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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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FILE DESIGNATION

AIR POUCH CONFIDENTIAL

A-574

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

NO. DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED

INFO: All Consulates in Mexico

NOV 4 8 30 AM 1971

FROM : Amembassy MEXICO

NOV 1 1971

INDEX: PINS/MX

ANALYSIS BRANCH

SUBJECT : June 10: Not Dead Yet

BUREAU OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

REF : Mexico 5032

NOV 5 1971

SUMMARY: Although more than four months have passed since the bloody repression of the June 10 student demonstration by the halcones and the subsequent promise by President Echeverria of a full and complete investigation, so far the report has not been forthcoming. EXCELSIOR has kept the events before the public eye, however, and the subject has also arisen in other forums. The GOM has kept up its anti-porra campaign, perhaps in an attempt to take the heat off itself for lack of a report on June 10. This campaign has taken an embarrassing turn, however, for the GOM. END SUMMARY

In spite of what appears to be the GOM hope that the events of June 10 will be forgotten with the passage of time, the subject manages to remain in the public forum, largely through the efforts of EXCELSIOR. One means EXCELSIOR has employed to keep the issue alive has been to focus on the personality of former Mexico City Regent Corona del Rosal. Since the interview, published September 5, in which he denied the existence of any officially sponsored group such as the halcones (Mexico 5089), Corona has been on the pages of EXCELSIOR three times. During the Independence Day celebrations, following Echeverria's breakfast with the nation's military leaders, the one Army

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FORM 10-64 DS-323

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Drafted by: POL: TJBurke: kmd

Drafting Date: 10/29/71

Phone No.: 840

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL: HEMatthews

Clearances:

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general whose picture EXCELSIOR chose to run on the front page was Corona del Rosal. On October 5, a further interview with Corona appeared, having been written by an EXCELSIOR reporter who happened to be on the same plane with him. EXCELSIOR's report on the October 13 ceremony in which tribute was paid to former President Manuel Avila Camacho on the anniversary of his death again featured the remarks made by Corona del Rosal. Although neither the October 5 interview nor the October 13 report concerned halcones, they reminded EXCELSIOR's extensive readership that Corona, who, along with his successor, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, is clearly associated with the halcones, is still around.

Another means used by EXCELSIOR and its afternoon edition, ULTIMAS NOTICIAS, has been detailed reporting on the arrests, on different charges, of two youths, one reportedly an halcon and the other a porrista. Both confessed to having been employed by the Federal District Government to fight students.

ULTIMAS NOTICIAS, on September 28, carried the interesting account of Alvaro Espinosa Aguilar, who was arrested in Guanajuato after beating a young woman while in a state of heavy intoxication. According to the account, the young man forgot why he was arrested and began confessing to his role in the June 10 affair. He reportedly told police that he had been sent to disperse the student demonstration. At the time he had been employed by the Department of the Federal District as a street cleaner. The columnist, Miguel Angel Granados Chapa, went on to say that after more than one hundred days, an halcon has finally appeared. Granados Chapa listed a variety of questions that the young man's testimony presumably answered, such as who hired him, what role his employer played in the administration of the Federal District, who became his boss when he was converted to being an halcon, who were his companions, who were their commanders, how much money did they make, and where and from whom did they receive their instructions on June 10. Granados Chapa pointed out that some of this information is already in the hands of the Attorney General, having been supplied August 28 by the group of students and teachers headed by Heberto Castillo (Mexico 4939).

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An even more revealing, and for the GOM embarrassing, discussion of halcones appeared October 18 in EXCELSIOR's account of the arrest of a confessed porra leader, Pedro Eduardo Guzmán Maldonado. Several papers carried the story but EXCELSIOR got into the specifics of the confession, which clearly implicated the Federal District Government in attacks on leftist students since 1968. Guzmán Maldonado, arrested with another alleged porrista for attempted robbery, was reportedly attending the National University, under a scholarship, in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. The university, however, denied that he had obtained a scholarship. Guzmán Maldonado said in a long press interview that the Federal District Government has sent rightist groups since 1968 to combat leftist and communist student groups. He said that in 1968 the group of which he was the leader, fought against students who were instigated by communists and leftists and who "finally sold themselves to the CIA." He admitted that his group worked together with the halcones in October 1968, under instructions from a Lic. Carrillo, whose full name he professed not to know and who he thought was dead. Guzmán Maldonado said Lic. Carrillo paid him 1,000 pesos weekly because he was a leader, while the other members of his group, 10 or 15, received 500 pesos. He said he was in Acapulco October 2, 1968, but nevertheless knows what happened. As to June 10, 1971, Guzmán Maldonado said he spent the day in the District Attorney's office, but he named two groups of halcones designated to break up the student demonstration. Although Guzmán Maldonado did name some of his fellow porristas, he refused to give names of others to the press in order, he said, to avoid causing them harm. Guzmán Maldonado reportedly later attempted to commit suicide in jail, but the attempt was frustrated by prison guards.

EXCELSIOR is not the only publication that reminds its readers of the June 10 events, although it is the most influential and widespread. The leftist magazines POR QUE? and SIEMPRE carry something about those events in every issue. POR QUE? has been particularly bitter in attacking the Government (Mexico 5032).

The pending Attorney General's investigation has also been mentioned in the Senate. On September 23, PRI Senator José

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Rivera Pérez Campos from Guanajuato told his colleagues that the results of the investigation must show the truth and not attempt to satisfy people's impatience. This statement, also printed in EXCELSIOR, was presumably intended to defend the GOM from critics who are calling for the results of the investigation.

The opposition National Action Party (PAN) also periodically reminds the Government that an investigation is pending. EL HERALDO told its readers October 12 that an initiative to reform the Mexican Constitution with respect to the structure and functioning of the Attorney General's office was circulating among PAN deputies. At the same time, according to the account, PAN would take advantage of the presentation of its initiative to ask what is happening to the investigation.

The subject of June 10 was brought up with Echeverría himself on October 7 during a discussion he held with a group of students at Benito Juárez University in Durango. In what was reportedly a somewhat unruly session, one student, apparently referring to Echeverría's speech two days earlier at the United Nations, asked the President whether "the exposition of Mexico before the other countries includes what happened on June 10." Presumably the student already knew the answer, as the full text of Echeverría's U.N. speech had been printed in virtually every Mexican newspaper the previous day. In any case, the President did not answer the question directly but said that what happened on June 10 was an act of aggression against the Government and added that "whoever does not understand that does not understand what is happening in Mexico." He said that aggression came at a time when the Government was fighting for university autonomy, referring to the crisis at the University of Nuevo Leon that had started the entire chain of events.

There are some indications that within the Government itself June 10 has by no means been forgotten. Following the earlier resignations of the Federal District Regent, the Chief of Police and the Attorney General, three additional important resignations have taken place within the last several weeks.

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Not all of them can be clearly connected with the June 10 tragedy, however. On September 8, Eduardo Estrada Ojeda, chief of the Secret Service, a plainclothes branch of the Federal District, resigned (Mexico 5298). He was reportedly forced to resign because his son was discovered to be a leader of the Francisco Villa Group of porras. Eight days later, Raúl Mendiola Cerecero, Subdirector of the Federal District police, resigned. His resignation, however, is most likely connected with the failure of police to catch the perpetrators of a robbery at a Mexico City branch of the Banco de Comercio on September 14, when police had the robbers in sight during the chase. Echeverría himself was reportedly involved in the police communications during the chase.

Quite clearly connected with the June 10 crisis and its aftermath was the resignation of Everardo Gámiz Fernández from his post of PRI chief for the Federal District on October 1. Gámiz' resignation had been rumored ever since his mentor and close political ally, Martínez Domínguez, fell on June 15 (Mexico A-551 of October 22, 1971).

As the Embassy has reported previously (A-453 of August 20, 1971), the GOM may be using its current anti-porra campaign to take some of the pressure off itself for its failure to come forth with a complete and believable report on the June 10 tragedy. This anti-porra campaign is continuing. Since August 20 there have been further denunciations of porras by Regent Octavio Senties Gómez and various lists of porristas have been presented to the GOM, including one list of 150 alleged porristas presented to the Attorney General's office and given to the press by the National Union of Mexican Women on August 25. The same day Senties told a group of students, teachers and fathers of students that the Federal District Government would continue its fights against the porras. Another group of 135 alleged porristas were denounced by student leaders of various faculties at the National University on September 14. At least two dozen suspected porristas have been arrested in the past two months, and two others were killed in a shoot out with police on August 30. While the Embassy does not know how many of these arrested porristas were later released, some have been charged, and at least three have been sentenced to jail terms of between five and six years.

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All this activity, however, has not stopped porra attacks entirely. These attacks periodically take place at various preparatory schools, the last such reported attack having occurred October 14. It is difficult to know just how many of the suspected porristas have been picked up only to be released later. Also unclear is just how much success the GOM will have in its apparent attempt to let its anti-porra campaign help take the place of a full and honest report on June 10. The events of that day are too widely known for a whitewash to be taken seriously by students or even by the public in general. However, it now looks as though the government hopes to get by without ever risking a full report despite its earlier promises.

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