

Carlos Montemayor

# La guerrilla recurrente



DEBATE

# La Guerrilla Recurrente

**Ariel Rodríguez Kuri**



## La Guerrilla Recurrente:

**La guerrilla recurrente** Carlos Montemayor, 1999 The Recurrent Guerrilla compiles a series of essays in which Carlos Montemayor outlines the recurrent character that determines the logic of the political conflict while at the same time figuring out the content the motivations and the evolution of war This are the topics that kept me busy for a long time the armed rural movements and their military or political interpretations the national security as a police activity or as a social interpretation to guarantee the continuity of the State the dirty war in Mexico the massacre of Tlatelolco the militarization process in the fight against organized crime from a national and hemispheric perspective the transformation of the military organization La guerrilla recurrente compila una serie de ensayos en los que Carlos Montemayor plantea el carácter recurrente que determina la lógica del conflicto político al tiempo que desentraña el contenido las motivaciones y la evolución de la guerra Este libro retira el velo que cubre el discurso del poder y el de quienes se enfrentan a este desnudando y evaluando la compleja red de versiones políticas económicas religiosas y culturales que se contraponen entre sí y que pugnan por imponerse como verdadera Son los temas de los que me he ocupado durante largo tiempo los movimientos armados campesinos y su interpretación militar o política la seguridad nacional como actividad policial o como interpretación social para asegurar la continuidad del Estado la guerra sucia en México la masacre de Tlatelolco el proceso de militarización en la lucha contra el crimen organizado desde una perspectiva nacional y hemisférica la transformación de la organización y concepción militar posterior a la Guerra Fra y la evolución del concepto terrorismo en los contextos del conflicto israel y palestino y de la invasión estadounidense a Afganistán e Irak

*Agrarian Revolt in the Sierra of Chihuahua, 1959-1965* Elizabeth Henson, 2019-03-26 The early 1960s are remembered for the emergence of new radical movements influenced by the Cuban Revolution One such protest movement rose in the Mexican state of Chihuahua With large timber companies moving in on the forested sierra highlands campesinos and rancheros did not sit by as their lands and livelihoods were threatened Continuing a long history of agrarian movements and local traditions of armed self defense they organized and demanded agrarian rights Thousands of students joined the campesino protests in long distance marches land invasions and direct actions that transcended political parties and marked the participants emergence as political subjects The Popular Guerrilla Group GPG took shape from sporadic armed conflicts in the sierra Early victories in the field encouraged the GPG to pursue more ambitious targets and on September 23 1965 armed farmers agricultural workers students and teachers attacked an army base in Madera Chihuahua This bold move had deadly consequences With a sympathetic yet critical eye historian Elizabeth Henson argues that the assault undermined and divided the movement that had been in its cradle sacrificing the most militant audacious and serious of a generation at a time when such sacrifices were more frequently observed Henson shows how local history merged with national tensions over one party rule the unrealized promises of the Mexican Revolution and international ideologies

**Libre Acceso** Susan Antebi, Beth E. Jörgensen, 2015-12-02 Libre Acceso stages an innovative

encounter between disciplines that have remained quite separate Latin American literary film and cultural studies and disability studies It offers a much needed framework to engage the representation construction embodiment and contestation of human differences and provides tools for the urgent resignification of a robust and diverse Latin American literary and filmic tradition The contributors discuss such topics as impairment trauma illness and the body performance queer theory subaltern studies and human rights while analyzing literature and film from Argentina Brazil Chile Colombia Cuba Mexico and Peru They explore these issues through the work of canonical figures Jorge Luis Borges Gabriel Garc a M rquez Jo o Guimar es Rosa and others as well as less well known figures including Mario Bellatin and Miriam Alves Specters of Revolution Alexander Aviña,2014 Specters of Revolution examines the development of two guerrilla insurgencies led by schoolteachers in Mexico during the 1960s Relying upon recently declassified documents and oral histories it chronicles a history of nonviolent peasant political action underscored by long held rural utopian ideals radicalized by persistent state terror **Unrevolutionary Mexico** Paul Gillingham,2021-01-01 An essential history of how the Mexican Revolution gave way to a unique one party state In this book Paul Gillingham addresses how the Mexican Revolution 1910 1940 gave way to a capitalist dictatorship of exceptional resilience where a single party ruled for seventy one years Yet while soldiers seized power across the rest of Latin America in Mexico it was civilians who formed governments moving punctiliously in and out of office through uninterrupted elections Drawing on two decades of archival research Gillingham uses the political and social evolution of the states of Guerrero and Veracruz as starting points to explore this unique authoritarian state that thrived not despite but because of its contradictions Mexico during the pivotal decades of the mid twentieth century is revealed as a place where soldiers prevented military rule a single party lost its own rigged elections corruption fostered legitimacy violence was despised but decisive and a potentially suffocating propaganda coexisted with a critical press and a disbelieving public **LA GUERRILLA DEL PARTIDO DE LOS POBRES** Francisco Ávila Coronel,2022-06-15 El presente libro es una larga investigaci n sobre el municipio de Atoyac de lvarez que pertenece a la regi n de la Costa Grande Guerrero en el que emergi la guerrilla del Partido de los Pobres que mediante su brazo armado la Brigada Campesina de Ajusticiamiento busc generar un cambio revolucionario en el pa s y la defensa de los derechos econ micos y pol ticos de toda la sociedad principalmente de los campesinos Esta historia comienza con la Revoluci n mexicana porque los guerrilleros zapatistas y agraristas dejaron un legado de lucha y heredaron el derecho a la tierra a las futuras generaciones sin embargo los nuevos ejidos creados en los a os cuarenta del siglo XX tambi n arrastraron la violencia social pues las venganzas familiares el rapto de mujeres el estupro la violaci n la prostituci n y la violencia comunitaria por linderos de tierras fueron un ingrediente importante que avivar a las rencillas y legitimar a la llamada ley por propia mano En un contexto en el cual era leg timo castigar al agresor fue prol fico el llamado justiciero y rebelde del maestro rural Lucio Caba as Barrientos quien busc hacer un frente com n en contra de los dominantes y mediante una estrategia de reconciliaci n entre las comunidades campesinas

de abanderamiento de sus luchas económicas democráticas como una campaña de información y propaganda política fue alimentando una conciencia clasista en la región de Atoyac en la que debido al abismo económico entre ricos y pobres entre caciques acaparadores y ejidatarios peones agrícolas e indígenas tuvo una rápida asimilación entre las masas campesinas. Fue así que nació un partido de los pobres que se oponía al partido de los ricos es decir al Partido Revolucionario Institucional PRI. La historia aquí abordada también podría decirse que estudia las luchas por la justicia y la libertad no es sólo el conflicto agrario o la búsqueda por mejores precios agrícolas sino la intensa pugna de los dominados por enfrentarse a los poderosos en su afán por arrancar conquistas por lograr un empoderamiento de los más humildes sobre todo después de que el movimiento estudiantil magisterial y campesino que lideraban Lucio Cabañas y Serafín Nuez fuera reprimido mediante la matanza del 18 de mayo de 1967. El agravio fue mayor después de la masacre de copreros en agosto de ese mismo año. El enfoque de Historia social de esta investigación tiene una mirada al ras del suelo es decir que permite aproximarse a uno de los movimientos guerrilleros más importantes de la historia reciente de nuestro país y nos acerca al pasado guerrillero entrando a la cotidianidad de las mujeres y hombres que participaron como bases de apoyo como simpatizantes guerrilleros temporales o permanentes. Aquí el lector conocer muchos aspectos de sus mentalidades sus subjetividades las tensiones de género y los trasfondos políticos e ideológicos de algunas situaciones o conflictos cotidianos aparentemente irrelevantes. En los diversos capítulos de este volumen se hablará del movimiento de las escuelas Modesto Alarcón y Juan N. Álvarez que dieron cabida a la insurrección armada del Partido de los Pobres. Se verán las dificultades y precariedades con las que avanzó el movimiento entre 1968 y 1971 así como su auge armado entre 1972 y 1973. Luego se verá por qué la guerrilla fue derrotada militarmente en 1974. Se hará un seguimiento de las diversas direcciones políticas que comandaron al Partido de los Pobres así como el particular liderazgo de Lucio Cabañas Barrientos. Los lectores podrán enterarse de las discusiones políticas que hubo al interior de la guerrilla así como de las rupturas deserciones expulsiones ingresos y reingresos. También hay un análisis de las acciones de propaganda política así como también encontrar una historia que da cuenta de las principales expropiaciones económicas a bancos o comercios secuestros políticos de caciques o el ajusticiamiento de los mismos.

[The History of Mexico](#) Philip Russell, 2011-04-06 The History of Mexico From Pre Conquest to Present traces the last 500 years of Mexican history from the indigenous empires that were devastated by the Spanish conquest through the election of 2006 and its aftermath. The book offers a straightforward chronological survey of Mexican history from the pre colonial times to the present and includes a glossary as well as numerous tables and images for comprehensive study. In lively and engaging prose Philip Russell guides readers through major themes that still resonate today including The role of women in society Environmental change The evolving status of Mexico's indigenous people African slavery and the role of race Government economic policy Foreign relations with the United States and others. The companion website provides many useful student tools including multiple choice questions extra book chapters and links to online resources as well as digital copies of the

maps from the book For additional information and classroom resources please visit The History of Mexico companion website at [www.routledge.com/textbooks/russell](http://www.routledge.com/textbooks/russell)

**Challenging Authoritarianism in Mexico** Fernando Calderon, Adela Cedillo, 2012-04-23 The Cold War in Latin America spawned numerous authoritarian and military regimes in response to the ostensible threat of communism in the Western Hemisphere and with that a rigid national security doctrine was exported to Latin America by the United States Between 1964 and 1985 Argentina Chile Mexico Brazil Paraguay and Uruguay experienced a period of state sponsored terrorism commonly referred to as the dirty wars Thousands of leftists students intellectuals workers peasants labor leaders and innocent civilians were harassed arrested tortured raped murdered or disappeared Many studies have been done about this phenomenon in the other areas of Latin America but strangely Mexico's dirty war has been excluded from this particular scholarship Here for the first time is a sustained look at this period and consideration of the many facets that make up the nearly two decades of the Mexican dirty war Offering the reader a broad perspective of the period the case studies in the book present narratives of particular armed revolutionary movements as well as thematic essays on gender human rights culture student radicalism the Cold War and the international impact of this state sponsored terrorism

*Marx and Freud in Latin America* Bruno Bosteels, 2012-08-21 This book assesses the untimely relevance of Marx and Freud for Latin America thinkers alien to the region who became an inspiration to its beleaguered activists intellectuals writers and artists during times of political and cultural oppression Bruno Bosteels presents ten case studies arguing that art and literature the novel poetry theatre film more than any militant tract or theoretical essay can give us a glimpse into Marxism and psychoanalysis not so much as sciences of history or of the unconscious respectively but rather as two intricately related modes of understanding the formation of subjectivity

**Populism in Twentieth Century Mexico** Amelia M. Kiddle, María L. O. Muñoz, 2022-07-12 Mexican presidents Lázaro Cárdenas 1934-1940 and Luis Echeverría 1970-1976 used populist politics in an effort to obtain broad based popular support for their presidential goals In spite of differences in administrative plans both aimed to close political divisions within society extend government programs to those on the margins of national life and prevent foreign ideologies and practices from disrupting domestic politics As different as they were in political style both relied on appealing to the public through mass media clothing styles and music This volume brings together twelve original essays that explore the concept of populism in twentieth century Mexico Contributors analyze the presidencies of two of the century's most clearly populist figures evaluating them against each other and in light of other Latin American and Mexican populist leaders In order to examine both positive and negative effects of populist political styles contributors also show how groups as diverse as wild yam pickers in 1970s Oaxaca and intellectuals in 1930s Mexico City had access to and affected government projects The chapters on the Echeverría presidency are written by contributors at the forefront of emerging scholarship on this topic and demonstrate new approaches to this critical period in Mexican history Through comparisons to Echeverría contributors also shed new light on the Cárdenas

presidency suggesting fresh areas of investigation into the work of Mexico's quintessentially populist leader. Ranging in approach from environmental history to labor history, the essays in this volume present a complex picture of twentieth-century populism in Mexico. *Los grandes problemas de México. Tomo 15. Seguridad nacional y seguridad interior* Arturo Alvarado y Mónica Serrano, coordinadores, *México Beyond 1968* Jaime M. Pensado, Enrique C. Ochoa, 2018-09-18 This book offers a critical look at Mexican activism that expands our understanding of social movements during the Global 1960s. Provided by publisher **The Last Door** Gladys I. McCormick, 2025 As guerrilla groups sprouted up across Mexico in the early 1970s, the military and police routinely resorted to extreme acts of violence, including the systematic use of torture. In *The Last Door*, Gladys McCormick provides the most thorough account of how torture became a crucial and routine practice of the Mexican government's war against subversives. Drawing from extensive oral history interviews and declassified government documents, the reader is taken through experiences of arrest, torture, and detention in which forced disappearances became all too common and advocates for justice rallied around political prisoners. Torture was not always about extracting information; it was also about inflicting punishment on a faceless, so-called enemy and instilling terror into advocates of social change. As McCormick argues, torture became a quotidian practice of state-making in Mexico during the 1970s, leaving individuals and their families forever changed. The lack of repercussions for government officials notorious for employing torture, even in spite of a growing movement for truth and justice, has led to entrenched impunity that is endemic in Mexico as its contemporary security crisis continues. **La guerra en las palabras** Oswaldo Zavala, 2022-03-17 Una historia intelectual de la hegemonía que funciona como la plataforma para lanzar la guerra contra el narco primero desde un plano simbólico y después como una campaña permanente de violencia organizada. El fenómeno del narcotráfico en México ha estado siempre determinado por el lenguaje. Durante más de cuatro décadas el sistema político mexicano ha logrado imponer la narrativa sobre el narco que la sociedad en general ha aceptado como la explicación dominante de los altos índices de violencia en el país. Basado en una investigación de archivos oficiales, reportajes periodísticos, estudios académicos y producciones culturales sobre el tráfico de drogas, Oswaldo Zavala revisa el arco histórico del lenguaje en el que se inscriben el relato de guerra en nuestra sociedad contemporánea y la ilusión de organizaciones criminales como el enemigo doméstico. Dedicada especial atención a las incontables novelas, películas, canciones, estudios académicos y piezas de arte conceptual que reiteran la misma narrativa que atribuye a los supuestos criminales toda la responsabilidad de la corrupción y la violencia generalizada en México. *La guerra en las palabras* busca articular una mirada por fuera de la hegemonía discursiva del narco. La violencia, nos dice, es real, pero la explicación oficial dominante es un ardid político, una fantasía que ha permitido a las autoridades ejercer la más cruel política de gobierno en contra de la población, pero siempre legitimada por la reciclable trama de la guerra contra el narco. **Mexico Unconquered** John Gibler, 2015-09-28 *Mexico Unconquered* is an evocative report on the powers of violence and corruption in Mexico and the rebel underdogs who put their lives on the line to build

justice from the ground up Mexico Unconquered probes the overwhelming divisions in contemporary Mexico home to the world's richest man Carlos Slim and to destitute millions John Gibler weaves narrative journalism with lyrical descriptions combining the journalist's trade of walking the streets and the philosopher's task of drawing out the tremendous implications of the seemingly mundane John Gibler has reported for In These Times Common Dreams YES Magazine ColorLines and Democracy Now

**Torn from the World** John Gibler, 2018-09-25 The book that most shocked me this year for its literary quality is called Tzompaxtle although in English it has another title Torn from the World The author is John Gibler a real outlaw Diego Enrique Osorno author of El Cartel de Sinaloa Andres Tzompaxtle Tecpile was torn from the world Abducted off the street blindfolded and beaten he was brought to a Mexican military facility and disappeared Tzompaxtle a young member of an insurgent guerrilla movement was subjected to months of interrogation and torture as the military tried to extract information from him In an effort to buy time to protect his family and comrades and to keep himself alive he led his captors on fruitless journeys to abandoned safe houses and false rendezvous locations for four months Finally faced with imminent execution he decided to make what he thought was a suicidal attempt at escape when he miraculously survived he was able to return underground Gleaned from years of clandestine interviews Tzompaxtle's story offers a rare glimpse into chronic injustice underground resistance movements and the practice of forced disappearance and torture in contemporary Mexico At once harrowing and humane John Gibler's wonderful new book shines a light on the darkest corners of the Mexican justice system We cannot turn away from what we see there This is a brave daring book equal in every way to the extraordinary life it documents Daniel Alarcon author of The King is Always Above the People Once in a long while a brilliant writer happens on a story he was born to tell a story that in its stark and unremitting horror gives us a glimpse of the world as it is unvarnished and unredeemed John Gibler is such a writer and Torn From the World is such a story A wrenching astonishing tale brilliantly told Mark Danner author of The Massacre at El Mozote Torn from the World is the product of a thorough investigation and it is written with rage and humility at the same time This is the work of one of the most important journalists of our time Yuri Herrera author of Signs Preceding the End of the World John Gibler's powerful recounting of the forced disappearance of Andres Tzompaxtle Tecpile unearths the brutal machinery of state sanctioned torture and terrorism in Mexico today This book must provoke an outcry Sujatha Fernandes author of Curated Stories Not since Rodolfo Walsh's classic Operation Massacre have I read a work of political and literary journalism as inventive and urgent as John Gibler's Torn from the World With courage empathy and clear sightedness Gibler tackles questions most journalists won't go near Ben Ehrenreich author of The Way to the Spring Life and Death in Palestine The North American journalist John Gibler not only presents here the guerrilla combatant's story but also contextualized it within the broader very troubled history of class relations in Guerrero and the contemporary proliferation of human rights abuses in Mexico from Ayotzinapa to Ciudad Jesse Lerner author of The Shock of Modernity

Self-Defense in Mexico Luis Hernández Navarro, 2020-03-02 In Mexico and across other parts of

Latin America local Indigenous peoples have built community policing groups as a means of protection where the state has limited control over and even complicity in crime and violence Luis Hernández Navarro a leading Mexican journalist offers a riveting investigation of these armed self defense groups that sprang up around the time of the 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas Available in English for the first time the book spotlights the intense precarity of everyday life in parts of Mexico Hernández Navarro shows how the self defense response which now includes wealthier rancher and farmer groups is being transformed by Mexico's expanding role in the multibillion dollar global drug trade by foreign corporations extraction of raw minerals in traditionally Indigenous lands and by the resulting social changes in local communities But as Hernández Navarro acknowledges self defense is highly controversial Community policing may provide citizens with increased agency but for government officials it can be a dangerous threat to the status quo Leftists and liberals are wary of how the groups may be linked to paramilitary forces and vulnerable to manipulation by drug traffickers and the government alike This book answers the urgent call to understand the dangerous complexities of government failures and popular solutions

Entre fuegos, memoria y violencia de Estado Aurelia Gómez Unamuno, 2020-04-15 A partir de los ejes centrales memoria y violencia el libro traza un recorrido por los textos literarios y testimoniales publicados por exmilitantes del movimiento armado socialista en México desde fines de la década de los setenta hasta nuestros días Pese a la amplia producción escrituraria y prácticas de memoria estas difícilmente han sido reconocidas en su doble estatuto político y estético El libro analiza la dinámica de formación y disputas por la fijación de una memoria emblemática así como las coyunturas políticas y marcos interpretativos que las atravesaron abordando la literatura carcelaria así como los debates en torno a la rectificación versus la afirmación y continuidad de la lucha armada la denuncia de la tortura la reemergencia de la memoria en el marco de la alternancia partidista y las nuevas agencias como el testimonio de familiares de desaparecidos y de las mujeres que participaron de la lucha armada

**Historia mínima de las izquierdas en México** Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, 2021-09-02 La historia de las izquierdas está hecha de sus organizaciones de sus hombres y mujeres así como de sus programas e ideologías También está hecha del tiempo de sus tiempos En este libro se entrelazan ambas dimensiones de la historia mexicana No una ni dos sino diversas tradiciones organizativas y programáticas confluyen en la historia de las izquierdas siempre denominadas en plural una pluralidad que se reconstruye en estas páginas sin atarse a los paradigmas del leninismo y sus epígonos Dos grandes determinaciones han marcado el destino de las izquierdas la geopolítica siempre olvidada por comentaristas e historiadores y la Revolución mexicana casi siempre disminuida y mal interpretada por los historiadores de las izquierdas Esta obra plantea un amarre problemático pleno de aristas y soluciones parciales a veces paradójicas entre estas dos determinaciones que estructuran la historia del México moderno

**Insurgency, Authoritarianism, and Drug Trafficking in Mexico's Democratization** Jose L. Velasco, 2017-09-25 Mexico's democratic transition has created a competitive electoral system and a formally plural state Besides a peculiar wave of insurgency started in 1994 has challenged the alleged moderating effect of

democratic transition This book argues that socioeconomic inequality is the main factor behind this combination of democratic and undemocratic trends

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