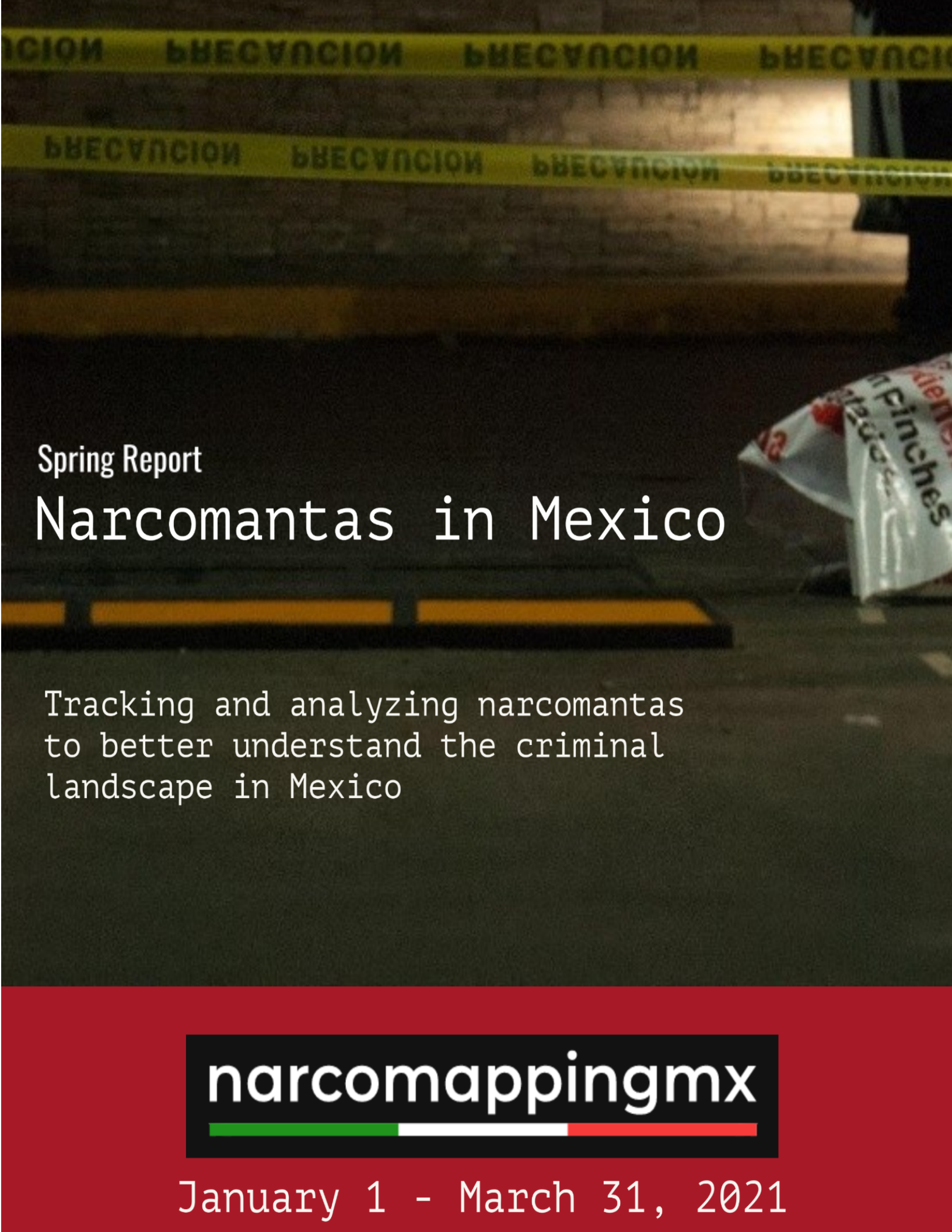




Spring Report

Narcomantas in Mexico

Tracking and analyzing narcomantas
to better understand the criminal
landscape in Mexico

narcomappingmx

January 1 - March 31, 2021

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Abstract

Scope and Purpose: Mexico is engaged in a brutally violent and seemingly futile internal war. Last year several dozen organized crime groups ended around 40,000 lives as they battled each other for control of the nation's highly lucrative smuggling routes into the United States. By all metrics, this year is on track to be the bloodiest yet. The escalating violence is marked by mothers posting signs begging for the safe return of their kidnapped daughters, and fathers who desperately hope to find pieces of their missing sons in the overflowing morgues. This war is isolated from the rest of the world, who enjoy the endless supply of cocaine and fentanyl. This project aims to gain a deeper understanding of the organized crime issue in Mexico by cataloguing the messages cartels leave behind which provide valuable insights into Mexico's existential struggle.

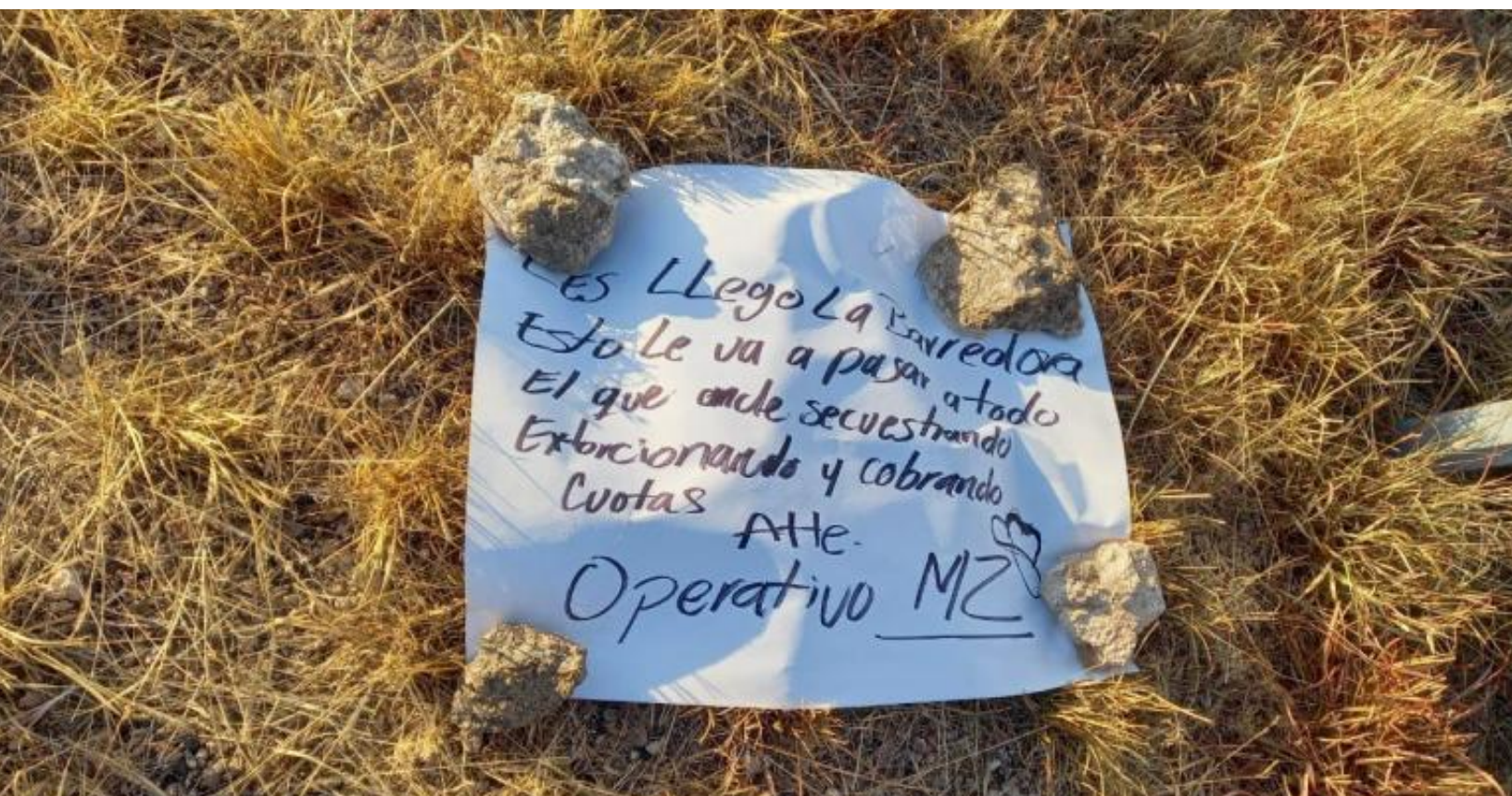
Methods: Through open-source research in the Mexican press, this project aims to provide a comprehensive data set detailing the story of the drug war through narcomantas. News articles, social media posts, and government reports with mentions of narcomantas are collected and catalogued, organized by important features such as the group involved or location.

Categorizing and tracking narcomantas is extremely important for understanding how cartels operate. They reveal useful information such as their commanders, rivals, or markets they are involved in. Through keeping a database of narcomantas, we can interpret and research their patterns based on the clues they leave behind.

Results: The Narcomantas Spring Report found 117 narcomantas across 22 states in Mexico, signed by 32 unique groups. Targets of threats ranged from rival cartels, to Attorney generals. These purposes of these narcomantas are divided into six categories: Threats, Accusations, Recruiting, Introduction, Help, and Bounties. All categories were represented in this data set.

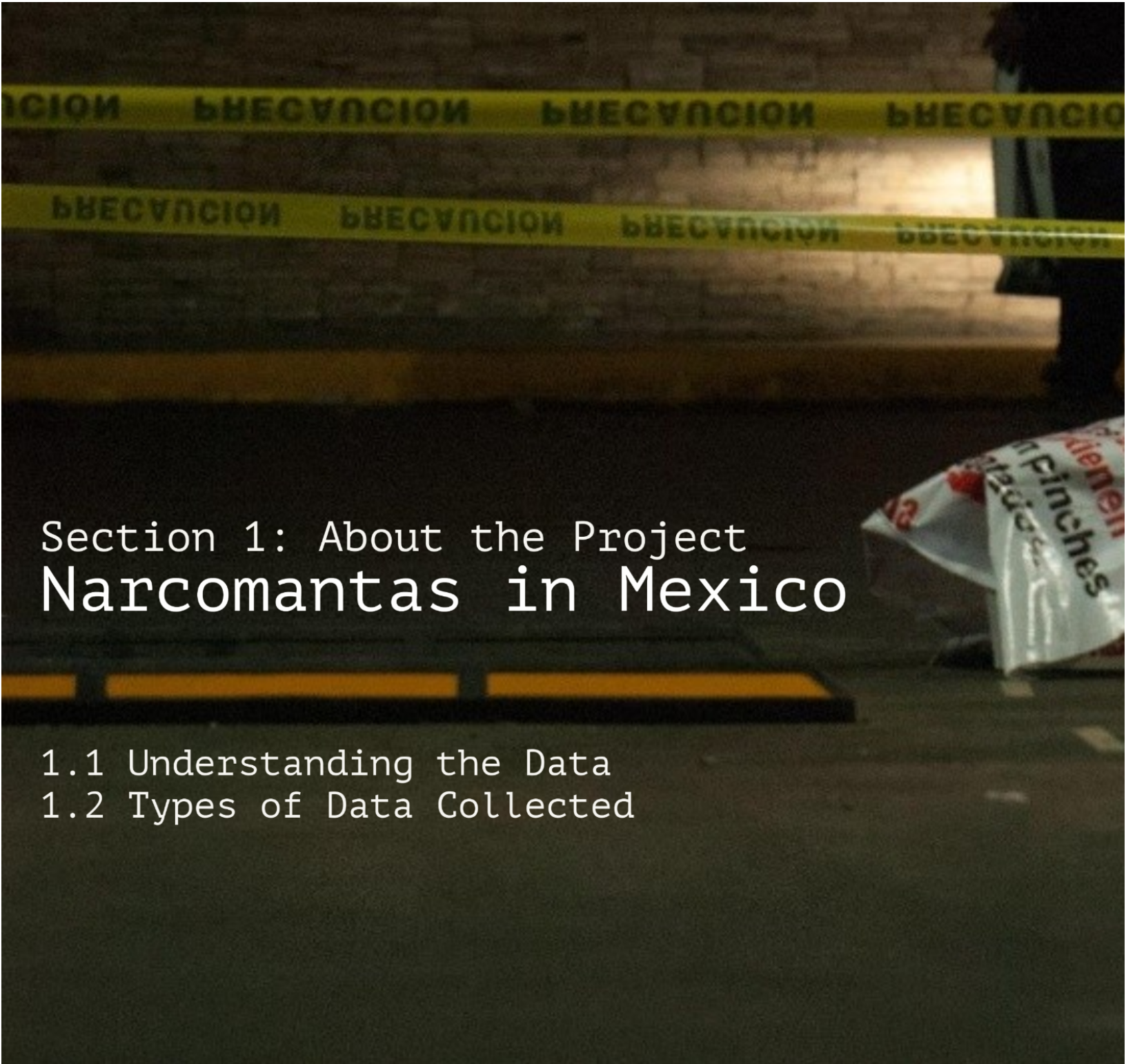
The data used is attached on the final pages of this report, and is also available for download [here](#).





What are Narcomantas?

Narcomantas, narco letreros, or narcomensajes, are banners left behind by members of organised crime groups to send messages to rivals, the government, or everyday people. Narcomantas are commonly displayed in public places, such as bridges, town centers, and highways. Narcomantas can be a rudimentary form of propaganda, often accompanied by bodies of rivals.



Section 1: About the Project

Narcomantas in Mexico

1.1 Understanding the Data

1.2 Types of Data Collected

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1. Understanding the Data

Narcomappingmx collects and catalogs data on narcomantas in México. Data from Quarter 1 was found on 48 different news websites or social media posts from citizen journalists.

News Sources Cited

Bajío Telediario	El Salvador	Letra Roja	Quinta Fuerza
Blog Del Narco	El Sol de Tijuana	Linea Directa	Reporte24qr
Borderland Beat	El Vigía	Luz Noticias	RioOaxaca
Cambio22	EMSA Valles	McNoticias	SegundoaSegundo
Código Rojo	Ensenada	Medio Tiempo	Tabasco Hoy
Diario de Yucatán	Imagen Del Golfo	México Código Rojo	Valor por Tamaulipas
Diario MX	Infobae	Mi Morelia	Valor Tamaulipeco
El Grafico	Intolerancia Diario	narcoguerra_mx	60 Minutos
El Heraldó	La Nigua	Noticias Sureste	Zeta Tijuana
El Imparcial	La Roja	Notinfomex	
El Mexicano	La Verdad del Centro	Periodistas Quintana Roo	
El Mirador Quintana Roo	La Verdad del Noticias	Proceso	
El Quintana Roo	La Voz de Michoacán	Punto Norte	

1.1 Types of Data Collected

The narcomantas data set for Quarter 1 of 2021 contains the **Date** the narcomanta was placed, the **Municipality** and **State** where it was found, group or individual **Attribution**, **Source Date of article**, **Source Name**, **Source URL**, **Category**, **Target**, and **Body**.

Date	Municipality	State	Attribution	Source Date	Source Name	Source URL	Category	Target	Body
1/4/2021	Zamora	Michoacan	Autodefensas M	1/4	Valor por Tamau	https://www.valorpor.com.mx	Introduce	Help from gov at No	

Date: This is the date the article or source claims the narcomanta was placed. If the source does not indicate this, this cell will be the same as the Source Date.

Municipality: The municipality where the narcomanta was found.

State: The state where the Municipality is located.

Attribution: Narcomantas often are signed by the criminal group or individual who left them. Sometimes the name is censored by the news article or law enforcement who found it. In cases where there is no name listed, the name is withheld, or the manta contains no name, the 'Attribution' column will contain "Unknown".

If there is both a cartel and cell name, we only record the cartel name. For example, "Cartel del Golfo - Grupo Espartanos" is recorded just as "Cártel del Golfo".

Source Name: The site or account where the article was published.

Source URL: The link to the article or post.

Category: Narcomantas are categorized as one of the following: Threat, Accuse, Recruit, Request Help, Introduce, Bounty, and Unknown.

Target: Narcomantas will often contain the name of the target entity. This is useful for understanding dynamics between criminal groups - which groups are allied, feuding, or engaged in a stalemate.

Section 2: Different Types of Narcomantas
Narcomantas in Mexico

- 2.1 Threats
- 2.2 Accusations
- 2.3 Recruiting
- 2.4 Introductions
- 2.5 Help
- 2.6 Bounties

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Different Types of Narcomantas

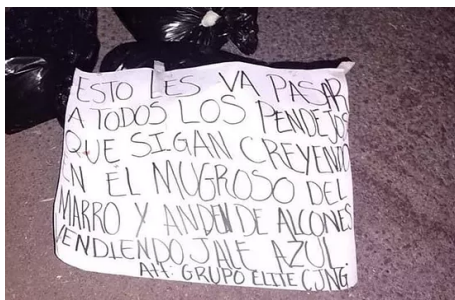
Every narcomanta is left for a reason. Some are intended simply to frighten off rivals, while others aim to influence public perception of a group. It is important to categorize narcomantas by their intention, or type, in order to understand how cartels aim to communicate. If we understand the purpose of a narcomanta, we can better understand and research their inner workings.

2.1) Threats

Threat narcomantas are the most common type of narcomanta, making up 64% of the total found this quarter.

A common mantra is “this will happen to those who” oppose us, sell drugs, extort the locals, etc.

Threat mantas are often found in the midst of turf wars. Defenders of a plaza aim to scare off the incumbent, or newcomers will use them to frighten those who engage in business with the home cartel. An example of this was the string of attacks on tire shops “vulcanizadoras” in Guanajuato, which were being used to sell drugs and illegally stolen gasoline for the Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima (CSRL). The attackers, the Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación (CJNG), intended to scare the CSRL’s income streams, limiting their ability to defend their claim to the state.



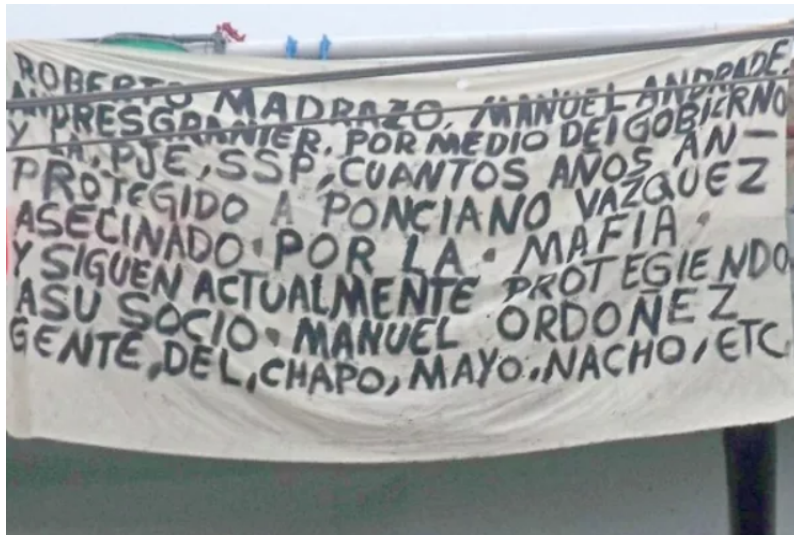
“THIS WILL HAPPEN TO ALL THE ASSHOLES WHO CONTINUE BELIEVING IN THE FILTH OF EL MARRO AND ARE HIS HALCONES OR SELLING BLUE JELLY.

CORDIALLY: GRUPO ELITE CJNG”

May 27, 2020, Salamanca, Guanajuato. Photo from [BlogDelNarco](#). Left on a sidewalk next to the bagged pieces of an accused rival drug dealer's body.

2.2) Accusations

Cartels will often leave banners accusing the government of supporting their rival. Often they will name specific police officers or politicians who they allege are on the enemy payroll.



Villahermosa, Tabasco. August 29, 2008. Image from ElSiglodeTorreon.com.

"ROBERTO MADRAZO, MANUEL ANDRADE, ANDRES GRANIER, USING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PJE, SSP, FOR MANY YEARS HAVE PROTECTED PONCIANO VAZQUEZ, AN ASSASSIN FOR THE MAFIA AND CONTINUE PROTECTING THEIR PARTNER MANUAL ORDONEZ, AND PEOPLE OF CHAPO, MAYO, NACHO, ETC."

This narcomanta from the Felipe Calderon era of the Drug War (2006 - 2012) alleges that various Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) politicians, the Secretariat of Public Security, and the Justice Department were colluding to provide protection for the several factions of the Sinaloa Cartel.

Later on in 2013, one of the politicians named, Andres Granier, would be arrested on charges of corruption, money laundering, and embezzlement of public funds.

2.3) Recruiting



This narcomanta was hung over a bridge in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas in April of 2008. [Photo from Nacion.](#)

“The Operations Group Los Zetas wants you, military or ex military. We offer a good salary, food, and will take care of your family. You will no longer be mistreated and will no longer go hungry. We won’t give you Maruchan (packaged noodles) to eat.”

This narcomanta from the late 2000s was emblematic of propaganda efforts by Los Zetas which focused on drawing in police officers and members of the Mexican armed forces, many of whom were easily won over by drastically better wages and opportunity for career progression.

2.4) Introduction

Cartels will often announce their entry into a plaza through narcomantas. These narcomantas may contain self identification, (EG. “We are CJNG”) warnings for current criminal actors and security forces (EG. “WE ARE COMING FOR ALL THE KIDNAPPERS”), establishment of new rules (EG. “Stay inside past 10 PM or be considered an enemy”)

Narcomantas announcing introduction can be precursors to violence within the region they are posted in. New criminal groups will have to defeat the defending cartel, often resulting in a bloody turf war.



July 26, 2020. Calvillo, Aguascalientes. Photo from [La Verdad del Centro](#).

“CALVILLO HAS AN OWNER AND IT IS CJNG. WE ARE COMING FOR ALL THE KIDNAPPERS, EXTORTIONISTS, RATS AND GRASSHOPPERS (traitors)...

WE REITERATE THAT WE RESPECT THE PEOPLE. AND TO THE GOVERNMENT...

FALL IN LINE OR WE WILL MAKE YOU FALL IN LINE”

2.5) Help

Help messages are often focused on gaining government attention to a cause. These messages were most commonly employed by various “autodefensas” in Michoacan and other Central Mexican states.

2.6) Bounties

Bounties are very rare, but as they have a distinct focus, they merit their own category. There has been only one bounty recorded so far this spring, where a local group called “Independientes Unidos” identified several rivals to the public and offered rewards for information.

“We are an independant group of drug dealers who have joined together to stand against the filthy Alemanes and Gulf who want to take control of the Capital of San Luis Potosi and the surrounding area.



Who ever offers useful and true information about the location of this trash will get between \$50,000 to \$500,000 pesos as a reward and as for Alfredo Aleman Narvaez, alias El Comandante Alemán, we want the son of a bitch dead or alive, for being the primary source of all violence in the capital.”

San Luis Potosi, San Luis Potosi. February 16, 2021. Photo and text from [BlogDelNarco](https://blogdelnarco.com).

Section 3: Notable Narcomantas
Narcomantas in Mexico

3.1 Deaths of 3 FGR Agents

3.2 Message to US Att. General William Barr

3.3 Emergence of New Autodefensa

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Notable Narcomantas



3.1) Deaths of 3 FGR Agents

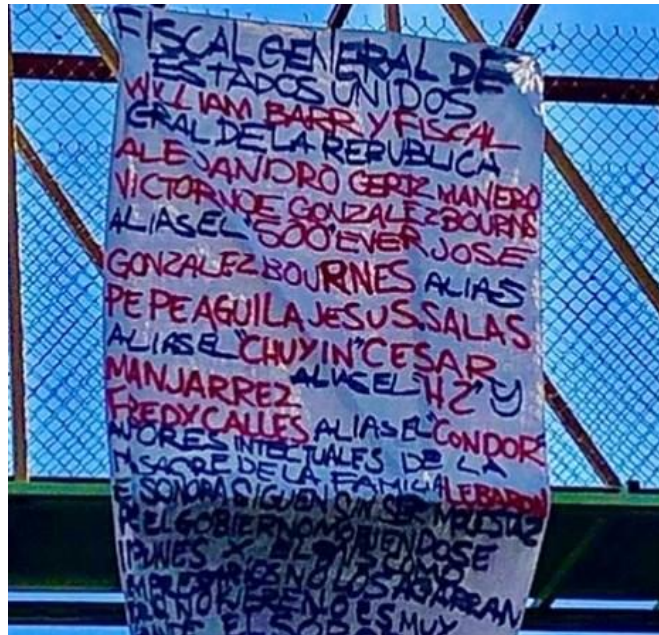
At 6 PM on Friday of March 19, 2021, an anonymous phone call led Guanajuato city police to Campuzano, a small remote town in rural Guanajuato. Police officers found the tortured bodies of three FGR (Attorney General's Office) agents inside an abandoned van.

Written on the window was ***“Esto nos pasa por extorsionar”, “This happened to us for extorting”.***

This event adds to the trend of numerous murders of police officers in the state, only behind Estado de México.

Guanajuato is currently caught in the middle of a bloody and divisive war between a local organized crime group, the Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima (CSRL), and two national drug trafficking organizations (DTOs), the Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación (CJNG) and the Sinaloa Cartel (CDS). This conflict cost 4,750 lives in 2020, making Guanajuato the most violent state in México. The newcomer in Guanajuato, CJNG, has battled CSRL for control of Guanajuato's valuable trafficking routes north, as well as the many PEMEX oil pipelines which cross Central México.

[Image from Proceso.](#)



3.2) Message to US Att. General William Barr

“Attorney General of the United States, William Barr and Fiscalia General de la República Alejandro Gertz Manero, Victor Noe Gonzalez Bourns alias “El 500” ever Jose Gonzalez Bournes alias “Pepe Aguila” Jesus Salas alias “El Chuyin” César Manjarrez alias “El H2” and Fredy Calles alias “El Condor” are the intellectual authors of the massacre of the Lebaron family in Sonora. They continue living unbothered by the government, moving around unhindered as businessmen.” (Following part is unclear to me. Translation from [Borderland Beat](#)) “They haven’t been apprehended by the authorities because the government doesn’t want to. Or is the bribery that they pay big enough to make you look away?”

Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. February 1, 2021. Image from [MéxicoWebCast](#).

The Lebaron massacre referenced here was an ambush on a group of US/México citizens from a Mormon community in Chihuahua that left 9 women and children dead and burned in northern México. Traveling in armoured cars, they may have been mistaken for rival cartel members by members of “La Linea”, an armed wing of the Juárez Cartel who fight “Los Salazar” for control of the region.

3.3) Emergence of New Autodefensa



Tecamachalco, Puebla. January 16, 2021. Photo and reporting from [MéxicoCodigoRojo](https://mexicocodigorojo.org/).

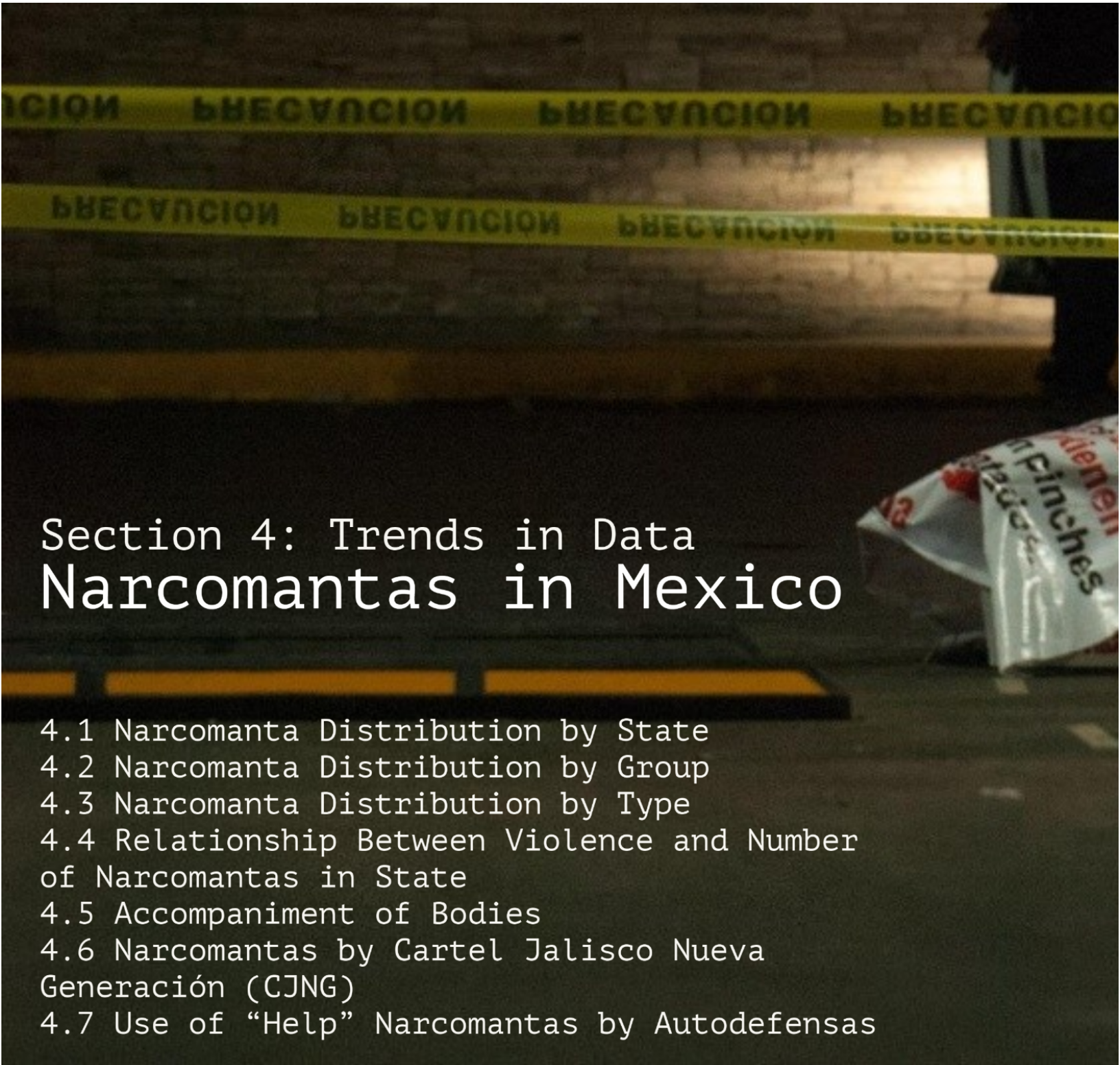
“We make a call to the President of Tecamachalco and other authorities from all different levels of government, that we the townspeople are tired of the robbery, we suffer daily extortion and murders, and inefficiencies of the police bodies (Guardia Nacional, State, and Municipal) we have united to end the vices in this area.

Cordially, Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco

We are not criminals, we are working people, but the rats and authorities have pushed our movement to this.”

Photos of a heavily armed group called the “Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco” circulated online in early January of 2021. They claim to be an autodefensa fighting against crime in their hometown, which is located within the “Red Triangle” of huachicol, a hot spot of PEMEX fuel theft in Central México.

The government of Puebla responded and ordered that they stand down, denouncing the illegal carrying of firearms by non-state actors, and affirmed that law enforcement is handling crime in the region. Luis Miguel Barbosa Huerta, the governor of Puebla stated that these autodefensas are nothing more than criminals who will soon be identified.



Section 4: Trends in Data Narcomantas in Mexico

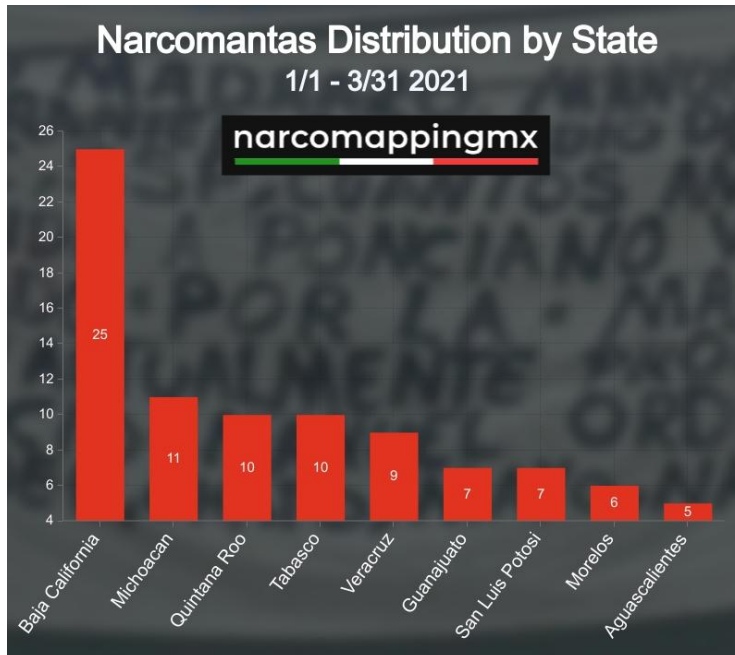
- 4.1 Narcomanta Distribution by State
- 4.2 Narcomanta Distribution by Group
- 4.3 Narcomanta Distribution by Type
- 4.4 Relationship Between Violence and Number of Narcomantas in State
- 4.5 Accompaniment of Bodies
- 4.6 Narcomantas by Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación (CJNG)
- 4.7 Use of “Help” Narcomantas by Autodefensas

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Trends and Analysis

4.1) Narcomanta Distribution by State



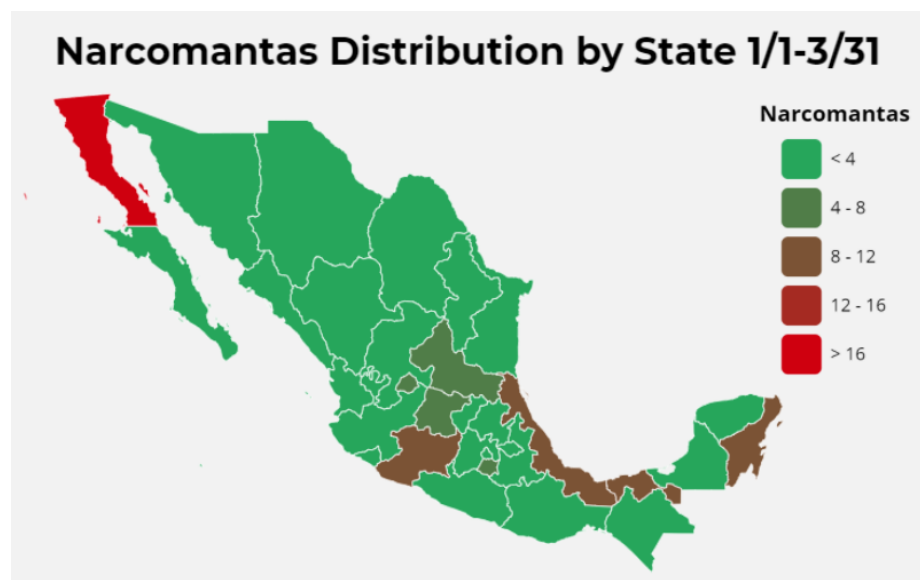
Not graphed: 3 narcomantas each in Chihuahua, Ciudad de México, Guerrero, Jalisco, Puebla. 2 narcomantas each in México, Sinaloa, Sonora. 1 narcomanta each in Coahuila, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Tamaulipas, Zacatecas.

Source: Narcomappingmx

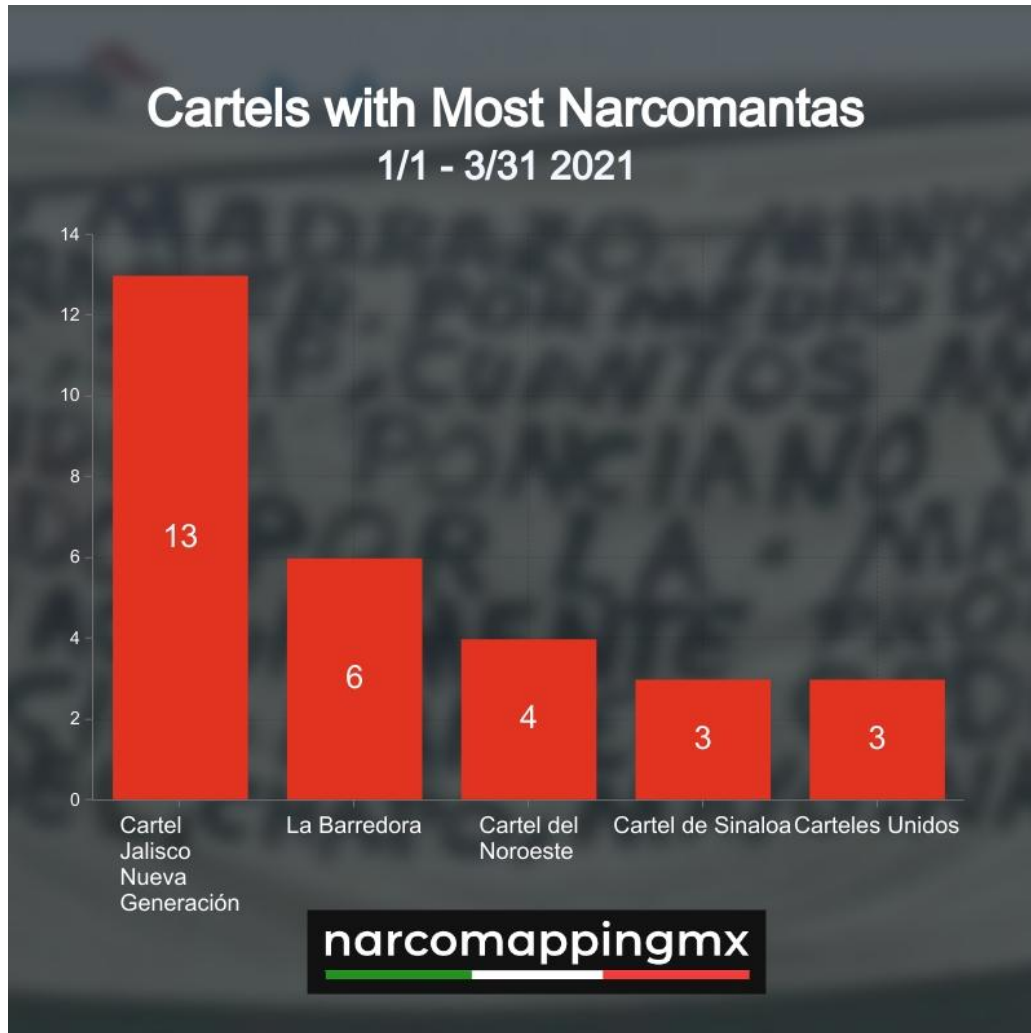
Narcomantas Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

Narcomanta distribution by state was heavily weighted towards regions known to be contested by different cartels such as Tijuana, Guanajuato, or Tabasco. Some surprising regions which placed high were Quintana Roo and

Veracruz, where much of the fighting takes place between smaller local groups.



4.2) Narcomanta Distribution by Group



Source: Narcomappingmx Narcomantas Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

Of 117 recorded narcomantas, 56 were either left without an attribution, or were censored by the local authorities or press. These are categorized as “Unknown”.

Of the 61 narcomantas that were signed by an entity, the Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación recorded the most with 13, followed by La Barredora (6), Cartel del Noroeste (4), Cartel de Sinaloa (3), and Carteles Unidos (3). “Mera Verga” also was recorded 3 times, but is not considered a group, but rather a common phrase used by several groups or leaders.

The following 6 groups had 2 narcomantas recorded.

C#01 Y C#07, Cartel del Golfo, Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco, Miauuuuu, Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz, R 15

The following 20 groups had 1 narcomanta recorded.

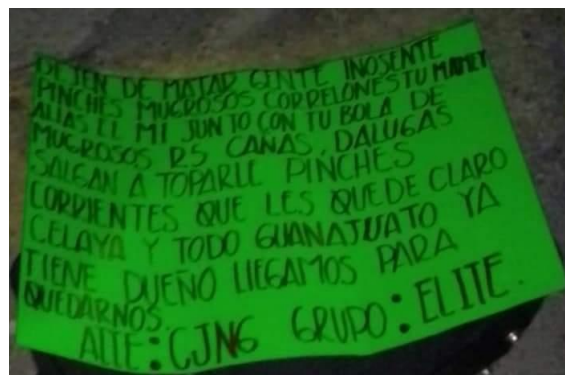
Autodefensas Michoacán, CABO 13 CABO 57 PURA GENTE DEL 100, Cartel de Ensenada, Cartel de la Sierra, Cártel de Tláhuac, Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima, Carteles Independientes, El Aquiles, El Italia & El Bombero, El Patrón, El Pueblo de Cajeme, El Ruche, El Viejon, Gabino Salas, La Sombra, Los Buenos de TKT (Tecate), Los Salazar, Mata Salazar, Pueblos Indígenas de Coahuayana y la Comunidad indigena de San Miguel Aquila, and Los Zetas Vieja Escuela.

Because organized crime cells can frequently splinter and switch sides, only the name on the narcomanta is recorded, not their otherwise known allegiance at the time.

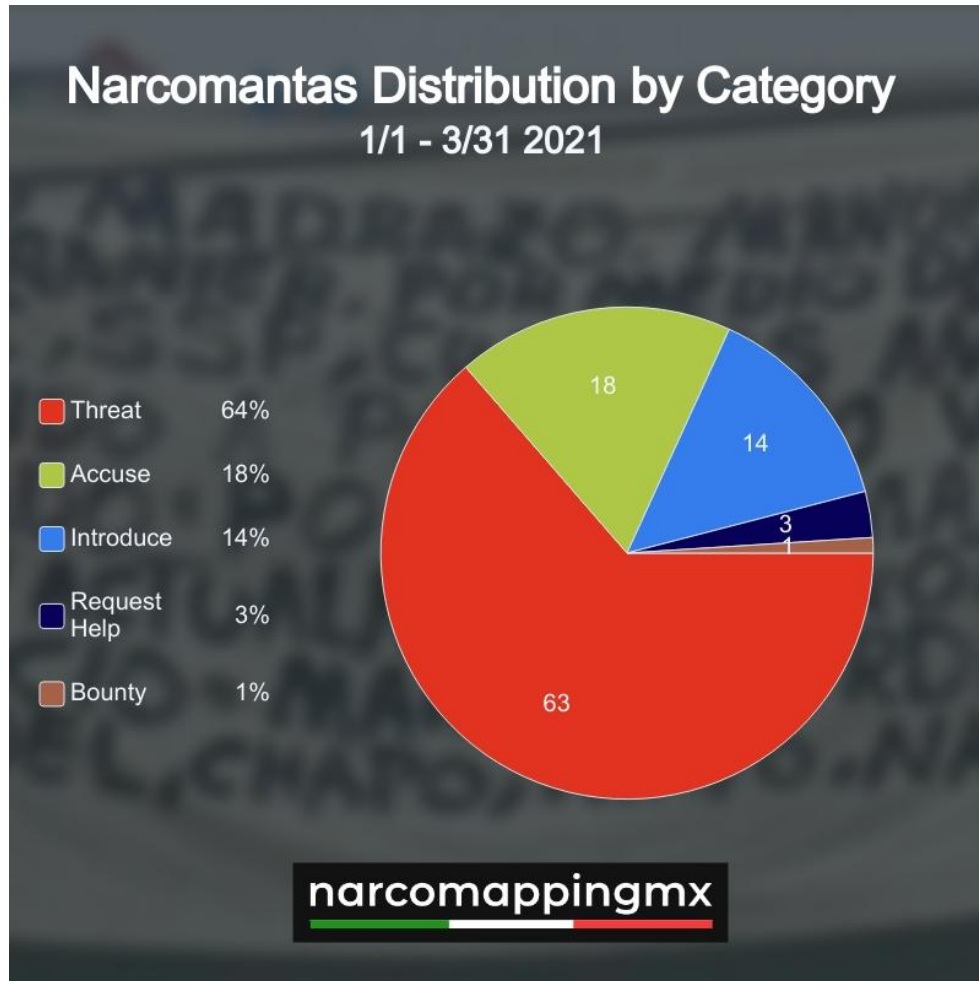
Some narcomantas were left by factions of larger cartels. Such as the narcomanta left by “Los Salazar” in Mexicali, Baja California on January 1, 2021 ([Zeta Tijuana](#)). Because this narcomanta was signed by “Los Salazar”, and not their parent organization the Sinaloa Cartel, it is counted separately from the Sinaloa Cartels total.



Conversely, in the narcomanta to the right, CJNG’s armed wing “Grupo Elite” signs their name alongside their larger group allegiance. This narcomanta is counted as CJNG’s total. ([Photo: BlogDelNarco](#))



4.3) Narcomanta Distribution by Type



Source: Narcomappingmx Narcomantas Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

The most common type of narcomanta were those used to threaten other groups, security forces, or civilians. These were used in about every state listed by most groups.

This indicates that the primary use of narcomantas is to threaten others. Cartels using narcomantas aim to establish control over a region and populace through fear.

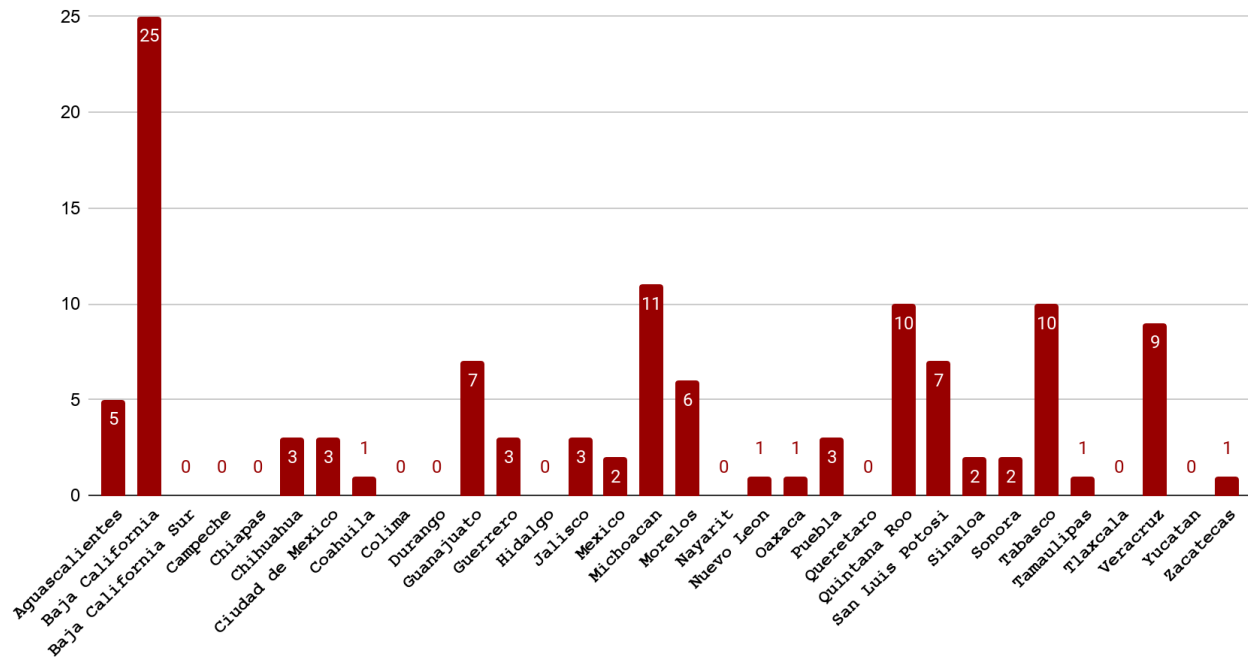
4.4) Relationship Between Violence and Number of Narcomantas in State

The correlation coefficient between the homicide data and narcomantas data by state was **0.49** - a **moderate positive relationship**. This is unexpected as narcomantas generally accompany turf wars, which raise the homicide count in a region.

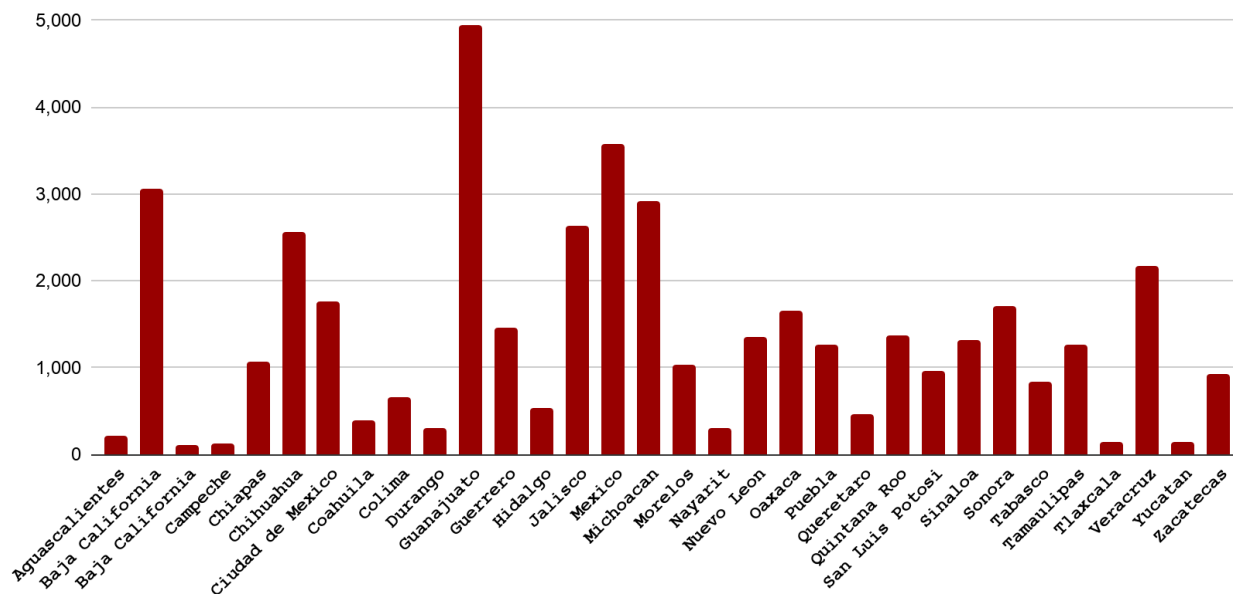
A possible explanation is that some states such as Guanajuato (4,940 homicides), have finished major conflict and have entered the purge stage of a turf war - where remaining dealers and rival operatives are hunted down by the victor, with no need for narcomantas to continue claiming control.

State	Homicides 2020	State	Narcomantas
Aguascalientes	221	Aguascalientes	5
Baja California	3,054	Baja California	25
Baja California Sur	118	Baja California Sur	0
Campeche	122	Campeche	0
Chiapas	1,065	Chiapas	0
Chihuahua	2,566	Chihuahua	3
Ciudad de México	1,764	Ciudad de México	3
Coahuila	390	Coahuila	1
Colima	657	Colima	0
Durango	314	Durango	0
Guanajuato	4,940	Guanajuato	7
Guerrero	1,469	Guerrero	3
Hidalgo	539	Hidalgo	0
Jalisco	2,627	Jalisco	3
México	3,575	México	2
Michoacan	2,921	Michoacan	11
Morelos	1,033	Morelos	6
Nayarit	308	Nayarit	0
Nuevo Leon	1,347	Nuevo Leon	1
Oaxaca	1,651	Oaxaca	1
Puebla	1,265	Puebla	3
Queretaro	465	Queretaro	0
Quintana Roo	1,364	Quintana Roo	10
San Luis Potosi	967	San Luis Potosi	7
Sinaloa	1,313	Sinaloa	2
Sonora	1,711	Sonora	2
Tabasco	831	Tabasco	10
Tamaulipas	1,263	Tamaulipas	1
Tlaxcala	150	Tlaxcala	0
Veracruz	2,175	Veracruz	9
Yucatan	153	Yucatan	0
Zacatecas	920	Zacatecas	1

Narcomantas in Mexico by State, 1/1-1/31



Homicides in Mexico by State 2020, Incidencia Delictiva del Fuero Común



Source: [Incidencia Delictiva del Fuero Común 2020](#)

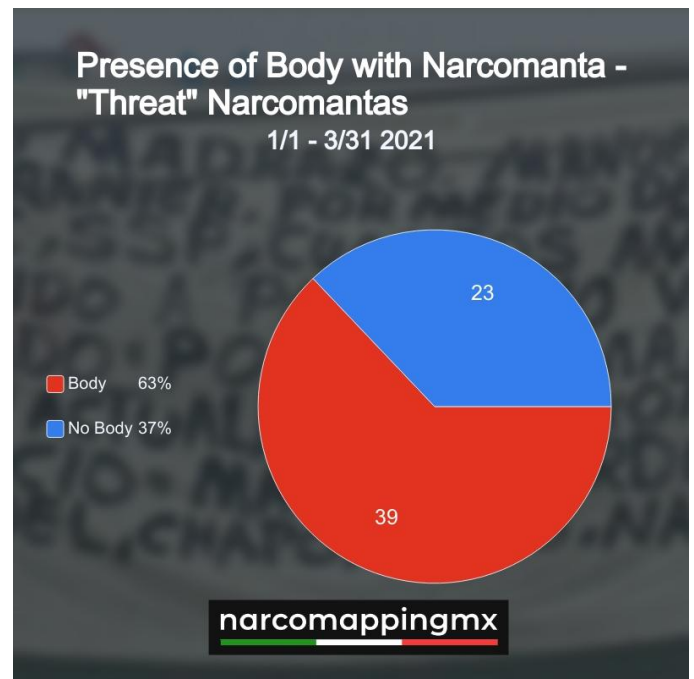
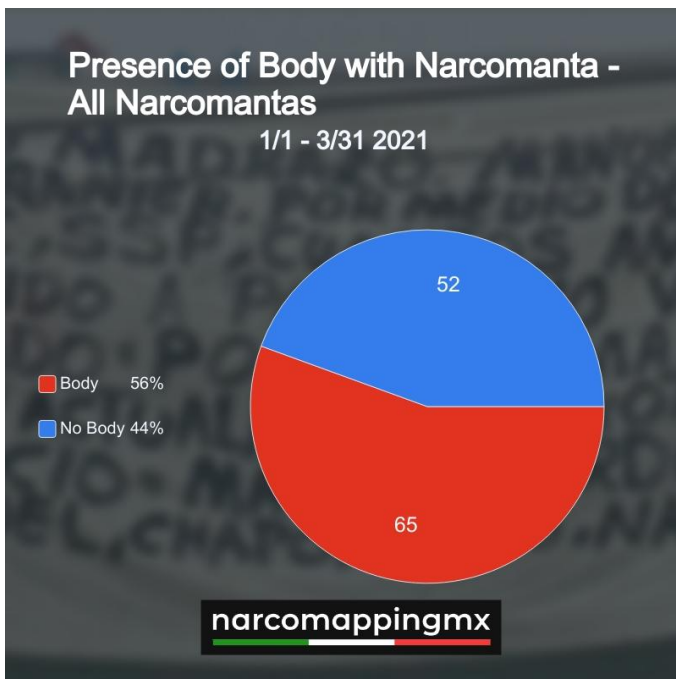
4.5) Accompaniment of bodies

Of all 117 narcomantas of all categories, 65 (55.56%) were accompanied by at least one dead body.

This percentage increased considerably with the 63 narcomantas categorized as “Threat”, to 39 (62.9%).

This suggests that groups leaving “Threat” narcomantas utilize bodies as added emphasis to bolster their point.

“Help”, “Bounty”, “Recruiting”, and “Accusation” narcomantas rarely were accompanied by bodies, perhaps meaning these would detract from their aim. This is especially apparent with “Bounty”, “Recruiting”, and “Help”, which rely on controlling the narrative by appearing as the lesser of two evils to be successful in their messaging.



Source: Narcomappingmx Narcomantas Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

4.6) Narcomantas by Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación (CJNG)

CJNG led the narcomantas count with 13. Four of these were placed in the state of Guanajuato, reflecting the continued turf war with the Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima (CSRL).

In Guanajuato, CJNG narcomantas continue to highlight the ongoing turf war between the CJNG and CSRL, which has resulted in thousands of deaths in the state over the last few years. This conflict appears to be slowing as the leadership structure of the CSRL has been dealt serious blows by Mexican security forces. Despite the de-escalating conflict, the CJNG and CSRL continue to kidnap and kill each other's dealers, leaving “Threat” narcomantas, which appeared in this report's totals.

Three were placed in Morelos, two directed at “Crispin”, which likely refers to Crispín Gaspar Corté, alias “El Crispín”, a leader within the [Guerreros Unidos cartel who were allied with the CJNG](#) as of early 2020. The last was directed towards Edgar Núñez Urquiza, an officer with the Fiscalía Anticorrupción Morelos. The narcomanta claimed that he owes the CJNG 300,000 pesos (\$17,000 USD).

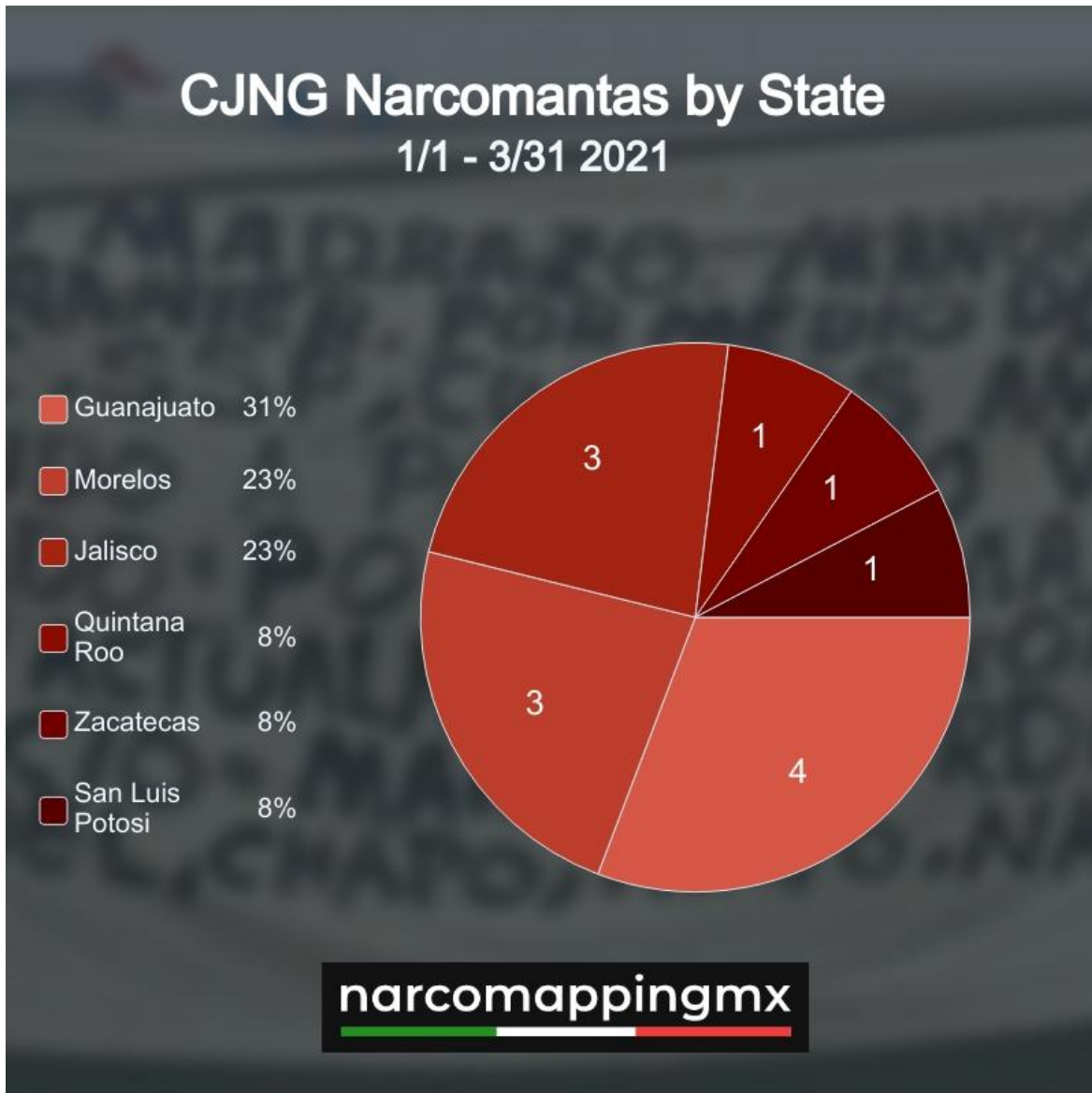


Photo from Instagram account [@narcoguerra_mx](#).



Edgar Núñez Urquiza

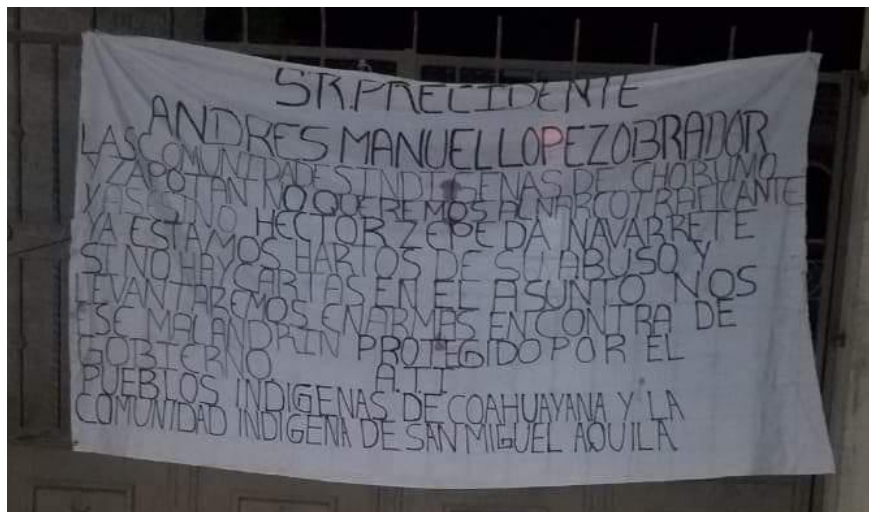
Three were placed in Jalisco, two related to conflict with their regional rivals “La Nueva Plaza”. The contents of the third, found at a mass body dump, were not released to the public.



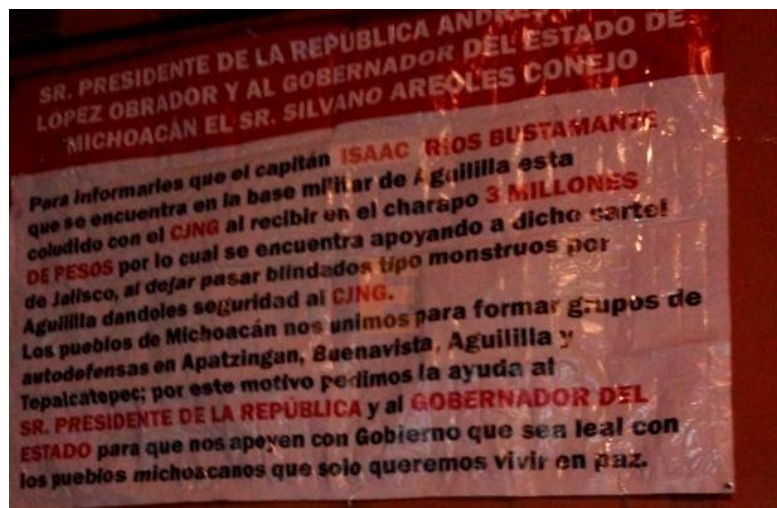
Source: Narcomappingmx Narcomantas Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

4.7) Use of Help Narcomantas by Autodefensas

Narcomantas used to request government help were exclusively used by groups identifying as autodefensas. These groups were the Pueblos Indígenas de Coahuayana y la Comunidad indigena de San Miguel Aquila, Autodefensas Michoacan, Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco, Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz.



(1)



(2)



(3)

Municipality	State	Attribution	Date	Source & Link
Coahuayana	Michoacan	Pueblos Indigenas de Coahuayana y la Comunidad indigena de san Miguel Aquila (1)	1/15	El Salvador
Ciudad Isla	Veracruz	Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz (2)	2/1	La Nigua
Ciudad Isla	Veracruz	Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz (3)	2/1	60 Minutos

These appeared within the same month with similar messages - indicating a possible new multi group coalition, perhaps similar to the anti Zeta alliance in Central México in 2010.

Data Set 1/1 - 3/31

Municipality	State	Attribution	Category	Target	Body	Date	Source
Zamora	Michoacan	Autodefensas as Michoacan	Introduce	Help from gov against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	1/4	Valor por Tamaulipas
Ciudad Juárez	Chihuahua	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	No	1/4	El Herald
Playa del Carmen	Quintana Roo	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Policia Municipal - extorsion	No	1/5	Reporte24qr
Oaxaca de Juárez	Oaxaca	El Ruche	Threat	El Cuche	No	1/5	RioOaxaca
Tecate	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	Cartel de Sinaloa	No	1/6	El Mexicano
Celaya	Guanajuato	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima	Yes	1/8	Blog Del Narco
Mexicali	Baja California	Los Salazar	Threat	Money exchangers - money launderers	No	1/9	Zeta Tijuana
Ensenada	Baja California	El Patron	Threat	GESI - FGE agents	No	1/10	Ensenada
Cancun	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	1/11	El Quintana Roo
Benito Juárez	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Threat	José Luis Blanco Pajón - politician	No	1/12	Diario de Yucatan
Chilchota	Michoacan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	1/13	La Voz de Michoacan
Cardenas	Tabasco	Mera Verga	Threat	Elias Bautista Torres - Head of Tabasco Investigative Police	No	1/14	Tabasco Hoy
Tijuana	Baja California	El Italia & El Bombero	Threat	Policía Municipal y Estatad, El Flaquito,	No	1/14	El Vigia

				El Bolteado			
Cardenas	Tabasco	La Barredora	Threat	Those who dont respect the agreement	Yes	1/15	MéxicoCodigo Rojo
Tepalcatepec	Michoacan	Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco	Introduce	Fight against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	1/15	MéxicoCodigo Rojo
Tecamachalco	Puebla	Ciudadanos Unidos de Tecamachalco	Introduce	Help from gov against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	1/15	MéxicoCodigo Rojo
Coahuayana	Michoacan	Pueblos Ind. de Coahuayana y Comunidad ind. de san miguel aquila	Request Help	Help from gov against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Yes	1/15	El Salvador
Ensenada	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	1/17	Bajio Teledario
Comalcalco	Tabasco	La Barredora	Threat	General rivals	Yes	1/18	Notinfomex

Comalcalco	Tabasco	La Barredora	Threat	General rivals	Yes	1/18	Notinfomex
Ensenada	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	1/19	El Vigia
Morelia	Michoacan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	1/21	Notinfomex
El Espinal	Michoacan	R 15	Threat	Unknown	Yes	1/21	Noticias Sureste
Ciudad Juárez	Chihuahua	Gabino Salas	Threat	El Chuyin - trafficker	No	1/21	SegundoaSegundo
Chetumal	Quintana Roo	Zetas Y GDG	Introduce	General public	No	1/24	Periodistas Quintana Roo
Ensenada	Baja California	Cartel de Ensenada	Threat	EL MERCENARIO	No	1/25	Zeta Tijuana

Graciano Sanchez	San Luis Potosi	Cartel del Noroeste	Introduce	General public	Yes	1/27	Mcnoticias
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	FGE	Yes	1/2	El Imparcial
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	Chief of Police	Yes	1/29	El Sol de Tijuana
Choix	Sinaloa	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	1/30	Luz Noticias
Graciano Sanchez	San Luis Potosi	Cartel del Noroeste	Introduce	General public	Yes	2/1/	exico Codigo Rojo
Ciudad Isla	Veracruz	Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz	Request Help	Help from gov against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	2/1	La Nigua
Ciudad Isla	Veracruz	Pueblos Unidos de Veracruz	Request Help	Help from gov against Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	2/1	60 Minutos
		Unknown	Accuse	Reclusorio Sur de la CDMX - extorsión	No	2/3	Medio Tiempo
Cancun	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Threat	Sindicato Taxista Andrés Quintana Roo #2231	Yes	2/5	La Verdad del Noticias
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/7	El Sol de Tijuana
Tijuana	Baja California	Los Buenos de TKT (Tecate)	Accuse	Los Aquiles	No	2/9	El Mexicano
Celaya	Guanajuato	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima	Yes	2/10	México Codigo Rojo
Coatzacoalc os	Veracruz	Unknown	Accuse	Alleges link between SSP and a crime	No	2/10	Imagen Del Golfo
Tijuana	Baja California	C#01 Y C#07	Introduce	General public	No	2/11	Zeta Tijuana

Zapopan	Jalisco	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Unknow n	Unknown	Yes	2/12	Infobae
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Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/12	El Imparcial
Tijuana	Baja California	C#01 Y C#07	Introduce	General public	Yes	2/13	Zeta Tijuana
Atlixco	Puebla	Unknown	Introduce	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	No	2/13	Intolerancia Diario
Carretera Portón-Ciudad Pemex	Tabasco	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	2/14	Tabasco Hoy
Acayucan	Michoacan	Unknown	Threat	Local drug dealers	No	2/15	Imagen Del Golfo
San Luis Potosi	San Luis Potosi	Carteles Independientes	Bounty	Bounties for Cartel del Golfo and ZVE leaders	No	2/16	Blog Del Narco
Morelia	Michoacan	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	No	2/16	Mi Morelia
San Luis Potosi	San Luis Potosi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/16	La Roja
Carretera Tacámbaro-Salvador Escalante	Michoacan	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	2/17	Notinfomex
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	2/19	El Imparcial
Chihuahua	Chihuahua	Unknown	Accuse	To William Barr, accuses others of Lebaron Massacre	No	2/19	Diario MX
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/20	El Imparcial
Cardenas	Tabasco	La Barredora	Accuse	Alleges link between local politicians and crime group	No	2/21	Tabasco Hoy
Cardenas	Tabasco	La Barredora		Alleges link between local politicians and crime group	No	2/21	Tabasco Hoy
Cancun	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Accuse	Bonfil Luis Pérez Perez, Óscar Melchor Sul Cortés, public security	No	2/21	El Mirador Quintana Roo
Izúcar de Matamoros	Puebla	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	No	2/23	Codigo Rojo
Iguala	Guerrero	Cartel de la Sierra	Introduce	Cártel de la Bandera	No	2/24	Infobae

Puerto Morelos	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Accuse	Accuses Manuel González Tamanaja (mayoral candidate) of killing Ignacio Sánchez Cordero	No	2/24	Quinta Fuerza
Madero de Papantla	Veracruz	R 15	Threat	Threatens local actor who owes money	Yes	2/25	Notinfomex

Chicontepec	Veracruz	Unknown	Threat	Threatens local drug dealers, extortionists	No	2/26	Vanguardia Veracruz
Apaseo el Grande	Guanajuato	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/26	Borderland Beat
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Local police	Yes	2/28	El Sol de Tijuana
Jojutla	Morelos	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Rival criminal actors, CRISPIN, local police	Yes	2/28	Borderland Beat
Reynosa	Tamaulipas	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	2/28	narcoguerra_mx
Ciudad de México	Ciudad de México	Unknown	Threat	Antonio Hazael Ruiz Ortega, Reclusorio Sur de la Ciudad de México - extortion	Yes	3/1	El Grafico
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/1	El Imparcial
Cajeme	Sonora	El Pueblo de Cajeme	Accuse	Señor Gobernadora y Sr. Candido Tarango - alleges org.crime links with police	No	3/1	narcoguerra_mx
Cuernavaca	Morelos	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Accuse	Accuses Lic Edgar Urquiza of stealing money	No	3/1	narcoguerra_mx
El Chito	Zacatecas	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Introduce	Unknown	Yes	3/2	Letra Roja
Cardenas	Aguascalientes	El Viejon	Threat	Threatens car thieves	No	3/2	La Verdad del Centro
Iguala	Guerrero	Unknown	Accuse	Addresses government officials alleging org.crime links with police	No	3/3	La Verdad del Centro

Tehuixtla	Morelos	Cartel del Noroeste	Introduce	Announces ownership of Tehuixtla	No	3/3	Blog Del Narco
Carretera Cuautla-Cuernavaca	Morelos	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	3/4	Linea Directa
Carretera Cárdenas-Coatzacoalcas	Tabasco	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	3/4	Linea Directa
Cardenas	Tabasco	La Barredora	Threat	Rival criminal actor placing mantas	Yes	3/5	Valor por Tamaulipas
Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes	Carteles Unidos	Threat	Rubén Jiménez Enríquez alias "el Rubio"	No	3/5	La Verdad del Centro
Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes	Cartel de Sinaloa	Threat	Rubén Jiménez Enríquez alias "el Rubio"	No	3/5	La Verdad del Centro
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	20 Pitey y el Guicho	Yes	3/7	Valor por Tamaulipas
Culiacan	Sinaloa	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	No	3/8	Valor por Tamaulipas
Soledad de Graciano Sanchez	San Luis Potosi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/12	Valor por Tamaulipas

Los Hornos	Morelos	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	CRISPIN	Yes	3/14	Valor por Tamaulipas
Nezahualcoyotl	México	Unknown	Threat	Threatens newcomers: El Oso, Negra, Juan Gordo, Bacilio	Yes	3/16	El Grafico
Iztapalapa	Ciudad de México	Cártel de Tláhuac	Threat	Threatens extortion gang led by El Güero Fresa, El Fantasma	No	3/16	Letra Roja
Playa del Carmen	Quintana Roo	El Aquiles	Threat	Threatens police commander Jorge Robles Aguilar for cartel affiliation	No	3/17	Valor por Tamaulipas
Monterrey	Nuevo Leon	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/17	Valor Tamaulipeco
Chilchota	Michoacan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/1	La Voz de

						8	Michoacan
Sahuayo	Michoacan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/1 8	La Voz de Michoacan
Tlaquepaque	Jalisco	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Captured and murdered rival "El Cholo" of La Nueva Plaza	Yes	3/1 8	Letra Roja
Playa del Carmen	Quintana Roo	Unknown	Accuse	Threatens police commander Jorge Robles Aguilar for cartel affiliation	No	3/1 8	Cambio22
Cardenas	Tabasco	Unknown	Accuse	Accuses Guardia Nacional of murdering migrants	No	3/1 9	Tabasco Hoy
El Salto	Jalisco	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Punishment for supporting rival "El Cholo" of La Nueva Plaza	Yes	3/1 9	Valor por Tamaulipas
Nogales	Veracruz	Miauuuuu	Threat	Zetas - "Cansino", "Pilar", "Chamaco" Y Tu "Tecate"	Yes	3/1 9	Valor por Tamaulipas
Guanajuato	Guanajuato	Unknown	Accuse	Accuses FGR agents of extortion	Yes	3/2 0	Proceso
Piedras Negras	Coahuila	Cartel del Noroeste	Threat	Motive unclear - police	No	3/2 0	narcoguerra_mx
Ensenada	Baja California	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	3/2 2	Valor por Tamaulipas
Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes	Cartel de Sinaloa & Carteles Unidos	Threat	Orders Ags. Attorney General Jesús Figueroa Ortega to stay peaceful	Yes	3/2 2	Valor por Tamaulipas
Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes	Cartel de Sinaloa & Carteles Unidos	Accuse	Accuses police of abuses	No	3/2 2	Valor por Tamaulipas
Ciudad Valles	San Luis Potosi	Cartel del Golfo	Threat	Orders businessmen not to pay cuota to rivals	No	3/2 2	EMSA Valles
Acapulco	Guerrero	Unknown	Accuse	Accuses governor Héctor Astudillo Flores of protecting the Beltran Leyva	No	3/2 2	Proceso
Tijuana	Baja California	La Sombra	Threat	Rival criminals	Yes	3/2 5	Valor por Tamaulipas

Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Accuse	Accuses Lic. Alejandro Estrada Bañuelos Y Güero Pecas of Kidnapping	Yes	3/27	Valor por Tamaulipas
Tijuana	Baja California	Cabo 13 Cabo 57 Pura Gente Del 100	Threat	Threatens allies of El Cabo 20	Yes	3/27	Valor por Tamaulipas
Actopan	Veracruz	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	2/27	Blog Del Narco
Nogales	Veracruz	Unknown	Threat	Unknown	Yes	3/28	Notinfomex
Tijuana	Baja California	Unknown	Threat	Threatens rats	Yes	3/29	Punto Norte
Cancun	Quintana Roo	Mera Verga	Threat	Threatens Héctor Elías Flores Aceves “15” o Pantera, Oscar Melchor Dzul Cortes “18”	Yes	3/29	Valor por Tamaulipas
Nezahualcoyotl	México	Unknown	Threat	Killed for drug, money debt: Abrahan e Hirving, sons of Cocho	Yes	3/30	Blog Del Narco
Nogales	Veracruz	Miauuuuu	Threat	Threatens Cancino, a la Pilar y al Cachorro	Yes	3/30	Blog Del Narco
Temixco	Morelos	Unknown	Threat	Threatens rival	Yes	3/30	Valor por Tamaulipas
San Luis Río Colorado	Sonora	Mata Salazar	Threat	Threatens rival	Yes	3/31	Blog Del Narco
Iztapalapa	Ciudad de México	Unknown	Threat	Threatens FGJ of CDMX	Yes	3/31	Blog Del Narco
	San Luis Potosi	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Introduce	Threatens Cartel del Golfo, Los Alemanes	No	3/31	Blog Del Narco
Celaya	Guanajuato	Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima	Threat	Threatens Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Yes	3/31	México Código Rojo
Celaya	Guanajuato	Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación	Threat	Threatens Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima, kills Police informant	Yes	3/31	México Código Rojo
Celaya	Guanajuato	Cartel Jalisco Nueva	Threat	Threatens Cartel Santa Rosa de Lima, kills Police	Yes	3/31	México Código Rojo

		Generación		informant			
Rosarito	Baja California	Mera Verga	Accuse	Accuses SSP of aiding Cartel de Sinaloa	No	3/31	Valor por Tamaulipas
Cardenas	Tabasco	La Barredora	Threat	Kills taxi driver for breaking treaty	Yes	3/31	Tabasco Hoy



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LOS POLÍTICOS?

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