

VOICES *of Mexico*

**Social Dimensions of
North American Integration**
Carlos Heredia Zubieta

Mexico and Multilateralism
Articles by Roberta Lajous,
Jorge Eduardo Navarrete
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**The Mexican and U.S.
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July Elections**
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Under Vicente Fox**
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**A Tribute to
Artist Raúl Anguiano**

**The Ancient City
Of Tamtoc**

**Xantolo: The Day
Of the Dead In
San Luis Potosí**



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Venid a mirar...
Y abrid el corazón a
las cosas pequeñas.

Jaime García Terrés

*El arte tradicional
del Nacimiento*



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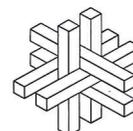
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Elsie Montiel

Cover

Raúl Anguiano, *Self-portrait*
2.75 x 1.05 x 1.70 m, 2001 (oil on canvas).

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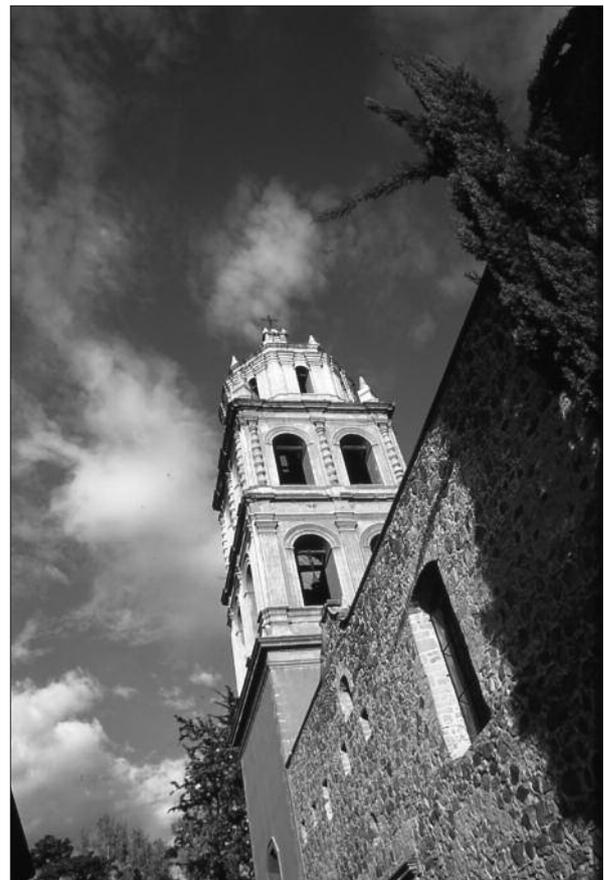
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OUR VOICE

In these times, when the superpower is indifferent, it is not a bad thing that someone from the northern part of the hemisphere pays attention to the southern part of the Americas. This should perhaps, however, be done with all due caution and reservation because the United States' emphasis on its hemispheric agenda's security issues since 2001—a return to the warrior mentality—has gravely distracted from topics fundamental to the area. Mexico has also fallen into the trap of this “distraction,” not without the influence of vested interests. Economic progress and democracy have been sacrificed, and today they must be dealt with in a new way if we want to make sure that the twenty-first century does not bring our nations new cycles of crises.

Recently there has been a heated debate about the routes to be followed to deal with issues pending in the hemisphere. The road has not been easy and the climate of the debate has had its ups and downs, caused largely by the United States' confusing policies in the region. For better or worse, we find ourselves in a region that has been part of the U.S. sphere of influence. From that perspective, our region—mainly Mexico and Central America—has been treated like the “American Mediterranean.” This analogy, conceived by Alfred Mahan, the first U.S. geo-politician, established a strong parallel between the strategic importance of the Mediterranean Sea for the great nineteenth-century European powers and that of the Caribbean Sea and Central America for the United States in the early twentieth century. Certainly, a country's geographical position favors the concentration of its power and gives it a greater possible strategic advantage *vis-à-vis* its rivals. This is the basis for Washington's persistent quest for hegemony, its reiterated blindness and its permanent tendency to intervene in other countries' affairs even if it is not justified, which has caused a lasting paralysis in the formulation of U.S. policy toward its southern neighbors, let alone those placed in other distant regions of the world.

The U.S. vision of its “near abroad” has had a negative impact on its historic interaction with the countries in the region. This is not only because it has not wanted to understand the Latin American situation, but because the U.S. has an ethnocentric vision that imposes and *constructs* reality through the prism from which this nation projects itself. The indisputable fact that the United States is the dominant power does not excuse it from facing the unexpected in the region or from helping to search for real solutions to the many problems we share. Nevertheless, the weight of the new circumstances in Latin America has not led Washington to adjust its policies to the new winds blowing in the hemisphere. It still behaves like a neo-colonial nation, insensitive to the region's problems in that they do not involve *its* security problems, and imposes Cold War policies, with their negative impact on the micro-climates of regional political struggles. It is not clear whether the United States is prepared to understand how much the hemisphere's political and economic circumstances are changing beyond imposing—and making sure Latin America follows—these policies stemming with mathematical certainty from its geographic position and power.

In this complex scenario, against the current of today's objective conditions of its geo-political location, Mexico seems to be undertaking a journey to the south. Some political actors and analysts talk of the need for Mexico to recover what it apparently has lost in its relations with Latin America. Felipe Calderón's recent trip to Central and South America shows Mexico's primordial political desire to recover its closeness to the region. Are we being realistic by undertaking closer relations? Is this attempt not more political than economic? What implications will this change in direction have in the preservation of Mexico's priority interests?

We think it is fundamental to debate exactly what and whom we are going to get close to with our new strategy in the hemisphere. For Mexico, Honduras is not the same as Brazil, Chile or Guatemala; Paraguay has no parallel with Mexico's relations with Argentina, Colombia or Nicaragua. Our common topics with each of the Latin American countries are not only specific to each, but also have different importance and problems. What should be done? With what countries and sub-region should we strengthen our foreign relations?

To accompany these questions, we should analyze the figures on trade with our neighbors. According to the Ministry of the Economy, so far this year Mexico has sold U.S.\$125 billion in North America, of which 90 percent corresponds to exports to the United States and 10 percent to Canada. By contrast, we have exported to Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil U.S.\$660 million, U.S.\$631 million and U.S.\$423 million, respectively, and a total of U.S.\$3.3 billion to the Latin American Integration Association (Aladi) region. Mexico exports only U.S.\$1.5 billion to Central America where our main buyers are Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, with U.S.\$442 million, U.S.\$320 million and U.S.\$270 million respectively. These are brutal figures that testify to the enormous asymmetry of Mexico's relationship with North and South.

An objective analysis of these figures demands a serious debate of aspects of our integration that pose several problems and challenges. In the first place, we experience a disparity in the hemisphere corresponding to the last century's center-periphery relationship. Mexico has lived with this disadvantageous reality, reflected in

the figures: 87 percent, 2 percent and 1 percent of all our foreign trade is concentrated in North, South and Central America, respectively. Certainly, it is strategically necessary to seek counterweights in our foreign relations in striving toward the solution of the many problems that depend on them.

If our proximity to the United States is determined by the geo-political conditions mentioned, our distance from the southern part of the Americas is something that can be assuaged. Today, political conditions may be ripe for contributing to expanding relations with important countries like Chile, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina and Cuba. And only based on political accords and agreements among the Latin American countries will it be possible to firm up the bases for democratic systems and thus contribute to viable integration. Latin America is facing a political reality that seems to be universal: a fading state and an expanding society that sometimes overwhelms it. Contributing to the strengthening of the rule of law and universal justice as a guarantee of the accord and multilateral cooperation in the Americas is the way forward. If our foreign policy is useful for something, it is to contribute to solving this persistent problem. Doing things the other way around will no longer work; we would continue to suffer from our ancestral weaknesses and, given that, Washington would not take our voices into account. This is the dimension of the challenge to the adventure of the Americas that Mexico will undertake.

* * *

In addition to the undoubtedly weighty decisions about the country's trade and regional integration alliances, the new administration will have to determine criteria and strategies for participating in different multilateral bodies, particularly the United Nations and the Organization of American States. In this issue, we look at different sides of Mexico's multilateral dealings in the recent past. Two outstanding Mexican diplomats, Ambassadors Roberta Lajous and Jorge Eduardo Navarrete, contribute with critical reflections and proposals about our country's multilateral experience. Other contributors to our international sections are UN expert Luis Jiménez McInnis, who also deals with multilateral bodies; writer John Burstein, focusing on bilateral migration between Mexico and the United States; researcher María Cristina Rosas, dealing with national security strategies of the U.S. and Mexico five years after 9/11; and international analyst Carlos Heredia, analyzing the social aspects of North American integration.

Both our "Politics" and "Society" sections are dedicated to topics that are particularly timely when the presidential administration is about to change. In the first case, two well-known experts on electoral matters, Javier Aparicio and Ciro Murayama, reflect about the results of the controversial July 2 elections. They agree that while our current electoral institutions generally seemed to work, a new electoral reform cannot be put off. In the "Society" section, three insightful analysts deal with the changes our country needs. Roberto Gutiérrez looks at the recently passed telecommunications bill, the "Televisa Law," examining whether it is really a step back for equality and free competition in television and radio broadcasting. Manuel Gil Antón explores different facets of the profound crisis our country's public education is experiencing, evidenced by our dropping places in international educational ratings. And Kristine Byron contributes an excellent article about gender perceptions in today's collective imaginary based on the prototype of the *soldadera* of the Mexican Revolution.

We pay homage in this issue to one of our most important, most widely recognized twentieth-century artists, Raúl Anguiano, who recently passed away, and whose proposals contributed to renovating the Mexican school of painting. We dedicate the rest of our cultural sections to the state of San Luis Potosí, a region whose vast historical, cultural and artistic wealth deserves widespread recognition. Examples are *Xantolo*, the traditional local celebration of the Day of the Dead, or All Soul's Day, and the renowned Lila López International Contemporary Dance Festival. These articles are followed by a description of the recently excavated archaeological site of Tamtoc, which is radically changing the perception we previously had about the cultures of the Huastec region, and a look at the history of the state capital, San Luis Potosí, famous for its colonial architecture and mining history. Finally, we include a glimpse of the routes and sacred ancestral sites of the Huichol people, the most significant of which is the ecological reserve of Huiricuta. We finish up with a visit to the Federico Silva Contemporary Sculpture Museum, unique in Latin America, and a selection of short poetry by authors from San Luis Potosí in our "Literature" section.

This issue's "In Memoriam" pays tribute to Jaime Litvak, a beloved university teacher, researcher, archaeologist and disseminator of science and art in Mexico. His life and works are recognized by those of us who work in the National University and the scientific community as a whole.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

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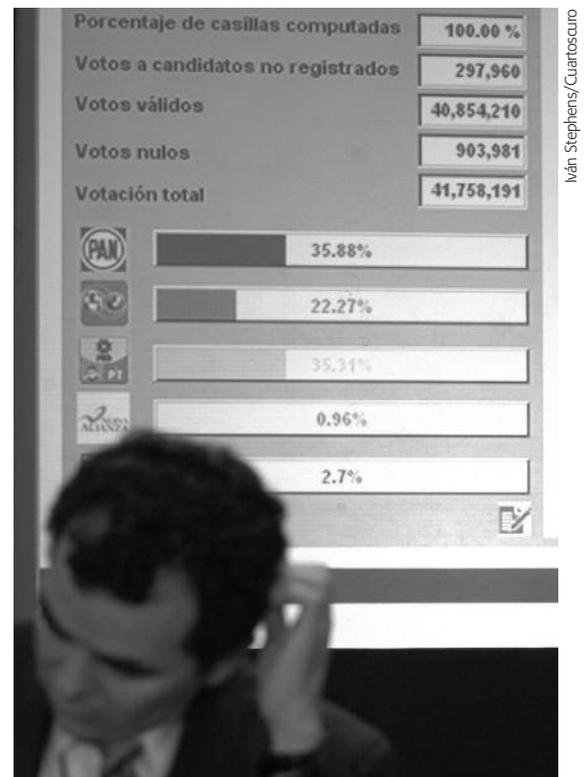
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Fraud or Human Error In Mexico's Presidential Election?

Javier Aparicio*



Iván Stephens/Cuartoscuro

Screen at the Federal Electoral Institute showing preliminary results in the presidential elections.

Mexico's recent presidential election put the whole electoral system, from candidates to citizens and authorities, to the test.¹ Soon after election day, one of the losing candidates and other observers alleged that fraudulent practices of different sorts took place on July 2. Above and beyond the use of allegations of fraud as a political strategy,

do these claims hold any water? There are no definitive tests for electoral fraud, but a statistical analysis of polling data from the more than 130,000 polling places can shed some light on the issue.

QUICK COUNT, PREP AND THE DISTRICT TALLY

The statistical consistency between the election results estimated by the quick count, the PREP (a preliminary report system executed in

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A statistical analysis of the distribution of arithmetical errors indicates that they were as likely to appear in polling stations won by the PAN as those won by AMLO's coalition.

real time right after polls close), and the district-level count (the official Federal Electoral Institute tally computed three days later), all of which pointed in the same direction, constitutes the earliest evidence of a reliable election. Why? The quick count, taken from 7,636 voting stations on election-day, could not indicate a clear winner beyond the margin of error. But this count indeed suggested an outcome with a margin smaller than 0.6 percent, and it also gave National Action Party (PAN) candidate Felipe Calderón a slightly higher probability of leading. A few days later, the district count gave him a 0.58 percent margin of victory (243,934 votes), thus validating the quick count estimate. Clearly, if the official district tally had been too far off from the quick count, either one or the other procedures could be under suspicion.

Since we did not have a clear winner on the evening of election day, everybody looked for clues into the PREP minute-by-minute data flows. The pattern of these data flows, which almost always gave a consistent lead to Calderón, seemed a bit surprising to some, and the “cybernetic fraud” claim was born. As it turns out, such fraud is useless because what matters is the final outcome and not who leads the data flow every hour. Moreover, any manipulation of PREP data would last only 72 hours, just when the official tally would come out.

How come the PREP did not show any “switches” between Calderón's lead

and Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) if the election was so close? First of all, the PREP is not an entirely random data gathering process based on any sample (as was the case of exit polls and quick counts). Non-random factors, such as whether localities are urban or rural and different time zones, affect the time that it takes for the polling place results to reach the 300 district centers that uploaded these data. So, if urban polling stations are uploaded somewhat sooner than rural ones, and if one candidate leads in urban areas, the PREP data flow will favor that candidate. Calderón led AMLO by 691,000 votes in urban locations (about 70 percent of polling stations), whereas AMLO led him by about 450,000 votes in rural areas. But urban locations were uploaded sooner than rural ones, thus producing the observed pattern on the PREP.

Right after the PREP finished, some argued that three millions votes were missing. The missing votes came from what is known as “inconsistent tally sheets,” polling tally sheets with errors or important data omissions such as leaving the vote count of one candidate blank instead of writing in a zero. 11,184 sheets were not included in the PREP estimates but were kept in an alternate filing system. All political parties were aware of this procedure but not the public, and perhaps López Obrador's team used this fact to his advantage.

The official district tally was done July 5 and 6 at the 300 different district

council offices that the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) has around the country. It was surprising to some, because in this tally, AMLO had the lead for several hours before the reversal of the trends. How come? This tally was even less random than the PREP. In each district, each polling booth tally sheet had to be discussed and approved before being computed. If “blue districts” (districts won by the PAN) were more heatedly debated than PRD “yellow districts”—since PRD representatives demanded recounts in many of the former—then AMLO would lead the tally for a while. This happened to be the case. Instead of an urban bias, the district tally had a politically-induced partisan bias that gave AMLO an advantage that steadily decreased until it reversed to the final outcome.

ARITHMETIC ERRORS IN POLLING STATION TALLY SHEETS

About a week after the election, the coalition behind AMLO challenged the official IFE district tallies both on Mexico City's streets and at the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary (TEPJF). Key sources of concern were the so-called arithmetic errors in polling station tally sheets. The polling station tally sheet includes the number of ballots received, used and left over, as well as the number of citizens who voted and the votes cast for each candidate. Clearly, if any of these fields is mis-

**If not only some but all the polling stations
with arithmetical errors are eliminated from the tally, it turns out that the winner
continues to be Felipe Calderón.**

counted or misreported, the tally sheet will not add up. For instance, if the station received 600 ballots and 400 votes were cast, there should be 400 marks on the voter roster and 200 ballots left over. If the sheet has mistakes, it appears to have more or fewer votes with respect to the number of citizens who voted, or with respect to the number of ballots received minus those left over.

Where do these errors come from? It is worth noting that Mexicans vote on paper ballots that are counted by four fellow citizens, who are chosen at random to serve as polling station officials. These citizens set up the station and count as many as 2,250 paper ballots for the three elections held that day (for president, senators and deputies). Each station is also monitored by representatives from each political party. Arithmetical errors occur because either the station officials miscount or misreport some ballots, or because voters fail to deposit their ballots in the right box (there are three boxes) or station (some stations are side by side). Until this election, we did not know how large or how often these errors occurred but they are not entirely new. About 46.7 percent of the tally sheets for the presidential election had some sort of error, whereas in 2000, 51.4 percent of them had similar mistakes. The average size of these errors is ± 4.36 votes, that is, about 1.35 percent of the votes cast at each station.

Can these errors be decisive for the election outcome? For that to be the case

they would have to be biased in favor or against one of the candidates, that is, they would have to appear more often in one type of station than another. However, a statistical analysis of the distribution of arithmetical errors indicates that they were as likely to appear in polling stations won by the PAN as those won by AMLO's coalition. Moreover, the average size of the errors is the same in either group of voting stations. This suggests random human errors that affect the leading candidates similarly and therefore are not decisive for the outcome. This is true even if the election had an average margin of victory of 1.8 votes per voting station because what matters is not only the size but also the distribution of errors—and they were found to be randomly distributed.

RECOUNTING VOTES

Another source of uncertainty, which underlies the demand for a total recount, was whether the polling station tally sheet figures truly corresponded to the actual ballots cast. On this issue, a formal statistical analysis requires that a random or representative sample of polling booths be recounted to assess the size and distribution of counting errors. Such a recount would help to detect the likelihood of fraudulent alterations by station officials, randomly chosen citizens, as it were. The casuistic logic of the Electoral Tribunal and

the very nature of the legal challenges introduced, however, did not produce a recount in a random sample but a recount in a set of challenged polling places.

These caveats aside, the evidence available allows for some partial inferences. During the IFE district tally, some 2,864 polling booths were recounted for a number of reasons; later on, the tribunal ordered a partial recount of 11,839 additional polling stations. In neither case were the polling stations randomly chosen, resulting in a biased sample that does not allow for direct extrapolations. For instance, 66.4 percent of the 2,864 polling booths recounted by the IFE belonged to “blue districts” while only 33.4 percent came from “yellow districts.” This recount produced fewer votes for each candidate and resulted in a slight percentage increase in Calderón's vote margin.

If one divides the IFE recount sample into “blue and yellow” districts (that is, districts won by Calderón or AMLO, respectively) an interesting asymmetry emerges. When blue precincts were recounted, Calderón lost an average of 4.7 votes per precinct whereas AMLO lost about 1.9 votes, which results in a reduced margin of 2.9 votes between the two leading candidates. On the other hand, when yellow precincts were recounted, Calderón lost an average of 5.8 votes per precinct whereas AMLO lost 13.3 votes, which yielded an increase in the margin of victory of 7.5 votes in favor of Calderón.

Delegating the organization
of election day to randomly chosen citizens
is a safe way to ensure impartiality that perhaps comes
at the cost of random human error.

This seems to indicate a number of tentative findings. First, when polling station results are recounted, both candidates lose votes, but the candidate with the most votes in a given area will lose relatively more votes after the recount. Secondly, random errors may cancel out in a random sample but not necessarily in a biased sample. Thirdly, a recount in a biased sample will produce a biased adjustment of the vote tally, which cannot be extrapolated directly to a larger recount. This means that further analysis of any of the recounts of this election should be interpreted with caution.

As of the date I write this, there is no polling-station-by-polling-station information on the results of the 11,839 stations recounted by the tribunal. However, we know that this sample was more biased than that of the IFE recount. 91.4 percent or 10,818 polling stations recounted came from blue districts and only 8.6 percent or 1,021 came from yellow districts. Since we also know that Calderón led AMLO by an average of 76.5 votes in blue districts, it was possible to predict that the tribunal recount would result in a decreased vote margin for Calderón without reversing the final outcome. This is what occurred in the September 5 final, definitive tally, when the margin of victory decreased from 0.58 percent to 0.56 percent. In any event, if these recounts had produced a systematic

or relatively large change in the vote tally, they would suggest some sort of fraud, but this was not the case.

WERE ATYPICAL
POLLING STATIONS DECISIVE?

It has been argued that the criteria used by the tribunal to annul polling stations with “determinant errors” only (that is, only when the error found was larger or equal to the margin of victory of the polling station under study) amounts to ignoring mistakes that could decide the election outcome in the aggregate. Statistically, one could apply stricter rules to polling stations with errors and analyze the hypothetical results.

For instance, if not only some but all the polling stations with arithmetical errors are eliminated from the tally, it turns out that the winner continues to be Felipe Calderón by an even larger margin of votes. Secondly, if we eliminate all the areas with a turnout over 75 percent—the national average was 58 percent—from the final tally, which implies removing as many as 4,555 polling stations, it turns out that Calderón still leads but by a smaller margin. If the election outcome can withstand excluding polling stations with errors or a high turnout, one concludes that those precincts were not decisive. Clearly, the tribunal cannot and does not apply any such criteria without

case-by-case evidence or justification—its mission is to preserve as many votes as possible, not to cancel them without reason.

FINAL REMARKS

To summarize, statistical analysis of polling-station-level data from the 2006 Mexican presidential election suggests that cybernetic, arithmetic or miscounting errors were not decisive for the election outcome. Most errors found in the polling station tally sheets seem to be due to random human error. A recount in a representative or random sample would have been desirable to add further confidence to these conclusions, and surely remains an important area for reform.

Finally, it is worthwhile emphasizing that delegating the organization of election day to randomly chosen citizens is a safe way to ensure impartiality that perhaps comes at the cost of random human error. It may be possible to design mechanisms to reduce errors in counting ballots and filling in voting station tally sheets but we will hardly find a more impartial one. Further reflection and analysis of this presidential election will surely help us to assess the weaknesses and strengths of the electoral system. But it will also put in perspective to what extent some of the accusations of fraud had any substance or were just part of the runner-up’s larger political strategy. **MM**

NOTES

¹ This article summarizes work in progress, available at <http://www.cide.edu/investigadores/aparicio/elecciones/>

Conditions for Competition

The Necessary Electoral Reforms

Ciro Murayama*



Pedro Kristian López/Cuartoscuro

Non-partisan polling station officials counting votes.

In 2006, Mexico's young democracy faced the complex situation of having to process a very close election, in which governing National Action Party (PAN) presidential candidate Felipe Calderón Hinojosa led by only 0.56 percent of the vote. This was the result of a long electoral campaign characterized by the clash between the federal administration, headed by Vicente Fox and his party, and left candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), who has refused to recognize the elections as valid. Paradoxically, the Mexican electoral system could only be proved legitimate thanks to the existence of a series of rules and institutions that guarantee that democracy will be open and that authentic parties and candidates will com-

pete with real possibilities of winning and in which there is room for uncertainty about the outcome. In this way, the 2006 vote, more than questioning whether Mexico is democratic, is in and of itself an objective confirmation that its vast political pluralism can—and does—express itself through the elections.

However, it cannot be ignored that the election has been impugned, that the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary (TEPJF) had to weigh many complaints from the contenders and that, in the end, electoral processes in Mexico are viewed with suspicion, or, at least with certain distaste, by broad sectors of the population. But, at the same time, there must continue to be elections in which, most certainly, there will be stiff competition, and only they can be the source of legitimacy of those in government and of popular representatives in a democracy. Therefore, Mexico's electoral system

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must be strengthened as a condition for democracy itself to survive.

Mexico must undertake a new generation of electoral reforms. In this article, I will refer specifically to the issue of pertinent reforms about conditions for electoral competition in light of recent political events.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

To have genuine elections, it is not enough that the votes be counted honestly: the citizenry must have real alternatives to choose from. That is, political parties —plural— must exist. In a phrase: no modern (formal, representative) democracy can exist without political parties. Parties are so important that many countries enshrine them in the Constitution itself. Mexico is no exception and, according to our Constitution’s Article 41, political parties are “bodies in the public interest.”

At the same time, in today’s complex, mass societies, radio and television

are indispensable channels for parties to reach the citizenry and try to get its votes. It is through the media that the citizenry gets most of its information about public matters in general and elections in particular. The media have become indispensable for democratic competition. For that reason, the presence of parties and their candidates in the media also becomes indispensable to ensure authentic, truly democratic elections.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

In Mexico, current rules for electoral competition are the result of an agreement arrived at in 1996 by all the political parties, which translated into changes in the Constitution and electoral legislation. In that year, it was determined that political parties would receive public funding to carry out their activities and that it would predominate over private financing. In addition, the law dictated that public resources apportioned

to political parties would be distributed in the following way: 30 percent to be distributed equally among all the parties with congressional representation and 70 percent according to the number of votes they had received in the election for federal deputies; the newly registered parties would receive 2 percent of the total amount. In a federal election year, public funding would double to cover campaign expenses. The legislators’ intentions when they included this provision can be divided into three complementary aims: a) to insure equitable campaigns; b) to safeguard political parties’ independence *vis-à-vis* powerful economic groups; and c) to foster transparency in the origin, management and destination of political parties’ finances.

Parties have access to radio and television in two ways: a) as part of official state time slots; and b) through direct purchase of airtime.

Parties have three kinds of programs in official state time slots: a regular 15-minute program once a month for

TABLE 1
FEDERAL FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MEXICO (2006)
(MEXICAN PESOS)*

PARTY	REGULAR FUNDING	CAMPAIGN FUNDING	TOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL FUNDING
Nacional Action Party (PAN)	555'866,537.74	555'866,537.74	1,111,921,342.67	27%
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	613,405,424.52	613,405,424.52	1,226,999,116.23	30%
Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)	360,710,804.15	360,710,804.15	721,609,875.49	17%
Labor Party (PT)	135,071,426.34	135,071,426.34	270,331,119.87	7%
Green Ecologist Party of Mexico (PVEM)	190,667,799.64	190,667,799.64	381,523,866.47	9%
Convergence	133,100,713.12	133,100,713.12	266,389,693.43	6%
Social Democratic and Peasant Alternative	39,776,454.11	39,776,454.11	79,741,175.41	2%
New Alliance Party	39,776,454.11	39,776,454.11	79,741,175.41	2%
Total	2,068,375,614.00	2,068,375,614.00	4,138,257,365.00	100%

* The average exchange rate in 2000 was 10.5 pesos to the dollar.

Source: Lorenzo Córdova and Ciro Murayama, *Elecciones, dinero y corrupción* (Mexico City: Cal y Arena, 2006).

TABLE 2
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY SPENDING (2006)
(MEXICAN PESOS)*

	TOTAL	RADIO AND TV	PERCENTAGE
National Action Party (PAN)	257,837,990	218,876,202	85%
Alliance for Mexico (PRI and PVEM)	444,844,810	346,933,916	78%
Coalition for the Good of All (PRD, Convergence and PT)	383,612,118	357,794,733	93%
New Alliance Party	26,416,538	22,069,653	84%
Social Democratic and Peasant Alternative	6,633,511	6,633,511	100%
Total	1,119,344,967	952,308,014	85%

* The average exchange rate in 2000 was 10.5 pesos to the dollar.

Source: Created by the author using information found at www.ife.org.mx.

each party, a special monthly debate and complementary programs during election campaigns. The law stipulates that during campaigns, parties may freely and directly buy radio and television airtime as long as they do not exceed campaign expenditure ceilings defined for each election by a formula specified in the law, and that third parties may not purchase airtime to campaign in favor or against any party or candidate. In addition, during electoral campaigns, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) purchases radio and television spots whose cost shall not exceed 12.5 percent of its year's public financing, to be distributed among the parties according to criteria established in the law. The legislators' intention when prohibiting direct private funding for purchasing radio and television airtime was to safeguard the principle of electoral equality.

Private funding is allowed in Mexico, but under certain conditions. For a start, as was already mentioned, it cannot exceed the amount of public funding a party receives, precisely so that private monies do not unbalance the conditions of competition. It also can-

It is not easy to imagine anything that could generate more ads than elections or any other single source that would provide more income to Mexico's radio and television consortia.

not be anonymous: all donors must be identified by the party and reported to electoral authorities. It is limited: no individual can contribute more than the equivalent of 0.05 percent of public funding to parties, and all contributions from party sympathizers cannot exceed 10 percent of party income. There are other express prohibitions: donations may not be accepted from the branches of government except whatever the law provides for, from foreign governments, individuals or institutions, or from abroad (including from Mexican citizens), from churches or from companies. This rule seeks to insure transparency, accountability, the sovereign exercise of politics and avoid influence peddling.

Nevertheless, in the past, some of these rules have been broken. For exam-

ple, when the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) failed to notify all the private funding it was receiving in parallel financing (the so-called "Pemexgate" case in the 2000 elections), or when the National Action Party and the Green Ecologist Party of Mexico (PVEM) took monies from banned sources (the case of the "Friends of Fox", also in 2000). In these instances, electoral authorities fined the parties involved. Their conduct has also shown the need to introduce changes in the law to improve monitoring of party resources, particularly to provide electoral authorities with information from the banking system in their investigation into unreported private funding.

THE RESULTS OF THE 2006 ELECTIONS

One of the most repeated criticisms of the way electoral competition played out in 2006 has been the abuse of the media in spreading negative publicity about opposing candidates. The so-called "black" or negative campaign, especially resorted to by the two main pres-

TABLE 3
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' RADIO AND TV ADS (2006)

PARTY OR COALITION	TV	RADIO
National Action Party	11,904	106,960
Alliance for Mexico	10,425	59,414
Coalition for the Good of All	16,316	60,410
New Alliance Party	206	3,199
Social Democratic and Peasant Alternative	1,454	3,368
Total	40,305	233,351

Source: IFE, "Final Report on Promotional Spot Monitoring," 2006.

idential candidates and their respective parties, took the place of an informed confrontation of analyses and proposals.

The public perception that politics is not very honorable and that huge sums of money that could be used more productively are wasted on it was undoubtedly reinforced by the kind of campaign we saw in Mexico.

This year, political parties in Mexico received more than 4 billion pesos (almost U.S.\$400 million) in funding (Table 2). Given that there are no restrictions on parties using their regular funding for electoral campaigns, it is possible that most of their resources went into the federal electoral campaign for president, 500 deputies and 128 senators.

According to preliminary information from the IFE based on party publicity expenditure reports, an average of 85 percent went into radio and television ads (see table 2). This information must be verified by the electoral authorities themselves who are obliged to present their findings about campaign spending by political parties and electoral coalitions by April 2007. Thus, the 2006 campaigns confirm the fact that political parties' main expenditure is the broadcast media. Taking into account that in Mexico, the telecommunications market is highly concentrated,

we can say that parties' media spending, to a large extent paid for by public monies, implies a transfer of public funds to a small number of companies.

The IFE's monitoring of party presence in the media shows that in 2006, all together the parties and coalitions bought 142,358 television ads totaling 841 hours of airtime (35 complete days of ads), and 562,144 radio ads, totaling 3,155 hours (equivalent to 131 days of ads). Of these amounts, the presidential campaigns accounted for 40,305 television ads and 233,351 radio spots (see table 3). It is not easy to imagine anything that could generate more ads than elections or any other single source that would provide more income to Mexico's radio and television consortia.

THE COMING REFORMS

With regard to the conditions for electoral competition, it seems opportune to review the three objectives behind the current design of campaign funding: a) equality; b) party autonomy *vis-à-vis* powerful economic groups; and c) transparency in resource management. It is indispensable, then, to maintain the stipulation in the Constitution that public funding must predominate over

private contributions and the regulations about parties' income from private sources.

At the same time, it is feasible to respond to allegations of excessive campaign costs. The alternative is to reduce excessive spending precisely where most party monies go: in the broadcast media.

And, since it is indispensable to guarantee that parties and their candidates can reach the public through the media, it is perfectly viable to follow the model used in France, Spain, Brazil and Chile: banning parties' purchase of airtime for publicity on radio and television and the state's insuring their presence in the media during electoral campaigns. Of course, this would imply significantly shorter campaigns, which would by no means be bad news in Mexico.

Once the parties cannot spend on the media, their need to amass exorbitant amounts of resources also decreases, which tends to mitigate the temptation to resort to illicit funding.

But it is not a matter of just saving money—a rational aim in and of itself—but also a question of the quality of the campaign: excessive numbers of ads and spots mean that campaign management is in the hands of advertising companies rather than party ideologues, that the campaign is more centered on media mud-slinging, on slogans and not content, that the look of the campaign is more important than the logos.

Introducing the criteria of republican austerity in party campaign spending, eliminating the transfer of public funds to media consortia at election time and increasing the quality of political debate could be the coordinates for conditions of competition in the electoral reform Mexico requires to strengthen its democracy. **NMM**

The Media in Mexico

Power with No Checks or Balances

Roberto Gutiérrez L.*



Protest against the new telecommunications law, also known as the "Televisa Law."

In Mexico's new political stage, one of the main issues in the national debate is the future of the broadcast media. This is no chance occurrence: in light of their growing social, economic and political role, they have become a central component not only of existing power relations, but also of the cultural profile of Mexican society. Since they are in

principle entities formally situated in the space of the ideological and cultural reproduction of society, the media in Mexico, particularly the broadcast media, have both expanded and become more concentrated. This puts them in a privileged position not only in the sphere of producing collective representations, but also in that of the accumulation of economic resources and political negotiation, particularly regarding issues directly involving them.

This is why the passage of a series of legislative reforms in the last stage of the Fox admin-

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In light of their growing social, economic and political role,
the media have become a central component not only of existing
power relations, but also of the cultural profile
of Mexican society.

istration is especially important: they sharply decrease the possibility of having media that are up to the requirements of social and political democracy.

In fact, the media's growing power can be understood to a great extent by following the expansive spiral, anchored in a very deficient regulatory framework, that has made it possible for its beneficiaries to constantly increase their economic power, giving rise to their undeniable capability to block any attempts at changing that framework and to generally influence political decision-making processes. Certainly, the way in which the industry has been structured and has expanded since the 1950s stimulated the consolidation of a power group that, despite using the federally licensed airwaves as its main resource, has not been subject to any clear system of accountability linked to any kind of public interest.

In a context in which it has not been possible to advance in constructing a legal framework that could clearly define the coordinates of their action, the media have based their expansion on two fundamental premises: the centrality of their commercial nature, with everything this implies in terms of their being run like a business, and their constant adaptation to what they perceive as the requirements arising from the characteristics of the socio-political environment they operate in.

The industry's quasi-monopolistic nature stemming from the way it has

consolidated has drastically reduced what could be the broadcast media's plurality, feeding a logic that distorts the rationalism that should accompany their functioning in a democratic regimen based on the principles of co-responsibility, transparency and accountability.

The structure of the media is less and less in step with the social and political dynamic of the country's democratization.¹ This is expressed in different ways. First of all, because it has led to the consolidation of a pressure group that exerts influence on all the branches of government, and above all on other important social and political actors, bringing to bear its enormous capability not only to massively disseminate its judgments about this or the other point on the public agenda, but also to openly have an impact on its formulation and the way that it is perceived in society. About this last point, Ulises Beltrán has explained succinctly but rigorously the process whereby the media, particularly television newscasts, contribute to formulating that agenda. Beltrán writes that their influence is expressed in five dimensions: they draw attention to public issues; they establish their relative importance; they interpret the messages; they determine the responsibility of public figures regarding these issues; and, finally, their opinion makers present positions that can be adopted as values by the audience.²

Today, the media tend to act in the political-institutional sphere following a logic that has characterized the action of political parties themselves: the aggregation of interests, an attempt to have an impact on the definition of the public agenda and on the decisions made about it, as well as the construction of currents of opinion that support their particular perspective about the overall functioning of the political system. Of course, there are also notable differences with the typical functions of parties, beginning with the fact that, at least until now, their representatives do not openly compete for power nor do they have the degree of cohesion and programmatic and doctrinal unity of political parties. Beyond pointing to the specificity of their profile as unique actors, we should underline the weight of their political presence, above all in a scenario in which parties have not yet fully consolidated themselves as spaces for political socialization.

The media's political function unfolds in a context in which, in contrast with what is happening to the political parties as such, there is no procedural framework to effectively regulate their behavior and determine their responsibilities, a grave omission in the legal scaffolding of the Mexican state. Given the lack of clear parameters to orient media action, and faced with a society marked both by profound inequalities and cultural backwardness and the emergence of a pluralism that has

The media's political function unfolds in a context in which there is no procedural framework to effectively regulate their behavior and determine their responsibilities, a grave omission in the legal scaffolding of the Mexican state.

gradually reconfigured the legal and institutional conditions of political interaction and competition, media activity has emerged as a politically risky exception to the construction of democracy.

The discussion about the media's role in the process of reconfiguring Mexican public life would have no meaning if it excluded the issue of defining their social responsibility and, therefore, the regulation of their activities, both questions that can hardly be left to be resolved by the media themselves. After all, we cannot forget that, as Jorge Carpizo pointed out, the powers do not usually exercise self-control; it is indispensable to have legal regulations, the establishment of the rules of the game so the mass media can contribute to strengthening the rule of law.³

The broadcast media benefit from a public good, the airwaves, and have a considerable political and social effect, but are not subject to a framework of responsibilities and accountability in accordance with the importance and scope of their activity.

Thus, the recent passage of the Federal Law on Radio and Television (LFRTV), known as the "Televisa Law," represents a new obstacle to the democratization of the media, free expression, the right of access to different sources of information and pluralism, since it favors increased power for the communications duopoly by conceding privileges in the access, distribution and use of new technologies

to big capital in the communications media.

The polemic sparked by Chamber of Deputies' passage of the reforms forced the Senate to take another look at the need to reform the LFRTV, which had not been changed since the 1970s. The Senate debate could not sidestep the existence of prior efforts and the wide-ranging discussions on different fronts about the importance of the media and their role in building democracy.

The recently approved law continues to fail to specifically recognize public, cultural and community media, leaving them at the mercy of the bidding processes through which broadcast frequencies—now no longer analog, but digital—are acquired. It also does not deal with the way in which the public media will be able to finance the technological conversion required under the new broadcasting conditions that will cost millions they do not have.

It is not by chance, then, that the first injunction granted against this law originated in a state of Sonora cultural, community radio station's disgruntlement, since the disadvantage it faces by being forced to compete with the large commercial media is more than evident.

Certainly, with no possibility of being able to foot the bill for using digital frequencies or to compete in the bidding the LFRTV establishes for acquiring broadcast frequencies, the public,

independent and community media are permanently destined to play a marginal role. In addition to the obstacles to alternative media's competing, the LFRTV also fails to open up the possibility for new licensees to acquire frequencies since they will be competing with those who already own other frequencies, who will be given preference.

The creation of an "autonomous" "regulating" body, which the Federal Telecommunications Commission (Cofetel) is supposedly conceived as, is also a problem, because it is not given the power it needs to fulfill its tasks. In this context, a group of senators from different parties, 40 percent of the entire chamber, brought suit before the Supreme Court to have the law declared unconstitutional, arguing that it violates 21 stipulations in 27 articles of the Constitution. It should be pointed out that the Congress had never been sued before by its own members who consider its resolutions illegal and favorable to the powers that be.

The coalition of interests that fostered approval of the reform was evidenced in the process of choosing the members of the Cofetel. After a first presidential proposal was rejected by a majority vote in the Senate because it did not cover the minimum requirements, the chief executive sent a second proposal including the very senators who had promoted it.

Thus, on July 5, 2006, the federal executive proposed Héctor Osuna Jai-

me, a PAN senator, as president of the commission for the next eight years. Osuna was one of the main proponents of the so-called "Televisa Law" when he was president of the Senate Communications and Transportation Commission. José Luis Peralta Higuera, Gerardo Francisco González Abarca, Eduardo Ruiz Vega and Ernesto Gil Elorduy (senator for the PRI) were elected members of the commission

Osuna Jaime and Ernesto Gil are identified as the main PAN and PRI lobbyists in the Senate for the approval of the new law. Other members, like González Abarca and Ruiz Vega, have relations with Televisa and Televisión

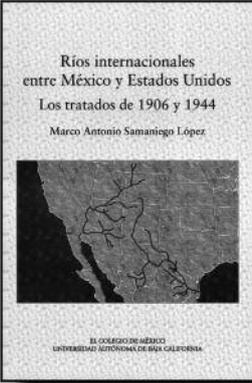
Azteca as private consultants who have worked as legal advisors for the two telecommunications giants.

As is clear, in this scenario, the democratic handling of the broadcast media is in question. This is grave for a country like Mexico where the growing political and social pluralism demands spaces open to a diversity of positions. Thus, what is at stake in the process of definitive approval of this law must be seen as something that greatly transcends the regulation of a specific area of national life, since the consolidation of democracy in the country will depend to a large extent on the new norms established.⁴ ■■■

NOTES

- ¹ See Epigmenio Ibarra and Javier Corral, "Los medios electrónicos en el marco de la reforma del Estado," paper presented at the Fifth International Conference, published by Mexico's Chamber of Deputies Radio, Television and Cinematography Commission in 2002.
- ² Ulises Beltrán, "Noticieros, noticias y opinión pública," Guido Lara and Adriana Arizpe, comps., *Comunicación política y democracia* (Mexico City: Cal y Arena, 1998).
- ³ Jorge Carpizo, *Nuevos estudios constitucionales* (Mexico City: Porrúa/UNAM, 2000).
- ⁴ For a broader analysis of the relationship between media and democracy, see Roberto Gutiérrez L., *Información y democracia. Los medios de comunicación social y su influencia sobre la política. El caso de México* (Mexico City: Ediciones Pomares/UAM-Azcapotzalco, 2005).

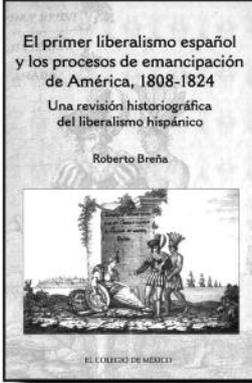
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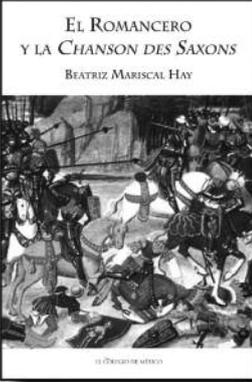
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Mexican Education From Great Hopes To Human Chiaroscuro

Manuel Gil Antón*



Carlos Salina/Cuartoscuro

NEVER LIKE BACK WHEN

The year 2000. From July, the election results were clear: Vicente Fox had won, and since he did not belong to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the Mexican political transition seemed to have finally arrived at safe harbor.

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After many decades the previously dominant party had been “ousted” from Los Pinos. This opened up double room for hope: the renovation of the executive implied another way of handling public affairs, including education, and between July and December the transition team would build the basis for the new national education strategy on all levels.

It was an unprecedented moment: enough time for calm planning in the hands of a plural

**The Educational Development Plan
was labeled with excessive enthusiasm an
“educational revolution,” but inertia beat back
this ambitious aim.**

team of experts and educational policy-makers together with the optimism of a new millennium. No small thing.

In December, Dr. Reyes Tamez Guerra, the former rector of the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, was appointed minister of education. When the Educational Development Plan was presented in 2001, it was clear that a large part of the document written by the transition team had been included. There was, then, a clear horizon and even an excess of enthusiasm typical of this kind of change: people said there would be an “educational revolution.” That motto was soon forgotten. Nothing is founded based on nothing in any society, and the inertia of a system that deals with one-third of the population, from pre-school to graduate school, as well as its administrative complexity, beat back such an ambitious aim. The winds of change, however, continued to blow.

**THE OVERWHELMING
WEIGHT OF POLITICS**

Before beginning a balance sheet of education in the administration that is now drawing to a close, it is indispensable to recognize that one of the structural limits of the renovation of the national educational process has, for many years, been an amalgam, an intricate, confused junction, of the ministry’s enormous, amorphous bureau-

cracy and the leadership of the National Educational Workers Union (SNTE), the country’s largest union.¹ Formally, the ministry (SEP) is in charge, but in reality, it shares authority, sometimes to a surprising extent, with the SNTE. It is, without a doubt, a central actor in the sphere of education; sometimes it seems to be a black hole capable of stopping any proposed reform that affects not only, or not mainly, its members, but also the maze of its leadership’s interests both in keeping control over professors and their jobs, promotions and benefits, and in the area of local and federal politics. Few realized it at the beginning of the current administration, which comes to an end in December 2006: professor Elba Esther Gordillo, the undoubted leader of the SNTE both then and now, and at the beginning of the term, the coordinator of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) congressional caucus, was an important ally for President Fox’s proposed structural reforms.² So, in the educational sphere, despite intelligent plans for change, a political pact at the highest level narrowed the margins for feasible action even more.

If the confused marriage between educational officials and the union apparatus is not unraveled and dissolved, the profound educational reform that Mexico immediately requires is walking on a minefield.

For politics to be involved, very involved, in educational matters is not strange. What is discouraging is that in

the equation, what is always sacrificed is education, pushed back to second or third place, in favor of very short term political interests. That was how things were during the administration that is coming to a close.

TOWARD A BALANCE SHEET

The excesses of the first public statements, the resounding clash with the complexity of the sector, the aforementioned political constraints and a normal dose of inexperience on the part of the new authorities put things in their place. They had to walk a narrow path, not broad avenues. And in that walk, like in all other human endeavors, we can see *chiaroscuros*.

One thing that should be recognized as an advance is the information policy and the broadening out of institutions created to evaluate the system: the results of international evaluations Mexico had participated in and would continue to participate in were public knowledge, not a secret like before. The National Center for the Evaluation of Education (Ceneval), which deals with secondary and higher education, continued to operate, and in 2002, the National Institute for the Evaluation of Education (INEE) was founded as a decentralized body in charge of providing trustworthy, valid, public data about the country’s basic education.³ In contrast with other times, now the public can find out about the evaluation of the quality of national education without disregarding the impact of the sharp inequalities plaguing us have on it.⁴

With regard to constitutionally mandatory education, certain paradoxes lead us to the side of shadow: while the trend in other countries is to increase

obligatory education to the end of high school (12 years including primary education), Mexico is perhaps the only country that has decided to “grow downward.” This contradiction emerges from the legislature’s decision to make the three years of pre-school obligatory, so that universal education does last 12 years, but does not include finishing high school, a level experts consider necessary to be “literate” in the codes of our time, characterized, among other things, by impressive technological advances.

Was that necessary? It does not seem so. Was it attractive for creating jobs controlled by the SNTE? The answer seems to be yes.

Primary school coverage is reasonable, although not universal and of only adequate effectiveness. However, the number of students in junior high school is lower, since drop-out rates rise, getting much worse in high school. What is outstanding about government action in the three levels of schooling? In primary school, an experimental program, Enciclomedia, became the banner most brandished about by the president and the minister of education. In all fifth- and sixth-grade classrooms, this system of virtual communication has been established, providing access to textbooks and a link to a certain encyclopedia, with the idea that this will give spectacular impetus to the educational process. Beyond the fact that many classrooms had no electricity—not to mention the miserable condition of the floors, roofs, windows and bathrooms—this highly touted and publicized program operated under a false premise: technological innovation leads automatically to a change in educational practices. And it is false because a good teacher, well trained and well-

If the confused marriage between educational officials and the union apparatus is not dissolved, the profound educational reform that Mexico requires is walking on a minefield.

paid, with social recognition, using his or her creativity, can create an excellent learning environment simply by using a blackboard, chalk and books. A badly trained teacher could have a NASA lab in his/her classroom and students’ learning would stay the same or drop.

Technology was turned into a fetish without noting that changes in teaching practices are the basis for technology eventually being made good use of. The program is attractive, above all in TV ads, but the evaluation of its results, if it exists, is not yet public knowledge.

At the junior high school level, the true bottleneck in mandatory basic education based as it is on the absurd memorization of information and not thinking, really needed to be reformed. And there was an attempt to do so: known as the Reform to Secondary Education (RES), it began to operate in August 2006, four months before the end of Vicente Fox’s term. Although it was made into an inclusive process, with the commitment of the heads of education on a state-by-state basis and a goodly number of teachers, launching the new programs and the way in which they are to be carried out have met with such elementary problems as presenting these reforms to teachers through courses lasting only a few hours a few days before classes were to start; the lack of materials; and, a generalized feeling, judging by press reports, that those who will have to carry it out

every day are unnecessarily rushed. It has also met with resistance from conservative groups who object to the content of certain sections of the textbooks dealing with sexuality.

We are faced, then, with one of the most important reforms of basic education but without the certainty that this is the actual reform the country needs. But, why put it forward at the end of the administration? Why does the minister of education announce that soon there will be Enciclomedia in all secondary school classrooms as though, once again, this instrument were the crucial point, and not teachers’ understanding, training and commitment?

With regard to the high school level (which, now that secondary or junior high school is obligatory, should simply be called middle school), things have not advanced. Perhaps it is appropriate to mention that, as part of a reorganization of the SEP, it now has a vice-ministry specifically in charge of this area. However, a formal change is not enough: the country has too many systems with neither regional nor national coordination. This impedes their linkage with junior high school education and, above all, nourishing the student with basic knowledge and skills for his/her incorporation into the productive world or continuing higher education. While an attempt was made at least to reform junior high schools, those knowledgeable in the subject say that we are in a wasteland at the high

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school (or middle school) level, and this is very grave.

WHAT ABOUT HIGHER EDUCATION?

It is no minor matter that several higher education policies originated prior to the beginning of Fox's "administration of change." Actually, this segment of our educational system has operated based on many programs and strategies dating from the 1990s. Ensuring continuity in an area does not mean that there are no adjustments, but there is a sustained line of action, something infrequent in a country used to "jumps" every time a presidential term ends.

The budget has grown 17 percent in terms of pesos controlled for inflation, but less than expected—one percent of GDP—but enough to broaden out supply, particularly in institutions oriented to training top technicians. Three programs stand out in this context:

1) The Comprehensive Program of Institutional Strengthening (PIFI) once again takes up previously developed but insufficiently coordinated forms of support in order to provide extraordinary resources to public institutions based on specific planning processes. In the development of certain universities, besides the economic aid implicit in additional funds given that their regular budgets practically only cover payrolls and elementary operating costs, the

PIFI has introduced a modern logic.

In others, unfortunately, changes have only been simulated in an attempt to adapt to "what the authorities want to see." In summary, this program has undoubtedly been a less discretionary way of assigning additional fiscal resources to improve quality.

2) The Promep. Another initiative, launched in 1996, is the Program for Improving Teaching Staff (Promep). Its aim is to increase the number of full-time academics—their ranks have swelled from 18,000 to 26,000 since 2000—and to provide resources so they can improve their educational level: previously, 8 percent of full time professors had doctorates; now the number has increased to 22 percent. These are not small achievements.

Nevertheless, there is a basic question about these two programs: Have more careful institutional planning, an increase in professors' educational level and improved working conditions for some academics effectively translated into a corresponding institutional strengthening, and, what is more important, into substantial improvement of students' learning? The figures, the indicators, are better, but we should evaluate whether the benefit corresponds to the investment. The question is a frank one, and we do not have independent studies with evidence to either support the claim of a profound change or the opposite: a superficial change attrib-

utable to money, stimuli and the recognition that authorities themselves offer to institutions that comply with their canons. Surely, there will be variations by region, institution and discipline, but it is urgent to evaluate these two programs so their continuity can be firmly anchored or they can change, not objectives, but perhaps another fundamental dimension: their methods.

3) Pronabes. The last program is the National Scholarship Program for Higher Education (Pronabes), a strategy conceived by the present administration. In contrast with other programs, it assigns resources to the users of educational services, in the form of scholarships, and not to service providers. According to independent analyses, this program has lowered the drop-out rate of young students who might abandon their studies for economic reasons, increasing their completion rate. An additional factor is that the scholarship, which could initially be conceived as merely based on economic need, little by little turns into a kind of academic distinction because students have to maintain a high grade-point average and be regular in their studies.

We need results that allow us to evaluate these actions and, logically, to see what the assets and liabilities are. Without abandoning the continuity of aims, a critical analysis could perhaps suggest a new generation of policies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Efforts have been made, then, in higher education and lower levels.⁵ I have

underlined some of the most important ones, but, as much as possible, given the complexity of the matter, I have also pointed to the general political constraints typical of basic education, the illuminated aspects, the intentions and partial results on all levels, as well as the shadows, that uncertainty typical of all human action. I have also pointed to that certain dose of action under pressure or lack of attention to well-founded criticism.

The very complex political situation in 2006 will lead to new scenarios. Let us hope that they are positive and allow for the preparation of a serious agenda for education.⁶ The titles of two well-known songs speak to our situation: on the one hand, we can say that there is “dust in the wind,” quite a bit

of it, and not only on the issue of education, a fundamental part of our future. On the other hand, today, “the answer is blowing in the wind,” that is, things ahead are not very clear. We have to surge ahead without holding on to the mirage of omnipotence and without renouncing the indispensable reform. The road ahead is narrow, yes, but perhaps it is our only way forward. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Inside the official SNTE is the National Educational Workers Coordinating Committee (CNTE), traditionally considered the rallying point for the democratic wing of the teachers' union. [Editor's Note.]

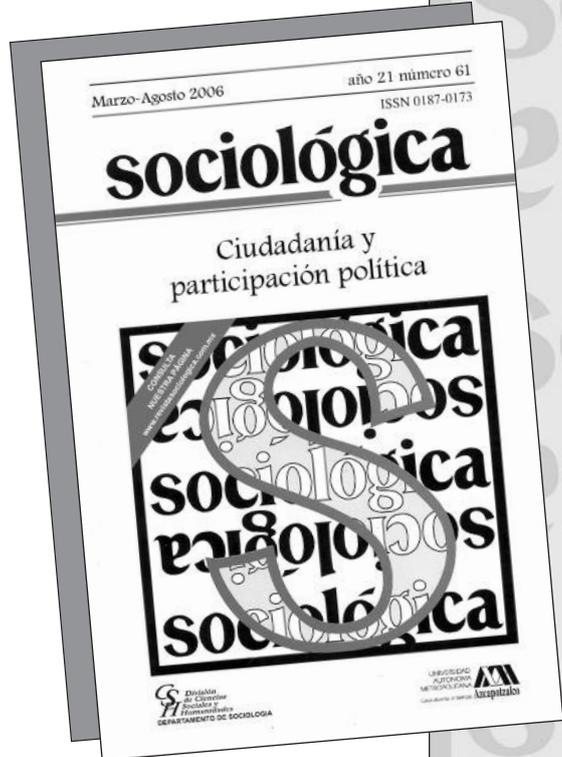
² During part of this presidential term, she was also the general secretary of the PRI.

³ The Ceneval was founded during the administration of Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000) as a civic association which, among other things, gives standardized admission tests for high school and college, as well as final exams for certain advanced studies.

⁴ The gigantic social inequalities in Mexico have a very clear impact on educational processes and produces segments whose quality is impossible to compare. This difficulty is by no means trivial, and, if it is not dealt with, will continue to be a brake on the country, reducing the possibilities for children and young people to learn.

⁵ For example, programs have been created to better organize and strengthen graduate studies. There has been an attempt to regularize the growth and quality of private institutions destined to absorb the overflow from elite private schools and consolidated public schools, but much remains to be done in this field.

⁶ It is a concern for observers and scholars of education that the president-elect seems to be very close to the leader of the SNTE. Have our hands been tied once again?



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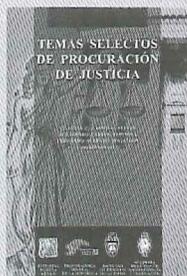
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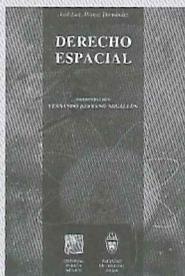


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Cultural Revisions of Gender And the Mexican Revolution

Kristine A. Byron*

The growing number of studies on gender and the Mexican Revolution might be linked to various phenomena: an increased interest in gender and war and the emergence of cultural studies as a field of inquiry; as well as more recent events in Mexico —the Zapatista rebellion in particular, whose best known spokesperson regularly emphasizes the importance of women in the movement. In 1996 Sub-commander Marcos commended “the rebellious, worrisome Mexican women who have insisted on emphasizing that history without them is nothing more than badly fashioned history....Tomorrow —if tomorrow comes— will include them, and above all will be because of them.”¹

Nearly 100 years after 1910, the post-Porfiriato struggle remains engraved in cultural memory, inviting new, as well as revisited, analyses of female figures of the Mexican Revolution. These transgressive and highly symbolic figures form a nexus for a number of important questions at the intersection of literary, historical and artistic representation. Taking into account the multitude of forms of narratives of revolution, I would like to briefly consider in this essay a few examples of cultural representations of women, focusing primarily on the figure of the *soldadera*, suggesting its iconic value in the context of female representations of Mexico. I would preface this dis-



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cussion by noting that I use the term *soldadera* in its broadest sense, to include all women functioning in a wartime role, whether this be actual combat or support activities such as nursing, cooking and so on. Women need not literally take up arms to be revolutionaries, any more than men do. Yet this is often assumed to be a prerequisite or a sort of measuring stick to be applied when “evaluating” women’s role in political struggle.

The case of the *soldaderas* in Mexico is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. First, these women are not usually seen as individual actors, but rather as groups of women working together outside of formal institutions. Because historiography often focuses on the contributions of individuals at the expense of groups, the *soldaderas* are simultaneously seen as part of and yet not part of history. In addition, since many of these women were not literate or educated, fewer traditional forms of self-narration exist. In many instances they are mediated by others’ records of them (such as photography, literature and film). Nevertheless, the *soldaderas* have taken on mythic significance and are still alive as an occasion for political commentary, nostalgic idealism and cultural consumption.

The *soldaderas* occupy a liminal space between literary and historical, visual and verbal representations of the revolution. Reflecting on the meanings of “liminal,” I am convinced of the value of liminality as a keyword for cultural analysis of the *soldaderas*.² The majority of *soldaderas* are silenced by virtue of their class, their gender, their ethnicity. Their voices may be barely perceptible in official accounts of revolution, yet they are not invisible, thanks in part to literature, photography and

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film. They suggest the challenges of scholarly work that seeks to uncover and understand the elusive female revolutionary subject.

The perception of women who were active in the period 1910-1920 has, of course, changed over time. Andrés Reséndez Fuentes has observed that female soldiers received much notice in the press and arts during the revolution and its aftermath. They were portrayed as fearless women dressed in men’s garb flaunting cartridge belts across the chest and a Mauser rifle on one shoulder. But they were invariably shown in the guise of curiosities, aberrations brought about by the revolution. This presentation of the female soldier as a spectacle or “aberration” is common in the context of many other civil wars and revolutions worldwide.

After the armed struggle is over, women’s participation in war and revolution is frequently downplayed, denigrated or forgotten. In Mexico, women’s participation in the revolution has often been contested, minimized or distorted. As Elizabeth Salas has argued:

After the violent phase of the Revolution, the Mexican mass media transformed *soldaderas* into either self-sacrificing, heroic camp followers or prostitutes....The *soldadera* as prostitute conforms with

the patriarchal ideology of the Mexican revolutionary state, which suggests a moral and sexual understanding of women within a “good woman-bad woman” dichotomy. To acknowledge that *soldaderas* were essential to the armies... would call into question the ideological constructions that make manhood synonymous with soldiering and military history a male sphere.³

In addition to the specific focus surrounding Mexican women’s assigned identity in Mexico as defined by the “good woman-bad woman” dichotomy, Salas’s argument draws attention to the underlying issue: if women’s participation were recognized as indispensable, it would deconstruct the boundaries between the public and private spheres and undermine traditional notions of the relationship between gender and nation as categories.

The *soldaderas* are incorporated yet marginalized in national history. They occupy the border between tradition and modernity. They stake their claim as symbols of the first revolution of the twentieth century, of “modern” Mexico, but a modernity defined in opposition to Porfirio Díaz’s modernity and dressed in the guise of the *campesina*, the rural, the indigenous. The *soldaderas*, the female revolutionaries, symbolize a temporal space that reveals, to borrow Homi Bhabha’s phrase, the “splitting, ambivalence, and vacillation” inherent in the formation and transformations of cultural mythologies and national histories.⁴ In his essay “DisemmiNation,” Bhabha asks, “How does one write the nation’s modernity as the event of the everyday and the advent of the epochal? ... The problematic boundaries of modernity are enacted in these ambivalent tempo-

ralities of the nation-space".⁵ The *soldaderas* represent the liminal space between the everyday—the domestic and the familial—and the epochal—the revolution as a symbol of twentieth-century political struggle and as a marker of modernity. Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughn have noted that the *soldaderas* literally reconstituted their households on and around the battlefields. In civil wars, the home front is the battle front.⁶

In historical and visual accounts of revolution, political women's voices are often mediated; this has certainly been the case of the *soldaderas*, who have been romanticized or vilified in numerous forms of cultural production, including novels and short stories, films, *corridos*, plays, paintings and historical accounts. In these lines I would like to briefly examine three kinds of cultural production surrounding women in the Mexican Revolution: 1) a personal narrative; 2) an infrequently cited *corrido*; and 3) visual images of women and the revolution—specifically, the best-known images of the *soldaderas*: those found in the photographs of Casasola and others.

Leonor Villegas de Magnón (1876-1955) is a particularly salient example of the extent of women's participation in the revolution on both sides of the border. Daughter of a wealthy family, raised in the borderlands of Mexico and Texas, educated in the United States, she founded the White Cross and formed part of the Revolutionary Junta, supporting Carranza. Unlike the majority of the *soldaderas*, she had access to education, wealth and networks of key individuals both in the U.S. and Mexico during the revolution. Yet much of her personal narrative is concerned with documenting the history of the White

Cross and the contributions women made to the struggle in a variety of forms, from cross-dressing soldiers to nurses, from journalists to cooks. Similarly, Villegas's struggle to publish her life story should be examined in the context of post-revolutionary backlash against women, who, in many cases, are sent back to the home and traditional roles after the armed struggle is over.

Villegas, and later her daughter, searched tirelessly for a publisher for her manuscript, both in the United States and in Mexico. As late as 1959, four years after Villegas's death, the rejection letters kept coming. The Institute of Historical Studies of the Revolution explained that their board had found the memoirs "very interesting, but at the same time thought that the memoirs' novel form makes it impossible for them to be published by us because we only publish history or chronicles about the revolution."⁷ Her daughter succeeded in publishing a serialized form of her narrative, entitled "La rebelde" (The Rebel) in the Spanish section of *The Laredo Times* in 1961. Her manuscript in English, written for a U.S. audience, was only published decades after her death in 1994. The Spanish version of the text was published in its entirety in 2004.

Soldaderas are incorporated yet marginalized in national history. They occupy the border between tradition and modernity. They stake their claim as symbols of the first revolution of the 20th century.

The type of commentary offered by the Institute of Historical Studies of the Revolution and other publishers marks Villegas's decades-long struggle to make her voice heard. It also suggests the constraints women's lifewriting has faced historically. As Clara Lomas reminds us, "various marginalizations situated her story within precarious borders, in particular the marginal status of women's autobiographies. The autobiographical/memoir genre imprisoned her story within a narrative form which has historically privileged male authority, authorship and discourse, and ignored or devalued those same female qualities."⁸ Male forms of historiography and chronicle are privileged over the "personal" memoir. The novelization of Villegas de Magnón's memoirs further highlights the female autobiographer's struggle with authority and authenticity. Throughout her narrative, there is no "I". Instead, Villegas represents herself in the third person, referring to herself as "the Rebel." This split subject not only documents her own involvement, but also serves as a voice to record other women's participation. "Carmen Serdán," she notes, for example, "became the heroine of the Madero Revolution. She ignited the flaming torch that illuminated the path for democracy and hastened the overthrow of President Porfirio Díaz. Men say much about themselves. Do they not remember the brave women?"⁹

We might say that Villegas's text displays generic instability: it is simultaneously memoir, novel and history. This generic instability is characteristic of narratives of revolution in general. Hayden White and Sidonie Smith's work on narrativity and subjectivity, respectively, reminds us of the complex relationship between historical "truth"

and representation. Women revolutionaries' writing can often be located in the liminal space between history and text, between self and nation. Moreover, this text both highlights and problematizes the real and imagined borders between the U.S. and Mexico. As Clara Lomas has noted: Villegas de Magnón "protagonizes an 'aristocratic' rebel whose task is to immortalize the border activism of *los fronterizos*, to move them from a marginal backstage to center stage. Her story provides yet another instance of the struggle for authority and interpretative power waged by the various revolutionary factions of the borderlands."¹⁰

While most *corridos* of the revolution generally allegorize women, depicting them, as María Herrera Sobek explains, in a range from "romanticized love object to mythic archetype,"¹¹ not all of them depict the *soldaderas* as simply self-sacrificing women. The *corrido* "Marijuana, la Soldadera" draws a more complex picture of the female revolutionary. Though at first she appears to be just another "*galleta*" or "cookie" (as *soldaderas* were sometimes called), Marijuana is clearly off to battle, as the second stanza of Part I shows. She has gone with her "Juan," but she is an integral part of the revolutionary forces. She later gives birth and then, "with the baby on her back" she makes massive quantities of incredible food out of ingredients she finds "*dondequiera*"—wherever. This first part of the *corrido* concludes by praising her, declaring her "más valiente que su Juan," "braver than her Juan." Rather than separate her from the physical battle, this *corrido* places Marijuana at the center of it. The second part of the *corrido* recounts Marijuana's transformation from a support to a combat posi-

Marijuana, la soldadera¹

Part I

Va a la guerra Marijuana
tras su querido Juan
va al compás de los clarines
del tambor el rataplán

¿Adónde va? Va a morir
al pie de su pabellón,
por la asesina metralla
que lanza fiero el cañón.

Juan abraza su fusil,
y Juana con su chontal,
bajan dando barcarolas,
saltando sobre el riscal,

Anoche, al llegar al pueblo,
la Marijuana dio a luz
y al nuevo Juan le pusieron,
al bautizarlo, Jesús.

Así, con el niño a cuestras,
cumpliendo con su deber,
ella saca de dondequiera
muchas cosas que comer.

Marijuana hace tortillas,
hace caldo, hace pipián,
y antes que lleguen los juanes
ya tiene mucho que cenar.

Así aquella soldadera,
más valiente que su Juan
camina entre los peñascos:
del tambor al rataplán.

Marijuana goes to war
following her beloved Juan
keeping time with the bugle
and the drum's rat-tat-tat.

Where is she going? To die
at the foot of her banner,
by the murdering shrapnel
launched by the fierce cannon.

Juan grasps his rifle
and Juana her hat,
singing as they descend,
jumping over the rocks.

Last night, arriving in town,
Marijuana gave birth
And the new Juan was named
at baptism: Jesús.

Now, with a baby on her back,
fulfilling her duty,
she can find anywhere
many things to eat.

Marijuana makes tortillas,
makes soup, makes *pipián*
and before the soldiers arrive
she has plenty for dinner.

So, such a soldier woman,
braver than her Juan,
walks the rugged paths
with the drum's rub-a-dub.

¹ Carlos Marín, "Marijuana, la soldadera", performed by Los Hermanos Bañuelos in *The Mexican Revolution: Corridos about the Heroes and Events 1910-1920 and Beyond*, disc 3 (El Cerrito, California: Arhoolie Productions, 1996).

Part II

El enemigo está al frente,
los juanes de tiradores
y Marijuana, también,
al fulgor de los cañones.

Suena la primera descarga
el humo oscurece el viento
y al fin Juan muere en las filas
sin proferir un lamento.

Marijuana cuando oyó
el ronco son del clarín
embraza en lugar del Juan,
con gran valor aquel fusil.

Lista pasan al concluir
del tambor el rataplán
y ven formando en las filas
a Marijuana por Juan.

A sargento el general
a Marijuana ascendió
y en su honor ahí en el campo
al batallón destinó.

Del soldado mexicano
mucho, mucho hay que contar
porque todos son iguales
a Marijuana y a Juan.

The enemy is at the front,
the soldiers sharpshooting,
and so is Marijuana,
by the flare of the cannons.

The first shot is heard,
smoke darkens the wind;
in the end Juan dies in the ranks,
without uttering a lament.

When Marijuana heard
the muffled bugle's tune
with bravery she grasps
that rifle, instead of Juan.

They call roll at the end
with the drum's rub-a-dub
and standing in the ranks
is Marijuana instead of Juan.

The general promoted her
to the rank of sergeant
and honored her on the field
by assigning her to the battalion.

About the Mexican soldier
there is much more to tell
because they are all exactly
like Marijuana and Juan.

tion. Juan falls and dies —and Marijuana, hearing the “muffled tune of the bugle” picks up his rifle and takes his place in the ranks, where she is discovered after the battle by the general, who promotes her to the rank of battalion sergeant.

Though this is clearly still an idealization of the *soldadera*, this text opens up a more fluid space between the male and female division of labor and the “valiente” versus “abnegada” (or brave versus self-sacrificing) figure of the *soldadera*. Instead of being a love object like “Adelita” or “Valentina” or a mythologized Amazonian type like “Juana Gallo,” Marijuana signifies the truly *modern* woman —balancing family and work, her personal and civic duties, motherhood and civil defense. Another intriguing aspect of this *corrido* is its conclusion, which emphasizes that both Marijuana and Juan are “Mexican soldiers,” that they represent all who are fighting. This couple is an example of the “revolutionary family,” functioning at both a literal and symbolic level.

Most analyses of the *soldadera* figure lead me back, inevitably, to the evocative and fascinating images of those women, those couples, those women with children who inhabit the photographs of Gustavo Casasola and others. Because the photograph functions simultaneously as a historical document and as a form of self-representation (however mediated), an analysis of the photographic iconography of Mexican revolutionary women might suggest something about the nature of the interplay between visual representation and historical process. Visual images are of crucial importance, especially if we consider the ways in which history may be seen as “staged.”



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In these images one can find narrative threads that might be described as “performance gestures” —self-fashioning through dress, posing for photographs and so forth. Especially interesting are the ways in which these actions establish revolutionary women’s subjectivity, authority and agency.

Because of the anonymity of many of the women in the photographs and the historical tendency to lump women together in groups (harking back to the bread mobs of the French Revolution), the *soldaderas* are often stripped of any agency. Analyses of revolutionary movements are often guided by a concept of political agency as seen through the lens of Western definitions of political agency which tend to be masculine and individualistic.

We might locate these women in a female tradition of political agency which is communal rather than individualistic, Mexican rather than European. In her essay which accompanies the selection of photos in her 1999 book *Las soldaderas*, Elena Poniatowska notes, “When an attempt is made to define women’s participation in armed struggles, they are never linked to mythical or legendary images like Coyolxauhqui or Coatlicue (the mother of the god of war); rather, their intervention is reduced to thinking of them simply as the soldiers’ servants.”¹² Whether or not women were conscious of this tradition, many of the photographs imply an awareness on the part of their subjects of their importance in the struggle. Even the most “candid” shot might be read as a posed or constructed image. As Leonor Villegas insists in a part of her memoirs, where she instructs the official White Cross photographer not to sell any pictures or negatives without her permission, “photographs are history.”¹³

**In place of the extreme
visions of *soldaderas*
as glorified man-soldiers
or comfort women, Poniatowska
stresses their fertility,
strength, patience
and endurance.**

Post-revolutionary cultural representations of *soldaderas* have varied but, as we have noted earlier, the female soldier is often presented as an aberration. All too often, the *soldadera* seems to resemble Mariano Azuela’s “*La pintada*” or the pin-up sex symbol Adelita found in Ángel Martín’s popular calendars from the 1940s. Elena Poniatowska reflects on the disparity between the *soldadera* as masculine anomaly or pleasure servant and the story the photographs suggest:

In [the film] *La Cucaracha*, actress María Félix portrays a *marimacha*, or masculine woman, who administers slaps right and left, and, with a cigar in her mouth and a raised eyebrow, carries a flask of firewater between her breast and her back. Was there ever a *soldadera* like her? It’s not documented anywhere. In contrast, Casasola shows us one after another of slight women dedicated to the patient drudgery of hauling water and making tortillas... always carrying a grinding stone or *metate* —Does anyone know how hard it is to lug a *metate* over kilometers of military campaigning?— and, at the end of the day, breast feeding her hungry son. Without *soldaderas*, there would be no Mexican Revolution: they kept it alive and fertile like the earth.¹⁴

In place of the extreme visions of *soldaderas* as glorified man-soldiers or comfort women, Poniatowska stresses their fertility, strength, patience and endurance as the qualities that come across in the Casasola photographs. She also cleverly insinuates that what so often is disparaged as “women’s work” (especially the image of hauling a *metate* for miles and miles) is beyond the imagination or understanding of those who would define soldiering as an exclusively male undertaking.

A cultural study of the *soldadera* figure, then, must take into account the diverse representations of women in the context of the Mexican Revolution —visual and verbal, historical and literary. Worthy of further exploration are the ways in which this visual iconography runs parallel to auto-biographical narratives of female revolutionaries in Mexico, such as those by Leonor Villegas de Magnón. Like the photograph, which Roland Barthes describes as bringing “an explosion of the private into the public sphere”,¹⁵ personal narratives of female revolutionaries, with their tensions between fact and fiction, historical and literary artifact, reveal much about the ways in which the boundaries of public/private space and male/female gender roles are negotiated during times of national transformation. Visual modes of representation further reveal the kinds of image construction that go into mythmaking, particularly the photograph, in its simultaneous function as historical document of war/revolution and form of self-representation. The photographs of the *soldaderas* have been maintained as part of the “official” national memory of the revolution, yet they are also a commodity for consumption (as one might see in many a market or muse-

um in Mexico). Barthes observed the “paradox, [that] the same century invented history and photography;...the age of the photograph is also the age of revolutions.”¹⁶ This observation is particularly interesting in the context of female revolutionary figures, who raise important questions about the intersection of literature, history and popular culture, and about the place of gender in the formation of national histories both within and beyond Mexico’s borders. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, Juana Ponce de León, ed., *Nuestra arma es nuestra palabra: escritos selectos* (New York: Siete Cuentos Editorial, 2001), p. 12. Important studies of Mexican women in the revolutionary period include those by Ángeles Mendieta Alatorre, Ana Macías, Shirlene Ann Soto, Elizabeth Salas, María Herrera-Sobek, Ana Lau and Carmen Ramos, among others.

² From the Latin “limin” or “threshold,” the liminal can also mean “of or relating to a sensory threshold” or “barely perceptible.” One might also envision these women as literally and figuratively at the border —“border” not only as an imagined or real boundary, but also “border” in the sense of marginality.

³ Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas, 1990), p. 102.

⁴ Homi Bhabha, “DisemmiNation,” Homi Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 298.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.

⁶ See Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughan, eds., *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850-1990: Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994). See also Margaret R. Higonnet’s observation that “Civil wars, which take place on ‘home’ territory, have more potential than other wars to transform women’s expectations. In all wars roles traditionally assigned to women are political in the sense that to maintain the hearth takes on ideological coloration. Yet nationalist wars against an external enemy repress internal political divisions and with them feminist movements. Civil wars by contrast may occasion

explicit political choices for women,” Margaret R. Higonnet, “Civil Wars and Sexual Territories,” Helen M. Cooper, Adrienne Auslander Munich and Susan Merrill Squier, eds., *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1989), p. 80.

⁷ Leonor Villegas de Magnón, in Clara Lomas, ed., *The Rebel* (Houston: Arte Público, 1994), p. xxx.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

¹¹ María Herrera-Sobek, *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 114.

¹² Elena Poniatowska, *Las soldaderas* (Mexico City: Fototeca Nacional/Ediciones Era, 1999), p. 21.

¹³ Leonor Villegas, op. cit., p. 120.

¹⁴ Poniatowska, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁵ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Richard Howard, trans. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 98.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-98.



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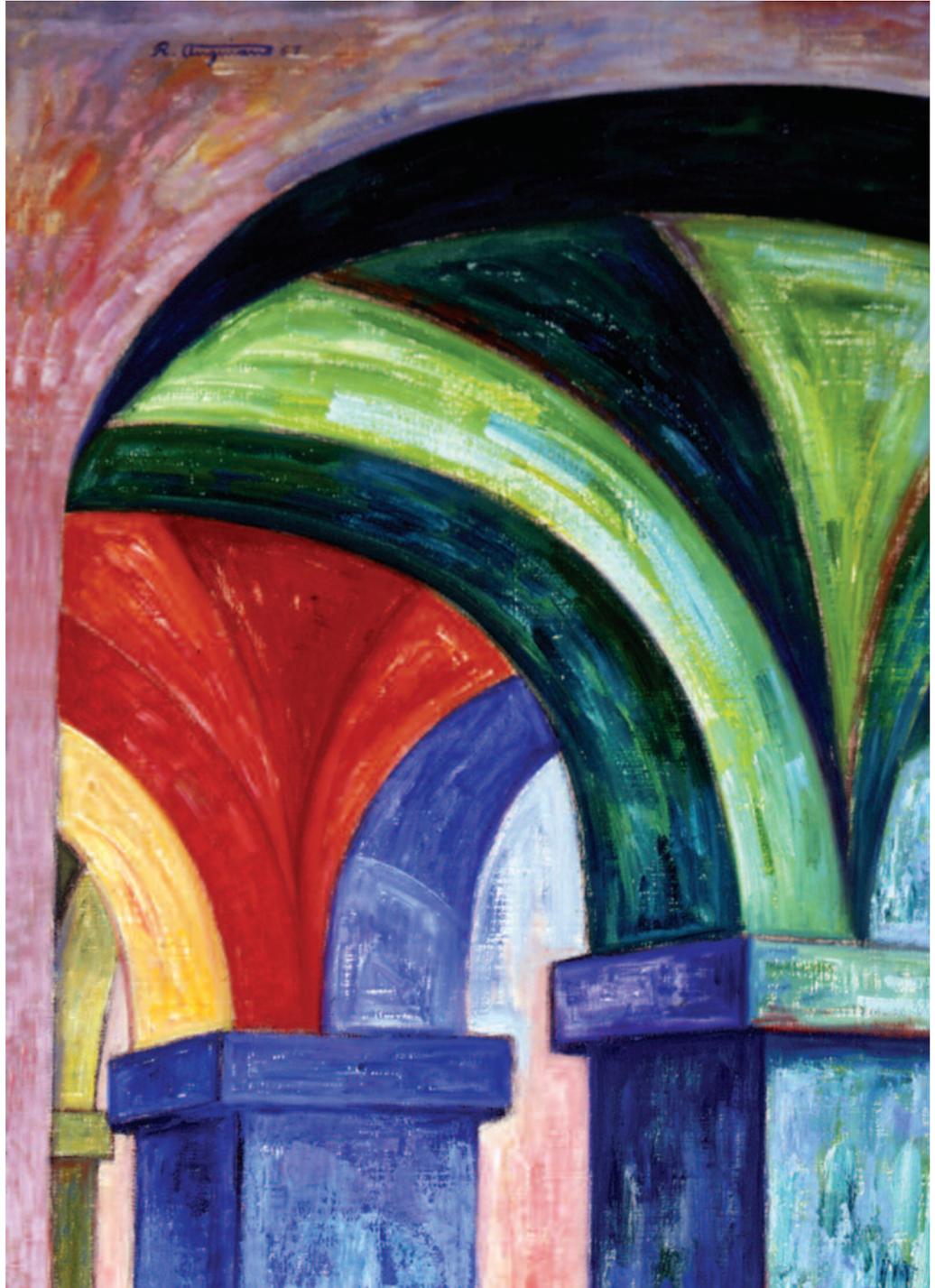
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A Tribute to *Raúl Anguiano* (1915-2006)¹



Green Arch, 111 x 80 cm, 1957 (oil on canvas), Brigita Anguiano Collection.

The quality and diversity of Raúl Anguiano's work gives him a privileged place in Mexican art. A member of the so-called "third generation of muralists," his rigorous, disciplined training in the precepts of modern art covered not only painting, but also sketching, murals, ceramics, sculpting and engraving. His creations are identifiably original, merging the Mexican with motifs and influences of universal art. His great contribution to Mexican visual arts, his multifaceted genius and almost 80 years of work are just some of the reasons he has been honored both during his lifetime and after his death. The most recent homage, in Mexico City's Old San Ildefonso College from May to August 2006, dealt with his multifaceted artistic work. With a few brushstrokes, *Voices of Mexico* joins that homage.

CHILDHOOD

Raúl Anguiano was born in Guadalajara, Jalisco in 1915. His first drawings, done in about 1919, show his budding taste for depicting his surroundings. At the age of 12, aware of his interest in sketching, he entered the Free School of Painting and went to his first classes at the Guadalajara Regional Museum. Ixca Farías, a well-known Jalisco artist and researcher, was his first teacher. During this period, he broadened out his knowledge of European painting through art magazines and the cultural pages of different newspapers.

Later, Anguiano took art classes at the local high school under Professor José Vizcarra, with whom he learned to perfect his sketching and to experi-



Mural *The Battle of Mayan Warriors*, 154.5 x 400.6 cm, 1964 (oil on wood), National Council for Culture and the Arts, National Institute of Anthropology and History.



Worker's Head, 33 x 27 cm, 1935 (pencil on paper), Brigita Anguiano Collection.



The Maids, 90 x 70 cm, 1943 (oil on canvas), Brigita Anguiano Collection.

Anguiano made the portrait a classic because of the simplicity of the composition, the firm, pure brushstroke and the wise color application.



Duck Flower, 83 x 61 cm, 1942 (oil on masonite), Brigita Anguiano Collection.



Cain, 66 x 85 cm, 1943 (oil on canvas), Brigita Anguiano Collection.

ment with different techniques. His pieces as a teenager show simple, spontaneous artistic solutions with a feeling for form.

Around 1930, Anguiano joined the “Provinces Banner” association, created by distinguished Jalisco intellectuals, writers and painters, to talk about visual art and literature. Later, the group published a magazine by the same name. Thanks to this experience, Anguiano had greater access to information and opportunities in his field. In this period, from 1930 to 1933, his technique evolved and he did his first nudes and other depictions of the human form. The composition of his portraits is precise and harmonious.

THE TEACHINGS OF THE METROPOLIS

In 1934, he moved to the country’s capital. That year, he painted and studied fresco technique and building and using scaffolding. He was assistant to his muralist friends Jesús Guerrero Galván, Roberto Reyes Pérez, Máximo Pacheco and Juan Manuel Anaya.

A year later, he held his first exhibition together with Máximo Pacheco at the Palace of Fine Arts. His works dealt with the impact of capitalism on the working class: paintings with hieratic outlines that looked as though they were etched in metal, with convulsive lines and colors, and sculptural values. Anguiano would later leave behind these effects of solid figures.

In 1937, he joined the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists (LEAR), created in 1934 by intellectuals and artists who wanted to oppose war, fascism and the exploitation of the working class through art. He participated with them in painting a mural. When LEAR began to disintegrate at the end of that

year, he joined other painters and engravers in founding the Popular Graphics Workshop, which had the same aim of supporting popular causes. It was in this period, in 1938 and 1939, that he did his humorous caricature lithographs.

Anguiano chronicled the consequences of industrialization on popular culture in Mexico's capital: scenes of daily life in low-class neighborhoods; tent shows as the setting for popular comedy; his series on marijuana smokers and on prostitutes. His palette expanded and his compositions became more luminous and dynamic.

PORTRAITS AS A METAPHOR FOR FORM

Raúl Anguiano is considered one of Mexico's masters of contemporary portrait painting. This genre is one of his best known; he made it a classic, both because of the simplicity of the composition and because of the firm, pure brushstroke and wise color application. Family portraits become a tribute and homage to affection. In the case of portraits of women, his classical refinement and the individualized character of the figures are the basis for his success. His female nudes are strong, independent, sensual figures.

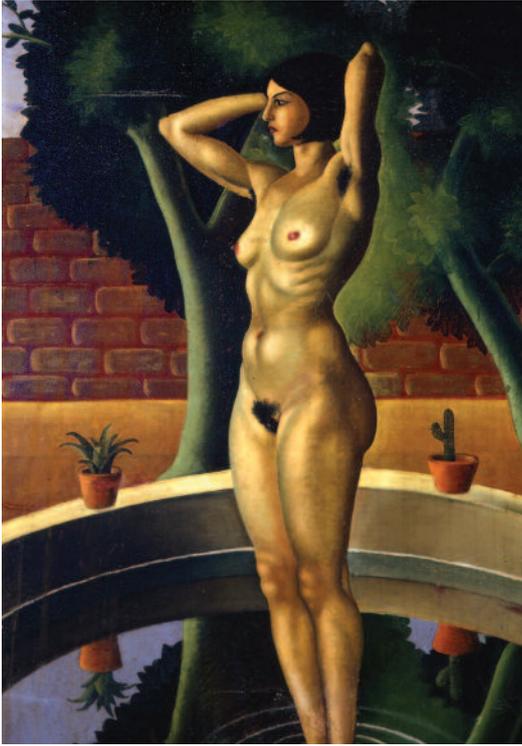
His creations are identifiably original, merging the Mexican with motifs and influences of universal art.



Don't wrinkle up your old body. I want to use you to make a drum, 32 x 42 cm, 1939 (lithograph), Academy of the Arts Collection.



Don't break... it's the last tug! 44 x 31 cm, 1939 (lithograph), Academy of the Arts Collection.



Nude in a Fountain, 101 x 70 cm, 1933 (oil on canvas), Brigita Anguiano Collection.



The Call of Instinct, 70 x 90 cm, 1942 (oil on canvas), Brigita Anguiano Collection.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AVANT-GARDE

Thanks to publications like *Los contemporáneos* (The Contemporaries) (1928-1931), Mexico would be kept abreast of the artistic avant-gardes appearing on the European scene in the twentieth century. Anguiano created several works linked to surrealism and other contemporary currents, characterized by expressing strongly rooted feelings like fear, terror and anxiety, manifested in cold colors and shades of blue. This period is considered a watershed in his work.

AN OUTSTANDING PLACE AS A MURALIST

Anguiano was part of the so-called “third generation” of muralists, that he himself defined as “unorthodox members of the Mexican School of Painting,” since they did not faithfully maintain continuity with it as an artistic movement either ideologically or aesthetically. This generation also included Jesús Guerrero Galván, Jorge González Camarena and Jesús Chávez Morado, and enriched painting with a style of its own. Anguiano’s visual art spirit, impregnated with revolutionary convictions and support for the working class since his arrival to Mexico City, is faithfully reflected in his murals.

He painted murals throughout his artistic career, not only in Mexico, but in other countries, notably the United States. The last mural he worked on, at the National Polytechnic Institute, was never finished.



Lacandons Roasting Sarahuato Monkeys, 75 x 108 cm, 1950 (oil on canvas),
Brigita Anguiano Collection.



Matapalo Tree, 160 x 121 cm, 1951 (oil on canvas),
Bank of Mexico Collection.

AN INTEREST IN THE LACANDON PEOPLE

After the Mayan city of Bonampak was found in the Lacandon Jungle in 1946, Anguiano did more than 60 drawings of the area and its inhabitants. He traveled there in 1949 as part of an expedition to document the area and its surroundings. He was very impressed with the physiognomy of the inhabitants and the colors of the area, which is reflected in his sketches, done *in situ* and transferred to canvas on his return to Mexico City. With great mastery of technique and colors, the painter captured the reality of daily life, the scenery and the ruins.

A LIFE STEEPED IN ART

Raúl Anguiano dedicated his long life to art. He died shortly before he turned 91. On the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, he was honored with exhibitions in several states throughout the country. When he died, he was preparing a huge retrospective in his honor at the Old San Ildefonso College. His art was deservedly renowned abroad. Throughout his life, he mounted many exhibitions in different countries of the Americas and Europe, and received prizes and honors both at home and abroad. His legacy is enormous. We present here a small sample of it in tribute to his dedication and commitment to art. **MM**

NOTES

¹ This article is an abridged version of the pamphlet *Anguiano 1915-2006* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2006), prepared for the exhibition dedicated to the artist at the Old San Ildefonso College between May and August 2006.

Photos courtesy of the Old San Ildefonso College.



Xantolo in the Potosí Huastec Region

Fernando Domínguez García*

The first cool breezes of autumn bring the Huastecs a flood of memories, some conscious, some buried in their collective unconscious.

* Huastec writer and painter.
Photos courtesy of Fernando Domínguez.

Something in them makes them pay attention to the cosmic world of their ancestors. The need to pay homage to their dead leads them to prepare a great celebration. Their pre-Hispanic legacy does not provide exact dates, but the Gregorian calendar of the conquest does.

November 1 and 2 are nearing, and with them, the syncretic event that allows them to get close to their ancestors, who since time immemorial have trodden the paths of purification, and the recent departed who have barely begun their process of sanctification.

Huastecs sharpen their senses, savoring once again the sweet flavor of freshly ground chocolate served in past years. They yearningly evoke the spicy smell of tamales and all the regional dishes that descend upon them.

This is the feeling that made them plant corn and marigolds using the ceremony handed down for generations: amid agricultural dances and offerings to Mother Earth; they respectfully ask permission to open her up and drop in a fertile seed, asking that both the corn and the flower soon be reborn to be present at the great upcoming *Xantolo* fiesta.

The word *Xantolo* does not come from Nahuatl, but from Latin: *Santo Sanctorum*, which degenerated onomatopoeically into the indigenous pronunciation *Xantolo*.

Xantolo is the link among all people living in the Huastec regions: Querétaro, Tamaulipas, Hidalgo, Puebla, Veracruz and San Luis Potosí.

The “Day of the Dead” fiesta in the San Luis Potosí Huastec region is a fiesta for life. The lushness of the area makes the ritual especially significant when faced with the approaching winter, which greatly slows agricultural production; the indigenous have to appeal to their customs and tradition for the ceremonies to renew life in nature.

Chickens, pigs and turkeys are fattened, all to be used in tamales; corn, native beans (*sarabanda*) and marigolds are planted. Provisions are stored, among them colored chili peppers, *el chino* chili peppers and sesame seeds. *Chichapales*, or great clay pots, and the enormous *chiquihuites*, baskets made of willow branches, are prepared.

Little napkins with multicolored embroidery are made to cover the offering baskets, and a new embroidered ruffle is prepared as the base for the altar.

The open-air markets in each community, in each municipality, begin to fill up with and sell everything needed for the coming days. Pure wax candles, the ones that do not smoke, the most expensive ones, since the ordinary ones contaminate the air and the souls of the dead get angry. If that happens, they will not come to the banquet.



Fernando Domínguez painted the delights of *Xantolo*, like this traditional offering.



Fireworks and extremely long garlands bedecked with many-hued ornaments, covered with velvety purple *viudita morada* and *mano de león* flowers and palm leaves are all bought. They are sold everywhere. Pork and lard are set aside beforehand; loaf bread, butter cookies and *tapabocas* rolls are all ordered. Cacao is procured for the chocolate, careful that it is the best quality, not old.

Huastecs set up the ceremonial altars to receive their dead. Rounded arches in the San Luis Potosí Huastec region, square and with flower points in the Hidalgo and Veracruz regions.

The same number of candles as you have dead family members, and a candle for the “lone animus,” the one without relatives. The pure wax candles shine brightly, smokeless, and are put out at a specific time of day ritually using two marigolds to smother the flame. They are the lights that guide the souls to the precise place where they should arrive.

The music of the *vimuetes* breaks through the silence of the day, and November 1 is the day the “little angels” or the dead children, are received. All the different Huastec regions receive the souls of the

innocent with special care. The offerings for children are sweet little tamales; sugary, hot pineapple, tamarind and orange *atole*; rice pudding; little cakes; candies. These are all called *chichiliques*, and children dressed as *huehues*, or old men, dance through the streets shouting, “We want *chichiliques*; we want *chichiliques*!” a custom that has fortunately done away with the transculturalized Halloween.

The following night, the adults go to the cemeteries to wait for the adult dead. In some communities, people share the food in the offerings on the tombs, accompanied by music, religious songs, prayers, rosaries, and great wreaths, candles and votive candles.

November 2 is generally uproarious. The dead adults have arrived and the *dances* of *huehues*, costumed characters, give it the joyful, comical touch; members of the community are satirized. Nobody escapes the jokes and laughing. Those who are part of the group of *huehues* are obliged to participate every year for seven years.

The carved wooden masks are blessed by the group captain and ceremoniously put away. Next





year will soon come when “taking them out” will be done with all due ritual.

Gastronomy is king. The offerings are the attraction on every altar. We have to taste everything and nobody can turn down an invitation. The offerings are exchanged mainly among godparents and parents, friends and neighbors. The entire altar shines in all its splendor, and the arrival of relatives is the center of this celebration. It is adorned with plants from every community. Even with the variations, marigolds are a must, with their aroma and color that attract visitors, alive or dead.

The altar has everything for everybody. They have included everything, throwing discretion to the wind, with no regard for the expense. Everyone wants to offer the best for their dead.

Tamales of all colors and flavors. The main tamale, the *zacahuil*, has a place of pride because it is made of corn. The loaf bread and chocolate surround photographs of the dear departed and of protective, favorite Catholic saints. It is the *Santo Sanctorum*. A moment for the living and the dead to be together. A moment when there are no distinctions. It is the fiesta of *Xantolo*, the annual celebration where hospitality reigns and locals and outsiders alike share the sanctity of the offering.

It is the time and place where everyone is a brother, godparent and friend.

Then comes the *ochavario*, the repetition eight days later of the entire November 2 ceremony. The souls begin to say good-bye. Tamales, visits to the cemetery, chanting, prayers. The wilted altars are placed deferentially and respectfully on the roads out of every community. The dead are bid farewell, sadly because they are leaving, joyfully because we had the opportunity to receive and pamper them.

All 20 of the towns in the Potosí Huastec region have the same custom, with slight variations. In all of them expositions of altars are staged in the central plaza. The fiesta ends on the last day of the month, the day of Saint Andrew. And again, the joyful noise, the tamales, the fireworks, the visits to the cemetery. Everything ready to receive the dear departed next year, God willing. **MM**



We are sorry to inform our readers that the author of this article, **Fernando Domínguez García**, died suddenly October 6, shortly before we went to press. As an untiring fighter to preserve Huastec customs and traditions and to defend its environment, as well as the author of many essays and paintings, he will be sorely missed.

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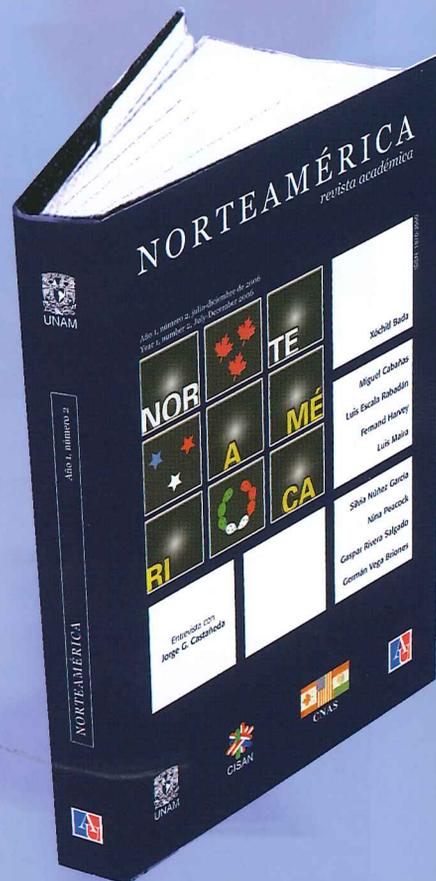
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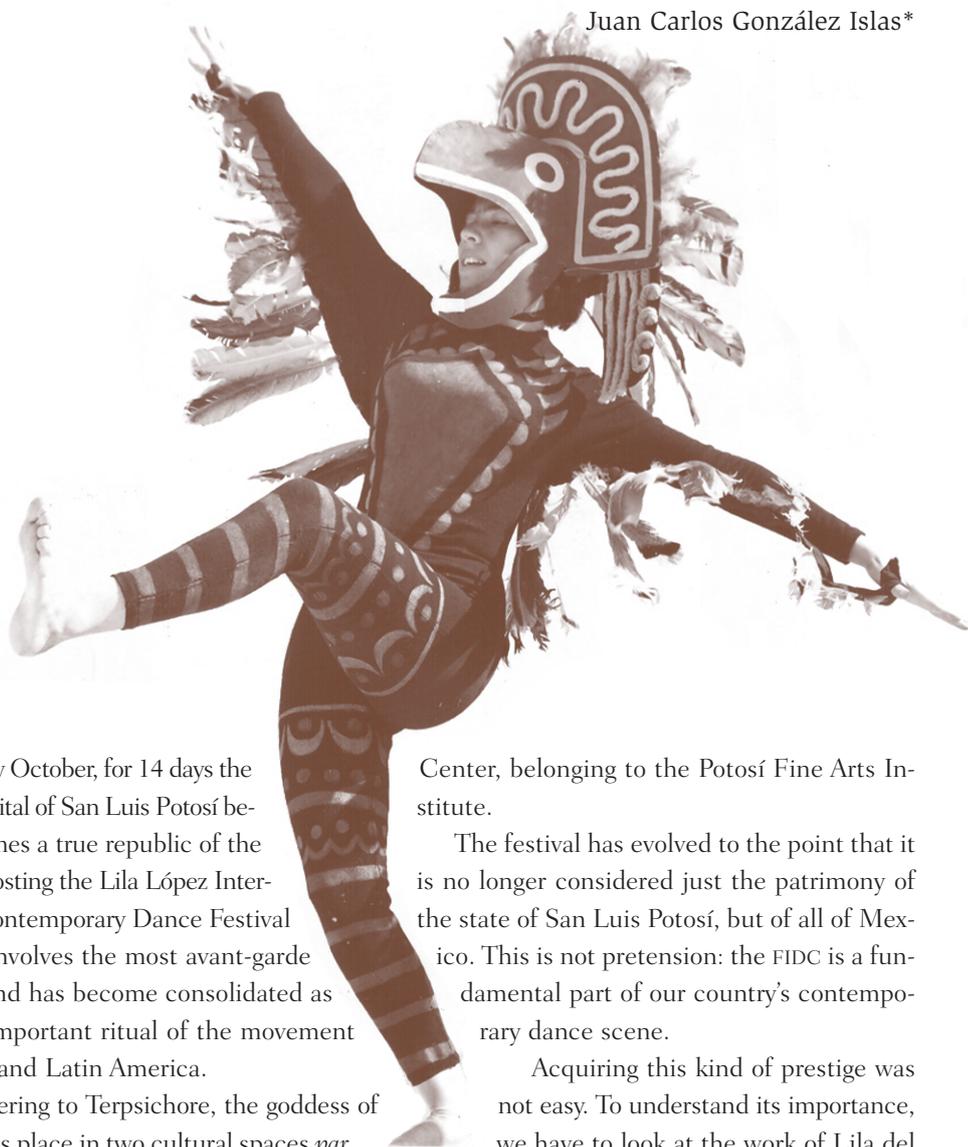
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The Lila López International Contemporary Dance Festival

Juan Carlos González Islas*



Every October, for 14 days the capital of San Luis Potosí becomes a true republic of the dance by hosting the Lila López International Contemporary Dance Festival (FIDC). It involves the most avant-garde in dance and has become consolidated as the most important ritual of the movement in Mexico and Latin America.

The offering to Terpsichore, the goddess of dance, takes place in two cultural spaces *par excellence* in the city of San Luis Potosí: the Peace Theater and the Raúl Gamboa Cultural

Center, belonging to the Potosí Fine Arts Institute.

The festival has evolved to the point that it is no longer considered just the patrimony of the state of San Luis Potosí, but of all of Mexico. This is not pretension: the FIDC is a fundamental part of our country's contemporary dance scene.

Acquiring this kind of prestige was not easy. To understand its importance, we have to look at the work of Lila del Carmen Isabel López Patiño (1933-2001), affectionately known among dancers nationwide as "Maestra Lila," a visionary of her time. She fought to make the festival a space where dancers and choreographers from all over the country could stay abreast of new developments and where they would have the means to express themselves

* Head of information for the San Luis Potosí Ministry of Culture.

All photos are previously unpublished, from the 1964 San Luis Potosí Ballet. Courtesy of the SLP Ministry of Culture's Press Department.

by presenting their own choreographies. Her enthusiasm paid off when the festival was founded.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF A DANCE PROMOTER

Lila López was born July 8, 1933 in Mexico City. When she was nine, she entered the Mexican Electricians Union Children's Ballet, directed by Magda Montoya. In the early 1950s, the talented youngster entered Sergio Franco's group, with which she toured New York, performing at different venues, including the Modern Art Museum. She studied at the Martha Graham School and went to classes taught by Yeichi Nimura at the Ballet Art Studio. She also studied with Xavier Francis, Guillermo Arriaga and the National Ballet of Mexico. She ventured into Spanish dance with Óscar Tarriba and taught in Mexico City at Alfon-



so Arau's Studio, attended by popular stars of the time.

In 1954, Lila participated as guest teacher in the Modern Dance Ballet Quintet, directed by Magda Montoya and Ricardo Silva, with which she toured several cities in Mexico. In 1960, she joined the Official Ballet of Contemporary Dance, under the auspices of the National Fine Arts Institute (INBA).

In 1961 the INBA hired Lila to give modern dance classes at the Potosí Fine Arts Institute. Three years later, she founded the San Luis Provincial Ballet, which years later was to host the FIDC.

THE FESTIVAL IS BORN

The FIDC's immediate predecessor was the choreography Lila López promoted at the First Potosí Cultural Fair in August 1977. The Modern Dance Experimental Group, under the auspices of Amalia Hernández's Choreography Workshop, participated.

At first, the fiesta was called the National Contemporary Dance Festival of San Luis Potosí, and

it took place in July and August, with the support of the INBA, the state government and the Potosí Fine Arts Institute. Beginning in 1981, the number of dance groups from all over the country who came to the festival grew.

In 1990, during the 10th National Contemporary Dance Festival, it became international, as it continues to be. In 2001 Governor Fernando Silva Nieto decreed that Lila López's name should be added to the festival's title, in homage to her invaluable work.

López always had the support of her inseparable partner, painter Raúl Gamboa Cantón, and of her dear friend and closest collaborator, Carmen Alvarado. It was Alvarado who took responsibility for organizing the twelfth and thirteenth festivals when Lila López was no longer there to do it.



AN EXAMPLE TO BE FOLLOWED

On the basis of the solid organization and dissemination of contemporary dance by the FIDC in our country, other states have begun to organize their own festivals. The FIDC is consolidating its work as an example to be followed: today there are more than 30 festivals throughout the country that use the operational model that *Maestra Lila* implemented from the very start.

In its 26 years, the FIDC has hosted more than 450 choreographers who have presented about 1,400 dance pieces. The workshops held during the FIDC have involved more than 1,600 students, while about 145 Mexican groups and 70 foreign companies have attended. In addition, the FIDC includes other artistic activities like national photography and visual arts contests organized around the theme of contemporary dance. Since 2004, the FIDC has been held in October in order to attract more internationally renowned companies and insure its prominence nationwide. The goal is, as *Maestra Lila* would have wanted, to become one of the world's most important international festivals. **MM**



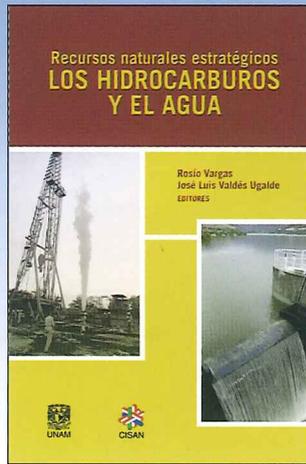
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Rosío Vargas and
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

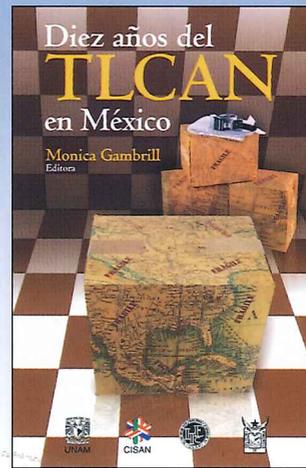
This book deals with an issue vital to the survival of the so-called global village: the imminent scarcity of strategic natural resources, basically oil and water, and the risks this poses for the world's well-being and peace. Experts from different disciplines and of different nationalities look at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



Diez años del TLCAN en México

Monica Gambrill, editor

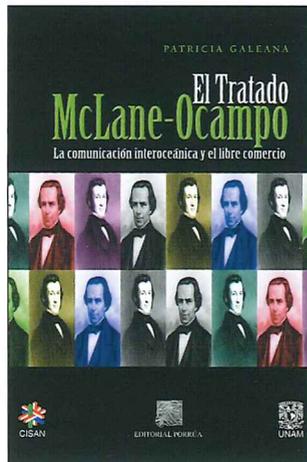
Ten years after NAFTA came into effect, specialists in different disciplines met to evaluate the effects of its implementation in Mexico. Among other topics, the book looks at macro-economic factors, national industry and the maquiladora plants, foreign investment, labor mobility, agriculture and animal 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.



El Tratado McLane-Ocampo. La comunicación interoceánica y el libre comercio

Patricia Galeana

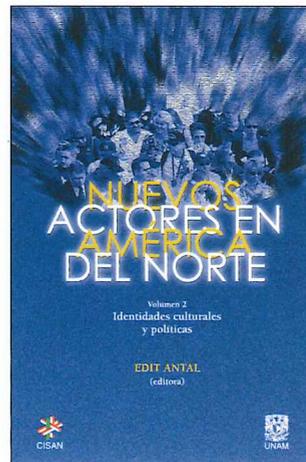
The difficult relations between Mexico and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, the dispute among the great powers over inter-oceanic traffic, the rivalry among Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama over what would be the center of world trade and the debate between protectionism and free trade are just some of the topics this book deals with. It also contains previously unpublished reports by the U.S. representative in the diplomatic negotiations that followed, some of the most difficult Mexico ever experienced.



Nuevos actores en América del Norte (vol. 2)

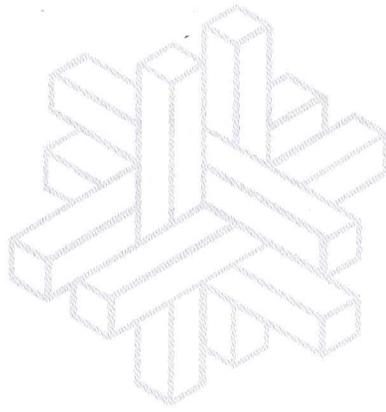
Edit Antal, editor

This work analyzes new and pre-existing actors in North America and the dynamics of their relationships. With a multidisciplinary focus and from their own point of view, the actors themselves evaluate the role they have played while the authors try to understand the mechanisms they use to create societies of a new kind. The book is structured by topic, with four cross-cutting themes: energy resources and security; economic and environmental issues; cultural identities (including indigenous questions); and problems linked to social actors' political identity and empowerment.



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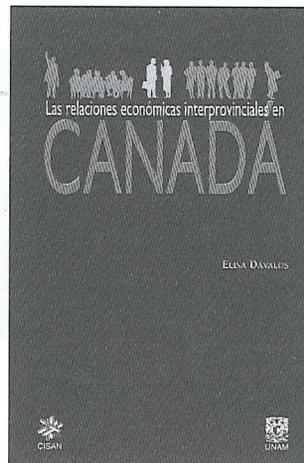
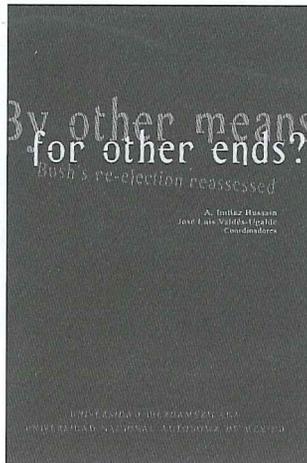
CISAN

p u b l i c a t i o n s

***By other means for other ends?
Bush's re-election reassessed***

A. Imtiaz Hussain and
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book explains the results of the 2004 presidential elections, pointing to the changes in U.S. society after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Taking into account factors like the expansion of international violence and terrorist activities, as well as domestic socio-political variables, the authors analyze society's reaction to the perception that there was a crisis of survival. This book is the result of a very up-to-date research project, citing specialized journals, influential U.S. newspapers and magazines, web sites of the most influential political and social actors and documents that aim to explain the U.S. political scene.



Las relaciones económicas interprovinciales en Canadá
(Inter-provincial Economic Relations in Canada)

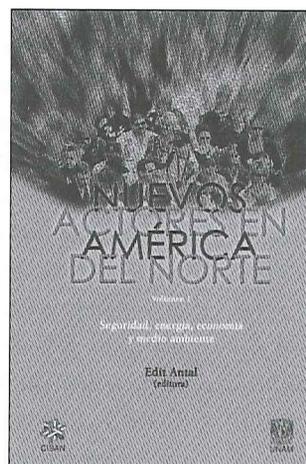
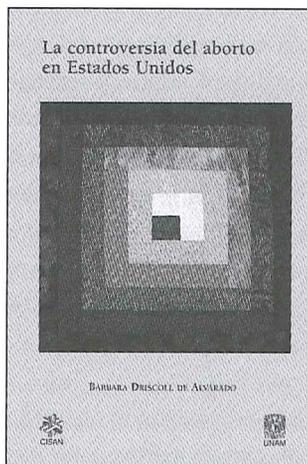
Elisa Dávalos

The decentralization of the Canadian state gives autonomy to the provinces in matters that in other countries are only decided by the central government. Issues like the ability of provinces to regulate aspects of their economies, which has created some inter-provincial barriers to trade and a certain fragmentation of the national market, or the constitutional jurisdiction of the provinces over their own natural resources are studied in this work that analyzes the provinces' regionalist behavior, highlighting their economic interrelationships and performance.

La controversia del aborto en Estados Unidos

Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado

Examining the role of abortion in contemporary U.S. history opens up an important window for understanding that country's political development: the conservative agenda, the emergence of religious groups, the challenges for liberals, political parties and even scientific research in certain areas, given that this issue has transcended the sphere of private life and medical practice and has become an important symbol in the moral and, above all, political controversy.



Nuevos actores en América del Norte

Edit Antal, ed.

New regional actors (networks, social movements, companies and institutions) have emerged in recent years in North America that academic analyses must take into account. This book is an indispensable contribution to a multidisciplinary focus on their activities and the process of their interaction.

Forthcoming

Alternativas energéticas para el siglo XXI
Procesos de integración en las Américas

De San Blas hasta la Alta California. Los viajes y diarios de Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández

Mexico and the UN Security Council

Roberta Lajous*



Reuters/Chip East

Mexico occupied a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council from 2002 to 2003. The government of Vicente Fox has announced its candidacy for the years 2009 to 2010. This article is a reflection about our most recent participation, with a look at both its negative and positive sides.¹

WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE BETTER

It was a late decision that forced us to a precipitated campaign. On December 2, 2001,

the Fox administration's Minister of Foreign Affairs Jorge G. Castañeda announced our candidacy for an election that would take place in October 2002. Various countries had registered their interest in taking the seat reserved for Latin America and the Caribbean several years in advance; among them were the Dominican Republic, which had the advantage of almost four years of active, decided campaigning behind it. It had already gotten a series of diplomatic-note vote commitments from countries in the region, putting our friends and trade partners in a difficult situation when we began to ask for their support.

From the beginning, it was clear that we would not have the almost indispensable endorsement of our region for the seat that is decided by universal vote. For that reason, we soon had to

* Member of Mexico's Foreign Service since 1979 and currently coordinator of international affairs of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

**Until now we have not contributed
with civilian or military contingents for peacekeeping
operations in the way that other countries
of Latin America do.**

go out to the entire world to look for votes. All our embassies began an active campaign, though there are not that many of them compared to other countries with the same level of development. For that reason, it was necessary to name roving ambassadors, people who for various reasons had prior links to different regions of the world. Several missions went to Africa, where our diplomatic representation was the weakest. A delegation also went to the new countries of Europe and Asia which emerged at the end of the Cold War, and another to the South Pacific. All of them sought interviews at the highest political level. However, the campaign centered in New York, where the largest group of diplomats and security specialists in the world gather. There, we sought the good graces of the great powers and of each of the small countries, whose vote carries the same weight in the UN General Assembly where the election is held out during the annual session.

As expected, we did not win the election in the first round of voting. There had to be a second round, in which many countries were able to abandon the commitment they had made for the first. I remember the minutes that passed between the first and second vote as the longest of my professional career. However, we won. Nevertheless, along the way, we left scars that still plague us, even when we have sought

new candidacies. The Caribbeans have the feeling that the Mexican steamroller passed right over the rhetoric that says that the Caribbean is our third border. We promised Africa a rapprochement that still has not materialized.

When we entered the council, we had not updated our position on important topics affecting international security. For years we had been absent from many of the council's public debates, about which all UN members take a position. Perhaps the most noteworthy of our omissions was the Middle East.

After the episode that led to the resignation of Foreign Relations Minister Emilio O. Rabasa in 1974, Mexico made very few contributions to the issue. It fell to me to make our first speech before the council in this new period on this topic, not without first getting approval in writing from Tlatelolco of every single line I was going to say.² Foreign policy is always a team effort, and the more years of experience invested in designing a position, almost always, the better the result.

With regard to other issues that emerged in recent years, like the restructuring of the Balkan borders or the former Soviet Union, or the crisis of governability in Africa, Mexico had also neglected to develop its position. With the excuse that these issues do not affect our interests or that we do not have embassies in the region to in-

form us directly about what is going on there, we had kept our distance.

With the campaign to obtain the seat on the council and, simultaneously, the extra work load that this meant for Mexico's mission in New York and the preparation of the 2002 Monterrey Financing for Development Summit, very few human resources and little time were left over for preparing each issue on the council agenda. The team in charge of our participation had not yet established our general strategy when the crisis caused by the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in the very island of Manhattan happened. The UN was taken over not only by security agents who took control of our lives in the area adjacent to the headquarters on First Avenue, but also by the anti-terrorist agenda that from that moment on contaminated the entire organization. I still remember the elegant invitation that the Mexican mission sent out for the performance of Amalia Hernández's folklore ballet on September 11 as part of a campaign to win goodwill among New York's diplomatic community. It was cancelled, along with all the other activities we had planned, including a visit a few days later by Mexico's president to the UN.

The external events that impeded the mission's regular work for weeks and that absorbed us in dealing with the recently created Special Committee to fight against terrorism put an end to our preparations. The world changed with the attacks, and so did the UN agenda, especially the Security Council agenda. No one could have foreseen this sudden shift in the international community's concerns, but we reacted slowly in understanding its impact and in responding to the new circumstances in which we were entering the council.

On the other hand, given the uncertainty about whether we would enter into the Security Council or not, the public was not prepared for our doing so. For Mexico, taking on greater responsibility in the international sphere created a series of opportunities and advantages. However, the questioning of Mexico's position about the Iraq invasion and the terms under which Adolfo Aguilar Zinser later resigned as head of Mexico's permanent mission at the UN encouraged the traditional position that we should not go looking for trouble in somebody else's back yard. To my surprise, I found that even in 2005, when I returned to Mexico after finishing my mission in Cuba, amidst a convoluted series of opposing arguments, the public continued to have doubts about the advantages of participating in the council. While during the 2006 presidential campaign, two of the three main political parties, the National Action Party (PAN) and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), coincided on the need for Mexico to play a more important role on the world stage, the issue of participating in the Security Council sparked no enthusiasm.

Internal political jockeying and personal rivalries were reflected in our participation in the Security Council. First was the sudden change of the head of the Mexican mission 10 days before taking our seat as president of the council for the first time in February 2002. Regardless of the reasons behind it or whether the decision was correct or not, it was not an appropriate move in terms of timing or manner. But that was only one of the factors that contributed to the improvisation of the entire exercise. Others were the lack of human and financial resources. Given the uncertainty of winning the seat, the min-

istry did not assign sufficient personnel beforehand, and the federal government did not plan for contributing financial resources so that our speeches could be accompanied with commitments of special funds to deal with the humanitarian crises resulting from armed conflicts. Even more serious, until today we have not contributed with civilian or military contingents for peacekeeping operations. No strategy has been designed by the federal government to really fill out Mexico's commitment to contribute to international security in the way that, for example, other countries of Latin America do. Even Central American countries contribute contingents to UN forces. South American contingents have even headed up actions, such as in the recent case of Haiti. Mexico's government has not prepared itself to systematically send abroad organized groups of doctors, nurses, police, Federal Electoral Institute officials, rescue teams or even armed contingents. If we are going to share in the international responsibility for putting an end to armed conflicts and contribute to the reconstruction of conflict areas, we have to take steps to give substance to our presence in the UN. If we aspire to consolidating prestige among the world's dozen largest economies, we have to make the corresponding contribution. The time has come to assume other costs beyond being the UN's tenth largest

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financial contributor. Hopefully, this time we will do it with the appropriate institutional coordination.

THE POSITIVE LEGACY

The positions Mexico took inside the council in its 2002-2003 period were correct and, at the end of the day, this contributed to our foreign policy's prestige. There were errors in implementation, but in the main, as the history of events confirms, we took the right positions. The most important issue faced in that two-year period, and undoubtedly a watershed in the activities of the Security Council, was the invasion of Iraq. Mexico's position was firm and consistent, always supportive of the UN and its inspection of supposed programs and arsenals of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. In the Middle East conflict, particularly with regard to the Palestinian and Lebanese question, we managed to establish clear positions despite the difficulty of maintaining a balance without irritating the domestic Mexican communities with close ties to the region. In the broad spectrum of African issues, including the thorny question of the Western Sahara, we made an effective contribution to the maintenance of international law. It was perhaps regarding this issue, thanks to Mexico's important legal tradition in its international dealings,

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We gave political substance to the relationship
with France, for example.**

in which we made the most contributions, whether in different aspects of the fight against terrorism or in the consolidation of institutions like the International Criminal Court.

Our contributions were not short-lived, but rather the result of a long tradition of input into the codification of international law. They were always backed up by a good analysis that strengthened the defense of international legality. This has implied, of course, knowing and accepting the entire body of resolutions adopted by the council itself; therefore, it is important to participate in it and have an influence on the design of its resolutions, because they have a direct impact on existing international law. Our contribution to the quest for greater transparency in the council's work methods and the inclusion of thematic debates to try to establish criteria for UN activity in the areas of peace and security are no small matter either.

For those who continue to argue that Mexico should abstain from participating in the council because it might irritate the United States, I am sorry to inform them that all the great powers are perfectly aware of our foreign policy's track record. If a migratory accord was not arrived at with our neighbor during the administration of President Fox, it was for very different reasons, which are well worth analyzing, but it was not because of our po-

sitions in the council. Proof of this is that Chile, which accompanied us the entire time, particularly with regard to Iraq, signed a free trade agreement with Washington a few months after its participation in the council. In any case, what should be asked is if we want to have an independent foreign policy, not whether we are going to express it in the Security Council.

Mexico's participation in the council improved the level of our relations with many countries. We gave political substance to the relationship with France, for example. We made unprecedented strides toward closer relations with the countries in our region with whom we coincided the first year (Colombia) and the second year (Chile) in the council. Not only did we develop more intense relations with council members, both permanent and non-permanent, but also, as normally happens, we were lobbied by all the parties interested in different issues and conflicts. The majority of people unfamiliar with the UN do not know the kind of status a country acquires when it enters the council. There have even been cases of increases in the amounts of foreign aid from both the UN itself and the great powers that less developed countries that enter the council receive. I am not trying to say that that criterion applies to Mexico, but rather, just to illustrate one of the consequences that membership has and the

reason there is such sharp competition to occupy each of the 10 non-permanent seats. Interest in closed-door council session discussions is so great that there is always a group of reporters and delegates from friendly countries waiting outside for participants demanding information. The Mexican delegation had to set up a weekly meeting with the members of the Rio Group, which at that time was still functioning as a body for regional political negotiation, to share information in the light of our commitment to transparency and regional solidarity. In addition, very often, it was used to arrive at group positions, always including those of the two participants from the region, even in the public debates. But beyond our own region, from the previous time we participated in the council almost 20 years before, we were forced to deepen the African and Mid-East agendas, a prerequisite for diversifying our foreign relations. If we really want to stand out in the world as a medium-sized power, we must give continuity to the systematic, consistent participation in the Security Council's public debates that reflect our commitment to a universal state foreign policy.

Our incursion into the Security Council proved the professionalism of Mexico's Foreign Service. While the main responsibility fell on the shoulders of the personnel of the mission in New York, of the vice-ministry in charge of UN affairs and of the legal consultants, the positive results were the product of the work of a larger team, where the efforts of the most remote embassies took on new meaning and supported the New York mission. Thanks to electronic communications, it was possible to quickly read reports that only a few years ago traveled to the central offices exclusively by diplomatic pouch. The

Ministry of Foreign Relations' ability to direct and link up all the representations is critical if it wants to use all the experience accumulated in dozens of officials who may be in other parts of the world, but who are sensitive to certain issues that they can contribute to to the benefit of their colleagues in New York.

I must emphasize that in the 27 years I have been in the Foreign Service, I have noted that the new generations are increasingly better prepared and include specialists on the most diverse issues and regions of the world. However, I know that in New York, the potential of officials who have become delegates to the different bodies and commissions increases when they acquire knowledge and the unparalleled skills that our participation in the council and in multilateral bodies in general offers. I cannot refrain from mentioning with pride that our delegation had perhaps the highest and highest level of gender representation. Of the 15 countries participating in the council in 2002, I was the only woman with the rank of ambassador.

Another consequence of our participation in the council was that it strengthened our position during the discussion of the reform of the UN and in particular with regard to the reform of the council itself one year later. Undoubtedly, after 2003, the council's crisis of credibility and legitimacy due to the tragedy in Iraq intensified the pressure to incorporate new permanent members. For the first time, there seemed to be a real possibility that the so-called "Group of Four," made up of Germany, Brazil, India and Japan, would get a permanent seat on the council. Brazil's aspirations were argued based on a supposed regional representation because it is the largest country in Latin

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America and the Caribbean. In addition, Brazil still argues that it has "commitment and experience" because it has participated in the council nine times between 1946 and 2006. Mexico has rejected this position, proposing the constructive alternative of creating semi-permanent seats through their immediate, consecutive re-election. This idea was written up in a proposed resolution that would have lacked legitimacy if Mexico had not recently participated in the council. We would never have been able to give substance to our counterproposal if we had stayed outside the council for more than 20 years. For now, the reform of the council seems to have been taken off the international agenda and the arguments of the "Group of Four" have still not convinced a sufficient number of countries to be successful. However, it is clear that the only way of moderating the aspirations of any country that wants to take upon itself the mantle of representing an entire region—in particular our region—is consistently participating.

CONCLUSION

Our participation in the Security Council in 2002 and 2003 was a good decision despite everything. It was only the third time we have done so since the UN's foundation in 1946. We will

be able to do it more professionally in 2009-2010 if we begin to plan and prepare immediately. We will have to start by reactivating our political relations with several of the members in our region and by breathing new life into the Rio Group or some other *ad hoc* mechanism. This would make it possible for the representation in the Security Council, far from being a bone of contention in the Latin American family, to be a factor for our countries growing closer together. Among the foreign policy priorities of the next administration is the definition of what we want to achieve with our participation in the Security Council and the strategies for doing so. We will have to be aware of the costs and commitments required beyond just the financial, to have a representation which is up to the place that Mexico aspires to occupy in the world. ■■■

NOTES

¹ I should tell the reader that in December 2000, I was appointed permanent alternate representative to the United Nations. I was responsible for coordinating our participation in the council until November 2002, when I was appointed ambassador to Cuba. Mexico participated as an observer in the closed-door council sessions, reserved to members, from November 2001 on. The opinions I express here are my own.

² The author is referring here to the Ministry of Foreign Relations, located in the Tlatelolco area, north of Mexico City's downtown. [Editor's Note.]

Mexico and Multilateral Diplomacy

Jorge Eduardo Navarrete*



Reuters/Chip East

By long tradition, the multilateral sphere has been one of Mexican diplomacy's priorities. The current institutional structure of multilateralism began to be built at the end of World War II and for the last 60 years, the presence and voice of Mexico have been felt in the majority of the most important debates. Mexico defended the legal equality of states when the composition of the United Nations Security Council was discussed; it postulated

the primacy of development when the priorities of the World Bank were determined —originally called, at Mexico's initiative, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It struggled constantly in all forums and bodies for disarmament, an effort which resulted in the Nobel Peace Prize being awarded to one of its most illustrious diplomats, Alfonso García Robles. It proposed and achieved, through the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the establishment of the first region free of nuclear weapons, Latin America. It opened the way for the transformation of the international economic order with initiatives like the Charter of Economic

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Mexico should foster a multilateral examination
of the respect for or violation of political freedoms,
particularly the validity of voting in its own 2006 electoral process;
this would eliminate doubts that it wishes to demand behavior
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Rights and Duties of States. It organized and, jointly with Canada, presided over the first North-South summit about cooperation for development in Cancun. In short, it has been the proponent of innovative ways of dealing multilaterally with matters like migration, drug trafficking and the rights of the differently abled. The list of Mexico's contributions to multilateral dialogue on a global, hemispheric and regional level could be extended to include many more examples. However, the object of this text is not to count them, but to attempt to analyze two current multilateral debates crucial for the future of cooperation among countries, the preservation and strengthening of multilateralism and the role Mexico has played in both.

HUMAN RIGHTS: TOWARD A NEW FOCUS

The first meeting of the new United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC), under the direct aegis of the General Assembly, was held in Geneva in mid-2006. Thus began a new stage in multilateral treatment of an issue of universal importance that expresses itself in national decisions. The primary responsibility for individual freedoms (personal, political, social and cultural) depends on actions or omissions that occur above all inside nation-states. However, what

happens inside each nation-state is a matter of concern for all, and therefore human rights are a collective, universal responsibility. As we all know, the council replaced the UN Human Rights Commission, a subsidiary organ of the Economic and Social Council. The commission's transformation into the council is the most concrete advance of the prolonged, controversial process of UN reform. There is no doubt that the main challenge the council faces is to distinguish itself from the commission. Not only must it act differently, but it must also make sure that the general perception be that it is acting differently. Seen in this light, the first session of the new Human Rights Council came nowhere near the expectations it had generated, given that it concentrated on procedural questions and during the two weeks it met, the old commission's ways of dealing with issues, so to speak, prevailed.

A leadership was elected to chair the council's first session, made up of a president, representing the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, and four vice-presidents, one for each of the other regional groups: Eastern Europe, Africa, Western Europe and other States and Asia. This is the same make-up as the chairing body of the commission's final session, held in spring 2006, which passed on its issues and procedures to the new council. In this important matter of selecting

the council's leadership, members preferred continuity to renovation. Just like the commission's, the council's leadership was made up of representatives of the regional groups designated by each of them. The proposal to elect the presidium in an open vote was considered, but it was decided that it was safer to use the established procedure. After all, going to the regional groups is the common practice for forming the leaderships of all United Nations organs. Established practices have their own weight and impose themselves even in cases that promise to be different from their predecessors.

This is why it seems excessive to celebrate Mexico's election as president of the council, saying that it was the recognition of the country's leadership in human rights matters, as the Mexican delegate stated to the national press. It was simply the application of an established procedure: the presidency continued in the hands of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, and a gentleman's agreement within the group allowed Mexico to replace Peru.

A short summary of the results of the first council session, based on the report of the council itself, shows the following points as the most important: the approval of a treaty and a statement to be ratified by the General Assembly. The former, called the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, defines enforced disappearance as a crime, and, if it is generalized and systematic, a crime against humanity. The convention makes preventive action a priority and establishes the rights of victims. The second point, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, reaffirms self-determination and other rights of first

peoples, including that of protection from actions carried out against their free will, expressed previously and with prior knowledge, the right to own and enjoy their lands and traditional resources and the right to establish and control their own educational systems, with teaching in their own languages.

To foster tolerance and in answer to episodes considered an incitement to ethnic and religious clashes, the council decided to request that special rapporteurs on freedom of religion and beliefs and contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related forms of intolerance, as well as the High Commissioner for Human Rights, prepare a report about these issues for the next council session. In addition, given the entry into force of the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which establishes a mechanism for inspection visits to detention centers to prevent torture, the council called on all states to ratify it and comply with its stipulations.

Finally, the council began to discuss procedures to carry out the “universal periodic review” of the human rights situation. This is the new body’s biggest innovation *vis-à-vis* the old commission. Now, no country, starting with the council’s 53 members, will be able to escape periodic, objective and impartial scrutiny of its human rights record. A working group was established to propose scheduling and forms of action.

The Middle East events of summer 2006 not only occupied international attention, but also impacted the work of the first council session. The matter of the disproportionate and abusive military action by Israel in Gaza

and Lebanon was discussed during the session, giving rise to the council’s first special session. Twenty-one of the council’s 53 members—not only Arab or Muslim countries, but Latin American ones like Brazil; Asian ones like India; and African ones like South Africa—seconded Tunisia’s proposal to hold a special session. Mexico did not second the motion. The special session decided (29 in favor, 11 against, 5 abstentions and 8 absent) to commission the special *ad hoc* rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Palestine to make an investigative visit to the occupied territories. The debate was heated, and, despite the special rapporteur’s clarity, it degenerated into an exchange of accusations that participants were trying to politicize the council’s work. Thus, at the end of its first session, the Human Rights Council, with a sharp debate and a divided vote, dealt with the first of its controversies about an issue and in a format and style completely reminiscent of the workings of the old commission.

With the responsibility of the presidency, Mexico will have to guide the council’s activities. Hopefully, it will contribute to an objective, impartial, equitable multilateral scrutiny of the, unfortunately, numerous violations of fundamental freedoms. To safeguard objectivity and transparency, Mexico should foster a multilateral examination of the respect for or violation of political

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freedoms, particularly the validity of voting, in its own 2006 electoral process; this would eliminate any doubts that it wishes to demand behavior of others that it does not live up to itself.

MIGRATION, A GLOBAL ISSUE

In September 2006, on the eve of its 61st General Assembly, the United Nations took the first very important step to formally and definitively establish migration as a priority issue on the global agenda. This launched a new phase in the way the world deals with migration, until now mostly handled bilaterally or regionally. It is to be hoped that multilateral treatment of migration will result in positive long-term policies, based on the common, complementary needs of sending and destination countries, that will progressively reduce the restrictive and repressive nature of most current national or regional policies, particularly those of the United States and the European Union.

Recent UN studies point to facts like the following: in 2005, there were 191 million migrants, almost half of whom were women. One-third of the total migrated between developing countries, while another third emigrated from developing to developed countries. The biggest receiving regions were Europe (34 percent), Asia (28 percent) and North America (23 percent).

As the country that sends the largest number of migrants abroad, it is to be expected that Mexico will make an important contribution to the multilateral dialogue about migration.

Almost 60 percent of migrants settle in countries with high incomes, but some of these, like the Arab countries, are part of the developing world. The favorite destinations were few: only 17 countries absorbed three-fourths of the increase in migrants between 1990 and 2005. Fifteen million entered the United States, four million went to Germany and another four million to Spain.

The number of skilled workers who emigrate from the developing world to the advanced countries has increased even faster. Six out of every 10 migrants with higher education who arrived in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in 2000 came from poor countries. Around 60 percent of people with higher education from countries like Guyana, Haiti, Fiji, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have already migrated to advanced countries.

Between 1995 and 2005, remittances migrants sent home rose from U.S.\$102 billion to U.S.\$232 billion. In 2005, almost three-fourths of the total (U.S.\$161 billion) was sent to developing countries, while the latter received only half the total in 1995. Remittances are sent to a relatively small, concentrated group of countries: four of them (India, China, Mexico and France) absorbed one-third of the total.

Another third went to 16 other countries, half of them developed. In most cases, remittances represent less than one-tenth of the gross domestic product of receiving countries, but they easily surpass the monies sent in official development aid.

These cold numbers mask the enormous political controversy, social tension and human suffering that have accompanied expanded world migration in the last decade.

The report *International Migration and Development*, published by the UN, shows that, in a framework of appropriate policies, international migration can benefit both countries of origin and destinations, as long as the rights of migrants are recognized and respected. The report traces a broad area for intergovernmental cooperation, beyond migratory policies and agreements for forced repatriation, to make use of migrants' movements and capabilities, to develop their potential, including training programs and cooperation regarding pensions. It states that cooperation among countries is essential for protecting people from the hateful crime of trafficking in persons.

The world has entered a new era of migration: global migration. The search for better living conditions pushes migrants not only toward neighboring countries or to countries within the same region, but, really, to any point on the globe. Very few countries are untouched by migration, and fewer and fewer countries are not affected by its formidable impact on development.

There is increasing proof of the benefits of international migration. Many countries, among them Ireland, Korea, Chile and several in Southern Europe, have switched from being sending countries to being net receiving coun-

tries. Others, like Malaysia and Thailand, have begun that same transformation. It is clear that migration can no longer be understood as a North-South issue, but must be looked at as a global one.

Obviously, migration also brings with it a potential for conflict. The report analyzes some of its manifestations. Migrants are the object of abuse both in transit, when they are often at the mercy of traffickers of persons, and in their destination country, where they are frequently subject to exploitation at work and xenophobic reactions of residents and even public authorities. The social and cultural tensions that have arisen in many countries with recently settled foreign-born populations are well known, particularly when they are marked by contrasting values, religions, and customs. These tensions make assimilation more difficult and reduce migrants' contribution to the economy and society that receive them.

There may be no other multilateral topic that is more urgent than fostering cooperation and promoting exchange of experiences and focuses for migratory policy. After all, migration, as a local issue, will concern the international community for a good part of the rest of this century.

As the country that sends the largest number of migrants abroad, it is to be expected that Mexico will make an important contribution to the multilateral dialogue about migration. In the future, a good part of what can be achieved with regard to the treatment of and the position of Mexican migrants in the United States will come more out of the advances that are made in international cooperation than from the very elusive, costly gains derived from bilateral negotiations. **MM**

Toward an Activist Foreign Policy: Mexico, Multilateralism And the Americas¹

Luis Jiménez McInnis*



German Romero/Cuartoscuro

Foreign Minister Luis Ernesto Derbez, left, with Mexico's Luis Alfonso de Alba, the first president of the UN Human Rights Council.

In May, Mexico was elected to serve on the United Nations Human Rights Council, joining Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru and Uruguay to represent the Americas on the newest body in the UN system. Crowning Mexico's victory, 10 days later it was chosen to preside over the council during its first decisive year when rules will be drafted and precedents set. María del Refugio González, vice-minister for multilateral affairs and human rights of the Foreign Ministry, said with some justification that Mexico had "certain moral author-

ity" on human rights, qualifying it for membership. Yet it is also well known that there are gaps in Mexico's human rights compliance, some quite glaring and egregious. Police abuse, lack of due process guarantees and inadequate access to justice are among the problems cited in a recent Human Rights Watch report as well in Amnesty International's 2006 report. Yet the fact that Mexico was willing to join the council thereby submitting itself to the council's new peer review process testifies to the country's political maturity, commitment to improve human rights compliance and belief in the multilateral system. For that, Mexico is to be commended.

Mexico has historically played an important role in multilateral affairs. The so-called

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French-Mexican initiative in the 1980s signalled the beginning of international efforts to put a stop to conflict in Central America. Later, the involvement of Mexico in the Contadora Group for the peace processes in Central America and the subsequent signing of the Chapultepec Peace Accords in 1992, ending the fighting in El Salvador, made it a leading international actor in the hemisphere. Moreover, Mexico's leadership in multilateral affairs through the United Nations in efforts such as the Law of the Sea, human rights, development and disarmament contributed to the establishment of the legal instruments that govern the international system today.

Since the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1992, the Mexico-United States relationship has been given, predictably, priority in the foreign policy realm. Closer trade relations, the large numbers of Mexicans living in the United States, the contentious migration issue, as well as the obvious geographical proximity of the two countries dictates that the U.S.-Mexican relationship will inevitably loom large for both countries. Nevertheless, at a time when there are geopolitical shifts throughout Latin America and increasing calls for United Nations reform, strong re-engagement and leadership by Mexico within Latin America is essential. Such re-engagement is in the interest of Mexico as well as the rest of the hemisphere.

MEXICO'S HISTORICAL ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Mexico's foreign policy is enshrined in its Constitution. Paragraph X of Article 89 lays out the principles of conduct:

**At a time when there
are geopolitical shifts
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strong Mexican leadership
in the region is essential.**

a) self-determination of nations; b) non-intervention; c) peaceful resolution of disputes; d) the proscription of the threat or the use of force in international relations; e) the legal equality of states; f) international cooperation for development; and g) the struggle for international peace and security.

These principles, particularly that of non-intervention, should not be seen in a minimalist way as pertains to Mexican foreign policy. Quite to the contrary. As demonstrated by Mexico's involvement, particularly in Central America and in economic matters in the 1980s, non-interference does not mean indifference or inaction —especially when working multilaterally.

What brought together Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela to the island of Contadora in 1983 was a desire to end conflicts in neighboring Central America, conflicts in which Washington was heavily involved. What made Contadora and Mexican peace efforts in Central America remarkable was that these were strictly Latin American initiatives during a period when tensions between the United States and the former Soviet Union were being played out on Latin American soil. This time, Latin America, working closely with the United Nations, took the initiative to find a regional solution to a regional problem.

It was in Mexico's interest to address the fighting taking place on the Central American isthmus given the spill-over effects of the conflict on Mexico's border. Nevertheless, in today's globalized world, spill-over effects are not only defined by geographic proximity. Political instability, conflict, environmental damage and disease in our hemisphere, and even in another far away corner of the world, undoubtedly have the potential to impact people everywhere.

MEXICO AND LATIN AMERICA

Mexico is a country of contrasts. It is a member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development with Latin America's second largest economy —surpassed only by Brazil— and the highest per capita income in the region. As is often cited, approximately 80 percent of Mexico's trade is with the United States, with which it shares a 3,141 kilometer-long border. At the same time, however, approximately 50 percent of the population lives in poverty. The 2000 elections were seen as part of the country's long democratic transition. In terms of the political and economic challenges it faces, Mexico is more in line with its Latin American neighbors, with whom it shares strong historical and cultural ties.

An example of the challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean is Haiti. On the western side of the island of Hispaniola, 65 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. Haitians have been beset by political turmoil and the worst social and economic indicators in the hemisphere. The highest incidence of HIV/AIDS outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (5 percent)

is found in Haiti. Half the population has no access to clean drinking water and only 28 percent have access to decent sanitary facilities.

In 2004, the international community took collective action to provide yet another chance for Haiti. In many respects, the peacekeeping operation that began, the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (Minustah), became a test case for Latin America. Brazil provided the force commander and 1,200 troops. The first mission head was Chilean and the new one is from Guatemala. When donors and other interested states met recently to meet the new authorities and to renew their commitment to accompany Haiti throughout its difficult transition, the gathering was held not in Washington or Ottawa but in Brasilia. A failure in Haiti would, therefore, be not just a failure for the United Nations. It would represent a failure for the eight million Haitians and—as the first Latin American-led peacekeeping operation—for the entire region.

Following its Constitution, Mexico has not contributed troops to Minustah or to other United Nations peacekeeping operations. The Mexican ambassador in Haiti, however, played an active and extremely positive role, providing leadership within the international community in Port-au-Prince, particularly as the situation unraveled in 2003 and early 2004. While the debate about military participation in peacekeeping continues (the country has contributed civilians in many areas, particularly persons with electoral expertise), Mexico has not been absent from the international realm. It played an important role as a non-permanent member of the Security Council during the debates on Iraq in 2003. The

March 2002 Financing for Development Conference hosted by Mexico in Monterrey presented an important opportunity to address development issues of concern to middle-income countries. Unfortunately, the unsatisfactory development of the Doha trade round and the events of September 11 combined to ensure that the Monterrey process did not fulfill its potential.

Mexico also played a major facilitating role in early 2000 as a member of the group of facilitating countries between the government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). It was also the main facilitator in 2004 between the government of Colombia and the National Liberation Army (ELN). Although neither of these efforts led to a peace settlement, Mexico's participation confirmed the importance of international community engagement in a negotiated solution to this 40-year old conflict.

And despite its continuing reluctance to send troops abroad, the Mexican armed forces—trained in important areas such as civil protection—have come to the aid of countries in crisis after major natural disasters. The Mexican armed forces have traveled all over the globe to assist places like Central America following Hurricane

Mitch in 1998 and Hurricane Stan in 2005; Haiti on two occasions after flooding in June 2004 and after Hurricane Jeanne in October 2004; after the earthquake in Iran in December 2003; and in the United States after Hurricane Katrina in September 2005.

THE CASE FOR MEXICAN LEADERSHIP

Divisions within Latin America are growing and populations are increasingly dissatisfied with democracy and economic policy. It is precisely at times like we are experiencing today when greater leadership is required. For well-known reasons, Washington's foreign policy priorities are to a large extent not found in this hemisphere. Nevertheless, a stable and prosperous Latin America and Caribbean is in the interest of Mexico's neighbor to the North, making Mexican engagement even more desirable. Currently, Latin America and the Caribbean are facing important challenges with new disputes breaking out and unity seemingly at an all-time low. At the same time, it is evident that chances of success are greatly enhanced by working together.

This is not to say that Latin America can be seen as a monolithic whole. That there are major differences in the region is shown by the open discord at the last Summit of the Americas in Argentina and the frequent inability of the Organization of American States to take bold steps. Nevertheless, there are historical, cultural and linguistic ties that bind and could form the foundation for greater unity. It is equally evident that Mexico is uniquely placed to serve as bridge and interpreter among states which are currently at odds.

**To a large extent,
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the UN and to the principle
of multilateralism.**

What is important to note is that Mexico's important contributions to the international system and peace in the hemisphere—in the 1980s in Central America and more recently in places like Colombia—were made multilaterally, in close coordination with the United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS REFORM: TOWARD GREATER ENGAGEMENT

Mexico is a founding member of the United Nations. To a large extent, Mexican foreign policy has demonstrated its firm commitment to the UN and to the principle of multilateralism. And as the United Nations attempts to reform itself in order to more adequately respond to today's challenges, Mexico has played its part as a member of the Group of Friends for United Nations Reform—a grouping that encompasses Algeria, Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Germany, Japan, Kenya, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Singapore, Spain and Sweden.

What has surfaced in debates on UN reform is that many Latin American countries perceive the United Nations as solely focused on the so-called “failed states” and as a mechanism for rich and powerful countries to carry out their foreign policy. Middle-income Latin American countries are left to be spectators on the sidelines. Latin American leaders are focused on what international financial institutions can do to help their countries develop and would like development issues to be higher on the UN agenda. The experience in Latin America has shown that democracy does not thrive in places where there are high levels of poverty and inequality. It is well known that Latin

Despite Mexico's continuing reluctance to send troops abroad, its armed forces have come to the aid of countries in crisis after major natural disasters.

America is the richest region in the developing world and also the most unequal. Dissatisfaction with political parties and governments throughout the region underlines the importance of prioritizing the economic well-being of all citizens.

Issues that dominate the international agenda, such as terrorism, are not as high on the agenda of most Latin American countries. Yet issues like terrorism affect all of us and no member state can feel safe without the adequate participation of all parts of the international community. Mexico's call for a replacement of the Inter-American Treaty on Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty) was an attempt to revamp a Cold War-era defense pact in order to take into account the new threats and challenges facing the international community—the lack of economic development, the unequal distribution of income, transnational organized crime and drugs, breaks in democratic rule and the violation of humanitarian law, the destruction of the environment and natural disasters. Collective action in these and other areas is a necessity.

Nevertheless, there is a legitimate call for a reorientation of UN priorities in order to encompass Latin America's needs and aspirations. Such a reorientation is in the interest of the United

Nations and in the interest of Latin America.

Greater engagement in the international arena by Mexico would benefit Latin America and Mexico, as well as the overall international system. Many have cited a “crisis of confidence” in the United Nations; nevertheless, those who have witnessed the work of the secretariat in New York as it interacts with the representatives of member states are continually reminded that the United Nations is only the sum of its members.

As the threat of bird flu demonstrates, in this globally interconnected world, what happens in one part of the world, let alone in the Western Hemisphere, affects all of us. Haiti, a country with the lowest indicators in the entire hemisphere, is a case in point. The United Nations can serve as a forum to deal with global issues, such as migration, public health, international commerce. And although some of these matters can best be addressed bilaterally, the United Nations undoubtedly provides a platform where the positions of 191 member states can be voiced. For example, on December 16, 2005, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 60/169 on the Protection of Migrants. Mexico actively promoted this resolution, and although the immigration matter is being dealt with bilaterally with the United States, the United Nations has provided an adequate platform for an issue that affects large portions of the developing and the industrialized world.

It would appear that a strengthening of ties with the Latin American region would be in line with the desires of the Mexican people. A 2004 poll carried out by the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE) and the

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Comexi) indicates that when Mexicans were asked who Mexico should pay more attention to, 44 percent put Latin America in first place. Europe came in second with 25 percent.

Strengthened participation by Mexico in the international arena will require a rebuilding of partnerships with the rest of Latin America. The fora for such partnerships already exist, and there is no need to create new institutions, but it is necessary to strengthen them.

Existing mechanisms —the Rio Group (of which Mexico was a founding member after the merger of the Contadora Group and the Support Group that had met previously to analyze and propose solutions to the conflicts in Central America), the GRULAC at the United Nations and the Organization of American States— provide a

start, but these groupings should also be recast and rejuvenated in order to actively promote the interests of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean in a rapidly changing world.

Regional leadership by Mexico will be essential, particularly as it seeks to deepen its relationship with the United States. Mexico could undoubtedly serve as a credible interlocutor with the region, especially in places where it has traditionally held sway, such as Central America. This will also require strengthening the relationship with other middle-income powers such as Brazil, China, India and Russia, where common interests and challenges can also be found. Like a Wall Street portfolio, the diversification of foreign policy interests is wise for any investor, be it in international financial markets or the international system.

As the report of the secretary-general for the World Summit of 2005 states: “Humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.” If there is one group of countries in the world that has historically experienced this reality, it is those of Latin America, including Mexico. In establishing an international agenda, Mexican leadership is essential. Mexican leadership on the UN Human Rights Council is an auspicious new beginning. **MM**

NOTES

¹ The views presented in this article are the author's and do not represent the views of the United Nations.



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North American Security and Development Agendas Five Years after 9/11

María Cristina Rosas*



Reuters/Stinger Mexico

The 9/11 attacks made it necessary to analyze the relationship between security and development. By now, it is almost a cliché to assume that they go hand in hand and that security is not possible without development and vice versa. The relationship is symbiotic. However, until now, the temptation has frequently been to deal with each one separately without correctly correlating them. Thus, during the Cold War, the security agenda predominated over the development agenda.

The bi-polar world in which the United States and the Soviet Union competed, par-

ticularly militarily, left very little room for the development agenda. When the Cold War ended, the agenda for development began to have more maneuvering room, allowing throughout the 1990s for different debates such as those organized in United Nations summits about topics like childhood, the environment, women, social development, etc.

During that decade, the defense budget of most countries in the world declined, while important disarmament initiatives were developed. In addition, in 1994, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) published its traditional *Human Development Report*, introducing the concept of *human security*. While this had been the object of reflection before, the 1990s international context favored greater sensitivity

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about issues linked to the agenda for development and people's welfare. That is, the development agenda tended to prevail over the security agenda for most of the decade.

This situation would change drastically after 9/11, when on September 28, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1373 condemning the attacks on New York, Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania, pointing to terrorism as a threat to international peace and security. This resolution, together with September 12's Resolution 1368, strongly emphasized the need to use all available resources to face the terrorist threat. These resolutions' watchwords have become the minimum standards that all civilized nations should, in principle, adopt. Thus, a large part of the world's countries have put their signatures to conventions against terrorism, adding crimes like financing terrorism to their national legislation.

Nevertheless, the most important thing is that the attention terrorism has received from the UN's most important body has been in detriment to the agenda for development and the issues linked to human security that were so important throughout the 1990s. In other words: the agenda for human security is one of the big victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which in turn, have occasioned a return to the traditional security agenda, equivalent to the one that existed during the Cold War, that is, state-centric, militaristic and dissuasive.

Certainly the UN has tried to maneuver to balance the security and development agendas since 9/11. The most concrete evidence of this is the documents written for the UN's sixtieth anniversary. Two of these, the December 2, 2004 report from the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change,

called "A more secure world: our shared responsibility," and the UN Secretary-General's March 21, 2005 report "In larger freedom. Towards development, security and human rights for all," clearly point to resolving some of the most urgent challenges in matters of security, development and the terrorist threat. But, what does the United States think about this? Does Washington think these proposals are compatible with the "war" against terrorism? How will the North American region shape up in this debate about the relationship between security and development?

In the twenty-first-century world, the confrontation headed up by the

The agenda for human security is one of the big victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which occasioned a return to the traditional state-centric, militaristic, dissuasive security agenda.

United States against terrorism is asymmetrical and unbalanced. That nation's "hard" power can scarcely be equaled by the "soft" power of Al Qaeda or other terrorist organizations. Both Washington and the terrorists open hostilities although in no case would it be possible to annihilate either one (although U.S. economic, military, political and social exhaustion has been under a lot of debate lately).

In addition, U.S. government security measures after 9/11 have been seconded by many countries of the world, and in North America, Mexico and Canada are no exception. So, immediately after the attacks, the United States im-

plemented a policy that would no longer make a distinction between those who perpetrated terrorist acts and those who gave safe harbor to and/or protected them. The new U.S. policy also forced the international community to take sides about the terrorist threat, assuming that whoever did not support the U.S. was naturally against it. Mexico and Canada certainly closed ranks with Washington, although with a few qualifications.

While Mexico and Canada have not hesitated to pass laws making funding terrorist activities a crime, among other things, Ottawa has adopted norms that include giving their police forces broad powers for the arrest, interrogation and investigation into the guilt, even on suspicion, of different individuals. The 2001 Anti-terrorism Act (Bill C-36) adopted similar guidelines to those of the United States in the *war against terror*, including the description of new terrorist crimes and severe punishments for those who commit them. This legislation facilitates the use of electronic monitoring equipment against terrorist groups; allows the police to invoke investigation hearings that demand that individuals presumed to possess information about terrorist groups or crimes considered terrorist acts be brought before a judge to testify; creates criminal penalties for persons who collect funds, directly or indirectly, in order to carry out terrorist actions; strengthens the federal government's ability to deny or cancel aid to those discovered supporting terrorist groups; allows, in the national interest, certain information to be hidden from defense lawyers during court proceedings or in other judicial processes; and makes possible the arrest of individuals based on the simple suspicion that his/her

detention could aid in the capture of terrorists.

As we know, one of the consequences of the fight against terrorism is the increase in the world's military budget given that the war against terror is essentially military. In 2005, the global military budget was approximately U.S.\$1.001 trillion, the equivalent of 2.5 percent of the gross world product, or U.S.\$173 per inhabitant of the planet. This 2005 budget was a 3.4 percent increase over that of 2004; and from 1996 to 2005, military spending jumped 34 percent. The United States accounted for 80 percent of the increase in 2005 and represents 48 percent of the world's military spending today.

In this sense, the United States is increasingly supporting programs of military and police assistance and cooperation with Latin American countries, to the point that this item practically equals the resources earmarked for social and economic aid to the region. At the same time, in recent years the number of Latin American troops receiving training from the U.S. has grown substantially. For example, between 1999 and 2004, Mexico was the fourth beneficiary (after Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador) of U.S. military training in terms of the number of troops involved, with 3,491 soldiers participating. This increases the indoctrination of personnel trained in identifying threats and ways to deal with them. Given that the U.S. security agenda with its militarist vision tends to dominate, it exercises pressure on countries like Mexico to cooperate more closely in this field.

One of the concerns related to this is the way in which the relationship between security and development can be dealt with in a country like Mexico. For example, on the occasion of the

Organization of American States-sponsored Special Conference on Security held in Mexico City in 2003, one of the topics that the Latin American and Caribbean countries most emphasized was the multidimensional concept of security, given that it cannot be restricted solely to the military sphere, but must be broadened out to include non-traditional threats. While it is desirable to make problems like the ones described above a high priority on national and international agendas, we run the risk of securitizing them and resorting mainly to the armed forces to deal with them. One of the best known examples is the fight against drug traf-

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ficking. Obviously it is a public security problem, but authorities have insisted on treating it as a problem of national security, bringing the armed forces into the fight, with very unsatisfying results. On the other hand, involving the police in intelligence gathering, surveillance and "arrests on suspicion," which have a negative effect on respect for basic human rights, is another worrying consequence of 9/11.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Five years after 9/11, the results of the anti-terrorist strategy vary. On the

one hand, it is true that U.S. territory has not been attacked again despite the fact that, after 9/11, given that initially no one took responsibility for it, it seemed imminent that the country would be targeted again. This perception was heightened by the fact that Washington assumed that Al Qaeda or other terrorist organizations, appreciating 9/11's "achievements," would be motivated to attempt new ones. However, it is possible that the force of the U.S. response, to the point of even calling its worldwide anti-terrorist crusade a "war," in addition to the questionable security measures imposed domestically, make it more difficult to perpetrate a new attack on U.S. soil.

This does not exclude, of course, the possibility that U.S.-based anti-government groups like that of Timothy McVeigh could perpetrate terrorist acts. In all, the United States is under severe attack abroad, especially in Iraq, where political and social conditions give Al Qaeda and other organizations ample room for action. Thus, it would seem that the relative "success" in "rooting out" terrorist acts on U.S. soil has led to Al Qaeda and other organizations—linked to it or not—operating outside U.S. territory, causing damage to its interests in the world and to Washington's allies.

This scenario makes it difficult to establish a balanced relationship between security and development. What is more, given the preponderance of the former over the latter, it is feasible that development policies will be securitized to the point that, as I suggested above, aid from nations like the United States to countries like the Latin American ones will be conditioned by their participation in the *war against terror*. ■■■

The Social Dimension of North American Integration

A View from Mexico

Carlos Heredia Zubieta*



Gustavo Benítez/Presidencia/Cuartoscuro

Presidents George Bush and Vicente Fox and Prime Minister Stephen Harper during the Second Meeting of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America in Quintana Roo, Mexico.

North America is often perceived as the world's largest trade bloc. For practical purposes, the accumulated volumes of trade and investment in our region speak to an integrated economy. However, the growing economic and social polarization between Canada

and the United States on the one hand and Mexico on the other, as well as the internal polarization in all three countries, are a common challenge. It is true that even during years of modest economic growth, there has been relative prosperity, but it has been so skewed that both income and wealth have been concentrated in the hands of conspicuous elites. The case of Mexico is illustrative given that the country faces the task of catapulting a large part of its population from the poverty that plagues it

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**The results of the 2006 presidential election
made it clear that the country is profoundly divided between North
and South, between an economy tied
to the dollar and the economy based on the peso.**

today to the threshold of the middle class. A new focus is needed to deal with the persistence—and even the deepening—of poverty and inequality in North America. That is, a strategy is needed that can tackle the development gap and spark the construction of a healthy, prepared and inclusive society in each of the three countries.¹

CLOSING THE DEVELOPMENT GAP

In Mexico, globalization has caused big imbalances in the distribution of wealth and income. The results of the July 2, 2006 presidential election made it clear that, in addition to the gap in income between a handful of Mexicans and the majority of the population, the country is profoundly divided between North and South, between an economy tied to the dollar and the economy based on the peso. Per capita income in Chiapas, Guerrero and Oaxaca is only 18 percent that of the levels in the states of the North and Mexico City. The richest 10 percent of the population concentrates 43 percent of national income, while the poorest 10 percent receive only one percent of national income: this means that the richest Mexicans are 43 times richer than their compatriots who live in extreme poverty. The sharp concentration of income and the high degree of monopolization of strategic areas (basic and cellular telephone service, television, the banks, cement

manufacturing and land transportation) inhibit possible new investments and undermine economic growth.

Mexico urgently needs a vision of how to close the deep wound separating the country's North and South, as well as a strategy to narrow the growing gap among social classes. For example, for decades the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) was a space where social classes mixed; it represented access to upward social mobility. This no longer happens: the elites now send their children to private schools from kindergarten to graduate school, while the vast majority of students must content themselves with schools with low indicators of quality and even lower levels of financing. A dearth of incentives makes things worse since many of Mexico's best minds opt to migrate to carve out their professional careers in the United States.

The Mexican government and Mexicans in general want our neighbor to the north to recognize that it needs Mexican labor, whose net contribution to the U.S. economy we consider significant and very positive. Mexico would like the two countries to come to a migratory agreement that would pay for work performed, give visas to workers and their families, respect human rights and offer a route that would allow undocumented workers in the United States who so desire to get U.S. citizenship. In addition, President Vicente Fox Quesada has called

on the Canadian government several times to accept a higher number of temporary Mexican workers in its work force. The Mexican government would like to broaden out the Mexico-Canada Temporary Agricultural Workers Program and extend its application to a greater number of Canadian provinces since it offers Mexican migrants (120,000 over the last 30 years) considerably better working conditions than in the United States, even though problems still exist.

By early 2008, all tariffs on corn, bean and powdered milk imports from the U.S. and Canada into Mexico will be eliminated. Some people fear that doing away with this protection will spur greater migration toward the northern countries since the U.S. government has refused to implement the World Trade Organization (WTO) commitment to reduce domestic support and abolish government subsidies to its agricultural exporters.

While all this is going on, the United States is strengthening its borders and making it increasingly difficult to get into the country. In recent months, two different focuses about U.S. immigration law reform have been debated. The proposal supported by the House of Representatives emphasizes border control and the application of immigration laws. On the other hand, the proposal backed by the Bush administration and approved by the Senate is more inclusive in that it deals with

Throughout Latin America the number of populist political leaders who promise to expand social spending and to give transfers, subsidies and monetary support to the poor and vulnerable groups is growing.

the enforcement of immigration laws both along the border and in the work place at the same time that it recognizes the need for ordered flows of workers and legal status for the undocumented in the United States. The latter is the preferable option, but both proposals have serious limitations. An integrated labor market in North America will only come about if the following conditions are met: a comprehensive reform combining border security with the enforcement of immigration laws in work places, giving migrant workers a legal status that allows them to become U.S. citizens and makes it possible for the flow of legal workers to be regulated by both governments.

The U.S. and Canadian governments believe that Mexico has not done enough to control northward migration, either among its own citizens or among non-Mexican migrants who enter Mexico through its southern border to get to the two countries north of the Rio Grande. Neither Ottawa nor Washington is prepared to finance a development fund to create new economic opportunities in Mexican migrant workers' regions of origin; both governments say that this effort should be begun by Mexico.

U.S. and Canadian workers also face many challenges in terms of their family income, wages, poverty and regional inequalities. Low-waged U.S. workers must very often face racial and ethnic discrimination, biased enforcement of wage norms and erroneous

classification of their jobs by labor officials. At the same time, technical tasks are being outsourced to India and other Asian countries. Other social challenges for the three countries are meager investment in training and education; the deterioration of urban areas; precarious social security benefits; and the weakness of the health system serving the low-income population.

NEW MARKETS, SHARED WEALTH

The construction of the North American economic system has been a process led to a great extent by the region's large corporations. Under no circumstances can we suppose that regional integration will automatically bring with it benefits for all. While collaboration and complementariness among the countries has reached unprecedented levels, it is imperative to develop an analysis of all of North America oriented to directing public policy initiatives toward improving the living conditions of the majority of the population.

In 2005, Mexico received more than U.S.\$22 billion in remittances sent by migrant workers from the United States, where there are at least 650 hometown clubs and associations, whose members see themselves as bi-national communities, that have supported more than 1,500 social development projects in their places of origin over the last 10 years. A growing number of gov-

ernment officials, businessmen and experts are expressing their agreement with the fact that the long-term solution to Mexican migration to the U.S. is closing North America's development gap by supporting Mexico's construction and consolidation of a middle class.

Migration and labor mobility cannot, and must not, be divorced from trade and investment; the expansion of the latter two will not bring prosperity if they do not include labor norms and mobility and migration. What is needed is a strategy to prevent the potential benefits of globalization from being concentrated in a few hands.

How, then, can we deal with the social dimensions of integration? An effort is required that will incorporate the excluded into the market and the country's economic activity. The challenge lies in finding ways to generate new opportunities for the poorest, so that they can move toward a middle income. Mexico's poor population must have access to training programs that will place them in a better position to get decent jobs. Mexico needs to replace "crony capitalism" with a productive culture based on the development of talents and skills at the bottom of the social pyramid, making prosperity possible based on the merits of people's work and not political connections or influence peddling.

The basic message is that businesses can only prosper in societies whose members prosper, and, at the end of the

The long-term solution to Mexican migration to the U.S. is closing North America's development gap by supporting Mexico's construction and consolidation of a middle class.

day, this must include everyone. New markets, shared wealth: that is the challenge that the three NAFTA partners face. Today, the name of the game is the construction of opportunities for the majority of the population. In the end, equity in the economy is the backbone of political stability.

The multilateral banks, governments and international experts are all analyzing the way in which the low or lagging income of large parts of the population feeds what some see as a populist wave throughout Latin America. Mexico is no exception to this trend: the number of political leaders and candidates who promise to expand social spending and to give transfers, subsidies and monetary support to the poor and vulnerable groups if they are elected is growing. On the other hand, those who formulate economic policy from a more orthodox perspective favor other kinds of programs oriented to creating human capital and institutional development; the latter, together with macro-economic stability and an effective policy for economic competition will probably have more profound positive effects in the long run.

The Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), for example, wants to change

its focus to gradually get away from large loans for mega-projects, orienting its credit program toward more modest proposals that include better working and living conditions for the majority of the population. It proposes supporting projects that:

- foster small and medium-sized companies;
- promote financing for low-cost housing;
- distribute the benefits of the digital revolution;
- provide safe water and sanitation services to communities; and
- improve the quality of education and productivity.

The construction of a knowledge-based society is critically important for North America. The United States and Mexico, and to a lesser extent, Canada, are significantly behind China, South Korea and Japan in recent Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development evaluations of secondary school students' knowledge of mathematics, science and reading skills. It is no surprise that productivity in Mexico has increased by half a percentage point a year on the average during the

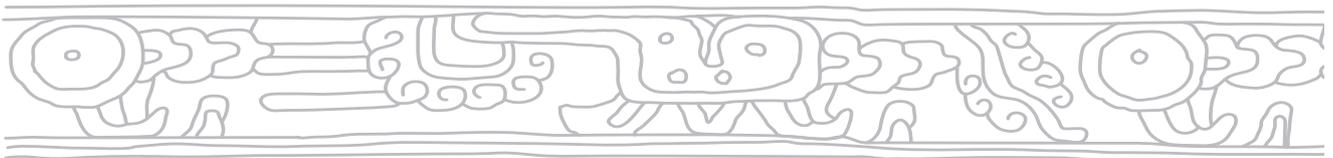
last six-year presidential term, five times less than in the United States and one-eighth the increase in productivity in Korea and Ireland.

The three countries need a vision of the government and the economy that will create jobs, invest in people, in infrastructure and in the environment. It is essential to multiply and diversify educational and cultural exchange among students, professors and researchers from the three countries as a way of improving mutual knowledge among neighbors. This would also foster a more generous understanding of regional integration, like that practiced by the cross-border networks now being built by civil society organizations, municipal and state governments.

This focus directed at improving physical, human and institutional infrastructure in North America will not prosper unless it is nurtured by the three countries. Canada, the United States and Mexico must build logistical corridors, improve our children's education and update national and North American institutions if they want to fulfill the promise of security and prosperity for all as the ultimate aim of an inclusive, democratic integration process. **NMM**

NOTES

¹ The author presented a version of this text at the seminar "Multilateralismo: retos de México en la ONU y la OEA", held at the Center for Research on North America, in Mexico City, August 29, 2006.



Immigration to Migration

John Burstein*



Iván Stephens/Cuartoscuro

A nation of immigrants—but for the Americans—the United States thinks a lot about the issue of immigration, and normally in terms of the assimilation of ethnic groups from distant lands into a national culture of complex identities under the ideal of individual citizenship. In the crisis mode produced by 9/11, the country's security systems have been reordered, even threatening to refashion much of the country around security issues. Yet it was not until 2006 that immigration—always a security issue—came to be the first order of

political debate. The hard-nosed aspects (sedition and terrorism) had been tackled in terms of intelligence and defence policies. With that, it was possible to launch the great immigration debate, framing it around nationality and citizenry. The executive placed a huge bet, in the coin of political capital, to re-settle the national consciousness in terms of “who we are” (referring to the United States community) and how others can become part of that “we.” The president expected the debate to close triumphantly with the signing of a new immigration law; but the conditions were wrong and the two versions—a close-the-door version from the House and a guard-the-door version from the Senate—could not be reconciled.

* President of Forum for Sustainable Development, a rights-based development organization in Chiapas, Mexico.

The reason is simple: the debate was not framed properly. While certainly considering economic aspects, the debate neither got to the bottom of immigration's role in defining the new U.S. economy, nor did it squarely face that the issue today is defined by immigrants' Latino and primarily Mexican origin, and as such is inextricably part of the Mexico-U.S. bi-national relationship in the context of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

This truism is part of a paradigm shift still just beginning. The U.S. political discourse is profoundly based on a "we-them" grammar concerning the United States and "the rest of the world." The subject of migration, by its nature, mediates. But that issue has to be re-described and reviewed, acknowledging the traditional and still powerful terms based on immigration-toward-assimilation, and now focused through a second perspective. That one we are calling "North American" (until its real name is found), even though "North American Free Trade Agreement" ill-fits the thing it names for various reasons. It feels too northerly to be "home" to most Mexicans. How firm is it? It is termed a "treaty" in Mexico. And while in effect an "area" (among other things), it is not uniquely defined by trade, and every day is less so defined. This tells us, minimally, that NAFTA is a temporary *economic*-political expression of something—if there is to be anything—more *socio*-politically grounded. In the meantime, the migration flow of Mexicans to, and back from, the U.S. will continue, as a reality quite regardless of treaties, laws, borders and political discourse, which is affecting each country at its core, forming a population escaping—and freed from—the rigorous identities of the respective nation-states, and requir-

ing the critical review of NAFTA-cum-immigration in the near future.

OLD STORIES

The best way to review a policy is to find its solid ground in history. Immigration is about shifting residence/ shifting identities, and those shifts have gone on between Mexico and the U.S. for a very long time. But the defining events for all practical purposes occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. Depending on the political culture, Mexicans and people from the U.S. remember differently the transi-

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tion of Texas and the contemporary U.S. Southwest from Mexico to United States territory. First, general history itself is experienced differently; Mexico living it vividly and the U.S. palely. Then, of course each remembers this fundamental war and peace through very different "stories." For example, the defence of the Alamo (1836) has enormously greater importance in the U.S. story than in the Mexican one. In fact, the Mexican version includes a vital chapter, reduced to a footnote in the U.S. version, on the way to Texas' statehood (1846).

Mexicans remember the terms of the failed negotiation and ensuing war

far better than their Pyrrhic victory at the Alamo. In 1845, U.S. President James Polk commissioned John Slidell to negotiate terms with Mexican President José Joaquin Herrera, arriving with the offer of U.S.\$25 million for the "rest" of Mexico, that "rest" based on an already outlandish claim that the south-western border of the soon-to-be-annexed Texas territory should run along the Rio Bravo/Grande, rather than the Nueces River, as had previously been the case. Though a secret aspect of Slidell's mission, it came out in the Mexican press of the day, creating an understandable uproar, and was cause for sending Slidell packing. (I suppose that the day China offers the U.S. some vast sum for California, the U.S. public will feel the same profound insult regarding the same territory.) The Mexican position was "rather war," which, of course, the Mexicans lost.

Another aspect of the story bears retelling. Alert to the looming over-reach of the Samuel Austin-led settlers, and having witnessed the ineffectuality of the Catholics-only restriction on immigrants, President Vicente Guerrero—a mulatto—outlawed slavery. No more cause was needed for Texan immigrants to declare their independence, as the slavery-enforcing Lone Star Republic.

A lot of water has flowed down the Rios Grande/Bravo and Nueces since then. Later slavery was outlawed in the U.S., too. The far north of Mexico had been frontier territory. U.S. troops occupied the capital for a relatively short time. Wounds heal. (One imagines China keeping Hawaii, after having occupied Washington, and the U.S., while humbled, would keep its national project alive.) The scar is worn a bit defiantly and the matter is rarely mentioned. But the lesson of Mexican national-

ism is lost on no one. When public policy was, is, or should be configured as threatening the absorption of Mexico into North America, the Mexican nation did and will no more buy it than it did Slidell's hostile take-over bid. Old and new Mexicans inhabiting lands in shifting patterns based on the economic projects of the moment is an old story.

PERSONAL STORIES

I had a conversation with a Zinacantec Amerindian friend in his home in the Chiapas Highlands, which gave me the eerie sensation of talking with my now-deceased grandfather (Ellis Island, 1907). Xun—a middle-aged man, and still strong—had bumped up against the low ceiling of economic development in his community. In May 2006, he was desperate, feeling pressures about his family's survival. He considered going to work in the United States. At first I thought it was a pipe-dream which I (from the States) considered far-fetched. As he talked about it, I understood that the Underground Railroad had reached Tzotzil Chiapas (only recently fully incorporated into the migration phenomenon). The limiting factors for boarding this "train," in order of importance were clearly: 1) the cost of the "ticket"—some U.S.\$2,000, with services included; 2) the physical risk; and 3) the disinclination to abandon all known references to reality. But the stories were rife of well-paid hard work. And then Indians in these parts have always been enormously adventurous in seeking work.

Of course Xun's situation differs from my grandfather's in various ways. One is the difference between an ocean passage and a land trek, of unclear sig-

nificance. I imagine that the Jewish and other migrations of the early twentieth century were *rites of passage*, more clearly marked, principally for emerging into a new identity, a rebirth, *legal* residence and citizenship. More cause to the same effect, the cutting of ties of allegiance to the old country must have been less ambiguous, and almost delicious, when the prospect of staying meant one's risking state-supported, physical catastrophe. Xun faces state-sponsored political manipulation, but not a razed-earth pogrom. (His Mayan relatives in Guatemala did.)

Then, legality aside, the economic and social reception or rejection of im-

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migrants is enormously important for creating a situation of international normalcy. Emma Lazarus's welcoming evocation to "the huddled masses" on the Statue of Liberty is better remembered than the slightly less generous immigration law of the time (1903) because it echoed a dominant strain within the U.S. political culture. That strain is no longer dominant today—though it is hardly absent. That is to say, as it was then, so it is today, that the United States sees the outside world as more or less treacherous; but whereas in the early twentieth century the U.S. saw itself as capable, and wanting to relieve those in danger for its own collective

benefit, today its attitude is defensive, rather needing to protect itself from the menaces of the outside world.

In other words, *migration* occurs in the context formed by the way each of two given countries view the other and view themselves, since there must be an *immigration* and an *emigration* policy, stated or implied, in every case. Using the same example of the past century, Czarist Russia did not value shtetl Jews economically or politically, while the industrializing U.S. did: this made for a *de facto* treaty in the sense that immigration/emigration policies, as reflections of their respective cultures, were complementary, making the migration flows "work."

There is no similar complementarity in U.S.-Mexican policies. On the one hand, Mexico produces many emigrants, though not normally by political violence and expulsion of Indians and the rural poor. And on the other hand, the United States' position on immigrants is profoundly contradictory; the U.S. makes enticing/rejecting gestures at the same time. It appears to coo economically, while barking politically and culturally. But at bottom, this contradiction has an economic basis.

Why, if the U.S. demand for labor in its economy is virtually as strong as it was a century ago, is it unable to "convince" the political decision-makers, as manifestly failed to happen in the recent initiative to reform U.S. immigration law? The reason is that the economy itself is not "convincing." In short, in great contrast to the case 100 years ago, the U.S. economy today is *post-industrial*. The message it sends to migrant workers is: "We need you for a hundred tasks, from agriculture to domestic care, but since this work is not linked to the growth we expect

from industrial investment, we do not commit to seeing you through economic cycles, nor do we commit, therefore, to incorporating you into the national community.” It is a basic rule of nation-building: newcomers do not qualify for membership (that is, citizenship) if they do not fit *productively* into the national economy (some humanitarian considerations notwithstanding).

Since in the economy, the short-term opportunity always carries more weight than the long-term menace, immigration is nevertheless the rule: it is happening. And a fraying national community, losing its borders and definition, is an effect, to be arrested by war-nationalism for the moment, and taken up as a longer-term political consideration sooner or later. By that time, the economy may permit a fuller rejection of autarchic notions of the nation-state. In the meantime, the Latinos, being the largest minority in the U.S., and well over half of whom are Mexican nationals (including, prominently, Amerindians) regroup on “the other side” in natural communities based on language, provenance, religion and family. They butt up against a political culture which is not predisposed, either officially or predominantly, to embrace new identity and interest groups; today the system even fosters divisions by way of rival social-political categories: some of the Latino wave of immigrants are new and increasingly prosperous citizens, others tolerated guests, and ever increasing numbers are shadow figures shockingly akin to stateless refugees.

THE STORY THAT DEFIES THE SCRIPT

Though the business sector was more than consulted, the U.S. economy did

not operate in the manner foreseen and described during the NAFTA negotiations. The political-economic forces in the U.S. hoped NAFTA would help expand the *productive* basis of the economy, and even be a counterweight to the growing reliance on consumption-based growth, with borrowed foreign money. NAFTA was always going to be a small part of that new productivity, but it was reduced to irrelevance once the U.S. landed in the present war economy.

In Mexico, the political-economic elite hoped that domestic industry, necessarily decimated by the lifting of protective barriers, would rebound as

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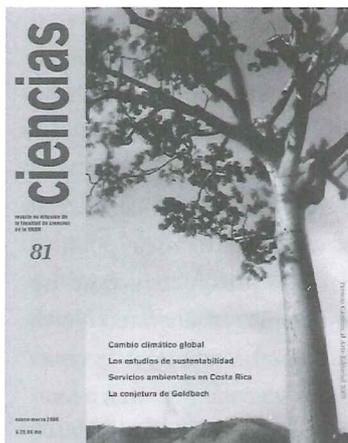
a secondary effect of NAFTA, increasingly feeding inputs into the *maquiladora* machine. Indeed—even though diminished in comparison to the beginning of the century—the *maquiladora* platform certainly did expand the Mexican wage economy. But even before 2001, it had become clear that the relocation of industrial infrastructure to Mexico was neither sufficiently great, nor sufficiently long-lasting, to absorb the unwanted supply of labor in Mexico. On the contrary, the demand for *in situ* labor within U.S. territory was such—a sort of inhalation sucking-sound—that it provoked the unpredicted, enormous migration phenomenon. Far more

than the expected effects announced by the NAFTA experts, the (far more modest) growth in Mexico has also been consumption-based, and funded by remittances.

It is easy to see today that NAFTA’s designers were heady, their political will fed on the prospects served up by those dreaming of liberated North American capital markets; it became a conservative scenario that even a temporary special partnership would leave each nation richer and able to pursue its goals whether independently or together. That depended on free-trade borderlessness and human borders, the hypothesis that formed the basis of the rather fragile political consensus in the U.S. and Mexico.

Whose fault is it that the NAFTA-encoded political project was founded on false, or falsely-stated, premises regarding capital and labor markets? The story has some of the audacity, treachery and political-economic interplay of the border revisions of the mid-nineteenth century; and may even be read as installments on the same story. This new chapter has sub-plots that include the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the war in Iraq, the demise of the continental extension of the American trade bloc, the rise of the Latin socialisms, and—a twist for readers—the incorporation of Hispanic civilization into the U.S. nation, eventually to be reflected in migration policy, whether the bi-national relationship develops into an alliance or not.

When NAFTA was, is felt to be, or is configured as, threatening to absorb Mexico *into* North America, the Mexican nation no more buys it than it did the Slidell hostile take-over bid. Mexico for the Mexicans. **MM**



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Jaime Litvak King

“A Helluva Guy”

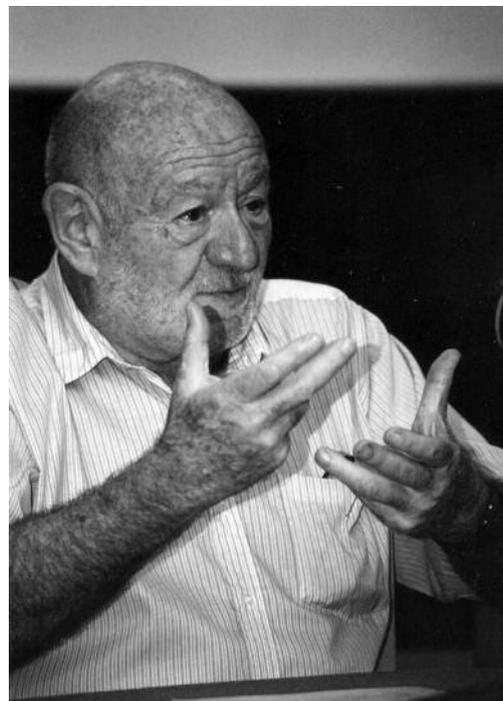
(1933-2006)

Joel Santos*

Dr. Jaime Litvak King, distinguished, exceptional university professor, noteworthy archaeologist, and beloved human being, died in Mexico City, October 2, 2006.

Born in the country’s capital December 10, 1933, his early schooling took place in the Israelite College of Mexico from 1939 to 1950, where he graduated in economics. Later he did his college-level work at different institutions: he graduated as an archaeologist from the National School of Anthropology and History in 1963; he received his master’s in anthropology from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), with the thesis *Cihuatlán y Tepecoacuilco, dos provincias tributarias de México en el siglo XVI* (Cihuatlán and Tepecoacuilco, Two Tribute-Paying Provinces of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century). He received his doctorate in anthropology from the UNAM in 1970 with the thesis *El valle de Xochicalco. Un modelo estadístico para la arqueología regional* (The Valley of Xochicalco. A Statistical Model for Regional Archaeology). He also did graduate work at several universities abroad: Indiana University (1964), the University of Pennsylvania (1964), Cambridge University (1967-1968) and Fondazione Lerici (1967).

He became a researcher at the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) (1963-1967) and then at the UNAM in 1968. He researched at sites in Guanajuato, Guerrero, Morelos, Chiapas and the Valley of Mexico. His



Cocetera UNAM Photo Archive

publications include innumerable articles and books, among them *Todas las piedras tienen 2000 años* (All Stones are 2000 Years Old), an introduction to archaeology (1986). He was the founding director of the UNAM Institute for Anthropological Research (1973-1984). Among the awards he received are the Friar Bernardino de Sahagún INAH Prize for Archaeology (1971), the National University Prize (1996) and the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Society for American Archaeology (2002).

He was named researcher emeritus at the UNAM and was a member of the National System of Researchers. He taught at several uni-

* Researcher at the Sinaloa state National Institute of Anthropology and History Center.

versities and schools: the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH); the UNAM; the University of the Americas, Puebla campus; the University of Minnesota; the University of New Mexico; the University of Texas in El Paso; and Tulane University. As if that were not enough, he was the coordinator of the Juan Comas Library; a member of several commissions and councils; the editor and contributor to several publications; thesis advisor for many students; and program host at UNAM Radio.

Dr. Litvak would have preferred a eulogy without preamble; he might have asked to be remembered merely as a researcher at the UNAM Institute for Anthropological Research. Despite being exceptional, he never wanted to be treated differently. But, it would be unpardonable for those of us who knew him to forget to mention his innumerable qualities, his contributions to Mexican anthropology, his enormous endeavors as a member of the university, and how valuable he was as a teacher and human being.

His first studies were about economics, perhaps because of his interest in statistics and his mathematical ability. However, he soon realized that he had a different vocation. That is when he studied a bachelor's in archaeology at the ENAH, where his teachers were some of the most renowned anthropologists of his time. He collaborated with Dr. Ignacio Bernal at the Museum of Anthropology. He was the student of and worked alongside José Luis Lorenzo, from whom he learned the importance of the methods and techniques of archaeological excavation as well as the interdisciplinary nature of archaeology and the fundamental role that disciplines like geology, geography and biology played in his work. When José Luis Lorenzo founded the INAH's Department of Prehistory, Litvak joined it, participating in several research projects to recover sites like those at the El Infiernillo and La Villita Dams.

His interest in developing new studies in archaeology led him away from the INAH Department of Prehistory. He entered the UNAM, where he focused his research on western Morelos. He developed ground-breaking work in Xochicalco by applying a statistical model to understanding its regional development and its relationship with all of Mesoamerica. In this way, he began to innovate in an area that had always interested him: the application of techniques and methods in archaeology. But, he also delved into the field of cultural explanations. His most important contributions to archaeology are in these two areas.

Litvak is considered one of the pioneers in applying quantitative methods and computers to archaeology. As a theoretician, his proposed explanations of the cultural dynamic of Mesoamerica are outstanding, above all of the causes of the fall and abandonment of the main cities of the classical period, which gave rise to a new cultural stage, the post-classical. According to Litvak, this phenomenon was

His career in the UNAM includes having been founding director of the Institute for Anthropological Research, a post he fulfilled admirably.

due to the political and economic break of the subject provinces, which, as they grew and acquired domination over their own territory, isolated the great cities. He called this process "Balkanization."

His career in the UNAM includes having been founding director of the Institute for Anthropological Research, a post he fulfilled admirably. During his term, the new building was erected, and he himself took charge of making sure it had the necessary infrastructure to turn it into a world class center for anthropological research. From 1994 to 2002, he coordinated the Juan Comas Library, turning it into the most important anthropological library in Latin America, with more than 500,000 books and an exceptional computer consultation system.

He also founded the newspaper *Humanidades* (Humanities), with the idea of providing all members of the university with a medi-

um for information and communication. Until it stopped circulating, *Humanidades* was distributed free of charge to all corners of the university.

Dr. Litvak was an exceptional teacher, an archaeologist who loved and enjoyed his profession. He was a rather unconventional: his classes were clear and concise; in a few words, he explained his vision of archaeology and his opinions about the complexity of culture. His lectures were full of pleasant moments, experiences, anecdotes and good humor. He never refused to give class, much less if it was in the ENAH, his beloved alma mater.

He continually received invitations to speak at high schools, colleges, in congresses, before groups of congresspersons. He hardly ever turned them down, given his passion for spreading his ideas and knowledge. For Dr. Litvak, that was the job of the anthropologist, above and beyond books, classrooms and academic circles.

Few people know that after the 1985 earthquake, Dr. Litvak, as director of academic projects, decided to join the aid organization headquartered at the UNAM Medical Services Office, at the University Medical Center. He set up a team to coordinate the rescue brigades and groups to obtain information about the dead and people living in shelters. Nowhere else in the city was there a data bank like the one organized in the UNAM. The first operations making it possible to locate people who had disappeared and to coordinate aid efforts were organized from University City. This enormous job, headed by Litvak, was rewarded with the government's "September 19 Recognition of Heroic Valor" award.

Litvak was convinced that science should have a practical application, that all knowledge gathered in anthropology should be used to serve society and the country's development. He dedicated a large part of his life to creating and promoting institutions, and many spaces for an-

thropology and the university were the result of his efforts.

Dr. Litvak was a simple man, with practical ideas and a sensational sense of humor. His loud, deep voice made itself heard no matter where he was. He did not mind using swear words; he loved always taking the opposite view in conversations, he just could not help it. He brooked no protocol; he loved jokes, breaking with formalities, laughing and having a good time. Some people did not like it; others were disconcerted; but most admired his ways.

We cannot leave out his fascination with music, particularly jazz. He was the host of two unforgettable programs on University Radio: "University Space" and "The Music in Life."

His taste for the cinema and his love of soccer are also memorable. He was part of the board of the University Club and he used to go to every game that the UNAM Pumas soccer team played at the University City stadium. Everything came to a halt in his office, no matter what time it was or how

much work there was, when an important soccer match was on.

Definitely, Dr. Litvak did not fit the stereotype of an erudite man, which he undoubtedly was. He was a man of the world, a polyglot, knowledgeable, with an extraordinary memory and an enormous organizational capability, although he seemed to be rough and ready since he did not show his feelings easily, or his acts of kindness, which were a clue to his sensitivity.

Much is left that could be said of Dr. Litvak. He was more widely known and recognized as an anthropologist abroad than in his own country. He did important work in the Mexican Society of Anthropology, and he dedicated the last years of his life to the development of industrial archaeology in Mexico.

As for myself, I will remember him in the way that he remembered many of his own beloved teachers: "He was a Helluva guy." **MM**

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NORTEAMÉRICA
Academic Journal of the CISAN-UNAM

CALL FOR PAPERS

The National Autonomous University of Mexico's Center for Research on North America (CISAN) is preparing to publish the third issue of its biannual journal based on academic excellence, *Norteamérica*, with the aim of contributing to the study and reflection about the political, economic, social and cultural situation of North America. To this end, we wish to invite the national and international academic community to contribute under the following

GUIDELINES

- The journal's theme is interdisciplinary in the areas of social sciences and the humanities about the North American Region (Mexico, the United States and Canada) and its links to the rest of the world.
- 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.

SECTIONS

Norteamérica has three sections: Essays (Ensayos), Current Analysis (Análisis de Actualidad) and Reflections (Reflexiones). Contributions will be received in Spanish or English and published in their original language, and for each section, the articles must have the following characteristics:

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- Only articles based on scholarly research will be considered. These two sections will not publish articles on current events or opinion pieces.
- The articles must include relevant, up-to-date source citations.
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- Each interview will include between 5 and 10 analytical and comparative questions.
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UNAM



CISAN

Tamtoc

Guillermo Ahuja*



Mauricio Degollado

The ancient city of Tamtoc was apparently inhabited by people of the Huastec culture from 700 B.C. to A.D. 1500. The first references we have for the city date from 1939 by San Luis Potosí-born historian Joaquín Meade, who compared it to great Mesoamerican cities like Teotihuacan. In 1962, the French archaeological and ethnological mission in Mexico did the first explorations, but it would not be until 2001 when efforts were

made to create the Tamtoc archaeological trust, which bought 133 of the 380 hectares the ancient city covered with the aim of protecting and researching the central area.

A SITE VISIT

The Tamtoc archaeological site is made up of different plazas, four of which have already been explored. The first, called Plaza A, where objects dating from A.D. 400 have been found, has 23 constructions around an oval plaza. Apparently, this was the city's economic center.

* Archaeologist in charge of the Tamtoc archaeological dig.

This plaza has architecture typical of the Huastec period: circular constructions that with the passage of time have turned into horseshoe shapes. Most of the buildings have rounded corners. The specifically Huastec style is evident, with the addition of little sidewalks or walkways around the circular form, beginning or leading off of the center of the stairway itself. Remains of human bones

of the constructions is clear: here, they are rectangular with stairways mainly at the center. A double circular structure with four access points at each one of the astronomical directions makes us think it was an observatory. Also interesting are the small rectangular platforms varying between 30 cm and 40 cm in height. Here, archaeologists have found bone and metal needles, spindles for wind-



Elsie Montiel

Monument 32, the most important find at the Tamtoc site, repositions the value of the Huastec culture.

have been found in some of these sidewalks, but it has not been determined if the walkways were used for astronomical or calendar purposes.

Next to some of the stairways there are also small sidewalks that seem to have been used for observation and contemplation. In the structure called Corcovado, one of the largest in this plaza, the sidewalk functioned as an altar: an offering of 52 miniature receptacles was discovered on it. Plaza B has 25 structures. A change in the style

ing cotton thread, vessels for controlling the skeins and the remains of a mural painted with geometric designs. This plaza is divided into three sections in the eastern part built at different times, probably due to the constant flooding that forced Tamtoc inhabitants to raise the city's level.

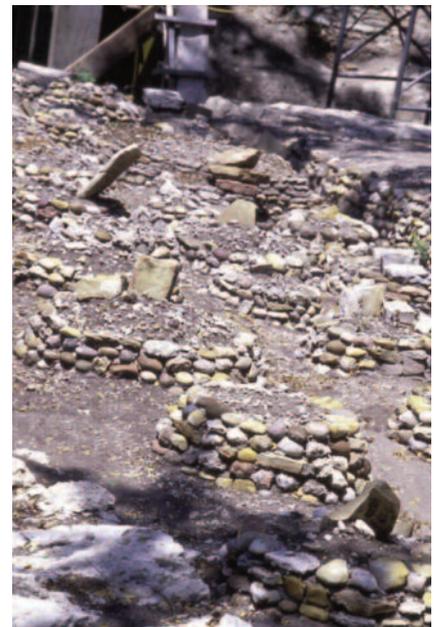
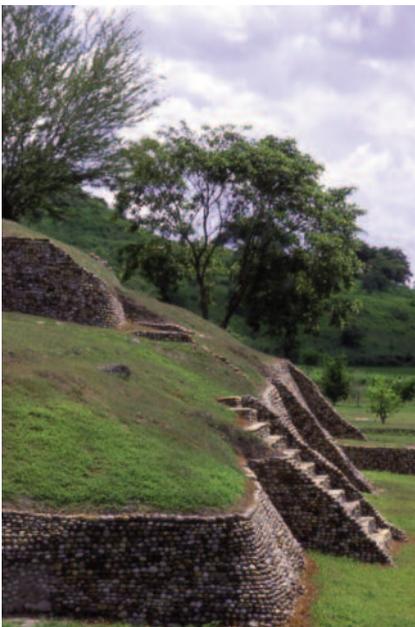
The northern part was probably used for both living quarters and public activities. To the west begins what has been called Group C, in whose first plaza there were 12 buildings. Buried human

remains covered with cinnabar and what is left of a mural painting were found here. A ritual offering of dozens of intentionally broken receptacles placed together with the bones of two decapitated females were also outstanding.

The ceramics and the human remains are reminiscent of the rites performed at the end of a calendar cycle. The two decapitated women point to the

stratigraphic sequence of bone deposits; this means that a grave may contain up to three individuals placed there in different periods. Another important architectural feature of the Noria is the reservoir, an oval structure with rounded stone walls which seems to have collected rainwater to feed the city's three artificial lakes. Its formed by large stone slabs and the walls are covered with carved glyphs, ovals, circles,

Finding the symbols and the calendar stone repositions the value of the Huastec culture as a contributor of fundamental technological and cultural advances for the blossoming and development of Mesoamerica.



Photos this page: Elsie Montiel

Left: Buildings with rounded corners typical of the Huastec period. **Center:** Monument 22. **Right:** The cemetery: most of the remains found were of women.

vitaly important role of women in Tamtoc's social, ritual and possibly political organization.

Continuing north in the city, the Noria quarter, probably the part of the site occupied the earliest, has basically three sectors. One, the Huastec cemetery, has more than 80 graves, most in the form of truncated cones, which contain human bones in a sitting position, most of them of women.

A significant detail is that this cemetery was occupied from the early classical period, since it has a

fluted molding and small thin rods. This, together with very early ceramics, allows us to date the construction at about 500 B.C.

The meaning of the glyphs is still being interpreted; they are not common to the Mesoamerican tradition, or at least they have never been reported or registered before. Because of their placement, we associate them directly with water, fertility and rain, all cosmic matters that continue in use among the Teenek today.

A double circular structure with four access points at each one of the astronomical directions makes us think it was an observatory.

Photo: Elsie Montiel



We know that the Huastec region and the Gulf Coast were the parts of Mesoamerica which developed hydraulic technology the most, which is why the discovery of the fountain or reservoir is not out of the ordinary. But the timeline is important, since until now it was thought that this kind of installations belonged to later periods.

A FINDING THAT REINTERPRETS HISTORY

Close to the fountain is the most important find at the site: the Tamtoc calendar stone, or Monument 32, a monolith fragmented into two large blocks each seven meters long and four meters high decorated with high reliefs of three decapitated female figures. From the sides of the figures' necks flow what seem to be streams of blood or precious liquid, part of which flow into the figure at the center, which we think represents the Earth.

This group seems to be manifesting the cycle of life generated by life blood or water, which nurtures or penetrates the earth to give life to the plants, flowers, food, animals, etc. The liquid flows to the area of the central figure's navel. The central figure's head has no flesh on it and she is emblazoned with an emblem, a hieroglyph, which may allude to her calendar name. Above the three figures is a sequence of glyphs, very similar to those found in the fountain reservoir. They may be related to the 13 lunar periods of the year, making us think that it might be a lunar calendar. It is also

possible that the same piece contains elements of both the lunar and solar calendars.¹

Finding the symbols and the calendar stone repositions the value of the Huastec culture as a contributor of fundamental technological and cultural advances for the blossoming and development of Mesoamerica.

THE WEST ZONE

To the west we find one of the site's highest hillocks. This is Tizate, made up of two bodies: a platform on which there is a cone-shaped mound with a central stone slab staircase, and an artificial structure made of black earth filler that raised the construction to 31 meters. The Tizate hillock probably dates from A.D. 100 or A.D. 200.

Tizate and Cubilete, located on the east side, are the two great hillocks that flank or guard the entire archaeological site. From the highest point on both hillocks, it is possible to observe the course of the Tampaón River and the entire archaeological area, as well as its environs.

This shows that Tamtoc's ancient inhabitants had visual control of the Tanchipa Mountains and of a large part of the coastal plain that leads to the Gulf of Mexico.

At Group F, close to one of the lagoons used as a reservoir to raise fish, the plaza has six structures, with Monument 22 at its center, accompanied by a series of enormous slabs with the re-



The meaning of the glyphs is still being interpreted; they are not common to the Mesoamerican tradition and have never been registered before.

Photo: Elsie Montiel

mains of carvings. Apparently they indicate the different areas controlled by the Tamtoc seignior. The main slab represents a male figure naked from the waist down, apparently one of the lords of the domain, wearing only a penis protector. The perforation of the penis is reminiscent of part of the myth of creation.² This monument also has a series of symbols on its left side that seem to indicate the name Tamtoc had in antiquity: Tamtocow, or “the Place of the Water Clouds.” On the right side, we find a vertical strip that may indicate the calendar name of the figure represented, Bo ul pailom, Lord Five Snail, who must have been one of the rulers of the city.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

From the data obtained, we can conclude that the first stage of settlement in Tamtoc occurred around 500 B.C. Apparently, it was influenced by the arrival of a group of people with very important knowledge about calendars, hydraulics and stone masonry, a group which mingled with the local inhabitants, resulting in the flowering of what we call the Huastec culture. The settlement was permanent from the late pre-classical period until the early post-classical period: some elements lead us to think that Tamtoc was inhabited at least until A.D. 1400.

Judging on the bone remains, the male inhabitants were from 1.60 to 1.65 meters tall, and the

females, 1.50 to 1.55 meters. Both were robust, with very wide bones, indicating great physical effort in their daily activity. The remains also point to health problems: dental cavities, linked to the kind of water available; amebiasis; and a kind of syphilis. Average life span was probably between 36 and 40 years, although some individuals were found that lived to 50 or 60. The Huastec population in the area of Tamtoc was very enterprising, dedicated to hunting, fishing and gathering. They were also active traders, which can be noted through the ceramic pieces they had exchanged or traded. We are talking here about a group in constant movement from early times, with technological skills, as shown in their management of hydraulics and their use of the calendar. It is very probable that through migration of the Huastec group, this kind of knowledge spread to the mountains and highlands, or the coastal regions. What is certain is that this culture was very active socially, culturally, politically and economically from the time of the pre-classical period. **MM**

NOTES

¹ A team of specialists has been formed to seek answers, do follow-up and improve the reading of the monolith.

² According to the myth, Quetzalcóatl went down into the underworld to collect the bones of his ancestors and take them to Tamoanchan (another name for the Huastec region). There, he gave them to the goddess Quilaztli, who ground them up while Quetzalcóatl pierced his penis. Later, she would mix his blood and divine semen with the dust of the bones of by-gone generations, and from there emerged the man of the fifth sun.

A nighttime photograph of the Cathedral of San Luis Potosí, a large, ornate stone building with a prominent bell tower. The cathedral is illuminated with warm lights, and its facade is highly detailed with carvings. In the foreground, a large, ornate stone fountain with multiple tiers and a central column is visible. The fountain is also illuminated. The background shows a dark sky and some trees. The overall scene is a vibrant display of colonial architecture at night.

The City of San Luis Potosí

María Isabel Monroy Castillo*



Elsie Montiel

Patio of the Autonomous University of San Luis Potosí central administration offices.



Elsie Montiel

Stone water reservoir, the symbol of San Luis Potosí.

The city of San Luis Potosí dates back to the end of the sixteenth century when the mines of San Pedro Hill were discovered. Since San Pedro Hill did not have enough water, the Spaniards sought a nearby place to settle that would offer them the necessary space and natural resources for both their subsistence and the work in the mines.

The mines were located in Chichimec territory, so the Spanish inhabitants had to fight the bloody, 50-year Chichimec War to conquer them. Only with pacification, brought about by the border captains and the Franciscan monks, was it possible to establish new Spanish settlements in this northern part of the viceroyalty of New Spain.

In the San Luis Valley, located close to San Pedro Hill, groups of Guachichils had settled not long before; they were pacified by border Captain Miguel Caldera and the Franciscans who arrived in the region, including Friar Diego de la Magdalena. In 1591, to consolidate the pacification and the transformation of the nomadic Chichimecs into sedentary peoples, a group of 400 families from Tlaxcala were sent to north. Some of them settled at the San Luis post in the San Luis Valley.

The Guachichils settled in what we now know as the Plaza of the Founders, where there was abundant water; however, Captain Caldera convinced them to move a little further north, near the Santiago River. There, they founded the towns of Santiago del Río, inhabited mainly by Guachichils, and Tlaxcala or Tlaxcalilla, where the Tlaxcalan migrants lived. These arrangements made it possible to ensure that the town of San Luis was inhabited by Spaniards. The town was legally founded on November 3, 1592, and on the same day, Mayor Juan de Oñate laid it out, decreeing that it would be the site of the Plaza Mayor, the parish and the royal houses, headquarters for the new town's government, and designating the location of lots for local residents and ore-processing haciendas. The Franciscans established a monastery as their headquarters for spreading the Gospel among the Guachichils.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the town of San Luis came under the authority of the bishopric of Michoacán. The first parish church was provisional, so, in 1596, the inhabitants decided to expand it, concluding in 1609.

In the first months of 1597, Mayor Luis Valde- rrama Saavedra granted some Mexican indigenous who lived in Tlaxcalilla some lands next to the San

* Professor and researcher at the San Luis College.



Founders' Plaza.

The outlying indigenous towns were incorporated into the city as neighborhoods in 1862, and during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, the city came to look as it does today.

Francisco monastery. There, they created the town of San Miguelito, with its three neighborhoods: San Miguel, San Francisco and Santísima Trinidad.

The Guachichil population diminished rapidly, prompting the migration of Tarascan Indians who were familiar with the work in the mines. They settled in the towns of San Miguel de la Santísima Trinidad, Santiago and San Sebastián. Around 1599, the Augustinians arrived in San Luis, and despite Franciscan opposition, managed in 1603 to get vice-regal permission to stay. One of the arguments that favored the decision was that the Augustinians ministered in the Tarascan language, and there was already a sizeable Tarascan population in the indigenous towns around San Luis Potosí.

Most of the religious orders established houses in the town of San Luis during the seventeenth century, with support from generous donations from the inhabitants. The Juaninos, or members of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, founded the San Juan de Dios Hospital in 1611; the Jesuits established themselves in 1624, and the Mercedarians in 1626.

In 1656, the town of San Luis Potosí was raised to the status of “city.” From then until the end of the eighteenth century, it underwent intensive construction.

Many of the buildings erected in San Luis Potosí during the eighteenth century are very original: the Aranzazú and Our Lady of Remedies Chapels, in the San Francisco cluster of buildings; the Loreto Chapel, annexed to the church of the Society of Jesus; the Our Lady of Health or of the Rosary Chapel; the Our Lady of Guadalupe of the Sacred Desert Church; the new parish church of the city of San Luis; the new royal houses and the public granary; the San Nicolás Obispo Beatific School for Girls; the tower of the San Agustín Church; and the new Sanctuary for Our Lady of Guadalupe, among others. However, the most noteworthy because of its amalgam of artistic styles, its magnificence, its origins and the expression of its spaces, is the Carmen Church.

The city would grow toward the east with the San Cristóbal del Montecillo neighborhood in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In mid-century, the largest towns surrounding the city were San Sebastián and Tlaxcalilla.

Their inhabitants practiced different trades, raised chickens and stud bulls, cultivated gardens and cared for the canal where the water flowed. The town's streets were clean. They supported themselves by their labor and with the fruits of the earth (corn, squash and chili peppers) and by selling firewood and charcoal. They also had schools where the children learned to read in Spanish. The inhabitants of Montecillo were also weavers and made shoes and hats. By then, the permanent population of San Luis and the surrounding indigenous towns was 2,147 families, of which 519 were indigenous.

While disturbances were not frequent in the city of San Luis Potosí, information has come down to us of rebellions throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most important ones were the "Tumultuous Times" of 1767, a series of uprisings between May and October of that year in the city of San Luis Potosí and the towns under its jurisdiction.

The city was an important center for commercialization during the viceroyalty. For that reason,

the 1810 insurrection in Dolores that began Mexico's independence movement became known even before it happened thanks to a regional network of conspirators linked to Hidalgo in Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí. Sympathizers of Hidalgo and Allende in San Luis Potosí were jailed in the Carmen and San Francisco Monasteries and from there the conspiracy spread.

Although the city was invaded several times by the insurgents, most of the population of Spanish ancestry supported the royalists. Once independence was won and the federal republic established, the province of San Luis Potosí became the Free Sovereign State of San Luis Potosí and elected its own Congress. The first governor, Ildefonso Díaz de León, made efforts during his administration to improve the city: he promoted paving the streets with cobblestones and laying down sidewalks, supplying the town with drinking water by beginning the construction in the Cañada del Lobo; he introduced the government printing house and founded the mint. He also supported the construction of the Alarcón Theater,

From 1899 to 1902, building activities gave the city a new look that it still has today: the Peace Theater, the penitentiary, the Industrial Military School, the Ipiña Building, the Crystal Palace and several distinguished homes that are now public buildings.



The Porfirian Ipiña Building.

Elsie Montiel

with its flat vault designed by architect Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras.

Most manufactured items like shoes, skin bags for wine, shawls, blankets, tools, porcelain and paper continued to be made using craft methods. The first industrial activities in the city were mining, textiles, wine-making and tobacco processing.

After independence, the history of the city of San Luis Potosí was linked to the history of neighboring regions and the country as a whole. That is why throughout the XIX century there were continuous uprisings and rebellions by different groups. As a result, the city's buildings underwent profound changes.

After the 1859 law was passed stipulating that the goods of the secular and regular clergy became property of the nation, the Carmen Monastery was turned into the Palace of Justice and the penitentiary, and its garden became a public walkway. The La Merced Monastery became a home for the poor while the San Francisco Monastery became a school.

The outlying indigenous towns were incorporated into the city as neighborhoods in 1862, and during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, the city came to look as it does today, at the same time that a new period of intensive construction began.

Important public works were built in this period, like the San José Dam. The installation of railroad, telegraph and telephone lines allowed San Luis to communicate with the rest of the country and the world. From 1899 to 1902, building activities gave the city a new look that it still has today: the railroad station, the Peace Theater, the penitentiary, the Industrial Military School, the Ipiña Building,

the Crystal Palace and several distinguished homes that are now public buildings,

like the ones that house the National Mask Museum, the Cultural Institute, the State Historical Archives, the Federico Silva Museum and the buildings on old Concepción Street, today Zaragoza Street. The introduction of electricity in 1890 also gave the city a new look.

The Mexican Revolution changed Mexican society profoundly, and San Luis



Elsie Montiel

The city's cathedral.

was no exception. The city grew slowly after the Revolution, but there was new expansion in the 1940s. The new railway station, the state Normal School, the Peaje Dam, the Hidalgo and Tangamanga Markets, the Central Hospital, a new water and drainage system, the Alameda and Avenida Cinemas were all built then. Industry also began to grow, pushing ahead in the 1960s with the opening of the industrial zone south of the city.

San Luis grew in all four directions. However, in recent years, it has expanded particularly vigorously to the west. Growth to the east has also been intense, joining the city with the neighboring municipality of Soledad de Graciano Sánchez. To the south are new housing projects, relatively near the industrial zone, although probably the most important work in this area is Tangamanga Park, a large recreational area. New roads have also been built that allow local inhabitants to go from one end of town to the other in just a few minutes.

The city of San Luis Potosí offers its inhabitants and visitors its downtown area, busy with government, financial, commercial and cultural activities; its traditional neighborhoods that testify to the local way of life; its markets and malls; as well as entertainment and recreational venues.

In addition, there is also the internal city, the one that can only be experienced behind the walls of businesses and homes. Seeing that gives us a more intense feeling and taste for what the city of San Luis Potosí and its inhabitants are really like. **MM**



Elsie Montiel

Detail of a bench in the Arms Plaza.



Real de Catorce, a town along the Huichol route.

Huiricuta

The Routes of the Huichols

Leonardo Fernández Borja*

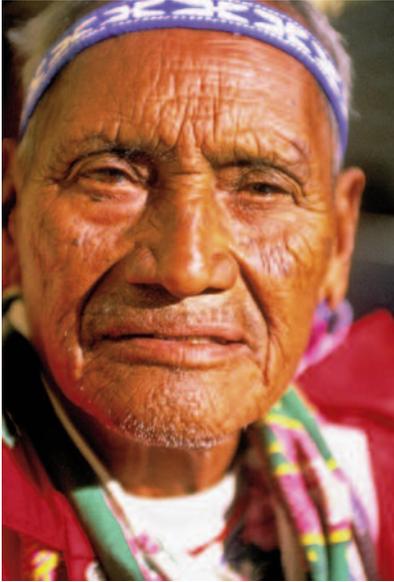
THE ROUTE TO HUIRICUTA AND THE CULTURAL SURVIVAL OF THE HUICHOL NATION

Although they settled 400 kilometers to the west, from time immemorial, the Huichols have visited the area next to Real de Catorce, which they call Huiricuta. The word comes from the Huichol verb *huirima*, meaning “to anoint” because the Huichols believe that different ancestor gods who live there “anoint” them magical-

ly. The word also applies to the ink obtained from the *agrito* bush that they use to paint themselves during certain rituals and to the peyote they anoint themselves with before eating it.¹ The region, visited as the culmination of the pilgrimages along the eastern route, is considered an immense “natural temple,” which in turn includes different sanctuaries. In terms of the Christian religion, this could be analogous to the case of a cathedral with different chapels. In this case, Huiricuta is a cathedral that covers more than 100,000 hectares.

The Huichols have one of the most vigorous surviving native cultures in the Americas.

* Writer, poet and museographer. Researcher with Conservación Humana, A.C.



Linsey Adebayo/CHIC archive

Don Alfonso o Yeucauye, as he is called in Huichol, was a great *maracame* in the community of Tuapurie. He transmitted the ancestral heritage to the young via songs and sophisticated rituals.



Humberto Fernández Borja/CHIC archive

The Huiricuta Reserve is in the Huizache region, which boasts the most important concentration of endemic rare or endangered cacti.

This has been possible because of their lands' irregular topography, their decentralized political organization and their ability to adapt to their historic surroundings, including their active participation in the history of western Mexico. However, the main factor in their cultural survival is the collective tenacity with which they have continued their ancestral traditions.

About 18,000 Huichols live in isolated hamlets spread out over more than 400,000 hectares south of the Western Sierra Madre, where the states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Zacatecas and Durango converge. Their language, Huichol or *Huixárica*, lacks formal writing and is related to the coastal Sonoran languages of the Yutoaztecan linguistic group. Together with the Cora, the Tepehuan and the Mexicanero peoples, the Huichols are part of the Mesoamerican societies that belong to the Great Nayar.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the Huichol culture, highly dependent on the continued existence of their routes and the integrity of their sanctuaries, is having preserved an epistemology reconciled with nature. The chief aim of the Huichol ceremonial cycle and of their myths, intrinsic to their culture, is maintaining positive relations with the ancestors and gods who control nature and its processes.

The ancestors and gods live in the natural sacred sites where, as the Huichols say, they "express their

voices." The sanctuaries may be on islands in rivers, lagoons, waterfalls, forests, hills, caves or rocks. To visit them, the Huichols travel ancestral routes that crisscross an immense cultural area. These routes go through the mountains of the north in Tepehuan lands in the Sierra Madre itself, to the west toward the humid lands and the Nayarit coast, toward the south and Jalisco's central-west lakes; and there are still elders who even remember the route to the Valley of Mexico. However, the route toward the east, Huiricuta, is of outstanding importance in the ritual cycles because of the frequency with which it is used and the number of visitors it has.

While they travel these routes, the shamans take responsibility for recreating the tribal legacy and transmitting it to the youth and children through songs, stories and sophisticated rituals. This legacy, in addition to shaman, religious or medicinal knowledge, includes the diversified use of ecosystems or the conservation of the genetic variety of useful species. For this reason, the pilgrimages play a very specific role, like an "itinerant Mesoamerican university," the central axis of a system of knowledge based on nature, which gives the *Huixáritari*, or Huichols, their identity.

For the last five centuries, the pilgrimage has also fulfilled the function of contacting and exchanging with the mestizo and European cultures, which are

responsible for having radically transformed the natural and cultural resources of the Huichol habitat. This is the only way that the indigenous ritual time, which seeks a profound identification of people with natural processes, has managed to survive in utilitarian, rapidly changing, plundering surroundings.

HUIRICUTA'S NATURAL AND CULTURAL RESERVE

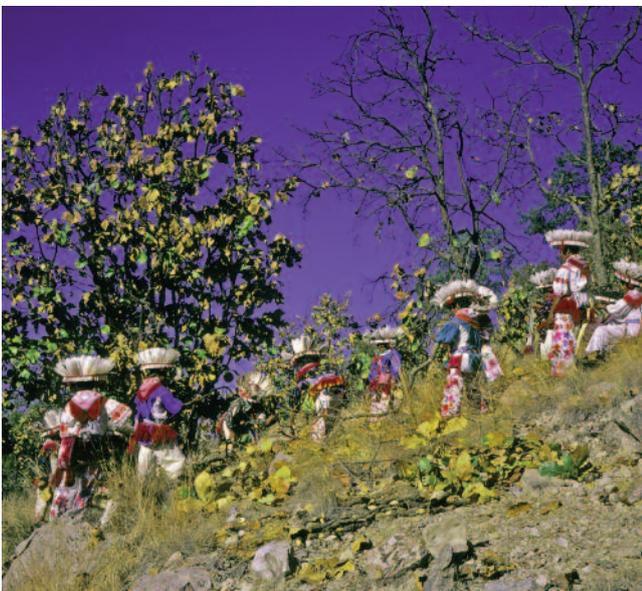
Huiricuta is a singularly important landscape in this world because of its natural and cultural values. The Chihuahuan Desert, the eco-region Huiricuta belongs to, is one of the planet's three biologically richest semi-desert areas, covering one-fourth of Mexico.

The Huiricuta natural and cultural reserve, located in the north of the state of San Luis Potosí, is highly representative of Chihuahuan Desert ecosystems. Although it only represents 0.28 percent of the eco-region, it contains about half its species of flora, almost 80 percent of its birds and about 60 percent of its mammals, with a considerable rate

of endemic species. Two things make it even more important: a) it is located in the southeastern part of the eco-region, where there is a high concentration of rare, endemic or endangered cacti, and b) the biogeographical relations of its mountainous part with the Eastern Sierra Madre allows it to include unique habitats and species in the region.

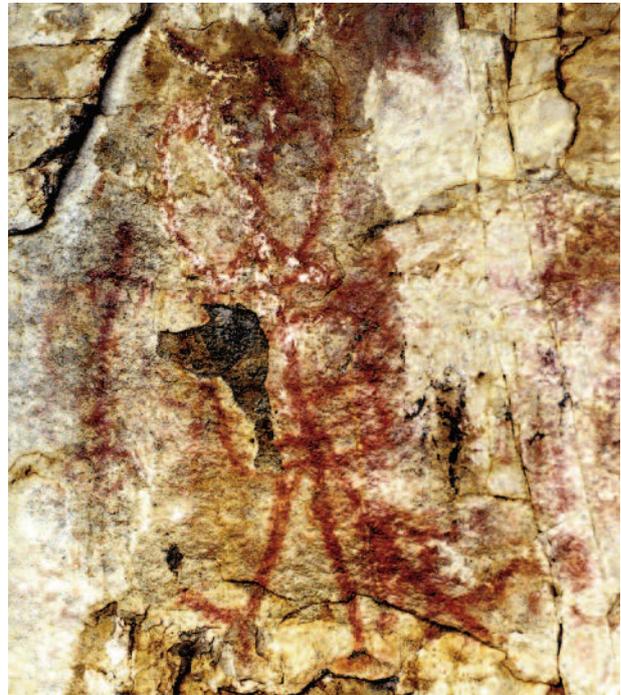
In addition to the Huichol pilgrimage routes and sanctuaries in the reserve and its area of influence, the area boasts important paleontological and archaeological remains, including evidence of the oldest human inhabitants in Mexico (about 31,000 years old).

Feverish mining in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries radically transformed the landscape and caused the extermination of the Guachichil tribes who inhabited the region at the time of the conquest, but it also left its mark in an important number of buildings, haciendas, stone-paved roads and aqueducts. It is in Real de Minas de la Purísima Concepción de los Álamos de los Catorce where this urban-architectural heritage is still the most notable. In addition, the railroad tracks that cross the Huiricuta gave rise to part of what is now our industrial her-



Humberto Fernández Bojórquez/CHNC archive

The members of the ceremonial centers, or *tuquiipa*, hold their posts for five years. Their obligations include honoring the ancestors and gods who live in the immense Huichol cultural territory.



Humberto Fernández Bojórquez/CHNC archive

Cave paintings and other archaeological and paleontological finds are part of the Huiricuta heritage, which requires great conservation efforts.

itage, whose value is fortunately beginning to be rediscovered.

There is another unique factor that makes the mixture of natural and cultural values particular to this area even more interesting. The Catholic patron saint of the region, visited in Real de Catorce at the end of large mestizo pilgrimages, is Saint Francis of Assisi, important in the history of Western societies for having broken with Man's utilitarian view of nature.

The Huiricuta reserve is shaped like a polygon and includes the traditional Huichol route. It is the first in Mexico—and perhaps the world—that was created specifically to protect both sacred natural indigenous sites and a cultural itinerary. The main polygon covers 140,000 hectares in the municipalities of Catorce, Villa de Guadalupe, Charcas, Villa de la Paz and Matehuala. The Huichol route is 140 kilometers long from the main polygon to the state of Zacatecas, and crosses the municipalities of Charcas, Salinas de Hidalgo and Villa de Ramos.

Mining was the activity that had the most environmental impact in the region, although it has dwindled down to almost nothing. Today, entrepreneurs intend to reinitiate the exploitation of the area's mineral wealth in open-pit mines, which would be a considerable threat to ecological conservation and would particularly affect the nesting sites of the golden eagle. However, the main threat to the reserve is

overgrazing of goats and, to a lesser extent, encroaching agriculture which splits up the natural habitats.

Also, for several decades, the region has seen a notable increase in Mexican and foreign visitors who come seeking mystical or psychedelic experiences. This disorderly tourism, mainly of "new-agers" and "neo-hippies," has the additional impact of profaning the Huichol sanctuaries and the pillage of peyote, among other cacti, from the towns.

The reserve, decreed in 1994 on the initiative of traditional Huichol authorities and a group of citizens, is under the aegis of the government of San Luis Potosí. However, the significant actions to guarantee its functioning have been promoted by Conservación Humana, A.C., a non-governmental organization. Much is left to do to ensure that the reserve fulfills its objectives of protecting the sacred landscape and its natural and cultural heritage and improving local inhabitants' quality of life. This effort requires a great deal of political will, public participation and, above all, tolerance. ■■■

NOTES

¹ The *agrito* bush is endemic to the Chihuahuan Desert region. Its scientific name is *Berberis trifoliata*, and it has medicinal properties. The Huichols extract a yellow ink from its roots that they use to anoint themselves during their rituals.

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UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO

The Federico Silva Contemporary Sculpture Museum

Sylvia Navarrete*



Federico Silva, *Death of the Road*, 1986
(polychromatic Xaltocan stone),
Federico Silva Museum Collection. ▶

Photos by Mauricio Degollado



San Luis Potosí's Federico Silva Contemporary Sculpture Museum is only three years old. For those who still have not visited it, the photographs and historical documentation of the neo-classical building show a seigniorial space, very thoughtfully adapted to its new function by Potosí-born architect Fernando Torre (in the seventeenth century, the land housed a Jesuit hospital and monastery torn down in the twentieth century to make way for a public school).¹ The excellent adaptation manages to evoke the atmosphere of a sanctuary through large, high-ceilinged rooms with ochre marble floors that allow visitors to stroll freely by columns of rose-colored stone—how fortunate that no one divided it up with any free-standing dividers! Federico Silva's imposing, hieratical sculptures look magnificent, not only because their monumental scale makes them blend with all their expressive force with the building, but also because complex lighting makes a play of shadows creating the secret atmosphere of a catacomb. "Sculpture does not exist if architecture does not give it dimensions," says Federico Silva.

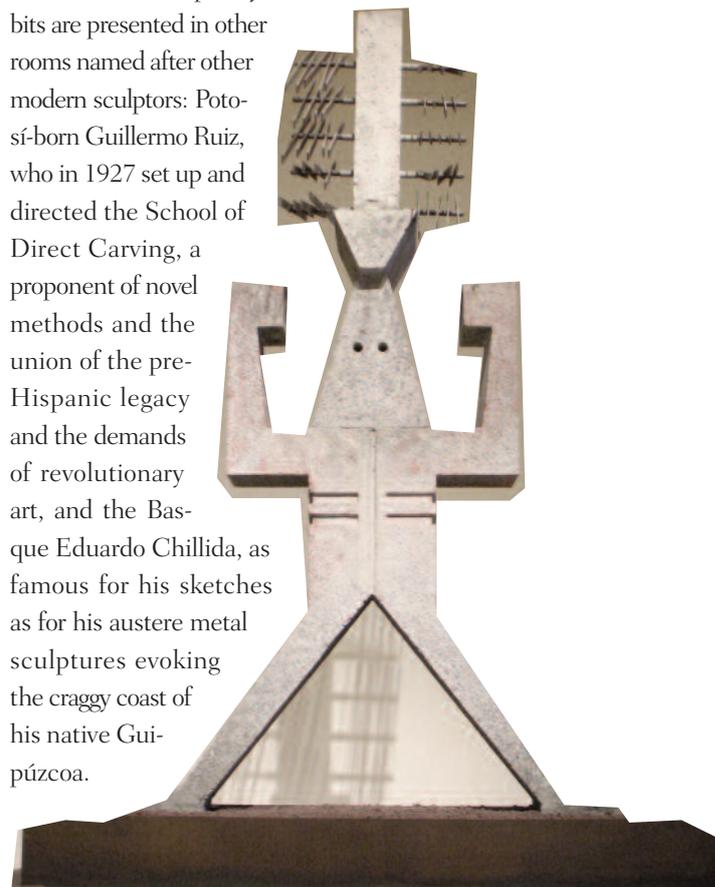
Now, why should he end up in San Luis Potosí if he was born in Mexico City's Tacuba district?² Everything seems to indicate that, aside from

* Assistant director of Mexico City's Carrillo Gil Art Museum.

a political moment that favored the project, the symbolic value of its mines, industry and regional traditions influenced the decision. "The origin of the creative act," says Silva, "is to be found in the materials and in the belly of the earth,"³ even when that impulse responds to a social need, a humanist quest, an individual sensibility molded by collective thinking. According to Silva, sculpture is the telluric art *par excellence*, given that expression is achieved through earth, stone, metals and minerals—we could object that it is also done through plastic, industrial ready-made pieces and even organic and human waste, or with parts of the fiber of society, as Joseph Beuys says.

THE BUILDING AND THE COLLECTION

Two floors of the building itself and the San Juan de Dios Garden across from it are given over to Silva's work. Temporary exhibits are presented in other rooms named after other modern sculptors: Potosí-born Guillermo Ruiz, who in 1927 set up and directed the School of Direct Carving, a proponent of novel methods and the union of the pre-Hispanic legacy and the demands of revolutionary art, and the Basque Eduardo Chillida, as famous for his sketches as for his austere metal sculptures evoking the craggy coast of his native Guipúzcoa.



▲ Federico Silva, *The Lord of Lightning*, 1996 (Talmimilopa stone and iron), Federico Silva Museum Collection.



▲ The museum also houses temporary exhibits of work by other sculptors. Arno Avilés, *House of the Wind*, n.d. (jasper), Collection of Arno Avilés.

A beautiful panoramic terrace, an auditorium and areas for interactive educational services complete the facilities.

The collection, with museography by expert Jorge Guadarrama, offers anyone unfamiliar with Federico Silva's work a diversified panorama that starts in the early 1970s and includes the somewhat neglected early stages of his work.⁴ From that period come the long aluminum and wood mobiles (something between a bird and a supersonic plane); the beautiful geometric constructions of mirrors and wood; the toy-like structures with mechanisms and little motors... A slender, light, delicate aesthetic that, with the years and the use of stone, has given way to another caliber, to heavy volumes, to great altars, to imposing *alushes*, to unusual *tlaloques* and *chaneques*.⁵ In an interview with Angélica Abelleira in 1990, Federico said, "I admire Calder's work in large steel beams, but he lived in Detroit, the natural place to produce that kind of work. For me, stone is important because I associate it with weight. I don't like empty things. Also, stone has an internal pulse, and time is impressed upon it."⁶

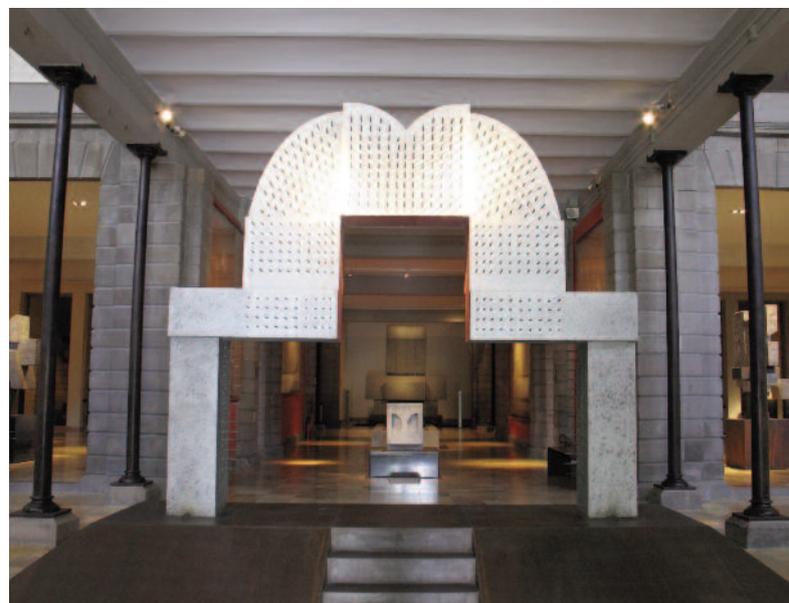
We should not forget that pre-Columbian sculpture was made out of stone. This technique was decisive in Federico Silva's finding a road toward a formal language nourished mainly by the indigenous legacy, to whose ritual, ceremonial dimen-

sion he often adds a playful, humorous touch.

Curiously, nothing in the room dedicated to Silva's work alludes to his presence in the workers, union and anti-fascist struggle. He was assistant to David Alfaro Siqueiros when he painted the mural "New Democracy" in the Fine Arts Palace; the son-in-law of Vicente Lombardo Toledano; and friend of José Revueltas. He does "protest paintings" and murals with a political stance like the

one in the National Polytechnic Institute. But in him beats a genuine need to experiment, leading him to search for other things. A trip to Paris in the 1960s put him in touch with kinetic art, associated with physics and mechanics, optics and astronomy.⁷ Experimentation with art in movement would lead him to adopt volume. His first sculptures were "solar" objects with prisms, Fresnel lenses, mirrors, magnets, laser beams and bodies suspended in space; and mobiles that used solar and wind energy.

Beginning in the 1980s and the collective conception of the UNAM's Sculptural Space, a



Federico Silva, *Door to Paradise*, 2002 (polychromatic Tlalmimilolpa stone and iron), Federico Silva Museum Collection.

turning point in his career, for Silva, sculpture acquires another destiny, other values, another function: it is community-based, scientific, mystical and public, attributes that identify it with the art practiced by our forebears. In addition to a certain messianic accent, what is surprising are the references to the utopia of a total art that integrates with rigor and precision all the fields of knowledge, and —and this is very important— is concretely useful. For Silva, the artist fulfills a social function; he/she is a mix of worker and priest, of educator and mystic. “The artist cannot be amorphous, unexpected and surprising, distant or standoffish, insensitive and uninformed. He/she cannot stop being a kind of chronicler, like the essence and summary of his/her social, historical surroundings.”⁸ Preserving identity, translating an “essence” of what is Mexican into art —no matter how questionable the topic is— by look-



▲ Federico Silva, *Offering*, 2000 (Tlalmimilolpa stone), Federico Silva Museum Collection.

The confluence of cultural traits and aesthetic references marks the contribution of Federico Silva to modern Mexican sculpture.



The museum offers a diversified panorama of Federico Silva’s work.

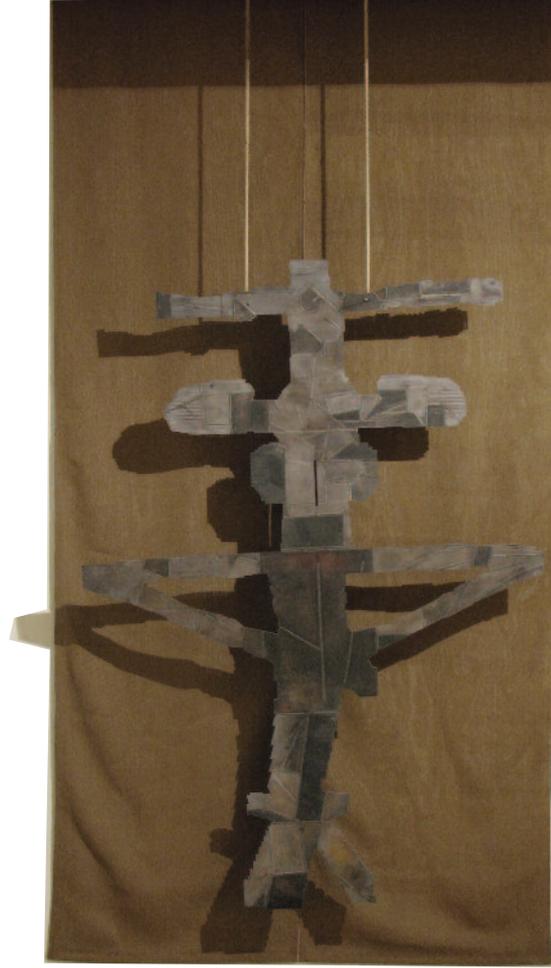
ing into our most ancient roots are priorities in Silva’s work.⁹ Through common traits of style and conception (the play of volumes, the simplification of form, cut-down figures, the use of flat, overlapping colors), building a bridge between the geometrical-abstract language developed by an entire generation of sculptors (his generation, that of the defenders of monumental geometric sculpture, the same creators of the UNAM’s Sculptural Space, Manuel Felguérez, Mathias Goeritz, Helen Escobedo, Sebastián, Hersúa), and the formal architecture and sculpture of ancient Mexico: it is this confluence of cultural traits and aesthetic references that marks the contribution of Federico Silva to modern Mexican sculpture.

Federico Silva trembles to think that his museum could become a mausoleum. This explains that in his role as “academic advisor and consultant,” he is aware of the need to develop a program of temporary exhibits of other colleagues (all kinds:

dead, living, established, up-and-coming, and from Latin America). The greatest success was last year's retrospective dedicated to Germán Cueto, an avant-garde innovator unlike any other in post-revolutionary Mexico, but who had been forgotten since his death in 1975. The shows of work by Juan Soriano, Manuel Felguéz, Gunther Gerzso and Vicente Rojo were more visible. In any case, all together they seem to be good box-office: they attract an average of 20,000 visitors a year.

UNIQUE IN MEXICO

The Federico Silva Museum is not the first to be founded based on the collection of a single artist (Tamayo and Cuevas have theirs in Mexico City; Felguéz in Zacatecas; and Toledo in Oaxaca). But there is no other museum dedicated exclusively to sculpture, making it the only one of its kind in Mexico. From the start, fortunate initia-



▲ Federico Silva, *Lord of the Thorns*, 2003 (iron plate), Federico Silva Museum Collection.



▲ Federico Silva, *Stela*, 1985 (Xaltocan stone), Federico Silva Museum Collection.

OTHER SERVICES

The museum offers courses, workshops and lectures for the general public and specialized groups. After viewing the exhibition, visitors can take a workshop where they apply what they have learned and can relive the experience by making a sculpture, putting together puzzles, etc. The museum also offers courses about pre-Hispanic cultures and contemporary sculpture, among other topics.

The museum's educational services aim to develop the public's appreciation of contemporary sculpture. Among students, it seeks to develop creative capacity through sculpting.

Extension activities mainly aim to foster a new attitude that will allow the visitor to enjoy the museum's spaces, Federico Silva's work and the temporary exhibits. The museum also sponsors student visits, student practice sessions and community service; didactic concerts; children's dance and theater performances; and an interactive program for children that gives them virtual contact with the sculptures that is both fun and pedagogical.

tives have characterized it, like the one that shows a real vocation for decentralization. “From the metaphorical point of view,” observed Regina Boels-terly the museum’s director, at its inauguration, “it can be considered a barrier to the culture from the north, meaning the United States.” In addition, culturally and socially, the Federico Silva Museum is a detonator: it takes up the standard of Potosí tradition (and even its lineage) in the field of artistic promotion, assuming the vocat~~M~~if disseminating contemporary visual arts.

NOTES

- ¹ See *Museo Federico Silva. Escultura contemporánea* (San Luis Potosí: Patronato del Museo Federico Silva, 2005).
- ² For information about the life of Federico Silva, see his best book: *México por Tacuba. Pasajes autobiográficos*, Memorias mexicanas Collection (Mexico City: Conaculta, 2000). It is an intimate portrait and chronicle of a time that reads like a novel. Another interesting source is his speech at his induction into the Academy of Arts in 1992.
- ³ “What does man seek in the belly of the earth, in volcanoes, mountains and mines? One: basic materials for daily subsistence; and two: elements to give symbolic value to in order to build a religious, cultural or metaphysical context. Stone, for example, reminds us to the notion of cohesion, the non-perishable and the eternal. At the same time, identifying

it with the mountains, trees and forests, it represents the cosmos as a whole. In primitive symbolism, stones can even give birth; they have the power to give life. The cornerstone of a sacred building is the rock on which the universe is founded, the cornerstone of the earth and the source of the water of life, which prevails over all subterranean powers. Unpolished stone is the *prima materia*, the feminine, and is associated with the masculine symbols of the chisel and all the cutting tools used to shape it”. Taken from a conversation of the author with the artist.

- ⁴ Initially, Federico Silva freely loaned his work to the museum for 20 years. However, in March 2006, it was legally donated to the people of San Luis Potosí.
- ⁵ *Alushes* are Mayan fairies who protect mountains and crops. In Náhuatl cosmogony, *tlaloques* are the four helpers of Tláloc, the god of rain; they represent the clouds and are situated at each of the four points of the compass. The struggle among them brings rain and thunder. On the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, *chaneques* are mischievous spirits or fairies. [Editor’s Note.]
- ⁶ *La Jornada* (Mexico City).
- ⁷ It was no great extravagance to become a kinetic artist in the 1960s: the last word in artistic quests—remember Vasarely’s enormous success—integrated new principles like time and mutation into object art, and combined a taste for the artifact, modulation of natural or electric light, a little engineering and very seductive visual effects. In addition, a whole group of abstract-geometric sculptors from Latin America (Carlos Cruz Diez, Jesús Rafael Soto and Julio LeParc, among others) had just migrated to Paris to join their ranks.
- ⁸ Adriana Moncada, “En este siglo, conquista del pensamiento abstracto en artes plásticas,” *Unomásuno* (Mexico City), December 13, 1991.
- ⁹ In one of his recent projects, Silva painted 5,000 square meters of a cave at the Huites, Sonora dam, with reminiscences of ancient cave paintings of Baja California to, as he said, “mark it with a historical continuity that constitutes

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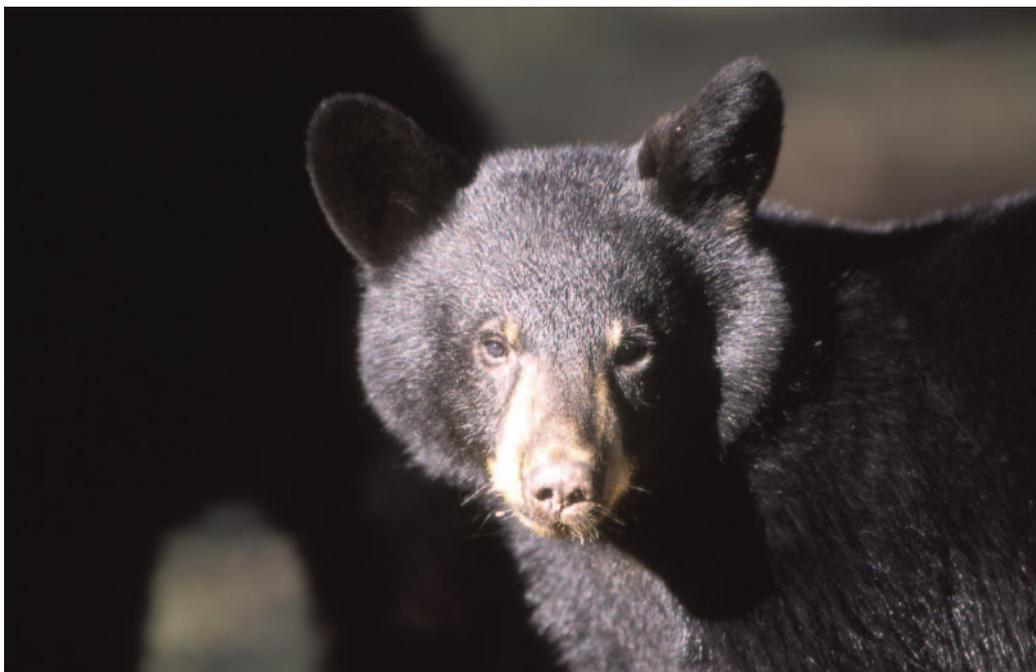
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Federico Silva, *Bat*, 1986 (stone), left. *Bat II*, 2000 (polychromatic iron), right. Federico Silva Museum Collection.

The Despoblado

Raymond Skiles*



Some would say it was an impossible dream, an unattainable vision. The concept of an international conservation corridor spanning the Mexico-U.S. border has been subject to nearly a century of the frequently tumultuous relationship between the two North American neighbors.

Beginning with the earliest Spanish explorations of the arid, rugged deserts of what are now northern Coahuila and Chihuahua and western Texas spanning the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo, it has been known as the Despoblado, an “unpeopled land.”

The Despoblado became peopled, if sparsely, with Mexicans and American pioneers who forged common bonds, culture and economies.

As the nineteenth century passed, the two nations struggled to define a boundary between nations and cultures. However, with each passing decade and the dawn of the twentieth century, distant political, cultural and economic forces resulted in a boundary increasingly at odds with the common ecological, cultural and economic bonds developed on the local and regional scale.

Ironically, the seeds of discord during Mexico’s 1910-1920 Revolution created the seedlings of vision toward a unique zone of protected landscape that appears to be maturing and bearing fruit nearly a century later.

The revolution was Mexican, but the U.S. influenced and was influenced by the struggle. As a result, the first influx of numerous Americans from across the U.S. and from all walks of U.S. life came to the Despoblado, now known

* Biologist at the Big Bend National Park in Texas.
Photos courtesy of Agrupación Sierra Madre.



to those north of the border as the Big Bend of the Rio Grande. Thousands of cavalry and foot soldiers were stationed in camps spread north of the river. Fortunately, these soldiers encountered little military action. There was ample time for the literary among those temporarily in uniform to publish their writings and illustrations of the vast and ruggedly beautiful landscape. Among these reports were the first printed suggestions that the area deserved preservation for its natural and scenic values.

The revolution came to an end and the border and its inhabitants again found solitude and relative peace. However, the vision of a national park nestled in the Big Bend of the Rio incubated and grew with local and regional support. Legislation authorizing establishment of Big Bend National Park was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, protecting what is now 324,291 hectares for the purposes of preserving natural values and providing enjoyment of those values by the public.

However, since the earliest recognition that the diversity of the Chihuahuan desert, the aquatic and riparian lifeline of the Rio Grande, and the modest montane forest of the Chisos Mountains of Big Bend National Park represented exceptional natural and ecological values, observers could not help but note the presence of equal if not more extensive and remarkable values in the adjacent Mexican landscape south of the border.

Also, scientists recognized that in addition to the myriad exemplary biotic zones, vegetation associations, geological and paleontological features, isolated springs and rare plants found in the landscapes, long-term perpetuation of a variety of low-density but wide-ranging species such as black bear, desert bighorn sheep and mountain lion would require preservation of habitats on a larger scale than the national park could provide.

The U.S. method of park and reserve establishment continued. The establishment of Black Gap Wildlife Management Area (in 1948, now 48,178 hectares) to the east, and later Big Bend Ranch State Park (in 1988, 121,052 hectares) created a U.S. federal and state relationship in regional public land conservation.

The U.S. federal model of natural area protection in the region reached its limits with the initiative to establish the Rio Grande Wild and Scenic River in 1978 (111 kilometers within Big Bend National Park, 190 kilometers downstream of the park). The proposal to create this additional zone of federally administrated property in the area was met with significant opposition by affected landowners and community leaders.

The political climate had changed since local and state enthusiasm had produced the establishment of Big Bend National Park. A rising private-property rights organization, distrust of the federal government and a perception of excessive government influence in private landowner affairs



found voice and support. The river designation occurred, but in a form much abbreviated from the initial proposal. Among the criticisms voiced by the proposal's opponents was that since the river is an international boundary, any U.S. designation could only protect one-half of the river zone.

Still, was the vision expressed most prominently in 1944 when Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ávila Camacho agreed to the principle of an international park an impossible dream? Or was it a concept of the northern neighbor, as so often has been the case, that failed to respect, failed to translate into the cultural and political realities of Mexico?

The U.S. concept of a national or state park, with outright government ownership of land, expensive and long-term investments in construction and upkeep of public roads, administrative facilities, big staffs and more emphasis on structured and managed large-scale public recreation than on ecosystem preservation or restoration is a result of the uniquely U.S. combination of economic, social and governmental realities and public expectations. It is unreasonable to expect the U.S. blueprint to fit or be the desirable strategy for landscape-scale natural area protection and management in most other—even neighboring—countries and their societies that have significantly different economic and cultural heritages and realities.

Thus, for the past decade, it has been Mexico, rather than the United States, that has taken the

lead in forming and bringing to fruition the vision and the hope of an international zone of natural-area protection to the Despoblado. From the realities and necessities of the Mexican condition a creative new approach that may offer the world a new model for cooperative conservation is blossoming.

The initiative, known as the El Carmen-Big Bend Conservation Corridor, from the perspec-



tive of this observer from north of the border, has developed through several distinct steps:

1. *Federal designation of protected areas*

Recognizing the value of the area's natural heritage and potential for Mexican and international conservation, the Mexican federal government designates Areas for the Protection of Flora and Fauna. These are the Santa Elena and Maderas de El Carmen Protected Areas. If successful, proposals to designate the Ocampo Protected Area and to recognize the distinctly linear river ecosystem with National Monument designation would unify the area.

2. *Private and non-governmental focus and investment*

Following the formal recognition of the natural area(s) and monument, attention of Mexican and international conservation organizations, private conservation investors and corporate conservation initiatives is focused within the protected area boundaries. These entities provide for a variety of protective measures through land purchase, management agreements and other instruments.

3. *Landowner conservation initiatives*

Within the protected areas and in the greater region of ecological interdependence, traditional ranchers and allied conservation organizations develop conservation best-practices certification standards and provide incentive and



encouragement for landowners to voluntarily meet certification standards for livestock production. A creative and pioneering strategy to create a designated wilderness area through a similar voluntary landowner certification process in the northern Sierra del Carmen is of particular note because it complements adjacent wilderness management areas of Big Bend National Park.

4. *Creating cooperative partnerships*

The last step would be to develop a framework for the diverse group of private, non-governmental, corporate, state and federal conservation stakeholders both north and south of the border to cooperate toward development and implementation of a common vision for landscape-scale international conservation. At the same time, we need to foster respect for the diversity of conservation approaches, legal mandates and socioeconomic realities of partnering entities.

To a 40-year resident of the U.S./ Mexico border zone with 25 years in conservation as a career U.S. National Park Service biologist, it has been discouraging to experience the increasingly restricted and discordant formal relationship being imposed upon our border.

A zone of cooperation in preserving a portion of our shared natural heritage represents a window of hope. A hope that the dream is possible. A hope that the nearly century-old vision is attainable. **MM**



Short Poetry of San Luis Potosí

Norberto de la Torre*

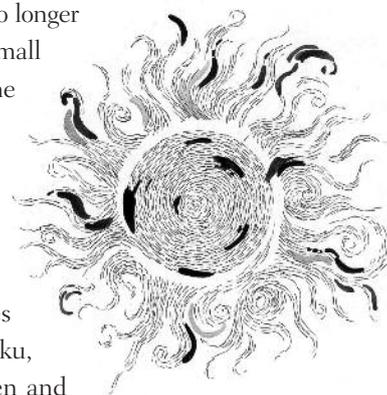


Short poetry is like a spark. It is the product of intuition, irony or, as with haiku, the result of profound meditation resolved through the density of a metaphor.¹ Summarizing a vision of emotional or intellectual reality in a few words is a challenge most poets cannot resist. However, the practice of short poetry does not always have fortunate results; it often fails or ends up displaying ingenuity more than creativity. It is sometimes necessary to write hundreds of short poems to come up with a salvageable dozen.

From the inception of literature, and specifically poetry, many authors have written different forms of short poems. Classifying them poses serious difficulties, above all because the dividing lines among them are often blurred. Short poems are from two to six lines long, although sometimes they may be longer if each line has fewer than nine syllables. However, this limitation to six lines, or 48 syllables, is rather arbitrary, since longer poems can be considered short because they contain a single poetic idea or very effectively summarize an experience or event.

Martín Alonso, in the first volume of his work *Ciencia del lenguaje y arte del estilo* (The Science of Language and the Art of Style), dedicates paragraph 398 to reviewing a short song which includes a series of brief poems that are no longer than seven lines long.² So, this kind of poetry is also known as a small song, and brief or condensed poetry. In this genre, we find the warnings of the Greek oracle, usually fashioned in hexameters;³ the images of the *I Ching*; children's songs; couplets; epigrams; Alfonso Reyes's *jitanjáforas*;⁴ the *seguidilla* stanza of four or seven lines; the Japanese *tanka* and *haiku*; the *poemínimos*;⁵ and Bécquer's rhymes, among others.

Some of these forms, like the epigrams, follow traditional rules of verse writing, respecting meter and rhyme. Others, like haiku, only use a specific meter, consisting of three lines of five, seven and five syllables each, but without rhyming. The *jitanjáforas* appeal to musicality



* Philosopher and writer. Director of the Othonian Museum and professor at the San Luis Potosí Autonomous University.

Drawings in this section by Héctor Ponce de León.

without taking into account meaning, and use words and neologisms not for their meaning but for their musical qualities. For example:

Vilichumbito de papagaya
lastirilinga de miñatay
trabuquilindo, lindo, lindoli
la papagaya de muranday⁶

Tankas, poems that add two seven-syllable lines to the haiku, and haiku aim for a meaning that goes beyond common sense, beyond the vision of the ordinary mind. *Poemínimos* are ironic, paradoxical, ingenious visions of reality.

The sample of poems offered here was born from a search for haiku produced by San Luis Potosí poets. After reviewing more than 50 books of poetry, I found only two authors who had published works they considered haiku: Álvaro Álvarez published three in a special issue of *Alfa*, put out by the San Luis Potosí Autonomous University Cultural Office in 1991; and Julio Rangel published two in a collective work called *La densidad del aire* (The Density of Air) in the UNAM Wing of the Tiger Collection in 1999. Other writers who have published poems with the intentionality of haiku, but that are not presented as such and do not adhere strictly to the metrics of a haiku, include Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa, Juana Meléndez, Arturo Medellín, José Ramón Gutiérrez, Fernando Sifuentes and Ana Coloma.

During my search, I found a good many texts that, while they cannot be considered haiku, are short poems. We can understand, then, as brief poetry, all poems that contain a maximum of six lines, preferably with fewer than nine syllables per line. However, epigrams usually have nine syllables or more per line.

Compared to worldwide production, little short poetry is written in San Luis Potosí. Its quality is varied, and it ranges from intense poems to loose ones, including simple attempts at humor or ingenuity. For my anthology, I consulted the greatest possible number of books of poetry. The authors included range from those who had been published in the twentieth century, from Manuel José Othón, to the books printed before 2000. It is possible that I have missed some authors, above all in the first half of the century. This is due to the fact that some books have been published by the authors themselves and others are practically impossible to locate. Some writers, like Mago Medellín and Juan de Alba, are not included because they did not write poems with six lines or less, at least in the books I was able to consult. The reader will find a sample of brief poems; I hope it is a sample of the best and most representational works written by poets born or living in the state of San Luis Potosí. They are not all of the same quality and intensity, the same capacity for summarizing a poetic experience. But I think that they do maintain a minimum of rigor and decorum that make this sample readable and instructive. ■■■

NOTES

¹ See T. Hadman, *Breve historia y antología del haikú en la lírica mexicana* (Mexico City: Domés, 1987); Nuria Parés, *El haikú japonés* (Mexico City: El Mundo Moderno, 1966), and Norberto de la Torre, *El universo en un sombrero* (San Luis Potosí: Ediciones Koan, 2001).

² Martín Alonso, *Ciencia del lenguaje y arte del estilo* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1975).

³ William Holding, *La lengua oculta* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995).

⁴ Alfonso Reyes, "Las jitanjáforas", *Obras completas de Alfonso Reyes*, no. 14 (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1962).

⁵ Efraín Huerta, *Estampida de poemínimos* (Mexico City: Premià Editora, 1985).

⁶ Alfonso Reyes, *op. cit.*

Brief Anthology of San Luis Potosí Poets¹

On Her Day

Today my being, which sighs far away from your love,
finds inspiration in this limpid aurora
and I send you, my love, in sweet calm,
all the vibrations of my poem
all the thoughts of my soul.

Manuel José Othón (1858-1906)

Columbus Discovered a Great World

Columbus discovered a great world
and was later very poor;
Cervantes died shrieking
and indigent was Cortés.
I, not half these men,
am as hungry as all three.

Manuel José Othón (1858-1906)

The Rose

I was queen of all the queens that have been
and I am queen of the ladies now,
and in my breasts I have felt tremble
the blood that implores loves.

Luis Castro y López (1892-1960)

Naïveté

One day I kissed you. The moon was resting on your mouth.
And so as not to offend you with my kisses,
I only tried to kiss that quiet and smooth moon on your lips.
Thus I only kissed your moon!

Homero Acosta (1901-1992)

Twelve Poems

6

Death, give me more life
for even thus you grow,
for the longer I live your life
for by living your life
the more death you grant me.

Francisco de la Maza (1913-1972)

9

Every one has his own destiny
but it is not right to live
zigzagging on the ground.

Juana Meléndez de Espinosa (1914-)

¹ Selection of poems from Norberto de la Torre, comp., *Muestra de la poesía breve de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí: Gobierno del Estado/Editorial Ponciano Arriaga, 2006).

Moments and Ashes

Time becomes an iceberg
and nakedness and cold
are at the end of the road.
We possess only the moments,
the rest belongs to the ashes.
Félix Dauajare (1920-)

Summary

Before the last minute
poisons us
like a gray serpent,
it is absolutely useless
to make any summary.
Félix Dauajare (1920-)

Picture of a Psychiatrist

He was happy when a patient
entered his office
and he could reveal his complex to him
thus the patients discovered
that their psychiatrist
had a psychiatrist complex.
Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa (1922-1999)

Tanka

10
In the gorges
the Zapatista
keeps his aged voice.
Also his old gods
and the tracks of the tiger.
Norberto de la Torre (1947-)

We Had Very Little Left

We had very little left of the afternoon
when I discovered
the erotic possibilities of your feet.
Armando Adame (1948-)

P.S.

I write to you from prison
yesterday they surprised me urinating
on the monument of great men.
Ignacio Betancurt (1948-)

At the Literary Workshop

I was criticizing poems
Farmers and students arrived
asking for help
(they needed to stay on lands
the government wanted to take from them)
The poem fell out of my hands
red with shame.
Ignacio Betancurt (1948-)

Martyr

Pepe!
This man is real!
Drive in the nails well
in order to condemn him
a few seconds
to eternity.
Alfredo Contreras (1950-)





Shower of Second Parts in A Minor

I do not know what times to come these are
that the desire to die
brings me with varying luck
on the bound wind
every time I hear her bleed
Alberto Enríquez (1950-)

The Secrets of a Witness

The invisible ones say
there's a key for each door
But at birth and in death
all we possess are a few guides and certainties
all obtained thanks to the persistent effort of doubt

I have nothing to give
but a secret I ignore
David Ojeda (1950-)

The Circle

I will vomit a thousand times
my congealed dreams
And thus again in the morning
I will be able to return with firm step
with my washed face

and my uniform of a conformist teacher
to continue the class
Carmen Quiroga (1951-)

To Think the Sea (tracks)

37
Your feet
remain
the tracks
go with the wave
Arturo Medellín Anaya (1951-)

The Gaze

that, along the way, the adventurers
rest on any dawn of words is
a rock of the imagination
adrift
Laura Elena González (1954-)

Lottery

The roses keep the secret
that in exchange for a few coins
passes from hand to hand.
Tomás Calvillo (1954-)

Plea

lady of the night I offer you
 the cricket of my green voice
 losing itself in the wind

roll the augury of the drums, love,
 to begin the celebration
Margarito Cuéllar (1956-)

Dark Thread

In us
 at every step
 less mystery
 less providence
Héctor Esquer (1958-)

The Blackbird

The blackbird sings,
 you should not listen to it:
 night is falling.
Eudoro Fonseca Yerena (1956-)

The Wait

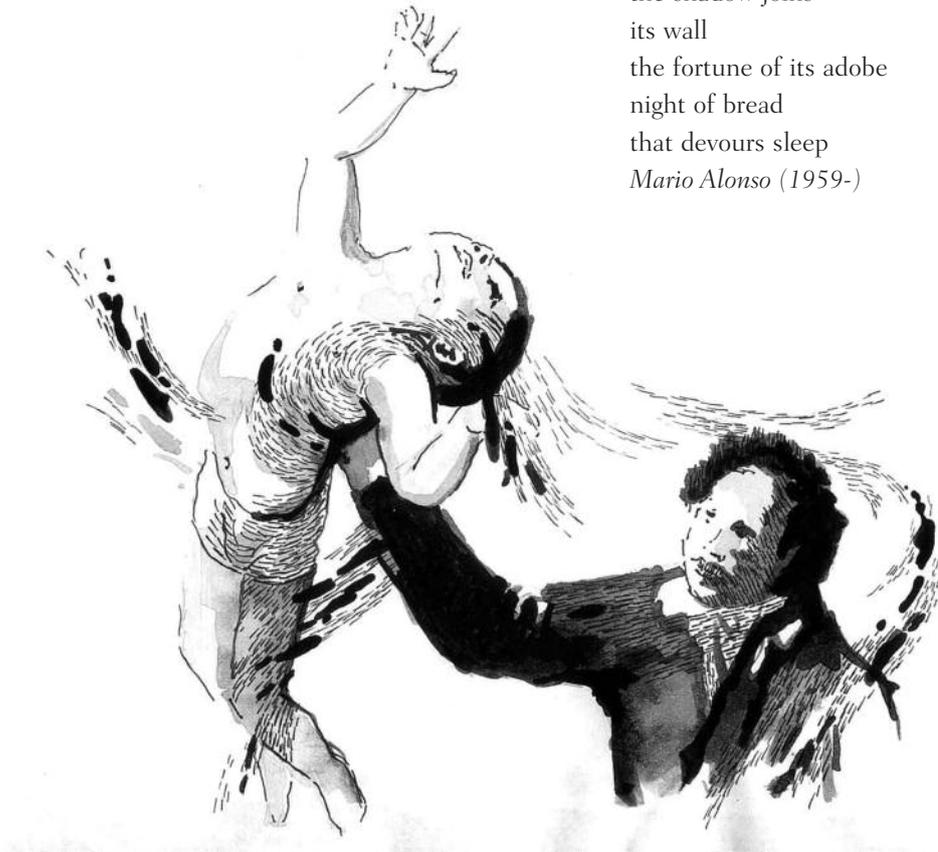
I light a match and a bit of
 hell
 begins its third blaze.
Héctor Esquer (1958-)

Holy Souls

Between the stroke of a shadow
 and another one of darkness
 sparks of illumination leap
Fernando Sifuentes (1957-)

Poem

There are no longer witnesses
 nor memorable deeds
 the shadow joins
 its wall
 the fortune of its adobe
 night of bread
 that devours sleep
Mario Alonso (1959-)





1982

And to think
that just
1981 years ago
evil was made up
only of caresses
César Porras (1959-)

Visions

In the penumbra
the hip pronounces
its lunar edge
Julio Rangel (1964-)

Condolences

A single corpse evokes the vision
of all our dead

Thus arises an interminable procession
of landslides on our body
Octavio César (1974-)

The Dead Speak

The dead speak in front of a book,
secretly they make faces where time
is suspended
while the night cracks.
Jaime Loredó (1974-)

The Dawn Cuts

the grass
I have not found
a better gardener
for the fields of my heart.

* * *

What I can say at this hour
when the sun is more beautiful
that any of my verses.
Jeanne Karen (1975-)

Poet

I follow your steps
toward paradise
now tell me
how to open
these dense
wings.
Jeanne Karen (1975-)



Reviews

Seguridad nacional en México.

¿Realidad o proyecto?

(National Security in Mexico. Reality or Project?)

José Luis Piñeyro

Pomares/Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana

Barcelona, 2006, 207 pp.

José Luis Piñeyro's aim in this book is to contribute to the discussion about Mexico's national security taking into consideration the current domestic situation and the country's unavoidable link with the United States. He also deals with U.S. relations to other international actors like Brazil, Venezuela and Iraq, thus allowing the reader to compare.

The author has gathered more than 70 pieces of journalism published between 2003 and 2006, introducing them with a text that underlines the minimum theoretical and methodological bases needed for systematically understanding a comprehensive conception of national security.

Piñeyro anchors the concept of national security in history, in the socio-economic context and in the implementation of state policies, situating it beyond the traditional focus that circumscribes it to merely technical military and police considerations. With this focus, it takes on a multi-dimensional character thanks to which we can identify among the real threats factors like poverty, structural unemployment, inequality, the growing consumption of drugs, criminality, electoral abstentionism and even AIDS.

The Mexican case is the crosscutting theme of the book, which starts off with a critical reflection about the different factors whose influence on national security goes from risk to threat. Because of



their structural character, they can —and in some cases already do— go beyond state institutions' response capability.

Convinced of the consequences of increasing social deterioration for the consolidation of democracy in Mexico, the author reflects about the conditions needed for governability and the construction of a harmonious, inclusive model of development. From that perspective, public policies must be based on the government's satisfying social needs, but must also resort to participatory democracy as the way for society to influence the government.

At the center of this idea is the transformation of public policies into real state policies, constituted on the basis of clear objectives, operational strategies, the guarantee of transparency and accountability. Among their characteristics is long-term vision, the capability of adapting to new scenarios, the definition of a nation-

al project in light of socio-political consensus and the creation of a network of effective state institutions and alliances with other nations or regional blocs.

Following these premises, one of the book's themes is the vicissitudes still surrounding the debate in Mexico, fragmented over the unavoidable fiscal reform, considering that the use and distribution of these resources constitutes a valuable snapshot of any national government which, together with the imperative of strengthening the domestic market, are necessary for promoting sustainable development.

Openly critical of the neo-liberal model, the author examines the presidency of Vicente Fox, classifying it as an administration of "regressive change," characterized by its absolute complacency toward the economic elites in favor of macro-economic equilibrium, at the same time that it underestimated its impact in the political and macro-social arena.

The book contains a profusion of references to the model of offensive security that the United States has tried to impose on the world since 9/11, and warns that Mexico should make a priority of preventive mechanisms that allow it to safeguard its sovereignty.

When dealing with drug trafficking, terrorism, the border and migration, all issues that permeate the bilateral agenda, Piñeyro expresses his concern about the lack of political will and leadership that have made it impossible for Mexico to limit the intervention of the hegemonic power, and have opened up the way for collaborationism.

Nevertheless, it is appropriate to mention José Luis Piñeyro's capacity for visualizing alternatives for a Mexico faced with this maze of dilemmas. For example, in the case of drug trafficking, he recommends abandoning repression and rationally and in a balanced fashion calculating the respective benefits of spending to combat drug trafficking and investing in the fight against poverty, addiction prevention programs and addict rehabilitation.¹

The book includes the article "Héroes de la fuerza" (Heroes of Force), which won him the National Prize for Journalism in 2004. Without distinguishing between legal and undocumented Mexican migrants, it emphasizes their irrefutable contributions to the stability of the country in the macro-economic and political spheres. Combining data that reflects how

imposing the phenomenon of migration to the United States is, the author underlines that the only successful non-public policy of the Fox government has been the systematic expulsion-export of migrant labor.

Nevertheless, in this article as well as others, he ponders the advantages that this migration has for the United States, appealing to the need for reciprocity with Mexico and favoring a migratory accord that would cross over from amnesty to respect for human dignity.

Continuing with the analysis of Latin America in several articles, the author underlines the legalization of politics as a growing phenomenon of control at the service of the neoliberal model, whose intention is to channel and contain popular nationalism in the region.

José Luis Piñeyro appreciates the efforts to build broader spaces for political sovereignty in countries like Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela, which aim to define alternative paths for their relations with the United States. They have done this by implementing anti-poverty programs and reactivating micro- and medium-sized cooperatives and companies, thus seeking to solve problems derived from the concentration of income and wealth and therefore decrease social polarization.

By contrast, in the case of Mexico, the author criticizes the passiveness of the Fox administration, which never went any further than rhetoric *vis-à-vis* the United States. He considers that there is insufficient concrete evidence for us to trust in its willingness to promote economic and political stability in our country since, for example, the migratory accord has repeatedly been postponed at the same time that mechanisms for guarding our common border have been strengthened.

One outstanding attribute of José Luis Piñeyro's book is that it makes the many complications of building sovereignty and national security accessible to the general public. A second is that it puts at the center of his analysis the Mexican men and women who, despite successive blows to their quality of life and standard of living, have understood how to maintain their loyalty to their nation and their vocation for civility.

Recognizing that Mexico must face the fact that at the bottom of its many problems and internal conflicts lie corruption and mistrust, which in turn make it

impossible to come to a national agreement, the author underlines the national public interest as the cross-cutting theme of a new national security strategy, channeled by social participation and the formation of a collective consciousness, capable of taking root in a new formula of community cohesion.

Lastly, and considering that the author alludes to the possibility of alternation in power that would favor the left in the July 2006 presidential elections, we trust

that soon this magnificent book will be expanded to seek answers to the challenges of the future. **MM**

Silvia Núñez García
CISAN Academic Secretary

NOTES

¹ The author notes that in 2004, 35,000 Mexican troops were involved in the fight against drug trafficking, p. 124.



America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy

Francis Fukuyama

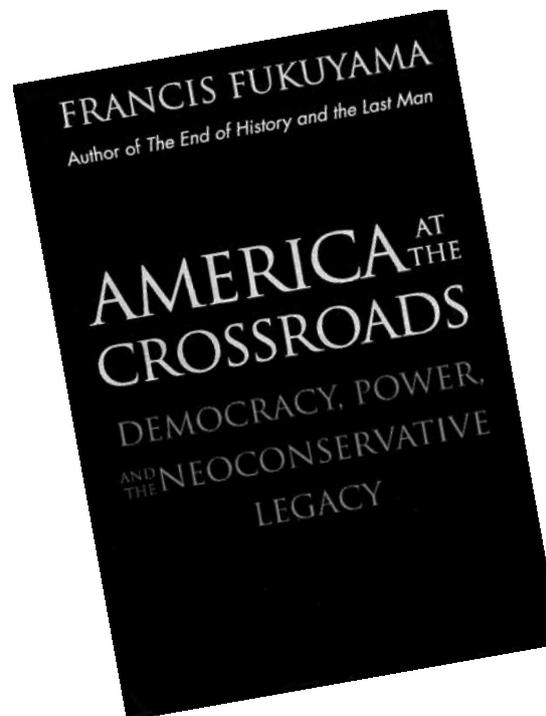
Yale University Press

New Haven, 2006, 240 pp.

The image of the United States is disquieting. The country is divided, torn apart by petty polemics, corroded by doubt, undermined by suicidal hedonism and dazed by the shouting of the demagogues...The other road, the road of public health, passes through the examination of the conscience and self-criticism: a return to their roots, the foundations of the nation. In the case of the United States: to the vision of the founding fathers. Not to repeat what they said: to recommence. These beginnings are simultaneously purification and change.

OCTAVIO PAZ¹

How much has President George W. Bush's foreign policy been influenced by U.S. identity and politics and how much by the specificities of the president and his administration? Five years after the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. foreign policy strategy is conditioned by the failure of the armed inva-



sion of Iraq. So, how will history judge George W. Bush's term?

Reading about the ingenuity of U.S. interventionism and its repercussions in the international system is the common task of any avid reader. Nevertheless, reading the acrimonious criticisms of a prestigious neoconservative thinker like Francis Fukuyama is very different. The author of the polemical *The End of History and the Last Man*, in his new book, *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*, traces his journey through neoconservatism and defines himself as an intellectual crit-

ical of the administration. His new aim: to denounce the militarization of Washington's international policy strategy.

It is paradoxical that Fukuyama, a member of the bombastic "Project for the New American Century," is denouncing the ideology that he himself had fostered since the 1990s. His main argument is that the Bush Doctrine of preventive war has limited itself to an ideological effort unprecedented in the annals of U.S. history. His proposal is to reconcile in the international system what Louis Hartz called the powerful liberal absolutism with a realist current justifying U.S. hegemony. In this sense, Fukuyama calls for a "realist-Wilsonian" strategy for international policy.

Neoconservatism is an ideological and political movement that has pushed for U.S. leadership of the international system for 40 years through a foreign policy that ranges from anti-communism to a change in regime and preventive war as articulating axes of national security. Thus, the prefix "neo" is a product of its assimilation as the contemporary expression of U.S. conservatism. In this way, passing through three major stages, neoconservatism not only renovated conservatism defined as an ideology of the search and institution of values of the old community, but it also aided in translating it into a permanent element of international politics.

The first stage began in the 1970s when a growing polarization of U.S. society—manifested after the U.S. defeat in the Vietnam War, the imbalances in the international economy, the political crisis caused by Watergate and followed by the resignation of President Richard Nixon—fostered an isolationist discourse in foreign policy inscribed in a theory of historic cycles of the great powers. Then, the neoconservatives, with their liberal, anti-communist roots, not only renovated the Republican Party, but also gave great impetus to the conservative nation (think tanks, foundations, associations, interest and pressure groups that were all part of the conservative movement) that finally consolidated with the arrival of a president who jibed with the movement: Ronald Reagan.

The second stage was the direct result of the implosion of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new scenarios in the balance of world power among nations. The neoconservatives feared that once the

threat of communism disappeared, the United States would withdraw behind its borders and depend on collective security mechanisms for preserving peace and stability in the world. The post-Cold War would require the leadership of the United States to deal with dictatorships and hostile ideologies and promote the principles of liberal democracy by military force if necessary. Thus, the 1990s was a period of great political activism for the conservative nation, which promoted the doctrines of security and defense represented in a single U.S. pole in the international system.

Finally, the third stage began with 9/11. The strategies of dissuasion and contention were insufficient to deal with the new threat. In this way, the neoconservatives renovated the crosscutting themes of a foreign policy built on the basis of the principles of preventive war, unilateralism and hegemonism.

U.S. foreign policy has been the product of a perennial struggle between two different but complementary ideological perceptions: the tradition of liberal internationalism and that of conservative nationalism. Therefore, U.S. foreign policy is subject to cyclical fluctuations of interventionism and isolationism. Arthur M. Schlesinger says that the conceptions of these fluctuations correspond to the old dispute between perceiving the United States as an experiment or as destiny.

Fukuyama's work is interesting when he argues, indirectly, that the study of the international system requires not only the analysis of materialist aspects, but also the incorporation of new social concepts like national identities. Then, is it possible to design and implement a foreign policy that on the one hand pays obeisance to *realpolitik* and at the same time to a policy of change and alignment of external national identities? As a result, will states with political, social and cultural affinities grow closer together? Could this be a reliable, successful strategy for U.S. foreign policy?

President George W. Bush's foreign policy is a revolt understood as a return to the principles defined as the "American Creed," a rebellion, seen as the subversion and dissidence of a traditionalist, nativist political group, and a revolution, not in the sense of a transformation of society, but as an accelerated, radical change in Washington's international policy strategies.

In short, what Fukuyama says about neoconservative foreign policy doctrine is that the United States must maintain and promote its status as the sole military, economic and cultural pole; increase its national defense budget; and promote democratic values through—in the words of Joseph S. Nye—hard power and soft power. Thus, the single-pole character of the international system is built based on three elements: 1) the promotion of democracy; b) the creation of a new U.S. internationalism through strengthening and developing new alliances; and c) maintaining and expanding the *pax Americana*.

Thus, President Bush's neoconservative foreign policy rests on five principles: 1) the United States exists in a dangerous world; 2) states are the main actors in the international system; 3) military power is something that reaffirms hegemony and the single-pole system; 4) international accords and multilateral bodies are neither essential nor necessary; and 5) the United States is the world's only super-power.

There are three theories about the impact of neoconservatism on President Bush's foreign policy. The first is that the administration has been waylaid by a neoconservative group. The second states that the neoconservatives foresaw the threat of terrorism and were able to adjust their strategy. But, the third theory is more valid and Fukuyama seems to defend it: after 9/11, the neoconservative discourse attracted and convinced a conservative nation. Therefore, neoconservative foreign policy became a conservative focus of U.S. international policy after 9/11.

In this way, after 9/11, President Bush pushed for the creation of a new and powerful foreign policy elite inside the establishment, so that neoconservative doctrine currently provides one of the most plausible guidelines for Washington's international policy. Thus, the interventionist-unilateralist-messianic triad is part of the post-9/11 political discourse. In that sense, it is undeniable that the foreign policy strategy is revolutionary: it abandons a perennial debate between dissuasion and contention as instruments of international policy.

The experience in Iraq proved to be an expensive chosen—not necessary—war. It has sparked intense debate within the United States and throughout the rest of the world about U.S. foreign policy and

its role in the international system. Therefore, the idealist Wilsonian tradition of internationalism and the nationalist realist tradition in the foreign policy of President George W. Bush demonstrate the radical resurrection of U.S. national identity as a theory of international policy in the post-9/11 international system.

With things in this state, it is probable that if there were another terrorist attack in the United States similar to 9/11 or even deadlier, the neoconservative foreign policy doctrine would be taken out of mothballs and cleansed of its failures in Iraq. The response by future generations of U.S. political leaders to any threat to security will be inexorably linked to the reactions of their own national identity. Thus, power and ideas will be assimilated into a single body, a doctrine, a perception.

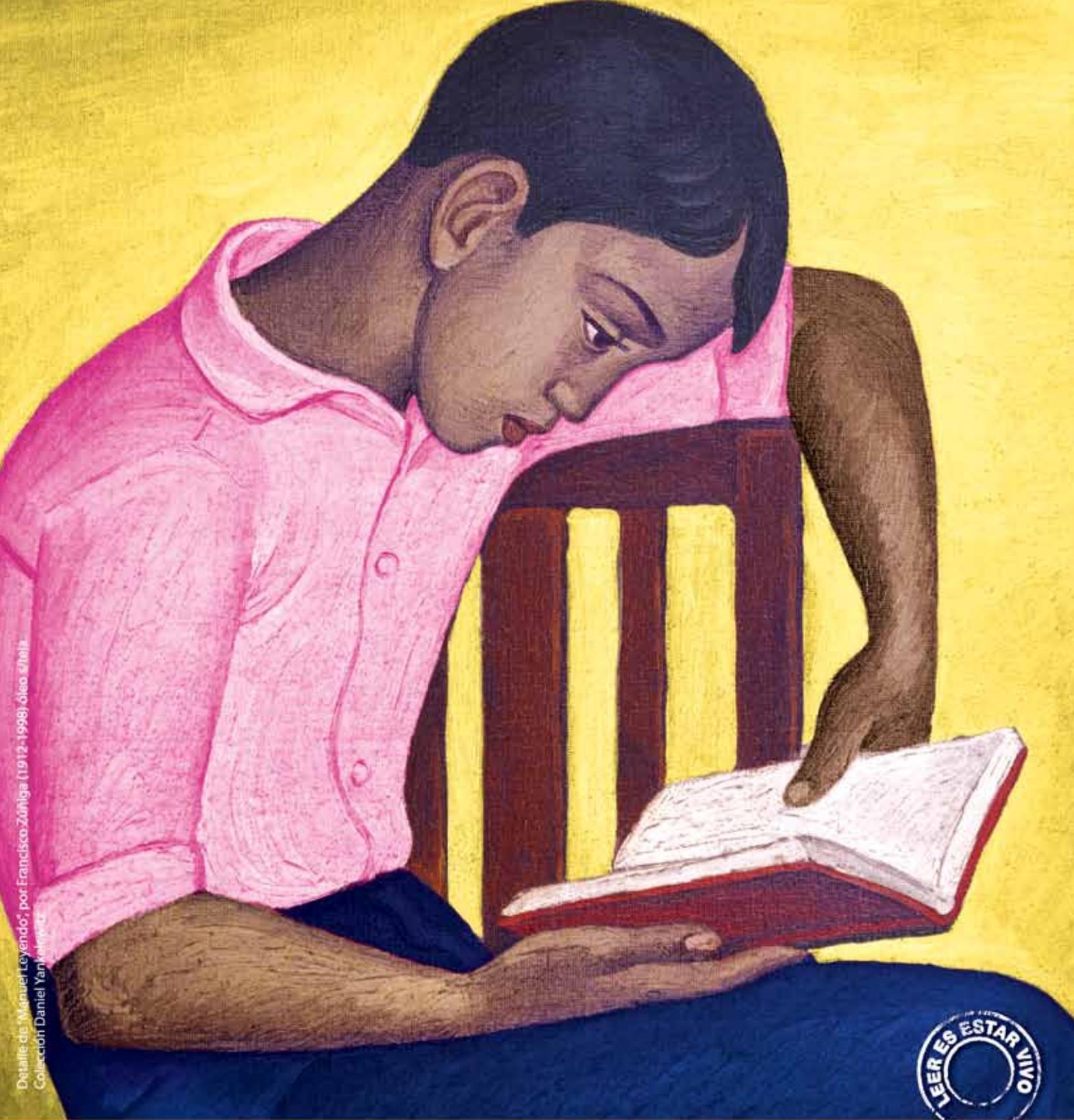
America at the Crossroads marks a trend: conservative intellectuals' rejection and criticism of the Bush administration prior to the November mid-term elections, and the loss of credibility of the U.S. political class. So, Fukuyama presents the reader with yet another critique of President Bush's messianic interventionism, at the same time that his book triggers even older and at the same time modern misgivings about the role of intellectuals in the discursive handling of universalist, exclusivist ideologies as the unfathomable dogma of international policy.

As Octavio Paz wrote, Americans are a people hurtling into the future, but for the "public health" of their own government, they examine their own self-criticism and moral judgment. The resurrection of the American Creed, the product of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture and its links to so-called chauvinists and xenophobes, is the product of American recovery of the *other*, of the quest for answers for dealing with the external world and its labyrinths. ■■■

Adrián Villanueva Delgado
Research assistant at CISAN

NOTES

¹ Octavio Paz, *Tiempo nublado* (Barcelona: Seix-Barral, 2003), pp. 55-56.



Detalle de "Manuel Leyendo", por Francisco Zúñiga (1912-1998). óleo. 87x61 cm. Colección Daniel Yank.



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