

# CAST OF MAIN CHARACTERS

This is a list of members (past and present) of the FLN and EZLN, ranked in approximate order of seniority, when they joined the FLN and/or the EZLN, and their importance within it.

## FLN

**Comandante Germán** Fernando Yáñez Muñoz (a.k.a. Leo). Founding member of the FLN in the late 1960s in the aftermath of the Tlatelolco student massacre. After the death of his brother, César Germán Yáñez Muñoz (Pedro), at the hands of the security forces in Chiapas (1974), he took his brother's real name (Germán) for his own nom de guerre. He was one of the original six who established the EZLN *foco* in Chiapas (November 1983). He trained Marcos in guerrilla warfare. He is the husband of Lucía, whom he married during the same ceremony that Marcos married Yolanda/Ana María (1987). He was captured by security forces in October 1995, but was later released without charge. He is now an advisory editor of *Rebeldía*, the EZLN magazine.

**Pedro** César Germán Yáñez Muñoz, brother of Fernando Yáñez Muñoz. He was shot dead by security forces in February 1974 while undertaking guerrilla activities in Chiapas.

**Roger** Margil Yáñez Muñoz. The oldest brother of César and Fernando. He did the groundwork for guerrilla activity in Chiapas during the mid-1970s, distributing medical supplies there in an attempt to win over the local population. Like his father, whom he was named after, he became a doctor.

**Comandante Rodrigo** Javier Ramírez (a.k.a. Juan). Brother of Gabriel Ramírez (Dr. Carlos) and husband of Silvia Fernández (Gabriela, a.k.a.

Sofía). He was second-in-command of the FLN. He left the organization in January 1993 after an internal coup within the FLN.

**Comandanta Elisa** María Gloria Benavides Guevara (a.k.a. Ana). She studied at the University of Nuevo León where she had met the two Yáñez brothers, Fernando and César. She joined the FLN as a teenager in the early 1970s. She was one of the original six (and the only woman) who comprised the *foco* that went to Chiapas (November 1983) and called itself the EZLN. In 1983 she was dating (and recruiting) Jorge Santiago (alias Jacobo), the head of DESMI, a regional development agency. She traveled to Nicaragua. Elisa ran the main headquarters camp, La Cueva (the cave) in Chiapas for several years before returning to Mexico City permanently to conduct FLN operations there (around 1988). She had previously (around 1985) fallen in love with Javier Elorriaga (Vicente), with whom she had a son, named Vicente after his father's nom de guerre. After the internal coup (January 1993) she and her husband were put in charge of the FLN's ideological commission, editing and publishing internal documents. She was seized in the government's February 1995 offensive, but the case was thrown out amid allegations of torture and irregularities concerning due process.

**Lucía** Gloria Muñoz. The wife of Germán. She had been at Tlatelolco Plaza during the massacre of the students in 1968. She helped train and politically educate indigenous recruits in a safe house in the Tuxtla Gutiérrez. She received the post of secretary of the masses during the January 1993 Prado meeting, thus becoming (with Marcos and Germán) one of the three cornerstones of the FLN and EZLN. She is currently an advisory editor for the EZLN's *Rebeldía* magazine.

**Gabriela** Silvia Fernández (a.k.a. Sofía), wife of Comandante Rodrigo, in charge of editing and publishing the FLN's publications, and possibly Rafael Guillén's (and Daniel's) recruiter at UAM. She left the movement at the same time as her husband, after the January 1993 internal coup.

**Rodolfo** Real name unknown. A native of Chihuahua and one of the initial six founding members of the EZLN who arrived in Chiapas in November 1983. Around late 1984 or early 1985 he was relocated to his home state of Chihuahua where he took command of the newly implanted Villa Front—the FLN's northern counterpart to its southern wing, the EZLN.

**Dr. Carlos** Gabriel Ramírez. Rodrigo's brother and husband to Mercedes (Rocío Casariego), Marcos's former girlfriend. He frequently traveled to

Nicaragua and worked in EZLN camps in Chiapas. He left the organization after the January 1993 internal coup.

**Mercedes** Rocío Casariego. Formerly Rafael Guillén's girlfriend while they were at UNAM, she later went on to marry Dr. Carlos and to work in Nicaragua and Chiapas. She left the organization after the January 1993 internal coup. She named her daughter Mercedes, after her own nom de guerre.

**"Marcos"** Adelaido Villafranco. Rafael Guillén took Villafranco's nom de guerre for himself following Villafranco's death (26 May 1983) at an army checkpoint in Puebla. Rafael had accompanied "Marcos" on long journeys, during which he had been impressed by the latter's knowledge of Mexican history.

## EZLN

**Subcomandante Pedro** Héctor Ochoa. He was from Mexico City. Although not one of the six FLN members who established the *foco* in Chiapas (November 1983), he arrived very soon afterward (probably late 1983 or early 1984). It was he who scouted the La Pesadilla (the nightmare) camp. He was very close to Marcos. He remained in Chiapas all the time (from his arrival to his death a decade later), leaving only once, briefly, for hospital treatment. He too, like Marcos and Daniel, commanded a camp of his own. He was shot dead in January 1994 while leading an attack on Las Margaritas.

**Subcomandante Marcos** Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente (the subject of this biography).

**Subcomandante Daniel** Salvador Morales Garibay. A native of Michoacán, he was a teaching assistant in Rafael Guillén's department at UAM. He joined the FLN and EZLN and spent some time briefly in Chiapas in 1985 before working for three years (1985–88) under Germán in Mexico City. There he was promoted to Subcommander and later returned to Chiapas and put in charge of his own camp. He and Marcos frequently disagreed and this, plus general disillusionment with the cause, led Daniel to distance himself from the movement. He left it in 1993 and, allegedly fearing reprisals, fled to the United States. In 1994, from his self-imposed exile, he began making contact with the Mexican government's intelligence ser-

vices. He made a statement giving details about the movement to the intelligence services in February 1995.

**Yolanda/Ana María** Real name unknown. A Tzotzil from Sabanilla. She joined the EZLN early on, in December 1984, at age fourteen. Marcos led her on her first training mission that month. She was soon placed in charge of recruitment in the north of the region. She subsequently worked undercover as an auxiliary nurse at a hospital in San Andrés Larráinzar. She married Marcos in 1987. She rose to the rank of major and led the attacks on San Cristóbal and Rancho Nuevo in January 1994.

**Jacobo** Jorge Santiago. Head of DESMI, a regional development agency started by Bishop Ruiz and funded by international nongovernmental organizations. He had been romantically involved with Elisa during the early 1980s. He helped recruit Tzotzils in the region of Sabanilla and diverted DESMI funds to the EZLN.

**Mario** Real name unknown. A Tzotzil from Sabanilla, he joined the EZLN very young in December 1984 along with Yolanda/Ana María. He soon rose to the rank of major and was put in charge of the Baby Doc camp (around 1986). After Subcommander Daniel left the organization in 1993 Mario was put in charge of Daniel's former camp, La Calabazas (the pumpkins) at the Sierra Corralchén. He also led the attack on Ocosingo in January 1994.

**Tacho** Humberto Trejo. A Tojolabal and leader of the region's *campesino* unions, the Unión de Ejidos de la Selva. In the 1970s, he had been sent to the Marists in San Cristóbal to attend bible study workshops in which he was also taught arithmetic, first aid, Mexican history, agrarian rights, and how to establish cooperatives. He rose to the rank of comandante. He came to the front of the EZLN as Marcos attempted to step back out of the limelight. He was a central figure, for example, in the Encuentro (1996), and negotiated and signed (along with David) the San Andrés Accords.

**David** Real name unknown. A Tzotzil and former catechist. Like Tacho, he became a central figure in the EZLN after Marcos decided to take more of a back seat. He negotiated and signed (along with Tacho) the San Andrés Accords.

**Moisés** Real name unknown. A Tzeltal who often acted as translator between Marcos and the indigenous during the early years. He rose to the rank of major and led the attack on Comitán in January 1994.

**Hugo** Francisco Gómez. A Tzeltal from Las Cañadas, who had been president of Quiptic in the late 1970s, secretary of the Unión de Uniones/ARIC in the late 1980s and then one of the leaders of the ANCIEZ during the early 1990s. He rose to the rank of capitán and headed the arm of the movement devoted to the organization of masses, before being killed in Ocosingo during the uprising. Marcos carried a photograph of Hugo around with him after his death and even dedicated several verses of Paul Eluard's poem "El Castillo de los pobres" ("The Castle of the Poor") to him in one of his comunicués.

**Jesús** Lázaro Hernández. He had worked as a catechist attending the Chiapas Indigenous Council (and so was known to Samuel Ruiz), and was simultaneously the secretary of Quiptic. He helped to introduce the EZLN into indigenous communities and peasant organizations. In January 1986 he organized the First Worker-Peasant Meeting of the FLN, designed to forge links between Chiapan peasants and workers from cities in the north of Mexico. He became the president of ARIC (1991), helping the EZLN to control the organization and steer its members into the guerrillas' ranks.

**Vicente** Jorge Javier Elorriaga Berdegué. He joined the FLN and EZLN at some point during the 1980s, later becoming a comandante. He fell in love with Comandanta Elisa (mid-1980s) and they had a son together (named Vicente after his father's nom de guerre). His duties were concerned with the FLN's ideological commission. During 1994 he distributed the EZLN's comunicués to the press and acted as a liaison between the EZLN and the government. He was arrested during the government's February 1995 offensive. He was tried and sentenced to thirteen years in prison for terrorism. He was released on 6 June 1996 and shortly after was made head of the FZLN, which he worked to publicize.

**Old Antonio** Initially thought by many to be a literary construct of Marcos, it appears he was a real person. He and Marcos met while the latter was leading a training mission in December 1984. It was Old Antonio who invited the EZLN into his village, thus giving the guerrillas their first foothold in the communities. Former Subcommander-turned-informer Daniel insists that Old Antonio was an assassin who had fled into the jungle to escape justice. He died in May or June 1994. Marcos often includes him in his comunicués, with Old Antonio acting as the dispenser of indigenous wisdom.

**Castelán** Francisco López. A Chol from Sabanilla who was the Unión de Uniones president. He recruited for the EZLN.

## OTHERS

**Avendaño, Amado** Coeditor of San Cristóbal's *el Tiempo* newspaper and PRD gubernatorial candidate for the state in 1994.

**Camacho Solís, Manuel** Mayor of Mexico City in 1988, he was a potential PRI presidential candidate in the 1994 elections. However, he was passed over in favor of Luis Donaldo Colosio, and was instead made peace commissioner in charge of negotiating a peace with the EZLN after the uprising.

**Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc** Son of President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40). He broke from the PRI and ran for the 1988 presidential election. Despite being widely perceived as the victor, electoral fraud resulted in Salinas being declared the winner. He then co-founded the PRD.

**Colosio, Luis Donaldo** The 1994 PRI presidential candidate before his assassination on 23 March 1994.

**Fox Quesada, Vicente** PAN President of Mexico (2000–2006). He boasted prior to taking office that he could solve the Chiapas problem in fifteen minutes.

**Madrazo Cuellar, José** Manuel Camacho Solís's replacement as peace commissioner.

**Robledo, Eduardo** 1994 PRI gubernatorial candidate for Chiapas.

**Ruiz, Samuel** Bishop of the San Cristóbal Diocese from 1960–2000. He was influenced by liberation theology. The EZLN nominated him as an official mediator between it and the government. He founded the Fray Bartolomé de las Casas Human Rights Center and formed the CONAI mediation body.

**Salinas de Gortari, Carlos** President of Mexico (1988–1994). He earned a doctorate from Harvard. He was secretary of budget and finance (1982–87), during which time the government implemented a severe economic austerity program. He was declared president in the 1988 election despite blatant electoral fraud. He initiated a policy of mass privatizations.

**Zapata, Emiliano** Mexico's most famous and much-loved peasant leader in the Mexican Revolution. He fought tirelessly and uncompromisingly for agrarian reform. In 1919 he was tricked into meeting with the government to discuss peace and was treacherously assassinated at a place called Chinameca.

**Zedillo, Ernesto** President of Mexico (1994–2000). He earned his doctorate in economics from Yale. He had been the education minister and was only nominated as the PRI presidential candidate because its first choice, Luis Colosio, was assassinated.