



VOICES *of Mexico*

GISAN • UNAM

Chihuahua: Ancient Cultures, Tarahumaras And Colonial Missions

The Art of Mauricio Gómez Morín

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

About the Chiapas Conflict

Articles by Luis H. Álvarez,
Samuel Ruiz and Emilio Zebadúa

Smart Borders In North America

Articles by José Luis Piñeyro
And Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces

Mexico's Position on Irak

Raúl Benítez Manaut



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Gerard Tournebise

Cover

Mauricio Gómez Morín

The Restoration of Dreams

70 x 40 cm, 1998 (acrylic, tempera and objects on wood).

ERRATA

In Roberto Escudero's article, "1968, Human Rights and Mexican Democracy" (*Voices of Mexico* 61) on page 31, the first line reads, "murder of 80,000 Armenians." It should read, "murder of 800,000 Armenians."

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María Cristina Rosas

OUR VOICE

Both the Asian Pacific Economic Coordination (APEC) forum in Los Cabos and the Mexico-U.S. binational conference in Mexico City last November show once again Washington's preeminence in world decisions. They also demonstrate that the United States is using the multilateral and bilateral economic spheres—the latter of fundamental importance for Mexicans—as the launching pad for its anti-terrorist offensive at the expense of trade and political relations with its main partners. This offensive is focused on Irak and supposedly the defense of U.S. security against Al Qaeda's threats of aggression against Western targets. It also has a direct impact on the interests of countries like Mexico that once again will have to wait for strategic bilateral negotiations until Washington's hegemonic demands have been satisfied. For Mexico, this disadvantageous situation is not a small matter; it means an important delay for the issues of greatest concern on the bilateral agenda, and a relative change in the traditional terms of being neighbors with the United States.

Due to the fact that historically, relations with the United States have had a critical effect on many aspects of our national political and economic life, this impasse will influence—as it already has begun to—Mexico's political debate. Certainly, since September 11, Mexicans are more divided than ever about relations with the United States. They have seen how, after the democratic elections of 2000, but above all since the tragic terrorist attacks against the United States, the possibilities for a substantial negotiation have been categorically stymied. In the framework of the anti-terrorist struggle and given the U.S. refusal to offer clear perspectives of potential results on issues such as migration, trade, the environment, etc., let alone definitive solutions, the perception is growing among the public, even the most tolerant and inclusive parts of the public, and among sectors of the political class, that the efforts of the democratic political process and the strategic idea Mexico has put forward of drawing closer to the United States have been useless.

On the one hand, the historic change of July 2000, which put into office the first democratic government in Mexico, has not been enough for Washington to change its policy toward our country, thus contributing to the consolidation of that political change. All this supports the hypothesis, widespread in different academic sectors, about Washington's disinterest in Mexican democracy. On the other hand, this liability in bilateral relations has levied a political cost on the country. If we accept that the advance of democracy is evidence of Mexico's political modernization, something of the utmost importance in both Latin and North America, and that the strategic drawing closer to Washington was a very big political wager domestically, the United States' indifference to these efforts have already had serious implications both for the legitimacy of the administration of President Fox (who regrettably has been unable to deliver effective results based on this strategy), for the internal political process and for the medium-term continuity of the very policy of drawing closer to the United States that so intelligently and rationally the administration had proposed. With things this way, the costs have been high and Washington's responses very unsatisfactory when negotiating some terms of the bilateral agenda. We shall have to wait for our neighbor to resolve its pending business with Irak and, with that, ensure that it maintains the absolute unipolar control that it has exercised since the end of the Cold War.

* * *

However, not everything can wait even from the point of view of U.S. interests. Proof of this are the great power's constant pressure and invitations, not only to Mexico but to the entire community of nations, to join its strategies and actions against terrorism and in favor of its national security, understood as the axis for world security. Despite this, Mexico has not acted unconditionally, divorcing itself from its own interests and principles and subordinating itself to its powerful neighbor, as some voices in the country have insinuated. This can be seen in Mexico's attitude in the UN Security Council with regard to the discussion

about Iraq, an issue on which it had notable differences with the United States, as Raúl Benítez Manaut explains in his article in this issue's "Politics" section. Benítez Manaut also argues that these differences will not have a negative impact on Mexico's bilateral relations with the United States.

In this section we offer our readers an analysis of an issue that U.S. foreign policy has stressed since September 11: smart borders, supposedly the best solution for guaranteeing the creation of a security perimeter for the United States, but which has undoubtedly affected important interests of its neighbors. For the case of Mexico, we have a detailed analysis of the implications of some of the actions included in the smart border strategy for the country as a whole and the border area particularly; specialist José Luis Piñeyro alerts us about the negative repercussions for migration, employment in the maquila plants, tourism and even remittances from Mexican emigrants. Alicia Fuentes clearly and succinctly explains the development of the strategy and the concept itself from its inception after September 11, as well as some of the measures and actions implemented both for and by Canada and Mexico.

We conclude this section with an article by Carlos Casillas about the first trends for the July 2003 federal elections; he analyzes scenarios for Mexico's governability in the first federal elections after the transition to democracy.

One of the new administration's pending tasks is the definitive solution of the conflict in Chiapas, which emerged together with the North American Free Trade Agreement January 1, 1994, and which nine years later has still not found its way toward negotiations, much less consensus. In our "Society" section, three undisputed actors in the conflict (the government commissioner for peace and an unquestioned pioneer of democracy in Mexico, Luis H. Álvarez; the former bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas and well known social fighter and defender of indigenous rights, Samuel Ruiz García; and the former electoral councillor and current minister of the interior of the state of Chiapas, Emilio Zebadúa) present their points of view and explain the reasons why they think it has not been possible to move forward in the peace process. The three also describe the actions that they have each carried out in their own fields over the last year to try to unravel the problem.

In "Economy," we offer the reader an interesting article by expert Enrique Dussel about the development of the maquiladora industry for export in Mexico's North. Dussel analyzes the question both from the point of view of its structural impact on the economy and the social consequences of this strategy for development based on exports. We also include a rigorous analysis by economist Enrique Pino about the role that the re-privatized banking system has played in recent years in the Mexican economy; not only has it not effectively fulfilled its classic social role of financing businesses and individuals through loans, but it has also had to be bailed out by the government and saved from bankruptcy at an extremely high cost for the public. The banking system, argues Pino, far from being the driving force behind national development, has been an obstacle, and everything indicates that this will continue with the sale of Mexico's largest banks to foreign capital.

The recent U.S. elections show where the new concerns of the American public lie: they center on national security and the inviolability of the country's territory, two certainties that the terrorist attacks shattered. This is why the Republicans won an unequivocal victory, as did to a certain extent President Bush, who has thus become the champion of the struggle for ensuring the safety of Americans at all costs. We present articles by two different specialists on the November 5 election results: César Pérez analyzes the elections in light of a critique of a dysfunctional electoral system that fosters only minor adjustments, not truly structural or profound changes, almost regardless of the results. From that point of view, he also looks at the participation of the Hispanic caucus in both houses of Congress. Patricia de los Ríos looks at the new balance of forces both in the federal legislature and the governors' mansions. The new situation is undoubtedly unbalanced since the balloting gives the president *carte blanche* to implement his policy practically unchecked.

"United States Affairs" also includes an article by Celina Bárcenas looking at the U.S. Northeast, the third in a series about the Hispanic market in the United States. Political scientist Cecilia Imaz contributes on an issue that is an example of the transnational nature of politics today and of the complexity of the inter-

action between the United States and Mexico: the influence of Mexican migrants to the United States on local political power in Mexico.

The "Canadian Issues" section is also dedicated to an analysis of smart borders, with an article by researcher Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces who takes a historical look at the role of the border and trade relations with the United States in the construction of the Canadian identity and the determination of its political life. Based on that background, she examines the consequences for Canada of having accepted the implementation of a smart border strategy with the corresponding cost of subordination to U.S. geopolitical interests.

* * *

Our "Art and Culture" section presents the work of an important Chihuahuan artist, Mauricio Gómez Morin, whose graphic proposals seduce the viewer through the imaginary worlds they represent, the mastery of his technique and the versatility in the media he has chosen to express himself: painting, etching, illustration and even collage, among others. Margot Crucet contributes an article that takes us through the different times and places merged in the artistic proposal of Ernesto Ríos, a member of a generation of young photographers who combines traditional media with modern technological tools to construct his own interpretation of the world and himself. And finally, we journey through the unknown world of the multiple collections and varied objects gathered over a period of 450 years in the life of our National Autonomous University of Mexico, with the exposition "Unknown Worlds: Marvels and Curiosities of the UNAM," displayed in the Old College of San Ildefonso, a landmark in our institution.

"The Splendor of Mexico" takes us to Chihuahua, our country's largest state, bordering on the United States, to discover that the North was also home to important pre-Hispanic peoples, as Arturo Guevara introduces us to the Paquimé culture and the imposing constructions of Casas Grandes. Claudia Molinari guides us to the nomadic and sedentary groups that peopled the territory when the Spanish arrived and their fierce resistance to the invaders' customs and traditions. The Tarahumara of today were forged as a people in that colonial struggle that finally pushed them into the majestic mountain ranges to reorganize their lives away from the military and cultural control of the new owners of the land. Karla Muñoz reminds us that this struggle also involved groups of missionaries who, dedicated to spreading the Gospel despite the violent rejection of the local indigenous groups, set up innumerable missions in Chihuahua, some of which are part of the state's cultural heritage. Finally, the pacification of Mexico's North could not be understood without including the presidios; in our "History" section, architect Luis Arnal brings us a description of the role these forts played, manned by soldiers paid by the Crown or by civilians who sought protection against the attacks by nomadic indigenous groups like the Apache or Comanche.

In "Museums," María Luisa Reyes Landa takes us to the city of Chihuahua to visit the Museo Histórico de la Revolución (The Museum of the History of the Revolution), dedicated to one of the most famous and controversial figures of our revolution, General Francisco (Pancho) Villa.

We dedicate the "Ecology" section of this issue to the Chihuahuan sand lizard, an animal endemic to that state's desert, whose study offers scientists important clues about this species' ability to adapt to changes in habitat.

The new Chicano literature, the product of authors who migrated to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, is the subject of the essay by writer and literary critic Bruce Novoa. Based on the work of Carlos von Son, a short story of whose we also publish, he explains why he holds that this literature renews the genre and at the same time does not fit the pattern of his more assimilated Chicano colleagues.

Our "In Memoriam" section pays tribute to historian and Mexican film critic Emilio García Riera, a modest man, fiercely dedicated to his work and to whom we owe the most exhaustive history of Mexican cinema.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

Mexico: Dilemmas In the Irak-U.S. Conflict

Raúl Benítez Manaut*

The U.S. threat of war against Irak, pressuring the international community to support the strategy of deposing Saddam Hussein, brought Mexico face to face with one of the most important challenges to its relationship with the United States because of its membership in the UN Security Council.

Mexico is in a strategic dilemma: it is a neighbor and partner of the United States, and in the defense of both their strategic interests, many of their current forms of cooperation and foreign policy coincide. However, for Mexico, after September 11, the United States has subordinated its relations with most countries of the world to the support given to the war against international terrorism and the attempt to oust Saddam Hussein.

In the Security Council, Mexico did not back the U.S. and British position supporting a preemptive military attack. Rather, Mexico aligned more with the position of France, Russia and China, known as the two-lane strategy: a mandate to Irak to accept UN inspectors with no limitations, even inside Hussein's palaces. This diplomatic solution to the crisis was achieved November 8, in resolution 1441, sup-



Peter Morgan/Reuters

The United Nations Security Council meets on Irak at its New York headquarters.

* Researcher at CISAN.

In the UN Security Council, Mexico showed that it is not an unconditional supporter of the United States, that it has its own voice and interests.

ported by the council's 15 countries, including Syria, the representative of the Arab world.

Voices had been raised in Mexico criticizing President Vicente Fox from the beginning of his administration, saying that he was selling out to the United States, endangering the foreign policy principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and the peaceful solution of controversies. In the United States, it was said that the friendship between the two presidents was rapidly deteriorating because Fox had not been sufficiently emphatic in his support for President Bush after September 11. This criticism continues in the United States, since Mexico was seen as a dissident in the Security Council when it supported a search for alternatives to military attack. The convergence with France worried many in the United States, and with that, it is said in the United States that the romance between the two presidents was on the point of breaking up.

The conflict with Irak tensed Mexico-U.S. relations since the support Washington was requesting was seen as a zero-sum game: if you are not with me, automatically, you are supporting international terrorism and Saddam Hussein. This polarization and diplomatic reductionism put Mexican diplomacy and President Fox himself in a tough spot since, domestically, members of Congress and the public are in-

creasingly against the attack. Poll results published October 31, 2002, in the Mexican daily *Reforma* point to a drop in public approval of President George Bush from 63 percent to 42 percent from September 7 to October 26. The same poll showed an increase from 49 percent to 56 percent in the number of Mexicans who believe that the Mexican government should remain neutral.

Both presidents are conditioned by domestic politics in a way that damages relations. Both countries' Congresses have nationalist deputies or representatives and senators who greatly distrust their neighbor. In the United States, there are also anti-immigrant political leaders whose positions are practically a declaration of war against Mexico, for example, when "Mexican hunters" are tolerated in Texas, New Mexico or Arizona border counties. In Mexico, many deputies and senators view the North American Free Trade Agreement with distrust and oppose President Bush's war discourse. To this should be added the fact that President Fox has committed himself to the goal of achieving an agreement to regularize the status of migratory workers in the United States, a debate that has been frozen in the U.S. capitol.

One of the issues that would tend to push both governments to an understanding on migration is the flow of citizens from both countries who reside in the other. It is estimated that

of the 8 million undocumented migrants in the United States, living in fear of being deported, three million are Mexican; 3 million Mexicans are documented workers there; there is an undetermined number of Mexican Americans (born in Mexico and who now hold U.S. citizenship), that some sources put at 5 million people; in addition to 5 or 10 million American citizens with rights in Mexico (everything from citizenship to property ownership). In other words, it is the largest Mexican community abroad and involves up to 20 percent of the country's total population. The situation is reciprocal: the largest number of U.S. citizens living abroad (1.3 million people) reside in Mexico. (Followed by Canada where 690,000 Americans live and Great Britain and Germany with a little over 200,000 Americans each.) The difference is that Americans do not reside illegally in Mexico, although they do require very complex consular and legal attention from both governments.

In Mexico-U.S. relations, security is a very complex issue. For example, the two countries have notable disagreements on certain international and hemispheric policies. Mexico showed that it is not an unconditional supporter of the United States in the UN Security Council, that it has its own voice and interests and that, depending on the case, it may agree or disagree with the superpower's positions. Mexico also has more agreements with countries like France and China in the council. This shows that geographical proximity and the increase in free trade are not synonymous with strategic agreements on everything. With regard to hemispheric security, the Mexican government questioned the September 7, 2001 Interamerican Mutual Assistance Treaty and today has

expressed a fundamental disagreement with its remaining in effect. This makes the difference with the U.S. position of building security agreements in the hemisphere to deal with possible conflicts via military or coercive means (for example trade embargoes) obvious. In the same fashion, in the hemisphere, the Colombian conflict is challenging stability and increasing the precariousness of the political situation in some Andean countries, which has begun to create dramatic conditions which could be the occasion for invoking interventionist security agreements. Mexico has also systematically opposed the trade embargo on Cuba.

Nevertheless, where agreement on security is very broad is in the bilateral relationship. Since September 11, the Mexican government has applied a great many measures that have helped the United States to have a secure southern border, mainly to prevent a possible terrorist commando from entering its territory through our country. In the same way, protective measures for strategic infrastructure, like oil platforms and electricity, the control of airports and Mexico's recognition of the vulnerability of its borders and their technological backwardness are aspects that make the security relations between the two countries closer.

The two governments have implemented a great number of cooperation agreements on security for more than 15 years. The fight against drug trafficking is based on many commitments to exchange information, extradite drug traffickers, train the Mexican military and police forces and broaden the coverage of cooperation agreements. In addition, information exchange about money laundering has been very successful, and, since Sep-

Since September 11, the Mexican government has applied many measures that have helped the U.S. to have a secure southern border.

tember 2001, drug traffickers' financial resources are being controlled. U.S. collaboration to detect money laundering in cases of corruption in Mexico has also been important.

During the Fox and Bush administrations, cooperation has been marked by three moments: President Bush's visit to Guanajuato in February 2001; President Fox's visit to Washington in early September 2001, just days before the terrorist attacks; and the agreements signed in March 2002 in Monterrey, centered on smart borders. The aim of the Monterrey agreements is to have an "efficient, safe" common border. To that end, commitments were made to exchange information about persons, transportation of goods, shipments and protection of border infrastructure. For example, in October 2002, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents came to Mexico to do security training in Mexico City's international airport.

A security matter that has increasingly involved the two governments is the cooperation to improve the effectiveness of Mexico's police forces and justice system. Backing for training and professionalization involves a great many agencies of the U.S. justice system, not only the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Another dimension of security is linked to the North American Free Trade Agreement's being in force as well as energy and environmental issues. A

great many commitments about these matters have been signed. In particular, for the United States, Mexico, in addition to being its neighbor at a time of grave international instability, is an oil-producing nation and one of its main suppliers. The issue of the reform of Mexican legislation on investment in the energy sector is considered a priority for both governments.

A large number of bi-national working groups are following up on all these issues and cooperation commitments. For that reason, the national security of both the United States and Mexico is based on a very active policy of cooperation that will not be halted because of the differences in the two governments' positions on international security.

Because of this, it is important to say that even though differences between Mexico and the United States on matters of hemispheric and international security continue to exist, cooperation will also continue to be intense with regard to the strictly binational relationship. Thus, when discussing security between the two countries, we must distinguish the level of security we are dealing with and the relationship that each case has to the domestic politics of each. Believing that differences of opinion in the Security Council can damage the relations of bi-national cooperation is to not understand the complexity of the relations between the two countries. **MM**

Mexico's Northern Border Safe and Smart?

José Luis Piñeyro*



Pedro Vallera/Cuartoscuro

The border, taken from Tijuana, Baja California.

After the September 11 terrorist attacks, Mexico's relationship with the United States changed for the worse in several ways given the continuing U.S. economic recession¹ and its change in national security priorities. On the one hand, we have the

Mexican foreign policy of "cooperation at all costs" with the United States has not produced positive results for the Mexican nation.

protraction of the economic recession until today, the end of 2002, with a triple impact on Mexico: a substantial reduction of our exports with the resulting closure of maquila plants and

massive unemployment; reduction of income from tourism; and a probable contraction of the amount of hard currency sent home by legal and illegal immigrants given the reduction of con-

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sumption, the constriction of the U.S. labor market and the implementation of more severe immigration policies. On the other hand, the Fox administration's tenuous initiatives to try to come to some kind of migratory agreement with the United States have come to nothing, at least in the medium term, given that today the U.S. priority is, in the first place, to exercise anti-terrorist border control that would extend to drug traffickers and organized crime in general through the general formula of "a secure, smart border."

Border security is understood as reinforcing the border patrol with more personnel, air and land transport equipment, detection equipment, the possible use of the National Guard and greater exchange of information and anti-terrorist collaboration with Mexican and Canadian police and military. A "smart" border is fundamentally based on cutting-edge technology, such as the laser visa system for legal migrants, systematic computer searches for possible terrorists or terrorist sympathizers, etc.

The job on the border is both colossal and impossible with the human and technical means currently assigned to it, but particularly due to the magnitude of traffic in goods and people every year.² Mexico's border, however, is much more difficult to penetrate than Canada's: according to the head of Canadian intelligence himself, the majority of the world's terrorist groups have set up shop in Canada in search of a safe haven, establishing operational bases and trying to infiltrate the United States.³ Given its old traditions of asylum and a pro-migrant policy, Canada is host to numerous foreign communities of different nationalities, in-

The Fox administration's initiatives to reach a migratory agreement with the U. S. have come to nothing, at least in the medium term.

cluding those from Arab Muslim countries.

Now, what could the negative effects for our country be given this panorama? What should be done given our enormous, multi-faceted vulnerability (in the spheres of trade, investment and food security, among others) in the face of the United States' new position? Some repercussions of the situation post-9/11 are natural or not intentional on the part of the United States, such as the contraction of the employment rate, private investment and consumption in general, which make for less demand for Mexican export products, tourism services, migrant labor and productive and portfolio investment. Nevertheless, some consequences are the result of a clear political will on the part of government or the private sector: more migratory control, greater pressure on the anti-terrorist and anti-drug fight, phytosanitary and tariff barriers on Mexican agricultural exports, obstacles to land cargo transportation, dumping of U.S. goods into our market and pressure to increase privatization of the electricity and oil industries, among other possible conflicts.

Mexican foreign policy of "cooperation at all costs" with the United States, practiced for the previous two administrations and during the current administration of President Fox, although with slight variations, has not produced positive results for the Mexican nation and state.⁴ This is not the place to go

into a detailed analysis of the damage done by the kind of trade—and de facto geo-political and geo-economic-integration—that the North American Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada has meant (de-industrialization, destructuring of the commercial and agricultural sector, unemployment and mass poverty, greater concentration of income and wealth, growing professional and occasional crime, etc.). Nor do I want to attribute to NAFTA the sole responsibility of these problems, given that they are socio-political phenomena that existed before the treaty, which, nevertheless, did undoubtedly contribute to deepening and broadening them. Neither do I propose to substitute the foreign policy of cooperation with one of confrontation or conflict with the great power, or suppose that it is possible to stop the process of globalization, which for Mexico is, in fact, a regionalization.

My focus is, first of all, to situate the new characteristics of U.S. national security policy since 9/11 to try to avoid belated, naive surprises and to adopt a preventive and not merely reactive and impotent attitude about the different decisions and current and future actions of our neighbor to the north.

Secondly, I would like to make some short- and long-term alternative proposals for Mexican foreign policy. It should be pointed out, however, that, given space limitations, both will be merely outlined.

The job on the border is both colossal
and impossible with the human and technical means
currently assigned.

A September 2002 official White House publication, “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” points to several ways of dealing with the entire world (divided in the document into allies, friends, partners and enemies) that will be stepped up, particularly with Mexico. First of all is unilateralism as the main form of international action, completely outside of the multilateralism represented by the United Nations system and the regional economic and military organizations and the bilateralism represented in different accords or treaties.⁵

In the second place, the document claims another “right” for the United States: “preemptive” actions in “terrorist” or “enemy” countries, as opposed to reprisals or punishment,⁶ given that the actions will be taken before any enemy act, based on the total certainty that the latter will attack, making it very important to strike the first blow. This is something similar to the balance of nuclear terror and the strategic value of a first strike during the Cold War, although later it was recognized this strategy guaranteed not victory but mutual nuclear destruction and a worldwide catastrophe.

In the third place, the strategy lays claim to the ever-present realism and pragmatism in world power politics, but in the midst of today’s anti-terrorist war, there have been recent examples of pacts with countries previously

considered hostile and now catalogued as friends or even allies (Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan).⁷ Above all, it is relevant to point out that the regimes of these countries are a perfect paradigm of the negation of democracy, human rights, equality, freedom and free trade, the supposed values and world objectives to be propagated by the new U.S. national security strategy.

The fourth aspect of this strategy is that it upholds the idea that the United States is the largest and only existing power and, therefore will not allow any other power or alliance of powers and countries to challenge its role as indisputable hegemonic leader of the twenty-first century.⁸ It could be argued that all of this is nothing new, particularly the fourth element, since from the early 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States aspired to maintaining absolute, unipolar military supremacy, as well as the use of realism, unilateralism and preemptive operations as guidelines for its foreign policy.

Undoubtedly this is true. However, what before were trends are now models that are being legalized or legitimized for the future given the non-existence of any counterweight such as existed during the Soviet era.

Given this by no means encouraging binational and international pano-

rama, it seems that those in government and different sectors of Mexican society want to rethink foreign policy vis-à-vis our largest trade and geopolitical partner. Different public statements —some sectoral and others global— reflect a certain hopelessness, annoyance or alarm about the national and binational status quo. Among the sectoral statements are those of different peasant and growers’ organizations that have put forward the urgent need to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement’s agricultural chapter, since it provides for the almost total opening of the economy to U.S. agricultural products in early 2003, which would eliminate thousands of peasant families from the market, with the resulting increase in unemployment, drug trafficking, crime, poverty and migration to the cities and the United States. Another example is the National Chamber of Manufacturers (Canacindra) and Mexico’s richest man, billionaire Carlos Slim, who both agree on the urgent need to reactivate the domestic market through increased public spending and incentives to productive investment that would create massive numbers of jobs to deal with some of these problems. The legislative branch will have an enormous responsibility regarding this option during its discussion of the 2003 federal budget and the monies earmarked for the different ministries.

Another broader option emphasizes the need to revive the old —and until now limited— policy of diversifying our foreign relations (on matters of trade, investment, technology, fuel sources, diplomacy and the military) both with the old continent, today unified in the European Union, and with the countries of the Pacific Ba-

sin, particularly Japan. Another option is to turn toward the nations of Latin America, especially Brazil because of its sub-regional influence and because it shares common problems with Mexico such as servicing an enormous public debt. If both nations made a concerted, conditioned effort to pay it, they could transform their enormous financial vulnerability into a shared vulnerability for both debtor and creditor nations.

Another proposal with a different geographical projection emphasizes the importance and urgency of seeking a closer relationship with Canada on common issues (terrorism, drug trafficking, trade) vis-à-vis the United States in order to be able to better negotiate the terms of the actions to be taken to deal with these tri-national problems. This would mean that the Mexican gov-

ernment would have to abandon the illusory and sterile strategy of achieving a "special" relationship with the world's greatest power.⁹

Any of these strategies, none of which are mutually exclusive but rather complement each other (although they should be put in order of importance), would undoubtedly require the leadership ability and political will of President Vicente Fox, but as a statesman and not a mere six-year occupant of the presidency, together with the united will of the legislative branch and the state's institutions.

It would also demand political audacity and strategic planning and, of course, the participation of the greatest possible number of sectors and social actors interested in a change of this magnitude in the external links with the United States and the

domestic links among the nation, the administration and the state. Externally it would be necessary for a truly safer and smarter border; internally it would be necessary for fostering democratic change, not only alternation in the federal administration; a change that would strengthen the legitimacy of state institutions vis-à-vis the nation and would make it possible to begin to resolve the central national problems and recuperate the spaces of our beleaguered national sovereignty.

In other words, today, in the midst of the process of globalization, we cannot put off, first, thinking globally; second, acting globally to give globalization another direction and socio-economic content; and third, transforming the nation's critical political and economic situation and the institutional weakness of the Mexican state. **MM**

NOTES

¹ Even prior to the attacks, there were indications of impending recession. See Elaine Levine, "Crónica de una recesión largamente anunciada, que fue repentinamente detonada por el atentado terrorista del 11 de septiembre," José Luis Valdés Ugalde and Diego Valadés, comps., *Globalidad y conflicto: Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre* (Mexico City: CISAN-IJJ-UNAM, 2002).

² According to official U.S. figures, in 1998, 3.5 million trucks and freight cars, 75 million automobiles and 254 million people crossed the border at 37 different ports of entry. José Luis Piñeyro, "El narcotráfico y la seguridad nacional en México: cambios, críticas y propuestas," *Revista de Administración Pública* 98 (Mexico City), 1998.

³ Ward Pitfield D. Elcock, "Perspectiva general de seguridad pública y seguridad nacional," *Revista de Administración Pública* 101 (Mexico City), 2000.

⁴ See José Luis Piñeyro, "La seguridad nacional con Salinas," *Foro Internacional* 138 (Mexico City), 1994, and "La seguridad nacional con Zedillo," *Foro Internacional* 166 (Mexico City), 2001.

⁵ "While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country." The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America" (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, September 2002), p. 6.

⁶ For an interesting discussion about preemptive actions and reprisals, see Richard Price, "¿Es apropiado responder con ataques militares?" and Alejandro Dávila Flores, "Smart Borders y seguridad nacional después del 11 de septiembre: ¿tomando 'decisiones inteligentes?'" Cristina Rosas, comp., *Cuando el destino nos al-*

cance...terrorismo, democracia y seguridad (Mexico City: UNAM/Australian University/Editorial Quimera, 2002).

⁷ Cristina Rosas, "¿Cuánto cambió el mundo después del 11 de septiembre?" Cristina Rosas, comp., op. cit.

⁸ The document states categorically, "Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States." The White House, op. cit., p. 30.

⁹ See the final session of the conference "Estudios de América del Norte: experiencias y perspectivas," organized by the Mexican College, the Northern Border College, the National Autonomous University of Mexico and the Monterrey Technological Institute of Higher Learning in Mexico City, 24-25 October 2002.

What Are North America's Smart Borders?

Alicia Fuentes*

The terrorist attacks perpetrated in the United States in September 2001 opened up the way for a new form of organization to safeguard the security of the international system based on the implementation of measures to prevent any act of violence that could be carried out in the international, regional, binational and/or national spheres.

Proof of this is the UN Security Council's unanimous approval of Resolution 1373, a common position on terrorism for the entire international community.

Actions with this aim have also been agreed upon regionally. The most important case is precisely that of North America, which has decided on a security mechanism for coordinating activities above all with regard to borders.

The proposal to establish "smart borders" in North America is seen as the best option to deal with future risks, at the same time that guidelines for making relations among the United States, Canada and Mexico more effective are drawn up, since this way of organizing the borders presupposes the construction of a kind of protective perimeter that would simultaneously respect each country's sovereignty and the growing flow of trade and persons.

The plan is to reach this objective by adopting actions that zero in on specific areas and include setting up the most sophisticated electronic surveillance equipment and new technologies for transborder transportation, as well as the establishment of mechanisms for information exchange. After these measures have been introduced, the authorities of the three countries will face the most important challenge, since while everyone agrees with the reasons for their implementation, the priorities are different: security vs. agility.

Given the obvious differences between its northern and southern borders, the United States has begun

to implement plans of action on its own in accordance with each border's specific characteristics.

THE U.S.-CANADIAN BORDER

The injuries to the integrity of U.S. space produced a significant impact on the almost 8,000-kilometer-long border between these two nations. Unexpected delays were observed at ports of entry,¹ given exhaustive inspections, putting trade at risk mainly because of the export of perishable goods.

As a result, authorities in both countries agreed that, in keeping with the dawning century, the time was right to set up a "smart border," which would also reflect one of the world's most dynamic trade relationships. That relationship is based mainly on land transportation through the 11 most traveled ports of entry and represents more than U.S.\$1 billion a day. In addition, almost 200 million people cross that border every year.

With the announcement of the Smart Border Declaration in December 2001 and its accompanying plan of action, Canada and the United States established 30 points of joint work in accordance with four main lines of action: safe flow of persons; safe flow of goods; better infrastructure; and coordination and exchange of information for these purposes.²

The first area—undoubtedly one of the innovations—formalizes the coordination of the flow of individuals by extending the NEXUS Project to other ports of entry.³ In addition, as of March 25, 2002, teams of customs agents from both countries began to operate in Vancouver, Montreal, Halifax, Seattle-Tacoma and Newark. In U.S. territory, the Canadian agents are in charge of inspections with the U.S. agents as observers, and in Canada vice versa. An additional aim is fostering the identification of potential threats before they arrive in the United States with the aid of systems

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to analyze crew and passengers in air and land transportation, as well as through greater coordination of visa granting policies.

The investment in border infrastructure concentrates on technological solutions that relieve bottlenecks at key crossings and speed up flows of all kinds. Canada has earmarked Can\$1.2 billion, plus an additional Can\$600 million program, exclusively for improving infrastructure at the main border crossings with the United States, including the use of “smart transportation systems” to obtain information about travelers, traffic management, public transportation, commercial vehicular operations, emergency response management and vehicle security.

THE MEXICO-U.S. BORDER

With regard to the common 3,181-kilometer-long border between our country and the United States, the relationship is both unique and *sui generis* because it is between the world’s most industrialized power and a developing nation. It is a region with a very complex economic, commercial and human interconnection, with migratory difficulties as well as problems of illicit traffic in goods, drugs and people. Nevertheless, we should also take into account the more than 300 million people who cross the border every year to carry out legal activities that benefit the border communities, as well as the 4.3 million truck crossings, an exchange that represents an average of U.S.\$650 million a day.

The creation of a “smart border” to safeguard the security of both nations without damaging the dynamics of this relationship was agreed to during the meeting of the presidents of Mexico and the United States on March 22, 2002 in Monterrey, Nuevo León.

With the approval of the Alliance for the Mexico-U.S. Border and its plan of action, implementation has begun of a series of 22 points focused along three guidelines: creating a safe infrastructure in accordance with the rhythm of growth of transborder trade; guaranteeing the safe transit of persons; and guaranteeing the safe flow of goods.⁴

Optimizing infrastructure involves creating facilities that will help avoid bottlenecks that slow up the movement of goods and persons. The operating times of the international bridges and crossing points are being synchronized and the existing mechanisms for bilateral coordination on a local, state and federal level will also be strengthened.

Plans have been made to expand the Secure Electronic Network for Traveler Rapid Inspection (SENTRI) at points of entry with a high volume of crossings of individuals who live or work on both sides of the border. Without disregarding assistance and advice for people who want to cross the border, the plan is to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of specialized institutions, among them those responsible for fighting the illegal traffic of persons. In addition, systems to exchange consular and intelligence information will be created to detect, investigate and take action to deal with citizens of third countries.

With regard to the transport of goods, the proposal has been made to foster cooperation between the private and public sectors. High-level working groups will be formed to design and implement mechanisms to increase border security and guarantee continued commercial flows; at the same time procedures for the electronic exchange of customs information and a program to allow for the exchange of experiences in the use of state-of-the-art surveillance technology (such as electronic reading of license plates and gamma-ray systems at railroad crossings) will be implemented.

NOTES

- ¹ The United States and Canada share 126 official border crossings; however, 90 percent of the vehicle flow goes through 11 ports of entry.
- ² Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, “The Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration” (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, December 12, 2001).
- ³ The NEXUS Project is a fast-lane system for proven low-risk travelers. It will tend to replace Canada’s CANPASS program and the U.S.’s PACE system in the near future.
- ⁴ U.S. Department of State and Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México, *Plan de Acción de la Alianza para la Frontera México-EUA* (Monterrey, Nuevo León: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 22, 2002).

The New Coordinates of the Vote

The 2003 Federal Elections

Carlos Enrique Casillas*



Juan Sotelo/Cuartoscuro

Next July, we Mexicans will hold elections to renew our federal Chamber of Deputies as part of the dynamics of democracy. Two years after alternation in power,¹ with incipient expectations about democracy and an administration that is still suffering the effects of political

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Figures from different poll takers show the widespread volatility of electoral preferences.

inexperience, the 2003 elections will be a kind of referendum about change, a test of the new political regimen's maturity.

Marked by scandal, the electoral campaigns will be distinguished by ne-

gative aspects: on the one hand the accusation against the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of funneling public funds into the campaign chest of its defeated candidate in 2000, Francisco Labastida; and on the other hand,

allegations of supposed illegal foreign funding for President Vicente Fox's campaign.

A media war and a mud-slinging campaign have set the tone of the contest and this has meant that the electoral struggle has shifted into other areas, mainly the legislative arena and that of state governments, where the president's opposition has tried to reestablish some equilibria.

Figures from different poll takers show the widespread volatility of electoral preferences. After the PRI's 2000 defeat, two singular and contradictory trends have shown up among the political parties. Locally, there has been a surprising recovery of PRI followers and a pronounced drop in projected votes for the president's National Action Party (PAN). At the same time, federally, the PAN has maintained its high expectations of victory, and the PRI has moved up and down, subject to rhythms set by the media.

Pollsters' data would be a simple snapshot of Mexican reality, just like all opinion polls, if it were not for the fact that by studying results over the last two years, we can trace how public opinion has shifted. While it is true that several months remain before the elections and the dynamic of the campaign will change projected voting for all the parties, some trends are already visible, trends that have been taking shape since Vicente Fox took office.

The parallels between federal government approval ratings and voters' intention to cast their ballots for the PAN is one significant point. The PAN shifts in the same direction as the president, but more slowly. From this, we can infer that Vicente Fox brought PAN followers aboard his popularity train.

The PRI follows the opposite trend, increasing its intended ballots as public opinion takes a more negative turn toward the federal government. It is a zero-sum game, where whatever the

president and his party gain, the PRI loses, and vice versa. This undoubtedly demolishes any incentive for cooperation among the main political actors and explains why both sides have preferred confrontation to agreement.

It does not seem by chance that a deterioration of presidential performance approval ratings would improve electoral preferences for the PRI. Over the years, a large portion of Mexicans have gotten a more or less clear idea of the significance of the PRI. This is, of course, an image built from political inertia, fed by an authoritarian political culture that sees pragmatism as its clearest reference point for political effectiveness, certainty and commitment.

The PRI was an enormous employment agency through which government posts were obtained; it was also the national clearinghouse for all kinds of needs and requisitions. The party spilled out into public life in a permanent exchange, in which it worked to

VOTE FOR THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (2000 AND 2003)

PARTY	% OF VOTES 2000	NUMBER OF SEATS 2000	% OF SEATS 2000	PROJECTED % OF VOTES 2003	PROJECTED NUMBER OF SEATS 2003	PROJECTED % OF SEATS 2003	CHANGE IN NUMBER OF SEATS
PRI	36.8	211	42	35	170	34	-41
PAN	38.2*	207	41	39	235	47	+28
PRD	18.6**	50	10	19	80	16	+30
Others	3.8	32	7	7	15	3	-17

* This is the vote for the Alliance for Change, made up of the PAN and the Green Ecologist Party of Mexico.

** This is the vote for the Alliance for Mexico, made up of the PRD, the Labor Party (PT), the Party of the Social Alliance (PAS), the Party of the Nationalist Alliance (PSN) and Convergence for Democracy (CD).

Sources: *Seventh National Citizens' Opinion Poll: Scenarios of Governability in Mexico*, GEA-ISA, August 2002, and *National Telephone Survey, Consulta-Mitofsky*, October 2002.

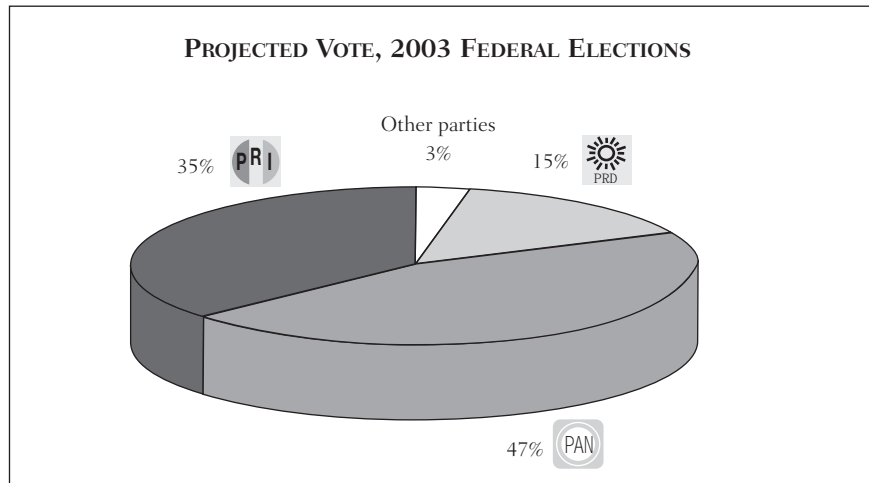
negotiate votes for goods and services. That is why the current administration's lack of results and inability to make visible what results do exist are the mainstay of the political survival of what used to be the official party.

Nevertheless, it will not be the corporatist vote that will decide the next election, but the vote of segments of the middle class who have seen increased insecurity and the economic recession as the best parameters for evaluating President Fox's performance. It is some of these voters, the group that decided the presidential election two years ago, the so-called "useful vote," who might punish the administration by voting against it.

One aspect that should be carefully evaluated is the way in which preference for the PRI displayed in local elections held since July 2000 is not succumbing to scandal. Never before had the PRI been subject to so many accusations of misconduct,² but despite the stories and the administrative and criminal investigations underway, it seems to be building an armor similar to the one President Fox had during his 2000 campaign.³

The polls show that, if current preferences continue, even in the best scenario, the PAN will have a difficult time getting the 251 seats it needs to have 50 percent plus one of the legislature. If we translate the number of intended votes into legislative seats, the president and his party can become the largest political force in the Chamber of Deputies, but not the majority.

The recent U.S. elections illustrate what a successful strategy for the PAN could be: a president who heads up his party's campaign, who designs and takes the message to the voters around an issue (the war against Irak in the



U.S. case, and the consolidation of change in our case), and who acts in the face of a confused opposition without clear definitions.

On the other hand, the dynamic of recent months indicates that the PRI will have very few opportunities for taking its message before the voters and getting them to concentrate on its proposals. Overshadowed by the negative onslaught, its campaign offerings will be blurry images in the midst of scandal.

Even so, the PRI may have a chance to recover from the government beating it is taking if it manages to move the mid-term elections out of the national arena and into the state dynamic. This is possible because the PRI occupies the governor's mansion in 17 of Mexico's 32 states, but also because there are places like the State of Mexico where the PAN has practically been erased from the political map due to a permanent, equally negative campaign.

In any case, we should remember that, like in other democracies, mid-term elections are an exercise of multiple political readjustments, whether it be the electorate warning the executive that it should moderate or eliminate certain policies, the introduction of local or regional issues onto the national agen-

da or candidates in each district taking advantage of the influence they exercise over their communities.

In addition, an electoral snapshot of our country shows us that vote counts in state elections tend to differ from those at a federal level. The PRI's only chance of overcoming its 2000 defeat will lie in its ability to make the federal elections a referendum on governors' performance and not that of the president.

Another factor is that the Senate, where the PRI has a plurality of seats, will remain unchanged until 2006; this means that even if the PAN wins a majority in the lower chamber, the government will continue to be divided. ■■■

NOTES

¹ On July 2, 2000, Vicente Fox became the first opposition candidate in 71 years to win the presidential elections. [Editor's Note.]

² The most important accusation, known as "Pemexgate," is that in 2000, the director of Mexico's para-state oil company, Pemex, in complicity with other of its high officials and union leaders, transferred U.S.\$60 million to the campaign chest of the PRI presidential candidate, Francisco Labastida. [Editor's Note.]

³ This refers to Fox's media coverage and political prestige when he was candidate, which turned into a kind of shield against any and all criticisms or denunciations. [Editor's Note.]

Chiapas

Current Dilemmas in the Conflict And Negotiations

Luis H. Álvarez*



Eunice Adorno/Cuartoscuro

Deputies and senators, members of the Peace Commission (Cocopa).

In this article¹ I aim to present strictly personal observations about Chiapas and its recent past and current situation, the singular conditions that explain the complexity of its social, political and cultural processes, as well as comment on the challenges the federal government faces and the commitments it has made to achieve conciliation and promote the welfare of all people in Chiapas.

Since the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) armed uprising Jan-

uary 1, 1994, Chiapas has been the focus of special attention by the public. In particular, it has received support from society through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) both nationally and internationally. The conflict has been constantly covered in the media and on the Internet, and different analysts have shared their thoughts about the situation and its implications.

It is necessary to reflect on three basic questions: Why, how and where did the conflict arise? What are the characteristics of the Zapatista movement and the conflict? And, what is the Mexican government doing to deal with the problem?

It is important to say that, after being annexed to the emerging republic in 1824, Chiapas became isolated from national development. It did not benefit from the agrarian reform that began in Mexico with the Lázaro Cárdenas administration in the mid-1930s, and therefore latifundio structures were left intact, condemning peasants and indigenous people to continue as peons tied to the land without acreage of their own except a tiny plot to eke out their existence.

Chiapas has strategic resources that point to its economic potential, including its great biodiversity; this is counterposed, however, to the poverty of the

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majority of its inhabitants.² In addition, the exponential growth of rural communities has made it difficult for institutions to respond to social needs in the state.

Two other factors determined the conditions conducive to the gestation of an armed uprising: politics and religion.

It is no exaggeration to say that for a long time, Chiapas was outside the rule of law, and democracy was foreign to it until very recently. Governors were frequently designated from Mexico City, without taking into account the opinion of the Chiapas community. An exception to this rule is the current governor, Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía, who was the candidate of a broad coalition of political parties.

Chiapas is the state with the broadest diversity in religious practices; nevertheless, the majority is Catholic, divided into three dioceses: Tapachula, Tuxtla Gutiérrez and San Cristóbal de las Casas, where the area of conflict is located.

The strategy for spreading the Gospel developed by the current honorary bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Samuel Ruiz, who headed up the diocese for 38 years, has been unique: on his arrival in Chiapas, he called for “spreading the Gospel in a way that countered domination and the destruction of cultures.”

Given the need to administer the sacraments, Bishop Ruiz organized a broad structure of deacons, pre-deacons and catechists who, guided by the principles of liberation theology, managed to enter the indigenous communities and begin a process of consciousness-raising that contributed to the creation of the state’s main peasant organizations.³

Some sources relate the church structure with the arrival in the 1980s of

radical groups who may have fostered the politization of the communities and would in the long run form the basis for the EZLN, arguing that only through armed struggle would full political and social rights be won.⁴

The EZLN differs in several ways from other guerrilla movements. It is an armed group that combines very modern tools with others that are very backward, and it contains actors with different values and objectives.

While the EZLN’s social base is mainly made up of indigenous people, mestizos with little indigenous blood hold the key leadership positions, like Subcommander Marcos, who has made communications his main means of expres-

sion and expansion. I should point here to the broad support network that uses Internet as a mechanism for influence and struggle, the EZLN’s main political weapon, to attract the attention of thousands of users, particularly NGOs.

Another thing that differentiates the EZLN is its changing strategies. We can observe at least four general stages in its positions: in the first phase, from January 1, 1994 to 1995, the Zapatista movement’s priority was to bring down the government. In the second stage, during the 1995 San Andrés Larráinzar negotiations, we can see an ideological shift: from national demands, the focus changed to demands about autonomy for indigenous communities.

During the third stage, from June 1998 to mid-2000, we can see a search for alliances with civil society organizations and groups. And, during the fourth stage, that has lasted until today, we see the EZLN sealed in hermetic silence,⁵ prompting speculation about its condition, possible reorganization, attrition and even disappearance.⁶

The peace process has not concluded. The Mexican government had managed to channel the conflict toward a negotiated settlement in legal terms in order to arrive at agreements through political means, an effort that gave rise to the “Law for Dialogue, Conciliation and Peace with Dignity in Chiapas,” a piece of legislation unique in the world.⁷

When it unilaterally suspended the dialogue,
the EZLN also defaulted on its commitment signed April 9,
1995 in the San Miguel Joint Declaration.

This provided for the creation of a representative congressional commission, the Cocopa, of which I had the honor of being its founding president when I was a senator.

When it unilaterally suspended the dialogue, the EZLN also defaulted on its commitment signed April 9, 1995 in the San Miguel Joint Declaration, establishing the guiding principles of the negotiation, which was meant to be uninterrupted. However, this document clearly states that the Cocopa is the only body with the faculty to declare the negotiations broken.

Despite this, the administration of President Vicente Fox has constantly insisted on the need to return to the

dialogue, showing its willingness, first, to respect the content of the Law for Dialogue, Conciliation and Peace with Dignity in Chiapas; second, to guarantee free transit and provide maximum security conditions during the EZLN march to Mexico City in March 2001; and third, to comply with the conditions the EZLN imposed. These were 1) withdrawal of troops at seven different points; 2) implementing procedures to liberate over 100 Zapatista detainees (only five remain incarcerated, because they are subject to state laws); and 3) submitting a bill on indigenous rights and culture, agreed to at San Andrés, to the national decision-making bodies for deliberation.

The Mexican government's strategy for Chiapas in the last year aims not only to resolve the armed conflict, but to attack the roots of the problem.

Since the Supreme Court decision, the EZLN, which expressed its disagreement with the reform, has not said a single word.⁸ Neither do there seem to be serious indications of a reactivation of a hot war or of the EZLN's willingness to return to the dialogue, despite the government's—and particularly my, as coordinator—persistent exhortations.

The EZLN's current position, however, does not mean that the Fox administration should wait and do nothing. That would be the equivalent of accepting that the problem of Chiapas is circumscribed only to the conflict with the EZLN. That limited view would negate the unquestionable social and political causes underlying the armed insurrection.

The Mexican government has reformulated its strategy for Chiapas, particularly in the last year, which aims not only to resolve the armed conflict, but to attack the roots of the problem, facing both causes (marginalization, poverty, community division and insecurity) and effects (the conflict with the EZLN).

The administration's new initiative is two-fold: 1) social policy to deal with problems and demands of the communities involved; and, 2) the proposal of a solution to the conflict founded on dialogue, without the use of force. The task force I coordinate seeks to establish the necessary conditions to return to the negotiating table. I am convinced

that this cannot be achieved without reestablishing trust between indigenous communities and the federal government.

The Zapatistas' control over the so-called "autonomous municipalities" has gone to the extreme of not allowing these communities to receive government funds for social programs (that are implemented in the rest of the state's municipalities), thus cutting off their residents from basic goods and educational, health, housing and infrastructure services that the government has both the obligation and the desire to provide.

Given this situation, some of the residents of these municipalities are seek-

ing to detach themselves from the armed group, which is currently not offering solutions for immediate, strategic or political needs. Opening up to dialogue will always offer peaceful, negotiated options. Closing down that possibility will never maintain a permanent power.

For these reasons, my recent trips to Chiapas have had as their main objective the forging of a new relationship with the indigenous peoples and towns, remaining there a good part of the time, dealing with state and federal authorities and recognizing, of course, that their complaints are totally just and that with or without a declaration of war, the indigenous peoples have by no means been able to satisfy their most elementary needs.

I visit the conflict zone to see as directly as possible the real conditions that exist. Without intermediaries, I have talked with and listened to local residents; I have heard their demands in order to, in consultation with the communities, articulate the implementation of social programs in accordance with their views.

This governmental policy has not lost sight of the fact that the conciliation and the new relationship we have talked about must take into consideration basic factors that can be neither disregarded nor eliminated: this is the case of "uniform and recognized practices and customs." It is everyone's task to try to build a peace with dignity, appealing to tolerance and the need to be inclusive, and always with the understanding that recognized practices and customs, the basis for indigenous social and political organization, will neither clash with nor contravene the Constitution or human rights.

The situation is complex because of our country's ethnic diversity, but it is well

worth the effort because it is a matter involving them in national development without forfeiting either their customs or their culture.

I reiterate that the Zapatista uprising shook the nation and made us look in the mirror at a face that we did not want to accept: the face of marginalization, social discrimination, poverty, abandonment and injustice. These realities, present throughout Mexico, came to the fore in Chiapas.

For that reason, I will conclude by saying that it is not only necessary and obligatory to solve matters, but to solve them right...and soon. **MM**

NOTES

¹ A longer version of this article was read at the seminar "Chiapas: Current Dilemmas of the

Conflict and the Negotiations," organized by the CISAN and the Woodrow Wilson Center Latin American Program, in Mexico City, October 30, 2002.

² Fifty percent of Chiapas inhabitants are still in the primary sector whereas in the rest of Mexico the average is 23 percent.

³ These organizations were formed after the First National Indigenous Congress in 1974, organized by Ruiz, where the bases for the main political positions that exist today were laid: the agrarian-reform current, production-oriented positions, the radical political stances and those linked to government positions.

⁴ Carlos Tello Díaz, *La rebelión de Las Cañadas: origen y ascenso del EZLN* (Mexico City: Cal y Arena, 1995), and María del Carmen Legorreta Díaz, *Religión, política y guerrilla en Las Cañadas de la Selva Lacandona* (Mexico City: Cal y Arena, 1998).

⁵ After this article was written, Subcommander Marcos broke his silence with an open letter on the occasion of the preparations for a pro-Zapatista conference in Spain. He did not, how-

ever, make any reference to the EZLN's position on the dialogue. [Editor's Note.]

⁶ Groups near the EZLN suggest that the Zapatista leadership is reorganizing its base prior to its reappearance on the scene. However, it would seem that the religious and political conflicts in the state, the division of its base and the exhaustion of its discourse has prompted it to profoundly reexamine its strategy in the face of new federal and state governments that, democratically and peacefully elected, have changed the political situation that gave rise to the declaration of war in January 1994.

⁷ This law was key in the negotiations that led to the signing of the San Andrés Larráinzar Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture, which recognize the free determination of autonomy for the country's ethnic groups as well as a series of political, social, economic and cultural rights.

⁸ The author is referring to a Supreme Court decision declaring valid Congress' procedures for approving the Law on Indigenous Rights and Culture, thus rejecting the case brought by several civic organizations' questioning the law's constitutionality. [Editor's Note.]

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Chiapas Peace Is the Priority¹

Samuel Ruiz García*



Pedro Mera/Cuantooscuro

San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas.

The national situation is closely linked to the main international trends, not only in matters of the economy and culture, but now particularly with regard to political and military questions. The growing dependence of Mexico's model of development and democracy, now part of globalizing neoliberalism, has taken on

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Peace has been caught in the midst of other agendas and situations. It is no longer the independent variable.

new forms and criteria since the events of September 11, 2001.

The overall hegemony of the U.S. government and economy over the world has new weight, while the margins of national sovereignty for seek-

ing alternatives have been reduced. The demands for a new international order, the strengthening of international law and of multilateral institutions to guarantee justice and equilibrium have been overwhelmed by the new situation that puts everything in a new light.

Peace is once again, even more urgently and clearly, a worldwide priority. But, what kind of peace? Today, peace is also a polarized concept whose meaning is

disputed. While for some it is the imposition and control of one force and its project over others, in the logic of the world's peoples and the solution of structural injustice, peace is the establishment of conditions of equality that not only offers solutions to the effects and participants of conflicts, but resolves the roots of the problems.

For this reason, the growing links and articulation of civic movements from all nations that have advanced rapidly from the simple rejection of globalization to the creation of agendas and alternative proposals for all the fundamental problems are important. After several attempts, it has finally been possible to reactivate the dynamic of Latin American exchanges, among them, of course, the World Social Forum, the Continental Social Alliance, the struggle around the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the Puebla-Panama Plan, as well as the movement known as the "Cry of the Excluded" and the process of emancipation of the indigenous peoples.

Mexico is part of both these trends, globalizing dependence and the new alternative civic linkages and solidarity.

THE NATIONAL SITUATION

The new international situation also puts the democratic transition we are experiencing in a new light. There is greater understanding that it is not reduced to parties alternating in office, but is defined by the possibility of preserving our territorial and resource integrity, political independence and sovereignty over national alternatives.

This conception of democratic transition implies the need to make state policies more decisive so that they accelerate, strengthen and diversify democratic institutions and spaces with regard to human and social rights and the maturation of a real rule of law that would have repercussions in all areas of national life. In addition, the democratic transition and national security should be based on new structures and strategies for economic development that distribute both wealth and opportunities and resolve age-old imbalances and injustices.

It does not seem, then, that the expectations generated by long years of social struggles in Mexico can be satisfied by today's national political forces, which are very far from eliminating their lag behind society's expect-

tations and from assuming the tensions between international trends and local demands.

Again, peace has been an axis and fundamental indicator of these lags and tensions. 2001 was the year that offered the opportunity to link peace with the transition, the indigenous peoples with national development, the forms of popular struggle with a search for alternatives for political participation and tolerance. However, as we know, Congress did not understand this, and with the support of the political forces in most of the state legisla-

tures, approved a constitutional reform on indigenous rights and culture which was very far removed from the 1996 San Andrés Larráinzar Accords, which basically echoed the principles laid out in the International Labor Organization's Convention 169.² This indigenous reform approved by Congress was widely rejected by Mexico's indigenous organizations and peoples.

The overall solution lies in a reform of the state that would link peace, democracy, justice, human rights, national security and alternative development. The far-reaching reform which should no longer be put off is glaringly absent, but indicates a national situation that is no longer of merely temporary significance. The moment is strategically important; the dispute is about basics; the challenge is civic:

Peace is the establishment of conditions of equality that not only offers solutions to the effects and participants of conflicts, but resolves the roots of the problems.

we are dealing with different national projects.

THE SOCIAL AND CIVIC ACTORS

The social movements are also in crisis. More than immobility, there has been dispersion; more than a lack of proposals, there has been sectoralization; more than a lack of experience, there has been a lack of the ability to project outward and have an impact. Although there is a tendency toward creating an alternative national pro-

ject that would be the strategic reference point for orienting and linking the different actors and agendas of the social and civic movement, it still does not exist. That is the fundamental challenge, also for peace with justice and dignity.

It can also be said that since alternation in office, a vacuum and polarization have been created with regard to the crosscutting issues that are the glue for social action. That is why people are disconcerted about alternation in office and discouraged and radicalized about the transition and greater difficulties for achieving a common positioning. Given this, no civic or party actor has the ability to take the initiative, offer leadership or make proposals.

However, this is encouraging the emergence of a new generation of lead-

so that an alternative vision can mature, a vision that will not only be the sum of particular, local problems, but aim for a solid proposal for the reform of the state.

To summarize, we can say that 2001 marked the climax, the anticlimax and the reactivation of national civic mobilization. It was the climax because of the mobilization and profound awareness that stemmed from the Zapatista caravan to Mexico City; it was an anticlimax because of the implications of the indigenous amendment to the Constitution; and it was the reactivation of national civic mobilization due to a more radicalized resurgence of civic efforts and agendas, very far removed from governmental invitations to participate in local programs for the fight against poverty.

The overall solution lies in a reform of the state
that would link peace, democracy, justice, human rights,
national security and alternative development.

ers and spaces for relating that in the medium term may be able to have a greater impact than up until now. These new spaces emerge on the basis of new links among organized civic sectors to social, popular, grassroots processes, particularly by groups that have been excluded and have lacked the means to express themselves and link up to a broader struggle of mobilization. In fact, given many of these organizations' radicalization and polarization, the new spaces must join the resistance agendas and dynamics to those of mobilization and proposals

THE SITUATION IN CHIAPAS

The first year of Governor Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía's administration is similar to that of Vicente Fox in that social sectors have become rapidly disenchanted, and the administration has not been able to deal with the substantive problems. Nevertheless, in the case of Chiapas, it is only fair to recognize that the new government's main challenge was to consolidate governability and establish the executive as a stable institutional force. Although peace was a watchword of

the campaign and the early days of the administration, its importance has dwindled during the year, something which does not contribute to creating favorable political conditions for re-initiating the peace process.

The army maintains its presence and activity; paramilitary groups have continued to act with impunity; and displaced communities continue to be alarmed. Some groups and communities have returned to their homes more because of their own decision than because objectively favorable conditions existed.

Polarization in Chiapas has been more dramatic than on a national level because it is related to concrete problems that explode in a context of violence and the lack of negotiations, in addition to the fact that the political parties are even further away from these demands and their representation or solution.

In short, Chiapas is experiencing a situation of polarization and deterioration, with greater governability, but without either the political or civil society required to reactivate the peace process. Disputes have a local platform and backing in society and nothing and no one are on the scene offering a short-term alternative. The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) has been lost from view consolidating its bases for autonomy and resistance, while the diocese of San Cristóbal is limiting its action to the more strictly religious sphere, and the social organizations are speeding up their agendas and dialogue, although no force is coming to the fore capable of calling for and articulating substantive proposals.

In this framework, the efforts around the Puebla-Panama Plan, linking Chiapas with other regions of the country

and Central America, as well as the emergence of a new civic "Network for Peace," headquartered in San Cristóbal, are of note.

THE PEACE PROCESS

After the crisis caused by the 2001 indigenous law, neither the Fox administration nor the EZLN, the main parties to the conflict, has proposed any new peace or dialogue initiative, accusing each other of the responsibility for this. The fact is that the federal government bears more responsibility for Congress's erroneous action since it did not perform the necessary mediation for the legislature to under-

stand its co-responsibility in the peace process.

In its case, the EZLN is consolidating its strategy of resistance and municipal autonomy, with the particularity that now the rebel councils' dynamic of consolidating their capability to present alternatives, even in the areas of production and service provision, is more noticeable.

We can say that in technical terms, what we have is a formal impasse with real deterioration. Peace has been caught in the midst of other agendas and situations. It is no longer the independent variable. Neither is it any longer a mere problem of internal balance of forces since, as I said at the outset, it now seems to be considered

part of the new scenarios of national security and the "new war" that dominates the international stage. The outcome of 2002 seems by no means favorable or promising for peace. **MM**

NOTES

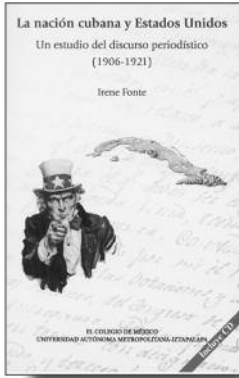
- ¹ Paper read at the seminar "Chiapas: Current Dilemmas of the Conflict and the Negotiations," organized by the Woodrow Wilson Center Latin American Program and the CISAN, October 30, 2002, in Mexico City.
- ² ILO Convention 169 recognizes the aspirations of indigenous and tribal peoples "to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain their identities, language and religions within the framework of the States in which they live," as long as they comply with the principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [Editor's Note.]

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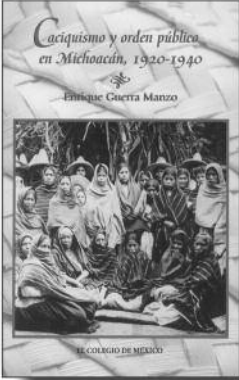
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The Crisis in Chiapas Challenges For The State Government¹

Emilio Zebadúa*



Pedro Mera / Cuartoscuro

Marcos and commanders during the Zapatista march to Mexico City in April 2001.

The conflict in Chiapas is federal in origin; it has gone beyond strictly local, regional and state boundaries. It is not only a geographical or cultural phenomenon. Politics has been and continues to be what has defined the conflict since the 1994 Zapatista uprising.

A new state government was elected in Chiapas in mid-2000. For the first time in the history of the state the elections were sufficiently legal, trans-

The Chiapas state government has respected the ezln's dynamic, rhythm and positionings.

parent and certain and carried out with a relative degree of competitiveness. It was the first time in Chiapas' modern history that a candidate for governor won who had campaigned with the support of a broad coalition of political and social organizations, some from outside the state, but with interest

in what happened inside. This election made for a real change in the balance of political forces in the state.

The current administration, headed up by Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía, has other origins and is politically different from those that governed Chiapas for many decades and from the time of the beginning of the Zapatista conflict until 2000.²

Until very recently, Chiapas was dominated by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which received —no joke intended— more than 100

* Chiapas state minister of the interior.

percent of the votes of registered voters in state, local and federal elections. The PRI controlled all positions of power, from the highest to those closest to the communities: municipal agents, city councilmen, mayors, local deputies, judges and the owners of the communications media and all means of production in the state. They all formed part of the same, practically monolithic power structure, which was a complete electoral monopoly.

The current state administration has maintained stability in an extremely complex political and social context. Government action is not limited to the area of conflict, the Zapatista conflict or the northern part of the state, where brutally violent clashes have arisen in recent years. It must govern the complex state as a whole, which includes many other regions that are not involved in the Zapatista conflict and have their own problems to solve. We should keep in mind that Chiapas is the country's poorest state, located on the southern border with Guatemala, and that some of its municipalities rank among the country's most marginalized.

With regard specifically to the Zapatista conflict, despite the relative disenchantment of an important sector of civil society and the left and despite the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) silence for a good part of these last two years, the state government has not been passive. With great budget limitations, lacking material resources and even given the political contradictions that exist because of the heterogeneity of its electoral and social base, it has taken unprecedented steps. Based on the premise that the conflict is federal —because the

EZLN defined it as such— the state government has respected the EZLN's dynamic, rhythm and positionings, whether open or implicit, for this entire period. When the International Red Cross decided not to accompany the Zapatistas on their march to Mexico City in early 2001, making them vulnerable, putting the march itself in jeopardy and putting the Zapatista leadership at risk, the state government, on the governor's initiative, unilaterally provided protection to the Zapatista contingent and Subcommander Marcos from the time they left La Realidad all the way to the border with Oaxaca state, as a way of contributing to the process.

When the EZLN fell silent, the state government politically accepted that

and demands of a broad sector of society and of the state's indigenous population —not only of the EZLN, but of most of the independent social, peasant and indigenous organizations that are part of the government's social and political base which oppose the law.

During this period of silence, the Zapatistas in Chiapas have not been immobilized. The autonomous municipalities have an intense community life; and in communities with Zapatista sympathizers where politically viable autonomous municipalities have not been established, there is, however, intense civil resistance in very precarious economic circumstances. The state government, within its limitations, has tried not to impose anything the communities

Today, the government is not sponsoring
or financing organized, armed groups to enable them
to act or to arm themselves.

silence both explicitly and in practice. When conflicts arose about the Law of Indigenous Rights and Culture in 2001, the state government exerted its influence so that the state Congress voted against the constitutional amendment. The governor himself expressed his disagreement with the constitutional amendment and sponsored the presentation of briefs questioning it by four of the state's indigenous municipalities. When the Supreme Court finally declared the amendment constitutional, the state government expressed its disagreement since the legislation did not satisfy the needs

and Zapatista autonomous municipalities resist.

Nevertheless, the government cannot stay on the sidelines when violent clashes among members of different social and political organizations occur, as has been the case. This violence has different origins: the struggle over scarce resources, mainly the land, and conflicts derived from Zapatistas and other kinds of organizations co-existing in the same area. Even in these cases, we have constantly sought to ensure that prudence prevailed and to find ways of reaching conciliation and agreements in the communities themselves, in the autonomous

municipalities, respecting the silence, respecting civil resistance, respecting the independence of these different groups.

There is nothing to show that the state government has fostered or tolerated a concerted policy of attacks against the Zapatistas, as occurred before 2000. The attitude has been one of “allowing people to do and live as they see fit,” and the intention has been to seek agreements in all instances when actions have affected third parties or the Zapatistas themselves in their daily lives, no matter how fragile these agreements might be, no matter how isolated they might seem, no matter how inconsequential in the general scheme of the politics of this conflict. It is government’s obligation to carry these agreements forward.

recognize that there are limitations in the administration of justice and the ability to prosecute crime in the state: they are Chiapas’ material, geographical and social difficulties. But undoubtedly the political will to prosecute these crimes exists. Today, unlike the past, the government is not sponsoring or financing organized, armed groups to enable them to act or to arm themselves. Today I can categorically say that there is no such sponsorship on the part of the state government. Neither is there any area in the state where organized groups can act or train. As soon as such places become known, the police and justice system clamp down on them.

To resolve serious conflicts in the communities, agreements have been

ful. A security force was deployed to aid in this return, within the confines of the geographical and material limitations that the case implied.

All this shows that political conditions have changed in Chiapas. Not recognizing the nature of this political change means missing the opportunity of making a diagnostic analysis that will make it possible to find a lasting peace and establish the basis for social and economic development for some of the country’s poorest inhabitants. Politics has changed in Chiapas. It has not turned from black into white. It has not changed completely, but there are notable advances.

With these real political conditions, more favorable conditions for reestablishing dialogue must be created. As a government, as a political force, in the state we face enormous limitations for carrying out transformations of a conflict of federal dimensions, where the most powerful elements are national. Nevertheless, that is the challenge. **MM**

Politics has changed in Chiapas.

It has not turned from black into white or changed completely, but there are notable advances.

The government has determined that for paramilitary groups to exist, they must have certain conditions to be able to act. One of those conditions is to be able to act with impunity. If, despite acting in an organized, concerted, armed and violent way, a paramilitary group were not prosecuted or punished, if it enjoyed immunity, there would be reason to say that paramilitary organizations exist. Today, that impunity does not exist. Every act of violence in the state, especially if it is organized and collective, is always prosecuted by state security forces and the justice system. However, we must

reached and put in written form, signed by the different parties, witnessed in some cases by the government and in other cases by civic organizations. This is neither the beginning nor the end of the process of reconciliation, but they have real value and as such are recognized by those involved. About a year ago an important number of displaced persons, members of “The Bees” group,³ returned to their places of origin, some of the communities with the saddest reputations in the history of violent conflict in Chiapas, like Los Choros. They returned in fear, and those who accompanied them were also fear-

NOTES

¹ Shortened version of a presentation made at the seminar “Chiapas: Current Dilemmas of the Conflict and the Negotiations,” organized by the CISAN and the Woodrow Wilson Center Latin American Program, Mexico City, October 30, 2002.

² Salazar Mendiguchía headed a ticket supported by parties of the left and the right that aimed at defeating the official party, in power for decades. [Editor’s Note.]

³ “The Bees” was the name given to a group of Zapatista sympathizers who became displaced persons in the state. [Editor’s Note.]

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The Maquila Export Industry And Productive Integration

Enrique Dussel Peters*



Pedro Vallierna/Cuartoscuro

The maquila industry for export (MIE) has turned into one of the main driving forces of economic growth in Mexico and of economic integration with the United States. Based on some brief background information, this article seeks to examine the MIE's conditions and perspectives, particularly from the point of view of the Mexican economy. It is divided into

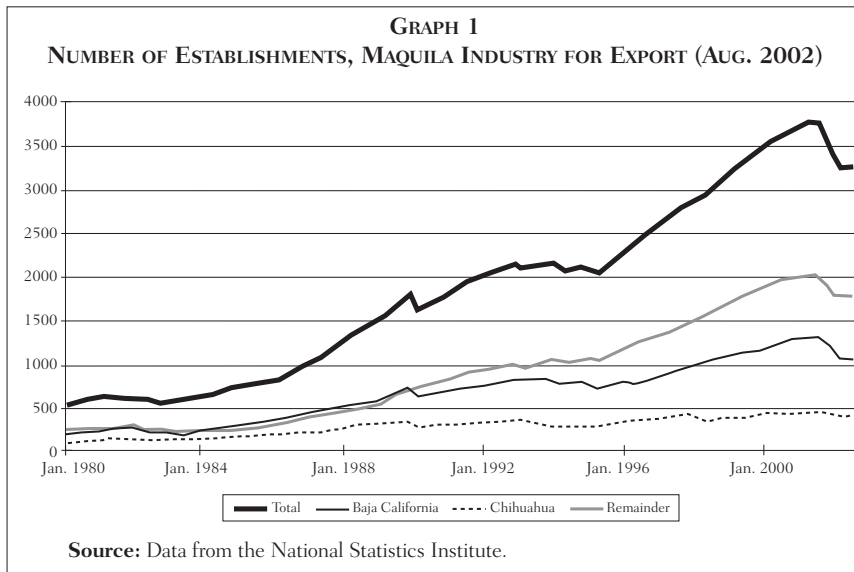
three sections: the first briefly analyzes the background of the MIE, particularly in the context of the new development strategy implemented in Mexico since the end of 1987 and the temporary imports needed for export policy. The second section looks in more detail at MIE performance in the Mexican economy, emphasizing export trends, employment and inputs, using as a starting point the changes that came about both as a result of the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the events of

September 11, 2001. The last section points to some important trends for the MIE in the short and medium terms.

BACKGROUND

The MIE has played a preponderant role in the new strategy for growth and development followed since the Economic Solidarity Pact was signed in December 1987. This strategy, known as "liberalization,"¹ breaks with import substitution industrialization, the socio-

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Since June 2001, the maquiladora industry
for export has been in the worst crisis
for any period since statistics
have been available.

economic dynamic followed after the 1930s in Mexico, and is based on the idea that any socio-economic unit needs to be integrated into the world market directly through exports. With this new point of reference, these new socio-economic units—companies and regions, among others—emerge, and the state withdraws from its active, historic functions in the market and economic matters: the “minimalist” state has at its disposal, in the best of cases, horizontal or neutral policies that affect all actors in the same way, whether they be *changarros* (“hole-in-the-wall businesses”)² or large multinational corporations, for example. From this perspective, the state’s active functions in a mixed economy are eliminated.

In that context, where private manufactured exports become the driving force behind economic growth in this

proposed strategy, the MIE plays a significant role. Internationally, the maquila industry has become integrated into the growing international supply that transfers segments of global mercantile chains and the growing productive flexibility.³ In addition, and in the context of the opening to imports and NAFTA, the MIE has become one of the most dynamic export-fostering programs in the Mexican economy. It is important, however, to make a few observations about this:

1. While the maquila is currently one of the main pro-export programs in Mexico, it is not the only one. In contrast with many academic and political economy debates about the MIE, it is important to consider the processes that these programs and products carry out.

2. The “rationality” of temporary imports for export (ITE), which include

programs like Altex, Pitex and the maquila industry,⁴ is based on: a) not paying import duties; b) not paying value added tax; c) practically speaking, not paying taxes on profits (Mexico’s *impuesto sobre la renta* or ISR);⁵ and 4) importing temporarily to then export.

3. The previously mentioned point is fundamental for understanding the structures of incentives for ITE, which can reach up to 70 percent of production. In contrast, companies and local or national processes that would like to take advantage of that structure face barriers or dis-incentives: to be part of the ITE, comparative costs are up to 70 percent higher.

4. To get an idea of the size of temporary imports for export, including the maquila industry, in the years from 1993 to 2000, while the MIE accounted for 44.38 percent of total Mexican exports, temporary imports for export accounted for 78.47 percent, or 34.08 percent more. In the case of electronic industry exports to the United States, for example, ITE represented 99.06 percent of exports from 1998 to 2001.

Lastly, it is important to mention that the ratio of Mexican exports to the gross domestic product has increased from under 8 percent in the early 1980s to almost 25 percent at the end of the 1990s. As of the second half of the 1990s, manufacturing represented 85 percent of all exports. On the other hand, it should be noted that almost 90 percent of total exports were destined for the United States.

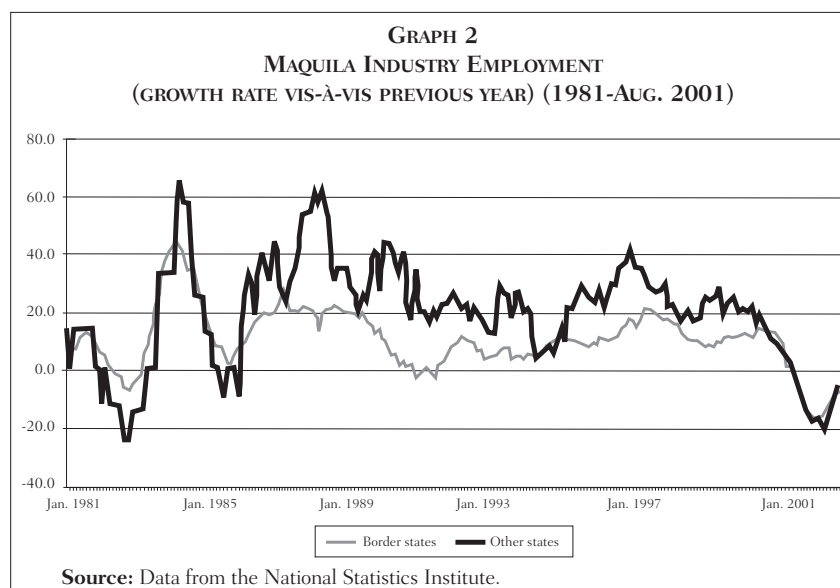
CURRENT CONDITIONS IN THE MIE

Since June 2001, the MIE has been in the worst crisis for any period since

statistics have been available.⁶ This is due to the generalized recession in the United States, where almost all exports from the MIE go, the recession and/or crisis which specific sectors are going through globally (for example, the electronics industry since 2000), as well as the low competitiveness of Mexico's production, including the MIE. The current situation can be summarized as follows:

a) Since June 2001, active establishments have dropped in number significantly, both on the northern border and in the rest of the country. In August 2002, compared to the same month the previous year, 493 establishments had closed nationwide, more than half located in Baja California, a state that is home to a little under 30 percent of all MIE plants (see graph 1). States like Chihuahua have seen less negative performance than other states. The average annual growth rate of MIE establishments had begun to drop, although it continued to be positive, in mid-1996.

b) Since the late 1990s, employment in the MIE, more than 95 percent of which was concentrated in the border area, has dropped to less than 80 percent in that region. In addition, in May 2000, the employment growth rate of the MIE reached a maximum of 15.2 percent, and since then has dropped; since May 2001, it has even been negative. Just like the number of establishments, in 2002 MIE employment is in the worst crisis it has ever seen since statistics were first established in 1980: for several months it dropped by close to 20 percent and 259,000 jobs were lost between October 2000 (the month with highest employment levels) and May 2002. As of April 2002, this trend seemed to reverse itself, although the numbers were still negative. These



The ratio of Mexican exports to the gross domestic product has increased from under 8 percent in the early 1980s to almost 25 percent at the end of the 1990s.

trends are the same throughout the border area and the rest of the MIE (see graph 2). From this perspective, NAFTA generated a new growth for the maquila industry, which gradually dropped at the end of the 1990s. For the moment it is still not possible to say what the quantitative effects of 9/11 have been; in general, however, we can say that, in the worst of cases, it sharpened a trend that had already begun to manifest itself in the case of the MIE.

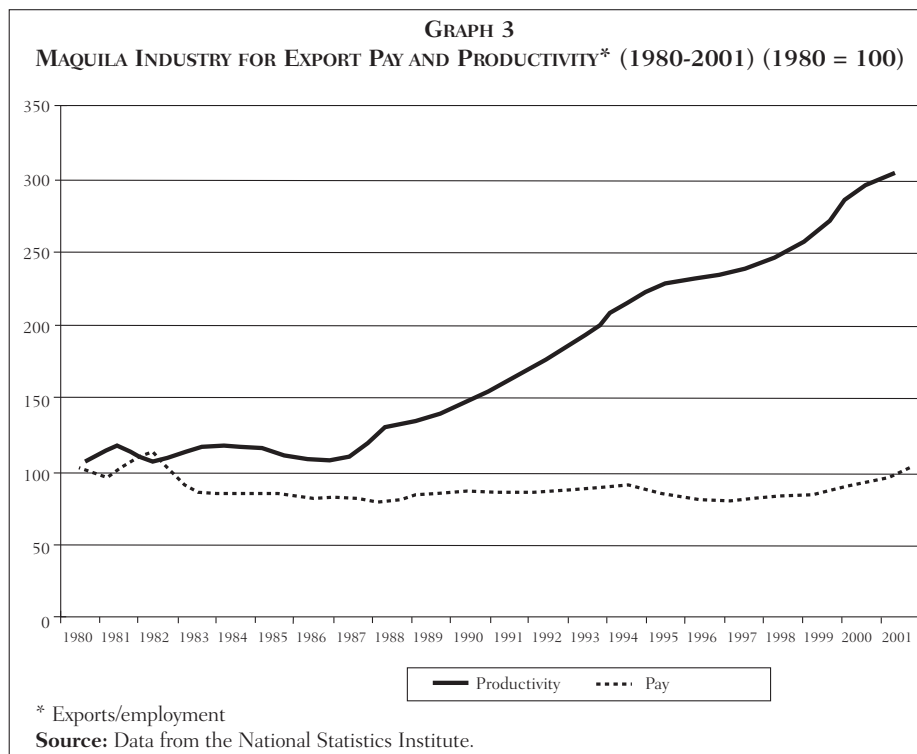
c) Graph 3 shows some of the recent changes the maquila industry has been through. On the one hand, in 2001, wages (calculated in 1994 pesos using December amounts for each year) were 2.5 percent lower than 1980 despite having recovered constantly since 1996. However, this relative recovery is still considerably below the rise in productivity levels (calculated as exports over

employment), which, from 1980 to 2001, increased 203.7 percent.

d) In the 1990s, the MIE became the main industry with a surplus in its trade balance, generating U.S.\$19.282 billion in 2001. Despite this, its degree of national integration has been very limited, particularly as a result of the “rationality” of temporary imports for export, as has already been pointed out. Graph 4 shows that the coefficient of national inputs to total inputs has seldom gone over 3 percent in the years between 1980 and 2002.

CONCLUSIONS AND SCENARIOS

Since the 1980s, the MIE has become one of the main forces behind the growth of the Mexican economy and has been fundamental for understand-



The productive sector in Mexico has significantly lost competitiveness in recent years. The over-valued exchange rate in mid-2002 is an important factor.

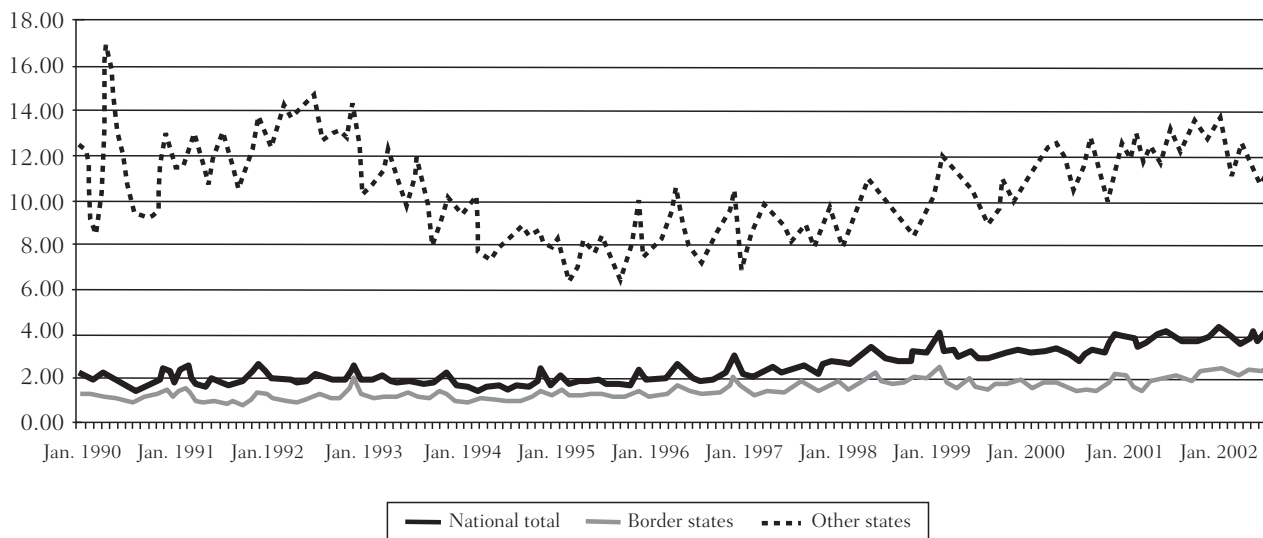
ing the dynamic of the liberalization strategy currently in place. Its performance in terms of exports and productivity has been spectacular, although much more discrete in terms of real remuneration and the degree of integration with national production. The latter question is particularly a result of the incentives that were created for its establishment; these incentives became enormous disincentives for companies established in Mexico, with a different tax and trade regime. It should not be expected that the degree of integration will increase significantly in the medium and long term. These trends also reflect the fact that a small segment of the Mexican economy has become

completely integrated into the U.S. economy, although with discrete linkages to the rest of the productive apparatus.

In the short and medium term, we can predict that the number of establishments and employment in the MIE will stabilize; employment will hover at around 1.2 million jobs. In contrast with the “golden years” of the 1990s, we should not expect that growth rates of over 20 percent will be seen again for several years. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, the U.S., European and Japanese economies are not expected to grow vigorously in the short term. In the second place, the crisis or possible recession in sectors like

the electronics industry may well continue in the short and medium term. In addition, the productive sector in Mexico has significantly lost competitiveness in recent years. The over-valued exchange rate in mid-2002 is an important factor; it has reached almost 40 percent, much higher than even the levels before the 1994-1995 crisis, according to the Central Bank. This implies, among other things, that while real wages in constant pesos have decreased in recent years, they have increased in dollars and, for foreign investors in the MIE, the increase is substantial in comparison with Asian countries, particularly China. Equally—and as a result of restrictive mone-

GRAPH 4
 MAQUILA INDUSTRY FOR EXPORT, DOMESTIC INPUTS/TOTAL CONSUMPTION
 (1990-AUG. 2002) (%)



Source: Data from the National Statistics Institute.

tary and credit policies— compared to the gross domestic product, the loans given by the commercial banking sector to companies have dropped by more than 80 percent from 1994 to 2001. This trend substantially affects the potential for integrating domestic suppliers and their capability for financing. Lastly, it is important to mention an issue that has not been an object of much study or analyzed by the respective public bodies: NAFTA's tariff controls are less important now; that is to say, the tariffs imposed on imports from other countries by the United States have benefited them substantially, whether they signed a free trade agreement or not. Thus, continuing with competitiveness programs based exclusively on lowering tariffs—which in any case have been driven down to almost zero percent in Mexico— would seem

to have little potential for fostering competitiveness in Mexico. **NM**

NOTES

¹ For a detailed analysis of the conceptual origin, political objectives and expectations of the liberalization strategy in Mexico, see Enrique Dussel Peters, *Polarizing Mexico. The Impact of Liberalization Strategy* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne & Rienner, 2000).

² The author is referring to a much-talked about campaign promise by President Vicente Fox to finance *changarros*, or micro-companies, so every Mexican could be a business owner. [Editor's Note.]

³ Gary Gereffi, "The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How U.S. Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks," Gary Gereffi and Miguel Korzeniewicz, *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994), pp. 95-122; and J. Michael Piore and C.F. Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide. Possibilities for Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1984).

⁴ Currently, exporting companies can request their registration in a series of programs, including

the maquila industry, the Large Exporter Program (Altex) and the Program of Temporary Import for Producing Articles for Export (Pitex), among others. They choose the program depending on their specific conditions, including the import tariff of the country the goods are exported to. Some companies may even be signed up in several programs for different kinds of production. In general, these programs allow companies an exemption from paying either VAT or tariffs, although they do have to pay tax on their profits (Mexico's ISR). In practice, however—and something that should be looked into more in the future—the ISR is very low, nil or even negative. See José Luis Álvarez Galván and Enrique Dussel Peters, "Causas y efectos de los programas de promoción sectorial en la economía mexicana," *Comercio Exterior* 51 (5) (Mexico City) 2001, pp. 446-456; and Roberto Schatan, "Régimen tributario de la industria maquiladora," *Comercio Exterior* 52 (10) (Mexico City), 2002, pp. 916-926.

⁵ Schatan estimates that, for 2000, the maquila industry paid a rate of -7.2 percent ISR; this means that it was a net receiver of subsidies from the public sector. Roberto Schatan, op. cit.

⁶ All the statistics used in the following paragraphs have been calculated based on figures found in <http://www.inegi.gov.mx> and <http://www.banxico.org.mx>

Mexico's Banking System Driving Force or Brake On Economic Development?

Enrique Pino Hidalgo*



Jorge Silva/Cuatroscuro

Over the last ten years Mexico's financial system has undergone a series of modernizing changes that have transformed its structure, mode of operating, form of ownership, instruments for attracting savings and investment, source of profits, etc. These changes have been guided by the principles of economic liberalism: opening the sector to foreign investment and deregulating financial activities to let it be ruled by market forces. The basic premise was that this deregulation and opening would stimulate technological modernization and the diversification of financial instruments.

At the time, the authorities disseminated the image of a new Mexican banking system that would appropriately fulfill the functions of encouraging domestic savings and channeling credit to companies with truly competitive costs using flexible criteria to make financing accessible. In short, the modernization of the banking system would ensure the flow of sufficient resources to back up the growth of the country's industry and commerce.¹ As we shall see, things progressed along a different road from the one promised.

THE LIMITS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

The financial reform, which included stock market institutions, was not a spontaneous initiative of the Mexican government. The international context marked by economic globalization and the constant pressure of multilateral

financial institutions and the U.S. government played a decisive role. In the negotiation of the Brady Plan in 1989 that dealt with Mexico's foreign debt, a demand was made that was never formally admitted, but that was applied de facto by the Mexican government: the opening of the financial sector to foreign investment. This commitment was concretized in three emblematic measures:

- the elimination of governmental controls on the savings rate, the suppression of credit segments (previously, there had been percentage requirements by category of loan) and the mandatory cash reserve;
- very flexible regulation of foreign investment; and
- the opening of Mexico's stock market to foreign investment.

The Mexican banking system has gone through traumatic episodes: its nationalization, its reprivatization, the 1994-1995 banking crisis and the government bail-out of bankrupt banks.

The reform, oriented by market mechanisms, began in 1988 and had as its crosscutting axis the privatization of banking institutions, nationalized in the early 1980s by President José López Portillo, and the gradual opening of the financial sector to external competition in accordance with the commitments ratified in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).²

In two decades of changes, the Mexican banking system has gone through traumatic episodes that include its nationalization, its reprivatization, the

1994-1995 banking crisis and the government bail-out of bankrupt banks. The cost of this operation is estimated at over U.S.\$75 billion in promissory notes. The interest on this debt weighs heavily on the public pocketbook with negative effects on the yearly budgets for education, health and government investment. A little history would be useful at this point (see table 1).

THE STATE BAIL-OUT OF PRIVATE BANKS

The Savings Protection Bank Fund (Fobaproa) was founded in 1990 and was supposed to be funded by contributions from the banks. This did not happen, however, because the banks were already de-capitalized. After an unprecedented surge in bank credit

and the stock market in the beginning of the 1990s, the banks and financial institutions went into crisis in 1994 and 1995. In only two years, the crisis sparked a more than 100 percent surge in interest rates and the hyper-devaluation of the peso, both of which worsened the problem of the banks' bad loan portfolio.³

Given the banking crisis and the euphoria of anti-state liberal economic policies, the government did not hesitate at all to launch a plan to save the bankrupt private banks. Fobaproa

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TABLE 1
FISCAL COST OF FINANCIAL BAIL-OUT PROGRAMS
MEXICO, 1997

PROGRAMS	BILLIONS OF DOLLARS	PERCENTAGE OF 1997 GDP
UDIS	2.85	0.9
Housing Program	3.92	1.2
FINAPE	1.58	0.5
FOPYME	0.78	0.2
ADE	0.50	0.2
Fobaproa	18.73	5.9
Capitalization Plans	7.74	2.4
Highway Construction Loans	1.88	0.6
TOTAL	37.98	11.9

NOTE: At an exchange rate of 10 pesos per dollar.

Key

UDIS: Investment Units Indexed to the Inflation Rate.

FINAPE: Financing for the Agricultural and Fishing Sector.

FOPYME: Financial Support for Micro-, Small and Medium-Sized Companies.

ADE: Bank Debtors' Support Program.

Fobaproa: Savings Protection Bank Fund.

Source: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, *Criterios Generales de Política Económica* (México City: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1998).

immediately began to take action to financially shore up banking intermediaries with state tax monies. In 1998, Fobaproa was replaced by the Bank Savings Protection Institute (IPAB), which reaffirmed the federal government's substantive functions and financial commitments to Mexico's new bankers.

At the end of that year, with the approval of the conservative National Action Party (PAN) and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), then in office, Congress fully recognized the Fobaproa's financial obligations. This increased domestic public debt since

the promissory notes, originally documented as "contingency liabilities" (a governmental guarantee in the event that the banks did not cover their commitments to depositors and investors) were validated as "direct debt." As a result, these instruments were legalized as an unavoidable government obligation for more than U.S.\$75 billion.

This was a drastic budgetary change because "contingency liabilities" do not earn interest, while direct debt does. Therefore, the banks' private debt was transformed into public debt. As a result, the federal government's total public debt increased from 31.4 percent

to 43.3 percent of the gross domestic product. The tax burden resulting from these government obligations incurred by the bank bail-out continues to increase and has become a serious budgetary and political problem for Mexican society.⁴ Between May 1999 and December 2001, the IPAB's debt has increased from U.S.\$69.4 billion to U.S.\$78 billion, while its net assets dropped from U.S.\$12.1 billion to U.S.\$7.5 billion.

LOSS OF NATIONAL CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY'S PAYMENT SYSTEM

Mexico's old banking system has practically come completely under the control of large financial groups from Spain, the United States, Canada and Great Britain, which today manage almost 90 percent of its total assets through Bilbao Vizcaya, Santander, Citibank, Nova Scotia and Hong Kong Shanghai Bank (HSBC). The HSBC recently bought Banco Bital, which was the third largest credit institution in the country. There are a few surviving regional banks still controlled by Mexican investors: Banorte, Afirme and Inbursa have a market share of about 10 percent, but only with great difficulty will they be able to resist the weight of the oligopolistic competition in a market defined by the country's three main banks. Today, Mexico's two largest financial groups, BBVA-Bancomer and Citibank-Banamex, dominate 50 percent of the banking market.

It is significant in terms of the limits of the banking reform that the presence of "new competitors" in the national financial market did not make for an improvement in the credit supply for production in the Mexican econo-

my. Bank financing is excessively expensive and scarce: on an average, interest on loans is higher than 20 percent, while interest on savings is even lower than the inflation rate, which in 2002 will supposedly be under 5 percent. In Mexico, small and medium-sized depositors are losing with negative real interest rates.

The banking system does not encourage savings and, in fact, bank financing for industry, commerce and the service sector has disappeared. From 1993 to 1994, Mexico's banking system provided 32 percent of the money invested in the productive sector, while in 2001, this figure was barely 6.5 percent. Currently, only one-fifth of established companies use bank credit,⁵ and only 20 percent of the population has access to banking services. Today, the contribution of private banks to investment and growth is practically nil. More than a driving force behind development, the banking system has turned into a brake on overcoming the economic recession the Mexican economy has been experiencing since 2001.

RECESSION AND NET PROFITS IN MULTINATIONAL BANKS

It is a macroeconomic paradox that in the midst of a recession and despite its negligible contribution to financing production, in 2001 the multinational commercial banking system made spectacular profits of over U.S.\$1.1 billion. For example, the Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria-Bancomer financial group reported net accumulated profit of U.S.\$691 million, an increase of 245 percent over 2000. IPAB's debt in promissory notes to this financial group

DEPOSITS IN SAVINGS ACCOUNTS, IN U.S. DOLLARS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ACCOUNTS	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF ACCOUNTS
\$100 or less	51.70	51.70
\$100 to \$500	17.35	69.05
\$500 to \$1,000	9.36	78.41
\$1,000 to \$5,000	14.20	92.61
\$5,000 to \$10,000	3.70	96.31
\$10,000 to \$25,000	2.14	98.45
\$25,000 to more than \$100,000	1.53	100.00

NOTE: At an exchange rate of 10 pesos per dollar.
Source: Comisión Nacional Bancaria y de Valores y Banco de México, July 2002.

Mexico's old banking system has practically come under the control of large financial groups from Spain, the U. S., Canada and Great Britain, which today manage almost 90 percent of its total assets.

comes to U.S.\$12.6 billion (the equivalent of 22 percent of the bank's assets). For its part, the Grupo Financiero Santander-Serfin made U.S.\$522.7 million in net profits, a 133 percent increase with regard to 2000. Santander bought Bital bank and IPAB's debt to Santander is U.S.\$6.8 billion, roughly 40 percent of the financial group's assets.⁶

Just to confirm the profitability of the multinational banks, we should consider that in the first quarter of 2002, what was the Banco Nacional de México (Banamex), bought by Citibank, had profits of U.S.\$280 million.

At the center of the multinational banking system's profits are speculation with the resources of third parties, the depositors, and the interest on the IPAB promissory notes from the government bail-out.

The three aforementioned financial groups benefited from the interest on the IPAB notes from the government bank bail-out, which came to more than U.S.\$75 billion. The international banking system has reinforced the oligopolistic trend. This means that the market is controlled by few financial groups and is the key to explaining the wide gap between the interest

rates paid to depositors (on the average, lower than the inflation rate) and the rates applied to loans, which are three to four times greater. None of this takes into account the government tax breaks given through the "Tax Payment Deferment" program that is equivalent to a virtual exemption for the banking system to the tune of almost U.S.\$4.5 billion.

After the 1994-1995 financial crisis and the virtual technical bankruptcy of most of the re-privatized banks and the development banking system managed by the federal government, the idea that modernization and normalization of the sector required the presence of foreign banks to "bring in fresh resources to help recapitalize Mexico's fragile banking system" came into vogue.

With that began a wave of mergers and acquisitions of local banks by large financial consortia with worldwide presence, the results of which I have attempted to point out. However, the supposed contribution of fresh resources has been neither substantial nor evident if we consider that of all the bank assets controlled today by foreign investors, 22 percent is held in the promissory notes emitted by the old Savings Protection Bank Fund (today called the Bank Savings Protection Institute) as part of the bank bail-out.

Under these circumstances, everything seems to indicate that the international banks' real interest in investing in Mexico is not to play the role of financial intermediary and promoting bank credit in the Mexican market, but rather to get at the juicy yields generated by the promissory notes for bank recapitalization operations carried out by the federal government.

Finally, some preliminary observations should be formulated about the current performance and structure of the banking system. In the first place, it should be pointed out that in a macroeconomic environment of price and exchange-rate stability, loan rates have in effect gone down.

However, they continue to be in the two digits, which does not stimulate investment in production, at the same time that interest rates on deposits are insignificant, thus not stimulating increased domestic savings. Passive interest rates urgently need to be reset to create incentives for potential savers to increase the mass of money in the banking system and, as a consequence, open up the possibility for bolstering the amount of credit available, the banking system's most important social function.

In the second place, in the context of a recession with low growth rates for both output and investment, more decided government action in favor of financing investment in production is needed through development bank and social banking credit (the latter for micro-financing of micro-, small and medium-sized companies).

Also needed is a search for new resources that can come out of a renegotiation of the terms of the financial bail-out that would free up funds that are now earmarked for a banking system currently dedicated to speculation. Lastly, the loss of national control of the country's system of payments, today in the hands of multinational commercial banks, carries with it undeniable risks, such as less room for determining monetary and credit policies.

From the point of view of financing production, it can be said that the neoliberal financial reform has failed

to the extent that the banking system is not fulfilling its function as an intermediary and reducing the cost of money for encouraging investment. In this sense, Mexico's banking system does not justify the tax and social burden that ensuring its financial health has meant. **MM**

NOTES

¹ See the official view of the financial reform, its instruments and goals in Pedro Aspe, *El camino mexicano de la transformación económica* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989).

² For an analysis of the periods of liberal modernization of Mexico's financial system, see Arturo Guillén, *El sistema financiero y la recuperación de la economía mexicana* (paper read at the Meeting on the Evaluation of the Impact of the Mexico, U.S. and Canada Free Trade Agreement, Mexico City, January 1995).

³ Enrique Pino Hidalgo, "Economía de endeudamiento y costos del rescate gubernamental," *Crisis bancaria y carteras vencidas*, Alicia Girón and Eugenia Correa, comps. (Mexico City: Editorial *La Jornada*, 1997).

⁴ Alejandro Álvarez, "La inestabilidad financiera internacional y sus implicaciones en México," *Globalización financiera e integración monetaria. Una perspectiva desde los países en desarrollo* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa-UNAM, 2002).

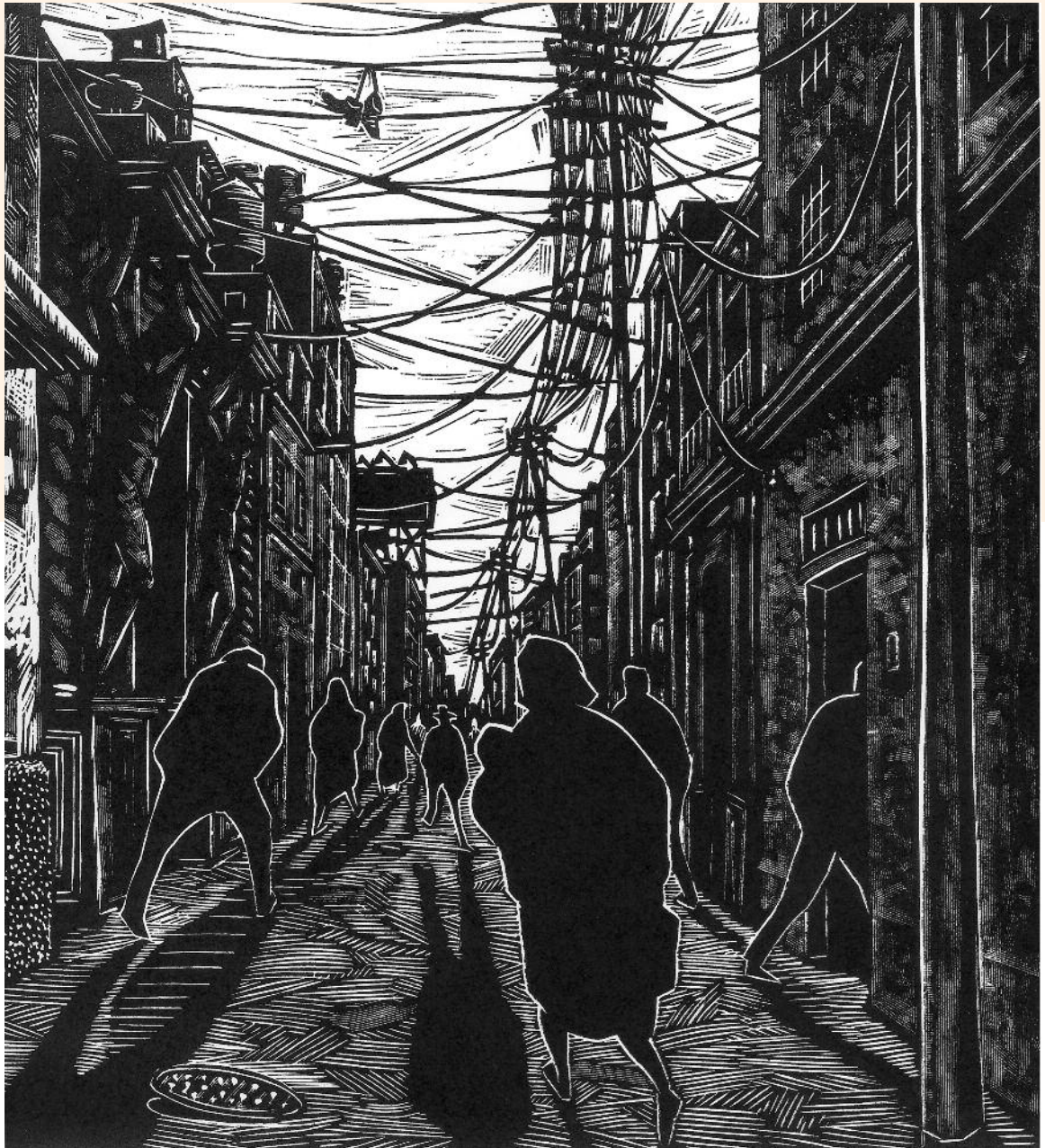
⁵ <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2002/abr02/020418aleco.php> consulted April 2, 2002.

⁶ These figures are estimates made by the Chamber of Deputies' Finance Commission, published in *La Jornada* (Mexico City) 11 April 2002.

Pilgrimage and Citizenship Of an Artistic Craft

The Work of Mauricio Gómez Morin

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde*



▲ *Morning Sunsets*, 23 x 23 cm, 2000 (linoleum print).

*Fortune comes to the aid
of the audacious.*

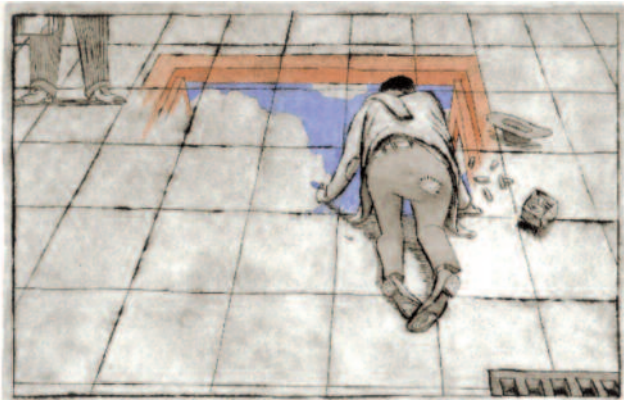
VIRGIL

Mauricio Gómez Morin Fuentes identifies completely with this maxim of Virgil's. At mysterious, shaman-like depths, Mauricio might not imagine that his audacity has consisted of keeping up a productive vein through torturous years, a vein that has never betrayed the best of his fertile imagination. His work installs itself in the present, impassive before the fickle passage of time: it is like the resonance of the tenacious constancy of the pilgrim who refuses to stop being the citizen of his craft. Gómez Morin Fuentes journeys and inhabits his work with the vocation of the light-

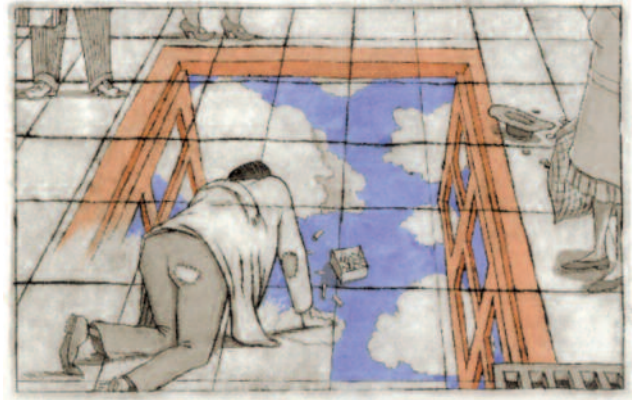
house keeper and is thus discovered, illuminated, in secret complicity and little dissimulated delight with the memory of his primal ghosts who never give up in their attempts to provoke his both irreverent and fine stroke on his mental canvas and in the next dream, during the gradual course of his work. I know some of those ghosts and I also know about their weighty truths. They are inhabitants of a land in which the artist has lived and dedicated his leisure and, when necessary—which is almost always—has made them strokes of accumulated memory.

In this exercise, Mauricio is faithful to Cennetti's maxim, "There is something so vile about good sense that one would prefer to be wise as

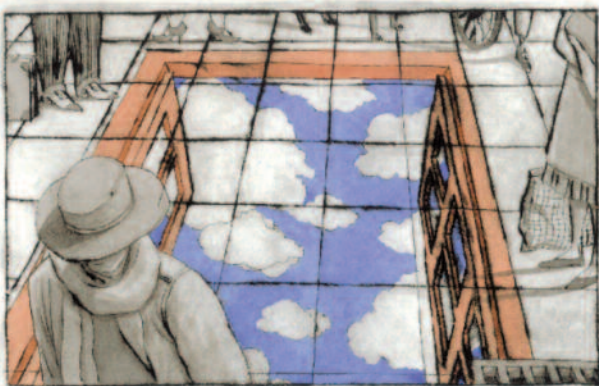
* Researcher and director of CISAN.



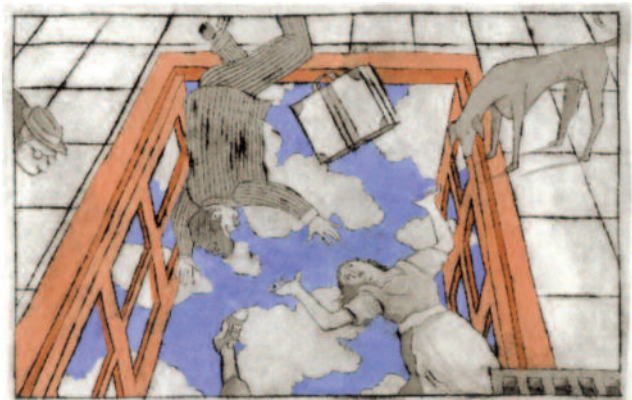
History of Painters, Moment 1, 16 x 25 cm, 2000 (dry point and watercolor).



History of Painters, Moment 2, 16 x 25 cm, 2000 (dry point and watercolor).



History of Painters, Moment 3, 16 x 25 cm, 2000 (dry point and watercolor).



History of Painters, Moment 4, 16 x 25 cm, 2000 (dry point and watercolor).

a madman.” Gómez Morin Fuentes commits the fortunate error of not knowing his creative limits, and thus, he has no good sense: he insatiably explores —like a madman— the inhabitable spaces within his reach, in his movement as a painter. Landscape, mural, still life, portrait, etching in wood and zinc, silk screen, illustration: all these have been the byways of his work and the reasons behind his commitment to the multidimensional rootedness that both work and artist achieve in the very milieu that Saint Augustine once termed “the bazaar of loquacity,” meaning life.

Accepting Mauricio’s proposal to present his painting on this occasion is on my part both daring and an opportunity to partially pay homage to him, from the ignorance that is at the same time the shared ambition of discovering what is hidden behind what is real. It is also an act of elemental justice and a celebration of the aesthetic pleasure in which his work increasingly immerses me.

I met Mauricio 25 years ago in the city of Chihuahua one northern summer afternoon when we were both maturing adolescents; he was wearing a cap and black leather gloves and he briskly rubbed his hands together to my summery surprise. Now my understanding is that it was his nerves at discovering himself in the land of Don Manuel, his grandfather, exploring for the first time the lights and shadows of the desert. However, I also discovered at that meeting that “pachucos” did not live only in the United States; their tradition, and undoubtedly their roots, also belong to Mexico’s highland, and sometimes they become the conquerors of their own provinces. Since that day and after certain twists and turns of the logistics of friendship that have overcome geography and elastic frontiers, we have been inhabitants of a time that we do not recognize either as being distinctive of a generation or as meaning a finite nearness; it is only a revisited loneliness that becomes a perennially vital celebration since, in the reoccupation of the friendly rest stops that have held so much creative dialogue, we have achieved



▲ *The Chameleon's Morality*, 200 x 90 cm, 1990 (wood engraving).

the conquest of that inclusive plenitude that is “loving your friend more than understanding him.” I do not know if these words are for the painter, the friend, the poet or the brother. I think that I wrote them for all four, with the aim of discovering the reasons of the heart that reason does not know. In any case, I am consoled by Mauricio’s legendary conviction about the historicalness of the repeated image as an essential component (because of their potential diversity) of that universe of fractions that are the aesthetic times and spaces that form part of his work, or his artistic pilgrimage.

Thus, it occurs to me that Mauricio’s early eccentricity in the land of his grandparents announced what I understood as new forms of occupying the intimate provinces of the pictori-

human actor; in this exercise, Mauricio manages to conquer in his work the vast territories of what Paz called “the reality of the senses.” His intimate relationship with pictorial work is also an encounter with a wandering vocation for the search for promises and new paths of expression.

And yet, I think that Gómez Morin Fuentes does not always think of himself as isolated in painting. Due to didactic conviction and unconditional giving of himself to a complex universe which just as it affirms him, also denies him without desiring to, he tries insistently to discover what is not himself: his artistic tread is sometimes orphaned, though constant, and is also the step of the caustic interpreter of what is real that overwhelms him. The artist’s work is above all a

The virtue of Gómez Morin lies in the consummate fact
as a figure and the aesthetic fact as a non-resolved truth.
His painting surprises from the unpredictable and becomes
an atmosphere for laughter and weeping.

al image. From then on, the painter has characterized himself as a modern iconoclast of the origin. That may be the origin of his first paintings in which the meditation about intimacy, the insistence on rootedness, inhabit each of his themes: birds, minotaurs, old men, children, flying *bolillo* rolls, bicycles, orphaned hearts, bus stops, oceans, somber though illuminating clothes lines, anonymous feet and corn, the plant of the Americas, one of his favorite themes. In a vast and suspicious instant, from all these entities emerge not unleashed islands or turned-in-on-itself rhetoric, but rather melancholic wholes, rich in odors, color and form, that are translated into specific abstractions of the unrepeatable time of the image and original, innovative aesthetic proposals.

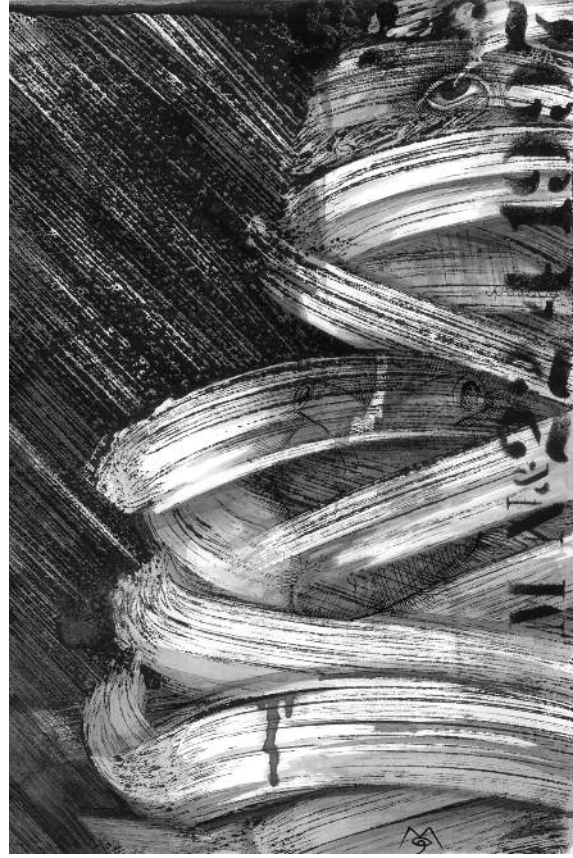
Simultaneously, the trait that characterizes the artist is his noble, incorruptible effort to find a meaning between his identity as an artistic actor and his profound dimension as a loving

consistent expression of the history of all the images that surprise us in the very site of our non-daring, which is generally decisive: it is about the incomprehensible images of ourselves seen in O’Donnell’s mirror (“I think that I think,” “I suffer because I suffer,” “I love that I love.”) of our dreams, doubts and desires; they are the doubt about the symbolic precariousness, the affirmation in the critical optimism manifested in a plastic proposal that is resolved in the lucid lack of definition of the Other as an ecumenical, hedonistic solution of the universality of being, as absurd as it is complex.

The explanation of this is in itself simple and foreign to both the work and the artist. What is certain is that Mauricio is the author of a work that goes beyond the mere comprehension of the creator, and that is why he achieves a creative autonomy that goes beyond the objective fact. I think that the reason for this is not necessar-



▲ *Little Boat*, 2002 (mixed techniques).



▲ *Public Mysteries*, 2002 (ink).



▲ *Emerging Still Life*, 40 x 70 cm, 1999 (oil on cardboard).

ily aesthetic goodness per se; it is something more complex: the virtue of Gómez Morin lies in the consummate fact as a figure and the aesthetic fact as a non-resolved truth. Thus, his painting surprises from the unpredictable and becomes an atmosphere for laughter and weeping, wind and earth, broadness and narrowness and, in the end, is an optimistic proposal that transcends but sharply recovers the crudity of the real fact that often takes shelter in the terrain of simulation. His painting traces the profound well of the consciousness of what is real. In it, expression is no other place than that where aes-

thetic virtue achieves its identity, precisely in its encounter with a complex and diverse course. In this way, Mauricio becomes the owner of an audacity and a talent for encountering fortune (accidental fortune?), of deciphering an immemorial time and space as vast as the one produced in the relationship between the canvas and that other side that is both so far and so near us: representation.

Gómez Morin's is a pictorial vocation from a very profound and indispensable space where the image, the word, the glance, are all argument and proposal, but also —and above all— from that

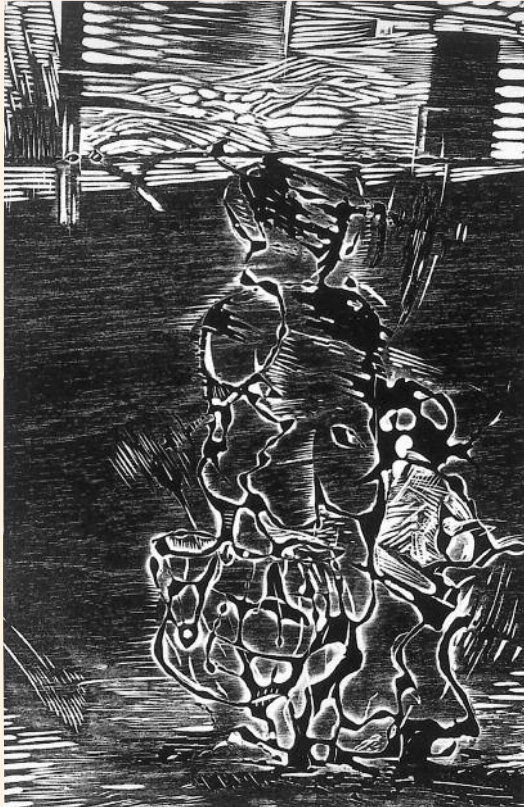
Gómez Morin's is a pictorial vocation from a very profound and indispensable space where the image, the word, the glance, are all argument and proposal.



▲ *Empty Bottles*, 65 x 65 cm, 1999 (oil on wood).



▲ *Stave*, 40 x 20 cm, 1999 (oil on stave).



▲ *The River*, 17 x 30 cm, 1986 (wood engraving).



▲ *Rebellion in the Waiting Rooms*, 12 x 7 cm, 1990 (linoleum print).

Mauricio manages to conquer in his work
the vast territories of what Octavio Paz called
“the reality of the senses.”

raw place of lucid encounter with the heritage of such an undefined Mexican time that, on a good number of occasions, is the annihilator of its own essence. Mauricio makes a sometimes fantastic journey that ends —or does not end?— in a landing that surprises, because it is the raw evidence of an unawareness that is sometimes unlocatable, but which makes its presence known in the critical stroke of a universal object. While it is true that all painting may also be the negation of its maker, that is, of his lucid clarity preserved for a time in quarantine, of his stubborn clandestinity and his postponed recognition, it also means something that in itself is enormous: it uncovers

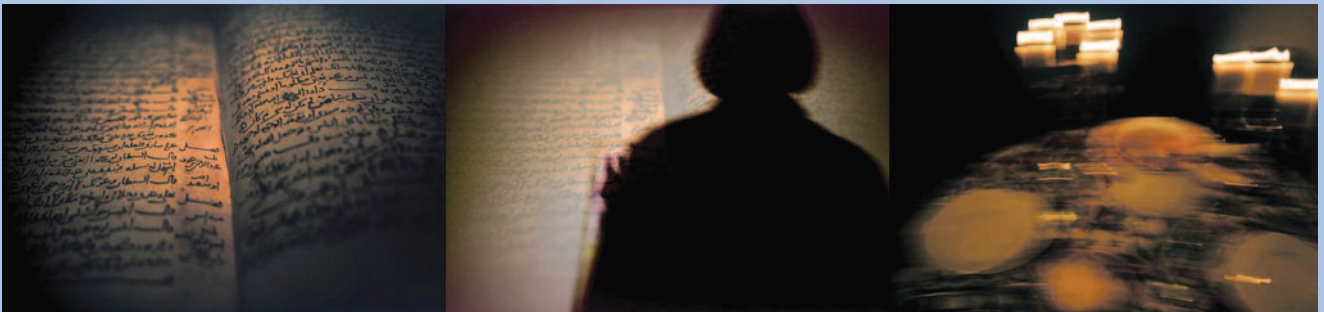
a part of what is invisible, and this exercise exposes the intimacy of what is public; and, in the case of Gómez Morin, it sketches with subtle technical decisiveness the codes through which the collective privacy withdraws into itself face to face with its own aesthetic. On this journey, Mauricio preserves all the secrets and silently cultivates the virtue of Auden’s pilgrim, who did not hide his sometimes religious will for artistic citizenship, which is nothing other than the fusion of his visual, plastic work with his conviction of turning the time of his images into circle and season, road and bridge, rest and lighthouse, and into momentary repose for weary hearts. **MM**



▲ *Travel Journal Rome.*



▲ *Travel Journal Switzerland.*



▲ *Travel Journal Berlin.*

Lightening of Movements The Photography of Ernesto Ríos

Margot Cruet*

Writing about the work of Ernesto Ríos is like throwing a stone into the water and watching how the ripples wash over each other in movements that his camera freezes. Through the counterpoint of images and times, the young artist dissolves the borders between his external reality and his internal universe.

A place —just like a person— is a multiplicity without outlines. It is inhabited both by the red

tones of his blood and the blues and purples that his eyes perceive at nightfall. Ernesto Ríos made his camera an extension of himself; with this new arm, he can manipulate and integrate the dance of time outside and inside himself.

He had a privileged childhood. His parents, both photographers, instilled in him a love of art; he grew up amidst artists and intellectuals who incubated metaphors in his mind that would later be translated into images. At the age of three, his father gave him his first camera; at that moment,

* Mexican writer.

Ríos made his start in the world of photography. He spent long hours sketching, trapping images and making them speak through his hands. At 12, his eyes had already beheld every state in the country.

His work includes sketches, paintings, objects, photographs, digital art and multimedia audiovisuals. He works just as comfortably in traditional media as with new technologies; he has found the point of equilibrium between the two. Ríos understands that time moves with him; technology, the new tools, are part of his artistic style. His work possesses the bases of the sketching and drawing tradition, but is also committed to his time, developing along the lines of electronic media. His photography breaks through schema and offers innovative paths toward interpretations and artistic focuses. He offers non-conventional ways of conceiving space and time; in his images, both can be deformed, move, overlap. He counterposes a situation that his cam-

era trapped at one point in time with another that it built in another place and at a different moment.

He himself says, "I use my camera as a tool of construction and creation, not as a means to faithfully record reality. I try to catch what cannot be pinned down, the passing of time itself, the fleeting, evanescent moments, the soul of beings and objects." The artist sinks his arm into the intimacy of the inanimate; underground currents come alive in his photography. The artist proposes readings hidden under the skin of objects, the voice that remains silent until his camera shoots.

Ríos does not have a fixed place of work. He is flexible enough to create in a hotel room, in the street, in his workshop, in front of a computer; his studio is inside himself and does not depend on four walls. This opening prevents his work from petrifying and repeating itself. He is constantly traveling abroad for his work; one of the main sources of his produc-



▲ Travel Journal London.

tion is based precisely on these trips to himself, in which he collects part of his interior that is found in the clarity of the exterior distance.

Many of his photographs are memories of his travels, playful recollections, atmospheres, day-to-day things. With them, he produces new images that encompass his way of understanding the world. In his mind, forms and meanings are transmuted; an illusion is created through which things are given expression. Meaning and object exist simultaneously. That is why travel fascinates him; he knows that only when he finds something does he recognize it as what he was searching for.

Usually, his work is two-dimensional, although many photographs allude to the three-dimensional. Ríos has worked on projects of traditional sculpture; now he is experimenting with computer 3-D modeling. His artistic training can be seen in the structure of his photographic proposals. Despite the fact that he has developed sketching as an autonomous form of expression, it is the basis of his photography. For him, photography is a canvas on which he can pour, trace, delineate, dissolve, counterpose himself.

In his series “Dissolvings,” the superimposed images are more abstract; now the artist says he is

more conceptual. Basing himself on the simple and day-to-day, he expresses a microcosm analogous to the macrocosm that envelops him; he is conscious that each person contains the whole history of humanity within him- or herself. And now he tries to trace broader relations between the human condition and the rediscovery of the world through himself. This can be better understood when the viewer can read the eyes of the artist and the journey they have made in his photographs.

More than portraying beings and objects, his work portrays bridges to them. It imprisons the heartbeats that emanate from them and counterposes them to those of a new image to create a canon of silent voices that make his photographs come to life. The rhythm may sometimes be nostalgic, using cold, slow blues, with other tones that reverberate and raise their voice: reds, yellows, oranges. His photographs transmit an atmosphere that evokes and vivifies a story: cities superimposed, people who fade in and out and are mistaken for one another; people who were never in the place where they appear; the look —penetrating and religious— of an owl merged with the dark Saint Peters church, all the way to the boiling red tones of an Asian city.

Ríos offers non-conventional ways
of conceiving space and time; in his images,
both can be deformed, move, overlap.



▲ *Window.*

▲ *Orus.*



▲ *Unidentified Object.*



▲ *Dogs Suckling.*

Ernesto is one and many men
at the same time, an ocean that continues
to seek himself out and has no end.

Then, onto the scene comes his work “Bestiary,” eight digital photographs whose epicenter are the most defined outlines of animals. In this series, despite its including more concrete objects, he introduces a playful element that floats between the limits of wakefulness and sleep. Ernesto plays at giving them a new identity, situating them in contexts that define their semantic function. The title is reminiscent of Julio Cortázar’s work, where certain animals, like the tiger, play a specific role in the piece and may, at the same time, open up new roads for reading and interpretation. Thus, in his photograph “Dogs Suckling,” the female stray dog plays the role of the marginalized class in a wounded city. The image is superimposed with another of a lower-middle-class 1980s built-in stove from far away lands. Despite the grey, blue, slow, nostalgic tones, there are hints of black humor and a shriek against the society that drags itself through time without ever finally dying. The organic matter is characterized by the fact that the totality is embraced in each minimum detail (a bacteria, a fallen leaf). In a single cardiac cell is the whole heart; in a dry leaf, the entire tree; in the tree, its whole ecosystem. In many of Ernesto Ríos’ pho-

tographs, there are only day-to-day, apparently unimportant fragments, but in these details is the grandeur of the place and the moment. When he goes to Europe, he does not shoot the Eiffel Tower, but a train station; he does not take pictures of monuments to the history of a particular city, but of the details that pervade it. More than the object, what has meaning is the step that must be taken to discover it. The universe is made up of correspondences and the roads between them reveal their common roots, roots that Ernesto Ríos connects and reveals in each of the details that his camera captures.

Seemingly, the images that the artist experiences daily grow increasingly inside him and trap his will. The artist is committed to his work, and his daily communion with it can be seen in its quality. Ernesto is one and many men at the same time, an ocean that continues to seek himself out and has no end. Despite his youth, his work has grown considerably; he has participated in more than 30 national and international collective exhibits and has had more than 10 one-man shows. The ground is fertile and I am sure it will lead him to penetrate ever more deeply the inexhaustible alleyways of himself. **MM**



Photos courtesy of the Old San Iklifonso College

▲ The Esesarte Pharmacy, presently at the Museum of Mexican Medicine, UNAM.

The Unknown Worlds Of the University

In its 450 years of educational endeavors, the National Autonomous University of Mexico has gathered extraordinary artistic, scientific and historic collections. Part of this vast patrimony is currently being shown in the Old College of San Ildefonso in the exhibition “Marvels and Curiosities. Unknown Worlds of the University.”

This exhibit is also a broad, representative history of the university, implying the selection of almost 2,000 pieces shown together for the first time; some are under the care of 24 university bodies (schools, institutes, coordinating offices and museums), while others belong to more than 20 cultural institutions and private collectors from Mexico and Spain.

The arrangement of the objects and collections in different rooms evokes the original atmosphere of the *gabinetes* of old, spaces reserved for study, for the sciences and the arts. The

idea of reproducing them shows an interest in comparing: what was important was observing the evolution of a genre or establishing the variety and wealth of some products and instruments.

A careful selection of books and objects remit us to the origins of the university: the founding act of the Royal University in 1551; the oldest manuscripts in the National Library; some of the first Mexican printed work associated with university life; and a manuscript from the University of Salamanca.

The exhibit recreates the study-library of a scholar of the Royal University of Mexico during the Viceroyalty. In those days spaces for research held objects related to collecting and scientific curiosity, so the pre-Hispanic pieces, the tortoise shells, the loose papers and the books all make up an authentic private study, a small museum fed with things useful to teach-

This exhibit is a broad, representative history of the university, implying the selection of almost 2,000 pieces shown together for the first time.



▲ Butterfly collection, UNAM Institute of Biology. The oldest in the country.



▲ *Venus de Medici*, graphite on paper, Felipe González, 1797, ENAP-UNAM.



Corner of the Great Study of Natural History. ▶

ing that, with time, would become part of the university and national patrimony.

Studies of old —full of orderly arranged objects— showed the progress achieved up to that point. What could not be collected was reproduced in albums and paintings that complemented the great mosaic of nature. Thus, students and public both were able to admire species and extinct specimens. Direct light, as well as dust and insects, were a grave danger to collections; therefore these rooms were left in shadow —just as

the one reproduced in this exposition—, in accordance with the silence and respect expected of their visitors.

The exhibit also simulates the atmosphere and charm of the popular natural history studies in other times. To that effect, some vertical cabinets and closets were reclaimed; authentic insect cabinets; delicate glass jellyfish; wax and plaster models of fruit; and documents and drawings of botanical expeditions.

Just as with the studies dedicated to art, the idea was to use up all the space, invading the walls to have the greatest possible number of objects in view. The arrangement of the pieces repeated old practices and beliefs, such as putting a crocodile skin high up or on the ceiling, a medieval custom based on the idea that the animal was a monster that could frighten away the Devil himself.

The founding of the first herbarium in New Spain's capital is also commemorated in the exposition. On commission from the king, Spanish doctor Martín de Sessé (1751-1808) headed up a botanical expedition to New Spain, in 1786, with the aim of obtaining natural products with medicinal or industrial application and forming a botanical garden in the viceregal capital. It was inaugurated in 1788, at the same time that a course in botany began to be taught as part of the medical studies in the Royal University.

To pay tribute to the arts, the monumental space that held the Jesuit San Ildefonso



▲ *F. Ioan Dvns. Scoti. Quaestiones quarti voluminis scripti oxoniensis super sententias...* Savatore Bartolocio, 1580, printed on Venice paper, 17.4 x 12.4 x 5.8 cm National Library, reserved fund/UNAM.



◀ *Interior of the University of Mexico* (Cloister of the Royal Pontificate University of Mexico), Pedro Gualdi, ca. 1842, 90 x 114 cm (oil on canvas).

College chapel was transformed into a picture gallery of pieces from the Old Academy of San Carlos. The curators have recreated the walls literally covered with oil paintings that hung in the highest part of the room, leaning slightly for a supposedly better view for the visitor. The smaller works were not necessarily hung on the lower part of the walls and no identifying plaques were placed next to each piece as is done today. To make good use of the space, the paintings were hung so close together that they almost touched. In addition to the paintings, there are sculptures, medals, engravings, dies, embossed prints and sketches, arranged in the fashion of the academy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

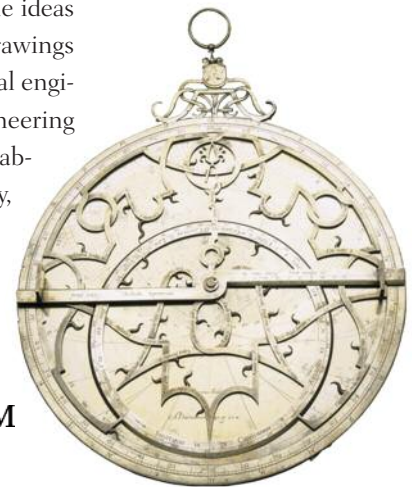
The university's map collections take center stage in one room. They deal with a time in which knowledge of boundaries was very important for discovering and populating New Spain.

The teaching of medicine is represented with publications from this field. A collec-

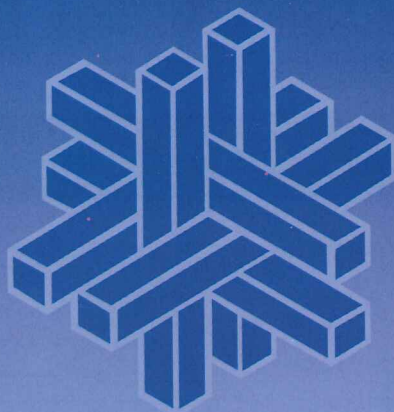
tion of wax models, anatomic studies and medical instruments is on display, and the Esesarte Pharmacy, established in the city of Oaxaca toward the second half of the nineteenth century, is recreated.

The exhibition reaches the period after 1867 when the positivist current of education was put into practice, inspired in the ideas of Auguste Comte. Displays show drawings related to courses given in mechanical engineering; apparatuses from the Engineering School's current Topography Study, Laboratory of Mineralogy and Chemistry, Mining and Metallurgy Laboratory; and astronomical apparatuses from the late nineteenth century. In those days San Ildefonso was home to the National Preparatory School and a centerpiece of the reform program. **NMM**

Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso
Justo Sierra 16
Centro Histórico
Mexico City
The exhibit lasts until March 30, 2003.



▲ Astrolabe, Gema Frisio and Gualtero Arsenio, 1554, embossed brass, Belgium, 40 cm in diameter.



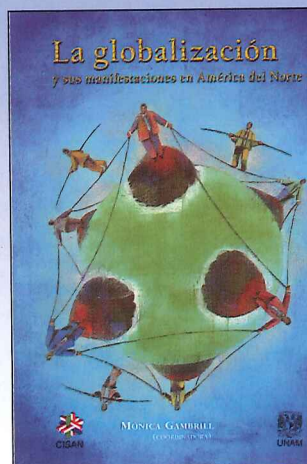
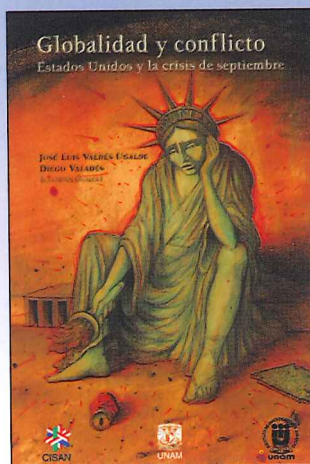
CISAN

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

Globalidad y conflicto. Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre

José Luis Valdés Ugalde and
Diego Valadés, comp.

The events of September 11, 2001 have prompted the concepts of security and globalization to be posed in different ways and have given them new meaning. This book is the first Spanish-language academic publication in which specialists from different fields analyze these issues.



La globalización y sus manifestaciones en América del Norte

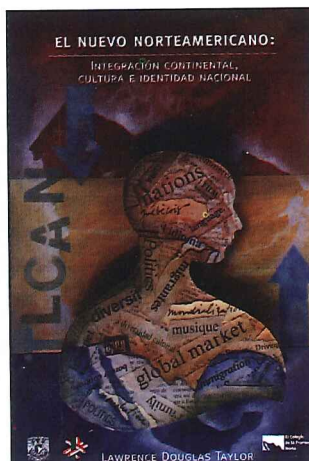
Mónica Gambrell, comp.

In light of the importance of globalization today, scholars from different countries have contributed articles to this book about issues that it affects: the economy, political power, NAFTA, the labor market, drug trafficking, the environment, the judicial branch of government and cultural industries.

El nuevo norteamericano: inte- gración continental, cultura e identidad nacional

Lawrence Douglas Taylor

This book examines the implications of NAFTA and hemispheric integration for the cultural interaction among Canada, the United States and Mexico. It also ponders the demands and effects on these three countries whose future holds similar or greater challenges in the field of cultural unification.



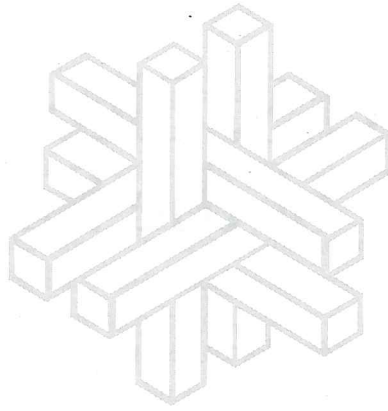
Las relaciones de México con Estados Unidos y Canadá: una mirada al nuevo milenio

Rosío Vargas Suárez,
Remedios Gómez Arnau and
Julián Castro Rea, compilers

This work seeks to answer some of the most frequently asked questions about the future of the three countries' relations by delving into both current and historical issues: trade integration, drug trafficking and migration, as well as other topics more recently included on the agenda like human rights, democracy and national security.

For further information contact:

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México, D.F. Tel. 5623-0015; fax: 5623-0014; e-mail: cisan@servidor.unam.mx



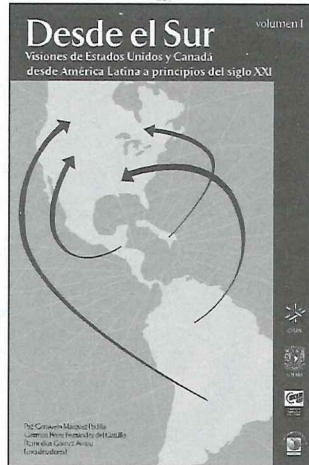
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p u b l i c a t i o n s

Desde el Sur. Visiones de Estados Unidos y Canadá desde América Latina a principios del siglo XXI, vol. 1

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, Germán Pérez Fernández del Castillo and Remedios Gómez Arnau, compilers

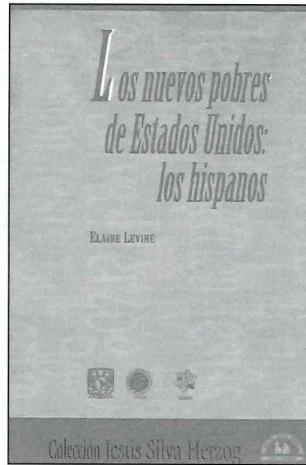
In this volume, Latin American specialists bring their own perspective to a broad spectrum of theoretical, political, social, economic and cultural issues in the United States, including federalism, foreign policy, national defense and security, the environment and the impact of globalization.



Los nuevos pobres de Estados Unidos: los hispanos

Elaine Levine

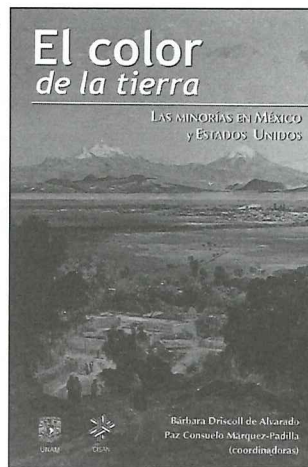
Since the 1980s, Hispanics in the United States, compared with other groups, have dropped back socio-economically in three overall areas: the labor market, the educational system and social security. This book looks at and analyzes this deterioration and its underlying causes.



El color de la tierra. Las minorías en México y Estados Unidos

Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado and Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla, compilers.

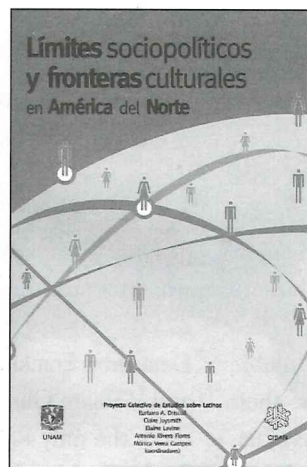
This work looks at diversity from different perspectives: in particular, it deals with the construction of the Afro-American identity and the struggles of this group, the implementation of public policies in support of minority groups and the obstacles to their equal integration into all facets of life in Mexico and the U.S.



Límites sociopolíticos y fronteras culturales en América del Norte

Barbara A. Driscoll, Claire Joysmith, Elaine Levine, Antonio Rivera and Mónica Vereá, compilers.

A multidisciplinary group of Mexican and foreign specialists study the growing presence of the Latino community in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the United States.



Forthcoming:

Las políticas exteriores de Estados Unidos, Canadá y México en el umbral del siglo XXI. Desde el sur. Visiones sobre Estados Unidos y Canadá desde América Latina, vols. 2 y 3. East Los Angeles. Historia de un barrio.

The U.S. Elections More of the Same?

César Pérez Espinosa*



Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

President Bush campaigning.

With the November elections, the Democrats lost out on any real possibility of controlling Congress, and the Republicans won the day as no one had thought they could. The Democrats will have to ask themselves about why they lacked political leadership and were unable to bring out their constituents, their lack of a political proposal in terms of national security and the scant ability of

their candidates to be reelected making use of the advantages the system gives them; first-time candidates in newly formed districts did not succeed either.

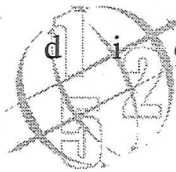
Only three presidents in history have won seats for their party in both houses of Congress in the same election: Democrats Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934 and William Clinton in 1998, and this time, the only Republican, George W. Bush. Bush's campaign was the decisive element in the victory, since in a large part of the areas he visited in the

days preceding the November 5 balloting, the vote favored the Republicans.

The results prove that the U.S population is becoming more conservative both on foreign policy and domestic affairs; the Republican win consolidates political control that began seven years ago. Nevertheless, given the customs and rules in the legislative process, it is difficult to govern without making concessions to the minority party. The debates will be intense and each of the two hegemonic parties will try to push

* Researcher at CISAN.

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Problemas del Desarrollo es una revista de excelencia, forma parte del Índice de Revistas Mexicanas de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica del Conacyt y de la base de datos de economía más importante a nivel mundial: *EconLit*, producida por la American Economic Association, con empleo del sistema de clasificación del Journal of Economic Literature (JEL), entre otros bancos de datos del extranjero disponibles en internet como los siguientes: *LADB* de la Universidad de Nuevo México; *LANIC-ARL* de la Universidad de Texas en Austin; *HLAS* de la Biblioteca del Congreso de Estados Unidos; *International Bibliography of Social Sciences*, de la London School of Economics; *Bancos Bibliográficos Latinoamericanos* y de *El Caribe* de la UNESCO. A nivel nacional, además del Índice del Conacyt, pertenece a los siguientes bancos de datos también disponibles en internet: *Alfa*, del IIEc, UNAM; *Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (Clase)* de la DGB, UNAM; *Índice de Revistas de Educación Superior e Investigación Educativa (IRESIE)*, del CESU, UNAM; *Catálogo Comentado de Revistas Mexicanas sobre Educación Superior e Investigación Educativa (Camex)*, editado en CD ROM, elaborado por el CESU, UNAM; en el EJOURNAL sitio coordinado y editado por la Dirección General de Servicios de Cómputo Académico (DGSCA) de la UNAM, aparece *Problemas del Desarrollo* en texto completo a partir del número 121 (abril-junio, 2000); así como de la *Hemeroteca Virtual Universitaria*, producto de la Gran Biblioteca Metropolitana del Consejo Regional de la Zona Metropolitana de la ANUIES.

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its political agenda and take advantage of the errors of its opponent to win the 2004 elections. While the votes in favor of President Bush's party lend support to his political agenda, he will have to sustain that political capital for the next two long years if he wants to be a strong candidate for reelection.

A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

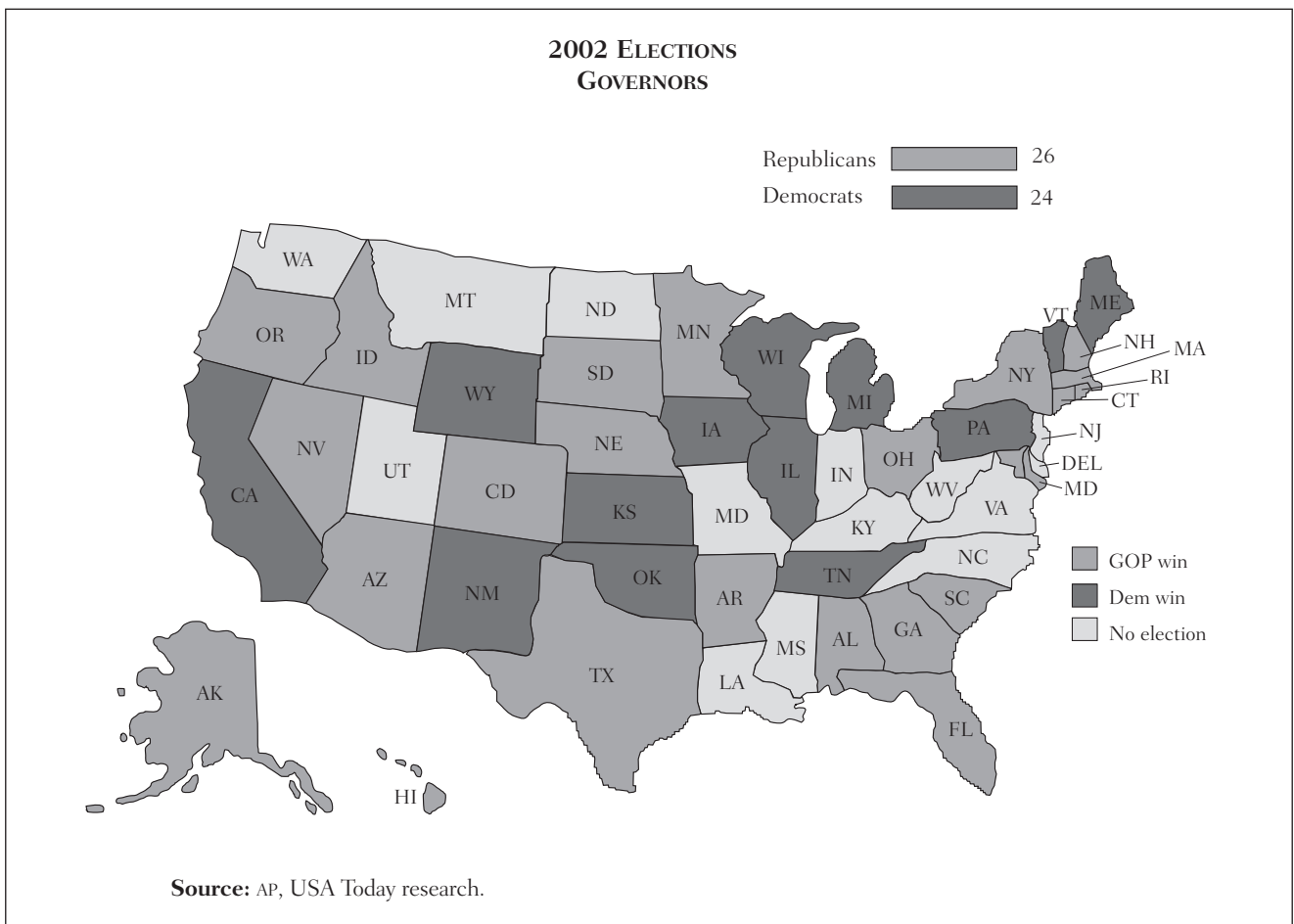
Before the elections, the Democratic Party had a priority: winning the Senate. Their hopes began to fade for unexpected reasons. In Minnesota, a key state because the race was so close,

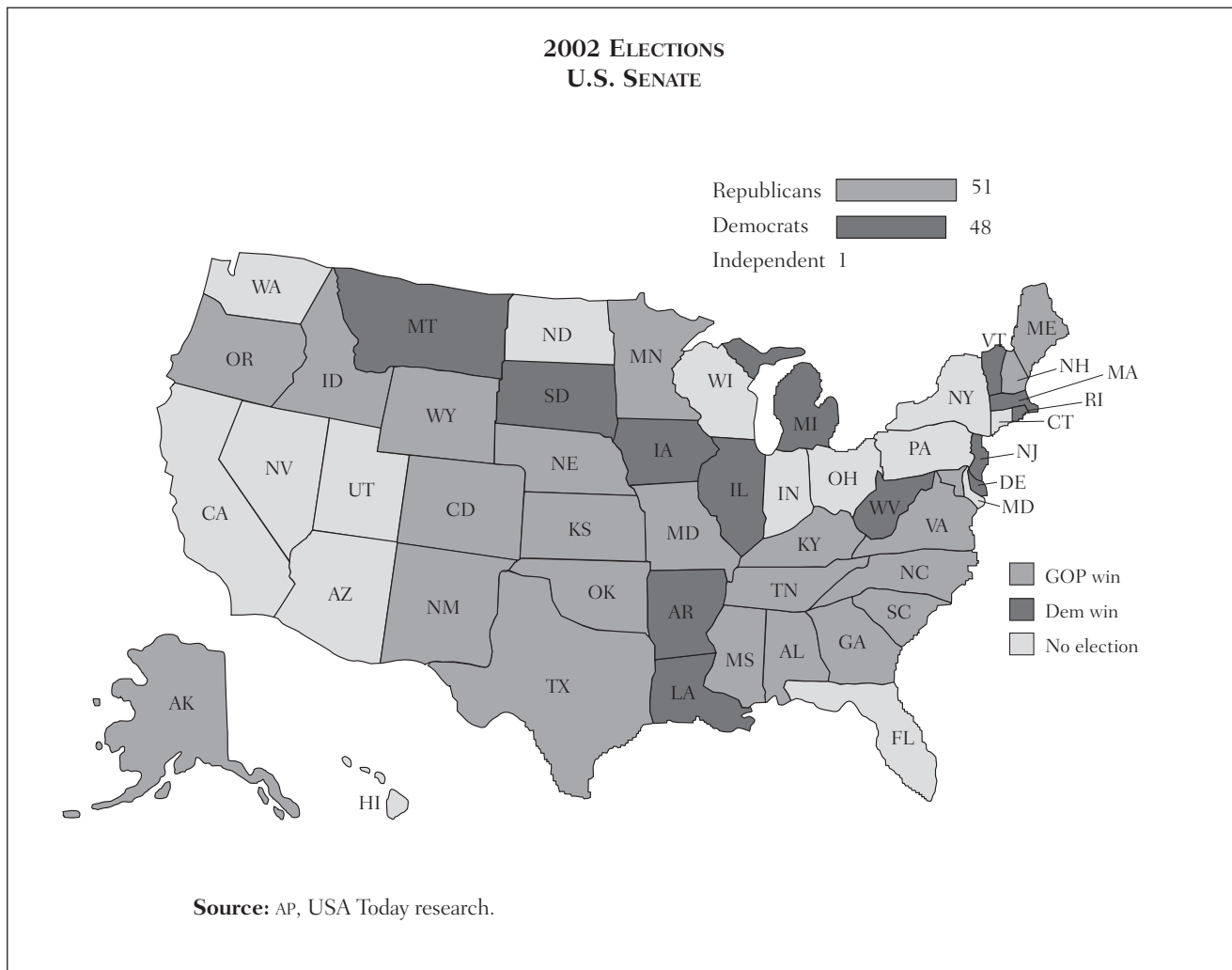
their political circumstances were complicated last October by the death of their veteran candidate and the most progressive of their senators, Paul Wellstone, in an airplane accident together with his family and close aides. The emergency led them to ask 74-year-old former Vice President Walter Mondale to throw his hat in the ring. Nevertheless, he failed to save this decisive seat. Another equally unfortunate occurrence was the retirement of Robert Torricelli from New Jersey.

In part, this situation had an impact on the Republicans' getting better results than had been predicted. The advantages that the system gives incumbents are clear and contribute to not

changing the balance of forces in any dramatic or surprising way. For these elections, new districts were created thanks to a routine redistribution of boundaries carried out every 10 years. In addition, the Republican first-timers managed to defeat some veteran Democrats, although in several elections their winning margin was really minimal. These kinds of surprises also came on the Republican side. For example, popular Republican legislator Connie Morella, from Maryland, with a solid, liberal career in the House of Representatives, lost her district, although the other Republicans in her state won the day.

Defeat in three congressional elections in a row has led the Democrats to





change their caucus leadership. For the first time in the history of the United States, a woman, Nancy Pelosi, will be the most powerful Democrat in the House. Pelosi stands out for several reasons: intelligent and astute, she has 12 years legislative experience; she voted against the war with Iraq and is considered a liberal Democrat; and —something that seems fundamental for her having won consensus around her leadership— she is an excellent fund raiser, funds which she distributes among the members of her party. In a political system in which money continues to be central, this ability has made her popu-

lar even among more conservative Democrats. Undoubtedly, the new whip will have enormous responsibility in the future of a party which in recent years has lost its way in terms of pushing forward a project that can bring together the diverse anti-Republican groups that exist in the United States.

GOVERNORS

Among the few important wins for the Democrats last November 5 were the governorships of four states key for the 2004 elections: Pennsylvania,

Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. The balance of forces at this level of government saved the Democratic platform.

Democrat Bill Richardson, for many years a distinguished legislator, won New Mexico, but banker John Sanchez lost Texas, despite all the money he put into his campaign.

What was expected to be a concern for the Republicans, Florida, turned out not to be. The Democrat's complex primaries there, where former Attorney General Janet Reno complicated things more by taking a long time in conceding the election to Bill McBride, a relative unknown, undoubtedly contributed to

the reelection of the president's brother, Jeb Bush. Florida and Texas are now bastions of the Bush dynasty.

The Democrats also failed in Alabama, where Bob Riley is now the third Republican governor in several decades; it should be noted that former Governor Don Siegelman declined a recount after a questionable outcome arguing that the time it would take—some observers talked about months—would seriously damage the public trust in state politics. This is another example of the ineffective, obsolete U.S. electoral machinery.

Another relevant and surprising case was Georgia, with a Republican victory both for the governorship and the state Senate, which they won complete control over on November 5.

HISPANIC LEGISLATORS

For the first time there will be two sisters among the Democratic Latino legislators: controversial, outspoken Loretta Sanchez and her younger sister Linda. A similar situation is that of Florida's Cuban-American community, where veteran legislator Lincoln Diaz-Balart—who has run unopposed in the last three elections—will be working with his younger brother Mario who defeated Cuban-American Democrat Linda Betancourt. Betancourt came out during her campaign in favor of opening up trade with Cuba, something completely unacceptable for the Diaz-Balart brothers.

Nineteen Hispanic legislators sought reelection; they all made it. Only Henry Bonilla (R-Texas) had a close race. The number of politicians of Hispanic origin even increased in the states where they have traditionally had a presence.

Now California will have two more Hispanic representatives and Florida and New Mexico one more each. Though the number of Hispanic legislators increased in the House, in the Senate, there continues to be none. The media talked a great deal about the electoral importance of Hispanics. However, the system is structured in such a way that groups politicized and organized for a long struggle for more political representation only manage to win small victories.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The Republicans came out the winners in the November elections, which

Alabama where no winner had been declared because of irregularities in the voting process.

The existence of third parties still has not made a substantial difference. The participation of this minority of voters is far from being a real option for political change. Although in some places the two majority parties have to face a third-party candidate, particularly for Congress, they never make any headway. Their candidates get very low vote counts. On many occasions they only benefit the Republican candidates because they siphon votes away from the Democrats, such as when the third option is a green or libertarian party. The two hegemonic parties have man-

Results prove that the U.S. population is becoming more conservative both on foreign policy and domestic affairs; the Republican win consolidates political control that began seven years ago.

means that the current administration will have more political room for advancing its agenda in all areas, using its anti-terrorist policy as the thin edge of the wedge.

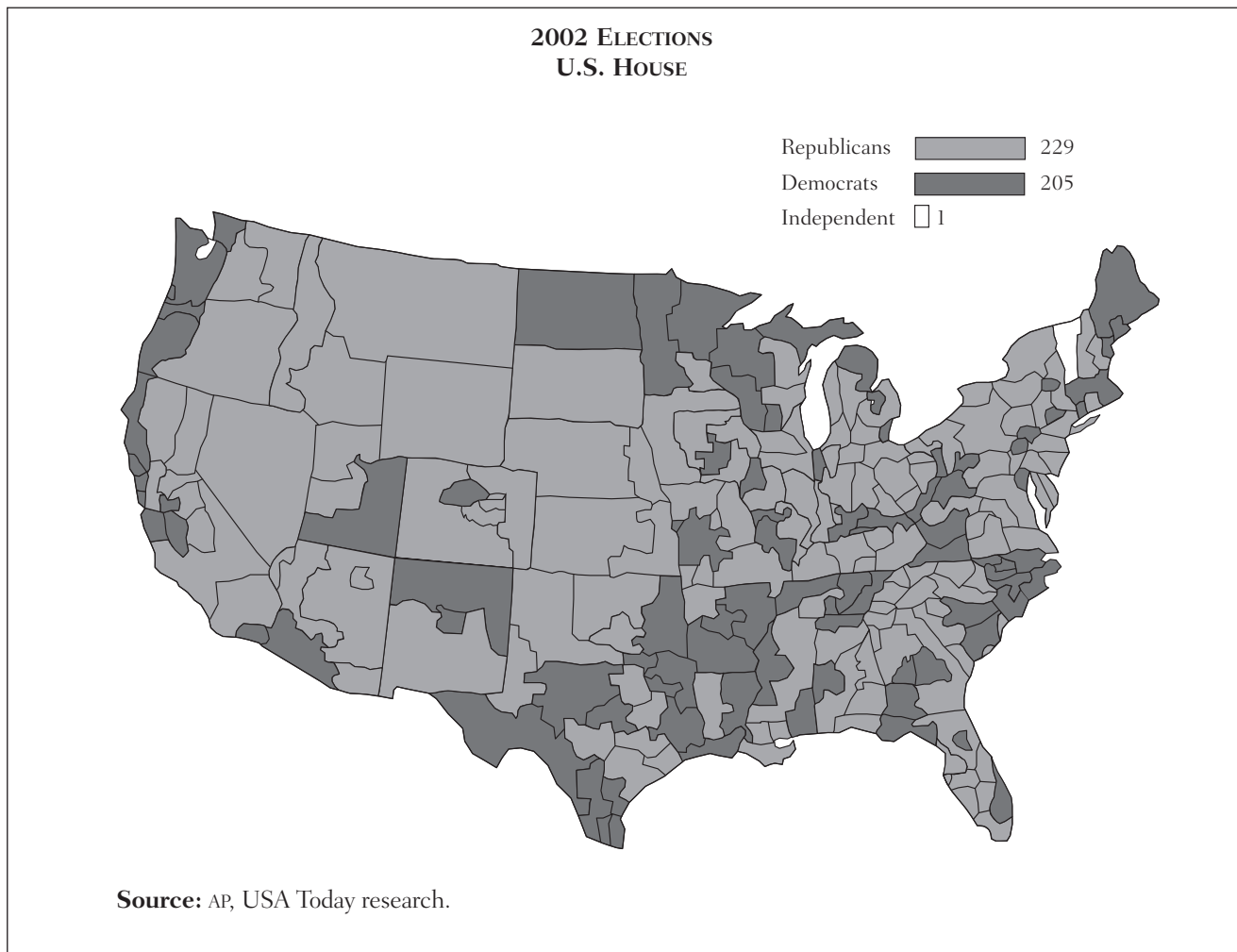
Competitive elections? For the two hegemonic parties only 18 districts were ever really in dispute. Most of the representatives who sought reelection won. Once again, abstentionism was high.

The participation of a great number of observers, the police guarding polling places and both parties' accusations of corruption and fraudulent vote counts are some signs of the bad shape the democratic political system of the United States is in. By November 12, there were still places like Ala-

aged to organize a countrywide campaign infrastructure that allows them to maintain an organized, convinced clientele. Thus, a participatory minority gives legitimacy to the bipartisan system, which though questioned because of high abstentionism, seems to erode only very, very slowly.

Campaign costs for the governorship of Texas and Florida were in the nine digits. According to the *Daily News*, they spent U.S.\$125 million. Money seems to be a determining factor in this polyarchic democracy.

The debate in the press about issues such as defense spending, civil liberties and less or more government almost always leaves out any profound cri-



tique of the defects of the political system.

What kind of government do U.S. voters want? Judging by the November 5 results, they want one that will guarantee their security after the September 11 attacks. The Republicans have proven that they have a clear project about what to do to ensure that security, even if the road they have chosen is a greater use of arms.

Having a less competitive electoral system for the past several decades is not a serious problem for the average U.S. citizen, and voters do not seem concerned about implementing impor-

tant changes in areas such as federal spending, restricting the time legislators can be in office, the enormous advantages that large corporations have for intervening in elections and their not always legal links to the political class that have been shown with the recent cases of corporate fraud in the United States. Reforms in these matters would undoubtedly damage the hegemony of the two parties and, given current political priorities, these issues are far from being at the top of the political agenda over the next two years.

Without a doubt, the voters generally leaned toward more support for a

strong state able to “face down” terrorism. In the future we will see how willing they are to reaffirm their belief in a Republican government and to exchange security for freedom. In the meantime, abstentionism was very high, as high or higher than in other elections, which confirms the scant public participation in politics. In this election, this seems to have negatively affected the Democrats. **MM**

NOTE

The author thanks Dagoberto González Martínez and Lucía Carmina Jasso López for their help in developing the maps used in this article.

The U.S. Mid-Term Elections

A New Balance of Forces

Patricia de los Ríos Lozano*



Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

President Bush in Pennsylvania a few days before the elections.

The 2002 elections in the United States—which renewed the entire House of Representatives, a third of the Senate, 36 governorships and some local legislatures—were surprising and unprecedented. The big winner was not even up for election: President George Bush. For the first time in almost a century, instead of the administration's party losing seats in Congress in a mid-term election, it won ground. At the end of the day, the Republicans won a majority in the Sen-

ate, with 51 seats, compared to the Democrats' 48 and one independent, and strengthened their majority in the House, bringing their caucus up to 229 versus 204 Democrats and two independents. The balance was more even for the governorships: 26 Republicans versus 24 Democrats (who won important victories in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, although they lost in states like Massachusetts, Maryland, Vermont, Rhode Island, Georgia, Florida and Texas). The Republicans, on the other hand, advanced in the state legislatures, winning a majority for the first time since 1952.

The atmosphere before election day was that of a country increasingly polarized both politically and economically. The political polarization had been clearly seen in the 2000 elections, where no candidate won a majority but the president-elect's legitimacy was severely questioned, though today he is the big winner.

Economist Paul Krugman has presented figures putting the average annual wage at U.S.\$35,864, while Chief Executive Officers of the country's most important corporations were making U.S.\$37.5 million, more than a thousand times the income of an average employee. This means that in recent

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years social inequality has been growing in the United States.¹ In addition serious corporate scandals, some linked to members of President Bush's cabinet, have affected the savings of thousands of Americans this year at a time when the economy has been very weak. In these conditions, both political and economic factors and historic trends would have presaged a certain gain by the Democrats.

So, we have to ask ourselves why the majority voted for the Republicans. The causes of this exceptional balloting are complex. At a national level, the September 11 attacks changed everything because the public's number one concern today is security. President Bush managed to give a national slant to an election that is usually focused on state or local issues and showed himself to be a formidable promoter crisscrossing the country seeking votes for his party's candidates, channeling the public's fears in their favor. The Republicans also managed to spend much more money than their opponents.

On the other side of the divide, the Democrats took a lukewarm stance that did not mobilize the electorate; if they had, in such a close race, they would have had the margin they needed for victory. In the past, the centrist strategy and taking over Republican issues like family values or the reform of the welfare state allowed the Democrats to stay in the White House for eight years, although they were also obviously aided by the long economic expansion of the 1990s. In contrast, in 2002, in addition to the element of fear, the electorate did not see the Democrats as a real alternative. Curiously, some candidates who did show themselves to be firmly in opposition won, like Democrat Christopher Van Hollen of Maryland.

REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

The most immediate result of the elections is the reorganization of the structure of domination inside the U.S. Congress, which automatically passes into the hands of the new majority, allowing it to preside over committees and sub-committees, which is where a substantial part of the legislative process takes place, and to control the agenda for both houses.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Although the Republicans already had a majority in the House, there has now been a change in leadership. The new speaker of the House, the most important post, will be Tom DeLay (R-Texas),

an ultra-conservative politician from Houston's twenty-second district. DeLay, born in Laredo, is close to oil interests and favors deregulation. Liberal circles are now very concerned about such a conservative member being named speaker.

The Democrats, for their part, have elected Nancy Pelosi as minority leader. A representative from San Francisco's eighth district, one of the most liberal in the country, Pelosi is the other side of the coin from DeLay with a consistent liberal voting record. In the course of her career, she has shown interest in relations with China, envi-

ronmental issues and the fight against AIDS.

Pelosi's election as minority whip came when Richard Gephardt retired after the defeat. It is the first time a woman has held such a high post in Congress. Politically, her election has been interpreted as the Democrats' need to position themselves as a real opposition party given the conservative domination of the entire federal government. Despite her clear liberalism, she is a greatly experienced politician; it even runs in the family: her father was mayor of Baltimore for 12 years. The new whip's challenge is to unify her party in Congress to present a united opposition front to some of the Bush administration's policies in a particularly difficult context, given that despite the fact that the Republican

At a national level, the September 11 attacks changed everything because the public's number one concern today is security.

lead in the voting was not very large, what counts in the U.S. electoral system is who gets the win, even if only by a few votes.

In this framework, it is expected that voting in the House of Representatives will tend to be along strictly partisan lines.

THE SENATE

The changes in the Senate will be fundamental. The defection of former Republican Senator James M. Jeffords (Vermont), who became an independen-

dent but has voted with the Democrats, made it possible to delay a Republican majority in the Senate, which was ruled by a Democratic majority for the first two years of the Bush administration. Now, by contrast, the Republicans hold the majority.

The majority leader will be Mississippi Senator Trent Lott, who had been minority leader. Democratic Senator Tom Daschle decided, for his part, to continue heading up his party's caucus.

IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY

President Bush's statements after his party's electoral win indicate that he will focus on a relatively brief agenda: the creation of the Department of Homeland Security; the appointment

of conservative judges; a foreign policy centered on the conflict with Iraq; an economic policy that ensures continued tax reductions for corporations; and an environmental policy that would allow for opening up oil drilling in areas protected up until now.

cies and offices that now belong to different departments under a single roof.² The president has requested the right to hire and fire staff for the new department without regard to civil service laws on the books. In addition, the new security measures include the possibility that federal information will not only be shared with state and local authorities, but that the boundaries between public and private information will become more and more blurred, seriously endangering political liberties in the United States and creating a gigantic, powerful bureaucracy.

In addition to this domestic security policy, the Bush administration has another priority: strengthening the conservatism of the Supreme Court and the judicial system in general. After the election it is more probable that

because legislators like Richard Lugar, who heads up the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has his own opinion and his own agenda, or because politicians like Tom DeLay will try to capitalize on the victory to position themselves to the right of President Bush and push policies that are not necessarily administration priorities.

At the same time, among the Democrats there are those who think that the party has to be much more of an opposition that clearly distinguishes itself from the Republicans, above all on domestic policy, and others who think that this would be a very dangerous stance to take given a frightened electorate and a consistently conservative administration that could radically transform the political panorama of the United States in coming years.

Perhaps I should end with a note of caution: everything seems to indicate that this change has already occurred and that if President Bush manages to overcome the obstacles, he will be reelected in 2004 and consolidate a solid Republican congressional majority. However, the economy could still give everyone an unpleasant surprise and foreign policy could become a slippery playing field. In any case, the coin has been tossed, but it is still in the air, and, for the moment, the signs are not very good. ■■■

President Bush managed to give a national slant to an election that is usually focused on state or local issues and showed himself to be a formidable promoter.

of conservative judges; a foreign policy centered on the conflict with Iraq; an economic policy that ensures continued tax reductions for corporations; and an environmental policy that would allow for opening up oil drilling in areas protected up until now.

In the short term, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security is the administration's priority, even before the new session of Congress opens with the Republican majority in January 2003. The creation of this department will be the largest reorganization of the U.S. government since World War II. It will bring 22 agen-

nominees be approved by the Senate, thereby ensuring that the conservative influence reshape legal decisions for decades.

The Bush administration has used consensus in the Congress on his Iraq policy as leverage for attaining his objectives in the United Nations and with his European allies. He will probably continue in the same vein.

Despite the debt of gratitude that many Republican legislators have to President Bush for his activism during the campaign, some friction can be expected between the Congress and the White House. This may happen

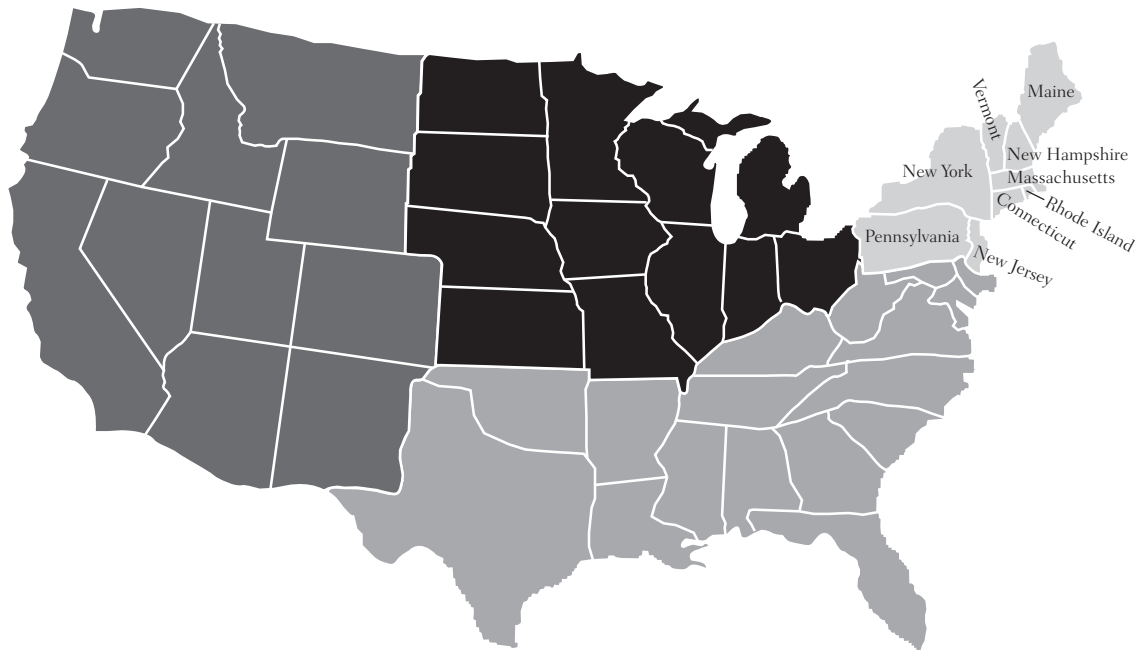
NOTES

¹ Paul Krugman, "For Richer," 24 October 2002; [nytimes.com/wysiwyg://8http://www.nytimes.com/2002](http://www.nytimes.com/wysiwyg://8http://www.nytimes.com/2002).

² When this article was written, a bill had already been passed in the House and on November 19, the Senate had voted to defeat an amendment proposed by the Democrats that would have limited some of the new department's powers. This defeat means that the bill will probably be approved.

The Hispanic Market In the U.S. Northeast

Celina Bárcenas*



The northeastern shore of what is today the United States witnessed the dreams of the first voyagers to arrive from Europe, voyagers who founded 13 colonies there. With time, the colonies became independent and a new nation saw the light of day. Despite all adversities, they were successful. That is how the American dream was born: sacrifices were worth-

while because that land of opportunity knew how to reward anyone who did his or her best. People from everywhere came to the place where even today, the romantics say that dreams come true.

Many stories have unfolded since then in New York, the cosmopolitan capital not only of the region but of the world; among them, the tale of an 18-year-old from Independencia, Puebla, who had lost his father and arrived in the asphalt jungle with the hope of getting enough money to help his mother

and brothers and sisters in Mexico. Jaime Lucero spent six years as a dishwasher in a restaurant before starting up his own hauling company with his older brother. He became a successful businessman when he went from one used truck delivering merchandise in the New York, Connecticut and New Jersey metropolitan area to a large-scale clothing distribution firm (Gold and Silver, Inc.) with a manufacturing subsidiary in Mexico. In addition to directing his own company, Lucero is the president of Casa Puebla, a Mex-

* Research and studies coordinator, Fundación de Solidaridad Mexicano-Americana, A.C. (Mexican-American Solidarity Foundation).

ican-origin commercial organization in New York.

His success as a businessman and in the community won Lucero official recognition from the Mexican government, which named him the “godfather” (sponsor) of San Salvador el Seco in July 2001. He was the first of 90 Mexican businessmen who, after becoming successful in the United States, support the economic development of their places of origin through the national “Adopt a Micro-region” program.¹ The Gold and Silver, Inc. manufacturing plant was set up a little over a year ago in the area Lucero “adopted,” creating 750 jobs.²

Jaime Lucero’s story is one of thousands unfolding every day —although not always as successfully— in the northeastern United States among a

population with specific cultural traits and whose purchasing power has increased as the community consolidates. Just as in the first articles in this series, this article is based on the information in the third volume of the Series of Studies on the Hispanic Market, dedicated to the U.S. Northeast.³

DEMOGRAPHICS

The U.S. census classifies nine states as the Northeast based on their socioeconomic homogeneity; the region is divided into two sub-regions based on their history and geography. New England includes some of the states that in the early seventeenth century were the first colonized by the English and later became part of the indepen-

dence movement: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont. The second sub-region, the Mid-Atlantic, is made up of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

According to census data released in 2001, the Northeast has the country’s third largest Hispanic population, despite being the smallest region in terms of the number of states: 14.9 percent of the United States’ 35.3 million Hispanics live there. These 5.2 million come to almost half the number that live in the South (with its 32.8 percent) and less than a third of those who live in the West (which concentrates 43.5 percent). In the Northeast, a little over 2 million Puerto Ricans make up the largest group, while only 479,000 Mexicans and 169,000 Cu-

**TABLE 1
HISPANIC AND MEXICAN POPULATION IN THE NORTHEAST
2000**

STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	HISPANIC POPULATION		MEXICAN POPULATION		
		NUMBER	% OF TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF HISPANIC POPULATION
New York	18,976,457	2,867,583	15.1	260,889	1.4	9.1
New Jersey	8,414,350	1,117,191	13.3	102,929	1.2	9.2
Massachusetts	6,349,097	428,729	6.8	22,288	0.3	5.2
Pennsylvania	12,281,054	394,088	3.2	55,178	0.5	14.0
Connecticut	3,405,565	320,323	9.4	23,484	0.7	7.3
Rhode Island	1,048,319	90,820	8.7	5,881	0.6	6.5
New Hampshire	1,235,786	20,489	1.7	4,590	0.4	22.4
Maine	1,274,923	9,360	0.7	2,756	0.2	29.4
Vermont	608,827	5,504	0.9	1,174	0.2	21.3
Total Northeast	53,594,378	5,254,087	9.8	479,169	0.9	9.1

The states are listed in order of the size of the Hispanic population, the largest first.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2000 “Hispanic Population” C2KBR/01-3SP.

TABLE 2
GROWTH OF THE HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE NORTHEAST BY STATE
1990-2000

STATE	1990		2000		GROWTH (%) 1990-2000	
	TOTAL POPULATION	HISPANIC POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	HISPANIC POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	HISPANIC POPULATION
Connecticut	3,287,116	213,116	3,405,565	320,323	3.6	50.3
Maine	1,227,928	6,829	1,274,923	9,360	3.8	37
Massachusetts	6,016,425	287,549	6,349,097	428,729	5.5	49.1
New Hampshire	1,109,252	11,333	1,235,786	20,489	11.4	80.8
New Jersey	7,730,188	739,861	8,414,350	1,117,191	8.8	51
New York	17,990,455	2,214,026	18,976,457	2,867,583	5.5	29.5
Pennsylvania	11,881,643	232,262	12,281,054	394,088	3.4	69.7
Rhode Island	1,003,464	45,752	1,048,319	90,820	4.5	98.5
Vermont	562,758	3,661	608,827	5,504	8.2	50.3
Total Northeast	50,809,229	3,754,389	53,594,378	5,254,087	5.5	39.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2000 "Hispanic Population" C2KBR/01-3SP.

TABLE 3
HISPANIC COMMUNITY BUYING POWER IN THE NORTHEAST
1990-2001

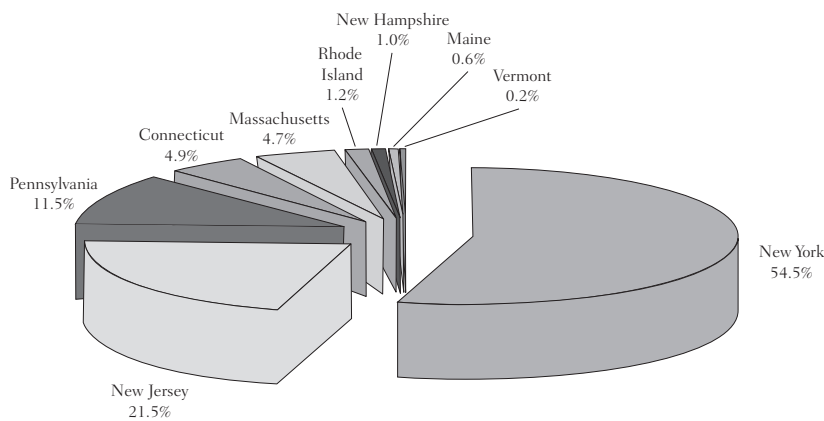
STATE	BUYING POWER (THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)		INCREASE (%) 1990-2001
	1990	2001	
Connecticut	2,324,115	4,702,694	102.34
Maine	79,341	169,872	114.10
Massachusetts	2,566,983	5,600,841	118.18
New Hampshire	153,245	414,605	170.55
New Jersey	9,135,140	19,674,614	115.37
New York	22,847,265	42,760,478	87.15
Pennsylvania	2,088,708	4,656,305	122.92
Rhode Island	400,476	939,212	134.52
Vermont	48,330	113,061	133.93
Total Northeast	\$39,643,603	\$79,031,682	99.35

Source: Jeffrey M. Humphreys, Selig Center for Economic Growth, "Buying Power of the Beginning of a New Century: Projections for 2000 and 2001," *Georgia Business and Economic Conditions* (Atlanta), July-August 2000.

bans reside there (although the latter with a strong presence).⁴ The origin of the rest of the Hispanic population is not specified in the census, but estimates put the Dominican population at almost 400,000.

Table one shows the distribution of Hispanics by state, starting with the largest, as well as the ratio of Hispanics to the general population. New York and New Jersey come first, not only in absolute numbers, with 2,867,583 and 1,117,191 respectively, but also relative to the states' total population. Massachusetts is third with 428,729, a huge difference if we consider that the state's total population is a little over three-quarters that of New Jersey. Pennsylvania is next with a minimum Latino presence of only 3.2 percent, despite being the second largest state in the region in terms of total population. Connecticut and Rhode Island have a small-

GRAPH I
DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEXICAN POPULATION IN THE NORTHEAST



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2000 "Hispanic Population" C2KBR/01-3SP.

er Latino population in absolute terms, but a larger proportion with regard to their total populations. New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont have very low Hispanic populations, far from being significant.

The same table shows the ratio of Mexican-origin population to Hispanics in each state of the region. Mexicans represent only about 9 percent of the total Hispanic population of 5,254,087. This difference may be the result of the relatively recent Mexican migration to the region, which began in the 1970s, compared to Puerto Rican migration which began over a half a century before, in 1917, when they were given U.S. citizenship.

Throughout the United States, the Hispanic population grew rapidly during the last decade of the twentieth century, increasing 57.9 percent from 1990 to 2000. This turned the Hispanic community into the country's largest ethnic minority, surpassing Afro-Americans. In the Northeast, the Hispanic

population grew 39.9 percent in the same period, jumping from 3.7 million to 5.2 million, compared to only a 5.5 percent growth rate in the general population, which rose from 50.8 million to 53.5 million. Looking more closely at the growth trends by state in the region, we can see that the Hispanic population grew faster than the total population in every one, even Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire, those with the smallest concentration of Hispanics (see table 2).

ECONOMIC DATA

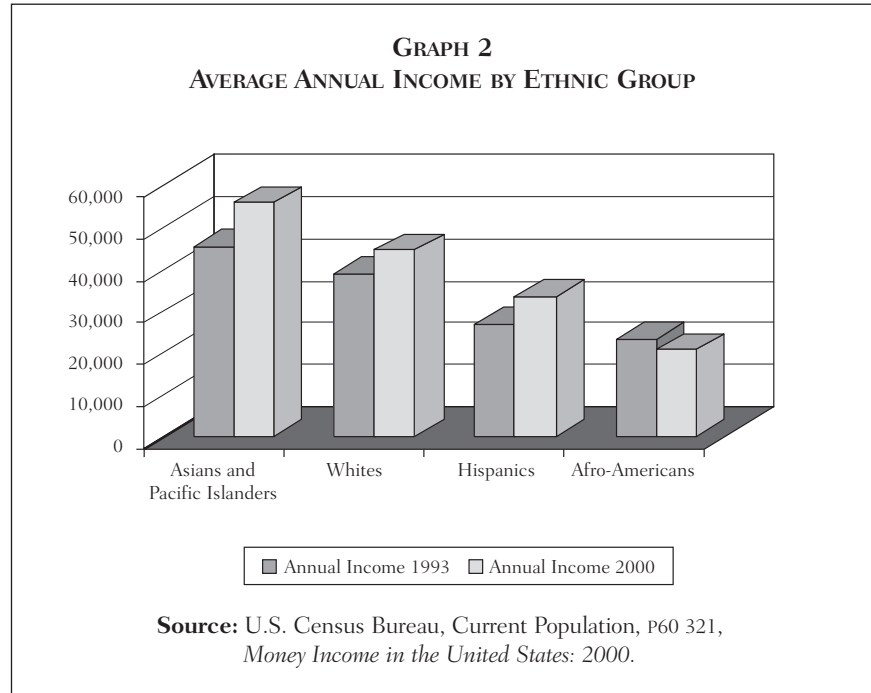
Overall, in 2000, the average annual income for Hispanic households was U.S.\$33,447, an increase of 24.3 percent since 1993 (see graph 2). This notable growth propelled it beyond that of other ethnic groups, like Afro-Americans, who had an average income of U.S.\$30,439 in 2000. During the 1990s, the United States slowly re-

covered from the 1990-1991 recession, and in the last year of the century (1999-2000), achieved a real increase of 5.3 percent in Hispanics' income. These figures, reported by the U.S. Census Bureau, illustrate the situation at a national level, but this average increase was not projected into all the regions in the same way. This is the case of the Northeast, where the average real annual increase in income for Hispanics between 1999 and 2000 was only 3.9 percent, going from U.S.\$28,919 to U.S.\$30,243, U.S.\$3,204 below the national average for this ethnic group. For example, it is 25.1 percent lower than the Midwest, which has the highest income in the country. This can be seen in purchasing power.⁵ Estimates from the Selig Center for Economic Growth put the increase in Hispanic buying power at 118 percent in the last decade, compared to 67.9 percent for the general population.⁶ Hispanics, then, undoubtedly represent an expanding consumer market with great influence in the U.S. economy. Among the factors that have influenced this increased buying power has been greater access to better job opportunities, since the new generations of Hispanics are occupying more professional and management positions that bring them higher wages than their parents and grandparents.

The Selig Center also provided very interesting information about the purchasing power of the Hispanic community in the Northeast. Between 1990 and 2001, Hispanics in this region increased their purchasing power by 99.35 percent on the average (see table 3). New Hampshire was first with a 170.55% increase while in Rhode Island and Vermont, the hike was 134.52 percent and 133.93 percent, respectively,

but despite theirs being the biggest increases in the region, New York Hispanics have the highest buying power. With an 87.15 percent increase, in 2001, it reached U.S.\$42.76 billion, more than 54 percent of the Northeast's total Hispanic purchasing power. New Jersey is second and alone accounts for almost one-fourth of the region's Hispanic buying power, while Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island together make up only 23.5 percent because of their low Hispanic population levels compared to the first states. New York and New Jersey together, then, can be considered the main market in the Northeast, concentrating 75.84 percent of its total Hispanic population and U.S.\$62.4 billion, or 79 percent, of its total buying power.

Another very important particularity of this region is that it is home to the second largest metropolitan area in terms of Hispanic population, after California's Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange area. The region is divided for study into three metropolitan areas, of which the first and most important is made up of counties from four states: New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The second includes 14 counties from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Connecticut; while the last is composed of 14 counties from the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. The New York-New Jersey-Connecticut-Pennsylvania area is home to almost 3.9 million Latinos in 30 counties, who make up a little over 18 percent of the general population. The Massachusetts-New Hampshire-Maine-Connecticut area has 358,231 Hispanics, a little more than 6.1 percent of the general population, while the Pennsyl-



vania-New Jersey-Delaware-Maryland area also has few Hispanics, totalling 348,135, or something close to 6 percent of the general population.

New York is key to the growth of the regional and local ethnic economy, with the establishment of businesses that both create jobs and contribute to revitalizing the community economy as a whole. According to census figures, the Northeast has 171,881 Hispanic businesses with annual sales of more than U.S.\$20 billion. By country of origin, 64 percent of the owners are from different Latin American backgrounds; 18 percent, Puerto Rican; 8 percent, Cuban; 5 percent, Spanish; and 5 percent Mexican.

New York concentrates 61 percent of the region's Latino businesses (104,189), which generate a little over half the Hispanic sales, that is, U.S.\$11 billion a year. New Jersey is next, with 36,116 businesses that do a little more than a quarter of regional sales, while Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Con-

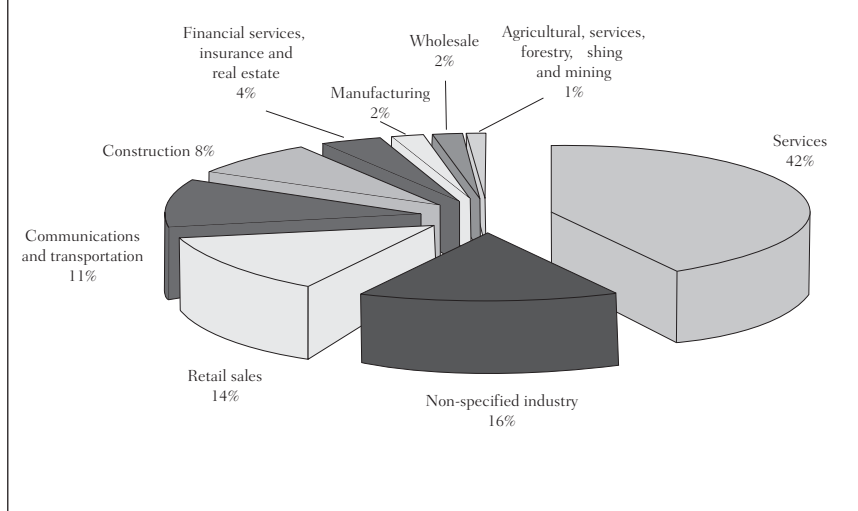
necticut and Rhode Island are jointly home to 17 percent of the region's Hispanic businesses with annual sales of U.S.\$4.27 billion, a little over 21 percent of the total. Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont have fewer than 1,000 Hispanic businesses each, together barely one percent of the region's total, making 1.8 percent of total sales.

The Northeast Hispanic businesses are mainly concentrated in services, retail sales and communications and transportation (see graph 3). It should be mentioned that four of the country's largest Hispanic companies are headquartered in New Jersey, according to *Hispanic Business* magazine, which annually publishes a list of the 500 most important Hispanic businesses in the United States.⁷

CONCLUSIONS

The Northeast is home to an important number of Hispanics. The Puerto Ri-

GRAPH 3
DISTRIBUTION OF HISPANIC BUSINESSES BY SECTOR
(NORTHEAST REGION)



cans, Cubans, Dominicans, Mexicans and other Latinos who live and work day to day in this region have come to occupy an important place in the social, economic and cultural dynamic of the area. In recent years, they have gone from being a small, badly paid ethnic group with no access to job opportunities, to being a strong, successful part of both the regional and the national economy.

If the same kind of growth persists, projections for 2025 point to New York continuing to be the region's most important state in terms of Latino consumers and to at least Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine and Vermont doubling their Hispanic population. This projection shows that Hispanics are emigrating to states where their numbers were not significant before and that, day by day, they are strengthening previously small and weak communities, turning them into fundamental links for the development of the United States.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, Hispanics in the Northeast became important actors in local economic relations, which generated a significant amount of dollars for the U.S. economy. Thus, the Hispanic market in this region offers a broad spectrum of possibilities and commercial opportunities waiting to be explored. Following the tradition initiated by the first American colonists in this region, the new Hispanic market can be a catalyst that can make the dreams of those striving for success come true.⁸ **NM**

NOTES

¹ The national "Adopt a Micro-region" program is a Mexican government effort that supports more than 400 micro-regions with high poverty and migration levels through investment from Mexicans in the United States, creating jobs and educational opportunities

to prevent emigration. This program began in July 2001 and by 2002 had turned into the "Adopt a Community" program, broadening out the opportunity to participate to companies set up inside Mexico, with the hope of benefiting more regions. See <http://presidencia.gob.mx>

² B. Mauldin, "Jaime Lucero: The Giant Middleman of Ready-to-Wear," *Latino Leaders*, August-September 2000, pp. 54-59; G. Thompson, "New York Garment Mogul Takes Business Home," *El Seco Journal*, 30 July 2001, <http://www.goldandsilverinc.com/nytimes.html>; and J. Rice, "Mexico Works to Entice U.S. 'Godfathers' for Businesses," Associated Press-San Salvador El Seco, <http://goldandsilverinc.com/article2.html>, consulted 17 September 2002.

³ The first two articles in the series were Esther González and Erika González, "The Hispanic Market in the Western U.S.," *Voices of Mexico* 60 (Mexico City) July-September 2002, and Brenda Méndez, "Southern U.S. Markets: A New Niche for Mexican Exports," *Voices of Mexico* 61 (Mexico City) October-December 2002.

⁴ Only 2.3 percent of the U.S.'s 20.6 million Mexicans live in the Northeast, according to the Census Bureau.

⁵ Purchasing power is defined as that part of total personal income, after taxes, available for buying goods and services, interest payments and savings. Around 94 percent of personal income is used for purchasing goods and services and the rest for interest payments.

⁶ Jeffrey M. Humphreys, "Buying Power at the Beginning of a New Century: Projections for 2000 and 2001," *Georgia Business and Economic Conditions* (Atlanta), July-August 2000.

⁷ "The Hispanic Business 500 Directory," *Hispanic Business*, June 2001.

⁸ For more information, see Enrique Martínez Durán, *Noreste* (Mexico City: Fundación de Solidaridad Mexicano-Americana, A.C., March 2002), the third of the Series of Studies on the U.S. Hispanic Market. Also, about this and other regions of the United States, our readers can visit www.fsma.com.mx, where they will find descriptions of this series of studies and other publications of the Mexican-American Solidarity Foundation.

Migrant Social Clubs' Political Power in Mexico

Cecilia Imaz*



Pedro Valherra/Cuartoscuro

It has recently come to light that one of the effects in Mexico of migration to the United States is the political influence of migrants from agricultural communities and their organizations in their states and municipalities of origin.

During the long migration experience, leaders of different emigrant organizations have managed to create transna-

tional relationships not only with their communities of origin, but also with their local power structure.

In transnational migrant community organizations, we see a new kind of political action with a particular kind of representation, a form of mediation of interests and the reinforcement of a new collective identity, a transnational identity, present in the political sphere of many of Mexico's rural and urban communities.

These Mexican emigrants traditionally come from particular states, specif-

ically Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Puebla and Oaxaca. Those states' governments, as well as those of several others, have begun to note emigrants' greater willingness and interest in participating politically.

Through their organizations, migrants from approximately one-fifth of the country's municipalities have had an impact on the social, economic and sometimes political processes of their places of origin. This article aims to explain how migrants are politically represented through social clubs by place of origin and how

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we can begin to classify their organizations and leaders in a typology of political influence in their place of origin.

MIGRANTS AND POLITICAL POWER

Approximately 9 million people born in Mexico live in the United States.¹ This large group includes emigrants who have been naturalized, temporary residents, documented and undocumented residents and circular migrants.

In the last decade, the government finally recognized the importance of

tic product, it is a significant amount for the states those migrants come from. We should not be surprised, then, that in 96.2 percent of the country's 2,443 municipalities, "to a greater or lesser degree, some kind of contact with the United States can be noted, whether through migration to the U.S. and/or the return to Mexico, or monetary transfers made from there."³

The migrants come from communities, towns and cities in almost all regions of the country, but intense migration is concentrated in about 492 municipalities in central, western and northern Mexico.⁴ According to the

a specific social unit, as a transnational community space.

In early studies about international migration to the United States, different nationalities' migrant organizations were a simple piece of data added to the classic period of migration (1880 to 1930). Some characteristics are common to those immigrants and current Mexican immigrants to the United States, among them, the long time it took them to learn English and the even longer time it took them to become U.S. citizens. Most lived and worked in ethnic enclaves and belonged to associations from their hometowns. Politicians from their hometowns came to court their favor; for instance, Irish nationalists traveled to New York to raise money for their campaigns, just as politicians do from almost all the communities today, among them the Mexicans.

The big wave of migration was interrupted in 1929 for 36 years when the U.S. Congress passed severe restrictions on immigration. When immigrant quotas were eliminated in 1965, large groups of Latin Americans, Caribbeans and Asians established themselves in the U.S., but in contrast to prior waves, they arrived at a time when there was an atmosphere of struggle for civil rights and the exaltation of ethnic and racial pride that different U.S. groups were demanding for the first time.

Two decades later, the 1986 reform of the immigration law (IRCA) was a kind of amnesty that made it possible to legalize the situation of millions of emigrants, among them hundreds of thousands of Mexicans. This was a catalyst for the establishment of potentially stable emigrant communities. Under these circumstances, migrant community organizations were able to

About 580 Mexican emigrant social clubs by place of origin operate in different states of the U.S., maintaining links between their members and their communities of origin.

the number of migrants: if we add to it the number of U.S. citizens of Mexican origin (14.4 million), we find that, today, almost one fourth (23 million) of Mexico's 102 million inhabitants live across our northern border. Authorities have also recognized the importance of the remittances emigrant workers send to Mexico as a significant contribution to the family economy, particularly in rural areas and low-income urban sectors.

In 1998, the Bank of Mexico estimated that U.S.\$5.627 billion were sent each year in family remittances, a sum similar to the country's net income for tourism, for example. Three years later, the figure was approximately U.S.\$9 billion.² And, although it is not an important percentage of the gross domes-

records of the Foreign Relations Ministry's Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCNE), founded in 1990, about 580 Mexican emigrant social clubs by place of origin (SCPO) operate in different states of the U.S., maintaining links between their members and their communities of origin.

This is nothing new. In the different Mexican emigrant communities in the United States, transnational organizations have existed since the beginning of the last century. No one paid attention to them conceptually, however, because they were seen as simple providers of monetary remittances and not as a social space formed by migrants' activities both in the sending and receiving communities. That is, they had not been conceived of as

develop an increasingly transnational relationship with their hometowns.

Emigrant communities become transnational when traditional lifestyles are transformed into something different wherein individuals and families depend on employment in the United States for their survival, thus causing a change in signifiers, values, social structures and behavior. Some Mexican migrant organizations began to have influence on their hometowns through their social practices as well as in a more organic way through the clubs and committees by place of origin that operate in both hometowns and the communities in the U.S.

After these organizations were conceived of in this way and their advantages and effects understood—not only economic but also political because of the influence they have in their hometowns—the federal government and several local governments from states with migrants have responded in different ways. Of particular importance was the reaffirmation of their reincorporation into the nation-state, as put forward in the 1995-2000 National Development Plan.

This kind of answer by the state leads to a re-conceptualization of citizenship and belonging to a political community since it means the incorporation of a transborder population into the nation-state. This issue is important in Mexico's current political situation because in addition to contributing to the subsistence and sometimes to the development of a considerable portion of the country's small and medium-sized communities, these migrant groups constitute an external factor that can have weight in local political matters.

These groups' political participation is clearer today in Mexico; their influ-

ence has been shown in different communities and the governments of states like Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Oaxaca and Puebla, to cite the foremost examples.⁵

A widely known 2001 case is that of Andrés Bermúdez Viramontes, known as "the Tomato King," who ran for mayor of Jerez, Zacatecas. He lost because the electoral rules were unclear, preventing him from being the first Mexican-American to head up a Mexican municipality. In his electoral campaign, he said, "Little by little, immigrants are going to take power to change Mexico." Since his defeat, he

In addition to contributing to the subsistence and development of Mexico's small and medium-sized communities, migrant groups can have weight in local political matters.

has continued to lobby the Zacatecas Congress to guarantee civil rights to Zacatecas residents abroad.⁶

Political participation of migrants organized in social clubs takes two forms:

1. Transnational organization in the form of a club or social committee that has an impact or participates with donations in local elections.
2. Transnational community leaders who participate in local politics on their return.

Throughout their working lives, several of these leaders have managed to build a space and political position in their hometowns and, on their return, they may play a modernizing

role through their experience in community work.⁷

According to research by the Mexico-United States Binational Study on Migration, approximately half of Mexican emigrants reestablish residence in Mexico after a stay of 10 or more years in the United States,⁸ and although some of them have taken out U.S. citizenship, the 1997 amendments to legislation on nationality restores their Mexican citizenship to them and their children.

In these migrants' social organizations, the members and family members of the clubs and social committees of "the absent sons," as they like to call

themselves, have become more mentally competent. They have processed some U.S. community values and practices and when they return to Mexico, they bring back ideas linked to modernity and religious and political tolerance; this does not necessarily mean they practice them, but at least they have discovered the possibility of their existence.

On their own initiative, many of the SCPO have mobilized significant resources for different projects in their hometowns. In many villages, neighborhoods and hamlets, people's living standards have risen without governmental assistance, thus breaking with the paternalist tradition in relations between the government and the governed in Mexico.

In other cases, when club federations have been formed, they have established dialogue and cooperation agreements with state governments to carry out projects for the collective good and invest in production.

What should be emphasized is that emigrants' influence has spread from town to municipality to state government. The most outstanding and most studied example is Zacatecas, since that is where the program for attention to migrants began and because this is the most successful Mexican emigrant community in the United States. In the case of migrants organized in SCPO,

ples of migrants who have been elected mayor or gotten involved in state-wide politics because of their political connections and the social status they have achieved.⁹

In some cases, it would not be precise to speak of political power, but rather of emigrant community leaders' credibility and prestige, understood as the ability to have an influence derived from merit or a good reputation. This is the most frequent case in transnational migrant communities.

The existence and level of migrant organizations' political influence in their hometowns will depend on the kind

ing the projects they sponsor or that are jointly carried out. In the political sphere, their support is sought by sounding out possible candidates for mayor, and they may be considered for posts in the municipal government. A "medium degree of influence" means that they are given recognition, as are their projects, but that they do not play a role in municipal decision making. A "low degree of influence" means that the community and authorities sometimes hear about them and their wish to be recognized for the public projects they occasionally carry out.

SCPOs are not the only kind of migrant organizations that exist in the communities of emigrants born in Mexico who maintain links with their hometowns: in fact, sports clubs are the most numerous.¹⁰ The clubs and social committees, however, are the ones that generally have access to political activity.¹¹

Despite the fact that many of these organizations disappear or split, their transformation is linked to the solution of problems and political innovation, and their ability to negotiate may lead to changes in their goals, structures and links when facing new challenges and meeting new opportunities that the Mexican political transition brings.

For all of these reasons, we can conclude that these transnational migrant organizations' overall activities have a democratizing effect. That is why it is important to emphasize their aggregate impact in the municipalities where they operate, even though we should underline that we cannot assume a priori that they have a specific influence on Mexico's democratic process since it is difficult to distinguish theoretically when these groups support

Emigrants' influence has spread from town to municipality to state government. The most outstanding example is Zacatecas, the most successful Mexican emigrant community in the U.S.

by political power we mean the ability to influence civic authorities' decision making based on pressure and bargaining ability of leaders and their organizations. Political and social influence in their communities turns around two central questions: the use and control of donations, on the one hand, and access to public posts, on the other.

If a club or social committee gains a certain amount of power, most probably its members will attempt to maintain certain privileges and will not sidestep the dominant authoritarian political culture. But at the same time, it is also possible that they will introduce part of the knowledge they have acquired in their migratory experience in whatever work they carry out in their communities. There are some exam-

of migrants they are, the type of community they come from and the sort of organization they have formed.

Generally the SCPOs correspond to communities or neighborhoods of origin with strong cultural roots and traditions and they evolve uniquely over time. They are different from clubs formed by the political manoeuvring of people interested in being recognized by consulates or emigrants' offices in their home states, since those fly-by-night clubs tend to fade because of lack of community support.

In the typology presented in this article (see box, p. 78) "a high degree of influence" means that, based on economic power, prestige and social recognition, they have influence on city government decision making regard-

democratic processes and when they do not.

In light of the coming 2003 federal congressional elections, political parties and, above all, migrants themselves have taken a renewed interest in the issue of voting abroad. Now that real multi-partisanship exists, more migrants will probably travel to Mexico to vote in their hometowns, and we may even see increasing numbers of returned emigrants elected, as well as the recognition of the right to vote abroad. **MM**

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ In 1982, the government of Zacatecas was the first to take note of emigrants, who currently have influence in the state. It designed a program and set up an office to deal with economic and social matters pertaining to Zacatecans in California. Today, 26 states have opened similar offices that work jointly with consulates promoting emigrants' organization and the defence of their human rights (the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad).

⁶ *Reforma* (Mexico City), 27 January 2002.

⁷ Although conditions and cultural elements differ, a review of European and Asian immigration to the United States in the 1920s reveals a high rate of return and circular migration. Between approximately one-fourth and one-third of European immigrants returned permanently between 1880 and 1930, and among them were many examples of

transnational migration (Nina Glick Schiller, "Transmigrants and Nation-States. Something Old and Something New in US Immigrant Experiences," John Dewind et al. eds., *America Becoming, Becoming American* (n.p.: Russel Saye Publications, 1999).

⁸ *Informe del Estudio Binacional México-Estados Unidos sobre Migración* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1997), p. 19.

⁹ Cecilia Imaz B., *Importancia política en las comunidades de origen de las organizaciones comunitarias transnacionales de migrantes mexicanos en E.U. Estudio comparativo de casos en Nayarit-California y Puebla-Nueva York* (Ph.D. diss., School of Political and Social Sciences, UNAM, 1999).

¹⁰ Cecilia Imaz B. "Las organizaciones deportivas mexicanas en Estados Unidos" (internal document of the PCME:SRE, 1994).

¹¹ Trade and business associations of Mexicans in the United States correspond for the most part to a very different social sector than the one dealt with in this article.

NOTES

¹ Consejo Nacional de Población, *Información sociodemográfica de México 2002* (Mexico City: Imagen y Arte Gráfica, S.A. de C.V., 2002).



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LA COHABITACIÓN POLÍTICA EN MÉXICO
Jaime Muñoz Domínguez coordinador

LA COHABITACIÓN POLÍTICA EN MÉXICO

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Dedicado a la conciencia mexicana; el interés de los textos que aquí se presentan es el de asimilar las experiencias del pasado, con sus errores y aciertos, y reflexionar y analizar objetivamente la circunstancia actual, lo que significará allanar el camino para que el país continúe avanzando en el proceso democrático.

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TYPOLGY OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF MIGRANTS ORGANIZED IN SOCIAL CLUBS BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

DEGREE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE	TYPE OF MIGRANT	TYPE OF COMMUNITY
1. High Medium Low	permanent residents organized in social clubs permanent residents organized in social clubs	transnational with strong cultural roots without strong cultural roots
2. High Medium Low	returned, member of club returned, member of club returned, non-organized	transnational with cultural roots without cultural roots
3. High Medium Low	U.S. residents who invest in hometown U.S. residents who invest in hometown U.S. residents who invest in hometown	transnational with strong cultural roots without cultural roots
4. None	circular, temporary	with or without cultural roots

- Emigrants will have a **high level** of political influence if permanent residents organized in social clubs or committees are members of transnational communities. They will have a **medium level** of influence if the community of origin has cultural roots and the club or committee is active and appreciated. Political authorities such as the mayor, priests, local party leaders call or visit to ask them for money in exchange for favors or influence. They will have a **low level** of influence if residents organized in a social club have not become important or received recognition in their hometowns.
- Returning migrants will have a **high degree** of political influence if they were leaders or members of social clubs or committees if the community is transnational, and a **medium level** of political influence if the community of origin has strong cultural roots and traditions.
- Emigrants residing in the United States who invest in their hometowns as capitalist partners will have a **high degree** of influence in decision making if the community is transnational. The level of influence will depend on the size of their investment. In this category of investor migrants, they may or may not belong to a social or business organization, as long as they establish links to local authorities. There are several examples of small transnational companies, some derived from the North American Free Trade Agreement, such as maquila plants in Guanajuato, hotel chains in Zacatecas, canning plants in Puebla and textile factories and foreign exchange houses in Guanajuato and other states. Their degree of influence will be low if the community of origin does not have strong cultural roots and traditions.
- Temporary migrants who work in agriculture and agribusiness and in services in the United States have no influence. Their cyclical stays in the U.S. do not create the conditions that allow them to organize to aid their hometowns, regardless of whether they come from communities with cultural roots or not.

Smart Border And Security Perimeter in Canada

Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces*



BACKGROUND

About 90 percent of the population of Canada lives within 100 miles of the United States border, in eight of the country's 10 provinces. In contrast, only 10 percent of Americans live along the Canadian border in 13 of the country's 50 states.¹ The border between Canada and the United States is about 5,500 miles long and is undoubtedly one of the most important in the world since it divides the planet's greatest power from another member of the

The "smart border" control system and the "North American security perimeter" became the most favored issues for describing the new U.S. border relationships.

Group of Eight, the richest nations in the world.

Without a doubt, Canada's proximity to the Americans has profoundly marked the nature of their bilateral relationship. The border has totally conditioned Canada's political and economic development since it became a dominion in 1867.

The Canadian border is not similar to Mexico's border with the United States. Despite the fact that both countries share a very intense relationship as neighbors with the world's greatest power, clearly, they are linked to the United States in very different ways. The two borders have different historical origins, that have given each relationship a different tone over three centuries.

The Canadian relationship appears less belligerent than the Mexican one, but by no means can we say that it has been exempt from conflict. The process of setting the boundary between the two countries was not spared the conflicts arising from U.S. territorial expansion.

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sionism throughout the nineteenth century. The first offensive against Canadian territory occurred between 1775 and 1783; and years later, the aim of the War of 1812 was to annex a large part of Canada's territory.² As a result, the inhabitants of the North American British colonies were always concerned about U.S. expansionism, particularly when they saw the way the United States advanced on Mexican territory and the results of the 1846-1848 war. Canadian historiography has been clear on the impact of the Mexico-U.S. War on the inhabitants of British colonies in North America, which paradoxically momentarily calmed U.S. territorial voracity vis-à-vis Canada.

Both Canada and Mexico had to face the emergence of pro-annexation movements, such as the ones in Yucatán from 1841 to 1843 and particularly in Texas from 1836 to 1846. These movements saw a merger with the United States as a possible way out of their political and economic conflicts with Mexico's central government. Annexationists also emerged in the east of what was to be Canada, particularly in Quebec and the Maritimes, where a considerable number of colonists showed their interest through the publication of an *Annexationist Manifesto* in Montreal in 1849, which precipitated the decision to unify the British North American colonies under the formula of a dominion protected by the British Empire in 1867. Part of the border that today runs along the current province of Ontario was always connected with the United States through the rivers and lakes of the region. Since the early twentieth century, this area has been the economic heart of Canada and it was there that manufacturing developed in both countries from the end of the nineteenth

century. This established the bases for the economic integration of both nations. A similar process unfolded in Quebec, which is separated from the United States by rivers and lakes that were no obstacle to establishing trade links with it.

The border between the two countries has been, above all, an economic border, which, since the origin of Canada and the United States as nations, operated intensely given the agreement of both governments about a shared economic development project. The same cannot be said, in contrast, about Mexico's northern border, at least until the appearance of the maquila plants in the late 1960s.

The Canadian border is not similar to Mexico's border with the United States. The two have different historical origins that have given each relationship a different tone over three centuries.

For Canada, the border represents the direct entry into the U.S. market, which has undoubtedly been the central objective of the Canadian economy and trade, characterized by its opening to external markets and foreign investment. The border represents the space where the objective of economic growth (and therefore, Canadians' well-being) materializes.

A considerable amount of foreign investment, particularly from the U.S., has historically been concentrated along the border, leading to a high percentage of U.S. property and control being linked to border activities. Due to this, Canada's has been an economy characterized by large exports of natural re-

sources, extracted mainly by U.S. corporations, and manufactured goods. In manufactured goods, for decades the norm in industry has been branch plants with U.S. headquarters.³

THE BORDER BEFORE 9/11

In 1990, about 200 million people crossed the border both ways for different reasons: family and professional matters, economic reasons and tourism. After the entry into effect of the 1989 bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the United States and the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), bor-

der crossings increased even more as a result of trade liberalization and flexibility in foreign investment.

With the years, the border has been physically adapted to facilitate the crossing of individuals, goods and transport; this means that the Canadian government has had to earmark important parts of its federal and provincial budgets to border maintenance and surveillance. During the nineteenth and a large part of the twentieth centuries, the northern border occupied an important place in the U.S. imagination, which considered Canada the land of the free and, in a certain sense, the last representation of what the United States had originally been before

becoming a powerful nation: a virgin continent.

After 1900, the border came under different kinds of pressure from the U.S. government because Canada was seen by many Americans as the surest road to escape from political intolerance and, in many cases, from the long arm of the law. As a result, Canada received sizeable waves of U.S. emigrants who considered it a land of freedom. One example was the arrival of a large number of young men who in the 1960s ran away from the Vietnam War draft. Over the years, the border has become more and more functional, above all thanks to a series of treaties and border commissions that have

and Africa. One issue that increased U.S. concern was Canada's position on Cuba, particularly when Canadian investors paid no heed to the reprisals announced in the Helms-Burton Act. In all these cases, the U.S. government feared that the Canadian border would turn into a direct access for persons who presumably could harm the United States.

In answer to these concerns, the Canadian government created the Shared Border Accord (customs and immigration agencies) in 1995, Border Vision (immigration agencies) in 1997 and the Cross-Border Crime Forum (law enforcement agencies), also in 1997. These initiatives only established continuity

The Canadian government was greatly concerned that terrorists had entered the U. S. through its border, which, paradoxically was interpreted as a failure in Canadian security systems and not in the U.S. system.

aimed to soften and facilitate relations between the two countries. When the FTA came into effect in 1989, it definitively marked a substantial change in the way of regulating the movement of persons, goods and transport on the border. After 1991, the border checkpoints practically fell into disuse and surveillance personnel was reduced to a minimum. In contrast, U.S. customs checks, even in Canadian international airports like those in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, increased.

In 1990, the U.S. government began to express its concern about the flexibility in Canadian immigration laws, particularly with regard to the arrival of emigrants from Eastern Europe, Asia

with others dating from the 1980s, among them the Bilateral Consultative Group on Counter-Terrorism, created in 1988. All of this led to the gradual creation of a very sophisticated high-level bureaucratic apparatus specialized in border issues which worked bilaterally on a permanent basis. This immense range of government agencies and services takes care of a considerable number of border issues with a central objective of consolidating an area that will work efficiently for both countries' economic and trade interests.

As a result, in recent years the Canada-U.S. Partnership Forum (CUSP) has been formed, an initiative of Canada's former Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Lloyd Axworthy, and former U.S. Secretary of State Madelaine Albright. In this forum, two topics are discussed that could not be overlooked with regard to the current border situation after the 2001 terrorist attacks. The first is the practically generalized opinion that the border should be more open in order to facilitate the transit of persons, transport and goods. There were even those who questioned the need for a border between Canada and the United States, arguing that given the ideological proximity of the two countries and the mutual identification of their economic projects, the border merely got in the way. A second topic that has been noteworthy at these fora was the need to give the border a focus as a perimeter; this would consist of more focused strategies to both detain individuals suspected of being criminals and to requisition shipments of illegal goods from third countries that try to take advantage of the open border.

In these discussions, the case of the Mexico-U.S. border came up frequently. Canadian officials recognized that the expense to the United States of maintaining two borders was substantial, particularly when the Mexican border was considered highly conflictive because of the constant illegal crossings of individuals, contraband and drugs.

The "perimeter focus" against terrorism was considered central to the forum's objectives, although the Canadians insisted that the differences in the migratory laws and policies of the two countries did not facilitate the task. In December 1999, the government of Canada effected a series of arrests along the border and tightened its control of the entry of foreigners into the

country. It also changed its regulations about foreigners' stays in Canada, access to jobs and social security. However, controls of the entry of foreigners into the country were based on economic criteria, such as having a bank account in Canadian dollars in a domestic bank, no major obstacle for organized terrorists or drug cartels.

THE SMART BORDER AND THE SECURITY PERIMETER

After September 11, relations between Canada and the United States took on a new face. Until that time, joint actions had been markedly preventive. After the terrorist attacks, the focus on the border hardened up and took on a greater number of defensive traits. At first, Canada went through a political destabilization in the economic and diplomatic spheres. The cases of blocking individuals and goods, which were practically stalled at the border, are well known. The Canadian government was greatly concerned to discover that some of the terrorists had entered the United States through its border, which, paradoxically was interpreted as a failure in Canadian security systems and not the U.S. system.

Canada's asylum policy and flexible immigration laws were attacked by the press and certain U.S. officials. The Canadian government accepted the criticism despite the fact that changes in its immigration laws would be a sharp blow against its traditional multi-cultural policy.

The United States took advantage of the opportunity to openly pressure in favor of a harmonization of both countries' immigration laws and border security systems. Shortly thereafter,

the proposals to create a "smart border" control system and the introduction of the geopolitical term "North American security perimeter" became the most favored issues for describing the new border relationship.

In response, Canada created a new migration law, Bill C-11, which proposes restricting the entry into Canada of refugees whose applications have been denied elsewhere,⁴ and formed a special national security team made up of ten top officials, among them the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, defense, justice, immigration and transportation.

Undoubtedly, the most controversial aspect of these changes were the proposals to modify the criminal code, which affected certain individual rights of Canadians with regard to political activities. Project C-36 proposes to earmark monies and hand over jurisdiction to law enforcement authorities for the identification and punishment of terrorists and the groups that support them. This initiative has prompted the rejection of important groups of Canadian political activists who consider that, sooner or later, C-36 will violate their rights.

The establishment of a security perimeter in Canada did not go unnoticed by most Canadians, who, despite their support for the government in its anti-terrorist fight, expressed serious misgivings about the way in which the United States was laying down the rules within Canada itself, starting with the presence of the National Guard inside its territory. Despite this, the Canadian business community has come out completely in favor of the U.S. measures, considering it urgent to economically reactivate the border; it called on Primer Minister Jean Chrétien

to respond more quickly to President Bush's administration.

Another result of this pressure was the signing of an accord called the Smart Border Declaration in December 2001. This agreement would implement two programs, Nexus and Fast, which aim to facilitate the crossing of frequent travelers through a "fast line" and establish a system of registry of goods, drivers, trucks, etc., by the government, one hour before they arrive at the border.

The border will not be the same after the terrorist attacks. More than a year later, Canada has gone through important internal changes as a result of its new policies on migration and border crossings. In contrast with what has happened in Mexico, the markedly border character of Canada's economic activities has had an impact on the country's general behavior. If before September 11, Canada was a country profoundly identified with the United States, today, circumstances have pushed it to deepen the continental nature of its relationships.⁵ ■■■

NOTES

¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Building a Border for the 21st Century" (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2000).

² Lawrence Douglas Taylor, "El Nuevo Norteamericano: Integración Continental, Cultura e Identidad Nacional" (Mexico City: Colegio de la Frontera Norte and Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte, 2001).

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Populating the North The Janos Presidio

Luis Arnal Simón*



Drawing by Luis Arnal

Beginning in the sixteenth century, the construction of presidios in northern Mexico was part of a policy to support both Spanish and indigenous settlements beleaguered by the continual attacks by rebel tribes who inhabited the area. The presidios (fortified settlements or military outposts) and missions were an important part of the processes of populating and pacifying New Spain's North, an area, because of its distance from the centers of colonial

power, at the mercy of nomadic tribes and rebel indigenous groups who rejected the imposition of Catholicism and the colonial way of life.

As the Spaniards extended their range of action throughout the territory conquered in the North, resistance became more severe and violent. The idea of building presidios came into favor fundamentally in order to have a place that could protect roads, caravans, farms and mining towns. They were always located in strategic places no longer than one day's journey from each other. Although it was not a regular practice, some sol-

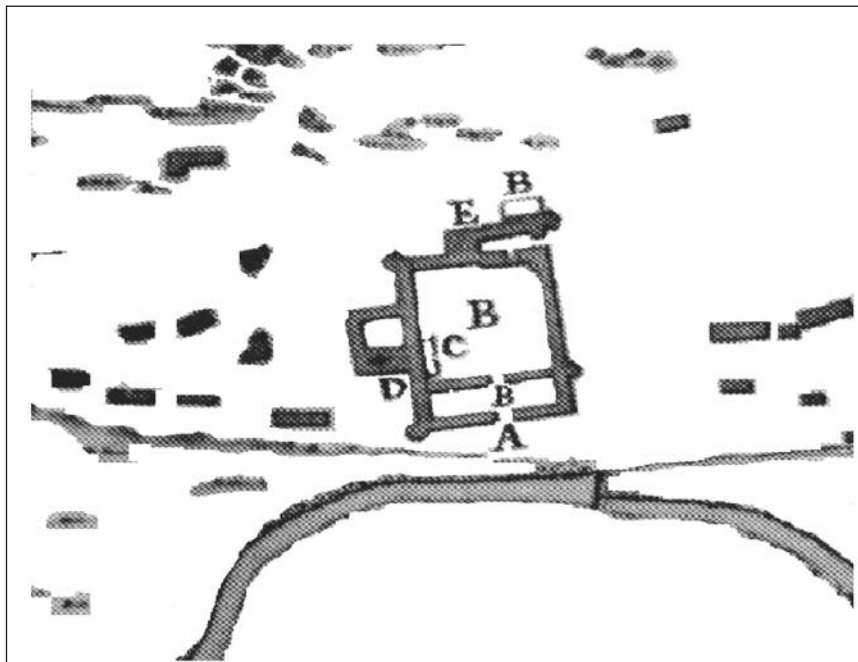
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diers were assigned to guard the missions in the so-called “Chichimec” area to protect the missionaries. In the mid-sixteenth century, these small garrisons, guarded by a handful of men, were maintained with the support of the crown, but also with contributions from the miners and farmers themselves, who thus protected their own goods and persons, above all along what was called the “Silver Road” that led to the Zacatecas area, where the haciendas and ranches that fed the mining centers were located.

In time, these establishments became towns and *villas* since traders, muleteers and farmers gathered around them, gradually building permanent settlements outside their walls.

The presidio (from *pre-sedere*, meaning “to go before,” “to head up”) were constructions of different sizes built in the military fashion with adobe or stake walls around them. Inside the walls was a plaza where the horses were kept and around the inside of the wall were a series of rooms: the commandant’s house, barracks for the troops, storerooms, a chapel and rooms for seed and tools. Groups of pacified indigenous under the fort’s protection from the continual attacks of other tribes might live in arbors or in the open air outside its walls. The presidio even had kitchens and sometimes a school for the indigenous children; all of this was part of the policy to assimilate the nomads and train them in the customs, hygiene and diet of the mestizo.

Groups of Tlaxcaltec indigenous, already converted to Catholicism, were also sent to pacify and people the arid lands; they went to the presidio and *villas* of the North with the idea that they would serve as examples for the nomads, who, by imitation, would take these groups as models and introduce



Janos Presidio, 1766, by José de Urrutia
B.M. map room, folio A. K.

- A. Main entrance and guard room
- B. Patios
- C. Cemetery
- D. Church
- E. Captain's house

Note: The entire construction is adobe, and the rest is almost in ruins, except the Church and the Captain's house that was recently rebuilt.

The presidios were part of a policy
to support both Spanish and indigenous
settlements from attacks by rebel tribes.

the food, colors and habits of the highlands. However, pacification was achieved neither easily nor rapidly. Given the rebel tribes’ mobility, the presidio often had to be moved or would simply disappear when no longer useful for the defense strategy. This also happened when the population of a settlement grew enough to permit self-

defense. Thus, little by little, some of the presidios became small settlements and the nomad frontier was pushed further and further north.

In the eighteenth century, the basis was laid for a military organization with Bourbon influence; by that time, the border of the theater of war was practically at the Rio Grande.

THE JANOS PRESIDIO

One of the presidios vital in border defense and emblematic of the history of all the forts was the San Felipe and Santiago de Janos Presidio. It was founded in 1686 after the Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680 that led to the momentary loss of New Mexico, including Santa Fe and the missions and towns in the Rio Grande Valley. In the judgement of the Royal Council of the Indies, this uprising occurred because of an inappropriate system of presidios; therefore, they ordered the expansion of the presidios and their reinforcement with flying companies of highly mobile mounted troops who could rapidly and efficiently respond to any provocation. The rebellion was started by several tribes, including the dangerous Apache. By 1683, the Manso, Suma and Jano had joined them, having destroyed the Franciscan chain of missions in New Mexico. Shortly thereafter, with the aid of the Julim, the Concho, the Toboso and the Tarahumara, they threatened the Jesuit missions and all the towns and mining centers along the border, from Sonora to Coahuila and as far south as Cuencame in Durango.

Given these dangers, which put the entire Viceroyalty at risk, the authorities decided to build a chain of presidios like those that had been set up in the sixteenth century. First they founded the presidio in Cerro Gordo, Pasaje, San Pedro del Gallo, Conchos and Our Lady of Pilar del Paso on the northern river in what is today Chihuahua, and others in what today is Sonora, such as Fronteras, that defended the indigenous passageway to what is now Sinaloa. With these strategies and more troops, the rebellion was put down in 1693, but the chain of presidios con-

tinued to be decisive in the pacification and protection of the border. By 1725, there were 22 presidios from Sonora to Texas, manned by a total of 905 soldiers.

In 1723, Pedro de Rivera was sent to inspect the forts, even out the distance between them and regulate the number of troops needed for them to function, as well as institute other disciplinary measures. In 1729, based on his recommendations, the authorities issued the "Regulations for All Presidios of the Inland Provinces,"¹ which established the presidios' defensive priorities and the territories they were assigned to guard, as well as the internal regimen and use of each one, pointing to the ones that should be relocated or closed.

By that time, the Janos Presidio had become the largest of the "line" and one of the most important, since it was in charge of the repression of the Apache, Gila, Mescalero, Salinero and Nataje, who were to be dealt with "astutely, by flattery or by force, without killing them."²

Thus, the presidio's strategic position turned it into a vital weapon for defense. In 1745 and in 1749 visits were made to the area to explore the possibility of eliminating some of the presidios considered of no use, but Janos was never moved from its original location: situated on a small bluff over the left bank of a stream of the

The Janos Presidio's strategic position turned it into a vital weapon for defense.

same name it protected the entrance to the San Buenaventura Valley and Chihuahua, populated areas that had to withstand enemy attacks that penetrated the area between the Janos Presidio and El Paso.

In 1760, another evaluation was made of the line of presidios in the inland provinces, but it was not until 1765 that General Juan de Villalba was sent at the head of a regular army structured in the European fashion, who intended to carry out an orderly, efficient defense. To this end, regiments were recruited from the peninsula and Central Mexico and provincial militias were also sent, many made up of pacified indigenous. With all this support, Don José de Gálvez, named inspector by the viceroy, sought to reorganize the entire fort system.

Among other things, it was decided to build a new fort between the Janos and El Paso Presidios in the San Buenaventura Valley to reduce the number of attacks on Chihuahua.

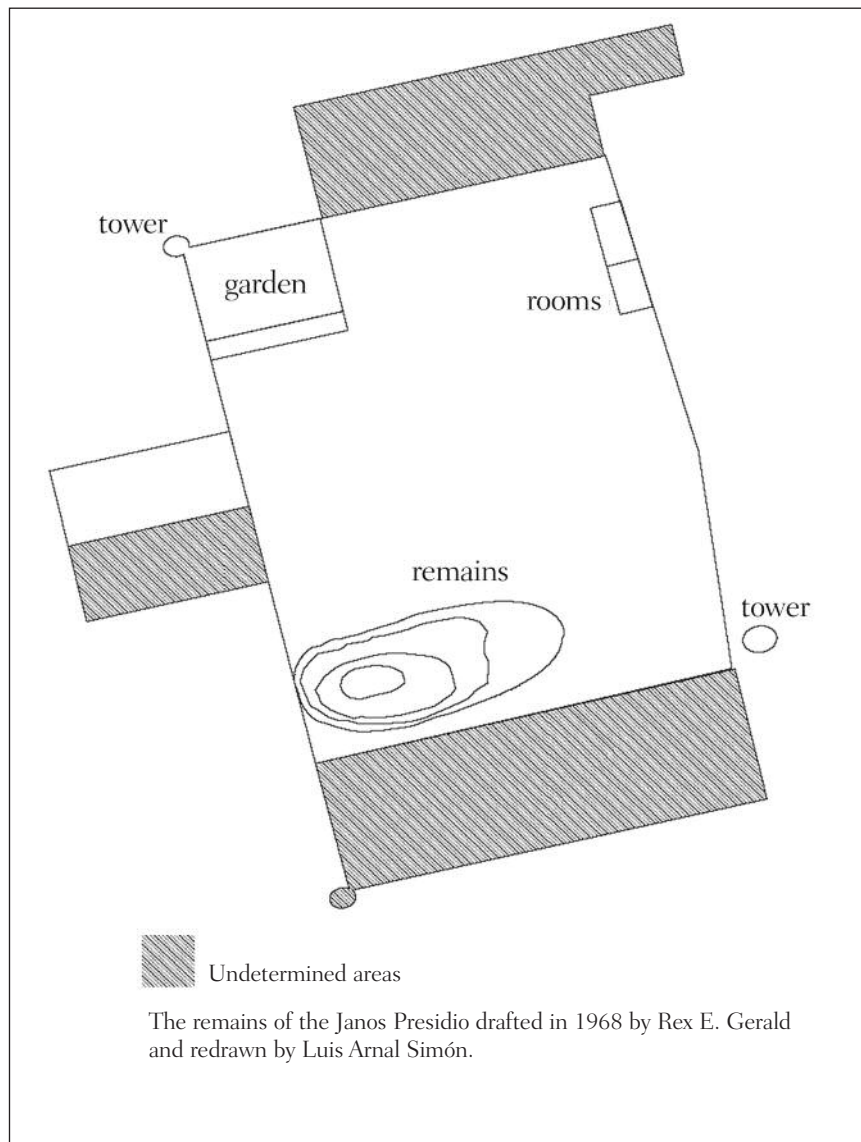
One of the members of Villalba's team was the Marquis de Rubí, sent to inspect the presidios along the northern border, repair them and propose improvements to adapt to the new times of military effectiveness and order. Some of the reforms aimed at getting the soldiers to settle along the border; one of the orders said, "The captains shall supply the soldiers with arms, gear and uniforms and the other half

in cash. This way they will be able to save money and settle that country.”³

During 1766, Rubí traveled throughout the border region, from Sonora to Texas, visiting among others, the Janos Presidio, which he found to be well fortified and with a plan to build a square with two plazas, a cemetery, a church, the captain’s house and barracks for the troops along the wall. One of the patios was smaller than the other and was used as a corral for the horses, since each soldier had between four and six horses, in addition to pack mules that were kept inside the fort. According to a map made by military engineer José de Urrutia, outside were fields with irrigation canals and “150 families of mestizos and mulattos, including those of the company, which came to 455 people.”⁴ These people lived in adobe houses, although “some of them were threatening to fall down in some parts and in others, had open holes; most of the houses were of no use.”⁵ This confirms that the fort began to take on the shape of a town and despite having to face attacks, the inhabitants stayed on tenaciously.

Rubí and military engineer Nicolás LaFora proposed unifying the frontier and ordered the spaces between some of the presidios be closed; to this end, they changed the location of the forts that were no longer of any use, particularly bringing them closer to the Rio Grande to make sure the attacks could not go beyond that point. This was because in the five years prior to Rubí’s visit, the Apache had killed more than 800 colonists (both indigenous and mestizo), forcing the closure of many mines in the region. By 1760, there were 1,161 soldiers guarding the line of presidios.

Among other things, this visit produced the Regulations and Instructions



In 1779, the postal service was established to link the presidios with the city of Chihuahua.

for Presidios, signed by Viceroy Francisco de Croix in 1770 and approved by the king two years later, as well as the creation of the General Command of the Inland Provinces. This simplified the relationships among the different commands and established local authority, necessary because of the danger of attacks. This dynamic put into prac-

tice the idea of moving the presidios, among them Altar, Tubac, Terrenate and Fronteras in Sonora; San Buenaventura, Paso del Norte, Guajuquilla, Julimes and Cerro Gordo in Nueva Vizcaya; Santa Rosa and Monclova in Coahuila; and San Saba in Texas. They would all be moved to more appropriate sites, since all of them had turned

into towns. Nevertheless, once again, the Janos Presidio was not moved, since it closed off the province and through it, communication with Sonora was possible; it was even reinforced with more troops when it suffered several Apache and Gileño attacks in 1773.

In 1779, the postal service was established to link the presidios with the headquarters, located in the city of Chihuahua. Riders traveled from presidio to presidio with orders and other papers, linking the entire territory from California to Texas. Despite this, the Apache attacks continued and the Janos Presidio would be one of the places that came under the fiercest onslaughts. Its horses were stolen several times and the little town around it burned on more than one occasion. But, finally, the tribes had to give up on their attacks because, although they were always more agile on the offensive, their defenses were weaker and their numbers smaller.

Many expeditions were mounted against the Apache settlements and peace began to be made with the Mescalero, Lipan, Patul and others, whose chiefs —among them Cosindede, Black Blanket, Rooster, Snake, Golden Eyes and Tasquenelte— came to Chihuahua to sign peace treaties.

In 1780, the Janos Presidio had a garrison 95-strong and was one of the strongest forts. By that time, Teodoro de Croix was commander general; he began a policy of encouraging the creation of towns near the presidios since he understood that only with permanent settlements could the frontier be pacified. He aimed at establishing 28 of these towns; in addition to increasing the number of inhabitants who farmed, the presidios would have food and supplies close at hand, which would

save on transportation costs to supply the troops.

By that time, the Janos Presidio had a small group of colonists who worked the land, a number increased by the indigenous population, the result of regiments of Opata Indians who were recruited to be support troops. They did not have a fixed abode, but functioned as a mobile company, coming and going along the border, although some were headquartered at Babispe, San Ignacio and in the Janos Presidio itself. The fort commander was the authority who regulated work and ruled over activities in the little township: “[He] will not allow the houses to become dilapidated, but will cause them to be repaired, making sure that those who build new ones do so on the land given to them 30 paces from the wall, next to the fields, and that they make a plaza.”⁶

Finally, the frontier was pacified toward the end of the eighteenth century; between 1790 and 1795, several tribes made peace and moved into the presidios to make permanent settlements when they were given gifts, food, clothing and land so they could begin a sedentary existence: “So the occupants will be encouraged to work, seeing that they are looked upon with love, [the commandant] will send the appropriate person who, when he goes through Chihuahua, will bring with him 500 or 600 pesos in common effects and edibles, and the aforementioned occupants will be given cash.”⁷

Eight Mimbres and Gila chiefs, with nearly 500 people, settled in Janos, and other groups of Faraon and Mescalero settled in other presidios of the area, such as San Eleazar, Carrizal and Paso del Norte. Although many did not accept this change of life and ran

away, others did stay to make permanent communities.

With the independence of Mexico, the presidio system disappeared; the missions, semi-abandoned, could also do little to retain and help local inhabitants. The Apache attacks resumed, with the result that many of these incipient towns that had grown in the shadow of the presidios disappeared.

Janos is today a town where the adobe remains of what was once one of the most important military centers and settlements in this region are still visible, where cultures merged and the settlement of a hostile territory took root. **MM**

NOTES

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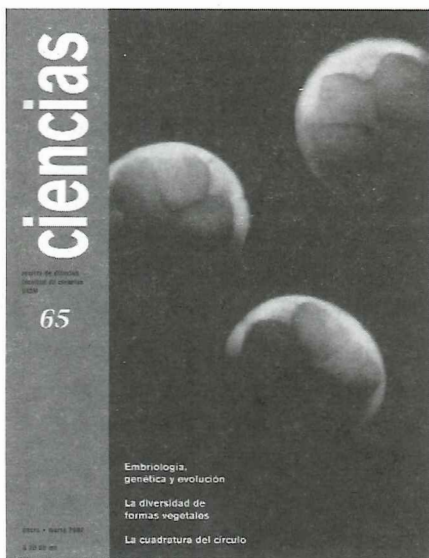
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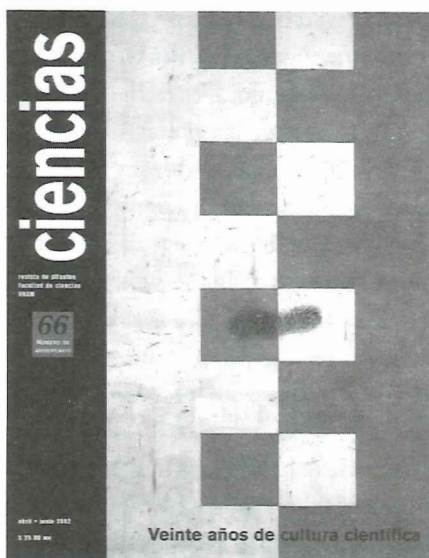
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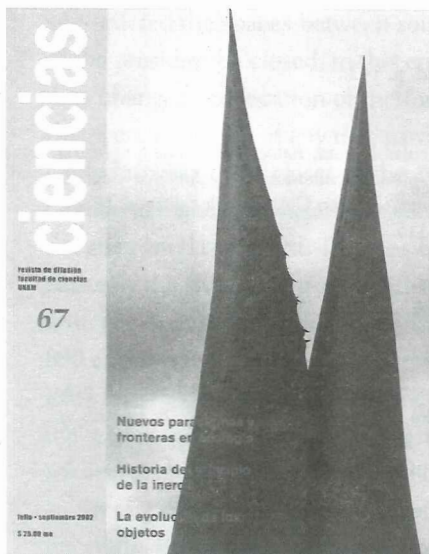
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THE SPLENDOR OF MEXICO

Chihuahua's Ancient Cultures

Arturo Guevara Sánchez*



Sector Chihuahua



▲ The unique form of its doors is one of Paquime's distinctive characteristics.

Several cultures flourished in northern Mexico during the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods. One of the most outstanding was that of Casas Grandes, which developed in what is now the west of the state of Chihuahua and in part of neighboring Sonora. This culture was part of the societies known in the southwestern United States, where groups still exist who are descendants

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of the original occupants of the region's ancient archaeological zones. Its most important site is Paquimé, an ancient settlement located around Casas Grandes, the small modern city that has given it the name by which it is known throughout the country.

At first glance, clearly, the Paquimé culture is geographically located mid-way between Mesoamerica and the other sub-areas of the U.S. Southwest. Cultural traits from both regions can be noted. Among the Mesoamerican characteristics of Paquimé are the representations of deities like *Quetzalcóatl* and

the practice of ball games. The U.S. Southwest contributed the style of ceramic decorations, the adaptation of the architecture to caves and buildings on different levels. Among Paquimé's main characteristics are its adobe constructions and the form of its doors.

With such humble antecedents as the hunter-gatherers who inhabited the Western Sierra Madre, the Paquimé culture managed to develop into one of foremost importance for the history of Mexico. In what we now call the Cueva de la Golondrina (Swallow's Cave), remains have been found that speak to agricultural practices dating back 5,000 years, vestiges of a society that gave birth to a strong, advanced group that established itself in what is now Paquimé, a settlement that became the ruling center of a very large territory.

Paquimé's basic chronology, developed by Charles Di Peso in 1974 and, although currently debated, still accepted by most researchers, situates the first settlements in the area during the Pre-ceramic

Horizon before the year A.D. 1 with different periods that last up to the colonial period, although the decline of the dominant group is pinpointed during the Devil Phase, from A.D. 1262 to 1340.

Paquimé developed a system of government based on tribute and in its surrounding areas even today it is possible to see what must have been the villages that were dependent on it; we can also see those areas that were part of its trade routes, where its expeditions sought shelter, which must have been very important given the proximity of enemies. We know that these routes connected Paquimé with the cultures of the Pacific Coast and Mesoamerica, with the cultures of the U.S. Southwest and probably with groups from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Among the places that must have sheltered travelers is one excellently located on the heights of the mountain cliffs: a group of caves with buildings known as the Forty Houses, which clearly show the characteristics of the Paquimé culture. This kind of cliff dwellings are very attractive and have con-

At first glance, clearly, the Paquimé culture is geographically located mid-way between Mesoamerica and the other sub-areas of the U.S. Southwest.



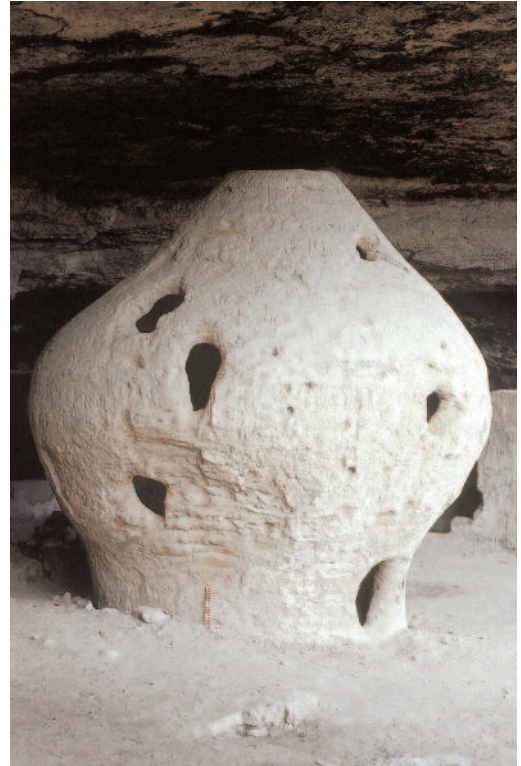
Sector Chihuahua

▲ Paquimé's housing complexes are differentiated by social status.



Arturo Cuevara

▲ Paquime's wells provided water in the dry season.



Arturo Cuevara

▲ The Cave of the Pot granery, two meters wide at the base.

The city itself developed interestingly and its inhabitants had facilities little used in the rest of Mexico.

tributed valuable information for understanding the cultures of Chihuahua.

Inevitably, contact with other cultures left a noticeable mark on Paquime's culture. The architectural remains and objects of daily life show evidence of traits of other cultures taken into the city as the result of trade, basically in luxury items: copper, selenite, salt and turquoise. We know that the group worshipped Quetzalcóatl, the plumed serpent, deity of wisdom in central Mexico; we also know that it honored the deities of water, fire and death.

Trade and social organization made it possible for Paquime to achieve notable development. Scholars think that the city could boast specialists who were dedicated full time to their skills: architects, ceramists, raisers of fowl and, above all, priests, who must have worked with the aid of slaves. As a result of its power, the city itself developed interestingly and its inhabitants had facilities little used in the rest of Mexico: they built large housing complexes made of poured adobe that were up to four or perhaps even more stories high. In the small rooms, we can still note the impressions of their beds, built-in stoves and adobe stairs with closets. Another of the

most interesting aspects are stone spouts that provided the inhabitants with running water.

Paquime's housing complexes can be differentiated; for example, the leaders' houses had their own private wells, something very significant in a region as arid as Chihuahua. The remains of the steam baths, called *temazcal* baths in Central Mexico, as well as cists (roofed storage pits) and underground spaces can still be observed. Another complex, the House of the Guacamayas, was dedicated to raising beautifully plumed birds for their feathers, used to decorate luxury apparel. We can still see the walls of the adobe cages where the birds were kept, as well as the aqueduct that supplied the potable water that raising birds requires, and the stones used to grind the bird seed.

Another building that must have been important was known as the House of the Pillars, with its private space for a ball game, common in Mesoamerica. This building has large pillars after which it is named and is near the remains of a circular temple and a large space where the ball game must have been played before a larger audience. Grain must have been stored here and in other houses in large receptacles and, in



Arturo Guevara

▲ The Windows Cave, the largest of the Forty Houses complex.



Sector Chihuahua

▲ Aerial view of a cliff, pre-Hispanic buildings, center.

Warriors are represented on the culture's ceramics and must have had a powerful influence in the society.

some cases, in granaries, like those still preserved on the sides of the mountains, such as the Cave of the Pot.

Seemingly, the ancient inhabitants of this house must have worshipped some Mesoamerican deities and celebrated some type of ritual at one of the ceremonial mounds called the Mound of the Heroes. In one of the rooms, the mound is still visible through a hole built in one of its walls; this window must have served as an observation point for some old priest to watch the activities there; a step up to the window was even built so the observer could watch comfortably.

To guard all of this, militarism must have been born practically at the same time as Paquimé. Warriors are represented on the culture's ceramics and must have had a powerful influence in the society, where they must have formed a specialized priesthood. It is possible that several of the archeological sites along the trade routes were veritable barracks where the militia carried out constant surveillance, very often from watch towers built expressly for the purpose.

One of these look-out points is atop the Cerro de Moctezuma (Moctezuma Hill), relatively near Paquimé. It is a place that must have been under the protection of the god of the wind; the hill dominates

a vast territory and guards could communicate with Paquimé by smoke signal. In the city's House of the Skulls is another point where look-outs must have vigilantly scoured the skies for warnings.

The reasons Paquimé society went into decline are not exactly known, but it is very possible that it had to face many problems because of droughts in North America. Supposedly because of the climate, groups of hunter-gatherers became very aggressive and their attacks weakened the city's defenses until it fell before them about 1340, when it was burned and heavily pillaged.

The city was not re-occupied by its enemies and we know that an expedition of Spaniards arrived there. It was then that the first extant description of it comes down to us from chronicler Baltazar de Obregón, who mentions some of Paquimé's basic characteristics, to the benefit of historians and archaeologists. After it was abandoned for a time, the region was occupied by the Spaniards who established the San Antonio de Padua Monastery in the area surrounding the remains of the city (ca. 1664).

After achieving the fall of Paquimé, Chihuahua's hunter-gatherer groups continued their way of life



Sector Chihuahua

▲ These cliff dwellings must have given shelter to travelers.

without notable change until the arrival of the Europeans, who were the first to describe them. Among other things they mention that the hunter-gatherers, distributed throughout the state, had different levels of development: some of them, like many of the Chizo, were beginning to carry out incipient agriculture. We also know that there were groups of Concho, who occupied a wider expanse of land, and other lesser-known groups like the Manso, the Jumano and the Patarabuey, who lived in the northern part of the state. Other groups like the Toboso and the Lipan may have been Atapascan, that is, related to the Apaches; it is known that they lived in southern Chihuahua, in the area of the Bolsón de Mapimí.

These groups were the most outstanding of the great number of societies that occupied Chihuahua in the sixteenth century. By that time, Paquimé had been abandoned, though it is possible that many of these now-extinct groups were influenced by it. Drought, war and epidemics during the

colonial period, as well as intermarriage, caused the gradual disappearance of the hunter-gatherer groups; only a few survived the nineteenth century and today four culturally assimilated tribes are known. Since these societies did not have writing, study of these sites must be limited to archeological materials; for that reason, they are all the more appreciated by modern Mexicans. **NM**

NOTE

Paquimé's photos are reproduced by permission of the National Institute of Anthropology and History. Conaculta-INAH-Mex.

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Photos by Gerard Toumeize

Indian History and Identity

The Tarahumara of Chihuahua

Claudia Molinari*

The Sierra Tarahumara, or Tarahumara Mountains, are historic. They became the cultural birthplace of the ethnic groups living today in the southwestern part of the state of Chihuahua (the Tarahumara, the Tepehuano, the Pima and the Guarojío) in a specific era, the Spanish colonial period.

What do I mean by this? I mean that the “Indians” of today are not the same as those who populated the Americas before the hemisphere had that name. Regardless of the romantic, a-historical idea of unalterable native communities on the margins of the social processes of states and nations, contemporary indigenous peoples exist today because they “remade” themselves in the unfolding of five centuries of colonization. Most of the native peoples (the Concho, Toboso, Acaxee,

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Xixime and Salinero to name only a few) succumbed before the colonies declared their independence from Europe, and others disappeared as a result of the independence (for example, the Apache and Comanche in the U.S. Southwest).

The “Tarahumara culture” as it is described by prestigious anthropologists in innumerable articles and books, must date from the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, when the Tarahumara staged their last armed rebellions and definitively lost control over the Papigochi Valley (their original territory at the time of contact with the Spanish) and withdrew as a survival strategy to the Sierra Madre, leaving behind the military control of the colonial *villas*.

It is very possible that before the arrival of the Europeans, some Tarahumara already inhabited the spurs of the Eastern Sierra Madre, together with other nations like the Tubar, the Mori and the Chínipa, but it must certainly have been a very small population compared to that which lived in the central valleys of



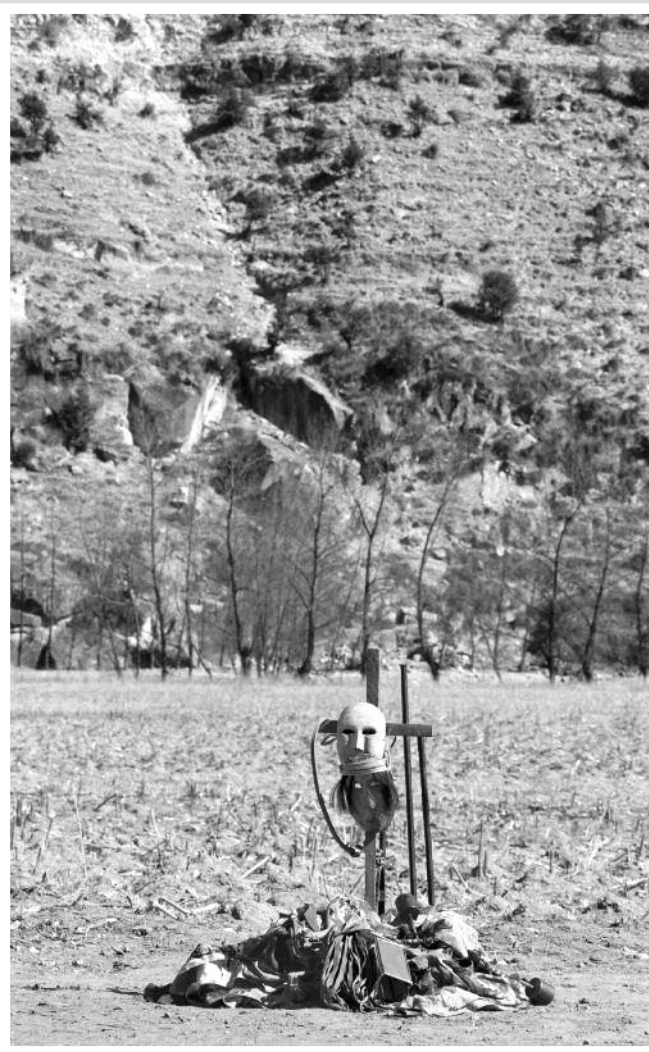
what is today the state of Chihuahua, northwest of Mexico City.

After being definitively defeated in their attempted armed resistance to the colonization (the last reported rebellion took place about 1740), the Tarahumara took refuge in the mountains, taking with them two things that, paradoxically, they had gotten from the Catholic missionaries: the metal ax, with which they would be able to appropriate forest resources and produce firewood and build houses, fences and barns; and the herds of goats, whose excrement would fertilize the thin soil for cultivation. They also took with them ideas that they had acquired in the years of Christian evangelism, with which they forged their own religion that also helped resist the Spanish presence, although they adopted the Spanish god, perhaps as a symbolic way to acquire “white power.”

With these elements, the uprooted Tarahumara were able to adapt to the mountain environment in isolated settlements based on rain-fed agriculture. Organized in small hamlets where two, three or up to five nuclear families lived, they cultivated areas of between one and two hectares and eventually began to identify with a larger political-religious center, where the Jesuits and later the Franciscans founded missions, following the “Indians” in their retreat through the mountains. In this way, the typical Tarahumara town that we know today was formed.

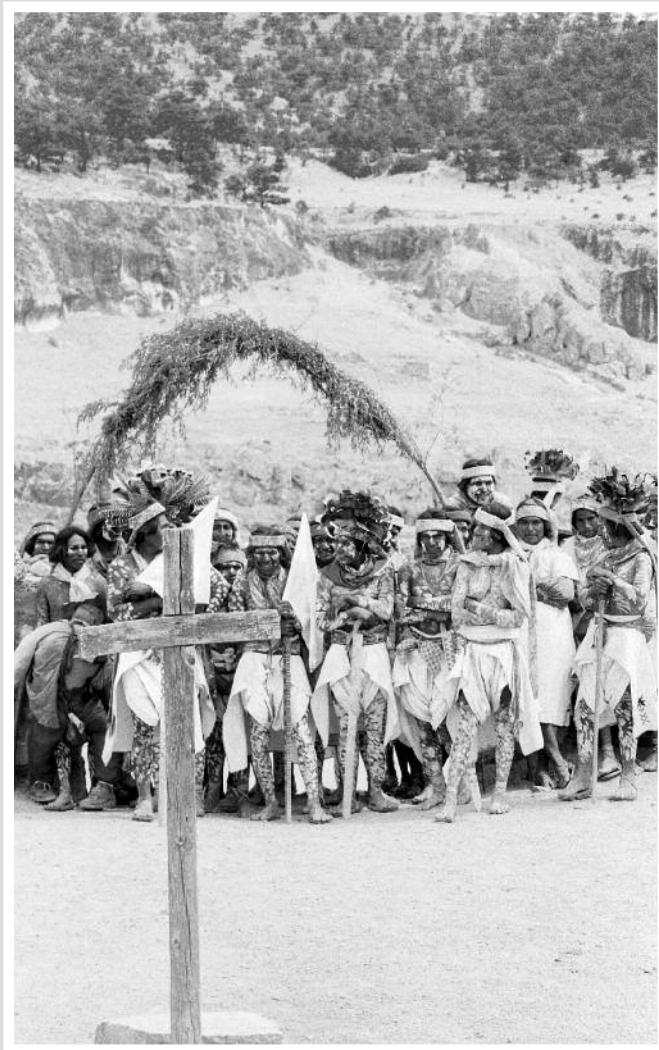
To prove what I have just written with weighty arguments, we would have to resort to archaeological excavation and its results. Tracing the foundation of missions in the Chihuahua mountains would give us some clues. I propose we analyze this people’s stories, reconstructing their world view, of which only a small part is explained here.

Looking at its constituent elements, we can see that the Tarahumara world view is a product of the eighteenth century. It expresses above all the consciousness of an unequal relationship between the *Rarámuri* (Tarahu-



A large part of the Tarahumara religious rites are dedicated to appeals for rain and good weather.

mara) people and the *chabochi*, or whites. It also expresses a symbolic resistance—not an armed one like in the seventeenth century—to the subjection of their culture and environment, by portraying the Tarahumara as the children of God, and the *chabochi*, or whites and mestizos, as children of the Devil. At the same time it is a peasant world view, whose expectations are based on a good harvest, which always depends on climatic conditions. This is why a large part of their religious rites are dedicated to appeals for rain and good weather. Rites as important as the Dance of the Moors and the Pharisees



Indigenous peoples exist today because they “remade” themselves during five centuries of colonization.

for the Holy Week fiestas, or the dance of the *matachines* for December 12, the day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the sacrifice of cows or goats, and the home brewing and consumption of corn beer, *tesgüino*, known in Tarahumara as *sowiki* or *batari*.

The Tarahumara are usually haughty and disdainful with *chabochi* of all kinds. They establish personal contact only very slowly, guided by intuition. If the outsider is not to their liking, they simply ignore him or her. They tend to joke in their “social” conversations, and only very rarely talk about them-

selves. It is possible that this typical Tarahumara attitude was also forged as a result of contact with the Spanish and mestizos, as a result of their flight, search for refuge and negation of the white man.

For almost a century, the Tarahumara fought the Spanish and their system with rebellions of mobile archers, for which they had to resort to secrecy and simulation. No one in the Spanish *villas* could even suspect that there was an Indian conspiracy or everyone’s expectations would be dashed. A rebellion could be planned for years; the men in the towns found out about it and joined the organization clandestinely all the while that in the eyes of the missionaries and the Spanish government officials they acted as though they gracefully accepted living circumscribed to the missions. The uprising, as the Spanish called it, was planned inside the organization, which was usually multi-ethnic and spread over several regions. They made bows and arrows that they hid in the mountains usually poisoning the tips shortly before the time came to attack a mission or a *villa*. The assault on the Catholic church was usually their first action. Many missionary martyrs were created in this way.

The rebels grouped around charismatic leaders, many of them shamans and government officials before the demographic and cultural collapse that came with colonization of the whole Great Chichimeca area, the pre-Hispanic cultural area north of the Grijalva River that extended to what is now Santa Fe in New Mexico. These leaders were people removed from their posts in the original power structure, who had what the specialists call a messianic or millenarian discourse. According to the chronicles, the leaders called for the struggle preaching a future of well being without Spaniards, or saying that no one would really die because they would be reborn younger seven days after the battle, reborn to a world of abundance. Apparently, thousands of men participated in these movements and many groups of warriors attacked strategic Spanish

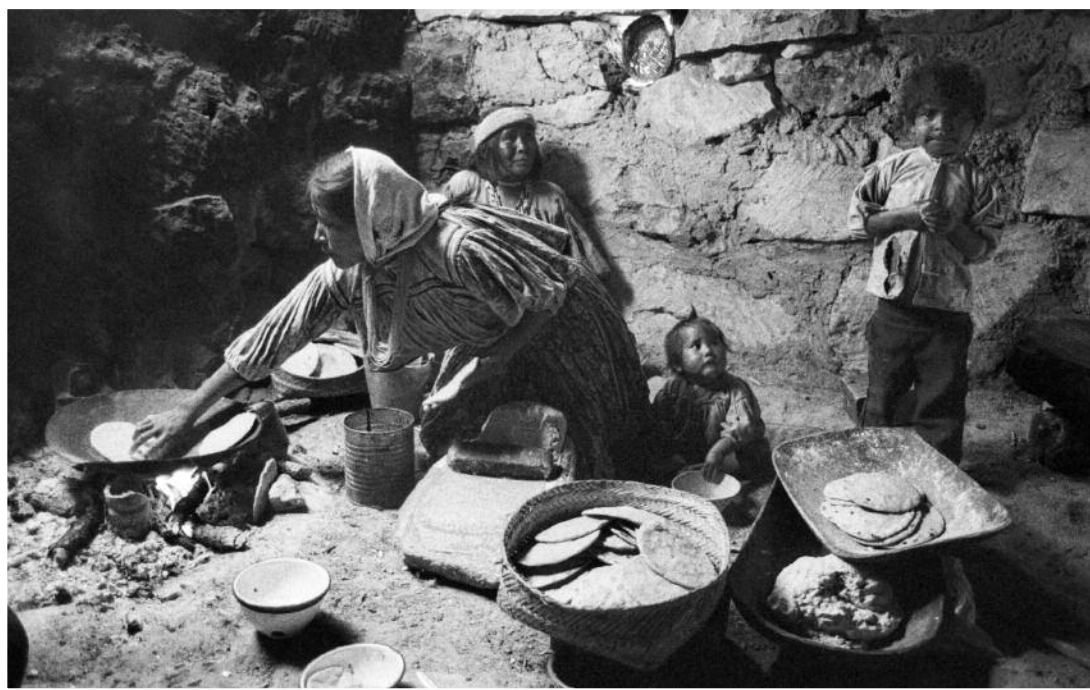
enclaves on nights with a full moon. Later they dug in on the steep mountainsides where the Spanish horses could not reach. The bands would regroup and, if they were strong enough and conditions were right, they would attack again. An uprising lasted three or four years, and no longer than 10. The rebels could not store foodstuffs for very long and the Spaniards burned their crops to cut off their supplies. In addition, they threatened the leaders, offering them amnesty in exchange for surrender or cutting off their heads and displaying them in public places.

Historians like Susan Deeds and Luis González Rodríguez have found a relationship between epidemics and rebellions since, in many cases, before a big rebellion the indigenous peoples suffered devastating epidemics. Perhaps more than 50 percent of the native population died from disease before the beginning of the seventeenth century. This leads me to believe that armed rebellion was a reaction to the social devastation caused by the many deaths from smallpox,

measles or plague, for which the natives had no biological defenses at all because they were not diseases endemic to the Americas.

Some rebellions had more of an impact on the advance of colonization than others. One of the most famous was the 1616 rebellion of the Tepehuan, which drove the foreigners away from the *villas* they had founded for more than 10 years. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, the citizens of New Spain finally managed to achieve military control over the rebels and settled on the best land in the region, particularly along the Royal Road Inland, also known as “the Silver Road,” the most important commercial route in northern New Spain. That was the time of the consolidation of colonial settlements in the province of New Vizcaya, comprised of what is today Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango and part of Sinaloa, at the same time that mining began to boom.

It was then that the Tarahumara retreated to the mountains and, instead of fighting, opted to isolate themselves, protected by the

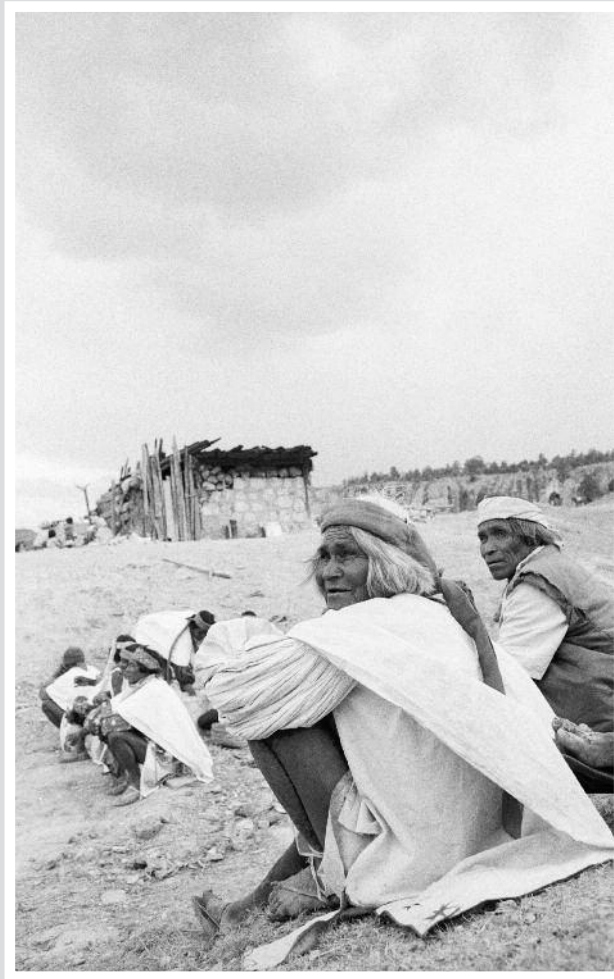


inaccessible mountains. The clash with the foreigners was no longer armed and became symbolic and is today a fundamental component of their world view and all their religious practices. The Easter Week fiesta, for example, is the ritual representation of the fight between good and evil in which good triumphs and begins time again, the New Year and planting season. After this retreat, the ethnic community reestablished itself and the ratio of men to women balanced out with time, in the long run forming a culturally coherent and defined community.

But not all the Tarahumara renounced the armed struggle. During the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth, many collaborated with the Apache in their raids, but not openly. They guided them to the supposedly hidden corrals of rich Mexican cattle ranchers and, disguised as Apache, attacked mestizo caravans and towns, taking with them cows, mules and horses.

During the nineteenth century, a new rise in mining prompted the development of Mexican towns in the Sierra Tarahumara, towns like Guadalupe and Calvo (or Cusihuiachi), which though they attained national importance because of the mining boom, even coining money, had a very localized impact in the mountains themselves. It was the twentieth century and forestry (which brought with it the construction of highways, the arrival of manufactured products and wage labor) that definitively broke the voluntary isolation that the Tarahumara lived in for about two centuries and that finally brought the collapse of a stable or functional way of life when it altered the traditional agricultural cycle by excessive logging of the country's largest coniferous forest.

Today, the Sierra Tarahumara is no longer the "region of refuge" that separated the indigenous population from contact with the mestizo population. After a century of overlogging, the great pines have disappeared,



“I’m tired of dancing; we dance for nothing just because God doesn’t send rain because God is old now.”

making way for tourism in this imposing geographical area. Modern Protestant missions offer a new road to salvation if the Tarahumara stop drinking *tesgüino* and going to their fiestas. Undoubtedly the Tarahumara will also resist this form of intrusion into the rhythm of their lives because their character is prepared for it, but the new generations will be very different from past ones. In the meantime, I can perceive disenchantment on the part of some elders when they talk about the future. One said to me one day, “I’m tired of dancing; we dance just because God doesn’t send rain because God is old now.” **MM**



The Origin of the World of Men

Some little old men in the Sierra Tarahumara told me that when God made the world, he first made a man and a woman. He modeled them from corn dough and clay. Then he made pairs of all the good animals that help people: cows, goats, fowl, deer, that at that time knew how to talk and dance with humans. Then God wanted to give life to these dolls that were like his playthings, so he blew into the mouth of each one. They say that he blew into the women's mouths three or four times and into the men's mouths only three times. This breath of God is the origin of the *aliwala* souls that every Tarahumara person and animal has.

They say that the souls live inside the body, one of the great ones in the head, another in the belly, others in the joints. Different souls in different parts of the body that leave when the person is asleep, dreaming, or when he or she is ill or bewitched. So, to be strong and healthy while awake, it is important that the souls all be inside the body.

That was how the Tarahumara lived: working the land and dancing at their festivals with *tesgüino* (a "ritual" fermented drink made of corn, drunk at festivals and religious ceremonies) because that is what God said they should do so he would send them rain, so the corn could grow and the world continue to exist.

They say that one day the Devil, God's older brother, became envious of what his younger brother had created. So, he, too, made dolls and tried in vain to breathe life into them. It seems that he made them of lime because they were very white. He

also made snakes, scorpions, spiders, malignant predators and serpents of all kinds. However, in spite of the fact that he put his lips on the mouths of his dolls and blew hard into their bodies with all his might, they did not come to life. For that reason, he asked God for help.

God helped him because he helps everyone, but he only wanted to blow twice into each of the Devil's dolls, and so gave them life. That is where the *chabochi* (the mestizos or whites) come from, the men whose beards make them look like they have spiders on their face and the women who must be distrusted.

That is why they say that there are two kinds of people: the *ralamuli* and the *chaboame*. The *rarámuri*, or Tarahumara (both versions of the words in Spanish) do things the way that pleases God, but the *chabochi* continually displease him because they are noisy and frequently treacherous. They do not drink the *tesgüino* made for the fiestas with the respect that God ordained: they do not drink it to work, but to get drunk.

The Tarahumaras do act the way that pleases God and for that reason they live at the edge of the world: they are the pillars that hold it up because the world is like a tortilla.

Note: Claudia Molinari wrote this story based on ethnographic data gathered over a period of 15 years research into the Tarahumara culture in the state of Chihuahua. In it, she tries to depict the ideas that many Tarahumara—those who grow corn as their main activity—have today about the origin of the world of men.



Chihuahua's Colonial Missions An Invaluable Patrimony

Karla Muñoz Alcocer*

When people talk about Mexico's colonial, artistic and cultural patrimony, states like Puebla, Querétaro, Michoacán, Jalisco or, more to the north, Zacatecas, usually come to mind. You could mention all the states of the republic and the last name might very well be Chihuahua since it has always been classified as poor in historical patrimony. This does not take into account,

however, the fact that the colonial legacy there was formed under less favorable circumstances: a vast stretch of desert to the north; broad central plains bordered diagonally on the southwest by the Western Sierra Madre, known as the Tarahumara Mountains, that take time and patience to reach; an extreme climate with temperatures from sub-zero to 46 degrees Centigrade; and little water. It was far from the capital of New Spain, far from artistic centers and skilled workmen; this meant that master sculptors, painters and architects living in the beautiful, creative cities of Central Mexico hesitated to exchange their comforts for cold, sober

* Coordinator of the Smithsonian Center for Materials Research and Education project "Imaginería de las Californias" (Sculpture of the Californias) and director of the Chihuahua Colonial Missions Civic Association.

towns where just getting food took twice the effort. These factors, among others, make the Chihuahua colonial legacy invaluable and incomparable.

During colonial times, Franciscan, Jesuit, Dominican and diocesan priests were sent to the North (what is now the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico) to spread the Gospel to the local population by building churches and creating societies around them. This was a way to expand Spanish domination, which was developing as mines and lands conducive to these settlements were discovered. This system of conquest—to call it that—was the mission. Although the founding ordinances were the same throughout New Spain, differences in the settlement and the development of trades are noteworthy, depending on the order the missionaries belonged to and the specific characteristics of the ethnic group converted. For example, Tomás de Guadalajara and José Tardá wrote in their 1675 report about how difficult it was for the Raramuri, or Tarahumara, to congregate in towns: “We tried to limit them to one site and a

church, although they are disseminated along seven or eight leagues.”¹ This description continues to be valid 300 years later. The missions were organized into what were called *partidos*, or districts, each with a *cabecera*, or main church, and between three and five *visitas*, or dependent churches.

Chihuahua’s mission system began to be built after the discovery of two mines: the Santa Bárbara Mine, found in 1567 in the southwestern part of the state, from where a few decades later Juan de Oñate would leave to found New Mexico; and the Chínipas Mine, whose main vein was discovered in 1589 by explorers crossing the Sinaloa mountains as they left Culiacán. The first missions were established by the followers of Saint Francis of Assisi in the Santa Bárbara region; they created important settlements of colonists in the San Bartolomé Valley (or Allende Valley) and San José del Parral. The Franciscans founded missions on the plains and inland all along the royal highway that led to Santa Fe; the Company of Jesus built others on the Western Sierra Madre,

Chihuahua’s mission system began to be built after the discovery of two mines: the Santa Bárbara and the Chínipas.



Salvador Garza/Misiones Coloniales de Chihuahua A.C.

Baroque altarpiece dedicated to Saint Rosa de Lima, Cusihuiriachi Church.



Karla Munoz/The Smithsonian Institution

Immaculate conception, Five Lords Saints of Cusarare Mission.



Karla Muñoz / The Smithsonian Institution

Immaculate conception, Nonoava Mission.



Easter Week at the Our Lady Pilar de Norogachi Mission.

Santiago Cifil

divided into three regions: the Lower or Old Tarahumara, the High or New Tarahumara and Chínipas, which was actually part of the Sinaloa and Sonora Province. The first Jesuit settlement in San Pablo de Tepehuanes (Balleza) dates from 1607. Although innumerable Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Pima and Guarojío rebellions destroyed the fruits of their labor, sometimes postponing the establishment of missions for between 10 and 20 years after they arrived to a site, it can be said that, starting with San Pablo, they set up missions and contacts throughout the mountain foothills, all the way to the well-known Babícora and later into the interior. Other “black-robed ones” came through the Sonora mountains to work in the Chínipas region.

Over a period of 160 years, the Jesuits founded more than 100 missions throughout this region, until they were expelled in 1767 after becoming a veritable threat for the Spanish Crown’s economy and organization given their effective self-sufficient system and the fact that they obeyed only the Pope and not the king. Most of their missions were taken over by the Franciscans from the College of Guadalupe in Zacatecas or the Texas missions, and others were secularized by the archbishop of Durango.

Even with all the difficulties that this region caused the missionaries, 168 missions were eventually founded in what is today Chihuahua, the largest number in a single state, be it in Mexico or what is now the United States. Many of these missions are now county seats; others remained small towns and hamlets inhabited by indigenous or mestizos, and, in some cases, both together sharing a single church. The mission continues to be the main meeting place where religious and social traditions are upheld, such as during Easter Week, when the *matachines* dance or when the *sirime*, or governor, calls the people together, or like on Sunday when, even without a priest, the mestizos or Tarahumaras go in and out of the church, congregating finally in the atrium. This means that the missions not only have historic and artistic importance, but are also a living cultural patrimony.

Their architecture is appropriate to the climate and the materials available in the region; for example, on the plains and in the foothills, the constructions are made of adobe; in the mountains, they are made of stone with roofs covered in shingles or carved out, canoe-shaped tree trunks, now replaced by metal sheeting; and in the canyons, it is common to find walls and



Five Lords Saints of Cusarare Mission, Guachochi.

vaults made of fired brick because of the abundance of red clay. In the missions built near mines, or those that were designated district headquarters, the construction system is more complex, with richly decorated walls, altar pieces, sculptures and paintings. However, all of them have works that have been done by either skilled, guild artisans or workmen that can be classified in different categories according to their visual characteristics and the techniques used in their manufacture: from those that imitate Spanish art to the simplest work for which the artist's only aim was the creation of an image to worship and not its aesthetic quality.

Unfortunately, for many decades the missions were plagued by a dearth of security measures, which fostered pilfering, the lack of awareness of the value of the historic, cultural and artistic patrimony, and insufficient communication among government institutions, priests and communities. All of this caused inappropriate action to be taken, even if with the best intentions. For this reason, in January 2001, Chihuahua businessmen created the Chihuahua Colonial Missions Civic Association to further an integral project called "A Mission for Chihuahua: Its Colonial Missions" with the ongoing, active collaboration

of the state government, the National Institute of Anthropology and History, the Catholic Church, local communities, educational institutions and national and international associations such as the Smithsonian Institution and the Mexico-North Research and Education Network.

The project's objective is to create security, promote research and disseminate information about the missions, as well as to restore and preserve both the buildings and other patrimony of these colonial churches. The main interest is to give the communities the tools and know-how they need through practical workshops. The idea is to reclaim traditional building techniques, teach an appreciation and respect for this patrimony and offer a new economic alternative by fostering rural tourism routes.

Part of the integral project is made up of two specific research and conservation projects. The first is "Imaginería de Las Californias" (Sculpture of the Californias), sponsored by the Smithsonian Center for Materials Research and Education; its aim is to determine the origin of the colonial sculptures found in the missions of the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico through chemical and technical analysis of the materials they are made of, to establish the sim-

ilarities and differences with the visual classification done of the sculptures in Chihuahua. This study will contribute valuable information about anonymous viceregal sculpture and artistic techniques in the colonial period, as well as significant data about the development of the mission system in this entire region.

The second project is “A Mission for Chihuahua: The Santa María de Cuevas Mission.” Two hours away from the city of Chihuahua, this mission has a beautiful, multicolored tongue and groove ceiling dating from 1700; unique in northern Mexico, it has eight Marian symbols in the center surrounded by a wealth of mirror-like sprays of flowers, as well as a figurative mural. Thanks to a grant from the J. Paul Getty Foundation, a year from now another study will be carried out to determine the painting’s state of conservation and analyze the materials it is made of as well as archaeological samples to establish restoration criteria and processes. This project

also received a grant for preventive work from Mexico’s National Council of the Arts Fund for the Restoration of Monuments and Art Works.

The establishment of Chihuahua’s mission system took great effort on the part of missionaries and indigenous peoples of the region; undoubtedly, the same effort will be required to preserve it. For this to happen, we all need to be aware that our cultural patrimony is not only a testimony of the past, but also a factor for present and future development. **MM**

NOTE

¹ Luis González Rodríguez, *Tarahumara. La sierra y el hombre* (Chihuahua, Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 1994).

FURTHER READING

González Rodríguez, Luis, *Tarahumara. La sierra y el hombre* (Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 1994).

Suárez, Wendy, *Conservemos las Misiones de la Sierra Tarahumara* (thesis, Instituto Superior de Arquitectura y Diseño de Chihuahua, A.C., 1999).



Mission of the Angel Custodian Saint of Sateva Batoplas.

The Museum of the History Of the Revolution

María Luisa Reyes Landa*



Housed in what was the home of General Pancho Villa in the city of Chihuahua, this museum is a splendid place to learn about the Mexican Revolution and one of its most important protagonists. It is the only history museum in our country organized and managed by Mexico's armed forces.

THE BUILDING

General Villa bought the land in the early twentieth century and, although it already had a small building on it, with time, improvements were made

until the house as we know it today was completed. Construction finished in 1914, with rooms situated around the patios, giving them all a view, color and lots of light. The ceiling is typical of the period; both interior and patio walls are painted with oils depicting scenes of daily life, adding color and beauty; the music room is painted with instruments; the main living room panels with plaster

* Ethnohistorian and professor at the Chihuahua University School of Anthropology.

work and filigree; the dining room with full fruit bowls and peacocks; and the main entrance with landscapes.

On the ground floor near the entrance are the living room, kitchen, dining room, bath and several bedrooms. On the second floor are more bedrooms, in addition to the room dedicated to heroes, a beautiful Catholic chapel and a lovely terrace. In the back, separate from the rest are some apartments distributed on two floors; this part was built by General Villa, also known in Mexico as the “Centaur of the North,” to welcome his fellow officers; these rooms are currently used to exhibit material from Mexico’s revolutionary period and as offices.

One of the most significant parts of the house is the Room of Heroes, dedicated to individuals who played an important role in the nation’s history. Painted on the walls we can see the father of our country, Miguel Hidalgo, Don José María Morelos, Vicente Guerrero, the Child Heroes, Benito Juárez and Francisco I. Madero, as well as different allegories of Mexican history at the center of each of the four walls. The finishing touches are the round brackets with painted portraits of Trinidad Rodríguez, Abraham González, Toribio Ortega and Aquiles Serdán, all distinguished participants in the Revolution. These paintings speak to the important place these people held in the thinking of the family of Villa and his wife Luz Corral. Another important part of the house is the chapel, with its white three-niched altar piece, a beautiful ceiling, as well as plaster and fret work that give the room a pleasant, lordly feel. There are also some photographs which may not be originals, since they are too small for the niches.

The house has a turret with embrasures at the corner of two streets, giving the whole place the feel of a fortress. Inside, in what is now called the Patio of Honor, is a bust of General Villa and a list of the men and women who participated in his army, the Division of the North. There is also a sculpture of General Rodolfo Fierro and a cannon. Today, military ceremonies in memory of General Villa are performed on this site.

The house’s period furnishings indicate that it was an ordinary home of people who were com-

fortably off at the time, without excessive luxury. Both the building’s decorations and the furniture are in the art nouveau style, discretely elegant without being ostentatious, as befitting someone who came out of an armed grassroots movement.

Moving from the first patio into the second, we find the troubling exhibit of the car in which General Villa was riding the day he was assassinated, July 20, 1923, in Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua. Even though the vehicle is very well cared for and has been restored, the enormous bullet holes that killed its passengers often cause visitors uneasiness and other unpleasant feelings.

The house was donated by Villa’s widow, Doña Luz Corral, to the federal government, who put it under the auspices of the Ministry of National Defense. On November 17, 1982, the ministry established the Museum of the History of the Revolution in memory of the general and the armed movement that gave rise to modern Mexico.

THE EXHIBITS

The collection can be divided into several broad groups; perhaps the most important is the furniture, epitomizing the early twentieth century: different finely finished chairs, with well honed bars; armchairs in pastel colors, very much in the style of the day; brass beds, also in the style of the day; wardrobes decorated with carved wooden angels nestled among leaves; as well as tables, mirrors, pianos, commodes, wood and glass cabinets for the dinner service, phonographs (one belonging to Villa’s wife). One of the desks belonged to Don Abraham González, the former governor of Chihuahua, a prominent revolutionary; another is a fine secretary; and there are several elegant chandeliers. Using this furniture, the museographers have tried to teach the visitor about objects from the period and not only the house itself.

The museum has a good collection of arms and other objects used by the militia; and the flags and standards alluding to the struggles of the people for their freedom strike an emotional chord in all Mexicans.



▲ The museum has an interesting collection of arms and other objects used by the militia.



▲ Saddle with an effigy of Pancho Villa, a gift from the Chinese community.



▲ The Music Room is decorated in the style of the period.

On view are also General Villa's personal sabres, as well as several 30-30 carbines and an 1894 model Winchester, the preferred arms of different revolutionary groups, mentioned in many old songs. The 1895 6.5mm Mondragon and 7mm Mendoza machine guns, the latter manufactured in Madera, Chihuahua in the middle of the Revolution, all command respect.

The display also includes cannon and 7mm European Remington rifles, as well as others of Belgian and German make, the latter manufactured in Berlin. The exhibit also boasts several Merwin Huebert 38mm revolvers and 1875 22mm Colts, that all belonged to General Villa. Other items include binoculars, an old surveyor's theodolite, some telegraph and telephone equipment, bugles and very interesting medical equipment.

The house also holds work implements that tell us something about activities during the Revolution: items of daily use like dishes, wash-stands, mirrors, bed linen, tablecloths, sewing machines, as well as miners' tools like lanterns, shovels, pickaxes, etc. Agricultural tools include plows, shovels, rakes and a curious horse-drawn apparatus known as a *guadañadora*, used for cutting corn. The visitor is also invited to see a chest of drawers, little tables, a trunk, chaps, items used in cattle ranching and different objects used by printers.

One room is dedicated to Villa's generals, with photographs and a biography of each.

Many photographs of a variety of subjects decorate the museum. Throughout the house are photographs of General Villa at different times in his life; also displayed are terrible scenes of war that speak to the viewer of a time long past; scenes of people in the army but who carried out tasks not directly related to war, such as the peasants and women at work; and several of Doña Luz with different people.

There are even photos of figures who differed ideologically from General Villa, like Generals Luis Terrazas and Pascual Orozco.

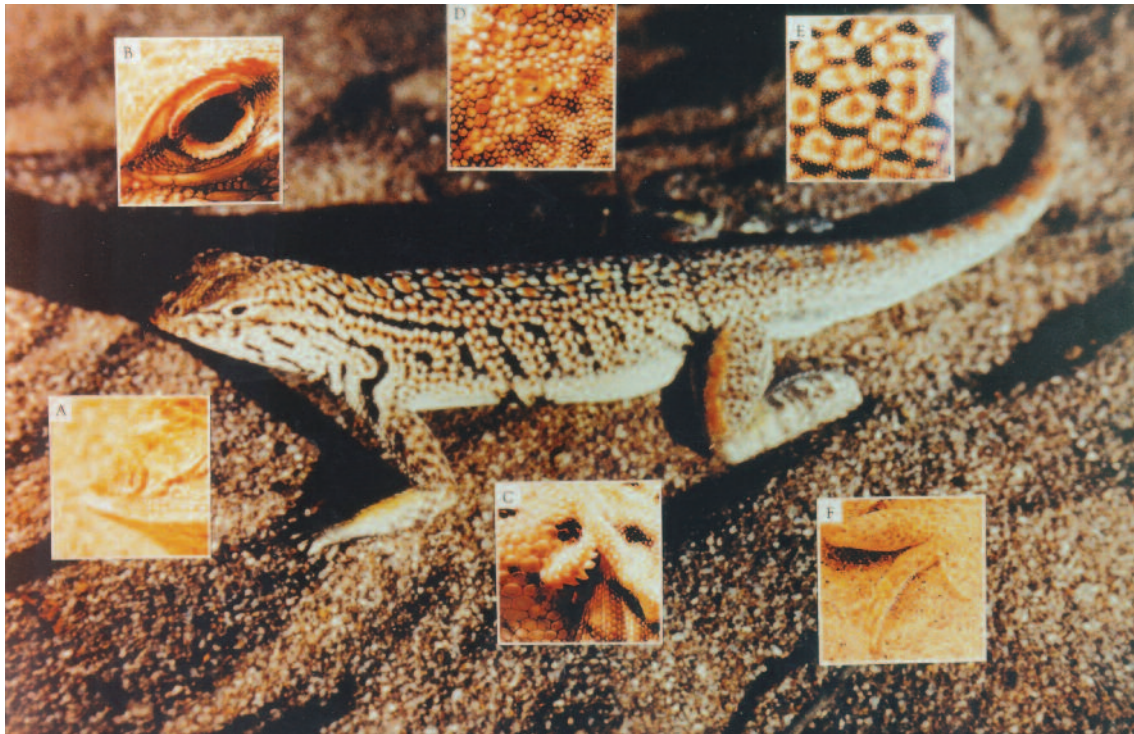
In addition to his car, other belongings of General Villa are on display: some of his favorite clothing; saddles of different quality, some with beautiful silver decoration; informal hats for work in the countryside and felt hats for more formal situations; sabres in their scabbards; rifles; chin-straps; and chaps.

The general used all of these items at one time or another during his meteoric career and journey through history.

Visitors return to the present after having gone through different moments of General Francisco Villa's life, one of the most popular leaders of the Mexican Revolution. **MM**



Museo de la Historia de la Revolución
Calle 10a. # 3010
Colonia Santa Rosa
Chihuahua, Chihuahua.
Telephone: (614) 416 2958
Tuesday to Saturday 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.
and 3 p.m. to 7 p.m.
Sunday 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.



Photos courtesy of the Chihuahua Ecology Institute Regional Center

The Chihuahuan Sand Lizard A Masterpiece of Adaptation

Héctor Gadsden, José Luis Estrada,
Hugo López, Ulises Romero and José G. Castañeda*

The study of the adaptation of reptiles to extreme conditions like those in deserts not only helps us understand how they survive, but also to visualize which of their strategies we could use in the near future to adapt ourselves to a world going through an increasing process of desertification.

Uma paraguayensis is an endangered species of endemic Mexican lizard, which lives exclusively in sand and

gypsum dunes, and inhabits a very small part of the south eastern region of the state of Chihuahua as well as on the banks of the Laguna del Rey in western Coahuila. Both these areas are located in a place called the Bolsón de Mapimí in the middle of the Chihuahua Desert.

The Chihuahuan sand lizard is a key link in the ecological network of dune ecosystems. That is, even though other Sauria cohabit with it, they can also inhabit different kinds of ecosystems, so, when an important environmental change takes place in the dunes, they simply emigrate somewhere else. This is not the case of

* Researchers of the Chihuahuan Sand Lizard project at the Chihuahua Regional Center of the Ecology Institute.

the sand lizard since, ecologically speaking, it is subject to the islands of sand and must therefore adapt to the changes there or perish. For that reason, it is possible to find and establish close links between the evolution of its habitat and its populational behavior.

Since it is such a specialized organism (it only inhabits dunes), certain important upsets in these ecosystems (the elimination of vegetation, being trampled on by cattle, contamination, etc.) will be reflected in the instability of these Sauria. Thus, in our studies, we have found that in some groups of this organism, several of their populational characteristics tend to remain stable (for example, density, survival and mortality rates, biomass, etc.). This is as long as humans do not considerably alter their habitat.

Thus, when we see certain Sauria populations dwindle because of the effect of humans, we are able to have a kind of fauna-qualitative indicator of the damage caused by man to the habitat. We can also establish a longer term relationship between processes like the natural compacting of the sand in the dunes and the lower density of Sauria at these sites. This would be an indirect fauna indicator of this natural process of desertification, in which there would be a probable correlation between a greater compacting of the sand and a

lesser density of these animals. In other words, it acts as an indicator of the “health” of these kinds of habitats, operating as a kind of “desert-o-meter.”

CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE SAURIA

The sand lizard feeds on different kinds of arthropods like ants, beetles, grasshoppers and flies, thus contributing to the regulation of arthropod populations, in addition to being the most representative of the species of the dune ecosystems. The lizard is most active in spring and summer between 9 and 11 a.m. and 4 and 6 p.m.

One interesting fact is that they move very quickly across the dunes and can “swim” through the sand. This ability is the result of the following adaptations that make it impossible for sand to enter their bodies through their mouths, nostrils, eyes and ears (see illustration at the beginning of this article):

- when they close their upper mandibles, they include the lower mandible;
- they have sluice-like scales on their upper and lower eyelids; and



The Chihuahuan sand lizard is a key link in the network of dune ecosystems.

- they also have fin-like scales that open and close against the ear when they move through the sand.

Other important aspects are a particularly conspicuous pineal eye at the top of the head that detects the amount of sunlight the animal receives; granulated scales that imitate the coloring and texture of the sand and constitute very effective camouflage and also reduce friction when the animal swims in the sand; and comb-like scales on the toes of the feet that give the lizard more traction to move through the sand.

THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR RESEARCH

The study of the sand lizard in the Chihuahua Desert is important mainly because it offers the opportunity to develop a model to study the response of populations with very little genetic variability, a very small geographic distribution and subject to a single kind of habitat, to the fragmentation and modification of their habitat due to the growth of agriculture, extensive cattle raising and the rapid increase in human settlements. An important theoretical aspect of the study of this lizard is that its scant genetic variability and the low population density make it possible to use it as a model to study short-term genetic-evolutionary changes; among other things, observers have noted that in many organisms these characteristics accelerated evolutionary changes in the genome.

However, this species has been studied very little although it requires permanent populational monitoring since, as I said before, it is closely associated with the evolution of the dunes and is a species that serves as an indirect indicator of the processes of desertification (whether by natural means or due to human action) that occur in these places. Therefore, our general objective has been to propose a conservation strategy for certain dune ecosystems where it lives. For that it was necessary:

- To estimate the survival and fertility rates for individuals of different age groups and calculate the replacement rate in each generation;
- To estimate the seasonal density and biomass and monitor the inter-annual fluctuations in some populations, inferring which factors might be regulating these characteristics;
- To calculate the areas of activity for individuals of different age and sex groups and deduce the populations' social structure.

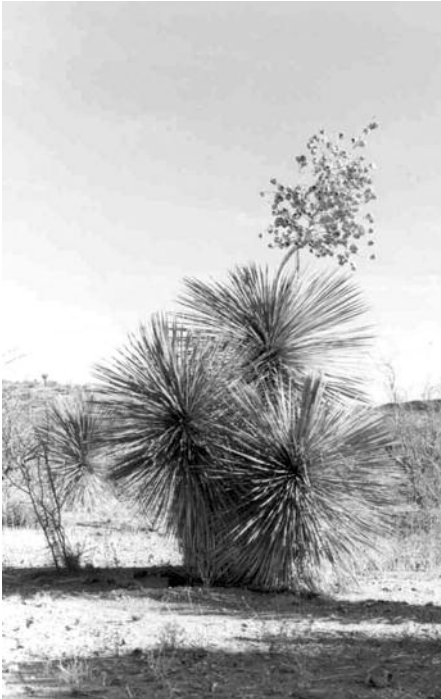
With this information, essential parameters like the population growth rate and the "final" or stable age structure were calculated. In this way, we were able to calculate the reproduction rate per capita and detect whether the populations were increasing or decreasing. We have also analyzed how these characteristics have been affected in years of higher and lower rainfall. This will make it possible to take better founded conservation measures to preserve some if not all of the ecosystems where this species lives.

The survival, mortality and per generation replacement rates prove that the populations seem to be balanced in density despite the strong inter-annual environmental oscillations they are subject to, in addition to the processes of growing desertification that have been seen in the Chihuahua Desert.

We believe that some of the species' adaptive strategies that may be favoring this stability are the following: very rapid sexual maturation in females (at nearly six months); high indices of food source diversity (they can consume up to 28 different kinds of arthropods); occasionally they reproduce during winter (when there are females with eggs in their oviducts during this period); greater winter activity among young specimens that may be favoring a greater chance at feeding and growing in the absence of adults that might injure them; a drop in the number of potential predators; and, finally, the males of these species have a larger range of activity than the females (233 square meters versus 56 square meters). The females, who are highly territorial, probably guard potential nesting grounds in micro-habitats (mounds with plants like *Larrea tridentata* and several species of acacias) with greater quantities of food.

CONSERVATION EFFORTS

The first conclusion we can draw from our study is simple: human pressure on the sand lizard's habitat



constitutes the greatest danger given that the dunes it inhabits are not at all diverse and have little plant coverage, making them very fragile. For that reason, the information gleaned is crucial for later formalizing a conservation project in several areas where the lizard's habitat exists.

The density results, which fluctuate between 23 and 42 adults per two hectares, the calculation of their areas of activity and the definition of the populations' social structure have given us an idea of the minimum space (40 hectares) and the environmental structural diversity of the different areas that should be protected.

Another strategy for conservation of these ecosystems has been to disseminate in academic circles the fact that dunes of continental origin in desert areas like the Bolsón de Mapimí are paleo-climatic evidence, indicators of the climatic evolution throughout the recent Quaternary period. Encouraging the study of these ecosystems in different institutions aids in establishing an information bank that will be an indicator of the evolutionary processes of these sand environments in this part of the Chihuahua Desert.

Thus, a holistic conservation strategy for the dunes that would involve different parts of society includes the following:

- a) Genetic variability. The results of the genetic variability studies (mitochondrial-DNA) of several populations will be used to select the ones with the greatest genetic variability as the high priority areas. Selecting the populations with the greatest genetic variability offers the opportunity of their responding more favorably to an important environmental change and adapting to it. If a low variability population is selected, there will be a lower range of responses to an important environmental change, which could lead to rapid extinction.
- b) Detecting the main sources of sand, its displacement and compaction, as well as the places in which human activity has affected the dunes the most. With this information, actions can be carried out that favor the continuity of the dunes' natural dynamic.
- c) Ecological information about the species to precisely determine the characteristics of the areas to be preserved, areas that could be classified as sanctuaries.
- d) Permanent monitoring of the populations to detect medium- or long-term changes.
- e) Including local inhabitants. This implies developing an environmental educational program to foster understanding of the fragility and importance of these ecosystems. ■■■

New Chicano Literature

Carlos von Son

Bruce Novoa*

Drawings by Rosana Bohórquez



United States literature is the product of immigrants. Even Native Americans came to the Americas at one time or another. And immigrant groups are thought to conform to a tidal-wave theory of acculturation, with each arriving over a period of time until reaching a high point of numbers, then decreasing as the impetus dies back. Similarly, immigrant cultural production supposedly follows a generational

pattern of gradual adaptation to U.S. language and customs. In the process, they produce distinctively ethnic literature, music, drama, etc.; it starts with nostalgia for the old homeland and over time refocuses on the experience of becoming American until it eventually melds with the mainstream as the group's identity changes from immigrant to native born of second, third, fourth generation, etc. Allowing for minor variations, this pattern fits most U.S. immigrant groups.

* Professor of Mexican and U.S. Latino literature; novelist, poet, short story writer and translator.

Mexico, however, is a major exception. Less a tidal wave, Mexican immigration flows con-

tinuously like a steady stream, sometimes swelling flood-like, at others, shallow like an arroyo in midsummer. So no one should be surprised that the surge in immigration in the 1970s and 1980s produced writers who do not fit into the pattern of their more assimilated Chicano colleagues. Carlos von Son is a prime example.

Arriving in the U.S. in the mid-1980s, von Son received his university degree and a doctorate in Latin American literature, and now teaches at California State University San Marcos. So he brings to his writing a thorough grasp of written Spanish, as well as formal training in Mexican literature, elements often lacking in U.S.-educated Chicanos whose Spanish tends toward the oral and familial, and their exposure to Mexican literature is hardly more than what the general U.S. population is exposed to. As a

result, von Son texts —written almost exclusively in Spanish— sound Mexican. Readers may assume that Chicano texts often give the appearance of Mexicanness in their use of language, characters and themes identifiable as Mexican. True, but in ways that betray their location within U.S. English dominance. For instance, in von Son we find little use of compound verbs common to Chicano speech where native Spanish speakers would use simply tenses. For example, “estoy escribiendo” versus “escribo”; or “estaba trabajando” versus “trabajaba.” Also, the correct usage of “pero” and “sino” or the subjunctive that non-native speakers find so troublesome. Although in his stories he hardly ever identifies the location, when he does they tend to be Mexican; when none is given, readers assume the action takes place in Mexico, perhaps as a residual effect of



the language itself. His themes feature few of the concerns that typify more blatantly Chicano writing, such as social injustice, conflicts with Anglicized Americans, problems of ethnic identity, exploration of ethnic roots. He prefers to explore interpersonal relationships that could occur anywhere and between people in any contemporary Western country were it not for the language that roots them firmly in Mexican culture, so much so that the Argentine publishers of his story collection, *Qué de qué y otros cuentos* (What Do You Mean What? and Other Stories),¹ felt obliged to provide notes to explain Mexican terms to their readers. And when he does explore a rural setting, such as in “Mascarada,” it is definitely a Mexican one in its play of social relationships, the plot’s historical underpinnings, the rural speech patterns and the sense of humor; even the conflict between Christian and Indian religious practices develops in terms familiar to Mexicans, but unfamiliar to U.S. readers, even Hispanic or Native American ones. His play *Doña Criba*, which debuted in 2001, not only takes place in Mexico, but the social forces and structures that determine the action at all levels are thoroughly Mexican. Not once is there an appeal to any U.S. traditions—legal, moral, political—in moments of personal or public crisis. The pivotal metaphor of social organization, the telephone operator who manually connects individual lines, no longer speaks to U.S. residents who are more likely to have the problem of not being able to find a human voice when they need help with their calls. The change from the manual to a mechanized phone service marks the culmination in a series of disintegrating events through which the author conveys the crisis of modernization in rural Mexico; Mexican Americans, however, can relate to it only at a distance, like they would to films from the 1950s in which similar situations were used to typify U.S. modernization.

Von Son’s writing is more that of adult immigrants than of Mexican Americans born and raised in the United States. His voyages into memory take him back to his homeland; his language embodies that same voyage in every nuance of usage. So when he does write about immigration we can expect a different take on the subject, and he does not disappoint us. His story “Matorrales” (Brambles) is a dialogue between two Mexican immigrants, one recent and the other with enough time in the country to act as a guide to the first. The guide’s language has become Anglicized, making it unintelligible to the recent arrival. This scene is familiar in Chicano literature, but what is significantly different is that when the guide identifies the cultural gatekeeper who can determine the fate of the new arrival, that man is a Chicano. In other words, the recently immigrated author, like recent immigrants themselves, perceive Chicanos to be part of the Anglo-American power structure, the newest manifestation of what in the past were called Pochos or Mexican Americans. This critique of the Chicano presumption of Mexicanness is extremely significant. Von Son, like Gómez Peña in theater and Ilián Staváns in essay, speak as the new voice of recent arrivals going through a different process of acculturation, a process in which they see Chicanos as a specific generation that represents one type of mestization, but not the only or definitive one. Von Son’s works demonstrate that there is no authoritative pattern to the blend of Mexican and U.S. culture, nor one benchmark generation; each wave of immigrants will produce different results and their cultural products will continue to evolve and change.

Von Son’s translation and adaptation of his story “Tombs” represents his writing well. The tone, intimate, lyrical; the theme of immigration kept within personal experience. While nostalgia for the homeland may permeate every sentence, when dealing with

the Day of Dead—a cultural practice that Chicano art and literature have turned into a cliché—he refuses to indulge in its picturesque exoticism or commerce in its value as popular kitsch. He manages to weave it into the plot as a ritual of personal recuperation of the lost loved one and by extension the abandoned homeland. And never does his use of it, or other elements of Mexican culture, seem forced, as if he were searching for proof of his identity. His work bespeaks Mexicanness as still vital, inherent, present. It will be interesting to watch his work develop to see if at some point we will detect the subtle shift of perspective that accompanies assimilation. Yet, if his writing to this point is a reliable indication,

those works will be well crafted, insightful, convincing and thoroughly satisfying experiences. Von Son would be a talented writer anywhere. The coincidence of his residence in the U.S. adds another level of significance: his work participates in the redefining of our idea of Mexican literature written in the United States, a literature I still prefer to call Chicano. ■■■

NOTE

¹ Carlos von Son, *Qué de qué y otros cuentos* (Salta: Editorial Biblioteca de Textos Universitarios, 2001).



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Tombs

by Carlos von Son

Drawings by Rosama Bohórquez



He arrived to Tijuana in early spring. The smell in the terminal was worse than in the bus. The colors of the city were opaque, with trash everywhere; the walls, cold and dirty, full of strange symbols. People dressed differently: women in shawls of mystery and long skirts that extended back to their towns of origin; women with bright colors that imitated guacamayas; women with short tops and miniskirts that seem to vanish the forbidden; and women with so much makeup they resembled masks from the south. Men were dressed in ponchos and huaraches with the dust of their hometown; men with pants and shirts so tight that they could hardly move;

arrogant men in cut off shirts exposing brown muscles; men in pointy snakeskin boots and cowboy hats from the north; men in vividly colored shirts with geometrical patterns; and young men whose clothing was twenty times bigger than their size.

A swarm of taxi drivers surrounded him. He got into a malodorous taxi that moved more by inertia than its motor. Unbeknownst to him, he paid too much for the ride. He was dropped off in the outskirts of a run-down neighborhood. He knocked on the door of an apartment on the verge of crumbling. A woman, filled with hugs and kisses, answered the door. They walked up the stairs to an apartment

made up of a narrow entryway, a bedroom, a tiny bathroom and kitchenette empty and dirty. During the next few hours, dust flew out of the windows, dirt out of the front door, and buckets of black water flowed through the gutters of the hallway. The very next day a dirty old couch, some crates that served as table and chairs, a paint shop calendar, a blanket, grocery store bags filled with toilet paper and candles filled the apartment.

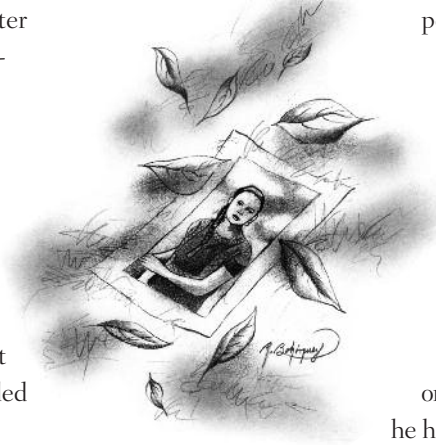
Autumn arrived with the falling leaves of such few trees and All Saints Day. The mist disfigured the streets and the people, and just like with the romantics, the nostalgic feeling for his hometown added more mist. But, what was more imprinted on his face, were his memories of her, and those memories were a constant drizzle during those last days of October. In this land of strangers, and as a stranger himself, he was overcome by the longing to be with his people, to visit his cemetery, and above all to bring flowers, candles, incense and bread to her tomb. He wanted to return; he wanted to be picked up by the storm and carried back to his homeland. In the market and on the streets appeared marigolds, candles, incense, skeleton figures, sugar skulls and the bread of the dead. The colors of his nostalgia intensified, and seeing all the people gathering relics for their altars he cried: he cried for her, for his memories, for being so far from her tomb.

He went to the bakery and returned with a big bag filled with fresh dough. As in a ritual, he cleaned the sitting room, lit some candles and incense, spread out a clean white sheet and extended the

dough. With repetitious movements, he softened the dough, and the blending of his sweat with the sweat of the dough shaped the form. He molded it, and in his artisan hands appeared bones, and more bones, bones like those bones that he had had loved in dark days and bright nights so many times. He extended another white sheet on the other side, and placed the bones, one by one, from one side to the other, until he had assembled her faithful skeleton. He set them out to

dry. In the following days, with wet hands, he bathed them with the tenderness that one would bathe a newborn. He gave them the soft texture of a lover's gentle touch. His fingers had not forgotten, and he relived every touch of her skin. From his memory and his hands a lovely skeleton emerged. He went to the cemetery and, with the little money he had, bought the most distant plot and a pine casket. That night, he returned with the bones made of love and dough. It was the last day of October, and with the care of a mother and the sweetness of a widowed devotee, he placed the bones in the casket. Then he dropped, like a leaf from a tree, a picture of her. He closed the casket and the ropes, hanging like extensions from his fingers, lowered the box. The fragrant soil rained over her until she vanished.

The night had fallen when he placed a wooden cross facing west. Colorful flowers crowned their love and the tomb while he lit the candles. He kneeled to one side, and with extreme care removed from a small box a cup of chocolate, sweet bread and two pomegranates. He cut one





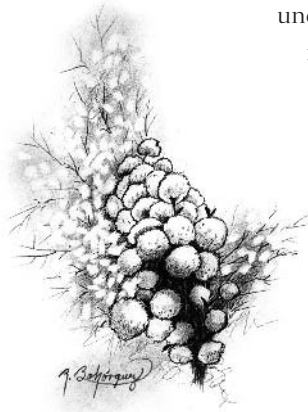
open, revealing the luscious and vivid red of the fruit with its enticing fragrance. He lay down by the side of the tomb, a tomb without a gravestone, with his fingers dispersed the spirited fruit covering with live red cells, like kisses, this sacred place. For each granule he shed two tears, and in those red crystal beads the sun rose again. That night he had many dreams, dreams of touching, dreams of fingertips and lips, of bodies, of pomegranate flesh and dough bones. He relived and recreated, he loved and was loved, and the night and the dreams oscillated from absence to presence, from yearning to caressing.

Through the dreams he decided to return to his hometown. One night, like he had done so many nights before, he entered the cemetery and dug out the

wooden box to find rays of light. There she was with her loose clothes, her loose ring and necklace and all the other gifts. He took many colors of thin tissue paper out of a sack. Softly, he removed her clothing as he had done so many times before. With remarkable devotion and precision, he collected every piece of her fragmented body. He wrapped each part in a sheet of colorful paper. He opened the sack and, one by one, placed them in like a ritual of conception. His movements generated a myth. When he finished, he closed the sack, and her essence emanated like a last and first breath. He filled the pine box with red and white carnations. He lowered the box deep into the ground.

He returned to the streets of Tijuana with his precious sack. He concealed it





under his bed, and every night talked to her, told her stories and dreamed her. Without opening the sack, he would move it and change its position and would caress the surface of it as if it were her skin. That night, he went back to the cemetery in Tijuana and retrieved the dough skeleton. He took it back to his room and placed the dough bones with nurturing care in a cardboard box, which he placed in the dark, warm and empty space of the old oven. Instead of thoughts, an image appeared in his mind. He visualized her tomb without a gravestone but with an abundance of flowers in the small place that lay between two graveyards. He dug out the grass, and formed a circle in the center. Within the circle, a rectangle for the white flowers. The five points of the star: yellow, white and red flowers to ignite the night. He dug a deep rectangular hole in the center of the star which was oriented to the East. This way, the evening star would receive the very first rays of the sun. He nailed the wooden box shut and cleaned it as a mother cleans a cradle. Then, he removed the colorful paper from the sack, and her bones, her scent and his memories. He cried, he cried of sorrow and delight; he cried for his past, for his existence and for his future. He cried for the hereafter. He placed her bones in the box as if she were performing a dance. He dressed her with red, yellow and white. He kissed her, closed the box and closed their world again. As he did before he lowered the wooden

box and his tears fell down with her in the tomb. He covered the hole with an earthly embrace.

He brought the flowers close and planted the white baby's breath in the mirrored rectangle. Then, with the dawn and dusk flowers, he formed the inner circle and the five triangles of the star. They opened the way. He placed the stones with the same care as he placed the bones in the box. One stone for every bone. As the tomb and the night were completed, the first rays of light surfaced in the skyline to the East. Tears and dew broke the light in a myriad of shades. The points of the star led the light to the four corners and to the center of the world.

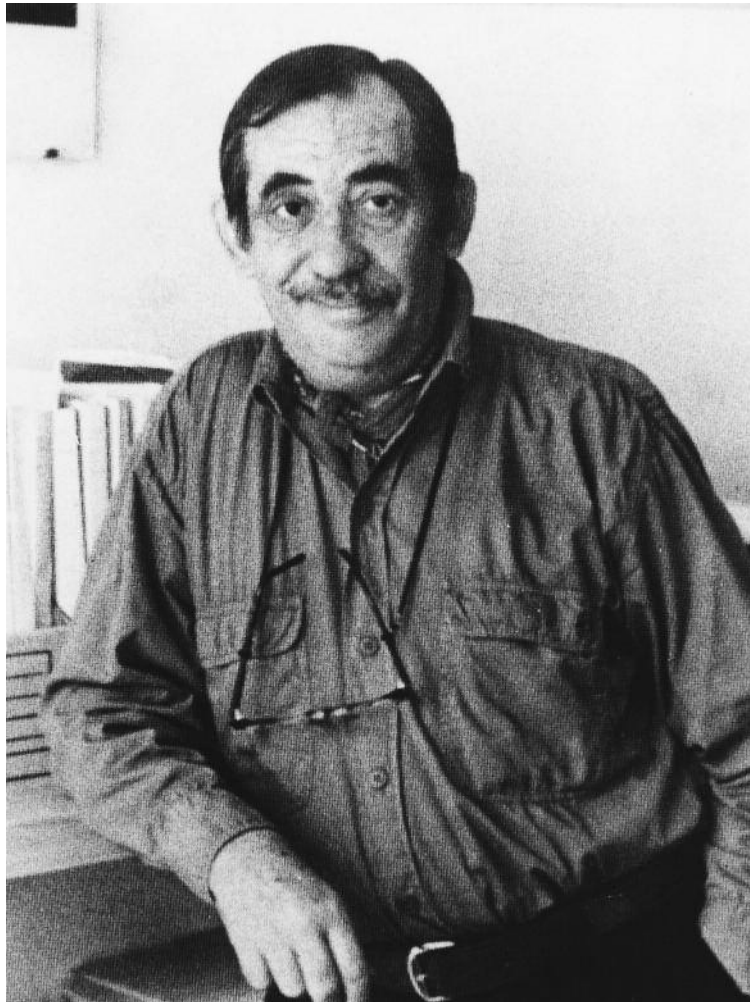
He looked for his dog. He called him a thousand times. No response, nowhere to be found. Alone, he returned to his room with an empty sack and a sadly content heart.

He slept and he dreamt of dawn and dusk, of circles of days and nights, of bones and bodies, of flowers and stones, of candles and stars. He envisioned rivers and roads, an abundance of moons and suns, stairways going down and up and playful dogs showing the way. When he awoke, he went to the bakery and bought the bread of the dead. At the store, he bought a clay mug, chocolate, candles and two pomegranates. Night fell on the second of November. There were many people at the cemetery. Some were surrounding her adornment of flowers. A glow brighter than the flickering candles illuminated their faces. He looked at the star, a star of bones and memories, of lights and remembrances, a brilliant star of colors; but now the star was body, a body of flowers and earth, simply glowing — like her. **MM**

Emilio García Riera (1931-2002)

The Mexican Movie Industry Has a History

Leonardo García Tsao*



Courtesy of Leonardo García Tsao

For once, the cliché of “an irreparable loss” just might be true. When Emilio García Riera died Octo-

ber 11, 2002, not only did we lose a great friend and a marvelous person, but, I fear, an entire project of documenting the history of Mexican film as rigorously as possible.

* Film critic.

Without García Riera, Mexican film runs the risk of amnesia. I doubt very much that anyone else shares that penchant for the absolute and that mania for complete information, joined with an incredible capacity for work, which spurred him to write *The Documental History of Mexican Cinema* not once but twice. Emilio felt obligated to repeat his review of our film industry when technology allowed him to reexamine films at home on television and make notes on each movie on his PC. The result was the 18 volumes of the second edition of his history, a feat that seems not only impossible, but inconceivable for a single person. No other cinema has the privilege of such a detailed review of almost 50 years of production.

cinema. It also showed that analysis is not necessarily at odds with humor and enjoyment.

If there was anything Emilio praised in his admiration for classic Hollywood film, it was the sense of fair play, because he put it into practice himself. Irony and sarcasm were frequent in his writing when he did not like a film, but he never used them to insult the film makers. In contrast with other critics, personal attacks and defamation were foreign to him, and he continues to be a rare example of professional ethics in these times of endemic dishonesty.

For all these reasons, I like to think of García Riera as my teacher, even though I never took classes from him. Toward the late 1970s, I met him, and,

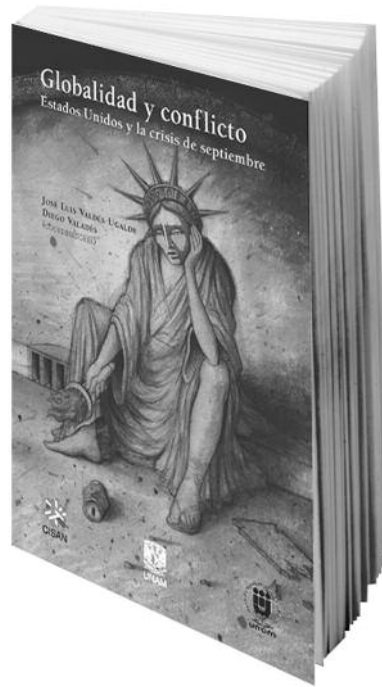
As a critic, García Riera was
a fundamental figure in Mexico's
cultural milieu.

One shudders to think what would have happened if García Riera had given himself over to that national pastime, using the excuse of "It can't be done," "It's too much work," or "There's no budget for it." The history of Mexican cinema would have been left to partial, inexact publications, some even colored by malice or resentment. That was the prospect for production from 1977 on.

But García Riera not only carried out irreplaceable research. As a critic, he was also a fundamental figure in Mexico's cultural milieu. He himself tended to underestimate his criticism, perhaps his only unfair judgment. In my view, his writing from the 1970s was exemplary and formative in its lucid, perceptive and informed interpretation of

in contrast with the image of a profession where pedantry is common, he was very affable and accessible. From that time on, I collaborated with him on different projects without ever feeling that he was "the boss," but rather, a friend. In the twenty-odd years that our friendship lasted, the invariable optimism with which he faced all adversities always surprised me. Even in his last years, when he was suffering from the disease that finally brought about his death, he maintained the same enthusiasm for classic cinema, women, food—as high in cholesterol as possible— literature, politics, soccer, talks with friends...for life itself. We are going to miss Emilio García Riera much more than we could have foreseen. **NMM**

Reviews



Globalidad y conflicto: Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre

(Globality and Conflict: The United States and the Crisis of September)

*José Luis Valdés-Ugalde and
Diego Valadés, comps.*

Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte and Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM
Mexico City, 2002, 320 pp.

The terrorist attacks perpetrated in the United States September 11, 2001, were the center of world attention and prompted a complex spectrum of reactions worldwide: surprise, consternation, alarm, indignation, solidarity with U.S. society, a thirst for vengeance and thoughts about the possible causes and consequences of the tragic events. And voices of resentment justifying the attacks without stopping to think about their cowardice and the innocence of the victims also made themselves heard.

Amidst the swirling dust of contradictory feelings, twenty-odd renowned Mexican researchers took up the task of analyzing the impact of the 9/11 attacks in general and

with regard to specific dimensions of the global dynamic, such as security, the standpoint of history, international law and the economy. Their considerations have been brought together in *Globalidad y conflicto* (Globality and Conflict). This book, as José Luis Valdés says, is “a serious, original academic effort and a rigorous collective reflection with an interdisciplinary perspective about the attacks and their resulting crisis, looking at them through the prism of philosophy, political science, sociology, economics and international relations.”

Some of the book’s central theses are: a) 9/11 revealed the vulnerability of the U.S. intelligence and security sys-

tem as well as the advent of a new kind of corporative, transnational terrorism; b) Neutralizing this new terrorism cannot be a task limited exclusively to the states directly affected by it, since it requires close international cooperation; c) 9/11 marks a turning point in global history since it sharpens a conflict, latent throughout the Cold War, between the Western world and the Islamic world, opening up the possibility of a new kind of international polarization; d) 9/11 exacerbated the contradictions and imbalances of the globalized world after the Cold War, making it urgent to build a new world order that can guarantee a minimum global security and certainty.

The book alerts the reader to the risk of responding to one fundamentalism with another, with a theological vision of the conflict as the struggle of good against evil. This vision feeds into demagogic, unilateral reactions that make it impossible to design a strategy with a broad consensus and co-responsibility that would be more effective in fight-

A serious, original academic effort
and a rigorous collective reflection with
an interdisciplinary perspective.

ing terrorism. A change of vision requires conceptual clarity to distinguish clearly between rebellion and terrorism, between state action in legitimate self-defense and state terrorism.

September 11 put world security at the head of the list of priorities, which in the United States made for a renewal of the doctrine of national security and a substantial increase in the intelligence and defense budget, as well as restrictions on the right of privacy in communications for the U.S. public and xenophobic attitudes toward Arab migrants. It also led to the punitive expedition of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, which deposed the Taliban regime, but brought into question the role the United Nations should play in the process and the human rights of Taliban prisoners.

In the context of these U.S. actions, the book's authors warn about the risks for democracy of the U.S. strategy for fighting terrorism. In that vein, one of the essays points out that the greatest challenge is to achieve a balance between

freedom and security. It also demands a broader perspective about global security, a perspective that would include the growing economic inequality in the world as a factor that promotes instability, conflict and insecurity.

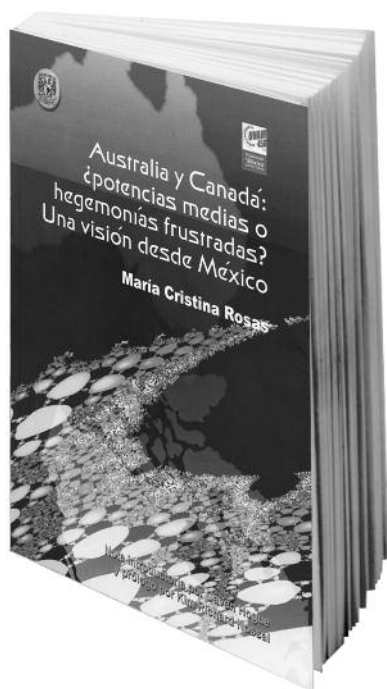
Another of the contributors to the book claims that 9/11 has shown that history has not come to an end, at least in the sense that Francis Fukuyama imagined it, since there is still a great deal to be done to reorganize the world based on a new social contract of human rationality that would result from the dialogue among cultures.

Intercultural dialogue is indispensable for finding alternatives to the tensions in the globalized world. But so is the law. In that sense, the authors take on board the idea of providing a legal basis for the actions against terrorism and strengthening international law, "the only element that can make peaceful co-existence among states possible." In that logic, they present the proposal of advancing the International Criminal Court.

September 11 has also had important repercussions in the U.S. economy. The material losses were considerable, particularly for the city of New York. Commercial aviation had to be bailed out and the increase in military spending has not been enough to reactivate an economy in frank recession. A return to protectionism and selective imports based on political criteria will have negative effects on the global economy, particularly Mexico's. Apropos of this, the author of the book's last essay writes, "For the good of the U.S. economy and others like ours, it is heartily to be wished today that the memory of Keynes had not been lost together with the Twin Towers."

We have not finished assimilating the events of September 11, which are still a wound opened by the worst violence of all: the violence that joins fanaticism to intelligence. The human lives snuffed out by the 9/11 attacks are irreplaceable, but what can be recovered is the hope of finding alternatives to all types of violence through rationality committed to human development, democracy, law and world peace. The essays in *Globality and Conflict* are written on the horizon of these values.

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Australia y Canadá: Potencias medias o hegemonías frustradas? Una visión desde México
 (Australia and Canada: Middle Powers or Frustrated Hegemonies? A View from Mexico)
 María Cristina Rosas
 Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
 Mexico City, 2002, 760 pp.

THE TRIBULATIONS OF MIDDLE POWERS

The great powers have stolen the spotlight in historic events, trends, fashions, conflicts, ideology, news and, notably, internationalist study. They are only rivaled in frequency of appearance by the other extreme of the spectrum: the least advanced nations (although they seem to have disappeared from the front pages lately, except in reports about disasters or in yellow journalism where they almost always appear as central characters).

Apparently, not belonging to one group or the other has caused problems for some countries' importance and definition of what should be done. It is commonplace to talk about the end of the Cold War and the power blocs, as well as the disappearance of the superpowers, leaving a single, solitary superpower as the analytical context of the disappearance of orthodox concepts. In this new moment,

the so-called "middle powers" are beginning to occupy a special place in political studies.

For this and other reasons that will be explained, María Cristina Rosas' book is particularly propitious for students of international relations in our time. She presents a broad, encyclopedic work that will be of great help in explaining the characteristics that should be taken into account in categorizing a participant in international society as a middle power.

From the outset, the book states that this concept is very ambiguous and does not have a single meaning. Rosas brings together several definitions and tables of comparison of different countries that have at one time or another been categorized as such. The conclusion of her analysis is that "neither are all the middle powers here, nor are all those here middle powers." No country in this category is really comparable to another in each and every aspect that makes up the definition; and at the same time, there are other countries that, despite having several of the characteristics of a middle power, do not fall into that category.

Rosas and the magnificent prologue by Kim Richard Nossal, professor and director of the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University of Kingston, Ontario, show us that, beyond academic classifications, each country can be considered a middle power from the standpoint of its own experience.

This is the case of the two countries central to this study: Australia and Canada, about which there is a consensus among scholars of middle powers.

To be able to determine if they are, Rosas writes monographic chapters about both countries, explaining their history, national characteristics, similarities in terms of UN human development indicators (both have taken first place in the UN's honor roll), domestic politics, their relationship to the British Commonwealth, the influence of Great Britain and other European countries in the make-up of their economic, political and social system, their relations with the superpower and the trade and political relations between the two.

The comparative study shows a series of coincidences between the two countries, such as the lack of a cultural identity of their own, and an important number of crucial differences, among which is the most obvious, their geographical position and its influence on foreign policy: Australia's activity in the international concert is marked by the so-called "tyranny of distance," Canada's suffers from the "tyranny of proximity."

In both cases, as a product of a series of momentary and geopolitical decisions, both countries “opted for internationalism as the leitmotif” of their international relations.

Nossal explains that “internationalism is a voluntarist form of diplomacy.” His prologue offers several elements to substantiate this and to break with some myths about the two countries’ foreign policies and that of others who act similarly.

Most of the similarities between Australia and Canada in matters of foreign policy are to be found in their principles, objectives, aims and priorities. A series of their goals coincide, such as the promotion of international peace and security, underlining their preference for acting multilaterally; international cooperation for development, science and technology; and the promotion of human rights and “just causes” in the world.

This has all contributed to the widespread belief that these countries are bastions and champions of egalitarian, philanthropic and disinterested diplomacy. It is not by chance that they are considered members of the select club of the world’s boy scouts. And nothing is further from the truth.

As Nossal reminds us, “Internationalist diplomacy is profoundly self-interested.” The promotion of internationalism, like all foreign policies, is carried out in pursuit of clear national interests that are by no means altruistic.

It is in Australia’s interest “to be a friend to all the great and powerful” for reasons of security; and it is in Canada’s interest to define itself as “a friend to all” for similar reasons. It is in the interest of both to keep their bilateral relations with the mother country and the new alliance with the superpower out of sight internationally, covering over those strong links with different activities in multilateral fora.

The other myth about internationalist diplomacy is geographic determinism. Many think that both Canada and Australia, like the Nordic countries and Mexico, had no other choice but to promote certain interests in multilateral bodies given their advantageous-disadvantageous geopolitical position vis-à-vis the powers and the main actors in international relations.

While geopolitical position is worth taking into account before initiating any foreign policy, making an objective and speculative analysis of what the real impact in international events will be if you act one way or another could lead you to conclude that internationalism is optional.

This is the main characteristic of a middle power: it pursues its national interest through internationalist activist policies because it has decided to do so, but if it does not

act, life goes on, given that the actors who decide to conduct themselves in this way on the international scene are not the determining factor for changing it.

Thus, we can understand the zigzags in Canadian and Australian foreign policy in the twentieth century, moving from the “niche,” isolation and the “soft power” to raging activism in multilateral bodies on a multiplicity of issues that vary according to the situation of their economic and political relations with the great powers.

The book makes constant reference to Mexico and looks at Canada and Australia from the perspective of a Mexican specialist. The study contributes important lessons for a country like ours with its unmistakable internationalist vocation. Among those lessons are:

- The ability to influence the international scene does not come by chance. It is a choice.
- International prestige can be won if it is worked for.
- Prestige and being a leader of opinion is of great use as moral authority in defining bilateral and multilateral alliances.
- No geopolitical position is an inevitability. It is only a factor that can be used or an opportunity missed.
- Internationalist action requires a bold effort to commit yourself to the higher values of international society, both at home and abroad. If you have that determination, you can get to a point at which a middle power “graduates” and can become a great power.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the author presents the reader with an excellent description of Mexico’s relations with Australia and Canada, characterized by a lack of interest on the part of all those involved, and the relative lack of knowledge of both countries about Mexico and of Mexico about them.

In a globalized world, disinformation has become the worst sin of omission. For that reason, María Cristina Rosas’ study is an opportunity to understand a little more about the kind of relations we have with two countries important to the international concert. What is more, it sheds light on the kind of relations we could have and the windows of opportunity that the alliance with these countries could represent.

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