

# **Mexican Judeofobia: Roots and Consequences on the Political Right**

Diego Velázquez

Patricia Campos

Samuel Schmidt

## **Introduction**

Hate is not monothematic; it is wide-ranging and long lived. The hater hates many different people. As long as there are people to hate, social relationships will be perverse and vitiated.

Hate is founded on fear; fear of blacks, gypsies, women, communists, Jews, and so on. Fear of resistance, religions, races and social conditions. Some hate the other regardless of whether they have seen it or not. Fear is cause and consequence of ideologies that pervert and distort reality: xenophobia, racism, discrimination... the list goes on.

The fear of Jews has been a constant in the social evolution of the last seventeen centuries. Placing deicide as one of the central tenets of Christianity gave rise to one of the most cruel and prolonged persecutions in history, which would lead in turn to one of humanity's greatest tragedies: the Nazi's Holocaust. It is still considered to be a Jewish issue, even though gypsies, communists, homosexuals, Catholic priests, and all who were considered "different" to the Nazi patron of purity died. It is surprising that there is no such claim in the world for the censorship of Stalin, who killed more people than the Nazis. Perhaps for the Left, to build police and criminal systems on behalf of democracy is a sensitive issue, because it implies an

acceptance of the distortion of the libertarian and egalitarian ideals of communism<sup>1</sup>. In this category we should include Mao, Pol Pot and many of the genocides ignored and endorsed by governments, such as the Armenian genocide.

Anti-Semitism has historically been linked to the conservative, reactionary and fascist regimes of Europe, but has it been present in Mexico? What are its Mexican background and consequences? The Mexican experience has its own elements that were enriched after the First and Second World Wars.

“Judeophobia (as Granados Chapa called it) is an old custom of the Mexican right, especially in the western part of the country (...) In Porfirian times (as explained by Lomnitz), Catholic newspapers, inspired by the Dreyfus Case, raised anti-Jewish feelings in the thirties, discrimination led to isolated acts of persecution against small merchants in the center of Mexico City, led by fascist groups called "Golden Shirts." In 1940, it was sad to see José Vasconcelos - the maderista, the Minister of Education, the Democrat of 29 - running the *Timón* magazine, paid by the Nazi embassy. At the same time, the Sinarquismo<sup>2</sup> and the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) gave wide samples of hatred and racial discrimination against

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<sup>1</sup> After Saramago compared the death of 20 Palestinians in Junin to Auschwitz, he was asked to denounce Stalin's crimes, which he refused to do. On the similarity of Nazi and Stalinist concentration camps see Grossman (1985)

<sup>2</sup> Sinarquismo- a movement of conservative, lay Mexican Catholics that originated in opposition to radical and liberal tendencies during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940). It literally means "with order," the opposite of anarchism, but its advocates intended to counter ... both communism and capitalism by appeals to a traditional, hierarchical, Hispanic, corporate [social order](https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/sinarquismo). <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/sinarquismo>

the Jews, echoing the teachings of Charles Maurras (...) And in the fifties, the book *World Defeat* began to circulate, prologued by Vasconcelos himself (...) In the last half century, it seemed that the anti-Jewish passion of the Right had softened, but the truth is that it is still there (...) the PAN is a schizophrenic party: half democratic, half fascist. Half an urn, half an anvil<sup>3</sup>". (Krauze, 2013)

It is necessary, however, to consider the effects of judeophobia on both the collective imagination of the ruling elite and the political culture of society. Some analysts consider that since the presidential term of Manuel Ávila Camacho (1940-1946), the country has been governed by the Right Wing. Blancarte (1993) establishes that a series of alliances between the State and the Mexican Right - which was fundamentally represented by the Catholic Church in the twentieth century - can better illustrate a turn to the Right in the interests of governance and social control. It is understandable that a predominantly Catholic community would empower its representative religious institution and pressure the government to follow certain courses of action. If the Right maintains dominion of the country, then it stands to reason that a conservative political culture would be generated in most of the population. Can we then formulate whether, consequently, anti-Semitism is a constant of Mexican society?

Lomnitz (2010) indicates that there have been few physical or real attacks against the Jews living in Mexico. However, though there may not have been many threats, the question is

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<sup>3</sup> Anvil, Yunque is the name of an right wing extremist group.

whether the existence of racism should be marked only with physical attacks. According to Lomnitz's hypothesis, Mexico's antisemitism is "without Jews," which refers to the idea of anti-Jewish acts in communities where Jews were not present even for centuries; it could be classified as "symbolic." That is, Mexican Judeophobia has been projected onto Jews— who are largely perceived as invisible in the country— but, most of all, towards those who symbolically are inserted into Judeity as enemies of Christianity and the Right: the Left, the communists, the socialists, the women, the intellectuals, the students, the peasants, the poor and the non-Catholics. Mexican anti-Semitism is a defensive trick against real and symbolic Jews.

In this essay, we will study the development of Judeophobia in Mexico's secular and religious right; not only as a product of the anti-Semitism and anti-communism the Catholic Church manifested in its opposition to modernity, but also as a consequence of the global geopolitical context of World War II and, later, the Cold War.

Mexico presents the racist schemes of all societies and, rather than reducing anti-Semitism to the "politically correct," it is important to trace the relationship of this form of exclusion in the Mexican historical process, consistently referencing the wealth of evidence that exists. The purpose lies in demonstrating the influence of this form of racism and ideology in the different parts of the Mexican political class — in this case of the Right wing — and observing the social and political consequences of this phenomenon to this day.

## **Historic context**

Judeophobia—caused by Christianity—can be considered one of the great crimes of the West. The European anti-Semitic perspective was nourished by an ancient, romantic, nationalist, Romanist, syncretist, millenarian, Catholic traditionalism. The radiation that generated myths such as deicide, ritual crime, and conspiracy to control the world - expressed in the publication of the Protocols of the Sages of Zion, etc.- all allow us to verify that the Catholic Church spread anti-Semitism; moreover, there is evidence of their co-responsibility in the Nazi Holocaust, either by omission or commission.

A straight line can be drawn from the creation of Catholicism as an official religion in the fourth century to the positions of hatred we see in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which coincide with the notion and purpose of disappearance of the Jews. According to Delumeau (2005) the Catholic Church had developed a hatred of Jews and women, managing to introduce fear among its believers and generate an imaginary social stigma that lasted for generations and would produce massive ignominy. At first, the Church pushed the disappearance of the Jews through assimilation by forcing them to change their religion, as witnessed in Spain and Portugal; however, intense economic factors became present from 1930's to 1970's.

To increase this process, Catholic newspapers, magazines and other publications effectively created anti-Semitism. According to Meyer (2012), it was a war of narratives; but the appearance of the *Protocols of The Wise Men of Zion* proved catastrophic, because it opened the door for the justification of the disappearance of the Jews through extermination. This establishes a transition from the early Catholic position to the

dissolution of the Jewish people through Christian conversion; to justifying the “pogroms” at the end of the 19th century and, finally, accepting the extermination by the Nazis.

The deicide was built in when Christians, to ingratiate themselves with the Romans around 300 AD, exempted them from responsibility in the murder of Jesus by blaming the Jews (Cohn 1971). Once Christianity became an official religion of the State through Constantine with Theodosius in the fourth century, it legitimize promoting hatred of the Jew. The cultivation and dispersion of lies and false images would then feed hatred and fear over the centuries. The Jews were accused of bestiality, ritual murders (Meyer, 2012), incest, abduction of children, desecration of the communion wafer —and, symbolically through that, of the flesh of Christ— ingestion of human blood, water pollution, utilization of lepers, propagation of the plague, various conspiracies, seizing economic power, trying to destroy economic power, intellectual power, power to pervert sexuality and, now, to invent the holocaust and market their condition as victims ([Ridgen](#) and [Rossier](#), 2009). For this, an archetypal phenotype of the "Jew" with a long, hunched, sinister nose, horns and tail was created. The cultivation and dispersion of hate was reinforced with an iconography that represents Christ in his maximum humiliation:

The introduction of ugliness and suffering in the celebrations of the divine stimulated other types of ugliness exacerbated for moralistic and cult purposes, from images of death, hell, devil and sin to those of martyrs' suffering. (Eco, 2011: 52)

This symbolic construction explains that the Jews who “dared” to kill Jesus could do yet more damage to humanity, and thus it is not surprising that it has been manifested as a critical identity element that feeds the supremacist doctrines central to the

Aryan race, or any dogma that supports the idea that whites are superior to all other races and that justify oppressions, persecutions and massacres. Perhaps we might suggest that it was constructing the mother of all racisms without fear of being wrong.

The anti-Jewish rhetoric goes off from the ecclesiastical union with the power of the Roman monarchs, but increases as the Church loses power in the face of the evolution of political ideas and the economic market. Modernity constitutes a historical phenomenon that radically confronts the Catholic Church. The end of the medieval world - the transition from the old regime to the new regime - implied a change in social structures that weakened Catholicity.

Catholicism considered that the enemies of Christianity—namely, the Jews—were behind all revolutions (Díaz Cid, 2003; Paul Johnson, 2006; Burleigh, 2007), thus showing the need to organize and destroy the State and Modernity; that is, the Jews. The fear of the modern world caused the formation of numerous secret Catholic organizations geared to defend Christianity at any cost. The fundamentalist and/or intransigent's development of the secret Catholic societies was directed against the Masons as a modernizing, enlightened institution, despite copying most of their strategies (Solís, 2010). The Jesuits were the ones who most developed fundamentalism and political activism.

There is insistence on the Jewish-Enlightened conspiracy, which gains strength when the Papal States are lost in 1870, which the Church blamed on the Freemason, enlightened, Jewish, communist, liberal, secularizing and scientific enemies. In the great conspiracy against the Church, all the enemies of Catholicism fit together, no matter how they're mixed. Catholic

integrism and fundamentalism would then be justified to reconfigure the greatness of the Church.

Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) and Leon XIII (1878-1903) sponsored and encouraged Catholic secret organizations throughout the world. In Mexico, as in many Catholic countries, secret societies enjoyed great autonomy from the Catholic hierarchy (e.g. La Base), while the reserved ones acted under direct supervision of the archbishop (as is the case of El Yunque). All these organizations act through infiltration and clandestinity. Both Popes confirmed that, with the loss of the papal states, the fear of the disappearance of the Catholic Institution was growing; a "Good Friday,"— a corporate cataclysm, a deep organizational identity crisis was threatening Catholicism— was sure to come. To preserve the interests of the Church, the evolution of modern thought was confronted because it was the enemy of Catholic Christianity, and this medieval vision began to be configured as conservatism.

Thus was Conservative Catholic thinking born and developed as a reaction to different expressions of progress: capitalism, secularization, social classes, democratic revolution, industrialism, science, socialism, free expression and, most notably, individualism. The setting of these elements - modernity- represented for conservatives the historical leap that can defy not only the status quo in a dangerous way; but, above all, the very existence of the church. In this sense, conservatism tries to influence each of the items to prevent the transformation they imply; each process of change activates reactionary and involution devices in the followers of such political thoughts and mindsets.

Although ideologies constitute a partial and frequently distorted view of reality, they are merely world-views for the people who adopt them; they become total thoughts as soon as they intend to cover most human aspects. When trying to study them, their perspectives and justifications about the relationship that traditionally exists between Man and State must be contemplated. To justify their existence, ideologies propose ideal models of social coexistence. Some are utopias that develop concrete actions in political programs. Conservatism (Nisbet 1995, 41) aims to keep man away from the danger posed by collectivist and individualistic tendencies; it considers the vital existence of relations between Man and the State determined by intermediate groups, of which the family is the most important. Thus, it is essential for conservative thinking - and the notion of the corporate state it develops- to form a man alien to collectivist and individualistic tendencies. "... By testing their possible combination, it is concluded that two romantic ideologies, traditionalism and fascism, and a classical conservatism are Right-wing; they are—from the Left—a romantic, anarcho-libertarianism, a classic, scientific socialism; while the remaining classic, liberalism, is right and left according to the contexts" Cofrancesco, cited in Bobbio (1996, 118)

The Church greets the twentieth century with Pius X (1903-1914), an "anti-modern" pontificate strengthened by an integralist<sup>4</sup> tendency, which the Holy See manifested to each

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<sup>4</sup> "As a traditionalist political movement, integralism emerged during the 19th and early 20th century polemics within the [Catholic Church](#), especially in [France](#). The term was used as an epithet to describe those who opposed the "[modernists](#)," who had sought to create a synthesis between Christian theology and the [liberal philosophy](#) of secular modernity. Proponents of Catholic political integralism taught that all social and political action ought to be based on the

social, economic or political event. Pius XI and Pius XII would represent the highest point of this trend; nevertheless, in their favor the context can be pointed out as highly conflictive for the Catholic Institution. The development of Communism and other Socialist movements and the advance of secularization in the different Christian countries constitute -both for the bureaucracy and the elite of the religious institution- unequivocal symbols of the end of the Catholic Church, and they decide to act against them by designating those developments as a product of Judaism. When the Catholic Church lost the Papal States, it seemed that -at least in the West- enlightened and liberal-progressive ideas would not have much trouble with development; however, the emergence of communism as a State after the Bolshevik revolution generated a momentum in Christianity towards Soviet Russia, transforming it into the crucible of its greatest enemies: the Masons and the Jews.

While the modern world eschewed to scientific discoveries and praised the power of human decision and creation, the integralist and intransigent movements were concerned with professing that man was, in effect, the measure of all things as divine creation, and that their capacity for reason and action obeyed a divine nature, to which they should be directed. This reflection was combined with the condemnation of liberal and democratic institutions. Against rational and human truth, the Catholic Church — like all religious institutions—opposes its divine and revealed truth.

The defense made by the German Catholics against the Kulturkampf of Bismarck is taken as an example at a time when the Church seriously thought about its extinction (Johnson, 2006; Díaz Cid, 2003). From their sympathy with Mussolini for the recognition of the territories belonging to the Vatican, there

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Catholic faith. They rejected the separation of church and state, arguing that Catholicism should be the proclaimed religion of the state". (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Integralism>)

is also the attachment felt by the "Old German Catholics," some of whom would certainly have belonged to the secret societies. Not only was the German experience exemplary and a paradigm to be followed as a model of Catholic defense, the experiences of countries such as Poland, Austria, Hungary, France, Spain, Croatia and numerous others would serve as the Vatican continued to strengthen the international prominence of the Church.

The Catholic secret societies gained recognition of effectiveness, admitting and legitimizing the Vatican. The fight against Communism and the Jewish conspiracy by the secret groups of the extreme right would go on to produce the fascist models seen in Italy, Spain, Germany, Croatia, Austria and several Latin American countries. The Nazi Final Solution was inspired by a Catholic Pan-Germanic mysticism that developed the secret society of Thule, which included Catholics and persons close to Adolf Hitler. This program was based on the image of Catholicism for the development of its propaganda, and was published in *Mein Kampf* several years before the foundation of the Third Reich.

For Olmos (1996), when the Catholic deflects his path to the political ideology of the right, he adopts two characteristics: Philonazism and anti-Judaism, which are short of a "counterrevolutionary" position (enlightened thought, French Revolution) and consistent with the fascist totalitarianisms. Philonazism, understood as an anti-revolutionary consciousness, is identified with ten attitudes:

- 1) The conviction that the individual counts as less than the group
- 2) The preeminence (sic) of the Story about Revelation
- 3) Gnosticism
- 4) The persecuted minority, mentality, or sectarian spirit

- 5) The confusion of spiritual power with the temporal or political "messianic"
- 6) The conviction that the temporary order is the responsibility of a few
- 7) Millennialism
- 8) The preference for human traditions and works over the Word and the action of God
- 9) The logic of the exclusion or extermination of the opposite
- 10) Racism or xenophobia.

Important Judeophobic junctions arose in France and Russia that were overtaken by conservative thinking to justify their political action. In both cases, false and extraordinary stories were invented that highlight the evil and deicidal role of the Jewish people. Anti-Judaism recognizes two tendencies: the "Illuminist-Gnostic" side is represented by *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* (pamphlet developed during the Second Vatican Council showing, from their perspective, the Masonic, communist and Jewish seizure of the Holy See). Its author, Maurice Pinay, (a pseudonym ) and the "Christian-Western" were manifested by *Plot against the Church the same notion*. Both works are compilations of anti-Semitic theses. These positions have been developed throughout the history of the Catholic Church in its relationship with temporal power and the different activities that its hierarchy has tolerated from the faithful in five periods: 1789-1870; 1870-1914-17; 1918-1938; 1939-1945; 1946-1989. Despite their differences, philonazism and anti-Judaism are often confused in their dogmatic approaches when manifested by ultra right-wing groups.

At the end of World War II, the appearance of the USSR as a superpower modified the political geography as a struggle between representatives of the old regime and modern societies. In this way, a struggle between the triad of power -the internationals Gold, Black and Red- exacerbated the radicalism of the 20th century among their internalized racism. According to Malachi (1991), the Black International (Catholic Church) offered the Golden International (United States) the indispensable organization with which to confront the Red International (USSR). In the Cold War, the nuclear cataclysm concentrated armies' structure of domination that the superpowers aspired to have; however, the situation changed when the conflict was established as a low intensity war. In these circumstances, the West was at a disadvantage because only the Red and Black Internationals had dedicated themselves to developing effective cadres in the political, social and economic spheres.

For Malachi, the individualist aspirations of Westerners left the mechanisms of control and defense loose in a conflict that was structured in the political and social fields. The freedom that distinguishes capitalist democratic societies made them vulnerable to the infiltration of communists, who then took advantage of any weak flank to enter a social scheme and develop their strategic movements. There was only one other actor who knew how to perform in such a game: the Catholic Church. You could not fight against communism from an ethical perspective -such as capitalism- which makes everything appear competitive and subject to supply and demand. Communism has an effective and alienating discursive scheme, for which its various theorists have developed the strategy of struggle for

cultural hegemony, historicity and control of social relations of production that has been difficult to combat. Only another equally combative and alienating discourse can fight against communism: religious discourse.

Anti-Judaism and philonazism both appear among the Christian extreme Right as the unifying and continuing elements of the struggle against communism. There is a leap in the enemies of Christianity that goes from the Ghibellines to the Communist revolutionaries, making the latter a new species of Rasputin-esque Jews more dangerous than the Masonic Jews. The Judeophobia of the Catholic Church brings together anti-Semitism and anti-communism, which is why it was ideally positioned as a strategic element for the West prior to and during World War II and the Cold War.

Catholicism circumstantially accommodates itself against its enemies and is recomposed first to Mussolini, then Hitler and, finally, to the United States. The Holy Alliance (Yellop, 2006) continues to be maintained in many Latin American governments today.

### **The Mexican context**

From its colonization to the first decades of the 20th century, anti-Semitism in Mexico begins from the moment of its creation: the Colony. The Counter-Reformation was a useful medium through which to dispute Christian prominence, as well as to disguise the late European integration of the Iberian Peninsula. The Arab domain generated a hybrid society that to this day shows fragmented Hispanic-ness, despite attempts to preserve the racial and religious purity of Christianity.

The Iberian colonizing project that was so important in the 19th century defines conservatives and the Mexican Right. The Mexican Right is characterized by its close proximity to the Catholic Church and the project of the Counter-Reformation characteristic of the Iberian colonizing model. Its anti-modern character was born with the Spanish colonization and shaped political, economic and social organization. Society is formed from Catholic piety as well as the feudal mode of production. In the case of the Mexican Catholic Church, the conflict between the two swords (Papism vs. Monarchy) takes place in several episodes from the Colony, and takes on special relevance for the forms it takes, for the personality of its actors, and for its consequences, specifically on the social and political level. In the genesis and presence of the Mexican Catholic Right — radical or moderate — the issue of obedience to political power has a special position. That is, if Catholics should conduct themselves as faithful denizens, obeying the Gospel without questioning, even when it implies sometimes disobeying the Hierarchy and civil powers; or as Catholics, obedience due to the civil authorities is legitimate from the religious point of view as they and the legal provisions that emanate from them.

It wasn't until the 19th century when the Spanish decline caused open confrontation with modern thinking; the exhaustion of the Catholic Church and the approximation of revolutionary, republican, secular, liberal and scientific ideas, which would restructure the actors and their field. Once the independence process had begun, the Catholic Church continued to play an important role as it has intervened to delay the processes of modernity, as well as to generate and feed an identity project capable of bringing together a population under

dogmas of faith and economically heterogeneous. “Since during the viceroyalty the high command of the army was restricted to the peninsular, many Creoles chose to make an ecclesial career, leaving the Church of New Spain under the control of the Creoles; who, in turn, would create the identity of the Mexican being” (Gómez Peralta 2007: 67). The political movement of the Right was singled out by numerous confrontations to the process of modernization initiated in Mexican Independence. However, it has also presented alternatives to the modernization of the country, and some of its actors have evolved by recognizing the inevitability of history.

In the Mexico of the Liberal Reform (the nineteenth century) the Catholic Church confirmed its vision on the destructive action of Freemasonry and liberalism. This fear led it to sponsor the French Intervention and the tragic Second Empire. However, it would be during the progressive dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz when the activism of Catholic secret societies began to develop effective activities. For Leopoldo Zea (1976), a positivist thinking is comparable to the Enlightenment in Latin America, it was the most serious contact that Latin America has had with modernity. This situation, coupled with the inhospitable international context for the Catholic Church, in an intellectual and political sense makes it difficult to imagine the existential anguish of Mexican Catholics who saw enemies of their religion everywhere (Díaz Cid, 2003).

During the positivist era in Mexico, according to Lomnitz (2010) there emerged anti-Semitism without Jews; local anti-Jewish sentiment without a Jewish community. The author uses the junctions of the Dreyfus case and the Spain-United States War to highlight that during the Porfiriato various groups: the

Catholic Church, the military, the Porfiristas and some revolutionaries used anti-Semitism to attack a group called Positivist Scientists, and some other progressive intellectuals. It is important to highlight the racism of positivist technocracy towards Mexican natives. Positivism in Latin America -for example, in the southern cone- developed actions to Europeanize the population and pluralize religions in the name of Modernity and Progress. We must add the idea of "bleaching" Mexico to create more productivity to the racism developed by the colonial era, by opening the door to European migrants while reinforcing discrimination against the dark and native population and with this, the construction of a racist paradigm still present today.

In a heated debate over the Dreyfus case, for example, Justo Sierra would be called "Jewish" for favoring Emile Zola and the French intellectuals; subsequently, such qualification was used in the same direction for those who supported sending aid to Cuba by the United States in its independence from Spain.

“In France, the Dreyfus affair was predominantly related to the honor of the military; In Mexico, the Catholic press used the support of scientists to Dreyfus to further deepen the division of that group and the army (...) By Judaizing scientists, the Catholic press was implicitly supporting patriotism and the honor of the Mexican military - including Díaz himself- against the liberal civil faction (...) Catholic newspapers used the opportunity to write bluntly articles about Jewish hatred for Christianity, about revenge and betrayal of Jews, about the Jewish degeneration, etc. (...) Once it was clear that the case revolved around the most hateful form of treason -treason

perpetuated by a descendant of the race of eternal traitors, the Jews-, for the customary reason -gold and the perpetration of their hatred for Christianity- the newspapers began to denounce an alliance between Jewish money, Protestants and Freemasons, all of which were determined to destroy France together as a bulwark of the Catholic Latin nations for the benefit of Protestant nations, such as Germany, England and the United States (...) Catholic newspapers identified scientists with the new social, intellectual, and satirized their vanities and claims (...) The Catholic right was the first to describe scientists as traitors and Judaizers. The specific insults that were directed at them consisted of calling them anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish (betrayal of their race and religion)....” Lomnitz (2010: 44-53) .

The Catholic Church initiated this anti-Semitism, which was rather an anti-intellectual, or anti-scientific feeling, that generated a climate of opinion that justified actions against the "hundreds<sup>5</sup>," a motto assigned to scientists making them the scapegoat, hence their exclusion from competition for power and society. Anti-scientism during the Porfiriato in Mexico was, in fact, Anti-Judaism.

Lomnitz (2010) considers that the Jew represents the cosmopolitan, intellectual, modern and progressive stereotype. When university, scientific and urban groups tried to deepen the Porfirista modernity, they were automatically homologated with

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<sup>5</sup> There is a choice of using numbers to tag people considered “different, for example, the multi cited case of 41 and public toilets as homosexual characteristic (Schuessler 2008).

the Jews. Even in the first governments of the Mexican revolution, alumni who had been trained at the National Preparatory School or who had collaborated in research with the Porfirian positivists at the university and the government, abjured and ignored their debt to scientists, either to survive or to join the new bureaucracy that the State needed. The extreme right and the Catholic Church generated anti-Semitism, and each group subsequently used the discourse according to their circumstances.

Judeophobia is unique, and has grown since the First and Second World Wars, derived from political geographical conditions. Katz (1982) considers that Mexico has always been subject to different strategies due to its border with the United States of America (Thayer Mahoney and Locke Mahoney 2000, Cedillo 2007). German geopolitics tried, in both world conflagrations, to occupy Mexico to make the leap to North America.

By 1920, the reconstructive period of revolutionary governments used immigration as a strategy of economic growth. A split-off anti-Semitism had appeared in Mexico: by **conviction**, different right-wing organizations and several Catholic secret societies, and by **convenience**, the Mexican political class that sought the enrichment and control of their fiefdoms, or cacicazgos.

(...) Obregón offered in 1922 to the American Jews that his government was prepared to give a warm welcome to the Jews of Eastern Europe, farmers and industrialists. Thousands came from Russia, Poland and Lithuania; not because of Obregón's offer but because the United States abruptly closed the door. Between 1921 and 1929

thousands of Eastern Europe came and thus, the Yiddish<sup>6</sup> were constituted in the majority of the Jewish community (...) By 1930 was estimated at 30,000 the number of Jews in the country, among which the newcomers stand out Ashkenazi (...) those thousands of Jews dedicated themselves to the street trade. (González Navarro 1994, 133)

After the First World War, the Mexican Revolution ended with the absolute dominance of the “Sonora Group,” led by General Álvaro Obregón and Plutarco Elías Calles. The condition of a rural Mexico for the most part, as well as an agricultural vocation of the government, allowed Jewish immigrants to play an important role in commercial activities in the main urban centers of the country that caused some conflicts, such as those of Mexico City, when in 1931, President Pascual Ortiz Rubio expelled 250 Jewish merchants from the Merced area, the supply market located in the center of the city, where the Jews settled in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 2013, the State of Veracruz erected a monument to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of the Jews. At present, the importance of this market has diminished and there are no more Jews living in that area of the city, but many still have businesses; the first synagogue created in the area on Justo Sierra Street remains open, serving limited religious activities and has become a tourist attraction.

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<sup>6</sup> The author confuses the Ashkenazi Jew with the Yiddish language they created in Eastern Europe to colloquially avoid the use of the Hebrew language, which was at that time the sacred language. It wasn't until the 20th century in Israel that Hebrew was revived as a common language.

In 1929, in the face of the crisis, the president encouraged aggression against immigrants; he focused on Jews, who suffered a pogrom in Mexico City, and the Chinese, who had already been persecuted since the 19th century but with more emphasis after 1910<sup>7</sup>. Martínez Assad (2006) argues that President Ortiz Rubio sought to curb the economic crisis that ran through Mexico after the black Thursday of the United States with an offensive to the business of foreigners, many of whom were migrants who had decided to settle in the country. This case reaffirms the thesis that times of crisis are conducive to persecution, as the Nationalist Campaign was geared against Chinese and Jewish businesses; nevertheless, immigration restrictions reached other communities such as those from the Middle Eastern countries, including Turks and Arabs.

The economic shortage caused the country's immigration laws to significantly increase their level of requirements, especially for foreigners who were not considered suitable according to the mestizo profile that was built in Mexico, but above all, to safeguard the economic stability of the country. The effects of the 1929 crisis lasted through most of the subsequent decade, and this led to unfair, partial and class migration policies against foreigners residing in the country and those who aspired to enter, such as Jews during the Second World War (Yankelevich, 2010; Gleizer, 2012 and 2011). If the State has the

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<sup>7</sup> "In 1910 there were 13,203 Chinese throughout the country, 4,486 of whom resided in Sonora. An incipient Chinese bourgeoisie began to form, which also began the anti-Chinese movements.... In a Mexico where the hope of achieving a better life after the Revolution became frustrated, xenophobia increased because it considered the influence of foreigners in the economy excessive and by an exclusive nationalism, exacerbated by the search for a national identity" (Botton Beja 2008, 477-486).

power to define evil, it chooses someone to become the "others," an external or internal "enemy" is chosen to unify and unite society; in this way, the government chose as an enemy a vulnerable group such as immigrants -Jews- on whom to concentrate corporate hatred. This is not a singular instance; the Nazis used it against the Jews, the Argentine military did it when they raised their claim of the Falklands, and the United States have done it in their prolonged battle against the Communists, immigrants and now Muslims.

### The Corrupting Nazism

During the rise of Nazism in Germany, the search for oil generated espionage and the participation of Adolf Hitler in Mexican politics (Cedillo, 2007; González Navarro, 1994; Márquez, 2010). Some members of the regime would get involved with Nazism for the economic gains allowed by Mexican corruption. Cedillo (2007) shows that several characters of political officialism succumbed to Nazi strategies in a simple and ridiculous way (sharing a German actress as mistress), but they shared ideological values of Nazism, mainly anti-Semitism. Given the traditional culture of the Mexican political class, though, convenience allowed them to support the Germans. Oil and geopolitics presented Mexico as an essential link in the Nazi project against the United States and corrupt revolutionaries<sup>8</sup> seized the opportunity well.

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<sup>8</sup> Up until the 1990s, Mexican politicians used the tag revolutionary as a main political credential.

After the oil expropriation (1938) the Cárdenas government faced strong problems inside and outside the country. The most important one was a US economic blockade to Mexico, similar to that of Cuba and the invasion plan devised by Roosevelt.

According to the German minister in Mexico, Von Rudt, Cárdenas was not a communist; in any case, his policies would not have been necessary if the industry had not obtained such high profits. Based on the foregoing, Cárdenas decided to sell oil to Japan, Italy and Germany, although he questioned some of the Axis war actions, such as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and that of Germany in Austria. Between 1938 and 1942, Germany absorbed 48% of exports and Italy 17%; therefore, Mexico should thank Germany for saving it from a catastrophe, but he did it because it suited his interests. (González Navarro, 1994: 153).

These conditions increased the problem for Cárdenas, who had a limited capacity for governance; most congressmen, senators, governors and military chiefs belonged to a rival faction lead by General Plutarco Elías Calles, who always sought to undermine the power of the president. Cárdenas began to fight back after just half of his six year administration against Calles, who became “maximum” leader of the revolutionary regime. The President of the Republic proceeded -with caution- to exclude the Calles followers named callistas and inaugurated the PRI practice of using diplomacy as a political cemetery. The expulsion of callistas gave this group relevance in the foreign service, and shows a coincidence between Nazism and the

political and ideological orientation of Calles (Callism) that both internally and externally complicated the situation for Cárdenas.

General Plutarco Elías Calles, along with his faction, which included media, military and businessmen, sought to overthrow President Lázaro Cárdenas (Meyer 2010); hence the connection of several members of his faction with Nazi intelligence that would allow them to control the country again and the peculiar use of anti-Semitism (Cedillo, 2007). In 1939 the Flandre boat that came from Europe with Jewish refugees and that was not accepted in the United States and several Latin American countries, was not welcomed in Mexico and must return to Europe to its tragic destination.

The Cárdenas government, as well as Ávila Camacho's government subsequently, applied immigration laws that denied access to several groups of Jews fleeing the Holocaust. Certainly the pragmatic principles were imposed on the humanitarian (Yankelevich, 2010), but it should also be considered that "several government officials were "callistas" and "anti-Semitic." Behind characters like Saturnino Cedillo, Tomás Garrido Canabal, José Vasconcelos, perhaps, even from the foundation of the right wing political party Partido de Acción Nacional, was Plutarco Elías Calles. Daniela Gleizer (2012, 2010) shows the discrimination that distinguished the Mexican State at the time of Cárdenas and Ávila Camacho in relation to Jews fleeing from Europe. Disagreement is inevitable with her who considers a similarity between Cardenismo and Avila Camachismo<sup>9</sup>. The

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<sup>9</sup> Experts on Mexican politics usually consider that presidents create a political faction that bears their name, e.g. Cardenismo for Cárdenas, or Avila Camachismo for Avila Camacho. In the text we will refer to other leaders as well.

historical data that she used assumed a racism and contradiction in the Cárdenas government regarding the Spaniards who were not given the same treatment as the Jews. The author loses sight of the national context and confuses the memory of this era. In accordance with the symbology of rhetoric, allegation of "good" anti-Semitism, the Spanish Republicans were considered Jews; in the perspective of the Right, they were part of the atheist conspiracy against Christianity. Until the very end of his six-year term, Cárdenas was threatened by the intervention of Callismo, the right and even the upper and middle classes (Meyer 2010; Loaeza 1999 and 1996). Callismo constituted a wide range of political, social and economic actors that threatened the established government seeking the coup d'etat. No less important was the Right, which in 1937 founded the Sinarquista movement, planned the National Action Party and coincided with Spanish fascism seek to overthrow the government of Cárdenas (Meyer 2010).

The connections between the Mexican right and Nazism have not been historically well detailed; however, it may be necessary to understand that if the government of Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas did not receive all the Jews he could, it was because of the fear of involving the country in a new civil war. Does this situation justify the preeminence of pragmatic principles over humanitarian ones? (Yankelevich Pablo (2010). It is a very difficult and complex question. Sympathy with the Spanish Republic had high costs for Cardenismo, the right accused him of being part of the Judeo-Masonic-Communist conspiracy that, internationally, conspired against Christianity. The Spanish republicans themselves were accused of being red-Jews. Wouldn't the Right have had more weight to rise in arms and

fight Cardenism -as they did in the Cristero War- if more Jews had arrived; if salvation of these people would have been disproportionate? Wouldn't it have been the ideal scenario that General Plutarco Elías Calles longed for to take control of the country again? It is useful to know more about the work of notable cardenistas saving Jewish lives, such as Gilberto Bosques Saldivar and Juan Manuel Álvarez del Castillo who, given the circumstances of political factionalism, maintained important links with General Lázaro Cárdenas.

While the Evian International Conferences demanded a unique treatment of the Jewish population, the United States blocked their conclusions with an anti-Semitic orientation. This position is consistent with its inaction to curb the Holocaust because they assumed that Hitler would restrain the communists, and used that same criterion as their reason not to destabilize Franco (Martín de Pozuelo 2012, 2007; Martín de Pozuelo and Ellakuría 2008.)

The fear of Callism, the right and the middle classes caused the limited acceptance of this immigration policy. In any case, though Mexico at that time did not hold solidarity with the Jewish people, its anti-Semitism -without Jews but with Nazis- diminished the action in favor of survival and true humanism.

In the national context, Cardenism would provoke the alliance of antagonistic groups that consider Communism a greater threat than Nazism. Particularly strange is the coincidence of General Calles and the strategic framework for the Catholic Church in the country -social Catholicism that they began to practice during the Liberal Reform became a militant and reserved Catholicism-. The doctrinal radicalism -integralist and philonazi- of some secret Catholic organizations from the

Cristero War coincide with the interest of the callistas to stop the Mexican Cardenista Communism and social change (Solís, 2010; Cedillo, 2007; Meyer 2010).

Faced with the complicated situation in Mexico -a Cardenismo that had holes everywhere and that, on top of that, sold oil to the Nazis- Roosevelt lifted the economic blockade to Mexico and changed foreign policy. That also determines the presidential succession. It is interesting to know that Calles diminishes its prominence when the right winger Manuel Ávila Camacho comes to power. The Ávila Camacho presidency and Miguel Alemán Valdéz after him (1946-1952), would imply the arrival of obregonistas and callistas, who -in some way- were linked to Germanophilia and Nazism; at least in an economic, social, cultural and political sense. Alemán voted against Mexico joining the war with the allies and his mistress was a German spy. Needless to say, the Mexican Right co-governed satisfactorily with these factions of the Revolutionary Family<sup>10</sup> until recently. However, since the 2018 election, some aspects of this relationship appear to be changing; for once the president is Christian not catholic, and other aspects beyond the scope of this article.

The confrontation between Cardenism and Callismo-Germanism will be represented in the future of the Mexican political system as the Left and Right of the Official Party (PRI); or, in society, as the opposite National Liberation Movement and the Mexican Council of Businessmen. In 1988, the Cardenistas left the Revolutionary Family, and somehow the political

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<sup>10</sup> The 1910 revolution generals were known as the revolutionary family.

coalition ended, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) came closer to the positions of the Right wing as represented by the National Action Party.

Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994) culminated the slant to the right of the Mexican political system with several neoliberal reforms; but above all, with the modification of article 130 of the Constitution where a concordat was established with the Catholic Church in a surreptitious manner, and its power was extended to the other spiritual beliefs of the country. The Catholic hierarchy and the leaders of the right and the extreme right found the ideal government to develop their legitimate Christian civilization project when the Mexican State began its confessionalization.

### **The Judeo-Masonic Conspiracy**

The global context of the Catholic Church since the loss of the Papal States coupled with the evolution of nationalisms and modernity, generated a fear in their faithful constituents that led them to consider the reality of an international conspiracy against Christianity where the culprits were equally, Jews, Freemasons, scientists, communists and revolutionaries. From this conception, social organizations and different secret societies emerged sharing anti-Semitic rhetoric as a tool against Modernity.

Historical studies about Catholic secret societies do not hide the importance of philonazism and anti-Judaism in their ideology and social perspective (González Ruiz, 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Díaz Cid, 2003; Olmos, 1996; Hernández García, 2004; Solís , 2011; Hernández Vicencio, 2009; Meyer, 2003). There is abundant data that show the use of anti-Semitism as

disqualifying rhetoric, doctrine and xenophobia among the members and followers of the different Mexican Catholic secret societies.

While it is true that Mexican Catholicism has its own syncretic and popular characteristics; it is also true that there is an extreme conservative faction with religious fundamentalism fighting against the universal elements that endanger the Catholic Church. The Mexican extreme right overblows conservatism, fundamentalism and religious intransigence to be in tune with the millenary project of Christian civilization. The development and understanding of the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* towards Mexico enhanced the radicalization of ultra-rightist groups towards anti-communism and anti-Judaism. Pope Pius XI (March 1937) conceived of communism as the great enemy of humanity and, particularly, of the Catholic Church. It exemplified in Russia and Mexico the cases of atheistic and murderous political elites.

Betty Kirk narrates that in January 1941 a print advertisement destined for Latin America was confiscated in Spain and that presented Hitler as “the new defender of the Catholic faith” and added that the Nazis in Germany were really working to restore Catholicism while “England, by contrast, is a Protestant-Jewish country.” The American journalist said that on December 12, 1940, the day of the Virgin of Guadalupe, stamps with the effigy of the Guadalupeana included the text “Hitler is the protector of Catholicism.” Seemingly, the Jews had to be persecuted because they had sacrificed Christ in Palestine. Unfortunately, such lies were believed to be true in Mexico. When Germany invaded the USSR, Nazi

propaganda took the opportunity to use Catholicism with more emphasis: "If you are Catholic, help Germany win", and so on. (Rodríguez Araujo, 2013: 18)

This opposition between modernity and religious bias has been a constant in the process of modernization experienced by the country, and different historical speeds coexist in its political configuration.

The reaction of the conservative and right-wing Catholics during the Cristero War founded Sinarquismo -an integralist, philonazi and anti-Jewish model- extended in the Catholic secret organizations that, paradoxically, converged with the interest of the callistas to stop the Mexican Cardenista Communism ( Solís 2011; Meyer 2010; Cedillo 2007). The "Golden Shirts" (Martínez Assad 2006) confirms that terrorist organizations were formed against the Jewish people. Catholic fundamentalism and philonazism in Mexico justified Nazi violence with the support of Pope Pius XII and characters such as Franz Vonn Papen and Hellmuth Oskar Schreiter (Moctezuma 2006). This religious orientation supported the activism of General Calles, which sponsored several ultra-right wing and anti-communist groups. In the case of the Golden Shirts, the guidelines of callismo weighed more than their sinarchist or Catholic values. In the same condition Vasconcelos, the old generals political party (PARM), the Mexican Anti-Communist Party, as well as the Mexicanist Revolutionary Action and different characters of the political class with an Obregón and callista background can be placed. In Mexico, this was originally reflected in the decade from 1930 to 1940; particularly, when the Church developed more precautions against Lázaro Cárdenas than Plutarco Elías Calles. In spite of all the damage that the Maximum leader

(Calles) did to them, the fact that, at the end of his days, he was reconciled with the faith, he became friends with a notable religious character like José María de Heredia and broke with the Socialism of Cárdenas, seemed more sensible than the Cárdenas support to the Spanish Republic, linked with the USSR and oil expropriation. Behind Cárdenas, Catholics saw all the conspiracy against the Church by the Jewish-communists.

Barajas (2013) published journalistic information and historical evidence showing the Nazi roots of the foundation of the PAN via the convergence of multiple rights: integralist, religious, secular, liberal and social, and through the dissemination of magazines and newspapers such as Reaction, Timon, Continental and Omega. The anti-Semitic, anti-communist and Nazi rhetoric, characteristic of intransigent and integralist groups, was openly manifested. The evidence allows us to understand that, although the multiple right wing factions founded Acción Nacional, the humanist disguise concealed a Spanish, Germanist, Catholic and Nazi side; the same one that coincided with Plutarco Elías Calles through José Vasconcelos, José María de Heredia and the main groups of businessmen and bankers of the time. When the succession of President Lázaro Cárdenas favored Manuel Ávila Camacho, these groups joined the Official Party (PRM) and left the PAN as a space that allowed the regime to be legitimized (Loeza, 1999).

For Blancarte (1993), the end of Cardenism and the succession in the government of Manuel Ávila Camacho implied a period of stability between the relations of the Catholic Church and the Mexican State, a situation that pacified the sinarchist movement and the country's Catholic elites. However, it would be during the government of Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964)

when a stage of radicalization emerged due to the intransigent and integralist aspect given the indirect support of the Mexican government to the Cuban revolution of 1959.

At the end of the Cárdenas period there is a new “modus vivendi” that lasted until the end of the 1950s (Blancarte 1993). This began to fragment severely when some important officials of the Mexican regime decide to support Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution, the Cardenista National Liberation Movement had a wide sympathy for the revolutionaries; perhaps to avoid spreading to other social spheres, the government decided to support Fidel Castro who was training in Mexico so that he could retire soon to his country.

At the end of the 1950s, the schemes of judeophobia, the Communist conspiracy against the Church were reactivated, not only because of the sympathy that a segment of the young Mexican university students felt but, above all, because characters like Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios (policemen who became politician) and Carlos Hank González (important politician from the powerful State of Mexico) provided facilities and support to Fidel Castro and Ernesto “Che” Guevara. The climate favorable to progressive ideas during the 1960s contributed to the positioning of Communism and social movements. The Catholic Church itself observed a transformation in its social perspective with the Second Vatican Council. However, intransigent and integralist groups (Malachi Martin, 1991) reactivated their anti-communist and anti-Semitic allegations by the Holy Alliance that the Catholic Church would establish with the United States until the late 1990s (Yellop, 2006). The paradigmatic anti-Semitism that arose in the 1960s in Mexico was concentrated against people who were equated

with the Jews: communists, agrarian leaders, professors, university students, scientists, freethinkers, social leaders, etc. The sentence of Lomnitz (2010) is partially fulfilled: it is an anti-Semitism without Jews, but, anti-Semitism at last.

Sinarquismo was the matrix of the secret and/or reserved societies of Mexican Catholicism that belong to the different global anti-communist projects developed by the Catholic Church (Uribe, 2008; González, 2003; Fraustro and Grecko, 2008). Over the years, different movements and characters have been generating and updating the information regarding this perspective.

During 2013, the Popular Autonomous University of the State of Puebla (UPAEP) decided to incorporate historical information and evidence to the study that explains its evolution (Louvier, Díaz, Arrubarena 2013). The student movement that founded this institution of higher education in the State of Puebla played one of the most important roles for university autonomy and in the fight against Communism of the 60s at regional, national and international levels. The journalist Álvaro Delgado (2003) refers to it as the university that forms and recruits cadres for the Catholic Reserved Society called “El Yunque” (The Anvil). In the third edition of Louvier, Díaz, Arrubarena (2013), UPAEP has decided to explain the historical context that originated the creation of the Anvil and their own educational institution based on a Vatican geopolitical project called “Intermarium”.

The Intemarium was a project of Polish civilization that sought to contain both Germans and Russians by creating a block extending from Moldova to Sweden. The project was born in Poland during the last years of the 19th century, and was originally driven by a Slavic-Baltic identity. The project focused

only on Poland but, little by little, it began coinciding with other nations that shared a cultural, ethnic and religious affinity. From the perspective of Huntington (1997) it could be called a “fracture zone” due to the intention of distinguishing a region between Western and Orthodox civilization. Its founder, Gen. Josef Pilsudski, was trying to create a regional bloc that stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea; he would eventually become one of the main founding fathers of Poland and, after World War I, he would create a republic that initiated a certain modernization process.

The Intermarium was incorporated into the geopolitical project of the Catholic Church against the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy represented by Communism and as a survival strategy against the loss of the papal territories. Although Poland was not one of the Zionist objectives (for example, Argentina, Kenya (the English proposal) and Uganda were all considered when Baron Hirsch was deciding where to buy land, Theodore Herzl’s movement always considered Israel for historical roots), for the Catholic hierarchy of that country and the Vatican the growth of the Jewish population was dangerous. According to Kertzer (2001), the Jewish population in Poland constituted a risk from the perspective of the Catholic Church and, such a situation, resulted in a judeophobia that would be the preamble of the Holocaust; Jewish religious identity was incompatible with nationalism and the development of the State in that nation. The rise of bundism in this area and its involvement with the USSR’s Communist Party are significant elements in this context.

Before being Pope, Ratti (Pius XI) spent a season in Poland to observe the Jewish question and confirm certain fears that

some Austrian, German, Croatian and other Catholics had pointed out; that the Jews were close to controlling the economic, social and political situation. By seizing Poland, the alliance of the Jews with the Bolsheviks towards an attack on Europe was imminent. Ratti derived a religious paroxysm since he only listened to the Polish Catholic hierarchy. From his perspective, the Judeo-Masonic-Communist conspiracy was confirmed and he decided to start working with the magazine *Civita Catolica* in a "good anti-Semitism" or "anti-Semitic allegation." This magazine would maintain good Catholic anti-Semitism for a long historical period, simply with the intention of informing about Jewish danger (Meyer; 2012). It was "good" because it didn't kill anyone; it was just a rhetoric. However, Kertzer (2001), Cornwell (2002), Meyer (2012) and Yellop (2006), point out that Ratti, before and after becoming Pope, neglected to see the pogroms in Poland that were quite significant, as well as the deaths of several hundreds of people. Quite a few places in the country -urban and rural- manifested as such. At the end of his life, Pius XI tried to modify this "good anti-Semitism" or spiritual because it was evidenced very clearly, from experiences such as the beginning of Austrian-Germanic Nazism, the Polish, Croatian condition, etc., a sequence that derived in a "bad anti-Semitism;" pagan, material and murderer against the Jews.

According to Kertzer (2001) the future Pope Pius XII (Pacelli) and the white Polish Jesuit radicals – such as Vladimir Ledochowski - did not allow such reconsideration and boycotted attempts to state that the Church could support the Jews. The "good" or "bad" anti-Semitism models caused Poland to be the starting point of the Holocaust. The Nazis took control of the government and, with

the help of other sympathetic ruling bodies -like the Ustachies of Croatia- they developed the concentration camps and mass killings known in Eastern Europe. The Catholic Church maintained silence for several decades about these matters.

The Intermarium is part of the “good anti-Semitism” models that, nevertheless, were linked to experiences such as the Philistine Catholicism and Croatian anti-Jewish principles of the Ustachies; or that of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party, which is also known to have collaborated in the Nazi flight to Latin America through projects like Odessa. Characters like Hudal, Dragonovic and Pavelic. Ratti and Paccelli are shown over time and with increasing historical evidence as indirect collaborators of the Nazis. The evolution of fascism in Europe is deeply connected with these characters. (Goñi, 2002; Olmos, 1996; Cornwell, 2002; Documentary: On the hunt for the Nazi fugitives, 2007, The History Channel. Nugus / Martin Productions Ltd. USA; Documentary: Nazi Hunters\_.

The UPAEP’s formal position was:

(...) faced with the global challenge organized from Moscow by the Komintern, Pope Pius XI promoted an updated version of the “Intermarium Plan” that the Polish diplomacy of the 1920s had designed to build a federation of the Central European nations that would go from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea (hence its name), building a force capable of resisting Nazi Germany in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. The plan failed before the opposition of Hitler, Stalin, and the English and French governments, but the idea was retaken by the Pope to form a network of young Catholics who could

resist Marxist plans and propagate the faith in Eastern Europe (...). World War II ended the Cold War began, and SS Pius XII resumed the intermarium project; a project that now included Latin America through the creation of "reserved organizations," aimed at forming Catholic leaders capable of defending their faith and giving the doctrinal battle at universities, considered the nerve center and the vital space for the promotion and defense of Christian culture. The formation of these organizations was entrusted to the Jesuits and placed under the invocation of Christ the King. (Louvier, Diaz Cid and Arrubarrena, 2013: 38-39)

The geopolitics developed by the Catholic Church in World War II involved the linking of institutional Catholicism with National Socialism and, subsequently, its active persistence against Communism in the Cold War and afterwards. Both situations were conditioned by the fear of the Judeo-Masonic-Communist conspiracy rooted in the political thinking of the extreme right. Mexico is one of the leading producers of anti-Semitic propaganda in Spanish in Latin America, as can be seen throughout the main publishing houses, magazines and newspapers associated with the Right. One of its main thinkers, Salvador Borrego Escalante's literature can be found in full and enriched form in most of the Catholic schools in the country. The ideological and strategic foundations of ultra-Right organizations in Mexico belonged to the Vatican geopolitics prior to the Second Vatican Council. Paradoxically, the "Jesuit habitus" responsible for creating the Mexican extreme right subsequently organized the political movements and cadres

linked to the Theology of Liberation. The Jesuits became "social class enemies" for their former right-wing allies. (Meyer 1981).

Sinarquismo has been constituted as the source where the different groups of the Mexican extreme Right watered; their form of evolution has been traced in various organizations - secret, reserved or open- identified by the themes that they ideologically defended, as well as by their proximity to the Catholic Church, Christian Democracy, government, private Universities, the Business Sector and Civil Society (Uribe, 2008; 44). This allows us to understand the history of Mexico through secret societies such as Tecos, Yunque, Muro, Cara, etc.

The activism developed by the National Liberation Movement, linked to General Lázaro Cárdenas, generated a significant boost for social movements in Mexico. Public and some private universities, the press, intellectuality, progressive Catholicism, workers and peasants, guerrilla movements, and other organizations found a guiding point in the Cuban revolution and in the triumph of the governments of Jacobo Arbenz, Salvador Allende and others. This situation activated the anti-Communist device of the ultra-Right that, although the anti-Semitic burden decreased, favored the absolute repression of any movement that coincided with the Left: there was a general recognition and admiration by the Right towards President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz's strong repression on October 2, 1968. Díaz Ordaz's political formation was in the ranks of the extreme right, and through him we understand the penetration of these doctrines in the broad Mexican political spectrum, as well as the reasons for the violent response of the government to the 1968 movement. History must answer the question of whether Miguel Alemán Velázco's link with the Legionaries of Christ

confirmed the ideas of his father president Miguel Alemán Valdez between the corrupting Nazism and those who consider the Masonic-Judeo conspiracy a reality.

The convergence of Right wing fractions would take place gradually as the regime of the Mexican revolution lost social legitimacy. Although a relationship of love and heartbreak manifests itself with presidents Luis Echeverría (1970-1976) and José López Portillo (1976-1982), it was Juan Pablo II's arrival in Mexico that positioned him to the extreme Right. The Polish Pope (Yallop, 2006) established a Holy Alliance with the American political geography against the USSR that was to be the culmination of a project that sought the collapse of Communism. This unit created several authoritarian regimes in Latin America (Buchruker 1991). The right-wing advanced significantly with Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado (1982-1988) and, above all, with Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), the positioning of the National Action Party and its coming to power in 2000 should then have been obvious.

## **Conclusion**

In Poland yes, in Mexico no. Today was a sunny day!

The Mexican extreme Right left the underground opening a process that surely influenced Mexican politics. However, the importance of judeophobia or anti-communism in the formation of collective cadres and entities of the religious and secular Right also shows the transition of this narrative to the new conservative generations inserted into the federal government

between 2000 and 2012<sup>11</sup>. The question is, now that Communism officially disappeared, will they resort to use anti-Semitic rhetoric to increase their power?

Now that there is no longer a USSR, what will those reserved organizations that continue to operate and recruit cadres do? Are they are sometimes opposed among themselves and sometimes joined together? Nevertheless, they control important institutions with high social and political impact. President Enrique Peña Nieto studied at a university controlled by the Opus Dei. History will tell if Peña Nieto belonged to an organization that considers the world conspiracy against the Catholic Church real, thereby assuming its judeophobic values.

Although judeophobic marks are found in the extreme Right, the Left and the PRI, there has also been the participation of Jews in the government, from the participation of Benjamin Retchkiman as private secretary of Octaviano Campos Salas (1964-1970), to the more recent political positions held by Julio Frenk, Salomón Chertorivski, Santiago Levy, and José Woldenberg, to name a few cases; is there an ambiguity? Has the judeophobia of the Mexican right (secular, religious and extreme right) been diluted? Or is there a place for hate and hated people in the plurality of Mexican politics? The day after Levy resigned, graffiti appeared at the IMSS calling him Jewish pig and featuring swastikas. The painter of the graffiti was a leader of the

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<sup>11</sup> Oscar Sánchez, PAN leader in the State of Mexico declared himself an admirer of Hitler and Omar Barona González, private secretary of the undersecretary of government (August 1, 2010 to January 31, 2012), headed a Nazi cell (<http://Busquedas.gruporeforma.com/reforma/Documentos/DocumentoImpresa.aspx>); Moreover, the neo-Nazis felt comfortable taking to the streets (<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t793061/>)

Institute's labor union; however, there was no legal action against him, perhaps because Carlos Abascal, a member of the extreme Right was secretary of government and in charge of political control. The complexity of the Mexican political system facilitates the coexistence of Jews with racist and antisemitic politicians.

Judeophobia is not exclusive to the Right wing; Krauze (2009) has stated that the Mexican Left had retaken the flags of nineteenth-century conservatism. But perhaps, we should mention anti-Semitism disguised as anti-Zionism, internationally one of the exponents of this discourse was Hugo Chavez. Another slant of Modern Judeophobia is the global nature of progressive social demands against financial globalization and American geo-politics have aroused hatred based simply on the imagined power attained by Jewish capital and the Jewish state.

Political globalization also imposes a breakdown of ideological geography. Yellop (2006) shows Karol Wojtyla's misunderstanding towards Latin America regarding the Theology of Liberation. While in Poland, the Pope sought all the support that allowed the workers and the solidarity movement to keep up the fight against the USSR and the Communists, the opposite happened in Latin America. The workers, the peasants, the women and several Catholic groups following the Liberation Theology were deeply misunderstood, not to mention sanctioned, by the Vatican bureaucracy.

The Cold War forced a Holy Alliance between North America and Juan Pablo that confronted the USSR in Europe; but, in Latin America and elsewhere, it allowed the rise of fascist dictatorships and the misunderstanding of social movements.

Unlike in Poland, in other countries the suffering of the workers and the helpless received no consideration.

One particular moment also has a deep meaning for Poland and Latin America: the implementation of Christian symbols in Auschwitz. For the Jewish community this fact implied a deep grievance because it Christianized, in an ironic way, the death that the Holocaust represents (Carroll, 2002). This fact revived the discussion of the deicide and the shadow of its persecution for almost two thousand years. Christianity continues to censor Judaism and it becomes necessary to warn its eschatological condition to avoid the re-known use of the political Right. However, currently in Latin America, it seems that activists in the Jewish community -like Karol Wojtyla- are more concerned about the anti-Semitism of the Left, perhaps because of the coming to power of leftists in several countries. To what does this apparent change of vision respond; to the danger in the sediment of the thinking on the Right? Is the action of the Right in Europe serious, but not so in Mexico or Latin America? Does Jewish Christianization endanger in Poland but simply annoy in Mexico?

During the Falklands War in Argentina the "Operation Israel" was carried out, and its execution allowed the military dictatorship to acquire enough arsenal not only to confront England, but also to maintain the persecution and disappearance of several different leftist militants. Prisoners were tortured with greater vindication when they were discovered to be Jews. Paradoxically, several hundred left-wing Jews were exterminated in Argentina with the weapons produced by Israel, although thanks to the Law of Return, many Jews were saved by

Israel. Is there no consequence in assuming the supposed innocence of the Right?

Anti-Semitism in Mexico is real in the many Rights and Lefts, even when it is "without Jews." However, the broad anti-Jewish rhetoric, or "good" anti-Semitic allegation, can explain the repressive vein that exists in the country. Judeophobia has been extrapolated by the social sectors identified with progressivism or Socialism: university students, social movements, Communists, peasants, teachers, non-Catholics, anarchists, guerrillas, women, emigrants, homosexuals, and so forth.

The extreme violation of human rights in Mexico has been increasing as the Right increases its power at the local and national levels; the situation has become a political normality of a deficit democracy. The Catholic-Judeophobia-Violation of Human Rights is an axis that represents an unknown equation with an outcome that is impossible to guess.

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