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Mexico's Process Of Reforms II

Reform of the State
Fernando Dworak

Electoral Legislation
Carlos González Martínez

Labor Relations
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Criminal Justice System
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The 2008 U.S. Elections
Leonardo Curzio

**Deindustrialization
In the United States**
Elisa Dávalos

**Farewell to
Andrés Henestrosa**
Articles by Silvia Molina
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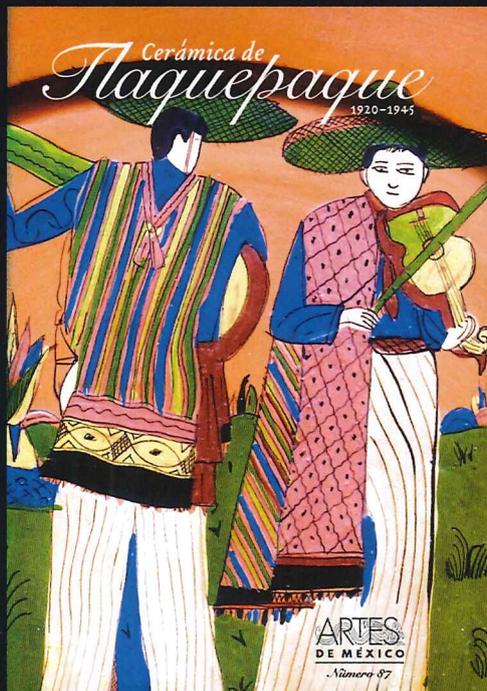
**Crafts and Pre-Hispanic
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En el número 87 de Artes de México, **CERÁMICA DE TLAQUEPAQUE**, descubra cómo renació la cerámica engretada en las décadas de 1920 a 1950. Gracias a la presencia de artistas como Roberto Montenegro, Doctor Atl, Ixca Farías y Adolfo Best Maugard, los ceramistas se convirtieron en precursores del movimiento de revaloración de las artes populares mexicanas.

ARTES
DE MÉXICO

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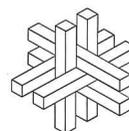
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Elsie Montiel

Cover

Gregorio Méndez, *Chamaquis Vendor* (acrylic).

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Juan San Juan, "Compurban" 15.

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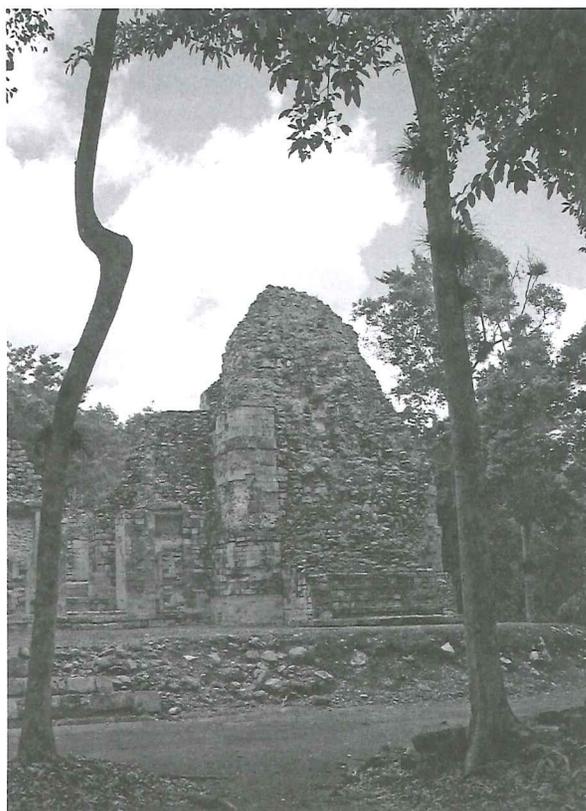
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Elsie Montiel

OUR VOICE

The election campaign in the United States has forced many actors close to and partners of that country to express their preferences more directly than at other times in the recent past. Aside from the issue of the Iraq war—which seems to have resuscitated after Senator Hillary Clinton’s criticisms of President Bush on the fifth anniversary of that unfortunate bellicose adventure that has Washington turned upside down—central domestic issues like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and migration have had a decided effect on the debate. This has forced the three contenders still occupying the political arena to take what turned out to be contradictory positions on them on several occasions.

This is mainly the case of the Democrats. Both Senator Clinton and Senator Obama have criticized NAFTA and offered their constituencies the possibility of renewing or even canceling it. Obama himself had to reconsider his position after it leaked that his campaign staff had offered the Canadians assurances that he had no plans to negatively affect the treaty, and that it was just a matter for domestic consumption, for which it was a good idea to have a double discourse. This caused some resentment in Mexican circles and a big fuss among Democrats, to the point that Senator Clinton took advantage of the moment to launch harsh criticisms against her adversary. These certainly did great damage and probably were the cause of Obama’s losing Ohio and Texas, two states sensitive to the issue of regional integration and free trade.

Clinton, for her part, also for purely electoral reasons, has not been exempt from excesses in this kind of double discourse and has proposed a review of NAFTA to see whether it has influenced job losses and other misfortunes currently plaguing the U.S. economy. We know, however, that these calamities are linked to other more serious problems like China’s new role in the world economy and the industrial reengineering the U.S. economy is undergoing. Outsourcing is by no means something caused by the treaty with Mexico and Canada. Its origins are to be found elsewhere, and any economic advisor is perfectly aware of that.

While Senator John McCain has been more cautious—and everyone knows that he has already risked a great deal *vis-à-vis* the extreme right wing of his party by putting forward a “liberal” position on the issue of migration—he will definitely have to re-address the matter of NAFTA in the course of his campaign. This will have to be done regardless of which of the two Democratic hopefuls finally gets the nomination, given that both of them have turned out to be the most protectionist of the U.S. political establishment’s protectionists.

At bottom, it is all about using these issues to come out of this process in the best shape possible with an eye to the White House. Both free trade and migration are part of a phenomenon the United States has been experiencing, mainly with Mexico, for almost two decades now. It will not be resolved by canceling the agreement or by building fences along the border. It will be solved by formulating other kinds of policies toward the South, policies that assume that Mexico is a trustworthy neighbor to which better conditions should be offered so that its process of insertion in regional and inter-regional markets includes appropriate levels of prosperity, both urgent and necessary for preserving the national security of the United States itself and its borders.

Any candidate who refers to these issues lightly or puts forward a double discourse will lose the trust of his/her Canadian and Mexican counterparts in dialogue, and also very probably the Latino vote, particularly the Mexican one, today so valuable for winning a presidential election.

* * *

Our “United States Affairs” section includes an article by analyst Leonardo Curzio, about what the current U.S. electoral process means not only for the stability of our neighbor to the north, but for the world. This process has been one of the most interesting and intense in many decades from all vantage points, including Mexico’s.

The candidates have also focused their campaigns on the economy, agreeing on a critique of the outgoing administration’s disastrous performance. In our “Economy” section, Elisa Dávalos offers our readers a contribution that goes a long way toward explaining the context of these problems, focusing on the pro-

found causes of de-industrialization in the United States and its effects in terms of decreasing employment.

In this issue, we once again present several views of Mexico's institutional transformations, dedicating most of the articles in our "Politics" and "Society" sections to the topic. We begin with an article by political analyst Fernando Dworak explaining the reasons behind the repeated failures in the last two decades of the attempts to implement a broad, thorough reform of the state. Electoral expert Carlos González offers us a reflection about the most recent electoral reform, focusing on several of the most potentially controversial points like what he calls the "poisoned apples" given to the Federal Electoral Institute: its exclusive control of party access to the media and of filing legal complaints against what it considers smear campaigns. The analysis continues as political scientist Javier Aguilar García writes about labor legislation reform, centered on greater flexibility on the job, actually a move toward individual negotiation of working conditions instead of collective bargaining. This is a proposal that has not passed despite repeated attempts over the last 20 years. Will Felipe Calderón manage it? Mexico's criminal justice system is also immersed in change. Two eminent jurists, Miguel Carbonnel and Enrique Ochoa Reza, offer us their diagnosis, arguing that greater, more structural reforms than those recently approved are needed to overcome the 99 percent impunity rate for crimes in the country. Health care is changing through what are generically known as "anti-tobacco laws". To better understand the reasons behind these new laws, Daniel Tapia offers us a detailed panorama of tobacco use in Mexico, its consequences for the health care system and the public policies needed to fight it.

Globalization has different effects in each of the regional blocs that it has spawned, even though some are common to all. In "Global Issues," researcher Ariadna Estévez looks more closely at its impact on human rights, particularly with regard to growing migration. She emphasizes the need to move toward universal citizenship to guarantee the rights emerging from the new global reality. Academic Camelia Nicoleta Tigau delves into another aspect of the global village: rich nations' food aid policies toward poor nations. Specifically, she covers USAID, whose programs are far from disinterested and altruistic.

* * *

"Art and Culture" dedicates its pages to three different ways of understanding art. We start off with the photography of Juan San Juan, who captures ordinary fragments of Mexico City, and then digitally "intervenes" in them, turning them into new manifestations of urban art. On the other extreme of the spectrum, we find painter Gregorio Mendez, whose canvases express a longing to stop time, to bar progress from invading the scene and the traditions that inspire him. Lastly, we include an example of the influence that social dynamics have on art, even on its most traditional forms, like painting on *amate* bark paper. Prompted by necessity, the folk artists we present have emigrated to the United States, and their new experiences as migrants are what they paint about in a form of artistic expression that refuses to die.

"The Splendor of Mexico" returns to Campeche, bringing our readers the second part of an article about the different architectural styles of the Mayan peoples. That article, together with another about the astronomical and archaeological importance of the constructions in the city of Edzná, shows us why the obsession with Mayan culture remains alive. We also look at a unique form of hand-made crafts from Campeche: the production of items from jipi palm leaves, particularly hats, whose elegance has made them very popular.

"Museums" looks this time at the Museum of Mayan Architectural, in the city of Campeche, with its magnificent samples of Mayan art from different parts of the state.

The phrase "102 years of generosity" could easily be used to describe the life of Don Andrés Henestrosa. In homage to this giant of Mexican literature and culture, we have dedicated to him our "In Memoriam" and "Literature" sections. We have included two essays/testimonies about his extraordinary body of literary work and his renowned bonhomie by award-winning writer Silvia Molina and researcher Dolores González Casanova. Henestrosa's literature can be defined as his ability to reveal world views and differences in a way that is both tender and surprising, particularly when they share his own indigenous roots. As examples, we have published two of his short stories here.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

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Still on Mexico's Agenda Why Reform the State?

Fernando Dworak*



Guillermo Perea/Cuartoscuro

Mexico's Chamber of Deputies.

The Law to Reform the State passed March 29, 2007. Its aim is to establish the mechanisms needed to analyze, negotiate and forge the agreements needed to make it possible to transform Mexican institutions. After a period of consultations, the Congress is now carrying out the debate and negotiations.

The law will be in effect for one year, and therefore, its ambitious agenda is expected to be completed by mid-April 2008. But the law is flawed, since it does not establish sanctions for legislators if they do not fully comply with it. This means senators and deputies are not responsible for either their successes or their failures.

Over recent months, we have seen how, far from seriously reviewing the institutions as expected, the political parties have been introducing and passing bills that, while they are not completely self-interested, make solely cosmetic changes

to our laws. What is worse, all of this is being done without public debate, isolating the citizenry in the process.

The issue known as the reform of the state has been on the public agenda for 18 years. However, advances have been modest and seldom do they go beyond party interests, such as in the case of changes to electoral legislation. This is due to the fact that the reasons underlying the need to transform our institutions have not been put forward, and the preconditions that should be considered to consolidate our democracy are unknown.

WHAT IS THE REFORM OF THE STATE?

Before we can understand why this discussion has not progressed, we have to have a clear idea of how we should understand it, and what its real scope is. The state is based on institutions, and they are the rules of the game for the political

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on the public agenda for 18 years. However,
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do they go beyond party interests,
such as in the case of changes
to electoral legislation.

and social actors who interact in a specific time and place. These rules can be written down or based only on convention.

Society changes constantly and often these changes are not immediately perceptible because they may be occurring on the level of day-to-day relations. Naturally, one change fosters another and that chain of events will continue. As a result, the greater the difference between institutions and social interaction, the more probable and necessary will be the change in the former. Therefore, the state is reformed constantly and permanently, through both its formal and informal rules. Following along this line of thought, and to be more concrete, the process of the reform of the Mexican state began—and it has never stopped—with its independence, September 27, 1821. This implies that, since the state is continually changing, its reform should be seen as a gradual, incremental, permanent process, subject to constant evaluation. As a result, changes should be a combination of innovation and adaptation subject to trial and error: no ideal or lasting equilibriums are possible.

WHY HAS THE REFORM OF THE STATE NOT BEEN ACHIEVED?

Although it is necessary to reform the institutions, by its very nature, change always creates fear and reservations, and these increase when, instead of presenting concrete reform proposals based on assertive diagnostic analyses and accompanied by projections about their possible impacts, people present ambitious agendas, like those that propose a “comprehensive review of the Constitution.” And what is worse, rarely is the public informed about the need for changes, which increases its resistance to them.

Let us look at the main reasons why the different exercises in the reform of the state have not prospered for almost the last 20 years.

In the first place, we have no real perspective on how our institutions would perform in a pluralistic environment. That

is, we are barely learning to live with effective written legislation after 70 years in which whoever was president defined the real rules. Therefore, if we do not know how our legal framework would function, it is irresponsible to suppose that it should change because people think it was conceived for a hegemonic party regime.

Therefore, as long as our political class cannot accumulate experience over time, thus developing an institutional memory that will make it possible to perform assertive diagnostic analyses, we should reevaluate our institutions.

The second reason the reform of the state has not prospered is the way in which we conceive of the process. Many politicians and academics want the review to lead to a new founding of the state. Thus, they have been presenting general models, almost all created in the interests of each of their proponents or sponsors. Naturally, these “perfect models” are based mainly on superficial theories and observations about how their proposals work in other parts of the world. This only increases fear of change.

For example, some of these positions presuppose that there is a final destination, such as changing to a semi-presidential or even a parliamentary regime. This ignores the fact that a transformation of this magnitude can only occur in one scenario: the restoration of democracy after the breakdown of the previous system. It must be clearly stated: without serious reflection and the necessary continuity, only those proposals that are popular at any given moment will pass, and they are not always the best ones.

The third reason is that the procedures being proposed to review our institutions are not necessarily applicable in Mexico. Using them, people extrapolate about other countries and the processes needed to implement them. The most frequently cited examples are Spain’s transition to democracy and the role and will of a single individual in the process, such as the case of Charles de Gaulle in France’s Fifth Republic.

However, once again, what proponents are trying to hide from us is that these global processes are only feasible when they begin from zero. That is, they overestimate the process to the detriment of implementing a few urgent reforms and the clarification of the debate and its true scope.

In the fourth place, it should be pointed out that the debate emphasizes the will of political actors to achieve reforms, instead of conceiving change as the result of opposing interests, between those who seek change and those who resist it. Since the transformation of institutions is a gradual,

incremental, permanent process, what is required from politicians and social actors is more wisdom in order to ask themselves about the performance of the institutions in a changing situation, instead of a disinterested “will to reform,” as some would have us believe.

In addition, no exercise in reforming the state has convened all the political and social actors who should participate. Indeed, very often, they have been headed up by people who are not truly representative, and the results are similar to those of the 2007 electoral reform: the parties ended up changing the rules in their own interests. There has been no advance on this front because more value has been placed on the desired changes than on the forms for achieving a consensus about them.

The fifth reason—and perhaps one of the most important—is inertia in the images and discourses of power. A political system does not base its legitimacy on laws and performance alone, but also on symbols and ways of conceiving of reality. This has always been part of the theory and exercise of power. Therefore, the images used generate perceptions and forms of expression that concretely legitimize a regimen.

Given that some reforms would require a change in the way that society conceives of these symbols, a profound, broad process like the one needed would take many years to complete. In many cases, it would be necessary to replace some discourses with new ones, in addition to encouraging a change in the way we conceive of our Constitution.

In the sixth place, we should mention the primacy of the short term for the public agenda. Political life is full of specific dilemmas that must be dealt with, and very often the discussion is immersed in the dynamic of dealing with whatever is urgent instead of what is important. And lastly, we have to contend with the political class’s amateurism and irresponsibility, particularly our legislators. A process of reviewing institutions requires our politicians to have an institutional memory. Otherwise they might propose reforms that would reap negative results. In addition, they have to have the capability of following up on the reforms they pass, as well as taking responsibility for both their successes and their mistakes. Quite the contrary to what is needed, the prohibition of consecutive reelection of our legislators means that legislature after legislature leaves the reform of the state last on the agenda and never gets to it. Or, what is worse, it is distorted and turned into an instrument for blackmail in the hands of the parties.

Some of these positions presuppose that there is a final destination, such as changing to a semi-presidential or even a parliamentary regime.

This ignores the fact that a transformation of this magnitude can only occur in one scenario: the restoration of democracy.

WHERE TO START?

All of this shows that the reform of the state is a permanent review process of our institutions. Therefore, we must rethink it in order to ask ourselves the questions that will allow us to achieve it in the national interest. What follows are a few reflections on this task.

For a start, we should ask ourselves why we would want to reform the state and our reflection should lead us to seriously ask how modern it is—this, with the complete conviction that institutional change is a matter of national security. That is, if our institutions are not modern, they are weak, and if they are weak, they are vulnerable to attack by groups alien to the national interest. What is more, inaction in the face of the need for change can lead other political and social actors to use the issue in their own interests.

In the second place, the reforms must incorporate a vision of the state focused on the national interest. That is, they must be conceived of and presented as beneficial for all actors under all circumstances. In addition, far from thinking that inventing posts that correspond to parliamentary regimes, like the head of cabinet, would create predictable, automatic majorities, the changes needed must aim for politics as negotiation and a search for agreements.

Therefore, the political class must be responsible and propose concrete, necessary reforms: the changes must be gradual, not maximalist. Identifying the changes to be made is not a secondary matter. Since we are talking about a permanent endeavor, initiatives must be found that foster new changes in a permanently monitored process. It is also necessary to develop minimum and maximum scenarios about the impact of these transformations, thus facilitating their debate.

In this way, the changes will naturally lead to other reforms. With this method, the interaction of the political forces will show the need for new changes, and the ways in which they could be concretized. Therefore, if the desired reforms require pre-conditions, it is irresponsible to think that everything should be transformed in a single review.

We must also have an idea of how much we can actually do. The reforms that will be carried out will be nothing more than another link in the long list of innumerable transformations in the past—which we sometimes do not fully understand—and in the future—all of whose repercussions we are unable to predict. Therefore, we must accept *a priori* that there will be results that may not be only unexpected, but also not the ones we wanted. Since institutional design is a process of trial and error, we must take the risk.

Lastly, if the state needs reforms to modernize, no effort will give the desired effects if the citizenry is not informed and drawn into the debate. This can be done using popular, understandable language and laying out the issues in the most concise, specific way possible. Unfortunately, no party has concerned itself with doing this until now. Now, what would the pre-condition be for seriously pushing forward the

reform of the state? Essentially, it would be that legislators be able to get experience so that they could develop an institutional memory. Then they could formulate bills based on an understanding of what really works and what does not, instead of the proposals based on conjecture that today flood party agendas.

And, derived from this, our legislators also need to take responsibility when they get it right and when they make mistakes in passing laws. This can only happen if they start to run for reelection. This means that the key for really reforming the state is allowing consecutive reelection of legislators, an issue the parties do not want to touch because it is not in the interest of the most entrenched sector of the political class that would disappear with the advent of more responsible deputies and senators who are closer to their constituencies. ■■■

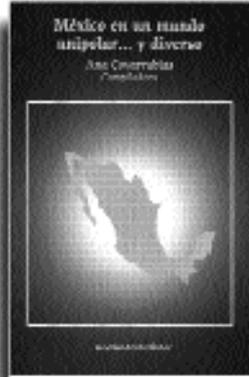
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Decalogue of Challenges for the New Mexican Electoral Reform

Carlos González Martínez*



Leonardo Valdés, the new president of the Federal Electoral Institute.

Cuartoscuro/Sashenka Gutiérrez

A new electoral reform including amendments to both the Constitution and electoral legislation came into effect on January 12, 2008. Its aims, stated in the decree amending the Constitution, are basically: “a) to significantly decrease electoral campaign spending; b) to strengthen federal electoral authorities’ attributions; and c) to design a new model for communication between political parties and the public.”¹

After Congress and 30 out of 31 state legislatures passed the constitutional and legislative amendments, a broad debate began about their scope and implications for the country’s elections. This article is a contribution to that debate, discussing briefly but specifically ten of the main challenges that the new constitutional and legal frameworks pose for elections in Mexico.

* Expert UNPD-Mexico consultant and professor at Morelia’s Latina University of Latin America.

1. PRE-CAMPAIGNS

Naturally, the new legislation’s regulating what have been called pre-campaigns is one of its outstanding features, positive in all aspects. In these pre-campaigns, some candidates or parties started running long before the campaigns formally kicked off. It is also positive to establish time periods and spending caps. The most difficult task for electoral authorities will be monitoring and making sure that this actually happens; they will also be under greater pressure to monitor income and spending in internal candidate selection processes, as the new law now mandates. Another challenge will be guaranteeing the rights of party members who object to these internal processes, given the short time provided for it, and the now stipulated obligation of that party member to exhaust all the internal party bodies he/she must resort to before going to the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary (TEPJF).

Access to the broadcast media
is the aspect of the reform that has been most
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liberalism to one of almost equally
extreme state intervention.

2. ACCESS TO THE BROADCAST MEDIA

Undoubtedly, this is the aspect of the reform that has been most disseminated and discussed. For that very reason, I will not go into too much detail here; suffice it to say that we have gone from a set-up of almost extreme liberalism to one of almost equally extreme state intervention via de Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). Political parties can no longer buy spots or wage formal campaigns in the broadcast media at all. Now everything will have to be broadcast in “official time slots” under IFE control.² And “everything” means everything: during both federal and state election campaigns, and the rest of the time when no campaigns are underway.

These all-encompassing stipulations give the IFE enormous power, also obliging it to set up an enormous logistical operation nationwide and/or spend enormous sums of money to hire companies to constantly monitor everything everywhere. If the IFE does not do it, someone will have to in order to bring charges against any lawbreakers.

Thus, the dilemma will not be so much effectively assigning the “official time slots”, but making sure the guidelines are followed and complaints about violations speedily dealt with. And while all this will be complicated to do merely for the federal elections,³ it increases exponentially if we also take into consideration the local elections, where state electoral institutes do not have the resources for the task, not even if they coordinate with the IFE, as is now required.

3. NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNS

But if regulating the *quantity* of party publicity is going to be a dilemma, trying to monitor its *content* will be an even bigger one. Now electoral authorities have been given the poisoned apple of having the jurisdiction over expeditiously bringing charges against anyone who “denigrates” or “slanders” his or her opponents or public institutions, as if attacks in campaigns were not increasingly the norm rather

than the exception in elections in Mexico and around the world.

This stipulation, which necessarily leads electoral authorities into the slippery world of interpreting the law, will once again expose them to public and private pressure and attacks by political parties, candidates and other stakeholders who feel wronged. In addition, it will open them up to the demand that they rapidly resolve all the litigation that arises in the increasing heat of electoral campaigns, a task practically impossible to fulfill.

4. VOTE COUNTS AND COALITIONS WITH COMMON CANDIDATES

By making the requirements for creating partisan electoral coalitions more flexible and stipulating that each party’s logo should appear separately on the ballot, the legislature introduced positive reforms for the party system. But, it also introduced monumental technical challenges for electoral authorities and the citizens in charge of receiving, counting and registering the vote at polling stations and writing up the corresponding vote-count certificates.

This will bring about the dilemma of solving on a mass scale (simultaneously counting hundreds of thousands of votes in the presidential elections, for example) the problems that have already been noted in practice when dealing with so-called “common candidates.” Polling place officials—and even electoral authorities—do not fully understand when and how they should count votes and register them in the vote-count certificates in favor of an individual candidate and where and how to do it in favor of the different political parties, or how and when to register those votes for the candidate when the vote for the parties would be null and void if the voter crosses more than one logo on the ballot when the candidate is running on more than one party’s ticket.

5. RE-COUNTING THE VOTE IN DISTRICT COUNCILS

Taking its cue from the avalanche of litigation and political conflicts resulting from the 2006 presidential elections, the legislature stipulated in Articles 295, 297 and 298 of the new Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (Cofi-

pe) the possibility of a general re-count of votes if the IFE's district councils recognize that the difference between the front runner and the runner-up in any election (whether it be for president, senator or deputy) is one percent or less and if the runner-up's representative requests it. This measure is intended to create certainty in the election process, but it also introduces an element of uncertainty: no candidate will feel duly protected by the law in the increasingly competitive elections.

This is a clear example of a legal change born of the mutual distrust of political actors and, perhaps, of the electoral authorities themselves, something no law or procedure can resolve on its own.

6. PRELIMINARY REPORTS FOR MONITORING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

The requirement that political parties present preliminary reports on the income and spending for all their electoral campaigns to the IFE by June 15 of every federal electoral year will make for a big challenge for the parties' accounting systems and the campaign teams of the 365 probable simultaneous campaigns.⁴ However, the most delicate issue is what the monitoring authority is going to do with this mountain of preliminary reports just three weeks before the election. This is another "poisoned apple" for electoral authorities, since the political demand to issue an evaluation of these reports will be enormous and will inevitably have an impact on the political *zeitgeist* in which any post-electoral actions are taken.

7. REQUIRING AN IDENTITY DOCUMENT TO APPLY FOR A VOTER'S CARD

The new requirement that citizens must, *preferably*, present identification when applying to register to vote is fine, except for one little detail: in Mexico we do not have a national identity document.

This requirement is actually a step forward, setting the stage for actually implementing of the transitory article in the 1996 constitutional amendment that provides for the creation of that national identity document, a task which has become extremely complex technically and is still widely debated politically.

Electoral authorities have been
given the poisoned apple of having
the jurisdiction over expeditiously bringing charges
against anyone who "denigrates" or "slanders"
his or her opponents.

8. REQUIRING VOTER CARD RENEWAL AND OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION OF ADDRESS CHANGES

The new stipulations that make Mexico's voter cards valid for 10 years—as opposed to permanent—after which they will have to be renewed, as well as the citizen's obligation to report a change of address within 30 days will make it possible to keep the voters rolls up to date. However, what nobody can guarantee is that the citizens will actually do this paperwork, at least not in a legal regime that does not penalize them for not doing so. Here, the challenge is in finding incentives for getting it done without infringing on citizens' political-electoral rights.

9. LOCAL ELECTIONS

One of the less discussed but most profound aspects of the current reform are the different stipulations favoring IFE intervention in local elections not only with regard to media access and monitoring of political parties, but including in the new Articles 41 and 116 of the Constitution the possibility that local electoral bodies can request federal authorities take charge of organizing local elections. These stipulations, which contain several positive aspects like making so-called "bank, fiduciary and fiscal secrecy" null and void after IFE intervention to facilitate state electoral authorities' monitoring tasks, also contain the enormous challenge of finally opening up the legal door to discussing and beginning to build a single national electoral system that would prevent the repetitions implicit in having a federal organization and 32 local ones that do practically the same thing, but at different times and even with different procedures. In addition, it clearly puts on the table for debate the following question: why do we want local authorities in charge of organizing state elections if we are going to ask the IFE to do it?

10. VOTING ABROAD

Last, but not least, we should underline that the new electoral reform left intact the current rules on Mexicans' voting abroad, whose implementation electoral authorities, Mexican migrant organizations, political parties and even legislators agreed was unsatisfactory. The argument the legislature presented was that it considered it necessary to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the first, 2006, experience before beginning to reform the law in this area. Some of the challenges for that analysis and the bills that might come out of it are: considering those voters Mexican citizens even though they reside abroad; reducing or eliminating the expenses those voters must incur; and making conditions for mailing voter registration requests and the ballots themselves more flexible and agile, considering options like registering people to vote abroad and accepting other supplementary forms of voting besides by mail, like, under certain conditions, setting up polling places in certain Mexican consulates.

Naturally, many important stipulations in the new electoral reform have been left out of this decalogue, as well as

several of its singular challenges. However, I hope that what has been presented here can help make people aware of the enormous complexity of strictly adhering to the new reform, which, to be historic, must first actually be put into practice. **MM**

NOTES

- ¹ "Dictamen de las Comisiones Unidas de Puntos Constitucionales y de Gobernación, con Proyecto de Decreto que reforma los artículos 6, 41, 85, 99, 108, 116 y 122; adiciona el artículo 134 y se deroga un párrafo al artículo 97 de la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," *Gaceta Parlamentaria* no. 2341-I (Mexico City), September 14, 2007, p. 2.
- ² In Mexico, radio and television companies hold licenses for the use of the airwaves, a public good, and thus are obliged to offer the state a certain number of free minutes a day on the air for different purposes. These minutes are called "official time slots."
- ³ The president, senators and federal deputies are elected in federal elections. Local elections are held in the 31 states to elect governors, state deputies and members of city councils; while in Mexico City's Federal District, the head of government is elected, along with members of the Legislative Assembly and the heads of the 16 boroughs.
- ⁴ This is the total if we include the candidates for deputies in the 300 federal electoral districts, the two candidates for senator in each of 31 states and the Federal District and the president.



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The Calderón Administration's Labor Reform

Javier Aguilar García*



Sandra Perdomo/Cuartoscuro

State employees protest labor reform.

PREFACE

Possible labor legislation reform is part of globalization and includes economic, political and cultural aspects that have been formally expressed over the last three decades. Multilateral bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are vital for the course of economic development, and, therefore, it should come as no surprise that they hold international meetings to design the policies that national states and their governments should follow. These meetings produce documents like the Washing-

ton Consensus (1990) and the resolutions of the Santiago Summit (1998), mentioning the aim of deregulating economies and, specifically, working life.

Most of the countries in Latin America and Europe have made changes to their labor legislation and social security systems. Mexico has already reformed its social security system, but a possible reform of labor legislation, specifically the Federal Labor Law, has been in the works for two decades.

BACKGROUND

During the Miguel de la Madrid administration (1982-1988), Mexico's working world went through very drastic, profound changes. Without resorting to any legal reforms, management-

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We are witnessing
the replacement of a rigid model
of labor relations by a new, so-called flexible
model based on the principles
of productivity, competitiveness, mobility
and being multi-skilled.

worker relations changed completely; in addition, in practice, the more than six-decades-long alliance between the state and workers, the government and unions, dissolved.

During the six-year term of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), proposals were made to amend the Federal Labor Law. Discussions brought in the sectors involved, but, in the end, no agreement was reached and the president abandoned the initiative in 1991.

During the administration of Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000), the then-opposition National Action Party introduced a bill to reform labor legislation in 1995, and that same year the OECD recommended that Mexico deregulate its labor market by changing its labor legislation and social security system.

President Zedillo promoted three legislative reforms that touched on labor issues: 1) amendments to the Mexican Social Security Institute Law in 1995; 2) a bill called the Savings for Retirement System Law in May 1996, which went into effect in 1997 and profoundly changed Mexican workers' fringe benefits; and 3) a proposed amendment to the Federal Labor Law in 1998, but which met with political obstacles both inside and outside of Congress.

During the term of PAN President Vicente Fox (2000-2006), another attempt at reforming labor legislation was made. The Ministry of Labor called for different sectors to participate in a series of round table discussions to design a bill. In December 2002, Roberto Ruiz Ángeles, in the name of the parliamentary caucuses of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the PAN and the Green Party of Mexico (PVEM), presented a "Bill to amend different articles of the Federal Labor Law." It was discussed in 2003, but never passed because labor movement representatives did not sign off on it.

During all these presidential terms, there have been repeated attempts, then, to reform labor legislation, but without success. However, in practice, management-worker relations have changed.

THE FELIPE CALDERÓN ADMINISTRATION

Under the current administration of President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, once again a new reform to labor legislation is on the agenda. The main proposals were made by Álvaro Castro Estrada, vice-minister of labor for security and social benefits, at the seminar "Labor Panorama, 2007-2008," organized November 21, 2007, by the Bankers Club of Mexico. I have selected a few of his proposals to comment on here.

The first thing that should be emphasized is that the Ministry of Labor did an exhaustive review of all the proposals made over the last 10 years. It says it has reviewed a total of 196 bills to amend the Federal Labor Law, 175 of which were presented before the Chamber of Deputies and 21 before the Senate.

The second point covers Ministry of Labor objectives for enriching the 2002 "bill from the sectors." These objectives are: 1) Foster more job creation; 2) Increase national productivity and competitiveness; 3) Eliminate discrimination and promote equity in work relations; 4) Update the legal framework for training; 5) Strengthen authentic unions and increase transparency in collective bargaining; 6) Strengthen labor peace, ensure greater legal certainty and make a priority of conciliation in legal proceedings.¹ Álvaro Castro Estrada's conclusion about these points is that the sum of these six objectives will make it possible to improving the living conditions of workers and their families. What he does not say is how they are going to do that.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR MODERNIZING LABOR LAW

According to Castro Estrada, seven key points will make it possible to "modernize" the Federal Labor Law:

New Forms of Individual Labor Contracts

New kinds of individual labor contracts would be established, like "trial period contracts" or "initial training contracts." The law would also explicitly regulate "temporary" labor relations; under current law, their existence can be inferred, but the amendment would explicitly regulate them. A 30-day trial period would be the general rule, extending that period to 180 days for executives, managers or technicians and specialized professionals, which would broaden out hiring possibilities. The "initial train-

ing contracts” would mean hiring a worker for a period of training and skills acquisition needed for a specific activity, during which he/she would be paid a wage in accordance with the classification of the post he/she would be carrying out. This kind of contract would as a general rule last for up to three months, and up to six months in the case of executives, managers and people carrying out positions directing the company, or in the case of technicians and specialized professionals. This kind of contract is an attempt to break the vicious circle consisting of “I don’t have a job because I’m not trained and I’m not trained because I don’t have a job.”

These forms of hiring have a purpose: depriving the worker of job stability and the rights that come with seniority. This will have a very important effect on their pensions.

Distribution of the Work Day

The changes to the law would include management and labor’s ability to agree on a longer work day, as well as a monthly program to accumulate working hours, or a “bank of hours” in order to give workers accumulated rest time that would last several days a week, without violating the stipulations of Article 123 of the Constitution, Subsection XXVII, Subdivision a).

Actually, the proposal violates an employee’s right to work eight hours a day and have rest time. It is a step toward suppressing overtime and establishing hourly wages in the Federal Labor Law.

Simplification of Management Obligations Regarding Training and Skills Development

The entire chapter about worker training and skills development would be modified. It would be called “About Workers’ Productivity, Education and Training.” Only companies with more than 20 workers would have to create joint committees for productivity, training and skills development.

Different obligations in this field would be suppressed, among them: a) Registering company training and skills development plans with the Ministry of Labor; b) The procedures for institutions or schools authorizing and registering with the Ministry of Labor to be able to impart training and skills development; c) Registering certificates of job skills.

This is a way of reducing companies’ responsibility to train their workers, who, at the same time, will have to be more productive.

Social security is transitioning
from a regime of social solidarity
to one of individual contributions managed
not by state institutions, but
by private banks.

Measures to Increase the Country’s Productivity And Competitiveness

What is called the “blind” seniority system (based exclusively on number of years of employment) would be eliminated, thus making training the main criteria for promotion to vacant or newly created positions instead of time on the job. Being multi-skilled would be a factor that would allow workers to make higher wages. That is, workers could agree with management to carry out activities related but not limited to their main job, as long as their wages were adjusted accordingly.

Companies do not want to train, but they do want workers to increase their productivity and competitiveness on their own.

Recognition of Unions

The proposal includes the possibility of unions’ official registration being canceled if they do not report to labor authorities about their activities or if they do not report changes in their membership (people signing up and resigning) every six months. The corresponding Conciliation and Arbitration Board would have to give notification of the cancellation of a union’s registration on the request of its members or any other person legally involved.

This is a way to broaden out and specify new reasons for requesting that a union’s registration be canceled, with the aim of putting an end to union autonomy.

Prerequisites for Signing

A Collective Bargaining Agreement

When a union is about to sign a collective bargaining agreement, the ministry proposal stipulates that it would have to make a written request signed by union representatives and the workers it represents, accompanied by up-to-date certificates issued by the registering authorities about its registration. Otherwise, the collective bargaining agreement could not be registered with the authorities.

The 2007 proposal does not include concrete policies or measures for increasing real wages, depressed since 1983, and establishes the criterion of workers' productivity, but not how this will benefit workers.

This increases the obstacles to unions having collective bargaining agreements.

Strengthening the Labor Justice System

The proposal expressly includes the principle of conciliation in the labor system. During the entire procedure and up until a decision has been made, the Conciliation and Arbitration Boards will try to get the opposing parties to resolve grievances through conciliation. To support this process, it would include "conciliatory officials" as part of the boards' legal staff. All Conciliation and Arbitration Board staff members would have to be graduates in and licensed to practice law, having distinguished themselves in labor law studies and of a good reputation.²

This is a way to force Labor Ministry and Conciliation Board personnel to professionalize and to force the unions to register professionals.

PROPOSALS FOR PROCEDURAL REFORM

The 2002 labor reform proposal also included 11 procedural measures. In the 2007 document, the Labor Ministry proposed another 16, making a total of 37, which would tend to facilitate: 1) making work more flexible; 2) strengthening companies' actions; 3) limiting the action of unions and their representatives; 4) offering labor authorities mechanisms for control, mediation and punishment.

Something else that should be pointed out is that, according to the ministry, consultations are no longer necessary; what is needed is to come to concrete agreements. In this context, the vice-minister of labor writes in his document, "The Minister of Labor has said this on other occasions, and on this occasion, I would like to quote him: 'We need to make the reform that is possible, not the perfect reform.' It is true. It is no longer the moment for consultations, but the time for coming to concrete agreements."³ This leads us to conclude

that for Labor Ministry officials, the time for consultations is over because they have already come to agreements with the so-called "sectors", which are none other than the leaders of corporatist unionism and management organizations. That is, the consultations have been carried out at the top, not with the whole of society.

CONCLUSIONS

- The previous and new proposals for reforming labor legislation correspond to the current conditions of capitalism and the policies put forward by international bodies like the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD, and, in the last analysis to policies put forward by national states like Mexico.
- We are witnessing the replacement of a rigid model of labor relations by a new, so-called flexible model.
- The new model is based on the principles of productivity, competitiveness, mobility and being multi-skilled.
- Collective labor rights like freedom of association (the right to unionize), collective bargaining and the right to strike have been restricted in different ways and the trend is for them to be limited even more.
- Social benefits, particularly social security, are transitioning from a regime of social solidarity to one of individual contributions managed not by state institutions, but by private banks. Here we should remember the reforms to the IMSS and ISSSTE laws.
- The seven most important issues for reforming the Federal Labor Law in 2007 continue to be valid, deepening and specifying questions involving the flexibility of labor put forward by previous proposals made in 1989, 1995, 1998 and 2002, favoring mechanisms for action by authorities and management.
- The 2007 proposal does not include concrete policies or measures for increasing real wages, depressed since 1983, and establishes the criterion of workers' productivity, but not how this will benefit workers in terms of wages or on a societal level.
- The proposal does not include mechanisms to increase formal employment, but rather how to legalize Mexico's informal employment.
- It also lacks mechanisms for changing the internal life of unions, which still have a long way to go in terms of democracy, transparency, leadership turnover and autonomy.

my *vis-à-vis* political parties, companies and government, to mention just a few points.

- The reform includes no mechanisms for avoiding sweetheart contracts; no sanctions for owners or companies that use them, or for union leaders or lawyers who promote and sign these documents without consulting workers.
- The labor reform presupposes an economic model whose aim is to increase wealth by raising productivity and reducing costs. However, this model does not include redistributing that wealth and benefiting workers (formal and informal, migrants, etc.) and the general population.
- The labor reform cannot be assessed in isolation; neither can it be reduced to a series of legal proposals. It must be oriented to benefiting the nation as a whole. Let us remember that this reform will not apply to a single company or group of companies, but to the entire country.
- Flexibility of labor is a proposal the Mexican state makes to become part of globalization. It can also be seen as a concrete way of making a priority of supporting companies. However, this is no guarantee that workers will see their

welfare improved or that there will necessarily be a better distribution of wealth nationwide.

The possible labor reform should be fully discussed by the entire society, not only by congressional caucuses. It should also be part of a new economic-social program to achieve the full development of Mexico. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, at www.stps.gob.mx, consulted November 21, 2007.

² The vice-minister's speech says, "It will also be necessary to have a law degree and license to be able to represent workers and management before the Conciliation and Arbitrations Boards." The points made in the November 21, 2007 speech have been commented on by Jesús Luna Arias in "No dejes que te vuelen tus derechos," *Trabajo y Democracia Hoy* no. 95 (November-December 2007), pp. 21-24.

³ The November speech has also been commented on by Patricia Muñoz Ríos in her article, "La propuesta de reforma laboral reduce obligaciones a los patrones" (The Proposed Labor Reform Reduces Management Obligations), *La Jornada* (Mexico City), January 14, 2008.

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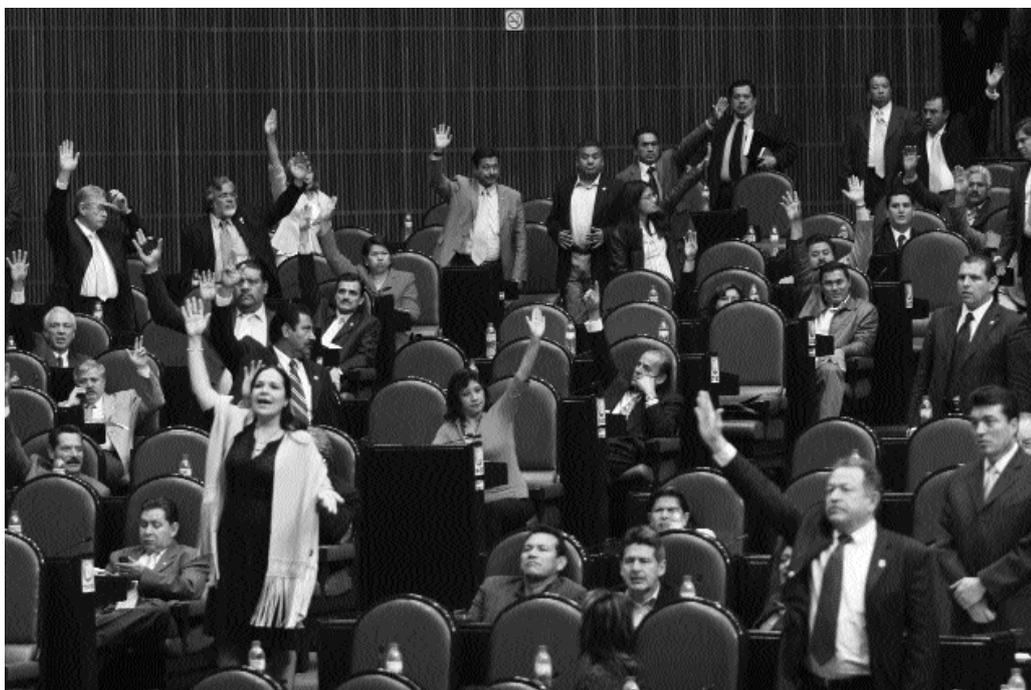
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SRE

The Direction of Criminal Justice Reform in Mexico

Miguel Carbonell*
Enrique Ochoa Reza**



Guillermo Pérez/Cuartoscuro

Discussing changes to the Mexican criminal justice system.

A LOOK INTO THE ABYSS OF THE MEXICAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Any analysis of the Mexican criminal justice system must start from a certainty: it is so flawed that we can say without fear of exaggeration that it is completely bankrupt. None of its main actors can be satisfied with their current functioning. All available statistics lead us to the conclusion that the Mexican criminal process is leaking from every side: a) it is useless for trapping the most dangerous criminals; b) it allows for an extremely high level of impunity and corruption; c) it does not guarantee the fundamental rights of either victims or accused; d) it does not set up incentives for professional criminal inves-

tigations; and e) if we take into account its poor performance, it is extremely expensive.¹

The statistics to back up these conclusions are public knowledge, but perhaps it is worthwhile to remember some of the most outstanding figures in order to later look more closely at some indicators. Eighty-five percent of victims of crime never even file a complaint; 99 percent of offenders are not convicted; 92 percent of criminal hearings take place in the absence of the judge; 80 percent of Mexicans believe that judges can be bribed; 60 percent of arrest warrants are never executed; 40 percent of inmates have not yet been convicted,² while 80 percent of detainees have never spoken to the judge who convicted them.³

Impunity is a particular matter for concern. The figures are terrifying. According to Guillermo Zepeda, author of the largest study about impunity and ineffectiveness in the Mexican criminal justice system, the possibility that the alleged

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perpetrator of a crime be brought before legal authorities—just charged, not convicted—is 3.3 percent of the total number of complaints made, which means that there is impunity in 96.7 percent of cases.⁴

To a large extent, what this does is to create low institutional effectiveness of Mexican police forces. Most arrests by police are made when the offender is caught in the act or within the following three hours. According to a 2002 survey of prison inmates, 48 percent of interviewees said they had been arrested just a few minutes (less than 60 minutes) after the commission of the crime. Another 22 percent were detained between the second hour (minute 61 on) and 24 hours after the commission of the crime.⁵ That is, 70 percent of the inmates interviewed were arrested in less than 24 hours. This means that the possibility that the police will arrest someone a longer time after the crime was committed is very slight. Based on this, we can conclude that the Mexican police may know how to guard, but not how to investigate.

The short time lapse between the commission of the crime and the arrest brings out a dangerous aspect of the Mexican criminal justice system: often the police arrest someone without a court order. Article 16 of the Constitution allows for the arrest of an individual who is caught in the commission of a crime or in case of emergency, but only in cases of serious crimes in which the corresponding court order cannot be obtained.⁶ An estimated 40 percent of arrests occur without fulfilling this requirement.⁷ Surveys among the prison population show that 92 percent of people arrested were not shown an arrest warrant.⁸ You do not need much imagination to conceive how dangerous it is for a person to be the object of an arbitrary arrest, above all if he/she lives or works in a marginalized neighborhood.

These pieces of data may underscore the idea that the criminal justice system is a wide network of inefficiencies and corruption capable of trapping and prosecuting very few criminals.⁹ However, another important factor needed to get a more precise image of that network is still missing: who does the criminal justice system catch?

Most of the people sentenced have committed offenses against property, particularly petty thievery,¹⁰ or what in Mexico are classified as crimes against health, above all small-time drug dealing worth an average of U.S.\$100 (although half of these individuals had drugs in their possession worth less than U.S.\$16).¹¹ Some analysts think that these figures show that what the police are doing, more than arresting

Mexico's crime problem is very serious, affecting directly or indirectly a large part of the population. But we must also add the anxiety and fear magnified by the perception of crime spawned by radio and television coverage.

real drug dealers, is to arrest consumers, probably to try to fulfill arrest quotas demanded by their superiors.

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIMINALITY AND STATISTICAL INDICATORS

For the last few years the media have repeatedly broadcast news about different aspects of the criminal justice system. We have become accustomed to hearing scathing accounts of executions, arrests and police chases and reports about the administration of justice by public prosecutors' police forces and the public prosecutor's office, criminal judges handing down this or that sentence, prison life, jail riots, etc.

Often the media uses as much sensationalism as possible. Naturally, Mexico's crime problem is actually very serious, affecting directly or indirectly a large part of the population. But to that, we must add the anxiety and fear magnified not by the crimes themselves, but by the perception of them spawned from how radio and television cover the facts.¹²

To analyze Mexico's criminal justice system (understood in its broadest possible sense, including everything from preventive policing to jails and prisons), we should take into account a first element: the separation between what is called local or state jurisdiction (including Mexico City's Federal District) and federal jurisdiction (that is, the federal preventive police, the federal Highway Patrol, the federal Attorney General's Office, district judges, federal appellate and collegiate circuit courts, federal prisons, etc.).

If we look at statistics from 1997 to 2005 about crimes reported per 1,000 inhabitants, we see that under local jurisdiction, there has been a slow but perceptible decline. In 1997, 15.8 crimes were reported per 1,000 inhabitants, but this figure dropped to 14.4 the following year, to 13.6 in 2000 and to 13.5 in 2005. By contrast, federal crimes reported remained the same in the same period: in 1997, 0.8 federal crimes were reported per 1,000 inhabitants and in 2005, the figure was 0.9.

If we look at the number of crimes reported daily, we can come to similar conclusions: the number of offenses reported under local jurisdictions dropped and federal offenses reported rose. In 1997, 4,084 local crimes were reported daily, dropping to 3,864 in 2005 and increasing to 3,957 in 2006. In 1997, 202 federal crimes were reported daily, while in 2005, the figure was 241 and in 2006, 300 (see table 1).

These figures lead us to two different hypotheses: either lawbreaking has become more “sophisticated,” focusing on more serious crimes (often coming under federal jurisdiction) or local authorities have taken crime prevention efforts more seriously. We do not have enough empirical evidence to choose either hypothesis, or for that matter, both, since there could have been a combination of factors.

Now, when we review the figures not of crimes reported, but of people being sentenced by criminal judges, we find a paradox. While the number of crimes reported under local jurisdictions dropped year after year, the number of individuals sentenced increased. While in 1996, state court judges sentenced 111,682 people, that figure reached 126,615 by 2005, having increased every year except 1998 and only slightly in 2000. Something similar, though less acute, hap-

pened in federal courts, where judges sentenced 27,263 in 1996 and 29,300 in 2006 (see table 2).

The magnitude of these figures should make us stop and think about the large number of Mexicans who at one time or another and in one circumstance or another are accused of having committed a crime. The number is 2 percent of all the country’s inhabitants, since, according to National Statistics, Geography and Informatics Institute (INEGI) figures, from 1996 to 2005, 1,931,513 individuals were indicted and brought before 1,224 criminal judges in Mexico, an average of 528 preliminary hearings daily in both local and federal jurisdictions.¹³ These individuals were charged with 2,312,691 separate counts.¹⁴ Many of these offenses were very violent: for example, 86,500 charges were for homicide, an average of 24 a day.

The figures about the number of offenses processed by the criminal justice system are even more impressive if we take into account the number of unreported crimes and the percentage of reported crimes for which no one is ever indicted.

According to some estimates, what in Mexico is called the “black number” (the number of crimes that go unreported) makes up 75 percent of all offenses committed nationwide. In other words, three out of four are never reported. Of the

TABLE 1
INDICATORS OF CRIMES REPORTED TO THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR BY JURISDICTION
(1997-2007)

YEAR	CRIMES REPORTED PER 100,000 INHABITANTS ^a		DAILY AVERAGE OF CRIMES REPORTED	
	LOCAL AND STATE JURISDICTION	FEDERAL JURISDICTION	LOCAL AND STATE JURISDICTION	FEDERAL JURISDICTION
1997	1 578.1	78.2	4 084.7	202.5
1998	1 436.1	78.2	3 768.9	205.1
1999	1 431.8	78.4	3 809.5	208.7
2000	1 359.7	83.1	3 657.0	223.4
2001	1 442.4	74.3	3 940.6	203.0
2002	1 429.2	73.1	3 951.3	202.2
2003	1 408.5	79.6	3 936.1	222.5
2004	1 382.8	79.2	3 891.6	222.8
2005	1 361.9	86.1	3 878.6	245.3
2006	1 377.2	104.5	3 957.1	300.4
2007 ^b	701.9	64.6	4 102.7	377.6

^a These are the crimes reported to the Public Prosecutor which led to investigations. A report of this nature can involve more than one offense and more than one perpetrator.

^b Preliminary figures.

Source: Presidencia de la República, *Primer Informe de Gobierno, 2007. Anexo Estadístico* (Mexico City: 2007).

TABLE 2
INDIVIDUALS SENTENCED BY TRIAL COURTS BY JURISDICTION AND SEX
(1996-2006)

YEAR	LOCAL AND STATE JURISDICTION				FEDERAL JURISDICTION			
	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	UNSPECIFIED	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	UNSPECIFIED
1996	123 263	111 682	11 572	9	27 263	25 926	1 335	2
1997	117 471	106 188	11 268	15	24 724	23 401	1 322	1
1998	114 670	104 018	10 643	9	25 642	24 247	1 394	1
1999	118 292	106 611	11 680	1	24 963	23 462	1 501	0
2000	118 181	105 989	12 192	0	23 544	21 847	1 695	2
2001	123 071	110 347	12 723	1	24 742	23 007	1 735	0
2002	125 759	113 145	12 613	1	26 501	24 638	1 863	0
2003	131 005	118 313	12 692	0	27 796	25 724	2 072	0
2004	137 457	124 240	13 216	1	28 940	26 604	2 335	1
2005	139 524	126 615	12 908	1	28 694	26 415	2 278	1
2006	133 689	121 332	12 346	11	29 300	26 782	2 518	0

Source: INEGI, Estadísticas judiciales en materia penal.

25 percent that are, the public prosecutor's office and its police only conclude investigations in 4.55 percent of cases, and someone is brought before a judge in only 1.6 percent of all cases of crimes committed. In only 1.06 percent of cases of crimes committed is anyone sentenced, putting the impunity rate at a horrifying 99 percent.¹⁵

WHERE TO START?

In light of all this, almost any analyst would be willing to recognize the immensity of the challenge and immediately refuse to take on the task of improving any aspect of Mexico's criminal justice system. And that is no surprise: the task seems titanic, and any impulse to reform the system would have to overcome innumerable obstacles. However, we think that Mexico's criminal justice system can be reformed, and for that reform to be successful, there has to be the right combination of political leadership, technical response capability, sufficient financial support and an appropriately designed route for the reform itself. What general objectives should a reform pursue? Obviously, the objectives will be determined by the structural changes required in the entire process. Along the general lines of thinking of Alberto Bovino and Christian Hurtado, we can point to the following as the general objectives of criminal justice system reform:¹⁶

- a) Setting up a common procedure in which the trial becomes the central stage of the criminal process. In the Mexican system, this presupposes at least two things: 1) eliminating exceptions that allow for non-enjoyment or diminished enjoyment of fundamental procedural rights (that is, the currently existing regime of exceptions applied to organized crime, established both in the Constitution and in the Federal Law against Organized Crime); 2) giving the stage of the criminal investigation the place and importance it should have, reducing the requirements for subpoenaing a person to testify and making what happens before judges the central part of the process.
- b) Strictly separating the public prosecutor's subpoenaing and prosecutorial functions from the justice system's decision-making functions.
- c) Making the investigative stage less formal and simplifying it. In the Mexican case, this would probably put an end to the terrible bottleneck that investigations have become, according to the figures mentioned above.
- d) Regulating a series of alternatives to the application of common procedures and punishments. It should be emphasized that on this point Bovino and Hurtado refer not only to criminal procedures, but also to the regime of substantive criminal law, which should be made much more rational and contained, avoiding the levying of criminal sentences willy-nilly to punish all kinds of behavior.

- e) Strictly respecting the accused, convicted and victim's fundamental rights and guarantees. This issue, pointed out by Bovino and Hurtado, must become important in Mexico, given the continuing perception that in order for public security to be effective in preventing or prosecuting crime, fundamental rights must be sacrificed; and, finally,
- f) Complying with the international obligations of states party to human rights covenants.

Clearly, these are very general ideas that must be analyzed and discussed in great detail. For the moment, however, we consider that in the light of the statistics presented here and the rest of the empirical and theoretical evidence available to us today, a profound reform of the criminal justice system in Mexico is urgently needed to achieve more justice, full respect for fundamental rights and the degree of public safety necessary to be able to peacefully venture out onto the street. **MM**

NOTES

- ¹ More argumentation on this theme can be found in Miguel Carbonell and Enrique Ochoa Reza, *¿Qué son y para qué sirven los juicios orales?* (Mexico City: Porrúa/RENACE-UNAM, 2008).
- ² Ernesto Canales, "Los juicios orales ante el sistema actual," *Metrópolis* 2025, October 2006, p. 3.
- ³ Marcelo Bergman, comp., *Delincuencia, marginalidad y desempeño institucional. Resultados de la encuesta a población en reclusión en tres entidades de la República Mexicana* (Mexico City: CIDE, 2003), p. 47.
- ⁴ Guillermo Zepeda Lecuona, *Crimen sin castigo. Procuración de justicia y ministerio público en México* (Mexico City: CIDAC-FCE, 2004), p. 220.

- ⁵ Bergman, op. cit., p. 45.
- ⁶ See the análisis of Article 16 in Miguel Carbonell, *Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos comentada* (Mexico City: Porrúa/UNAM/CNDH, 2007).
- ⁷ Zepeda, op. cit., p. 245.
- ⁸ Marcelo Bergman et al., *Delincuencia, marginalidad y desempeño institucional. Resultados de la segunda encuesta a población en reclusión en el Distrito Federal y el Estado de México* (Mexico City: CIDE, 2006), p. 35.
- ⁹ For data on corruption worldwide, see www.transparency.org, specifically the "Global Corruption Report 2007" focusing on corruption in the legal system, available at http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr.
- ¹⁰ The second survey carried out by CIDE researchers among the Mexico City's Federal District and State of Mexico prison population confirms this: 75 percent of those polled said they had been arrested for robbery; half were accused of stealing items or cash worth 2,000 pesos or less (about U.S.\$181), and one-fourth for stealing items or cash worth under 500 pesos (about U.S.\$45). Bergman, op. cit., p. 16.
- ¹¹ Among women, the rate of crimes against health increases: 31 percent of women inmates surveyed in Mexico City and the State of Mexico were imprisoned for drug trafficking and 35 percent for robbery or robbery with the use of violence. Bergman et al., op. cit., p. 19.
- ¹² In the future, media experts should cross reference data about the perception of crime, how crime is dealt with in the media and actual crimes committed. The results will undoubtedly include more than one surprise.
- ¹³ Víctor Fuentes, "Acusan de delitos a 2% en el país," *Reforma* (Mexico City), April 5, 2007.
- ¹⁴ An individual may be indicted on more than one charge, which is why the number of indictments and the number of charges against the accused do not tally.
- ¹⁵ All figures in this paragraph are from Zepeda Lecuona's very important work, op. cit., p. 20.
- ¹⁶ Alberto Bovino and Christian Hurtado, "Principio de oportunidad y proceso de reformas en América Latina. Algunos problemas de política criminal." Alberto Bovino, *Justicia penal y derechos humanos* (Buenos Aires: Editores del Puerto, 2005), p. 222.



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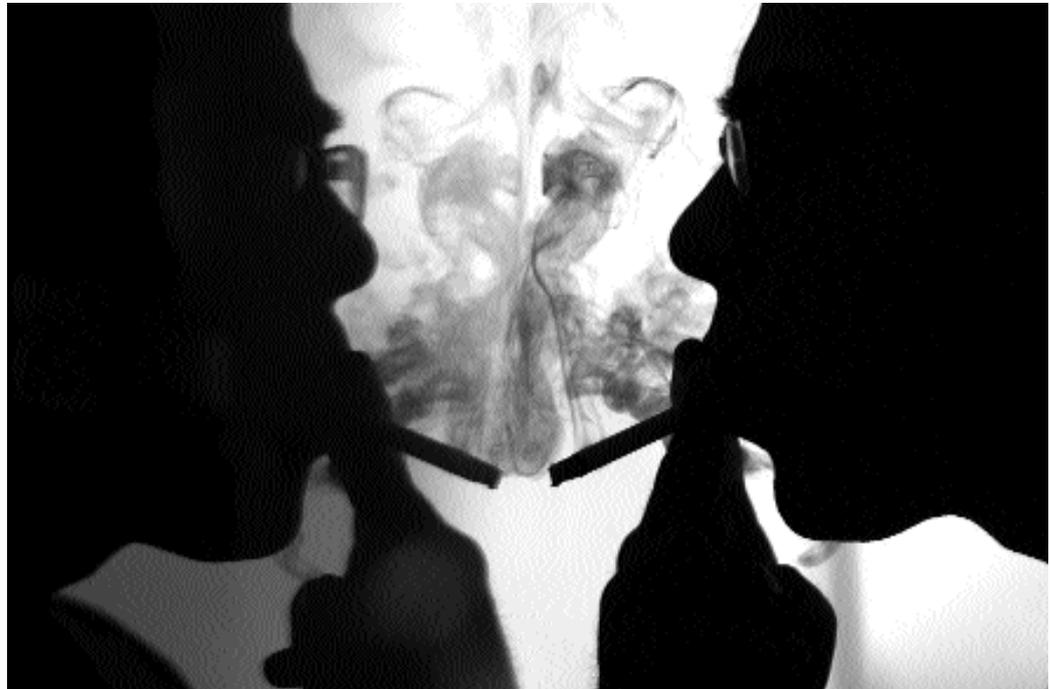
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Tobacco Use, a Public Health Problem in Mexico

Public Policy Perspectives

Daniel Tapia Quintana*



Moisés Pabloy/Cuartoscuro

INTRODUCTION

Tobacco use is one of the main preventable causes of disease and death among young people and adults in Mexico.¹ Currently, 16 million Mexicans smoke; that is, one in four people over the age of 12. Approximately 26.4 percent of people between the ages of 12 and 65 are smokers; 20.3 percent, ex-smokers, and the rest (53.3 percent) are non-smokers. According to the Ministry of Health (SSA), every year, between 53,000 and 55,000 people die from tobacco-related diseases, and between 23 billion and 29 billion pesos are spent on their health care. The Mexican government, then, needs to implement effective public policies to reduce tobacco-related social and economic costs to society.

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SITUATING THE PROBLEM

Mexico is the only Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country in which the percentage of adults who consume tobacco grew from 1990 to 2005 (from 25.8 percent to 26.4 percent).² Prospects are not encouraging, especially for teens and women. National surveys done over the last 10 years show that the age when people begin smoking has dropped: while in 1988, people began between the ages of 18 and 25, 10 years later, the age had plummeted to between 11 and 14. Mexico's section of the World Survey on Tobacco Consumption confirms this, showing that cigarette smoking among teens increased 5 percent from 2003 to 2006.³ A National Public Health Institute study of 33,297 junior high school students showed that 25 percent of young people between 12 and 15 smoked, while four years ago, only 19.9 percent did.

The economic costs for the health sector associated with tobacco use are very high. A survey showed that it spends approximately 29 billion pesos a year treating diseases linked to tobacco consumption.

According to SSA figures, adult males consumed three times more tobacco than women. However, a sharp increase of women smokers in recent years is a matter for concern. Between 2000 and 2005, the number of women tobacco users increased considerably, totaling about four million: the habit went up from 8.4 to 10.7 percent among women from 20 to 29; 9.4 to 10.1 percent among women from 50 to 59; and 5 to 6.3 percent among women from 70 to 79. In general, the percentages tend to increase with time, since only 2.4 percent of young women between 13 and 15 smoke, but the percentage increases to 9.5 percent of those between 16 and 19.

The social and economic costs associated with tobacco use have a big impact on Mexicans' health. According to the 2007-2012 National Health Program,⁴ three kinds of diseases cause 33 percent of all deaths in women and more than 26 percent of those of men: diabetes mellitus, ischemic heart disease and cerebral-vascular disease. Tobacco use influences the development of the last two and of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease.⁵ Research indicates that people who begin smoking in their teens, consuming an average of 10 cigarettes a day and who continue at that rate for 20 years reduce their life expectancy from between 20 and 25 years compared to those who have never smoked. It is important to point out that exposure to tobacco smoke among passive smokers can cause the same health problems that active smokers experience. Four out of 10 Mexicans are exposed involuntarily to cigarette smoke in public places, which mainly affects vulnerable groups like pregnant women and children. In short, tobacco use can cause women problems during pregnancy, increase the rate of lung cancer and the probability of drug use, affect the respiratory system, causing asthma and chronic respiratory problems in children.

In addition, the economic costs for the health sector associated with tobacco use are very high. A survey carried out by the De la Riva Investigación Estratégica consulting firm and the Pfizer pharmaceutical company showed that

the health sector spends approximately 29 billion pesos a year treating diseases linked to tobacco consumption.⁶

LEGISLATION AND EFFECTIVE MECHANISMS FOR TOBACCO CONTROL

The World Health Organization Framework Convention for Tobacco Control was ratified by Mexico's Senate April 14, 2004. However, the SSA and the biggest tobacco companies (British American Tobacco Mexico and Phillip Morris Mexico) came to an agreement to establish regulations for publicity and marketing, in addition to creating a Protection Fund against Catastrophic Expenditures.

In the beginning, the tobacco industry was going to contribute 50 cents of a peso per pack of cigarettes sold between August 2004 and December 2005; 70 cents per pack for all those sold between January and September 2006; and one peso per pack sold between October and December 2006. According to statements by current Health Minister José Ángel Córdova, the tobacco industry only contributed 2.141 billion pesos, much less than expected.⁷ Actually, the tobacco industry's contribution did not even come to one-seventh of the costs accruing to the health sector due to tobacco-related diseases since, according to the National Council against Addictions, these come to 29 billion pesos a year.⁸

On December 15, 2006, the Chamber of Deputies Finance Commission approved a tax hike on cigarettes. The Special Tax on Goods and Services (IEPS) on cigarettes was set at 110 to 140 percent for 2007, up to 150 percent for 2008 and up to 160 percent for 2009. Today, tobacco ads are banned in the broadcast media and companies are mandated to add a warning that takes up half the space on the back of each pack.

Institutions like the World Bank and the World Health Organization (WHO) have stated that one of the most effective ways of controlling tobacco use is increasing taxes on cigarettes. Different analyses and studies confirm that increased taxes can prompt people to stop smoking or reduce their consumption and therefore the number of deaths associated with this problem.⁹

Just as Armendares and Reynales point out, cigarette consumption is pegged to the change in price; that is, their demand is elastic. Estimates of this elasticity vary, but in general, it is thought that in the short term, a 10-percent

increase in the real price reduces consumption by anywhere between 2.5 and 5 percent. If the price increase is continual and pegged to inflation, demand for tobacco can be reduced two times more in the long term. It has also been shown that demand is more sensitive to tobacco prices in countries of medium and low incomes, and that, in all countries, teens and young adults, low-income groups and people with less schooling are also more sensitive to price hikes.¹⁰

Mexico still has room for increasing taxes on cigarettes. In addition, comparatively, our taxes are lower than in developed countries and in some countries with similar incomes. Because of this, increasing taxes on cigarettes is economically rational because the state is responsible for making the expenditures for treating the illnesses caused by tobacco use, and taxpayers are footing the bill for this health care.

PUBLIC POLICY PROPOSALS

Today, public policies aimed at decreasing tobacco consumption have had positive results, but we have to recognize that there is still a great deal left to be done. Undoubtedly, the issue must be put center stage as one of the public health challenges to be solved in coming years. To that end, we propose the following measures:

- Increasing the number of clinics treating tobacco use in Mexico. From 2000 to 2006, the number of clinics increased 600 percent, and, according to National Autonomous University of Mexico studies, their effectiveness varies between 70 and 82 percent.¹¹
- Promoting the passage of strict, effective national legislation to create smoke-free public spaces in accordance with current existing norms. On October 2, 2007, the Mexico City Legislative Assembly unanimously passed reforms to the Law for the Protection of the Health of Non-Smokers for the Federal District, mandating restaurants, schools, offices and entertainment centers to physically separate areas for smokers. According to some research by the National Public Health Institute, this measure will have positive effects in decreasing tobacco use among young people and encourage active smokers to seek treatment to stop smoking.
- Firmly sanctioning establishments that violate regulations limiting smoking in public places and the sale of cigarettes to minors. In Mexico, 7 out of every 10 retailers sell ciga-

The effective fight against
this scourge hinges mainly on discouraging
consumption among our teenage population;
20 percent of smokers begin smoking
around the age of 13 and about 80 percent,
before the age of 20.

rettes to minors, therefore making it crucial to identify and levy stiff fines on these establishments to make them stop doing it.

- Motivating civic organizations to participate in the fight against tobacco use. We have to use the experience and knowledge of established organizations and institutions like the Mexican Council against Tobacco Use, the UNAM, the National Institute for Public Health and others to achieve this goal. It is important to train and create incentives for researchers and specialists to participate in discussion forums, conferences and congresses in high schools and universities to disseminate the causes and consequences of cigarette smoking.
- Increasing taxes on tobacco. The Special Tax on Goods and Services increased from 100 to 140 percent between 2000 and 2007. However, the WHO has stated that for the tax to be effective, it must be between two-thirds and three-fourths of the total cost of the product. So, Mexico still has a long way to go in increasing tobacco prices to discourage consumption and be able to use tax monies to improve health care for tobacco-related diseases.
- Discouraging tobacco consumption among young people. It would be important to include precise information about the effects of cigarette smoking in school curricula from an early age. It is also necessary to design ad campaigns to disseminate information about the health problems related to the exposure to tobacco and its consumption.

CONCLUSION

Tobacco use has become a public health problem. The effective fight against this scourge hinges mainly on discouraging consumption among our teenage population since the greatest risks for smokers begin from childhood. Twenty percent of smokers begin smoking around the age of 13 and about 80 percent, before the age of 20. In contrast, in adulthood, the likelihood of becoming a smoker decreases: only 10 percent of smokers began as adults.

The costs of tobacco use are both public and private. Every year, the state spends millions of pesos treating smoking-related disease. Individual men and women, on the other hand, suffer from discomfort, disease and, sometimes, death due to tobacco consumption. Overall, the cost to our society of tobacco use is reflected in thousands of premature deaths, lost productivity and declining quality of life for Mexican families.

The state cannot sit back and do nothing in the face of the public health challenge it will face in coming years. That is why it is necessary to lower costs and promote legislation to decrease consumption, evaluating its short- and medium-term effects. **MM**

NOTES

- ¹ The points of view expressed in this article are the author's and not necessarily those of Conapo.
- ² OECD, at http://lysander.sourceoecd.org/vl=1322383/cl=14/nw=1/rpsv/figures_2007/en/page3.htm, consulted October 5, 2007.

- ³ Instituto Nacional de Salud Pública, <http://www.insp.mx>, consulted October 10, 2007.
- ⁴ Secretaría de Salud, <http://www.salud.gob.mx>, consulted October 10, 2007.
- ⁵ Cardiac ischemia is a decrease in the flow of oxygen to the heart as a result of the arteries being clogged. This can cause a heart attack and death. Chronic pulmonary obstruction is the persistent obstruction of the respiratory tract, causing lung cancer or heart problems. In both cases, tobacco use is a risk factor.
- ⁶ "Pega a gobierno el tabaquismo," <http://www.reforma.com>, consulted October 10, 2007.
- ⁷ The SSA had expected to collect about 4.5 billion pesos because of the agreement with the tobacco companies, which ran out December 1, 2006.
- ⁸ "Da industria poco contra tabaquismo," at <http://www.reforma.com>, consulted October 12, 2007.
- ⁹ See F.J. Chaloupka, T. Hu et al., "The Taxation of Tobacco Products," *Tobacco Control in Developing Countries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 238-272, and G.E. Guindon, S. Tobin and D. Yach, "Trends and Affordability of Cigarette Prices: Ample Room for Tax Increases and Related Health Gains," *Tobacco Control*, vol. 11, 2006, pp. 35-43.
- ¹⁰ "Política fiscal y control del tabaco: una oportunidad única para beneficiar a la salud pública y el erario," *Salud pública de México*, vol. 48, 2006, pp. 167-172.
- ¹¹ "Evaluación del programa de tratamiento para la cesación del tabaquismo en la clínica de la Facultad de Medicina de la UNAM," *Salud pública de México*, vol. 49, 2007, pp. 247-256.



Deindustrialization in The United States¹

Elisa Dávalos López*



Str. Old/Reuters

The service sector has become crucial to the U. S. economy.

THE PHENOMENON OF DEINDUSTRIALIZATION

The term “deindustrialization” is essentially defined as the decrease in the proportion of manufacturing in overall employment. The history of the term dates back to the 1970s in the United States, while its meaning has become more and more complex as the structure of world production becomes more and more sophisticated.²

Following up the causes identified at the time, we can see that what appeared on the scene were the relative loss of productivity in the United States, the advent of the service economy and the idea of sending production offshore, phenomena that have deepened and are still relevant today.³

Pioneering work, like that of Bluestone and Harrison, who published a book on the deindustrialization of America

in 1982, points to another important component: geographic location.⁴ At that time, analysts talked about the transfer of industry from the so-called Frost Belt to the Sun Belt; today, deindustrialization has permeated almost every corner of the country,⁵ but transferring business out of the country has become much more prevalent and includes white-collar workers.⁶

From the start, this issue has sparked great concern in different sectors of society. President George W. Bush commissioned the Department of Trade to write a Report on Manufacturing in the United States, reflecting presidential concern about the matter, even though during his campaign and the first months of his administration he had stated the opposite. Recently, the governor of Michigan said that his state, home to the auto industry, now had to diversify more since it had once again suffered the transfer of jobs offshore.⁷

The debate about deindustrialization is revving up again in the United States, but, as with any important debate, dif-

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**U.S. deindustrialization
is caused fundamentally by manufacturing
productivity increases and the flight of industries
to countries with cheap labor costs is much
less important quantitatively in job losses.**

ferent points of view are being expressed: some say that deindustrialization is only a manifestation of healthy economic development, while others say that it is evidence of big problems that need solving.⁸

DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE COMING
OF THE SERVICE ECONOMY

The service sector has grown due to factors like the overwhelming expansion of the financial sector and the new forms of industrial organization that foster the break-up of manufacturing by externalizing many processes and functions that used to be carried out in house and are now considered services. For example, previously, companies hired workers to re-design products, and now, they hire a specialized firm for this. The noticeable reduction in transaction costs made possible by the technological revolution stimulates this process, fostering outsourcing, that is, the fragmentation and externalization of production processes that can be done either inside the country or abroad. International outsourcing is commonly called offshoring.

On the other hand, the competition facing many manufacturing industries has led businessmen to change lanes and focus on services.

Another reason for this sector's growth is the change in demand patterns. From the consumer's point of view, Engel's Law stipulates that the relative amount of income an individual spends on food drops as his/her income increases. This is accompanied by the creation of an increasing number of services, for example, entertainment services. This means that people spend relatively less on goods than on services, particularly in developed countries (that is, there is greater income elasticity of demand for services than for goods, which in turn makes the service sector more dynamic).

In this scenario, we have to consider that the United States tends to increasingly develop its competitive advantages

with regard to handling productive and distributive networks. That is, it organizes itself through trans-border investment, productive, trade and collaborative relations to develop products, suppliers and markets in which different agents participate around central corporations.⁹ Today, in addition to the traditional components of a multinational corporation (head office and different associates like subsidiaries, branches, etc.), the corporation-network is made up of sub-contractors and stable suppliers, franchise holders and other independent units with which it has agreements, in addition to a complex system of strategic alliances with other business networks based in the same or a different nation.¹⁰

The service sector, then, has grown and has also absorbed part of the activities that used to be carried out by industry and are now contracted out as services and therefore classified as such. The service sector has become the most dynamic in job creation and makes up more than three-quarters of the gross domestic product.

It is important to clarify that if we look at absolute figures, employment in the manufacturing sector has grown considerably and only looks low when compared to the service sector.

DEINDUSTRIALIZATION
AND OFFSHORING

Moving industries or phases of the production process offshore has been one of the arguments about deindustrialization most frequently used in the U.S. media, frequently making it the guilty party and the enemy to be vanquished.

For example, after pointing to the alarming figures for job losses, the *New Labor Forum* states that the fight for manufacturing is the battle for the heart and soul of the United States.¹¹ The publication pinpoints the deindustrialization problem with companies like Nike, which have never manufactured a single pair of shoes inside the country. The authors directly blame offshoring for deindustrialization and propose developing a national strategy to fight it by canceling free trade agreements until the trade deficit is eliminated, demanding labor standard compliance by any country with which trade agreements are signed and through a tax policy favoring internal production and annulling any measure that would promote offshoring. The World Socialist Web Site makes proposals in the same vein.¹²

TABLE 1
IMPORTANCE OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN EXPLAINING
THE DROP IN INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

	1970-1994		1992-2002	
	INTERNAL FACTORS	EXTERNAL FACTORS	INTERNAL FACTORS	EXTERNAL FACTORS
European Union	84%	15%	72%	25%
United States	81%	12%	90%	10%
Japan	90%	-20%	60%	30%

Source: Olivier Debande, "De-industrialisation," *EIB Papers*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006.

Despite this, some analysts come to the exact opposite conclusion. Among them are Boulhol and Fontagné, Rowthorn and Ramaswamy.¹³ Using the latter's findings, Olivier Debande developed a table (see table 1).

As the table shows, in the two periods (1970-1994 and 1992-2002), the overwhelming majority of job losses in industry was due to internal factors. In the United States, external factors caused fewer job losses in both periods.

Among the internal factors, we have productivity growth in industry, which in the United States has performed quite well. Another factor, though of much less weight, is the growth of demand for services which increased faster than the demand for goods, in accordance with Engel's Law.

Foreign trade is central among the external factors, but specifically trade with countries with low wages, precisely because that trade can reflect productive connections abroad and, therefore, substitute domestic production with foreign production, revealing the existence of global productive chains.

What we find in Table 1 is that deindustrialization is caused fundamentally by manufacturing productivity increases and that the flight of industries to countries with cheap labor costs is much less important quantitatively.

Therefore, observing the relatively low level of trade with low-wage countries, insistent union arguments that the external sector is the cause of job losses lose weight. The fundamental reasons seem to lie in entirely internal factors; while job flight is an indisputable reality, its importance is much less than is frequently argued.

Another aspect we can examine is the number of jobs created by multinational corporations abroad in proportion to the number of jobs created in the United States.

As Table 2 shows, the relative number of jobs created by multinational corporations abroad, in addition to being quite

low, does not show growth worthy of concern. From 1995 to 2004, they only increased 0.4 percent and, in fact, if we compare 2000 to 2005, there is actually a 0.6-percent decline.

Thus, job flight due to direct foreign investment is not a trend that can explain the problem of deindustrialization in the United States.

TABLE 2
VALUE ADDED AND JOBS CREATED BY U.S.
NON-BANK AFFILIATES WORLDWIDE
(AS A PERCENTAGE OF JOBS CREATED IN THE U.S.)

Year	% of private sector employment
1995	4.0
2000	5.0
2005	4.4

Source: Department of Commerce, "U.S. Affiliates of Foreign Companies. Operations in 2003," *Survey of Current Business*, August 2007.

CONCLUSIONS

U.S. society is facing a new situation linked to the new industrial model, largely responsible for productivity growth in manufacturing, the increasing weight of the service sector, new forms of organization of work and the rise of offshoring in the international economy.

This model has created new labor conditions in the United States and is the basic cause of deindustrialization, manifested in different ways.¹⁴

Contrary to what unions are saying, foreign trade with developing countries is relatively unimportant in explaining

deindustrialization, despite the fact that the figure is growing given the specific weight of China in U.S. foreign trade. Equally, we have seen that U.S. foreign direct investment abroad is responsible for a very small part of job loss. However, internal factors like manufacturing productivity growth play a large part in deindustrialization.

It is also important to consider that U.S. deindustrialization stems from common problems that every country confronts in the global economy. It is a systemic, worldwide process that takes different forms according to the conditions for economic development, comparative and competitive advantages and the insertion of each country in the international division of labor. **MM**

NOTES

- ¹ I would like to thank Dagoberto González for his support in writing this article.
- ² It should be pointed out that deindustrialization is not limited to the United States, but the U.S. has led the process: employment in manufacturing there dropped from 28 percent to 16 percent between 1965 and 1994. In Japan, it dropped from 27 percent to 23 percent between 1973 and 1994; in the EU-15, from 30 to 20 percent between 1970 and 1994. Recently this process has sharpened among the Asian Tigers. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues10/>, consulted May 10, 2007.
- ³ See Rosa Cusminsky, *¿Se desindustrializa Estados Unidos?* (Mexico City: CISAN-UNAM, 1993).
- ⁴ Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America* (Washington, D.C.: Basic Books, 1982).
- ⁵ A list of studies of plant closures throughout the country can be found at http://findarticles.com/articles/mi_qa3880_n17182416/print
- ⁶ In the 1980s, lay-offs hit workers in manufacturing hard, but in the 1990s, many white-collar workers were also affected. The country's largest corporations had enormous lay-offs. In 1991, General Motors laid off 70,000 workers, while at the end of the decade, IBM let 63,000 go, and AT&T, 40,000. In the spring of 1996, *New York Times* research on downsizing showed that 43 million jobs had been lost in the United States since 1979. In almost one-third of all households, at least one family member had lost a job. See "Just Like a Death: The Closing of the International Paper Company Mill in Mobile, Alabama and the Deindustrialization of the South, 2000-2005," *Alabama Review* at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3880/is_200601/ai_nl7182416/print, consulted May 3, 2007.
- ⁷ <http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=509890>, consulted May 12, 2007.
- ⁸ Recently, the New Labor Forum has stated that this process has deepened over recent years, mentioning that from 1998 to date, more than 3.4 million manufacturing jobs have been lost, more than half in unionized plants. In addition, since 1999, more than 40,000 manufacturing firms have closed. In each sub-sector, almost everyone has suffered two-digit unemployment: 48 percent in textiles, almost 30 percent in computing, electronic parts and primary basic metals, and 23 percent in machinery.

The publication also points out that high-level jobs have been lost: since January 2001: 725,000 professional and information services jobs. Many firms are making record offshore investments in research and development, engineering and design. Bob Baugh and Joel Yudken, "Is Deindustrialization Inevitable?", *New Labor Forum Online*, May 14, 2007.

- ⁹ Alejandro Dabat, Miguel Ángel Rivera and James Wilkie, comps., *Globalización y cambio tecnológico. México en el nuevo ciclo industrial mundial* (Mexico City: Universidad de Guadalajara/UNAM/UCLA/Juan Pablos Editor, 2004).
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Baugh and Yudken, op. cit.
- ¹² See, for example Barry Grey, "Report on U.S.: The Bush Administration and the Global Decline of American Capitalism," at http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/mar2006/bgp1-m04_prn.shtml, consulted May 12, 2007.
- ¹³ Hervé Boulhol and Lionel Fontagné, *Deindustrialization and the Fear of Relocations in Industry* (Paris: CEPII, 2007).
- ¹⁴ Alejandro Dabat, Miguel Ángel Rivera and James Wilkie, op. cit.

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Juan San Juan Resistance

Eloy Tarcisio*



Los Reyes Skies.



"Compu-defense" 03.



"Compu-defense" 18.



"Compu-defense" 09.

In resistance as part of art, we see a large number of images that hark back to a rebellious stance against the establishment. Graffiti has been one of the attitudes linked to art that has been situated within resistance through its interventions in the city streets of the world.



"Resistance" is a word that has become commonplace, from the highlands of Chiapas to the Museum of Science and the Arts, passing through the streets of the globalized world: resistance to the modern world, to economic power, to neo-liberal governments, to the corruption of white-collar politicians, to the directors of museums, companies, schools and every place headed

* Mexican painter, sketch artist, sculptor and unconventional artist; curator and art promotor.

up by anyone authoritarian or despotic who represents the law. In resistance as part of art, we see a large number of images that hark back to a rebellious stance against the establishment. Graffiti has been one of the attitudes linked to art that has been situated within resistance through its interventions in the city streets of the world. Then, it is no longer only street graffiti artists who use these languages; publicists and designers have found in street languages an appropriate way of saying what they think in the form of art. Street artists have

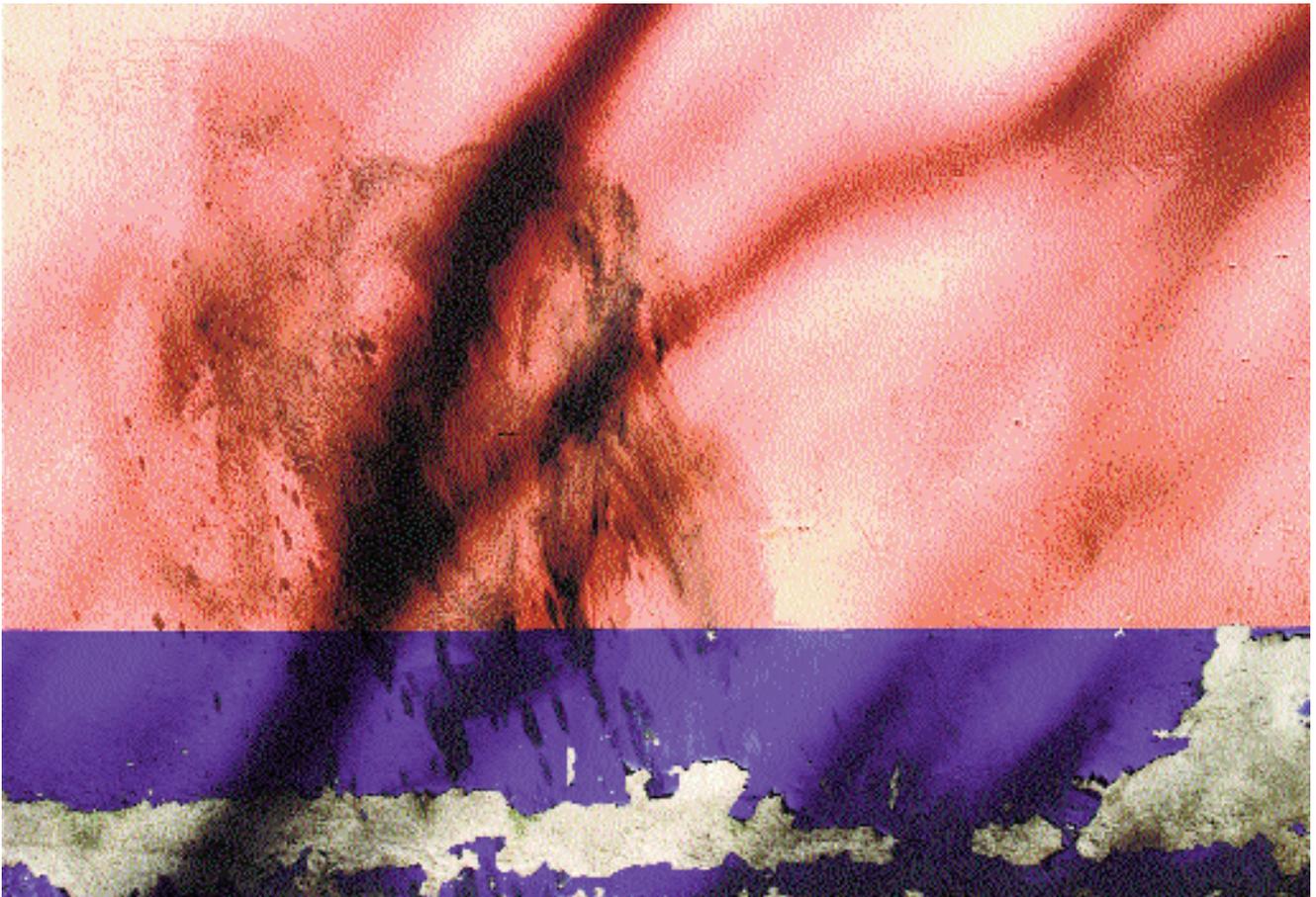
developed a stance through self-taught learning. What is to be learned in the experience of the street with no other aim but to mark territory, reveal yourself to the authorities by appropriating walls and creating a language of your own linked to that of your brothers and sisters in action? Career designers, students of visual languages have also been tempted to flirt with these forms of expression as a form of resistance to their state of education, their limits as creators for the market, creators limited by the instruction of whom to address.

Graffiti, stencil and sticker artists work in the street to get noticed, be recognized, leave a mark on their surroundings and say to society, "This is me. This one who is me was here."

Juan's workshop is a computer lab where he processes images that are the product of his surroundings, invented landscapes that are the result of superimposing images of bodies and day-to-day objects, visual textures that are microscopic photographs of waste, kitchen grease, animal skin, his own eye, self-portraits in a-temporal circumstances as a young man, an old man, a sailor or an explorer.

Juan San Juan shows me a series of pieces of work developed on the computer, a series of images in which the main tool is software that becomes the raw material that makes creative reflection possible. It is not canvas or oil paint, or chisel and stone. It is the eye trained by the lens to see in his

What was someone else's experience becomes Juan San Juan's; the camera lens is the eye of the viewer appropriated and digested in the lab in an exercise of assembling, relocating, redesigning, a message coded and re-assembled into a particular content.



Neighbors.



surroundings the raw materials that can be transformed into a piece of art.

San Juan's works make it possible to understand the process of appropriation and re-signification of our everyday surroundings through digital media. That in turn allows us to appropriate the visual language and results in a symbiosis of what we might not see on the street because we have gotten used to not seeing anything amid the chaos and visual contamination of our city.

Then, what was someone else's experience becomes Juan San Juan's; the camera lens is the eye of the viewer appropriated and digested in the lab in an exercise of assembling, relocating, redesigning, a message coded and re-assembled into a particular content. He processes the image like an alchemist in a laboratory with techniques and digital media, restores its value as an object of art to be viewed in the prints that can be mounted inside a room or gallery and that allows the reflection of the act that on the street is part of daily life that no longer moves anyone because no one

sees it anymore to the sphere of the art of contemplation and the aesthetic. He restores the power of speech to those who seem anonymous in the eyes of viewers who immediately erase what they see as something that they do not see: "My natural work happens to me. Grafitti calls to me, attracts me, traps me; I see them, I encounter them and I make them mine through the lens in order to reassemble them in the laboratory."

The selection that Juan San Juan presents here is a series that I consider on the front lines of making his surroundings his own, and is resolved in the computer as work that is printed in different media and allows the viewer to see what is no longer visible on the street.

I present the work of Juan San Juan with the commitment that his professionalism is reflected in how his work is produced, with great quality control, rigorous care in the selection in the means of reproduction and care in deciding the formats and sizes of each piece according to the space selected so they can be shown. **MM**



Juan San Juan "Compurban" Globality Inoculated

Héctor Castillo Berthier*



"Compurban" 22.

Ever since people started using the English word “aerobics” for “*gimnasia*”, and Mexican children began reading “comics” and not “*historietas*”, “*insignias*” began to be known as “pins”, “*maricones*” are known as “gays” and “*almuerzos*” were replaced by “box lunches”, this country is not the same. Now it’s much more modern.

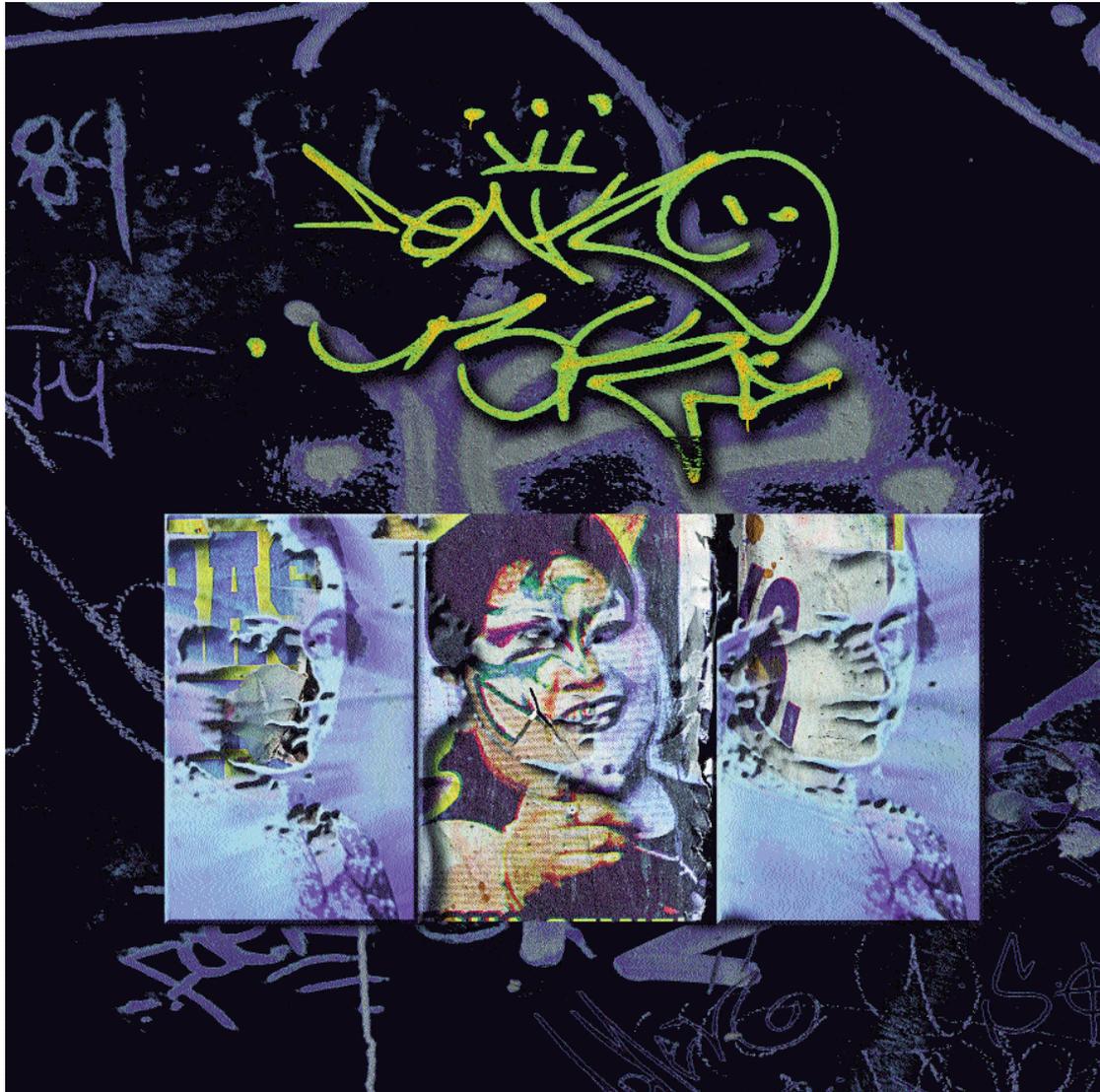
Today, we all buy “tickets” and “CDs”; we wear “after shave”; we eat “sandwiches”; we go to “pubs”; we go “rappelling or “rafting”; instead of going to

* Coordinator of the UNAM’s Youth Study Unit, founder of the “Flying Circus” Project and co-founder of the Youth Researchers Network.

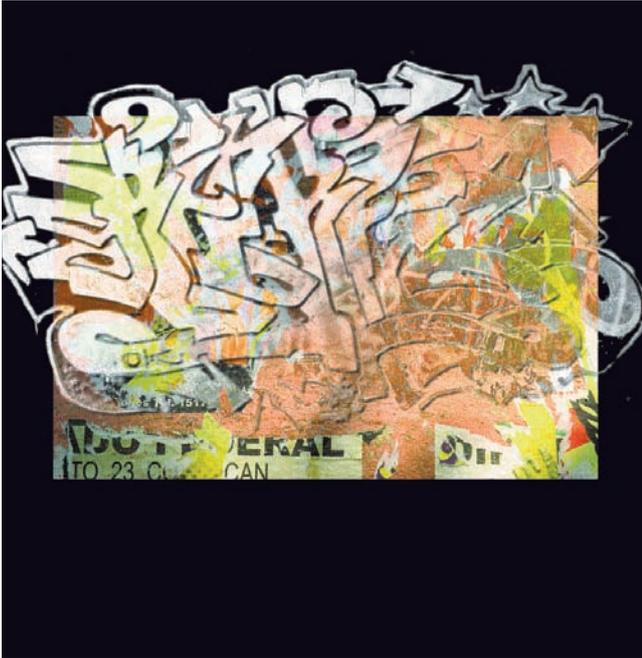
“*acampar*”, we go “camping”, and when winter comes and our noses get stopped up, we clean the snot with “Kleenex”. Not to mention the fact that when we don’t eat everything at dinner, we put the leftovers away religiously in a “*Tupperware*” container. Finally, globalization has inoculated us!

And I use the word “inoculated” advisedly because it has two meanings: one is to “artificially communicate a contagious disease” and second, in Spanish, to “pervert through bad example.”

That is what “Compurban” is all about: inoculating open spaces, fragmented, divided, walled-in spaces, where communication appropriates pub-

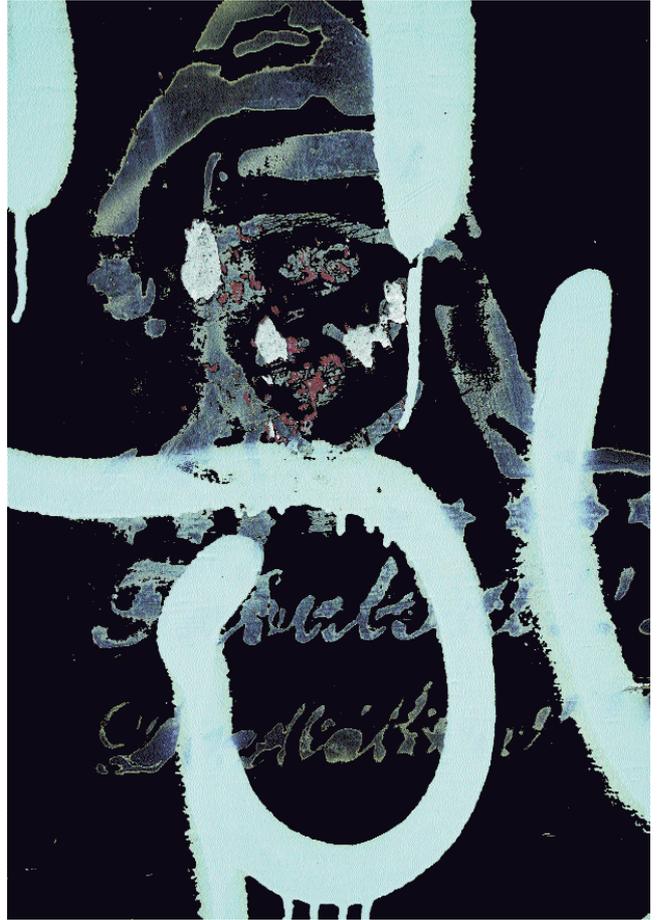


“Compurban” 25.

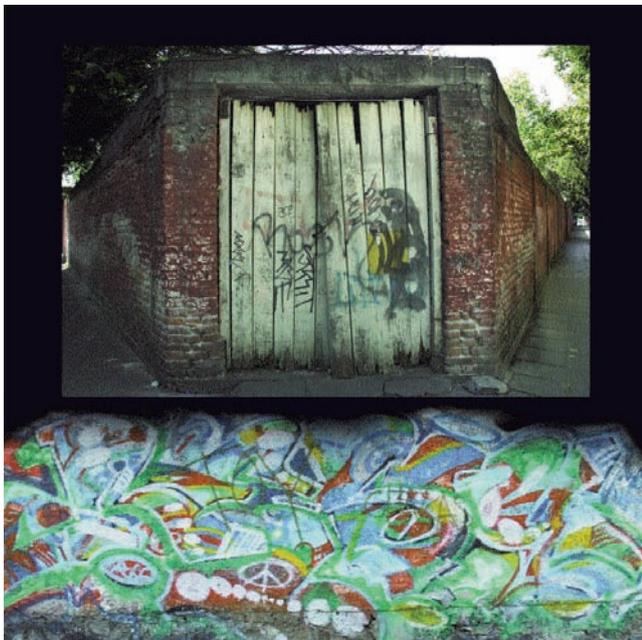


"Compurban" 17.

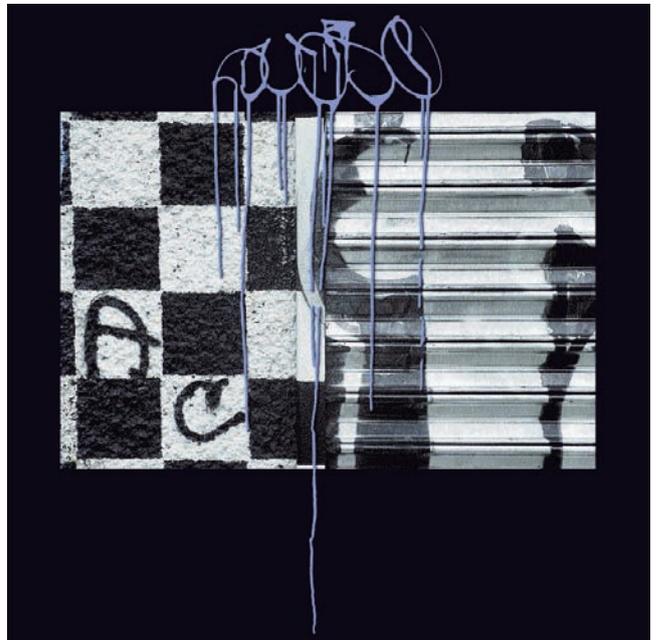
"Compurban" is about inoculating open spaces, fragmented, divided, walled-in spaces.



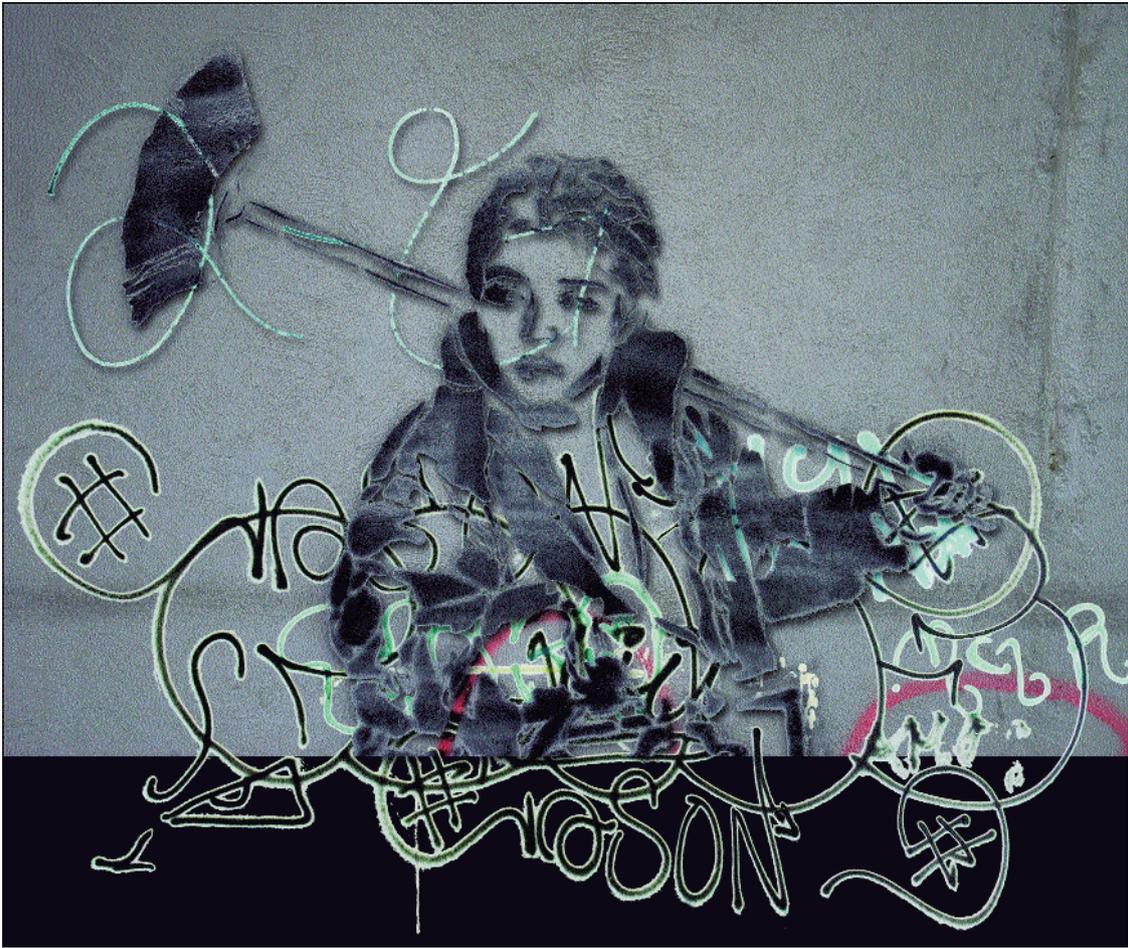
"Compurban" 3.



"Compurban" 39.



"Compurban" 13.



"Compurban" 27.

"Compurban" looks at the silenced scream of the walls and throws it at a new viewer. It makes no concessions. It simply playfully recreates a collective dream: "This wall is mine and ever since I saw it, it belongs to me."

lic spaces, that are always silenced, ignored, that are magically perverted by graffiti, vandalism or the unconscious intervention of ephemeral passers-by.

The contagious disease intellectuals and politicians refer to when they talk about the "expropriated spaces" (by demonstrations, itinerant salespeople, drug dealing, crime) does nothing less than put out on the table the need to redefine space and its multiple meanings.

Public spaces make social conflicts over rights visible; public spaces talk to us about the sadly lacking forms of citizenship and the marked inequalities in access to urban resources. Their walls condense practices of the established regime that dissolve and deviate.

The walls of public spaces communicate among themselves in a counterposed, fragmented way, expressing violent and non-violent ways of controlling urban space, through access to public goods, which reflect at bottom, the profound class nature of society...and its resentments.

"Compurban" looks at the silenced scream of the walls and throws it at a new viewer. It makes no concessions. It simply playfully recreates a collective dream: "This wall is mine and ever since I saw it, it belongs to me."

"Compurban" is a cascade of images. They're not advertisements or spots, but they include the message of "revitalizing forgotten spaces," which, in the worst-case scenario, can be pushed forward by "zapping." **MM**



Nicolás de Jesús, "Comierdalismo" (Shitty Commercialism), 75 x 60 cm, 1993 (line and color etching on amate paper).

Half a Century Innovating Tradition The Frontiers of *Amate* Bark Paper Painters

Martha García*

After almost 50 years of creating the famous paintings on *amate* bark paper, Nahua artists have been given yet another well-deserved award for the tradition they have zealously preserved from the beginning: the 2007 National Prize for Science and the Arts in the category of folk arts and traditions. One of the most important characteristics of the continuity of their work has been the innovations they have introduced without abandoning their roots. This has allowed them to enter into the twenty-first century with themes alluding to the day-to-day life of society, like migration, touched on by the work of Tito Rutilo, Nicolás de Jesús, Marcial Camilo and Roberto Mauricio, shown on these pages.

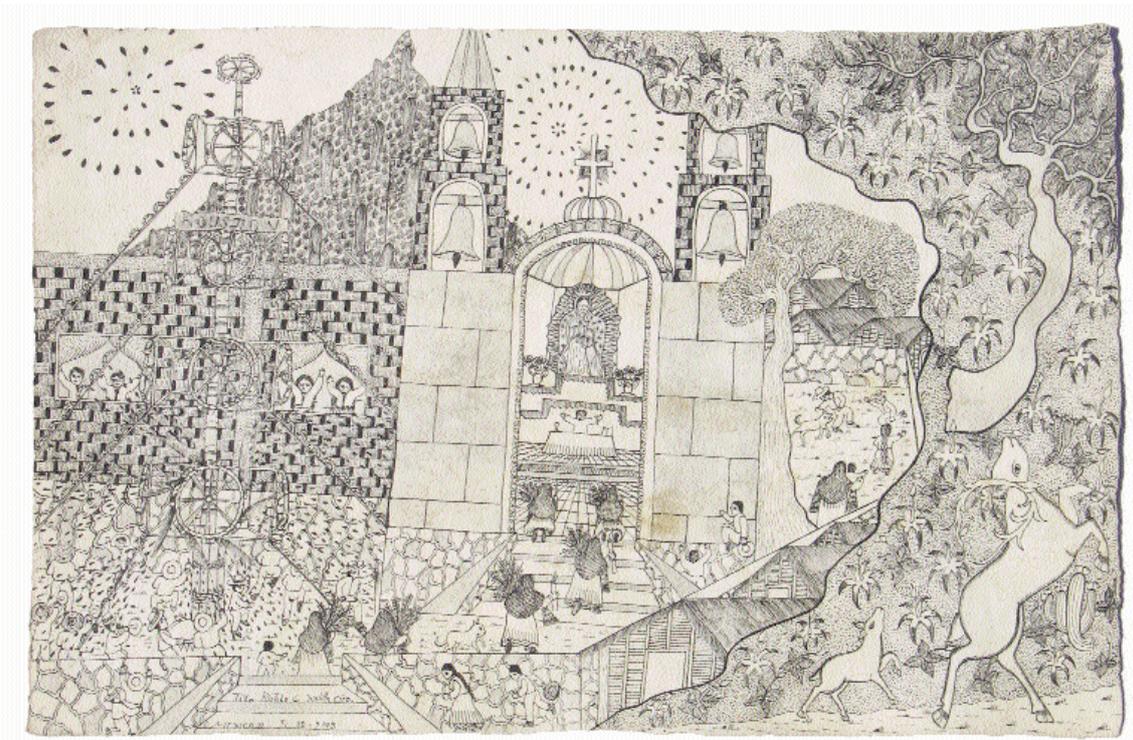
In general the Nahua painters of the Alto Balsas in Guerrero state have accustomed the assiduous consumer to their colorful “sheets” —as they call the pieces of *amate* paper— to classic scenes of religious festivities, customs and peasant life that are called “histories”. The other kind of sheet is the “birds and flowers” variety with stylized animals and plants or reproductions of Nahua myths.

In part, the national prize given to the Nahua painters and shared by artists who work in lacquer and lead is one more encouragement added to other prizes awarded individually and collectively both in Mexico and abroad.

As one of the great legacies of this ancient town, located in the Balsas region for more than a millennium, the communities’ paintings have become a window through which to talk to the world about their profound past and their stirring contemporary experiences. For that reason, mixtures are important and influences are decisive in the transformation of their artistic expression. Ceramics have been another ideal means for transmitting part of their cultural values.

Their art presupposes exchange since the painters of *amate* paper say they “tell” their experiences with their paint brushes and colors. Since this singular cultural form first emerged in the

* Social anthropologist and journalist.
Photos of *amates* by Mauricio Degollado.

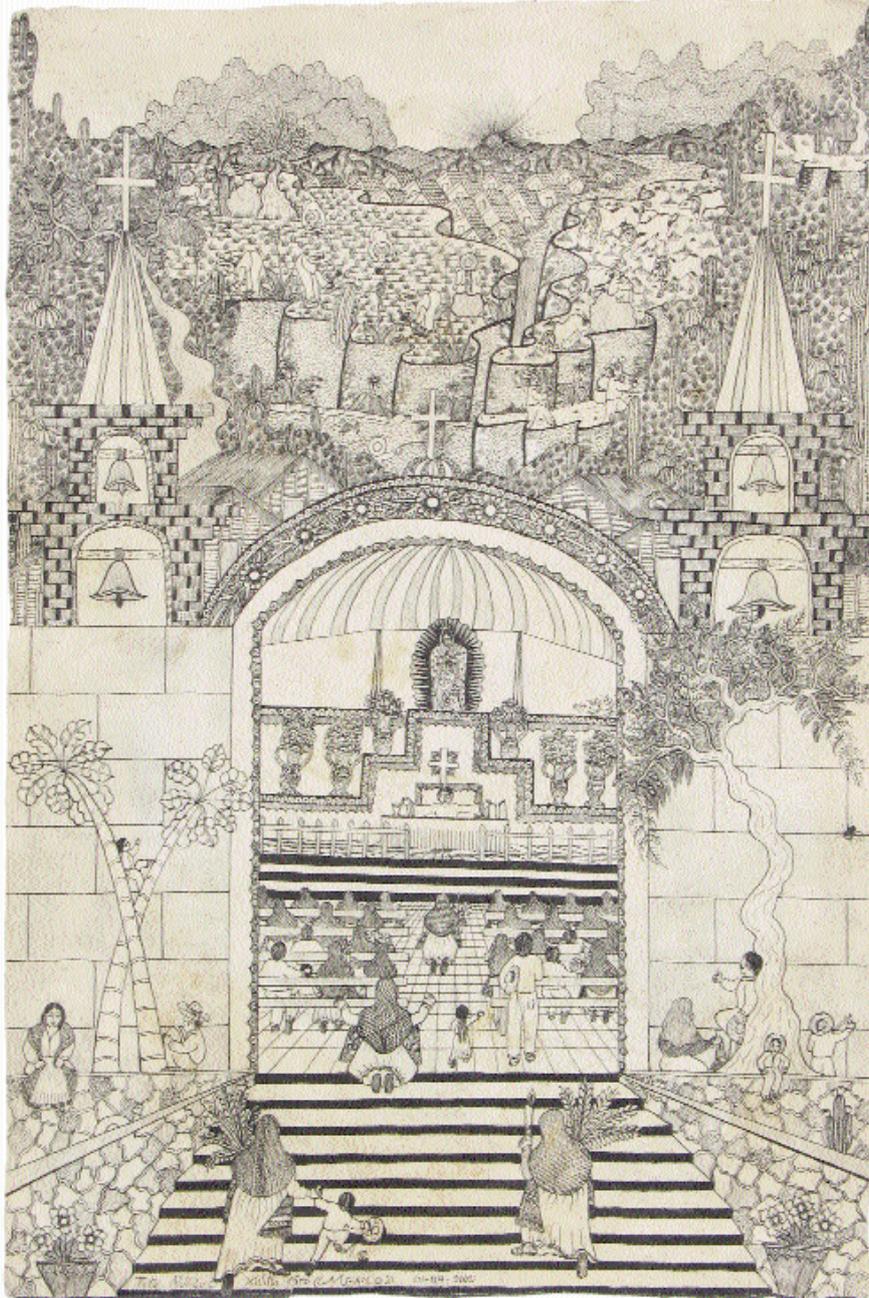


Tito Rutilo, *Town Fiesta*, 60 x 40 cm, 2005 (ink on *amate* paper).

Since this singular cultural form first emerged in the early 1960s, it has diversified artistically. Thus, ancestors and deities appear side by side with images of the northern border and the *migra*, the colloquial name for the U.S. border patrol.



Nicolás de Jesús, *Little Village*, 55 x 75 cm (line and color etching on amate paper).



Tito Rutilo, *Town Mass*, 60 x 40 cm, 2005 (ink on amate paper).

early 1960s, it has diversified artistically. Thus, ancestors and deities appear side by side with images of the northern border and the *migra*, the colloquial name for the U.S. border patrol. In this nearly half a century, according to Nicolás de Jesús (Ameyaltepec, 1960), the painters have become modern *tlacuilos*, the artists who illuminated pre-Hispanic codices. De Jesús and other Nahuatl intellectuals have reworked this notion, since they think that if the ancient Aztecs preserved the memory of society through the codices, then the contemporary artists also narrate and tell their stories in their *amates*. “Neither we nor the *amate* paper paintings are heir to the *tlacuilos*, but we do the same thing. That is our legacy and in some way, we are the *tlacuilos* of our culture.”

We should remember that in addition to being a Nahuatl tradition, the paintings on *amate* paper have another ancestral reference point: the manufacture of the sheets by the Otomís in San Pablito Pahuatlán, in the state of Puebla. That is, two indigenous traditions have converged for almost five

decades in the *amate* paper paintings. Therefore, an inter-ethnic cultural expression unfolds behind the “histories,” to which can be added Oaxaca’s Mixtec traveling sales people who have sold *amates* as far away as on the Tijuana border.

As a common patrimony, *amate* paper paintings have been produced and handed down for several generations. During the time since their creation, an elite group of painters has been consolidated, their work recognized by the community as “very good” because people say “they know and can do more.” These artists stand out because they have an individual seal, though their style is respectful of the traditional norms, even when they risk experimenting in colors, formats (*amates* of up to two and three meters in size), materials (rattan, sheet metal, glass, wood and fiberboard), techniques (etching) and designs (incorporating non-traditional themes). Both personally and collectively, this group has established links with artists from other parts of Mexico and the world, an experience that is a source for renovating proposals.

“TRAVELING” AND “NORTHERN” PAINTERS

The inhabitants of Nahua communities have been crossing the borders of their regions every day for more than half a century, making arduous trips from Cancún to Tijuana, from Los Angeles to Chicago. Among themselves, they call the men and women emigrants who travel through Mexico “travelers,” and those who go to the United States, or to “the North”, “Northerners.” Since “traveling” is considered yet another Nahua tradition, it should not come as a surprise that some paintings depict “travelers” and “Northerners,” even though they are not part of the traditional motifs of *amate* paintings displayed in museums, galleries and craft shops.



Roberto Mauricio, *Good-bye*, 60 x 40 cm, 2002 (acrylic and ink on *amate* paper).

In addition to being a Nahua tradition, the paintings on *amate* paper have another ancestral reference point: the production of the sheets by the Otomís in San Pablito Pahuatlán, in the state of Puebla.



Tito Rutilo, *Life in Los Angeles*, 60 x 40 cm, 2006 (ink on *amate* paper).

The communities have drawn a migratory map of almost 100 places in Mexico and the United States: half a century of intense travel has left its mark. In fact, the mythical or stereotypical images of “the North” or cities like Mexico City go through the powerful filter of their world view, which is why they re-conceive symbols, objects, places and people. This is why it is unusual to find engineers, teachers, anthropologists and legislators depicted in *amate* paper paintings.

All the works published with this article are a sample of how the paintings depict social experiences and a multiplicity of themes. It is a series of *amates* dealing with the theme of migration and is part of an independent project created five years ago, coordinated by the author. Marcial Camilo and Roberto Mauricio (from San Agustín Oapan), Cristino Flores (deceased) and Nicolás de Jesús (from Ameyaltepec) and Apolinar Celestino and Tito Rutilo (from Xalitla) all participate in this project.

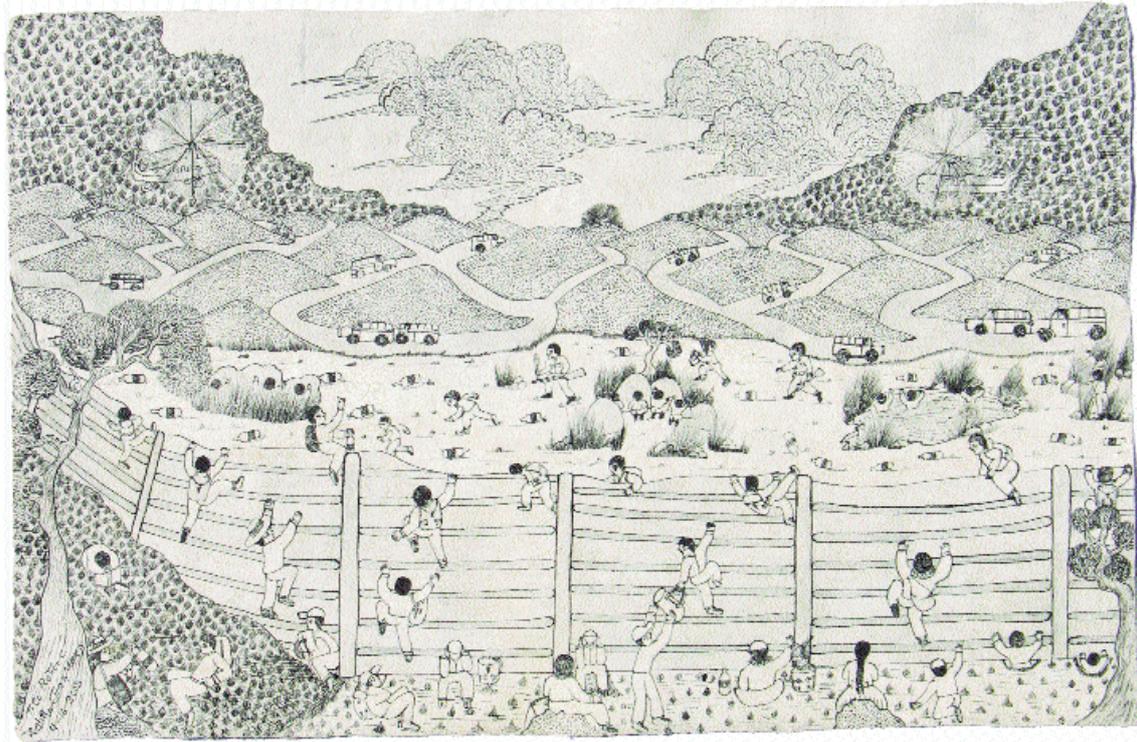
AMATES ABOUT THE BORDER

These Nahuas’ main routes go to California and Texas, and from there they have spread out to other places in the U.S. All the combinations of places and individuals are rendered on *amate* paper, whether as testimony of the artists’ own experience or what they have been told. Unauthorized border crossings are a significant theme in these oral and aesthetic testimonies.

Nahua artists include border crossings in their repertory, reproducing in the collective imaginary the experiences of hundreds of men and women who, risking death, are trying to rejoin their families, get a job to support themselves in their new homes and, if possible, help out their relatives and community in their places of origin to alleviate and remedy some of their historic deficiencies.



Marcial Camilo, *The Trip to Acapulco*, 60 x 40 cm, 2004 (acrylic and ink on *amate* paper).



Tito Rutilo, *The Fence*, 60 x 40 cm, 2005 (ink on *amate* paper).

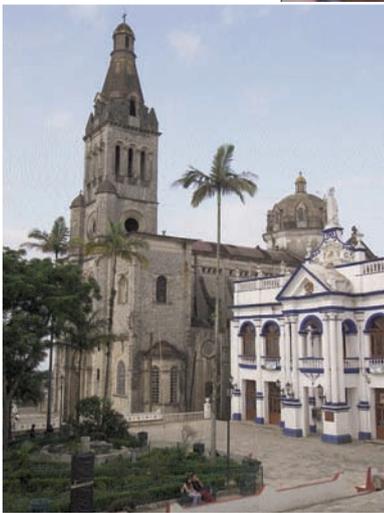
Thus, these paper “histories” have been brought up to date with modern versions of men and women “Northerners” who talk about the *jale* (work) in cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Houston, where these indigenous emigrants have gone. Today, the chronicles about “the North” are yet another reference point among other images disseminated by television, radio, magazines, newspapers and film. From these complex representations, the painters have created their own versions. This is why certain designs recreate the vicissitudes of the lives of *braceros*, like saying good-bye as depicted by Roberto Mauricio as told to him by his father, or undocumented migrants crossing the border, whether over the Rio Grande or the fence in Tijuana, as narrated by Marcial Camilo or Tito Rutilo’s brushes, or over the iron railings of Texas, in the work of Apolinar Celestino. The critical vision of unauthorized crossings is supplemented by Nicolás de Jesús’s perspective. Another variation can be seen in the scenes portraying “the journey” of Nahuatl merchants along Mexican beaches as they sell their *amates* and ceramics.

Still swimming against the current of the low value placed on their work, the prize-winning artists continue their struggle, as they say, in a small commercial milieu, insisting on telling their “histories” to anyone interested in knowing about their culture. As protagonists in the transitions of their “travelers” and “Northerners,” men and women both, they have put fragments of their lives onto the *amate* paper paintings.

And these artists and their brushes take responsibility for recreating the memory of the new experiences that ushered this indigenous people into the twenty-first century. Behind them, the fourth generation of men and women painters follows. Enormous challenges are in the making and no one knows for certain if the tradition will see new horizons or to what point they will create other proposals just as they have been doing for almost 50 years. **NMM**

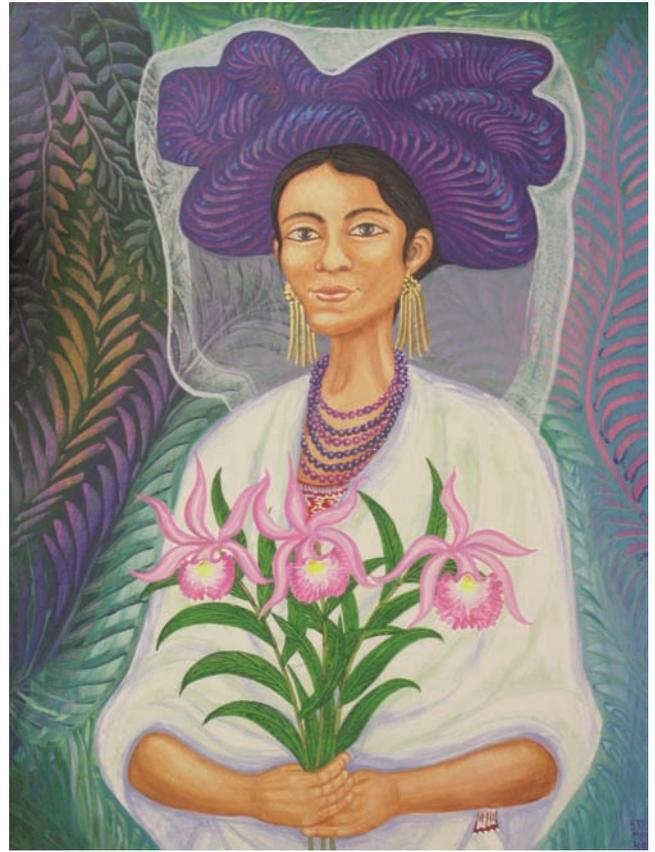
In the Splendor of the Mountains The Painting of Gregorio Méndez

Édgar Anaya Rodríguez*





Procession (acrylic).



Woman from Cuetzalan (acrylic).



Gregorio borrows the color of his land, rearranges it and turns it into paintings that can be found throughout Cuetzalan.

He was born wrapped in the intense greens of Puebla's Sierra Norte and the multi-colored garments of his indigenous brothers and sisters. But, in contrast with them, who often do not seem to notice the explosions of color surrounding them, since they are part of them, Gregorio Méndez Nava has always been attracted by the sparkle emanating from his region's many flowers, textiles and fiestas.

Gregorio borrows the color of his land, rearranges it and turns it into paintings that can be found throughout Cuetzalan, the town where he now lives in the state of Puebla, although his work has traveled to several cities in the rest of our country and even abroad.

The "painter of Cuetzalan" was born in 1944 in the little community of San Andrés Tzicuilan, near the mountainous, tropical city that still has a strong indigenous presence. Here, every street suggests a frame to the photographer and motifs to the painter or to any other sensitive eye, ready to enjoy

* Journalist, traveler and tour guide; author of numerous travel and cultural articles published in different national magazines and newspapers.

Photos courtesy of the author.

a picturesque, sweet Mexico that long ago disappeared from many other places.

“Painting here is easy. The themes are around every corner; they walk into my studio,” he says.

You only have to go to Cuetzalan to believe him: the constant humidity that comes in from the Gulf of Mexico is responsible for the green of its mountain cloud forest; its right angles contrast with the tortuous curves of its streets, difficult for cars to navigate, but easy for romanticism to travel. In the surrounding areas, rivers and waterfalls run to the sea, while flowers and orchards compete with the colors of Totonac and Nahua residents’ clothing.

Méndez Nava is a Nahua Indian who has painted all his life. He began as a teenager, recreating his town’s waterfall with watercolors purchased in a local stationary store. “I continue to paint it; I have done it many times, and each time it comes out different.” He began to draw and paint in oils

formally when he moved to the neighboring city of Teziutlán to go to high school. There, he met and forged a great friendship with Vicente Lombardo Toledano, a politician and cultural promoter born in Teziutlán who encouraged Gregorio to continue working in the visual arts. He also met David A. Siqueiros at a ceremony honoring Lombardo Toledano in Mexico City’s Palace of Fine Arts where Gregorio went in representation of Nahua indigenous young people from Puebla’s Sierra Norte.

Circumstances prevented him from having a formal visual arts education, so he became self-taught. “In the home of Lombardo Toledano, I saw the work of Rivera, Orozco and Siqueiros up close, and that stimulated me to keep painting and find my own style.” In 1971, he participated in his first collective exhibition in Teziutlán. Around that time, he decided to experiment with different techniques and materials: watercolors, pastels, charcoal.



Jaguar at Night (acrylic).

“Sometimes I include materials like stones or river sand to get different surface finishes. The spectrum of hues of acrylics has captivated me because it allows me to portray better the colors of my surroundings, the themes that I usually paint. I continue to be impressed, very impressed, by the color of my land. I believe that I will never come to the end of it.”

Méndez Nava’s painting is direct, simple, just like the people and life in Cuetzalan; just like he is. His work seduces you with its liveliness and naiveté: defined lines, flat surfaces, “halfway there” realism, but with style —small-town naïf, perhaps— and sprinkled with reminiscences of Mexico’s great painting.

Sparkling cascades come down off his canvases; blue jaguars peek through the foliage, wallpapered in stars. Scenes of the daily life of indigenous people in the countryside and the market abound; women in their traditional headdresses

can be seen from several angles; scenes of regional dances seem to be rainbows on his canvases; the “flying men” unwind around an enormous pole; and the queens of the different fiestas celebrating coffee and traditional *huipil* blouses are also central characters in his painting.

Other canvases are cages full of parrots and toucans, windows that giant ferns peek through, calla lilies out of Diego Rivera and the beautiful false birds-of-paradise (*heliconias*) typical of the region, with their flaming spikes sticking out of their stalks. Just like a modern *tlacuilo*, or illuminator of the pre-Hispanic codices, Gregorio portrays mountain life and scenes in his paintings-codices every day, trapping the colors of his land, which in turn, capture the gaze of anyone who looks at his work.

He has received many prizes and his work has left Cuetzalan to go to the great cities of Mexico and abroad. His paint-



Day and Night (acrylic).



Tonatiuh (acrylic).



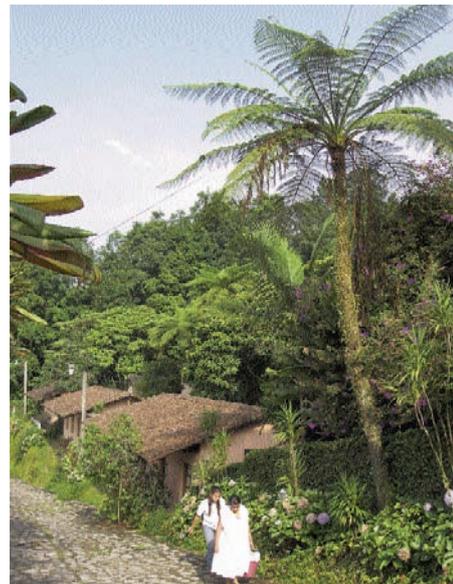
Chamaquis Vendor (acrylic).

ings have traveled equally to New York and Lithuania, but it is in Cuetzalan where they can be found everywhere. Private collectors and hotel and restaurant owners buy them and keep them on display, proud to show the local scenes and traditions.

Anyone who goes to his gallery on the edge of town to buy a canvas or simply admire his work will also find a very pleasant refuge to pass the time of day.

Otilia Mercado, a buyer from Mexico City, says, “Gregorio Méndez Nava’s painting has taken on a personal style visible in its simple proportions, its color combinations, in the faces and expressions of its figures and, obviously, in his unmistakable, unique themes. If he had had more tutoring in technique, he might well have already lost the touch of purity, the charm that attracts many of us.”

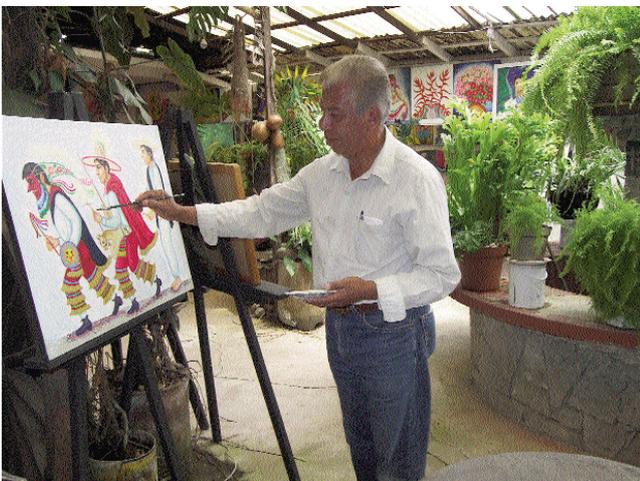
Whether he exhibits in regional shows or in important cities like Xalapa and Mexico City, his work never goes unnoticed. As the catalogue for a 1998 exhibit in the National Autonomous University of Mexico Institute for Anthropological Research says, “We have the pleasure of presenting to the university community this exhibit as recognition and



“Painting here is easy. The themes are around every corner; they walk into my studio,” says the painter.



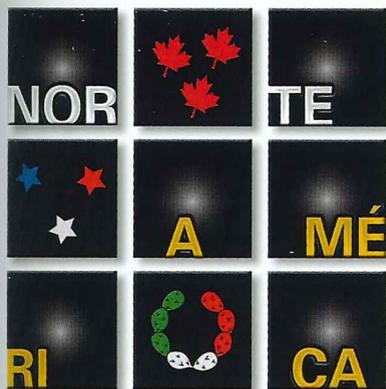
Indigenous Couple (acrylic).



stimulus for a body of artistic work that contributes to leaving a record of a Mexico that unfortunately is disappearing.”

And it is true; it will not be many decades before the mirth and natural and cultural wealth of this place in the far-off mountains of the Western Sierra Madre are lost. Fortunately, Gregorio’s paintings will be part of our people’s historic memory.

“I paint for the pleasure of it,” he says, “but I am also committed. I paint to preserve what is being lost, so that testimony will remain of what is going: plants and animals that are disappearing; clothing and customs that were part of daily wear and daily life that are almost never seen anymore; things that identified my people to the world and that now can only be seen in photographs and, I hope, in my canvases.” **MM**



NORTEAMÉRICA

ACADEMIC JOURNAL OF CISAN

An open forum to debate and exchange, from a multidisciplinary perspective, theoretical, methodological and current studies related to North America and its links to the world.

Year 2, number 2

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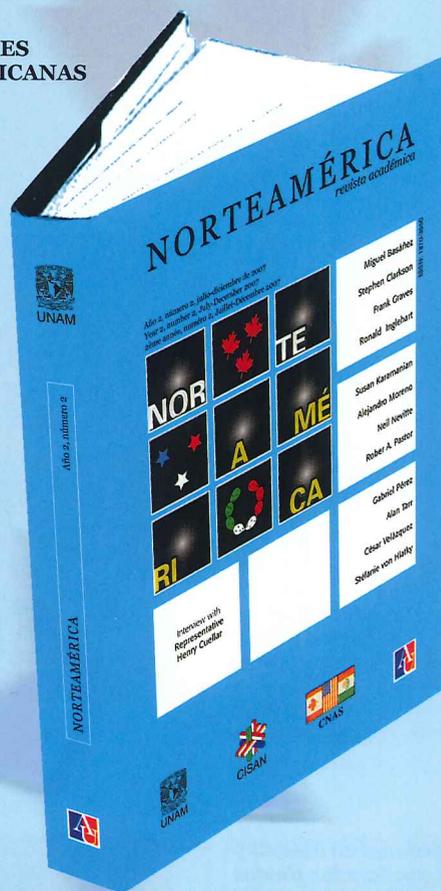
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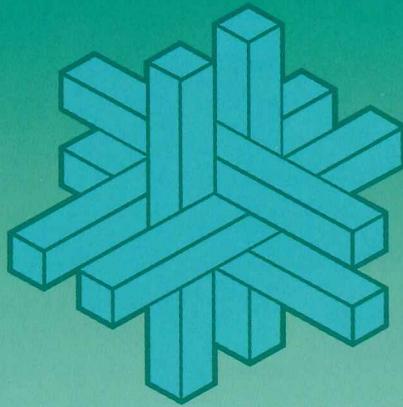
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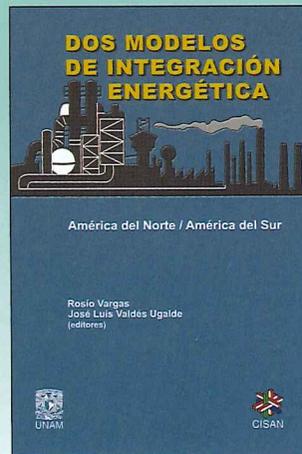
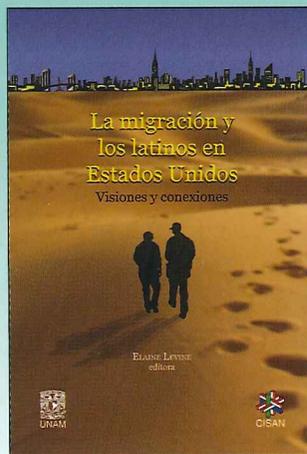
La migración y los latinos en Estados Unidos. Visiones y conexiones

Elaine Levine, editor

This book answers questions on a topic we know very little about: what happens to migrants once they cross the border? What are their lives like?

What is their work like? What problems do they face? What are their options and plans for the future? A many-sided vision that examines the vicissitudes of their journey and the conditions of their stay there as well as of their possible return.

Outstanding academics from both Mexico and the United States with extensive experience in fieldwork and information from original sources make it an undeniable contribution.



Dos modelos de integración energética.

América del Norte/ América del Sur

Rosío Vargas and José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book analyzes the two main forms of energy integration in North and South America, and tries to answer questions like what that integration looks like in practice, whether we can expect solutions to national energy problems without putting national sovereignty at risk and whether integration is compatible with the energy security of all concerned.

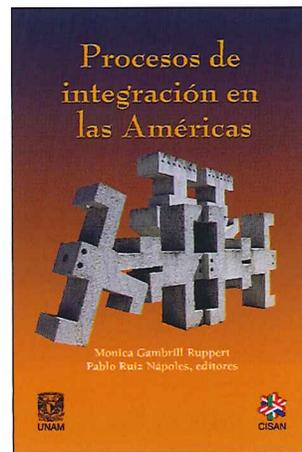
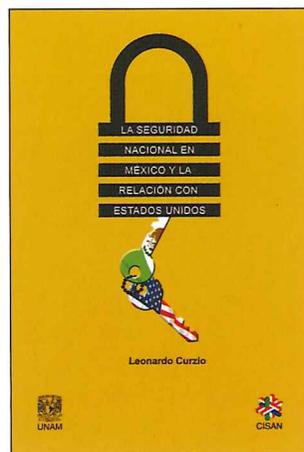
La seguridad nacional en México y la relación con Estados Unidos

Leonardo Curzio

The classic national security paradigm must be reinterpreted in the light of the changes both in Mexico and the world.

Over the last 20 years, Mexico has gone from being an inward-looking economy to one of the world's most open, though very dependent on the United States; it has stepped up emigration so that, today, unprecedented millions of Mexicans live and work in the U.S.; and in terms of security, it has become part of the equation of security in North America.

For all these reasons, we have to review all our suppositions and doctrine in this area.



Procesos de integración en las Américas

Monica Gambrell and Pablo Ruiz Nápoles, editors

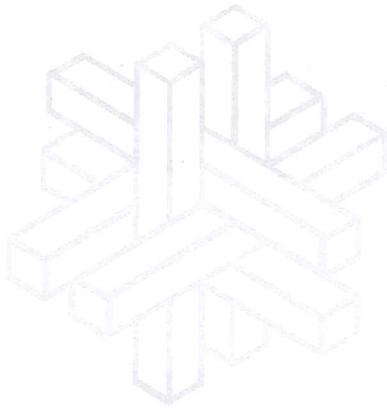
This book studies the intensification of integration processes in the Americas. Based on a huge amount of empirical data, the articles seek to show the impact of integration in regionalization processes. They deal with topics like the theory of the new regionalism as a tool to study recent integration processes; the specificities of Tamaulipas-Texas transborder cooperation; the inconsistencies in official data gathering that make it difficult to ascertain the real magnitude of trade among the NAFTA countries; and Venezuela's contribution to Andean integration.

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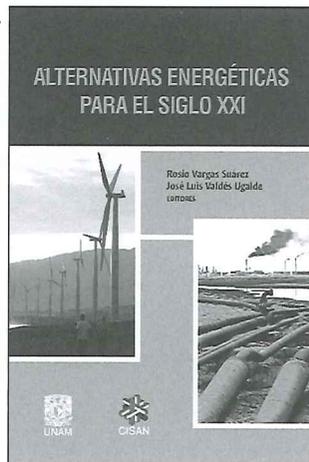
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Alternativas energéticas para el siglo XXI

Rosío Vargas and José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book deals with a vital issue for the world today: the search for energy alternatives to compensate for the imminent scarcity of traditional sources, particularly oil and gas.

Based on specialized studies warning that current rates of oil consumption will exhaust known reserves in about 40 years, the authors offer a panorama of the international oil situation, emphasizing the growing importance of natural gas and other renewable energy sources, as well as the obstacles and perspectives these new options face.



De San Blas hasta la Alta California: los viajes y diarios de Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández

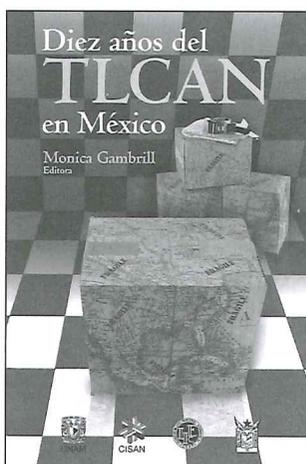
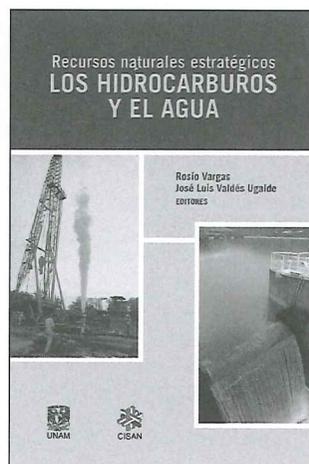
María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, editor

This book deals with the vicissitudes and feats of Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández, a Spanish Royal Navy seaman in charge of the maritime exploration of the northern part of the New World in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The author explains that the ultimate reason for these travels was to be found in the policy and aspirations of two European empires, the Spanish and the Russian. The Spaniards wanted to consolidate and expand their territories in these northern latitudes in the face of the threat of the penetration through trade and settlement by the nascent Russian empire.

Recursos naturales estratégicos. Los hidrocarburos y el agua

Rosío Vargas and José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book deals with an issue vital to the survival of the so-called global village: the imminent scarcity of strategic natural resources, basically oil and water, and the risks this poses for the world's well-being and peace. Experts from different disciplines and of different nationalities look at the problem from different perspectives. The prospects are not very promising.



Diez años del TLCAN en México

Monica Gambrell, editor

Ten years after NAFTA came into effect, specialists in different disciplines met to evaluate the effects of its implementation in Mexico. Among other topics, the book looks at macro-economic factors, national industry and the maquiladora plants, foreign investment, labor mobility, agriculture and animal husbandry, cargo transport, the environment and conflict resolution. Particularly interesting is its focus on the agreement's implications with regard to greater integration with the United States.

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Jaime Martuscelli y Carlos Martínez Leyva

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The 2008 U.S. Elections

Leonardo Curzio*



Aaron Josefczyk/Reuters

Fortunately for Mexico the candidates in the United States are not focusing on immigration. Thus are we spared an avalanche of simplistic statements that would only widen the spiritual distance between the two countries and, along the way, a few poisoned darts of anti-Mexicanism. The central issues at this stage are the economy and the need for a profound change after the failed military adventure in Iraq.

It is unnecessary to go into any more detail about the economy: according to a recent Gallup poll, more than half those surveyed think the country is going through something like a recession. This is not the product of feverish imaginations; it is based on figures and the increasingly ominous perceptions about consumer confidence, employment levels and financial markets.

The central axis of candidates' discourse —McCain, Clinton and Obama alike— does not hide the fact that the United States is going through a particularly complicated time: the economy is suffering from the impact of the sub-prime mortgage crisis and the price of oil has hit U.S. consumers' purchasing power hard. The political discourse tries to connect with a generalized feeling of disenchantment with the Bush years.

The discourse of the contenders for the White House especially emphasizes the idea of changing something in order to restore their country's leadership in the world and government capability for dealing with domestic issues.

It is no secret to anyone that the Bush administration has behaved in a way that has made it difficult for even his Republican supporters to find things to be proud of. The list of problems that Bush leaves to his successor seems interminable, but the most widely shared feeling is frustration. In the first place, for not having been able to overcome the

* Researcher at CISAN.

The discourse of the contenders for the White House especially emphasizes the idea of change in order to restore their country's leadership in the world and government capability for dealing with domestic issues.

atmosphere of generalized terror that still permeates daily life in the United States. The feeling that at any moment something may happen continues to be the terrorists' greatest success. The degree of alarm of the security forces and that you breathe in from the moment you step onto U.S. soil is what Bin Laden and his accomplices can consider a political, media objective fulfilled. Americans are at war against a non-state actor that they have not been able to defeat or contain. The culture of fear tires any society, especially if important successes cannot be presented in the fight against evil, and if that most precious article for every human group, security, cannot be recovered.

A society at war comes under enormous stress, which makes a terrible combination with the news coming in from Iraq. This military intervention, with its clear imperial traits, has become a maze for the U.S. government and people. The feeling that they are going through a second Vietnam, that is, that defeat is imminent, cannot be minimized.

The power of a nation is built on the basis of substantive elements (wealth, population, natural resources, technology, etc.), but also with complementary factors that can be equally important, linked to the public mood, the degree of social cohesion, the leading elites' credibility, the values that are supposedly being defended vs. the reality, and, finally, the confidence a nation has in itself for dealing with its challenges.

The complementary factors vary according to the context, and not all groups reflect them in the same way. Undoubtedly, the country that won the Cold War is not in its finest moment; its morale is not encouraging. But it is far from the decline that some of its critics bode. This is not a terminal patient. The electoral process is a reflection of a society that is seeking in different ways to extricate itself from this situation.

In the Republican camp, the advance of the senator from Arizona exemplifies the rush toward the political center with the hope of leaving behind the extreme right-wing positions of the Bush administration. Every time McCain wants to illustrate his aims by likening them to those of successful, respected governments, he has to hark back all the way to Ronald

Reagan.¹ Clearly, for a veteran like him as well as for his generation, it is not difficult to look back at the glorious times of the eclipse of the Cold War, but for younger people, the reference is a little remote, and the Republicans are quite well aware of it.

Similarly, if the demographics make it difficult for the Republicans to connect with younger people, low incomes are not helping any either. During the Bush administration, the most underprivileged sectors of society have seen the gap separating them from their rich countrymen widen, and tax cuts, combined with bad economic prospects for 2008, make for a devastating outcome.

On the other hand, different communities have seen how the patriotic discourse, fostered by a culture of fear and permanent war on terror, has encouraged certain nativist, xenophobic tendencies that were previously better kept under lock and key in a society interested in "political correctness".

On a global level, there is increasing interest in the U.S. primaries, and a quick review of the international dailies that have shown an interest in covering the process—there is good coverage of these events on the Council on Foreign Affairs website—shows disenchantment or even open rejection of the Bush administration, and, by contrast, a certain nostalgia for the administration of that great president, William Clinton. This has accentuated two perceptions that have emerged in the U.S. strategy debate: the loneliness of power and the erosion of its global leadership.

It is not easy, then, for McCain to overcome this negative trend. But, there can be no doubt that he is trying to conceptually, politically and symbolically. He makes the quest for a new era a systematic part of his discourse, and therefore he returns time and again to the origins of the republic, invoking Hamilton and the great destiny of the American people. Will he be able to generate the credibility he needs to win the November elections? That is the big question.

In the Democratic camp, the most noteworthy thing is the polarization between Barak Obama and Hillary Clinton. At the time of this writing, the nomination will be resolved in the Denver convention, but the country's political and economic context is ripe for both candidates' cause. Each holds important cards in his/her hand.

The first and most obvious is that they are the opposition to the outgoing administration. They do not have to pay for a large part of the fallout from the last eight years and although they have been cautious about the more sensitive topics, their positioning is better than McCain's.

The second is their personal condition: a woman and an African-American automatically enjoy a privileged position with minorities. They are both unprecedented and new, and they automatically represent the less favored sectors of society. Both connect well with the big social and ethnic differences that spiritually divide the American nation. In this context, we have to underline that the civic religion and exaggerated patriotism of recent years have filled commercial buildings and malls with the stars and stripes, but the strength of a nation, I suspect, is elsewhere: in the social cohesion and in the broad sense of belonging that today's nativist tendencies are far from encouraging.

In this context of fragmentation, some Americans ask themselves if the founding fathers were alive today, would they be dismayed at how far we are from the ideals of equality for all today? Being black, Asian or Latino right off the bat marks a person's possibilities for social mobility. Race-linked social prestige also continues to be the motivator for systematic segregation. In its last report (2008), Human Rights Watch said that the prison population of Afro-American descent is four times that of Caucasians. Just a coincidence?

In this context, it is interesting to see how these situations shape political behavior. Polls after Super Tuesday show that all the ethnic groups tend to do the same thing: vote for someone like themselves, or at least for someone who does not make them feel like a liability to the country. In some states, like New York, Latinos were an important base of support for Hillary Clinton's win, and, in California, their contribution, together with that of Asians, was decisive.

More traditionalist whites say that they threw their support to hopefuls like Romney and Huckabee, now out of the running, because they—as opposed to McCain who seems more linked to experience—defend the values they believe in. What times do we live in when structural, porous racism is considered a fundamental value to be defended, when a moderate like the senator from Arizona, situated among the less radical Republican traditions, is chastised by sectors of his party for not being “hard-line”?

There is still a part of the United States that continues to think that the big stick should not only be wielded to dissuade, but rather frequently and without calculating the results. That America seems to be upset, uncomfortable because it cannot close off its country like they seal the compounds where they live. This social group, used to living among guard dogs, security guards everywhere and universal suspicions that any belt or pair of shoes might contain an

A woman and an African-American
automatically enjoy a privileged position
with minorities. They are both unprecedented and
new, and they automatically represent the less
favored sectors of society.

explosive, still thinks that despite the really meager results of this administration's war on terror, that is the right way forward.

But let's get back to the Democrats. Of course, Mrs. Clinton is better positioned for finally winning the Democratic nomination for three reasons. The first is the political coalition behind her. The second is her personal experience; and the third is that with regard to handling the economy—the top issue on everyone's mind—she has better credentials than Obama. But she does not have all the cards, because Obama's sweep has not finished yet.

Barak Obama is a man determined to change the social and political rules for doing politics. The key to his success seems to be in the fact that he is an Afro-American who acts like white people who suppose that command is theirs to be had just because they are white. And there is no doubt that his name, which means “blessed” in Swahili, is a kind of manifest destiny. He is a mix of black and white and he has never portrayed himself as a victim; what he has done is to use his irresistible, poetic oratory, with his rhythmic panther-like walk, to seduce an electorate that wants changes. Obama has wrought a fundamental transformation in the discourse of minorities by shifting the axis of his speeches from reproaches for the wrongs against his community, to presenting himself as the promise of a solution to the problems that the United States confronts today.

As philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy rightly pointed out with almost clairvoyant foresight,² in his political discourse, the senator from Illinois replaced the affirmation of identities as origin and destiny with something as generic as a hope for change. That is why the groundswell of support for him seems unstoppable. ■■■

NOTES

¹ John McCain, “An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom,” *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 6 (November-December 2007).

² Bernard-Henri Lévy, *American Vertigo* (Paris: Grasset, 2004).



NORTE AMÉRICA
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- All papers must be previously unpublished.
- *Norteamérica* is a peer-refereed journal, and all articles will be submitted to a board of specialists for review.

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- The interview will be with an outstanding figure from the academic, political, social and/or cultural world.
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- Academic reflections about a polemical, current issue.
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- Essays that review, compare and analyze in depth from 2 to 5 recently published books on the same theme.
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International Food Aid: Support for U.S. Agriculture

Camelia Nicoleta Tigau*



Andrew Wong/Reuters

The world produces enough food to provide each person with a 2,720-calorie-a-day diet. Despite such wealth and the UN goal to cut in half the number of hungry people by 2015, their number is growing.¹ Hunger is not a result of the lack of food, but of bad food distribution and bad politics. Rich countries have tried to compensate economic disparities produced by neoliberal policies by creating an international regime of food aid based on the UN infrastructure. This is not an ethical maneuver, but a security one: a hungry world is an unsafe place to be.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAM OR WE FEED PEOPLE

The World Food Program (WFP) is the main UN agency working directly to end hunger, aspiring to connect humanitarian aid with education and development. “If you give a

man a fish, he’ll eat today; if you teach him to fish, he’ll eat all his life.”²

The WFP was funded in 1963 as a short-term project, but it soon became permanent. It currently distributes food to about 90 million people around the world, in the form of US\$80 million a year in official development aid.

The problem is that half of the WFP aid is in products and the other half is in cash. That is where the conflict starts. Aid in kind allows the donor to rid itself of its agricultural surplus, which is why it is preferred by countries like the United States and Great Britain. Actually, 90 percent of all the food aid in products comes from the U.S. The rest comes from France, Italy and Russia. A small part comes from countries forced to sell their organic crops (Algeria, India, Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Thailand and Vietnam) and import genetically modified products. Food aid in kind does not always adapt to local cultures and sometimes arrives late due to transportation costs, so late that local crops are also ready by the time international aid arrives.

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In certain cases food aid turned out to be transgenic and contaminated local markets and crops. WFP has been distributing genetically modified (GM) food since 1996, without notifying the receivers. If food aid complies with the donor's standards, WFP accepts them. "We think that the hungry prefer to eat GM instead of junk; there is no way that WFP may provide food for everyone without GM," said James Morris, former executive director of WFP representing the U.S. (2002-2007).

During the negotiations of the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, some African governments declared they would rather not serve as experiments by eating GM food nobody wanted. The UN officials said it was not the responsibility of the organization to check whether food aid was organic or not. According to the protocol ratified in 2003, countries may refuse imports of GM food. The U.S. has not signed it.

USAID, MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND THE UN AGENDA

In the U.S., there is no separation between GM and organic crops. Therefore, exports of agricultural products are difficult. Despite international lobbying in favor of cash food aid, the U.S. keeps distributing products with the argument that it is not always possible to find particular items such as vitamin-enriched cereals in underdeveloped countries.

According to U.S. law, 75 percent of food aid should be in products, partly sold by export credits and partly donated. U.S. legislation (PL 480) divides food aid into three categories: a) from government to government through sale, in order to open markets to U.S. commerce; b) emergency aid, distributed through NGOs and WFP; and c) subsidies from government to government for development activities.³

The U.S. food aid system is one of the most expensive in the world, with 60-percent support by citizens and 40-percent by the government.⁴ The main winners in this system are the agricultural engineering companies that use USAID and indirectly the WFP to protect their monopolies. The Iron Triangle group, representing 17 companies and agricultural associations, argued to the WFP that cash could be stolen or badly used and that therefore they prefer aid in products rejected in the U.S. or meant for animal consumption. These companies argued that GM would solve hunger in the world and they succeeded in directly influencing the UN agenda. For instance, Cargill and Archer Daniel Midland directly sponsor the WFP, without USAID mediation. Between 2002

An international regime
of food aid based on
the UN infrastructure is not an ethical
maneuver, but a security one: a hungry world
is an unsafe place to be.

and 2005, Archer Daniel Midland has donated US\$3 million in GM food to the WFP.

With the USAID policy of conditioning HIV/AIDS aid on the acceptance of food aid, several African countries had to promote legislation on intellectual property that would allow the entry of genetically modified organisms.

FOOD AID PUBLICITY

Given quite a few cases of GM aid rejection in Africa, Latin America and Europe, the WFP decided to use publicity to convince the poor to receive it.

A WFP ad published in the *Financial Times* in December 2005 provoked European officials. It showed some children of color in front of a blackboard with the words, "Don't play with our food!" With this image, the WFP indirectly accuses restrictions on food donations and asks, "Will the WTC [World Trade Organization] take away their food?"⁵

Other public diplomacy instruments favoring the GM food have been NGOs like Friends of the WFP, established in 1995 in Washington and coordinated by U.S. leaders in the food aid field. Friends of the WFP organizes special events to promote the U.S. aid system, including a yearly ceremony to award leaders in the fight against hunger.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY FOR FOOD ETHICS

Still, positions among U.S. aid officials are neither monolithic nor linear. For instance, take former USAID Director Andrew Natsios, once a staunch enemy of humanitarian NGOs, now working with them. Natsios quit his position with USAID in 2005 and made a deal with environmental organizations lobbying against transgenics. Natsios spoke of a moral necessity to reform the U.S. food aid system and recognized food aid in products sometimes gets there late and works against local economies.

In the case of Afghanistan, food aid resulted in local farmers giving up their wheat crops because there was too much of the GM wheat sent by the U.S. They then began planting poppies for opium.

GREEN DIPLOMACY AGAINST TRANSGENIC AID

According to some NGOs like Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth or environmental publications like *GM Free Scot* and *NGIN*, food aid is just a tool of U.S. foreign policy, meant to protect agricultural engineering corporations and get rid of GM products that were never sold on the local market.

These organizations lobby against GM food aid, since it makes recipients' economic, ecological and humanitarian systems collapse. Greenpeace and People's Earth Decade denounce the lack of ethics in the United States, which ensures a market for its GM wheat, corn and soybeans using the fake argument of food aid.

The Olmy News Agency⁶ also shows that the Doha Agenda favored the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy and U.S. subsidies to agriculture more, but damaged agriculture in poor countries of Africa and Southeast Asia. In this way, the agenda broadened out opportunities for rich countries but forgot its initial development goal.

HUNGER AS A COMMERCIAL PROBLEM

Food aid is a special case of economic diplomacy that favors the donors more than the recipients. Hunger is transformed into a commercial problem, not a humanitarian one.

As a matter of fact, the organization that controls food aid is not the World Food Program but the World Trade Organization (WTO) and that is where the scandal on GM food is. During the yearly WTO Summits,⁷ the United States and the European Union (EU) develop serious arguments and public relations campaigns, trying to prove that the politics of the other side are slowing down international development.⁸ The EU supports a "cash only" policy. According to the European Union, cash offers greater flexibility to each country's economy and culture, since it allows UN officials to buy the food in the local market and helps the local economy, avoiding dependency on donors. On the other hand, the United States argues that cash can be stolen and rejects changing its current product aid programs. So far, no agree-

ment has been reached since no one wishes to give up their own plans.

AGRICULTURAL AID NETWORKS: A GAME OF RESISTANCE

The case of GM food aid clearly shows that the market of generosity or philanthropical capitalism has become profitable. Solutions to food aid and hunger in general go beyond the WTO negotiations. In the case of food aid transformed into economic sanctions and trade diplomacy to get rid of GM crops, the problem is not only governmental, but also one involving the UN system. The questioning of hegemony or multilateralism actually implies a criticism of UN dysfunctions, as well as the lack of a coercive mechanism that would complement its functions.

In this way, food aid is a subtle foreign policy tool that widens the distance between rich and poor. The lack of food distribution networks in the world further creates hunger and underdevelopment. This use of economic diplomacy proves to be a fatal weapon for hegemonic power that eliminates many perspectives of solutions to the problem of hunger. Once again, the argument about the ethics of intervention, whether humanitarian or not, is on the table. **MM**

NOTES

¹ F. Mousseau, "Food Sovereignty: Ending World Hunger in Our Time," *Humanist*, March/April 2006, vol. 66, no. 2, pp. 24-26.

² J. Powell, "Statement by Deputy Executive Director of the World Food Programme," World Trade Organization Food Aid Seminar, Geneva, Switzerland, May 17, 2005.

³ J. Clapp, "The Political Economy of Food Aid in an Era of Agricultural Biotechnology," *Global Governance* no. 11, 2006, Canada: Oakland Institute, pp. 467-485.

⁴ Mousseau, op. cit.

⁵ "Food Aid Fight," Heinrich Böll Foundation, at <http://hongkongblog.globalalternative.org/?cat=14>, December 17, 2005; consulted on January 24, 2006.

⁶ Olmy News at www.olmynews.com, December 2005.

⁷ The International Convention on Food Aid was renegotiated in the World Trade Organization (1997-1999) to broaden the list of products that can be offered as food aid and stipulate that developed countries open their markets to imports from the underdeveloped ones, through a just mechanism of subsidies and taxes.

⁸ "Food Aid Fight," op. cit.

FURTHER READING

Tigau, C.N., "La diplomacia en la era digital. Modelos dinámicos de negociación y prospectiva," doctoral thesis presented at Mexico's UNAM in 2007.

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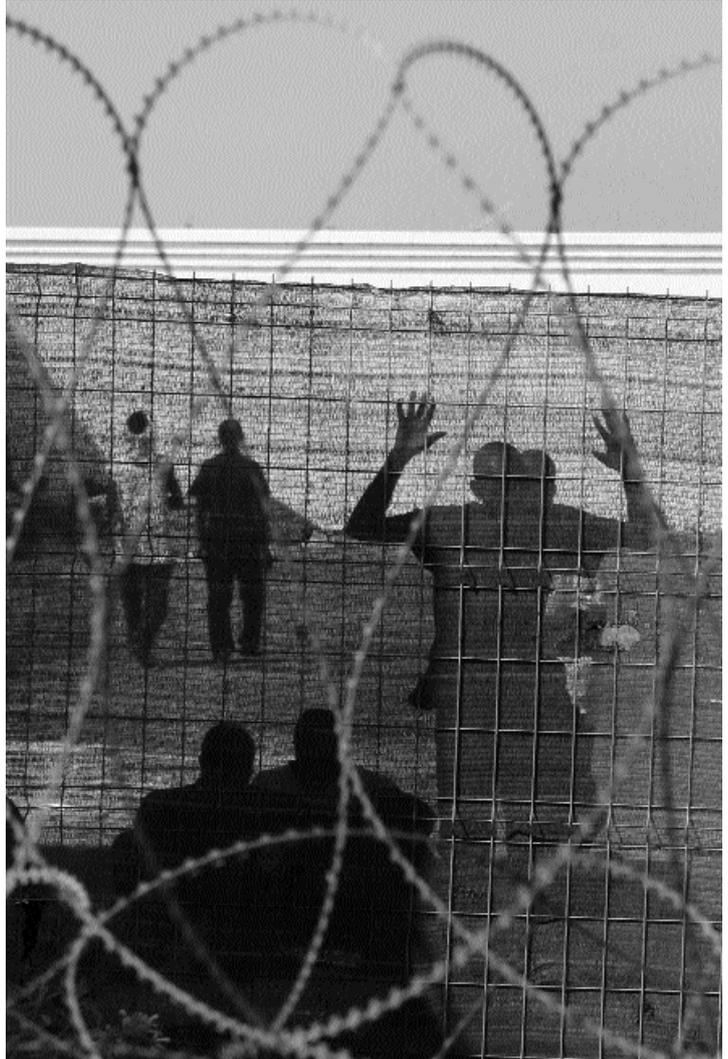
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Building Universal Citizenship

Migration, Ethics and Human Rights in Globalization

Ariadna Estévez López*



Juan Medina/Reuters

Migration is not a problem of globalization, but an integral part of it. The relationship is such that migration is both an effect of economic globalization and a cause of certain of its social and cultural dynamics, if we understand it as a multidimensional process. The rela-

tionship between globalization and migration is reciprocal, since the political-economic dynamics of the former push thousands of individuals to emigrate and, at the same time, this international migration transforms the socio-cultural dynamics of the countries they leave behind and their destinations. These impacts can be seen in the economic reactivation that remittances sent to migrant-sending countries cause, and in the cul-

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The right to development establishes obligations for countries of origin, countries people travel through and destination countries, not only in terms of global economic policy but also with regard to migrants, regardless of their migratory status.

tural exchange between the host society and the immigrants.

If migration and globalization are nothing but two sides to the same coin, all nations have an ethical obligation to migrants' material well-being, both on a structural level (the poverty of the countries they leave) and on a subjective level (the individual need to migrate for these reasons). This ethical obligation must be reflected in integration models that avert exclusion through minimum guarantees and in the participation of social actors so they can generate their own economic and cultural interests regardless of their legal status. What is needed is *universal citizenship* based on the international human rights regimen that ensures both rights and obligations.

ETHICS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND POWER

Since citizenship, which confers rights and obligations on individuals, is generally bestowed on those who belong to a nation-state or a political-economic union like the European Union, the fundamental characteristic of universal citizenship is broadening out membership. Universal citizenship is not counterposed to national citizenship, but goes beyond it. It implies that a series of universal human rights are recognized for all individuals regardless of their membership in a nation-state. This is not based on the supposed universality of human nature. It is based on the responsibility of states *vis-à-vis* the universal system of human rights in accordance with an idea of global justice based on the material aspect of ethics, which considers migrants an integral part of globalization and implies that: 1) the material dimension of migrants' individuality and collectivity must be considered, and 2) issues of power underlying relations among countries must also be considered.

Thus, global justice is based on two suppositions: the material dimension of ethics and the international obliga-

tions that generate the general principles of the right to development. On the one hand, Enrique Dussel says that we have an obligation to human life that is not made up only of satisfying material needs or values like dignity.¹ Human life is multidimensional since it is affected by cultural values, biological and material factors, etc., and each of these implies obligations of different kinds, from the economic to the cultural. On the other hand William Felice says that states have the obligation to take measures to prevent the consequences of the violation of the human right to development and critical ethics.² I propose taking this further by saying that if states do not implement these measures (rules for exchange and cooperation, abstaining from financing violations of human rights), this in and of itself obligates them to recognize migrants' human rights, since many of the latter are forced to leave their countries because of these violations.

The greatest implication of all this is that migrants must be considered social subjects and nations must assume their obligations to individuals. What is more, to the extent that international obligations go unfulfilled, the material aspect of ethics obligates states to deal with the needs of those who must leave their countries to settle in another. In other words, the right to development establishes obligations for countries of origin, countries people travel through and destination countries, not only in terms of global economic policy (for example, free trade and production), but also with regard to migrants, regardless of their migratory status. This is so because the right to development is becoming a general legal principle that generates macro-economic obligations, but also mandates coming to the aid of those who have been deprived of their human rights, especially if their plight has to do with trade policies and their collateral effects.

This global justice, then, is the basis for broadening out membership in citizenship. To the extent that individuals cannot satisfy their needs in certain territories, or if for reasons linked to development they are forced to leave the country where they reside, the concert of nations has the obligation to broaden out membership. This would not mean replacing national citizenship, but establishing a parallel citizenship that does not include the most polemical elements of national citizenship, like the right to vote in national elections and some aspects of social security like unemployment insurance.

Broadening out membership must be based on the cosmopolitan proposal of the right to mobility, which organized migrants demand (see the World Charter of Migrants 2007). Pécoud and Guchteneire say that one possible human-rights-

TABLE 1
THE RIGHTS OF UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP

THE DIMENSION OF MOBILITY	THE BASIC DIMENSION OF THE RIGHT TO A DECENT LIFE	THE DIMENSION OF THE EXERCISE OF IDENTITY AND BEING DIFFERENT	THE POLITICAL DIMENSION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right to emigrate from one's country of origin and be received in another • Consular rights • Right to a family and family reunification • Right to participate in the development policies of one's country of origin and internationally • Financial rights (to transfer earnings, savings) • Right to individual and collective property • Right to not be expelled for ethnic, racial or religious reasons or those related to national origin, etc. • Right to a nationality and to change nationality, as well as to request residence documents • Right to vote in one's country of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimum social rights for human development (food, education, health, housing) • Right to work and labor rights (to be protected from exploitation, slavery, arbitrary dismissal; to unionize and to strike; social benefits linked to employment such as retirement, disability benefits, accident insurance, etc.) • Freedom from discrimination for reasons of gender, race, ethnic origin, national origin, marital status, etc., and protection from discrimination and xenophobia • Right to a fair trial and legal equality (the use of interpreters and equal treatment to that of national citizens) • Right to life and personal safety (to not be tortured or subjected to cruel or degrading treatment or sentences or arbitrarily arrested) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right to keep one's native language and culture of origin • Freedom of belief and conscience (including protection against indoctrination) • Freedom to teach one's children one's language of origin and one's own religion and the recognition of the religious obligations of minorities • Freedom of association and religious assembly, as well as the freedom to pray in public places • Right to interpreters in public services and to use one's own language in those services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of association and peaceable assembly • Freedom of thought, expression and opinion, with respect for the same freedom for others • Right to participation, consultation and information in economic, social and political bodies. For example, neighborhood associations, chambers of commerce, the parliament, ombudsman's offices, etc. • Right to vote in local and intermediate elections



Laura Cano

If migration and globalization
are nothing but two sides to the same coin,
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material well-being, both on a structural level
(the poverty of the countries they leave) and on a
subjective level (the individual need to migrate
for these reasons).

based response to migration could be the right to mobility,³ which would not be a new right, but a supplementary one necessary to exercise the right to emigrate.⁴ What is more, it is an expression of the right to freely choose one's employment and the right to appropriate living standards, both of which are recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁵ In this sense, establishing the right to mobility within a theory of constructivist justice would simply be a development of the already existing instruments, precisely in order to lessen the suffering of thousands of persons forced to emigrate, as any theory of global justice would establish.

RIGHTS IN UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP

Broadening out membership in universal citizenship leads inevitably to a more normative discussion touching on the rights that must be recognized for migrants regardless of their migratory status. A simple answer would be that they should include those established in the International Charter of Human Rights and its six main conventions.⁶

However, as these documents stipulate, their implementation in each country depends on the resources the countries have and whether they can provide them to non-national citizens. Strictly speaking, the right to mobility would have to make this stipulation more relative, but demanding this would lead us to an all-or-nothing situation. The best road, as Pécoud and Guchteneire propose, is to establish universal citizenship within the parameters of the basic rights, which must be defined as a function of two issues related to other fundamental dimensions of citizenship: participation and identity.

With regard to citizenship as participation for international migrants, the core issue is to guarantee participation in all spheres, from the organizations of civil society to formal mechanisms, so migrants can have an influence on

democratic control and community building, as well as in their constitution as members of a polity not based on their national identity, but as economic beings and bearers of new cultural information in the society they are in. This is in order to negotiate their own rights and status within the polity.

The issue is not whether migrants are given citizenship, national membership, but that we proceed to a universal citizenship that bestows rights and recognizes them regardless of national citizenship. This has the aim of acknowledging an obvious fact like migration in the same way that at other times in history it was necessary to explicitly include workers, women, ethnic groups, etc. The main point is not the human rights linked to a welfare state (in whose defense the right wing justifies its migratory controls), but the rights to mobility and to work, and to have access to social and political human rights as a result. The exercise of difference and of cultural and civil human rights linked to migrants' identity is also very important.

The rights to universal citizenship must be defined in accordance with the needs and obligations of migrants as they themselves define them⁷ based on international human rights conventions.⁸ Thus defined, these rights could be classified in four dimensions: the dimension of mobility, which makes it possible for the right to emigrate to be supplemented with the corresponding opportunities; the basic dimension of the right to a decent life, which means that the minimal rights not only to survival but to having a satisfactory life must be guaranteed, including, but not limited to, social guarantees; the dimension of the right to exercise identity and be different; and the political dimension, which establishes a series of political guarantees to ensure rights beyond the right to vote.

CONCLUSIONS

The undeniable relationship between migration and globalization from the point of view of human rights based on the material aspect of ethics requires us to devise models for integration that go beyond immigrants' legal status and that guarantee the minimum rights everyone should have access to in order to live a decent life. This is the basis for universal citizenship, which must be built starting from the universality of the right to mobility, which in turn is based on everyone's right to work and emigrate and the obligation of the world's nations to guarantee it. **MM**

NOTES

- ¹ Enrique Dussel, *Ética de la liberación en la edad de la globalización y la exclusión* (Madrid: Trotta, 2006).
- ² William Felice, *Taking Suffering Seriously: The Importance of Collective Human Rights* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).
- ³ Antoine Pécoud and Paul de Guchteneire, "International migration, border controls and human rights: assessing the relevance of a right to mobility," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* no. 21 (Spring 2006), pp. 69-86.
- ⁴ The right to emigrate established in the Universal Charter of Human Rights was conceived during the Cold War, a time when it was difficult to leave one's country of origin. Historical needs today demand that this right explicitly include a supplementary right to immigrate, which is what is difficult today.
- ⁵ Some authors are decidedly against the right to mobility. For some right-wing arguments, see Walter Block and Gene Callahan, "Is There a Right to Immigration? A Libertarian Perspective", *Human Rights Review* (October-December 2003), pp. 46-71. For a multiculturalist view, see Bhikhu Parekh, "Finding a Proper Place for Human Rights," Kate E. Tunstall, ed., *Displacement, Asylum, Migration: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2004* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- ⁶ The International Charter of Human Rights includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The six main conventions are the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and the Members of Their Families.
- ⁷ The human rights of documented and undocumented migrants as they themselves define them have been suggested in the Declaration of Migrants, Refugees and Displaced Persons Associations as well as organizations in solidarity with them at the Regional Consultation of the World Commission on International Migrations (May 16-17, 2005); the Rivas Declaration (2006); and the Draft World Charter for Migrants (2007). See the World Charter of Migrants (2007) at <http://cmmigrants.org/spip.php?article2> (November 12); the Assembly of Social Movements held during the Second World Social Forum of Migrations (2006), *Declaración de Rivas*, available at http://www.aulaintercultural.org/article.php?id_article=1794 (November 12); Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC); the Regional Border Coordinating Committee; the Llacataru Association; the Association for the Integration of Latin America; the Border Network for Human Rights et al., *Declaración de las Asociaciones de Migrantes, Refugiados(as) y Desplazados(as) y organizaciones solidarias en la Consulta Regional de la Comisión Mundial sobre Migraciones Internacionales* (Mexico City: manuscript, 2005).
- ⁸ The rights of migrants regardless of their migratory status have been systematized by the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM). See Luca Bicocchi and Michèle LeVoy, "Undocumented Migrants Have Rights! An Overview of the International Human Rights Framework" at www.picum.org (April 1, 2007).

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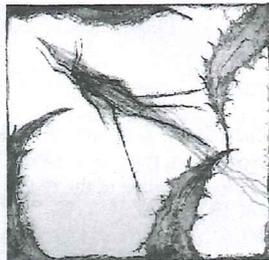


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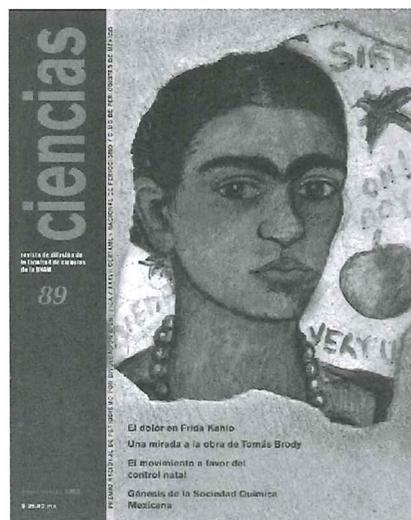


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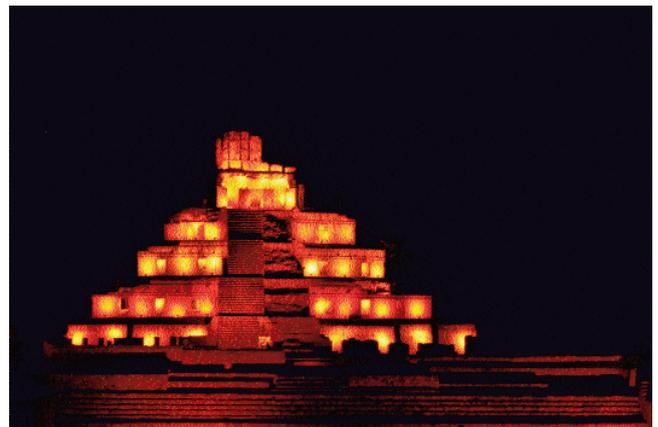
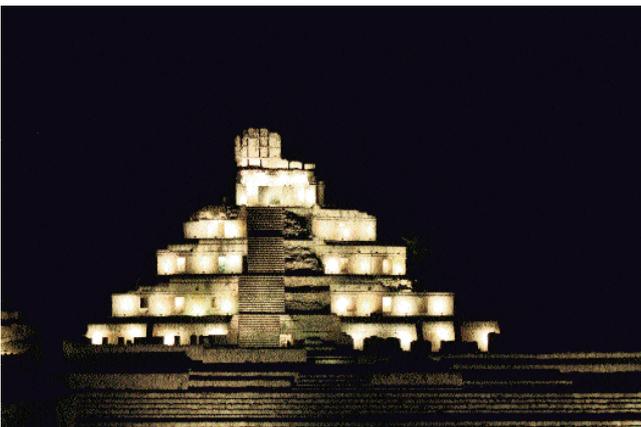
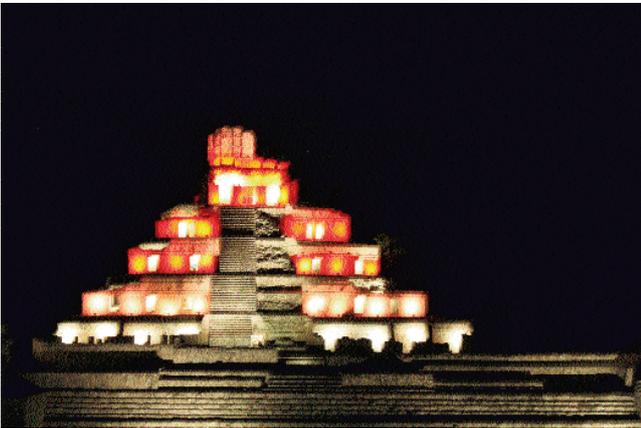
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El dolor en Frida Kahlo
Una mirada a la obra de Tomás Brody
El movimiento a favor del control natal
Génesis de la Sociedad Química Mexicana

The Río Bec, Chenes and Puuc Styles in Campeche's Mayan Cities

Leticia Staines Cícero*



Campeche's many Mayan cities boast several different architectural styles. The early developments, mainly in the south, offer outstanding examples of monumental constructions in the Petén style and sites where we can observe archi-

tectural elements covering previously existing structures or new construction and iconographic systems.

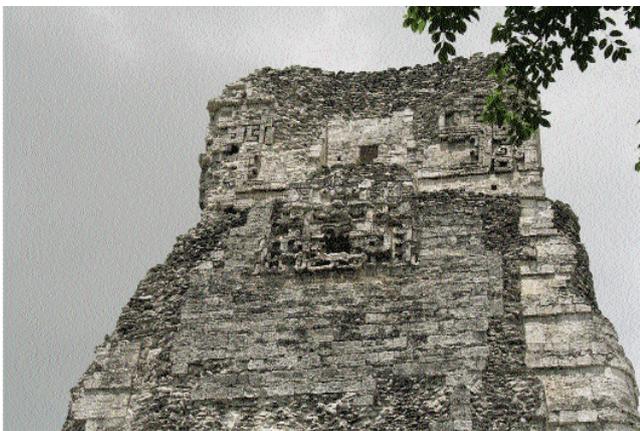
THE RÍO BEC STYLE

Part of this large southern area was explored between 1906 and 1907 by French traveler Maurice de Perigny,

* Researcher at the UNAM Institute for Aesthetic Research.
Photos by Elsie Montiel.



Panorama of the three towers in X-puhil's Structure I.



Relief at the top of X-puhil's Structure I, depicting an open-mouthed deity.

Clearly, what its builders were trying to transmit was more important than the function of these architectural complexes, particularly the towers that were a symbol of the power of the governing elites.



Structure VIII in Becan, also Río Bec-styled.

who was amazed by the enormous towers that characterized the structures in some sites. One of these was named Río Bec after a nearby stream that looked like a river and by the large number of oak trees (*bec* or *beec* in Mayan), giving the site's architectural style its name.

The Río Bec style's main characteristics are: a) three-levelled structures. The constructions are laid out on a long, low platform with a single story of rooms and high towers on the ends. Their front looks like a very steep basement with steps that are unusable because they are so steep and narrow; b) the use of rounded corners, molding, engaged columns, panels with geometric designs that look checkered and equal-sided crosses carved into the stone; c) the top of the towers is a solid temple with a giant, full-faced mask on the façade, also known as a zoomorphic facade or monster temple.¹

The mask is facing the front; it has eyes and a nose and the mouth is open because it is the doorway to the temple. This figure has been identified as the "Monster of the Earth." It is associated with the underworld and the building represents a mountain.² Clearly, what its makers were trying to transmit through this visual language was more important than the function of these architectural complexes, particularly the towers that were a symbol of the power of the governing elites. Thus, the power of the sovereign is demonstrated because he had access to the underworld, to the cave, to the mountain, to the road that allowed him to communicate with the deities and his ancestors who were the figures who dignified his strength and power. Among the most representative archaeological sites in this style are Río Bec, X-puhil, Hormiguero, Becan and Chicanná.

X-puhil's Structure I complex, with three towers, is one of the best known examples. The three towers, as well as 12 rooms, are all built on a platform; the towers with rounded corners are made up of eleven bodies stacked on top of each other with fake temples on the top and have a very steep stairway in front of them. They also had facades with giant masks and combs or ridges on the roofs, but there is little evidence left of them. Toward the bottom, level with the cavity simulating the entryway to the inside of the temple, we can see a figure in high relief facing forward with its mouth open. This site has many more structures that show that its period of activity was from the late pre-Classical (400 B.C.) to the early post-classical (A.D. 1200).

The Petén style that had been used in some cities seems to have declined, and between the sixth and seventh centuries in sites like Becan, Río Bec-styled constructions began to appear. Thus, Becan's imposing Structures I and VIII had high towers on each side. On the south side of Structure I, two levels of vaulted rooms were built; and in some buildings, we can observe reliefs with geometric designs in a checkerboard pattern. The political and economic power Becan achieved was due, among other things, to the fact that it was situated at an important place on the trade route to the Quintana Roo coast.

Another interesting site is Chicanná, neighboring on Becan. Its Structure I has two rows of chambers, towers with rounded corners and stairways that lead up to fake temples. Structure 20, with its square base, has 12 rooms on the first floor and four on the second floor, while both the upper and lower facades boast zoomorphic figures.

THE CHENES STYLE

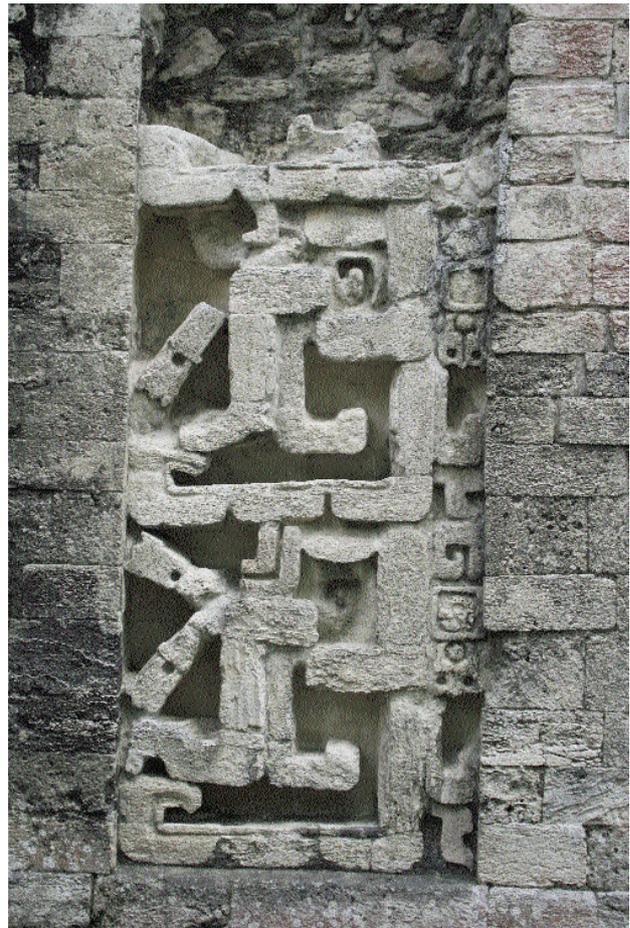
Although with certain differences, the Río Bec and Chenes styles—the word “Chenes” comes from the Mayan word *ch'en*, meaning a well or cave of water—shared certain architectural characteristics.³ Some cities have constructions in both styles, like Chicanná, whose elegant Structure II is one of the most outstanding in the Chenes style. It is made up of two parallel rows of rooms and three entryways. At the center is a representation of the enormous Monster of the Earth with crossed eyes, a frown, nose, ear plugs and an open maw. In contrast with the simulated doorways in the Río Bec towers, here there is real access to the inside. The building's low platform extends to the outside like a walkway. In the area where the giant mask is, the floor is higher and it reaches outside rather in the manner of a tongue. On the sides, like above and on the sides of the doorway, a few teeth remain, representing the mandible. On the two sides of the Monster of the Earth, there is a line of large-nosed masks in profile, one under the other.⁴

It is important to mention that inside the high relief of the great mask, there are remnants of blue, ochre and dark red paint. Also, the lower walls of Structure II



Checkerboard pattern on one of Becan's buildings in the Río Bec style.

The Petén style seems to have declined, and between the sixth and seventh centuries in sites like Becan, Río Bec-styled constructions began to appear.



Chicanná. An example of a Río Bec-style relief.



Chicanná. Structure II, an outstanding example of the Chenes style.

At the center of Chicanná's Structure II is a representation of the enormous Monster of the Earth with crossed eyes, a frown, nose, ear plugs and an open maw.

may well have been covered with murals judging by a small fragment of a red hieroglyphic inscription that can still be distinguished on the right side of the great mask. Imagining this building full of color, with its high and bas-reliefs, is to think of the impressive effects of light and shadow that its facade would have projected.

Another element of the Chenes style is the stone salients, often found in the mid-level molding or on the combs, that held sculpted figures. These can be seen in Chicanná's Structure II and also in Structure I at the Hochob site, in the northwest part of the region, one of the most typical examples of this style.

THE PUUC STYLE

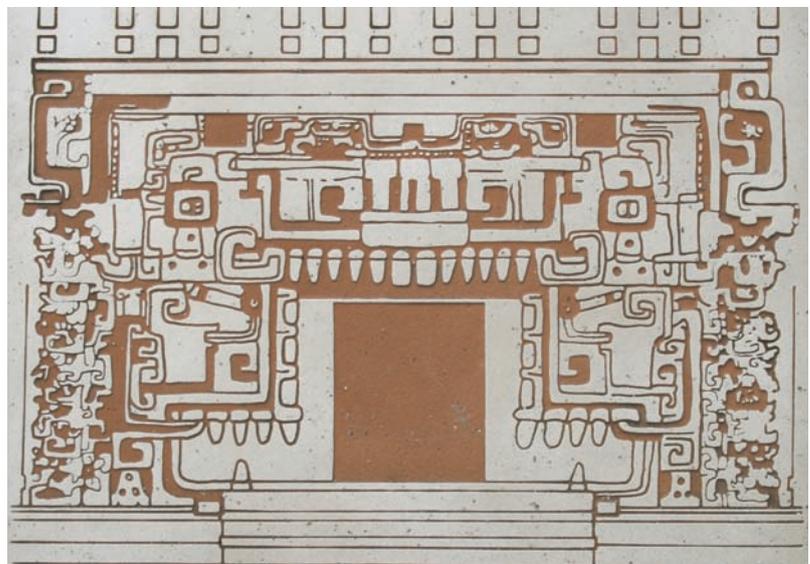
The Puuc hills stretch from northwestern Yucatán to central Campeche, reaching a maximum altitude of 100 meters above sea level. A great many sites whose architecture is in the Puuc style are in northern Campeche, and more in southern, eastern and central Yucatán.

This area is crisscrossed with underground rivers and pools called *cenotes* or natural wells. Local inhabitants also devised *chultunes*, or cisterns, to store rain water, and they are commonly found in many sites in this region, like Edzná, where they also built an extraordinary hydraulic system: an extensive network of canals, cisterns and pools that guaranteed enough water for irrigation.

It was mainly during the late classical period (A.D. 600-900) when these cities decorated their buildings in the Puuc style, with stone mosaics. Mayan scholar George F. Andrews distinguished several phases in the style's development based on his study of the changes in the buildings and their decoration. However, here, we will only mention a few of the general characteristics.⁵

One characteristic of the Puuc style is that the long, palace-like buildings are several stories high with many rooms built on enormous platforms, like the temple-palace of Edzná's Building of the Five Stories or Yucatan's Sayil Palace, with its 90 rooms.

The buildings are arranged in quadrangles and the construction is lighter, revealing clear interest in making the interiors larger with a horizontal feel. The walls are made with well-cut, worked stones. The facades are generally smooth and sometimes alternate with



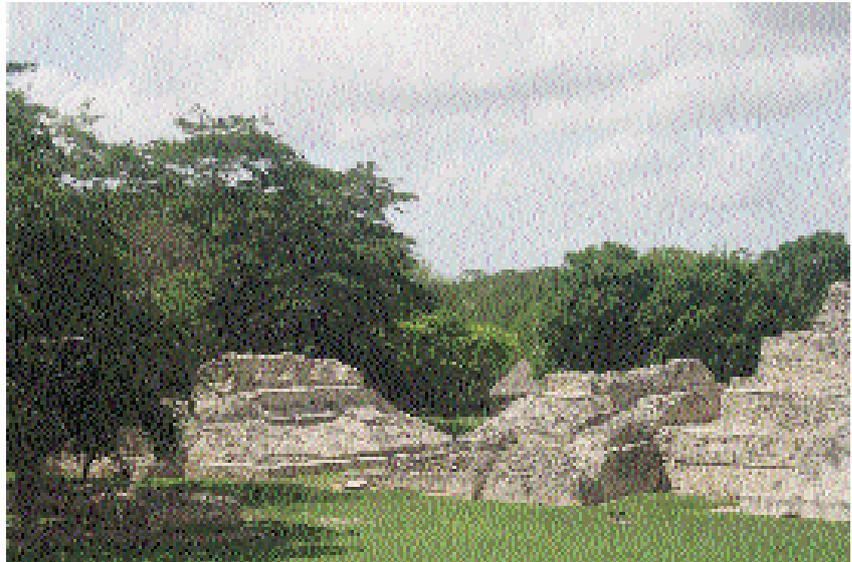
Drawing of the Monster of the Earth on the entrance to Structure II, Chicanná.

groups of columns. The friezes, entablatures and cornices have a variety of designs created in worked stone mosaics, which required carefully polishing the tiny stones and then placing them to create the desired images. The surprising thing about them is that they fit perfectly.

The complexity of the designs can be seen on the extraordinary facades: single or layered frets, little columns, Mayan huts, window lattices, drums, rhombuses, serpentine shapes, diagonal crosses and human figures representing the rulers. Just like in the Chenes style, we continue to see the giant mask or long-nosed god on the friezes or the corners.

Edzná, located south of the city of Campeche, began its architectural development around 300 B.C., continuing up until A.D. 1000, although some small buildings were erected as late as A.D. 1200. Its monumental constructions point to it being a powerful political center with a centralized government; some specialists think it was a regional capital.

The earliest constructions can be found in the Small Acropolis, a quadrangular basement on which four buildings have been erected, dating from 200 B.C. Some of these buildings preserve great stucco masks modeled in the Petén tradition. Antonio Benavides



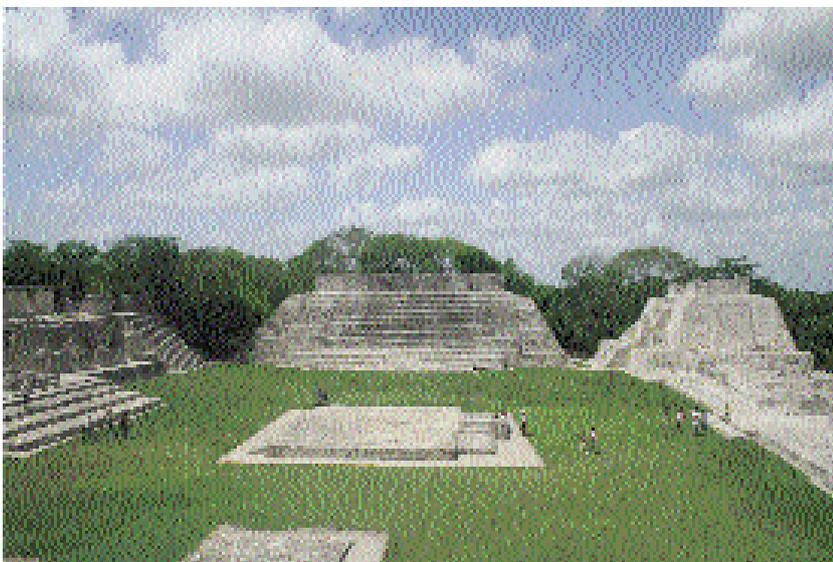
Edzná's ball game court still has some remains of rooms.

One characteristic of the Puuc style is that the long, palace-like buildings are several stories high with many rooms built on enormous platforms.

considers that the buildings from that period were partially dismantled to erect new ones.⁶

The Building of the Five Stories is a temple-palace with marked Puuc characteristics. It is noteworthy because of its size and location along the central axis of the Great Acropolis. It has five successively smaller stories and each one has a series of rooms with several doorways interspersed with masonry columns of single pieces or drums stacked one on top of the other and topped by square capitals. Underneath the broad stairway are vaulted passageways. Like at other sites, the builders continued the custom of building roof combs ornamented with stucco figures. On the vertical part of every step in the stairways there were blocks of glyphs, where the date A.D. 652 can be seen.

In addition to the Building of the Five Stories, this Great Acropolis is flanked by other structures, among them, the Nohochná or "Big House," with four galleries divided by pilasters. It looks like bleachers that may



Edzná. Monumental structures point to it being a powerful city.



have been used for spectators to watch events or ceremonies held in the plaza. The Platform of Knives had four vaulted rooms on the ends and was reutilized to build roofed rooms with temporary materials. Another construction is the ball game court where the remains

of rooms can also be seen. To conclude, it should be noted that these examples barely give a glimpse at the scope of Mayan architecture and the different styles with which this great civilization decorated its majestic cities. **MM**



NOTES

¹ Paul Gendrop and other scholars of Mayan architecture analyzed these facades in detail and called them partial and comprehensive zoomorphic facades. See Paul Gendrop, *Los estilos Río Bec, Chenes y Puuc en la arquitectura maya* (Mexico City: Div. de Estudios de Posgrado de la Facultad de Arquitectura-UNAM, 1983); George F. Andrews, *Los estilos arquitectónicos del Puuc, una nueva apreciación* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1986); and F. David Potter, "Maya Architecture of the Central Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico," *National Geographic Society* 44 (New Orleans: Tulane University Program of Research in Campeche/Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1977), among others.

² Several specialists have identified this being as the supreme Mayan god Itzamná. However, today, iconographic analyses are more inclined to accept that this is the personification of the Monster of the Earth. We should also mention that Román Piña Chan identified it as the lizard that symbolizes the Earth and the underworld.

³ Their similarities have made some scholars lump them together in a single style called the Central Yucatán style.

⁴ The large-nosed masks that are part of the Río Bec and Chenes iconography and abound in the Puuc style, are often called Chaac (the god of rain). However, several studies concur that because of the number of symbolic elements that make up this figure, it is not always this deity, and therefore, it is preferable to call it the mask of the long nose or the large-nosed god.

⁵ The phases of the puuc style are Early Oxkintok, Proto-Puuc, Early Puuc, Junquillo, Mosaic and Late Uxmal. See George F. Andrews, *Los estilos arquitectónicos del Puuc, una nueva apreciación*, Colección científica (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1986).

⁶ Antonio Benavides, "Secuencia arquitectónica y papel político de Edzná, Campeche," *Estudios de cultura maya* vol. XXII (Mexico City: UNAM), 2002, pp. 53-62.

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The Art of Weaving in Caves

Elsie Montiel*



Campeche is a prodigious land. A glance at its history shows us a region rich in culture. The mark left by the ancient Mayans in innumerable archaeological sites narrates a majestic past; its capital, surrounded by pieces of walls and bastions, is a chronicle in stone of a time when pirates crisscrossed the seas terrorizing the cities and towns whose economic dynamism was clear for all to see. Its historic downtown's well preserved lay-out and architecture exists side by side with a modern city, offering a good example of what well-planned conservation can achieve. So, in many ways, Campeche is unique as a state. One of those ways is its production of items made out of jipi palm, products that at first glance belie their laboriousness and special attributes.

"Jipi" is short for the name originally given to the fine hats woven from a dwarf palm in the town of Jipijapa in Ecuador. These hats are made in several South American countries, but the largest center for production and export has been Panama, which is why they are known as "Panama hats."

Campeche's Calkiní municipality is the only place in Mexico where jipis are woven. The communities of Béal, Santa Cruz Exhacienda, San Nicolás and Tankuché —particularly the first— are famous for its articles made of jipi palm leaves.

To make crafts with this palm leaf, which used to be plentiful in the region, first a rigorous selection of plant seedlings is made before their leaves open up, since only the seedling, better known as the *cogollo*, can be used for weaving. Each plant produces three *cogollos* a year, and you need 10 *cogollos* to make a hat. A week before the artisans start working with them, the *cogollos* are processed with sulphur smoke and then put outside for the sun to

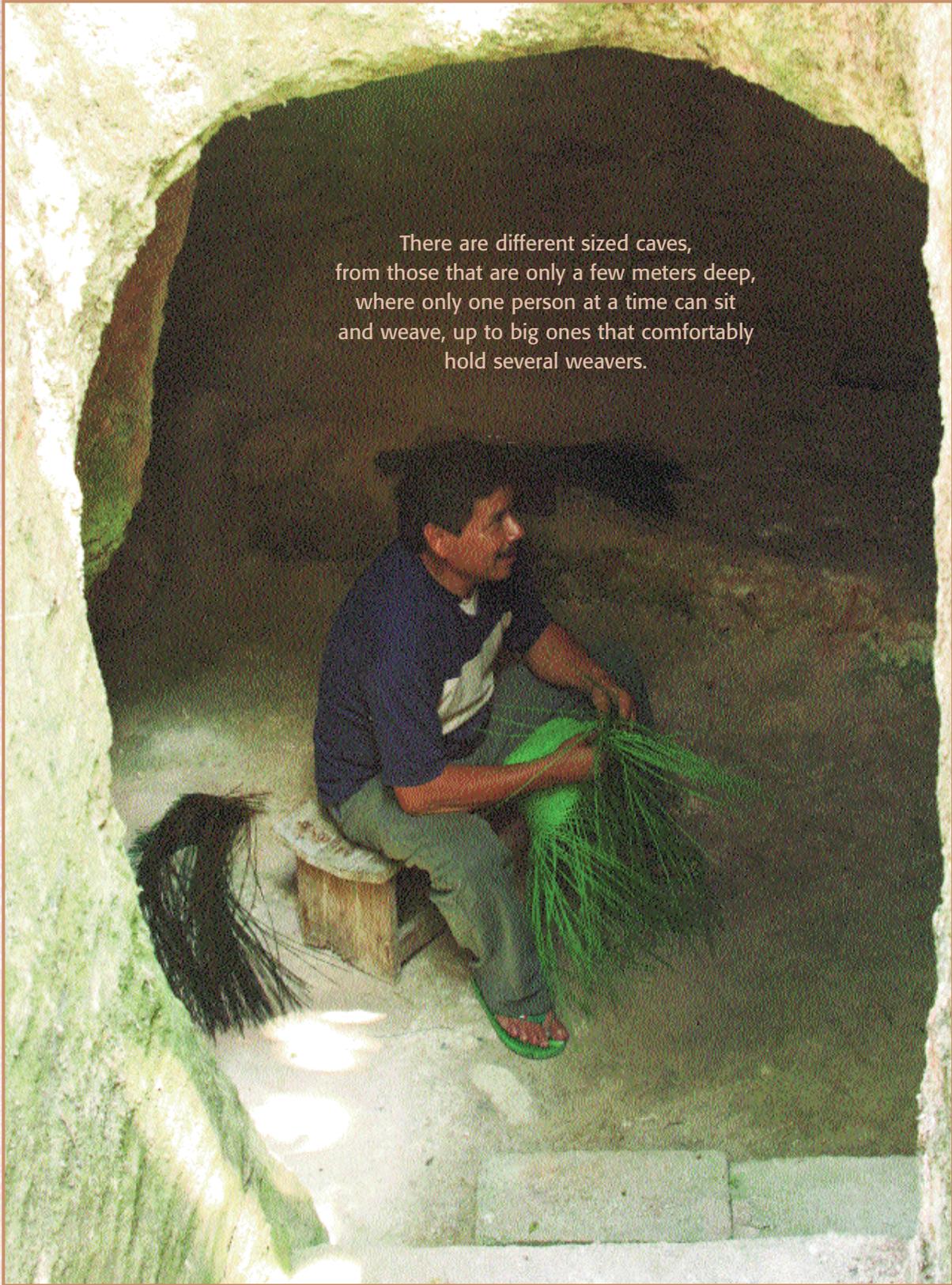
* Editor of *Voices of Mexico*.

Photo previous page: Jorge L. Borroto, courtesy of the State of Campeche Tourism Office (cto).



Mauricio Degollado

Campeche's towns of Béal, Santa Cruz, San Nicolás and Tankuché are the only places in Mexico where jipis are woven.



There are different sized caves,
from those that are only a few meters deep,
where only one person at a time can sit
and weave, up to big ones that comfortably
hold several weavers.



Photos this page by Elsie Montiel

The entrance to a cave.

Jipi can only be woven in natural or manmade caves, lit by reflected sunlight, since humidity and temperature are fundamental for handling the materials.



The cogollo.



The splits or "partidas".

bleach them white. Then, some of them are dyed with chemical or natural dyes, adding color and beauty to the final crafts. The jipi fibers must be extremely humid when woven to ensure that they do not break since they are very thin and narrow. They can be woven very fine so they are practically waterproof.

To weave it, the *cogollo* is separated into thin strands that can then be cut or “split” twice, three times or up to four times. The “split” is a longitudinal cut made on the palm leaf to get two, three or four “strings”. The refinement and difficulty in making a piece will depend on the thickness of the strands it is made with. Rita María, a weaver from Béal, explains it like this: “It is just as easy to weave a white palm as it is to weave a colored one. The difficult thing is weaving it when it is split very fine. Splitting is cutting with a needle. It’s called a ‘*partida*’ when it is of a natural thickness, but the splitting might divide the piece into two, three or even four lines, which makes the materials very fine, and the finer the split, the more days’ work it will be. A hat made of four splits takes us almost a month to weave. One that has only been split once takes a week.”¹

SETTING THE SCENE

The splitting, the curing with sulphur and the dyeing are the steps that have to be done before starting to work the jipi. But the most important—and at the same time, peculiar—thing is the place and working conditions: jipi can only be woven in natural or manmade caves, lit by reflected sunlight, since humidity and temperature are fundamental for handling the materials. As Rita María says, “You weave in those short times when there is a lot of light, when the sun comes into the cave. That’s when you do the finest work. You can’t use electric lights because they heat the place up and the slightest tug breaks the strands. The cave gives you the humidity you need. It can’t be too cold, either, because that also makes the strands brittle. That’s why you can’t use air conditioning either. The atmosphere has to be humid,



Jorge L. Borrero/cro



Jorge L. Borrero/cro

Weavers spend many hours sitting in the same position in very humid conditions, but the skill in their hands is clear as they continue moving with precision while they talk to the visitor.

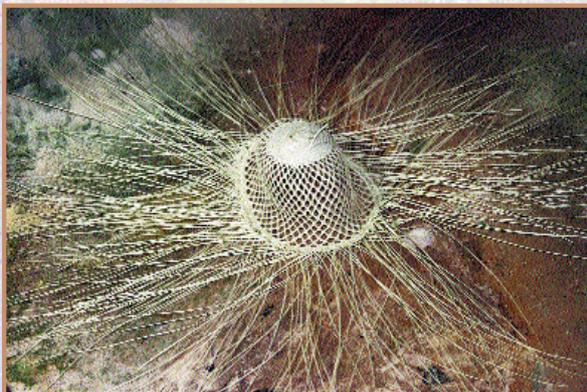
and the temperature right for working.” But once the piece is finished, it preserves the humidity. So, a well-made hat —or whatever piece has been woven— will be flexible and waterproof. It can be bent, pulled or wrinkled, and it will spring back into its original shape. This is a natural quality of the fiber, and it stays that way for the entire lifetime of the hat. And that’s not just any old thing these days.

The movement of the sun regulates the work day, the number of hours given over to weaving. “The sun’s reflection inside the cave is what helps us. If it’s cloudy, we have to leave.” Rosa María’s husband talks about his workplace like it was an office. “We go in, let’s say, at eight or nine. I get off at one to eat lunch and I come back in the afternoon until the sun goes down.” The work is tiring. They spend many hours sitting in the same position in very humid conditions, but the skill in their hands is clear as they continue moving with precision while their owners talk to the visitor.

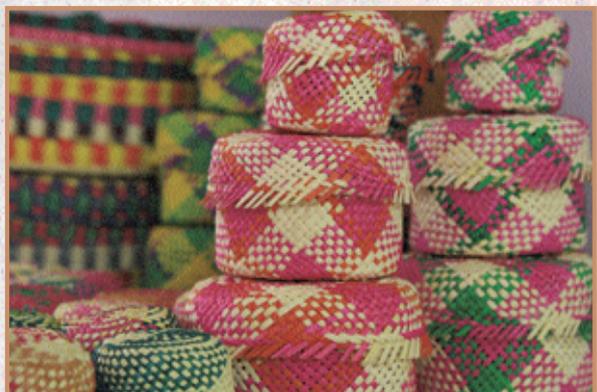
The quality of the pieces lies in the manual skill, the kind of palm and the design. Four-*partida* hats are the most difficult. “You weave and you weave and you don’t get anywhere because you have to tighten it at the same time and it gets tiny again. So you have to keep weaving until it gets to be the right size.” The four-*partida* hats cost between 1,200 and 1,800 pesos (US\$110-165), depending on the quality of the weaving. The cheapest kind of hat is woven from one-*partida* palm fibers, and costs about 150 pesos (US\$13).

The finished product is a round hat. It is later, in the press, that it is formed and given a size, which is when it is also decided whether it is a lady’s or a gentleman’s hat. The lady’s hat requires more effort because more design, cuts and molding go into it. Hats are the best known items, but they also make earrings, bracelets, rosaries, handbags and baskets of all sizes.

In Bécacal, jipis are a family business. Quite a few families have their own cave in their backyard, carved out of the *sascab* (also known as “decomposed limestone”), soft rock and limestone. Most family members know the secrets of the trade, or cooperate in one way or another. Of course, there are different sized caves, from those that are only a few meters deep, where only



Mauricio Degollado



Elsie Montiel

**The finer the split, the more days’ work it will be.
A hat made of four splits takes almost a month to weave. They also make earrings,
bracelets, rosaries, handbags and baskets of all sizes.**



An enormous fountain shaped like three hats in the town’s main plaza seems to remind visitors that the authentic Bécal hat has an original, exclusive touch that can only come from being one of the few articles that has defeated mass production.

one person at a time can sit and weave, up to big ones that comfortably hold several weavers. Sometimes, “they even have a TV,” as Rosa María’s husband says.

Like in all the manual arts, the skills are learned very young, handed down from grandparents and parents. At 11 or 12, children already know how to weave simple items. The town has weavers’ organizations, led by the women. “My organization started out with 50 families, but it’s we women who are responsible for turning in the work every week. Now there are 35 of us because, since they opened up *maquiladora* plants, several women went to work in them. My whole family weaves, but we women are the ones responsible for handing out the work to the group. That is, if a family is supposed to produce 10 hats in a week, we have to organize the weavers’ work in the family so that it’s finished on time.”

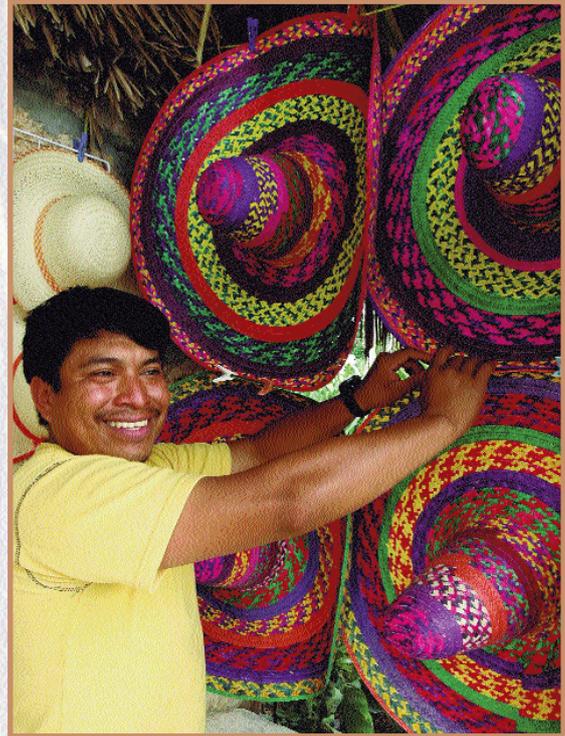
In Mexico, like elsewhere in the world, these tropical hats are very sought after, not only because they protect your head and keep you cool, but also because they look beautiful and elegant on whoever wears them. Globalization has not come to this municipality, however: *jipi* products are only sold directly in the local market because national and foreign trade is done through intermediaries. “Now there are different points of sale: a tourist area at the edge of town. During vacation times, tourists come into town, and we also get invited to go to tourism fairs and we sell wholesale, but we don’t export. The hats are sold abroad, but we don’t do that directly. Some people who visit us and are familiar with our work put in orders, but that’s not all the time.”

It is said that the jipi craft making was brought in the middle of the last century from Bécal,² by the García family to turn it into a traditional skill. Though the ups and downs of the craft economy has led many men and women to turn to other economic activities to survive, an enormous fountain shaped like three hats in the town's main plaza seems to remind visitors that the authentic Bécal hat has an original, exclusive touch that can only come from being one of the few articles that has defeated mass production. Not even with the most refined technology could these hats ever be made by a machine. **MM**

NOTES

¹ All quotes are taken from a personal interview with Rita María, a crafts-woman living in Bécal, on June 14, 2007.

² Bécal is in the municipality of Calkiní, about 100 kilometers from the city of Campeche, on the federal highway to Mérida.



Jorge L. Borrado/cro

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Between Water and Sky Astronomy and Calendars in *Edzná*

Jesús Galindo Trejo*



The Building of the Five Stories is Edzná's most emblematic construction. Its astronomical orientation was achieved using the basic principles of the Mesoamerican calendar.

INTRODUCTION

Located 50 kilometers southeast of the port of Campeche, the Mayan city of Edzná covers about six square kilometers of a vast valley flanked on the east, west and north by low hills. The valley is a plain bordering on the Champotón River. Be-

cause the lowlands were prey to flooding for large parts of the year, from pre-classical times, Edzná residents had to build an ingenious radial system of canals around the city for drainage and to harness the water for irrigation. Particularly noteworthy is a 12-kilometer canal that allowed them to store large quantities of water for use during drought.

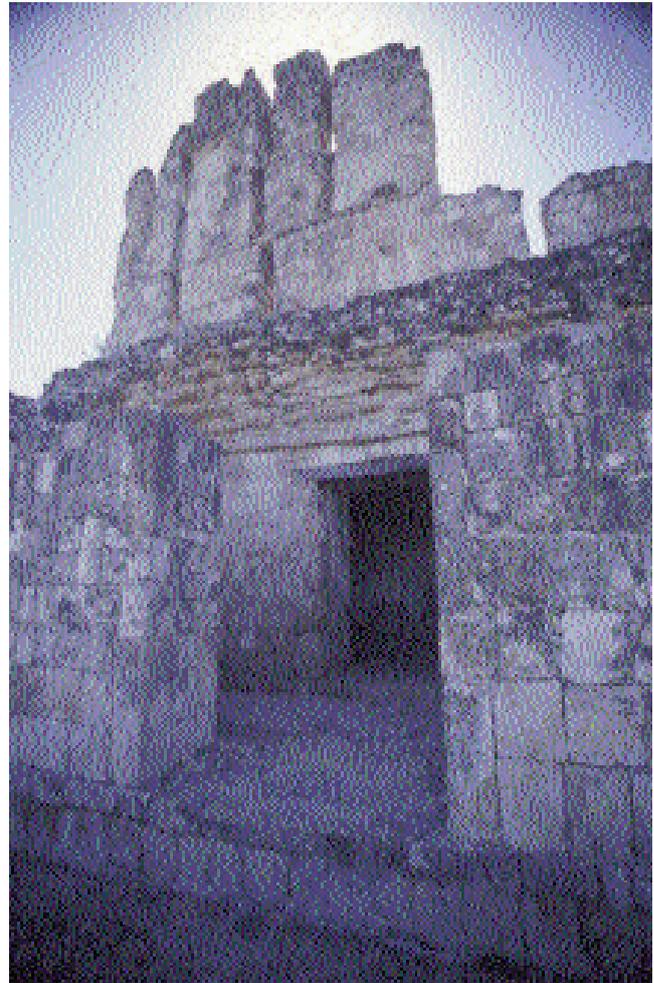
The first human settlements in the area date from 600 B.C. to 300 B.C. Between A.D.200 and A.D.550, building activity increased, and numerous great platforms were created

* Researcher at the UNAM Institute for Aesthetic Research.
Unless otherwise specified, photos by Jesús Galindo Trejo.

where buildings were erected, some in the style of the Petén region in Guatemala.

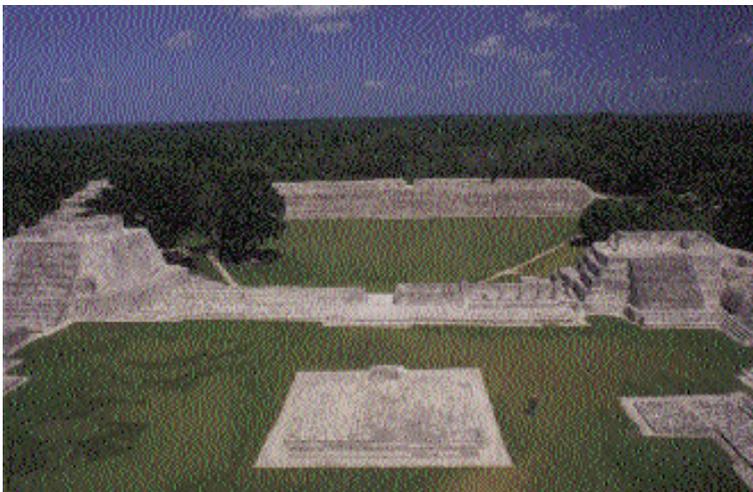
At the center of the city, inhabitants built a square platform measuring about 150 meters on each side around what is called the Great Acropolis. On top of the platform are no fewer than nine sumptuous buildings arranged around a central plaza reached by a broad stairway. The main structure of this impressive ceremonial acropolis is the Building of the Five Stories, a 40-meter-high pyramid with a quadrangular base and four staggered bodies made up of galleries of vaulted rooms. The upper sanctuary, with its cross shape, narrow roof combs and spacious portico, makes up the fifth floor, reached by a broad central stairway that runs along the length of the front of the building. To the west, toward the front, the portico has partially lost its vault, and only two rectangular columns remain of the façade. The central opening leads to a narrow room connected to transversal rooms at each end. On the east side of the sanctuary is another room without internal access from the west.

There is no longer any mural paint inside the sanctuary, except for the central piece made up of a string of stones that closes each vault in both transversal rooms. Part of the frame and the lower extremities of the so-called God K, richly attired, can still be seen on the stone of the south room. This is thought to be a depiction of Itzamná, the Great Lord of the Sky. A few calendar and numerical glyphs, 7 Ahau 12 Mac, can also be seen. All the designs are done in fine red lines. Un-



Roof combs on the western facade of the upper sanctuary of Edzná's Building of the Five Stories.

fortunately, given their state of preservation, on the stone of the north room, only the frame is discernable, also in fine red lines.



Edzná from the east, from the upper sanctuary of the Building of the Five Stories. On the extreme right (the north) is the Pyramid of the Old Sorceress.

THE CALENDAR-ASTRONOMICAL FUNCTION OF EDZNÁ

The geographer Vincent Malmström has suggested that Edzná was one of the most important centers for Mayan astronomy. Following up on information from Bishop Landa in the sixteenth century and the philologist Pío Pérez, he thinks that the beginning of the Mayan year may have been calculated considering the zenith of the Sun in a specific place. This implies that there is a fixed correlation in the Mayan calendar. Fixing that beginning at July 26, Malmström makes it coincide with the second time the Sun reaches its zenith in



The eastern facade of the upper sanctuary of Edzná's Building of the Five Stories, which suggests the importance of watching the sunrise on the days of alignment.

Edzná on that same day. He also points out that Edzná's latitude is $19^{\circ} 35'$, close to that of Teotihuacan ($19^{\circ} 41'$), suggesting that the two cities may have shared the same calendar-astronomical knowledge.

However, it should be pointed out that the Sun's zenith is actually reached on July 25 in both cities. Malmström explains this precisely because several scholars believe that Bishop Landa's date was off by one day. As proof that the Sun's zenith in Edzná was fundamental for calculating time, Malmström proposes that the thick circular column situated until recently on the small platform of the Grand Acropolis's Main Plaza, in front of the Building of the Five Stories, could have acted as the gnomon for registering the exact moment that the Sun reached its zenith.¹ He also determined the date when the building aligns with the sunset.² He found that the deviation from the axis of symmetry of the upper sanctuary with regard to the sky is similar to that of the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan, although the horizons are very different at the two sites. Therefore, he observed that the Sun lines up at sunset on August 13, revealing a direct correlation with what is called the creation date of the Mayan Long Count.³ Scholars place the date of creation in the year 3114 B.C., which Mayan tradition cites as the beginning of the current cycle of creation and time, making it one of the most important dates on the Mesoamerican calendar.

Also, Malmström suggests that the Building of the Five Stories should be considered one of the oldest lunar observatories in Mesoamerica, since, from its sanctuary, the position of the structure known as the Old Sorceress to the northwest of the site, coincides with

the point at which the moon reaches its extreme northern position every 18.6 years. This position is called the major standstill and is analogous to the extreme position of the Sun on solstice.

Using the measurement of the orientation of the sanctuary *vis-à-vis* the northern sky and taking into account the height of the local horizon, it can be proven that on April 29 and August 13, the Sun aligns with the sanctuary, coinciding with the dates of solar alignment in the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan. The importance of these two dates is that they harmoniously divide the solar year: 52 days after

the first alignment of the Building of the Five Stories, April 29, is summer solstice. Taking this date as the starting point, the 260th sunset occurs precisely on April 29 of the following year. The year is therefore divided in a 104/260 ratio. These numbers are very important for the Mesoamerican calendar, based on two different parallel ways of counting: one, based on the Sun, which gives us a 365-day year, and the other is the ritual one, made up of only 260 days. Both forms of counting began at the same time and coincided again after 52



Stela 1 shows a richly clothed Mayan sovereign holding a scepter which represents the God K. It also includes a Long Count date: A.D. October 13, 721.



Calendar and astronomical glyphs carved on the staircase of the Building of the Five Stories.

years, which is when the Mayans celebrated the arrival of new fire with grand ceremonies. That is, 52 is the number of 365-day years that must pass for the solar and ritual calendars to coincide so that fire can be celebrated again. In that same time period, the religious calendar will have gone through 73 260-day cycles. This system for measuring time was used for more than 2,000 years.

It is particularly noteworthy that this way of dividing the year is used equally for the dates that the Sun is aligned in the early morning, when the Sun comes up and lines up with the Building of the Five Stories. The fact that there is a room on the eastern side of the upper sanctuary shows the importance of observation. On February 12 and October 29 the Sun lines up with that room in the mornings. Here, the division of the solar year has the same 104/260 ratio, but in reference to the winter solstice.

This underlines the determination of the Mayan astronomer-priests to give this peculiar structure a great symbolic, sacred value, since everything related to time, like the calendar, was necessarily an attribute of the gods.

Taking into consideration the existence of the two painted stones in the sanctuary's vaults, we have studied the situation, to try to propose a probable additional meaning of the orientation of the stones in relation to the mural.

Historian Mercedes de la Garza describes God K, or Bolom Dz'acab, as a serpentine, usually anthropomorphic, figure commonly represented in the figure-topped scepter that many important Mayan individuals carved on the

stelas hold. The name given them in Yucatán, Canhel, is used in colonial texts for a large heavenly dragon that is a creator; this shows that God K and Canhel are one and the same. De la Garza indicates that the god seen on the scepter, one of whose legs is a serpent, seems to be Hurricane, or "lighting bolt of a leg," the Quiché god also known as "Heart of the Sky," which can be understood as "center or axis, essence of the heavens." The close link between God K and the deity Itzamná can be seen in the many images where God K is emerging from the two-headed heavenly serpent's maw. De la

Garza concludes that God K is one more facet of the supreme deity.

Taking into account that God K appears on most of the vault closing stones, we should inquire whether the two painted stones, placed inside the sanctuary of the Building of the Five Stories, might suggest some important event in the night sky in the direction the sanctuary faces.

For this search, we have selected the year A.D. 652, written in hieroglyphics on the stairway of the Building of the Five Stories, which preserves several signs with obvious astronomical significance. The appearance of the sky throughout that year has been analyzed. The celestial regions that become visible when the Sun goes down correspond in general to brilliant, attractive constellations.



Interior of one of the Building of the Five Stories rooms. Through the columns, some of the other buildings of the Great Acropolis are visible.

The axis of symmetry from the sanctuary crosses the Milky Way in two places: in the constellations of Orion and Gemini and in the Eagle. While in the first case the Milky Way is homogeneous, in the second, we can see a great bifurcation. Before lining up with it, the axis almost coincides with the position of the brightest star in the constellation Ophiuchus. David Friedel and his collaborators, on the other hand, think that the Milky Way represents the Cosmic Monster or Tree of the Crocodile (in accordance with the representation on Stela 25 at the Mayan archaeological site of Izapa in the what is today the state of Chiapas), where the great bifurcation makes up the monster's jaws delineated by the pale light of our galaxy.

From all of this, we can deduce that the direction indicated by the sanctuary's symmetrical axis points to the place in the heavens where God K emerges from the jaws of the fabulous celestial reptile, as can be seen in many representations of the ceremonial bars the Mayan sovereigns wore as a symbol of power. When we analyze the sanctuary's layout—and although we do not know for certain if the stone located in the north room also displayed the God K—we might tentatively propose that the arrangement of both figures, at the extreme north and the extreme south of the sanctuary, may correspond to God K himself, which can normally be seen on each end of the ceremonial bars. Another thing that



Eastern facade of the Building of the Five Stories.

shows Edzná inhabitants' worship of the heavens is the presence on the lower part of Structure 414 in the southern area of the city of two beautiful, giant multicolored stucco masks representing the Sun god Kin. Both have elaborate ear-plugs and elegant headdresses and are flanked on each side by stucco bands, the glyph representing the sky.

These giant masks are located on both sides of the structure's main stairway facing north, meaning that the Sun would never shine directly on them. However, twice a year, for a few seconds, they are illuminated from the side at a 90-degree angle. The Sun thus illuminates its image on Earth. This happens at sunset on two days close to when the Sun hits its highest point in the sky. However, it is difficult to calculate exactly which days this will happen because the structure is semi-hidden by foliage.

Near the southwestern tip of the Great Acropolis is a ball-game court flanked by two elegant parallel buildings that probably originally had vaulted rooms. The remains of two stone rings built into the two sides of the ball court are still visible, with their sculpted images of five rectangles next to each other on both faces that seem to radiate from a rectangle containing yet another rectangle. Some scholars have identified these designs as the glyph "*ollin*" or "movement". However, its shape—a star with five rectangular points—is more reminiscent of representations of the planet Venus found in Mexico's Central Highlands.

I would not like to conclude without saying something about the astronomical signifi-



The House of the Moon in the Great Acropolis does not seem to actually be related to the Moon.

cance of the name Edzná. Several meanings have been attributed to it: “House of Gestures,” “House of the Echo” and even “House of the Itzá.” But, if we take into account that in Yucatecan Mayan, the word “edz” means “to make fast or settle something,” plus what has been explained in this article, we can contribute another meaning, translating the name as “The House Where Time Is Settled,” or the place where the ancient priest-astronomers made things fast in the heavens.



Giant, multicolored stucco masks on Edzná’s Structure 414 represent the Sun god Kin.



The ballgame court, with its classical proportions and vaulted rooms along its side walls.

In conclusion, the study of advances in calendars and astronomy achieved by the city of Edzná illustrates how Mesoamericans, particularly the Mayans, were able to masterfully merge aesthetic values with concepts developed from careful observation of the heavens, leading to admirable manifestations of religious exaltation and of the domination of their natural surroundings, both earthly and celestial. The innumerable Mesoamerican archaeological sites whose creations are comparable to still-functioning clockworks testify to this. Sites like Edzná are cosmic clocks that untiringly mark the passage of man through time toward eternity. **NM**

NOTES

- ¹ A gnomon is the arm that registers the Sun on a sundial. It casts a shadow that changes position throughout the day and the year. In the case of a vertical gnomon in Mesoamerica, it will not cast a shadow at all twice a year when the Sun reaches its zenith, the shadow coinciding with its base.
- ² The alignment of a celestial body with a building can be defined at the time it rises or sets on the horizon, when the celestial body, some part of the building and the observer are all on the same line of sight.
- ³ The Mayan variation on the Mesoamerican calendar during the classical period is known as the Long Count. This system calculates the date in terms of the days passed since a mythical moment in the remote past. This beginning of the calendar, known as the creation date, corresponds to August 13, 3114 B.C. on the Gregorian calendar.

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The Bastion of Our Lady of Solitude Museum of Mayan Architecture

Alfonso Arellano Hernández*



This museum, with its collection of important examples of Campeche state's Mayan archaeological heritage, is housed in what was one of the eight bastions built along the great defensive wall completely surrounding Campeche city in the eighteenth century: the Bastion of Our Lady of Solitude, patron saint of sailors. The building was situated very close to what was called the Sea Gate, facing onto the Gulf of Mexico, one of the city's four access points. Today, it preserves part of the old wall, the sentry walkway, the turrets and the sentry boxes. The internal patio leading to the museum is also the access point for a ramp that goes up to the roof where the sentry walkway used to be. From there it is possible to see far out to sea as well as into the city that this structure once protected.



Portico of the bastion's main floor. Seventeenth century.



Room 3. Column, stela and tops of vaults from the Chenes region. Late classical period (A.D. 600-900).



Room 3. Stela 19, K'uhul Ajaw, the sacred lord of Edzná who came to the throne in A.D. 686. Puuc Region.



Room 1. Columns from the Xcochá and Xcalumkín archaeological sites. In the background is a stela from Itzimté. Puuc Region. Late classical period.

Many great men of Campeche have concerned themselves with preserving what remains of the past of the Mayan region. One of the most outstanding of these was Román Piña Chan. Thanks to his numerous writings and those of other researchers, it was possible to collect a significant number of pre-Hispanic Mayan sculptures, now exhibited in the port city of Campeche.

This collection was begun in 1958 in the Bastion of Our Lady of Solitude, near the Sea Gate. Most of the pieces came from the former San José Church, now a cultural center, and the archaeological work being done at the time. To ensure that the collection could fit in the building, it was remodeled in 1975, and by the mid-1990s, it looked like it does today. Four exhibition rooms, an office for the National In-

stitute of Anthropology and History Regional Center and a lecture hall were added.

The bulk of the museum's collection is sculpture from the broad gamut of the Mayan culture, which lasted for a thousand years and covered a wide region, producing many different styles. Among others, it includes pieces of different styles: Jaina (from the eastern Jaina coast); Campeche (from Champotón, Chunkán, Edzná, Sihó and Tunkuyi); Puuc (from Acanmul, Cansacbé, Chunhuhub, Halal, Itzimté, Kankí, Kayal, Xcalumkín, Xcochá, Scombec and Xculoc); Chenes (from Chunbec or Kutzá, Dzehkabtún, Dzibilnocac and Dzibiltún); Río Bec (from Nohsayab), and Petén (from El Palmar).

Almost all the sculpture comes from northern Campeche, except the pieces from El Palmar. There are stelas, columns, door frames, lintels, door-jambs, carved stones and giant stucco masks, although some works are also made of ceramic, bone and other materials. According to these characteristics, the works can be classified as from the late classical period, between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D.

* Professor at the UNAM School of Philosophy and Letters.
Photos by Víctor Alejandro Zapata Zetina.
Photos courtesy of the INAH-Campeche Museum's Department.

Sculptures in the Puuc style, specifically from the western region, abound, their most noticeable characteristics being carved porch entryways, columns on the facades with anthropomorphic images, texts written in hieroglyphics and glyphs used as frames.

The reconstruction of the access to the Xcalumkín Initial Series Building is particularly outstanding. This is a site recognized as one of the most important of the western Puuc area. It can be identified by its triple access divided by two pillars. These two pillars, its abacuses and the lintels they support have a long inscription on them, while another inscription runs vertically inside the vault almost until it touches the floor near the central axis of the doorway. The doorjambs display richly dressed figures with feathered headdresses, capes over their shoulders, necklaces, pectorals, bracelets, ornaments made of precious metals, shields

and a kind of ritual lance. Thanks to the hieroglyphics, we know that the building was built in the year A.D. 744, when it was dedicated with incense-holders. Three or four sculptors who carved the reliefs have been identified.

Another noteworthy example is Stela 45 from El Palmar, from the first half of the fifth century A.D. (A.D. 415-435). It shares the visual tradition of the Petén style from the early classical period (fifth and sixth centuries A.D.) given that the main side displays the figure of a dignitary who is diagonally carrying a ceremonial, two-headed staff. The individual's face and headdress are very worn away, but because of his general posture, we know that he was looking to his right; his slightly separated feet and legs can also be seen. The sides of the stela still contain a brief inscription explaining that this figure shed blood to invoke the gods Jaguar paddler and Stingray paddler (better known, by specialists as *remeros*).

Also from the early classical period is a giant stucco mask that may be from Halal. The deterioration of the relief prevents us from knowing



Room 3. Column with a depiction of K'awil, god of corn. Santa Rosa Xtampac archaeological site. Chenes Region. Late classical period.



Room 2. Representation of Kinich Ajaw, the Sun deity. Chunhuhub archaeological site. Puuc Region. Late classical period.

The bulk of the museum's collection is sculpture from the broad gamut of the Mayan culture, which lasted for a thousand years and covered a wide region, producing many different styles.

the identity of the figure, but it does confirm the widespread, continuous use of this kind of visual work.

Another important piece is Stela 5 from Jaina. Until today, five stelas have been found there, but they have been overshadowed by the fame of the many fine terracotta figurines from the same site. The stelas are an average of 50 cm across and 150 cm tall. They often show two figures facing each other, usually one seated and the other standing. Above them may be a brief inscription. The oldest seems to date from A.D. 652, and the most recent, number 5, from the eighth century. Another stela, without a date glyph, is decorated with a kneeling prisoner in profile, with his hands tied behind his back.

The museum also boasts pieces worthy of mention from Edzná, Cansacbé and other sites, pieces that all follow the canons of Mayan sculpture from the late classical period. I think, however, that given space limitations, it is preferable to focus on other monuments.

One of them is Stela 1 from Chunkán, rather uncommon among Mayan art in general. It is a small relief, possibly carved in the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D., judging by the iconography. It depicts an individual wearing ear plugs, a pectoral, wrist ornaments, a skirt and a loincloth and sandals. In his hands, he is holding an object that is unrecognizable today. His face is turned sideways, while his body faces the



Room 2. Corner giant mask representing K'awiil, god of corn and protector of the Mayan nobility. Miramar archaeological site. Chenes Region. Late classical period.

front. The remains of a brief inscription can be seen in front of his face. This work is important because its formal treatment announces a new style that would be much more schematic and in which the figures' bodies would be smaller than six times the size of their heads, with broad shoulders and hips contrasting sharply with slender torsos and waists. It should be noted that these traits can lead to the rather unfounded opinion that these are reliefs from the early post-classical period (from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries A.D.), or are somehow "decadent." Rather, this is an example of how the human body was represented in the coastal area between Champotón and Campeche. The same can be said of the Tunkuyí column, despite the fact that the site is inland, near Bolonchén.

The museum's most recently acquired monuments are the Itzimté stelas (eleventh century A.D.), exam-

ples of the innovation of presenting figures standing atop an enormous calendar sign. Despite this trait, they continue to adhere to the northern tradition of dividing the space of the composition into two or three sections, as can be seen in several cities of Puuc. The top area portrays past historical events; the central part contemporary events; and the lower part calendar signs and sometimes the figures of captives. It should be added that on occasions, the central figure is doing what is called the "Xibalbá dance," which can be observed in Itzimté.

This is a brief, general description of the wealth of sculpture offered by the Museum of Mayan Sculpture, crafted in the almost one thousand cities, now archaeological sites, identified in the state of Campeche. They are from the great regional styles: Jaina-West Coast, Campeche, Puuc, Chenes, Río Bec, Petén and Lower Usumacinta.

Each of the works in the museum is a faithful reflection of a period and a culture rich in material and spiritual achievements, with solid links between the past that saw them emerge from chisel blows and the present that never stops admiring them. It is our present which seeks to reveal the secrets and messages of that past which we know to be unique, original and, simultaneously, shared and universal. That is what Román Piña Chan and a long list of researchers who preceded us thought: they marked the way forward and it is our duty to not diverge from it. **MM**

Museo de arquitectura maya

Baluarto de la Virgen de la Soledad
(Museum of Mayan Architecture, Bastion
of Our Lady of Solitude)
Calle 8 s/número, Centro C.P. 24000
Campeche, Campeche
Telephone: 01 (981) 816-8179

ADMISSION AND SERVICES

The museum is open to the public Tuesday to Sunday from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Admission is 27 pesos and free for children under 13, students, teachers and seniors with ID. On Sunday, admission is free for everyone. A fee must be paid for using video cameras. The museum also offers the sale of publications, mini-guides and guided tours.

Andrés Henestrosa

Attentive to Detail and Combative

Silvia Molina*



1906-2008

I don't know when I met Andrés Henestrosa, but my first memory of him goes back to 1952, when I was about to turn six. For a long time after the death of my father, Héctor Pérez Martínez, the people who had been his friends and continued to be my mother's would come to the house for Sunday dinner: Andrés

and Alfa, Antonio Castro Leal and Nena, Luis Cardoza y Aragón and Lía, Rafael Sánchez de Ocaña and Refugio, Fernando Benítez and Antonio Acevedo Escobedo, among others.¹ I remember that that day, Andrés gave me a book for my birthday. My first book with a dedication: *Los hombres que dispersó la danza* (The Men Who Dispersed the Dance). My mother read it to me little by little at bedtime before I went to sleep. Legends and myths that for me were stories that I liked and that would be hard to forget, like the mystery of the words in Zapotec, incomprehensible for me, that Andrés would

* Mexican writer and winner of the Xavier Villaurrutia National Prize for Literature (1977) and the International Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz Prize (1998), given by Guadalajara's International Book Fair.

Photos in this section courtesy of DGCS-UNAM.

suddenly say to me as though I could understand him. And since, after all, I was a child, I would say yes and yes and yes and yes to everything he said, and he would die laughing.

Andrés was sweet and affectionate all his life. He was a warm, simple person, but profound, like any man who has felt the wind of the countryside and knows the sound of water in streams or the perfume of recently cut grass or the glance of a woman. He always called me “mijita”, my little daughter, and, like nobody else, he could tell me stories about my father, and I loved to have him near me. I would sit beside him as though he were a relative, and he would cradle me in his arms when I was tired, and then my mother would pick me up and put me to bed.

Over the years, we never lost touch: sometimes I would meet him for breakfast at Sanborn’s or I

He emanated internal strength
and goodness; he watched 101 years
parade before him with his inquisitive look,
as a witness and a leading actor in our
country’s cultural life.

would see him at his parties that enthralled me with the rhythm of the marimba, of the *sones* that his guests danced to and the colors of Alfa’s outfits or those of his friends or relatives. Cibeles was then a young girl with big eyes and a sweet expression like Andrés’s, though he never noticed my adolescence.

One day, many years later, I went to see him at his office downtown and took him my first published book, *La mañana debe seguir gris* (The Morning Must Continue to Be Gray). He received it as though it truly mattered to him that Héctor’s youngest daughter, the daughter of his dear friend, had become a writer. And when I joined the National Fine Arts Institute (INBA) National Coordinating Office for Literature, that he had headed up in 1952 when it was still the Literature Department, I called him to tell him that he should give

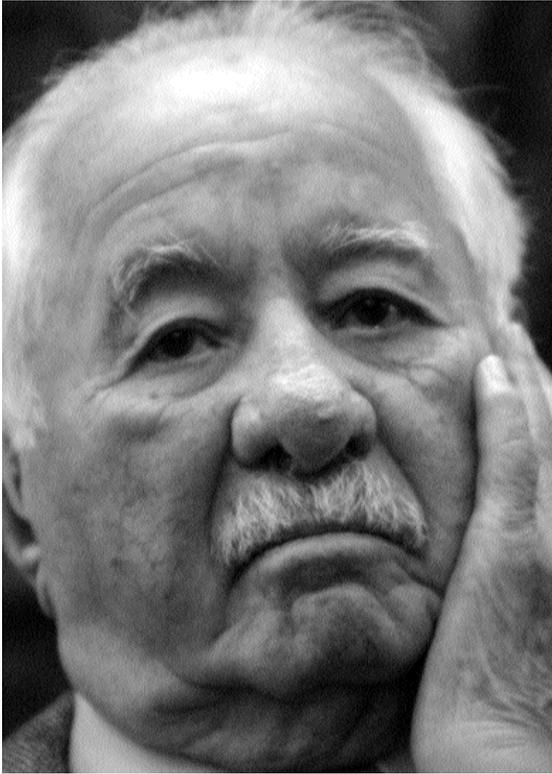
me his blessing so that I would do my job well. The first thing he said to me was that I should quit immediately and spend my time writing.

When I ran into him in a restaurant or café, he would introduce me to his friends telling an anecdote about his friendship with my father. He had met him in the National High School in 1924, and began seeing him more frequently in 1927, in the bibliography section of the Public Education Ministry’s Library Department, when it was headed up by Rafael Heliodoro Valle.

Andrés and my father started their careers in the world of letters together: both had been born outside the capital in 1906 and had more than a passing admiration for Benito Juárez. Both collaborated in *El libro y el pueblo* (Books and the People) and other magazines of the time. But it was not until 1929, when the *El Nacional* daily had recently been founded, that a life of camaraderie between them solidified definitively.

At *El Nacional*, their inseparable companions were Gustavo Ortiz Hernán, Luis Octavio Madero and Raúl Ortiz Ávila, with whom my father shared his column, called “Escaparate” (Showcase). All of them took their conversation from the newspaper’s copy room to the tables at the Broadway or the Café América because they were all men of letters and the topic never abandoned them. So, then Andrés became a José Vasconcelos supporter and began a journey that after 101 years is mythical: his relationship with José Vasconcelos and Antonieta Rivas Mercado, his stay in the United States, his foray into politics. Slight in one period and husky in another, Andrés walked easily among his people from Oaxaca and along the hallways of the Senate equally at ease.

Once, in a conversation, someone compared *Las manos de mamá* (My Mother’s Hands) by Nellie Campobello with *Retrato de mi madre* (Portrait of My Mother), both wonderful stories. And without any disrespect to Campobello, I rejected the comparison. Andrés’s book is the text of a writer in his prime, aware of his pen and his strength, contained, with literary instinct. It is perhaps the text that I have liked the best of all of his work, his classic, his zenith.



Only two weeks ago, Adán Cruz Bencomo gave me the volume that Miguel Ángel Porrúa published a few months ago with the collection of Andrés's legendary column, "Alacena de minucias" (Cupboard Full of Minutiae), and another work, *Henestrosa, nombre y renombre* (Henestrosa, Name and Renown), published by Diana on 2001, where he had put together a biography based on his direct experience of many years of friendship and devotion. I read them in one sitting without realizing how quickly I was doing it, and I was confounded by the effect reading his journalism had on me. It was as if I was discovering for the first time a voice that had already spoken to me a thousand times, charming me, hypnotizing me with its minutiae. I discovered in the whole a pleasant, clean, certain prose with extremely careful turns of the language, and, above all, I was amazed at the breadth of topics in his column.

As a whole, his "Cupboard Full of Minutiae" is a document that any student of letters or journalism or history should read to know not only something about the history of Mexican literature—with the advantage that this is not a textbook, but

an intelligent conversation about books, authors, styles, moments and periods—but also because it is a cultural history of Mexico's twentieth century. An unofficial history, free, playful, loving, curious. One learns and enjoys at the same time, taking pleasure in his sense of humor and acquiring a panorama of the country's development. But one also discovers this way Andrés's biography, his interests, tastes, concerns. It is there where he is most alive, where he does not hide behind his words, where there are no metaphors to hide behind.

He had lived so long that he was going to live forever. Frail, walking with difficulty in his last months, he still emanated internal strength, his goodness, his mischievous spirit, kind and intelligent. He watched 101 years parade before him with his inquisitive look, as a witness and a leading actor in our country's cultural life. A tree symbol-

Andrés was a warm,
simple person, but profound,
like any man who has felt the wind
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of water in streams or the perfume of
recently cut grass.

ized him: the *ahuehuete* conifer. Like it, Andrés was solid and long-lived. His pen had that strength that emanated from inside him and his long, long experience of life. I have just proven it to myself again rereading the collection of his column "Cupboard Full of Minutiae." *Retrato de mi madre* (Portrait of My Mother) and *Los hombres que dispersó la danza* (The Men Who Dispersed the Dance) are books that have accompanied and will accompany me always, like the arms that knew how to surround a little girl or that simply felt right at his side. ■■

NOTES

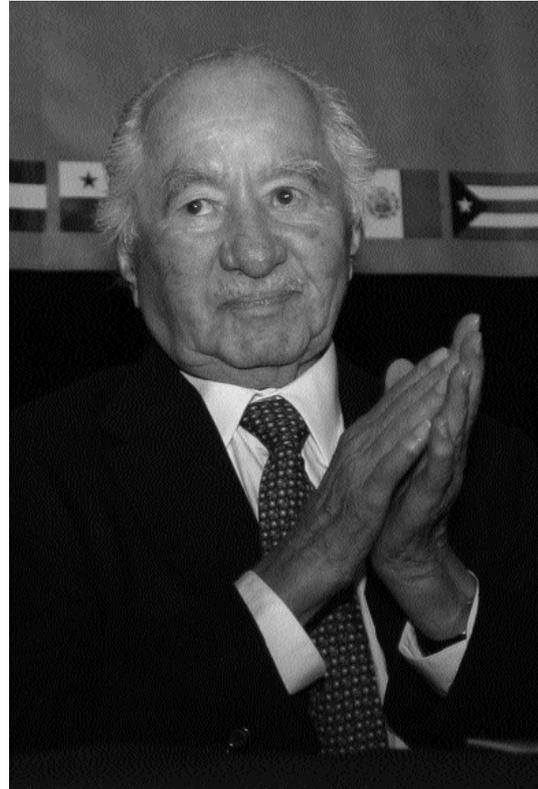
¹ Rafael Sánchez de Ocaña (Madrid, 1888-Mexico City, 1962) was a member of the 1898 generation, a lawyer, diplomat, doctor in philosophy, writer, journalist and professor at the UNAM School of Philosophy and Letters.

Meanderings and Memories Of Andrés Henestrosa

Dolores González Casanova*

In early December of last year, I went into the new Fondo de Cultura Económica bookstore where the old Lido movie theater used to be to look for Alejandro Rossi's most recent novel. I noticed a book on one of the tables of new arrivals: *Andanzas, sandungas y amoríos* (Meanderings, Revelries and Love Affairs) by Andrés Henestrosa. I went to look at it more closely, knowing that it had to have been put out by the publisher and designer Chac. And so it was. Henestrosa's book, beautifully illustrated with engravings by Juan Alcázar, had been prepared by Mariliana Montaner and edited by Chac.

I have loved and admired Don Andrés for at least 40 years. He always intrigued me. His image is emblematic: for me, like for so many others, he represents the values of Mexican culture. I relate him in my mind with Juárez, whose thinking he has made great efforts to transmit, and with indigenous cultures. With him, we have learned since childhood to respect what people are now calling cultural diversity; to know and appreciate



the indigenous languages, but also to know and love the Spanish language. The figure of Andrés, together with his wife Alfa and their daughter, Cibeles, appears in my memory and immediately brings a smile to my lips, a smile of joy, of thanks to life for having given me the chance to be near them.

I had been thinking a great deal about him, on his birthday, remembering the homage to him in 2001, when he said goodbye to the audience in the Manuel M. Ponce Room at the Fine Arts Palace saying that he hoped to see us all again in five years. I myself had had the intention once, when I worked in the National Council for Culture and the Arts (Conaculta) Wings and Roots for Children publishing program, of preparing *Andrés*

* Executive director of the Mexican-American Solidarity Foundation.

Henestrosa for Children as part of the children's poetry collection directed by Susana Ríos Szalay. Perhaps for that reason, I thought that this book was something similar. I couldn't help but feel somewhat upset with myself for not having done it. Now somebody else had beaten me to it.

But ideas are free, and the important thing was that the book existed, I thought, as I leafed through it admiring the etchings. I remembered the exhibition of Alcázar's work that Mariliana Montaner once organized in her home. That time, I fell in love with a canvas: it was a woman with a skirt decorated with mermaids—or fishes?—that I have never seen again and have never forgotten.

Standing in the middle of the bookstore, practically caressing the book, I realized little by little that this was something else, a different idea, a very different aim. It was not a collection of texts by a Mexican author to give children their start in reading. It was a series of Andrés Henestrosa's stories told through the pen of Mariliana. Naturally, I bought it. After a few days of having it, of leafing through it, of feeling it for what it is, something unique, a complete book, a gift for the senses, I began to read it and didn't put it down until I finished it. The truth is that it is barely 60 pages long, but at the end, you have the feeling you have read a novel that goes through the entire life of our character, Andrés Henestrosa. When you close the book, you are satisfied, left with the pleasure of having been by his side, very close to him, for many years.

As I went through the pages that I enjoyed reading immensely, I saw Andrés the child, the youth, the man, and his closeness to women. I took pleasure in literally listening to the voice behind the transcribed words. I could see the gestures of their author; I remembered the Andrés I know, who I have seen close up, since a visit to my parents' house, at a party in which the guests were offered a large clay pot full of red *mole* that Josefina, the cook, had come to prepare there several days ahead of time.

The young girl who used to take care of us—she was in charge of killing the turkey during the night, as my mother had asked her to so we

children would be asleep and not see the crime, to the horror of Beatriz, my younger sister, and my mother's being upset when we told her what had happened—went to wake us up to show us the recently executed turkey.

The day of the party, which I remember as one of the best of that entire time, my mother and Aunt Berta sang *La llorona* (The Weeping Woman) with Henestrosa. (That image has always stayed with me as a symbol of happiness.) Before that, my brothers and I had been hypnotized watching Andrés, standing in front of the table, eating a *mole* taco: he wielded the tortilla very ably. When he finished, he used it to clean his plate, and before the last mouthful, he also wiped his mouth with it. "Gee," my brother Joaquín said, "the tortilla as a plate, food and a napkin."

With Don Andrés,
we have learned to respect
what people are now calling cultural
diversity; to know and appreciate
the indigenous languages, but also
to know and love the Spanish language.

Now, with this book in my hands, I could look upon another facet of that Andrés, decipher it through its lines, aspire to know him. His stories, his lies—as he says—his histories showed me this man who understands women, enjoys their friendship and knows how to love them.

This book is not the *Andrés Henestrosa for Children* that I had imagined. What I have is, rather, the *Andrés Henestrosa for Ladies*, which is difficult to classify: a kind of erotic book for women, a book of good loving. An oral tradition testimony. A book of stories in which the reader navigates between fiction and memory. In effect, an authentic "unexpected gift," full of wisdom, magic, love and sensuality, where the beauty of the story reigns supreme.

Mariliana has understood how to let Andrés speak. When we read it we can be certain that we are there with him, that he is the one telling us

those stories. We can hear his happy laugh, hear his words that a directed only at us, his female readers.

And this brings me to another memory: once, a long time ago, I came across a little book by Andrés Henestrosa at home and began reading it. I remember it clearly. The cover, of course, was not the most appropriate: letters in different typesets and colors strewn across a white background. (I wanted to see how exact my memory was, but I couldn't find it again.) It contained a series of short stories and, I think, was named after one of them: "El temor de Dios" (The Fear of God). I liked it very much. In literature class, we had an hour a week of reading aloud. The teacher would select what was to be read and ask one of the students to come to the front of the room and read to the rest of us. One day, we asked her if we could pick

In the intimacy
of a small room, Andrés tells his women
readers, almost in secret, his erotic stories,
sometimes sad, sometimes tender,
and invites us to love life.

what we were going to read and she said yes. So, I proposed we read Henestrosa. The teacher, a Spanish Republican *d'une certaine âge*, said yes, that she was delighted, that she was very fond of his prose. My friends and I, with the arrogance of teenagers, laughed, thinking that she probably didn't even know who that writer was. I was convinced he was my discovery. I thought he was just a friend of my parents who I admired but who nobody else knew about, surely.

I practiced reading aloud. I asked my father how to read a text with swear words in it in public, and he said that I should read it very naturally, without emphasizing the words, since, if they were part of the text, there was no need to explain them. I started reading the story, standing on the schoolroom's platform. Miss Estrella, the teacher, came up behind me, as she used to do, grinding her teeth in my ears, and pointing with her finger

to the place up to where I should read. I thought that she had noticed already and that she wanted to stop me from continuing, but then I realized that it wasn't that. She was pointing exactly to the end of the dangerous sentence. Then the bell rang announcing the end of class. However, I continued reading in front of the silent, attentive group, and finished the paragraph with the following sentence: "Yes, if I rail against God, how much more should I rail against that bitch who gave birth to me, shithead that I am." Everybody was silent. Then came the teacher's slapping the book shut, and finally, general laughter. At home I said that it was all Andrés Henestrosa's fault that they threw me out of literature class.¹

Now, looking at *Andanzas, sandungas y amoríos*, I say that it is a book that we must fervently keep in order to be able to reread it. It is a work that we should be take pleasure in and enjoy. A book about love, about the small things in life, the moments that are soon gone, evaporated, but that give meaning to the days. Through its pages, the character talks to us, that character that we thought we knew and that we have to discover again. Mariliana has the ability to make us feel that it is to us, to each one of his readers, that Andrés is speaking. In the intimacy of a small room, with the Venetian blinds half open to let a little light in but not enough to hurt your eyes or inhibit you, Andrés tells his women readers, almost in secret, his erotic stories, sometimes sad, sometimes tender, and invites us to love life, to learn to laugh, to be joyful.

Like the Juchitecas, the women he most admires, Andrés Henestrosa tells us "naturally," "without prejudices of language or of attitude, about his love life." And in this book, he transmits it to us "openly and freely." Even if he may have only been pulling our legs. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Our readers can enjoy this short story in this issue of *Voices of Mexico*. [Editor's Note.]

The Fear of God

by Andrés Henestrosa



It wasn't ghosts, or dark shapes, or mysterious noises in the night, or phantoms, or dead people or live people or the Devil; it was God who frightened me in my childhood. Yes, the wind, banging against the doors, whining through the cracks, pushing to come in through the crevices, circling the house, did used to frighten me; but it was a passing fear. The howling of the dogs that I learned to identify with the reason that had caused it also disquieted me at one time or another, but precisely because I knew what caused it, I soon forgot it and went back to sleep. I could never see what the dogs could see; that's why even if a man knows the reason for their howling, he can stay calm because the thing that is the most frightening is what comes in through the eyes. The Indians say that for a man to see the same thing the dogs see, he has to put the slimy stuff that comes out of the animal's eye on his own eyes, but I was always afraid of all that and I never dared go beyond my own strength. I knew people who had done it, and some people I used to know told me staggering things.

Soothsaying birds, because they could foretell the death of my elders, were something I avoided, and I would sing or whistle at night so I couldn't hear them or to frighten them away. The bittern, the owl, who foretold the death of the Indian, and who sang all year round but we only heard and believed when somebody in the family was dying. So, a sad outcome, proof that when the owl and the bittern sing, Indians die. But none of this was what I was terrified of. It wasn't the visions either, visions that always tend to come when you're near death, particularly from those diseases that are fatal in and of themselves. One of those diseases that kills you from the moment it becomes clear you have it, even if you keep walking around with it. I know of men who died suddenly and just a little while

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Drawings in this section by Héctor Ponce de León.



beforehand saw extraordinary things: the thing was that they were already inhabited by death; they were already wandering in another world, and they barely had enough time to relate their visions.

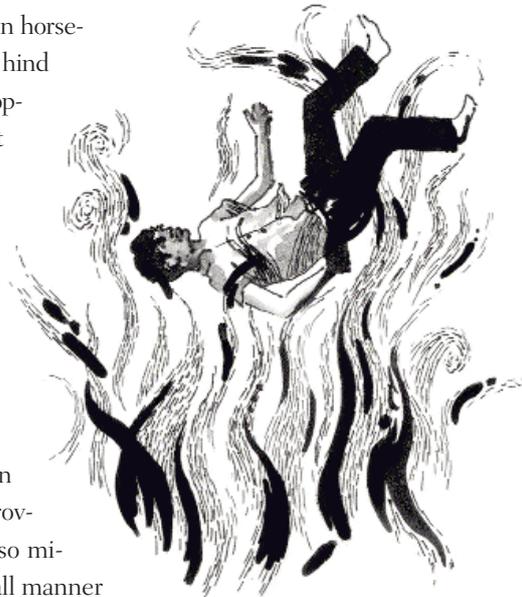
“Why do they let Hono wander around the mountains at that time of night?” asked Checú Cueto one day.

Checú was a man incapable of fear, incapable of lying. And we all ran to make sure that Hono was quietly sleeping in his hammock.

“But I saw him,” said the man.

Four days later Checú Cueto died. The thing was that death ruled over him from the day he got sick.

None of this that I heard day after day gave me anything but a passing chill, a momentary fright. What frightened me when I was a child was God. I even thought I had seen the ballsy Devil, his testicles enormous, sitting at the foot of the hills or running away through the mountains, brushing aside the branches with his hands or herding cattle, imitating cowboy tunes. I have pursued the fairies that I now know were hares, disfigured by the shadows and superstitions, on horseback by the sea, among the tall grass, almost on their hind hooves, white to make them taller, to get closer to the popular idea that they are little men in white pants. But none of that frightened me. Before I was twelve, I could calmly cross atria, cemeteries and graveyards. What frightened me was God. But it wasn't the God that I heard lived in heaven who frightened me, who I imagined to be huge with a long, solemn white beard, all-powerful; not the God who was the creator of Heaven and Earth, or even the implacable God of the flood, but a God who was just mentioned, whose name had barely been read in an image that my mother had on the ranch: a Divine Providence who reigned on an altar. An image that was so miraculous that it had power in everything: it cured all manner



of diseases; it returned lost pigs to the sty, stolen or lost steers to the corrals. It was a stamp that had God in the center and to the sides, different scenes and really chilling legends. The scenes depicted the death of a just man, the death of a sinner, among other cruel things. And to the sides were texts that warned that God sees everything, knows everything, hears everything. Why, I have asked myself now that I am a man, now that I am incredulous, that I haven't the minimal concern about religion, does the Church cultivate the conscience of sin so painstakingly? It does it, I have told myself, to survive, because without that, could it lord it over people's consciences?

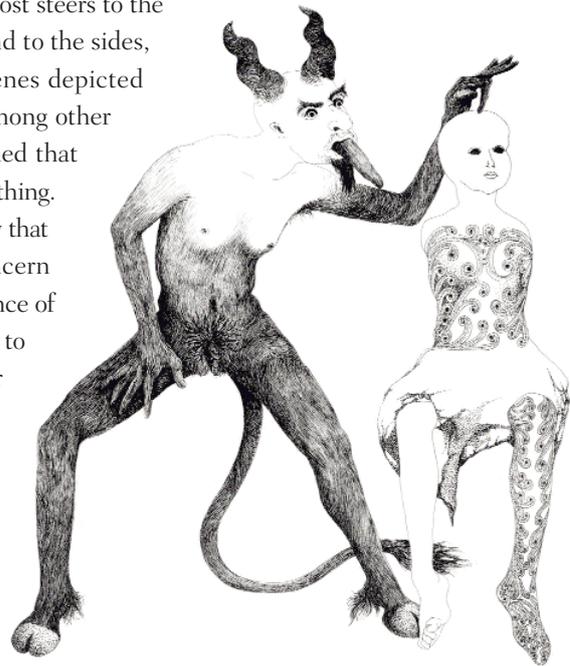
"Devils are to be pitied because they don't see the face of God," old Vale, a servant in my house, used to say. But the thing is that we didn't see him either, though we did see his works: his great sunsets, his full-mooned nights, just like the day except the moon doesn't warm you. If God saw everything, knew everything, heard everything, where could you go that he couldn't chase you? I owe it to this God that I did not engage in solitary pleasures, that I did not lie, that I obeyed and respected my mother, who was his image in her rigor, her sense of justice, her implacability when the time for punishment came along. From a very young age, I had knowledge of women, which I never under any circumstances thought was a sin, having seen so many animals and people engendered, who, nevertheless, continued to be faithful, pious and protected by God. They also had relatives and brethren who blasphemed, who turned against God at the first adversity, in the minimal moments of difficulty. Tomás Dávalos, a federal soldier who stayed in my hometown when the Revolution came, used a string of curses and blasphemies that, after hearing them so often and seeing that he wasn't struck down by lightening, ended by lessening my fears. One day, hearing him rail against his own mother, I said to him, "Tomasito, when you get mad, you even rail against your mother."

And he answered right back, "Yes, if I rail against God, how much more should I rail against that bitch who gave birth to me, shithead that I am."

Teodoro Morales, my uncle, who we affectionately called Dooyo, had a Saint Rafael on his altar. Whenever we would go camping, that is, walk around the clearings, fields and pastures where the cattle grazed, or lasso cantankerous or wild steers, all jobs involving danger, he would go to his altar and say aloud, amidst truth and lies, "Saint Rafael, protect me because you're my bitch!"

And since he never died while he was praying for this, I ended up by overcoming the presence of the Divine Providence in my house, more than my faithful shadow.

But, how and when I managed to escape from that prison, I don't know. The truth is that one day, when I was more grown up, after a rough battle, I knew that I was the central player in my life. Not being a sinner, but, to the contrary, a god-fearing man, everything I achieved cost me sweat and tears. In the middle of the night, lost in immense loneliness, my heart constricted by suffering, I suddenly saw a cloud form and grow and grow in the sky, and a wind come up smelling of wet earth, and an enormous clap of thunder rip the entrails of the night and the merciless rain pour down. And there it was a matter of being cold, and dodging the lightning bolts with prayers and signs of the cross. Or a highwayman or a revolutionary would ask for your horse and saddle



and leave you—a mere child— on foot 20 leagues from home. I was still alive, it's true; but not because anybody had helped me. And the fear of God gradually left me. When in danger, the times I thought I was in the most danger, I would take up his name again, his image. I would put myself into his hands, but I did everything I could to get out of danger. I never thought about death until a short time ago. Dying wasn't really a problem. What was a problem was life; that I know was in order. Dying never frightened me as I gradually stopped believing. It was the punishment that was waiting for me. I saw the sinner's death scene, his arrival in Hell amidst the flames. O God, how you tormented me!

Our faith, our ordered life, was not enough to arrive at the greatest of miseries. We left the ranch. And when we left, we left the image of the Divine Providence behind on the altar.

Once in a while, on the way from a ranch further away where we moved our few belongings, I would stop at the old house, full of bats, of owls, of reptiles, in short, of frights. A stearin candle



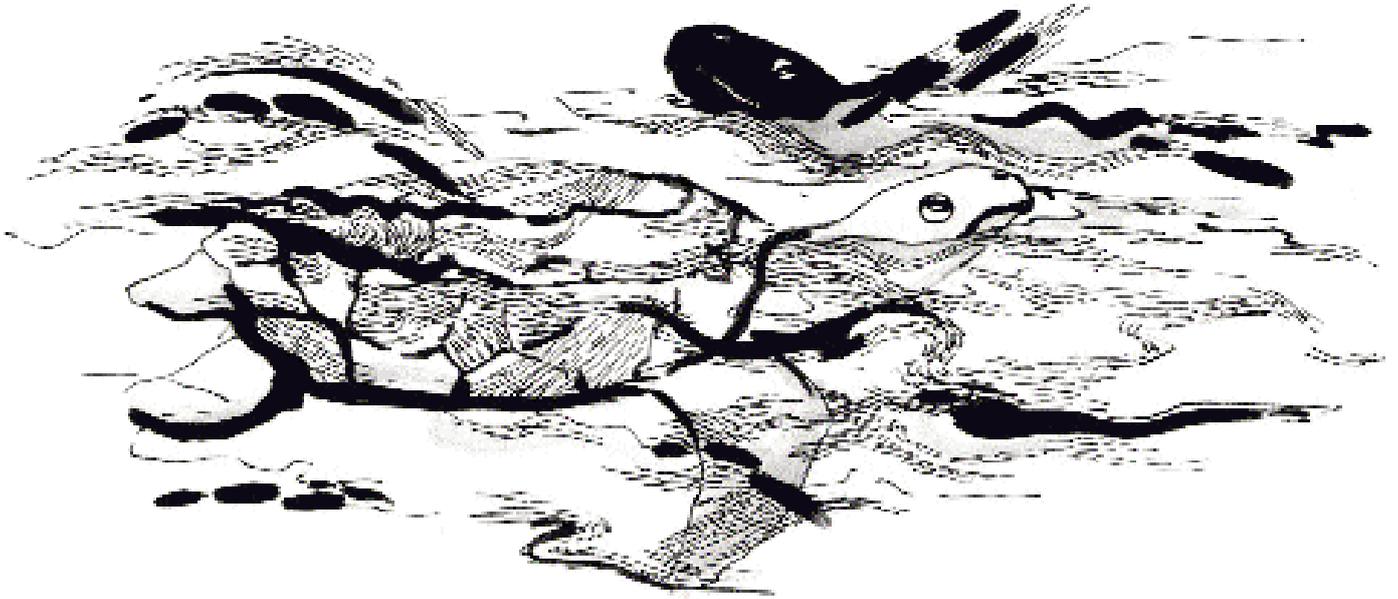
that was always in the candlestick holder helped guide me through it to find the odd dish or just to take a look at the humble home of my childhood. A silence that seemed to make waves, that seemed to speak, filled the abandoned house. One night, after a long, hard day, I stopped off at Rancho Nuevo, which was its name. I lit the candle. The terrible silence was illuminated, crouching in the corners. I peeled the husks off some pieces of corn; I cut the kernels off into a bag and went out into the nearby pasture to look for a relay beast. While I was outside, perhaps the beating of a bat's wings or a gust of wind or one of the reptiles I mentioned toppled the candle onto the image of the Divine Providence, so that when I came back inside, I found it half burned. I don't know where the devil I got the desire to laugh, and I laughed with a vengeful laugh: I laughed at seeing the image that had frightened me so much turned into a smoky plank of wood.

Astride my horse, I continued on my way and I never saw God bigger, fuller of stars, sweeter with rumors, closer to me than that night.

The nocturnal birds sang a song that was not at all a plaint, but praise; the stars trembled in the sky and the moon, a minute solitary island, floated among silver clouds. The sea sang a pleasant song. And I rode, with no other goal than the dawn, to be able to watch the sun coming up, which I supposed clearer than ever, fuller of blessings. **MM**

The Tortoise

by Andrés Henestrosa



Clean, shiny like the water where it lived, and prettier than if it had been made to order, in the early days of the Christian religion in Iztaxochitlán, the tortoise served as an offering to Saint Vicente.

There were big ones and small ones; one kind, a little yellow, the other, very, very black. Both slid under the fresh water and the salt water, and every so often raised their heads above the surface to get a little air. They went onto land once in a while, leaving a trail of whimsical marks that Zapotec women would later copy onto the embroidery of their skirts and *huipil* overblouses.

The men would go out on religious anniversaries, holidays they observed, looking for them, and, both on land and in the water, they would catch them with their hands.

Clumsy, it's true, the same a few days ago as the day after tomorrow, placed at the foot of the altars, a flame had to be put to its tail—that wasn't so short then—which was the way to tame it, so that it would move upward less slowly by its own

slowness toward the saint. And it rose spreading meekness. Sometimes it kept its head, its feet and its tail inside its shell, but then its martyrdom was worse; it was as though it came out of the coals to fall into the flames: they forced it even more cruelly.

One day Saint Vicente took pity on it and, before the trepidation of the faithful, came down the two steps of his altar to raise it up; the tortoise, bashful, pulled in its head and from inside begged the saint to make it ugly so no one would pursue it.

And Saint Vicente the miraculous, without a word, made its eyes big and its head flat and pointy; and put his hands carelessly on its shell, changing it.

Ugly, with a shorter tail, it came down the steps and slowly returned to the water.

No one offended it again. But, even today, when you meet it, secure in its ugliness, red with embarrassment, it inclines its head and pulls it in like that time it pulled it in in front of Saint Vicente. ■■■

Reviews

La seguridad nacional en México y la relación con Estados Unidos

(National Security in Mexico and Relations with the United States)

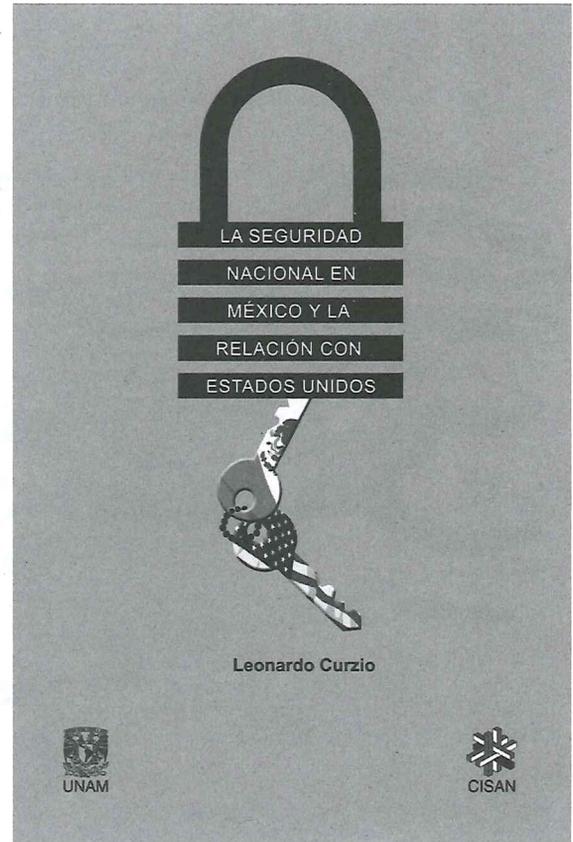
Leonardo Curzio Gutiérrez

CISAN-UNAM

Mexico City, 2006, 182 pp.

One of the most frequently mentioned themes in political and academic literature is national security. This is not mere chance if we think about the interest the topic creates: when someone mentions that this matter or the other is a question of national security, it gets the attention of the listener almost immediately. So, for the interested reader, it has become a challenge to find trustworthy, professional sources contributing valid elements for analysis that do not get lost in a sea of meaningless points.

Fortunately, we can say there is a new trustworthy source: *La seguridad nacional en México y la relación con Estados Unidos* (National Security in Mexico and Relations with the United States), by Dr. Leonardo Curzio, published recently by the UNAM's Center for Research on North America (CISAN). It is destined to become an obligatory reference book for scholars of



the topic since it combines simplicity and complexity very well while presenting us with a panorama of Mexico's national security.

In its six chapters, the book goes from the explanation of the basic concepts to the most complex ideas about the present and future of the Mexican case, covering along the way the most outstanding authors on this issue in our country and abroad.

It is precisely the book's methodology that makes it attractive: little by little it accumulates the analytical tools needed to clarify the issues it takes up until, at the end, the reader realizes he/she has before him/her a solid, clear panorama of Mexico's national security and its role in our relationship with the United States.

Starting with the introduction, the author says that the most important thing for our country in this regard

is the clarity the governmental sphere must bring to its relationship with organized groups and the general population, given that the non-transparency of the idea and practice of national security has made the topic alien and even frightening for some sectors of society. It is only recently that the systematic and even excessive mention of security has begun to diminish the distancing from something that is actually very pertinent to the population at large. This is because the state must guarantee citizens' lives, property, the territory they live in, food, etc.; in other words, national security is something that cannot be taken away from the members of the nation.

In the first chapter, "Las opciones de México" (Mexico's Options), the author analyzes the last two decades of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first. He examines in detail the factors that led our country to go from a nationalist, autarchic, quasi-xenophobic model to a cosmopolitan nation with open borders and without tariffs. All of that has not only changed the material conditions of Mexicans and the country's political structures, but has also forced us to reformulate the way we relate to each other and —what is even more important— to reconsider the model of the nation we are, what we are and what we want to be.

With this as background, in the second chapter, "Estado, soberanía y seguridad nacional" (State, Sovereignty and National Security), the author takes the reader through the analysis of the concepts usually utilized to study national security. He clarifies a panorama that might otherwise be unintelligible and contributes the information needed to understand the role played by the state, the nation, sovereignty and security itself. Thus, at the end of this analysis, we can conclude that Mexico needs to reformulate its national project to be able to firmly define its national security.

Thus, with historic and conceptual foundations firmly established, Leonardo Curzio begins the inductive analysis that goes from "Seguridad nacional de México" (Mexico's National Security), chapter three, to "Los tres planos de la seguridad: el nacional, el bilateral y el hemisférico" (The Three Levels of Security: National, Bilateral and Hemispheric), chapter four. Along the way, he examines things like what prerequisites the concept of national security must fulfill in order to be assimilated and supported by the nation as

a whole, like being: 1) socially acceptable; 2) politically correct; and 3) culturally unifying. He also points out that the quest for security must be carried out around national objectives that must be both clearly established and organized into three categories: 1) vital; 2) political organization and the state; and 3) social. These objectives must be lined up around the satisfaction of national interests, which are classified as 1) vital; 2) critical; and 3) serious.

The result of applying this conceptual apparatus to our country is a diagnostic analysis of the vulnerabilities that make Mexico suffer from severe deficiencies and face security challenges. This study is one of the things the reader will appreciate in this book.

"Security is something that is valued when it is lost," writes the author when analyzing current relations in security matters among Mexico, the United States and countries of the Western Hemisphere in general. He clarifies why Mexico and all the nations of the hemi-

The Mexico-U.S. security agenda,
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sphere lack common security reference points and how this fosters the preponderance of unilateral policies, which has made all attempts at coming to an agreement fail, especially since September 11, 2001.

For all these reasons, the Mexico-U.S. security agenda, dealt with in chapter five, seems to be forgotten, since domestic political issues in the United States and its war against terrorism have more weight than the need to broaden and deepen cooperation with its neighbors and trade partners.

Finally, chapter six explains why there is an "Elogio de las diferencias" (In Praise of Differences) in North America, and brings us face to face with the fact that, even though we have everything we need to be more than just trade partners and to advance in building a unified region, even in matters of security, Mexico, the United States and Canada have instead become bogged

down in the false security-prosperity dilemma. This means that the challenge is to understand security not as an individual and national matter, but as an opportunity to create a region whose members can overcome their deficiencies and successfully take on the challenges. So, for our country, the task is to find the arguments and carry out the policies needed to convince the United States that we are indispensable in the North American regional security equation.

This book has what it takes to have an important impact in its target area of studies: simple but at the same time profound language; a tight-knit but broad historic vision; a sophisticated but pedagogic analysis; and something no less important, which is that its ideas

are clear and certain at the same time that they border on the polemical. The content and references are so learned that the schools where future national security analysts are being educated would do well in using it as a textbook. ■■■

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Writing Toward Hope. The Literature of Human Rights in Latin America

Marjorie Agosín, ed.

Yale University Press

New Haven and London, 2007, 639 pp.

September 11, 2001, very much alive in the world's memory today as a dramatic date is, in fact, historically speaking, the "other" September 11. In its death-marked tragic nature it was preceded, in 1973, by "the day the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende was toppled by Chilean military forces, backed by the intervention of the CIA." This date also marked the beginning of a period in Latin America to which the present book bears witness by compiling a wide range of different writings, poignant testimonials of (un)known moments of anger, courage, fear, truth, justice, peace and, of course, hope.

A book such as this one constitutes an assertion of the intrinsic need, more so than ever in these, our post-September 11, 2001 times, to activate the politics of memory in unprecedented directions. One of the core messages of *Writing Toward Hope* is, indeed, the urgent need to address selective historical amnesia.

As editor Agosín states with great clarity of purpose in the introduction, "This anthology presents an impor-

tant group of literary voices specific to Latin American culture. The voices are varied and from many countries, but they have much in common. All respond to an understanding that collective history is an experience that affects all citizens dominated by authoritarianism and fear. All share an ethical and artistic vision born of the peculiarities of political violence and social injustice. The clear understanding that the personal is political and historical is one of the principal components of this literature which denounces through realistic and direct rhetoric or through ambiguous and subtle poetry."

It seems *à propos* that in these times, riddled with overt and subtle new forms of sustained and reiterative fear, at present no longer circumscribed solely to Latin America, having reached, on September 11, 2001, further north into the American hemisphere, that these writings are now being made available to the reader, lured by a single yet highly charismatic concept: "hope."

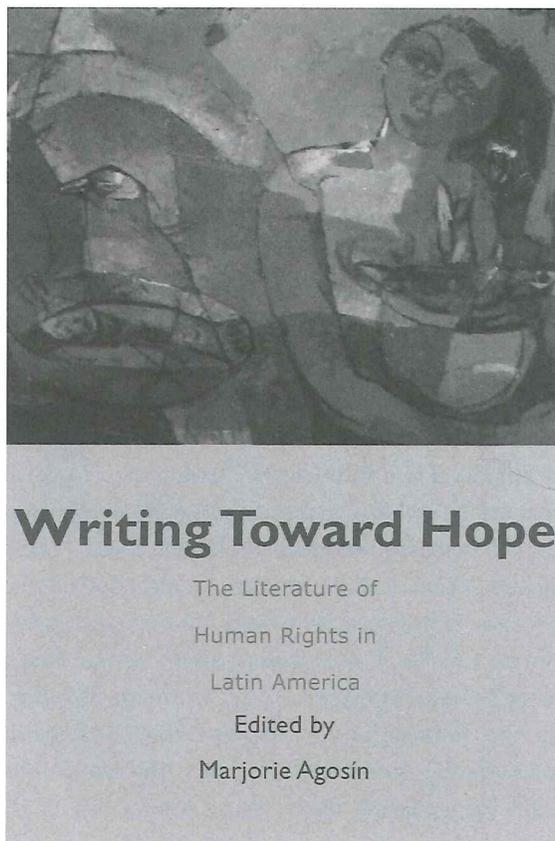
It seems relevant as well as significant today to have access to a compilation that aims to bring together a wide range of texts that are, in one way or another, centered on human rights issues (implemented, in case we have forgotten, "by a group of Western nations in response to the moral crimes that occurred during World War II") through literary and testimonial prisms. For at

the time of these various writings, we are reminded, literature “gained a sense of urgency and became vital, an act of courage and denunciation, of resistance and hope.”

These moving first-person autobiographical-poetic-political writings are rooted in pain and suffering, common denominators for the human condition, yet—and this is clearly the axis of the anthology’s intentionality and one of its outstanding features— what emerges with fresh clarity is the intensely perceived presence of pristine sentiments, a testimonial urgency to share bare and irrefutable truths and, of course, the deeply bonding text(ure)s of hope.

Particularly striking, too, is the transformative agency of subjects exposed to pain, torture, to the most degrading of experiences, yet still able to win the hardest battle of all: within and against their own impulse to react with fear and, above all, with hatred. Excerpts included, such as those by Chilean Gladys Díaz Armijo, for instance, are highly revealing. Díaz Armijo, working for the clandestine newspaper *El Rebelde* (that provided inside information, via Mexico, outside Chile), was detained in February 1975 and held prisoner for two years, three months of which she spent in Grimaldi: “Yo estuve en la torre de la Villa Grimaldi, y de la torre soy prácticamente una de los poquísimos sobrevivientes. Casi todos los detenidos que pasaron por allí están muertos” (I was in the Villa Grimaldi tower, and I am practically one of its very few survivors. Almost all those detained who went through the tower are dead.)

Díaz Armijo’s writings included in this volume shed interesting light on how pain and fear can, in fact, become a shortcut to hope and personal inner spiritual development. As she herself explains, “En Villa Grimaldi se despertó en mí una capacidad de amar impresionante. O sea, la tortura, con todo lo brutal y horrorosa que fue, la relativicé sufriendo más con la tortura de los otros. A mí se me produjo un fenómeno que supongo es de crecimiento interno y que sólo he venido a entender ahora: soy capaz de ponerme en el lugar del otro, de integrarme” (In Villa Grimaldi an amazing capacity for living awoke in me. That is, I was able to relativize my torture, as much as it was brutal and horrendous, by suffering more with the torture of others. This produced something in me that I suppose has to do with internal growth and that I have only now come to understand: I am capable of putting myself in the shoes



Writing Toward Hope

The Literature of
Human Rights in
Latin America
Edited by
Marjorie Agosin

The testimonial, historical, social, aesthetic and literary contents of *Writing Toward Hope* have an immediacy that powerfully touch the underside of pain, the underside of fear—the underside, too, of hope.

of the other, of integrating). This may well bring to mind Susan Sontag’s now oft-quoted words: “No ‘we’ can be taken for granted when the subject is observing another’s pain.” In Díaz Armijo’s case, a bonded “we” was created through the fusion of the others’ pain with her own.

Writing Toward Hope is a substantial, 639-page anthology, the contents of which are suitable for a variety of different academic courses across several disciplines, in addition to being very good reading. It is conveniently divided into eight sections, for each of which there is a brief introductory text that facilitates the different thematic segments to be dealt with separately. The titles of each of these sections are inviting

in their conciseness: I-Bearing Witness in the Dark; II-Guardians and the Guarded; III- Voices of a Silenced Memory; IV- Where Fear Nests; V- Memory and History; VI- Exile; VII- Women Have the Word; VIII-Writing Toward Hope. Also included are some vivid artwork color plates and brief biographical and explanatory notes on each of the participants.

This anthology features a wide range of writers and writings from all Latin America, including U.S. Latino perspectives, all of which do credit to what editor Marjorie Agosín states in her introduction: "Throughout Latin America, writers creatively and peacefully counteract the culture of fear through art." Among the 57 very diverse writers included in this anthology are many names that will be easily recognized: Claribel Alegría, Isabel Allende, Diana Anhalt, Homero Aridjis, Ruth Behar, Gioconda Belli, Mario Benedetti, Rosario Castellanos, Roberto Castillo, Carlos Cerda, Julio Cortázar, Roque Dalton, Delia Domínguez, Ariel Dorfman, Rigoberta Menchú, Gabriela Mistral, Angelina Muñiz-Huberman, Pablo Neruda, José Emilio Pacheco, Heberto Padilla, Isabel Parra, Violeta Parra, Alicia Partnoy, Elena Poniatowska, Nela Rífo, Reina Roffé, Nora Strejilevich, Marta Traba, Luisa Valenzuela, Daisy Zamora.

Although the title, the "Introduction" proper and the introductory notes to each section are in English, the texts (including the biographical note on each author) have been included in their original Spanish. This refers us immediately to the potential readers of the present anthology, who, implicitly at least, must be to a certain degree bilingual, or at least are expected to make a bilingually-oriented reading effort, to comprehend the fascinating wide range of texts included in this volume.

Nowadays, when it has become popular to publish Latin American texts translated into English, when the effort to read texts in their original language is losing

ground, it is unusual to find a volume of this nature in which English serves as an introductory language, although no intermediary translating agency intervenes in the direct reading experience, thereby underscoring the very resistance-based nature of the central issues raised in the texts themselves. There would seem to be a quiet yet unequivocal subversive statement made in this volume through the resistance to translation, in this way underscoring that, partly due to their nature, these texts need to be, should be, indeed *deserve* to be read in the original for their full impact, to be fully appreciated for what they are and represent.

Marjorie Agosín's prophetic statement that "Some day, this literature will be part of Latin America's cultural history and will not be seen as an isolated element within history" hails these texts for their strength in core human values and virtues, as well as for their cultural, aesthetic and historical contribution and dynamics. This quote also contains an unwritten assessment of these texts as travelers from obscurity and clandestinity into new light, into college classrooms, libraries and the minds/memories of present and future generations. There lies, too, further hope.

The testimonial, historical, social, aesthetic and literary contents of *Writing Toward Hope* have an immediacy that powerfully touch the underside of pain, the underside of fear —the underside, too, of hope. This may remind us that in Spanish there is a well-known saying: "la esperanza es lo último que muere" (Hope is the last thing to die). So be it. ■■■

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