HOMAGE TO CHIAPAS

The New Indigenous Struggles in Mexico

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VERSE
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Dedicated to my parents, Philip and Mary, excellent teachers...

And, presumptuously, to my inspirations—George Orwell, John Reed, John Kenneth Turner, B. Traven and Carleton Beals
A minority current in Mexican ruling circles sought to bring the country into conformity with hemispheric anti-Communist doctrine during the Cold War. Such elements formed the White Brigade in response to the guerrilla emergence of the 1970s—never officially acknowledged, but responsible for some four hundred disappearances in the 1970s and early 1980s.65

In 1989, Zacarias Osorio Cruz, a deserter from the Mexican army, sought refuge in Montreal, where he told an Immigration Board he had participated in the execution of sixty political prisoners. He said his unit had official orders from SEDENA “to make these people disappear.” He flew in military aircraft to several Mexican states to bring hooded, handcuffed prisoners back to Military Camp One, where they were riddled with gunfire until “the bodies were practically torn apart.” These included some thirty campesinos involved in a land dispute in Guerrero.59

Influential in this current were Los Tecos, “the owls,” a fascist secret society ensconced in the Guadalajara business elite. Los Tecos developed from extremist elements in the Cristero opposition of the 1920s, and concealed under the leadership of Carlos Cuesta Gallardo, a World War II Nazi agent whose mission was to factionalize the army and develop paramilitary groups to attack the US border. After the war, Los Tecos established the Mexican Anti-Communist Federation (FEMACO), the Mexican chapter of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), and became a clearinghouse for anti-Semitic literature, such as their Conspiracy Against the Church. They also established control over the Autonomous University of Guadalajara, loaning their name to the school fútbol team.60

In spring 1984, Mexico’s foremost muckraking journalist, Manuel Buendía, in a series on CIA intrigues in Mexico for El Día, reported that US AID funds for the University were being diverted to Los Tecos coffers. In May, weeks after the series had run, Buendía was shot dead by unknown gunmen at his office. The murder remains unsolved.61

Los Tecos maintained a network of “men of action”—rightist paramilitaries and generals—which offered its services to El Salvador’s death squads. Operating under (or within) a Mexican regime still maintaining leftist postures, they worked under the slogan, “Against the Red guerilla, the White guerilla.”62

Los Tecos remain linked via WACL to the veteran Central American death squad leaders, rightist Southern Cone generals and their CIA collaborators. In the 1980s, under the leadership of Gen. John K. Singlaub, former commander of US forces in South Korea, WACL was a prime source of private funding for the Nicaraguan contras.63

The Mexican fascist right predictably saw conspiracies galore in the 1994 peso devaluation, and even put forth the theory that the Zapatistas were funded by Wall Street, H. Ross Perot or the CIA to destabilize the peso and enable the gringos (read: Jews) to take back the oil.64

The Movimiento de Solidaridad Iberoamericano (MSIA), Mexican wing of the far-right cult led by Lyndon LaRouche, links the local Chiapas reactionaries and the national fascist right. The MSIA’s rancher and cohort followers in Chiapas distribute propaganda portraying the Zapatistas as “separatists” and “narco-terrorist” pawns in a world domination conspiracy by the KGB, Jewish bankers and the Queen of England. The EZLN is “Sendero Luminoso Norte,” and Samuel Ruiz is the “corrupter of nuns.” The MSIA was also active in the historic 1997 DF governor’s race, distributing propaganda portraying Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas as a violent extremist and the PRD as “the arm of narco-terrorism.”65

The LaRouche cult has long cultivated ties to the intelligence community, providing “executive reports” to the CIA and Noriega dictatorship in the early 1980s. LaRouche’s liaison to the CIA was Mitch Livingstone WerBell III, a veteran of mercenary work in Guatemala who ran a paramilitary training camp in Georgia. In 1982, Gen. Singlaub addressed a group of LaRouche followers at the Georgia camp—although the general later became a bitter detractor of the cult leader.66

The international White terror network’s fingerprints are already on the Chiapas violence. Following allegations in the Mexican press in January 1998, the Guatemalan Public Ministry opened an investigation into several current and former military officers (including at least two SOA graduates) for diverting arms to paramilitary groups in Chiapas.67

In the immediate aftermath of the 1994 uprising, La Jornada received what it called an “implicit threat” in the form of a “Communique Number One” from a “Mexican Anti-Communist Front”: “The war has started . . . The dog pack of communists will be stopped, along with its mouthpiece La Jornada, apologist for the red insult . . . Death to the PRD! Exemplary punishment for subversives! Out with Rigoberta Menchú and foreigners! No to the political clergy! Viva Mexico!”68

**DRUG WAR AS COUNTERINSURGENCY**

In 1996, the annual US State Department report Patterns in Global Terrorism invoked both the EZLN and the EPR: “In Mexico, the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) carried out a series of small-scale attacks, killing 17 persons including several civilians, and the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) signed an agreement on
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63 Author’s telephone interview with Isela Gonzalez, advisor, Mujeres Indígenas Tarahumaras y Tepehuanes AC, Chihuahua, January 28, 1999.
65 Blanche Petrich, La Jornada, July 9, 1996.
66 Hodges, pp. 26–30.
68 Ibid.
69 Ross 1995, p. 278.
70 La Jornada, September 18, 1996.
71 Proceso, July 7, 1996.

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2 La Jornada, September 20, 1996.
5 Fazio 1996, p. 179.
6 The News, Mexico City, October 28 1996.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
11 Hearst News Service, April 8, 1996; La Jornada, April 9, 1996.
12 La Jornada, March 17, 1996.
14 Ibid., March 30, 1996.
15 La Jornada, June 10, 13, 15, 1996.
16 Ibid., June 15, 1996.
17 Ibid., June 13, 1996; Letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher signed by fifteen members of the US House of Representatives, September 20, 1996.
18 La Jornada, May 17, 1996.
19 Ibid., March 17, 1996.
20 EZLN communiqué, January 13, 1994.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
27 Fazio and Blixen.

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32 Darrin Wood, Nuevo Amanecer Press, Madrid, December 1997, via Internet (amanecer@cyberspace.com).
33 La Jornada, August 31, 1996.
34 Garance Burke, El Financiero Internacional, August 3–9, 1998.
37 Pastor and Castañeda, p. 118.
38 Ibid.
40 Pastor and Castañeda, p. 271.
41 Ross 1998, pp. 140, 162.
42 Scott and Marshall, pp. 41, 204.
43 Peter Dale Scott affidavit, September 30, 1996.
49 AP, August 6, 1994.
50 Reuters, July 9, 1999.
51 Quehacer Politico, October 1992.
52 Informe 1997, Liga Mexicana por la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos-Federacion Internacional de los Derechos Humanos (LIMEDDH-FIDH), via Internet (lmeddh@laneta.apc.org).
54 AP, April 8, 1997.
58 Riding, p. 148.
60 Anderson and Anderson, pp. 72–81.
61 Ibid., p. 138; Buendia, p. 54.
62 Anderson and Anderson, p. 72.
63 Ibid., pp. 55, 139.
64 La Extra, January 15–21, 1995.
65 The News, Mexico City, July 1, 1997; Darrin Wood, Nuevo Amanecer Press, Madrid, June 1997, via Internet (amanecer@cyberspace.com).
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136 Paz, pp. 20–4.

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