNAME <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ATTACHMENT: <i>Guatemala</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | | GIVEN NAMES | | | | | | | | |
| SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED | | | 201 NO. IF KNOWN | | | | | | | | |
| AKA ALIASES | | | OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.) | | | | | | | | |
| SEX | DATE OF BIRTH | PLACE OF BIRTH | CITIZENSHIP Guat. | RESIDENCE Guatemala City, Guatemala | | | | | | | |
| RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION | | | COMMENTS <i>C 20 files NL</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED | | | | | | | | | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTER | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN ALL CASES | | | 201 CONSOLIDATION | | | | | | | | |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> ① Use gummed label; type or print all entries. ② Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want. ③ Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) cards to be destroyed (mark with green D and note reason for destruction) Examples: document destroyed; duplicate or less informative than retained information; information of no CS value. (b) corrections and additions, including infinity symbol ∞ when card includes all facts contained in the document. | | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Return this form with the card reproductions, also return pertinent documents, aperture cards and the dossier if a 201 on the subject exists. 2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below: <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201-</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject.</td> </tr> </table> | | <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201- | <input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject. | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201- | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>Note 1. Records of COI, SGU, OSS and CID are in RID/APD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSIBR 73-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.</p> | | | <p>RESTRICTION (IF ANY)</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td>REF ID</td> <td>FILE NO.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1000</td> <td>40</td> </tr> </table> <p>OTHER INTERESTED DEPARTMENTS OR STATIONS</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td>FILE TO BE SEPT</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1000</td> <td>1000</td> </tr> </table> <p>Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in RR/OCR #7997.</p> | | REF ID | FILE NO. | 1000 | 40 | FILE TO BE SEPT | 1000 | 1000 |
| REF ID | FILE NO. | | | | | | | | | | |
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| FILE TO BE SEPT | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1000 | 1000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| DATE | | | SIGNATURE OF RECORDING OFFICER | | | | | | | | |

ALVARADO, C.A.
003 ?

200-004-233.2
DIR 28561 EC.

CIT COLOMBIA

P3

FORMAL MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE UN
WYF TO BE HELD IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA
JUL. 59.

166903

SECRET

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------|------------|--------|----------------|
| FROM FRANCIS MARV WHTI EXT. 4168 | | DY-175 3E05 TUBE DUT | NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST | | | | | |
| | | | DATE 8 November 1968 | RID CONTROL NO. | | | | |
| | | | CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS | | | | | |
| TO | TUBE | ROOM | DATE | INITIALS | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | 9-11-68 | JK | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ① | | | | |
| RID/FILES | BT-8 | | | ② | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ③ | | | | |
| RID/ANALYSTS | BT-7 | | | | | | | |
| RID/201 | BB-8 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | | | | | | |
| <i>215-B-NL</i> | | | | | | | | |
| SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED | | | | | | | | |
| SURNAME MADDOCK, JOHN | GIVEN NAMES <i>V</i> | | | | | | | |
| SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED | | | 201 NO. IF KNOWN | | | | | |
| AKA. ALIASSES | | | OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, P. J. affiliations, etc.) | | | | | |
| SEX | DATE OF BIRTH | PLACE OF BIRTH | CITIZENSHIP | RESIDENCE | | | | |
| M | | | Guat | Guatemala City, Guatemala | | | | |
| RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK | | | | | | | | |
| NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION | | | COMMENTS | | | | | |
| CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED | | | | | | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS | | | | | | | | |
| IN ALL CASES | | | 201 CONSOLIDATION | | | | | |
| <p>(1) Use gummed label; type or print all entries.</p> <p>(2) Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want.</p> <p>(3) Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) cards to be destroyed (mark with green D and note reason for destruction) Examples: document destroyed; duplicate or less informative than retained information; information of no GS value. (b) corrections and additions, including infinity symbol ∞ when card includes all facts contained in the document. | | | <p>1. Return this form with the card reproductions, also return pertinent documents, aperture cards and the dossier if a 201 on the subject exists.</p> <p>2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below:</p> <p>(a) <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201-</p> <p>(b) <input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject.</p> | | | | | |
| Note 1. Records of COI, SCU, OGS and CIG are in RID/ARD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSRR 70-1-1 are carded in the GS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search. | | | <p>RESTRICTION (if any)</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>CONFIDENTIAL</td> </tr> <tr> <td>TOP SECRET</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SECURE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>REF ID: A65114</td> </tr> </table> <p>OTHER INTERESTED AGENTS OR STATIONS</p> <p>FILE TO BE KEPT</p> <p>REF ID: A65114</p> | | CONFIDENTIAL | TOP SECRET | SECURE | REF ID: A65114 |
| CONFIDENTIAL | | | | | | | | |
| TOP SECRET | | | | | | | | |
| SECURE | | | | | | | | |
| REF ID: A65114 | | | | | | | | |
| Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR x7997. | | | | | | | | |
| DATE | | | SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER | | | | | |

SECRET

CARRERA, JUAN

SEX M DOB ?

056-004-109
H2P -05671
29 MAY 63
P1CIT PANAMA
OCC ?TREASURER OF THE CTRP. PLANS OF CP LABOR
LDRS TO USE HIM IN EFFORT TO LEARN SOURCE
OF FUNDS OF CRIT-AFFILIATED CTRP.
/CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES DE LA
REPUBLICA/.**SECRET**

085223

1494 004

CARRERA, Juan

63-4-7-348
(TSS-852)

Communist involved in labor matters who escaped arrest

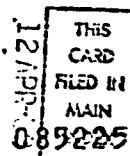
085224

IN MAIN INDEX

CARRERAS, Juan Durall

100-4-13-3134
(LFB-52253)
(Loc. 1)

DURALL CARRERAS, Juan — Xref



CARRERA, Juan Jose

201-40334-1
(HCG-165)
(11 May 53)

THE CARD FILED

085226

IN MAIN INDEX

SECRET**SECRET**

SECRET

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------------|-------|---------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| FROM FRANCIS MARV SPAN WH/1 EXT. 4168 | | | | | DY-175 3E05 TUBE OUT | | NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST | | | | | |
| | | | | | DATE 8 November 1968 | PDS CONTROL NO. | | | | | | |
| | | | | | CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS | | | | | | | |
| TO | TUBE | FROM | CASE | INITIALS | | | | | | | | |
| PID/INDEX | BT-5 | | 91156 | Green | | | | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ① | | | | | | | | |
| PID/FILES | BT-6 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ② | | | | | | | | |
| PID/ANALYSIS | BT-7 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PID/201 | BT-8 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PID/INDEX | BT-9 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED | | | | | | | |
| SURNAME | AGUSTA, Rigoberto | | | | GIVEN NAMES | | | | | | | |
| SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED | | | | | SSN NO. IF KNOWN | | | | | | | |
| AKA, ALIASES | | | | | OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, Of membership, P. S. affiliations, etc.) | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Guatemala City resident who possibly involved in subversive activities. | | | | | | | |
| ✓ | DATE OF BIRTH | PLACE OF BIRTH | ✓ | CITIZENSHIP Guat | RESIDENCE Guatemala City, Guatemala | | | | | | | |
| RESULTS OF PID-INDEX CHECK | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION | | | | | COMMENTS | | | | | | | |
| CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN ALL CASES | | | | | 201 CONSOLIDATION | | | | | | | |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> ① Use gummed label; type or print all entries. ② Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want. ③ Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) cards to be destroyed (mark with green D and note reason for destruction) Examples: document destroyed; duplicate or less informative than retained information; information of no CS value. (b) corrections and additions, including infinity symbol ∞ when card includes all facts contained in the document. | | | | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Return this form with the card reproductions, also return pertinent documents, aperture cards and the dossier if a 201 on the subject exists. 2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below: <p>(a) <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201-</p> <p>(b) <input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject.</p> | | | | | | | |
| Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, OSS and CIO are in PID/AND, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSMB 70-1-1 are carded in the CI Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search. | | | | | <p>RESTRICTION (if any)</p> <table border="1" style="float: right; margin-left: 10px;"> <tr> <td>FILE TO BE INDEXED</td> <td>FILE TO BE SERIALIZED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FILE TO BE SERIALIZED</td> <td>FILE TO BE INDEXED</td> </tr> </table> <p>OTHER INTERESTED DIVISIONS OR STATIONS</p> <p>Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR X7997.</p> | | | | FILE TO BE INDEXED | FILE TO BE SERIALIZED | FILE TO BE SERIALIZED | FILE TO BE INDEXED |
| FILE TO BE INDEXED | FILE TO BE SERIALIZED | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FILE TO BE SERIALIZED | FILE TO BE INDEXED | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DATE | | | | | SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER | | | | | | | |

ARGUETA, FNU
DCB ?

035-004-124

HGG -01551

29 DEC 59

GUAT-00510

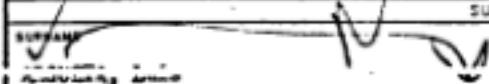
CIT GUATEMALA
INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AND PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR
MOSCOW VIA MEXICO JAN 60.

306942

SECRET

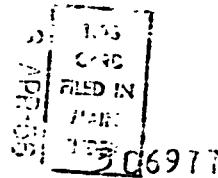
| FROM FRANCIS MARV WM/S RPN EXT. 4168 | | DY-175 3E05 TUBE DUT | NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST | | |
|--|---------------|----------------------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| | | | DATE 8 Nov 1968 | AIR CONTROL NO. | |
| | | | | | |
| TO | TUBE | FROM | DATE | INITIALS | CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | 9-11-68 | W | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ① | |
| RID/FILES | BT-8 | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ② | |
| RID/ANALYSIS | BT-7 | | | | |
| RID/201 | BB-8 | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | BT-8 | | | | |
| SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED | | | | | GIVEN NAMES |
| <i>Maria de Barrera, Paris</i> | | | | | |
| SPECIFIC VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED | | | | | ISSN NO. IF KNOWN |
| | | | | | |
| AKA ALIASES | | | OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, U. S. affiliations, etc.) | | |
| | | | Wife of Juan GATIPIA | | |
| SEX F | DATE OF BIRTH | PLACE OF BIRTH | CITIZENSHIP Guat | RESIDENCE Guatemala City, Guatemala | |
| RESULT OF RID/INDEX CHECK | | | | | |
| NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION | | | COMMENTS | | |
| CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED | | | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS | | | | | |
| IN ALL CASES | | | 201 CONSOLIDATION | | |
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| Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, OSS and CIG are in RID/ABD, and those that meet indexing criteria in OSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search. | | | RESTRICTION (if any) | | |
| | | | OTHER INTERESTED DEPARTMENTS OR STATIONS | | |
| | | | <p>Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in RR/OCR x7997.</p> | | |
| TITLE | | | SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER | | |

SECRET

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|----------------|--|------------------------|---|--|--|-------------------------|-------------------|
| <p>FROM: FRANCIS HARV WH/1 EXT. 4168</p> <p>TO: DY-175 3E05 TUBE DUT</p> | | | | | NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST DATE 8 Nov 1968 RID CENTRAL NO. CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS | | | | |
| TO | TUBE | ROOM | DATE | INITIALS | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | ST-5 | | 11/5/68 | EW/H | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ① | | | | | |
| RID/FILES | ST-6 | | | | | | | | |
| REQUESTER | | | | ② | | | | | |
| RID/ANALYSIS | ST-7 | | | | | | | | |
| RID/CDI | DE-8 | | | | | | | | |
| RID/INDEX | ST-5 | | | | | | | | |
| SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED | | | | | | | | | |
|  GIVEN NAMES <i>Francis Harv</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED <i>Francis Harv</i> | | | | | 201 NO. IF KNOWN <i></i> | | | | |
| ADL. ALIASES <i></i> | | | | | OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, E. S. affiliations, etc.) <i></i> | | | | |
| SEX <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | DATE OF BIRTH | PLACE OF BIRTH | CITIZENSHIP | RESIDENCE | | | | | |
| | | | Guat | Chicquimala, Guatemala | | | | | |
| RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK | | | | | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RECORD REFERENCES ATTACHED | | | COMMENTS <i>I have listed</i> | | | | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS | | | | | | | | | |
| IN ALL CASES | | | 201 CONSOLIDATION | | | | | | |
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| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidate into 201- | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> Open 201 file on subject. | | | | | | | | |
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| CSDB 70-1-1 INDEX | FILE DE 201 | | | | | | | | |
| CSDB 70-1-1 INDEX | FILE DE 201 | | | | | | | | |
| Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCE x7997. | | | | | | | | | |
| PASS | | | SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER | | | | | | |

ARGUETA, LUIS BARRIOS

35-4-134-7
HGGA-1558
ENCL.
PAGE 3



ARGUETA, FNU
DCB ?

CIT GUATEMALA
INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AND PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR
MOSCOW VIA MEXICO JAN 60.

035-004-124
HGGA-01551
29 DEC 59
GUAT-00510

306942

SECRET

SECRET 18

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| CABLE SECRETARIAL DISSEMINATION | | C AND FILE NUMBER | TYPE OR CODE | COMES | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY |
| PERSONNEL NOTIFIED | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 | 6 7 8 9 10 |
| ADVANCE COPY <input type="checkbox"/> RELEASER <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED | | | |
| | | INDEX <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | | | |
| | | CLASSIFY TO FILE NO _____ | | | |
| | | REF TO FILE NO _____ | | | |
| DISSEM BY <input type="checkbox"/> PER <input type="checkbox"/> ACTOR #787010H6 | | FILE NO <input type="checkbox"/> RET TO <input type="checkbox"/> RFD COPY | NYC | BRANCH _____ | DESTROY SIG |

SECRET 252655Z NOV 62 CITY MEXICO CITY 7945
 DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY 5 Nov 62 27533
 DIRECT PERSONNEL LIRING-3 M
 REF MEXICO CITY 7908 (1023-33)
 1. LIRING-3 RECEIVED BRIEF TYPEWRITTEN UNSIGNED LETTER
 DATED 22 OCT FROM "RAFAEL ARGUETA A." LETTER WHICH CONTAINS MANY
 TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS EXPRESSED HAPPINESS LIRING-3 FINALLY RELEASED
 AND HOPED HE WILL SOON RECOVER FROM THE "GRAN ANGUSTIA" CAUSED
 BY "MY COUNTRY." WRITER CONCLUDED WITH APOLOGIES FOR MISTAKES
 IN ORTHOGRAPHY AND EXPRESSED DESIRE SEE LIRING-3 AGAIN. ASKED
 LIRING-3 TO REPLY TO HIM AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS: 2 AVE 27, 57,
 ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. RATHER THAN TO ONE APPEARING AS RETURN
 ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE.

2. ENVELOPE IS AIRMAIL STATIONERY "LA DALIA AZUL, ENRIQUE
 PIENTE C, ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS, 61 AVENIDA Y 1CA CALLE,
 TEL: 44-72, GUATEMALA, C.U." WITH RETURN ADDRESS ON BACK: RAFAEL
 ARGUETA A., 11 AV. 25 22, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. ENVELOPE IS
 POSTMARKED 22 OCTOBER 1963 AND IS ADDRESSED TO LIRING-3 AT CALLE
 HAYDE 7, COL. JUAREZ, MEXICO, D.F. (SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICANA
 WHICH LIRING-3 HAD GIVEN TO JUAN AND MIGUEL LEON BARRIOS AS BEST

SECRET

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| CABLE SECRETARIAL INFORMATION | | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES | ROUTING AND SECURITY | |
| PERSONNEL NOTIFIED | | | GROUP INCLUDES THIS REPORT EXCLUDES THIS REPORT INFORMATION | 1 | 1 |
| | | SECRET (When Filled In) | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | | ROUTINE MAIL THIS COPY PRIORITY | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| ADVANCE COPY <input type="checkbox"/> BAGGED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED | | INDEX <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| BY _____ AT _____ | | CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. _____ | | | |
| DISSEMINATION | | FILE BY <input type="checkbox"/> RET TO <input type="checkbox"/> | BRANCH <input type="checkbox"/> | DESTROY <input type="checkbox"/> SIG | |
| ACTION <input type="checkbox"/> RIO COPY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FILE VR | | | | | |

- PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7945 SECRET
- ADDRESS TO USZ IN ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH HIM.)
- 3. LIRING-3 COMMENTED LETTER PROBABLY SIMPLY DESIGNED
CHECK NEW COMMO CHANNEL. STATED HE HAS NEVER HEARD OF NAME
RAFAEL ARGUETA A AND ASSUMES IT ALIAS OR NOTIONAL LETTER DROP.
- PLANS REPLY IMMEDIATELY ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT AND ASKING "ARGUETA"
WRITE NEXT LETTER DIRECTLY TO APARTMENT LIRING-4 RENTED DURING
LIRING-3 ABSENCE. LIRING-3 WILL ASK FRIENDS TO EXPEDITE CONTACT
"SINCE HE PLANNING TRAVEL".
- 4. IS THERE SOME WAY GUATEMALA CITY STATION CAN CHECK ON
PARA 1 ADDRESS WITHOUT AT LEAST FOR MOMENT MAKING ON SPOT CHECK
OR USING LIAISON?
- 5. FILE 231-245917, 261-793321.

SECRET

SECRET

M
MSG: **Marvin Francis/re**
DATE: WH/1
4167/1973
DATE: 1 Nov 68

MESSAGE FORM
TOTAL COPIES: 18

SECRET

| ROUTING ADD/CR MEMOALS - DATE AT/ | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| 1 | 11/1/68 |
| 2 | 11/1/68 |
| 3 | 11/1/68 |
| 4 | 11/1/68 |
| 5 | 11/1/68 |

CABLE SECRETARIAT INFORMATION

BY 41

INDEX DESTROY RETURN TO _____ SEARCH FILE
 NO INDEX FILE IN CS FILE NO.

COMPT: c/WH 6

NO COPY

INFO:

FILE

GR/SD, c/WH/COG/5, clc1,

c/F12

(Classification)

(Date and time filed)

(Initials)

(Phone)

SECRET

0126 12z Nov 68

CITE DIRECTOR

47403

TO: MEXICO CITY INFO: GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING

REFERENCE: MEXICO CITY 7900 (IN 25321)*

1. SUBJECT TO GUATEMALA STATION CONCURRENCE, WE BELIEVE LIRING/3 SHOULD BE CANDID WITH LIRING/10 AND TELL HIM WHAT AND AS MUCH AS HE WANTS TO KNOW. WE FEEL IF LIRING/3 ATTEMPTED WITHHOLD OR DISTORT DETAILS HIS IMPRISONMENT, IT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO OPERATION SINCE LIRING/10 PROBABLY COULD CHECK OTHER SOURCES FOR ACCURACY.

2. THERE NO URGENCY FOR LIRING/3 MAKE TRIP TO PBRUMEN. WE BELIEVE IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR HIM TO REMAIN MEXICO AND ATTEMPT BECOME INVOLVED LOCAL PBRUMEN/GUATEMALA EXILE ACTIVITIES. IF, HOWEVER, LIRING/10 SUGGESTS LIRING/3 GO PBRUMEN, HE SHOULD NOT HESITATE DO SO.

3. DEFER TO GUATEMALA CITY FOR IDENTIFICATION REFERENCE WAR NAMES.

4. FILE 50-6-141/3, 201-798301 AND 201-776733.

Celini M Smith
WILLIAM V. BROE
for C/WED

END OF MESSAGE

WH/COG/OPS *McLean*

WH/2/G *Douglas Baum*

CO-ORIGINATING OFFICERS

ISSUING OFFICE

SECRET

GROUP 1
Selected Non-Communications
Communications and
Non-Communications

AMMUNITION CONTROL
OFFICES

CLIP FILE

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED.

Kidder *11/6*
W. J. Kidder *11/6*
V. J. Kidder
C/WED/1

14-00000

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------|
| BLOCK <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. | 18 | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES |
| FILE TO FILE NO. | | | SECRET | 2 |
| FILE B10 <input type="checkbox"/> RET. TO BRANCH <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | DESTROY <input type="checkbox"/> B10 | PERSON/UNIT BOTTIFIED | REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED | |
| | | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | 2 | 0 |
| | | | 3 | 0 |
| | | | 4 | 0 |
| | | | 5 | 0 |
| | | | 6 | 0 |
| | | | 7 | 0 |
| | | | 8 | 0 |
| | | | 9 | 0 |
| | | | 10 | 0 |
| ACTION | | ADVANCE COPY | UNIT | TIME BY |
| DATE | | <u>WH 8</u> <input type="checkbox"/> BID COPY <input type="checkbox"/> RELEASED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED <input type="checkbox"/> INDEXED | | |
| <u>FILE UR P(18), WH/ROG&C, C/OPS</u> | | | | |

SECRET 180028Z OCT 68 OCE MEXICO CITY 7775
GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR

PUSMEN LIRING-3

REFS A MEXICO CITY 2805
B GUATEMALA CITY 2805 (U) 16095

1. WOULD APPRECIATE DISCREET EFFORT DETERMINING WHETHER LIRING-3 FREED IF NOT YET RELEASED AND APPRECIATE KNOWING WHEN HE SCHEDULED BE AND HOW HE IS RETURN MEXICO.
2. TO FACILITATE SUBSEQUENT CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AND OPEN DOOR TO POSSIBLE CLAIM HE INSTRUMENTAL IN LIRING-3 RELEASE STATION PLANNING HAVE HOUTON SEND LIRING-3 LETTER UNDER DOUBLE ENVELOPE VIA MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LETTER ON MEXICAN PAPERS ANTES OR OTHER SUITABLE STATIONERY WILL MENTION HOUTON UNDER PSEUDONYM UNINTERESTABLE TO LIRING-3. USABLE CONTACT LIRING-3 WIFE ~~18~~ POST FOR PROJECTS LETTER WILL READ AT LEAST 48 HOURS AND HAVE LIRING-3 PHONE RIVON ANSWERING SERVICE AS SOON AS READING RECEIVED.

3. FOR DIRECTOR AND ADVISOR WHO RETIRING AT THIS POINT RECONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGH HIS FRIENDS OR CUBANS SO FAR UNABLE RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH HIM

1. FILE 201-2689-1

SECRET

SECRET

CS COPY

8201-818842



24 OCT 68
201-798301

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET/KAPOK | PROCESSING ACTION |
| | | | MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| TO | Chief, Western Hemisphere Division | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| INFO. | Deputy Chief WH/C | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING |
| FROM | Chief of Station, Mexico City | | MICROFILM |
| SUBJECT | TYPIC/OPERATIONAL/LIRING/Review of LIRING-3 Operation | | |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES FYI | | | |

Attached is an operational review of the LIRING-3 operation prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON. Attention is also called to PQ Parts I and II. Part I was sent as HMA 30540 and part II is being prepared for pouching.

Frank C. McElroy
for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
LIRING-3 Review HEREWITH

Distribution:
 (2) C/WHD w/att
 1 - DCWH/C w/att
 3 - FILES

3 COPY

201-798301

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| DISPATCH REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMA-30585 | DATE 16 November 1966 |
| | CLASSIFICATION SECRET/KAPOK | REG FILE NUMBER 201- |
| | | EXCERPT FROM INDEX - DRAFTS AND - APPROVALS |

9 November, 1966.

Subject: Review and Assessment of LIRING Operation.

A. Background, Character and Assessment of LIRING/3:

1. Lirins/3 (Subject) is a 34-year-old Mexican artist of the Diego Rivera School and an existentialist existentialist oriented toward the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre, with relatively strong leftist political convictions. He has produced a fair amount of painting and had relatively good success in murals both in Cuba and Mexico, but has not succeeded in selling many of his works, despite numerous exhibitions, sponsored by the Mexican Government's classic arts organization (Bellas Artes). Because of his family, educational and environmental influences, Subject feels that his work has not been appreciated for its intrinsic worth by the Mexican Government and tends to blame his political convictions for this lack of acceptance. Subject, however, has, as he himself asserts, no "feelings of bitterness or resentment, although he frequently experiences the "anxious, forebodings and loneliness" of the existentialist, but he has not permitted himself to deteriorate into a hermit either in his personal or artistic life. Subject has confided to Howton that he has no real friends and that he has withdrawn from society, the dictates of which he cannot accept. He enjoys the prospect of travel, especially abroad, "to develop his art" but also as an escape from the pressures and obligations of the social life he has been forced to lead in Mexico.

2. Shortly after he met Howton, in April, 1966, Subject confessed that he felt himself at a critical point in his personal and artistic life. He indicated that he felt the paradoxes inherent in his philosophy were overwhelming and depressing him, and that he welcomed friendship with Howton, an experienced foreigner whom he felt he could trust implicitly. At one critical point, Subject quit his rather tedious job with the Ministry of Education (teaching art in a public school) with the comment that "everyone must make personal decisions and take risks, and I have decided to throw my lot in with you (Howton) for better or worse, and so have quit the job since it was 'interfering with my availability'. This he did without knowing any more about Howton than his name, which technical surveillance revealed he did not accept as a true name, and with no guarantees of future financial support from Howton. Howton, in his conversations with Subject, has been careful not to reveal any data concerning his personal life and background, including his permanent or local address, providing Subject only with the number of a telephone answering service, and using the safehouse rented by Subject as a principal point of contact. Subject has accepted money from Howton, at first only for previously approved expenses, and subsequently for his personal use, but has accepted Howton's initiative in this matter, and made no demands on Howton for remuneration for services rendered. He has been meticulous in accounting for funds and shown no reluctance to sign receipts presented to him by Howton (with his true-name si nature). Subject has confessed (and shown) an almost complete lack of experience in business and intelligence work, but has accepted Howton's guidance where required, without hesitation.

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B- Development of LINE 3/3 by Howton:

6. Howton met Subject in April 1966 by cold approach in the art studio where Subject at the time was presenting his latest works under sponsorship of Bellas Artes. Howton used as a Greek businessman interested in Subject's style and his immediate objective at the time was to ascertain the address in New York City of Subject's wife's father (a citizen of Chinese origin who had left China as a refugee). Howton, feeling that he had to present an above-average prospect to Subject to permit future meetings, alleged that he was anxious to arrange for the painting of a mural to be installed in a New York nightclub owned by a Greek friend of his (Kitsos Dimitri, owner and performer at the "La Chansonneuse"). Howton felt that this association of "New York nightclub" would have the double advantage of determining Subject's sentiments toward working in New York City and in a bourgeois environment.

7. Subject was cited very favorably to the initial approach and accepted Howton's invitation to dinner in the company of Subject's wife the next evening. Both Subject and his wife were cautious in revealing any specific data concerning their own financial and social status, but Howton concealed their mutual knowledge of Lester's repose and dislike for the communists in Mexico. As a result of this meeting, Howton realized that any attempt at a direct approach to either Subject or his wife, who was then employed part-time at the Cuban Consulate, could be counterproductive and that a more subtle approach would have to be developed. Howton decided that a strong personal relationship developed with Subject would be productive and could eventually lead to useful cooperation on Subject's part.

8. When, therefore, on 2 May 1966, Subject ~~xx~~ ressed gratification at having met Howton and indicated that he wished to continue his friendly contacts, regardless of whether Howton purchased his painting or arranged for the mural, Howton ~~xx~~ moved in with an offer to "hire" Subject as his business associate on an unofficial basis, so that Subject could acquire a degree of independence financially and perhaps do some traveling for Howton. In order to develop as much clandestinity as possible in his future contacts with Subject, Howton explained that he was simply a tourist in Mexico and as such not permitted to engage in lucrative business activities. He would therefore have to depend on Subject's discretion in any dealings he might have with him. Subject accepted this as quite normal but pointed out to Howton his limitations ~~xx~~ far as business training and experience went. In reply to Howton's query, he did confess, however, that he had excellent contacts in Havana that could be exploited for business dealings with Cuba. He volunteered to make an exploratory trip to Havana to renew his friendship with the persons concerned. Howton accepted this offer, not only to test Subject's story but also to seize the occasion to be in a position to provide Subject with money to make the trip and thus compromise him somewhat at the outset.

9. Howton's next move was to explain to Subject that he had a long-term interest in Cuba and hoped to do a great deal of business in the future but first felt it was essential that both he and Subject develop the proper contacts inside to ensure success. Subject readily agreed to this and felt relieved that Howton did not expect him to produce concrete results overnight. When Howton, therefore, suggested that Subject find and rent a residence for entertainment and development of more active contacts, Subject ~~xx~~ to work immediately without question (although Howton's suggestion was first made on 17 June, Subject did not succeed in finding a suitable place until the end of July). This project, however, gave Subject something specific and relatively clandestine to do for Howton without seriously affecting any of his principles. Subject, as it developed later, was interested in such a place, unknown even to his wife, for his own purposes.

officer, with whom some friends. At first, when returning from Rowton his criticism of Lopez' "revolutionary" work was accepted and he advised that Lopez be dismissed and replaced, but then it became known that his functions (as the liaison and intelligence agent) had been carried off by Subject with the comment that there were more important things to do for the revolution. The "disloyal" liaison, however, continued, with which Lopez as well as a formerly other Cuban official, had arrested Subject's friend's advice in the past. Obviously out of respect to the official and instated in him the responsibility of a "loyal" toward his nation. Taking this into consideration and in the hope of stirring up as little trouble for himself and the embassy as possible, the British diplomat is then to pass to Subject the highly restricted information that Lopez had actually been arrested by the Mexican police for complicity in the arms smuggling ring that had recently been uncovered in their operations from Mexico into Guatemala. Rowton gave Subject enough details to make the story convincing and asked Subject to attribute the information to "Central American friends" and to stress that it was already in the hands of the press. In addition Rowton suggested that Subject pass this information personally to Lopez as a hot tip so that Lopez could discreetly disappear before the reporters returned to question him. When subject did as requested by Rowton, Lopez was apparently so overwhelmed with gratitude for Subject's good intentions that he informed the Ambassador the following morning (just before his imminent departure for Havana). Events then moved swiftly. The Ambassador called in Subject and expressed his personal appreciation for Subject's interest and help in this delicate matter and agreed with Subject that the involvement of Embassy personnel in arms smuggling was placing Cuban-Mexican relations in jeopardy. Overnight this raised Subject's status in the eyes of the Ambassador and his closest advisors (Curtaldo and Cepeda) to that of a valued confidant rather than simply a friend of the revolution. This obviously pleased Subject and made him all the more anxious to conceal the role of Rowton in the affair so that all the credit would continue to fall to him.

13. As a result, Subject was subsequently called in by Curtaldo and Cepeda and asked to offer his services to help the Tricontinental in its work in Central America. On Rowton's advice (which Subject solicited) the offer was accepted on condition that the work to be done would be serious (i.e. worth the personal risks Subject would have to run) and that Subject would be permitted to work without the overt involvement of the local embassy. These conditions were promptly accepted and Subject was invited to visit Havana again so that he could be briefed on the spot by Osmani Cienfuegos and his staff.

14. Subject was thus catapulted into the level of IS activities, with Rowton maneuvered into a position of éminence grise. It remains to be seen following Subject's return from Havana (estimated at 21 November, 1966) whether Subject will be entrusted with secret requirements by the Tricontinental, but it appears certain at this point that Rowton will be able to provide full guidance to Subject and to steer the operations he might be engaged in toward targets of interest to: UofACT

C- Biographical Data Elicited from LIRING/3:

15. Subject was born in Mexico City in 1930 of a middle class family. Subject's grandfather was a well-known textile merchant who served some 12 years as president of the Chamber of Commerce. At least one of Subject's aunts is currently well-to-do and the owner of several apartment houses in Mexico City. Subject has at present little or no contact with his family.

16. At the age of 15 subject left home to join the Navy. Subject was contented to believe that his childhood was not particularly happy and that his mother and father separated, permanently, when he was in his teens. It appears likely that subject left home as a result of family dissension. Subject states that his desire to travel and see the world was very strong at the time he joined the Navy.
17. Much of the travel he has subsequently had, however, had to have his birth certificate altered to show that he had been born in 1927 rather than 1930. The reason given is that subject's original passport now shows his birthdate as 1930, which is his true age.
18. Subject served a three-year hitch in the Navy and visited nearly all the ports of Mexico and many of Central America. Subject's racialism appears to have been in the minority, upon release. He has learned the rudiments of navigation and ship-building. When he left the Naval Service, Subject entered the University of Mexico and took a course in Anthropology and Archaeology for one year. Subject simultaneously developed a strong interest in painting and sculpture and over the next five or so years, studied under such masters as Rivera and Siqueiros.
19. Subject was married in 1950 at the age of twenty years to a young Mexican woman from Leon, GTO., and during the next ten years had at least four children by her. He divorced his wife in about 1960, just prior to his departure for Cuba, but he had not been on good terms with her for several years prior to the divorce. From about 1954 to 1960, subject worked in the Mexican Government Social Service among the Indians in the southern states of Mexico. Subject attributes some of the tension that arose between him and his wife to this employment venture. He commented to Howton that his first wife wanted to live a quiet normal life in Mexico City and was unwilling to share with him the hardships of social work in remote areas of tropical Mexico. During this period Subject gradually developed his own style in painting and began to establish close contacts with Mexican art circles.
20. Subject went to Cuba in about 1960 "to join the revolution", apparently as a result of his increasingly leftist political sympathies. He did a relatively large amount of painting and mural work during his four-year residence in Cuba, while at the same time working in the Ministry of Labor and Education. In about 1961 he married a Cuban woman of Chinese origin from Santiago de Cuba and the following year a (girl) child was born to them in Havana. Subject has told Howton that he has had very little contact with his first wife since his divorce and now no alimony. He added that his family, however, has continued to take an interest in his first wife and the children of his first marriage and has helped to support them financially. During his stay in Cuba, Subject developed close friendships with many Cuban revolutionaries, particularly Israel Rodriguez, whose wife worked with Subject in the Ministry of Education at the time when Israel Rodriguez was serving as Minister of Labor.
21. Subject returned to Mexico City in 1964 with his new wife and child (now he has naturalized as a Mexican citizen). At this time subject had become a professional artist but supplemented the rather modest income he received from the sale of his painting by teaching art privately and in Mexican public schools. His monthly income during 1964 and early 1966 did not exceed 3,000 pesos.

Wallace Blanton
FBI - San Antonio

LIRING-3?

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| DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY | |
| RUMAT PERIODIC LIRING-3 | 11 |
| REF MEXICO CITY 7933 (223-33) | |
| <p>1. LIRING-3 RECEIVED BRIEF TYPEWRITTEN UNSIGNED LETTER DATED 22 OCT FROM <u>RAFAEL ARGUETA A.</u> LETTER WHICH CONTAINS MANY TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS EXPRESSED HAPPINESS LIRING-3 FINALLY RELEASED AND HOPED HE WILL SOON RECOVER FROM THE "GRAN AGUSTIA" CAUSED BY "MY COUNTRY." WRITER CONCLUDED WITH APOLOGIES FOR MISTAKES IN ORTHOGRAPHY AND EXPRESSED DESIRE SEE LIRING-3 AGAIN. ASKED LIRING-3 TO REPLY TO HIM AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS: <u>2 AVE 27, 57, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A.</u> RATHER THAN TO ONE APPEARING AS RETURN ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE.</p> | |
| <p>2. ENVELOPE IS AIRMAIL STATIONERY <u>"LA DALIA AZUL, ENRIQUE PESTE C, ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS, 61 AVENIDA Y 1CA CALLE,</u> TEL: 44-72, GUATEMALA, C.U." WITH RETURN ADDRESS ON BACK: <u>RAFAEL ARGUETA A., 11 AV. 25 22, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A.</u> ENVELOPE IS POSTMARKED 22 OCTOBER 1968 AND IS ADDRESSED TO LIRING-3 AT <u>CALLE HAVRE 7, COL. JUAREZ, MEXICO, D.F.</u> (SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICANA) WHICH LIRING-3 HAD GIVEN TO JUAN AND <u>MIGUEL LEON BARRIOS AS BEST</u></p> | |
| SECRET | |

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01 23 12Z NOV 68

CITE DIRECTOR 47408

MEXICO CITY INFO: GUATEMALA CITY

BYRAT PBRUMEN LIRING

REFERENCE: MEXICO CITY 7900 (IN 25321)*

1. SUBJECT TO GUATEMALA STATION CONCURRENCE, WE BELIEVE LIRING/3 SHOULD BE CANDID WITH LIRING/10 AND TELL HIM WHAT AND AS MUCH AS HE WANTS TO KNOW. WE FEEL IF LIRING/3 ATTEMPTED WITHHOLD OR DISTORT DETAILS HIS IMPRISONMENT, IT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO OPERATION SINCE LIRING/10 PROBABLY COULD CHECK OTHER SOURCES FOR ACCURACY.

2. THERE NO URGENCY FOR LIRING/3 MAKE TRIP TO PBRUMEN. WE BELIEVE IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR HIM TO REMAIN MEXICO AND ATTEMPT BECOME INVOLVED LOCAL PBRUMEN/GUATEMALA EXILE ACTIVITIES. IF, HOWEVER, LIRING/10 SUGGESTS LIRING/3 GO PBRUMEN, HE SHOULD NOT HESITATE DO SO.

3. DEFER TO GUATEMALA CITY FOR IDENTIFICATION REFERENCE DATA NAMES.

4. FILE 50-6-141/3, 201-798301 AND 201-776733.

Calvin M. Smith
WILLIAM V. BROE
for C/WHD

END OF MESSAGE

WH/COG/OPS *McLean*

WH/2/G *Dick Baum*

COORDINATING OFFICERS

MICROFILMED
DEC 12 1968
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W. J. Kaufman
W. J. KAUFMAN
C/WHD

ISSUING OFFICE
VB 201-798301 Liring-3
B 201-776733 Liring-1C

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DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

1. ROWTON REESTABLISHED CONTACT LIRING-3 29 OCT AND BEGAN DETAILED DEBRIEFING EVENING SAME DAY. ROWTON ADVISED HE ARRANGED RELEASE THROUGH BROTHER OF BUSINESS CONTACT WHO COLONEL GNA. LIRING-3, WHO ACCEPTED STORY WITHOUT QUESTION, STATED HE UNDERSTOOD ROWTON COULD NOT HAVE ARRANGED EARLY RELEASE FOR OBVIOUS SECURITY REASONS AND FELT ALMOST INTOLERABLE SUFFERING WORTH PAIN SINCE HAS COME OUT IN BEST POSSIBLE POSITION VISA-A-VIS FAR AS WELL AS PBRUMEN.

2. LIRING-3 HAS BEGUN GIVE COMPLETE DETAILS ARREST, DETENTION AND CONTACT'S ESTABLISHED DURING AND AFTER RELEASE. ASKED ROWTON KEEP SENSITIVE POINTS IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE. PARTICULARLY FROM LIRING-4, WHOM FEELS WOULD NOT APPROVE HIS CONTINUED POLITICAL ACTIVITY EVEN ON BEHALF ROWTON. HIGHLIGHTS DEBRIEFING FOLLOW:

A. ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA". FAR OFFICIAL, WHO SHARED CELL BLOCK 400 WITH LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPORT OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPORT OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRING-3 AND PLACING BLAME ON FRANCISCO

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7920 S E C R E T

LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HUGS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

B. BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS, WHO CLAIMED TO BE C-2 FAR, WHO ALSO SHARED CELLEBLOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIRING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES MEXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 AS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, CONDUCTA BUENA, CONFIALBE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR." FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRANGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING-3 MONTES COMPLETELY STRIPPED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. MONTES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON BROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING FINANCIAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM PERUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCEPTED PERUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PERUMEN EXPERTS, FAVERED POSITION

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PAGE 3 MEXICO CITY 7920 S E C R E T

FAR MEMBERS TRAINED IN PBRUMEN) ALL FUNDS² IN PAST CHANNELED
THROUGH GUAT CP ETC).

3. LIRING -3 TOLD ROWTON HE INSTRUCTED LEON BROTHERS HAVE
"PAVEL" GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM (DETERMINE HIS ADDRESS) THROUGH
SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICAN BY POSING AS PERSON REPRESENTING
"VILETA" WHO INTERESTED IN BUYING LIRING-3 WATERCOLORS (ONE IN
PRISON). LIRING-3 PLANS FOR COVER PURPOSES WORK IN SIQUEIROS
STUDIO CUERNAVACA AND ARRANGE SOONEST BELLAS ARTES SPONSORED
EXPOSITION HIS LATEST PAINTINGS.

4. WILL POUCH COMPLETE LIRING-3 DEBRIEFING AS SOON
IN COMPLETED. STATION HOPES LIRING AND PARTICULARLY LIRING-10
WILL TRY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AS HE CAN BE EXPECTED
HR
HAVE INFO OF VALUE TO PBRUMEN REGIME. STATION INTENDS HAVE
LIRING -3 TELL LIRING-10 ENOUGH TO WET HIS APPETITE AND CONVINCE HIM
LIRING-3 SHOULD BE DEBRIEFED AT SOME LENGTH. LIRING-3 WOULD
TELL LIRING 10 HE WILLING OUTLINE DETAILS HIS ORDEAL INCLUDING
INFO "PBRUMENS SHOULD KNOW" BUT ONLY TO HIGH PBRUMEN
FUNCTIONARY AND IS PBRUMEN. PRIOR TO POSSIBLE LIRING-3 TRIP
PBRUMEN, SUGGEST HQS, GUATEMALA CITY AND MEXICO CITY STATIONS
DETERMINE WHAT CAN BE PASSED PBRUMENS. CONFERENCE IN GUATEMALA

SECRET

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PAGE 4 MEXICO CITY 7928 S E C R E T

CITY BETWEEN ROWTON, FRADYER AND GUAT CITY STATION REPS MIGHT
BE USEFUL IN THIS CONNECTION.

5. ASSUME GUAT NAMES MENTIONED ABOVE ARE "WAR NAMES".

CITY GUATEMALA CITY SHED SOME LIGHT THEIR IDENTITIES.

6. FILE 221-798301.

S E C R E T

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SECRET 012132Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7922

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

Nov 68 125321

1. ROWTON REESTABLISHED CONTACT LIRING-3 29 OCT AND BEGAN DETAILED DEBRIEFING EVENING SAME DAY. ROWTON ALLEGED HE ARRANGED RELEASE THROUGH BROTHER OF BUSINESS CONTACT FRO COLONEL GNA. LIRING-3, WHO ACCEPTED STORY WITHOUT QUESTION, STATED HE UNDERSTOOD ROWTON COULD NOT HAVE ARRANGED EARLY RELEASE FOR OBVIOUS SECURITY REASONS AND FELT ALMOST INTOLERABLE SUFFERING WORTH PAIN SINCE HAS COME OUT IN BEST POSSIBLE POSITION VISA-A-VIS FAR AS WELL AS PBRUMEN.

2. LIRING-3 HAS BEGUN GIVE COMPLETE DETAILS ARREST, DETENTION AND CONTACTS ESTABLISHED DURING AND AFTER RELEASE. ASKED ROWTON KEEP SENSITIVE POINTS IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE. PARTICULARLY FROM LIRING-4, WHOM FEELS WOULD NOT APPROVE HIS CONTINUED POLITICAL ACTIVITY EVEN ON BEHALF ROWTON. HIGHLIGHTS DEBRIEFING FOLLOW:

A. ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA", FAR OFFICIAL, WHO SHARED CELL BLOCK 422 WITH LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAS SENT REPORT OF ARREST FAIRABLE TO LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAS SENT REPORT OF ARREST FAIRABLE TO LIRING-3 AND PLACING BLAME ON FRANCISCO

filed 11/14/68
207
REC'D

aww 11/14/68
DC 89
Kurtie

SECRET

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7922 S E C R E T

LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HEDS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

B. BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS, WHO CLAIMED TO BE G-2 FAR, WHO ALSO SHARED CELLBLOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIRING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES MEXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 AS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, CONDUCTA BUENA, CONFIABLE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR." FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRANGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING-3 MONTES COMPLETELY STRIPPED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. MONTES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON BROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING FINANCIAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM PBRUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCEPT PBRUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PBRUMEN EXPERTS, FAVERED POSITION

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PAGE 3 MEXICO CITY 7928 S E C R E T

FAR MEMBERS TRAINED IN PBRUMEN) ALL FUNDS (IN PAST CHANNELED
THROUGH GUAT CP ETC).

3. LIRING-3 TOLD ROWTON HE INSTRUCTED LEON BROTHERS HAVE
"PAVEL" GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM DETERMINE HIS ADDRESS) THROUGH
SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICAN BY POSING AS PERSON REPRESENTING
"VILETA" WHO INTERESTED IN BUYING LIRING-3 WATERCOLORS (ONE IN
PRISON). LIRING-3 PLANS FOR COVER PURPOSES WORK IN SIGUEIROS
STUDIO CUERNAVACA AND ARRANGE SOONEST BELLAS ARTES SPONSORED
EXPOSITION HIS LATEST PAINTINGS.

4. WILL POUCH COMPLETE LIRING-3 DEBRIEFING AS SOON
IN COMPLETED. STATION HOPES LIRING AND PARTICULARLY LIRING-10
WILL TRY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AS HE CAN BE EXPECTED
HR
HAVE INFO OF VALUE TO PBRUMEN REGIME. STATION INTENDS HAVE
LIRING-3 TELL LIRING-10 ENOUGH TO WET HIS APPETITE AND CONVINCE HIM.
LIRING-3 SHOULD BE DEBRIEFED AT SOME LENGTH. LIRING-3 WOULD
TELL LIRING 10 HE WILLING OUTLINE DETAILS HIS ORDEAL INCLUDING
INFO PBRUMENS SHOULD KNOW BUT ONLY TO HIGH PBRUMEN
FUNCTIONARY AND IS PBRUMEN. PRIOR TO POSSIBLE LIRING-3 TRIP
PBRUMEN, SUGGEST HQS, GUATEMALA CITY AND MEXICO CITY STATIONS
DETERMINE WHAT CAN BE PASSED PBRUMENS. CONFERENCE IN GUATEMALA

SECRET

Mr. G. Farley
MSA 7744
2264

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PAGE 4 MEXICO CITY 7900 S E C R E T

CITY BETWEEN ROWTON, FRADYER AND GUAT CITY STATION REPS MIGHT
BE USEFUL IN THIS CONNECTION.

5. ASSUME GUAT NAMES MENTIONED ABOVE ARE "WAR NAMES".
CAN GUATEMALA CITY SHED SOME LIGHT THEIR IDENTITIES.

6. FILE 201-798301.

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SECRET 241826Z OCT 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9614

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

PDRUMEN LIRING/3

24 OCT 68 IN 20246

REF: MEXICO CITY 1775 (W 19623)

1. ESMICA/13 REPORTED LIRING/3 AND COMPANION DEPARTED GUATEMALA 18 OCTOBER 1968 VIA TACA FLIGHT 210 FOR MEXICO CITY. THEY ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED ESCORT DIRECTLY FROM PRISON FARM TO AIRPORT.

2. FILE: 281-248917.

SECRET

White file: LIKUUNE 015
ce's LIRING-3
221
58-6-128/3
LIRING-4

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S A U T E 1 24 OCT 68 JL 43 C-2 MEXICO CITY 7775 24 OCT 68 IN 19623
CITY OF MEXICO CITY, INSPECTOR

REFERENCES

Fig. 3. $\sigma = 0.05$ (G), $2 \times 7 + 3 \times 7$.

(-06501)

8 2.16187014 1911-9430

卷之三

1. WORKS ATTACHED ARE DISCLOSED IN ORDER OF PUBLISHING WHETHER
THEIR-3 NEEDS TO BE RELEASED AND IF-NEGATIVE KNOWING
WHAT HE SHOULD BE AND WHAT WILL BE TAKEN OVER

2 TO FACILITATE SUBSEQUENT CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AND OPEN
DOOR TO POSSIBLE CLAIM HE INSTRUCTED LIRING-3 RELEASE
STATION PLANNERS HAVE BOSTON SEND HESTON'S LETTER UNDER DOUBLE
ENVELOPE VIA AIRMAIL AND REQUEST CONFIDENTIALITY. LETTER ON HEATCAN
BUT AS EXTERIOR OF OTHER ENVELOPES IS UNKNOWN WILL MENTION BOSTON
CARRIER RETURNING THIS STATION TO LIRING-3. DOUBLE CONTACT

REINSTATE AND MAKE GOOD THE MISSING SERVICES AS SOON AS REBELLION IS OVER.

3. FOR TARGET T IN BOSTON AREA - ELEMENTS AT THIS POINT
PROBABLY LITERALLY TAKING UP FIRST POSITION OR CUBANS SO FAR UNABLE
TO CAPTURE ELEMENTS WITHIN CITY.

2020 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

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14-00000

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16 OCT 68 IN 16895

SECRET 191835Z OCT 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY

9602

GUAT

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

REF: MEXICO CITY 7486 (IN 06501)

1. 19 OCTOBER GUATEMALAN DAILY PRENSA LIBRE REPORTED COURT OF APPEALS CONFIRMED DECISION OF LOWER COURT ABSOLVING LIRING-3 AND COMPANION OF CHARGES VIOLATION LAW OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. NO MENTION MADE WHETHER THEY ACTUALLY RELEASED FROM CUSTODY.
2. WILL REPORT ANY INFO RECEIVED ON RELEASE LIRING-3
3. FILE: 201-248917.

SECRET

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SECRET 042307Z OCT 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7486

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

5 OCT 68 IN 06501

JP

REFS: A. DIRECTOR 36584
 B. GUATEMALA CITY 9517 (NO 2560)
 C. MMMA 35500 PARA 5

MICROFILMED
 OCT 31 1968
 DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. STATION WISHES TO REITERATE ONCE MORE ITS RELUCTANCE TO SOMEHOW TRY TO FREE LIRING-3 FROM JAIL IN GUATEMALA CITY BY GOING TO LIAISON AND EXPOSING HIS WOFIRM CONNECTION. MEXICO CITY STATION IN AGREEMENT WITH REF B STATEMENT THAT MORE TIME SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SEE IF LIRING-3 WILL NOT BE RELEASED IN NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE WITHOUT INDICATING WOFIRM INTEREST. AS STATED IN REF C SUCH INDICATION IF IT LEAKED (AND STATION ASSUMES THIS POSSIBLE IN GUATEMALA) OR IF IT ATTRACTED SUSPICION GUAT REBELS, MEXICAN LEFTISTS OR PBRUMENERS WOULD RENDER FURTHER OPERATIONAL EXPLOITATION LIRING-3 AND LIRING-4 PROBLEMATIC. IT MIGHT EVEN PROMPT GUAT REBELS TO TAKE REPRISALS AGAINST LIRING-3 AND LIRING-4. FURTHERMORE STATION NOT AT ALL SURE THAT FREEING LIRING-3 THROUGH INTERVENTION LIAISON MIGHT NOT JEOPARDIZE ROWTON SECURITY.

2. IF LIRING-3 RELEASED AFTER NORMAL TRIAL WITHOUT ANY INDICATION OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCE STATION ASSUMES BOTH HE AND LIRING-4

B.201-818842

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5 Oct 68
 201-799301

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7486 S E C R E T

WILL HAVE INCREASED OPERATIONAL POTENTIAL. IF LIRING-3 NOT RELEASED IN NEAR FUTURE LIRING-4 MAY FIND ONLY WAY OUT HER CURRENT PREDICAMENT IS AT LEAST TEMPORARY RETURN TO PERUWEN. SHE MIGHT AT THAT POINT BE AMENABLE UNDERTAKE MISSION SIMILAR TO THAT ONE PREVIOUSLY AGREEABLE ATTEMPT FOR WOFIRM.

3. STATION WOULD NATURALLY BE WILLING RE-EXAMINE ITS POSITION RE LIRING-3 IF GUATEMALA CITY STATION COULD DETERMINE BEYOND ANY REASONABLE DOUBT THAT APPROACH OF JUDGE THROUGH LIAISON WOULD NOT LEAK. CAN GUATEMALA CITY STATION GIVE SUCH ASSURANCE?

4. FILE 201-798501.

SECRET

SECRET

TO: Marvin Francis/1q
INFO: WH/1/3E04
EXO: 4167:1973
DATE: 4 October 1968

MESSAGE FROM
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SECRET 23

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CITY DIRECTOR

D/R
38381

GUATEMALA CITY INFO: MEXICO CITY
REFS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 0617 (TV 02500) : 14 OCT 68 110
B. DIRECTOR 36584**

1. APPRECIATE REF A RESPONSE. AGREE WE DO NOT WANT SURFACE
WOPIRM INTEREST LIRING-3 OR WIFE TO GUATS IF CAN BE AVOIDED.
2. REF B WAS SENT FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WITH LIRING-3'S
CASE OFFICER, ROWTON WHO STILL TDY HQS. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION
WITH ROWTON, HOWEVER, WE PREFER GUAT STATION TAKE NO ACTION ON
REFERENCE B REQUEST UNTIL ROWTON RETURNS MEXICO. HE CAN THEN AT-
TEMPT OBTAIN UPDATED READING ON LIRING-3 STATUS FROM LIRING-4 OR OTHER
SOURCE, AFTER WHICH ROWTON AND MEXICO CITY STATION CAN DECIDE IF
ESMAJOR-20 INTERVENTION WARRANTED.

3. INDEX 201-248917, 201-798301.

END OF MESSAGE

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OCT 14 1968
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4 OCT 68
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ORIG: **Marvin Francis/1q**
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CITY DIRECTOR

38881

TO:

PAGE 2

WH/1 COMMENT: *Indicated liaison contact w/ LIRING-3 could attempt intercede on LIRING-3's behalf to learn when his trial would take place or possibly to obtain his release. Station reluctant surface WOFIRM interest however without Mexico City Station concurrence.

**Headquarters commented on fact LIRING-4 recently took up residence in Cuban Embassy, Mexico City because lacked funds pay rent. Also asked Guatemala Station if could arrange for early release LIRING-3 and associate from jail through high level Guat official.

Calvin M. Smolka
WILLIAM V. BROK
C/RED
for

WH/COG/ David

WH/2/G LH/Spec

W. J. KAUFMAN,
C/NL/1

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SECRET 381842Z SEP 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 85-17 R-02560

DIRECTOR INFO MEXICO CITY

RYBAI TYPIC LIRING

1. GUATEMALA CITY STATION IS WILLING TO USE ITS LIASON RELATIONSHIP IN ANY WAY NECESSARY TO SUPPORT UNILATERAL WOFIRM OPERATIONS. NEVERTHELESS IT MUST BE REALIZED THAT AFTER 6 MONTHS, REVEALING WOFIRM INTEREST IN LIRING-3 IS SOMEWHAT AWKWARD. WHILE GUATEMALAN CITY STATION IS NOT FULLY COGNIZANT OF ALL OPERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS LIRING-4 OPERATION AND ITS VALUE TO WOFIRM, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT BY ALLOWING MORE TIME LIRING-3 AND COMPANION WILL BE RELEASED WITHOUT NEED INDICATE WOFIRM INTEREST. THIS APPEARS MORE IN LINE WITH MEXICO CITY STATION POSITION THEY DEFINITELY NOT IN FAVOR INTERVENTION WITH GUAT AUTHORITIES WHICH WOULD FINGER LIRING-3 AS SOME TYPE WOFIRM ASSET (MEXICO CITY 5984).

2. IF MEXICO CITY HAS CHANGED ABOVE POSITION AND NOW AGREES WOFIRM INTEREST CAN BE INDICATED, SUGGEST FOLLOWING APPROACH: STATION WILL ADVISE ESMajor-20 THAT MEXICO CITY HAS DEVELOPED AN OPERATIONAL INTEREST IN LIRING-3'S WIFE BUT UNABLE PROCEED WITH OPERATION BECAUSE OF HER CONCERN OVER FATE OF HER HUSBAND. WE CAN THEN ASK ESMajor-20 ATTEMPT ASCERTAIN WHEN TRIAL

MICROFILMED
OCT 11 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

R 201-818842

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30 Sept 68
R 201-798301

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9517 S E C R E T

SCHEDULED AND INDICATION WHAT SENTENCE MAY BE. BELIEVE ANY
INTEREST

SB ESMajor-28 MAY REVEAL TO THE COURTS WILL DEVELOP
RESPONSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO
REVEALING WOFIRM INTEREST DIRECTLY IN LIRING-3, THE STATION
CAN SO ADVISE ESMajor-28 AND REQUEST HIS HELP.

3. FILE: 201-248917,

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| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PROCESSING ACTION |
|---|--|--|---------------------|
| TO Chief, Western Hemisphere Division | | X | MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| INFO. | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED | |
| FROM Chief of Station, Mexico City (U) | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING | |
| SUBJECT PBRUMEN: Activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4 May through Mid-September 1968 | | MICROFILM | |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | 201-818842 | |
| REF: HMMA 34682, 17 May 1968 | | MICROFILMED 067 14 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER. | |
| Action Required: For your information. | | | |
| <p>1. Forwarded under separate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the latter.</p> <p>2. The main topic covered in ROWTON's reports is LIRING-4's efforts to obtain help in getting LIRING-3 out of jail in Guatemala as soon as possible. LIRING-4 is almost penniless (ROWTON has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been moving from one apartment to a cheaper one living on the sale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small loans from leftist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of ROWTON's efforts to get her to undertake a clandestine mission to PBRUMEN, a mission, as Headquarters knows, was planned long ago. As a foreigner, LIRING-4 cannot work in Mexico without taking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to go to Guatemala to visit LIRING-3. She might also face difficulties in Guatemala including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country.</p> <p>3. By mid-September 1968 LIRING-4 had received very little help from her Mexican leftist or outright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Guatemalan judge scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "friends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If anything, these</p> | | | |
| continued | | | |
| <p>Attachments: <u>12</u> reports u/s/c #1 <u>4</u> Iden rpts u/s/c #2</p> <p>Distribution: Orig & <u>2</u> - C/WHD w/atts 201-798301</p> | | | |
| S/C att: | | | |
| CS COPY | | | |
| CROSS REFERENCE TO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 35502 | DATE 26 September 1968 | |
| | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | REG FILE NUMBER 201-798301 | |

| | | |
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| CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMA - 35502 |
| <p>articles did little to prejudice the Guatemalans in favor of LIRING-3. As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Guatemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.</p> <p>4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIRING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PBRUMENs still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guatemala is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.</p> <p>5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate ROWTON. Such statements also re-enforce the decision of the Station not to attempt, through liaison, to obtain the release of LIRING-3. Such an attempt, if it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals, it would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIRING-4 is in Mexico, told ROWTON that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWTON.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>at Guadalajara</i> <i>4-Nuta</i></p> <p>6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando SUAREZ of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican communist mural painter David ALFARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMHEG-1 no effort was made to approach him.</p> <p>7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to WOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>David D. Feltzinger</i> for Willard C. CURTIS</p> | | |
| FORM 5010-1064 53a | CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T | PAGE NO. 2 of 2 |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED |

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17 May, 1968

Subject: Wallace B. Roston Meeting with LIRING/4.

1. Roston met with LIRING/4 at the Punto Blanco Restaurant from about 1900 until 2015 on 16/5/68. LIRING/4 had telephoned Roston's answering service and left a message that "Dr. Barragán would see him at his office" at that time and date.
2. LIRING/4 reported that she had learned that seven Guatemalans residing in Mexico City had been arrested along with Rodolfo Sandoval. She had learned this from Manuel Marcué Pardiñas but was not able to learn the identities of the other seven. She recalled that Marcué had said that Sandoval had been arrested on 5 May, 1968, just after his wife had arrived from Guatemala, and that he, Marcué, was burdened with the support not only of Francisco Lara's family (wife, mother and children) but now of Sandoval's wife. LIRING/4 understood that Marcué had moved these dependents into one of his several houses in the city. LIRING/4 added that finally she decided to avoid any further contact with Marcué since he has become a complete nuisance, telephoning and dropping in unannounced at all hours of the night.
3. LIRING/4 also reported that she had obtained a job at the Secretaría de Comercio y Industria, paying 1,200 pesos per month, through Sergio González Marín, and had started working regular hours (1000-1400) on 13/5/68. When she, however, mentioned this to Zácosta (FNU, phon.), Director of the office of Relaciones Culturales of the Sec Relaciones Exteriores, he told her to quit the job immediately since it was not legal for her to work, particularly in a government office where official records were kept. He promised to help her find a job where she could work on the Q.T. without jeopardizing her immigration status.
4. LIRING/4 also reported that she had received three short notes from LIRING/3 mailed from the prison where he is being detained. She stated that she was reassured by these letters that L/3 is in reasonably good health, despite the fact that he and his fellow arrestees were not given any food for nine days following their arrest on 13/4/68.
5. LIRING/4 stated that she had talked to LIRING/2 after his return from FBRUMEN and found him very suntanned and thinner. L/2 told her that he had been cutting cane and had gotten engaged to a local woman while he was "on vacation". L/2 stated that he most probably would remain in Mexico through the Olympics, although he did not state when he planned to get married. L/2 regretted that he and his office could not help L/4 financially, but he encouraged L/4 to visit the office whenever she wished.

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6. LIRING/4 also told Roston that she had managed to find a suitable apartment in the Edificio Condesa, letra A, #6, for 1,100 pesos per month, through her friend, Blanca Peña, who lives in apartment 2 of letra O. She added that she had overcome the problem of the fiador by applying to a sr. Muñoz who advertised in the newspaper and provided her with a certain sra. Gloria Beltrán, Calle Tafir 21, Col. Navarre (at a fee of 330 pesos). She also stated that she has already given the administrator of the edificio Condesa at 300 peso "gratificación" to hold the apartment until she can arrange the fiador contract.

7. Roston then suggested that LIRING/4 might consider making her trip to PBRUMEN in the near future since it appeared to him an ideal time. L/4 replied that, although she felt obliged to make the trip in view of her previous commitment to Roston, she felt it premature. She stressed her continued anxiety over the welfare of L/3, commenting that she was the only person who could be counted on to correspond with him, and that such correspondence from PBRUMEN would be very difficult and slow. Roston then suggested that perhaps L/4 might be able to obtain a visa to visit L/3 for a short time to discuss with him the desirability of the trip and arrange to provide him with paints and canvases. L/4 agreed that this would ease her mind and permit her to make the trip to PBRUMEN with less concern but she wondered whether a trip to Guatemala, provided, of course, that she could get the visa, might possibly make matters worse for L/3 since L/4 would have to travel on her PBRUMEN passport. Roston agreed with this and suggested the following: (a) L/4 write immediately to the Mexican Consul asking him his opinion and requesting him to check it out with L/3; (b) L/4 discuss the matter soonest with L/2, explaining that she has decided to make her trip to PBRUMEN during L/3's imprisonment but that she hoped to visit him before leaving Mexico. L/4 agreed and added that she would invite L/2 to dinner at the home of Blanca Peña (de Amand) where she was currently staying as a house guest.

8. Roston stressed that he did not wish under any circumstances to "force" L/4 to make the trip to PBRUMEN, but he felt the time most opportune and he was not in a position financially to assist L/4 to any significant degree if she remained in Mexico. Roston added that he failed to see how L/4 could earn enough in any "unofficial" job she might obtain. L/4 agreed to think the matter over and give Roston her decision at their next meeting scheduled for 1300 on 20/5/68.

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Wallace B. Roston

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20 May, 1965

Subject: LIING/4 Report of Conversation with LIING/2.

1. At 1300 on 20 May, 1965, LIING/4 reported to Howton at the Punto Blanco restaurant that she had seen LIING/2 at the LIING offices and, as instructed by Howton, discussed with him her difficult financial situation resulting from the detention of LIING/3. She then stated that she was seriously considering taking her long planned trip to BHUEN, since there she would be able to resolve the problem of living expenses. LIING/2 sympathized with her but asked her not to make any rash decision. He pointed out that although her temporary financial problem would be solved, the moral obligation she had to follow LIING/3's case from as close to Guatemala as possible would argue in favor of her visiting a little more. LIING/4 told Howton that she felt that LIING/2 was prompted to say this in light of a comment she had just made to him that a certain Lic. Castillo, a Guatemalan lawyer affiliated with the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City, had gotten in touch with her over the weekend and told her he had come to Mexico City in connection with LIING/3's case which he was handling at the request of the Embassy. (LIING/4 told Howton that Castillo was staying in room 904 of the El Presidente Hotel and that she talked to him there for about 15 minutes.)
2. LIING/2 then said that he would do everything he could to find some sort of work to help LIING/4 financially. He commented that work in the LIING offices proper was out of the question, since the only persons employed there now are party members ~~fit~~ from the BHUEN capital. He added, however, that he would propose to the LIING "consejo" that LIING/4 be given a position in the outside cultural office. He stressed that he could not promise anything, but he would do what he could to convince the powers that be.
3. LIING/4 promised Howton to press LIING/2 for this job since it would indicate the extent to which the LIING Chief trusted her and give her some official access to the establishment, limited though it might be.

W.B. Howton

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12 June, 1968

Subject: A RECD B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/4.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at the Diana Restaurant, Calle Mississippi, from 1300 until about 1410 on 11 June, 1968. LIRING/4 reported that she had finally moved into the apartment in the Edificio Condesa with the few pieces of furniture of the Tacubaya apartment. She stated that she intended to remain in close touch with her friend Blanca Peña de Amand and, of course, Catalina Cepero, at whose homes she hoped to be able to take her main meals. LIRING/4 added that she was still attempting to find some sort of work to help her meet her expenses, as well as to find a person, preferably a PEACHEN student, to rent a room in her apartment.
2. With regard to employment LIRING/4 stated that LIRING/2 had told her the previous week that his recommendation that she been employed in the (outside) LIRING cultural office had been turned down and consequently she had appealed to Mexican friends to help her find employment. She also told Rowton that she had queried LIRING/2 about PEACHEN students who might share her apartment but was told that the only female students (two) at present in Mexico were studying in Patzcuaro.
3. LIRING/4 continued that she had been receiving letters regularly from LIRING/3 directly from his place of confinement. She showed Rowton a portion of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 stated that there were about 2,000 prisoners in all and that he feels obliged to share whatever food he can purchase with the money sent to him by LIRING/4 with six others who are closest to him and whose relatives cannot provide even the essentials of a basic diet. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/3 has not complained about what appear to be very difficult conditions but has revealed his constant fear of physical violence, the threat of which he feels hangs over the prison. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had finally obtained officially notarized statements from the proper Mexican authorities testifying to LIRING/3's bona fides as an artist, as requested by the Mexican Consul. She gave Rowton a letter from the latter which requests this information (copy of which is attached).
4. LIRING/4, in reply to Rowton's queries, stated that she still hoped to be able to make the trip to PERUEN but could not consider leaving Mexico at this time in view of LIRING/3's situation and the fact that she was the only point of contact he had on the outside. Rowton sympathized with her but stressed that his ability to help her financially was limited by her

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performance in terms of the contract between them. Rowton reminded LIRING/4 that he contract had terminated as of 15 May, 1968, and could be extended only on the condition that she would be able to make the trip. He added that he felt he could pay her for the period 15 May until 15 June, 1968, but that would have to constitute a final payment unless LIRING/4 could commit herself to future production. Rowton added that in addition he would have to deduct the 1,375 pesos he gave to her as a travel advance inasmuch as this money was not used for the purpose intended.

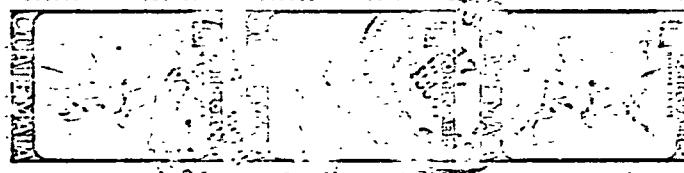
5. LIRING/4 replied that, much to her regret, she could not make any firm commitment regarding the trip at the moment. She stated that she was attempting to maintain friendly relations with the LIRING personnel but had to be cautious in the light of LIRING/3's admonition to her to avoid contact with the establishment ("la casa grande" as he described it. She then stated that she had attended a play on the evening of 7 June at which she met socially with LIRING personnel in the audience. She added that LIRING/10 greeted her cordially and that she spoke briefly with LIRING/9 and LIRING/13 as well as LIRING/16. LIRING/4 also stated that she had learned from LIRING/17, who had just returned from an unexpected TDY that their mutual friend "Echemendia" had been called up on the carpet for the inferior job he had done during his last commercial mission to Mexico City. LIRING/4 also reported that she had been given a very brief note from her friend Yolanda hand-carried by LIRING/17 in which Yolanda wrote that she was still hoping that LIRING/4 would be able to make the trip.

ROWTON COMMENT: Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will make the trip to PBRUNEN within the next two months or sooner, provided she is assured that LIRING/3 is resigned to his fate and that everything has been done to support his appeal. Rowton has told LIRING/4 that he can give her only minimum financial support in the future, and that only on behalf of LIRING/3. Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will have great difficulty supporting herself even on a subsistence level during the next month, and will probably reconsider her decision regarding the trip. Rowton feels he should not put any direct pressure on LIRING/4 in the light of her personal situation.

SECRET: Wallace B. Rowton

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SEMA. DED. RUE. 1000S. CALLEJAS. A.D.
AYAS A LA C. 1. GRANDE. VERACRUZ
SERVICIOS DIRECTA. INTER. MARIA GUADALUPE.
DOSOS : CARLOS.



G.R.A.
BLANCA PENA
EDIFICIO CONDESA LETRA "C" DEPTO. 2
AV. VERACRUZ Y MATEHUALA
(ENTRADA AV. MATEHUALA)
MEXICO II. D.F.

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14-00000
Ing. Cecilia H. Gerardo
Cónsul General de México

SECRET

Guatemala, 21 de mayo de 1958.

Sra. Miriam Chichay de Júrado.
México, D. F.

Estimada Sra:

Me refiero a su grata carta de 17 del actual para informar a Uñ. que Carlos se encuentra sin novedad, su aspecto físico es inmejorable y en cambio muy levantado, pues ha sabido asimilar esta emergencia con filosofía.

Respecto a su situación, estamos bastante optimistas pues confiamos ampliamente en la rectitud del juez. Yá se presentaron tres testigos de descargo y el el curdo de la presente semana se pondrá declaración a otros dos. Hemos corrido con la suerte de que para todas las diligencias los plazos se han acortado al máximo.

Ni un solo momento lo hemos dejado solo, tanto a él como a Manuel, pues constantemente se les ha estado visitando, unas veces nuestro Encargado de Negocios, otras nuestro abogado asesor y el suscrito.

Su carta anterior la recibió en propias manos y también le informé de la tarjeta que Uñ. me puso.

Tanto la Sra. Marcué de Persabal, como la esposa de Manuel, los estuvieron visitando casi a diario durante su estancia en ésta. No les ha faltado nada pues la Sra. Marcué dejó 175 dólares para que se les estuviera proviendo de lo necesario. A Carlos se le llevó un block para dibujo que pidió y se les llevan periódicamente cigarrillos, etc.

El jueves iré a verlos de nuevo y yá le informaré de su carta.

No creo que sea necesario que venga Uñ. pues puede tener la seguridad de que estamos haciendo todo lo que está en nuestras manos por resolverles su situación a la brevedad posible. No sería de lo malo que esté Uñ. en contacto con la Sra. de Relaciones para estar al tanto del caso, pues estoy informando constantemente del curso del proceso. Creo que será cuestión de más o menos tiempo pero tengo confianza en que todo se resolverá favorablemente.

Por conducto de la esposa de Manuel le envié recado que sería conveniente enviarle una constancia de Bellas Artes abonando la conducto de su esposo y que este documento lo llevara a legalizar ante el Consulado de Guatemala en México (Vallarta # 1) pues ayudaría mucho para probar su solvencia moral.

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Perdóname si con anterioridad no le había informado, pero consideré que era innecesario hacerlo mientras no se tuviera algo concreto como es la declaración de los testigos de descargo.

Tenga confianza y calma que estamos viendo éste caso con profundo interés y simpatía.

Le ruego saludar de mi parte a mi buen amigo D'aniel (su suegro) de quien hace tiempo no tengo noticias y decirle que su amigo de Arriaga lo recuerda con afecto.

Procuraré tenerla informada y puede escribirme cuantas veces lo desee.

Suyo afmo. atto. y s. S.

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Amor mío:

Estaré en el plazo para presentar que
preocupa mucho; la noche de la comisión de
los ministros. Infórmate con llegada y horas
de vuelo de EEUU para informarte ya te
(SACAS FUERTE LA) lo presentarán. Informame días (Cada tres
días) a la primera o bien directamente.
Mis manzanas son más normales. Toda
la correspondencia está encerrada.

Lléva hasta que mandaste al Comité.
NO SE TE OCURRA POR NINGUN MOTIVO
SALIR DE MEXICO.

Recibe Todo mi cariño

Carlos

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19 June, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/4
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1300, 18/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
3. Date and Site of Next Meeting: 1030, 20/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent: LIRING/4 reported to Rowton that she had received two distressing letters from LIRING/3 complaining about the miserable conditions under which he is living - very meager food, unsanitary quarters, and the constant fear of physical violence. LIRING/4 showed Rowton a paragraph of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 asks her to appeal to the "socie" to influence the judge by a gratificación of 100 quetzals so that he would dismiss the case when it finally came to trial early the following month. LIRING/3 stated that the judge to be influenced was a certain Juan Sanchez, Oficial Tercero del Juzgado Cuarto de Primera Instancia. LIRING/3 added that he felt there was no other solution, since it had become evident that the Mexican Embassy could do nothing to speed up the final release and that if Rowton could not intervene, anything could happen.
LIRING/4 also reported that she had been asked by LIRING/9 to see him the next day (19/6/68) at his office. She did not know the purpose of the invitation, but assured LIRING/9 wanted to be briefed on the latest developments in the LIRING/3 case.
5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent: Rowton sympathized with LIRING/4 in her distress over the desperate situation being faced by LIRING/3 but stressed that intervention on his part was not as easy as LIRING/3 might think. He pointed out that since LIRING/4 to date had not been able to make the BEIJING trip he could not ask his own colleagues in Europe to intervene through their Guatemalan government contacts and that therefore anything that he could do himself would not be effective. LIRING/4 did not volunteer any indication of her intention regarding the trip, and Rowton felt he could not press her in view of her frame of mind at the time. He suggested that they meet again after LIRING/4 talked with LIRING/9 in the hope that the latter might make some important comments on the case.

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W. . Rowton

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9 July, 1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/11.

1. After several days of attempts by Rowton to meet with LIRING/11 in the vicinity of his (LIRING/11's) residence (which is about six blocks from Rowton's home) Rowton finally succeeded at about 1600 on 5 July, 1968.

2. Rowton had checked the home address of LIRING/11 about 1550 that day and when he had found that LIRING/11's car had not been parked in front, hailed a cab passing in the opposite direction. As an after-thought, however, Rowton asked the cab to go around the block on the off chance that he might catch LIRING/11 approaching his home from the intersection of Gutenberg and Ejercito Nacional. Fortunately just as Rowton's cab approached LIRING/11's apartment house, he spotted LIRING/11 alighting from his car in front of the building. Rowton stopped the cab and ran over to greet LIRING/11.

3. LIRING/11 although obviously surprised at seeing Rowton in that area, responded cordially. Rowton alleged that he had been in Switzerland and Canada most of the time since he had last seen LIRING/11, and to his regret had lost contact with the mutual friends, LIRING/3 and Iden A. Rowton continued that he had written LIRING/3 at least five letters from Europe but had not received any answer, and had found that he had moved from his Atoyac address as well as his Tacubaya studio. LIRING/11 did not volunteer any information concerning the whereabouts of LIRING/3 but immediately gave Rowton the news that Iden A was working at a sort of night club (giving the name and street on which it was located.)

4. Rowton then said that he had hoped to be able to invite LIRING/11 to lunch but he had to take a short trip to Nuevo Laredo to attempt to arrange for the purchase of a car. (This was thrown out as bait ~~in~~ in view of a comment by LIRING/4 that LIRING/11 was scheduled to return PCS and would have to sell his car). LIRING/11 did not react to this, simply suggesting that Rowton get in touch with him as soon as Rowton returned.

5. Rowton then returned to the waiting cab and continued his trip, taking the opportunity to mention to the driver in the course of conversation that he was a businessman from Europe (Switzerland) who often visited Mexico.

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(Wfu) X-11-264
Wallace B. Rowton P-11-264

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9 July, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 re: art of activities.

1. Houston met with LIRING/4 at 1000 on 8 July, 1968, at the Sears Restaurant on Insurgentes. He had not seen her for the previous ten days because of his leave (28/6/68-5/7/68).

2. LIRING/4 reported that an old friend, Iden A, had arrived the previous week from the BRASIL capital, and that she had seen him several times prior to his moving to Cuernavaca. She commented that Iden A was divorced and lived alone (his wife having been a notorious model of loose morals). She added that his apparent age is 40, and that he must have political influence since he obtained a six-month exit permit following the invitation of Siqueiros.

3. LIRING/4 then related that she received a message early in the previous week that Iden A was trying to get in touch with her and she accordingly went to the LIRING offices on 27/6/68 to find his address. When she entered the office of LIRING/9, she found it crowded and was on the point of leaving (after getting the address of Iden A) when LIRING/9 approached her and asked her to take a ride in his car so that he could "chat" with her. LIRING/4 told Houston that she assumed that LIRING/9 was enroute to one of the Secretariats in a rush and had asked her to accompany him to that he could save time by talking to her on the way. She was therefore surprised when he drove her to the Vaca Negra en Insurgentes and later returned with her to the office.

4. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/9 asked her routine questions as to how she was making out living as she was on her own. LIRING/4 replied that she was doing the best she could to raise enough money to survive, through part-time work arranged by Sra. Chumaceira of Artes Plasticas, the sale of some of LIRING/3's paintings and financial help from her father (all of which is partly true). She then asked LIRING/9 for a "loan" to tide her over the weekend, to which he responded with a 100 peso bill. LIRING/9 commented that things were going well with his office financially as a result of the increased fees. He dropped the figure \$6,000 (US) as receipts for the previous month. LIRING/4 asked Houston for his opinion as to why LIRING/9 would take off an hour or so on such a busy day to drive her around town, commenting that she herself could not understand his motives. She did not get the impression that he was interested in her "personally" since in that case he would have invited himself to her apartment to ask her out to dinner in the evening.

5. Houston replied that he assumed that LIRING/9 had received some sort of

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2.

official request from his superiors to determine the conditions under which LIKING/4 was living as well as her general attitude following the arrest of LIKING/3. LIKING/4 promised to continue to see LIKING/3 and her other LIRING friends as often as possible, but stressed that she could not throw herself at them without attracting undue attention.

6. LIKING/4 then continued that when she finally got in touch with Iden A he was most cordial, inviting her for a trip to Cuernavaca, and expressing concern for the welfare of LIKING/3. Iden A commented to LIKING/4 that he had arrived from the PANAMA capital with only twenty Mexican pesos which he had left from a previous trip and that he would have to count on the generosity of Siqueiros for his living expenses during his anticipated three-month stay in Mexico. LIKING/4 told Rowton that she felt certain that Iden A was not a CP member, although she could not as yet determine whether or not he was pro-regime. She explained that at their first meetings she felt it best to steer clear of politics and let Iden A do the talking. LIKING/4 added that she expected to see Iden A whenever he came to Mexico City and if and when she herself could take a brief trip to Cuernavaca (if Rowton ~~felt~~ that necessary).

7. LIKING/4 then asked whether Rowton had been able to arrange some sort of intervention with the judge who would preside over the court in LIKING/3's case. When Rowton replied that he had asked some of his friends to inform him as to the status of the case, she commented that Iden B had offered to do what he could since he had close friends among the Guatemalans. Rowton suggested that LIKING/4 get in touch with Iden B again and find out as many details as possible concerning the channels he would use both in Mexico City and Guatemala City. LIKING/4 explained that at that point all she knew was that Iden C whom she described as an active member of the CP Mexico, had a close friend among the Guatemalan exiles and that this friend could forward bribe money to the judge through his family in Guatemala City. LIKING/4 promised Rowton that she would try to meet with this Guatemalan to get details from him.

8. LIKING/4 also reported incidentally that LIKING/16 had left PCS and that her friend's wife of LIKING/17, was planning to go on home leave in the near future. She added that she thought that LIKING/16's replacement was a bit "stonto". LIKING/4 also mentioned that she had learned from Iden A that Iden C had been forced to take "indefinite leave" from her job ~~and was~~ which was tantamount to dismissal.

SECRET

Wallace B. Rowton

~~SECRET~~

9 July, 1968

Subject: LINING/4 Report of Activities.

Ident A is Orlando Suarez, Director de Cultura.

Ident B is Arturo Serrano.

Ident C is Mercedes Morales.

Wallace B. Rowton

~~SECRET~~

SEC

12 July, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Activities.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at a safercom of the Suites Marne for about two hours on the morning of 10 July and again on 12 July, 1968. Rowton attempted to clarify his position for the future with LIRING/4, as well as LIRING/3. He stated that he was doing the best he could to determine the probable outcome of the case of LIRING/3, and stressed that any precipitous intervention, even if could be arranged, might do more harm to LIRING/3 than good at this point. LIRING/4 confessed that her only concern at the moment was somehow to get LIRING/3 out of prison and back to Mexico. She admitted that it was hard for her to be concerned about the future, particularly about either her or LIRING/3's usefulness to Rowton, in view of what had happened to him. She said that she felt he had sacrificed enough during his three month imprisonment in such a "horrible" place, and that Rowton should himself "influence" the judge to speed up the formalities and issue a verdict simply expelling LIRING/3 and his companion. She did not see any other solution in view of the inability of the Mexican Consulate to arrange the release.

2. In reply to Rowton's query, LIRING/4 stated that she had seen Arturo Serrano of the CP Mexico during lunch at his home on 10 and 11 July, 1968, and that the latter had told her that he would arrange for the 100 Quetzal bribe to be transmitted to the judge concerned via the CP Mexico and the CP Guatemala. He added that, of course, the bribe would finally be offered by a person in Guatemala completely clean of any CP ties. LIRING/4 continued to Rowton that she then telephoned to Serrano that she would telephone her father at once so obtain the money. Serrano suggested that a letter or telegram might be more advisable, at which LIRING/4 wrote a letter to her father in his presence and accepted an offer from him to accompany her to the post office to mail the letter at once. LIRING/4 told Rowton that in fact she does not expect any further financial help from her father (who is unwitting of LIRING/3's situation) since he is very ill with cancer of the throat and in no position to help her at this time.

3. Rowton then expressed to LIRING/4 his doubts that the bribe would work but he agreed that it might be worth trying, particularly through Serrano. Rowton added that if this did not work, ~~there~~ would be only one alternative. Rowton, through his contact in Europe, might be able to approach the Guatemalans on a level higher than the judge and offer to supply them with

S.Y.
2.4

information on the Guatemalan rebel activities in PERUMEN. This would of course necessitate LIRING/4's traveling to PERUMEN and remaining there at least two months to obtain such information. Rowton felt morally certain that through this offer he could arrange for a mild sentence for LIRING/3 (possibly 6 months, three months of which he has already served) and subsequent expulsion to Mexico.

4. LIRING/4 took this proposal very seriously, at first expressing revulsion at the thought of providing information that would most probably mean the arrest and execution of revolutionaries who might be the subject of her report, but subsequently accepting the idea, when assured by Rowton that he himself would control the dissemination of such information. Rowton stressed that he was presenting this proposal on his own so that he could get fast initial reaction. Rowton added that even if this were acceptable to the Guatemalan authorities, the release of LIRING/3 could not be expected for several months this is until LIRING/4 had accomplished her mission in PERUMEN, although his living conditions might be improved by removal to another prison (if such existed) where he could be treated more humanely.

Rowton Comment: Rowton made the above proposal to LIRING/4 to determine her true attitude toward the release of LIRING/3 and to establish stronger control over her in the event she does make the trip.

Rowton feels that it might be feasible for Guatemala liaison to arrange the eventual release of LIRING/3 or at least to speed up the formalities (in the event that it is planned to issue a stiff sentence) in exchange for the alleged recruitment of LIRING/3's wife who could be sent to PERUMEN for the collection of information of interest not only to ACFIRM but also Guatemala. This would, of course, blow LIRING/4 to the Guatemalans, but this might be the only solution if LIRING/3 is given a long prison term.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

After meeting Fisher in Juan

SECRET

17 July 1968

JULIET
307-561833

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Howton Affiliation with SOFIRE.

1. Howton met with LIRING/4 at the Duca D'Este tea shop from 1200 until about 1245 on 15/7/68. LIRING/4 stated that she had again spent the week-end in Cuernavaca with Orlando Suarez, staying at the Casino de la Selva with her daughter in a room of an artist friend of Suarez (who had gone to Mexico City for the week-end). She added that she had been to visit the CIDOC (Centro Internacional de Documentación) again with Orlando Suarez and was impressed by its extensive library as well as the leftist orientation of its staff. She recalled the name of the director as Larry Green and one other northamerican McGregor (frau) from the University of Puebla. She said that she learned in the course of conversation that a group of the students (possibly ten in number) had been invited to PERUMEX recently, from the government there (LIRING/4 said that she did not believe that the PERUMEX consulate was as yet involved). LIRING/4 also commented that Orlando Suarez had been invited to give a lecture on PERUMEX culture (for a fee of 200 pesos) although as yet the date had not been determined.

2. LIRING/4 then stated that she had again visited the home of Arturo Serrano of the Mexican CP and that on this occasion Serrano's wife had told her that he had succeeded in locating Rodolfo Reyes and had told him about the current financial plight of LIRING/4 and urged him to help her if he could. Serrano's wife continued that Reyes then remarked: "I won't help her until I find out on what side LIRING/3 is. If he's with El Griego I won't help since the G-2 of LIRING told me that they suspect him of being with SOFIRE, although they have no proof ("datos"). They also think he's an arms smuggler." Serrano's wife added that Reyes concluded with the statement that if it turns out that LIRING/3 acted on his own, then he should personally go to the LIRING Chief and have him request the President of Mexico to intervene.

3. LIRING/4 stated that although these comments of Rodolfo Reyes were apparently not taken seriously by Serrano or his wife (Serrano at this same occasion offered again to pass bribe money to the CP Guatemala via the CP Mexico), she herself was badly shaken and angry with Reyes whom she described as a homosexual gossip, worse than a woman. She stated that she intended to tell LIRING/9 that Rodolfo Reyes owed her money for the use of her telephone to call the PERUMEX capital several months previously and had never paid her. Howton agreed that this would not ~~only~~ serve to collect the badly needed money but also dispel any notion Reyes might have that ~~host~~ ^{U.S. Howton} the telephone call.

~~SECRET~~

18 July, 1968

Subject: LIKING/4 Report on CIDOC, Cuernavaca.

1. Rowton saw LIKING/4 again briefly at 1000, 18/7/68, at the Duca d'Este tea shop, to pass her 600 pesos to forward to LIKING/3 with vitamins.
2. LIKING/4 reported that she was continuing to see Orlando Suarez and hoped to ascertain the exact date when he would be giving the lecture at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. In reply to Rowton's queries, she stated that she had first gotten in contact with CIDOC through Prof. Jerjes Aguirre, whom she and LIKING/3 had known in PBRUMEN where Aguirre had spent some six years (part of the time at the University which LIKING/4 had herself attended). LIKING/4 continued that Aguirre had recently mentioned to her at a chance meeting that he was giving a series of lectures at CIDOC and was being well paid (.25.00 US) per lecture. When LIKING/4 met Aguirre again in Cuernavaca, he introduced her to the director, a certain Larry Green, and to an American Prof McGregor, who both invited her, LIKING/4, to give a lecture on PBRUMEN women.
3. LIKING/4 told Rowton that, although she was interested in the compensation she felt totally unqualified, and took the occasion of Orlando Suarez' visit to introduce him and recommend that he give a lecture. Orlando Suarez jumped at the chance to make some money to supplement the meager allowance doled out to him by Siqueiros, and is prepared to give the lecture when a definite date is set.
4. LIKING/4 continued that when she casually mentioned this development to the wife of Arturo Serrano (Ruth), the latter exclaimed: "Oh, don't you know that CIDOC is just an instrument of WCFIRM. You might as well recommend Orlando to the EBRAK Embassy here." LIKING/4 was shocked by this and after reflection thought it best to repeat the comment to Orlando Suarez. She did this when he visited Mexico City on 15-16 July (and stayed at her apartment). Suarez' only comment was that such people as Ruth Serrano were "sectarian" and whether CIDOC was with CPIM or not did not bother him.
5. LIKING/4 also commented incidentally that Ruth Serrano was escorting a group of French journalists from L'Humanité around town and that she had complained to LIKING/4 that she had been given only 200 pesos by the CP Mexico to cover the expenses (fifteen!). L/4 recalled that Ruth Serrano had mentioned that these Frenchmen had been to PBRUMEN and were planning to return very shortly.

Wallace B. Rowton

~~SECRET~~

14-00000
S-1
20 July, 1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Recontact with RODOLFO REYES.

1. Rowton met Rodolfo Reyes at about 2230 in the dining room of the Vendimia Restaurant and night club (60 calle Liverpool) by design on 15 July, 1968. Rowton had previously been informed by LIRING/11 that Reyes was currently working at the Vendimia and felt that he should meet Reyes again to pass along the story that he had given to LIRING/11 that he was unable to locate LIRING/3 or LIRING/4 in the hope that Reyes would disclose LIRING/3's arrest.

2. As soon as Rowton met Reyes the latter invited him to a corner table with what appeared to be superficial cordiality. He asked Rowton how he had located him and appeared a little surprised when Rowton said that LIRING/11 had given him the name of the night club and the address. Rowton then alleged that he had been away for the past three months in Switzerland and Canada and just the previous week in Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo trying to buy a car (Rowton had given the same story to LIRING/11). Rowton continued that when he returned he had been unable to locate LIRING/3 or his wife and that they had not replied to his letters from Europe.

3. Reyes then revealed that LIRING/3 had been arrested in Guatemala and charged with the murder of three men! Rowton feigned surprise, shock and fear at this news. He told Reyes that this might have serious consequences for his commercial contacts, whose names LIRING/3 might reveal, as well as for himself. Reyes then said he thought LIRING/3 was very stupid to get himself arrested in such a country where anything can happen inside as well as outside of jail. In reply to Rowton's query Reyes stated that LIRING/4 was probably in PBRUMEN.

4. When Rowton remarked that he could not believe that LIRING/11 had refused to tell him the news about LIRING/3, Reyes replied that it was quite possible that LIRING/11 did not know about it, especially since he, Reyes, had just learned about it some three days previously. At this point the conversation was interrupted by the arrival at the table of a negro choreographer and his (white) Mexican wife, who appeared to be close friends of Reyes. Rowton sat with them through the floorshow and in the course of conversation Rowton discovered that the negro was a Cuban who had emigrated to Mexico some fifteen years previously. Neither he nor his wife appeared to be interested in politics. They both seemed dedicated to his career in Bellas Artes.

SECRET *W.B.R.* Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000
23 August, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIKING/4
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1700, 21/8/68 and 1500, 22/8/68; Suites Marne.
3. Next Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este coffeeshop.
4. Information/Re.orts passed by Agent:

LIKING/4 stated that she had been doing her best to get Mexican leftist writers and artists to show interest in LIKING/3's case by sending telegrams and letters to the Guatemalan government urging his prompt release. She showed Roston the article in Sucesos which she claimed credit for (attached herewith) but did not appear to have any knowledge of the notice in the 5 August edition of the News, commenting that it must have been picked up from articles she had planted in other Mexican papers. LIKING/4 reported that she had purposely avoided direct contact with the LIKING office, especially during the student demonstrations, since it appeared to be closely watched by the local police. She stated that she was maintaining some contact, however, through her friendship with Iden A, who called on her whenever he came to Mexico City and on occasion stayed at her apartment overnight. She added that Iden A generally stayed at the apartment of LIKING/2 when he was in town although he commented to her that he felt he was imposing on LIKING/2 and his roommates in the already ~~crowded~~ quarters. LIKING/4 added that Iden A informed her that LIKING/9 had returned to PERUMEN AND was remaining there during the student unrest "in order to protect himself", implying that LIKING/9 had been in direct touch with some of the student leaders and could not afford to compromise himself and his office by his physical presence in Mexico City during the demonstrations.

In reply to Roston's query, LIKING/4 stated that although Iden A appeared to be quite liberal in his views and mixed easily with all sorts of people he ran into, he was definitely a "revolutionary" at heart and she assumed loyal to the present BAUHEN GOVERNMENT.

LIKING/4 also reported that she hoped to persuade an influential lawyer from Chiapas to travel to Guatemala City on her behalf.

2.

to investigate LIRING/3's case and possibly influence the judge in his favor. She added that she was quite sure that the lawyer, who was a personal friend of LIRING/3, would take the case without a fee, but she felt obliged to offer to cover his expenses. Rowton suggested that she talk this over with the family of Iden 3 who would also benefit from ~~the~~ any success the lawyer might have.

5. Administrative: LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had spent a "considerable" amount of money (some 300 pesos) on telegrams, postage stamps and vitamins for LIRING/3 since his arrest. She stated that she was able to survive and meet these expenses by supplementing the money given to her by Rowton through the sale of works produced by LIRING/3 and sent to her periodically. Rowton asked LIRING/4 to keep account of such incidental expenses, since he felt it better to charge these items off as operational expenses rather than to continue to charge money given to her on LIRING/3's behalf simply as "servicios".

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

23 August, 1968

Ident A: Orlando Suarez

Ident B: Carlos Perzabal

WBR
Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

SUCESOS

Por
AZOR

Y SUCEDIDOS



Carlos Perzabal, catedrático de la Universidad de México, y Carlos Jurado Delmar, destacado pintor mexicano, son víctimas de la cacería de brujas instaurada en Guatemala con extremos que llegan al absurdo.

Los dos mexicanos están propiamente secuestrados por las autoridades guatemaltecas desde el 15 de abril del año en curso. Se les hacen una serie de cargos dignos de la mentalidad de un mosquito. Desde luego, como es costumbre en estos casos, cuatro meses después de su ilegal aprehensión ni siquiera han sido puestos a disposición de un juez que los juzgue.

El licenciado Antonio Carrillo Flores, nuestro secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, ha venido interviniendo en defensa de estos infelices compatriotas, pero hasta ahora sus gestiones oficiales no han sido atendidas debidamente por el gobierno de Guatemala.

Para que usted, lector, tenga idea del atropello incalificable de que son vic-

timas los dos mexicanos, publicamos copia de la carta que Carlos Jurado Delmar y Carlos Perzabal dirigieron recientemente a la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU:

Comisión por los Derechos Humanos.

ONU.

Por este medio nos dirigimos a ustedes, pidiéndoles su intervención en nuestro caso.

El día 13 de abril de 1968, mientras nos dirigímos pacíficamente a la República del Salvador y Honduras, fuimos detenidos con uso de violencia por elementos del Ejército de Guatemala, en un lugar llamado "El Cable" a cuatro kilómetros escasamente de la frontera de México con Guatemala denominada "La Mesilla".

De ahí, llevados a un lugar llamado "Buenos Aires" donde permanecimos por una noche sujetos a torturas físicas y morales. Al día siguiente fuimos conducidos en un avión (No. 540) de la FAG a la ciudad capital, donde quedamos encar-

celados en el 2o. Cuerpo de la Policía Nacional, sujetos también a torturas físicas y morales que hicieron y hacen peligrar nuestra vida.

Tan obvio es el error cometido con nosotros, que a pesar de que nuestra detención se llevó a cabo desde el día 13 de abril, como puede ser probado fácilmente con testigos presenciales y desde entonces mantenidos en prisión, el gobierno guatemalteco nos acusa de haber sido detenidos el día 17 del mismo mes, en las calles de la ciudad. ¡¡Repartiendo propaganda subversiva!! Incongruencia mayor no cabe en ninguna mente que se precie de normal.

Desde el día 26 de abril de 1968 fuimos confinados al campo de concentración de Pavón, mal llamado "Granja Penal". Donde las condiciones de vida para los reclusos y la violencia al que están sometidos, son espeluznantes como puede ser fácilmente comprobado por la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos.

Hemos sido sujetos a un

"juicio" que el gobierno guatemalteco alarga deliberadamente con el único propósito de "matar" ... a la vez perjudicarnos; por esto y sobre todo por considerar en grave peligro nuestra integridad física, pedimos la rápida intervención de la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos para que se exija nuestra inmediata libertad.

Atentamente, Cárcel de Pavón, Guatemala, Julio 68.

Carlos Jurado, Pintor Miembro del Salón de la Plástica Mexicana.

Carlos Perzabal, Catedrático de la Universidad de México.

El actual ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatemala, licenciado Emilio Arenales Catalán, ha sido mencionado varias veces como candidato a presidir la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU. Ojalá no espere a obtener ese cargo para intervenir en este caso, que según parece es de su especialidad.



CARLOS JURADO DELMAR, secuestrado por las autoridades guatemaltecas



LIC. ANTONIO CARRILLO FLORES en defensa de los mexicanos en democracia



CARLOS PERZABAL, secuestrado por las autoridades guatemaltecas

29 August, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/4

2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este Tearoom.

3. Next Meeting: Same time and place, 2/9/68.

4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent:

LIRING/4 informed Rowton that she had run into LIRING/10 and his assistant, Iden A, the previous afternoon (27/8/68) at about 1345 at the office of the director of Siempre, where she had gone in connection with added publicity for LIRING/3. She stated that LIRING/10 greeted her cordially with an embrace and asked how she was doing. He seemed genuinely disturbed to hear that things were no better, and commented that he had been hearing about her from time to time from Iden B, but felt that she should make her problems known to the LIRING office herself.

When LIRING/4 commented that Iden C had told her and Iden B that it might be wiser for her to avoid contact openly with the LIRING office, LIRING/10 brushed this off, remarking that he felt it would be perfectly alright for LIRING/4 to come in whenever she felt it necessary for moral and whatever material help could be offered.

LIRING/4 told Rowton that in view of this comment of LIRING/10, she visited the LIRING office early that same morning (28/8/68) and found that LIRING/2 had returned from his TDY. She said that LIRING/2 greeted her cordially as usual, but he apparently did not have time to chat with her on that occasion.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent:

Rowton asked LIRING/4 to follow up on her contact with LIRING/10, especially since he appeared so friendly. Rowton suggested that L/4 ask L/10 to appeal to the Director of Siempre to give L/3's case good publicity. L/4 promised to do so and commented that L/10 appeared to be quite chummy with the director and apparently had a luncheon date with him for that same day.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

29 August, 1968

Iden's of LIRING/4 Contact Report

Iden A: Felix Luna Mederos

Iden B: Orlando Suarez

Iden C: Jesus Cruz Gonzalez


Wallace B. Rowton

| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PROCESSING ACTION |
|--|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 15 | Chief, Western Hemisphere Division | X | MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| INFO. | | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| INFO | | | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE HOLDING |
| INFO | Chief of Station, Mexico City | | REFOPEN |
| SUPERIOR | PRIMUS: Activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4 May through Mid-September 1968 | | |
| ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES | | | |
| REF: MSGA 34682, 17 May 1968 | | | |
| Action Required: For your information. | | | |
| <p>1. Forwarded under separate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. ROTHON on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the latter.</p> <p>2. The main topic covered in these reports is LIRING-4's efforts to obtain help in getting LIRING-3 out of jail in Guatemala as soon as possible. LIRING-4 is almost penniless (ROTHON has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been moving from one apartment to a cheaper one living on the sale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small loans from leftist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of ROTHON's efforts to get her to undertake a clandestine mission to PRIMUS, a mission, as Headquarters knows, was planned long ago. As a foreigner, LIRING-4 cannot work in Mexico without taking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to go to Guatemala to visit LIRING-3. She might also face difficulties in Guatemala including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country.</p> <p>3. By mid-September 1968 LIRING-4 had received very little help from her Mexican leftist or outright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Guatemalan judges scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "friends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If anything, these</p> | | | |
| continued | | | |
| <p>Attachments: 12 reports u/s/c #1 4 other rpts u/s/c #2</p> <p>Distribution: Dirig & 2 - C/WWD u/atts IS copy in 201-798301</p> <p style="text-align: right;">File # 201-798301</p> | | | |
| CLASS REFERENCE NO | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER MSGA - 35502 | DATE 26 September 1968 | |
| | CASE NUMBER 201-798301 | WES FILE NUMBER 201-798301 | |
| | SECRET | | |

CONTINUATION OF
DISPATCHCLASSIFICATION
SECRETDRAFT SYMBOL AND NUMBER
EMMA - 35502

articles did little to prejudice the Guatemalans in favor of LIRING-3. As a matter of fact, the letter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Guatemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIRING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PBRUMEN still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guatemala is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of NOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.

5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate ~~overseas~~ ~~such statements also reinforce the decision of the station not to~~ attempt, through liaison, to obtain the release of LIRING-3. Such an attempt, if it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIRING-4 is in Mexico, told ROWTON that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWTON.

6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando "SUAREZ" of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David ALVARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was made to approach him.

7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to NOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.

for Willard C. CURTIS

REC'D BY: ETsikerdanos/jmw
FBI: DC/WH/1
SER: 7375
DATE: 26 Sept 68

MESSAGE FOR
TOTAL CORP:

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~~SECRET~~

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| CABLE SECRETARIAL DISSEMINATION | | <input type="checkbox"/> INDEX | <input type="checkbox"/> DESTROY | <input type="checkbox"/> RETURN TO _____ | SEARCH | <input type="checkbox"/> FILE R/R |
| BY | 3 | PER | 6 | | | |
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26 22 372 SEP 63

CTE DIRECTOR

3658

MEXICO CITY, GUATEMALA CITY
BYBAN TYPIC LISTING
REF: MEXICO CITY 7335 (IN)

I. BOWTON RETURN STILL INCL.

1. ROWTON RETURN STILL UNCERTAIN PENDING RESOLUTION DEVELOPMENT
ACCESS TO AMCAGE/1.
 2. RE LIRING/4, ROWTON COULD SEND MONEY OSTENSIBLY FROM L/4'S FATHER IN NEW YORK TO BAIL HER OUT OF PRESENT DESPERATE SITUATION, BUT THIS WOULD BE ONLY TEMPORARY SOLUTION IN ADDITION INHERENT SECURITY RISKS (FATHER IS REPORTEDLY HOSPITALIZED AND NOT IN POSITION PROVIDE FINANCIAL HELP AT THIS TIME). L/4'S REFUGE IN LIRING ESTABLISHMENT, ON OTHER HAND, WHICH ROWTON COULD NOT CONVINCE HER TO TAKE AS LONG AS HE WAS GIVING HER MONEY, WILL SERVE TO IMPROVE HER ACCESS AND MAY LEAD TO REPATRIATION. ROWTON FEELS LATTER EVENTUALITY LIKELY ONLY IN EVENT HIS CONTINUED FAILURE RECONTACT HER SINCE L/4 WOULD POSSIBLY HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE. IN THAT CASE, REBRIEFING AND RESUPPLY S/W PRECLUDED PRIOR DEPARTURE. ROWTON COULD DEBRIEF L/4 UPON HER RETURN MEXICO IF AND WHEN LIRING/3 RELEASED FROM PRISON AND CONTACT REESTABLISHED.

CS COPY

26 Sept 68
201-798301

TESSALATING SPECIAL

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S E C R E T

CHAPTER

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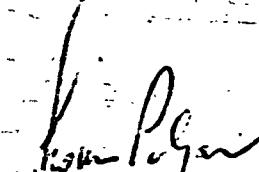
36584

3. FOR GUATEMALA: WOULD APPRECIATE RECOMMENDATIONS RE POSSIBILITY EARLY RELEASE OF LIRING/3 AND ASSOCIATE FROM JAIL. AWARE WOFIRM INTEREST MUST BE SHOWN AT HIGH LEVEL BUT SAME JUICE OFFICIALS COULD ALLEGUE MEXICAN GOVT INTEREST TO THEIR SUBORDINATES AS BASIS OF RELEASE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

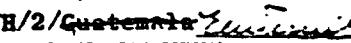
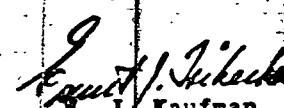
END OF MESSAGE

* BYBATT



William V. Broe
C/WH
ISSUING OFFICE



WH/COG Dan M.
C/WH/2/Guatemala 
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HMA-35523
50-120-13
30 September 68

A. LIRING-3: LIRING-3 is still in jail in
Guatemala.

~~SECRET~~

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S E C R E T 072243Z AUG 6 8 CITE MEXICO CITY 6658

GUATEMALA CITY ,DIRECTOR

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 6223 (IN 47056)

6 AUG 68 1166274

B. DIRECTOR 16024

1. ROWTON SO FAR UNABLE LEARN MORE FROM LIRING-4 ABOUT HOW JUDGE SCHEDULED TRY CARLOS (JURADO) DELMAR COULD BE BRIBED OTHER THAN STATEMENT BY ARTURO (SERRANO) BERA TO EFFECT THIS TO BE ARRANGED BY GUAT COMMUNIST PARTY AT REQUEST MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. PERSON TO MAKE ACTUAL BRIBE, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE KNOWN AS LEFTIST.

2. MEXICO CITY ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY "THE NEWS" 5 AUG CARRIED ARTICLE TITLED "MEXICAN ARTIST TO BE EXECUTED". ARTICLE QUOTED GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS INCLUDING PAINTERS, WRITERS, POETS AND SCULPTORS TO SAY GUAT ^{GVT PLANNING EX} EXECUTE JURADO BECAUSE HE ENTERED GUATEMALA IN HIS CAR FOUR MONTHS AGO AND PICKED UP SOME HITCHHIKING YOUTHS WHO LATER TURNED OUT BE CONNECTED WITH GUAT COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS. ARTICLE OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY LOCAL LEFTISTS IN EFFORT SPREAD NEWS JURADO ARREST AND DETENTION TO FORCE OFFICIAL GVT INTERVENTION. ROWTON TRYING ESTABLISH FROM LIRING-4 WHO PLANTED ARTICLE.

*WH file:
LIRING-3*

SECRET

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 6658 S E C R E T

3. BELIEVE NEWS ARTICLE COULD BE USED TO APPROACH LIAISON AND ASK FOR DETAILS ON JURADO CASE WITHOUT INDICATING ANY SPECIAL CONNECTION TO JURADO. SPECIFICALLY, WHAT SENTENCE CAN BE EXPECTED IN JURADO CASE AND WHEN?

4. FOR DIRECTOR: DESPITE SOMEWHAT COOLER RELATIONSHIP WITH ROWTON AT THIS POINT BECAUSE JURADO SITUATION, LIRING-4 STILL WILLING GO PBRUMEN AS SOON AS JURADO FUTURE SETTLED, PARTICULARLY IF HE DEPORTED OR SENTENCED RELATIVELY SHORT JAIL SENTENCE.

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SECRET 081854Z AUG 63 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9326

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

8 Aug 68 IN 67011

REF A. MEXICO CITY 6658 (IN 66274)

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9242 (IN 49331)

C. GUATEMALA CITY 9132 (IN 35990)

ATTION POSITION ON LIRING

1. ST ~~6658~~, ~~9242~~, ~~9132~~ 3 CASE CONTINUES BE SAME AS THAT REPORTED REF B.

2. DURING LAST QUERY OF LIAISON RE STATUS OF CASE (REPORTED REF C), LIAISON OFFICER SAID SINCE CASE IN HANDS OF COURT THEY UNABLE PROBE FURTHER RE OUTCOME. BELIEVE ANY ADDITIONAL QUERY OF LIAISON WOULD BE CLEAR INDICATION OF SPECIFIC STATION INTEREST IN LIRING/3.

3. DIRECTOR 16024 (REF B OF MEXICO CITY 6658) NOT RECEIVED BY GUATEMALA CITY.

SECRET

BT

fli: LIRING/3

SECRET

261-798301

Carlos JUANADO was target of LIFEAT coverage on behalf of Cuba section. Coverage terminated 2 April 68. Name included in list attached to HMMI 3507L, 19 July 68

Jan 3

SECRET

46
15

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| SUBJ: 11 July 1968 | DOC-MEXICO, GEA. | 5 | 6 |
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to HMM MEXICO CITY INFO GUATEMALA CITY HGC 1122 06z Jul 68

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 6223 (IN 47056)*
B. GUATEMALA CITY 9236 (IN 47690)**

CITE DIRECTOR

DIR
T557.6

ACI: Publisher
Mexico
CIT: MEAT

2 P

1. HQS FILES INDICATE ARTURO SERRANO IN 1966 WAS DIRECTOR

PCM PUBLISHING HOUSE FONDO DE CULTURA IN MEXICO CITY, BUT THERE NO DETAILS RE HIS CONTACTS WITH THIRD COUNTRY EXILES OR OFFICIALS. WE THEREFORE UNABLE COMMENT ON VALIDITY HIS CLAIM TO ASSIST LIRING/3.

2. CONCUR GUATEMALA CITY COMMENT REF B. FEEL LIRING/4 SHOULD CONTINUE PRESS SERRANO FOR MORE DETAILS HIS CHANNEL TO AND IDENTITY OF GUATEMALAN OFFICIALS INVOLVED. BELIEVE LIRING/4 AND STATION WILL THEN BE IN BETTER POSITION TO ASSESS VALIDITY SERRANO CLAIM. SUGGEST LIRING/4 ALSO CHECK SERRANO STORY WITH LEFTIST CIRCLE OF FRIENDS TO ATTEMPT VERIFY ¹⁷ AND EXPLORE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FUNDS IF FEASIBLE. STATION

Offered help to 201-818842 re: imprisoned 201-798301

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| PSY | EF | |
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1050-9-11
BA01-818842

ISSUING OFFICER

11 July 68
201-798301

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TO: WH/1/3E04
SUB: 6924
DATE: 11 Jul 1968 3 AM PM

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JUL 27

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CDS DIRECTOR

15576

TO: MEXICO CITY

PAGE - 2

SHOULD NOT ADVANCE LIRING/4 ANY FUNDS UNLESS LIRING/4 ABLE SECURELY
EXPLAIN THEIR SOURCE.

END OF MESSAGE

INDEX - SERRANO

WH COMMENTS: *LIRING/4 approached by PCM member Arturo SERRANO who claimed he has contact with Guatemalan exile who could arrange bribe through relatives in Guatemala to assist LIRING/3 who imprisoned that country.

**Guatemala City requested more information prior to commenting on feasibility of bribe offer by SERRANO.

WILLIAM V. BROD
C/WHD

ISSUING OFFICE

WH/2/G: *LHP/jli*

Encl

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| | | | | 25 MAY 68 IN 18245 M W | |

S E C R E T 250105Z MAY 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 5683

GUATEMALA CITY INFO DIRECTOR

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 5590 (IN 12717)
B. GUATEMALA CITY 9002 (IN 13509)

1. HECTOR RODOLFO (SANDOVAL) ALEGRIA IS GUAT REBEL WHO
TOGETHER WITH FRANCISCO (LARA) ENGINEERED LIRING-3 AND FRANCISCO
LARA TRIP TO GUATEMALA WHERE NOW INCARCERATED. SANDOVAL SAW
LIRING-4 SEVERAL TIMES AFTER LIRING-3 ARREST AT ONE POINT SAYING
HE MIGHT HAVE TO HOLD UP BANK TO COME TO LIRING-4 ASSISTANCE.
ACCORDING MANUEL (MARCUE) PARDIÑAS, SANDOVAL ARRESTED 5 MAY SHORTLY
AFTER HIS WIFE RETURNED FROM TRIP TO GUATEMALA. SANDOVAL WIFE
NOW STAYING AT HOUSE OWNED BY MARCUE TOGETHER WITH FAMILY FRANCISCO
LARA.

2. IN ATTEMPT COUNTER EVENTUALITY MEXICAN POLICE (ON BASIS
INFO PROVIDED BY SANDOVAL) MIGHT BE LOOKING FOR LIRING-4 FOR
INTERROGATION, STATION HAS ASKED LIRING-4 GIVE UP BOTH APARTMENTS
SHE AND LIRING-3 HAVE BEEN RENTING. LIRING-4 NOW LIVING WITH
GIRLFRIEND. BEFORE MOVING SHE RECEIVED VISIT OF MAN WHO DESCRIBED
SELF AS LAWYER OF MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LAWYER SAID HE
APPOINTED DEFEND LIRING-3. LIRING-4 HAS RECEIVED FIVE SHORT

SECRET

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 5683 S E C R E T

MESSAGES FROM LIRING-3 SMUGGLED FROM JAIL. ONE IN OPEN CODE

SUGGESTED S/W BE PASSED TO HIM. STATION NATURALLY WILL DO NO
SUCH THING.

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SECRET 162103Z MAY 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 2996 / 6 May 68 IIV / 2603

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

REF: MEXICO CITY 5540 (1- 02571) *19*

LIAISON REPORTS THAT PERSONAL AND LIRING/3 BEING HELD PAVON PRISON FARM PENDING SENTENCING BY FOURTH JUZGADO DE PRIMERA CONSTANCIA. ONLY CHARGE IS DISTRIBUTING COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. LIAISON SPECULATES THEY WILL RECEIVE LIGHT SENTENCE IF ANY.

SECRET

BT

WNL file:
LIRING-3 201

WLC

201-798301

*Kurtis***SECRET**

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CICPA A FLINTZ DDP ADDP CSDO

SECRET 102305Z MAY 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 5540

10 MAY 68 E 08570

GUATEMALA CITY INFO DIRECTOR

PURMEN

REF: MEXICO CITY 5375 (n 98384)

*WH file: LIRING-3
201
WL*

1. MANUEL MARCUE PARDINAS INFORMED LIRING-4 8 MAY THAT HIS SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN LAW HAD SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING GUAT VISA AND TRAVELED GUATEMALA CITY IN AN EFFORT TO SEE CARLOS MINUEL (PERSAVAL) MARCUE IN JAIL. MARCUE SAID SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN LAW WHO RETURNING WEEK 12 MAY LEARNED PERSAVAL AND LIRING-3 SENTENCED TO MINIMUM TERM OF SIX MONTHS.

2. LIRING-4 CURRENTLY EXPLORING POSSIBILITY TRAVEL GUATEMALA TO TALK TO LIRING-3. STATION IN FAVOR SUCH TRAVEL IF SHE CAN GET VISA AS LIRING-3 CAN BE EXPECTED URGE LIRING-4 GO CUBA DURING HIS TERM OF IMPRISONMENT.

3. CAN GUATEMALA CITY STATION CONFIRM LIRING-3 SENTENCE AND PROVIDE DETAILS.

SECRET

BT

SECRET

R

14-00000
DDA-34623
10 May 1968
19-120-13/1

E. LIRING-3: During this period, LIRING-3 was introduced to members of a Guatemalan exile group by the husband of the sister or his mistress. LIRING-3 agreed to help one or more representatives of this group cross the Guatemalan border. At the urging of these representatives he also agreed to meet in Guatemala with a woman in charge of logistics for the FAR movement. LIRING-3 spent the better part of the period under review manufacturing false documentation for the Guatemalan exiles. The Station used the LIEMRACE surveillance team to cover some of the meetings between LIRING-3 and some of his nervous Guatemalan friends. Copies of photographs taken by the LIEMRACEs of these meetings were forwarded to the Guatemala City Station and Headquarters. Due to several postponements, LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contacts had not left for Guatemala by the end of the period under review.

201-798361

SECRET

Chief of Station, Mexico City,
 Chief, Western Hemisphere Division
 Chief of Station, Guatemala City
 Listed contacts with Communist revolutionaries in Mexico

REF ID: A6A-34413, 5 April 1968

filmed 3/

The Guatemala City station has not been able to identify any of the persons whose photographs were forwarded as an attachment to Reference.

Peter L. KILLIAN

Distribution:

- US, Mexico City
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201-748304

HQGA-9386

3 May 1968

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E C R E T 032121Z MAY 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 8961

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

BRUMEN LIRING-S LIRING-4

EF: MEXICO CITY 5423 (JN 01169)

W48 file: 3 May 68 03831

201. b/c m

1. ESLAIR TEAM PRETEXT INVESTIGATION CHARRIED OUT TO

DETERMINE OCCUPANTS OF 35 AVENIDA 22-67, ZONA 5 GUATEMALA CITY

WITH FOLLOWING RESULTS:

A. OCCUPANTS OF HOUSE ARE TIRZO (FUENTES) SANDOVAL, BORN 19 JULY 1922 AT SAN ANTONIO VILLASECA, DEPT OF RETALHULEU, AND HIS WIFE, MARIA DEL MILAGRO (PERALTA) E. DE FUENTES. (NO STATION TRACES EITHER FUENTES OR WIFE.) BEAUTY SHIP (SALON DE ELLEZA "LILLIAN") ALSO INSTALLED IN HOUSE, BUT NOT YET ABLE DETERMINE NAMES OF EMPLOYEES.

B. ESLAIRS HAVE NOTICED 1963 MERCURY WITH GUAT LICENSE PLATES P-31-341 PARKED AT HOUSE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. THIS CAR REGISTERED TO FEDERICO (CALDERON) GALICIA WHO ADDRESS 21 AVENIDA 3-36, ZONA 7. (NO STATION TRACES CALDERON.)

2. ESLAIRS WILL ATTEMPT IDENTIFY ANY OTHER PERSONS -- SERVANTS EMPLOYEES -- WHO MAY BE AT ADDRESS.

E C R E T

BT

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W48
Kurt