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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS REPORT PARTIALLY FULFILLS POST REPORTING PLAN FOR 1995.
3. SUMMARY. IN THE FACE OF A TURBULENT MEXICAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION, THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS BY AND LARGE ISOLATED FROM THE CURRENTS OF CRISIS EDDYING AROUND THE GOVERNMENT, (ALTHOUGH THE CRISIS HAS AFFECTED BOTH MILITARY BUDGETS AND THE FINANCIAL LIVES OF MILITARY OFFICERS MARKEDLY.) WHILE FAR MORE AWARE THAN IN THE PAST OF THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN ITS PUBLIC IMAGE (PARTICULARLY WITH ALL PARTS OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT COMPETING FOR SCARCE FINANCIAL RESOURCES), THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS A WORLD LARGELY SEPARATE FROM THE REST OF MEXICO.
4. THE MILITARY HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT AFFECTED, HOWEVER, BY THE SITUATION IN CHIAPAS, WHERE IT WAS

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ACCUSED OF "ILLEGAL INTERVENTION" IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE CONFLICT, AND LATER CHARGED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. IT HAS SINCE BECOME SOMEWHAT MORE SENSITIVE TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

5. WE ARE HIGHLY DUBIOUS OF U.S. AND MEXICAN PRESS STORIES THAT OCCASIONALLY APPEAR SUGGESTING THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME FORM OF ARMY INTERVENTION IN THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IF ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL
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CONDITIONS SHOULD GREATLY DETERIORATE. WE ARE DUBIOUS OF THESE ACCOUNTS (WHICH ALSO SOMETIMES EMANATE FROM MEXICAN AND WALL STREET INVESTORS AND OTHERS SPEAKING PUBLICLY) NOT ONLY BECAUSE THEY CONTRADICT WHAT SEEMS TO US TO BE THE ARMY'S CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO NON-INTERVENTION IN NATIONAL POLITICS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE JOURNALISTS OF ANY KIND, MEXICAN OR FOREIGN, GETTING CLOSE TO AN AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE (OR EVEN A RELIABLE LEAK) IN AN INSTITUTION SO HERMETICALLY SEALED AND PARANOIACALLY ANTI-PRESS AS THE MEXICAN ARMY.

6. THE THREE MAIN INSTRUMENTS THAT WE SEE IN THE SHORT TERM THAT COULD HELP BUILD CIVILIAN/MILITARY RELATIONS WITHIN THE GOM AND OPEN THE DOOR TO MORE U.S./MEXICO MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS ARE: (1) A MORE FLEXIBLE POLICY ON MILITARY SALES TO MEXICO IN THE WAKE OF REDUCED TENSIONS IN CHIAPAS AND

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

IMPROVED MILITARY HUMAN RIGHTS BEHAVIOR; (2) THE
INITIATION OF POLITICAL/MILITARY TALKS WITH MEXICO
PROPOSED SEPTEL; AND (3) THE PARTICIPATION OF
MEXICO IN THE JULY 22-24 DEFENSE MINISTERIAL OF
THE AMERICAS TO BE HELD IN WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA.

7. TO REACH THESE GOALS, WE WILL NEED TO DEAL
WITH THE TRADITIONAL MEXICAN POLICY OF
NON-INTERVENTION WHICH MAKES FOREIGN MINISTRY AND
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT ALIKE OPPOSED AT THIS TIME
TO ANY FORM OF JOINT HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE FORCE OR
OTHER MULTILATERAL HEMISPHERIC MILITARY
INSTITUTION; WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT, ON THESE
ISSUES, THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS AN EXTREMELY
CONSERVATIVE INSTITUTION WHICH LOOKS SKEPTICALLY
ON ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. HOWEVER,
WE REMAIN OPTIMISTIC OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF
SUCCESS IN PERSUADING OUR MEXICAN MILITARY (AND
CIVILIAN) COUNTERPARTS OF THE WISDOM OF CLOSER
CONTACTS WITH THE U.S. BILATERALLY AND OTHER
HEMISPHERIC PARTNERS IN MULTINATIONAL FORA. END
SUMMARY.

A STABLE INSTITUTION

8. THE SALIENT FACT ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE
MEXICAN ARMY IS ITS REMARKABLE STABILITY AND
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CONTINUITY OVER THE YEARS. SINCE THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, ESPECIALLY THE PRESIDENTIAL "SEXENIO" OF PRESIDENT AND GENERAL LAZARO CARDENAS, 1934-40, THE ARMY HAS REMAINED OUT OF POLITICS, CLOSED IN STRUCTURE, WELL-FED, DEVOTED TO DOMESTIC SOCIAL ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THE ROLE THE ARMY PLAYS IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, YET ISOLATED FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF SOCIETY AND ITS VIEWS. WITH A TOTAL STRENGTH OF ABOUT 120,000 SOLDIERS OUT OF A TOTAL MEXICAN POPULATION OF ABOUT 92 MILLION (ESTIMATED 1994), MEXICO'S TROOP TO CIVILIAN POPULATION RATIO, WHICH HAS NOT CHANGED FOR MANY YEARS (AND WHICH NO ONE PROPOSES TO CHANGE) IS ONE OF THE LOWEST IN THE WORLD.

9. SIMILARLY, ITS ANNUAL BUDGET CONSISTENTLY COMES IN AT ABOUT .2 OF 1 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL BUDGET OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO, TINY COMPARED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

TO MOST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES (OR MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.) THIS RATIO, TOO, HAS REMAINED FIXED IN PRACTICE WITHIN RECENT MEMORY AND DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY TO CHANGE, ALTHOUGH THE RECENT FINANCIAL CRISIS MAY FORCE THE PROPORTION TO GROW STILL SMALLER. MAKING THE ARMY'S RESOURCES EVEN SCARCER IS THE FACT THAT, DUE TO ITS FORCED ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE GOVERNMENT, IT MUST PAY CASH FOR MANY GOODS AND SERVICES WHICH IT PURCHASES FROM CIVILIAN SECTORS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

10. THIS SMALL, FIXED BUDGET HAS MADE PROGRESS IN MANY AREAS DIFFICULT, ESPECIALLY THE MODERNIZATION OF EQUIPMENT WHICH IS SO SORELY NEEDED. THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES IN CHIAPAS IN 1994 BECAME THE OPPORTUNITY FOR MUCH-NEEDED MODERNIZATION, AS SALINAS' GOVERNMENT FOUND DISCRETIONARY FUNDS TO BE USED ON EQUIPMENT PURCHASES FROM MANY COUNTRIES -- FRENCH LIGHT ARMORED VEHICLES (FROM BELGIUM), MERCEDES BENZ WATER CANNONS FROM GERMANY, ANTI-MINE TRAINING FROM THE U.K. (THE NAVY PURCHASED RUSSIAN HELICOPTERS DURING THE SAME PERIOD.) THE U.S. INABILITY TO FULFILL CERTAIN MEXICAN EQUIPMENT PURCHASE AND TRAINING REQUESTS DURING THIS PERIOD DUE TO CONCERNS OVER WHETHER THE EQUIPMENT WOULD BE USED IN CHIAPAS, IS AN INABILITY WHICH OUR MEXICAN MILITARY INTERLOCUTORS CONTINUE TO LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND US THAT
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THEY SEE AS A DEEP WOUND AND AN INSULT.

ALL DECISIONS ARE MADE AT THE TOP

11. THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING DECISIONMAKING IN THIS ISOLATED, SELF-ABSORBED INSTITUTION IS TO KNOW THAT IT IS CENTRALIZED TO WHAT SEEMS A MANIC DEGREE EVEN COMPARED TO THE WORLD OF OBEDIENCE AND DISCIPLINE WHICH IS THE MILITARY IN MOST COUNTRIES. EVEN THE SMALLEST DECISIONS MUST BE MADE AT THE VERY TOP OF THE HIERARCHY. ONCE

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ISSUED, DECISIONS ARE NOT DEVIATED FROM UNLESS
THERE IS A NEW HIGH-LEVEL DECISION.

12. FOR EXAMPLE, U.S. MILITARY OFFICIALS LAST
YEAR HAD BEEN PLANNING FOR A JOINT ANNUAL
PARACHUTE JUMP WITH THE MEXICAN ARMY. WHEN THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

TIME CAME FOR JUMPING FROM MEXICAN PLANES, THAT
SIDE OF THE JUMP WAS CANCELLED. WHY? BECAUSE THE
ORDER ALLOWING THE JUMP HAD SPECIFIED THAT IT WAS
TO TAKE PLACE FROM AN ARAVA PLANE, AND AT THE
MOMENT NONE OF MEXICO'S ARAVA PLANES WERE
AVAILABLE. NO OTHER TYPE OF AIRCRAFT COULD BE
SUBSTITUTED SINCE ONLY THE ARAVA HAD BEEN
SPECIFIED IN THE ORDER.

THE BASIC MISSIONS OF THE MEXICAN ARMY

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13. THE MEXICAN ARMY HAS LONG SET AS ITS BASIC MISSIONS THE FOLLOWING: (1) EXTERNAL SECURITY. (2) INTERNAL SECURITY. (3) CIVIC AFFAIRS. (4) COUNTERNARCOTICS. ALTHOUGH ARMY OFFICIALS INSIST THAT THIS ORDERING REFLECTS ITS ACTUAL PRIORITIES, THE REALITY IS THAT BOTH ECONOMIC AND HUMAN RESOURCES TEND TO REFLECT THE PRIORITIES IN PRECISELY THE REVERSE ORDER. THAT IS, COUNTERNARCOTICS TENDS TO BE THE ARMY'S MAJOR ACTIVITY. CIVIL AFFAIRS ARE ALMOST AS IMPORTANT. INTERNAL SECURITY COMES NEXT, WHILE EXTERNAL SECURITY, IN THIS COUNTRY WHICH FACES LITTLE CONCEIVABLE OUTSIDE MILITARY THREAT, TAKES UP RELATIVELY FEW RESOURCES. (WHILE WE WOULD CLASS THE CHIAPAS INSURGENCY AS PRIMARILY AN INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT, THE ARMY DEFINES IT AS PRIMARILY
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AN EXTERNAL THREAT. IN ITS VIEW, THE CHIAPAS REBELS ARE ARMED AND DIRECTED BY OUTSIDERS.) WHILE WE DISCUSS THE ARMY'S RESPONSE TO THE MAIN INTERNAL AND "EXTERNAL" THREAT (THE REBELS IN CHIAPAS) ELSEWHERE, IT IS WORTH SAYING A FEW WORDS ABOUT COUNTERNARCOTICS AND CIVIL AFFAIRS.

COUNTERNARCOTICS:

14. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS THE MOST PREOCCUPYING, PERMANENT TASK OF THE MEXICAN MILITARY. MILITARY COUNTERNARCOTICS EFFORTS ARE CENTERED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON MANUAL ERADICATION (PULLING AND CUTTING COCA AND MARIJUANA CROPS BY HAND.) IT IS A TASK WHICH THE ARMY IS SAID NOT TO RELISH, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE CONNOTATIONS OF DEGRADING MANUAL LABOR WHICH THE TASK ENTAILS, AND BECAUSE INVOLVEMENT IN COUNTERNARCOTICS ALWAYS CARRIES

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

WITH IT THE RISK OF COMPROMISE BY NARCOTRAFFICKERS.

15. MANY OUTSIDE OBSERVERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE EVENTS IN CHIAPAS HAVE FORCED THE ARMY TO DECREASE ITS ATTENTION TO COUNTERNARCOTICS. BUT IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH POLOFF, PREVIOUS ARMY CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE GENERAL PERES TOLEDO AND FOREIGN LIAISON OFFICER TO ACCREDITED MILITARY ATTACHES LTC. ACATA PANIAGUA ROUNDLY REBUTTED THIS PRESUMPTION, WITHOUT CITING ANY EVIDENCE TO BACK UP THEIR REBUTTAL. EMBASSY [] ANALYSIS IS THAT RESOURCES AND OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN REDUCED, BUT STATISTICAL RESULTS HAVE IMPROVED DUE TO THE ARMY'S MORE EFFICIENT PLANNING AND OPERATIONS.

16. WE HAVE HEARD THAT SOME SENIOR OFFICERS HAVE COMPLAINED TO PRESIDENT ZEDILLO ABOUT THE NEGATIVE EFFECT THEIR ROLE IN COUNTERNARCOTICS HAS ON THE ARMY AS AN INSTITUTION. SOME SENIOR OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT IT DISTRACTS THEM FROM THEIR REAL MISSION. SECRETARY OF THE ARMY CERVANTES, HOWEVER, HAS ADVOCATED AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMY'S COUNTERNARCOTICS EFFORTS, AND IS EVEN SAID TO HAVE ADVISED MILITARY COMMANDERS IN AND AROUND

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CHIAPAS (OBVIOUSLY OCCUPIED WITH OTHER MATTERS)
NOT TO LET SUCH EFFORTS SLACKEN.

CIVIC ACTION:

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17. PRIMARILY, CIVIC ACTION ("LABOR SOCIAL")
CONCERNS SOCIAL WELFARE VISITS TO POOR, RURAL
COMMUNITIES. THE ARMY ALSO PERFORMS A HIGHLY
REPUTED DISASTER RELIEF FUNCTION.

18. SOCIAL WELFARE VISITS, HOWEVER, STRIKE US AS
A MEXICAN PHENOMENON. TYPICALLY, A 200 PERSON
UNIT WILL VISIT A DEPRESSED, RURAL TOWN FOR A WEEK
WITH DOCTORS (ARMY DOCTORS ARE CONSIDERED BY MANY
THE BEST IN MEXICO), DENTISTS, MASONS,
ELECTRICIANS, ENGINEERS, AND BARBERS. A NURSING
STAFF ALSO USUALLY ACCOMPANIES. THE MEDICAL TEAM
TAKES APPOINTMENTS FROM ALL TOWNSPEOPLE WHO DESIRE
THEIR SERVICES (BARBERS BEING AN IMPORTANT PART OF
THE MEDICAL TEAM IN A COUNTRY WHERE SCALP DISEASES
AND PARASITES RUN RAMPANT AMONG MANY OF THE RURAL
POOR), PROVIDING SCREENINGS AND MEDICINES. ALL IS
FREE OF CHARGE. THE MASONS, ELECTRICIANS AND

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3999
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
CIA WASHDC

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CMC WASHDC//CMC//
CINCFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//FCJ2//
JCS WASHDC//J2//
ALL USCONS MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUTLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

ENGINEERS REPAIR BROKEN SCHOOL WALLS, DRILL WELLS,
BUILD MODERN TOILETS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER
PUBLIC FACILITIES, REPAIR BROKEN ELECTRICAL
EQUIPMENT, AND LAY SIDEWALKS. PUPPET SHOWS ARE
PROVIDED FOR CHILDREN TO INFORM THEM ABOUT GOOD
HYGIENE PRACTICES. FAMILY PLANNING ADVICE IS
DISPENSED OFTEN PUTTING THE MILITARY AT ODDS WITH
LOCAL CHURCH OFFICIALS.

19. THESE MILITARY VISITS, THOUGH THEY SELDOM
RECEIVE MUCH PUBLICITY IN THE NATIONAL PRESS, ARE
A MUCH DESIRED INSTITUTION IN POOR AND RURAL
AREAS. THE ARMY DIVIDES MEXICO INTO 38 MILITARY
ZONES: ABOUT TWO SUCH VISITS PER MONTH TAKE PLACE
IN EACH ZONE. THIS NUMBER IS NOT FIXED: SINCE THE
FIRST OF THE YEAR, THE CIVIC ACTION BATTALION OF
THE MILITARY REGION OF CHIAPAS HAS MADE THIS A
PERMANENT ACTIVITY THERE, FOR EXAMPLE.

IXED FOR LIFE: CAREER OFFICERS CONFORM AND PROSPER

20. THE ARMY IS A WAY OF LIFE FOR THE TYPICAL
CAREER OFFICER. RETIREMENT AGES ARE EASILY
CIRCUMVENTED FOR MOST. ALTHOUGH THE PREVIOUS
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, RIVIELLO, REPRESENTED AN
EXTREME (HE HAD JOINED THE ARMY AT AGE 15 AND HAS
NOW SPENT 61 YEARS IN MILITARY SERVICE), IT IS NOT
AT ALL UNUSUAL TO FIND OFFICERS WITH 40 OR 50
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YEARS OF TOTAL SERVICE. IN A COUNTRY WHERE MOST
GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS CABINET-LEVEL
MINISTRIES, ARE LED BY MEN AND WOMEN IN THEIR
EARLY FORTIES, OR EVEN THIRTIES, THE ARMY IS

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(RELATIVELY, AND BY YOUTHFUL MEXICAN STANDARDS) A GERONTOCRACY, WHERE MOST LEADERS ARE IN THEIR FIFTIES OR SIXTIES.

21. THE MOST IMPORTANT "TICKET TO PUNCH" IN ADVANCING IN THE MEXICAN MILITARY IS TO BE ACCEPTED INTO THE COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE. EVERY YEAR, OVER 1,000 OFFICERS APPLY. 600 ARE ALLOWED TO TAKE THE TEST, AND OF THESE, 110 ARE ACCEPTED. THOSE ACCEPTED FACE THREE GRUELING YEARS OF GRINDING PEDAGOGY AND INTENSE COMPETITION, WHICH NARROWS THEIR NUMBER TO 35 A YEAR.

22. ONCE HAVING OBTAINED A DIPLOMA (BECOMING A

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00
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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4000
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

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SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
CIA WASHDC

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ALL USCONS MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

"DIPLOMADO"), AN OFFICER IS FIXED FOR LIFE
(ALTHOUGH STILL SUBJECT TO THE SHIFTING WINDS OF

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THE MEXICAN ECONOMY, WHICH HAS CAUSED FINANCIAL PRESSURE EVEN TO THE "DIPLOMADOS.") HE BECOMES ONE OF THE TINY ELITE IN THE MEXICAN ARMY WITH A COLLEGE DEGREE. (THE PREVIOUS CADET TRAINING WHICH OFFICERS RECEIVE IS HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL; ELSEWHERE IN THE MILITARY, ONLY MILITARY DOCTORS AND MILITARY ENGINEERS ROUTINELY POSSESS COLLEGE DEGREES.) FOR THE "DIPLOMADOS," SALARIES INCREASE BY 50 PER CENT, PLUS COST OF LIVING ALLOWANCES, HOUSING, AND NUMEROUS OTHER ALLOWANCES WHICH ALLOW SOME OFFICERS TO LEGALLY EARN THREE TIMES THEIR BASE SALARY.

23. ISOLATED FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD, THESE TOP OFFICERS TEND TO THINK ALIKE, BEHAVE ALIKE. THEY ARE CONSERVATIVE IN THEIR POLITICS (BUT WITH MANY MORE TIES TO THE RULING PARTY OF THE INSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (PRI) THAN TO THE CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION NATIONAL ACTION PARTY (PAN.) (THOUGH IT MAY SEEM ODD TO THE OUTSIDE OBSERVER, TIES TO THEN-BREAKAWAY EX-PRI LEADER CUAUTEMOC CARDENAS IN HIS 1988 PRESIDENTIAL BID LED AN ASTOUNDING NUMBER OF THE RANK AND FILE TO WORK FOR HIS CAMPAIGN. THIS IS ATTRIBUTED, IN PART AT LEAST, TO CARDENAS' FATHER, A GENERAL WHO WAS MUCH LOVED BY THE ARMY.)

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24. THEY RARELY HAVE AMBITIONS, POST-CAREER OR OTHERWISE, BEYOND CAREER ADVANCEMENT IN THE SERVICE, ALTHOUGH A FEW RETIRED MILITARY FIGURES GO ON TO BECOME FEDERAL SENATORS, DEPUTIES, AND, OCCASIONALLY, GOVERNORS OF STATES. MORE THAN THE MEXICAN POLITY OVERALL, THEY ARE SUSPICIOUS OF THE U.S. AND ITS MOTIVES, THOUGH WARM AND FRIENDLY WITH INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS, INCLUDING USG OFFICIALS. THEY ARE STRIKINGLY SECULAR - THE LONG-STANDING LACK OF WARMTH BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH RUNS PARTICULARLY STRONG AMONG MILITARY OFFICIALS, WHOSE OFFICIAL TRAINING INCULCATES THOSE WHO DID NOT ALREADY POSSESS THEM WITH A STRONGLY SECULAR (MANY SAY ANTI-CATHOLIC CHURCH) ORIENTATION. GENERAL MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO, MEXICO'S LAST MILITARY PRESIDENT, USHERED IN AN ERA OF GOOD

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FEELINGS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH
WHEN HE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS A BELIEVER

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4001
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
CIA WASHDC

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CINCFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//FCJ2//
JCS WASHDC//J2//
ALL USCONS MEXICO

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUTLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE PRAY?

AND OPTED NOT TO ENFORCE MANY OF THE
CONSTITUTION'S MOST HATED ANTI-CATHOLIC PROVISIONS.

ANTAGONISTIC TO THE PGR, CONDESCENDING TO THE NAVY

RELATIONS WITH THE NAVY:

25. THERE ARE TWO "MILITARY" MEMBERS OF THE
MEXICAN CABINET, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND THE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY. IN MEXICO, "DEFENSE" MEANS
ONLY THE ARMY, INCLUDING THE AIR FORCE, WHILE
"NAVY" MEANS NAVY AND ITS NAVAL INFANTRY

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COMPARABLE TO OUR MARINE CORPS. THE TWO BRANCHES ARE HELD TO BE CO-EQUAL, AND NEITHER IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE A DOMINANT POSITION OVER THE OTHER.

26. IN REALITY, THE ARMY, BEING LARGER AND MORE POWERFUL THAN THE NAVY, TENDS TO ASSUME A MORE POWERFUL POSITION. SOME OBSERVERS CLAIM TO SEE SUBTLE DIFFERENCES IN TREATMENT AND POSITIONING DURING OFFICIAL MILITARY CEREMONIES WITH THE PRESIDENT. JOINT MANEUVERS ARE FEW, ALTHOUGH THE TWO BRANCHES ARE NOW COOPERATING SOMEWHAT IN OPERATIONS IN CHIAPAS.

RELATIONS WITH THE PGR:

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27. STILL, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARMY AND NAVY ARE WARM AND CORDIAL (OR AT LEAST PROPER AND CORRECT) COMPARED TO THOSE BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE (PGR, WHICH OVERSEES THE JUDICIAL POLICE, PJF. THE ARMY VIEW, SHARED BY MANY, IS THAT THE PJF IS CORRUPT, UNPROFESSIONAL, AND INEFFECTIVE, WHILE THE ARMY IS INCORRUPTIBLE. NEEDLESS TO SAY, NON-MILITARY OBSERVERS DO NOT SHARE THIS VIEW OF THE ARMY'S INCORRUPTIBILITY.

28. PANIAGUA PUT MATTERS INTO CLEARCUT ARMY PERSPECTIVE IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH POLOFF: "IF YOU WANT TO SEE THE DIFFERENCE, JUST LOOK AT THE EXPENSIVE HOMES PGR OFFICIALS LIVE IN, THE CARS THEY DRIVE, THE WATCHES THEY WEAR. HOW CAN THEY AFFORD SUCH LUXURY ON A GOVERNMENT SALARY? HOW

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INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	FMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4002
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 09 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

DID (FORMER DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL) RUIZ MASSIEU,
(DETAINED AT NEWARK AIRPORT WITH LARGE QUANTITIES
OF UNDECLARED CASH) MAKE EIGHTEEN MILLION US
DOLLARS IN JUST TEN MONTHS AT THE PGR? THEN LOOK
AT WHERE ARMY GENERALS LIVE, THE CARS THEY DRIVE,
THE HUMBLE WATCHES THEY WEAR. WHO IS CORRUPT?
SEE FOR YOURSELF!" (COMMENT: WE NOTE THAT HIGH
RANKING MEXICAN MILITARY OFFICERS ARE FELT BY MOST
OBSERVERS TO LIVE LIVES OF PLEASANT MATERIAL
COMFORT, DESPITE PANIAGUA'S PLAINTIVE CRY. END
COMMENT.)

29. THIS INTER-GOVERNMENTAL HOSTILITY CAME TO THE
BOILING POINT AFTER THE NOVEMBER 1991 "LA VIBORA"
INCIDENT IN THE STATE OF VERACRUZ, IN WHICH ARMY
OFFICERS WERE SUSPECTED OF HAVING COOPERATED WITH
NARCOTRAFFICKERS FLYING IN A SHIPMENT OF DRUGS
WHILE 7 PGR OFFICIALS WHO CAME ON THE SCENE WERE
SHOT AND KILLED. THE ARMY, USED TO BEING
PORTRAYED, AND PORTRAYING ITSELF, AS
UNCORRUPTIBLE, REMAINS ETREMELY SENSITIVE ABOUT
THE INCIDENT. FOR EXAMPL, MEXICAN DAILY "LA
JORNADA," WHICH COVERED THE TORY, STILL IS NOT
ALOWED AT MILITARY PRESS BRIFINGS FOUR YEARS
LATER, ACCORDING TO DAVID APONT, THE RESPECTED
"JORNADA" JOURNALIST WHO THEN COERED MILITARY
AFFAIRS. TWO MILITRY OFFICERS WHO WERE TRIED AND
CONVICTED IN THE MATTER WERE SUBSEQUENTLY

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ACQUITTED ON APPEAL. AN OFFICIAL ARMY REPORT
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PUBLISHED LAST WINTER TRIED TO TURN THE TABLES ON
THE PGR AND EXONERATE THE ARMY.

30. THIS SIMMERING HOSTILITY HAS PLAYED OUT IN
THE ARREST WARRANTS ISSUED AGAINST EZLN
"SUBCOMMANDANTE" MARCOS BY THE PGR IN FEBRUARY.
TO PURSUE THE WARRANTS, THE PGR SET UP CHECKPOINTS
IN AREAS OUTSIDE THE "INNER" AREAS WHERE THE ARMY
HAD NOT ALREADY SET UP CHECKPOINTS. WE HAVE
RARELY SEEN JOINT ARMY/PGR CHECKPOINTS, OR EVEN
SEEN ARMY AND PJF PERSONNEL TOGETHER, EXCEPT WHEN
LOCAL OFFICIALS WERE ALSO PRESENT, ALTHOUGH WHEN
DATT VISITED GUADALUPE TEPEYAC EARLIER THIS YEAR,
HE NOTICED THAT A PGR MEMBER ACCOMPANIED THE ARMY
COLUMN. WE HAVE SEEN OTHER EVIDENCE OF SUCH
NOMINAL COOPERATION, AS WELL. ALTHOUGH PGR
OFFICIALS (SUCH AS ACTING COMMANDER OF THE PJF
ENRIQUE GANDARA) HAVE BEEN AT PAINS TO STRESS TO
POLOFF THE LACK OF INCIDENTS BETWEEN THE ARMY AND

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4003
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

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CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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DIA WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 10 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

PGR IN CHIAPAS, NO ONE HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO
ACTUALLY INDICATE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP
THERE.

CHIAPAS WAS THE CATALYST FOR CHANGE

31. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND THE ROLE THAT
THE CHIAPAS INSURGENCY HAS PLAYED IN MEXICAN
POLITICAL LIFE WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THE POSTURE
THAT THE MILITARY HAS TAKEN TOWARDS IT. THE
MEXICAN ARMY, LIKE THE REST OF MEXICO, CLAIMS TO
HAVE BEEN CAUGHT BY SURPRISE JANUARY 1, 1994, WHEN
THE INSURGENCY BROKE OUT. (ALTHOUGH THE ARMY WAS
AWARE OF AN ONGOING INSURGENCY IN CHIAPAS, IT
CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN UNAWARE THAT THE EZLN WOULD
MAKE ITS DRAMATIC ACTIONS ON THAT DATE.) IT WAS
HUMILIATED BY THE FACT THAT THE PUBLIC VIEWED IT
AS UNPREPARED FOR THE INSURGENCY. ITS TROOPS
WERE, TO SAY THE LEAST, NOT PREPARED FOR
COUNTERINSURGENCY COMBAT.

32. TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, THE NEWSPAPERS WERE
SOON FULL OF ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES
(SOME, WE BELIEVE, BUT NOT BY ANY MEANS ALL,
UNTRUE OR EXAGGERATED) COMMITTED BY THE ARMY. THE
ARMY HAD, AND STILL HAS, FEW OR NO FRIENDS IN THE
MEDIA TO WHOM IT CAN TURN TO GIVE ITS SIDE OF THE
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STORY AND EXPECT A SYMPATHETIC HEARING, AND SO
LITTLE "PRO-MILITARY" SPIN DEVELOPED IN THE PRESS
OR AMONG A PUBLIC WHICH STILL HAS BITTER MEMORIES
OF THE ARMY'S BLOODY ROLE IN PUTTING DOWN STUDENT
DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE THE 1968 MEXICO CITY
OLYMPICS, THE SO-CALLED "TLATELOLCO MASSACRE."
THE PERCEIVED HUMILIATION GREW WORSE IN THE

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FOLLOWING WEEKS WHEN PRESIDENT SALINAS DECIDED TO
TURN TO MEDIATION RATHER THAN TO THE MILITARY AS
HIS MEANS TO DEAL WITH THE CONFLICT; THE ARMY
VIEWED HIS DECISION AS A SLAP IN THE FACE.

33. BUT THIS PERCEIVED HUMILIATION STEMMING OUT
OF CHIAPAS HAS BROUGHT TANGIBLE CHANGES IN THE
ARMY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE STINGING CHARGES OF HUMAN
RIGHTS ABUSE HAVE LED TO A FAR GREATER
CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS
A PUBLIC ISSUE, AND THE NEED TO INVESTIGATE
ALLEGATIONS. THE ORIGINAL HUMAN RIGHTS

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	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
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DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

ALLEGATIONS LED TO THE IMMEDIATE CREATION OF A
BUREAU WITH OFFICES ON THE GROUND IN CHIAPAS TO
INVESTIGATE, ACCORDING TO PERES TOLEDO, "EVERY
SINGLE COMPLAINT, NO MATTER HOW MINOR, AGAINST THE
MEXICAN ARMY IN CHIAPAS." HE SAID THAT SOME MINOR

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INFRACTIONS HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN PUNISHED, AND DISCOUNTS MURDER CHARGES IN OCOSINGO AND ELSEWHERE AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE ARMY, SAYING THAT INVESTIGATIONS DID NOT CONFIRM THE ACCUSATIONS. RELIABLE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHERS, WHO CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE THE "MORAL" EVIDENCE, WOULD NOT AGREE WITH HIS ASSESSMENT.

34. PERES TOLEDO CLAIMED, WITHOUT SUPPLYING EVIDENCE, THAT OFFICERS WITH SOME PUBLIC RELATIONS SAVVY ARE NOW FAR MORE LIKELY TO BE PROMOTED ON THAT BASIS THAN BEFORE, AND THE ARMY NOW HAS A PRESS OFFICE (WHICH AN OBSERVER SAYS NEVERTHELESS "IS NOT ALLOWED TO SHARE ANY INFORMATION WITH THE PRESS!") THIS ENHANCED ATTENTION TO PUBLIC RELATIONS MAY FINALLY BE PRODUCING TANGIBLE EFFECTS; A RECENT ARMY "CHARM OFFENSIVE" IN CHIAPAS WHICH BEGAN IN FEBRUARY, 1995, HAS BEGUN TO RESULT IN A FEW MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS FEATURING PICTURES OF MILITARY LEADERS IN CHIAPAS HIGHLIGHTING THE ARMY'S PEACEFUL INTENTIONS AND CIVIC ACTION ACTIVITIES IN THE STRIFE-TORN STATE.

35. ANOTHER TANGIBLE CHANGE IN THE ARMY STEMMING
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FROM CHIAPAS IS THE CREATION OF COUNTERINSURGENCY UNITS. IN MANY WAYS, THE MEXICAN ARMY IN MODERN TIMES HAS FUNCTIONED MORE AS A HIGHLY DISCIPLINED POLICE AND RESCUE SQUAD, COMBATTING NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND PROVIDING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND EMERGENCY RESCUE FACILITIES, THAN AS A COMBAT FORCE. THESE NEW UNITS MAKE THE ARMY MORE CAPABLE OF ADDRESSING CONFLICTS SUCH AS THE ONE IN CHIAPAS, THE ONLY SORT MODERN-DAY MEXICO IS LIKELY TO FACE WITHIN ITS BORDERS. BUT OBSERVERS SAY THAT, SO FAR, THESE UNITS HAVE NOT LIVED UP TO EXPECTATIONS. THEY WERE DESIGNED AS SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNITS, BUT HAVE, TO DATE, RECEIVED NO SPECIAL OPERATIONS TRAINING.

36. A GREAT FEAR OF THE GOM IS THAT THE ARMED MOVEMENT IN CHIAPAS WOULD SPREAD TO OTHER SOUTHERN STATES POPULATED LARGELY BY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, SUCH AS TABASCO AND OAXACA (OR EVEN AS FAR AS

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4005
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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DIRFBI WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY BELIZE
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CJCS WASHDC
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CIA WASHDC

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WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

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AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK -
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

PUEBLA, VERACRUZ AND GUERRERO), ONE OF THE
ORIGINAL STATED GOALS OF THE LEADERS OF THE EZLN.
REMINDED OF THAT POSSIBILITY, PERES TOLEDO REPLIED
FORCEFULLY THAT THE UNITS WERE PERMANENT AND WOULD
NOT BE DISBANDED AFTER THE CHIAPAS DISPUTE HAD
BEEN SETTLED.

37. ZEDILLO'S TEMPORARY USE OF THE ARMY TO STEM
THE INSURGENCY WITH PGR ARREST WARRANTS AND
MILITARY ACTION FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY OF ARMS
CACHES WAS A TONIC TO THAT SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF
THE ARMY THAT WANTED TO ADDRESS ITS EARLIER
HUMILIATION BY A SUCCESSFUL COUNTERINSURGENCY
ACTION. ALTHOUGH ZEDILLO HAS MADE IT CLEAR HE
WILL NOT RELY ON THE ARMY TO SOLVE A CONFLICT
WHICH CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFULLY SOLVED THROUGH
MEDIATION, THE ARMY HAS NOW SHOWN THE MEXICAN
PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT THAT IT COULD REGAIN REBEL

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TERRITORY QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY, WITH FEW CONFRONTATIONS. ACADEMIC OBSERVERS HAVE SUGGESTED TO US THAT THIS CHANCE FOR THE ARMY TO RECOUP ITS LOST HONOR MAY GO A LONG WAY IN ENSURING ITS CONTINUED LOYALTY TO ZEDILLO'S GOVERNMENT.

----- POSSIBLE MILITARY ROLE IF MASS INSTABILITY OCCURS -----

38. BY NOW, WE HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO
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OCCASIONAL PIECES IN U.S. NEWSPAPERS HINTING THAT SOMEHOW INSTABILITY COULD LEAD TO SOME FORM OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN MEXICO'S CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. THESE SCENARIOS STRIKE US AS FARFETCHED, TO SAY THE LEAST. OFTEN, FRANKLY, THESE ARTICLES SEEM TO SERVE AS A SORT OF JOURNALISTIC SNAKE-BITE MEDICINE TO COMPENSATE FOR LACK OF HARD KNOWLEDGE, IN WHICH OVEREAGER REPORTERS PUT THE MOST SENSATIONAL GLOSS ON THE HYPOTHESES OF ACADEMICS OR ATTENTION-SEEKING RUMORS ON MEXICO CITY'S "INSIDE-THE-PERIFERICO" COCKTAIL CIRCUIT. WHAT MAKES THESE OCCASIONAL JOURNALISTIC AND OTHER SUPPOSITIONS MOST QUESTIONABLE IS THAT NO ONE IN MEXICO, OUTSIDE OF THE MILITARY ITSELF, ENJOYS MUCH (OR ANY) ACCESS TO THE INNER WORKINGS OF MEXICAN MILITARY. JOURNALISTS IN PARTICULAR (MEXICAN OR FOREIGN) ARE ANATHEMA TO THOSE WHO RUN MEXICAN DEFENSE. WE IMAGINE THAT IGNORANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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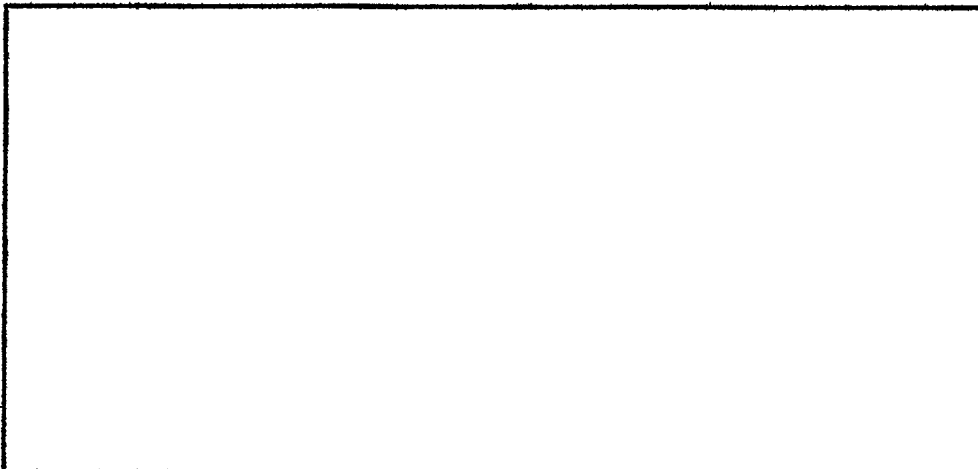
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TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
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MEXICAN ARMY IS NOT LIKE THAT OF ANY OTHER LATIN
AMERICAN ARMY CAN ACCOUNT FOR SOME OF THE WILD
SPECULATION PUT FORWARD BY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, AS
WELL.

39. WHILE DISMISSING THESE SORTS OF
HIGHLY-SYNTHETIC JOURNALISTIC EFFORTS, IT IS
IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT BY THE MEXICAN
MILITARY'S VERY OPACITY, THE POSSIBILITY OF
MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CIVILIAN MATTERS UNDER
THE RIGHT EMERGENCY CIRCUMSTANCES ACQUIRES SOME
SMALL SHREDS OF POSSIBILITY FOR WANT OF ANY
INFORMATION TO THE CONTRARY.



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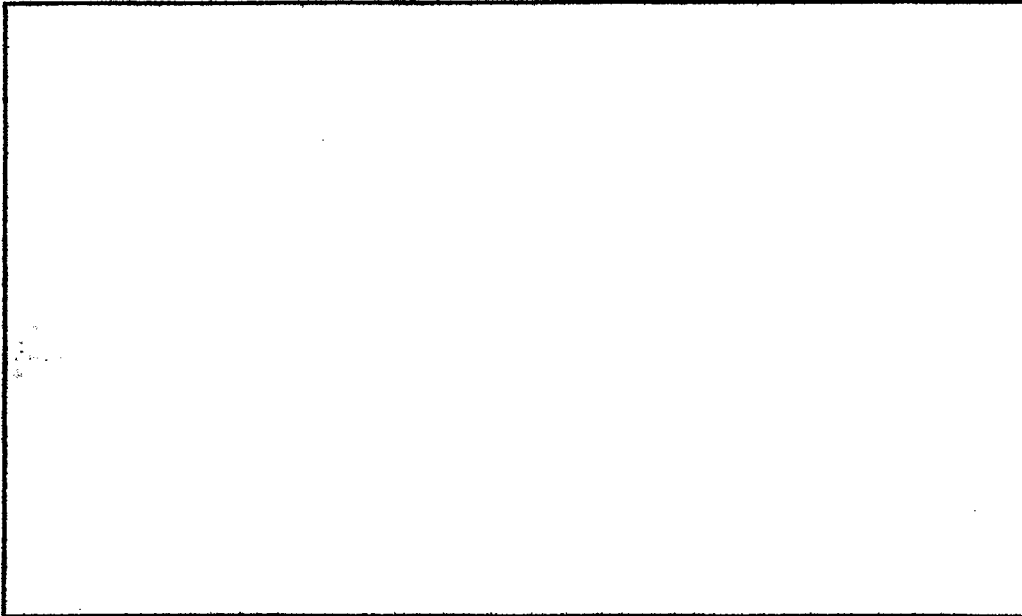
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
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43. IT IS INTERESTING TO OBSERVE THAT THE
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MILITARY AND ZEDILLO ADMINISTRATION THEMSELVES
HAVE BEEN AT PAINS TO STRESS PUBLICLY THE ARMY'S
CONTINUING LOYALTY. OBSERVERS POINT TO AN UNUSUAL
SPEECH GIVEN BY ZEDILLO'S SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
CERVANTES AT MILITARY LOYALTY DAY AT THE BEGINNING
OF FEBRUARY. CERVANTES STRESSED THE ARMY'S STRONG
AND PERMANENT COMMITMENT TO REMAIN WITHIN ITS
HISTORIC ROLE AND REITERATED ITS SUPPORT FOR
MEXICO'S CONSTITUTION AND PRESIDENT. THIS WAS A
FAR CRY FROM LAST YEAR'S SPEECH, IN WHICH RIVIELLO

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LAMBASTED SALINAS TO HIS FACE FOR NOT SQUELCHING
CRITICISMS OF THE ARMY FOR ITS ROLE IN CHIAPAS.
(ZEDILLO IS ALSO FELT TO BE UNPOPULAR WITH THE
RANK AND FILE DUE TO HIS ACTION AS EDUCATION
SECRETARY DURING THE SALINAS ADMINISTRATION
PLACING THE BLAME IN REVISED TEXTBOOKS ON THE 1968
"TLATELOLCO MASSACRE" ON THE ARMY. THIS "BLACK
MARK", HOWEVER, MAY HAVE BEEN COMPENSATED FOR BY
ZEDILLO'S LATER WORK AS BUDGET DIRECTOR, WHEN HE

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4008
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
CIA WASHDC

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JCS WASHDC//J2//
ALL USCONS MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 15 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

MAINTAINED ARMY SPENDING LEVELS, AND BY A STINT
WITH BANEJERCITO (THE ARMY'S CREDIT UNION), WHICH
HE HELPED TO MODERNIZE AND PUT ON A SOUND
FINANCIAL FOOTING.) CERVANTES IS FIERCELY LOYAL
TO ZEDILLO BY ALL ACCOUNTS, AND IS SAID TO STRESS
THIS LOYALTY REPEATEDLY TO THE RANK AND FILE.

44. AS A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION, POLOFF WAS STRUCK

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BY THE CONCLUSION OF HIS MEETING WITH PERES TOLEDO. PERES TOLEDO WAS GIVING A THOUGHTFUL ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT WAYS IN WHICH THE ARMY HAD CHANGED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THIS LED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE NEED TO MODERNIZE MEXICAN EQUIPMENT. THEN, SUDDENLY, THE FOLLOWING THOUGHT, OUT OF NOWHERE, EXPRESSED SOTTO VOCE, WELL-REHEARSED AND IN FULL THROAT: "...BUT ONE THING WILL NEVER CHANGE. THAT IS THE MEXICAN ARMY'S TOTAL LOYALTY TO CIVILIAN CONTROL AND SEPARATION FROM POLITICS! WE WILL NEVER VENTURE BEYOND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF COMPLETE OBEDIENCE TO THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THIS COUNTRY." WHETHER PERES TOLEDO WAS SPEAKING WITH AUTHORITY (PROBABLY NOT -- ONE STAR BRIGADIER GENERALS IN MEXICO COMMAND BATTALIONS, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LIEUTENANT COLONELS IN THE U.S.) OR JUST REPEATING THE PARTY LINE, IT WAS FASCINATING THAT AN OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARMY WOULD HAVE FELT THE NEED TO EXPRESS SUCH SENTIMENTS SPONTANEOUSLY TO A U.S. DIPLOMATIC

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45. OBSERVERS SPECULATE ON ANOTHER EVENT THAT COULD CONCEIVABLY CHALLENGE THE ARMY'S LOYALTY TO CIVIL AUTHORITY - REPLACING THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (ALWAYS A GENERAL) WITH A CIVILIAN, AN IDEA DISCUSSED EVEN IN MILITARY CIRCLES IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE SALINAS ADMINISTRATION. THE OFFICE HAS ALWAYS BEEN HELD BY A HIGH-RANKING ARMY OFFICIAL. AT TIMES, CIVILIAN LEADERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT DEFENSE MIGHT BE HEADED BY A CIVILIAN (AS IN THE UNITED STATES) WITH A SECRETARY OF THE ARMY AND SECRETARY OF THE NAVY REPORTING TO THE DEFENSE SECRETARY.

46. IN MEXICO'S YOUTHFUL POLITICAL WORLD, WHERE CABINET MEMBERS ARE FREQUENTLY IN THEIR 30'S OR EARLY FORTIES, THIS WOULD MEAN LEADERSHIP OF THE ARMY'S POTENT GERONTOCRACY WITH A MAN ABOUT HALF

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4009
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
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JCS WASHDC//J2//
ALL USCONS MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONT SUTLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

THE AGE OF MOST GENERALS. MANY FEEL THAT A
PRESIDENT WHO ATTEMPTED SUCH A "REFORM" OF THE
DEFENSE STRUCTURE WITHOUT THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE
ARMY'S HIERARCHY WOULD BE RISKING SOMETHING MUCH
STRONGER THAN BACKDOOR MUTTERING.

COMMENT

47. WE PRESENT THIS PORTRAIT OF THE MEXICAN ARMY
TODAY TO GIVE WASHINGTON READERS SOME INSIGHTS
INTO A LARGELY CLOSED INSTITUTION. WE HOPE FOR
CLOSER U.S.-GOM POLITICAL-MILITARY COOPERATION, AS
WELL AS CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR MILITARY AND
THE MEXICAN ARMY. BUT WE BELIEVE WASHINGTON
SHOULD KNOW WHAT WE ARE FACING WHEN WE PURSUE
IMPROVED RELATIONS.

48. IN PARTICULAR, WE WANT READERS TO CONTINUE TO
BE AWARE OF THE LACK OF ACCESSIBILITY OF ARMY
OFFICIALS TO USG REPRESENTATIVES IN MEXICO,

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WHETHER CIVILIAN OR MILITARY. POLOFF'S VISITS TO THE DEFENSE MINISTRY REQUIRED THE CAREFUL INTERVENTION OF EMBASSY [REDACTED] WHOSE OWN OFFICE MUST PERSEVERE TO OBTAIN SUCH OCCASIONAL CONTACTS AND WHICH FACES FREQUENT DISAPPOINTMENT DUE TO ARMY POLICY FROWNING ON PRACTICALLY ANY CONTACTS, DIPLOMATIC OR SOCIAL, WITH U.S. OFFICIALS.
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49. WE ALSO WISH TO PUT THE OCCASIONAL PRESS ACCOUNTS OF POSSIBLE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE MEXICAN POLITICAL WORLD INTO THE PROPER PERSPECTIVE -- HIGHLY UNLIKELY, IN OUR OPINION, BUT DIFFICULT TO KNOW FOR SURE, AGAIN BECAUSE OF THE CLOSED NATURE OF THE INSTITUTION.

50. THE THREE MAIN INSTRUMENTS THAT WE SEE IN THE SHORT TERM THAT COULD HELP BUILD CIVILIAN/MILITARY RELATIONS WITHIN THE GOM AND OPEN THE DOOR TO MORE U.S./MEXICO MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS ARE: (1) A MORE FLEXIBLE POLICY ON MILITARY SALES TO MEXICO IN THE WAKE OF REDUCED TENSIONS IN CHIAPAS AND IMPROVED MILITARY HUMAN RIGHTS BEHAVIOR; (2) THE INITIATION OF POLITICAL/MILITARY TALKS WITH MEXICO PROPOSED SEPTEL; AND (3) THE PARTICIPATION OF MEXICO IN THE JULY 22-24 DEFENSE MINISTERIAL OF THE AMERICAS TO BE HELD IN WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4010
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
CIA WASHDC

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WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

51. TO REACH THESE GOALS, WE WILL NEED TO DEAL
WITH THE TRADITIONAL MEXICAN POLICY OF
NON-INTERVENTION WHICH MAKES FOREIGN MINISTRY AND
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT ALIKE OPPOSED AT THIS TIME
TO ANY FORM OF JOINT HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE FORCE OR
OTHER MULTILATERAL HEMISPHERIC MILITARY
INSTITUTION; WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT, ON THESE
ISSUES, THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS AN EXTREMELY
CONSERVATIVE INSTITUTION WHICH LOOKS SKEPTICALLY
ON ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. HOWEVER,
WE REMAIN OPTIMISTIC OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF
SUCCESS IN PERSUADING OUR MEXICAN MILITARY (AND
CIVILIAN) COUNTERPARTS OF THE WISDOM OF CLOSER
CONTACTS WITH THE U.S. BILATERALLY AND OTHER
HEMISPHERIC PARTNERS IN MULTINATIONAL FORA. END
COMMENT.

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