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North American Integration

Beyond Trade

Articles by Leonardo Curzio,
Manuel Chávez Márquez
And Carlos Heredia Zubieta

How the Vote Abroad Was Won

Raúl Ross Pineda

Mexico and The United Nations

Walter Astié-Burgos

UNAM's University City A Future World Heritage Treasure

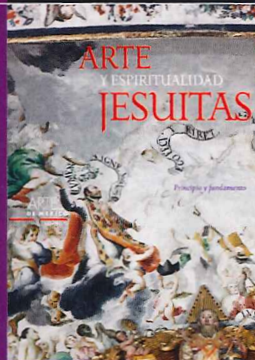
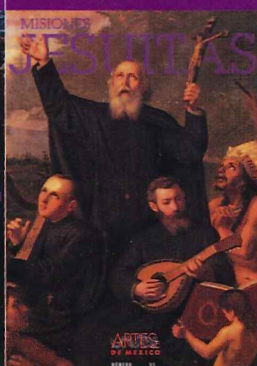
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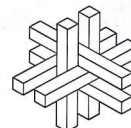
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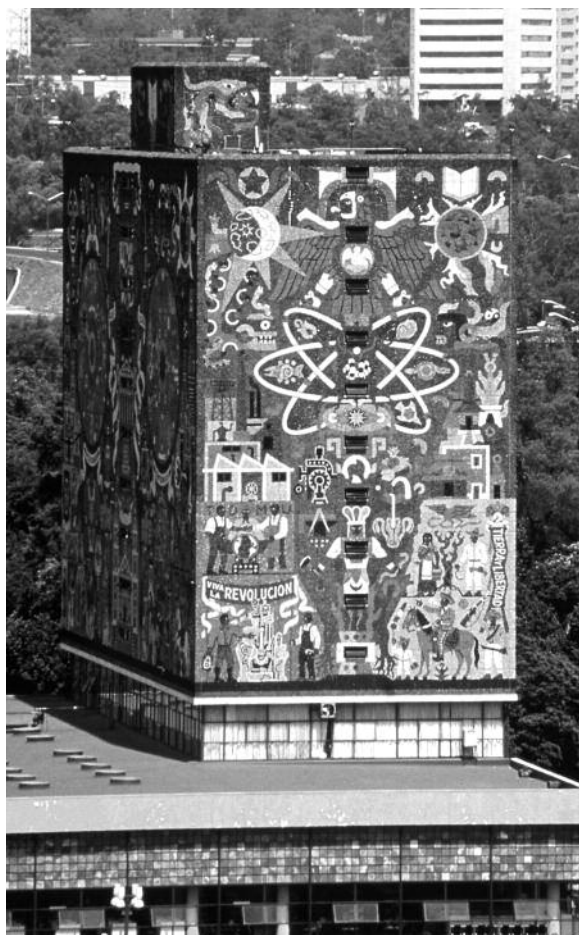
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Susana Esponda, *Woman sitting in a sofa*,
110 x 90 cm, 1995. (oil on canvas).

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OUR VOICE

The U.S. House of Representatives recently passed Bill HR4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, presented by James Sensenbrenner (R-Wisconsin). The bill, now slated for final review and ratification by the Senate, once again makes migration the most important point on the U.S.-Mexico bilateral agenda, despite the failure of binational policies in the matter. What is more, the issue has become a matter of state both for Mexico and the United States.

The bill introduces new proposals, like the construction of a 700-mile-long fence along several sections of the border, the criminalization of employers who repeatedly hire undocumented workers and deportation of the latter. It does not mention any incentives for undocumented immigrants, such as naturalizing those who have resided a certain amount of time in the United States. It criminalizes a social problem, wrongly associating terrorism with undocumented immigration and “securitizing” the understanding of immigration.

All this has happened in the midst of Bush’s foreign policy’s serious difficulties, particularly in Iraq, and of a credibility crisis that has increased since Katrina and the multiple scandals involving high administration officials. It demonstrates that the immigration polemic, while also due to Republican Party electoral aims and special interests, is additionally a tactic centrally aimed at distracting Americans’ attention.

Naturally, we cannot prevent the government of our neighbor and inevitable trade partner from designing its immigration policy as it sees fit. However, precisely because it is strategic, for the good of the U.S.’s own national interests, this policy should be conceived as an integral, shared policy, negotiated with its Mexican neighbor, with whom the United States shares very important experiences along its border and exchanges interests and serious, common problems that go beyond the most traditional definition of national sovereignty. Any action by Washington that underestimates these factors, determinant in its own national political life, would be a fundamental mistake.

It would also be an act of enormous political insensitivity and even an unacceptable abuse of power, and the societies and governments of both countries should be sufficiently alerted to their grave implications. Unfortunately, we have borne witness to all this for years now, given that deliberate “mistakes” in decisions and analysis continue to be made by the United States. The only thing they cause is the cancellation of shared policies that would allow us to advance toward a more fruitful, stimulating partnership. Given the risks this bill brings with it, it would be unfortunate if Mexico behaved passively or abstained from trying to stop it, including taking upon itself the task of intense diplomatic activity inside and outside the United States to thwart the bill among important sectors of public opinion and decision-makers. The cost of not being fully up to this important task would be a worsening of the negative effects of what for the last five years has been an already tense climate in bilateral relations.

Insisting on unilateral measures to deal with an enormously important binational matter, tingeing this bill with a gratuitous discriminatory flavor for immediate domestic political consumption, not consulting and including Mexico in this decision-making process is short-sighted. It is so short-sighted that it may well have enormously counterproductive repercussions for the United States itself in the medium term. It may be a political error *vis-à-vis* the 2006 mid-term elections: despite their relative popularity among some sectors of U.S. society, no one should underestimate the fact that anti-immigrant positions have left several bodies on the playing field in recent elections. This happened in West Virginia, where the candidate proposing indiscriminate harsh measures against immigrants lost at the ballot box. It could also be the case very soon of many U.S. politicians and congresspersons who would pay the price of their blind, anti-Mexican pragmatism.

In any event, the complex scenario described above has been counterproductive for everyone. Perhaps the most unfortunate result of the migratory “affair” is that the most recalcitrant political and social sectors in both countries are repositioning themselves. To a great degree, political actors have arbitrarily put forward an archaic, nationalist discourse—in the U.S. case, it is nativist and once again isolationist—that negates the central arguments of republican democracy that both parties are attempting to preserve: pluralism, tolerance and inclusion as central factors of living together nationally and internationally, including in the economy. This is one of the main demands of our global time: preserving a lay society and state as a

secular way of life and as the intimate conviction of living together publicly and privately. It would therefore be unfortunate if we found ourselves in the opposite situation, in which irrational political action by chauvinistic actors with power would eventually lead us to fundamentalism, to a single way of thinking and to intolerance as the cross-cutting axes of the narrative and descriptive tissue of our binational reality.

* * *

Mexicans' being able to vote abroad has been one of the most sought-after achievements by a good part of the country's political class and by Mexicans and people of Mexican descent in the United States in this period of democratic consolidation. U.S.-based organizations have perhaps been key to Congress's recognition of this right for millions of compatriots living "on the other side" of the border. Unfortunately, the answer to this democratic call has not been nearly what was expected. In time, the Federal Electoral Institute will have to explain why so few of our compatriots abroad have made use of this right. From Chicago, Raúl Ross Pineda, one of the best known proponents of this democratic victory, offers us a detailed account of the events in the United States and Mexico that led to this historic landmark in Mexican democracy.

Also in our "Politics" section, Ambassador Walter Astié-Burgos brings us a balance sheet of the first 60 years of the United Nations. He looks at the urgent need for reforming the UN system and analyzes Mexico's participation as a founding member state over the six decades of its existence, underlining the fact that the UN has been an excellent forum for our country to express its most cherished convictions and defend its interests, of even more importance than other regional mechanisms like the Organization of American States.

Discrimination against the indigenous population in our country is one of our great misfortunes. It is a political, economic and social, but above all cultural, phenomenon, cemented in the prejudices and stigmas profoundly rooted in Mexicans' collective unconscious. Specialist Elvia Martínez presents a diagnostic analysis of the problem for the "Society" section. Martínez, an official of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples, describes the current administration's strategies to combat this situation, abandoning, as she says, the integrationist framework of indigenism to move forward to a proposal based on fostering independent participation and respect for their cultural autonomy and customs. Historian Ana María Saloma writes about the —now frozen in committee— Fox bill on cultural policy, known as the Bermúdez Bill, after its main proponent, the head of the National Commission for Culture (Conaculta), Sari Bermúdez. This bill attempted not only to privatize an important part of our country's historic patrimony, but also to centralize and homogenize decisions in the sphere that by definition should be the most plural of all: cultural creation and dissemination.

"Economy" presents a penetrating analysis by economist Bernardo Olmedo about Mexico's export model which, far from stimulating development and situating Mexico in an advantageous position in international trade, has had the opposite effect. According to the author, this may be because the maquiladora assembly-plant model based on the import of inputs has been followed instead of industrial development and the creation of our own technology, with a priority given to multinational companies instead of small and medium-sized Mexican companies.

In the "United States Affairs" section, analyst Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces offers us a panorama of U.S. trade strategy in the Americas pointing to the fact that far from really concentrating on negotiating a Free Trade Area of the Americas, the United States has preferred to negotiate bilateral accords to be able to take advantage of economic asymmetries, based on a paradoxical —not to say cynical— policy that both demands an almost absolute liberalization on the part of its trade partners and imposes norms and rules that go beyond trade.

This U.S. policy would seem to contradict the trend of deepening the integration of the North American region, most recently reaffirmed by the creation and ratification of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). "North American Issues" offers three outstanding articles about North American integration beyond NAFTA. Political scientist and journalist Leonardo Curzio contributes a panorama of the recently approved SPP, which he considers the first truly trilateral attempt at integration, since both NAFTA and the smart border agreements were negotiated bilaterally. His analysis includes a reflection about the SPP's two central chapters on security and prosperity. He sustains that even though security continues to be the fundamental issue, a tendency to include other questions on the trilateral and bilateral agendas can now be observed. Mexican-American analyst Manuel Chávez, looks at the SPP from the perspective of the challenges that must be overcome for it to be successful and the Mexican

interests involved. He emphasizes the need for Mexico to improve its general image *vis-à-vis* its partner countries' governments and inhabitants and recommends that the authorities in charge of bilateral policy examine Canada's successful strategies in its relations with the United States. We conclude this section with an interesting contribution by Carlos Heredia Zubieta who writes about the region's social and economic cohesion, warning that even those who were originally the most fervent proponents of free trade have lost interest in full integration and that an accord that would lead to a full North American community presupposes greater equality in the three countries' economic development. This would involve financing integration by creating compensatory funds for the weaker economies, similar to the European model, something which both the United States and Canada would not be willing to even begin to discuss.

* * *

Our "Art and Culture" section begins with Susana Esponda's disquieting, seductive visual proposal, whose artistic language untiringly looks for someone to dialogue with and translate the accumulation of experiences, sensations and social criticism that her works encompass. Diego Yturbe, for his part, brings us some very original digitalized watercolors demonstrating humanity's diversity and cultural richness as well as the diversity of the scenery that still makes up our world. Yturbe uses them to tell us the story of a long trip that included not only the search for adventure but also a deep immersion inside himself, a spiritual route whose later evocation produced innumerable stories. Lastly, after a brief narration of the history of University City, Édgar Tavares explains the architectural and urban qualities that merits this magnificent construction, which changed our city's image in the mid-twentieth century, being proposed as an addition to the UNESCO's list of Modern Heritage Sites. Photographs from the UNAM's historical archives show exactly how justified that proposal is.

"The Splendor of Mexico" looks at Mexico's eastern Huastec Region, rich in traditions and customs, covering parts of the states of San Luis Potosí, Veracruz, Tamaulipas, Puebla and Hidalgo. Armando Herrera describes three important moments in its history, beginning with its pre-Hispanic past and finishing up with the challenges and threats modernity has brought. Lorenzo Ochoa and Ana Bella Pérez Castro write about its colorful weekly markets, where all kinds of products change hands, both traditional and modern, in indigenous languages and Spanish, combining magic and technology, reciprocity and profit. Lastly, Gonzalo Camacho and Lizette Alegre examine music and dance in the Huasteca, intimately linked from time immemorial to cycles of festivals, agricultural ceremonies, rites of passage and healing.

To complete our brief trip through the Huasteca, our "Museums" section visits Mexico City's National Anthropology Museum's new Gulf Cultures Room, whose collection of different sized pieces brings together what is most representative of Huastec culture. Current data from recent archaeological work in the region as well as that obtained through the analysis of the museum's entire collection, which dates from the nineteenth century when it was the National Museum, confirm the Huasteca's valuable artistic and cultural contribution to the world of Mesoamerica.

"Literature" pays a well-deserved homage to Gloria Anzaldúa, whose writing was not conditioned to her Chicana identity, but crossed borders to open up to other worlds and other spaces. Two of her penetrating poems, a fragment of one of her last published essays —about 9/11—, essays by Marisa Belausteguigoitia and Claire Joysmith about her work and two poems dedicated to her memory make up this tribute.

Finally we dedicate our "In Memoriam" section to one of the most renowned jurists of twentieth-century Mexico, Ignacio Burgoa Orihuela. A knowledgeable and important interpreter of the Constitution and the most authoritative voice on Mexican jurisprudence for decades, Burgoa will also go down in history for having been the father of the legislation on the writ of constitutional relief. Fernando Serrano Migallón, himself a jurist, legal academician and writer, describes Burgoa's career for us.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

How the Vote Abroad Was Won

Raúl Ross Pineda*



In 1917, Kansas City's Hispanic publication *El Cosmopolita* (The Cosmopolitan) called on Mexicans to participate in "experimental" Mexican presidential elections. This is the oldest known indication of the desire of Mexicans abroad to vote in their home country's elections. Almost 90 years later, on July 30, 2005, the *Diario Oficial de la Federación* (Official Gazette) published the law amending Mexico's electoral legislation so that Mexicans

abroad can really vote for the first time in the 2006 presidential elections.

In 1929, Los Angeles's *La Opinión* published a series of articles about demands by Mexican sympathizers of the Vasconcelos movement living in the United States to be allowed to vote in Mexico's presidential elections. Aside from these examples, researchers found no other examples of these kinds of demands in the past linking them to recent events that led to the 2005 reform.

The movement in favor of Mexicans' being allowed to vote abroad was reborn in the late 1980s, mainly in U.S. cities with large Mexican

* Editor of the bi-national magazine *MX Sin Fronteras* (Mexico Without Borders).

populations. In the second half of that decade the National Action Party (PAN) began to win its first governorships and the Cardenist movement emerged, culminating in the creation of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The opposition parties grew at the expense of the weakening of the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI); the elections became more competitive and government control over them weakened, giving rise to an electoral system that progressively created more equitable conditions for all the parties.

In that new context, the vote took on new value for the citizenry, and, curiously that was the moment in which Mex-

The movement in favor of Mexicans' being allowed to vote abroad was reborn in the late 1980s, mainly in U.S. cities with large Mexican populations.

ican migrants appeared on the scene, demanding to be recognized as citizens with all their rights, including the right to vote in their home country's elections. A mere coincidence? No. Although few people understand this, Mexicans abroad are much more sensitive to what is going on in their country of origin than they seem. Why did the demand for absentee balloting resurface at the end of the 1980s and not in the 1960s or 1970s? Probably because it did not make much sense for migrants to demand the right to vote in Mexican elections that were discredited as fraudulent.

With the approaching 1988 presidential elections, some groups of migrants in the United States, mostly

linked to Cardenism, began to press for their right to vote in the Mexican elections. First, these activities were scattered and not much noticed in Mexico, but the demand began to take on strength among the Mexican population in the United States.

The merits of this struggle would be debated later, but initially, the first battle of proponents of the vote was against the indifference of Mexico's political class. The Mexican government preferred to see this as an opposition movement against the government that raised a banner that did not reflect a genuine interest of most migrants.

By the 1994 presidential elections, unrelated groups of migrants held symbolic elections in different places in the United States with large Mexican populations, like Los Angeles, Dallas and Chicago, in which thousands participated. Activists from the PRI, the PAN, the PRD and independents all participated in the organization of these exercises. By then, voting abroad was a demand that had spread among Mexican migrants and began to get coverage in the U.S. media, thus increasing its popularity.

Activists in favor of the vote abroad, in addition to holding protests, promoting symbolic elections and doing other kinds of publicity, made a priority of lobbying political parties: those who belonged to a party lobbied inside their own organizations and those who did not pressured the three most important parties, the PRI the PAN and the PRD. Perhaps this contributed the most to dispelling the idea in some PRI and government circles that the demand for the vote abroad was some kind of PRD maneuver to discredit the Mexican government in the United States. Also, migrants' links to Mexico's political par-

ties countered the idea of their supposed lack of relations with political life at home.

It was not until the mid-1990s that Mexico's political class began to really deal with the demand. Obviously there never would have been a discussion here about the vote if migrants had not demanded it first and done an excellent job of persuading the political parties. But this victory against indifference also awakened increasing awareness about migration, mainly the massive exodus toward the United States and the millions of dollars in remittances sent to the families they had left behind, which also benefitted the national economy. These remittances and donations for public works were one of the levers that the migrants demanding the right to vote used to favor their cause.

In 1996 the Constitution and electoral legislation were amended preparing the way for voting abroad. At least since 1995, Congress had begun the "Bucareli Talks" to come to what was then called "a definitive electoral reform."¹ And even though voting abroad was not initially high on the list of priorities in the negotiations, it ended up being one of the few items that an agreement was reached about in order to legislate.

Before the constitutional reform, Article 37, Fraction 3 stipulated that it was the citizen's obligation "to vote in elections in his/her corresponding electoral district." Some people who objected to voting abroad interpreted this as meaning a citizen could not vote outside the district in which he/she was registered to vote. However, Mexican voters can cast their ballots outside their home districts; Mexican legislation has allowed for the existence of special polling places precisely so that voters

who are outside their home districts on election day can cast their ballots. Today, the Constitution stipulates that it is possible “to vote in elections as allowed by law.”

Electoral legislation was amended to include a transitional Article 8 which, among other things, charges the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) with creating a team of specialists to study the technical viability of voting abroad. This was to get the opinion of experts, not politicians, about the series of technical or logistical objections to Mexicans voting vote abroad that argue that it is a practical impossibility.

After these reforms to the Constitution and existing legislation, the proponents of voting abroad naively thought that they had won and they just had to get ready to vote in the 2000 presidential elections. It took them two years to understand that regulatory legislation had to be passed in order for voting abroad to be a reality, that the Congress was not going to pass that legislation on its own without prodding, and to find out that the IFE had not even appointed the commission to do the technical study.

At the same time, the Ministry of the Interior had no plans to finish the National Registry of Citizens (Renaci), which the same Article 8 that ordered the technical study linked to voting abroad.

In February 1998, a delegation of Mexican migrants from California, Illinois, Iowa and Texas traveled to Mexico City to pressure all the political actors involved with the vote they thought they had won. The delegation met with the IFE General Council and with representatives of the executive branch and the three main parties’ congressional caucuses.

The delegation’s main achievement was the IFE’s commitment to immediately create the commission of specialists to do the study, although their efforts also served to reiterate to the executive branch and the political parties their interest in obtaining the right to vote.

It should be mentioned that there was another legal dispute with regard to the Renaci. Some people said that the commission of specialists to do the technical study could not be created until the Renaci was finished, all the time knowing that the Ministry of the Interior was not going to finish that process before the 2000 elections—the ministry later admitted this to the IFE. However, the prevailing interpretation was that if the 1996 reforms had as their aim Mexicans being able to vote abroad and the Renaci was only one of the ways to get that done, then the end should be brought about through other means.

The delegation’s presence attracted the attention of Mexico’s media for the first time and the matter got increasing coverage in the national political debate. On the other hand, this first more or less improvised delegation, made up of over 20 people, served to bring together the initial nucleus of what would later become a national movement in the United States, overcoming the geographic dispersion and organizational difficulties it had upon re-emerging.

This was the first moment in which activists and sympathizers of voting abroad from different places got together. During an internal meeting in Mexico to evaluate the results of their efforts, and before returning to the United States, they broached the idea of establishing a national organization to

follow up on what they had begun. In this meeting, they agreed to create the Our Vote in 2000 Coalition of Mexicans Abroad (CMENV2000).

On May 12, the IFE complied with the law and fulfilled its commitment to the migrant delegation by creating the commission of specialists, giving it six months to come up with results. Those six months were also supposed to be a kind of cease-fire among proponents and opponents of the practicality of voting abroad because at the end of that time, the arbiters would announce their verdict.

But things did not happen that way. As soon as the commission was set up, a group of PRI senators headed by Eduar-

There never would have been a discussion in Mexico about the vote if migrants had not demanded it first and done an excellent job of persuading the political parties.

do Andrade Sánchez got the Senate to organize a series of fora in different cities nationwide to discuss Mexicans’ voting abroad. These fora served as platforms for a group of legislators, public servants and academics linked to the PRI and the government to reiterate their well-known position that it was a practical impossibility and to put forward supposedly new constitutional impediments. It should be mentioned that proponents of voting abroad were not invited to these fora.

The CMENV2000 itself then organized another series of fora but in U.S. cities. However, they did invite Senator Andrade, who participated in several fora.

The commission of specialists rendered its final report in November 1998, overwhelmingly concurring that it was technically possible for Mexican citizens residing abroad to vote in the 2000 elections. The IFE commission not only demolished the arguments about the supposed practical impossibility of the process, but also proposed different ways that it could be carried out, saying it could be accomplished in 2000.

The reactions were to be expected: the proponents of voting abroad congratulated the commission while the PRI criticized and de-legitimized it. The congratulations were understandable, but the PRI's actions in the Senate were strange: in the "Bucareli Talks" they had

Mexicans abroad are much more sensitive to what is going on in their country of origin than they seem.

conceded to the PRD that they would approve the 1996 constitutional and legislative reforms, but in 1998, it was clear that the PRI had changed gears.

In meetings with CMENV2000 delegations, PAN leaders, for their part, had offered to make an institutional decision based on the commission of specialists' report, so in November of that year, the PAN threw its support to voting abroad.

With the 2000 presidential election approaching, the *institutional* line-up in Congress was clear: the PRI against the PRD and the PAN. I am underlining *institutional* because the truth of the matter is that the migrant movement had friends in every party, including the PRI.

Between 1998 and 1999, legislators from both the PRD and the PAN separately put several bills before the Chamber of Deputies to make voting abroad an effective right. Separately, neither was capable of getting a bill passed against the PRI, but it should be remembered that after the 1997 mid-term elections, for the first time the PRI no longer had an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

So, toward the end of the last congressional session in which amendments to electoral legislation could be passed to be put into effect by the 2000 elections, on April 29, 1999, the PRD and the PAN made an alliance to push for the vote abroad in the Chamber of Deputies against the PRI, but the PRI changed directions in the Senate.

The resolution of the Chamber of Deputies consisted of transitory articles that instructed the IFE to organize elections including Mexicans abroad. In the Senate, the PRI argued against this saying that the IFE did not have the jurisdiction to make decisions that corresponded to the legislature.

Although the 2000 polling did not include migrants, once again, they held symbolic elections in the United States, garnering more than 17,000 votes from Mexicans in almost a dozen U.S. cities. After its coverage in the media both in the United States and Mexico, voting abroad became an issue that could no longer be ignored by the Mexican political class.

In the 2000 elections, for the first time, the PRI lost the presidency and its absolute majority in the Senate, without recovering a majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

PAN candidate Vicente Fox won the presidency. As governor of Guanajuato, he had come out in favor of Mexicans'

voting abroad, and when he became president, he referred to migrants as national "heroes" and named Juan Hernández, a public servant, to serve as presidential liaison with the migrants. With these political gestures, the movement in favor of the vote saw the arrival of a new and powerful ally in the president's seat, in contrast with Ernesto Zedillo, who, despite having supported the 1996 reforms, distanced himself later just like the PRI.

The PRI's position against voting abroad was based on several hypotheses. The main one was that voters abroad would be inclined to oppose the party in power because migration to the United States was caused by the government's incapacity to keep migrants inside the country. Once it lost the presidency, the same judgment led them to believe that the anti-government vote could also turn against the PAN.

However, other PRI members thought, even before losing the presidency, that the vote against the PRI was well deserved if it continued to oppose voting abroad. They thought that migrants would reward whoever supported their demands with votes. With such different positions, it was clear that the PRI did not have a principled position. In any case, with its pragmatism, the PAN victory led them to loosen up somewhat their position against Mexicans' voting abroad.

In December 2001, the CMENV 2000 held a meeting in Zacatecas to which it invited the main U.S. activists in favor of voting abroad to draw a balance sheet of what had happened and come up with a joint plan of action. At that meeting the Coalition for the Political Rights of Mexicans Abroad (CDPME) was born; it would later become the

main mouthpiece in favor of Mexicans' voting abroad, winning the respect and the right to negotiate between Mexicans abroad and Mexico's political class. It became the most credible source on this issue for the media in both Mexico and the United States. The meeting also agreed on a long-term strategy and a work plan for an intense lobbying campaign among legislators in Mexico City.

A little later, the demand to allow Mexicans to vote abroad became "sexy" and opposing it publicly became politically incorrect. Nevertheless, this was not enough to spur legislation to make it a reality.

Between 1998 and 2003, more than a dozen bills about voting abroad were presented in Congress. However, they were all frozen. Congressional commissions studying them were perpetually swamped with work and voting abroad was never a priority for any political caucus. Even the legislators who presented the bills did not use all the resources at their disposal to unfreeze them.

At bottom, presenting a bill really aimed at speaking out in favor of migrants. Legislators from all parties, friends of the vote abroad, were skeptical about the real possibilities of getting the bills passed.

On June 15, 2004, President Vicente Fox presented a bill to the Chamber of Deputies that included a few basic consensuses that the Ministry of the Interior had achieved previously with representatives of all the parties in the Chamber of Deputies and the CDPME.

This bill was supposed to be presented jointly by all the parties that had signed the consensuses. However, this was not possible because of ten-

sions in Mexican politics for reasons completely unrelated to the issue, and so the president decided to present the bill alone.

The proposal was that in presidential elections, all Mexicans who had voter registration cards could vote at a polling place, via Internet or by mail; that electoral campaigns would be prohibited abroad; and that people could not register to vote abroad, but had to do so inside Mexico. Regardless of its content, this bill's main merit was to spur unprecedented legislative activism on the issue.

The PAN congressional caucus, which chairs the Chamber of Deputies Interior Commission, put the legislative process into motion, attracted the PRD as an ally, and, together, they moved toward getting the bill out of the commission onto the floor with a favorable decision. The PRI, reluctant to join in a process headed up by the PAN and with a bill promoted by President Fox, instead of opposing it like in 1999, counterattacked by presenting a bill of its own, more ambitious than Fox's. The PRI won the PRD over as an ally and together they continued the process begun by the PAN, but on the basis of what the PRI had presented and had been slightly amended by the PRD. The bill talked about setting up polling places, electoral campaigns and registration abroad.

The congressional commissions called on officials to testify and promoted several fora both in Mexico and in the United States. On November 24, 2004, the Chamber of Deputies approved a 2005 budget item of 200 million pesos for voting abroad in case it was approved!

By the end of 2004, everything pointed to voting abroad being ap-

proved, at least in the Chamber of Deputies, but then the race against time began. For the reform to be in place in time for the 2006 elections, it had to be passed and officially announced one year before election day, that is by July 2005.

From the hearings and its own analysis, the CDPME had come to the conclusion that the PRI-PRD bill had several problems of internal consistency and legislative technique, and that it also called for creating an excessively cumbersome and unnecessarily costly electoral apparatus. This left it open for attacks from enemies of voting abroad and lessened the possibilities that it be simply ratified by the Senate.

Between 1998 and 2003, congressional commissions were perpetually swamped with work and voting abroad was never a priority.

The PAN, which had lost leadership of the process in commission and which shared the CDPME's concerns, vacillated about what position to take. The CDPME was also not sure about its own course of action. On the one hand, what would happen if the PRI was only bluffing and the PAN and the CDPME fell naively into the trap of blocking it? What if someone had the intention of getting the Chamber of Deputies to pass something that would automatically be rejected by the Senate? On the other hand, if they tried to correct the defects in the PRI-PRD proposal, would there be enough time left to get the bill through Congress?

Given this situation, the CDPME opted for supporting the fast track by approving the PRI-PRD proposal. The PAN, for its part, allowed itself to be persuaded by the CDPME to adopt the same position and later see what it would do in the Senate.

On December 14, 2004, the commission's first report was made on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies, but the discussion and the vote were postponed for the following session of Congress. On February 22, the Chamber of Deputies approved the bill 391 to 5 with 22 abstentions.

The Senate received the bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies without any enthusiasm indicating it intended

The Coalition for the Political Rights of Mexicans Abroad became the main mouthpiece in favor of Mexicans' voting abroad.

to ratify it. Not even the PRI senators thought they could get the bill passed in the same form as it had been passed by their colleagues in the Chamber of Deputies. In addition to the weaknesses of the bill as passed by the Chamber of Deputies, we must add the fact that the PRI leadership in both houses of Congress belonged to rival groups inside their own party.

The evaluating commissions in the Senate called on different officials and specialists to testify, and they unanimously deplored the bill as passed by the Chamber of Deputies. Some added objections that had nothing to do with the bill as passed by the Chamber of Deputies, but rather stemmed from

their own personal positions against Mexicans' voting abroad. This gave the Senate the perfect alibi for disregarding the bill and washing its hands of the matter without being accused of being an enemy of voting abroad. The most authoritative points of view deploring the bill were those of Foreign Minister Luis Ernesto Derbez, IFE President Luis Carlos Ugalde and the president of the Electoral Tribunal, Eloy Fuentes Cerda.

Surprisingly, the Senate did not immediately kill the bill, but took it as an opportunity to improvise its own. On April 27, 2005, the Senate approved 91 to 2 with one abstention its own bill to allow Mexicans to vote abroad. And the hot potato was returned to the Chamber of Deputies.

The Senate had passed a bill stipulating that all Mexicans who had a voter registration card could vote in presidential elections by mail and that there could be no electoral campaigns nor voter registration abroad. This proposal was closer to the one Fox had originally presented than to the PRI's proposal in the Chamber of Deputies.

In the Chamber of Deputies, aware of the time constraints on legislation, both the PAN and the PRD from the start were willing to approve the bill passed in the Senate. But the PRI, at loggerheads with its own Senate caucus, felt it had been rebuffed. Their opinion was that the Chamber of Deputies had approved everything and the Senate had approved very little.

On April 30, 2005, the last regular congressional session before the deadline for final approval had to be reached for people to be able to vote in the 2006 elections concluded without the matter being resolved.

The last possibility was 1) that Congress be convened for an extraordinary session; 2) that it be called before the July 2005 deadline was reached; and 3) that the issue of voting abroad be on the agenda. Complying with these three conditions was nigh on impossible. But, the veritable miracle happened, to everyone's surprise, particularly the CDPME.

The extraordinary session was slated to begin June 21, before the final deadline, and voting abroad was put on the agenda.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the PRI congressional caucus maintained its position of not approving what the Senate had sent until one day before the voting, scheduled for June 28, 2005. However, the night before the vote, the PRI announced its intention to join the PAN and the PRD in their position.

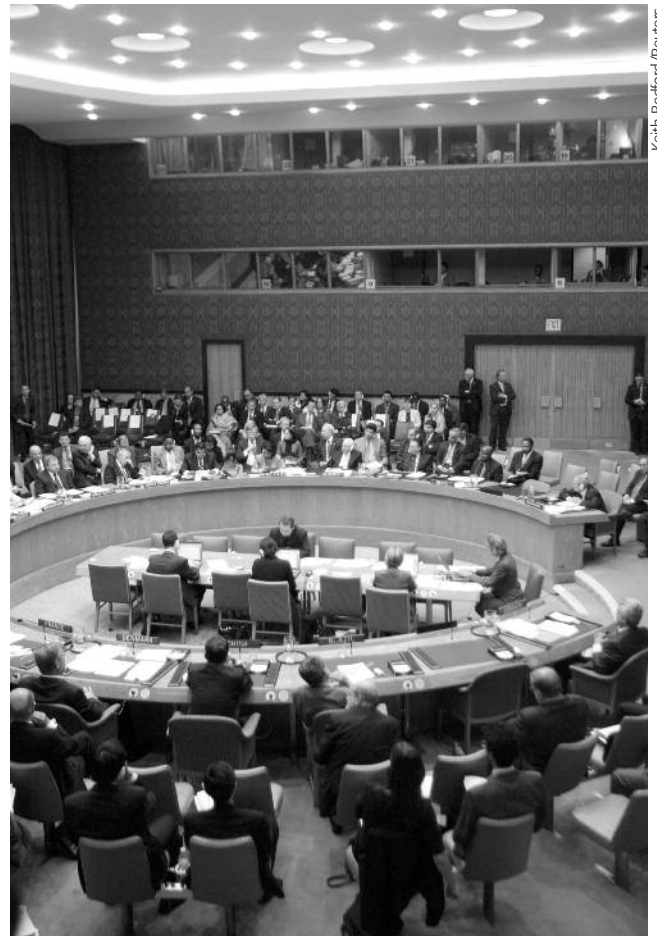
So, the bill making the right of Mexican citizens living abroad to vote in Mexican elections effective was made into law June 30, 2005. It stipulates that citizens with voter registration cards with photographs issued in Mexico can vote by mail (the IFE estimates that there are a little over 4 million such voters). It bans electoral campaigns abroad and does not provide for citizens being able to register to vote abroad. So, how many will vote? We will know after January 15, 2006, the last day for anyone who has his/her voter registration card to send in his/her application to the IFE for the right to vote abroad. ■■■

NOTES

¹ Bucareli is the name of the street where the main offices of the Ministry of the Interior are located.

Mexico and the United Nations

Walter Astié-Burgos*



The United Nations had its sixtieth anniversary in 2005, offering us the opportunity of briefly analyzing three important topics: its successes and failures, Mexico's participation and the current process of reform.

SUCCESSSES AND FAILURES

To objectively and fairly examine the UN's achievements in its first 60 years, we must sit-

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uate it in the context of world politics since its efforts have been very governed by power issues that have both favored and hindered its actions. The first thing to point out is that this organization, created in 1945 by the San Francisco Charter, has been one of the most important initiatives in the history of international relations. The UN, preceded by the flawed League of Nations, has fundamentally pursued the laudable aim of being where member states—mainly the large powers who have caused the biggest wars—can peacefully solve their differences, avoiding a new world war. However, even though a third world war has never bro-

ken out, an infinite number of conflicts could not be avoided over the last 60 years, and therefore, world peace continues to be fragile. This has often been used to criticize and illustrate the UN's lack of effectiveness, but critics often overlook the fact that the UN is only a mirror faithfully reflecting the realities of world politics and that its capacity for action is limited by them.

We should remember that despite the San Francisco Charter stipulating that one of the UN's most important goals is to preserve future generations from war, at the same time, in 1945, the planet was restructured into two camps: the allies (the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union), who during World War II fought the Axis (Germany, Japan and Italy) and then created the UN, became irreconcilable enemies. As a result, the post-war order began to operate on two levels: on the first level, there was cooperation among the victorious powers and the rest of the world's nations inside the UN, while on another level, everything operated according to the antagonism between the two rival blocs that divided the world ideologically, politically, economically and militarily.

This dramatic circumstance determined UN functioning and its capability to act for most of the rest of the twentieth century. Paradoxically, the hope of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the UN's main architect, of contributing to the creation of a new world order in which the new organization could mediate to eliminate traditional practices of unilateralism, spheres of influence, colonialism, imbalances of power and war, failed to materialize because Stalin's Soviet Union expanded throughout its vast area of influence and another, similar

The UN was not designed to be an autonomous body with supranational powers, but a mechanism for negotiation that depended on the decisions of its members.

area of interest had to be counterposed to it. At the same time that the UN was dedicated to achieving universalism and multilateralism, a rigid regionalism arose with the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1955. Between these two there emerged what journalist Walter Lippman called "a state of neither war nor peace between the Western and Eastern blocs after the Second World War," that is, the Cold War.¹

That enormous contradiction was widely recognized in the capitals of the super-powers: in 1949, U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft opposed the NATO treaty saying, "I think the pact carries with it an obligation to assist in arming, at our expense, the nations of Western Europe, because with that obligation I believe it will promote war in the world rather than peace, and because I think that with the arms pact plan it is wholly contrary to the spirit of the obligations we assumed in the United Nations Charter... From the point of view of an international organization, it is a step backward."²

This situation was necessarily reflected inside the UN itself since, even though all its members were equally represented in the General Assembly, its Security Council was structured and operated according to the antagonism between the United States and

the Soviet Union. Their right to veto in the council was what determined its capacity to act throughout the very long Cold War. Both the UN and nuclear arms were decisive in averting a new world war, and even though in the more than 40 years of Cold War not a single shot was fired between the armies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, East-West differences ended up being resolved in many wars fought in the Third World. As a result, the failures and defects frequently ascribed to the UN in the always difficult field of keeping the peace and international security should not first of all be attributed to it, but to the great powers who defined the *modus operandi* of the world order and of the UN itself. The UN was not designed to be an autonomous, independent body with supranational powers, but to be a mechanism for negotiation that depended on the decisions of its member states.

We should emphasize here that, regardless of the always thorny and controversial issue of international security that often captures the public eye, in its 60 years, the UN has played a meritorious role in innumerable other areas that are very often ignored. We should remember that the organization is a complex system of specialized bodies and affiliated agencies with activities in almost every area in which states are capable of acting. It is made up of more than 30 international institutions which, in addition to the activities of UN troops, played a key role in a goodly number of nations' moving from colonial regimes to independence. Equally, these institutions have played an outstanding role in fostering underdeveloped nations' economic and social development, dedicating 70 percent of its efforts to that end³ and spending more than U.S.\$30 billion for this praise-

worthy purpose.⁴ Through the UN Program for Development (UNPD) and the other specialized bodies, innumerable projects for technical assistance in agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, food, health, industry, intellectual property, statistics, education, science and technology, communications, transportation, deforestation, desertification, etc. have been carried out, turning the UN into the main multilateral source of funding for progress. It has also contributed to promoting respect for human rights, transparency in elections, greater democratization of the world, protection of the environment and the improvement of the world's climate. It has facilitated humanitarian aid in cases of natural disasters and wars; it has fought hunger and poverty and attended to the needs of refugees, displaced persons and defenseless children; it has been the ideal vehicle for confronting worldwide pandemics and for fighting other global problems like drug use, drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. It has promoted world trade, the transfer of science and technology, workers' rights and women's rights; contributed to the preservation of our cultural heritage; fostered the codification of international law, the strengthening and development of international law, disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; aided in solving many conflicts between its member states; promoted negotiations for resolving civil and military conflicts; become involved in important matters such as the population explosion, the exploration of outer space, contamination of the oceans and maritime law, among many other issues.⁵

In sum, there is hardly any human activity that the UN is not involved in. For this reason it has become an indis-

pensable part of international life. The necessary conclusion is that if the United Nations had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent something like it, capable of dealing with the fast-paced interaction among countries as well as the infinite problems of a globalized world.

MEXICO IN THE UNITED NATIONS

At the end of World War II, the Latin American countries made efforts to ensure that the hemisphere-wide solidarity forged with the United States of President Roosevelt during his term of office translated into cooperation for the region's economic and social development. However, post-war Washington lost the interest it had had in its neighbors because its priority became the rivalry with the USSR, and it centered its efforts on recovering Europe. Given that situation, Mexico called for the 1945 Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held in Chapultepec Castle. Here, the new reality of world politics was made even clearer, with Latin America on the back burner. This meant that Washington defined its policy toward these countries in terms of the struggle against communism. Given Mexican diplomacy's insistence on reinforcing solidarity

Since the creation of the UN, Mexico's presence has been constant and there has hardly been any important issue in which its government has not participated.

for progress, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the then Pan-American Union wrote an economic cooperation project to be discussed in the 1948 Bogota conference. But, since in 1947 a meeting was held in Rio de Janeiro that approved the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,⁶ regional cooperation was formally subordinated to the U.S. desire to forge an alliance against the USSR and incorporate Latin America into the East-West conflict. Since that orientation vigorously made itself felt at the Bogota Conference that approved the charter of the Organization of American States, Mexico preferred to stay relatively isolated inside the regional body and put a high priority on its participation in the UN System, not only because it had been one of its 51 founding countries, but mainly because it considered that its interests would be better safeguarded there. After that, Mexico carried out an intense program of activities inside the world organization and its specialized bodies; this was not only because it was seen as the ideal means to promote national interests and contribute to creating a more peaceful, equitable world, but also because the United Nations' basic premises jibed completely with the main traditions of Mexican foreign policy. In addition, and since many of the UN system's tasks were also compatible with the country's development projects, Mexico relied on the international body as an additional lever to advance them, and has benefitted enormously from a large number of technical assistance programs. Mexico's multilateral activity and the external assistance for development was so important to the country that when in the 1980s the government decided to incorporate our

historic principles of foreign policy into Article 89, Section X of the Constitution, not only did it include traditional principles like self-determination, non-intervention and the peaceful solution of controversies, but also relatively new ones related to multi-lateralism: banning the threat or the use of force in international relations, the legal equality of states, international cooperation for development and the struggle for international peace and security.

In summary since the creation of the UN, Mexico's presence has been constant and there has hardly been any important issue, debate or international meeting in which its government has not participated. It has also hosted many UN-sponsored conferences, and, of course, has punctually paid its dues. Mexico's association with the United Nations has undoubtedly been mutually beneficial given that our country has found it to be the ideal forum for making its voice heard and for contributing to resolving the challenges of international affairs and the growing problems of an interdependent world. So, we can conclude that Mexico's adherence and loyalty to the UN has become a real "state policy" given that, regardless of who occupies the executive branch or the political party he is from, our commitment to the UN has remained constant for 60 years.

THE REFORM OF THE UN

In recent years, the world has gone through a profound, revolutionary transformation reflected mainly in the international scene, which has become more convulsive, unstable, insecure and unpredictable. Just as an example, suffice it to mention that since the end

of the Cold War, 23 new or modified states with 170 million inhabitants have become independent, mainly in the vast Eurasian region. The rivalry unleashed between countries—more economic than political—has become more aggressive. And since the 1990s, more than 95 wars have been waged costing humanity 5 million fatalities. Given this disquieting panorama, it is obvious that the UN, created for a Cold War world, has not adapted to the changing situation since that Cold War ended, and that it urgently requires a reform to adjust to the twenty-first century's unprecedented circumstances.

The UN Secretary General's office itself has been carrying out a series of important reforms to bring the institution up to date to meet the challenges of the new millennium. Among them are those undertaken by previous secretary generals and those of Kofi Annan, the current secretary general. Since 1997, a wide variety of initiatives aimed at consolidating the system's broad, diffuse structure have been taken to reduce duplication and spending, to improve coordination and to more precisely define the responsibilities and functions of the institution's many components. About 30 departments, funds and programs have been grouped together in four priority areas: peace and security, humanitarian affairs, development and

economic and social affairs. Also, Annan created a group of experts to rationalize the performance of the UN's numerous, valuable staff, eliminating 1,000 vacant positions. He has sought to forge better coordination among all the agencies that operate in around 134 countries creating the "UN Houses" that quarter them all to share costs, and he has strengthened the role of UN Resident Coordinators both to improve coordination and to more efficiently integrate their activities into the plans and priorities of the governments of host nations. Also, considerable effort has been expended to improve peacekeeping operations, and new forms of relations with civil society and the private sector have been sought. As part of this and many other actions, in September 2000 the Millennium Summit was held with the participation of 147 heads of state and government. The summit approved the Millennium Declaration, which established a series of goals and principles for future action regarding peace and security, protection of the environment, respect for human rights and good government, placing special emphasis on attending to the urgent needs of Africa. Specific time lines were established for diminishing poverty levels, disease, hunger, illiteracy and gender discrimination, proposing the goal of reaching these objectives before the year 2015.

Independently of this, however, it is obvious that the main responsibility for the reform falls to the member states. Unfortunately, they have not yet come to an agreement about it. While they are convinced that the reforms are urgent, it has not been possible for the 191 member states, of all possible levels of development and political weight, to come to the necessary consensus.

It is obvious that the UN, created for a Cold War world, has not adapted to the changing situation and it urgently requires a reform.

As could be expected given its outstanding participation in the UN since its foundation, Mexico has played an active role with regard to the reforms, both individually and in association with other nations with which it shares points of view. The Mexican position has been based on the conviction that we are faced with a historic opportunity to bring the UN into line with its challenges and that the reform of an institution which is the best alternative for dealing with the complexities of the new, globalized millennium cannot be postponed. Since this position has been echoed by several countries, Mexico has joined different mechanisms like the Group of Friends of the Reform of the United Nations, made up of 15 nations, the Green Tree Group (made up of the permanent representatives of Australia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Singapore and South Africa), the so-called Coffee Club (which also includes Argentina, Colombia, Kenya, Algeria, Italy, Spain, Pakistan and South Korea), which later became the Like Minded Group which sought to promote an overall reform, including one of the Security Council.

Since the reform of the Security Council has been the center of most of the debate, Mexico has insisted that it should not distract attention from the other very important reforms relating to the system as a whole and the UN's other bodies like the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary General's office itself. However, since the Security Council is by definition the main center of power around which the UN's general activities turn, its restructuring has been one of the main sources of controversy. The Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change

Mexico thinks that creating new permanent seats would reaffirm the Security Council's current undemocratic character and continue to concentrate decision-making power in a small group of nations.

was created to contribute to centering the debate on the more substantive issues. This panel has formulated a great many proposals and recommendations, among them the two options that have received the most support for changing the Security Council. The so-called "Option A" involves broadening out the council with six more permanent seats and 13 non-permanent seats, bringing its total membership to 24. This alternative has mainly been promoted by nations that aspire to a permanent seat next to the countries that already have one (the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and China), such as Germany, Japan, India and Brazil. A large part of the discussion has centered on the transcendental issue of whether these new permanent members would have the right to veto or not, since there is concern—and rightly so—that this could lead to the paralysis of the body if the 11 countries with a veto could not come to an agreement. "Option B" also proposes broadening the council out to 24 seats, but making 19 of those seats non-permanent: eight would have a tenure of four years and 11 would only be for two years. Some of these would be subject to re-election and others not. This second formula would institutionalize a new category in addition to the current 5 permanent members and 10 non-permanent members, based

on the length of the new seats' tenure and the possibility of re-election. Mexico favors the second alternative because it thinks that creating new permanent seats would reaffirm the Security Council's current undemocratic character and would continue to concentrate decision-making power in a small group of nations. To the contrary, increasing the number of non-permanent seats would ensure broader and more democratic participation, representation and rotation of all the members. In addition, the proposed re-election, just like in each country individually, would imply greater accountability of those countries being re-elected and would reinforce the democratic spirit. Mexico, for its part, has made it clear that if "Option B" is not approved, it would revise its position and might well aspire to occupying a permanent seat on the council. In that sense, the regional issue has also been the object of a broad debate, since definitive agreements have not been reached about who would occupy the permanent seats to represent the geographic regions.

Mexico also shares the idea of finding a more up-to-date, broader definition of international security, which includes both the "old" and the "new" threats. It considers that "preventive" action should be given the priority over "reaction" and that the problems of development and poverty should be a substantial part of this new conception. It considers that once and for all a precise, widely accepted definition should be reached about what we understand by "terrorism", that a new internal mechanism should be created inside the UN to coordinate the most urgent actions of its main bodies and that obvious current world issues like migration should occupy a prominent

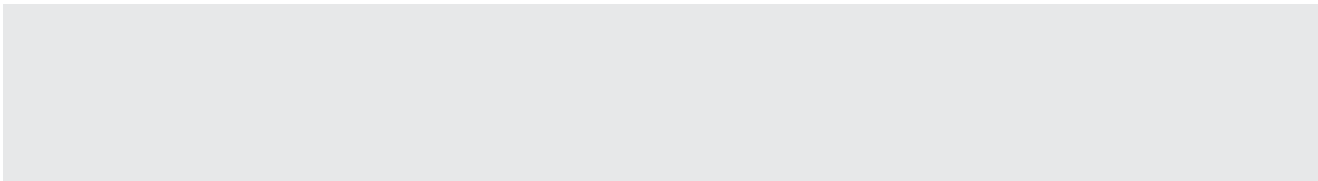
place on the restructured organization's agenda.


In the last analysis and as happened during the previous 60 years, the final decision to create a more effective, solidarity-based, democratic organization that effectively deals with the problems of an increasingly complicated world will depend fundamentally on the political will of the member countries. Unfortunately, that political will did not exist at the last session of the General Assembly, which was only capable of adopting a partial "light"

reform, leaving many of the important issues to be discussed and debated later. We should emphasize that the United Nations is not only an institution that belongs to the governments, but it is also a heritage of all citizens who, in the twenty-first century, equally share the problems of a globalized world. For that reason and since world peace and the common good are a matter for all the world's inhabitants, world public opinion must insist on and press for the definitive resolution of the slow process of reforms underway. **MM**

NOTES


- ¹ Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newman, *Dictionary of International Relations* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 70.
- ² Richard Hofstadter and Beatrice K. Hofstadter, *Great Issues in American History: from Reconstruction to the Present Day, 1864-1981* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), p. 422.
- ³ <http://www.un.org/spanish/aboutun/brief5.html>
- ⁴ <http://www.un.org/spanish/aboutun/brief7.html>
- ⁵ More detailed information about the multiple tasks carried out by the UN can be found at <http://www.un.org/spanish/aboutun/achieve.htm>.
- ⁶ It should be remembered that Mexico denounced this treaty in 2001.





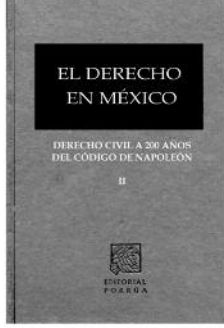
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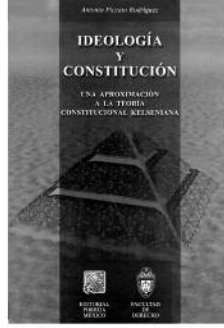




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Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples in Mexico

Public Policies to Prevent and Reduce It

Elvia Rosa Martínez Medrano*



Ricardo Ramírez-Areola

The history of Mexico's more than 60 indigenous peoples testifies to innumerable cases of discrimination against their languages, forms of dress, health care and justice, but, above all, to their exclusion from the

benefits of the country's economic, political and social development.

More than 50 years of indigenist policies sought to assimilate these peoples into a homogeneous nation and a single mestiza national culture, arguing that they were isolated groups, cut off from the rest of society, superstitious, resistant to change, ignorant and, therefore, incapable of taking the reins of their own development.

* Head of the area of planning to strengthen indigenous abilities for the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples.

The media glorifies the past of indigenous peoples, saying their origins nourish and enrich our national identity, and at the same time propagates an image of the Indian of today, whose way of life is an obstacle to national development. This portrayal is also an expression of discrimination and racism.

Despite all this, it is only relatively recently that the Mexican government has recognized the existence of discrimination in society. The disadvantages of the indigenous population were explained rather as part of the country's economic and social backwardness or blamed on the indigenous peoples themselves, who stubbornly insisted

up and broke with the homogenized model of a single culture, a single identity, a single nation. Regionally and internationally, the Mexican government's ratification and/or adherence to the aim of fostering measures to consolidate attention to indigenous peoples were also important. Among these international measures and bodies are the Inter-American Indigenous Institute, the Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin American and the Caribbean, International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169, the Decade of the Indigenous Peoples of the World, the working groups in charge of writing the Universal Decla-

Huichols, Rarámuris, Wírrarics, Coras, Nahuas, Purépechas, Mixes, Tojolabals, Mames, Mayos, Tepehuans, Mazahuas, Tzeltals, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Triquis, Yaquis, Cuicatecs and many others are part of that multicultural make-up. They organize in each territory to demand respect for their civil and collective rights and to get the different states to amend their laws to guarantee the effective implementation of the constitutional reforms.

However, despite the advances described, history has shown that legislative and constitutional reforms alone will not put an end to a history of practices of discrimination and social exclusion. Proof of this are the results of the 2005 National Survey on Discrimination carried out by the National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination (Conapred). Forty-three percent of those polled thought that indigenous people will always be limited socially because of their racial characteristics; one out of every three thought that the only thing indigenous people have to do to escape poverty is to stop acting like indigenous people; 40 percent of Mexicans are willing to organize with others to prevent a group of indigenous people from settling close to their community.

Of indigenous people surveyed, nine out of every ten thought that in Mexico they are discriminated against because of their ethnic origin; 90.3 percent feel they have fewer opportunities for employment; three out of every four think they have fewer opportunities to get an education than the rest of the population; two out of every three think that they have few or no possibilities of improving their living conditions; 45 percent think their rights have not been respected because they are indi-

We are still a society with prejudices against the indigenous population, a society that refuses to tolerate difference and recognize them as citizens with full rights, thus limiting their participation in the country's economic and social life.

on remaining in their territories, cut off from national development.

It was therefore a big step forward when at the 2001 Preparatory Conference in Santiago, Chile, the Mexican government recognized for the first time the existence of discrimination in society. As a result of that recognition, Article 1 of the Mexican Constitution was amended to include the prohibition of all forms of discrimination for any reason because they constituted an attack on human dignity and aimed to deny or diminish fundamental rights and freedoms.

Another important achievement was the change made to Article 4 of the Constitution which finally recognized our nation's multi-cultural make-

ration and the American Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and the Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples and the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Matters of the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc).

The advances in restoring dignity to indigenous peoples are not only the product of international bodies' mandates, but also of the activities over recent decades of the indigenous peoples themselves, who have organized to win respect for their cultural diversity and for the exercise and recognition of their collective and cultural rights that would allow them to foster their own forms of organization and development.

genous; one in three has suffered discrimination in the last year because he/she was indigenous; and, finally, one out of every five has been denied a job for the same reason.

The National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI), the body in charge of promoting public policy actions in favor of the indigenous population, coordinated a national survey among indigenous peoples in November 2003 and April 2004 to find out their opinion about the issues and actions the CDI should carry out. Discrimination showed up as one of the barriers to the recognition and respect for these peoples' rights: of a total of 1,348 responses about rights, 16 percent mentioned discrimination. Forty percent of those polled denounced the discrimination they suffer for speaking their native language, for their form of dress and for cultural differences; 14 percent denounced discriminatory abuses and practices suffered at the hands of government employees; 24 percent associated discrimination with their being marginalized in society, to the difficult access to education and the lack of real indigenous participation in legislatures.¹

We also cannot ignore the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights' observations to the Mexican government. Among other things, its reports mention the disadvantages indigenous people suffer from in the justice system because they do not speak or understand Spanish and due to corruption and abuses of power. It also underlines how thousands of indigenous have been uprooted because of political and religious conflicts; the clashes due to their land being taken from them; the increase in the number of drug traffickers who take advantage of the popula-

tion's poverty and need; the rise in indigenous migration because of poverty and marginalization; and the discrimination and harassment that indigenous women and children suffer from.²

As we can see, this information shows that we are still a society with prejudices against the indigenous population, a society that refuses to tolerate difference and recognize them as citizens with full rights, thus limiting their participation in the country's economic and social life.

For any government really committed to the eradication of discrimination in society, these survey results must be a matter for concern, since they express

Over recent decades, the indigenous peoples themselves have organized to win respect for their cultural diversity and for the exercise and recognition of their collective and cultural rights that would allow them to foster their own forms of organization and development.

the arduous road still ahead on the way to destroying prejudice.

For its part, the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples is implementing actions to reverse discrimination against indigenous peoples. To do that, Article 3 of the law that created it proposes "promoting non-discrimination and [the fight against] social exclusion, and the construction of an inclusive, plural, tolerant society, respectful of difference and intercultural dialogue."³

In the first place, the CDI is creating mechanisms for participation that will include the indigenous population in public policy design. To do this, it created a consultative council made up of 183 representatives, 123 of whom

are indigenous, in charge of monitoring and proposing public policy actions for their integral development.

The CDI aims its actions for fostering recognition of indigenous rights at protecting individual rights, on the one hand, and on the other, at recognizing and enforcing collective indigenous peoples' rights: their legal standing, self-determination and autonomy, full access to state jurisdiction and respect for their culture.

Through the System of Indigenist Radios, work is being done so that the CDI's 20 radio stations, which broadcast to 40 indigenous peoples in more than 30 languages, air programs aimed

at promoting the respect and recognition of indigenous cultures. Also, in the indigenist cultural radio system, different participatory processes are being carried out such as consultative councils or community correspondents. These councils review and analyze programming so it does not reproduce discriminatory messages and to try to get it to correspond to the cultural interests and characteristics of the indigenous peoples and communities themselves. Much is left to be done to make the dissemination of indigenous peoples' cultures a daily phenomenon, and, what is more important, so that they can have access to the media.

One factor in the distorted perception of indigenous peoples is the folk-

lore-laden, stereotyped images of their cultures. For this reason, it is very important that there be support for conferences, music and dance festivals, and prizes and honors, such as the National Prize for Science and the Arts, the Nezahualcōyotl Prize, the National Prize for Indigenous Youth, the Fonart Prize, the nominations for the UNESCO's Oral and Intangible Heritage List and the Acolmiztli Nezahualcōyotl National Prize for Young Indigenous Poetry, among others. All of this makes it possible to foster a realistic, modern image of the wealth and cultural diversity of Mexico's indigenous peoples.

Through its Office of International Affairs, the CDI monitors the Mexican

national bodies to support the exchange of experiences.

While Mexico has about 100 indigenous languages, one of the clearest expressions of discrimination has been impeding their day-to-day use, to the degree that many indigenous have stopped speaking their native tongues. In that sense, one fundamental issue is the recognition and dissemination of the social value of using their languages. To this end, the Mexican government created the National Institute of Indigenous Languages, in charge of defending the "right to communicate in [their] native language, without restriction in the public or private spheres, orally or in writing, in all their social, economic,

to include a gender focus in the federal government's policies, programs and actions for promoting the participation, respect, equity and full opportunities for indigenous women.

Much remains to be done since the big challenge for eradicating discriminatory practices against the indigenous population lies not only in destroying society's prejudices, but also the prejudices embedded in institutional culture after decades of paternalistic and integrationist policies.

Another challenge consists of overcoming the mistrust among the indigenous population given that the changes stemming from the reforms that created the new institution have still not been generally perceived. Many continue to think that these public policies are really a mechanism to demobilize and a strategy to control and repress the advances in organization and struggle achieved by indigenous peoples in recent years. **MM**

Indigenous women suffer more from poverty and discrimination, a situation evidenced in the educational lag, high rates of maternal mortality and the lack of opportunities for participating in the economy, politics and culture.

government's international commitments with regard to indigenous issues. It also promotes the participation of experts and representatives of these peoples in international fora and bodies that discuss and analyze relevant issues, particularly in terms of their rights and fundamental freedoms. It fosters technical and economic cooperation through bodies specializing in indigenous matters, such as cooperation and development agencies and the diplomatic missions of other countries. It disseminates information about indigenous issues relevant to the international scene, and fosters the establishment of links with academic institutions of other countries and international and

political, cultural, religious and other kinds of activities" (Article 9 of the General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples).

Another form of discrimination that is currently being combatted is based on gender. Indigenous women suffer more from poverty and discrimination, a situation evidenced in the educational lag, high rates of maternal mortality and, in general, the lack of opportunities for participating in the economy, politics and culture, which limits their possibilities for achieving a decent quality of life and of accessing opportunities for development.

For this reason, the CDI law stipulates that one of its basic principles is

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¹ CDI, *Consulta Nacional a Pueblos Indígenas sobre sus Formas y Aspiraciones de Desarrollo* (Mexico City: CDI, 2004).

² Oficina del Alto Comisionado para los Derechos Humanos en México, *Diagnóstico sobre la situación de los derechos humanos en México* (Mexico City: United Nations, 2004), pp. 153-160.

³ The Law Creating the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples was published May 21, 2003, in the *Diario Oficial de la Federación* (Official Gazette). This law replaced the Law about the National Indigenous Institute, the institution that for 54 years had been in charge of promoting indigenous policies in Mexico.

Mexico's Cultural Debate

Ana María Saloma Gutiérrez*



Iván Stephens/Cuartoscuro

Among the many challenges Mexican society faces in the twenty-first century is the viability of the national state. A series of internal and external factors have led our society to have to rethink itself: internally, the long economic and political crisis has put the old order that arose from the Mexican Revolution in check; externally, globalization, capitalist economic development dominated by large multinational corporations and the technological revolution in computer sciences have un-

leashed multiple, complex, contradictory processes of change.

Nevertheless, the current situation puts us in a privileged position: being both actors and witnesses to the rapid changes we have built day by day in recent years. We face a series of profound questions about our society: How can we build a better society? What should we preserve? What should we change? What should be reinterpreted? What should be eliminated? Society is wavering between memory and oblivion, between conservation and modernization, between tradition and progress, between good for the community and the individual. These

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questions and choices lead us to ask ourselves which educational and cultural policy we should support or build.

These questions are the starting point for discussing the different positions that have emerged around the bill entitled the Law for Fostering and Disseminating Culture, presented to Congress September 20, 2005, by President Vicente Fox.

The bill was written by a group from the National Council for Culture and the Arts (Conaculta).¹ A preliminary version was publicized in July 2004 by Mexico City's national daily *La Jornada*. The way in which it was published contradicts government rhetoric about the public's right to know. After its publication, it was analyzed and discussed by different groups active in culture and education. The points they made led the Conaculta team to adjust the original bill, making such elementary amendments as incorporating the reasons behind the changes proposed.

The proposal, known as the Bermúdez Bill, was controversial from the start because it stipulates that Conaculta continue to be "a 'deconcentrated' body of the Ministry of Education in cultural matters, but giving it special legal characteristics and attributes." These would make it the country's guiding body for culture, responsible for coordinating, executing actions and supervising all tasks related to culture.

The idea is to transform Conaculta from a simple coordinator of other bodies into the guiding and superior institution of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and the National Fine Arts and Literature Institute (INBA). This would give it substantive tasks that up until now the law has conferred on each of these insti-

tutes individually, such as researching, protecting, preserving and disseminating our cultural heritage.

At the same time, the bill is vague about education, the institutions of higher learning, research, dissemination and preservation of our cultural heritage. It completely ignores institutions of higher learning like the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH), the National School for Conservation, Restoration and Museography (ENCRYM), which belong to the INAH, and the art schools that belong to the INBA, which for more than half a century have trained many generations of cul-

To legislate appropriately about culture, it is necessary to discuss both the role of the state and cultural and educational policy beyond a single six-year presidential term.

tural professionals renowned nationally and internationally.

The bill separates education from scientific research into cultural matters. But, what is more serious is that it eliminates it from the INAH's profile, transferring it to a Conaculta bureaucracy, alien to academic and scientific staff.

The bill emphasizes "social participation as a space for citizens' expression" of culture, but defines it as a government policy that supports the activity of private businessmen in specific areas, above all those that can be commercialized like cinema, concerts, performances and access to different archaeological, artistic and historic sites

that are nationally and internationally known tourist attractions. Put this way, it is a slippery slope to an unclear economic relationship. This implies opening up the possibility for large entertainment companies, which are not necessarily interested in protecting our country's cultural heritage, to get government support, not only through tax breaks, but also by actually giving them government monies that should be channeled into the INAH and the INBA.

These ideas are the central axes of the polemic in the country's cultural and academic media.

On the one hand, one group of outstanding academics thinks that current norms contained in the Federal Law on Monuments and Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Sites should be reviewed in the framework of a discussion about the characteristics of a cultural policy in the twenty-first century and a political debate about "citizenizing" culture. This implies taking into account the changes that have occurred because of globalization given that government policy, cultural policy and the organization of the citizenry have gone beyond national boundaries.

To meet the challenges of this twenty-first century society, and given that culture plays an outstanding role as a democratizing agent in society, this group thinks that there should be a strong cultural institution capable of coordinating and raising funds to guarantee to different social sectors the creation of and access to culture.

A different position is held by a broad group of specialists and workers in anthropology, history and culture. The proposals of this group, who work directly in culture and education, have been developed based on the conclusions they have reached in a series of

internal fora organized in their work places. The analysis they have made has produced a series of documents and allowed them to participate in the debates in the national press, as well as in official, public fora that have been held.

Among the many activities carried out this year to analyze the bill are the Alternative Parliament of Culture and Education, held August 6 to 8 at the National School of Anthropology and History in Mexico City, and the Fourth Congress of Researchers of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, held September 22 to 25. At both fora the concern was clear about the consequences of the passage of the bill for Mexico's tangible and intangible cultural, archaeological and historic heritage, as well as for cultural producers and indigenous groups who have inherited and continue to embody this cultural heritage, and the difficulties of access to this patrimony that different sectors of society would have, particularly indigenous groups.

The reasons for this concern were based on the following problems found in the bill:

- 1) It proposes that Conaculta manage and coordinate the cultural institutions in an excessively centralized and bureaucratic way, which invades the jurisdiction of the INAH, the INBA, institutions of higher learning and anthropological, historical, restoration and cultural research centers.
- 2) It gives the Conaculta and its president broad decision-making and executive powers, but does not establish the necessary mechanisms for evaluation and monitoring to guarantee its appropriate functioning, *de facto* turning Conaculta into the orga-

nizer, supervisor, evaluator and executor of the cultural policies it designs.

- 3) The bill does not clearly establish Conaculta's functions and attributions because it would perform simultaneously as a guiding body, a coordinating body, a direct promoter and disseminator, educator and creator of cultural services. With this law Conaculta subordinates the bodies and cultural entities that the Constitution stipulates are in charge of the conservation, protection, dissemination, education and research into our cultural heritage, eliminating the autonomy and abil-

The concept of culture used in the Bermúdez Bill is restricted to cultural goods that can be commercialized and enjoyed individually by an elite.

ity to act with which they were originally endowed. In this way, educational, research and extension activities are not only separated out and disarticulated, but they also stop being one of the central axes of state policy. They are left out in the cold. President Fox's policy takes interest only in historic and artistic buildings or in traditional fiestas because they can be commercially exploited. It is not concerned with the symbolic, religious, identity or historic function that our patrimony may have for different sectors of Mexican society.

- 4) The concept of culture developed throughout the bill, which should

articulate it, is confused and limited. For example, culture and cultural heritage are used as synonymous when the former term is much more limited than the latter. The concept of culture used in the bill is restricted to cultural goods that can be commercialized and enjoyed individually by an elite. It also does not recognize our country's multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic reality. By contrast, the concept of cultural heritage recognizes both individual cultural production and production by different sectors of society, including diverse cultural manifestations, from great architectural monuments of different periods, masterpieces of painting, to food, indigenous languages and traditional popular music, to mention just a few.

- 5) The proposal only takes into consideration cultural goods that can be commercialized, assuming a false dichotomy between culture as a good to be appropriated and accessed individually versus culture as a patrimony that is both collectively and individually created and appropriated and something that contributes to the development of democracy. By not recognizing the specificity of cultural patrimony, the bill counterposes itself to existing legislation in the matter, which emphasizes its social uses, historic and educational aims as well as those of social cohesion that are fundamental for strengthening local, regional and national identities.

The Bermúdez Bill would not only offer government support for, but would actually promote, cultural industries like the Tajín Summit, a music festival

held in the Tajín archaeological zone in the state of Veracruz. There, Televisa, one of Mexico's two private television giants, promotes its performers, and in the first few festivals actually built metal structures on top of the pre-Hispanic buildings with complete disregard for their preservation. Another example is the Xcaret theme park, located at the site of a natural sinkhole in the state of Quintana Roo; there flora, fauna and the reef have been damaged, and the price of admission puts it out of reach of all but the high-income sectors of society.

Given these problems, a series of proposals have been developed. Among them is the idea that to legislate appropriately about culture it is necessary to discuss both the role of the state and cultural and educational policy

beyond what can be programmed for a single six-year presidential term. For that discussion to be successful, it is necessary to have a solid conceptual basis about culture and its different manifestations, carry out a historic and contemporary analysis of our country's cultural institutions and of the population's cultural needs and also achieve a consensus of the different sectors involved.

These proposals must also include the idea that any legislative decision about culture should be based on a broad, integral diagnostic analysis of the country's cultural situation. This analysis should be done by the organized cultural community's different sectors and specialized bodies and will have to consider the structure, functioning and specific situation of the

institutions that carry out specific tasks in the educational and cultural field, identify different needs and distinguish levels of attention in accordance with federal political organization.

The discussion about the Law for Fostering and Disseminating Culture and about the role of the policy of the state, cultural and educational institutions and society in creating their imaginary, their identity and their symbolic values is by no means exhausted and is fundamental for the country's economic, political and social development. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Conaculta was founded in 1988 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Its current president is Sara Bermúdez.



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Elements for the Analysis of the Mexican Export Model

Bernardo Olmedo Carranza*



Cuartoscuro

INTRODUCTION

The apparent competitiveness of “Mexican” manufactured exports has three particularities that stem from the model of export-maquila specialization the country adopted in the early 1990s: 1) the export of goods made with increasing amounts of imported inputs; 2) the resulting destruction of supply chains of nationally produced goods; and 3) the rise in productivity among

exporting manufacturers based on increasingly depressed wages, that is, cheap labor. Far from creating competitive advantages, the Mexican government has not managed to design an industrial policy to support and foster nationally-owned small and medium-sized companies or to recover supply chains of nationally produced goods for the export sector. It has also failed to create a business environment to foster national investments that would make it possible to base the Mexican exports’ competitiveness on greater incorporation of value added and innovation and the differentiation of products.

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This reflects the effects of radically opening the economy, which has caused de-industrialization in Mexico. For this reason, what is required is a policy that could prompt the creation of a phalanx of productive, efficient suppliers that would include nationally-owned small and medium-sized companies, thus generating a process in which the long-term objective would not only be maintaining themselves as mere suppliers of inputs, but to evolve toward becoming the manufacturers of finished products with high value added, also allowing them to supply the domestic market efficiently. In the same fashion, certain traditional productive chains should be recovered and modernized and even some new ones created, along with new markets in the country and abroad.

SPECIFICITIES OF THE MEXICAN EXPORT-MAQUILA MODEL

1) *Exports Based on the Growing Importation of Inputs*

Mexico adopted a specialized export model openly based on maquila plants. This means that it is based on the growing importation of inputs. Most manufactured exports come from 300 companies, above all multinationals, and a little over 3,000 maquiladora plants, mainly in three branches of industry. This has implied that the value added in our exports is on the decline, which means that the percent of inputs imported temporarily that are then transformed or assembled and re-exported has increased. In 1993, national manufactured exports included 41.2 percent foreign inputs; 10 years later, in 2003, this proportion had risen to 51.4 percent. In the decade between 1993

We have gone from being an economy whose industrialization was based on import substitution to an economy that is de-industrializing based on the substitution of exports with national content.

and 2003, total Mexican exports that depended on the importation of inputs went from 67.7 percent to 77.4 percent, and, if we exclude oil, this figure rose from 77.3 percent to 87.2 percent.¹ That is, our country is more and more like one big maquila plant. In 15 years, we have gone from being an economy whose industrialization was based on import substitution with an industrial policy specific to those circumstances, to an economy that is de-industrializing based on the substitution of exports with national content, with no prospect of having an industrial policy to counter the inertia of the multinational corporations' globalizing strategies.

From 1980 to 2003, Mexico's "successful" export model achieved an 818 percent increase in exports (much higher than the world average, which increased 268 percent in the same period). However, from 2000 to 2003 under the Fox administration, when world exports grew 16.5 percent, Mexican exports dropped 0.7 percent, so that our participation in world exports dropped from 2.6 percent to 2.2 percent.²

Things were no different in 2004. Both the pattern and the tendencies remained in place and manufactured exports and imports have continued to be concentrated in a handful of large companies and a few industrial sectors. That year, inputs that represented 51.8 percent of our exports were temporarily imported, mostly by U.S. companies

with plants in our country, which helps explain the high concentration of our export market in the United States.³

This means that today, 74.2 percent of the country's exports depend on the temporary importation of inputs. This is even more tragic if we eliminate oil, and the figure jumps to 86.6 percent.⁴ Of course, this does not make for the incorporation of small and medium-sized companies in the exporting efforts as suppliers through the different sectoral productive chains. Rather, in the logic of today's Mexican export model, it has meant their exclusion and the break-up and destructuring of several national productive chains because the transnational strategy to generate global supply chains has predominated. It also confirms the maquiladora-centered nature of this export model.

2) *The Destruction of Productive Chains and Formal Small and Medium-Sized Businesses*

The strategy of the multinational corporations has changed as a result of the market dynamic and the world capitalist system.

Previously, international corporations centered their strategies on specializing in finished products and in sectors to ensure their competitiveness in the world market. But today's globalization and competition make a pri-

VARIATIONS IN PRODUCTIVITY AND WAGES IN MEXICAN MANUFACTURING
(1993-2001)

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	PRODUCTIVITY (%)	WAGES (%)
• Threads, fabrics, knits (natural fibers)	1.94	-1.71
• Threads, fabrics, knits (synthetic fibers)	0.98	-2.01
• Other textile industries	1.35	1.45
• Apparel	-3.29	0.92
• Non-electrical machinery and equipment	3.04	0.93
• Electrical machinery and appliances	4.84	1.31
• Electronic equipment and appliances	3.99	2.09
• Electrical equipment and appliances	1.43	2.37
• Motor vehicles	8.18	0.50
• Auto body parts, engines and auto parts	1.19	1.44
• Transportation equipment and materials	2.58	6.12

Source: Juan Sebastián Sombra Mendiola, "Revisión de los efectos del Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte en la productividad manufacturera. El caso de México" (bachelor's thesis at the UNAM, 2004, quoted in Antonio Gazol Sánchez, "Diez años del TLCAN: una visión al futuro," *Economía UNAM*, no. 3 [September-December 2004], pp. 18-19.

ority of specializing in parts of a good. This is because today the objective of multinational corporations seeking to expand worldwide is to structure the most competitive chain of value.⁵ Corporations function and orient their activities basically centering on their development and adaptation to an increasingly globalized market; this has led to a new stage in countries' concept of specialization.

To a certain extent, this may be part of the explanation of the breakdown of certain national productive chains, above all those linked to the export sector dominated in Mexico by multinational corporations. What is worse, despite the fact that on paper there is official support for small and medium-sized companies and

for the restructuring of vanished or almost non-existent productive chains and the creation of new productive industrial chains, in practice, this support has not been forthcoming, thus proving that no such different strategy exists.

It is paradoxical, but it seems that some of our trade partners are more concerned than the Mexican government with creating expectations for reviving Mexican small and medium-sized businesses through the establishment of supply chains for companies that hope to set up in our country. This is the case of the European Union and, more recently, Japan, due to a trade agreement signed with Mexico.⁶ These countries are supporting Mexican small and medium-

sized companies with financial, technological, logistical, marketing and other resources, even if still on a small scale.

In late 2003, the then-president of the National Chamber of Manufacturers (Canacintra), Yeidckol Polevnsky, stated that it was paradoxical that although Mexico is considered one of the world's exporting powers, "[despite] good debt, [fiscal] deficit and inflation management, every day its industries lose competitiveness and ground in international markets, particularly in the market of our neighbor to the north."⁷ In fact, according to Canacintra estimates, at least 6 out of 13 branches of Mexican industry have lost their place as number one suppliers of the U.S. market, and we are running the risk that in the short term, the countries of the Asian bloc, particularly from Southeast Asia, will displace at least a dozen more Mexican industrial sectors in the U.S. market. This is because in 2002 and 2003 Mexican productive sectors (textile-apparel, processed food, computers, electronic equipment and appliances) have lost ground in the United States after being in first place. According to the office of Canacintra's vice president for foreign trade, in 2000, Mexico was the main supplier of 1,336 products of the 16,357 that the United States classified in its import duty.⁸

Generally speaking, the prospects for small and medium-sized businesses in Mexico are not very encouraging. According to information from the Confederation of Industrial Chambers (Concamin), in 2003, 3,600 formal-sector manufacturing companies closed, 90 percent of which were micro- and small companies, and the prognosis does not indicate any short-term improvement, but rather the possible growth of the informal sector. In fact,

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estimates state that in 2003 about 20,000 tiny, “hole-in-the-wall” businesses or “*micro-changarros*” (a name invented by President Fox, which is basically just another way of describing self-employment and the informal economy) were created. In the case of the national manufacturing industry oriented fundamentally to the domestic market, the situation is no less optimistic: both the Private Sector Center for Economic Studies (CEESP) and the company Consultores Internacionales agree that commerce and services have become the driving force in the economy, accounting for 80 percent of the country’s new jobs (of the 80,000 new jobs in the formal sector created in the first quarter of 2004, at least 60,000 were in retail and wholesale sales, services and construction), in contrast with the manufacturing sector which has registered a constant decline in jobs and whose productive recovery has been very slow.⁹ Manufacturing’s deterioration and instability have made for an increase in the service sector’s portion of GDP, which now comes to more than 50 percent, while manufacturing is practically half that (about 27 percent).¹⁰

3) *Export Sector Productivity Based on Lower and Lower Wages*

Despite Mexico’s apparent export boom since the signing of NAFTA, the country’s

export model has implied that, in addition to increasing imports of inputs to make Mexican export goods, the ability to compete in the world market, particularly the U.S. market, is based on the competitiveness of cheap labor, with the resulting effects in the national economy.

In the framework of NAFTA, several of the winning export sectors have based their competitiveness on increased productivity but more and more depressed wages. From 1993 to 2001, the increase in manufacturing productivity did not result in improved wages except in the case of apparel and transportation equipment and materials, branches of industry where there were important wage hikes over and above the increases in productivity, as shown in the table on the previous page.

Also clouding the issue of the national manufacturing sector in general and small and medium-sized businesses in particular in this overall situation are dumping, the manipulation of hard currency, contraband, counterfeit goods and junk or second hand imports (such as personal computers and automobiles), which have a strong impact on national production and on the trade balance. Apart from petty contraband (the kind that passes under the radar because it goes through customs with officials looking the other way after accepting “gratifications”), we have technical contraband which is carried

out using “legal” permits thanks to the corruption not only of customs officers but also of customs agents’ using their own clients’ permits for illicit purposes.¹¹ All these practices end up disrupting entire branches of industry and productive chains, as well as nationally-owned small and medium-sized companies.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Mexico has been considered a successful exporter on a world scale. However, the export economy has been based on maquiladoras, and until now its benefits have been limited to creating minimal value added instead of evolving toward the possibility of increasing those benefits and that value added, incorporating greater national inputs. Nothing similar to what has happened in the Asian economies has occurred since there has not been any government strategy to achieve that. Far from constructing competitive advantages, the Mexican government has not tried to design and offer an industrial policy or foster a business environment that could offer incentives to national investment, that could make it possible to base competitiveness of Mexican exports on incorporating more value added, on innovation, on differentiation and on the design of its own products.

A decade ago, a Mexican specialist observed that, contrary to the country’s needs, policies had been implemented that prompted an important part of Mexican industry going from “being an integrated chain to being a series of assembly plants of imported parts” and that “as a cruel paradox, instead of making good use of the maquiladora plants to develop a competitive industry, pro-

ductive chains were destroyed to turn all of industry into a maquiladora.”¹² In hindsight, this situation has worsened, as this article has shown.

This is a major challenge as long as the current export-maquiladora model and the application of neoliberal economic policies centered on maintaining macro-economic stability continue. The current crisis of manufacturing and small and medium-sized businesses must immediately be turned around using other strategies. The starting point is, above all, recovering the domestic market for national companies and incorporating this business sector into supply chains and the different industrial chains (many of which have been destroyed and/or destructured) with government support for small and medium-sized businesses. To increase their competitiveness, they must be allowed to make their operations efficient, to modernize technologically, to innovate, improve products and particularly emphasize a greater differentiation of products and the creation of new products in which design is a basic element.

Partnerships and productive links could become mechanisms that would allow small and medium-sized businesses to overcome the size barrier and the limitations of their individual capacity. The task is complex and often limited by certain cultural patterns of strong individualism and distrust. In any case, it is worthwhile promoting, fostering and supporting them.

It is necessary that the internal conditions linked fundamentally to policies of governmental and non-governmental institutions in conjunction with productive sectors jointly reformulate the mechanisms and instruments with a different vision and strategies from those that have prevailed for more than

The current crisis of manufacturing and small and medium-sized businesses must immediately be turned around using other strategies. The starting point is, above all, recovering the domestic market for national companies and incorporating this business sector into supply and industrial chains.

two decades. This would make it possible to increase national producers' competitiveness, above all as a function of a recasting of industrial chains, taking into consideration the new conditions of the national and world economies, giving the recovery of the domestic market the importance it deserves and changing the nature of Mexican exports.

Space exists abroad for Mexican-made goods produced by small and medium-sized companies, from those destined for the so-called “nostalgia markets” (in this case the markets in places abroad where Mexicans and their descendents live who have certain roots in Mexican traditions, or even foreigners who are familiar with and like Mexican culture) to sectors unfamiliar with Mexican culture, but in which competitive policies, publicity, quality, innovation and design can open up non-traditional markets. **NM**

NOTES

¹ Arnulfo Gómez R., “Comentarios sobre el Capítulo 3, ‘Apertura de mercados,’ del informe de la OCDE,” unpublished document (Mexico City), 2004.

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³ Arnulfo Gómez R., “La distribución geográfica del comercio exterior mexicano en el 2004,” unpublished document (Mexico City), March 2005.

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⁵ Luis Aguilera Enríquez, *Estrategias gubernamentales para el desarrollo económico y social en el ámbito municipal*, final unpublished report of the Center for Economic and Administrative Sciences, Autonomous University of Aguascalientes (2004), p. 29.

⁶ Claudia Berlanga Subyaga, “La Unión Europea y México. Programas de apoyo a las pequeñas y medianas empresas” (Power Point presentation at the 60th Annual Convention of the National Association of Importers and Exporters of Mexico [ANIERM], in Mexico City, February 2004).

⁷ “Focos rojos en más de 50% de los sectores productivos,” *El Financiero* (Mexico City), December 31, 2003, p. 8.

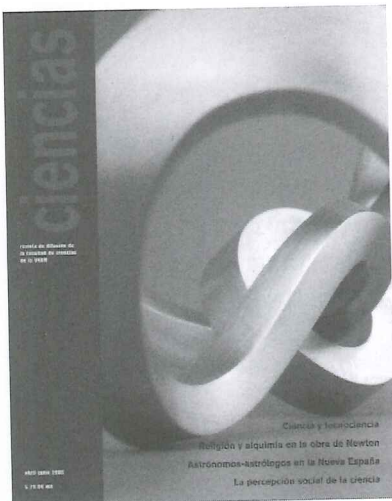
⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “Se achica la industria: cierran 3 mil 600 empresas en 2003,” *El Financiero* (Mexico City), April 27, 2004, p. 24.

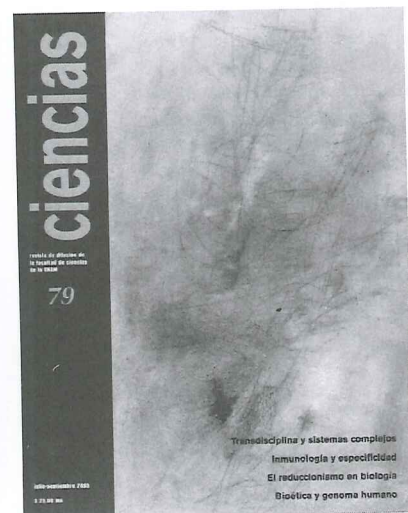
¹⁰ “Boom en el sector servicios ante la crisis industrial,” *El Financiero* (Mexico City), April 28, 2004, p. 20.

¹¹ “Usurpan permisos agentes aduanales,” *Reforma* (Mexico City), April 9, 2005, p. 1-A. Of 850 customs agents operating in Mexico registered with the General Customs Administration, 234 have been investigated in the last four years for irregular importation practices, while 17 percent of the customs offices in the country (around 100) rent their patents, a practice that has been prohibited. In one case documented by the General Customs Administration, a customs agent, in collusion with seven other customs agents, 12 representatives of the agents and five employees of a Puebla-based company (in this case, the company was the victim), imported textiles worth 656.5 million pesos in the name of the Puebla textile company.

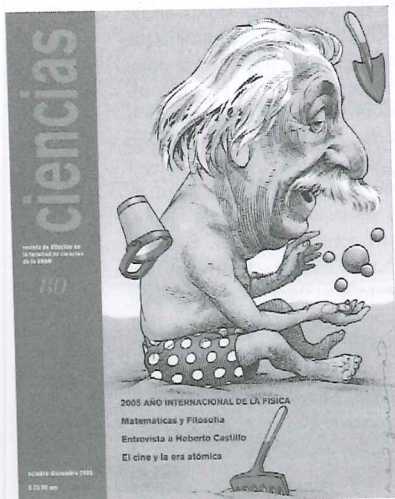
¹² Alejandro Castillo, “Maquilas o proveedores estratégicos,” *Expansión* 69, November 9, 1996, www.expansion.com.mx/buscar.asp



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- El espacio de la ciencia. Del genoma humano al océano
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Susana Esponda's Painting A Critical, Playful Exercise

Walther Boelsterly Urrutia*



Young Girl with Flowers, 70 x 80 cm, 1994 (oil on canvas).

Susana Esponda's work invites us to call it "candid." This would be a mistake, not only because it would be simplistic, but above all because it would demonstrate our own inability to see.

Susana's handling of iconography is a process of weaving, where we see a finely honed social critique, whose visual position presents facts and situations that are apparently isolated but habitually related, scenes that we repeatedly experience, see and even criticize, but without stopping to see who the actors are, what surrounds them, whom they share their time and space with. Susana Esponda does. She examines the moment minutely, working with the patience of a surgeon or a researcher, culling through the spaces.

Curiously, her visual proposal includes the rapid intervention of the restless, seductive eye that selects the objects, the lights that make up invitations to specific periods not usually visited. But, above all, it associates longings that may or may not be close or even her own. How often could our relatives replace those of Susana Esponda? We can even envy the character, desire the sweets or simply paw at the air to frighten away the fly, to avoid the bee's sting. But finding ourselves in that little space, inside a frame, we are inhibited by the possibility of not being able to leave, of not being able to taste the *pirulí* lollipop, of getting used to the armchair's wool, to breathing the country breeze, to finally recognizing that we have already experienced that detail, that moment.

Susana Esponda has ventured into different terrains. Or, it would be better to say, she has invited us, has pointed out and questioned different terrains. The scenes journey through each and every one of our histories, noting stages that we long to have lived, but in each of them, they put forward a unique vision. The individual will turns into collective will. We ask ourselves what painting is. The answer is simple: it is a visual language

—curiously the most primitive one— that transmits emotions, experiences, sensations, criticisms, translating them through an eye that untiringly seeks someone to exchange with, an accomplice. Susana Esponda quickly finds partners —voluntary or not— in her mood; with her painting, she manages to touch common chords; she does not get lost looking for conceptual languages that require an explanation; she does not propose images that contradict each other in their surroundings; she does not challenge the viewer's knowledge; she kindly shares and communicates, establishes a dialogue fulfilling the basic commitment: in the end, she commits us with her discourse.

We can conceptually pair the visual proposal with several masters, including the biting scenes of Hieronymus Bosch who sarcastically exhibits the shame of an entire decomposed society, such as the multitudinous feasts where social decomposition is the main dish for us viewers. Susana Esponda isolates moments, freezes sensations, puts forward unwritten comments, comments that float on the air. We intuit them, or, as we say, "We have them on the tip of our tongues"; we deduce them.

She adorns the moments, dresses up atmospheres, allows us to glimpse the characters that belong to groups and who get bored because they will not take a risk. The origin of the character does not matter as much as portraying that mocking air. Susana finds an atmospheric parody with Goya and his royal portraits; she walks stylistically between royalty and mortals, between the ludicrous and the ironic, between telling the truth or only seeming to be the truth. Painting portrays what the painter sees, what he/she interprets, but mainly what he/she wants to show. Susana Esponda's characters are not real, but the scene is. The commitment is not only presented iconographically; her painting seeks clear and clean mastery; it does not seek material interruptions; it does not seek optical distractions: bread is bread, the train, a train; the message is clear; it does not try to demonstrate or seem. Susana enjoys playfully portraying everything that we never dare to criticize. **MM**

* Art critic.

Photos courtesy of Susana Esponda.



Woman in a Blue Dress, 160 x 90 cm, 2002 (oil on canvas).



Fruit Vase, 70 x 40 cm, 2003 (oil on canvas).



The Nun 70 x 170 cm, 2002 (oil on canvas).



Woman with Dog, 60 x 170 cm, 2002 (oil on canvas).

Susana walks stylistically between royalty and mortals,
between the ludicrous and the ironic, between telling the truth
or only seeming to be the truth.



The Circus, 130 x 150 cm, 1995 (oil on canvas).



Almost a Copy of Picasso, 100 x 80 cm, 1995 (oil on canvas).



River Craft, 70 x 40 cm, 1995 (oil on canvas).

We can conceptually pair the visual proposal with the biting scenes of Hieronymus Bosch, who sarcastically exhibits the shame of an entire decomposed society.



Parlor, 40 x 70 cm, 1994 (oil on canvas).



Playing Tennis, 70 x 90 cm, 1994 (oil on canvas).

Diego Yturbe

Voyage around Himself Through Eighty Worlds

Fernando Gálvez de Aguinaga*

Setting out on a voyage always implies encountering something new and leaving something behind, something that will remain

unmovable until our return. The body advances, the view widens, the game imposes itself once again. The child we all have inside of us is reborn, and that child tries to recognize him or herself in new people and new ideals.

This is the way Diego Yturbe has projected his fantasy voyages, portraying the people who took him in for a few days or weeks to live together around a basic principle —so lost today— called hospitality. Both the stories and the images are endless, but what is special about his work is not the mixture of image and text, but the way technology has been combined with manual activity. The original watercolors were given as gifts to the people who put him up. The works presented here, then, are nothing but the evocation of the pathways that it took him more than a year to travel.



I and my other selves, 2005.

Alienation because of the media and the way of life in the planet's large cities is atrophying their inhabitants' ability to understand the human race's diversity and cultural riches and the wealth of landscapes that make up our world. In our day, it is very difficult to make an urban dweller understand that the wonder that is the sea and the sand does not require the comfort of a hotel and a discotheque,

with all their destructiveness, for paradise to be revealed to human beings.

I live in a rural community at the foot of the mountains, and every time friends from Mexico City, New York, Paris or Los Angeles visit me, I invite them for a walk in the woods, to see the rivers and waterfalls tumbling down from the mountains. I am concerned at how many of them are fearful and reticent to set out on the earthen paths, how they look mistrustfully at the exuberant vegetation; their

* Writer and art critic residing in Etla, Oaxaca.



heads seem to be full of old atavistic stories about serpents, tarantulas and coyotes, as though fear of the sting and the bite kept them from perceiving the wonders of nature, the prodigiousness of our primordial home. I was born in one of the world's largest cities and enjoy everything it has to offer whenever I visit. However, I do not close my eyes to a Mexico City that is becoming one of the country's biggest problems, a large part of which is because of its unhealthy relationship with the natural habitat where it was built.

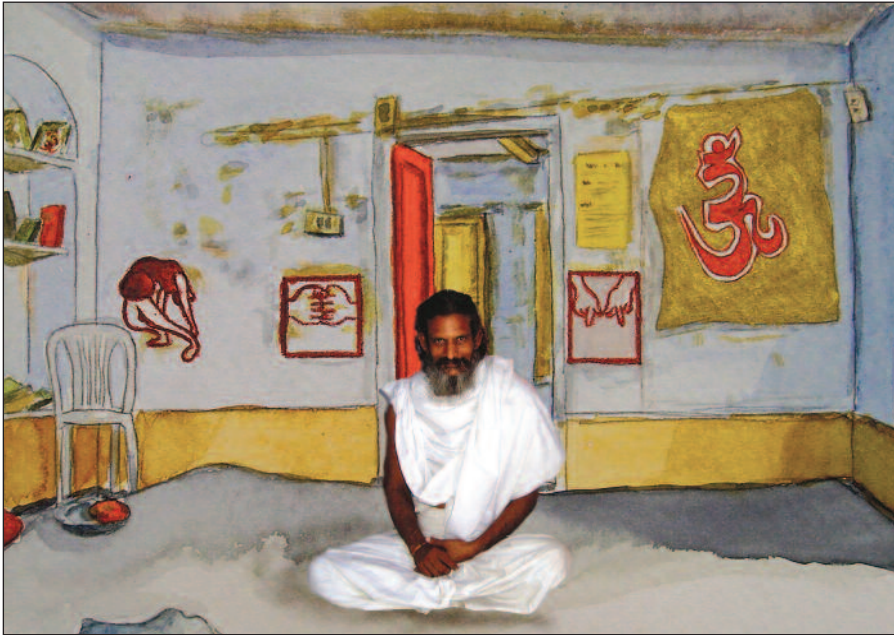
More than presenting us with a series of works of art, the work of Diego Yturbe narrates a voyage that recovers a sample of the world's cultural plurality and some of the most beautiful natural spaces that survive the onslaught of hyper-industrialization.

As a visual log of his intense voyage, Diego accompanied every image with a paragraph that situates us in the region of the Earth where the scene takes place, and introduces us to the characters that appear in each one, as well as some cultural references that help us perceive the worlds he visited. Without knowing beforehand what he would end up doing, Diego went through Cuba, Pakistan, the Himalayas and France doing watercolors. Spontaneously, almost from the start of his adventure, he began to give his watercolors away to the people he stayed with, the people who served his food or simply spent a little time with him, as a way of saying "Thank you." Since he also wanted to get into the art world, he kept a record of his work so that he could later see the evolution of his sketching, composition and color palette. His intention at that time was not to make art works out of digitalized watercolors; he just might want to send them to a friend over the Internet. His long itinerary showed not only that he was looking for adventure, but that he was also immersing himself inside himself, a spiritual road whose central tool was traveling to the places as different from

each other as we can imagine: from a rural cabin that acts as defense against the bureaucratic dictatorship of Cuban socialism to the sculptural houses carved out of the Capadocia rock formations that remit us to the time of cavemen and the functionalist houses of that emblem of modernity that is the Cité Radieuse of Le Corbusier in France.

After his spellbinding voyage, Diego sat down one day at a computer to review the photographs of his own brushstrokes. There was no uniform style. In some cases, he had opted for almost naturalistic landscapes, depicting the jungle or even a cabin where he had stayed or lunchroom that he had eaten at for a few days. Other works approached fantastic art: over the buildings floated mythological beings, not necessarily originally from the area in question, but the product of readings or stories someone had shared with him along the way. In other cases, music materialized in the strokes, becoming color and running through the composition making the space vibrate, like Munch's scream that makes the bridge and the sky around the figure undulate. It was not Yturbe's intention to do an aesthetic exploration through an expressionist, realist or symbolic style; he simply let his colors flow responding to a need to express himself. Once he had reviewed his stock of watercolors, he also looked at the photographs of the people he had met in different places and, almost like in a game, he began to paste people's silhouettes on the scene of the places they came from. Using technology, Yturbe developed these digital graphics that reinserted his friends into his voyage, in the watercolors of their homes, their businesses, their churches or their landscapes. His works are true digitalized collages and, in an intelligent, lively manner, comply with the definition of one of this genre's most assiduous practitioners, the surrealist Max Ernst, who said, "The collage is a hypersensitive, scrupulously exact tool, similar to a seismograph, capable of registering the precise possibilities of a human being's being happy at any given moment." ■■■

VARANASI, INDIA



April 2, 2004. Varanasi, India.
Swami Dayenanda. Dayenanda is a holy man of Rishikesh. I noticed him from the very first day that he arrived in Varanasi. He told me that he had come to teach his knowledge and that he was the only one who could transmit the Shakti Pat through his gaze. The Shakti Pat is the awakening of Kundalini: the sleeping energy. He explained to me that if I accepted, I could not speak to him again and he would charge me 25 rupees and a piece of fruit for each session. For ten days, two hours a day, we sat facing each other, looking into each other's eyes. On the tenth

day, he decided to go to Kumba Mella with no explanation. I did not know if he had transmitted everything to me, something or nothing. He gave me great peace and I remember him as a ball of energy with eyes, melded with everything around him.

KAHATAGASPIHILIYA, MIHINTALE, SRI LANKA

February 12, 2004. Kahatagaspiliya, Mihintale, Sri Lanka. Mustapha and family.
Mustapha is the guard at the Mihintale archaeological site where Mahinda, son of King Ashoka of India, introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka. Mustapha offered to let me stay in his home. His family, almost only women, and one little boy, waited for him anxiously. When they saw me come in with him, they all went into the kitchen and put on their veils. I tried to convince him to let them eat with us, but, with no success. However, little by little they came out of the kitchen to spend time with us. But they ate nothing. They did not take off their veils. They only watched, murmuring, whispering and laughing.





BENITO JUÁREZ,
OAXACA, MEXICO

November 20, 2004.
Casa de Piedra, Benito Juárez, Sierra Norte, Oaxaca, Mexico. The Hernández Hernández family. This is one of the few families that has resisted falling into the trap of the "American Dream." They have managed to find alternatives to make better use of their surroundings and not break with their cultural heritage, like with eco-tourism. They make

their living from the land, from a lunchroom managed by Elizabeth and Aunt Licha, and from a guest home where visitors from all over the world stay. This is my refuge in Oaxaca, my family that I have known for years, and they always welcome me with open arms. Thanks to them, I live in Oaxaca.

HAVANA, CUBA

January 1, 2004. Havana, Cuba.

Fran and Milady. Fran is a driver for the Mexican embassy;

Milady is a housewife and a doctor. I lived with them for a

week. For New Years Eve dinner, Milady made lobsters

that cost her U.S.\$50, the equivalent of five months wages.

This was possible because Fran,

who works for a foreign government, earns 50 times more than other professionals.





GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR, INDIA

June 28, 2004. Golden Temple, Amritsar, Punjab, India. Charanjot and Livsharan. Also known as Darbar Sahib, the Golden Temple is the heart of the Sikh faith. The gurus receive thousands of visitors daily from all different religions, beliefs and castes, giving them free room and board. Charanjot and Livsharan are the temple photographers. I met them one morning washing down the marble hallways. They say that since they

began working in the sanctuary, their disreputable lives changed completely. Reading the teachings of Guru Nanak, meditating, praying, singing, working for others and taking a bath every day in the "Nectar Tank", they leave no room for doubt that their souls are on the way to purification.

LEH, LADHAK, INDIA

July 9, 2004. Leh, Ladhak, India. Lamas during a festival and little Muslim girls with the Koran.

Leh, also known as "Little Tibet," is a high desert valley situated between the Himalayas and the Karakoram. The landscape looks like the moon. Although the town is completely militarized because of the proximity of China, today, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs live together peacefully. The town is a living concert of the calls of the Imman to Salat, of the Buddhist and Hindu pygas (a kind of popular religious ceremony or festival), and of the songs of the Sikhs.






BESAL, PAKISTAN

June 9, 2004. Besal, Pakistan. Abdul Musan, Abrad, Rabee, Basharat, Tammam and Muhammed Elah Usman. They live three months of the year in the Himalayas at an altitude of 4,000 meters. They raise cattle and mine for precious stones. At night, wolves circled us and, deeper into winter, snow leopards, too. They put me up for a week.

To eat, we had to go to the river to fish for trout. We roamed the mountains together. They taught me to pray the Salat: LAA ELAAHA ELLA ALLAH MUHAMMAD RUSULULA!

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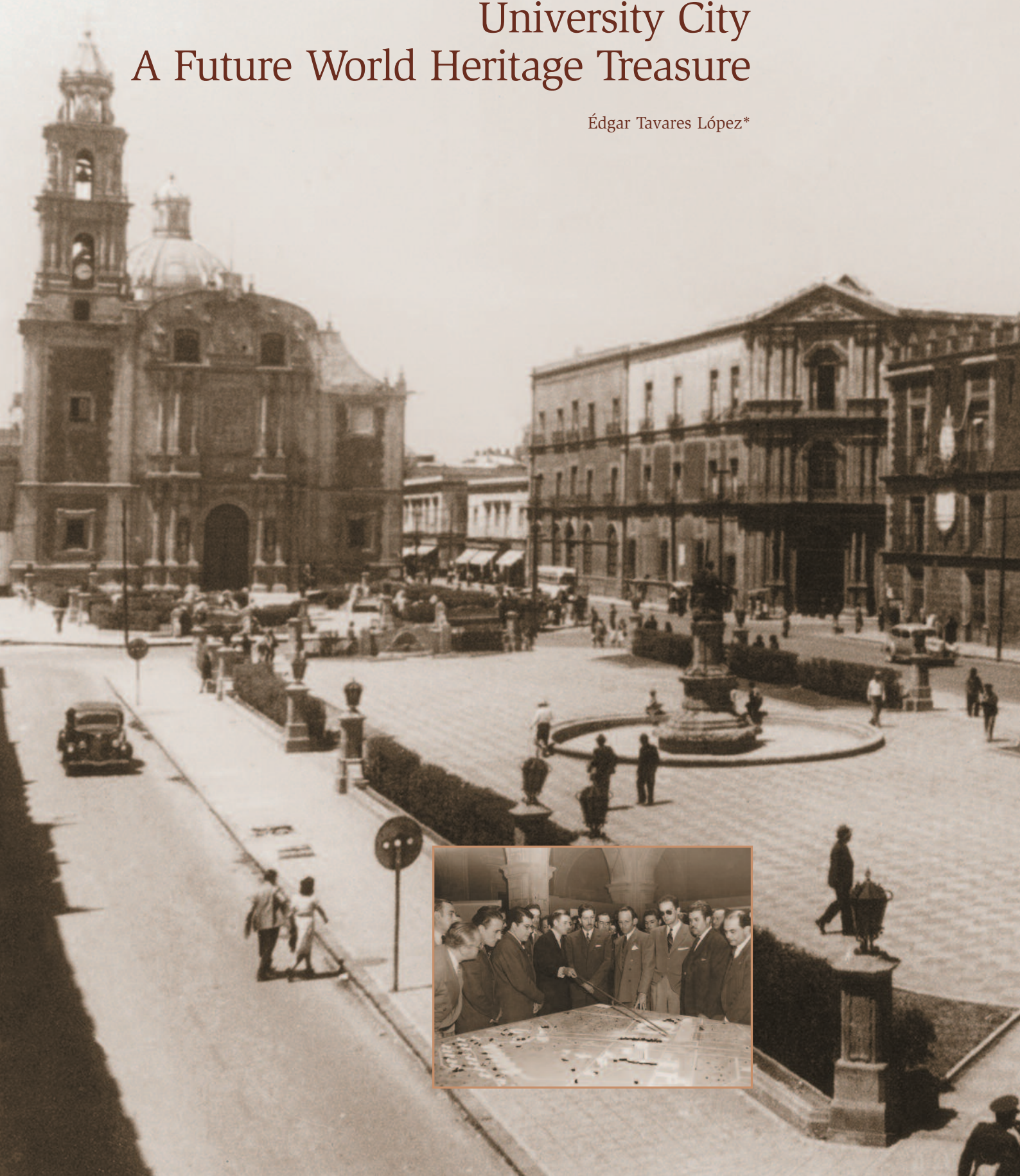
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UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE MEXICO / SAN ANTONIO CAMPUS

University City A Future World Heritage Treasure

Édgar Tavares López*





AIHUNAM/CESU/Raúl Estrada Discua (RED)

A little more than three decades ago, in 1972, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) approved the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, whose main objective is to protect properties of exceptional universal value throughout the world. This gave rise to the concept of world heritage. To put the convention into effect, permanently functioning, effective systems of international cooperation had to be established with the participation of countries interested in contributing efforts to identify, protect, preserve, refurbish and disseminate their own heritage and that which existed outside their borders.

One hundred and eighty countries participate in the convention to date, making it the most successful in the world. Today the World Heritage List contains 812 sites, including the wilds of East Africa's Serengeti, the pyramids of Egypt, the Great Barrier Reef in Australia, the Galapagos Islands in Ecuador, European palaces and cathedrals and colonial cities of Latin America and the Caribbean. These sites illustrate the world's cultural and natural diversity and that of its inhabitants; their destruction would be an irreparable loss for humanity. World heritage is a common heritage; guaranteeing its conservation and full enjoyment is a task of the UNESCO through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

MEXICO AND THE CONVENTION

When the Mexican Senate approved the convention in 1984, it became law. But our participation in the convention can be termed noteworthy in the last 11 years. Mérida, Yucatán hosted the twentieth meeting of the World Heritage Committee in 1996 and a representative of our country, María

* Architect and researcher.

◆ For over more than four centuries the National University was located in Mexico City's Historic Center

Photos courtesy of UNAM's Historic Archives collections. B/W pictures belong to "Colección Universidad"; color pictures belong to "UNAM Imágenes de hoy".



AH-UNAM/CESU/RED

By the end of the 1940s, the downtown university facilities were seriously overcrowded. A decision was made to build a new facility, which surpassed all expectations by becoming one of the most innovative works of architecture of its time.



AH-UNAM/CESU/RED

Teresa Franco, acted as the committee's president during 1997. Our country has recently hosted meetings about issues that are fundamental for the convention like the definition of our modern heritage, representation and the authenticity and integrity of World Heritage Sites in the Americas.

For more than a decade, Mexico has maintained close contact with members of the committee and its board, as well as its advisory bodies: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the World Conservation Union and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM).

Finally, our country has included 25 sites on the convention's list, putting it in seventh place worldwide and in first place in the Americas.

Among the Mexican sites on the list are some natural habitats: the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, the Whale Sanctuary of the El Vizcaíno Lagoons and the islands and protected areas of the Gulf of California. The cultural sites include different kinds of properties: 1) historic centers or cities: Mexico City and Xochimilco, Oaxaca, Puebla, Guana-

juato, Morelia, Zacatecas, Querétaro, Tlacotalpan and Campeche; 2) archaeological sites: Palenque, Teotihuacan, Monte Albán, Chichén Itzá, El Tajín, Uxmal, Paquimé, Xochicalco and Calakmul; 3) monastic architecture: the sixteenth-century monasteries on the slopes of the Popocatepetl (Cuernavaca, Tepoztlán, Totolapan, Tlayacapan, Atlatlahucan, Oaxtepec, Yecapixtla, Ocuituco, Tétela, Hueyapan, Zacualpan, Tochimilco, Calpan and Huejotzingo) and the Franciscan missions of the Sierra Gorda (Jalpan, Landa, Tancoyol, Conca and Tilaco); 4) civil architecture: the Hospicio Cabañas; 5) rock paintings in the Sierra de San Francisco in Baja California Sur; and 6) modern sites like the magnificent Luis Barragán House and Studio.

MODERN HERITAGE SITES

Modern Heritage Sites are among those least represented throughout the world. In the overall



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A group of world renowned Mexican artists, like Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Juan O’Gorman, José Chávez Morado and Francisco Eppens, contributed to covering the walls and facades with murals and other artistic works.



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terms of the convention, this includes architecture and urban sites from the nineteenth and twentieth century. Of the 628 cultural sites currently on the list, only 29 are modern. These kinds of heritage sites are particularly vulnerable given the weak legal protection afforded them and the general public's negligible appreciation of their value. For that reason, in 2001, the World Heritage Center and the International Council on Monuments and Sites began a program to identify, document and promote this kind of site.

Among the nineteenth-century sites classified as World Heritage Treasures are the major town houses of the architect Victor Horta (Belgium) and the Hospicio Cabañas in Guadalajara (Mexico). The twentieth century gave us, among others, the Güell Park and Palace and the Mila House in Barcelona (Spain), the city of Brasilia (Brazil), the Bauhaus and its sites in Weimar and Dessau (Germany), the Rietveld Schröder House (Netherlands) and the Luis Barragán House and Studio (Mexico).

THE UNAM, AN INDISPUTABLE HERITAGE

Our national university has for many years been a site of universal value. It was the first university founded in the Americas in 1551, when King Felipe II issued the order founding the Royal University of Mexico in the city of Toro. The formal inauguration took place in 1553 attended by Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco and the Royal Audience. All the participants in the ceremony met at the San Pablo College and made a procession to the first home of the university in what is now known as Mexico City's Historic Center. The halls of the institution would be walked by figures of the stature of Carlos de Singüenza y Góngora and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, colonial intellectuals who undoubtedly contributed to the cultural enrichment of New Spain.

For more than four and a half centuries, the university remained in the Historic Center. Different schools opened up over the centuries, forming a "university quarter" with all the character-



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The original campus of about 200 hectares was inaugurated November 20, 1952. It had been designed by a team of 70 architects under the direction of Mario Pani and Enrique del Moral. The whole creation clearly shows the influence of the so-called "modern movement" of contemporary architecture.



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istics of the life and activities that this implies. In the early twentieth century, the institution began to change profoundly. In 1910, on the initiative of Don Justo Sierra, the university was re-founded as a national institution, and almost two decades later, in 1929, it became autonomous.

By the end of the 1940s, the downtown university buildings were already seriously overcrowded: in addition to not having enough space for the growing student population, the facilities were insufficient for laboratories, classrooms, libraries, open spaces, etc. After several failed attempts, in 1948, a decision was made to build a new facility, which surpassed all expectations by becoming one of the most innovative and representative works of architecture of its time in Mexico City.

University City was built on an area of 1,000 hectares in a historic area of the southern part of the city: a large lava field, six or eight meters thick, created by the eruption of the Xitle Volcano in the first century before our era.

The original campus of about 200 hectares was inaugurated November 20, 1952. It had been designed by a team of 70 architects under the direction of Mario Pani and Enrique del Moral. The whole creation clearly shows the influence of the so-called “modern movement” of contemporary architecture, reflected in the use of simple geometric volumes, sometimes elongated or in the shape of towers; floors raised on columns and



AF-UNAM/CESU/José Ignacio González Manterola (ICM)



AF-UNAM/CESU/Mario Gómez (MG)



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open to circulation; and asymmetrical structures, among others. The buildings' facades show a clear difference between the support structure and the dividing walls that make up the spaces; the windows with their lattices are reminiscent of architect Le Corbusier's work on his *bri-soleil*; and the diverse formal treatment on the last levels of the buildings is also noteworthy.

Mexican architecture makes its own contribution in several fields, such as, for example, landscaping architecture which uses the volcanic environment, the scale and the semi-desert vegetation. The influence of pre-Hispanic architecture can be seen in the decorative taluds that show the skirts of volcanic rock on the stadium and the handball courts in the sports area. University City also boasts very original structural solutions such as the Pavilion of Cosmic Rays, by Félix Candela, who used 1.5-centimeter-thick shells—an enormous challenge at the time—and blocks of vitrified clay on most of the walls and facades.



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We should also emphasize the visual integration of University City's architecture: a group of world renowned Mexican artists, like Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Juan O'Gorman, José Chávez Morado and Francisco Eppens, contributed to covering the walls and facades with murals and other artistic works.

Undoubtedly, Mexico's University City possesses exceptional universal values, meriting its inclusion on the World Heritage List, just as Francesco Bandarin, the director of the World Heritage Center said during his 2004 visit. The World Heritage Convention establishes several criteria that are amply covered by University City, proving its exceptional universal value. The main one is that the planning, the landscape architecture and the monumental art that are all part of its buildings and grounds make the campus a masterpiece of human creativity. Also, its construction represents the consolidation of the "modern movement" in Latin America, and its conception in terms of architecture, urban design, landscape architecture and monumental sculpture exercised considerable influence on other similar developments in countries of the region in the 1950s and



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1960s. Lastly, its urban-architectural solutions clearly show the influence of the modern movement worldwide, which is proof of the cultural, technological and artistic development achieved by a developing country like Mexico in the mid-1900s. It should be noted that both Venezuela and Argentina followed the example of our University City's design, and the UNESCO proclaimed the Caracas University City a World Heritage Treasure in 2000.

Being put on the list is no easy matter. Besides the universal value of a site, other issues enter into play. Also, today, University City has some problems that must be attended to, such as the enormous amount of traffic on its streets and park-

The planning, the landscape architecture and the monumental art that are all part of its buildings and grounds make the campus a masterpiece of human creativity.

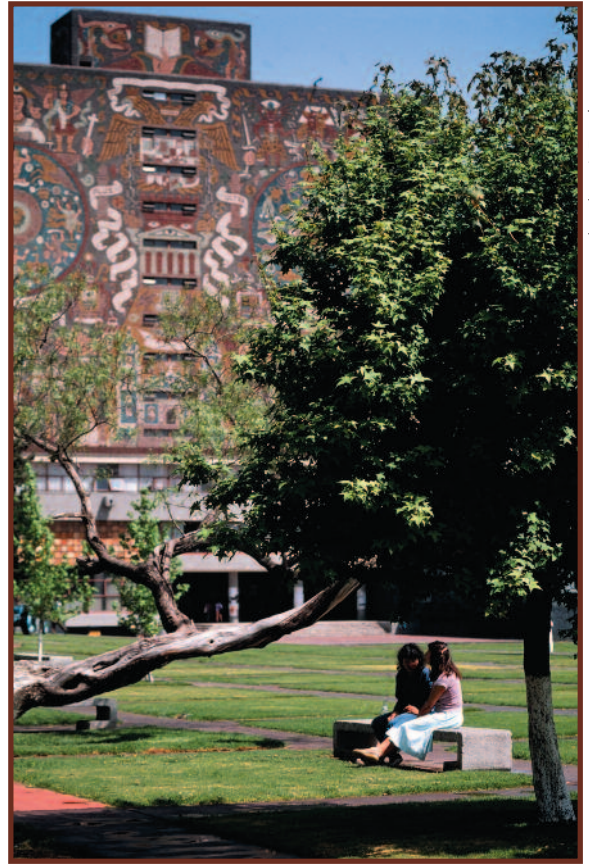


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ing lots, the itinerant vendors with stalls outside some of its schools, the graffiti on its buildings and the need for the design and implementation of a management plan.

The application for World Heritage Treasure status, supported by UNAM Rector Dr. Juan Ramón de la Fuente, coordinated by Felipe Leal and developed by a team headed up by Dr. Enrique Xavier de Anda, has been turned in to the World Heritage Center, and is awaiting evaluation by an expert from the International Council on Monuments and Sites. If everything goes well, in July 2007, we will be celebrating the inclusion on the list of a marvelous Mexican site, representative of our modern heritage. **MM**

Its urban-architectural solutions are proof of the cultural, technological and artistic development achieved by a developing country like Mexico in the mid-1900s.



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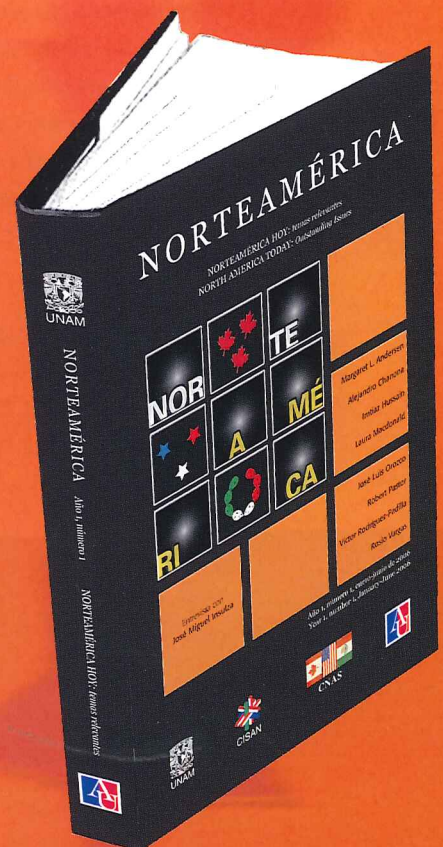
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Reframing U.S. Trade Policy In the Americas

Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces*



Andrew Winning/Reuters

People demonstrate against U.S. push for a Free Trade Area of the Americas during the last Summit of the Americas.

Since 2002, in different ways, the Bush administration has shown clear animosity to the multilateral negotiating bodies that have traditionally guided international relations since World War II. In this article, I propose to succinctly analyze how that position has facilitated the growing imposition of U.S. unilateralism through a particularly aggressive strategy focused

essentially on negotiating a growing number of bilateral trade agreements.

This strategy has three main objectives: 1) securing greater advantages than could be obtained through long-term multilateral negotiations; 2) imposing on the countries being negotiated with commitments and rules of functioning that the U.S. has not yet managed to impose through the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations (UN) or the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); 3) building a web of bilateral accords in which the United States is the dominant negotiating partner and that stands

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The bilateral accords among several parties promoted by the U.S. function as a lever to build a compartmentalized multilateralism in the not very distant future.

in the way of other proposals of alternative forms of integration coming from other countries.

The ultimate aim of these three objectives is the progressive restructuring of international economic relations of the countries that make up the United States' periphery and semi-periphery, among which the Americas are a privileged part.

Despite the firmness with which these objectives are being pursued, we must say that the U.S. administration has not altered the main guidelines of its traditional trade strategy a whit by apparently abandoning multilateral negotiations and seeking bilateral agreements. With the latter, it is simply seeking to advance by other means that do not necessarily exclude a long-term multilateral approach.

The bilateral accords or agreements among several parties promoted by the United States function as a lever to build what could be called a compartmentalized multilateralism in the not very distant future. Its main characteristic would consist of the agglomeration of many different accords—mainly bilateral—with a similar pattern of negotiation imposed by U.S. interests. These accords, at first glance unrelated among each other because they involve different countries, actually have one thing in common: they function around a

single hegemonic integrating axis, the United States, and, since they are all situated in a single regional space, can be transformed into part of a broader agreement. One example of this would be the way in which U.S. negotiators have acted in the negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA): they have been pointing to the construction of a dense trade network within which bilateral agreements and accords among several countries can exist beneath the protective mantle of a broad multilateral accord.

NEW TENDENCIES IN U.S. TRADE POLICY

In recent years, unilateralism has become predominant in U.S. policy. Most of its relations with the rest of the world are regulated by it, and through it, the U.S. imposes its economic, political and military interests.

In an international context in which U.S. hegemony is virtually complete, unilateralism is expressed in the two main trends that guide the country.

The first tendency manifests clearly how the United States is restructuring its participation in the international order, which implies not only its gradual abandonment of multilateral practices, but also the neutralization of any exogenous initiative that might improve the rules that currently apply to international multilateral institutions.

This means, on the one hand, that the United States openly shows considerable disinterest in fostering any fundamental change in the international institutions that sustain the world order. On the other hand, it shows a clear determination to stop any change proposed by other countries that might

improve the current state of international relations.

Thus, while most countries consider that a better balance of power within the UN Security Council is urgently needed and are pushing for a reform to make it more consistent with the current balance of forces, the United States' UN representative proposed a strategy to undermine the agreement finally reached, imposing 400 amendments to a document that was only 39 pages long.

The second tendency consists of making a priority of bilateral negotiations, whether with a single country or with a predetermined group of countries, with the aim of more effectively imposing its own rules and interests, which would undoubtedly be more difficult in a multilateral negotiation.

In this manner it seeks to eliminate, whether temporarily or permanently, the power of other countries or groups of countries who represent a threat to its hegemonic interests. It proposes to break existing alliances and equilibria among other countries and bilaterally impose certain rules that in the long run will affect others.

This is the case of the negotiation of bilateral agreements with each of the countries of the Mercosur, except Brazil; the multiplication of the bilateral free trade agreements with Latin American countries, which have undermined the multilateral negotiating power of the FTAA, specifically negating the initial commitment of considering all countries under the single undertaking proposal or using NAFTA as a framework agreement to be imposed in negotiations with other Latin American countries.

U.S. trade unilateralism could not have been successful if it had not had

the approval of the Trade Promotion Authority, thanks to which the U.S. government abandoned its multilateral trade strategy (the WTO) and is pushing for bilateral negotiations that obviously favor its unilateral practices.

SEEKING THE REASONS

The U.S. government justifies these changes using the following arguments:

- 1) They say that with the years, multilateral trade negotiations have become increasingly unproductive, slow and difficult because they have not been able to achieve agreements that completely satisfy U.S. interests. This opinion has been particularly supported by pressure from the U.S. Congress, which thinks that the time has past when unilateral initiatives should be taken in the spheres of international trade in which its interests are being blocked. In this sense, the experience they have accumulated through different hemispheric trade summits, particularly since Cancún, Mexico, and more recently in Mar de Plata, Argentina, leads them to fully justify their eluding multitudinous negotiations and their inclination for a kind of unilateral bilateralism.
- 2) Another reason that also justifies the United States' relative disinterest in multilateral bodies is Congress's demands on all bilateral negotiations. This conditions legislative approval of trade agreements to their being compatible with U.S. legislation. This requirement became more important with the approval of the Trade Promotion Authority, which determined that whatever was ne-

gotiated internationally had to live up to a standard of protection similar to that which exists under U.S. law. Clearly, making an international trade agreement compatible with U.S. legislation can be more easily negotiated in a bilateral agreement than in a multilateral one.

- 3) The third justification argues that in bilateral negotiations it is easier to negotiate, supersede previous commitments and establish the basis for broader negotiations than in a multilateral accord. For example, the trade agreements with Chile, Central America and the Dominican Republic, Australia and Morocco include stipulations about patents that are very similar to provisions of U.S. law. This is an attempt to integrate the regulations into a sufficiently large number of agreements so that later on it will be simpler to impose on countries which have traditionally obstructed some of the United States' strategies, such as the European bloc. Thanks to this, little by little, the United States has managed to disseminate and impose its legal model beyond its borders.

One of the most interesting aspects of the U.S.'s new international trade strategy can be seen in the way it has managed to convince its main partners of the need to comply with a certain "eligibility prerequisite", which obligates them to make the economic changes and reforms that in the long run will facilitate the implementation of the economic interests not only of the U.S. government, but also of the multinational corporations.

Frequently governments that want to negotiate a trade agreement with the United States try to comply with these

The matter for most concern is the inclusion of the issues of security and aid since 2003, which indicates the high level of politization of trade negotiations.

prerequisites without taking into account the interests of their own citizens. In the long run, this leads to high political costs for the country, as has been the case of the structural adjustment policies applied in all the countries of Latin America.

In this context, the U.S. strategy consists of taking advantage of its counterparts' asymmetries. It demands trade liberalization and imposes related norms in other fields beyond trade, such as protection for foreign investment, services and intellectual property. This is just what U.S. negotiators have been imposing in the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Why has Washington complicated an initially unified hemispheric negotiation like the FTAA by launching talks for a series of bilateral free trade agreements that inevitably made all the Latin American countries compete with each other?

Because this approach offers enormous advantages. One would be the elimination of groups of countries aligned around a common demand, such as agricultural policy or a specific industrial policy. In a bilateral negotiation, there is no danger because it is carried out face to face without the possibility of different countries forging tactical alliances as can happen in a multilateral context.

This tactic can also be seen in the case of the U.S. proposal to the ASEAN countries in 2002 which aimed to build a series of bilateral free trade agreements favoring U.S. interests. However, any Asian country that wanted to participate in this kind of initiative had to first fulfill two prerequisites: being a member of the World Trade Organization and signing a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA). These kinds of conditions sought mainly to pave the way for a future bilateral negotiation with the United States and allow for WTO and TIFA negotia-

The U.S. strategy consists of taking advantage of its counterparts' asymmetries. It demands trade liberalization and imposes related norms in other fields beyond trade.

tors to first economically discipline the country.

As if that were not enough, more recently an alternative strategy has been put into play called "competitive liberalization." This consists of simultaneously negotiating in different multilateral and bilateral arenas, which in the long run increases the degree of trade liberalization and promotes eventual global agreements. This offers the U.S. enormous advantages because it is an incentive for many small countries facing different multilateral pressures to seek advantages in bilateral negotiations that would be difficult to obtain in a broader forum. This is the reason the Central American coun-

tries accepted negotiating the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) instead of waiting for the conclusion of the FTAA.

It is from this point of view that an "agreement a la carte" like the one the U.S. proposed in the FTAA to negotiating countries makes sense, since in that case, the Latin American countries could take on different levels of commitment about a series of minimum rights and obligations with regard to trade issues. Also, those countries that wanted to advance more could do so through bilateral accords or agreements among several countries.

In the long run, this program is more harmful for the peripheral countries, particularly the Latin American ones, because by proposing more flexible negotiations, it transfers definitions that cannot be achieved in "a common minimum" to the bilateral sphere and puts many countries at a greater disadvantage *vis-à-vis* the United States.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the old maxim of "divide and conquer" continues to be the main way the United States is proceeding internationally. This formula has been successfully applied in multilateral bodies such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and now the WTO. It has also proven its success if we look at the way bilateral agreements with the United States have proliferated, particularly since 1985 when it signed its first agreement with Israel.

Despite this, multilateralism continues to be an important way to achieve the objectives of its international trade policy, and it has no interest in des-

troying it, but rather in remodeling it according to its own interests.

Thanks to the skillful way it has imposed its rules in every new set of talks, at the same time linking them up to other negotiations, the United States, without having to resort to multilateral negotiations, has managed to impose its criteria about investment, subsidies, government procurement, laws on competition, intellectual property and patents, among other things, amply surpassing the mere sphere of trade.

The matter for most concern is the inclusion of the issues of security and aid since 2003. These are both included in the Middle East Free Trade Zone and, more recently, in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America, proposed in 2005, which indicates the increasingly high level of politization of trade negotiations.

Bilateralism is not a strategy exclusive to the U.S. government: these kinds of agreements have also proliferated among the countries of Latin America, which makes me think that if in the long run this kind of negotiation predominates, the multilateral trade system will unavoidably be profoundly damaged.

Paradoxically, the vast majority of countries agree to participate in a trade system ruled by free trade. However, those same countries are increasingly expressing their skepticism about free trade guided by multilateral negotiations and prefer to limit their interests to their region or their preferential markets.

Meanwhile, by continuing to accept bilateral negotiations, the periphery as a whole is opening the door for the unilateralism of the great powers to continue to be the rule that must be obeyed. ■■■

Security and Prosperity Three Countries, a Single Front

Leonardo Curzio*



Jim Young/Reuters

The Mexican Minister of the Interior, Carlos Abascal.

Many analysts of Mexico-U.S. relations predicted the bilateral agenda would be frozen after the September 11 crisis. The U.S. reaction to foreign aggression was vigorous and generally reaffirmed the most traditional national state. The United States, which had fostered the opening of markets to build the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and broadly supported and taken on board globalization on a world

scale, suddenly stepped on the brake and turned inward to mitigate the uncertainty that the exterior was causing it.

This reaction, understandable at first, should be learned as a historic lesson. Protecting North America with extreme security measures has prevented another attack on its territory, but since the first days, it began to create problems in other spheres like international trade, tourism and the transit of people. While it is true that potential terrorists have been limited in their actions, it is also true that life has become more

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difficult for economic actors in the region since both the guilty and the innocent have had to deal with an incipient, “stressed” security apparatus whose express mission was to turn the United States into a fortress.

Clearly, this new situation has had economic effects that would be interesting to measure in many countries with close ties to the United States, but the most affected have been its North American trade partners, Mexico and Canada. Many of the advances that NAFTA had spawned in terms of the exchange of goods and legitimate travel by the business community suddenly had to face a new generation of barriers and obstacles, from changes in passports to increasingly sophisticated controls of exports.

If until 2001, NAFTA members had worked to demolish the protectionist apparatus of the three economies, concern that security would become a new form of neo-protectionism soon manifested itself in Mexico City and Ottawa, and also—it is only fair to say—in the United States.

This also has to be seen as an important lesson because it shows the degree of integration of the three economies today. Despite the legitimate concern of the security apparatuses about averting another terrorist attack, the productive and business community had in fact appropriated the notion of North America. And, although everyone shared the security concerns, they at the same time claimed the right to keep open the North American economy. For productive chains like the auto industry, the borders that meant something like crossing the Tropic of Cancer soon became very difficult to cross. The nascent security guidelines, the massive control of cargo and the

increasingly detailed surveillance of travelers and their luggage made trade, the economy and tourism more difficult and expensive.

For the region’s three countries, the need to make the security agenda jibe with regional competitiveness became a priority. The rest of the world’s regions continued to integrate and exchange at more or less the same rate and North America faced the false dilemma of opting for security or prosperity.

We should recognize that in our region the idea of mutual dependency for intensifying the three countries’ competitiveness in the global market

It is important to recognize that the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America opens the door to the principle of trilateralism with a force unprecedented until now.

is not yet fully accepted by all. It has also not been easy to understand that in the North American security equation, the three states depend on each other, and it is in their common interest that the two agendas advance through understanding and mutual benefit. It is undeniable that sovereignty discourses continue to be widely disseminated and broadly accepted in society, but it is important to recognize that the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) opens the door to the principle of trilateralism (Mexico-United States-Canada) with a force unprecedented until now. We should

remember, for example, that Mexico and Canada negotiated their accords about intelligent borders with the United States separately.

Despite the mutual dependence among the three economies and the shared responsibility for preserving the security perimeter of our continent, it took four years to establish the basis for developing mechanisms to expeditiously harmonize security concerns that the three governments share and deal with separately (each in its own territory) and jointly (through common borders and flights) through the treaty for intelligent borders, plus certain customs regulations that have created more trust and made it possible for the flow of persons and goods to go faster.

Despite the differences that both Canada and Mexico had in their bilateral relations with the United States, the issues of prosperity and security would become the axis of the trilateral meeting held in Waco, Texas, in March 2005. Security and prosperity are now the minimum basis for common concerns contained in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America.

Some scholars have criticized the SPP because it does not deal with issues like migration. Others have attacked it because it does not fully put forward the question of regional competitiveness in the long term *vis-à-vis* global competitors like India, China and the European Union. In any case, the Waco summit marked the beginning of the unfreezing of the growth agenda and its ranking on the same level of discourse as security, which, as has been commented, had “monopolized” bilateral and trilateral agendas in previous years. For some, this is a great deal, for others, very little. But the fact is that it is something.

In addition, it is a positive step because although only slightly and in a flexible way it continues the trend of institutionalizing relations more in the region and developing something like North American institutions in which mutual trust can grow, even if only as a reference point. The SPP is already an acronym recognized in diplomatic, specialized language.

The SPP does not imply a change in the trend; it is also a trilateral agenda with specific content and work schedules that are worthwhile examining in order to neither under- nor overestimate the instrument. The two fundamental chapters are prosperity and security. Let us look at what each contains separately.

PROSPERITY

The three countries have established an agenda with an eye toward 2007. In short, the SPP reflects the intent of having a trilateral regulatory framework for cooperation to make the norms and test and prerequisite development compatible for access to the North American market.

Outstanding among the joint actions for specific sectors is the development of a strategy for trade in steel, and the creation of an Automotive Council with a vision on a North American scale of the challenges that the issues of competitiveness, regulation and automotive security represent for the three countries, as well as their relationship to the global market.

Another of the common concerns is growing counterfeiting and piracy. The SPP's proposal is that each country fight fake and counterfeit products in their own territory and develop a coor-

dated strategy in 2006 to deal with this crime, which increasingly threatens intellectual property rights and global competitiveness in the region.

Of course, the accord mentions a series of issues that show the overlap of the economy and security, some of them related, for example, with the movement of goods or bio-protection. With regard to the latter, it should be pointed out that all the signers are determined to arrive at a specific accord to ensure the scrutiny and inspection of containers of dangerous materials and establish mechanisms for the mutual screening and inspection of laboratory

Joint work by security agencies will make a smoother exchange of intelligence information possible with greater trust in order to successfully carry out regional operations for the response to any threat.

tests for certain items, particularly chemical, agricultural and pharmaceutical products. The idea also exists of facilitating trade in medical instruments and natural products and establishing coordination mechanisms to protect public health and the consumer.

With regard to moving goods and services, the SPP contemplates reducing costs associated with rules of origin, improving e-commerce by expanding the use of electronic signatures and establishing processes to comply with the Telecommunications Commission of North America. In the sphere of finance, there are plans to increase screening

of money and capital transfers in the banking system, the stock market and insurance companies to avoid financing of illegal activities, particularly those related to terrorism. Another very important matter for Mexico is the trilateral determination to make electronic bank transfers, stock purchases and on-line insurance coverage more efficient through electronic means.

More generally—and this should not be underestimated—the heads of state of the three countries have charged a specialized group with presenting a ministerial report by the end of 2006 to identify the elements affecting North American competitiveness. This report may be just bureaucratic, but it could also be the starting point for something really important in terms of a common effort for dynamizing the three countries' economies. We shall see.

SECURITY

The SPP's most important chapter is about security. The dominant topics have to do with air space and the control of people's entries and exits.

With regard to air transport, trilateral efforts are based on the will to broaden and improve the use of air space. A good many companies of the sector, particularly in the United States, have been hard hit by the image of September 11 and the security measures they have been subjected to. Innumerable passengers worldwide avoid flying in U.S. carriers if at all possible, which has had a considerable impact.

There is also a proposal to work on a bilateral security accord for Mexico-U.S. commercial aviation and support border planning about exchange of in-

formation and communications. The central point of this effort is to revitalize the border transportation working group. The lack of security technology has created real bottlenecks at some border crossings. One of the priorities is to improve this situation in the short term; that is, by mid-2006 there should be an appreciable improvement. Other measures are being considered to facilitate the operation of freight carriers, such as intelligent transport systems and more SENTI or NEXUS lanes. The SPP puts forward the trilateral development of measures for inspecting cargo before it leaves a foreign port and standardizing the inspection and security rules and procedures in first ports of entry into North America.

Another important section is related to frequent travelers who for legitimate reasons (business, studies, family or tourism) must move through North America. In that sense, the three countries have committed themselves to standardizing the biometric elements of identity documents like passports, visas and residency cards to optimize the use of technological resources in fully identifying individuals, expediting entries and exits and reducing migratory officials' discretionary powers, which have invited abuses and excesses against honest citizens. Today, many U.S. entry points post a sign warning travelers not to joke about security matters, but there are also others reminding migration officials that they are the face of the United States and are expected to behave accordingly. Many Mexicans already have passports with multiple security features; standardization should conclude by 2008.

Bio-protection is also an issue of regional concern. Borders are useful for

many things, but in the case of North America, they are so porous and the enormous flow of goods and people across them make it impossible to ensure protection without joint efforts. A sanitary shield is of direct interest to the three countries, which have committed to a regional strategy to deal with natural or intentional threats to public health and the food and agricultural system. Natural disasters, particularly the devastating effects of Katrina, have thrown into relief the need for cooperation on this front and the benefits of understanding among partners and neighbors.

The SPP incipiently recognizes that the great dispute over markets, jobs and investments is not going to be played out in North America, but against other emerging regions of the world.

The central concern in the chapter on security lies in appropriately coordinating actions for prevention and response to threats inside North America. To guarantee synchronized action in this effort, the SPP proposes to increase cooperation on matters related to the administration of justice. It is hoped that joint work by security agencies will make possible a smoother exchange of intelligence information with greater trust in order to successfully carry out regional operations for protection, prevention and the response to any threat. The exchange of information about "restricted nationalities" that enter into

any North American port, as well as relative convergence of visa policies about third countries (Brazil, for example) are key for the region's security.

The SPP also has other less developed chapters whose very mention should be considered a symptom of interest. First is energy. In theory, in June 2006, a meeting will be held to explore the possibilities for cooperation in this field. The second is the environment. In this chapter, the actions are more concrete and are linked to the reduction of sulphur emissions and developing a report on air quality in the region.

PERSPECTIVES

Just a couple of thoughts to conclude: the SPP can be seen as a turning point in North America after the 2001 crisis. Although security continues to dominate, other issues on the bilateral and trilateral agendas are now increasingly important for our leaders.

The SPP tends to make our problems trilateral, thus giving more presence to North America, turning it into something more than the sum of two intense bilateral relationships.

Lastly, the SPP tends to create greater trust among the three trade partners and to confirm that the region's global competitiveness does not depend on what each of the countries can do separately. In other words, the SPP incipiently recognizes that the great dispute over markets, jobs and investments is not going to be played out in North America, but against other emerging regions of the world that are more integrated and in tune than we are. In short, faced with the great challenge of the twenty-first century, we are not on different sides. **NMM**

The Security and Prosperity Partnership in North America Challenges for a Successful Agenda

Manuel Chávez Márquez*



Jim Young/Reuters

From left to right: U.S. Homeland Security Chief Michael Chertoff, Canada's Minister of Public Safety Anne McLellan and Mexico's Secretary of the Interior Carlos Abascal, got together to discuss security matters.

PROSPERITY, SECURITY AND NORTH AMERICA

The economic integration of North America has deepened in the last 25 years as never before. NAFTA, despite its inadequacies, cemented a process that goes beyond traditional economic trade models by including other social, political, environmental and cultural elements. Now, after 9/11, the emerging policies of U.S. homeland security will require important adjustments in

the interaction of the United States with Mexico and Canada. Security policies have shifted a paradigm on the format of interaction among the three countries including logistics, transportation, persons crossing borders, biohazard threats, food safety and the synchronization of industries in more integrated ways. The challenges, especially along the border, illustrate that the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico and Canada is entering a new stage of complex interdependence. To ensure proper implementation, the three countries will need to make significant structural adjustments focusing on a) collective prosperity, b) the inclusion of actors at the local level, and c) strengthening public opinion.

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Over time relationships among countries change based on domestic politics. The relationship between the United States and its neighbors has deepened in the last 25 years and periodically adjusts to priorities and ideological influences in each country. The American binational agenda, with both Mexico and Canada, is the best example of a model of complex interdependent international relations including such topics as environment, migration, trade, transportation, investment, energy, regional politics, communications and law enforcement, among others. For the United States government nothing could

After 9/11, the model of cooperation and interaction is being recalibrated by the addition of U.S. national security components.

be more complex and demanding than managing the operational relationship with Mexico and Canada.

The continuing interdependence of the three countries is clearly shown by trade volumes, vehicle traffic and people crossing the U.S. border. According to the U.S. Trade Authority, the United States' two main trade partners are Canada and Mexico, representing a total inter-trade volume of U.S.\$713 billion in 2004, or roughly U.S.\$2 billion a day.¹ Yet, for both Mexico and Canada, the United States is their main export destination. Similarly, no other international border has the volume of traffic that Canada and Mexico have to the U.S. According to the U.S. Department of Transportation, the number

of crossings has become an operational hardship with 11.5 million incoming trucks, more than 125 million passenger vehicles and more than 325 million people crossing U.S. borders.²

While the broad national context has caught the three governments' attention, U.S. border area conditions are more demanding. Official statistics of the three countries indicate that the population concentration on both U.S. borders represent a challenge now and in the future. A little over 50 million people live along the northern border. Nearly 90 percent of all Canadians (27 million) live within 100 miles of the border with the U.S., while almost a tenth of the total U.S. population lives on the U.S. border side. Along the southern border almost 14 million people live in cities and municipalities on the U.S.-Mexico border, but estimates indicate that by 2010 population there will increase to 20 million.³ People living near U.S. borders share economies, natural resources, jobs and services, imposing serious security concerns for the neighbors on both sides.

The citizens of Mexico, Canada, and the U.S. share not only a space but a system, and both frame their daily lives. The preservation and enhancement of these systems are necessary now and in the coming years. These are the challenges facing the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) signed by the leaders of Canada, Mexico and the United States in Texas, last March 2005.⁴ The main objective of the partnership is to maintain and increase the economic vitality achieved by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and to ensure that citizens of all three countries live in a secure and economically viable environment.

THE REAL CHALLENGES OF THE SPP

The intensity of interaction among the three countries is undeniable and requires the full attention of local, state and national governments. However, a new element has been added to the complex matrix of interactions: national security. Now, after 9/11, the model of cooperation and interaction is being recalibrated by the addition of U.S. national security components. These new factors will add unexpected new challenges to the domestic policies of Mexico and Canada.

This concept of national security needs to be considered as a permanent variable for the viability of the North American regional model. The depth and breadth of Mexico and Canada's economic interdependence with the U.S. and vice versa now need to factor in an advanced security framework, not only to continue evolving but to ensure that the benefits are shared by all. The ultimate objective of a trilateral relationship is to ensure the continuity of sustainable coexistence, with a commitment that includes innovative approaches and flexible perspectives.

With this complex matrix, North American nations acknowledge the presence and importance of three factors: the role and weight of their domestic agendas, the dynamics of local needs and the relevance of working on international agreements. At any given time, the three factors have a different influence on policy making. In fact, policies directed at a country or a border sharing area may respond to the three factors at a particular moment while the other country may respond to one or two. The difficulty, now and in the future, is to ensure that those policies are compatible with the other neighbor's remedies.

First of all, the number one challenge of the SPP is to increase the collective prosperity of the citizens of North America. Also, the U.S. needs to acknowledge that the trilateral relationship goes beyond just economic and trade purposes. The well-being and prosperity of citizens in the three countries are essential. A second challenge is to ensure the participation of state and local actors in the process to define the best models of cooperation. A last challenge as outlined at the beginning of this article is to increase the public's understanding of the process of creating a set of trinational policies that either directly or indirectly affect all of us.

NAFTA, after 12 years and despite its shortcomings, has proved to be successful in aggregate terms. Without a doubt, in each country some sectors of the economy and their workers were affected negatively by the trade regulations. For the SPP to be successful it must offer a clear view of how prosperity is going to be achieved and how the benefits will be shared. To require more sacrifices from workers and citizens in general will bring only contradictions and a collective rejection that will affect the future of the partnership itself. The current economic conditions, especially in the U.S., are not conducive to gaining immediate support for a set of policies to enhance North American well being.

One example is General Motors CEO Rick Wagoner's announcement of the elimination of 30,000 jobs and the closure of nine auto assembly plants in North America. The news was no surprise for Michigan residents, where three plants will be closed. Canada lost one, but interestingly, Mexican plants remained intact. Yet, the impact for other plants in North America is unclear.⁵

And, the consequences of Delphi's bankruptcy are not clear enough to signal how they will affect the company that employs the most workers in Mexico. According to analysts, the closings are the result of production cost adjustments, more competitive prices from European and Asian manufacturers and the increasing cost of GM pensions. Ford and Chrysler are in similar straits, showing that the North American auto industry is in a severe economic crisis.

One unintended consequence of the downturns in economic conditions is a tendency to blame others for the causes. Mexico will be a scapegoat for the process. Two conditions seem to fuel these perceptions. One is that outsourcing of investments and relocation of companies to Mexico has continued for most of 2005, and the other is the belief that Mexico designs policies to steal jobs and investment from the U.S.

The second challenge is to give local needs a prominent role based on the new regulations imposed by U.S. homeland security. The North American national governments need to recognize that local municipalities and border states act as a point of interaction every day and that these jurisdictions will be interacting in the years to come. The sooner they participate, the better it will be for the success of the SPP. Also, local capacity to respond to logistical and security demands will require investments and resources that need to be allocated by central governments.

The border areas are a space for cooperation and conflict and under the SPP, they need to play a prominent role. Interaction is constant, systematic and intrusive. Local communities permanently interact, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year. Events on one side have an immediate effect on the other,

and if there is a crisis, local authorities will be the first to respond. Ottawa, Washington, and Mexico City will respond but after measures have already been taken locally.

The public is a required actor in the security and prosperity partnership. The careful cultivation of public opinion must be incorporated at two levels: the transparency and access to information required for any policy design and proposals accountable and clear for all. Without the effective participation of those who are most likely to be affected, such as border residents and their respective local governments,

For the United States nothing could be more complex and demanding than managing the operational relationship with Mexico and Canada.

the model is likely to fail. Moreover, the press and news media need to be provided with timely briefings and access to information so readers and viewers form a collective public opinion that understands the purposes of the new policies.

Each country's government needs to work on each other's public opinion; this is one of the goals of public diplomacy. By the end of 2005, given the deteriorating public opinion in the U.S., it is clear that Mexico needs it the most. The generalized negative opinion of Mexico is sooner or later going to erode the small but important support the current administration has to propose significant changes in the relationship. While the public image of a vibrant and

integrated North America is the responsibility of each country within its own borders, there is little doubt that they need to lobby in each other's countries, efficiently and rapidly. Canada has done it very successfully and it is time for Mexico to do the same.⁶

PERCEPTIONS TURN INTO POLITICAL ACTION

A couple of examples illustrate the importance of working on perceptions and building positive public opinion. One is a political variable that is galvanizing Americans regardless of their origins, income, religion, education or party affiliation: undocumented immigration. As never before, there is now a consensus to deter and control immigration not only in the Southwest but in all areas of the country. Areas that traditionally have low migrant populations, like the lower Midwest and the Grand Lakes region, began to be polarized about the divergent policies to control migration. The unintended consequences of this process have caused an openly negative attitude toward migrants and Mexico. For racists, this is a timely opportunity to express their sentiments against Mexican workers; for ethno-centrists this offers another excuse for Mexico bashing. Little or nothing is being said about the migrants' contributions to the U.S. economy and to the society in general.

The situation is becoming so agitated that on November 28, 2005 in Tucson, Arizona, President Bush offered a first strong message against undocumented immigration. In front of numerous law enforcement agents and without mentioning Mexico, the message was loud and clear: the border is

unsecured. The presidential message recommends more border patrol agents, more screenings, more advanced technology and harsher penalties for violators. Mr. Bush's basic message was, "Our responsibility is clear, we are going to protect the border." By late evening all major TV and cable news shows (CNN, FOX, ABC, CBS and NBC) covered the presidential speech and, even the traditionally neutral commentators of public television (PBS) struck out against Mexico and its uncontrolled invasion of the U.S.

By Tuesday, the national press, like *The New York Times*, wrote that the president was trying to solve a problem with band-aids, giving a speech to appease the radical right wing of his party. Major representatives of immigration centers have divergent opinions about the proposal outlined by Mr. Bush, some supporting the initiatives and others criticizing them. The two most contested proposals are the creation of the temporary guest-worker program and the amnesty for those who are already illegally in the U.S.⁷ The measures attempt to solve a domestic problem which affects interdependent labor markets, international and foreign affairs, and unless there is a serious understanding of the factors of attraction, the polarization of public opinion and Mexico and immigrant bashing will continue.⁸

Added to the problem of undocumented migration, the continuing growth of violence and drug wars in border towns, especially in Nuevo Laredo and Tijuana, has caused an image of chaos and lawlessness in Mexico. Notions of illegality, corruption, violence and lack of rule of law are extended to all of Mexico and its citizens. Under these conditions, the challenge for Mex-

ican public diplomacy is to build a less hostile American public opinion. This is no easy task when most of these perceptions are generally correct.

Conservative commentators, not news anchors, on CNN and Fox News have openly developed a confrontational negative attitude toward Mexico. These biased, uninformed, unprofessional commentaries are based on two things: undocumented immigration and the current negative economic conditions in the U.S., which are easy to exploit in the present economic and political environment. The formula is simple: blame the weak and the new-

Undocumented migration, the continuing growth of violence and drug wars in border towns have caused an image of chaos and lawlessness in Mexico.

comer for all the problems the country is facing.

Undocumented immigration and terrorism are connected in two ways: the perceived violation of domestic laws (illegal entry), and the potential for terrorists to use the networks of drug traffickers and migrant smugglers. Part of the fear of losing control of the border is the result of the general attitude that Americans have expressed about their security. Every public opinion survey shows that Americans feel unsafe and have little or no confidence in what their government does to protect them. While most Americans placed direct responsibility on their own government for the capacity to avoid another attack, most analysts acknowledge

that security policies require the collaboration of their northern and southern neighbors. Security measures, especially to protect the border, air space and sea areas, are operationally linked to Canada and Mexico.

It is not too difficult to make the case for security in the new security and prosperity partnership with Mexico and Canada. For instance, this past October 2005, a CBS News poll showed that many Americans (37 percent) have very little or no confidence in the U.S. government to protect its citizens from future terrorist attacks.⁹ When the questions focus on prevention, polls

Canada's institutional and legal relationships with the U.S. may provide Mexico with some practical approaches on how common problems can be solved.

show higher numbers of Americans (60 percent) who have doubts about the capacity of the U.S. government to prevent any further attacks.¹⁰ Clearly, prevention measures require the participation of neighbors and allies.

The general perception of readiness was gloomy on the last anniversary of September 11. When Americans are offered a variety of potential risks, their attitude is more negative. In a *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll conducted in September 2005, respondents were asked if they thought that the U.S. was adequately prepared for a nuclear, biological, or chemical attack and 75 percent said no; only 19 percent said yes, and only 6 percent were unsure.¹¹ The question addresses an issue that

has important repercussions for Mexico and Canada. Many potential U.S. targets and shared natural resources (lakes and rivers) are located near the borders with a significant non-U.S. population at risk.

The new elements of homeland security, however, remind U.S. policy makers that the security of U.S. borders cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of Mexico and Canada. While this adds new realism to the complex interdependent model of North America, public opinion still considers that the U.S. can do it alone. New enforcement and security measures depend not only on the effective operation of U.S. government agencies but on how well the exchange of information and rapid collaboration with Canadian and Mexican agencies takes place in a trusted and reliable environment.

STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION UNDER THE SPP

Examples of cooperation between the U.S. and Canada have been successful and need to be replicated for the SPP, especially by Mexico. One of the important lessons is that many regional problems are solved locally.

For instance, in 1955, the signing of the Great Lakes Basin Compact created several programs that protect and regulate the use of water in the Great Lakes. Eight U.S. states and two Canadian provinces are members of the charter that is managed bi-nationally to protect, preserve and regulate the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Basin. Representatives are nominated by the governors or premiers and their mandate is to serve their respective

communities in administering water resources.

Canadian-American cooperation in the Great Lakes is not always expedient and trouble free. Policy design and legislation are not always easily accepted by the other nation. But by empowering local authorities, any dispute is examined collectively to the benefit of all involved.

In addition, Canadian and American states, provinces and border cities also engage in the creation of mutual security nodes. For instance, in April 2003, the governor of New York, George Pataki, and the premier of Ontario, Ernie Eves, announced the signing of an agreement to seek expeditious mechanisms for customs controls in which both the state and the province actively assume security responsibilities.¹² And, even with these examples, policy makers in both countries recognize that attitudes and perceptions the societies have of each other are dynamic, particularly in the border area, and these have an impact on policy priorities. Learning about each other is one of the challenges.

One important actor in building public opinion is the news media. The U.S. border press pays a fair amount of attention to border and security issues; yet, the national influential media only covers binational issues when there is a conflict. The media usually shapes our notions of each other, and the Mexican newspapers spend more time on news related to the U.S. than vice versa. The U.S. media coverage of Mexico comes in sensationalist waves rather than informing views and perspectives that help the public to understand issues. Most national news published relates to drugs, immigration, natural disasters and occasional notes on NAFTA arbitration panels.

In seeking a North American agenda for prosperity and security for the border region, alternatives should start with a framework that includes the recognition that the relationship of the U.S. and its neighbors is a typical example of complex interdependence. Problems exist not only at the local and regional level but also at the transnational level. Each national congress and administration needs to recognize that actions must be taken jointly with a genuine commitment to sustainable solutions. Now that security has been added, the solutions need to maintain the economic model.

Besides national security, the U.S. needs to address the topics of sharing natural resources, migration, trade, energy and, ultimately, development with both neighbors as common problems. Security is a matter of concern not only for the United States; proximity makes it an issue for both neighbors. For the deepening of interaction

within North America the issue is that economic interests are as important as local political concerns. How each society and its culture will emerge from this rearrangement of interests is to be seen. However, regardless of the format adopted, a new regional form of integration is being forged.¹³

While economic interdependence continues to grow there are concerns about cooperation and sovereignty. Yet, of the three countries, Mexico will struggle more due to asymmetric differences, ideological conditions and governmental capacity. The best example for Mexico, though, is to examine the Canadian experience rich in dealing and working with the U.S. Mexico needs to scrutinize Canada's institutional and legal relationships with the U.S. which may provide some practical approaches on how common problems can be solved by the two countries, particularly in maintaining bi-national

organizations, fostering local agencies' input in solving common problems, educating populations on common issues and promoting accountability and access to information. This is an adjustment not new to developing countries; Spain implemented and has maintained major structural reforms in order to join the European Union.

For North America the opportunity to build long-lasting cooperation models is here. Security among nations is forged on their complementary interests, purposes and needs. An active cooperative model implies a common understanding of the costs, risks, burdens and rewards. Prosperity and security are possible if they are built in a model that includes elements of reciprocity, reliability and high degrees of predictability. These elements require a policy paradigm shift in the U.S., Canada and Mexico, and while the risks are great, the rewards will be greater. ■■■

NOTES

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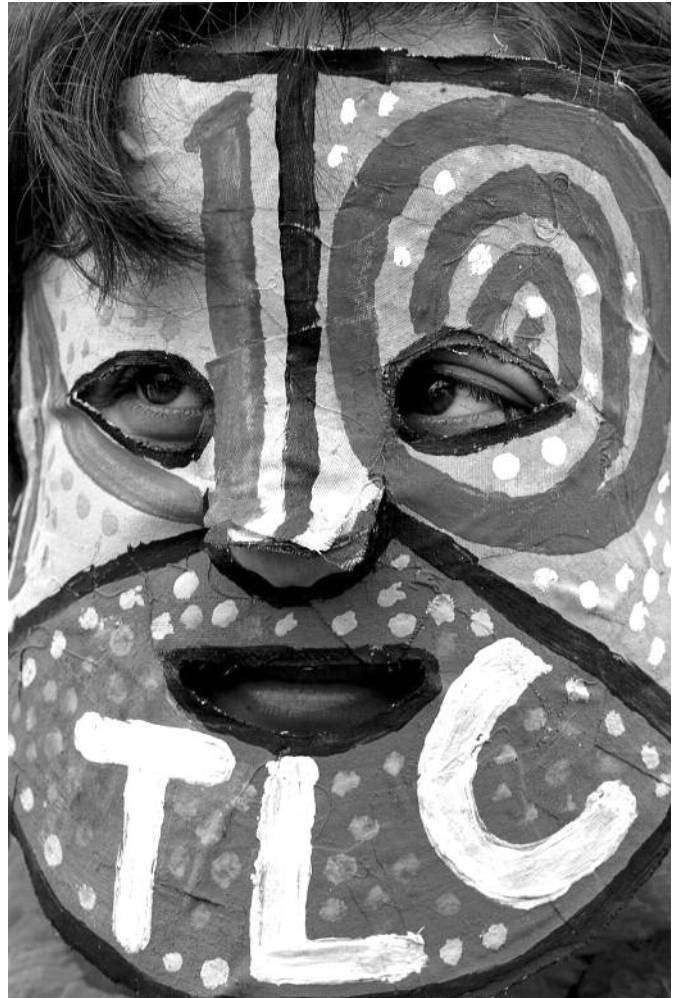
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Economic and Social Cohesion In North America

Carlos Heredia Zubieta*



Juan Carlos Ulate/Reuters

From the Mexican perspective the main challenge for North American integration is political.

Why is the integration of the three North American partners stymied? Why do people often say that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has reached its limit and that Mexico did not take proper advantage of its first 10 years? What is needed to re-launch regional integration as

a market-driven process, led by governments and supported by the citizenry?

In 1992 and 1993, I was part of a group of Mexicans critical of what was then being negotiated as NAFTA for two basic reasons: a) the very restricted way in which the treaty was negotiated, excluding important sectors of Mexican society like small and medium-sized businesses, unions and, in general, civil society; and b) the

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Even NAFTA's main proponents no longer show the same enthusiasm they had at the beginning, and today their willingness to pursue integration is, in the best of cases, discrete.

exclusion of issues that were fundamental for Mexico like labor rights, migration and the development gap among the three trade partners.

Twelve years after the negotiations concluded, the context has changed dramatically. Mexico no longer seems to be one of the United States' priorities except with regard to Washington's domestic security agenda. At the same time, feelings that our country did not take advantage of the window of opportunity of greater access to the U.S. market have become more common since increasing numbers of countries are now gaining access.

The integration of North America will continue due to inertia because the network of relations among the three countries is more and more elaborate. However, this process will develop increasingly on a local and regional level, among regions that make economic and business sense of the process, more than because of an agreement among Ottawa, Washington and Mexico City.

The challenge for Mexico lies in taking the initiative for codifying the integration process differently, incorporating values that until now have been absent from it, such as social inclusion and public participation so as to benefit the ordinary citizen. Public policies' medium- and long-term viability depends on their roots among the citizenry. Thus, from the Mexican perspective, the main challenge to integration is political. It

seems relevant, then, to ask ourselves how to advance in formulating inclusive, legitimate public policies for the integration of North America. This article will attempt to do so.

WHO WANTS INTEGRATION?

Paradoxically, even NAFTA's main proponents no longer show the same enthusiasm they had at the beginning, and today their willingness to pursue integration is, in the best of cases, discrete. The tenor of the discussions underway among the three governments' officials and among former officials and business leaders has been very similar, with three things in common:

- a) National security and the fight against terrorism is the absolute priority for the Americans, absolutely subordinating all issues to it. Here, of course, we must understand that security means U.S. security, and its extension to North America is conceived as part of the U.S. design.
- b) Canada's priority of its bilateral relationship with the United States, above and beyond anything that would involve a tri-lateral relationship.
- c) Mexico's insistence on including migration and labor mobility in the integration process. Here, there is a brutal clash between the way the U.S. thinks of solving the issue, with

reforms to U.S. immigration law, and Mexico's desire to reach a bilateral accord with the U.S. government.

Another constant theme in the discussion has been U.S. and Canadian insistence that Mexico do its homework and implement pending domestic reforms before turning to its trade partners for support with funding for development. Depending on who says it, this proposal turns into a demand that Mexico open its energy sector to international private capital or that Mexico reform its tax system to generate greater domestic revenues before seeking external backing. If these reforms do not happen, proponents argue, Mexico will slide down the slippery slope of economic irrelevance and stop being an important player in the global economy.

In practice, Mexico has lost standing on the United States' geo-political and geo-strategic agenda, which has turned its attention to the Asian-Pacific region. In mid-2005, Washington only expected "cooperation" from Mexico in the design of border security and the fight against terrorism. It no longer sees it as a priority alliance. U.S. policy designers in the White House, the Capitol and the states deal with Mexico because it is a neighbor with whom something has to be done simply because it will continue to be there, but strategic priorities are increasingly oriented toward the Asian-Pacific region, specifically China.

It is clear from the start that integration is above all the result of objective economic and political factors and that rhetoric and pronouncements of good will are not enough to speed it up. Taking everything into consideration, even though most Mexicans feel that the United States has benefited more

from NAFTA than our country, our attitude to integration with North America is reasonably positive. According to a survey of the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE) and the Mexican Council for International Affairs (Comexi), 61 percent of Mexicans have relatives living outside the country, the overwhelming majority of whom are in the United States. The same survey showed that 68 percent of the Mexican public and 79 percent of leaders polled had positive feelings toward the United States, and 65 percent of the public and 87 percent of leaders had a positive attitude toward Canada.

However, for Mexican society as a whole, the popular support and legitimacy of the North American integration process will depend to a great extent on its producing concrete advantages for the population and not only for the elites who usually accrue the benefits.

INTEGRATION FOR WHAT AND FOR WHOM?

While in the early 1990s, NAFTA proponents credited President Carlos Salinas de Gortari with the Senate's almost unanimous approval of the treaty, we critics pointed out that Mexican society as a whole had not taken on board the treaty as its own at all. It was a decision that was not processed internally, but imposed on Mexican society from above and abroad.

The fundamental reason that integration is behind is its lack of social legitimacy. While the agreements among governments have gained political legitimacy through the approval by the U.S. and Mexican Congresses and the Canadian Parliament, in practice, the participation of civil society has been lim-

ited at best, and in Mexico's case, practically non-existent.

With regard to another process of regional coordination, the Puebla-Panama Plan, objections came mainly from numerous organizations of small agricultural producers and indigenous and civic groups that see it as just more of the same: a program to use Mesoamerica's natural resources and cheap labor with no strategy for creating value and distributing its benefits locally. For the governments and above all the big corporations, the important thing was gas and oil extraction, using energy sources, water, forestry resources and other natural riches. Infrastructure construction was conceived mainly for transporting natural resources from their source to where they would be industrially processed in the Valley of Mexico or the northern part of the country, but not in their place of origin. Electricity lines were put up to supply the big cities and industrial areas outside the region.

The integration of North America has been left without any social support. Its opponents have no reason to support it because they do not see how they can benefit from a plan that only fosters the interests of political bureaucracies and big corporations. They do not see themselves reflected in the process of integration; they cannot find their place in it because it does not exist. In the best of cases, they are conceived as spectators, and in the worst, as pawns

in a subordinate integration. They are not citizens who can express an opinion and participate in a strategy that includes them. This must change radically if integration is to have a basis in society.

DOING OUR HOMEWORK

The proponents of free trade agreements say that they are not an instrument for redistributing wealth and income. They are wrong. The codification of trade flows and, above all, of investment, has a very direct effect on the way in which wealth and income are created and distributed in any society. In fact, the negotiating chip that the first President George Bush and President Bill Clinton used with U.S. congresspersons to promote the trade agreement's approval was precisely that it would create jobs and opportunities in Mexico. They argued that this would favor a reduction in Mexican migration to the United States, contributing to strengthening security in North America.

The theory of economic development has gone into great detail about the "trickle-down effect", whereby the creation of wealth in higher-income groups ends up benefiting lower-income groups. The scientific calculation of causality among variables is always controversial and therefore how much

Mexico has lost standing
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growth and employment in Mexico are due to NAFTA will continue to be matter for debate, as will the even more complicated issue of what would have happened if there had been no treaty.

What is certain is that in a context of profound economic and social polarization like the one that exists today in Mexico, the “natural” course of events favors those who are already linked to the global economy. In the absence of a strategy to counteract inertia, investment and trade agreements that do not include public transition programs directed at excluded and disadvantaged sectors end up by sharpening existing asymmetries and development gaps domestically and, as a result, in the whole North American region.

Since 1994, the wage and income gap between Mexico and its two trade partners has increased significantly. The gap between Mexico’s northern and southern and southeastern states has also increased. Twelve years after negotiating the trade partnership with the North American region, the Mexican economy is not meshing nationwide and the country lacks a way forward to territorial integration. NAFTA has proven to be an appropriate vehicle for adapting the Mexican economy’s capacity for producing goods and services to the demands of the U.S. economy’s business cycle. Today, we are more integrated outwardly, particularly northern Mexico, and more un-integrated inwardly.

TOWARD A STRATEGY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COHESION

Mexico needs public policies that can promote the articulation of its economy and the integration of its territory.

The states of Mexico’s Northeast, specifically Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, have established a strategic relationship with Texas, dubbed by some “NAFTA within NAFTA.”

This is precisely the strategy for economic and social cohesion proposed here. The idea is to “pull up” the country’s most disadvantaged regions to achieve a more dynamic evolution of the domestic market and greater opportunities for Mexicans in their own country. The aim is to narrow the gap between Mexico’s North and South, but fundamentally to respond to the urgent need of creating a national development strategy.

In any case, a public policy of economic and social cohesion in Mexico requires at least three strategic, coherent, consistent lines of action:

- a) the construction of integrated networks of physical infrastructure oriented toward local and regional economies;
- b) investment in people, translated into the formation of human capital and the utilization of technology and innovation to create a knowledge-based society;
- c) the transformation of institutions and the political culture to promote practices of public responsibility and good government: in other words, the establishment of the rule of law.

With regard to investment in people, the construction of an inclusive, educated society is indispensable for governability in Mexico. Achieving the UN’s Millennium Development Goals

(halving world poverty and hunger; improving access to drinking water; achieving universal primary education; decreasing child mortality; bettering maternal health; applying science and technology to innovation for development; and promoting environmental sustainability) by 2015 is an absolute requirement for making Mexico’s regions and individuals more competitive. This is the translation of the aim of “investing in people” proclaimed worldwide by our country’s political leaders. Investing in development is also an imperative of government and makes for good business because it expands markets, while economic and social polarization inhibits economic growth and creates political instability.

With regard to investment in infrastructure, in NAFTA’s first decade, very few advances were made in North America’s physical integration. Logistical corridors must be developed to facilitate safe, efficient transportation of both people and goods throughout the three countries. In addition to the integration of highway, water, energy and security systems between Tijuana and San Diego, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso or both Laredos, or the highways between Hermosillo and Phoenix or Monterrey and San Antonio, logistical corridors are needed from one end of the continent to the other. The best opportunities seem to be framed in multimodal transport from the ports on Mexico’s

Pacific coast toward the Great Lakes region and the U.S. Eastern Seaboard. These multimodal transport services are proposed for the Manzanillo-Houston and Puerto Lázaro Cárdenas-Kansas City routes, which can complement and even compete with the overworked ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach in the task of transporting freight from the Pacific Basin to the U.S. East Coast.

In a similar fashion, the states of Mexico's Northeast, specifically Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, have established a strategic relationship with Texas, dubbed by some "NAFTA within NAFTA." One outstanding characteristic of this form of sub-national integration is linked to energy as a factor of competitiveness. The four states share the Burgos Basin, a vital field of non-associated gas and they are studying the possibilities of synergy and complementing each other in health services and other spheres. We should remember that Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, is the place where the greatest amount of trade by land is carried out between Mexico and the United States. Even though the violence associated with drug trafficking all along Mexico's northern border has made the yellow lights flash on for security reasons, trade is not going to stop, and therefore, the search for new forms of cooperation for security in the region will be an absolute priority for both governments.

FINANCING INTEGRATION: WHAT RESOURCES?

The European Union has successfully operated structural and cohesion funds to narrow the development gap among its regions. These funds have been financed mainly by the relatively more developed member countries, particularly Germany. This made it possible to raise per capita income in impoverished regions of Portugal, Spain, Greece and Ireland, bringing it close to the union's average level, and, in the case of Ireland, raising it higher than the European average. However, any mention of the European experience, even if just to draw lessons from it without mechanically replicating it—an impossible task, in any case—is met with the immediate, energetic rejection by U.S. and Canadian authorities.

In addition, the May 2005 defeat of the European Constitution by French and Dutch voters—which without actually stopping integration, does question its political and social legitimacy—will certainly contribute to greater caution about the European road.

Senator John Cornyn (R-Texas) has presented a bill to establish the North American Investment Fund. However, neither the political climate on Capitol Hill, which opposes any initiative that sounds like subsidizing Mexico, nor the absence of achievements of the Mexican government itself in closing

the development gap between the two countries contribute to creating a scenario that favors this aim.

Therefore, realistically speaking, a program to promote economic and social cohesion in Mexico could not be expected to be funded by the United States and Canada. Mexico depends on its own resources. Tax revenues must be increased, even though no ability whatsoever has been shown in recent years in coming to agreements about approving a fiscal reform that would contribute to refinancing the Mexican state.

ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

Today, economic inequality is an essential trait of Mexican society. One of the main problems of anti-poverty policies is that they are unable to definitively raise families out of poverty. According to the 2005 National Survey on Household Income and Expenditures, from 2002 to 2004, 10 percent of the country's richest households increased their portion of national wealth (from 35.6 percent to 36.5 percent). Even if we accept the figures that say that from 2002 to 2004, there was a marginal reduction in the number of the poor, the fact is that the polarization of wealth and income continues. The reduction of poverty measured in this way is not rooted in sustained economic growth or in a reduction of inequality, crucial objectives that are an essential part of a program of economic and social cohesion.

Despite the advances in political citizenship mainly in the field of federal electoral rights (including Congress's recent approval of Mexicans' living abroad being allowed to vote by mail in

Any mention of the European experience, even if just to draw lessons from it without mechanically replicating it, is met with the immediate, energetic rejection by U.S. and Canadian authorities.

the 2006 presidential elections), economic policy (specifically international economic, trade, and financial agreements and treaties) continues to be effected completely outside any mechanism of democratic decision making.

Economic and financial policies are presented as innate, impervious to any change due to the political stripe of the administration and beyond the reach of the average citizen. They are the purview of the large multinational corporations, the international financial institutions, the Ministry of Finance and the Bank

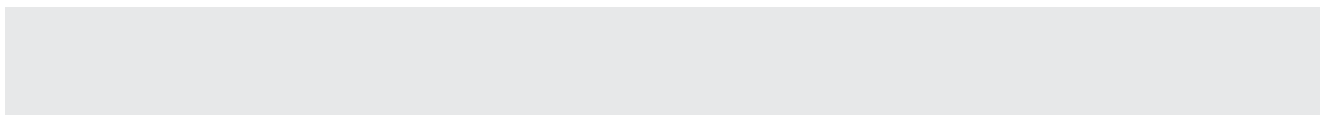
of Mexico. These are not accountable to the citizenry. The Senate fulfills its duty of discussing and approving international economic and financial treaties, but links from it to the public are fragile and scanty.

In this new stage of integration, it is indispensable to demonstrate who benefits from the proposed policies and in what way. As long as the citizens feel cut off from the process, they will continue to consider it just a plaything of the elites. Only if we manage to revert the dangerous geographical, sec-

toral and income inequality through a strategy for cohesion will we be able to integrate internally as an indispensable step for a successful external integration. Only by building a strong national economy and a vigorous domestic market will we be able to be competitive in the global economy. **NMM**

NOTES

¹ First published in *Nexos* no. 332, August 2005, pp. 28-32.




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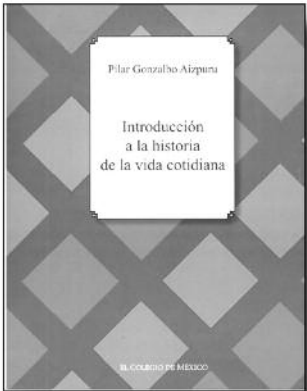
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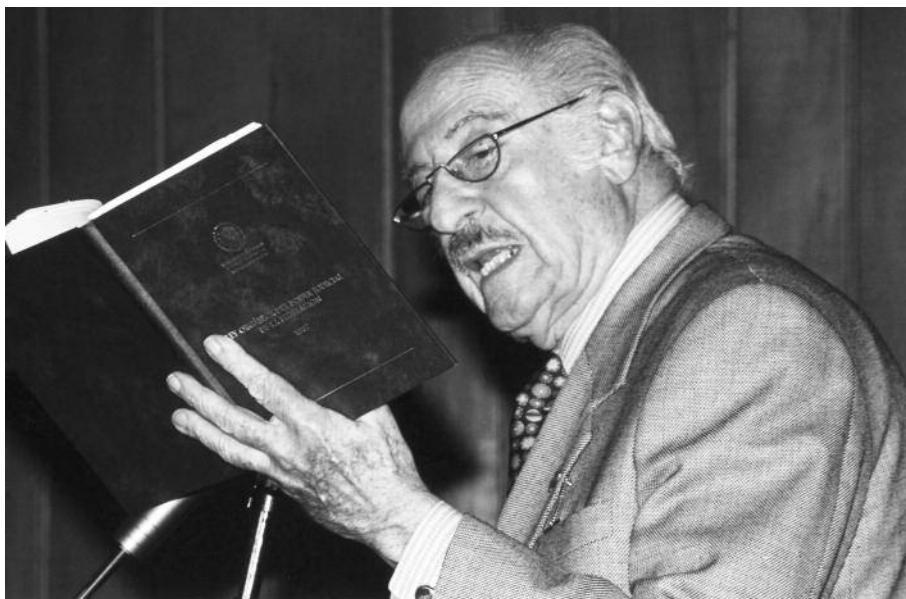
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Remembering *Ignacio Burgoa Orihuela*

(1918-2004)

Fernando Serrano Migallón*



Caceta UNAM Archives

In the long life of the School of Law, which has witnessed the passage of men and women who have contributed with their efforts to the construction of the face of our country, there have been unforgettable presences, beloved for the warmth of their memory, for the magnitude of their legacy and for their degree of identification with the university's causes and development. The memory of Don Ignacio Burgoa Orihuela is one of those profound marks left on the law school and the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

The members of the university and the school as an essential part of it identify with each other in

a way that is seldom visible. This is something that goes beyond the simple spirit of belonging, the pride and the shared memory. It is an almost biological dependency, a vital dependency, between our spaces—both physical and temporal—and the development of those of us who have lived here together as students and professors.

Whoever has experienced being part of the School of Law not only never forgets it, but also incorporates it as one of the most powerful parts of his/her personality. Explaining a phenomenon like this is not easy, but one of the most convincing ways of understanding it is by comprehending the number of lives invested in its construction, the passion awakened in so many of the best talents of our country. The school is

* Director of the UNAM School of Law.

identity because it is built with human lives dedicated to the highest of all values.

A short time ago Dr. Ignacio Burgoa Orihuela, professor emeritus of the School of Law, died. The school community said goodbye to him in an event the size of which will be difficult to equal in a very long time. Something happened at those moments that cannot be explained only by Burgoa's quality as a constitutionalist, something that went beyond the fame he had earnestly won over many decades of training lawyers; it was a goodbye to a man without whom the school will not be the same and for whom the university, if not everything, was the axis of his presence in the world.

Burgoa was born in 1918, almost at the same time as our federal Constitution. His father, a renowned lawyer of the old humanist school who had the most refined sense of justice, in the 14 years he watched his son grow, became enough of an example so that little Ignacio never wanted or imagined any other profession different from the law.

Always proud of his origins and links to the university, Burgoa was the authentic product of a university education. Trained as a lawyer (in the purest sense of the term, that of a postulant), in the National School of Jurisprudence, he obtained his doctorate in law after the School of Law was founded, and he dedicated more than 50 years of his life to it as a teacher.

Ignacio Burgoa was a very special case in Mexico's higher education: we can say that not a single lawyer in our country was not educated one way or another by Burgoa's teachings, whether through his classes, by reading his books or by reading his articles or listening to the lectures through which he encouraged and guided the country's legal debate for many years.

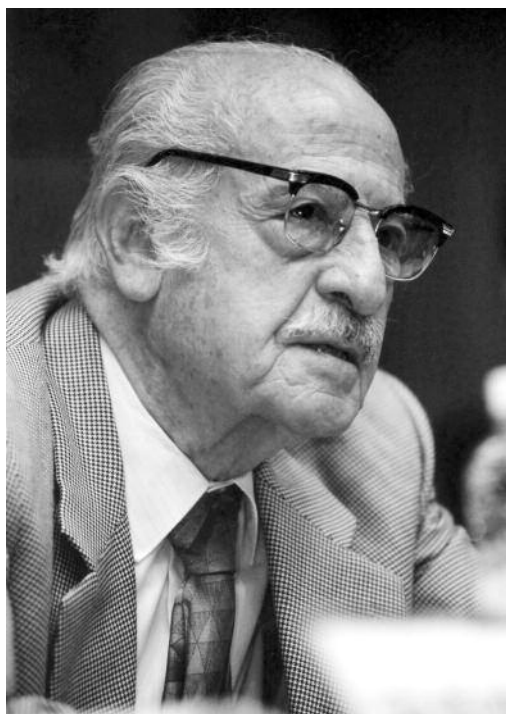
The first edition of two of Burgoa's fundamental works, *Garantías individuales* (Individual Rights) and *El Juicio de Amparo* (The Trial about the Writ of Constitutional Relief), came out between 1943 and 1945, when the author was still very young, and after that they were constantly revised. With the years, he wrote about the most

diverse themes and although he never stopped studying our Constitution, he wrote books like *El jurista* (The Jurist), *El simulador del Derecho* (The Simulator of the Law) or *El juicio de Cristo* (The Trial of Christ), in which you could see the lawyer he proposed to be and was: the cultured man, committed to society and always sensitive to the needs of others.

To comply with his mission as an attorney, Don Ignacio did not limit himself to the university; he took the university beyond its own cloistered walls into the courts, the media and society as a whole.

Without disregarding the sadness in the School of Law community because of the loss of our teacher, after his death there is much to be serenely remembered. He died with full use of his faculties (only three days before, he had taught class); he lived as he thought best according to his vocation and his conscience; and his community took its leave of him in the place that best rendered the fruits of his vocation and his intelligence: our school. And, as Pablo de Tarso says, your treasure is where your heart is.

Thank you, Don Ignacio.



Gaceta UNAM Archives

Every single lawyer in our country was educated one way or another by Burgoa's teachings, whether through his classes, his books, his articles or his lectures.

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Three Moments In the History of The Huasteca Region

Armando Herrera Silva*

The Huasteca is one of the cultural regions that has the greatest feeling of belonging in our country. Its deeply rooted regional

identity has been built over several centuries despite its great geographical, ethnic and cultural diversity. Situated in eastern Mexico, the Huasteca region covers part of what are today the states of Hidalgo, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas and Veracruz. This article will touch on three transcendental moments in its history as a region: the Mexica invasion, the introduc-

* Economist, former coordinator of the Huasteca Cultural Development Program and current director of planning of Diconsa.

Photos courtesy of the author.



Music and dance always go together and are intimately linked to the organization and cohesion of society, health, community life, production and death.

tion of cattle raising and the economic polarization that has resulted from globalization-spurred migration and uprooting parts of the population.

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT HISTORY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Groups of Nahuas, Otomís, Tepehuas, Totonacs, Xi'ois and Tének or Huastecs live in the Huasteca. Each has its own cultural parameters and references, but the Tének and Nahuas historically have the greatest presence.

The Tének are an offshoot of the Mayan culture that split off about 3,500 years ago. They achieved advanced architectural development and solid political organization through fiefdoms centered around Tantocob or Oxitipa (today Ciudad Valles, San Luis Potosí) and Pánuco.¹ Fishing, agriculture and crafts were the main activities, showing their mastery of the great diversity of the re-

gion's resources. The most important trade activities included the exchange of cotton and agricultural products and objects made of palm leaves, *zapupe* and cane.²

A first moment in the history of the Huastec region that left an indelible mark was the invasion of the Mexicas around 1450. This brought the Triple Alliance an important increase in tribute since it extended its domain to a large part of what we now know as Mexico. With time, the Tének and Nahuas cultures, originally antagonistic to each other, ended up by beginning a process of merger that continues until today.

To understand the way of life and the development of these peoples, it is essential to understand their relationship to the cultivation and cult of corn. The myths about the origin of corn are a fundamental part of the Tének' and Nahuas' world view. Most of them agree that a girl became pregnant by swallowing bird excrement beside a well or spring, and then gave birth to Dhipák (Tének) or Chiko-



To understand the way of life and the development of these peoples, it is essential to understand their relationship to the cultivation and cult of corn.



mexóchitl (Nahua). According to some stories, when he was a little boy, his grandmother tried unsuccessfully to kill him. Other stories say that she was successful. But he is always reborn or becomes corn. That is, Dhipák is not only the origin of the plant itself that will provide sustenance for the people, but he also represents the people's tenacious rootedness in the land and the origin of its cultural development. Before corn, they were "savage" groups who fed on *ojojijli* tree leaves (*Brosimum alicastrum*), a food typical of their previous semi-nomadic, tribal existence.³

The peoples of the Huasteca use corn in extremely varied ways both as food and in their daily life. They make drinks and breads like *pemoles* and *chabacanes*; soups made of corn dough and vegetables, of tubers and meat, *chilmoles*, *mondongos* and *chilpacholes*; different dishes made with tortillas or dough like *bocoles*; enchiladas with sauces made with green or red tomatoes, or the two combined, *pipián*, sesame seeds, cream, "pinched"

or covered with raw chili peppers, or filled with beans, cheese, sausage, "holy herb" or different stews; an immense variety of tamales of all flavors and sizes like *zacahuil*, the "tamale with its prey," filled with pinto or soy beans, sweet or savory tamales, *cuiches*, *piques*, *elotamales*, *chojoles*, *bolimes*, *piltamales*, *tamales de cazuela* or "pot tamales," *patlaches* and *cuitones*. And every food is accompanied by a good, hand-made tortilla. In addition, they make various wrappings and utensils with the corn husk and silk, the *bojol* or stalk. In short, there is no part of the corn plant that goes unused.

The second fundamental element for understanding these cultures' world view is topography. In the Huastec region, there is practically no community without a sacred hill, spring, cave or river, whether close by or far away. From ancient times, these places have represented the links between heaven, earth and the underworld.

The last and perhaps best known element today is music and dance. For these groups, music has



existed since Man appeared on the earth and accompanies him from his birth to his death. Music and dance always go together and are intimately linked to the organization and cohesion of society, health, community life, production and death: that is, to the cycles of Man and nature. They distinguish between “inside” music and “outside” music, or ritual and festive music. Music and dance accompany Man in each and every stage of his life, both as an individual and as a social being. They also are part of the cycle of nature: people play and dance for rain, for planting, for good harvests, to thank the earth. In this region, we find an infinity of *sones*, depending on the celebration.⁴ Despite their still being part of the culture, Román Güemes quotes Erasmo Montiel as saying that things have changed: “Before there were more wise men....But the musicians of today don’t know our old music, like the music for Carnival, the dance, the ritual music, the *sones* for the ceremony of the ears of corn and other music. We used to use other musicians; today’s musicians don’t know how the *sones* for a fiesta or a ceremony go.”⁵

The *huapango* predominates in the “outside” music; it is a mixture of indigenous and European music, with its origin in the fiesta of the *fandang* or *huapangueada*, a community festivity which is one of the most characteristic and widespread in the region.



In the Huastec region, there is practically no community without a sacred hill, spring, cave or river.

THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

Geographically, the Huasteca is divided into two large areas: the coastal plain with its hills of lush vegetation and a warm, humid climate, and the mountains, with semi-warm and temperate climates, large mountain ranges, sweeping forests and even some semi-arid zones.⁶

Humanity’s actions have changed the region’s landscape and its climate cycles, making it very different today from what it was until the early twentieth century. The transformation began during the colonial period with the introduction of new systems of production, followed over the centuries by over-cutting of the forests, over-exploitation of the land, over-hunting of wildlife and, lastly, drilling for oil, which has substantially changed both the environment and the way of life of local inhabitants.

As was already mentioned, the introduction of cattle raising was a fundamental historic event that had an impact on the region from its very beginning. According to Miguel Aguilar Robledo, about 1527, the Spanish conquistador Nuño de Guzmán decided that the best way to colonize, exploit and pacify the region was to introduce cattle. This led to a substantial reduction in the indigenous population that was driven out to the rugged mountain slopes.⁷



The region has been discovering the way to adapt to the new conditions without losing its essence.

The introduction of cattle raising would have an irreversible impact on the environment because it caused rapid deforestation with the resulting disappearance of many species of plants and animals. Oil extraction through the entire twentieth century also had an important ecological impact, especially in coastal areas and others like the “golden strip” in the interior.

THE HUAXTECA TODAY

The third important moment in the Huastec region’s history is a consequence of the economic polarization caused by changes in the market and the resulting migration of local inhabitants. The North American Free Trade Agreement and the very dynamic of economic development have created industrial areas in places like the port of Tampico-Madero-Altamira; thermo-electrical plants are being built in Tamuín and Tamazunchale in the state of San Luis Potosí; large expanses of land are cultivated with high-tech techniques; and there is vigorous trade throughout the region. In this context, the indigenous and peasants of the Huasteca are experiencing a great paradox: they live in extreme poverty surrounded by great wealth. Many goods they produce that used to be traded or

exchanged in regional markets or *tianguis* (different crafts like hats, chairs, pottery and riding gear; coffee, honey, chili peppers, beans, tobacco and, of course, corn) are being displaced by products from other parts of Mexico or from Asia.⁸ Increasingly extreme conditions in the national economy have spurred migration, which is having a severe impact on the region, changing the dynamic of traditional social organization and uprooting the new generations. Some continue to subsist by selling crafts or raising and selling barnyard animals (mainly fowl and pigs) and some of the products mentioned above. But a whole other sector of the population has become part of that enormous army of farm workers employed locally in clearing pasture land or harvesting, or who migrate to other parts of the country or to the United States, usually to do agricultural labor.

However, the region has been discovering the way to adapt to the new conditions without losing its essence. In recent years, programs have been set up to foster the recognition and dissemination of the main aspects of the culture, creating important local dynamics. One case in point is the Huasteca Cultural Development Program, created in 1994 under the auspices of Conaculta and the region’s state governments. This program has produced publications, recordings, videos and radio programs; meetings of musicians, dancers, re-





searchers, cultural field workers, traditional doctors, children and young *huapango* players; and an annual itinerant festival that goes through each state and

is a showcase not only for the work done by the program throughout the year, but, above all, for Huastec culture in its broadest sense as seen from many different angles. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Gustavo Ramírez Castilla, "Magna exposición de la huasteca" (paper read at the "We Are from Here, the Huasteca" exposition, organized by Conaculta in Mexico City in 2002).

² Jesús Ruvalcaba Mercado, *La Huasteca: sociedad, cultura y recursos naturales. Pasado y presente*, Ref. 211100-5-G28649H (Mexico City: CIESAS/Conacyt, n/d).

³ Anuschka van 't Hooft, *Lo que relatan de antes* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca, 2003), p. 23.

⁴ Román Güemes Jiménez, *Memorias del politimiquistero* (Mexico City: Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz, 1992).

⁵ Román Güemes Jiménez and Erasmo Montiel, "Los sones antiguos," *Tierra Adentro* no. 87 (2002), Mexico City.

⁶ Miguel Aguilar Robledo, "Las condiciones ambientales de la Huasteca: cambio y continuidad en una región biogeográfica fronteriza," (paper read at the "We Are from Here, the Huasteca" exposition, organized by Conaculta in Mexico City in 2002).

⁷ Miguel Aguilar Robledo, "La ganadería en la huasteca: orígenes y continuidad de un modelo colonial de uso del suelo" (paper read at the "We Are from Here, the Huasteca" exposition, organized by Conaculta in Mexico City in 2002).

⁸ Ana Bella Pérez Castro, *Los mercados en la huasteca* (Mexico City: IIA-UNAM, 2002).

GLOSSARY OF FOOD TERMS

pemoles and *chabacanes*: cookies made from corn and brown sugar baked in a wood-burning oven

pascal: broth made from sesame seeds with wild turkey meat and boiled eggs

estrujadas: tortillas made of corn dough, pork lard and dry, red chili pepper typical of the region

bocol: a ball of dough made with corn and pork lard eaten plain or with different fillings

zacahuil: a large tamale (about 25 kilos) made of cracked, not ground corn, stuffed with pork and chicken mixed with red chili pepper, wrapped in banana and palm leaves and cooked in a wood-burning oven

tamal con presa (a "tamale with its prey"): any tamale stuffed with meat (chicken, turkey, pork, beef, fish or any game animal, known as a *presa*)

cuiche: a tamale whose dough is mixed with fresh beans

pique: a sweet tamale mixed with brown sugar

elotamal: a tamale made with dough mixed with grains of sweet corn

chojol: a large sweet tamale (three to five kilos) made with corn dough and brown sugar

bolim (in Tének) or *patlache* (in Nahuatl): a tamale stuffed with a whole chicken or hen used in ceremonies

tamal de cazuela (pot tamale): a tamale made in a clay pot and filled with some kind of a stew made from chicken or pork with chili peppers, cooked in a wood-burning oven

piltamal: a tamale made with corn dough mixed with bean seeds and coriander



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The Huasteca's Weekly Markets

Ana Bella Pérez Castro*
Lorenzo Ochoa*



The Huasteca's weekly markets are the best places to appreciate the vast array of products available. The first way of classifying the markets is by size: the large ones, like the Tamazunchale market in San Luis Potosí, the Huejutla market in Hidalgo and the Tantoyuca and Chicontepec markets in Veracruz, have more than 150 stalls. Medium-sized markets have between 50 and 150 stalls, like the Tepetzintla, Ixhuatlán and Zontecomatlán

markets are “foci” or “suns” in a revolving “solar system” because both large and small merchants go to them to acquire a series of products that they later sell in the medium-sized and small markets. With time, the medium-sized markets tend to grow, and the large ones tend to begin to set up every day instead of every week.

Regardless of their size, all the markets are part of the globalized capitalist system. Buyers and consumers do business in indigenous lan-

Almost five centuries ago, products were transported by *tamemes* or porters over a well-organized network of roads that linked up the different Huastec provinces with the Central Highlands, the Gulf Coast and even Oaxaca and the Mayan region.



markets in Veracruz; Xochiatipan and San Felipe Orizatlán in Hidalgo; and Aquismón in San Luis Potosí. Finally, the small markets have fewer than 50 stalls, like the Tancoco, Tantima and Ixcacoatitla markets in Veracruz, and Santa Cruz and Atlapexco in Hidalgo. As Julio de la Fuente, Alejandro Marroquín and Bronislaw Malinowski said in the 1940s, the large mar-

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A MERGER OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY

In these markets, we find craft knowledge of old: palm hats from Tancoco, Veracruz; porcelain

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Photos courtesy of the authors.

from Xililico, Hidalgo; saddlery, fiber products, hats and bags from Tantoyuca, Veracruz. Copper bells and vases from Tlahuelompa, Hidalgo rival for your attention with the different products from Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán. From Cuetzalan, Puebla, artisans bring napkin holders, dolls and wallet-shaped cigarette boxes. Smells and flavors from different places abound: the *zacahuil* or large meat tamales from Tepetzintla, San Sebastián, Chapopote or other parts of north-

These are all fruit of the land and sea that bring with them ancient knowledge, like that of the inhabitants of the Huasteca coasts, who, according to Friars Diego Durán and Alvarado Tezozómoc in *Relación de Huejutla* (An Account of Huejutla), in pre-Hispanic times preserved the shrimp, the river fish eggs or the fish with salt from Campeche.

Like in the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods, an important part of the tradition of mar-



Large markets are “suns” in a revolving “solar system” because both large and small merchants go to them to acquire a series of products that they later sell in the medium-sized and small markets.

ern Veracruz; sausage and *cecina*, or dried, salted meat, from Tantima, Veracruz; cheese from Ahuatitla, Tecamate, Chontla and Santa María Ixcatepec, Veracruz; coffee from Ahuatitla, Hidalgo; dried shrimp from San Fernando, Tamaulipas or las Chacas (near Tampico Alto) and Tamiahua, Veracruz, which also sends salted fish and river fish eggs; pineapple from Poza Rica; *roatán* bananas from Álamo and Martínez de la Torre, Veracruz, or Tabasco; pork from Tlacolula, peanuts from Potrero del Llano, and lime from Tantoyuca (Xiloxúchil), all in northern Veracruz.

kets are the stalls of curative herbs. Pre-Hispanic *tianguis* indisputably sold medications. Several chroniclers tell us so. For example, in the tenth book of his *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España* (General History of the Things of New Spain), Friar Bernardino de Sahagún wrote, “He who sells colors...also sells medical things, such as the tail of the animal called the *tlacuatzin*,” used to expel the baby in the birthing process. He also mentions that there were “many herbs and roots of different kinds” and all manner of specialists such as “those who

rub [patients'] heads with herbs called *xiuhquilit*, which are good for diseases of the head.”

Today, all kinds of herbs and remedies are spread out for sale on a mat: leaves of aromatic avocado, *palo de víbora*, *anonilla* (*Annona globiflora*), pigweed or Mexican tea, *hierbita vergonzosa* (*Mimosa albida*) and basil; plants purchased to cleanse or purge people attacked by evil air. But quartz is also sold, used by healers since the colonial period, and perhaps since pre-

the beloved, black to do harm. Before All Saints Day (November 1 and 2), the stalls selling these items are busier than the others. They sell candles to “light the way the dead take from whence they come and to guide them to where they’re going.” Pure wax candles are used for funerals. Tradition dictates that on December 24 and 31, people light candles, just as they do when they are in difficulties, threatened, for example, with a cyclone or a storm that endangers crops and the

The Huasteca’s markets offer different goods that, regardless of their place of origin, are appropriate for the social subjects who combine and recreate them in what seems like a movement that involves physical and cultural needs.



Hispanic times, to diagnose disease. The *piedra lumbre*, or burning stone, transparent like grains of salt, is useful for undoing witchcraft and for curing disease, “sweeping” or “cleansing.” Tobacco is also important in these rites and almost every market offers tobacco leaves, whose smoke allows healers to “read the disease.”

A wide variety of candles are available, used to protect people or to cure “bad wind” that causes headaches, or even to bewitch. Among the latter are those made of suet fashioned in the shape of a human being: white ones used to win over

community. It is said that “candles are the fountain of God and the saints,” that bring relief, and for that reason, they are used for all occasions. This is why they are sold throughout the year.

Of course, agricultural products deeply rooted in the indigenous culture, such as corn, beans, pumpkin seeds and tobacco, also can be found, as can products introduced early on by the conquistadors, like sugar cane, from which brown sugar and cane alcohol are extracted, products in much demand in the eighteenth century. Goods came to the markets, jostling each other for

room, from different latitudes: fruit like the *chico-zapote* or sapodilla, mamee, or tubers like the sweet potato and the yucca, or oranges, key limes, bananas, the *alberjón* or *arvejón* (peas) and *chipotle* or *chilpotle* chili peppers, the main wealth of the hot climes; or apples, pears, plums and peaches, the riches of the cold climes.

From ranches and communities come a rich variety of chili peppers: *auteco*, *pico de pájaro*,

indigenous for manufactured products and then sell to the markets.

Almost five centuries ago, many of these products were transported by *tamemes* or porters over a well-organized network of roads that linked up the different Huastec provinces with the Central Highlands, the Gulf Coast and even Oaxaca and the Mayan region. After the conquest, with the introduction of mules, muleteers would be the ones to link up the burgeoning colonial



With their products, personages, relations and different cultural manifestations, the Huasteca's weekly markets make it impossible for traditions and customs, like the *tianguis* itself, to be forgotten.

dry or *piquín*, and many more, which have been widely produced in the Huastec region since pre-Hispanic times. Condiments, herbs and plants like spearmint, pigweed, *chonacate* (onions), coriander, and other fruits like *pemuches* (*Erythrina*), chayote squash or vegetable pears, *jacubes* (a kind of cactus), nopal cactus leaves, limes, tamarind and ears of corn, or items used in rituals and ceremonies like copal, tobacco and alum. Also from ranches and communities come the pigs and chickens that *rancheadores* (a kind of intermediary) exchange with the in-

market. For more than four centuries, drovers continued to open up that network of roads, transporting goods to and fro from the coasts to the highlands all through the mountains.

Today, goods are moved by highway and local roads, on foot, on horseback or in motor vehicles; river traffic has practically ceased. Modernity has come to the markets. This can be seen in the large number of stalls that sell goods from far-off places and countries. The Orient, Europe and North America are present in the kitchen appliances, compact discs, cassette tapes,



tools and ornaments, among other items. In small and large markets alike, instead of birds of rich plumage like parrots and macaws, or richly decorated ceramics and carved conch shells, furs, jewels and the small copper hatchets traded among the different towns, or the wonderful textiles for which the Huastecs became so famous at the time of the conquest, today what we find are polyester dresses and fabric, clothing, articles made of plastic, hair ornaments, cosmetics, mirrors and cloth sandals, costume jewelry and a multitude of plastic or plaster dolls, and, in season, Christmas ornaments.

On the other hand, magical-religious products are in great demand, as are prayer books, images of saints the “El Señor del Retiro” (Our Lord of the Retreat) lotion, soap or spray, which, as the name suggests, is acquired to make anyone who wants to harm you think better of it. The pictures of “El Justo Juez” (The Just Judge) are good for averting accidents and fights. Saint Martin of Porres protects businesses and work, as well as warding off spells. The Child Saint of Atocha keeps sick children safe and gives the owner the strength to die well. Saint Francis of Assisi watches over animals and Saint Joseph is related to agriculture, water and medicine. A saint much in demand in these stalls is Saint Martin of Tours, the protector of merchants, and he can be acquired in the form of lotions, pictures and soaps.

The “atomizer of death” is purchased to do harm, while people always ask the “pyramid” for luck. The bright colors and variety of forms at first glance attract women’s vanity, but, what is actually being sold is protection, love and good luck with

their respective colors: red for love and money, yellow for protection and white for good luck.

A FINAL COMMENT

The Huasteca’s markets offer different goods that, regardless of their place of origin, are appropriate for the social subjects who combine and recreate them in what seems like a movement that involves physical and cultural needs. Thus, local products, both those of ancient tradition and those brought day to day from a myriad of places, are used and combined to make different dishes, to adorn offerings, to give the festive atmosphere color, rhythm and flavor. Local products do not clash with those from outside because the goods from the different traditions are open to being appropriated according to the great popular imagination, an imaginary that manages to include what seems alien. Each article sold in the market becomes necessary because it has or it acquires a meaning and the merchants know this. For that reason, year after year, they keep on selling them to perpetuate and recreate the many traditions like the festival of the dead.

Undoubtedly, with their products, personages, relations and different cultural manifestations, the Huasteca’s weekly markets are an institution that allow us to constantly renew our memories, and make it impossible for traditions and customs, like the *tianquis* itself, traditions that are part of our cultural heritage, to be forgotten. ■■





*Among Sones and Huapangos
Music and Fiestas in
The Huastec Region*

Gonzalo Camacho*
Lizette Alegre**



The Huastec region's development has been intimately linked to the effervescence of ceremonial life. The celebrations follow each other one after another, relatively subtly, linked together like a rosary of flowers. The fluidity of day-to-day time is thus interrupted by small festive knots. The communities finger each flowery bead to make sure of its precise location in time and space, and so remember the roads traveled and prepare future actions. The fiesta is a solution of continuity of secular time; it is then that music and dance

erupt with great force in the events of daily life. The sounds of the instruments, the songs, the movements of the bodies, the alcoholic beverages, the food and everything implied in being "*de fiesta*", partying, warp reality with the power of transfiguring it.

The Huastec region's musical system is bounteous, diverse and changing. It is related to a large degree to the system of dance, though they mutually determine each other so much that in some cases the borders between the two blur. Music and dance make up a basic unit linked mainly to the cycles of fiestas, to agricultural ceremonies, to rites of passage and healing practices. In general, these arts are a vital component in the region's communities, making up an important part of the cultural scenery, as well as being diacritical elements of the Huastec identity. Given the great diversity of musical

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Photos courtesy of the authors.





expressions in the area, in this article we will deal with only a few examples.

THE HUAPANGO FIESTA

In the Huasteca, the *son*, also called the *huapango*, has been characteristic of regional music and dance. It is linked to the popular fiesta also known as the *huapango* in which people congregate around a moveable platform or dais where participants tap-dance, beating out a rhythmic sound accompanied to the strains of the violin, creating songs like the “Petenera,” “Cielito Lindo,” “Apasionado,” and “Malagueña.” In many indigenous communities, the dance is performed directly on an earthen floor that has been watered and swept, where the women’s bare feet seem to caress the ground. The pairs of dancers follow

the *son*’s itinerary: they alternate vigorous tapping during the musical interlude with “changes” or shuffling during the couplets. The *huapango* is danced to conclude the effervescence of patron saint fiestas or to enliven weddings and birthday parties.

Among the elements that create the specific *huapango* sound is the Huastec trio, made up of a violin, a *jarana* and a *huapanguera*.¹ Another is the style of singing, which is somewhat nasal, and the use of the falsetto, which consists of a breaking voice used to sing very high. This style makes the voice a melodic coronet to ornament the stanzas.

Some *sones* have specific *trovos*, or four-to-six-line couplets, usually developing the theme indicated by the song’s title. Also, some lyrics can be used for different tunes. In addition to the couplets of specific *sones* and those that can be used in different *hua-*



Music and dance make up a basic unit linked mainly to the cycles of fiestas, to agricultural ceremonies, to rites of passage and healing practices.

pangos, the lyrics are enriched by improvisation, so the performers are not only singers, but poets. Themes vary, although in general they tend to describe different aspects of the Huastec region: the flora, the fauna, local topography, customs and production, but undoubtedly love continues to be the favorite theme.

SAINTS DAY FIESTAS

The music for the different dances constitutes another of the region's faces. Mostly associated with the Huasteca's indigenous cultures, the dances are performed during saints day fiestas because people think that the patron saints are pleased by these artistic offerings. On the eve of the festi-

val of this or that saint or virgin, the groups of dancers and their musicians meet in the church to "accompany the little saint," playing and dancing. This accompaniment usually lasts all night, and the participants' sacrifice consists of enduring the exhaustion and is one of the most precious offerings that can be made to the deities.

The dance music expresses a cyclical conception of time through the reiteration of melodic structures. After several hours of playing and dancing, the melodic repetition and the stridency produced by the different ensembles gathered together, the fireworks and the general murmuring of the participants contribute to creating a collective catharsis that makes the experience of the sacred possible.

To give a general idea of the great variety of dances and music in the Huastec

region, we will list some of them, grouping them by the instruments they use. The dances that are played by the Huastec trio are the “Three Colors,” the “Xochitines,” “The Shawl,” the “Chul,” the “Montezón,” the “Matlachines,” the “Cuanegros” and the “Indian Women”, among others. A group made up of a flute and a percussion instrument has several variations: 1) a three-holed flute and a square two-headed drum played by a single musician who accompanies the dance called “Varitas” or “Cuaxompiates”; 2) a small, slender, three-holed flute and a small, round, double-headed drum that accompanies the “Dance of the Flyers,” also known as the “Sparrow-Hawk,” the “Bisom Tiu” or the “Putaswiwiyu”.² This dance is done around a 25- or 30-meter high pole from the top of which the dancers descend, hanging from ropes tied around their waists. The musician plays the *sones* dancing on top of a small circle at the top of the “flying pole”; 3) a flute with a *mirlitón*, or a thin, vibrating membrane stretched over one of the holes, apparently of pre-Hispanic origin, played by itself or accompanied by a double-reeded idiophone commonly known as a *teponaztle*. This combination of instruments is used for the dances called “Nakubson,” “El tigrillo” and “The Ruckus.”

There are two kinds of harps in the Huasteca: a small one used for the “tzacamson” or “ayacaxtini” dance³ accompanied by one or several *rabeles* (an instrument descended from the predecessors of today’s violin, also called a *rebec*) and a small *jarana*; and a large harp played with a violin for the “pulisson” dance or a half *jarana* for the “Montezumas” or “Moctezumas” dance.⁴

A violin played with a guitar is also common in the Huastec region and is used to accompany the “Little Negroes” dance, which depicts a legend about a group of Negro slaves, or *tocotines*, and the conquest



of Mexico, and “Toreadors”, which portrays work on the haciendas.

AGRICULTURAL FIESTAS

The music played for agricultural rituals is considered a prayer offered up to the deities of the land, generically called “Lords of the Earth,” and to corn in its different mythical forms. The names of this musical genre vary from place to place, but the most common ones are “custom *sones*”, “*xochitlsones*” or “*canarios*.” The instruments played are those of the Huastec trio, although in some communities a small harp is used or a flute with *mirlitón* and a *teponaztle*. The direct contact with the deities of the land makes both the music and the instruments

The music played for agricultural rituals is considered a prayer offered up to the deities of the land, generically called “Lords of the Earth.”



sacred, which is why they are also used for therapy.⁵

CARNIVAL AND XANTOLO

Despite Carnival and Xantolo, or All Saints Day, being two different celebrations, they have certain similarities.⁶ They both display a diversity of music and dance, but we can say that what most characterizes them is the different old men's masquerades, among them the "Huehues," the "Huehuenches," the "Coles," the "Xoxos," "The Comanches" and the "Mecos". These usually feature dancers disguised to represent the souls of the ancestors who return to the world of the living. These dances are both playful and sexual; they often constitute discourses on the basis of which the communities express their criticisms of local, national and even international events. The music that accompanies these masquerades is generally called "Old Men's *Sones*" for Xantolo, and "Carnival *Sones*" for the fiestas before Lent. The "Vinuetes" deserve special mention: they are a genre of instrumental music played during Xantolo to welcome the blessed souls of departed relatives.⁷ The "Vinuetes," the "Old Men's *Sones*" and the "Carnival *Sones*" are all usually played by a Huastec trio.

This brief article has attempted to present a general panorama of music in the Huastec region to motivate the reader to delve into this fascinating and complex topic. ■■

NOTES

¹ The Huastec *jarana* is a kind of little, five-single-string guitar; and the *huapanguera*, also called the

quinta guitar, has five sets of strings, two single and three double. For information about the instruments and how they are tuned, see Guillermo Contreras, *Atlas cultural de México* (Mexico City: SEP/INAH/Plañeta, 1988) and Gonzalo Camacho, "El sistema musical de la Huasteca hidalguense. El caso de Tepetitla," J. Jáuregui and M. Olavarría, comps., *Cultura y comunicación. Edmund Leach in Memoriam* (Mexico City: CIESAS/UAM Iztapalapa, 1996).

² In the Teenek language *bisom tiu* means "dance of the sparrow-hawk." Guy Srtesser-Pean, "Los orígenes del palo volador y del comelagatoazte," Lorenzo Ochoa, ed., *Huastecos y totonacos. Una antología histórico-cultural* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes/Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo, 1989). In mountain region Totonaco, *putaswiviuyu* means "a fixed, twisted object that turns." Alan Ichon, *La religión de los totonacos de la sierra* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista/SEP, 1973).

³ In Teenek, *tzacamson* means "little dance", and in Nahuatl, *ayacastini* is the name for the maracas the dancers play.

⁴ In Teenek, *pulitson* means "big dance."

⁵ For more information about therapeutic practices, see Gonzalo Camacho, "A small harp accompanies 'dance of the little rattlers'. The traditional indigenous healing dance of the Huastec region of San Luis Potosí," *The Harp Therapy Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2 (summer 1997).

⁶ See Amparo Sevilla, *De Carnaval a Xantolo: contacto con el inframundo* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca/Conaculta, 2002), and Gonzalo Camacho and María Eugenia Jurado, *Xantolo: el retorno de los muertos* (bachelor's thesis in ethnology, National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico City, 1995).

⁷ Other names for *vinuetes* are *minuets* and *minuetes*. See Lizette Alegre, *El vinuete: música de muertos. Estudio etnomusicológico en una comunidad nahua de la Huasteca potosina* (bachelor's thesis in ethnomusicology, UNAM National School of Music, 2004).





Post-Classical section of the room exhibiting Huastec pieces.

Huastec Culture at the National Anthropology Museum

Marcia Castro-Leal Espino*

The Mesoamerican archaeological area called the Gulf Coast included several different cultures. The ones occupying the largest geographical area and whose history is the longest were the Olmec culture (1800-100 B.C.); that of Central Veracruz (1800 B.C. to A.D. 1519); and the Huastec culture (1800 B.C. to

A.D. 1519). They all shared common religious, social, political and economic traits. However, there were differences in regional forms of architecture, sculpture, painting and ceramics, metal working and objects made of spiral and conch shells. The Gulf Coast irradiated cultural innovations that changed life in Mesoamerica. The Olmec culture, the first civilization, was born there, coining very complex religious ideas that inspired ceremonies and rites such as the ball game, decapitation and the creation of gods representing the earth, water and fertility, which subsisted as cultural elements of the first mag-

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Relief of an old man with an erect phallus.



Monkeys were often represented in the Huastec culture.

nitude until the sixteenth century. Later, regional cultures with a wealth of artistry unlike anything else in ancient Mexico emerged. The Gulf Coast became essential for the history of pre-Hispanic Mexico.

Despite its name, the region was not limited only to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, but rather covered a large territory including what are now the state of Veracruz and parts of the states of Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosí, Puebla, Hidalgo, Querétaro and Tabasco. The Huastec culture spread through the states of Veracruz, Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosí, Hidalgo and Puebla. The different groups living there developed their own languages: Totonac, Huastec, Otomí, Pame, Nahuatl, Tepehua, Popoloc, Zoque-Mixtec and Mixtec.

Because of their importance to knowledge about the Mesoamerican world, since April 2004, the Gulf Coast cultures have occupied a new room in Mexico City's National Anthropology Museum. The room combines current data discovered in recent archaeological digs in the region and the analysis of all the archaeological materials in the museum's collection, dating from the nineteenth century when it was the National Museum.

One of the objectives of studying the collection, with all its archaeological objects, was to select the best works, the most representative of each of the cultures and to decide how to exhibit the important pieces that had never been displayed before. In the end, pieces with the following characteristics were

selected: 1) those that had been found in excavations, since they offer the greatest amount of data and their chronological dating and associations with a whole series of other objects can be certain; 2) when the items were not found in an excavation, the best quality ones were chosen, whose place of origin was certain, since having that piece of information makes it possible to establish what influences and relationships they had with other cultural groups; 3) the pieces that were turned in by archaeologists who had recently excavated in until now unknown or little-known sites; 4) pieces that, because of their archaeological importance or aesthetic value, even though their exact place of origin was unknown, could undoubtedly be traced to the regions of the Gulf Coast, and that have been part of the museum's exhibits for more than 50 years.



Showcase containing symbols of the sea: rings, earplugs and necklaces made with sea shells.



Fragment of the Borbon Codex surrounded by Huastec figures holding up large phalluses.

THE HUAXTEC ROOM STORYBOARD

The first part of the Huastec room introduces us to the region by describing the wealth of the environment, the geographical and climatic conditions and the abundance of water, thanks to which very diverse animal and plant life flourished. Four showcases contain representations of the most important animals, covering all the periods and the different Gulf Coast cultures.

The second part of the room deals with the pre-classical or formative period. The first showcase belongs to the Huastec culture, displaying ceramic objects representing different nude female figures with interesting headgear. They show the typical forms, traits and ornaments of the Huastec culture.

The Huastec culture developed for a long time and was part of the very important cultural movements of the end of the classical period and particularly the Mesoamerican post-classical. The Huastecs built large ceremonial centers and produced valuable art in the form of sculptures, paintings, ceramics, metal objects and many decorative pieces made with spiral and conch shells.

FEMALE STONE FIGURES

At the center of the room are three large representations of goddesses, fundamental symbols of the Huastec and Central Veracruz religion. The goddesses symbolize the capacity to give life and evoke images of the earth and the gifts it gives. The great majority of the goddesses are standing with their hands on their bellies, the place in the body where life develops. The naked torso represents how they care for the newborn. Some have their eyes closed, thus representing the underworld or world of the dead, which is part of the Earth, a very complex space since the dead inhabit it. However, on another level of the Earth itself, life develops, reflected in the birth of plants. That is, the Earth has the dual potential: the world of the dead belongs to it, and it is also the origin of life both of plants and of the men who eat them.

CULT OF THE PHALLUS

Linked to the cult of fertility and the renewal of life, we find stone and clay

sculptures of nude males. The explicit representation of their sex is common to almost all the figures of adult males. Among the group of hunchbacked old men holding planting staffs in their hands, one represents an old hunchbacked man digging a hole in the earth with his staff to deposit in it the seeds that will give life to the plants that will feed men. The old man has an erect phallus, which also suggests the act of procreation. This sculpture is placed across from the showcase of the Cult of the Phallus, which contains representations of phalluses sculpted in the Gulf Coast from different parts of Central Veracruz, dating from the classical period. Several male members, separate from the rest of the body, carved in stone were found in Tamtok, San Luis Potosí. The one from Yahualica, Hidalgo is the most important found until now both because of its size (1.56 meters high) and its artistic quality. They are all related to the principle of new life, both that produced in the earth with the planting staff and that procreated by male phalluses.

Next to this showcase is a copy of several pages of the Borbon Codex,



Huastec goddess.



Huastec pieces from the lower pre-Classical period (1800-1200 B.C.).

showing the relationship and close contact between the Huastec and Mexica cultures. The codex represents a ceremony honoring the goddess "Our Mother" Tlazolteotl or Toci, who appears accompanied by four priestesses and surrounded by 13 figures, eight of whom, identifiable as Huastecs by their clothing, are holding up a large reproduction of a phallus in one hand.

GOD WITH A CUT SPIRAL SHELL PECTORAL ORNAMENT

One of the largest Huastec sculptures is of Quetzalcóatl-Ehécatl, whose main distinguishing features are the pectoral ornament of cut spiral shells, the necklace of small spiral shells, the specially shaped ear plugs made of spiral shells and a headdress typical of the Huastecs.

Next to this figure is the tablet of Huilocintla, representing a priest richly clothed for a ceremony in which he offers up the drops of blood dripping

from his tongue to Quetzalcóatl-Ehécatl. We know this because he is wearing the god's characteristic feature, the pectoral ornament of cut spiral shells.

HUAXTEC PAINTINGS

One of the pictures is a copy of a painting from El Tamuín, San Luis Potosí, on the round altar, with a line of 12 figures. It undoubtedly portrays a religious ritual in which each of the priests is dressed in an outfit alluding to the god he represents. In a showcase further on are small fragments of original paintings from buildings in Tamtok, San Luis Potosí.

FROM EL TAMUÍN

This sculpture from San Luis Potosí is very valuable, not only because of its style but also because of its meaning since it is the representation of the most



Quetzalcóatl-Ehécatl, from Veracruz.

important plant in pre-Hispanic Mexico: corn. Part of it shows the elements associated with what corn meant for Huastec religious thought.

Wood was also used for sculpture in the area, but very few of these pieces survive. The one in this room deals with a similar theme to the stone sculpture from El Caracol, San Luis Potosí.

Several showcases in the third part of the room exhibit Huastec ceramic female figurines, most representing ceremonies and rituals from the classical and post-classical periods.



The sea and its symbols, example of pectoral worn by priests.

SYMBOLS OF THE SEA

The Huastecs were specialists in working with spiral and conch shells, turning them into ornaments for priests and leaders. Three showcases show a wealth of objects: pectorals, rings, bracelets, ear plugs and small animals. Some of the cut spiral shell pectorals contain ceremonial scenes. All the objects symbolize the sea and are recurring figures in the Huastec culture, remitting us to the essence of life, so much so that one of the main gods, Quetzalcóatl-Ehécatl, is wearing them.

The work in ceramics from the classical and post-classical periods displayed in several of the room's showcases are from El Platanito, San Luis



The Huastecs were specialists in working with spiral and conch shells.



Paintings of religious ceremonies, from Tamuín, San Luis Potosí.

Potosí; Vista Hermosa, Tamaulipas; and the Pánuco region of Veracruz. Several metal objects used as personal ornaments were discovered in Pánuco. In the last part of the room we encounter several Huastec stone sculptures por-

traying priests dressed in a way that makes them religious effigies. Huastec writing is also represented here on a stone cube with a date on each side.

One last sculpture bids us goodbye at the exit: the deification of Venus. **MM**

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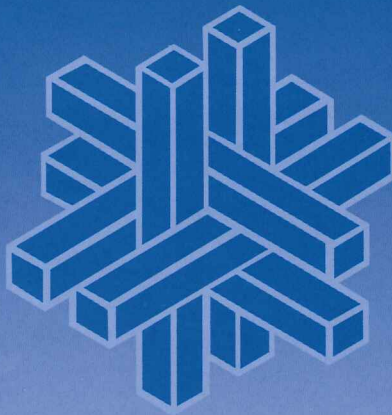
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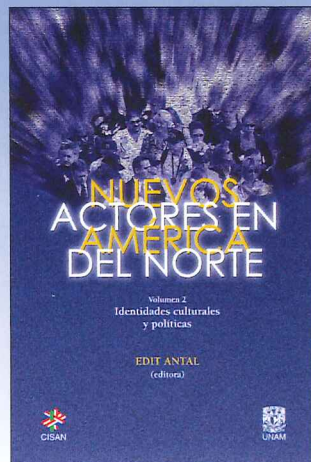
CISAN

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

Nuevos actores en América del Norte (vol. 2)

Edit Antal, editor

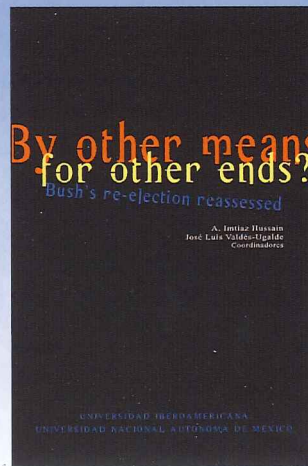
This work analyzes new and pre-existing actors in North America. With a multidisciplinary focus the authors try to understand mechanisms to create societies of a new kind. The book is structured by topic, with four cross-cutting themes: energy resources and security; economic and environmental issues;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



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

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

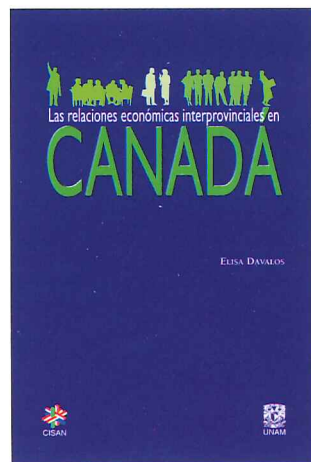
This book explains the results of the 2004 presidential elections, pointing to the changes in U.S. society after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Taking into account factors like the expansion of international violence and terrorist activities, as well as domestic socio-political variables, the authors analyze 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, and documents that aim to explain the U.S. political scene.



Las relaciones económicas interprovinciales en Canadá

Elisa Dávalos

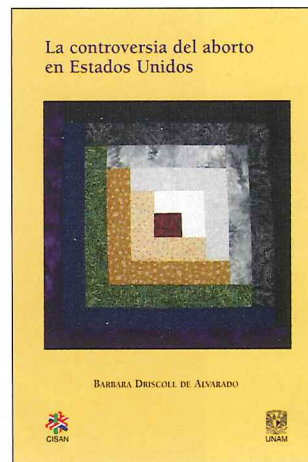
The decentralization of the Canadian state gives autonomy to the provinces in matters that in other countries are only decided by the central government. Issues like the ability of provinces to regulate aspects of their economies, or the constitutional jurisdiction of the provinces over their own natural 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

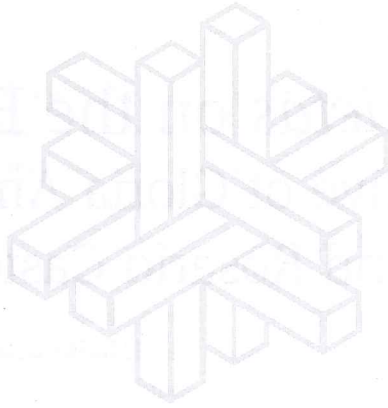
Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado

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.



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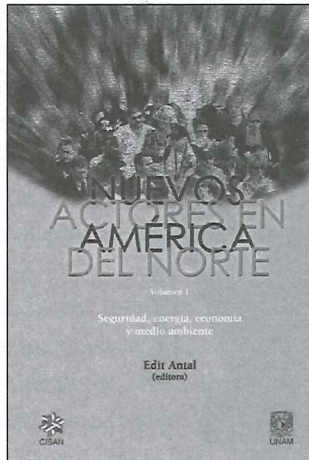
CISAN

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

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.

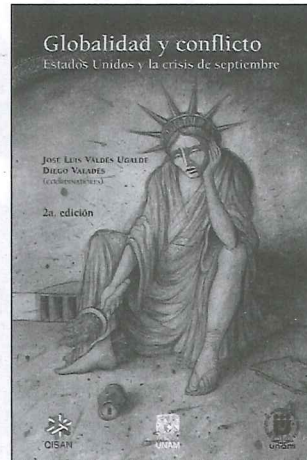


Globalidad y conflicto
Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre

Globalidad y conflicto
Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre
Second edition

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde and Diego Valadés, coordinators

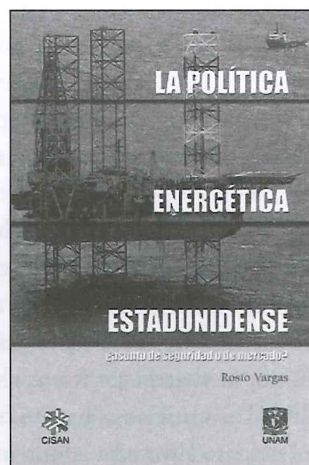
The wound opened up by 9/11 has not yet closed and is still having an impact worldwide. Specialists from the fields of political science, philosophy, sociology, economics and internationalism contribute in this book to the debate about the whys, the wherefores and the scope of that impact, asking questions and seeking answers about the short and long-term effects for the U.S. and the world.



La política energética estadounidense: ¿asunto de seguridad o de mercado?

Rosío Vargas

This work contributes to the understanding of the origins, causes and implications of declining oil production in the United States. Events such as the 1970s oil crisis and the current invasion of Iraq demonstrate the role that energy resources can have in changing history. The book combines history, the current situation, an analysis of the international oil market and domestic energy policy in the United States.

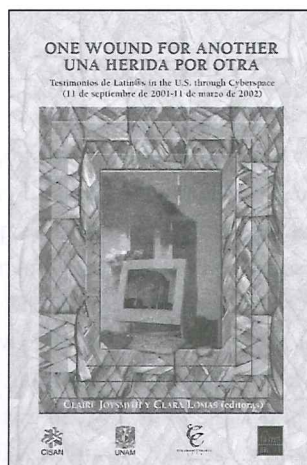


ONE WOUND FOR ANOTHER
UNA HERIDA POR OTRA
Testimonios de Latin@s in the U.S. through Cyberspace
(11 de septiembre de 2001-11 de marzo de 2002)

One Wound for Another. Una herida por otra. Testimonios de latin@s in the U.S. through Cyberspace (11 de septiembre de 2001-11 de marzo de 2002)

Claire Joysmith and Clara Lomas, eds.

September 11 revealed a multi-ethnic, middle- and working class country among the victims. This book gives voice to that other country, concerned that the response to the terrorist attacks give rise to a different, more representative, plural and just country. 9/11 also means that the U.S. people have become a testimonial people that has to deal with catastrophe, unjustified massacre, irremediable loss, displacement, incomplete mourning and the anger marked by the emergency out of which these testimonies are born.



Forthcoming

El Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte a los diez años
El Tratado McLane-Ocampo. La comunicación interoceánica
Recursos naturales estratégicos: los hidrocarburos y el agua

Güeras and *Prietas* on the Border

The Narrative of Gloria Anzaldúa And Rosario Castellanos

Marisa Belausteguigoitia*



This article will analyze the narrative of two border writers, Rosario Castellanos and Gloria Anzaldúa, taking into consideration the many ways borders are represented, particularly when they are re-signified from the standpoint of different sexual, social, racial and cultural conditions. What is special about thinking about, writing and producing texts from the standpoint of borders (geographic,

linguistic, symbolic, different disciplines', sexual and cultural borders)?

This question can be answered from at least two dimensions. The first is related to the construction and preservation of an activity that should give academia lasting meaning: criticism. Cortázar writes about that place from which writing is produced as criticism: "I write from an interstice....I write to always be a little more to the left or a little deeper in the place where one should be for everything to come together satisfactorily."¹

* Director of the UNAM University Gender Studies Program (PUEG).

Cortázar understands writing —of course the writing that de-centers, criticism— as an act of “misplacement” that he dubs “lateralness,” a term that means the sensitivity to alien, eccentric, peripheral situations: “misplaced” situations. This sensitivity is called wonderment and leads to petrifications that writing brings together, kneads and softens. From these “lateral” positions, from these two borders and these two misplaced writings I will analyze the political and aesthetic function of Anzaldúa and Castellanos’s narratives.

WHY THESE TWO WRITERS AND WHY NOW?

I have paired them for several reasons. Rosario Castellanos died in August 1974 and Gloria Anzaldúa in April 2004. Both wrote about women and situated their writing on the border. As Cortázar says, “They are not completely there” in a discipline, in a task, in a genre or in an ideology. Rosario wrote from the South, Chiapas, and Gloria, from the North, the border with the United States. They wrote from the borders of the acceptable and from the borders of what could be enunciated. They produced lateral knowledge.

Both wrote from and about the “crevices” and breaks of our nation: the divisions and duels among classes, ethnic groups and the sexes. One of their main themes was what inhabits the periphery, the excluded, the national impossibilities: indigenous, poor women and migrants.

Both have been bridges for racial, ethnic, class and gender differences. Both have been translators and have been accused of betraying their feminine culture, the patriarchal culture, hegemonic values.

The differences are equally illustrative: one is read as a *giüera*, or a fair-haired, fair-skinned woman; the other is read as a dark-skinned brunette, or *prieta*; one is from the intellectual middle class, the other from the lower class, a wetback migrant. One writes about the South, the other from and about the North. One writes in Spanish, the other in “Spanglish,” using code switching. One uses the tongue, the other the back as a bridge between worlds, countries and sexes. One is heterosexual, the other homosexual. One is renowned, the other is barely being looked at.

What unites them or makes them objects of comparison is their writing from the limits of the nation, their

lateralness, their misplacement, their eccentric meaning poured into writing that overflows as it makes national excesses visible in a body and language: migrants, indigenous, women. How to be a woman from those limits? What writing is produced with the back and the tongue wet?

Gloria and Rosario, North and South, *prieta* and *giüera*, back and tongue. For the last decade we have witnessed different events that define the nation on its two borders, north and south: Zapatistas and maquiladoras; Revolutionary Women’s Laws and speeches to Congress; feminicides, indigenous and migrants as objects and sometimes subjects of the administration of justice and resistance from Chiapas to Ciudad Juárez. These two writers help us understand our transitions to democracy, to (dis)integration, to intercultural-ness, by unfolding those very painful and so radically unjust and exclusionary border scenarios.

Rosario dedicated an important part of her work to making visible the southern border, the lives of indigenous people and particularly women, and the way in which women relate to all systems of exclusion: patriarchy, capitalism, modernity, tradition, customs, violence, the family and schools. She unfolded the role and lives of middle class women in contact with these subordinates, these indigenous. She formed a genealogy of women in contact, rubbing against all the systems that exclude them and take away their confidence, joy and will. She wanted women to be subjects of respect, dialogue, the exchange of discourses and words, not only the exchange of their bodies.

The meaning of the word is its recipient: the other who listens, who understands and who responds, turns its interlocutor into he who listens and understands, thus establishing a dialogue that is only possible among those who take each other into consideration and treat each other as equals, and is only fruitful among those who want each other to be free.²

Gloria, the *prieta*, the farm worker, writer and self-proclaimed Indian, sixth generation migrant, born in Texas in 1942, wrote about the life of Mexicans, Chicanos, migrants in the United States, on the borders, the life of the tongue, of the promise of the American dream. On the border as a wall and barbed wire, on the bor-

der with “pistols of ammunition and pepper,” because, as Luis Ernesto Derbez asked one day, what is better, that they kill you or they just give you a few “biting stings”, spattering you with little metal balls steeped in a little pepper?

Anzaldúa writes to make visible all the ways in which migrants, wetbacks, pain themselves, feel sorry for themselves, leave the skin in order to not leave the back anymore, since the idea is to start sticking out your tongue. Gloria undertakes the unfathomable task of exchanging the back for the tongue. Sweat for ink. In the first pages of her best known text, *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza*, she writes:

In the fields, *la migra*. My aunt saying, “No corran, don’t run. They’ll think you’re *del otro lao*.” In the confusion, Pedro ran, terrified of being caught. He couldn’t speak English, couldn’t tell them he was fifth generation American. *Sin papeles* —he did not carry his birth certificate to work in the fields. *La migra* took him away while we watched. *Se lo llevaron*. He tried to smile when he looked back at us, to raise his fist. But I saw the shame pushing his head down, I saw the terrible weight of shame hunch his shoulders. They deported him to Guadalajara by plane. The furthest he’d ever been to Mexico was Reynosa, a small border town opposite Hidalgo, Texas, not far from McAllen. Pedro walked all the way to the Valley. *Se lo llevaron sin un centavo el pobre. Se vino andando desde Guadalajara*.³

Borderlands is a hybrid text composed of fragments of essay, the development of conceptual categories, fiction, pieces of history in the mouths of the vanquished and counterposed to the official history, poetry, *corridos*, autobiography, sayings, songs. Classifying it in a single genre is impossible because it navigates between essay, fiction, autobiography and poetic narrative.

In *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa tenses racial, class and sexuality differences to the limit by subjecting them to the category of being a woman, being poor, being a Chicana and being a lesbian, who lives in English but thinks in Spanish. She unfolds being the female protagonist of all betrayals: of her Mexican culture because she writes in English, of the Anglo culture because she turns it into Spanglish, of women’s culture because she renounces maternity, of the patriarchal culture

because she rejects both femininity and heterosexuality. Gloria’s writing, body and language are at the limits of any social and symbolic national/hegemonic system; her entire being falls within the periphery; her entire being is the product of lateralness.

Rosario and Gloria are mediators, translators, contemporary Malinches of their own peoples and of strangers, foreigners. They have been accused of betrayal because they offer scenes of conscience and liberation to women and men willing to misplace themselves, to displace themselves.

The consciousness or awareness their texts generate can be defined as a state acquired on crossing over from one emotion to another, from one territory to another, from one struggle to another. This transcendence of the differences happens by crossing over and recreating the original meaning and making it coincide with the unknown or subordinate.

Travelers of crossings, permanent crossers from the opposite to the different, weavers of what can knit a topographical change, that brings those from below to the height of the gaze and lowers “those from above” to the level of the back. But there are differences among them.

Rosario’s crossings lead to the creation of an awareness of loneliness whose strength lies in the recognition of its labyrinths and the handling and contention of the desires that spur complete surrender to men, to service, to the nation, to the suffering of love and of sexuality. Gloria’s crossings lead us, not shoulder to shoulder but back to back, to recognize a way of being Mexican, Chicana, Gringa and a woman that articulates all the deficits: those of color (*prieta*); those of language (tongue-less); those of origin (Indian); those of sexuality (lesbian). And it builds us new and whole, face to face with the challenges of desire, of power and of politics. Rosario proposes an “us” that is alone, suspended and fragmented on the threshold of surrender and Gloria gathers the fragments, sutures them together and suspends all surrenders that rend us anew.

Both writers have produced a great deal. Of their most widely read texts are *Balún Canán* by Castellanos and *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* by Anzaldúa. One of their greatest thematic similarities has been the representation of the border indigenous woman: the indigenous Nana in Rosario’s narrative and the New Mestiza in Gloria Anzaldúa’s. The Nana and the

New Mestiza are figures that both writers point out as linked to “the consciousness of crossing,” of the transition from difference and subordination to consciousness, as a result of the possession/position of the racial, sexual or national difference as the ability of signification, not only of exclusion. The capabilities they propose in their texts are very different while their interstitial and “misplaced” treatment is similar.

The Nana and the New Mestiza have two things in common. The first is the preservation of a visible, articulating indigenous supplement, a component that traces the body, the territory and the indigenous language on the territorial defeat. This defeat has pushed the indigenous subject out of the story, that is, outside the power to make sense from its place and to do it in such a way that it circulates legitimately. Both return the indigenous representation of body and tongue to the text. The second thing has to do with an interstitial position, on the margins and outside of literary and sexual genres and their degrees of confrontation and union of gender, class, ethnic and generational differences.

Castellanos’ Nana and Anzaldúa’s New Mestiza speak of their 500-year-old solitude. They create a textual/sexual body, a body fundamental to the story with threshold voices, the story’s fundamental body.

In her narrative, particularly in *Balún Canán*, Rosario Castellanos shows all the ways that identification with the margins, with indigenous subordinateness is impossible. Infinite wherefores of our refusal to identify ourselves with that periphery. She shows these reasons without romanticizing the indigenous world and culture. In this case we do not speak of an identification that would make indigenous identical or at least similar, but an identification that conceives of them as subjects of the same rights that we have as citizens.

The novel deals with the life of a family on a hacienda in Comitán and its contact with/dependence on the indigenous world. It is divided into three parts. The first and last, written in the third person, are told from the perspective of a seven-year-old girl. In Castellanos’s words, “This childish world is very similar to the world of the indigenous where the action of the novel is situated.”⁴ A little girl and an Indian woman who love, understand and enjoy each other. A little girl who loves her Indian nana. How can we love the other, who is radically different?

Two of the three parts of the novel are a little girl and her nana’s murmuring, muttering, an indigenous world in contact with a little white girl who loves her nana. It puts forward a return of the indigenous in two versions: the first in the contact and rubbing together of the margins, the closeness and the love between the nana and the little girl, both invisible in the paternal household. The second based on the clash between what is Indian and what is “*caxtlán*”, between the world of identification and exclusion, between the center and the margins, between the Indian, the “white” and the mestizo, the scenario of exploitation, discrimination and betrayal not only between Indians and mestizos. The second part of the novel clarifies the breaks between the Indian world and its own culture in contact with modernity and the vital, capital economy of a hacienda.

The relationship between the nana and the little girl punctuates the novel. They are one and they are different. We never know the name of either; they are anonymous and insignificant. On the margins, their worlds intertwine and their plots weave. The whole first part, the part I am interested in analyzing, shows the ways the nana and the little girl can relate and love each other from the margins of the family and society. The little girl has a brother who monopolizes their mother’s attention as first born and favorite child: Mario. The entire patriarchal world moves to the edges of the plot from where they love and get to know each other, from where the nana fills the little girl’s ears and eyes with images and stories of her Indian world, a world that for the nana is also experienced in Spanish. Both live together on the limits of their worlds: the urban, the traditional, the patriarchal and the indigenous.

I am poking among the dishes...I like the color of lard and to touch the cheeks of the fruit and undress the onions. “Those are witches’ things, girl; they eat everything. The crops, families’ peace, people’s health.” I have found a basket of eggs. The spotted ones are turkey eggs. “Look what they’re doing to me.” And raising the *tzec*, the nana shows me a fresh, pink sore disfiguring her knee. I look at it with my eyes big with surprise. “Don’t say anything, girl. I came from Chajtajal so they wouldn’t follow me, but their curse reaches a long way.” Why do they hurt you? “Because I have been a servant in your house. Because I love your parents, Mario and you.” Is it bad to love

us? "It is bad to love those who run things, those who own things. That is what the Law says."⁵

The beginning of *Balún Canán* is representative and announces the end on page two. The cherished relationship of the nana and the little girl, so carnal, so oral, so loving, is also described thus:

"Finish up your milk." Every afternoon at five the Swiss cow vendor goes by, ringing his tin bell. (I have explained to Mario that "Swiss" means "fat.")...The maids come out of the houses and buy a glassful. And spoiled children like me make faces and spill it on the tablecloth. "God is going to punish you for wasting it," says the nana. "I want to drink coffee. Like you. Like everybody else. "You're going to become an Indian." Her threat makes me shiver with apprehension. From tomorrow on, I won't spill the milk.⁶

The threat of becoming an Indian makes her shiver and be afraid. The nana herself threatens the little girl with being like the person the little girl loves and trusts the most. This should make her excited at the prospect, not shiver with fear. What pedagogical, disciplinary and emotional processes do the nation and all its systems (the family, the school, morality) trigger, to create rejection of what is most intimate, to produce apprehension in place of pride at being like the person we most love?

Castellanos emphasizes the patriarchal subjection of both the indigenous and the European cultures, but it is in the figure of the nana that she establishes the transgressions of both universes, the Indian and the European. The nana is the bridge that translates the indigenous wisdom and the urban wisdom, the central and peripheral wisdoms. The nana is a kind of Malinche, the translator between an indigenous and a national culture, between the traditions of indigenous wisdom and modernity. She speaks Spanish and an indigenous language. She knows the customs of the "*caxtlanes*" and she does not forget her own. She is literally an interstitial, border, misplaced subject.

An excellent example of this is the explanation that the nana gives the little girl about who the poor are and why her mother visits an impoverished paralyzed woman. The story is a long one and goes through the indige-

nous mythology that explains the creation of men, first out of wood and then out of gold:

And day after day, the hardness of the heart of the man of gold cracked little by little until the word of gratitude that the four lords had placed in him rose to his mouth....That is why our law says that no rich man may enter into heaven if a poor man does not take him by the hand. The nana is silent. She carefully folds the garment she has just mended...and stands up to leave. But before she takes the first step that will separate us, I ask her, who is my poor nana? "You still don't know. But if you watch carefully, when you are older and understand more, you will know."⁷

The fragile possibility of a way forward accompanied by Indian and mestiza othernesses is perceptible at the threshold where reciprocity finally exists.

Gloria works in reverse: she points to the unfathomable breaks, that which separates us from that liminal identification with otherness to put forward the emergence of a new consciousness, the product of the breach, the rent and the recomposition of these racial, ethnic, sexual and national differences. In the first paragraph of the preface to *Borderlands*, we read:

The actual physical borderland that I am dealing with in this book is the Texas-U.S. Southwest/ Mexican border. The psychological borderland, the sexual borderlands and the spiritual borderlands are not particular to the Southwest. In fact, the Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy.

A new awareness that is born on the border between the United States and Mexico, that is born from the re-signification of exploitation, violence and mistrust among Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

Borderlands uses the history of the vanquished in their own mouths, as the revealing discourse, but it also uses operations learned from shamans and from what is left of pre-Hispanic wisdom to open up to the subject the possibility of visualizing all the ways in which she herself and her own culture can be the reason for

the disillusionment. It is as if Castellanos's nana were turned into a migrant to the northern border, a wet-back, and were made to speak.

In Anzaldúa's second chapter, "Movimientos de rebeldía y culturas que traicionan" (Rebel Movements and Cultures that Betray), we read in Spanglish:

*Esos movimientos de rebeldía que tenemos en la sangre nosotros los mexicanos surgen como ríos desbocados en mis venas. Y como mi raza que cada en cuando deja caer esa esclavitud de obedecer, de callarse y aceptar, en mí está la rebeldía encimada de mi carne. Debajo de mi humillada mirada está una cara insolente lista para explotar. Me costó muy caro mi rebeldía-acalambrada con desvelos y dudas, sintiéndome inútil, estúpida e impotente...repelé. Hablé pa'tras. Fui hocicona. Era indiferente a muchos valores de mi cultura. No me dejé de los hombres. No fui buena ni obediente. Pero he crecido. Ya no sólo paso toda mi vida botando las costumbres y los valores de mi cultura que me traicionan. También recojo las costumbres que por un tiempo se han provocado y las costumbres de respeto a las mujeres. But despite my growing tolerance, for this Chicana, la guerra de independencia is a constant.*⁸

The impressive thing about this book is that the creation of consciousness does not reside in only laying the emotional, psychological and economic state of migrants at the door of Anglo-Saxon culture, capitalist exploitation or the abuse of power in U.S. culture. It also emphasizes the ways in which the very culture of Mexicans and Chicanos operates to weaken them and undermine their abilities and sensations.

Anzaldúa is capable of proposing a consciousness raising operation since she shares all the cultures, knows the languages and practices and lives in those areas of "Anglo" power and of the weakening regarding her sexuality, her class and her Mexican cultural association.

Because I, a *mestiza*
continually walk out of one culture
And into another,
Because I am in all cultures
at the same time,
Alma entre dos mundos, tres cuatro,
Me zumba la cabeza con lo contradictorio.

*Estoy norteada por todas las voces que me hablan
Simultáneamente.*⁹

With Gloria, the final product is the creation of a consciousness of oppression, not only of women, but of people of color, homosexuals, migrants and the poor. She traces delicate equations that show up correspondences and equivalencies in these identity "deficits".

El choque de un alma atrapada entre el mundo del espíritu y el mundo de la técnica a veces la deja entullida. Cradled in one culture, sandwiched between two cultures, straddling all three cultures and their value systems, *la mestiza* undergoes a struggle of flesh, a struggle of borders, an inner war...Within us and within *la cultura chicana*, commonly held beliefs of the white culture attack commonly held beliefs of the Mexican culture, and both attack commonly held beliefs of the indigenous culture. Subconsciously, we see an attack on ourselves and on our beliefs as a threat we attempt to block with a counterstance.¹⁰

These deficits (poverty, wandering, femininity, being dark-skinned, indigenous or Mexican, the "wrong" sexuality) constitute, together with all the "being on the sidelines" the mortar that founds the New Mestiza, the hybrid, interstitial, border, peripheral subject. They make up the New Mestiza as an effect of so many crossings and a life on the line of all the borders that articulates the impossibilities.

The new mestiza copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode—nothing is thrust out, the good, the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected, nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns ambivalence into something else.¹¹

The transits between different identities that Gloria establishes, the tension that she demands of the cross-over between different subjectivities produces a textuality full of crossings, of negotiations between opposites, with the aim of accepting, understanding, codifying the other.

Gloria was a farm worker, a migrant worker in the United States, a seventh-generation Texan-American; her mother did not speak English. She traveled through different states with her family, renting herself out as agricultural labor. A wetback with a sharp tongue, educated in schools for poor migrants. Self-identified as an indigenous, with indigenous features, but sixth-generation Texan.

In almost opposite ways, the two narratives make the sutures of the nation visible. With her tongue/language, Rosario builds a bridge whose cracks are visible; a broken bridge among othernesses; and Gloria offers her back as a passage toward understanding of differences and their re-elaboration. The nana subject to the conscience of crossing, of the passage, ends up with sores, expelled and unrecognizable; and the New Mestiza, a mixed subject, a subject of the suturing together of the fragments, lives in the most fragile areas of signification: the borders. The nana ends up getting lost because "all Indians have the same face." And how does the New Mestiza end up? It is impossible to say in advance because the New Mestiza has barely been articulated. How does a subject end up who realizes his/her potential precisely based on his/her most fragile characteristics, a peripheral subject sexually, in terms of nationality, of gender, of class? We read in *Borderlands*, "*La oposición no es una manera de vivir. En un momento dado, en nuestro camino hacia la nueva conciencia de la mestiza, hay que abandonar la oposición....Tenemos que aprender a accionar, no a reaccionar.*"¹²

Gloria and Rosario give the border woman, the Nana and the New Mestiza, the place of "synthesis," of being a bridge, of being translators. Gloria bets on a very, very complex, adventurous synthesis, the fruit of all the deficits, of bringing together the peripheral.

If we realize that today more than 20 million Mexicans live in the United States and to the south we have recently had an indigenous rebellion, it becomes even more urgent to explore and more interesting to analyze the Gloria/Rosario, North/South, *prieta/güera*, homosexual/heterosexual, poor/middle class paradigm precisely as bridges from and toward the other, as passages and inter-crossings from the geographical, sexual, ethnic, class and discursive borders. Our greatest wounds and our abysmal problems come from these borders.

Gloria and Rosario, a glory of rosaries or a rosary of glories,¹³ glossaries that speak from and of the borders, from there build a different Mexico: the Mexico of the nana and of the Indian woman that dissolves in the multitude, but whose knowledge and whose marks stay on the body and on the tongue of the little girl, unrecognizable but indelible. And that of the New Mestiza, that of the internal struggles with all their marginal markings. The Indian woman in Mexico, the Mexican woman in the United States, the lesbian in the heterosexual world, the American in the Mexican tradition: from these places, both dismantle the binomials that radicalize and make the other banal, and build bridges. Rosario's Glory is to do it with the language, Gloria's Rosary is the humidity on the back, with the back in her hand. Back and tongue/language are bridges and breaks, sutures and lines, that return migrants and indigenous to the periphery of the heart, to the center of our consciousness and our emotions.

Like the nana, the wizards of the north also punish our migrants, our Nanas, servants, future New Mestizas, with sores. The authorities answer that they are just a few stinging bites, buckshot with pepper, or Minuteman Projects, in order to get people to stop crossing borders, including the one that leads to consciousness. Which are the pedagogies, the economies, the systems that can form New Mestizas and not only Nanas shriveled by time in our country? ■■

NOTES

¹ Julio Cortázar, *La casilla de Morelli* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1973), p. 61.

² Rosario Castellanos, *Balún Canán* in *Obras Completas*, vol. I (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), p. 24.

³ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinters/Aunt Lute, 1987), p. 4.

⁴ Rosario Castellanos, "Introducción," *Obras Completas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), p. 13.

⁵ Rosario Castellanos, *Balún Canán* in *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁸ Anzaldúa, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

¹³ In Spanish, the name Gloria means "glory" and the name Rosario means "rosary." [Translator's Note.]

Gloria Anzaldúa Bridges and Wounds

Claire Joysmith*



Gloria Anzaldúa (1942-2004): nepantlera,¹ *curandera* cultural, *patlache*,² feminist, cross-cultural bridge-builder, *imán multicultural*, language-juggler, genre coyote, pioneer theorist, *alebrije* essayist, Coatlicue poet, *visitadora* of Mexican pre-Hispanic pantheons,³ symbol archaeologist, seeker and (re)interpreter of ancient cultural legacies and visionary of futures.

* Researcher at CISAN. Coordinator of text selection for this tribute.

Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León based on a photo by Victoria Alvarado, published in *La Voz de Esperanza* magazine, no. 6, vol. 17 (San Antonio, Texas), July-August 2004, p. 3.

Anzaldúa, who died at 61 from diabetes-related complications, came from a working-class background; in an interview she said: “*me dedicaba a las labores trabajando, pizcando algodón, strawberries, sandía, melón, maíz, asadoneando*”⁴ even when she was in college (after her father died at 14). She received a BA in English, art and secondary education and her MA in English and education from the University of Texas, Austin.

Gloria Anzaldúa: strong-headed seventh generation in the U.S. Chicana-tejana, “la prieta”, chaparrita; unassuming, honest, deeply generous, dedicated to her own brand of cre-

*A woman-of-color who writes poetry or paints or dances or makes movies knows there is no escape from race or gender when she is writing or painting. She can't take off her color and sex and leave them at the door of her study or studio. Nor can she leave behind her history. Art is about identity, among other things, and her creativity is political.*⁵

ative *grito de lucha*. She believed in the power of the word and of artistic expression for social, political and spiritual change, fully conscious of the daunting responsibility of the committed artist and creator, believing in what she called “spiritual activism” and the urgent need to create bridges and heal wounds.

Her groundbreaking book *Borderlands/ La Frontera. The New Mestiza* was selected as one of the 100 best books of the century by Hungry Mind Review and Utne Reader. She also won numerous awards: the 1986 Before Columbus Foundation American Book Award, the Sappho Award of Distinction, National Endowment for the Arts Fiction Award, the American Studies Association Lifetime Achievement Award, among others. Yet, she was too radical for many, which meant she did not receive the recognition to which her body of work is entitled.

Anzaldúa was able to address the taboo, say the unsayable, because, as she explained, “[las lesbianas] no longer have much to lose because once you reveal in your writing who you are and your experiences, you hardly have any secrets to hide.”⁶

Anzaldúa’s much-quoted “The U.S.-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the First and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a new country—a border culture,” from *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza*⁷ has perhaps been overused and even misused at times.

It is, however, among several of the legacies she contributed to literary, cultural, gender, queer and Chicana/o theory. So are some of her key concepts: Borderlands, the Coatlicue state, el Mundo Zurdo, the Coyolxauhqui imperative and Nepantla.⁸

In her post 9/11 *testimonio* written in March 2002, “Let Us Be the Healing of the Wound: The Coyolxauhqui Imperative—La sombra y el sueño,” which was to be one of her last written and published texts, she (ad)dressed wounding and healing in words that hark back to—and yet shift— her renowned quote about the border as *una herida abierta*: “We are all wounded but we can connect through the wound that’s alienated us from others. When the wound forms a cicatrize, the scar can become a bridge linking people split apart.”⁹

I met Gloria in Mexico City, at the UNAM, at a multicultural meeting in which the CISAN was participating as co-organizer in 1992. Hardly anybody was there.

She had recently been diagnosed with diabetes. We had lunch at La Fonda de Santa Anita in the Zona Rosa. And as I interviewed her after lunch, she spoke mostly in Spanish; as she tired, she gradually used more English.¹⁰

When I heard of her death I wrote:

gloria: i met you when you gave a talk in Mexico city cerca del día de los muertos in 1992...i realized your audience had little or no understanding of what you were talking about...and yet these were your

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This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, with Cherríe Moraga (1981).

Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color (1990).

This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation (2002).

Interviews/Entrevistas, with AnaLouise Keating (2002).

mexican “cousins”...you stood up, said what you had to say...i remained amazed...when i interviewed you i discovered a warm, strong, intuitive curandera-escritora of many striking ideas and words...shortly after i began working on ways to facilitate further understanding in México of what it might mean to be chicana/chicano...and on how that could help us to learn as mexicanas/mexicanos who happen to be on this side of the “herida abierta” border, about the depths and widths of mexicanidades...every time i was faced with what i have termed “reactive resistances” in audiences in Mexico i always remembered how you stood up and said what you had to say...today i dedicate the transborder work i have done in Mexico to your memory con profunda gratitud.

Her writings and the practice of her own theories have influenced very many,

even though this is not so visible in Mexico as yet. When she came to the UNAM in 1992, however, it was the beginning of her bridge-crossing back into Mexico. When more of her work is translated into Spanish, and becomes more easily available *de este lado*, on this side of the *herida abierta* border, many more, it is hoped, may be able to benefit.

Anzaldúa has left a legacy for us, for future generations. She insisted, more so after 9/11: “Let us fight no more but heal the wounds of nations. Let us be the healing of the wound.”¹¹, a call to intense, sensitive, critical, intelligent, in-formed, heart-felt “spiritual activism”. But it is the determined simplicity of her words “May we do work that matters”¹² that, at least in my mind, resonate most as the codice-like barefoot-printed path she has mapped out to be followed, each with their own “conocimiento” toward true meanings. ■■■

In addition to the task of writing, or perhaps included in the task of writing, we've had to create a readership and teach it how to "read" our work.¹³

NOTES

¹ “Nepantleras is my term for mediators of in-between spaces”, footnote 24 in “Let Us Be the Healing of the Wound: The Coyolxauhqui Imperative—La sombra y el sueño” in *One Wound for Another/Una herida por otra. Testimonios de Latin@s in the U.S. through Cyberspace (11 de septiembre de 2001 - 11 de marzo de 2002)*, eds., Prologue by Elena Poniatowska, Claire Joysmith and Clara Lomas, (CISAN-UNAM/The Colorado College, Whittier College, 2005), p. 99.

² Anzaldúa defined herself as a patlache, “I recovered it [the word] from the Nahuatl, it served to name women who loved other women...and this act of women getting together with other women was given the same punishment as those who committed adultery...they would be stoned to death. Other Chicanas don’t use this word. They don’t even know it...it is my word.” (trans. by Claire Joysmith), “Ya se me quitó la vergüenza y la cobardía. Una plática con Gloria Anzaldúa,” *Debate Feminista* year 4, vol. 8 (Mexico City), September 1993, pp. 15-16.

³ “In terms of evolutionary stages, the world is presently between el quinto sol y el sexto. According

to Maya knowledge, the sixth world starts December 2012. It is this Nuevo Mundo, this new order, we need to create with the choices we make, the acts we perform, and the futures we dream.” “Let Us Be...,” in *One Wound...*, p. 99.

⁴ “Ya se me quitó la vergüenza...,” p. 7.

⁵ Gloria Anzaldúa, “Introduction” in *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras. Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color*, Gloria Anzaldúa, ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1990), p. xxiv.

⁶ “Ya se me quitó la vergüenza...,” p. 16.

⁷ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books), p. 11.

⁸ Anzaldúa defined Nepantla as “a psychological, liminal space between the way things had been and an unknown future,” *One Wound...*, p. 99.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁰ “Ya se me quitó la vergüenza...,” pp. 16-17.

¹¹ *One Wound...*, p. 103.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹³ “Introduction,” *Making Face...*, p. xviii.

Author of
Borderlands/La frontera. The New Mestiza (1987).
Bilingual Children’s books
Prietita Has a Friend/Prietita tiene un amigo (1991).
Friends from the Other Side/Amigos del Otro lado (1993).
Prietita and the Ghostwoman/Prietita y La Llorona (1995).

sus plumas el viento

(for my mother, Amalia)

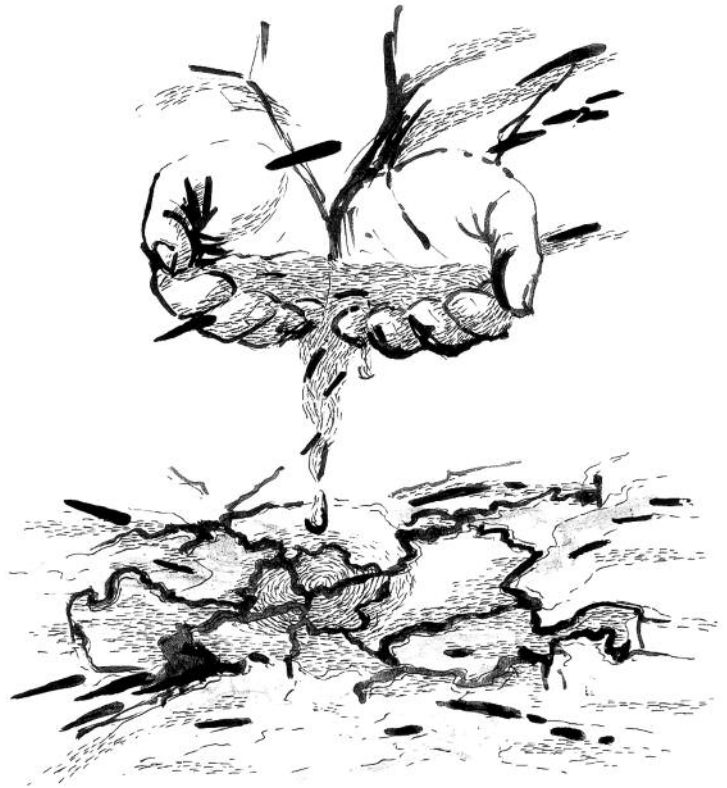
by Gloria Anzaldúa*

Swollen feet
tripping on vines in the heat,
palms thick and green-knuckled,
sweat drying on top of old sweat.
She flicks her tongue over upper lip
where the salt stings her cracked mouth.
Stupid Pepita and her jokes and the men licking
her heels,
but only the field boss,
un *bolillo*, of course, having any.

Ayer entre las matas de maíz
she had stumbled upon them:
Pepita on her back
grimacing to the sky,
the anglo buzzing around her like a mosquito,
landing on her, digging in, sucking.
When Pepita came out of the irrigation ditch
some of the men spit on the ground.

She listens to Chula singing *corridos*
making up *los versos* as she
plants down the rows
hoes down the rows
picks down the rows
the chorus resounding for acres and acres
Everyone adding a line
the day crawls a little faster.

She pulls ahead
kicking *terremotes*,
el viento sur secándole el sudor
un ruido de alas humming songs in her head.
Que le de sus plumas el viento.



The sound of the hummingbird wings
in her ears, *pico de chuparrosas*.

She looks up into the sun's glare,
las chuparrosas de los jardines
¿en donde están de su mamagrande?
but all she sees is the obsidian wind
cut tassels of blood
from the hummingbird's throat.

* Taken from, *Borderlands-La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), pp. 116-119.
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Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León.

She husks corn, hefts watermelons.
Bends all the way, digs out strawberries
half buried in the dirt.
Twelve hours later
roped knots cord her back.

*Sudor de sobacos chorriando,
limpia de hierba la siembra*
Claws clutching hoe, she tells the
two lead spatulas stirring the sand,
jump into it, *patas*, wallow *en el charco de mierda*,
breathe it in through the soles of your feet.
There was nothing else but surrender.
If she hadn't read all those books
she'd be singing up and down the rows
like the rest.

She stares at her hands
Manos hinchadas, quebradas,
thick and calloused like a man's,
the tracks on her left palm
different from those on the right.
*Saca la lima y raspa el azadón
se va a mochar sus manos*,
she wants to chop off her hands
cut off her feet
only Indians and *mayates*
have flat feet.

Burlap sack wet around her waist,
stained green from leaves and the smears of worms.
White heat no water no place to pee
the men staring at her ass.

Como una mula
she shifts 150 pounds of cotton onto her back.
It's either *las labores*
or feet soaking in cold puddles *en bodegas*

cutting washing weighing packaging
broccoli spears carrots cabbages in 12 hours 15
double shift the roar of machines inside her head.
She can always clean shit
out of white folks toilets—the Mexican maid.
You're respected if you can use your head
instead of your back, the women said.
Ay m'ijos, ojalá que hallen trabajo
in air-conditioned offices.

The hoe, she wants to cut off...
She folds wounded birds, her hands
into the nest, her armpits
looks up at the Texas sky.
Si el viento le diera sus plumas.

She vows to get out
of the numbing chill, the 110 degree heat.
If the wind would give her feathers for fingers
she would string words and images together.
*Pero el viento sur le tiró su saliva
pa' 'trás en la cara.*

She sees the obsidian wind
cut tassels of blood
from the hummingbird's throat.
As it falls
the hummingbird shadow
becomes the navel of the Earth.

bolillo— a derogatory term for Anglos, meaning hard crust of loaf of white bread
entre las matas de maíz—between the corn stalks
terremotes—sods
el viento sur secándole el sudor—the south wind drying her sweat
un ruido de alas—a sound of wings
las chuparrosas de los jardines ¿en donde están de su mamagran-de?—Where are the hummingbirds from her grandmother's garden?

sudor de sobacos chorriando, limpia de hierba la siembra—The sweat dripping from her armpits, she weeds the plants.
manos hinchadas, quebradas—swollen, broken hands
mayates—derogatory term for Blacks
como una mula—like a mule
Ay m'ijos ojalá que hallen trabajo—Oh! My children, I hope you find work
Si el viento le diera sus plumas—If the wind would give her its feathers.
Pero el viento le tiró su saliva pa' 'trás en la cara.—But the wind threw her spit back in her face.



To live in the Borderlands means you

by Gloria Anzaldúa*

are neither *hispana india negra española*
ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed
caught in the crossfire between camps
while carrying all five races on your back
not knowing which side to turn to, run from;

To live in the Borderlands means knowing
that the *india* in you, betrayed for 500 years,

* Taken from, *Borderlands-La Frontera. The New Mestiza*
(San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), pp. 194-195.
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Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León.

is no longer speaking to you,
that *mexicanas* call you *rajetas*,
that denying the Anglo inside you
is as bad as having denied the Indian or Black;

Cuando vives en la frontera

people walk through you, the wind steals your voice,
you're a *burra*, *buey*, scapegoat,
forerunner of a new race,
half and half —both woman and man, neither—
a new gender;

To live in the Borderlands means to

put *chile* in the borscht,
eat whole wheat *tortillas*,
speak Tex-Mex with a Brooklyn accent;
be stopped by *la migra* at the border checkpoints;

Living in the Borderlands means you fight hard to

resist the gold elixir beckoning from the bottle,
the pull of the gun barrel,
the rope crushing the hollow of your throat;

In the Borderlands

you are the battleground
where the enemies are kin to each other;
you are at home, a stranger,
the border disputes have been settled
the volley of shots have shattered the truce
you are wounded, lost in action
dead, fighting back;

To live in the Borderlands means

the mill with the razor white teeth wants to shred off
your olive-red skin, crush out the kernel, your heart
pound you pinch you roll you out
smelling like white bread but dead;

To survive the Borderlands

you must live *sin fronteras*
be a crossroads.



gabacha: a Chicano term for a white woman
rajetas: literally "split," that is, having betrayed your word
burra: donkey
buey: ox
sin fronteras: without borders

Let Us Be the Healing Of the Wound: The Coyolxauhqui Imperative—la sombra y el sueño*

Gloria Anzaldúa



The day the towers fell, me sentí como Coyolxauhqui, la luna. Algo me agarró y me sacudió, frightening la sombra (soul)

* Fragments from the essay of the same title published in *One Wound for Another: Una herida por otra. Testimonios de Latin@s in the U.S. through Cyberspace (11 de septiembre de 2001-11 de marzo de 2002)*, Claire Joysmith and Clara Lomas, eds. (Mexico City: UNAM-CISAN/ Colorado College/ Whittier, 2005), pp. 92-103.

Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León.

out of my body. I fell in pieces into that pitch-black brooding place. Each violent image of the towers collapsing, transmitted live all over the world then repeated a thousand times on TV, sucked the breath out of me, each image etched on my mind's eye. Wounded, I fell into shock, cold and clammy. The moment fragmented me, dissociating me from myself. Arresting every vital organ in me, it would not release me.

Bodies on fire, bodies falling through the sky, bodies pummeled and crushed by stone and

steel, los cuerpos trapped and suffocating became our bodies. As we watched we too fell, todos caímos. What occurred on September 11, 2001 to the people in the four hijacked airplanes, the twin World Trade Center towers of NYC, and the Pentagon happened to us, too. I couldn't detach from the victims and survivors and their pain. This wounding opened like a gash and widened until a deep chasm separated me from those around me.

In the weeks following este tremendo arrebato, susto trussed me in its numbing sheath. Suspended in limbo in that in-between space, nepantla, I wandered through my days on autopilot, feeling disconnected from the events of my life. My house whispered and moaned. Within its walls the wind howled. Like la Llorona lost and alone, I was arrested in susto, helplessness, falling, sinking. Swamped with sadness, I mourned all the dead, counted our losses, reflected on the part our country played in the tragedy and how I was personally responsible. It was difficult to acknowledge, much less express, the depth of my feelings—instead me lo tragué.

Now months later, I'm still trying to move through my depression and into another state of mind. I'm still trying to escape my shadow beasts (desconocimientos): numbness, anger, and disillusionment. Besides dealing with my own personal shadow, I must contend with the collective shadow in the psyches of my culture and nation—we always inherit the past problems of family, community, and nation. I stare up at the moon, Coyolxauhqui, and its light in the darkness. I seek a healing image, one that re-connects me to others. I seek the positive shadow that I've also inherited.

With the imperative to “speak” esta herida abierta (this open wound) before it drowns out all voices, the feelings I'd buried begin unfurling. Vulnerable once more I'm clawed by the talons of grief. I take my sorrow for a walk along the bay near my home in Santa Cruz. With the surf pounding in my ears and the wind's forlorn howl, it feels like even the sea is grieving.

I struggle to “talk” from the wound's gash, make sense of the deaths and destruction, and pull the pieces of my life back together. I yearn to pass on to the next generation the spiritual activism I've inherited from my cultures. If I object to my government's act of war I cannot remain silent. To do so is to be complicitous. But sadly we are all accomplices.

My job as an artist is to bear witness to what haunts us, to step back and attempt to see the pattern in these events (personal and societal), and how we can repair el daño (the damage) by using the imagination and its visions. I believe in the transformative power and medicine of art. As I see it, this country's real battle is with its shadow—its racism, propensity for violence, rapacity for consuming, neglect of its responsibility to global communities and the environment, and unjust treatment of dissenters and the disenfranchised, especially people of color. As an artist I feel compelled to expose this shadow side which the mainstream media and government denies. In order to understand our complicity and responsibility we must look at the shadow.

* * *

As we thrash about in our inner and external struggling grounds trying to get our bearings, we totter between two paths. The path of desconocimiento leads human consciousness into ignorance, fear, and hatred. It succumbs to righteous judgement and withdraws into separation and domination, pushing most of us into retaliatory acts of further rampage which beget more violence. This easier path uses force and violence to socially construct our nation. Conocimiento, the more difficult path, leads to awakening, insights, understandings, realizations, and courage, and the motivation to engage in concrete ways that have the potential to bring us into compassionate interactions. Self-righteousness creates the abyss; conocimiento builds bridges across it. En estos tiempos de la Llorona

we must use creativity to jolt us into awareness of our spiritual/political problems and other major global tragedies so we can repair el daño. The Coyolxauhqui imperative is to heal and achieve integration. When fragmentations occur you fall apart and feel as though you've been expelled from paradise. Coyolxauhqui is my symbol for the necessary process of dismemberment and fragmentation, of seeing that self or the situations you're embroiled in differently. It is also my symbol for reconstruction and reframing, one that allows for putting the pieces together in a new way. The Coyolxauhqui imperative is an ongoing process of making and unmaking. There is never any resolution, just the process of healing.

* * *

What we do now counts even more than the frightening event, close call, shock, violation, or loss that made cracks in our worlds. En estos tiempos of loss, fear, and confusion the human race must delve into its cenotes (wells) of collective wisdom, both ancient and modern. Though only a small percent of the world's six billion people have achieved a high level of awareness, the collective consciousness of these people has the power to counterbalance the negativity of the rest of humanity.¹ Ultimately each of us has the potential to change the sentience of the world.

In addition to community-building we can transform our world by imagining it differently, dreaming it passionately via all our senses, and

willing it into creation. As we think inspiring, positive, life-generating thoughts and embody these thoughts in every act we perform, we can gradually change the mood of our days, the habits of years, and the beliefs of a lifetime. Changing the thoughts and ideas (the "stories") we live by and their limiting beliefs (including the national narrative of supreme entitlement) will enable us to extend our hand to others con el corazón con razón en la mano. Individually and collectively we can begin to share strategies on peaceful co-existence y desparramar (spread) conocimientos. Each of us can make a difference. By bringing psychological understanding and using spiritual approaches in political activism² we can stop the destruction of our moral, compassionate humanity. Empowered, we'll be motivated to organize, achieve justice, and begin to heal the world. ■■■

NOTES

¹ According to the *Power of Peace Newsletter*, 1-11-02, <peacebreath.com>, 1/10th of 1% (.01%) unified by a single cause can change the consciousness of the world. This statistic has been recorded by prophets and sages of times past, and recently by the research of David R. Hawkins. In his book, *Power vs. Force*, he synthesizes years of research by assigning vibrational energy values to different attributes. Fear is measured at 200; love at 500; peace at 600. He has shown that one person at level 500 (love) can counterbalance 750,000 people of a lower vibration. One person at level 700 can raise the consciousness of 70 million people.

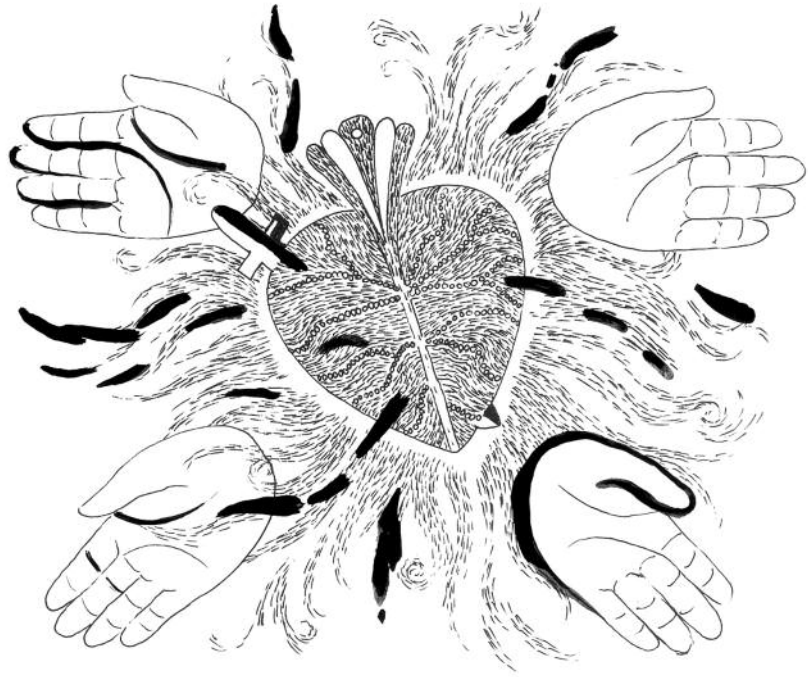
² Many posts to activists listservs offer guidance. Others like the Women's Spiritual Network: <http://spiritweb.org/Spirit/newsletters.html?news=women-network>, offer spiritual approaches to activism.



Con el corazón de Coatlicue

Poema pa' Gloria Anzaldúa

by Norma E. Cantú*



Fue en Granada,
en esa tierra ensangrentada
by martyr's blood: García Lorca, Mariana Piñeda
among others, that your death found me,
y me puse a chillar
not loud or anything, just quiet tears,
in the heart,
shed for a friend who has passed on,
a sister who will be missed.

I first heard your voice at a NACCS.
Was it Ypsilanti where we both felt so unwelcome?
such outsiders?
And we laughed about it afterwards in spite of our anger.

* First published in *La Voz de Esperanza* magazine, no. 6,
vol. 17 (San Antonio, Texas), July-August 2004, pp. 4-5.

Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León.

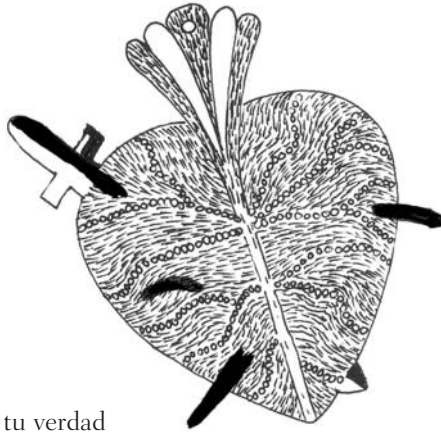
It is your voice that remains with me
and that I don't want to forget.
Over the years our paths
crossed many times
como esas veredas en el monte
de South Texas que se cruzan una y otra vez.
We met en lugares
insólitos, like D.C. and Albuquerque
y claro está, en Tejas y California.

Dondequiera, you always brought
a sense of truth to my heart, porque
you are truth,
your voice speaking the truths
few dare to utter.

En tierras tejanas
viste la luz por primera vez
y ahora yaces en
ese mismo pedazo
de mundo en el
que nos ha tocado vivir,
no doubt mother earth te
acuna en su seno,
and your spirit
makes the mesquite tremble
with a quiet breeze.

Hermana, amiga
profeta, pensadora sinigual
siempre fiel a lo que
puede ser
a lo que debe ser.
Esos mesquites, y los huisaches
y las retamas de ésta, tu tierra
a veces hostil,
reclaman tu voz
esa voz que jamás
podrá extinguirse
porque grita desde
las páginas





tu verdad
mi verdad
nuestra verdad
mestiza

You asked me once
how I could survive
living in esta frontera,
how I could put up with it.
I don't remember what I
answered, only that you
understood with your very soul
why and how I did.
En todas las fronteras donde vivimos
ahí, está tu espíritu, hermana, amiga
profeta, pensadora.
No te agüites, you advised.

When we needed a voice, yours rang out;
when we needed a writer to give words
to our despair, you wrote;
when we needed a prophet to give us hope,
you spoke of a better world,
where we could forgive and not forget
where we could go on without denying our
past,
ese pasado tan complejo,
complex and simple because it is ours.

Gloria, amiga, hermana, paisana
voz tejana of myriad languages
your spirit speaks still
and we listen
with our Coatlicue hearts.

Cadaqués, Spain, June 2004

Gloria La rebelde

by Claire Joysmith*

la asertiva
la bruja-curandera
la gloria prieta
de la palabra
de serpiente
de pluma flor y canto
de verdad
indecible, irrefractable
fuerte, cariñosa
you remain in many
hearts in many words
in many living spirits

your work was hard
yet always a sharing
may your rest be pura paz

may you remain among us
in each word that says
the unsayable, that
creatively heals
so many wounds.



* Taken from *La Voz de Esperanza* magazine, no. 6, vol. 17 (San Antonio, Texas), July-August 2004, pp. 17.

Drawing by Héctor Ponce de León based on a photo by Annie Valva, published in *La Voz de Esperanza* magazine, no. 6, vol. 17 (San Antonio, Texas), July-August 2004, cover.

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Reviews



By Other Means, For Other Ends? Bush's Re-election Reassessed

Imtiaz Hussain and José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, eds.
Universidad Iberoamericana/CISAN-UNAM
Mexico City, 2005, 204 pp.

PURPOSEFUL DECEPTION?

Re-electing George W. Bush raises questions. Lying to the people, constraining their civil rights, substituting welfare with military expenditures and a first term more riddled with deficits than surpluses may not be “rational” reasons to re-elect a chief executive. Yet, more Americans than ever still voted Bush in.

So much has been said about this phenomenon, it becomes hard to distinguish what is relevant from what is not. Were American citizens deceived into voting for someone they did not want to? Or did they want to vote for Bush because he truly represented “American interests” or “American values”? At what point can interests/values be shaped by misinformation, manipulation and deception? Such questions underlie *By Other Means, For Other Ends?*

By recognizing politics by “other means” during the 2004 election, the authors collectively establish what could be a new paradigm for analyzing U.S. electoral politics. Four factors stand out in the analysis: fear, religion (in its evangelical form), deception and values.

Not one of them represents a breakthrough in American political science or in international relations analysis. Yet, the book still brings them together into one coherent analytical framework. From the different contributions to this book, one can identify, to a greater or lesser degree, the presence of all four factors. More than just being independent factors, they both constitute a multifaceted whole and go beyond summing up these four parts.

As one of the editors of the book, Imtiaz Hussain traces the influence of evangelism

in the Bush administration to being more than a temporary union of church and state. He believes that it ushers in a new “realignment,” a term first used by V. O. Key to refer to a substantial alteration of agreements and alliances between groups and individuals. In his view, a new realignment could occur if Bush institutionalizes evangelism. Curiously, it is possible that the first steps toward evangelical institutionalization were taken even before the Iraqi invasion began. Ian Hemphill’s analysis of the 2002 National Security Strategy and its focus on pre-emptive attack, rather than containment or deterrence, suggests why such a process is already underway.

Even though Bush deliberately deceived the American electorate in invading Iraq, Lowell Gustafson points out that there is little consensus behind the purpose for doing so. Obviously, it helped Bush’s re-election, thus creating one of the first elections—if not the first—since the end of the Cold War when foreign considerations received greater priority from U.S. voters than domestic. Yet, the Iraq deception began a long time before the elections and in a very unexpected way if we consider how in 2000 Bush’s main foreign issue was the relationship with Mexico. Gustafson suspects the interest lying behind the Iraq “mass deception” was to protect Israel’s security, advocated by administrative neo-conservatives, a theme Hussain reduces to the “Vulcans” formulating foreign policy: Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, Paul Wolfowitz, among others. Merely the will to exercise power, Thucydides style, prevailed “behind the curtain,” Gustafson contends.

Whatever the reason for deception, it undermined the predictability inherent in traditional approaches. Satya Pattanayak shows how, at a time perceived as critical, voting is not influenced as much by tangible interests (particularly economics) as intangible, such as religion and moral values. Central to this shift is the “double threat syndrome”:

threats posed not just by terrorists, but also “immoral” issues like gay marriage, abortion, and so forth.

Michael Twomey’s “comparative values assessment” expands the concept of “values.” Although unconventional, his system complements the more traditional explanations of electoral outcomes. Once again, the focus on the fear factor (caused by misinformation and deception) emerges as a public values modeler.

Still, the most important questions remain: What are the global and regional implications? How will this affect U.S.-Mexico relations? José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, the other editor of the book, portrays the pessimistic aftermath of global and local instability. The U.S.’s ethnocentric conception of society and politics, partially derived from its *insulata fortunata* condition, favors greater intolerance and more intensive interventionism. In such a context, it is ingenuous to expect U.S.-Mexico bilateral relations to improve, let alone achieve a satisfactory agreement on undocumented migration.

Gustavo Acua sustains that not only was the presidential election relevant, but the composition of Congress must also be understood to predict policy outcomes, in this case, hemispheric trade preferences. The most likely strategy of “hub and spokes” (characterized by separate bilateral agreements with the U.S.) puts every country at a disadvantage except the U.S. A worse-worse situation is expected domestically and internationally.

Only a year after a seemingly paradoxical re-election, Bush’s overall job rating is falling to precipitously low levels. Abroad, the U.S. has lost most of its “soft power”. It becomes more relevant than ever to reflect “where did it all go wrong”? *By Other Means, For Other Ends?* may help find an answer. ■■■

Jonathan Gilbert

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By Other Means, For Other Ends? Bush's Re-election Reassessed

UNDERSTANDING THE RECENT
CHANGES IN THE U.S.

The authors of this book try to explain the results of the 2004 presidential elections pointing to the changes in U.S. society after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. They take into account the international factors that had the greatest impact, in particular the expansion of violence and terrorist activities, as well as the domestic socio-political variables that had an influence in voters' behavior.

They analyze society's reaction to the perception that there was a crisis of survival, remembering that that was the first time U.S. territory had been attacked with a large number of dead as a result. Given the possibility of subsequent terrorist attacks—as the media constantly blared using intelligence agency information—Congress, part of the public and most U.S. leaders supported the national security strategy undertaken by George W. Bush, first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. They also supported the administration's New Security Strategy proposal presented in June 2002, which put forward the need to fight against global terrorist organizations and the states that sponsored them or tried to produce weapons of mass destruction, whether chemical, biological or nuclear. By doing so, they approved the new U.S. role as the international system's watchdog, opposing any state that it might consider potentially dangerous to its territory and population, as Hemphill shows in Chapter 6, even if this preventive attack strategy contravenes the norms of international law or rejects the process of resolution of controversies by any international body like the United Nations.

The book's introduction points out that the elections were very special: the majority supported a war platform; foreign policy

made a priority of domestic issues; and religion became part of the institutional discourse and its fight *against evil*. It should be pointed out that immigrants and women played an important role by supporting the Republicans, when traditionally they are considered part of the Democrats' constituency.

In Chapter 2, "Evangelizing elections: Bush's politics by other means," Imtiaz Hussain writes that, using Christian doctrine, the most profound values and the insecurity of the faithful were manipulated. George W. Bush won the election in rural areas, like conservative Ohio, by calling on Christians "to vote because Biblical values are in danger." The use of religion in a political campaign adds an extra advantage, since the opponent is seen as the devil, in the Biblical sense, and

A cultural hegemony
re-emerged in U.S. society,
supported and disseminated
by the neo-conservative members
of the elite.

so can be attacked, emphasizing his errors and failures.

The Gospel calls for spreading the good news: in Bush's mind, the events of 9/11 justify the internationalization of the Christian Gospel toward the Middle East.

For his part, neo-conservative Karl Rove used the fear factor to get the voters to cast their ballots for Bush, while he waged the battle against the *forces of evil* personified in Al Qaeda's terrorists.

Imtiaz Hussain maintains that a cultural hegemony re-emerged in U.S. society, supported and disseminated by the neo-conservative members of the decision-making elite. He also says that the aforementioned social factors influenced the voters' behavior in other ways. Given the danger, voters turned toward their social group, whether religious

(like the Evangelists, Catholics, Jews or Christians, most of whom supported the Republican candidate) or cultural (like the Hispanics, whose participation in the Democratic Party dropped because they threw their support to Republican proposals like support for the family, no to abortion or the ban on gay marriage, characteristic values of white neo-conservatives but that have been broadly disseminated by churches and the media).

In Chapter 3, “Neo-conning America: The deliberate use of deception,” Lowell Gustafson reviews the Republican and Democratic Parties’ electoral strategy, concluding that the Democrats did not know how to “sell” the benefits of liberalism. The Republicans, by contrast, talked about taking democracy and freedom to the Middle East,

The United States
has reinforced its position
on the international scene as
the hegemonic power, but does
not enjoy legitimacy.

particularly regional hotbeds of radicalism like Damascus, Bagdad, Tripoli, Teheran and Gaza, as some Israeli leaders were suggesting.

According to political trends, says Gustafson, the second Bush administration will be more aggressive and ambitious in its fight against the so-called Axis of Evil, particularly in Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

In Chapter 4, “Religion, economy & the fear,” Satya Pattnayak takes a close look at some aspects of the election, pointing out that due to the state of emergency, voters behaved abnormally; they did not center their interest on domestic policy issues that affect them directly like the budget, inflation or jobs; the contest was based on questions like moral values and the fear of terrorism or homosexuals. For that reason, behavioralist focuses based on status variables could not

predict electoral behavior. Pattnayak states that the great impact of religion and morality on U.S. society after the war climate and uncertainty spawned by September 11 was underestimated.

In Chapter 5, “Election reflections from south of the border: clues, views and values,” Michael Twomey analyzes values like freedom, democracy, equality, individualism, independence, efficiency, prosperity and moral character, among others, important to U.S. culture but that have specific—even different—interpretations in other cultures. Twomey emphasizes that to get popular support, Bush was able to personify these values during his campaign and to transmit his wish to share them with other cultures (such as the Arab countries and in general the Muslim world) even if they were not interested in adopting them.

In Chapter 7, “Trade policy implications of Bush’s re-election: six strategy menus & two-level stakes,” Gustavo Acua reviews and analyzes different trade policy alternatives, hemispheric integration through the Free Trade Area of the Americas, individual adherence to NAFTA, the signing of bilateral accords with certain countries of the region, the presentation of general principles in hemisphere-specific issues, supplemented by bilateral sectoral accords, regional convergence seeking an accord among the sub-regional blocks like the Mercosur, NAFTA, the Andean Community, and, lastly, the signing of preferential regional accords in which the United States is the main actor, like its initiative aimed at the Caribbean.

Studying the different strategies, the author seeks to identify which one the Bush administration will adopt and present to Congress. He underlines that even though the current legislature has a Republican majority, in trade matters, representatives listen carefully to the desires and interests of their constituents, particularly farmers, industrialists, unionists and environmentalists, and

will vote for the option that benefits them the most, regardless of their party's trade strategy.

Considering that the Republicans could dominate the House of Representatives, the author favors a trade strategy based on negotiating bilateral accords with different countries in the hemisphere because that would guarantee the executive broad room for maneuver.

Acua concludes talking about the internal and external factors that influenced the 2004 elections, pointing out that it was an extraordinary process carried out during a crisis, which meant that voters did not behave according to the usual political parameters, but that variables like fear for their own survival led them to be influenced by psycho-

The book presents original analytical and theoretical views of the U.S. in which neither the state nor the administration are the only protagonists.

social factors. This election was marked by voters' fear and insecurity.

In Chapter 8, José Luis Valdés-Ugalde reflects about the elections' global implications, stating that violence and war have imposed a model for change in the world that has an impact on democracy. The United States has reinforced its position on the international scene as the hegemonic power, but does not enjoy legitimacy. For that reason, it believes that it should use hard power based on coercion, particularly military coercion, to convince other states of the legitimacy of the interventions it has staged in some countries and attempts to justify them historically by maintaining that it is fulfilling a mission as the messianic defenders of the Christian religion, presumably sketched out in Manifest Destiny. From its perspective, this theologically

tinged role played by the United States formalizes its exceptional status as a global power.

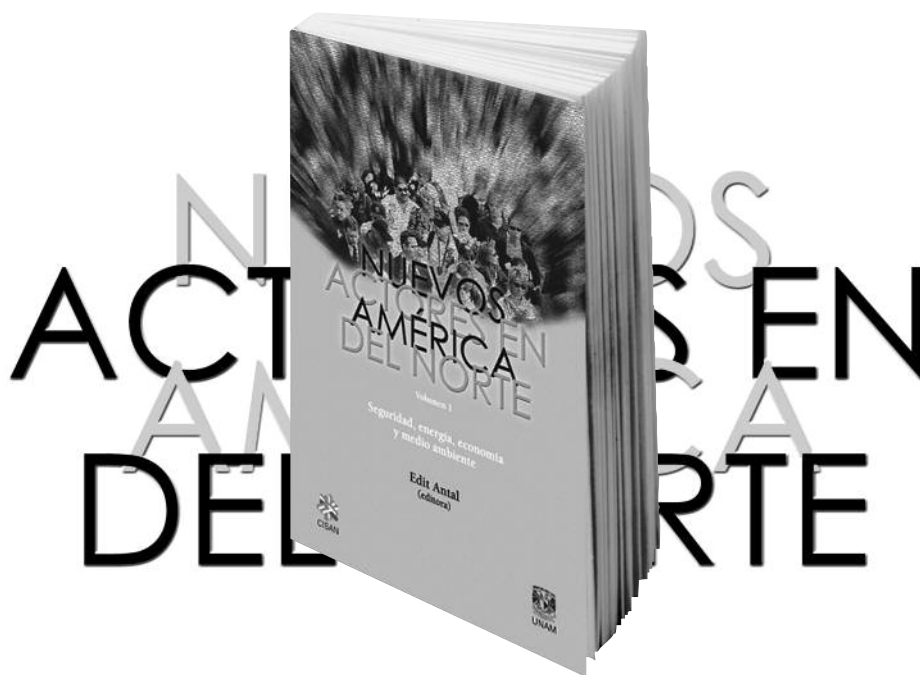
Several severe limitations can be foreseen for Mexico's bilateral agenda with the United States given that the latter's main interest is its own security, relegating issues important for the Mexicans to the back burner.

This book is the result of a very up-to-date research project, citing specialized journals like the *American Political Science Review*, *International Security*, *Foreign Policy*, influential U.S. newspapers and magazines like *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New Yorker*, the web sites of the most important political and social actors, and documents that aim to explain the U.S. political scene.

By Other Means, For Other Ends? Bush's Re-election Reassessed can be an indispensable guide for deeper research into the issue and an important tool for students, professors and researchers of international relations or politics interested in the United States. It presents original analytical and theoretical views in which neither the state nor the administration are the only protagonists: society plays a decisive role in the construction of new mechanisms and social and political forms that make it possible to face the challenges of international violence like terrorism.

To support their arguments, most of the authors have used statistical data or field research about voters' values, motivations and aims. The presentation of this empirical data and the corresponding sociological, economic, legal and/or political analysis will aid the reader in understanding the recent changes in U.S. society and government. ■■

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**Nuevos actores en América del Norte.
Seguridad, energía y medio ambiente
(vol. 1)**

(New Actors in North America.

Security, Energy and Environment [vol. 1])

Edit Antal, ed.

CISAN-UNAM

Mexico City, 2005, 248 pp.

North America has stopped being perceived merely as a geographical area. It can no longer be understood as a whole by solely taking into account the operations of the North American Free Trade Agreement and its consequences for the region's economy and production. Today the region cannot be understood without analyzing the influence of its *actors*. And this is precisely the theme of *Nuevos actores en América del Norte* (New Actors in North America), a collective work edited by CISAN researcher Edit Antal.

Volume 1 of this book, with its multi-disciplinary approach, deals with a new socio-

economic make-up of North America based on the existence and action of different political, economic and social agents reorganized in institutions, industries, groups, networks and movements. Thus, an unprecedented dynamic has been born that reflects a regional governance characterized by crisscrossed interests, expectations and perceptions of the state and non-state, trans-governmental and trans-national arenas.

This book offers a kind of conceptual cartography accompanying the analysis of the new actors in North America, situating the reader in the coordinates of the current debate about issues of security and energy, industrial reconfiguration, citizenship and environmental networks and institutions.

In his article "La integración energética de México con Estados Unidos" (Mexico's Energy Integration with the United States), Víctor Rodríguez-Padilla analyzes the possibilities and risks of energy integration in the region. Looking at the U.S., Canadian and

Mexican energy markets and policies, the author underlines the centrality for the U.S. of energy security, which makes it a Bush administration priority. He also highlights the convergence of the three governments around the emergence of a “North American focus” on energy supply expressed more in the integration of the coal and natural gas market but with great difficulties regarding oil and electricity. In this scheme of things, Mexico and Canada are very trustworthy partners for the United States despite the differences in energy models, particularly Mexico’s which is not completely liberalized.

Mel Kliman reviews “Comercio de energéticos entre Canadá y Estados Unidos” (Energy Trade between Canada and the United States) and this market’s importance for both countries. These sales are a considerable percentage of Canadian exports, while for the U.S., the purchases are an essential component of its energy security.

Rafael Friedmann develops an interesting view of the risks involved in North American energy integration in his essay “La crisis del sector eléctrico de California” (The Crisis of California’s Electricity Sector). He documents the negative consequences of a deregulation model that did not ensure the competitive reproduction of the model itself or create a socially responsible governmental policy. Friedmann emphasizes the dangers of an indiscriminate opening in which the federal and local governments exercised no control over market forces, causing financial crises, zero planning, excessive price hikes to consumers and deteriorating service.

Raúl Benítez analyzes the “Avances y límites de la seguridad hemisférica” (Advances and Limits of Hemispheric Security) and the importance for the debate of updating security accords because most are inoperative when faced with new threats. In North America, the issue is clearly vital for the United States, particularly after 9/11. The author emphasizes that the U.S. is maintaining a dual view

linking its security strategy with its trade partners, Mexico and Canada, through smart borders and, also a hemisphere-wide focus. In any case, a new security model is being created for the twenty-first century which includes the contradictions and differences regarding the region’s security priorities.

José Luis Piñeyro looks at the vulnerabilities and risks of “La seguridad nacional de México a inicios de siglo” (Mexico’s National Security at the Beginning of the Century). Starting from a concept of security defined as the way in which the population’s cultural and material needs are met by the state given internal and external threats, Piñeyro outlines Mexico’s weaknesses, saying that its vulnerability lies in the Fox administration’s “low profile” foreign policy.

This book offers a kind of conceptual cartography accompanying the analysis of the new actors in North America.

Silvia Vélez and Argentino Mendoza’s article looks at another aspect of security: cooperation strategies in the fight against drug trafficking. The study of the High-Level Contact Group as a means of institutionalizing a policy to control drugs in Mexico-U.S. relations demonstrates the difficulties in establishing an *ad hoc* institution given the differences in the two countries’ anti-drug bureaucracies.

In “La industria biotecnológica en América del Norte” (The Bio-technology Industry in North America), Alejandro Mercado talks about the emergence and development of the industry in the region and how it has become an important economic agent because of its potential for technological transformation. At the same time, and as a result of skimpy regulations, society’s response has contributed to the creation of a new social actor in the guise of environmental and consumers’ movements.

Mercado says that bio-technology's importance lies in its constitution as an economic space that is not only redefining productive processes, but also the social actors who participate in the broader political and social sphere. The author puts forward the need for society to play a more active role to contribute to acceptable regulation for bio-technology, limiting the risks and promoting its rational use.

Another sector that has been profoundly changed because of NAFTA is the auto industry. Elizabeth Gutiérrez describes this market's characteristics in Mexico and the international relations between the Mexican state and U.S. automobile multinationals. Similar strategies by both of them not only fostered the reformulation of production, but also created a broad network of economic actors

New Actors deals with timely issues in order to understand how new actors come into being and the expectations that these actors engender.

like multinational auto parts corporations and maquiladoras to more profoundly integrate the North American auto industry.

Despite their apparently being outside the book's general profile, the next two articles look at the novel issues of "Producción translocal de actores antieconómicos" (The Translocal Production of Anti-economic Actors) and the "Binomio ciudadano-consumidor en las democracias contemporáneas" (The Citizen-Consumer in Contemporary Democracies). Steven Flusty examines the creation of militant movements against free trade in a context of two kinds of globalization: the first linked to multinational economic integration and the second to daily translocal interactions. In the latter, a lateral globalizing circuit is created as the basis for the generation of anti-economic actors who use means like the Internet to protest and express their

rejection of the image of human action subsumed in the sphere of economic action. Juan Guzmán, for his part, presents an interesting debate about the new kinds of civil rights defenses linked to consumption and service provision, as well as public participation in decision making and the demand for better management.

Edit Antal deals with actors, networks and environmental institutions from the perspective of the construction of environmental discourses and the social risks linked to the environment. In her article, "Redes y discursos de las ONG en la zona de Tijuana-San Diego" (NGO Networks and Discourses in the Tijuana-San Diego Area), Antal, also one of the book's editors, starts off from the premise that networks play a very important role because of their ability to link up the local and the global to create spaces for cooperation to solve transnational environmental problems. The case of the border area between Tijuana and San Diego is significant because it portrays a very specific environmental problem and because of the severe asymmetries of the two environmental movements in their bi-national context. The author situates several discourses that the two movements have appropriated based on a new way of linking the environment, culture and politics, which seek to solve problems in a given political context, achieve sustainable development or radicalize the environmental struggle. In any case, these networks and movements' dilemma lies in their effective action in changing political circumstances in regional spaces that are increasingly plural.

In "Riesgos y redes ambientales en la frontera México-Estados Unidos" (Environmental Risks and Networks on the Mexico-U.S. Border), Miriam Alfie puts forward the existence of new actors and forms of reorganization along the local-global axis in contexts of risk and social demand. A space has been created in North America where new identities and social interactions that make

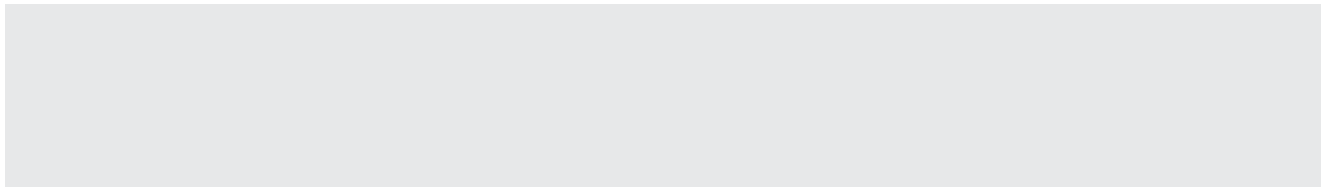
possible the proliferation of networks of environmental organization, knowledge and information can be seen. In this parameter, Alfie analyzes environmental groups and networks' participation and influence all along the Mexico-U.S. border.

Lastly, María Teresa Vázquez looks at the issue of "La planificación bilateral México-Estados Unidos" (Mexico-U.S. Bilateral Planning) from the standpoint of creating institutions and their interaction with border communities. She points to how planning has changed because of greater participation and links among local actors along the border since it

is these local planners who are the mediators for agreements in bilateral environmental planning.

As we can see, *New Actors in North America* deals with timely issues in order to understand not only how new actors come into being and their interactions based on their specific interests, but also the expectations that these actors engender in the constitution of North America as an asymmetrical, plural, complex region. ■■

Bibiana Gómez and Esther Ponce
International affairs specialists



Iguales,
Iguales,
pero
diferentes
 pero diferentes



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