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100 Years in the Pursuit of
A Better Nation

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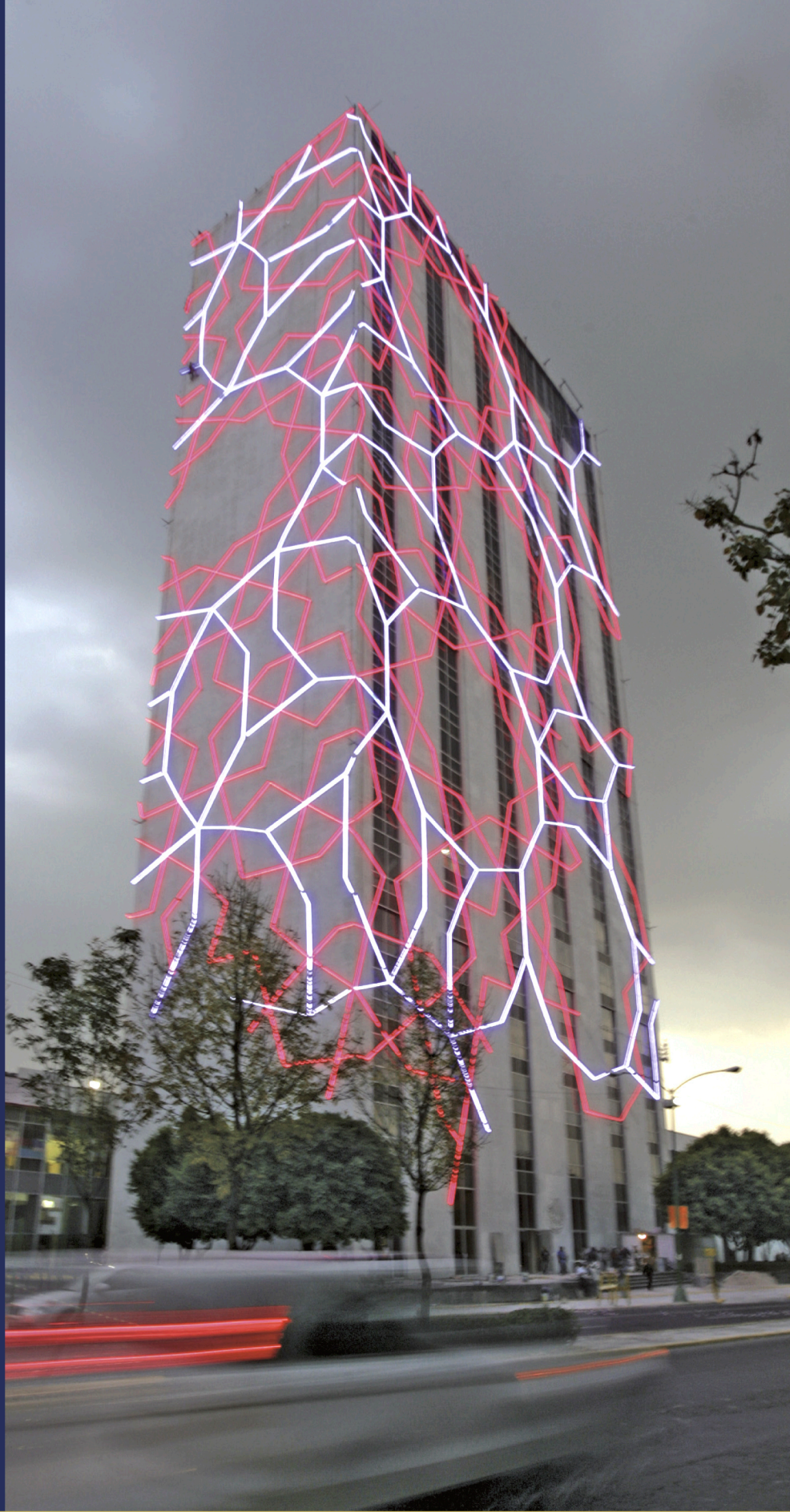

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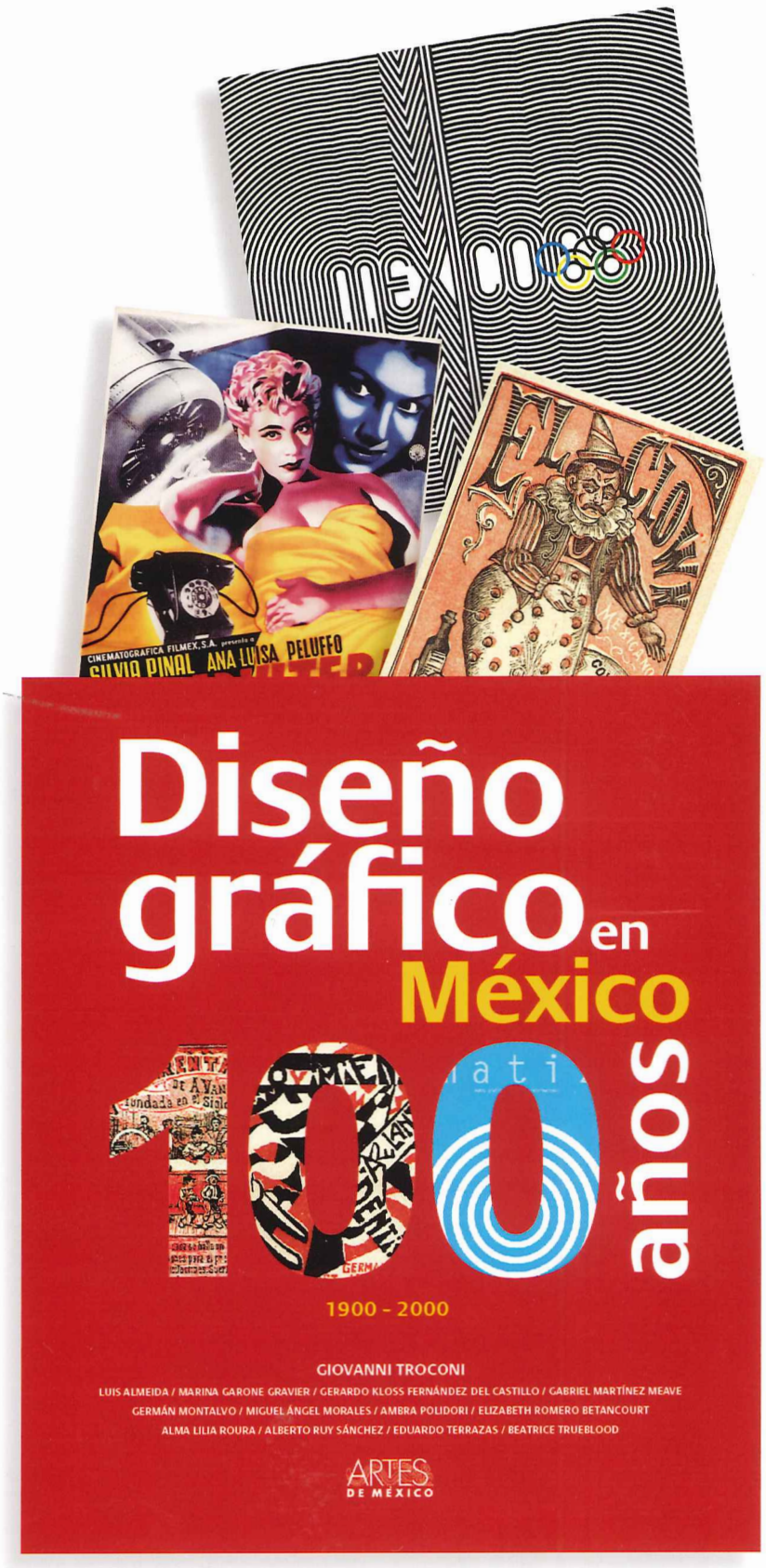

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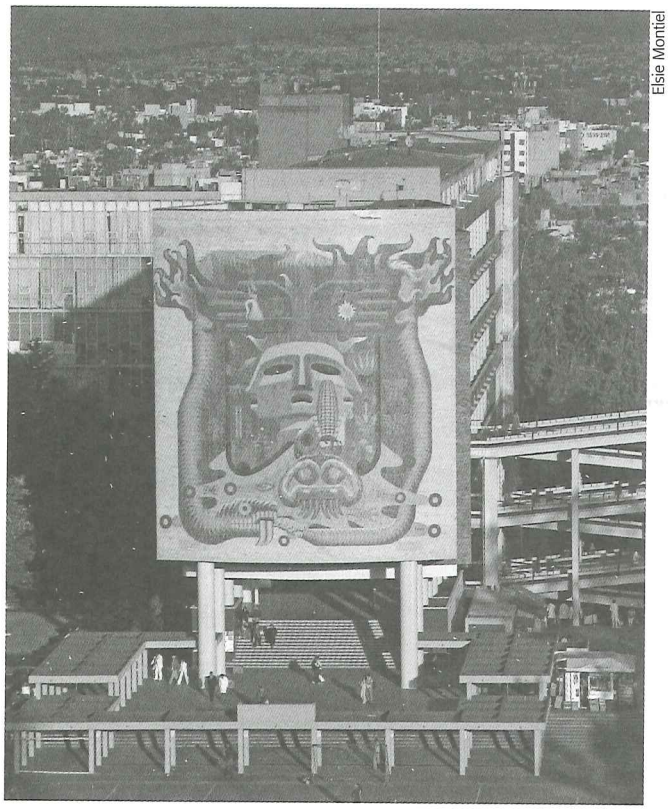

Elsie Montiel

Cover
Thomas Glassford, *Xipe-Tótec,* Tlatelolco University Cultural Center (light installation).

ERRATA

Our last issue omitted the information that the articles "Carlos Monsiváis. Catechizing Mephistopheles," by Adolfo Castañón (pp. 71-74), and "Nostalgia for Monsiváis," by Jazreel Salazar (pp. 75-78) had previously been published in Spanish in *Revista de la Universidad de México* 77 (July 2010). We apologize to the authors, the magazine's editors, and our readers for this omission.

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Our Voice

If human existence can only be understood as a function of the concepts of time and space, the explicit intention of this issue of *Voices of Mexico* has been to bring together different articles that can relate events or situations whose transcendence have made the difference for *the Mexican time of 2010*.

A thoughtful review of what we were able to do shows us above all what we were incapable of achieving, but it also puts into perspective reasonable goals for the cycle we are now going through.

In this sense, for those of us who had the privilege of witnessing or even participating in the commemorations of the National Autonomous University of Mexico's 100 years celebrations held throughout 2010, they represented the opportunity to recognize and ratify our institution's laudable educational mission, framed by its undeniable public character and its commitment to the promotion of social justice.

This issue's most notable section is therefore dedicated to honoring the contributions the university has made to the nation. The UNAM has not limited itself to just being a place to educate new generations of young Mexicans and foreigners, but has also conceived of itself as a meeting place for the free, pluralist debate of ideas, for the edification of new knowledge, the promotion of culture, and the preservation of the patrimony of our history and identity.

Including the special contribution of Dr. José Narro Robles, the rector of our university, not only makes us proud and motivates those of us working in the CISAN, but also is an exceptional opportunity for our English-speaking readers to understand more profoundly the purpose of and challenges to our institution, both of which stem from the need to combat the ominous violence and inequality plaguing our country. The sensitivity displayed by Dr. Narro in his speech masterfully transmits the aspirations the people of Mexico have placed in the UNAM, but also the importance of self-criticism for avoiding complacency and fostering our academic project.

This special section would not be complete without mentioning the origins of the institution and the visionary minds that set its course. Also, we find here other examples of the diversity that characterizes it as an inclusive institution that supports science, the humanities, and social activity equally, and even border studies, in which multiculturalism, gender, or cinematography undoubtedly make it exceptional.

In addition to this section are a range of contributions by qualified writers pointing to important problems on Mexico's domestic scene or on the international stage. Examples are the topics dealt with by Ricardo Becerra, Rubén García Clarck, and

Camelia Tigau, taking into consideration that they can be contextualized as part of the hotly debated climate of growing violence in the country as a multi-faceted phenomenon.

In other words, everything from the fragility of the protection of human rights to the worrying drain of scientific, intellectual, and artistic talents from our country due to the lack of opportunities, fear, or lack of confidence in the face of adversity, invites us to rethink our political and parliamentarian practices, taking into account that the different political forces in the federal Congress have not yet been able to articulate coherent —much less expeditious— responses or strategies capable of gaining the confidence of Mexican society at large.

This implies, then, the need for profound reflection about our own political culture's limitations, about its characteristics and vulnerabilities; this is the ineluctable commitment for the construction of a better future for all Mexicans. Only through checks and balances, transparency, and effective accountability linked to policies committed to the common good will we be able to consolidate our young democracy in Mexico.

To conclude, I would invite our readers to examine the interesting comparisons offered in the section dedicated to the UN Security Council and its reform. It will allow them to see the different interests behind the participation of countries like Mexico itself, Brazil, or China in this important international body. This issue's special section, coordinated by Dr. María Cristina Rosas, deals with this topic.

As a corollary, to update us on the maze that is North America, the outstanding pens of Leonardo Curzio and Manuel Chavez, both assiduous contributors to *Voices of Mexico*, incorporate the provocative tone into this issue. The former debates the challenges that China's new protagonism poses for Mexico and our bilateral relations with the Asian giant: rivalry, cooperation, complementariness? The latter offers us first-hand data reaffirming that the results of last November's U.S. congressional elections will have immediate effects on relations with Mexico.

In this beginning of 2011, we could not leave aside our thanks to our subscribers, contributors, and readers, wishing all of them the very best.

Silvia Núñez García
CISAN Director

Universidades

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Palabras pronunciadas por José Narro Rbles, rector de la UNAM en la sesión solemne del Congreso de la Unión

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Ariel Gutiérrez/Cuartoscuro

Mexico's Futures

What is Mexico's future? This question sparks anxiety because, despite undeniable advances in our political system and around certain social issues in the last two decades, this is not the case of the economy. The fact is that most people feel they are foundering, that we are living in a country adrift —and they are not far off the mark.

The advances in our democracy and electoral engineering are real, as are a few irrefutable successes in the social sphere, like the implementation of the fight against discrimination and the establishment of mechanisms for transparency, accountability, and access to public government information, reflected in new institutions like the National Council to Prevent Discrimination and the Institute for Access to Information, respectfully. However, it is also true that there have been a greater number of steps backward and deficits, just as there are more challenges yet to be overcome. These challenges are present in education, the economy, social security, public insecurity and organized crime, corruption, the ability to forge consensuses among the different political forces and to build as a result public, state policies that reach beyond a single administration. And we should add a very long "etcetera."

This is why at *Voices of Mexico*, we have decided to begin a series of articles in our "Politics" section to give voice to different conceptions of the country and its future, conceptions posed by its political parties, political associations, civic and non-governmental organizations, industrial syndicates and chambers, religious groups, academic institutions, media and opinion leaders, and unions. In sum, all the actors that in an organized, collective way have a vision of the country and a proposal for Mexico's future.

In this issue, we will begin with Mexico's social democrats.

The Editors

Mexico 2011
Parliamentarianism Now

Ricardo Becerra*

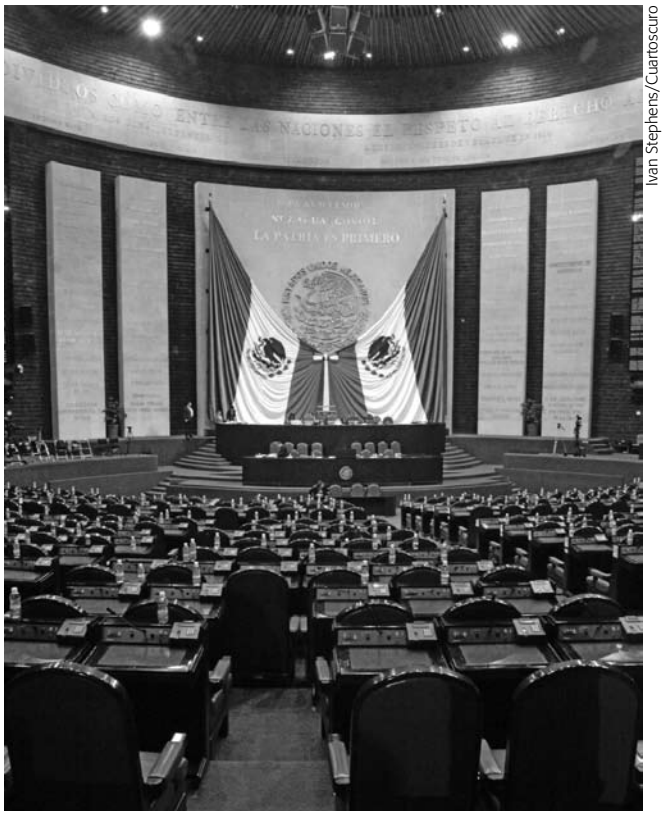
A few months ago, a group of journalists, academics, intellectuals, officials, active —or no longer quite so active— politicians, who for the last 20 years have shared the curious custom of meeting to talk about issues related to the economy, politics, and culture, organized a new series of debates to —perhaps— draw a balance sheet of the era, and develop a diagnostic analysis of Mexico's present.

So, using the Democratic Transition Studies Institute (IETD) as a platform, they set themselves the task of meeting on several occasions to listen and dialogue with the main intellectual and political positions of today. After many sessions, discussions, and drafts, they came to a conclusion: "Social Equity and Parliamentarianism," a document that proposes two reforms —only two—concentrating all efforts to change the country's pessimistic, confounded face.

On the one hand, it proposes a structural reform explicitly conceived to create a network of universal, unconditional social protection, without exceptions. On the other hand, a change of political regime to preserve the space for freedoms gained over the last part of the twentieth century, assuming unswervingly and unambiguously that pluralism is an undeniable fact of Mexican modernity.

These two pending tasks are profoundly linked. Contrary to the dictates of prevailing thought, for over 50 years, our presidential political regimen, with or without a majority in Congress, has been unable to deal with the substantive change loudly demanded by our economic structure: a fiscal reform.

And that incapacity has meant that the state and economic policy has floundered around looking for shortcuts in a long series of structural reforms of all kinds and depths, at the end of the day submerging us in a kind of "unstable stagnation": economic growth that has barely hovered a few decimal points above population growth for the last 25 years, flavored with crises, recessions, devaluations, and all manner of financial scares that cyclically hurl us backward to the polarized, unequal country without enough jobs that is the only reality for an entire generation of Mexicans.



Ivan Stephens/Cuartoscuro

The generation that experienced the expansion of political freedoms, the implantation of national political parties, electoral reforms, the generation that always breathed in the drive toward a democratic life, and that knocked on the door of the labor market at the beginning of the twenty-first century has also grown up its entire life in an environment of enormous economic adversity: a generalized financial crisis in 1982; a macro-devaluation of the peso in 1985; oil shocks and cruel stabilization plans from 1986 to 1987; the collapse of external accounts and the banking system from 1994 to 1995; the long-

*President of the Democratic Transition Studies Institute (IETD).

est recession in modern history (38 months between August 2000 and September 2003); and in 2009, the most serious and profound recession and drop in GDP of the entire period since the 1910 Mexican Revolution.

The damage this has caused is not just not producing more material goods; stagnation causes harm, above all in society's mood: it makes it fearful and conservative. Just look at a recent survey in Latin America published in 2008 that reports that to the question, "Do you think your children will have a better life than yours?" more than half (54 percent) of Latin Americans answered "yes," but 70 percent of Mexicans, pessimistic, answered "no."

This is not just going through a bad spell, or a moment of temporary adversity caused by external factors that must be weathered. These are the kinds of insertion in the world and the kinds of policies, practices, institutions, and economic conceptions that, to the cost of an entire generation, have shown that they are not viable in our country's reality. This means that Mexico may be going through the most pessimistic period of its modern history. And that mood, that level of morale, has become, in turn, yet another cause of the country's stagnation.

Climbing out of this trap, both material and spiritual, presupposes above all a new way of doing politics, with more popular support, with long-term agreements that include strategic continuity. Part of the problem is that Mexican politics has been ruled by the vain illusion of wanting to govern the country alone, based on getting a plurality of the votes. This is the source of the constant friction, the isolation, the difficulty in getting bills passed, the complications in governance, the frequent solitude of the executive branch, and the quarrelsome character of the legislative branch.

This is why the Democratic Transition Studies Institute diagnosis puts forward a policy that explicitly proposes to express and articulate the political and social majority in a government, including the majority of its parties, currents, visions, and interests; that is, an undertaking typical of a parliamentary regimen.

This is neither a desire nor a choice. For 15 years, reality has done nothing but present divided, heterogeneous, unequal votes, just like the country itself. The party that has won the presidential elections has been unable to win a legislative majority, not once, but twice, three, four, and five times. The almost 15 years of political democracy have done nothing but validate and deepen this reality: pluralism continues to advance, dividing national representation, turning it into an irregular kaleidoscope. The president is from one party, the majority of Congress belongs to another or others. What we need, then, is a structure that will fit this reality, and not the inverse; we need a political regime that embraces this diversity, that requires coalitions and that nourishes pluralism. As long as the real country —not some invented one— continues divided into three electoral continents, profound transformations will only come about as the fruit of an alliance among those currents. That is the true essence of Mexican politics since the conclusion of the democratic transition.

Although legally we are a country with a presidentialist regime and, therefore, the first executive is not elected in the parliament, the truth is that since 1997, we have been forced to form government coalitions to have a legislative branch that accompanies the president and is not his main complication. But this is exactly where the most important deficit is, the principal pending task, the greatest mental obstacle that contemporary politics in Mexico has not been able to overcome.

We propose a change: parlamentarianism, a new political regimen that with no inhibitions at all would take charge of pluralism without inventing majorities based on ingenious or artful formulas.

This is why, in the face of the majority nostalgia that has dominated Mexico's debate in recent years, we propose a change: parlamentarianism, a new political regimen that with no inhibitions at all would take charge of pluralism without inventing majorities based on ingenious or artful formulas. A way of doing politics that demands, in short, coalition politics.

The challenge for our political economy has a time limit: if we do not manage to change the country's income structure in the coming decade, very probably, Mexico will have stopped being a country of unemployed young people and turn into a nation of impoverished old people with no security in life. The wealth for preparing and sustaining that generation and that future has to be created and distributed starting now, growing, using what we have and have produced in the transitions in this new century: margins of freedom and pluralism like we have never had before, but at the same time listening, for the first time, to the plural, egalitarian message of democracy. VM

Human Rights Crisis in Mexico

Rubén R. García Clarck*

Alejandro Bringas/REUTERS

Human rights activist group Women in Black protests authorities' inaction on feminicide in Ciudad Juárez.

The Mexican state is experiencing a severe human rights crisis. Its main symptom is the accumulation of complaints —handled deficiently— about human rights violations committed mostly by different federal and state agencies. This crisis is sharpened by the responsible authorities' incapability or lack of determination to punish offenders and prevent new violations, thus fostering a climate of impunity. As a result, many victims or their families have appealed to international bodies like the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), which has then sent some cases to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

On August 30 and 31, 2010, the court added two new decisions against the Mexican state to the ones it had already handed down November 16 and 23, 2009. It is a matter for concern that the reparations dictated by the court in its 2009 decisions had still not been made when the court handed down two more decisions against Mexico for human rights violations. The November 16, 2009 decision found that the Mexican state violated the Inter-American Convention on Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women through omission and negligence in the disappearance and subsequent deaths of Claudia Ivette González (20), Esmeralda Herrera Monreal (15), and Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez (17) in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. In its August 2010 decision, the same court found that there had also been non-compliance with Article 7 of that same convention, as well as violations of Article 1.1 of the American Convention on Human Rights, and Articles 1, 2, and 6 of the Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture.

It should be underlined that the two new decisions once again involve members of the Mexican army as responsible for the rights violated and sanctioned by the court. The court's November 23, 2009 decision, in complete agreement with

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the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico (Recommendation 26/2001), found that Mexican soldiers were responsible for the forced disappearance of Rosendo Radilla Pacheco. Its August 2010 decision found members of the armed forces responsible for the rape of the indigenous women Inés Fernández Ortega and Valentina Rosendo Cantú. In all three cases, the court's decisions dictate that the Mexican state should harmonize Article 57 of the Code of Military Justice with international standards in this matter and with the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights to comply with the guideline that crimes committed by military personnel against civilians should be tried in civil, not military courts.

Mexico's President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa partially complied with this finding when he recently sent the Senate a bill to reform military immunity to remove cases of forced disappearance, torture, or rape in which military personnel is accused and the victims are civilians from the jurisdiction of military tribunals. Clearly, the scope of the bill is insufficient since it leaves in the hands of military justice the crimes of homicide and depriving people of property without due process committed by soldiers against civilians. Given this limitation in the president's bill, Human Rights Watch proposed that Mexico's Congress amend it because, as it stands, it does not put an end to impunity in the cases of abuses by military personnel against civilians.

Domestically, complaints brought before the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH) about the violation of the civilian population's human rights by the Ministry of National Defense (Sedena) have been mounting. As the Sedena itself stated publically, "This agency reports that during the current administration, as of September 28, 2010, 4 266 complaints have been lodged before the National Human Rights Commission against this ministry, and of these, 62 have resulted in recommendations."[1]

In 2009, the federal agency that was the object of the highest number of CNDH recommendations was the Sedena, with 29. So far in 2010, the CNDH has issued 13 recommendations to the Sedena regarding complaints involving the taking of a life, attempted murder, torture, wrongful arrest, and aggressions against journalists. Of these, the most highly publicized has been recommendation 45/2010, issued August 12, regarding the shooting deaths of Javier Francisco Arredondo Verdugo and Jorge Antonio Mercado Alonso, both killed on the Monterrey campus of the Monterrey Technological Institute of Higher Learning (ITESM) during a clash between members of Mexico's army and presumed members of organized crime. The CNDH made six recommendations on this case to the Minister of Defense: awarding pecuniary compensation to the victims' next of kin; abstaining from altering the scene of the crime; giving military personnel human rights training; collaborating with the CNDH in following up the complaint; collaborating with the relevant prosecutors' offices to follow up the complaint made by the commission itself; and preventing similar acts from happening in the future. In this case, last August, the Sedena accepted implementing the recommendations, saying that it would look into establishing responsibilities regarding evidence tampering.

Undoubtedly, one of the main causes of the increase in complaints about abuses by the Mexican Army against the civilian population is military immunity. But another important cause is President Calderón's decision as supreme commander of the armed forces to keep assigning military personal to tasks of public security against any and all objections. This insistence on militarizing police duties falls in line with a model of public security that has turned out to be quite deficient. Regarding this model, in its *Segundo Informe Especial sobre Seguridad Pública* (Second Special Report on Public Security), the CNDH made the following diagnosis:

> Announcing the government's commitment to human rights has little value if at the same time you say that human rights violations "are untrue" or that the authorities simply do not commit abuses.

> It is a matter for concern that the government is fostering multiple government plans and programs disconnected from and uncoordinated with all those responsible for solving the problem; regressive legal reforms are being pushed through; sentences and high budgets and investments in security mechanisms are being proposed, as are the number of government efforts and measures for safeguarding security, ranging from the militarization of police forces to assigning the armed forces public security tasks as a way of dealing with criminals, just to mention a few actions taking place without yet being able to solve the problem. However, the situation of scant institutional ef-

> ficiency, corruption, and the virtual abandonment the victims of crime find themselves in is a reality that demands public security strategies be reformulated. We must detail the situation prevailing in institutions in the field of public security, which shows how the model applied until now is severely depleted, meaning everything from the tendency of security forces to perform their duties deficiently and beyond their purview and to even joining forces with the criminals themselves.[2]

As if it were not enough to point out the Mexican government's failed public security strategy, in its contribution to the UN Human Rights Council's 2008 *Universal Periodic Review*, the CNDH itself reports the following human rights violations in Mexico: arbitrary detentions; forced disappearances; unconstitutional blockades; attacks on journalists; an inadequate penitentiary system; violence against women (feminicides in Ciudad Juárez); insufficient attention to vulnerable groups like children, the elderly, persons with disabilities, indigenous communities, and migrants; an increase in human trafficking; and insufficient access of the population to health care, employment, education, and a healthy environment.[3]

One of the main causes of the increase in complaints about abuses by the Mexican Army against the civilian population is military immunity, but another is President Calderón's insistence on militarizing police duties.

In the face of the enormous challenge to the Mexican state to fulfill its international human rights commitments and its obligation to safeguard them for the Mexican population as a whole, political actors and government representatives need to think beyond the scope of a single administration. One urgent task in this area would consist in fully complying with the federal government's 2008-2012 National Human Rights Program, whose central objectives are to strengthen the human rights perspective in the design of the federal administration's public policies; strengthen the mechanisms for defending and promoting human rights, consolidating a culture of respect and defense of those rights; and "strengthen compliance with international obligations derived from human rights treaties and legal instruments, promoting them inside the legislative, and judicial branches of government, at a federal, state, and local level."[4]

One factor that goes against achieving these objectives is President Felipe Calderón's ambivalence toward human rights. In a letter to Human Rights Watch's José Miguel Vivanco, the first executive on the one hand affirms his conviction that his administration's foremost premise is the protection of human rights in the fight against organized crime, and, on the other hand, questions the veracity of the denunciations of human rights violations. On the one hand, he affirms his absolute commitment to the defense of human rights, and on the other hand, challenges the public to demonstrate that a single violation has been committed by security forces or the military that has not been sanctioned by the corresponding authorities. As Vivanco concludes, "Announcing the government's commitment to human rights has little value if at the same time you say that human rights violations 'are untrue' or that the authorities simply do not commit abuses."[5]

We can observe a certain inconsistency in the actions of another central stakeholder in the defense of human rights, the Supreme Court. One day, it washes its hands of a case like that of the death of dozens of children in a day-care center in Hermosillo, Sonora, licensed by the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS), refusing to find any individuals allegedly responsible, and the next day it orders the liberation of San Salvador Atenco activists, unjustly condemned by State of Mexico courts to sentences of between 30 and 112 years in a maneuver orchestrated by Governor Enrique Peña Nieto to criminalize social protest. Apparently, the court functions better as an appeals court in the defense of human rights (the case of Atenco) than as an investigating body of grave violations of individual guarantees (the case of Hermosillo). Therefore, the latter, actually a function of the public prosecutor, but that it is attributed by Article 97 of the Constitution, should be eliminated.

Lastly, another adverse factor for human rights in Mexico, perhaps the worst of all, should be mentioned: politics, understood as exclusively factional. The Attorney General's Office, for example, behaved factionally when, early on in Felipe Calderón's term, it brought a suit claiming that the Mexico City Federal District's decriminalization of abortion was unconstitutional, in support of the president's National Action Party struggle against the measure. The same office abused its right to order that an individual not leave a certain jurisdiction and/or issue arrest warrants when a year ago it

detained Michoacán state and municipal officials affiliated to the Party of the Democratic Revolution. In recent months, the detainees have been released one by one for lack of evidence. One Michoacán congressional deputy recently reproached Felipe Calderón for "politicizing the justice system" with these arrests.

On the other hand, the Institutional Revolutionary Party deputies close to Governor Enrique Peña Nieto have frozen a bill in the Chamber of Deputies already passed by the Senate that would reform the Constitution on human rights issues. No less scandalous is the joint defense by the Minister of Labor and the Attorney General's Office of corporate interests over those of workers in the case of the miners buried at the Pasta de Conchos Mine in Coahuila, to save the mine owners from criminal prosecution.

In short, the human rights crisis in Mexico is a crisis of distrust of the Mexican state's capacity to safeguard its citizens' fundamental rights. A determining factor in this distrust is institutional inefficacy, manifested particularly in a high-cost public security policy with negligible results, as well as the partisan bias and inconsistency in the administration of justice. Obviously, to climb out of this crisis, constitutional and legal reforms are needed, as are more effective public policies and, of course, a real commitment by the authorities to the defense and promotion of human rights. VM

NOTES

[1] http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index.php/derechos-humanos/quejas-y-recomendaciones.
[2] http://www.cndh.org.mx/lacndh/informes/espec/2infSegPublica08/2informeSeguridad08.htm.
[3] Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos, "Examen periódico universal," *Nexos* 372 (Mexico City), December 2008, pp. 37-42.
[4] Gobierno Federal, *Programa Nacional de Derechos Humanos 2008-2012* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Gobernación, 2009), p. 18.
[5] "Carta íntegra de HRW al presidente Calderón," *El Universal* (Mexico City), September 24, 2010.

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The Mexican Brain Drain Today

Camelia Tigau*

Daniel Aguilar/REUTERS

Brain drain is not a root problem, but an effect of the critical puzzle of poverty, an inefficient economy, low educational levels, and insecurity. Because it concentrates such painful issues, it sells well. It is therefore highly appreciated in the media and associated with various recurrent themes.

First, there is the need to quantify it to offer an overview of the problem. From this perspective, people become numbers that do not necessarily respond to our questions due to the impossibility of pinpointing an exact figure. Who do we count? The old men and women who left after World War II? The ones who ran away from the Dirty War in the 1970s? The ones who studied abroad and stayed there in the 1980s, 1990s, or the first decade of the twenty-first century? The ones who have run away from violence in recent years? The National Science and Technology Council's sinners who did not pay back their scholarships? Do we also take into account the ones who left without a university degree but got one later? The ones who married abroad but still miss Mexico?

Second, there is a fixation on naming and labeling: from this perspective, people become "brains," "talented," "the smartest," "the brightest," or "the most highly qualified." Calling people "brains" may work from an economic perspective but does not necessarily imply a compliment to the individual and may even be considered an insult. The ones who accept being called "brains" do it because of the tough significance of the concept, which attracts the attention of the public and politicians, exerting pressure for a better way of life and working conditions in Mexico. This reminds us that sometimes migration can be a release mechanism for political dissidents, and therefore may benefit the government.

Recent Movements

Talking to Mexican professionals abroad does not solve the problem but definitely cools passions about the brain drain

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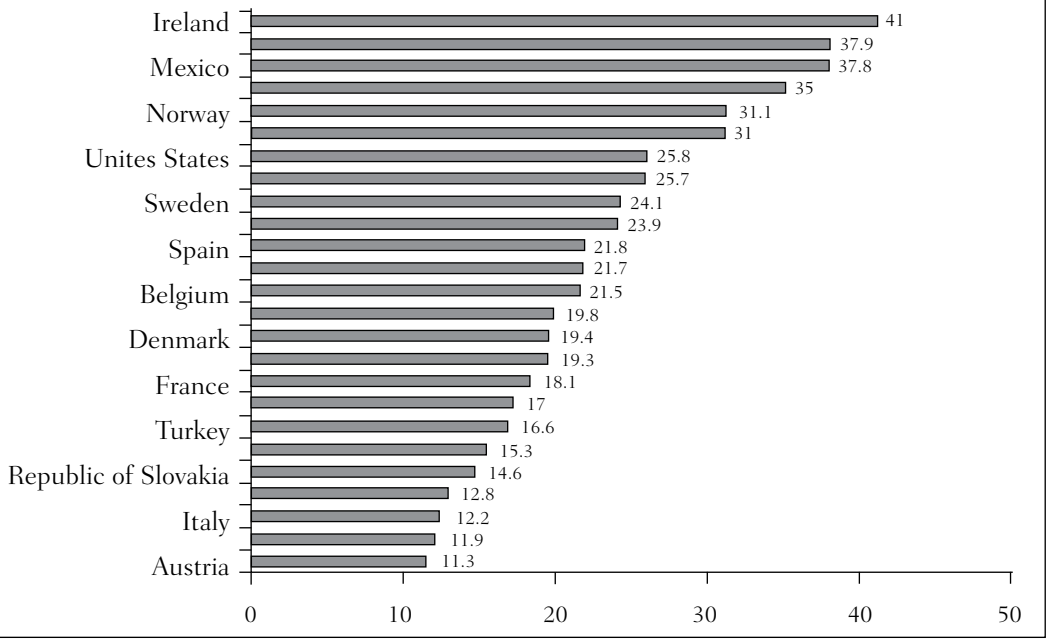
GRAPH 1
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF IMMIGRANTS IN SOME OECD COUNTRIES (2007)
(percentage of immigrants with graduate studies)



Source: Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, "Vers un droit à la mobilité," Christophe Jaffrelot and Christian Lequesne. *L'Enjeu mondial. Les migrations* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po-L'Express, 2009), p. 25.

complaint. We rediscover that "brains" are real people, some wondering how they have become celebrities living abroad. One confessed he was interviewed four times in his year abroad, while in Mexico he had gone completely unnoticed.

Someone else wondered who we have to consider a "talent" since schooling levels are insufficient for an objective definition. He mentioned that Bill Gates was not particularly outstanding academically and apparently did not graduate university.

New opinions from Mexican professionals give us both good and bad news.[1] The good news is about their organizational efforts. The bad news stems from migration: the question about why they left and why they stay may lead to painful answers.

Talking to Mexican professionals abroad does not solve the problem but definitely cools passions about the brain drain complaint. We rediscover that "brains" are real people, some wondering how they have become celebrities living abroad.

GOOD NEWS: DIASPORA ASSOCIATIONS

Some Mexican professionals have joined with government institutions to organize themselves in associations like the Network of Mexican Talents Abroad, based on the infrastructure provided by Mexican embassies and consulates.[2] The network's current projects are a combination of citizens' good will, consular facilitation, educational cooperation, and commercial activity. They involve citizen responsibility as well as an interest in Mexico, whether for patriotic or personal reasons.

These projects need risk capital and eventually, tax breaks to start operations. Even though they will not solve the problem of science and technology, they are a good complement for current policies. In the same way that an economy cannot run exclusively on foreign aid, the Diaspora might not

be able to solve all the problems of innovation, science, and technology in Mexico.

Other associations such as ExATec Students or 100 Mexican Women are also meant to reestablish contact with their homeland, stimulate foreign direct investment, improve Mexico's image, or help integration in the destination country.

Diaspora associations are a big effort considering they involve groups of individuals highly critical of governmental infrastructure, who disdain the idea of a possible return to Mexico. To many, cooperation with Mexico implies a "pact with the Devil" from whom they ran away. This may explain the insufficient communication among what seems to be a variety of Mexican associations abroad that cannot find a common denominator that would let them help each other. Thus, they seem to export Mexico's social differences; that is, there is little if any communication among Mexican associations abroad, for instance between Mexican Talents and ExATec.

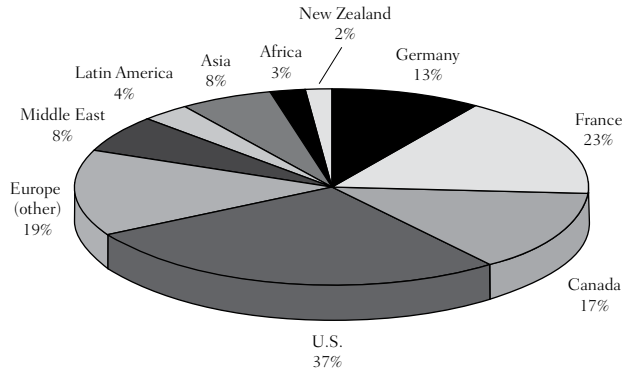
The Female Brain Drain

In a recent poll with Mexicans abroad, we found that most of Mexican "talents" seems to be men: 88 out of 137, or 64.2 percent. Men are also more interested than women in communication and networking with other members of the Diaspora. Often, families are organized according to a pattern where men have the main job and women "adjust." This means that in general, women do housekeeping or accept jobs with lower skill requirements than the ones they had in Mexico. I found a sociologist working as a cashier, an economist working as a cook's helper; and an architect studying to be a nutritionist's assistant. Women accept interviews above all if they are held in their own homes. It is for these reasons that we can talk about a "double female brain drain": first, when they leave Mexico; and second, they do not use their studies abroad. They are also more socially excluded in cultures where all family members tend to work.

Often, families are organized in a pattern in which men have the main job and women "adjust." This means that, in general, women do housekeeping or accept jobs with lower skill requirements than the ones they had in Mexico.

Beyond gender interpretations, this is due to the fact that women seem to prefer medicine, humanities, or the social sciences, professions which need further certification in destination countries and therefore further studies. By comparison, men seem to have more flexible jobs in engineering or financing; consequently they get hired more easily and need lower levels of foreign language proficiency, besides mastering the professional codes.

Graph 2
Destination Countries of Mexican Professionals



Source: Developed by the author based on her survey "Highly Qualified Mexicans Abroad," www.surveymonkey.com/s/ctigau.

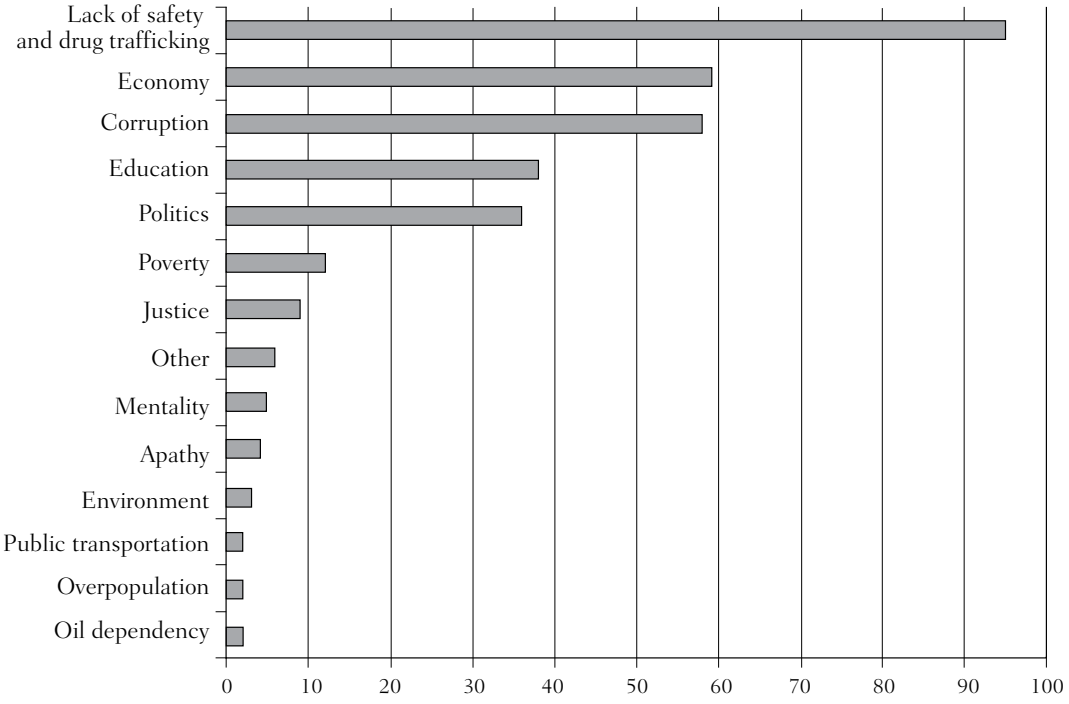
The Reasons Why: Main Problems in Mexico

The reasons Mexican professionals choose to live abroad depend on age and year of migration. Migrants from the last five years have systemically planned their migration, many of them due to insecurity and violence. Most have done it to protect their families and children. Insecurity is not necessarily to be interpreted as a real event but as the internal perception of the people's lives, of the stress caused by the daily need for protection, and job uncertainty.

On the other hand, migrants who left Mexico longer ago have done so due to personal circumstances such as studies abroad, disappointment due to corruption, or poor professional prospects. The reasons they left are not necessarily the same as the reasons they stay, with violence and insecurity again being one of the causes for them to stay abroad. Their viewpoints are also to be interpreted with caution: people who left will always complain.

According to Mexican professionals abroad, the three main problems in their country seem to be a) insecurity and violence; b) economic problems (call it poverty, lack of fiscal

GRAPH 3
MAIN PROBLEMS IN MEXICO ACCORDING TO THE DIASPORA



Source: Developed by the author based on her survey "Highly Qualified Mexicans Abroad," www.surveymonkey.com/s/ctigau.

policies and research funding; lack of a good social security system; poor innovation etc.); and c) corruption (see Graph 3). Needless to say, all these problems are interconnected. Some of the interviewees repeat the same problem three times in order to emphasize ("corruption, corruption, corruption") Others complain about what they call slavery in Mexico: too many working hours that make it impossible for people to have a life for themselves and spend time with their families.

A FINAL THOUGHT

The country misses its "brains," but they do not always return the sentiment. Many do not feel guilty and justify that with very rational arguments, such as

> Mexico has an overwhelming supply of highly qualified people. When I left, another person just as qualified or even better qualified than me took my job. So I came here to fulfill a private need in a country where there are not enough workers, and left my job back in Mexico to somebody who needed it. If you look at temporary workers who pick oranges in the U.S., I am exactly the same, just with a bit more education. I do not know myself if I am a loss for my country, as in Mexico I was not working for a Mexican company, but for a multinational. (IT engineer, 32, who has lived three years in Canada)

Such opinions complicate the perspective of the overall economic effects of brain drain. Furthermore, they make us wonder about the generalized demand for more funding for research and academic positions in Mexico, which focus attention on intellectual elites rather on the huge number of the poor, illiterate population. VM

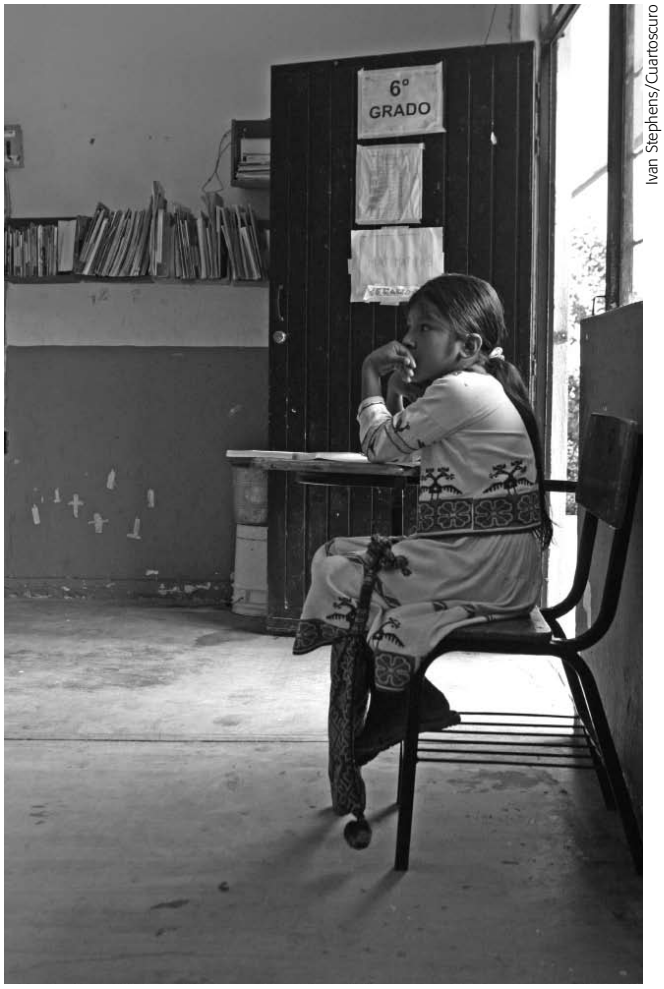
NOTES

[1] Camelia Tigau, survey "Highly Qualified Mexicans Abroad," http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/ctigau and http://www.redtalentos.gob.mx/images/stories/encuesta.pdf, July-November 2010.

[2] There are at least 11 of these associations (two in Europe: Great Britain and Germany); five in the U.S. (Los Angeles, Orange County, Houston, Detroit, and Silicon Valley; three in Canada (Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto); and one in Japan (in the process of being formalized). The most successful chapters have been the ones in the U.S., due to reasons like the tradition of Mexican migrants in the U.S., being close to Mexico, and direct help from the Mexico-United States Foundation for Science (FUMEC).

Derailing History
Indian Rebellions and the Mexican Revolution's Status Discussion

Rodolfo Uribe Iniesta*



Ivan Stephens/Cuartoscuro

Mexican revolutions have isomorphisms involving the very question of their quality as true social revolutions. Clearly, structural changes have not coincided with armed conflicts as Theda Skocpol's 1979 theory on social revolutions proposes. It is also evident that in two of Mexico's three big historic revolutions, an important part of the uprising is more a resistance movement —"Indians who didn't want to change," begins John Womack's book on Zapata, and John Tutino stresses the role of crises of survival in rural areas— and their conclusions may be seen more as a way of restoring order by any means through traditional class activity. This also becomes an ideological struggle since conservative scholars tend to try to demonstrate the uselessness or simple confusion created by revolutions; contend that nothing really changed, stressing elements of continuity, and denying the popular nature, meaning, goals, and results of uprisings; and reduce mass participation to manipulation by vested interests. These ideas contradict those who demonstrate the popular character of the movements, and any eventual achievement of the goals or changes sought by those popular movements (see Aguilar Camín 1982 and Knight 1989).

I propose that the explanation of these Mexican revolutions' specificity is the Indian peoples' rebellions and resistance movements. The use of "isomorphisms" as objects of

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observation and forms of interpretation would be an implicit proposal, since I am using the concept in its direct meaning of formal similarity, but also in its conceptual usage by Carlo Ginzburg (1991) in which an isomorphism reveals a deep social regularity or particular cultural practice or characteristic though its discontinuous timing.

THE RECURRENT EMERGING INDIGENOUS QUESTION

Thirty years before Guillermo Bonfil wrote *México profundo* (Deep Mexico), stating that indigenous cultural elements determine most people's real everyday life in Mexico, in a constant clash with a Western European political effort to harmonize Mexico to its own Euro-mimetic imaginary patterns, Daniel Cosío Villegas, reflecting on the centennial of the 1957 Constitution, wrote,

> What makes the Mexican situation so tragic is not the coexistence of two different civilizations as happened in ancient times with the Mayas and Aztecs, but that they coexist inside what is supposed to be one country or one nationality, and that one of them, the mestiza or Western, has the power and initiative that drives it to impose its way of life. (1955: 70)

And historian Andrés Lira, commenting on this year's celebrations stated,

> We are a complex country where descendents from both the conquerors and the conquered live together; and we are always looking to our wounds and our strength, but too much to our wounds. It would be worse not to do it, so the object of history is to think about it intelligently. (Ponce 2010: 64)

What is interesting is that the very effort of mimetizing the culture as experienced nationally with the dictates of Western European culture, called by Bonfil the "imaginary Mexico," also produces and sustains ideal indigenous peoples perfectly separated and discernible from the rest of Mexicans, and which at the same time makes criollos invisible in that they are part of the definitions of what is "the Mexican" in Samuel Ramos and Octavio Paz's old mid-twentieth-century famous essays. This differentiation from indigenous peoples (that is, "*indios de pueblos indios*") works, of course, on the ideological level when any ("de-indianized") dark-brown-skinned person living in a city, dressed in a suit and tie, with a college education and an office job, emphatically states, "I'm not Indian." But, as Bonfil shows, that turns out to be merely ideological when you look closely at the individual history and the personal and collective cultural ways of most Mexicans, no matter what color their skin. This is how in real life, *mestizaje* works as a two-way street. This effort also produces the belief that the only people who are indigenous are the ones actually living in indigenous regions, and that indigenous peoples have not changed down through history.

The "imaginary Mexican" can be easily traced in the intellectual reactions to the 1994 neo-Zapatista rebellion (see Uribe 1995), reactions that disqualified the movement questioning its real "ethnic nature" on the basis of the mixed origins of people in the rebel towns and that they have national political objectives incompatible with "ethnicity." This, by definition, should only have a regional scope and the unanimous political representation that should exist in a "community." It also was not ethnic, some said, because they were not oriented to the past in their formulations and proposals, and used the iconic Western iconic concept of "democracy."

The very effort of mimetizing the culture as experienced nationally with the dictates of Western European culture, called by Bonfil "imaginary Mexico," also produces and sustains ideal indigenous peoples perfectly separated and discernible from the rest of Mexicans.

The format that developmentalist theories and politics determined indigenous peoples should have was scientifically defended by Arturo Warman (2003). He presented the position of real indigenous separation from fake indigenous mestizos trying to keep an ideal identifiable separation between national modern development and the indigenous peoples and individuals in a historic perspective. He also denied the possibility of inter-ethnic identification and organization between different indigenous peoples.

This position came to a paradoxical conclusion because it proposed municipal autonomy as a solution as opposed to the autonomous multi-ethnic regions proposed by the self-styled indigenous rebels (both the political activists and the armed ones). Both proposals were at that time outdated by a real experiential, post-territorial, even international, continuity of indigenous peoples.

Municipal democracy was supposedly achieved by the 1910-1924 Mexican Revolution, in answer to the Zapatistas' demand for the "free municipality." Despite this, in the 1970s and 1980s, local democratic rebellions took place demanding the acceptance of municipal political options. The most important was in Juchitán, where the Zapotecs of Oaxaca's Tehuantepec Isthmus formed the Isthmus Coalition of Workers, Peasants, and Students (COCEI). At its height, this organization, despite its name and explicit electoral means and objectives, was an ethnic one, defending at that time regional autonomy based on a rediscovered history that included nineteenth-century resistance to Benito Juárez as governor, and recovering the Zapotec language and traditional dress, and even women's dominance in the family as symbols and forms of their organization and struggle. It was a form of institutional symbolic violence, then, when political commentators and government officials said it was not an "indigenous" movement to avoid the usual sympathetic reflex reaction of Mexican society for "poor Indians." Intellectuals of the time defined the movement as merely electoral with no further goal than winning the municipal government for a group clearly led by a mestizo with a French surname: Leopoldo DeGyves. But later on, in the usual tapeworm-shaped ideological turn that Roger Bartra (1978) describes for ideological concepts, when the "democratic transition period" was recognized by political scientists and the federal government as a goal and what we can call the "democratic transition ideologues" surfaced, they credited only the National Action Party (PAN) 1986 resistance to electoral fraud as local electoral rebellions. The COCEI movement was relabelled as "indigenous," and, of course, any possibility that it could be both things was denied.

Indian unrest in the 1990s looks like a classical resistance movement, like those associated with the Bourbon Reforms and the Liberal Reform land laws.

Local autonomy protests presented as a necessity for electoral modernity was originally promoted only as a deepening of what beginning in Miguel de la Madrid´s administration was dubbed in the Ministry of the Budget and Programing's regional development plans merely as a "descentralization process."[1] When Carlos Salinas became president, it appeared directly as an adaptation to globalization that later would be theoretically defended and programmatically developed by the Santiago Levy team in the 2000 and onward documents that stated, for example, what would be the Puebla-Panama Plan, a global macro-regional process of integration based on the concentration of private property, specifically land, reducing government action to building communications infrastructure and promoting the relocation of the population where they could find jobs (see Levy 2004). And this coincides with the main characteristic that Zygmunt Bauman (2001) points to for globalization process: "capital ceases to pay its share for local sustainability."

The confrontation of the two versions of local autonomy would reappear in this period as cultural or environmental struggles in the Zapatista area of Chiapas; in San Salvador Atenco, State of México; La Ventosa, Oaxaca; Xochistlahuaca and La Parota, Guerrero; Tepoztlán, Morelos; and San Pedro, San Luis Potosí. It has also been present at least in the state electoral confrontations in Tabasco (1988, 1994, and 2000), San Luis Potosí, and Guerrero and in local conflicts such as in 2000 and 2008 in Morelos, and 2005 in Oaxaca.

The ethnic question reappeared in the ongoing socio-economic transformation and the concentration of land and capital intellectually directed from government offices, very much like the well-known development of José Yves Limantour's "scientists" under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. In the 1980s, this has been a process directed from the old Bank of Mexico, first by people who had studied abroad, and then, by Carlos Salinas's time, directly by Chicago University graduates. So Indian unrest in the 1990s looks like a classical resistance movement, like those associated with the Bourbon Reforms and the Liberal Reform land laws (Tutino 1998).

In our time the *"imaginary Mexican"* conceptual strategy might be working like the Catholic Church's nineteenth-century political strategy described by Emilio Rabasa and quoted by Cosío Villegas of "presenting Catholicism and liberalism as incompatible, to identify and make inseparable religious belief and the political option" (1956: 26). It presents identities as closed blocks, either as modern Mexican institutional people or indigenous people, instead of recognizing a moving continuum between indigenous people and being fully modern or Western. Bonfil considered the latter an illusion for anyone born in Mexico and the source of per-

Mexican Revolution historians
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of whether it was or was not a real social revolution,
using definitions centered on state, political,
and overall social structure changes.

manent frustration. In this view, it is a continuum along which each individual and groups' positions in everyday real life seem too hard to pinpoint, very much like Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. It might be better to study it with a field or systemic complex analysis, either with Pierre Bourdieu or Édgar Morin's strategies, or using the agency-territorialization and de-territorialization dynamics proposed by Gilles Deleuze, to overcome the analytical limitation of discriminatory ontological Western-related dynamics that these authors and people like Edward Said (1990) denounced at the turn of the century.

MEXICAN TIMES: INDIAN REBELLIONS

Mexican Revolution historians have been involved in the discussion of whether it was or was not a real social revolution, using Theda Skockpol's definitions based on the Russian, French, and Chinese experiences, centered on state, political, and overall social structure changes. For Theda Skockpol,

> Social Revolutions are rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures…accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below. (1979: 4)

They present as differential features

> the combination of two coincidences: the coincidence of societal structural change with class upheaval; and in the coincidence of political and social transformation.

Limiting the Mexican Revolution to the insurrectional period and focusing on its immediate results and class movements, for example, Ramón Eduardo Ruiz (1984) was easily able to show that, although with massive participation of armed peasants and workers, it was a middle-class rebellion.

Based on the evident pseudo-isomorphism of a initial popular rebellion with revolutionary goals later betrayed or unfinished because the stabilization of political power finally later came from a higher class, political top-down movement like Iturbide's or Carranza's and Obregón's, and putting to one side a third revolution in the middle that did not followed this pattern, the Reform, this discussion immediately transferred the same questions to the Mexican War of Independence.

In different contemporary positions, from Guerra on, criticising early, traditional interpretations, such as Tannenbaum's, or differing from official narratives, we can see that what most changes the approach and deliberations, as though they were attractors in chaos theory, are indigenous rebellions. They are called by other names: agrarian, peasant, religious, regional, or parochial. And the problem is presented as an agrarian rebellion, a struggle to liberate the elements to form capital, a struggle between a parochial communal order and an open one, a regional rebellion like the one in the Sierra Gorda and or the Séptimo Cantón, or a clash between the Catholic Church and the state (the patrimonial question).

Tannenbaum (Knight n/d) was the first to highlight the parochial dimension as a vantage point for understanding the sense of social actors in Mexico. Later, Guerra (1993) would document the continuity of the existence of the communal medieval form in Mexican history; Luis González y González (1984) was the first to show the particular timing of what he called "the Matria" (the motherland); then, Jean Meyer (1973) highlighted the religious significance of peasant uprisings in Mexico giving all the credit to priests or Catholic followers; John Tutino (1988) showed the agrarian and peasant survival significance of most of the ninetieth-century uprisings, but at the same time that they happened mostly where there were still strong indigenous communities; Van Young (2001) showed that even in Hidalgo's original insurgent rebellion, some indigenous had their own agenda and goals; and Knight (1995) and Katz (1988 and 2006) showed that most rebellions in Mexican history happened in indigenous territories, and that they are endemic.

So, the hidden element that all these structural proposals in the literature did not foresee was the continuity of indigenous peoples and their subjectivity, expressed in different ways and in their own time determined by their basic need of maintaining their material and cultural integrity through historic changes. VM

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NOTES

[1] The order from Minister Carlos Salinas to Vice-minister Manuel Camacho was not to make diagnostics of regional needs but to deduce what was needed in each region to achieve them based on a list of principles and goals. The principles and goals, of course, were competition, the reduction of state participation, and gradual privatization.

Problemas del DESARROLLO

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EU and U.S. Manufacturing Multinationals in Mexico[1]

Elisa Dávalos*

STR New/REUTERS

Though the world's three great economic blocs —the European Union (EU), Asia, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)— have very different levels of integration and economic characteristics, they all include countries with relatively low wages. In 2004 and 2007, the European Union admitted 12 more countries, the so-called EU12, that offer highly-skilled labor at a much lower cost than in the so-called "old" Europe. Indeed, one factor that led to great interest in these countries joining the EU was precisely this wage differential. We need only note that in 2001, the average gross monthly wage in EU15 countries was €2 191, while in Romania it was €165, and in the Czech Republic, €430. Although these wages have since increased, the differentials with old Europe remain considerable.

In the dynamic Asian region, despite China's booming economy, Japan is the country that stands out, given that it is the area's biggest developed economy and a leader in technology and capital goods production, both key for exercising economic leadership. In Asia, regional production networks interlace economies like Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Laos, Vietnam, and China. Many of these countries are noted for cluster development, fostering the education of the work force, and developing infrastructure. Furthermore, many have dynamic internal markets that have become an important pull for foreign investment. Regional production in Asia takes

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advantage of the area's wage differtials to enjoy considerable international competitiveness, making it very attractive for multinational corporations in general.

Turning to the NAFTA region, it is well known that Mexico signed the agreement hoping to take its place as the low-wage-cost partner. No doubt this raised positive expectations among multinational corporations that it would attract foreign investment to the country, largely thanks to the possibility of producing or assembling goods at a low cost for export to the huge U.S. market.

The last few decades have seen a trend toward raising the technology level of what is manufactured and assembled in Mexico, which has led to the so-called second- and third-generation maquila plants.[2] It is important to differentiate, however, the technology content of the *product* from the technology used in the *process*. Mexico may well be exporting products with higher technology content, but this does not necessarily reflect greater economic development if they are merely assembled here. Nonetheless, some second- and third-generation assembly plants do make for a more highly-qualified work force, such as engineers and skilled technicians who participate in certain aspects of process and product innovation.[3]

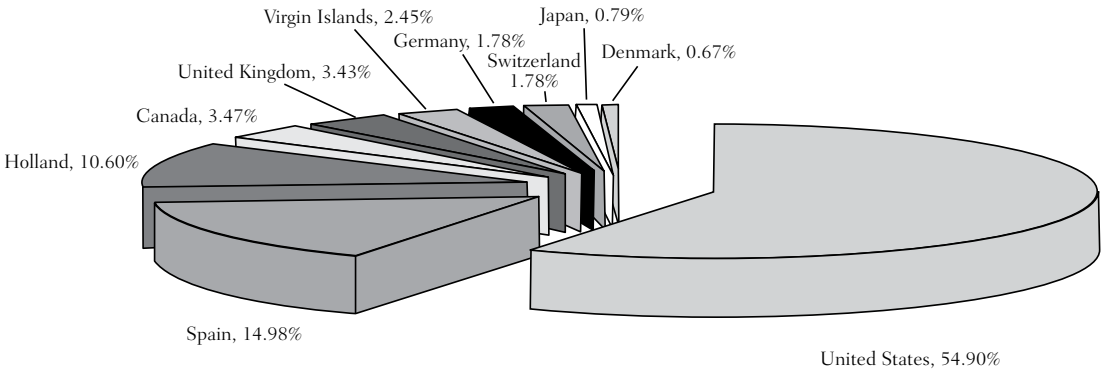
For geo-economic and historical reasons, our northern neighbor has been the leading investor in the country, and much of the nation's industry developed in close relation to U.S. foreign direct investment (FDI). In Graph 1 we can see that for 1999-2008, the accumulated FDI from the U.S. accounted for 54.9 percent of the total, while the main European investors (Spain, Holland, the U.K., Germany, and Denmark) together represented 31.2 percent. Canada, meanwhile, contributed 3.47 percent of all investment (see Graph 1).

Therefore, although a European Union-Mexico Free Trade Agreement has been signed, U.S. trade and investment flows still dominate to a considerable degree. This reflects the fact that trade agreements are really most dynamic when they formalize pre-existing levels of economic integration, as is the case with the Mexican and U.S. economies. The percentages of FDI from the United States directed at the principal recently-industrialized and relatively low-cost countries and areas is a reflection of this. In 2007, Mexico attracted 3.2 percent of total U.S. FDI; Brazil, 1.4 percent; Argentina, 0.5 percent; Singapore, 2.9 percent; Hong Kong, 1.6 percent; China, 1 percent; and South Korea, 0.9 percent.[4]

Another way of monitoring multinational corporations is through the behavior of their sub-divisions, as these are one of the most important modes FDI is delivered. They are used to establish companies abroad, and depending on the percentage of the division owned by the parent company, these may be classified as subsidiaries (a corporation of which a non-resident owns more than 50 percent), associates (a cor-

Mexico may well be exporting products with higher technology content, but this does not necessarily reflect greater economic development if they are merely assembled here.

GRAPH 1
TOP TEN COUNTRIES' FDI IN MEXICO (1999-2008)



Source: Dirección General de Inversión Extranjera, Reporteador de los Flujos de Inversión Extranjera, Secretaría de Economia, Mexico City.

poration of which a non-resident owns between 10 percent and 50 percent), and branches (a non-incorporated enterprise wholly or jointly owned by a non-resident investor).[5]

We shall now look at the behavior of sub-divisions of U.S. and EU multinational manufacturing corporations in Mexico. For greater clarity, we will compare them with other regions with low relative wage costs. Graph 2 shows employment by U.S. manufacturing sub-divisions in various geographic areas with low relative costs between 1999 and 2007. The most striking piece of data is the relative weight of Mexico: between 1999 and 2003 employment in U.S. subdivisions remained equivalent to the entire recently-industrialized, dynamic Asia region. Undoubtedly, Mexico was the most significant low-cost zone for U.S. multinationals. Nonetheless, from 2003 a clear downward trend may be noted as the Asia region starts to grow. Meanwhile, the EU12 and South American regions remain well below Mexico and Asia.

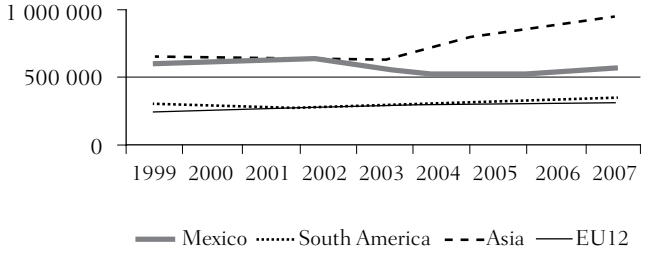
This 2003 change has been linked in recent analyses to the loss of NAFTA's positive effects on the Mexican economy, which had attracted FDI. The advantages offered by geographic proximity, zero tariffs, and low wages seem no longer sufficient to attract U.S. sub-divisions to Mexico to the same extent as before. Even so, the variation from one industry to another is notable, depending on the cost structure of each: the automobile industry, for example, is characterized by high transport costs compared to the electronics industry, which produces smaller, more lightweight products. So, if we observe U.S. sub-divisions in these two industries, we find opposing forms of behavior: while Mexico remains the low-cost country with the highest employment in automotive subdivisions, Asia comes out on top by far when it comes to the electronics industry. In fact, this region has become more competitive in this field worldwide.

Mexico was the most significant low-cost zone for U.S. multinationals. Nonetheless, from 2003 a clear downward trend may be noted as the Asia region starts to grow.

Recent research has shown that in many cases the criteria of multinational corporations are based more on supranational regional strategies —that is, from a geo-economic viewpoint they prioritize areas within the NAFTA, EU, or Asian economic blocs— than on truly global strategies, in terms of organizing their production and sales. Though some corporations have truly global strategies, such as Coca-Cola, and some industries are highly globalized, like electronics, this is not the rule. The reason is the high logistical, transport, and coordination costs of really globalizing corporations (see Graphs 3 and 4).[6]

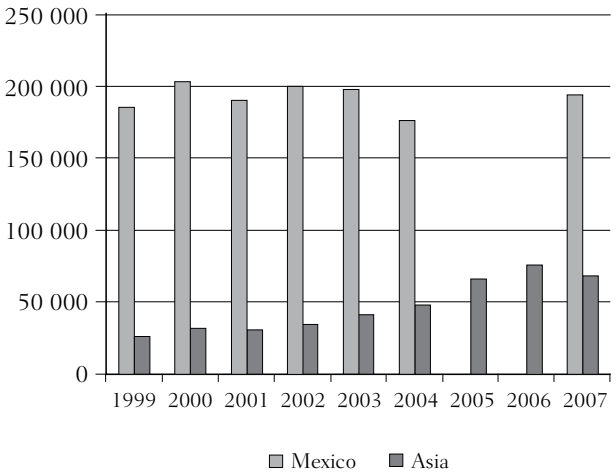
Next, Graph 5 shows employment by EU corporation subdivisions in the low-cost areas of the three economic blocs.

GRAPH 2
EMPLOYEES OF U.S. MANUFACTURING SUB-DIVISIONS IN MEXICO, SOUTH AMERICA, EU12, AND DYNAMIC ASIA (WITHOUT JAPAN) IN ALL SECTORS (1999-2007)



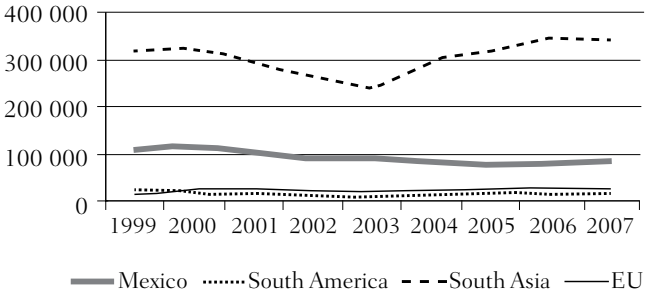
Source: Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, several issues.
Note: The EU12 are the countries that entered the European Union between 2004 and 2007.

GRAPH 3
EMPLOYEES OF U.S. SUB-DIVISIONS IN MEXICO AND THE DYNAMIC ASIAN COUNTRIES IN THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY (1999-2007)



Source: Developed using information from several issues of the *Survey of Current Business*.

GRAPH 4
EMPLOYEES OF U.S. SUB-DIVISIONS IN MEXICO, SOUTH AMERICA, EU12, AND DYNAMIC ASIA (WITHOUT JAPAN) IN THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY (1999-2007)



Source: Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, several issues.

Note: The EU12 are the countries that entered the European Union between 2004 and 2007. Asia does not include Japan and does include all the dynamic, recently industrialized countries.

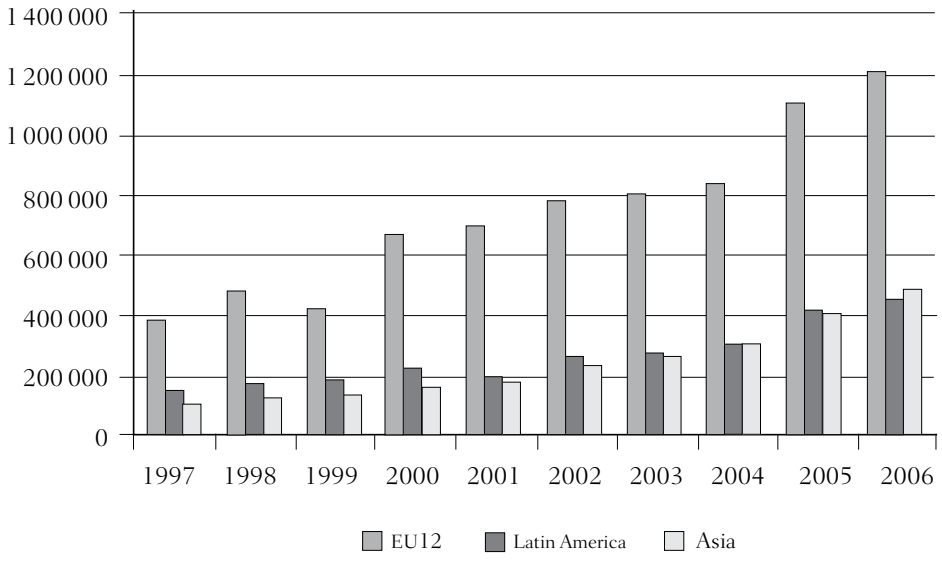
We can immediately see that there are more jobs in the lower-wage-cost EU countries, and a large gap between these and Latin America (including Mexico) as well as the dynamic Asian countries. The latter show a relative decrease from 1997 to 2006, when employment in each bloc is equal to around one-third of that in these Central and Eastern Europe countries. There can be no doubt that EU-based manufacturing sub-divisions prioritize the EU12 region (see Graph 5).

Despite Mexico having increased exports from lower rungs of the value chain in high-tech industries such as aeronautics, it still retains the structure of an enclave economy.

Taking this into account, if we compare a number of low-cost countries outside the European region —specifically the cases of Mexico, China and Brazil— we see that for the European multinational manufacturing corporations it has proved more attractive to invest in Brazil and China than in Mexico. As Graph 6 shows, between 1997 and 2005 Brazil was in front, only to be overtaken by China in 2010, with over 350 000 jobs, while Mexico attracted only 125 000 jobs from sub-divisions (see Graph 6).

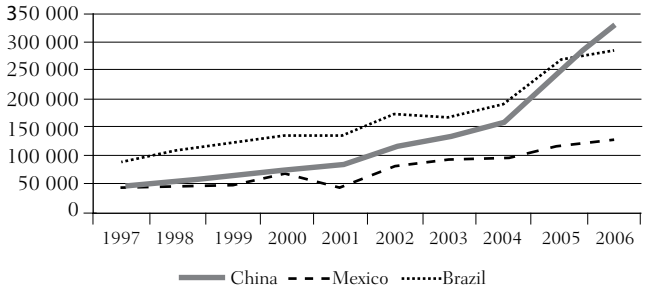
The EU clearly prioritizes the EU12 region for FDI. According to the European Commission, the entry of the EU12

GRAPH 5
EMPLOYMENT AT EU SUB-DIVISIONS IN THE RELATIVELY LOW-COST REGIONS OF THE THREE BLOCS



Source: Developed using Eurostat.

GRAPH 6
EMPLOYMENT IN EU SUB-DIVISIONS
IN SELECTED COUNTRIES



Source: Developed using Eurostat.

led to a deepening of production restructuring processes in the EU through the development of integrated production networks, as well as the availability of a highly-skilled, low-cost work force. The EU12 have boosted the creation of integrated production networks, particularly in the automobile and information/electronics sectors. However, we may also note that European investments in Asia and Latin America have grown considerably.

For its part, while it has been and continues to be a major investor in Mexico, the United States has also deepened its relationship with Asian regional production networks, depending on the type of manufacturing industry involved. Despite Mexico having increased exports from lower rungs of the value chain in high-tech industries such as aeronautics, it still retains the structure of an enclave economy. This means that profound productive, institutional, and social changes are required to make it more attractive to multinational corporations and to propel it to participate more actively in global production networks. VM

Comparing a number of low-cost countries we see that for European multinational manufacturing corporations, it has proved more attractive to invest in Brazil and China than in Mexico.

NOTES

[1] The author wishes to thank CISAN research assistant Alejandrina Ortega for her support in writing this article.

[2] Jorge Carrillo, "Transnational Strategies and Regional Development: The Case of GM and Delphi in México." *Industry and Innovation* vol. 11, nos. 1-2 (March-June 2004), pp. 127-153.

[3] Enrique Dussel, "Ser maquila o no ser maquila, ¿Es ésa la pregunta?" *Comercio Exterior* vol. 53, no. 4 (April 2003), pp. 328-337.

[4] Calculated based on the UN *World Investment Report 2009*, http://unctad.org/en/docs/wir2009_en.pdf.

[5] See the UN *World Investment Report 2007*, http://unctad.org/en/docs/wir2007_en.pdf.

[6] Alan Rugman. *Regional Multinationals. MNEs and "Global" Strategic Management* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

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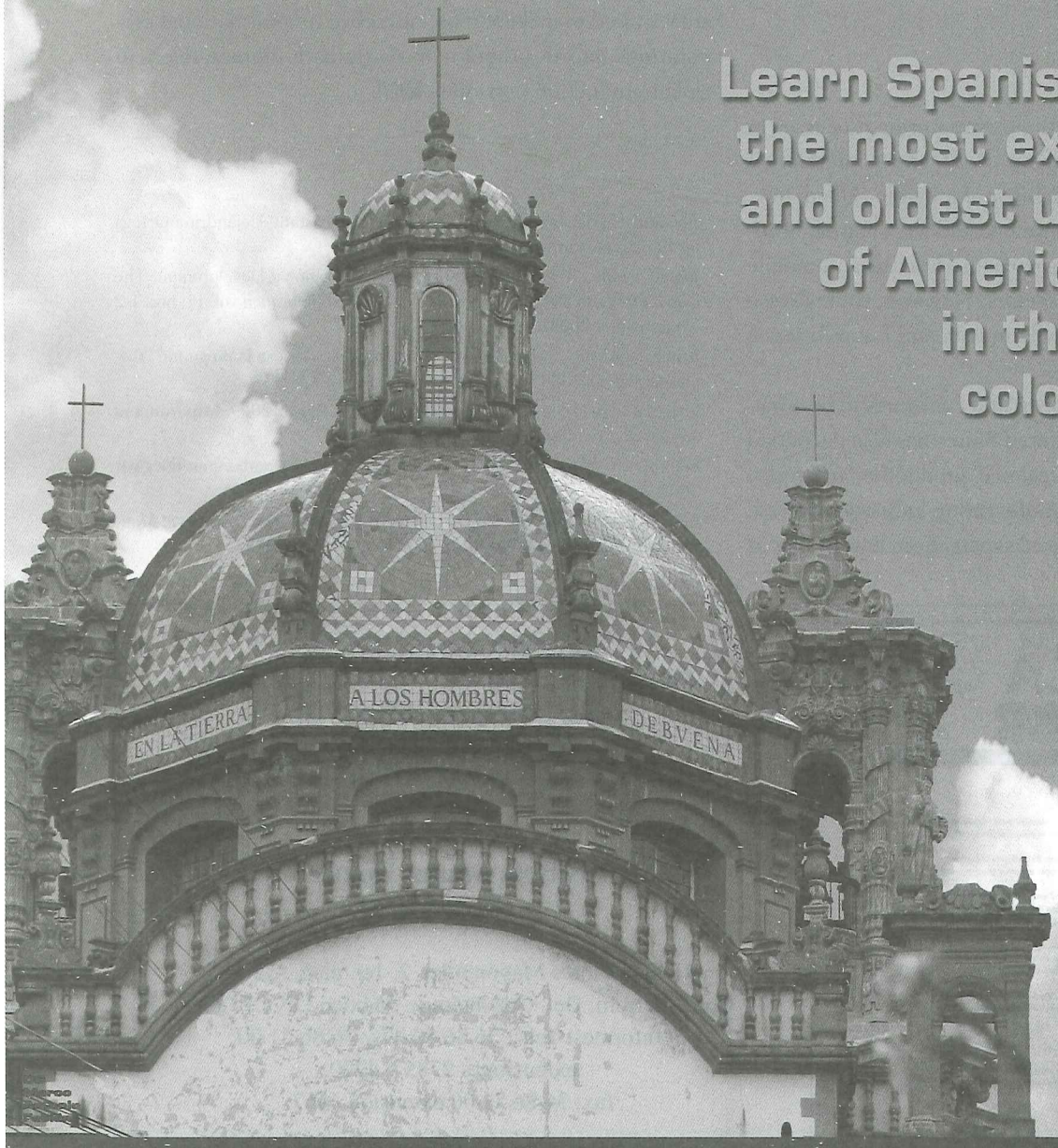

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Memory and Oblivion Agustina Ramírez and María Zavala: Two Women And Two Wars in Mexico

Ana María Saloma Gutiérrez*

In general, people think that in wars, women play only secondary roles supporting the troops, cooking or washing clothes. In the best of cases, they are given technical tasks considered unimportant, reaffirming their traditional roles: acting as nurses, obtaining and filtering information, working as couriers or spies, doing propaganda, and acquiring sympathizers and resources. They are also imagined giving soldiers food, clothing, and ammunition, and, of course, satisfying emotional and biological needs either voluntarily or involuntarily, including entertaining the troops.

Despite the fact that the importance of these tasks and many others is underestimated, they have always been strategic for any army to be able to function. Nevertheless, women leaving the sphere assigned to them by tradition, that confined them to the world of the family and the home, has always been noteworthy: very often they have filled in for men in different jobs they left behind by going to the front. This was the case in the United States during World War II, for example, when the massive incorporation of women into production and the service sector became particularly important.

People also think that, exceptionally, some women have taken on roles considered exclusively reserved for men, like leading armies. The lives, for example, of women like the Pharaoh Hatshepsut or Boudicca, the leader of the Iceni, who led a revolt against the Roman legions stationed in Britannia, or Queen Zenobia of the Palmyrene who defied the Roman Empire, read as almost fantastic tales. However, women have always participated in wars both in the rearguard and on the front lines.

Historical narratives about women's actions are scarce. As historian Michèlle Perrot has pointed out, to better understand historical processes, women and their activities visible have to become visible.[1] It is a complex task to recover the memory of women, their relationships with men, and their participation in society, not as simple spectators or victims, but as active people who make decisions and contribute with their actions to the construction and transformation of their societies.

Until recently, it was uncommon for historians to concern themselves with analyzing humanity's past identifying the relationships among economic, social, political, and cultural factors. Neither did they take the time to narrate what was going on among the so-called marginal groups (peasants, workers, slaves, women, children, the elderly, those with disabilities, ethnic or political minorities, or those with different sexual preferences). Only infrequently did historiography deal with what wars implied for the civilian population or the troops. Thanks to the theoretical perspectives proposed by Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Georges Duby, Eric Hobsbawm, and E. P. Thompson,[2] a whole new panorama has opened up to new themes, marginalized social sectors, and even the possibility of asking questions like: Why have women been invisible? What do wars imply for them? How do they live? How do they affect them?

Wars are one of historians' favorite topics. In their writings, men's activities occupy the foreground as military and political leaders. Nevertheless, in wars, endless numbers of

*Professor of the UNAM School of Philosophy and Letters History Department.

For Agustina, it was not enough to give up her sons to defend their homeland: she also asked to be allowed to follow the troops to care for the wounded, bury the dead, and be close to her family.

events have not been talked about and, if they were, most of the time they would testify to the tragedy they represented for their participants, usually ordinary people. These are the individual stories, or the stories of small groups, that make up the general histories. Among these specific narratives, I would like to share two that took place in Mexico. The first is that of Agustina Ramírez and her family, who fought in the War of the Reform (1857-1861) and the French intervention.[3] The second is that of María Zavala, nicknamed "the Destroyer," who participated in De La Huerta's rebellion from 1923 to 1924.[4] There is very little information or specialized work about these women, also the case of many others who helped build this country; this reveals the on-going existence of an interpretation of history dominated by a male outlook.

SILENCE

Silence is the name of a tango written in 1933 by Horacio Pettorossi, Alfredo Le Pera, and Carlos Gardel. The words tell of a mother who lost her five sons on France's battlefields during World War I. It could also have been dedicated to the mother of the five Sullivan brothers, killed in World War II, and to Agustina Ramírez, the mother of the 12 Rodríguez brothers who fell defending the Mexican republic.

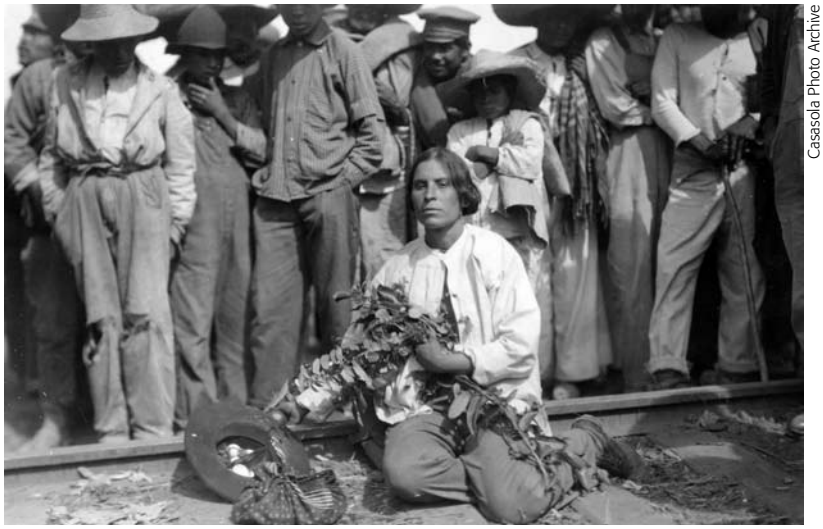
Let us briefly remember the case of the Sullivan brothers, which prompted the United States to establish the policy that immediate relatives could not serve in the same unit. On January 13, 1942, the brothers George, Francis, Joseph, Madison, and Albert enlisted in the military and asked to serve together. They were assigned to a light cruiser, the USS Juneau, deployed to the Pacific. November 13, the first day in the Battle of Guadalcanal, was a tragic day for 680 men, among them, the five Sullivan brothers. Three of them died when the ship was torpedoed, and the other two fell into the sea and died a few days later. To this day, this story is registered as the largest family loss suffered in a single battle.[5]

ANNA AGUSTINA'S STORY

The story of Anna Agustina de Jesús Ramírez Heredia and her family is no less bitter than that of the Sullivan family. The events took place in nineteenth-century Mexico during the gloomy years when the country was immersed in constant internal wars, the product of power clashes between Liberals and Conservatives. As if the domestic problems were not enough, the nation also had to face conflicts with other countries, like the second French intervention.

Anna Agustina was the daughter of an indigenous couple from Puebla who had migrated to Villa de Mocorito, Sinaloa, where she was born September 1, 1813. Her father, José Margarito Ramírez, fought in the War of Independence with the Mexican army. In mid-century, the Liberals, headed by Ignacio Comonfort, decreed the Laws of the Reform (1856-1857), separating church and state. In response, the so-called Conservative political group expressed its opposition and proclaimed the Plan of Tacubaya, named after the town where the plan had been announced, and began the War of the Reform in 1857. Agustina's husband, Severiano Rodríguez, was a soldier on the Liberal side. Unfortunately, he died in the Battle of Loma de Mazatlán, Sinaloa, on April 3, 1859, leaving Agustina a widow with 13 children to care for.

The War of the Reform had barely ended in 1861 with the Liberal victory and President Benito Juárez's entry into Mexico City when that same year internal disputes between Liberals and Conservatives erupted again. This time, however, they were accompanied by the foreign intervention sparked by President Juárez's moratorium on the foreign debt: England, Spain, and France signed the Convention of London establishing an alliance to intervene in Mexico. Once the three nations' fleets arrived in the port of Veracruz in 1862, negotiations began with the Mexican government. The English and Spanish came to an agreement with the Juárez administration and withdrew from the Gulf of Mexico; the French, however, decided to remain in the port and occupy the country.



Casasola Photo Archive

María Zavala, "The Destroyer," on the railroad tracks (1915).

The Liberal Juárez government's straits became even worse when the Conservatives, headed by José María Gutiérrez and Juan Nepomuceno Almonte managed to convince Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg to accept the crown as emperor of Mexico. Maximilian obtained the support of Emperor Napoleon III in the form of his troops in Mexico, and more soldiers to be sent to consolidate the occupation. Belgian and Austrian troops were added to the French occupying army, which advanced through Mexico as far as the state of Sinaloa.

President Benito Juárez sent out a call to defend the republic that was answered by Republican Colonel Francisco Miranda Castro, who was near Mocorito. The Sinaloa government issued a call for men to join the Mexican army. So, on a June morning in 1861, the widow Agustina Ramírez came to the colonel with her 13 sons to enlist the 12 oldest in the Republican army. Their names were Librado, Francisco, José María, Manuel, Victorio, Antonio, Apolonio, Juan, José, Juan Bautista, Jesús, Francisco —the second with that name— and Eusebio, the youngest, who did not join up.

For Agustina, it was not enough to give up her sons to defend their homeland: she also asked to be allowed to follow the troops to care for the wounded, bury the dead, and be close to her family. In the following years, from 1863 to 1866, all 12 of her sons fell in battle.

When the republic finally won the day, Agustina's life was not an easy one: to survive as a widow, she occasionally worked as a domestic servant. In 1869, she managed to get the state of Sinaloa to award her a pension of Mex$30 a month, but she received it for only one year. She had to wait for the fourth Congress to get more economic support in the form of a single payment of Mex$1 000. In 1873, Agustina petitioned for the state to continue paying her a pension; however, the local government transferred the matter to federal jurisdiction. Despite the fact that the federal Congress agreed to give her a pension of Mex$150 a month, Agustina never received it: she died of a fever in Mazatlán, Sinaloa, February 14,1879.[6] In 1954, the Sinaloa state Congress acknowledged Agustina and her family's service to her homeland, declaring her an honored citizen and inscribing her name on the wall where Congress sessions.

> The times that María Zavala lived in created circumstances that prompted a break with traditional roles, making many women take on tasks normally reserved for men; and her nickname, image, and activities broke with all the stereotypes of her time.

The Destroyer

One very little-known figure is María Zavala, "The Destroyer." Despite the very little existing information about her, what there is would be enough to write a fascinating novel or film script: either would show us a fresh view of how unconventional women might have lived their lives

under war conditions in the second decade of the twentieth century.

Certainly, the times that she lived in brought with them circumstances that prompted a break with traditional roles, making many women take on tasks normally reserved for men. And María Zavala was a person whose nickname, image, and activities broke with all the stereotypes of her time.

The records that remain about María "The Destroyer's" activities deal with her performance during the rebellion of De la Huerta (1923-1924), sparked by a break in the so-called "Sonora Family," made up of Álvaro Obregón, Plutarco Elías Calles, and Adolfo de la Huerta. The break came about because Álvaro Obregón, as head of the group and president of the country, decided to support Plutarco Elías Calles in his bid for the presidency and not Adolfo de la Huerta. De la Huerta and his followers then decided to rebel. Zavala joined the rebellion; we still do not know her reasons or whether she joined voluntarily or under duress.

How many stories are waiting to be rescued to not only reconstruct an individual history, but to better understand the social processes of the past and overcome the predominantly masculine discourse of conventional historiography?

The information we have is that María carried out two very different kinds of activities inside the De la Huerta rebel group: she was a traditional healer, caring for the wounded using herbal medicine and prayer; she helped dying soldiers by anointing them with holy oils, a task the Catholic Church reserves for priests, that is, males; and she prepared the bodies of the dead for burial. And, on the other hand, she contributed to the cause by carrying out a rather more unconventional task, particularly for a woman of her time: she dynamited train tracks.[7] This is probably how she got her nickname, The Destroyer.

If we look closely at María's photograph, we will see a woman with enigmatic features, who could have been indigenous or mestiza with a pronounced indigenous heritage, a strong, almost virile face; large hands and feet; of medium height; wearing pants, a piece of clothing that at that time in Mexico was eminently masculine and very unusual for women to wear. She is seated on the train tracks, holding some plants in one hand. In this photo, we can see one of her bundles wrapped in a shawl, but what it has inside is undistinguishable: is it dynamite?

The cases of Agustina Ramírez and María Zavala, The Destroyer, are just two of the many that have emerged down through Mexican history. We have some information about these two figures, but how many stories of men and women are hidden in the archives waiting to be rescued from oblivion to not only reconstruct an individual history, but, with that, better understand the social processes of the past and overcome the predominantly masculine discourse of conventional historiography? VM

NOTES

[1] Michèlle Perrot, *Une histoire des femmes est-elle possible?* (Paris: Éditions Rivages, 1984).

[2] Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre were the founders of the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (Annals of Economic and Social History), which lent its name to the Annales School of history. Among his many works, Georges Duby, one of this school's outstanding members, and Michèlle Perrot compiled *Histoire des femmes en Occident* (A History of Women in the West). Eric Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson belong to the Social History Current, which proposes the need to study all sectors of a society, the activities they carry out, and the relationships they establish among each other, doing what it calls "total history."

[3] The War of the Reform, also known as the Three Years War, lasted from December 17, 1857 to January 1, 1861. It ended with Benito Juárez's entry into the nation's capital. This armed conflict was fought between the two sides Mexican society was divided into: the Liberals and the Conservatives. [Editor's Note.]

[4] This rebellion was begun by Adolfo de la Huerta against President Álvaro Obregón and his hand-picked successor, presidential candidate Plutarco Elías Calles. [Editor's Note.]

[5] The information about the Sullivan brothers is from http://historia.mforos.com/681756/5952082-los-hermanos-sullivan/, accessed October 31, 2010.

[6] Unfortunately, Agustina Ramírez lived her last days in poverty, supported only by public charity, and was buried in the Mazatlán, Sinaloa Public Cemetery potters' field. See http://www.congresosinaloa.gob.mx/murodehoor2/agustina_ramirez.htm, accessed November 11, 2010. [Editor's Note.]

[7] John Mraz, "Más allá de la decoración: hacia una historia gráfica de las mujeres en México," *Política y cultura* 1 (fall 1992), pp. 155-189, http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/redalyc/pdf/267/26700112.pdf.

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Scott, Joan Wallach, *Género e historia* (Mexico City: FCE/UACM, 2008).

Reflections on a Revolution Notes on Mexican Women Then and Now[1]

Heather Dashner Monk*

Casasola photo archive

Women soldiers at Buenavista, Mexico City.

Araceli's knarled hands knead the corn dough in a smoke-filled lean-to next to her kitchen, as the 5 a.m. sunlight begins to squint through the slats. She will make about 48 pounds of tortillas like she does every day. By noon they'll be on the table in houses all over the 500-inhabitant town she has lived in her whole life, half-way between Mexico City and Toluca, the capital of the State of Mexico.

This is the twenty-first century: 100 years after the Mexican Revolution. So much has changed, but so much looks so similar. Araceli may well develop a serious lung condition from working over a wood fire in an enclosed space, like thousands of other women have for centuries in Mexico, but her daughter has a high-school education and a job in a library, definitely a step up after working as a cashier in a huge outlet clothing store along the Mexico City-Toluca highway. And Araceli herself took up tortilla-making to earn her living after trying other ways: the last was renting videos and DVDs out of her front room.

Women's lives —their work, their family life, their educational opportunities, the health care they can expect, their social standing, and political participation— have changed strikingly over these hundred years. The country has clearly gone from being overwhelmingly rural to mainly urban;[2] average life expectancy rose from 34 to 75 years between 1930 and 2000; the conditions in which women do housework and care for children and the sick, still almost exclusively their responsibility, have changed enormously: the majority have running water, gas for cooking, indoor toilets, and homes with flooring.[3]

In 1910, women made up 14 percent of the work force, and by 2008, they were 38 percent, with most of that increase over the last 40 years. Almost 4 million women 15

* *Voices of Mexico* translator and copy editor.

Traveling with the armies of Zapata, Villa, and Carranza was an unparalleled upheaval in the lives of a large part of the female population, changing not only experiences but horizons and expectations.

years or older (under 4 percent) are illiterate today, but 92 percent of girls between the ages of 6 and 14 attend school —not the best possible numbers, but still a huge change from a century ago.

And, by the end of the twentieth century, 95 percent of women of reproductive age knew about at least one type of contraceptive, and at least 78 percent could expect to give birth in a hospital or clinic, lowering maternal deaths considerably.

Today, women's participation in public life is incomparably greater than it was a century ago: women did not get the vote until 1953, but they are much more visible in public positions than 100 years ago, with 140 women deputies (28 percent of the total) in the present legislature. Mexico has had two more women candidates for president since human rights activist Rosario Ibarra de Piedra was the first woman to run in 1982. Election laws stipulate that no more than 70 percent of a party's candidates must be from a single gender —a round-about way of saying that at least 30 percent must be women.

On the other hand, women continue to be almost exclusively responsible for housework, 18 percent still cooking on wood fires and 13 percent trying to keep children healthy and house clean with dirt floors. They continue to earn 84 percent of what their male counterparts do and work for pay five hours more a week on average; and to support their families, they are swelling the ranks of the burgeoning informal sector. Despite a higher public profile, the recent case of eight women deputies who after being sworn in tried immediately to resign to leave their seats to male running mates showed that the 30-percent quota laws were only formally being adhered to. Plus, Mexico has the unfortunate privilege of having coined the term "feminicide," stemming originally from the cases of more than 300 women missing and/or murdered in the U.S. border city of Ciudad Juárez since the 1990s, a phenomenon since discovered to be a nationwide —and even international— trend of increasing violence against women just because they are women. The deployment of the army nationwide in the "fight against drugs" has brought with it increased incidence of rape by military and police personnel;[4] and the growing influence of organized crime in the country has sparked increasing concerns about human trafficking, mainly of women and children.

These contradictory changes are the result of struggles by working people to improve their lives, both during and after the 1910-1917 Revolution, combined with the needs of capital itself to modernize the country and create better conditions for it to compete in today's world.

SO, WHAT DID WOMEN ACTUALLY DO DURING THE REVOLUTION?

The most significant, life-changing activities women carried out in the revolution at the outset were related to their families. Hundreds of thousands of women were uprooted from their homes, traveling with the armies of Zapata, Villa, and Carranza —initially people's, not regular armies. Under these radically different conditions, they continued to be responsible for the same kinds of jobs they had done in the home, with the exception of tilling the land: making tortillas, cooking whatever was at hand, washing clothes, and nursing and caring for injured soldiers. But these activities were no longer carried out inside four walls, essential as that was for family survival: now, they were essential for the survival of the armies; because they needed water for all this work, they often acted as scouts to decide where the armies should camp. All this put women in the middle of public life at its most raw. It was an unparalleled upheaval in the lives of a large part of the female population, changing not only experiences but horizons and expectations.

One of the Revolution's most famous *corridos* is about these women, called "Adelitas":

> Popular among the troops was Adelita,
> The woman the sergeant idolized,
> And besides being brave, she was pretty.
> So much so that even the Colonel himself respected her.

Some of them, of course, risked their lives a couriers or spies, or took up arms themselves. And, as with any mass movement, a few individual women rose through the ranks to be put in positions of command. Zapatista Colonel Rosa

Bobadilla and journalist and activist Juana Gutiérrez de Mendoza, who participated in drafting Zapata's Ayala Plan, are cases in point. In the North, Elena Arizmendi promoted the creation of the Neutral White Cross, organizing nurses and medical students as the Porfirio Díaz-dictatorship-linked Red Cross stood on the sidelines.

Both before and during the Revolution, women of the middle and upper classes, particularly, but also some working women, set up all-women's organizations to discuss, analyze, publicize, and fight for women's rights. From 1904 to 1907, *The Mexican Woman. Monthly Scientific-Literary Magazine to Promote the Evolution and Perfection of Mexican Women* was published, arguing for women's right to access to the professions in order to become better homemakers. Two textile workers, the sisters María del Carmen and Catalina Frias, set up the 300-strong Daughters of Anahuac on the outskirts of Mexico City in 1907 to defend the rights of women workers who sympathized with the Flores Magón brothers' Mexican Liberal Party. After Victoriano Huerta's February 1913 coup against the Madero government, María Arias Bernal, Inés Malvaez and Eulalia Guzmán formed the Women's Loyalty Club, to hold weekly vigils at the gravesite of the assassinated president. In time, these gatherings became massive and a symbol of resistance to the usurper's government. From 1915 to 1919, Hermila Galindo and her team published more than 200 issues of the weekly *The Modern Woman*, demanding women's right to vote and throwing its support to the Carrancistas.

And, in 1916, over a thousand participants attended two famous Feminist Congresses in Yucatán, promoted and financed by Carrancista General Salvador Alvarado, then governor of the territory, and organized by, among others, Hermila Galindo. Participants, mainly school teachers, focused their discussion on women's education and job training, but also delved into suffrage and sexual hygiene. The government's objective was to modernize and secularize society, though participants expressed many other aims.

But What Did All These Struggles Achieve for Women as Women?

In 1915, Zapatista authorities issued a family law eliminating illegitimacy, recognizing common law marriage and establishing a woman's right to divorce. The Carranza government instituted the right to divorce and remarriage in December 1914. After the victory of the Carrancista forces, the 1917 Constitution established in general the right to work and have unions, the right to the land and the separation of Church and state, all important building blocks for future rights. More specifically, it stipulated equal rights to wages and to work for men and women, plus certain protections for women workers who were pregnant. The Family Relations Law passed the same year gave married women the right to sign contracts, participate in litigation, and equal rights to custody of their children as men; however, it also stipulated that adultery by the woman was always grounds for divorce, whereas in the case of men, there were a series of caveats.[5] The new law also compelled married women to have the husband's permission to work outside the home —a provision this writer had to adhere to as late as 1975. But neither the Constitution nor later legislation enfranchised women despite the fact that dedicated Carrancista and feminist Hermila Galindo proposed it to the Constituent Assembly. To the contrary, the first electoral law gave the vote exclusively to men.[6]

> After 1940, women's organizations —along with unions, peasant and urban residents' organizations— were absorbed into the PRI apparatus, completely eliminating their autonomy and political punch.

It was in the years following the Revolution proper that working people's fight for their rights bore other fruit that women shared in: greater access —not just the formal right— to education through literacy campaigns, carried out in mainly by women teachers in rural areas (1921-1922); making contraceptive advice available —Margaret Sanger's famous pamphlet was translated into Spanish— in Yucatán hospital clinics;[7] the right to divorce by mutual consent, and women's right to custody of the children, established in the 1928 Mexico City Civil Code after a prolonged campaign by feminists; the right for single women and widows who were breadwinners to be full members of the collectively farmed *ejidos* with the same formal right to the land as men (1927); and the right to maternity leave and to not have to perform dangerous jobs, established in the 1931 Federal Labor Law.[8]

In the 1930s, with a strong Communist Party presence, both rural and urban unions organized, spearheading the fight for decent working conditions, wages, and other rights. In

1935, women peasants and teachers organized massively in the United Front for Women's Rights (FUPDM) to demand their rights, including the vote. Finally, in 1938, Congress passed a law giving women the vote with the public approval of President Lázaro Cárdenas. But the law was never published in the *Official Gazette,* so it never went into effect. It was not until 1953, with the FUPDM, long dissolved into the ruling party, that the Institutional Revolutionary Party finally "gave" women the vote.

So, despite all the sacrifices, despite women's massive and specific participation in the revolutionary process and later struggles, before the state was completely consolidated by incorporating all the mass organizations into its structures, and despite certain measures to "modernize" the country with more or less positive consequences for women, what women gained from the Revolution was only partial recognition of their rights and demands. It should come as no surprise that women's organizations —along with unions, peasant and urban residents' organizations— were absorbed into the PRI apparatus, completely eliminating their autonomy and political punch.

HOW IS THIS RELEVANT TODAY?

The twenty-first century opened with the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) ousting the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) from office after 70 years. Three years earlier, the center-left Party for the Democratic Revolution (PRD) had won the mayor's seat in Mexico City, where one-fifth of the population lives; and six years before, the Zapatistas had taken over a small but significant corner of southern Mexico. Against a backdrop of deepening PRI-PAN neoliberal policies —even as they began to be discredited internationally— the scene was ripe for social, economic and political polarization as all forces fought for the upper hand.

By 2006, soaring unemployment and growth of the informal sector of the economy, cutbacks in public spending, including education and health care, the implementation of U.S.-backed measures to open a swathe of gigantic public works in a corridor reaching all the way to Panama, growing use of police and the military to quell discontent throughout the country, and the government offensive targeting unions particularly, led to a situation ripe for explosion.

Major social movements emerged, almost all involving women like in the previous century. Indigenous women organized to create new kinds of municipal governments in the Zapatistas' "caracol" movement in Chiapas. Peasant women opposed the building of the huge La Perota dam in the state of Guerrero. Mazahua indigenous women defended their water supply from being channeled into Mexico City and destroying their way of life. Peasant women opposed President Fox's attempt to expropriate their land to expand the Mexico City Airport in San Salvador Atenco. Miners' wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters fought to get their men's bodies brought up from the bottom of the Pasta de Conchos mine in Coahuila after a 2006 cave-in killed them. Thousands of them proudly called themselves "Adelitas" and took over the Senate building to prevent a law privatizing Mexico's oil refinery operation from being passed without even a debate. In Oaxaca, hundreds took over radio stations and broadcast for 21 days to end a media blackout of the 2006 movement in that state to oust the PRI strongman governor. And women workers and relatives went on hunger strike in 2010 to protest the firing of 44 000 electrical workers.

> The experience of the Mexican Revolution is a cautionary tale for women today; what is needed is for women to have their own autonomous, cross-sectoral movement to put forward their own demands.

Repeatedly, women organize around general demands, very often in women-specific groups, sometimes on their own initiative and sometimes at the initiative of the male-led organizations. Inevitably, individual women come to the fore as natural leaders.

But the main dynamic is that the contradiction their activity creates both at home and in the struggle itself with their traditional roles can lead them to put forward some form of specific demands addressing their oppression. The central political problem posed is whether this will blossom into a full-fledged movement for women's rights. This depends on the overall movement's internal development —including how long it lasts— the degree to which the women's organizations are under the tutelage of the male leadership, the ways women's demands are posed within the general movement, and the kind of support and links that can be made with other women's organizations regionally or nationally.

The proof that women's massive participation and even self-organization in political or sectoral movements has not been enough to end discrimination and inequality is that these

movements were not equipped politically to respond to the PAN/PRI joint offensive against the right to choose launched in October 2008.

A month after the Mexico City PRD-controlled Representative Assembly voted in April 2007 to decriminalize abortion for women up to 12 weeks pregnant and provide the service in public hospitals for free, the PAN-appointed head of the National Human Rights Commission filed an appeal questioning the law's constitutionality. But in August, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the legislature. Undaunted, in October, the ruling PAN and the opposition PRI began a joint onslaught in state legislatures to establish the fetus's "right to life" in state Constitutions. By May 2010, they had managed this in 18 out of 31 states, plus legislative changes to penal and health codes in some states, with assenting votes by individual legislators from every single congressional party thrown in for good measure.

Feminist groups responded immediately locally, denouncing the measures and defending women jailed for having had an abortion, but only three states coordinated with each other. Eventually a public campaign was launched to oppose the offensive in September 2009, and in December, 39 organizations from19 states launched a National Pact for Women's Life, Liberty, and Rights to demand the release of women prosecuted for having an abortion and the decriminalization of abortion nationwide, and to defend the secular state and the right to health.

Despite the feminist movement's relatively small size, local efforts combined with national pressure have had a positive effect: PRI President Beatriz Paredes had to publically retreat from her party's position; in a second round of voting in the Veracruz legislature, the PRI voted against its own constitutional reform; in a related matter, the Supreme Court ruled the use of the day-after pill constitutional in May 2010; and in April, PRD legislators formed their own network (including a few PRI adherents) to try to counter the measures and rein in some of their own party members who had voted for the state constitutional reforms. In September 2010, six women who, after miscarrying, had been sentenced to up to 35 years in prison for murder were freed in the PAN stronghold of Guanajuato. Though the war is far from won, at least a few skirmishes have been resolved favorably.

So, the experience of the Mexican Revolution is a cautionary tale for women today. Politically and socially, the kind of dynamics women experience in mass movements and the way that they respond to the contradictions that sharpen in their lives because of them seem to lead to an initial awareness about the social —not merely individual— nature of their oppression, and to empower them as a group and as individuals. But the far-reaching nature of that oppression and the key role it plays in maintaining the status quo is such that more is needed to fight it.

It is not enough for women to participate in social movements and political activities; it is not enough for them to participate and organize *as women* in these activities; it is not even enough for women to put forward their specific demands in these movements. All of this is positive and necessary, but what is also needed is for women to have their own autonomous, cross-sectoral movement to put forward their own demands. And this is a lot easier said than done. VM

NOTES

[1] This is a greatly abridged version of an article published in the U.S. magazine *Against the Current* (September-October 2010).

[2] The little existing census data for 1910 shows that almost 70 percent of those economically active worked in agriculture and animal husbandry, while today, more than half are in the service sector, with one-quarter employed in industry or construction.

[3] In 1929, 45 percent of homes were still made of adobe and only 3 percent of brick or other solid materials; by 2000, 9.9 percent were made of adobe and 78.9 percent of solid materials. Sixty years ago, in 1950, only 17 percent of homes had running water either inside or outside the dwelling, compared to 88 percent in 2005. As late as 1960, 82.5 percent of homes still cooked on wood fires, while by 2000, this number had dropped to 18.1 percent. Only 20.9 percent of homes had bathrooms with toilets in 1960, compared to 86.6 percent in 2000; and as late as 1970, 41 percent of homes had dirt floors, a number that had dropped to 13.4 percent by 2000.

[4] The case of three indigenous Zapatista women raped by troops in 1994, the 2006 rape of 14 sex workers in the Castaños, Coahuila red light district by soldiers, the rape and sexual harassment by police of 26 women detained in a 2006 mass arrest in Atenco, State of Mexico, and the 2007 death of 73-year-old Ernestina Asencio Rosario, in Zongolica, Veracruz, after being gang raped by soldiers are merely the most publicized examples.

[5] For a woman to divorce her husband on the grounds of adultery, the act had to have taken place in the family home; the man had to have lived with his mistress; or the husband had to have mistreated physically or verbally or publicly insulted his wife.

[6] Despite this, local dynamics were often more progressive: in San Luis Potosí, women were given the vote for three years in local elections (1923-1926), and in Yucatán, several women were elected to local office in 1923 and 1924.

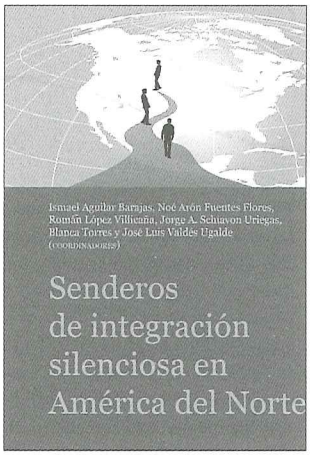
[7] This actually sparked a counter-measure in 1922 by newspaper *Excélsior*, which launched a campaign to make May 10 Mexico's Mother's Day, celebrated to this day.

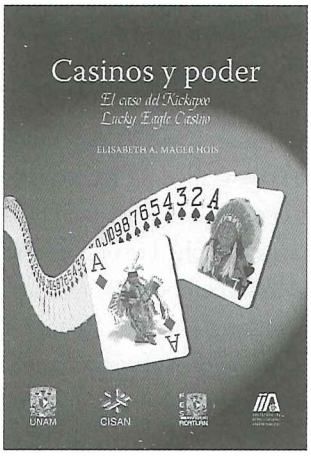
[8] Although the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS) was established in 1944, it was not until 1973 that the IMSS set up its first child care centers; at the same time, the Mexican government was also beginning a big push to lower the birth rate in accordance with McNamara's worldwide population control policies.

CISAN
publications

Senderos de integración silenciosa en América del Norte
Ismael Aguilar Barajas, Noé Arón Fuentes Flores, Román López Villicaña, Jorge A. Schiavon Uriegas, Blanca Torres y José Luis Valdés Ugalde
editors

Optimism about furthering North American economic integration has given way to signs of discouragement in different sectors. However, some analysts affirm that integration is moving ahead and that spaces for dialogue and coordinating efforts and different kinds of trilateral policies are being strengthened. In some areas, though, what we see is a return to the bilateralism that characterized relations between the United States and Canada and the United States and Mexico before signing NAFTA.





Casinos y poder El caso del Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino

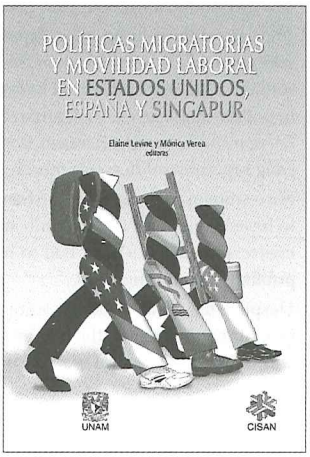
Elisabeth A. Mager Hois

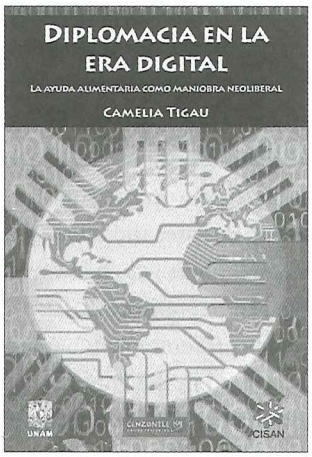
Setting up casinos on Indian reservations in the United States has changed power relations. The Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino, while resolving economic problems of the Kikapoo tribe, has also created internal conflicts due to the new social stratification and the economic and political power it creates. Legislation and negotiations with the federal and Texas governments challenge the tribe's self determination and sovereignty, posing the question of whether the United States has achieved greater assimilation through casinos than through direct policy or armed force.

Políticas migratorias y movilidad laboral en Estados Unidos, España y Singapur

Elaine Levine y Mónica Verea
editors

The authors analize both the migratory flows, and state politics to control and regulate them in the last decades, in three countries: the United States, Spain and Singapur. Their main thesis is that modern states try to control or regulate migratory flows depending on their current economic or political junctures.





Diplomacia en la era digital. La ayuda alimentaria como maniobra neoliberal

Camelia Tigau

Understanding diplomacy as a series of subterfuges, tricks and other methods of war has had a negative impact on international relations. This includes the issue of food: neoliberal maneuvering has blocked the flow of aid from the rich to the poorest countries. Undoubtedly, moving ahead toward a more democratic or network-based diplomacy would renew the ways individuals, communities, provinces and nations relate to each other, just as this work suggests.

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UNAM: A Place of Learning, Knowledge, and Culture

Rector José Narro Robles*

Guillermo Perea/Cuartoscuro

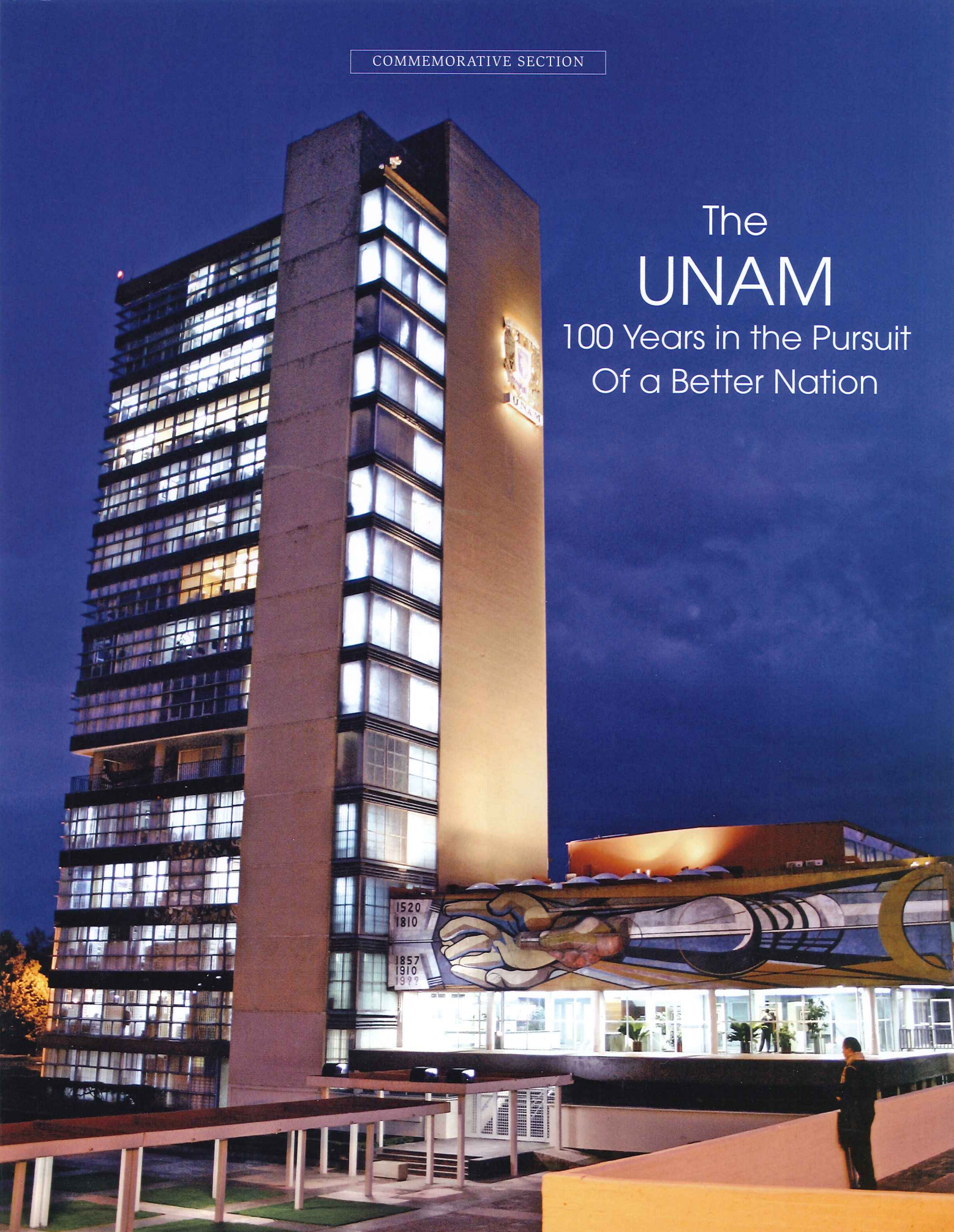
My first words must be our thanks to the Congress for this recognition of the nation's university. Through me, the university community expresses our gratitude to all the Chamber of Deputies and Senate caucuses, to the presidents of the leadership councils, to the political coordination committees, to all our legislators, both men and women. For us, this ceremony is of inestimable value.

The University of Mexico is part of our country's history. It is an institution that has changed along with our nation. That was its history during the vice-royalty, amidst the tumultuous nineteenth century, and that is its history in the centennial we are celebrating now.

The project crafted by Justo Sierra created a fundamental institution for Mexico's modernization, so the Mexico from before the Revolution could transit to the Mexico of today. For that reason, I believe we can say in all fairness that the Mexican nation would not be the same today without its university, just as we can say that the university would not be the same if it had not been so closely tied to the society it is a part of, to its needs and aspirations. The university's link to the nation is the best demonstration of just how right Justo Sierra was when he thought that Mexico needed a liberating institution, capable of mentally emancipating it, an institution that would give sustenance to its modernization and material progress.

* Speech of the Rector of the UNAM before the Solemn Joint Session of Congress to celebrate the national university centennial, September 22, 2010.

Photo on the previous page by Barry Domínguez/UNAM Office for Cultural Outreach Communications Department.



The UNAM

100 Years in the Pursuit Of a Better Nation

Justo Sierra founded a university for the whole country, an institution that has not just been a simple purveyor of knowledge, but a true educator. As he wanted, in the last 100 years, the National University has supported the country's development. The National University has contributed a great deal in service provision, in the economy, in the expansion of infrastructure, in science, in technological development, in culture, in politics. For that reason, with pride and satisfaction we can say to our founder Justo Sierra, "Mission accomplished!"

The most visible contribution of the National Autonomous University of Mexico to the country's development is the education of millions of young people who have studied and graduated from its classrooms, both its high schools and bachelor's and graduate studies programs. The UNAM has opened the doors of knowledge to young people from all levels of society, many of whom have been the first in their families to venture into higher education.

The UNAM is one of the country's most important spaces for the cultivation of science and the humanities. It is a place not only for developing Mexican thought but Ibero-Ameri-

The new course of development must make its axis the fight against inequality, poverty, exclusion, ignorance, and disease. We must recognize that no project is worthwhile if it does not serve to improve the population's living conditions.

Guillermo Perea/Cuartoscuro

100 UNAM UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE MÉXICO 1910 - 2010

National Autonomous University of Mexico

Chronology

BACKGROUND

- **September 21, 1551**
  The decree creating the Royal Papal University of Mexico is issued.

- **January 25, 1553**
  The Royal Papal University of Mexico, modeled after European universities in the scholastic tradition, particularly that of the University of Salamanca, opens its doors.

- **1810-1820**
  Period of Independence. The institution's name changes to the University of Mexico.

- **1867**
  Dr. Gabino Barreda establishes the National Preparatory School, with a study plan inspired in the thought of Auguste Comte.

- **1881**

IISUE/AHUNAM/ Justo Sierra Collection

Justo Sierra introduces a bill to the Chamber of Deputies that will be the precedent for Mexico's modern university. It includes proposals to create the Schools of Fine

The project crafted by Justo Sierra created a fundamental institution for Mexico's modernization, so the Mexico from before the Revolution could transition to the Mexico of today.

can thought. It has produced new knowledge to benefit society over the entire 100 years of its existence as the National University; it has contributed to the development of institutions of higher learning in Mexico and abroad. In addition to being a place of learning, the UNAM is a place of culture, creativity, and of the dissemination of all three. In its different spaces, the university fulfills its function of extending the benefits of Mexican, Ibero-American, and universal culture.

At the same time that it has lived up to its essential responsibilities, the UNAM has shouldered many other tasks. It is the custodian of Mexico's historic memory in its National Library and National Publications Library; it is the repository of many national collections; and it provides invaluable services to the entire country. Examples of this are the Seismological and Oceanographic Services and the National Observatory. We can also add its role in forging the country's regimen of freedoms; in developing the democratic life of Mexico; in educating leaders for all sectors of society and in all the fields of knowledge and human endeavor; and in organizing and developing several of our institutions.

We recognize our shortcomings, and we make our best efforts at overcoming them. We know that there is room for improvement, and we are committed to that. We are constantly encouraged by the possibility of advancing toward the fulfillment of our aims.

Because of our commitment to the country's affairs, we members of the university community are concerned with the conditions affecting Mexico. Without a doubt, today we are better off than we were a century ago, but we have still not gotten where we want to go. True progress cannot be created amidst inequality and exclusion, amidst ignorance and preventable deaths. Neither can society prosper or live in peace with the levels of insecurity now plaguing us.

It is time to recognize that many of our problems, both the historic ones and those derived from the process of modernization itself, have no solution if we continue along the same road, if profound reforms are not made, if alternate policies are not put into practice, if a new national project is not imagined and sketched out.

We require updating many of our institutions to move ahead in democracy, to strengthen federalism and the separation of powers, to stimulate economic development, to consolidate the true rule of law establishing its primacy, but also to reinforce social policy. Mexico's new times demand a renovated design for its future, and, as a result, a comprehensive reform.

Elsie Montiel

The University Coat of Arms and Motto[1]


Elsie Montiel

José Vasconcelos (1882-1959), who became rector of the university in 1920, was the creator of the university coat of arms and motto. They both summarize his belief in the emergence of what he called a "cosmic race" that, through culture, would free not only Mexicans but all the peoples of Latin America from oppression. "To avoid having ever to disown our homeland, it is fitting that we live up to the highest interest of the race, even when that is not in the high interest of humanity. The fifth race, the race that will abolish all races and infelicitous racist obduracies, will raise high the standard of the ultimate tone of Man and his superior destiny."[2] This fifth race would come about from Latin America's mixing of the races. That is why the UNAM coat of arms displays the Mexican eagle and the Andean condor, atop a volcano and a nopal cactus, protecting Latin America from Mexico's northern border to Cape Horn. In addition, the spirit transcends the race and everything material. To Vasconcelos, as Mexican philosopher Abelardo Villegas explains, the spirit is the reorganizer of substance; that is, the spiritualization of the material world allows human beings to create and perceive beauty. For that reason, the motto "The spirit shall speak for my race" expresses the hope that the "cosmic race" will be the home to the spirit that will generate universal knowledge and greatness.

Isabel Morales
Staff Writer

[1] Information taken from Álvaro Matute and Martha Donís, comps., *José Vasconcelos: de su vida y su obra. Textos selectos de las jornadas vasconcelianas de 1982* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1984), Textos de Humanidades Collection no. 39 and http://www.100.unam.mx/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=101.
[2] José Vasconcelos, "La raza cósmica. Misión de la raza iberoamericana," *Obras completas* vol. II (Mexico City: Libreros Mexicanos, 1958), pp. 903-942, http://www.iphi.org.br/sites/filosofia_brasil/Jos%C3%A9_Vasconcelos_La_raza_c%C3%B3smica.pdf.

We need to make the great leap from unequal Mexico to a Mexico with equity, solidarity, and social justice, where opulence and misery are curbed, as José María Morelos y Pavón outlined 200 years ago. Social rights for all Mexicans today are a basic condition for advancing toward the country we all want, but it is not enough for those rights to be enunciated in the text of the Constitution. We must move ahead and make it possible to demand them.

In the twenty-first century, Mexico's agenda must recognize this as its starting point. The new course of development must make its axis the fight against inequality, poverty, exclusion, ignorance, and disease. We must recognize that no project is worthwhile if it does not serve to improve the population's living conditions. It is true that in budget terms, we must act responsibly, but not by making policies whose central thrust is to preserve financial or fiscal equilibriums more important than resolving social inequalities or our people's human development.

We need focuses that look at the country in the long term. We must regain our self-confidence and change to anticipate

Arts, Commerce and Political Science, Jurisprudence, Engineering, and Medicine; the Normal School; the School of Higher Studies; the National Preparatory School; and the Women's Middle School.


IISUE/AHUNAM/ Colección Universidad

- **1907**
The Ministry of Public Instruction, headed by Justo Sierra, sends pedagogue Ezequiel A. Chávez to Europe and the United States "to analyze the functioning of several universities." This fieldwork was the basis for the final proposal for the National University of Mexico.

BIRTH OF THE UNAM

- **September 22, 1910**


IISUE/AHUNAM/ Colección Universidad

The National University of Mexico is inaugurated. The Universities of Salamanca, Paris, and Berkeley act as sponsors of the new institution.

- **1910**
Justo Sierra proposes the university's first motto, "In the love of science and of the homeland is the health of the people."

The UNAM's Place in the World

Jesús Eduardo López Reyes/IISUE/AHUNAM/Colección UNAM

Since 2004, World University Rankings has put the UNAM among the world's top 200 universities. Published in *The Times* of London's *Higher Education* supplement, in 2008, the rankings put the UNAM in 150th place; in 2005 it was among the top 100 because it was awarded 20th place in the field of arts and the humanities, and 93rd in sciences. In July 2010, the Higher Council of Scientific Research of Spain's Cybermetrics Laboratory published its ranking of universities of the world on internet, in which the UNAM occupies 70th place (http://www.webometrics.info).

new challenges. It would be very difficult to advance along this road if we did not put the priority that is required on education, on science, and on technological development. Today's information society is transforming industrial societies into societies based on knowledge and innovation. This implies substantial investment in both these fields.

Progress in this area implies enormous challenges for nations like ours. How can we belong to the information society and economy in our current condition? Rhetoric aside, if our reality does not change radically, we will remain stranded in the old century. We will not be on the right path as long as we earmark 0.7 percent of GNP to higher education and 0.4 percent to research. It will not be possible as long as only three out of every ten Mexican young people study in institutions of higher learning. It will not be viable as long as the number of patents Mexicans register does not increase tenfold.

In these times when the value of politics is in decline, we must vindicate its original meaning: the participation of the citizenry in matters of interest to all, not as an end in itself, but as a means for realizing aims useful to society. We must return to the intrinsic values of politics: dialogue, negotiation, respect for the opinion of others, and the determination to reach agreements.

The UNAM has produced new knowledge to benefit society over the entire 100 years of its existence as the National University; it has contributed to the development of institutions of higher learning in Mexico and abroad.

The university is an academic institution. To fulfill its aims, it must preserve freedom of thought, research, expression, and criticism. This freedom implies that the university must not be subordinate to or fall into line with the interests emanating from the exercise of politics. In the university, all ideologies, all currents of thought, have their place, whether as an object of study, as a way of analyzing reality, or as a method for making sure that pluralism is expressed with absolute freedom. However, what does not have a place is the politics whose aim is obtaining power. It does not have a place because taking a side would put an end to the richness of its pluralism.

I am among those who have no doubt that the different national agendas run through our university. However, for this to be real, those of us who coordinate the community's labors must put to one side personal agendas at the same time that a healthy, responsible proximity is maintained with all the country's political forces, all its sectors, with society as a whole. The event that brings us together today is one example of this.

I have not heard a single legislator in Congress oppose education, science, and culture. On the contrary, in the last decade, the Chamber of Deputies increased support for higher education by Mex$50 billion. That decision created neither an imbalance in public finances nor a collapse of our economy.

In contrast, with these increases and those proposed by the federal executive, in ten years high school and higher education enrollment has increased by more than one million students, and the universities were strengthened.

We citizens have frequently seen our country's political forces come to agreements. We are very pleased by this. It is clear to us that this is difficult in electoral times, but we are even clearer that not all times are electoral times. It has also been possible to establish political pacts that initially seemed unlikely.

Today, before this sovereign body, I would respectfully like to ask the political forces represented in Congress to establish a grand agreement for the rescue of society that

Mexico demands, that is required for paying the debt owed down through history, that we need to solve the problems that concerned Morelos, Benito Juárez, or Emiliano Zapata, the very same ones that plague many of us today.

Specifically, I would invite you to initially mark that commitment by establishing an on-going state policy —not the policy of a single administration— to double higher education coverage and enforce the General Law of Education, which for the last five years has stipulated that one percent of GDP should be earmarked for "scientific research and technological development." Equally, doubling the resources destined to art and culture and the approval of multi-annual budgets in this area should be considered.

We must regain our self-confidence and change to anticipate new challenges. It would be very difficult to advance along this road if we did not put the priority that is required on education, on science, and on technological development.

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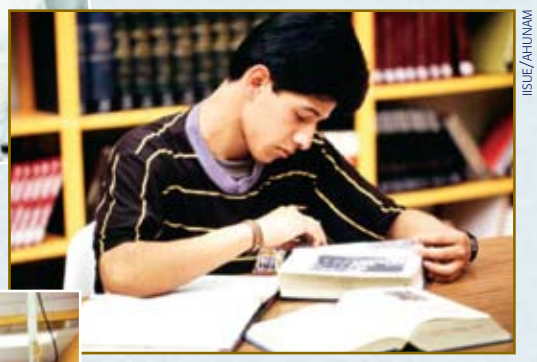

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- **1915**

José Vasconcelos takes office as the Minister of Instruction. Legislation is passed and signed by Venustiano Carranza declaring the university autonomous.

- **1920**

José Vasconcelos becomes rector of the university. "At this time, I am not here to work for the university, but to ask the university to work for the people," he said in his inaugural speech. From his post in the university, he proposed education be federalized as a step toward the creation of a Ministry of Public Education. As rector, he reincorporated the National Preparatory School into the university, launched a national literacy campaign, incorporated women into public education, and exempted poor students from paying tuition.

- **1921**

The law establishing the institution's coat of arms and motto, "The spirit shall speak for my race," went into effect. On the coat of arms, the motto, still current today, together with the image of an eagle and a condor, surround the map of Latin America.

We must return to basic principles. What is important is not what people have on the stock market. What is transcendent and must be appreciated are the values citizens carry with them.

For the current budget year, equally respectfully, I would ask the Honorable Chamber of Deputies to increase the resources destined to public federal and state universities, to science, and to culture, in addition to maintaining those proposed by the federal executive for the UNAM, which we all respect. Doing this will strengthen the institutions and will be an investment in the present and the future of our country: its youth.

Not a single peso of what is required for higher education, science, and culture must be denied those institutions, but neither should a penny of the budget be channeled away from its purpose. Therefore, transparency in the exercise of public monies and accountability are irreplaceable and any siphoning off must be vigorously punished.

Today, when the world's system of secular values is flagging, today when money and material goods have become the emblem of success, we must return to basic principles. We must not forget! What is important is not what people have on the stock market. What is transcendent and must be appreciated are the values citizens carry with them.

I am sure that a better Mexico is on the horizon, more just, free, and democratic. A Mexico with greater opportunities for its youth and children; with better jobs and income for our working population; with greater dignity for our senior citizens; with better living conditions for all. A different Mexico, but with its National University accompanying it on its path and mission.

There are more, many more of us who believe in our homeland, who know that we can do it, who maintain that a change of paradigm is possible, without upsets or shakeups, but with a clear push toward the future. The challenge is not only to make the economy grow, but also and particularly, to improve the dignity of those who have nothing, to build true human development for all. For that, we must act more justly, as well as think big and for the long term.

In the name of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, I reiterate my most sincere gratitude to the Congress for this solemn session. Those of us in the university community, academics, students, and employees, those of today and those who came before us, express our profound recognition of all those who, down through the years, have believed in and supported Mexico's university.

We also thank all the branches of government, the legislature, the judiciary, the municipal and state governments, the government of Mexico City and the federal government, who have supported our institution in very different ways. I also want to express our recognition of those individuals and social, business, philanthropic, and the most diverse kinds of organizations, as well as sister academic institutions in our country and around the globe, for their support and encouragement of the UNAM.

Lastly, I cannot omit a very special mention of Mexican society. It is to that society that we owe our existence and for it that we continue our endeavors. To society as a whole, our gratitude.

I have said that in these times, it is appropriate to shout "Long live Mexico and the UNAM!" It is also the time to reiterate the university's motto: "The spirit shall speak for my race." VM

The First 100 Years Of the National University

Lourdes M. Chehaibar Náder*

The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) is commemorating its first 100 years as a national institution of higher education. Over this century, it has built and consolidated itself on a voyage of achievements, complications, and conflicts as the cultural institution of greatest importance to the nation's development; as an unquestion-

*Director of the UNAM Institute for Research on the University and Education (IISUE).

Gaceta UNAM

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- **1929**
  The university acquires its definitive name: the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

- **1933**
  Manuel Gómez Morín crafts the document outlining the university's legal organization, approved by the University Council, defining the significance and scope of its autonomy, as well as relations between the university and the state.

- **1937**
  University Radio begins broadcasting as a space for national culture. Its first director is Alejandro Gómez Arias.

- **1939-1940**

Wikimedia.org

  After the end of the Spanish Civil War, a flood of Spanish exiles streams into Mexico. Among them are outstanding intellectuals who contribute to our country's cultural enrichment. The so-called "teachers of Spanish exile" become permanent members of the different institutions of higher education and research, and one of the great beneficiaries of this is the UNAM.

- **1946**
  On April 6, the *Official Gazette* publishes the Law on the Foundation and Construction of University City. In September the gazette publishes the decree

IISUE/AHUNAM/Colección Justo Sierra

Justo Sierra.

IISUE/UNAM

1910 coat of arms.

IISUE/AHUNAM/Colección UNAM

Today's coat of arms.

able cultural reference point for Mexicans and foreigners alike: a pluralist, critical, generous space.

It was thanks to the efforts of Justo Sierra, who since the 1880s had been putting forward the importance of creating a national university, that on May 26, 1910, the Charter of the National University of Mexico was passed, and on September 22 of that same year it was inaugurated against the backdrop of the celebrations for the Centennial of Independence.

As Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts Don Justo Sierra said in his speech at the ceremony, the National University was established to respond to the nation's scientific needs; to understand the origins and characteristics of the extensive, varied territory of Mexico, together with its complex population. To succeed in this endeavor, the intellectual energy of the country would be brought together to crown the great pyramid of national education. As a modern, secular body it would be responsible for training the intellectual elite, yet the benefits of its undertaking would have to extend to the whole population, like the water from a spring that "flows down to irrigate the plants germinating across our native land." Thus, it would serve all with the formation of good professionals, fostering peace, health, wealth, and civility.

The institution began its educational endeavors with six national schools:[1] a Preparatory School, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Engineering, Fine Arts —insofar as this covers architecture— and Advanced Studies.[2] Enrollment was not even 2 000; the buildings were in what is now known as Mexico City's historic downtown, and the first rector was Don Joaquín Eguía Lis.

Less than two months after the inauguration, the Mexican Revolution broke out. The university, created under the government of Porfirio Díaz, was not well-liked by the revolutionaries; nonetheless, and, amidst financial, political and

Don Justo Sierra said the National University was established to respond to the nation's scientific needs, to understand the origins and characteristics of Mexico's vast, varied territory, together with its complex population.

logistical difficulties, academic work was to carry on for the duration of the armed struggle.

The following years bear the influence of José Vasconcelos, first from mid-1920 to mid-1921 as rector,[3] and later as the first head of the newly-created Ministry of Public Education, the centralized institution for the development of education in Mexico.

The idea of university extramural education, as promoted by Vasconcelos, was retained and grew in subsequent years, showing the importance the institution acquired for the country. The National University participated in the literacy campaigns, in the provision of free health care and legal services, and in mapping and cleaning up the capital in the first years after the revolution.

Gradually, over its first few decades, the university created and incorporated several new academic bodies, such as the Nursing School and the National Schools of Dentistry and Industrial Chemistry, while it increased the number of high schools under its direction. In 1924 the National School of Advanced Studies became the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Besides rectors Joaquín Eguía Lis and José Vasconcelos, mentioned above, the institution had also been led by Ezequiel A. Chávez (twice), Valentín Gama y Cruz, José Na-

Justo Sierra Méndez (1848-1912)

Writer, poet, historian, journalist, and politician. As a federal deputy, he presented a bill, passed in 1881, establishing mandatory primary education and founding the National University of Mexico, although it was not until 1910 that it was actually formally created. In his inaugural speech, Sierra told the university community, "You are a group that is constantly being culled from society, and you have in your charge the achievement of a political and social ideal that can be summed up as democracy and liberty."

tividad Macías, Balbino Dávalos, Alfonso Pruneda, Antonio Caso Andrade, and Antonio Castro Leal, plus Mariano Silva y Aceves as interim rector.

Gaining Autonomy

The year 1929 was crucial for the university, which already boasted about 9 000 students, when the government of President Emilio Portes Gil drew up a new University Charter granting it limited autonomy, which came into effect on July

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Old School of Medicine.

expropriating the land in Mexico City's southern neighborhood Pedregal de San Ángel, where University City would later be built.

- **1949**

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The Union of Universities of Latin America is created. UNAM enrollment totals a little over 23 000 students.

- **1950**

The cornerstone is laid for the School of Science, the first building of University City.

- **1954**

University City is formally handed over to the university. The *UNAM Gazette* begins publication thanks to the initiative of Henrique González Casanova.

- **1955**

New high school campuses and the new schools in University City bring enrollment up to over 36 000 students.

- **1956**

The dramatized poetry recital program "Poetry Aloud" begins, with the participation of Octavio Paz, Juan José Arreola, Antonio Alatorre, and Margit Frend, among others, reading their own poetry.

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National Observatory.

José Vasconcelos Calderón (1882-1959)

A graduate of the School of Jurisprudence, he was also a writer, philosopher, and politician, but above all, an untiring promoter of education in Mexico. From 1920 to 1921, he was rector of the university and the creator of its motto, "The spirit shall speak for my race," and its coat of arms. Among other initiatives, he reincorporated the National Preparatory School into the university and wrote the project creating the Ministry of Public Education, which he later headed up, making important strides forward in literacy by setting up traveling libraries and organizing the mass publication of classics from philosophy and literature.

10 that year. Ignacio García Téllez was designated as the new head of the university.

Along with training high school and university graduates,[4] the new law sought to stimulate the institution's research and cultural dissemination functions, with the incorporation of the National Geology Institute, the Biology Institute, the El Chopo Museum, the House on the Lake cultural center, the National Observatory, and the National Library.

In 1933, President Abelardo L. Rodríguez decided to grant full autonomy to the institution with a new law for its operation that awarded it exclusive and absolute responsibility for its own orientation, and its own financial resources, while depriving it of its national status. It should be pointed out that the university never accepted this last aspect of the regulatory text. Manuel Gómez Morín, appointed rector under this new regime, set about a major regulatory and fund-raising effort.

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Manuel Gómez Morín.

In these difficult circumstances Gómez Morín was followed by Rectors Fernando Ocaranza, Luis Chico Goerne, Gustavo Baz, and Mario de la Cueva (interim), during whose terms in office the university continued operating. In the 1930s the School of Science was created along with institutes and centers for research in the humanities and sciences.

New publications appeared, including the *Revista de la Universidad de México* (University of Mexico Magazine) and the *Anales del Instituto de Biología* (Annals of the Biology Institute), and the university printing office and radio were established. Meanwhile community service activities were fostered, such as legal consultations, analyses of soil conditions and water quality, dental and medical care, veterinary attention, and so on.

This was also the period when several notable Spanish intellectuals, refugees from the Civil War, joined the university. With their training in philosophy, literature, history, anthropology, and politics, their work and teaching undoubtedly made a major contribution to the university and to Mexico.

In January 1945, during the presidency of Manuel Ávila Camacho, the charter still in effect today was passed, consolidating its public, national, and autonomous character.[5] This date marked the beginning of an unprecedented development process, in which higher education in general and

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Radio UNAM.

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José Vasconcelos.

the UNAM in particular would play a leading role in shaping urban growth, modernizing production facilities, expanding the middle class and cultural offerings, among other matters of national interest.

By these years the university boasted two faculties and 13 national schools,[6] attended by over 22 000 students, in addition to the 12 institutes,[7] the National Observatory, and the National Library. A renewed impetus came from the creation of what are still the Coordinating Offices for Research in the Sciences and Humanities. A new era was beginning for the university, which had been assigned a leading role in a Mexico with new horizons for growth.

The Creation of University City

The growth of the student body, of its academic staff, and its functions and departments meant that a point came when the university required facilities with greater capacity than those it occupied in the so-called "university neighborhood" in downtown Mexico City. In 1943 Rector Rodolfo Brito Foucher began the process of acquiring lands in the Pedregal de San

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Ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the Science Tower.

- **1958**

The UNAM acquires the IBM 650 computer, the first in the UNAM, Mexico, and Latin America, and installs it in the School of Science.

- **1960**

The Center for Literary Studies, the UNAM Film Archives, and the Health Center are founded.

- **1961**

Enrollment grows exponentially to almost 67 000 students.

- **1966**

The new General Exam Regulations are approved, giving students from university high schools and the National Preparatory School automatic admittance to college-level studies.

- **1968**

IISUE/AHUNAM/Esther Montero

Conflicts begin that are the starting point of the student movement made up of UNAM and National Polytechnic Institute (IPN) students against the repressive administration of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. Starting July 1, police and army constantly harass

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The construction of University City.

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University City's design and construction was the work of Mexican engineers, architects, and visual artists, an outstanding example of the consolidation of modern national architecture.

Ángel neighborhood for the site of University City. In 1945, President Manuel Ávila Camacho introduced a bill for the Law for the Foundation and Construction of University City, approved by Congress and passed into law in April 1946.

On March 10, 1948, the preparatory drainage, leveling, and bridging work began. One year later, Carlos Lazo was named general manager of works, and by June 5, 1950, the cornerstone of the Science Tower had already been laid, symbolizing the start of construction of University City. In November 1952, Miguel Áleman, Mexico's first civilian president and an UNAM alumnus, attended the dedication ceremony for University City, and finally, in March 1954, President Ruiz Cortines led the first opening of courses in the university's new home. Enrollment exceeded 33 000 students.

The work had cost Mex$150 million and lasted 28 months, thanks to the efforts of 150 architects and engineers, over 10 000 workers, and the university administrative personnel and authorities, particularly Rectors Salvador Zubirán, Luis Garrido, and Nabor Carrillo.

University City's design and construction was the work of Mexican engineers, architects, and visual artists. It constitutes an outstanding example of the consolidation of modern and national architecture, reminiscent of pre-Hispanic buildings. It combines great beauty and functionality with works of visual art.

University City's large scale made a significant impact on the country. On the one hand, it helped develop national industry, which would see a 6 percent growth over the following two decades, and supported the expansion of companies or increased their productive capacity. On the other, it also

had a significant influence on the city's growth, in extending the public transport system, and on tourism, to say the least.

University City is a symbol of those days of modernization and industrialization, as well as a turning point in the history of the UNAM and in higher education in Mexico.

Expansion and Increasing Complexity

In 1954, with University City in full swing, the UNAM began a period of stabilization and growth. Over the 1950s and 1960s enrollment soared, apace with the professional schools, research, and cultural dissemination. In 1955 the UNAM catered to over 37 000 students; by 1960, this figure had reached almost 60 000.

So, the expansion of National Preparatory School campuses continued until there were nine, and it increased to a three-year course. Meanwhile, the National School of Political and Social Sciences was created, together with new research institutes and extension centers, such as the Center for Electronic Calculation, which boasted the country's first computer, to mention but a few.

In 1968 a student movement emerged questioning the federal government's authoritarianism, and in which the UNAM community played a leading role. Then-Rector Javier Barros Sierra supported the students and led one of the most important marches. University City was occupied by the army, and the movement was brutally repressed on October 2 in the capital's Tlatelolco area. Nevertheless, 1968 was a wa-

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In the 1960s and 1970s the University established itself as a space for critical thinking and imagination.

the students. On August 1, Rector Javier Barros Sierra makes a famous speech defending university autonomy, saying, "We need to show the people of Mexico that we are a responsible community, that we deserve autonomy, but not only will we defend that; we will also defend the demand for the freedom of our imprisoned brothers and sisters (and) the halt of the repression."

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The National Strike Committee is created. The student movement puts forward six points on its list of demands, among them: freedom for political prisoners and the repeal of Articles 145 and 145b of the Criminal Code that stipulate the punishment for acts contributing to the disintegration of society. The media propagates the false idea that the student movement's objective is to sabotage the Olympic Games slated for inauguration in October in the University Stadium.

On September 13 the "March of Silence" takes place, headed by Rector Barros Sierra, an example of the student movement's civic responsibility. On September 18, the army occupies University City for 12 days.

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University City is a symbol of those days of modernization and industrialization, as well as a turning point in the history of the UNAM and in higher education in Mexico.

tershed in the country's political development, since it conquered once and for all a space for critical thinking and the imagination.

In the 1970s, the university not only grew, but diversified and became more complex. It started the decade with a little over 100 000 students and ended it with more than 280 000. The Science and Humanities High Schools (CCH) and the Open University System (SUA) were created. Later, the National Schools of Professional Studies (ENEP) were founded —in Cuautitlán, Acatlán, Iztacala, Aragón, and Zaragoza— broadening the range of educational opportunities and the existing capabilities with a multi-disciplinary organization, associated with the northern and eastern sectors of the Mexico City metropolitan area. The Science Research City was also built, new majors were opened, the graduate schools grew, the National School of Social Work was founded, and the University Cultural Center was built.

Jesús Eduardo López Reyes/IISUE/AHUNAM/Colección UNAM

Elsie Montiel

The 1980s and 1990s were marked by rapid changes in international conditions. Mexico faced a series of financial crises, and the government reduced funding to social programs, in particular to higher education.

Nonetheless, the University, with its unrelenting spirit, grew and strengthened the development of its core functions. Thus the Humanities Research City was built, the campus ecological reserve was created, and new academic facilities were opened in other states around the country.

The beginning of the third millennium saw great efforts to bolster the university's academic functions, of note among which are the creation, updating, greater flexibility, and accreditation of study plans; broadening out of mechanisms for and of student mobility; and a decisive push for graduate studies and open and distance learning, backed up by the expansion of technological capacity.

The institution's solidity and the university community's commitment have meant that, from the second half of the current decade, the National University has been positioned as the best in Latin America in the international rankings that rate its academic level, Internet potential, and its standing on the labor market.

Today, the university that began with six schools and fewer than 2 000 students caters to nearly 315 000 students with an academic faculty of over 35 000. It offers three kinds of high school education (nine campuses of the National Preparatory School, five Sciences and Humanities High Schools, and distance education); 85 undergraduate majors in 13 faculties; five multi-disciplinary centers (the higher studies faculties); and four national schools; plus, of course, the 40 graduate programs. It also offers open and distance learning systems at all these levels.

The incipient research that began at the start of the twentieth century has been consolidated, and today accounts for about half of all that carried out nationwide, through 54 institutes, centers, and programs. Associated with this research undertaking, the university is also charged with a number of

Jesús Eduardo López Reyes/IISUE/AHUNAM/Colección UNAM

The National University has been positioned as the best in Latin America in the international rankings that rate its academic level, Internet potential, and its standing in the labor market.

services of national scope. It makes available to the university community and to society as a whole an immense range of advisory and other types of services, among which may be highlighted the library network;[8] the computer and communications infrastructure; publications; legal, fiscal, psychological, pedagogical, and social work advisory services; and medical, dentist, and veterinary services; as well as services for the pharmaceutical, chemical, and construction industries, among many others.

Committed to the cultivation and dissemination of the multiple manifestations of art and culture for the comprehensive education of members of the university and Mexican society as a whole, the UNAM also produces, programs, and disseminates the musical, visual, literary, film, theater, and dance arts through a network of concert halls, theaters, auditoriums, and museums of national and international standing.

Apart from the Mexico City metropolitan area, the UNAM has academic facilities in almost all states in Mexico. Meanwhile, the high school, undergraduate, and graduate study plans of 317 public and private educational institutions are incorporated into the UNAM, which furthermore provides revalidation services for studies carried out elsewhere in Mexico and abroad. Meanwhile, the university boasts five academic centers in the United States, one in Canada, and another in Spain.

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On October 2, a rally held in the Three Cultures Plaza in Tlatelolco is repressed; many students are killed and most of the student leaders are jailed.

On October 12, the XIX Olympic Games are inaugurated in University City. After the games end, university activities tend to go back to normal, despite the fact that a large number of professors and students remain under arrest. On December 4, the student strike ends.

- **1970**
  The student population reaches 107 056. The University Council approves a petition for amnesty for the members of the university community held as political prisoners, presented by Rector Pablo González Casanova.

- **1971**
  On January 25, the University Council approves the creation of the Sciences and Humanities High Schools.

Juan Antonio López /Gaceta-UNAM

- **1972**
  The Coordination of the Open University System (SUA) and the Permanent Extension School of San Antonio, Texas (EPESA) are established. EPESA, located on a space donated by the city of San Antonio, offers Spanish classes and courses in Mexican culture.

The UNAM is the largest higher education institution in Latin America. This is not only because of the number of its students, or academic staff, or courses offered, or research undertaken, or specialized and popular journals and magazines, or academic exchanges with institutions worldwide, or cultural, artistic and sporting activities. Rather, and above all, it is because of its presence in the nation, its contributions to the country's development, and its impact on all of Latin America.

In the last 10 decades, the university has trained hundreds of thousands of professionals, along with illustrious figures from the worlds of science, the humanities, culture, technology, and the arts in Mexico and Latin America. Graduates and academic staff have been leaders in the creation of the institutions that have fostered the country's development. The UNAM has also, naturally, been a generous instrument of mobility. Without the contributions of the National University the historical, social, economic, and cultural evolution of Mexico would be unthinkable.

Starting with the principles of liberty, plurality, and tolerance, the university has cultivated all disciplines and all trends of thought in a manner suiting their progress and the demands of the nation. As a public, national, secular, plural institution, it constitutes the most outstanding cultural reference point for twentieth-century Mexico.

The university constantly toils to fulfill to the utmost the mission set out by Justo Sierra in terms of "making science national and knowledge Mexican." In commemoration of its first centennial, it seeks to consolidate and build on this mission with an eye to the future, committed to the active construction of a better tomorrow for Mexican society. VM

Notes

[1] In the UNAM, the difference between a school and a faculty is that the former does not include graduate studies, while the latter does. For the purposes of this article, therefore, we have translated both literally. [Translator's Note.]

[2] This latter was opened on September 18, 1910.

[3] It was José Vasconcelos who established the National University's coat of arms and motto, "Por mi raza hablará el espíritu" ("The spirit shall speak for my race").

[4] In the following faculties: Philosophy and Letters; Law and Social Science; Medicine; Engineering; Agronomy; Dentistry; Chemical Science and Industry; Business Administration; and the following schools: the National Preparatory, Fine Arts (painting, sculpture and architecture), Higher Normal (for training primary school teachers), Physical Education, and Veterinary Medicine.

[5] Article 1 states, "The National Autonomous University of Mexico is a public corporation —decentralized state body— endowed with full legal status whose aims are the provision of higher education to train professionals, researchers, university lecturers, and technicians of use to society; the organization and undertaking of research, particularly about national conditions and problems; and the widest possible distribution of the benefits of education."

[6] Faculties of Philosophy and Letters and of Sciences; and national schools: Preparatory School, Schools of Jurisprudence, Economics, Business Administration, Medicine, Nursing and Obstetrics, Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine and Animal Husbandry, Engineering, Chemical Science, Architecture, Visual Arts, and Music.

[7] Institutes of Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Geography, Geophysics, Biology, Medical and Biological Studies, Social Research, Historical Research, and Aesthetic Research, plus the Center for Philosophical Studies.

[8] This network operates 139 libraries with over 12 million documents, the largest archive in the country.

A Comprehensive Review of University Patrimony

María Ascensión Morales Ramírez*

The National Autonomous University of Mexico's infrastructure is amazing. Today, few countries have universities the size of the UNAM, with its facilities and patrimony, undoubtedly backed by centuries-old tradi-

*Former director of the UNAM's General Office of University Patrimony (DGPU).

We thank the UNAM's General Office of University Patrimony for its invaluable collaboration in providing the images to illustrate this article.

José Alejandro Vázquez Reyes/DGPU-UNAM

Tláloc, Sebastián, 1978.

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▪ 1974

On February 19, the creation of the National School for Professional Studies (ENEP) is approved, to be built in Cuautitlán, State of Mexico. This is a new kind of school, with its own administration and majors independent from those of the UNAM's traditional schools. Months later, the creation of two more ENEPS, in Acatlán and Iztacala, is approved.

▪ 1976

On December 30, the UNAM Philharmonic Orchestra gives its first performance in the Nezahualcóyotl Concert Hall, the first building opened at the University Cultural Center.

Elsie Montiel

▪ 1979

On February 26, the Juan Ruiz de Alarcón Theater and the Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Forum are inaugurated in the University Cultural Center. On April 23, the Sculpture Space is inaugurated, designed by

renowned sculptors Helen Escobedo, Federico Silva, Manuel Felguérez, Hersúa, Sebastián, and Matías Goeritz. In September, the San Pedro Mártir Observatory begins operating in Baja California.

José Alejandro Vázquez Reyes/DGPU-UNAM

The Welcome, F. X. Zettler, Royal Bavarian Establishment, 1899.

tions and maintained by noble educational ideals and a bounteous heritage. The UNAM boasts an impressive physical area for teaching and research: 57.7 million square meters distributed in 2 103 buildings including faculties, schools, centers, and institutes in University City and throughout Mexico City's metropolitan area.

In addition, the university has 46 institutions distributed in more than 20 states of Mexico. Examples are the Center for Sciences in Ensenada, Baja California, where the San Pedro Mártir National Observatory is located; the Center for Genetic and Biotechnological Research and the Center for Nitrogen Fixing Research in Cuernavaca, Morelos; the Centers for Ecology, Astrophysics, and Applied Mathematics in Morelia, Michoacán; the Institutes of Neurobiology and Applied Physics and Advanced Technology in Juriquilla, Querétaro; plus centers in Campeche, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Puebla, Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Sonora, Aguascalientes, Mérida, and Tlaxcala, and university extension facilities in the United States and Canada.

In addition, we should point to the "natural patrimony," which includes the 237-hectare Pedregal de San Ángel ecological reserve area in University City, with its significant collections of flora and fauna, plus the Faustino Miranda and Manuel Ruiz Oronoz Greenhouses and the Open-Air Botanical Garden, with plants distributed by climate region, arranged in biological order and by taxonomic group. The UNAM also does research at its Los Tuxtlas and Chamela tropical biology stations in Veracruz and Jalisco respectively, each with its own ecological preserve. The Los Tuxtlas Station is a true natural sanctuary of approximately 644 hectares, while the Chamela Station extends over 3 319 hectares, all dedicated to the conservation of the tropical deciduous and sub-deciduous forest.

Cultural Activities

The university's Cultural Center is the scene for intense activity, particularly in the Nezahualcóyotl Concert Hall and the Carlos Chávez and Miguel Covarrubias Halls, the Juan Ruiz de Alarcón Theater, the Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Forum, and the Julio Bracho and José Revueltas Movie Theaters, all spaces with remarkable architecture. The monumental building of the University Contemporary Art Museum (MUAC), the host to very important exhibitions, has recently been added to this complex. This new addition joins the previously existing artistic programming in other Mexico City venues such as the Echo Experimental Museum, the MUCA-Roma Gallery, the Tlatelolco University Cultural Center, the House on the Lake, the Old College of San Ildefonso, and the El Chopo University Museum.

The work of other museums dedicated to the sciences deserves separate mention: Universum, the museums of Light, Geology, of Mexican Medicine, of Dentistry, and the Regional Mixtec Tlayúa Museum in Tepexi de Rodríguez, in the state of Puebla, just to mention a few.

Sports

The university has played host to many international sports events in its Olympic Stadium and swimming pool. It also boasts training facilities for different kinds of sports activities, like the Roberto "Tapatío" Méndez Stadium, the Valencian fronton court; the university gymnasium; soccer, soft-

ball, and baseball fields; and basketball, volleyball, and tennis courts.

Historic and Artistic Patrimony

None of the above would have the same value if we ignored the institution's history, beginning in 1551 with the foundation of the Royal Papel University of Mexico, as well as the prestigious colleges that gave form to the cultural heritage our institution has today, a wealth materialized in famous buildings in the old City of Palaces, as colonial Mexico City was known. This is particularly the case since the university was made autonomous and its July 22, 1929 charter was issued and it was officially given ownership of the buildings and furnishings in the Schools of Philosophy and Letters, Law and the Social Sciences, Medicine, Engineering, Agron-

Down through its history, the university has sponsored monumental projects: this is how the cultural area's unique Sculpture Walk and Sculpture Space came about, testimony to the vitality of the visual arts in our country.

José Alejandro Vázquez Reyes/DGPU-UNAM

Sketch for the mosaic on the south wall of the Central Library by Juan O'Gorman, 1952.

- **1980**
  The First International Book Fair sponsored by the UNAM Engineering School is held at Mexico City's Mining Palace, with the participation of 216 publishing houses.

- **1983**
  In September, the UNAM's Ecological Reserve opens, covering 124.5 hectares of University City. The Regional Center for Multidisciplinary Research (CRIM) is created, headquartered in Cuernavaca, thus initiating the university's national expansion, which by 2010, includes campuses in several states nationwide.

- **1985**
  Two strong earthquakes shake Mexico City, leaving great destruction and a large number of dead, injured, and homeless in its wake. UNAM professors, students, and administrative workers participate in rescue efforts and support activities for the public.

- **1992**
  The University Council approves the establishment and operation of Academic Councils by Area and of the Academic Council for UNAM High Schools. The University

omy, Dentistry, Chemical Sciences and Industries, and Commerce and Administration; the Higher Normal School; the preparatory schools; the Schools of Fine Arts, Physical Education, and National Veterinary Medicine; the National Library; the Institutes of Biology and Geology; the National Observatory; and the Room for Free Discussions of the Old San Pedro and San Pablo Church.

Art Collections

One very representative collection is that of easel art, which includes works from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Particularly important are the viceregal canvases by Juan Miranda, Miguel Cabrera, and Luis Juárez; works by late-nineteenth-century painters like Pedro Gualdi, José Salomé Pina, Petronilo Monroy, Gregorio Figueroa, and José María Velasco; and modern creations by Saturnino Herrán, Cecil Crawford O'Gorman, José Chávez Morado, Leonardo Nierman, Luis Nishizawa, Arnold Belkin, Vicente Rojo, Gilberto Aceves Navarro, and Imanol Ordorika, just to name a few.

MUAC-UNAM

Untitled, Kasuya Sakai, 1972.

This patrimony also includes several exceptional collections linked to the forging of aesthetic canons that reigned in the San Carlos Academy, which for a long time was the proud owner of the country's most complete collection of paintings, sculptures, engravings, sketches, books and other objets d'art used for educating artists. Outstanding among all of these is the collection of graphic art created for the most part by the genius of Albrecht Dürer, Martín de Vos, Anthony van Dyck, Lucas van Lyden, Agostino and Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, José de Rivera, Francisco de Goya, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Rembrandt.

Additional aesthetic enjoyment can be derived from the plasterwork in the old sculpture galleries that belonged to the academy, with the best of classical, Hellenistic, Greco-Roman, and Italian Renaissance works. The mural paintings on university walls are also of enormous transcendence, an undeniable national contribution to universal art made at the hand of artists like Roberto Montenegro, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, Jean Charlot, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Fernando Leal, and Fermín Revueltas. In addition, our institution preserves works by these painters in the Old San Pedro and San Pablo Church and the Old College of San Ildefonso, both in the city's historic center. Examples of these are the murals *The Tree of Life*, *Creation*, *Social Falsehoods*, *The Trench*, *Cortés and the Malinche*, and *Disembarking the Cross*.

The search for new forms of expression in mural painting had one of its high points in the construction of University City. The guiding principle was visual integration, that is, the communion of architecture, painting, and sculpture.

The Visual Integration of University City

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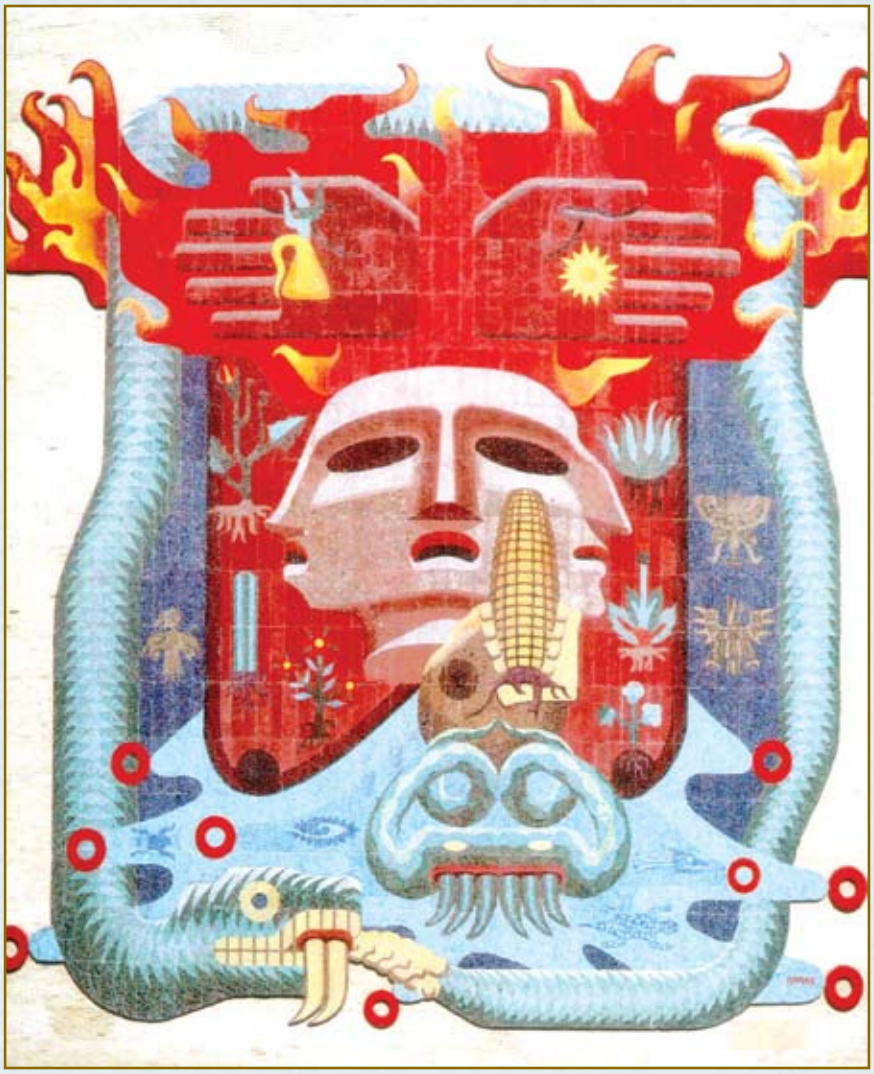


DGPU-UNAM

Life, Death, Mixed Blood, and the Four Elements, Francisco Eppens, 1952, mural at the School of Medicine.

tecture, painting, and sculpture, including the use of new techniques in open spaces and experimentation with materials. Concrete cases were the works by Diego Rivera in the Olympic Stadium; David Alfaro Siqueiros's mural *Sports and Mixed Blood in Mexico* on the Rector's Tower, *The People to the University and the University to the People*, *Dates in the History of Mexico*, and *New University Emblem*; the work by Juan O'Gorman on the Central Library; the works by José Chávez Morado, *Historic Representation of Culture* on the side of the Antonio Caso Auditorium, *The Conquest of Energy*, and *The Return of Quetzalcóatl*; and the works by Francisco Eppens, *The Four Elements* on the walls of the School of Medicine, and *Man's Realization* on the walls of the School of Dentistry.

Down through its history, the university has sponsored monumental projects: this is how the cultural area's unique Sculpture Walk and Sculpture Space came about, revealing

Gender Studies Program (PUEG) is founded. In December, the Museum of Sciences, better known as Universum, is inaugurated.

▪ 1994

On January 1, the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) heads an armed uprising in the state of Chiapas. Members of the university community organize collections and marches to send aid to communities in need.

▪ 1995

On October 11, the Swedish Royal Academy gives the Nobel Prize for Chemistry to UNAM graduate and former professor José Mario Molina Pasquel, together with his colleagues Frank Sherwood Rowland and Paul Crutzen, for their research on the ozone layer.

▪ 1996

On September 5, the UNAM becomes the third academic institution in the world to successfully launch its own satellite, the UNAMSAT-B, completely designed and built by Mexican scientists at the university itself.

▪ 1999

A student movement breaks out against a hike in tuition and the abolition of the automatic admission of UNAM high school graduates to university-level studies, among other reasons. The student members of the General Strike

Ernesto Peñaloza Méndez/DGPU-UNAM

Simón Bolívar Amphitheater, Old College of San Ildefonso.

DGPU-UNAM

Geological Eras, José María Velasco, 1905-1906.

The value of the university's patrimony is linked to the need to foster and create awareness among the public of its correct use, in order to also make it accessible to future generations.

the vital presence of the visual arts in our country and achieving harmony between the manmade and natural spaces. The figures, created by artists like Sebastián, Hersúa, Mathias Goeritz, Manuel Felguérez, and Helen Escobedo, offer the viewer a lush artistic panorama framed by the vegetation and the igneous rock spewed out by the Xitle Volcano in ancient times.

Bibliographical Treasures

The bibliographical and documentary materials gathered in a network of 147 libraries and information centers, with a total of nine million volumes deserve separate mention.

The main center of attention, naturally, is the collection of the National Library's Restricted Section, heir to the treasures owned by Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian monasteries. Some sub-collections include works that illustrate Mexicans' cultural education, for example, the *incunabula* of printing: fifteenth-century gems on topics like the Sacred Writings, theology, philosophy, literature, and history; an eighteenth-century collection of responsorials, commonly called hymnbooks or "choir books"; the Mexican collection of writings by Friar Alonso de Molina, Friar Alonso de la Veracruz, Luis Becerra Tanco, Francisco de Florencia, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Francisco Javier Clavijero, and Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren.

Scientific and Archaeological Collections

In addition, the paleontology, mineralogy, rock, and meteorite collections exhibited in the Geology Museum occupy a privileged position. The museum's rooms include fossils of plants, mollusks, vertebrates, and even icthyosaurs (animals that preceded the dinosaurs), which lived more than 180 million years ago. One outstanding item is the 4.52-billion-year-old Allende Meteorite.

The archaeological collections, highly representative of the pre-Hispanic world since they include a large part of the experiential horizon of the Meso-American cultures, are also important. They include examples of the Totonac, Mexica, Teotihuacan, Maya, and Purépecha cultures, of the so-called Western Cultures, and those from the Tlapacoyán and Tlatilco complexes. In general, these are ceramic pieces and sculpture distributed among the Roch, Spratling, Kamffer, Cordry, and Lindau Collections.

Equipment and Furnishings

Lastly, we cannot forget the significance of the goods that make it possible to carry out the university's diverse, usually complex, activities, like equipment, furniture, and mobile and didactic materials. For example, the oceanographic ships El Puma and Justo Sierra are memorable, based in the ports of Mazatlán, Sinaloa, and Tuxpan, Veracruz, as is the School of Medicine's PET-Cyclotron Unit, specialized in oncology; the Institute of Nuclear Science's gamma irradiators; the scanning and atomic force electronic microscopes of the Institute of Physics; the Osiris Optical System Verification Chamber developed by the Institute of Astronomy and used in a telescope in the Canary Islands; the Center of Genomic Sciences' protein sequencer; the Institute of Biotechnology's spectrometer; or the Kam Balam supercomputer that belongs to what used to be the General Office of Academic Computer Services, today the General Offices of Computing and Information and Communications Technologies.

The value of the university's patrimony is linked to the need to foster and create awareness among the public of its correct usage. The use and dissemination of a cultural good must be linked to its preservation, in order to also make it accessible to future generations. Therefore, it is one of the university's primary concerns to continually readapt its infrastructure, a task carried out with true diligence, commitment, responsibility, and pride. VM

José Alejandro Vázquez Reyes/DGCPU-UNAM

Brass telescope, Desbordes, nineteenth century.

Ernesto Peñaloza Méndez/DGCPU-UNAM

Mamuttus imperator, Leidy, located in downtown Mexico City.

100 UNAM Universidad Nacional de México 1910 - 2010

Committee close down and occupy the university installations for more than a year.

- **2000**
  February 14, classes resume in most UNAM campuses.

- **2001**
  450th anniversary of the Royal Papal University of Mexico, predecessor of the UNAM.

- **2003**
  The name of the UNAM is inscribed in gold letters on the Wall of Honor of the Chamber of Deputies.

- **2005**
  TV UNAM begins broadcasting its own signal. The UNAM is put on the list of the 100 best universities in the world, in 20th place in the field of arts and the humanities, and in 93rd place in the area of sciences, according to the World University Rankings published by *The Times* of London's supplement *Higher Education*.

- **2006**
  The university is given the buildings that used to make up the Ministry of Foreign Relations' complex so that it can develop the Tlatelolco University Cultural Center, where there is a permanent exhibit of a Memorial of 1968.

- **2007**
  The UNESCO declares the central esplanade of Uni-

A Century in the Cultural Life of the UNAM

Chaplin exhibition at the Tlatelolco University Cultural Center.

The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) is undoubtedly our country's foremost cultural project as well as one of the most important in Latin America. As it has for 100 years, in this early part of the twenty-first century, the UNAM has reaffirmed one of its most significant vocations: extending the benefits of culture as much as possible.

The Most Recent University Museums

In 2008, the University Contemporary Art Museum (MUAC) opened its doors, housed in a splendid work of architecture by Teodoro González de León built in the University Cultural Center to hold the country's most important public collection of contemporary art.

A year before, in October 2007, the Tlatelolco University Cultural Center was inaugurated in what had previously been Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Relations, in northern Mexico City. The UNAM installed there the emblematic 1968 Memorial, an informative, educational space with a historiographic display that gives the viewer an idea of the scope of the 1968 student movement, an epic-making episode in Mexico's modern history.

Two years before that, in 2005, the university recovered the Echo Experimental Museum, a legendary building of contemporary architecture conceived in 1952 by German sculptor and architect Mathias Goeritz for experimenting

Unless otherwise specified, all photos in this article are by Barry Domínguez/UNAM Office for Cultural Outreach Communications Department.

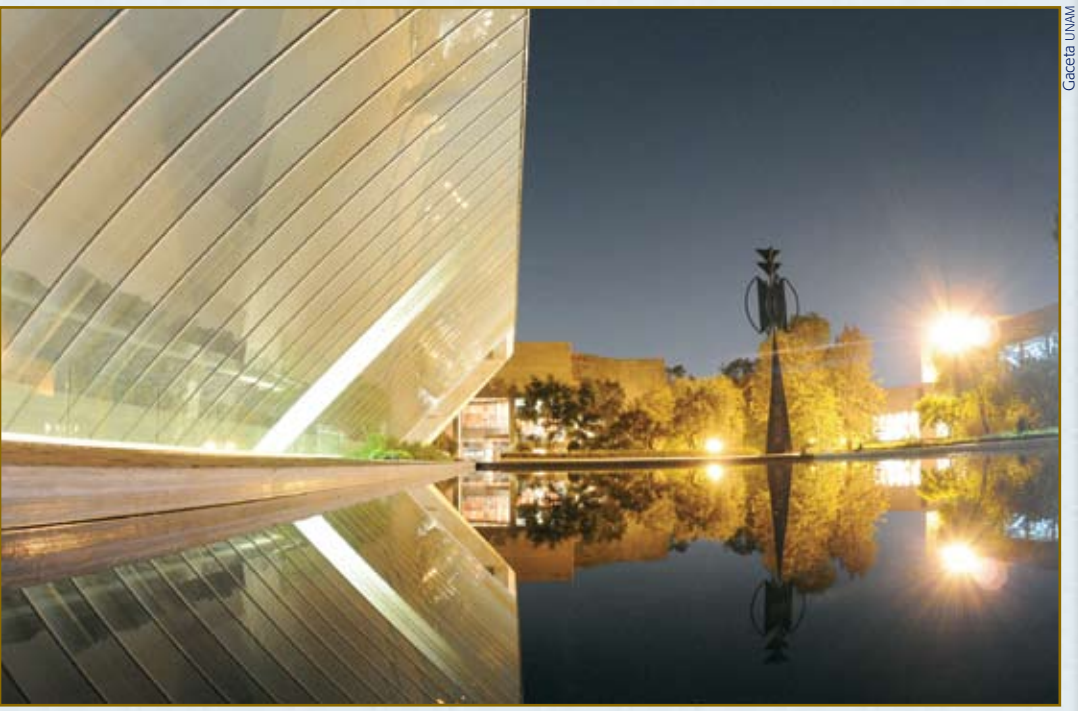
The UNAM has almost naturally taken on the responsibility for creating artistic and cultural projects that have been very important nationally and internationally.

with the visual arts. In addition, in May 2010, the "El Chopo" University Museum was re-inaugurated as a center for alternative university extension and community activities. Its architectural renovation recovered its legendary iron structure, adapting it to the needs of this century.

All these endeavors are part of an almost century-old institutional program to consolidate one of the most important cultural infrastructures among the world's universities.

A Founder of Projects for Cultural Outreach

For a century, the UNAM has almost naturally taken on the responsibility for creating artistic and cultural projects that have been very important nationally and internationally.



Gaceta UNAM

The University Contemporary Art Museum.

versity City a World Heritage Treasure. Carlos III University of Madrid recognizes TV UNAM as the best cultural channel in Latin America.

- **2008**
  The University Contemporary Art Museum (MUAC) opens its doors. The UNAM is ranked by *The Times* of London in its World University Rankings as the best institution of higher learning in Latin America, as well as by the Ranking Web of World Universities developed by the Higher Council of Scientific Research, based in Spain.

- **2009**
  On June 10, the UNAM is given the Prince of Asturias Prize for Communication and the Humanities. On October 23, Rector José Narro Robles accepts the award in Oviedo, Spain.

- **2010**
  Today, the UNAM has installations in 20 states throughout Mexico, including six campuses and 17 schools in Mexico City's metropolitan area and five poles of regional development in Michoacán, Querétaro, Morelos, Baja California, and Yucatán; as well as in four states in the United States (California, Texas, Washington, and Illinois), one in Canada, and another in Spain.

Isabel Morales
Staff Writer

The "El Chopo" University Museum façade.


Interior.

In May 2010, the "El Chopo" University Museum was re-inaugurated as a center for alternative university extension and community activities. Its architectural renovation recovered its legendary iron structure.

The first works by the great masters of the Mexican School of Painting (José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, and Edmundo O'Gorman) were painted on its walls in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, its galleries offered space to painters from what was called the Generation of the Break, who opposed the nationalist artistic movement.[1]

In another sphere of the arts, the UNAM philharmonic orchestra, OFUNAM, is prestigious worldwide and has been offering regular concert programs for more than 70 years. It has performed every season since 1976 in its habitual home, the Nezahualcòyotl Concert Hall.

Mexican contemporary theater was also born in one of the UNAM's cultural venues: the House on the Lake of the Old Chapultepec Forest, where a group of young dramatists, among them Juan José Gurrola, Juan José Arreola, Octavio Paz, Carlos Fuentes, Juan Soriano, and Héctor Mendoza, came to renew the Mexican stage with more avant-garde proposals.

We also owe the UNAM the foundation of Latin America's first cultural radio station, which today continues broadcasting intelligent, creative radio programming on 96.2 FM and 860 AM. We also must not overlook the television programming of the Cultural University Channel, which broadcasts on the main cable systems nationwide.

This institution of higher learning has one of the world's most important stocks of film because of its work in recovering and preserving world and Mexican film history. The UNAM's Film Archive currently has more than 35 000 titles in its collection.

Radio UNAM began broadcasting June 14, 1937. Since its inauguration, this pioneer in cultural radio in the Americas has had the mission of teaching and disseminating culture. In fulfilling it, it has enjoyed the collaboration of the most important voices in Mexican culture and letters. Today, it broadcasts 24 hours a day on 96.1 FM and 860 AM, as well as on its website http://www.radiounam/mx/site/.

TV UNAM. On October 24, 2005, TV UNAM began broadcasting from its own installations, although as early as 1960 through other stations, it had already been airing television series for educational and research purposes. In 1988, it moved into its own building with studios, editing rooms, and laboratories with cutting-edge technology. Centering its programming on national issues, it broadcasts diverse series on artistic, scientific, social, and cultural topics, plus newscasts about the most important university events and activities. It also offers a wide variety of programming from around the world. For the moment, TV UNAM's own signal only goes out on cable, but on internet, it is free.

Gaceta UNAM (the University Gazette). The university's official publication was created August 23, 1954. It reports on UNAM cultural and academic activities, in addition to short articles on the news about the university community's scientific and artistic activities (http://www.dgcs.unam.mx/gacetaweb).

The UNAM's website (www.unam.mx) has won many prizes and is classified among the 100 best academic websites in the world. It offers access to complete information about study plans, cultural activities, and even online training. It also offers links to more than 200 digital scientific research and popular publications, publishing catalogues, and virtual libraries with tens of thousands of titles. Users can also make on-line purchases and enjoy digital services like e-mail and hosting in the UNAM server. Plus, the UNAM boasts approximately 200 websites managed by its different institutions.

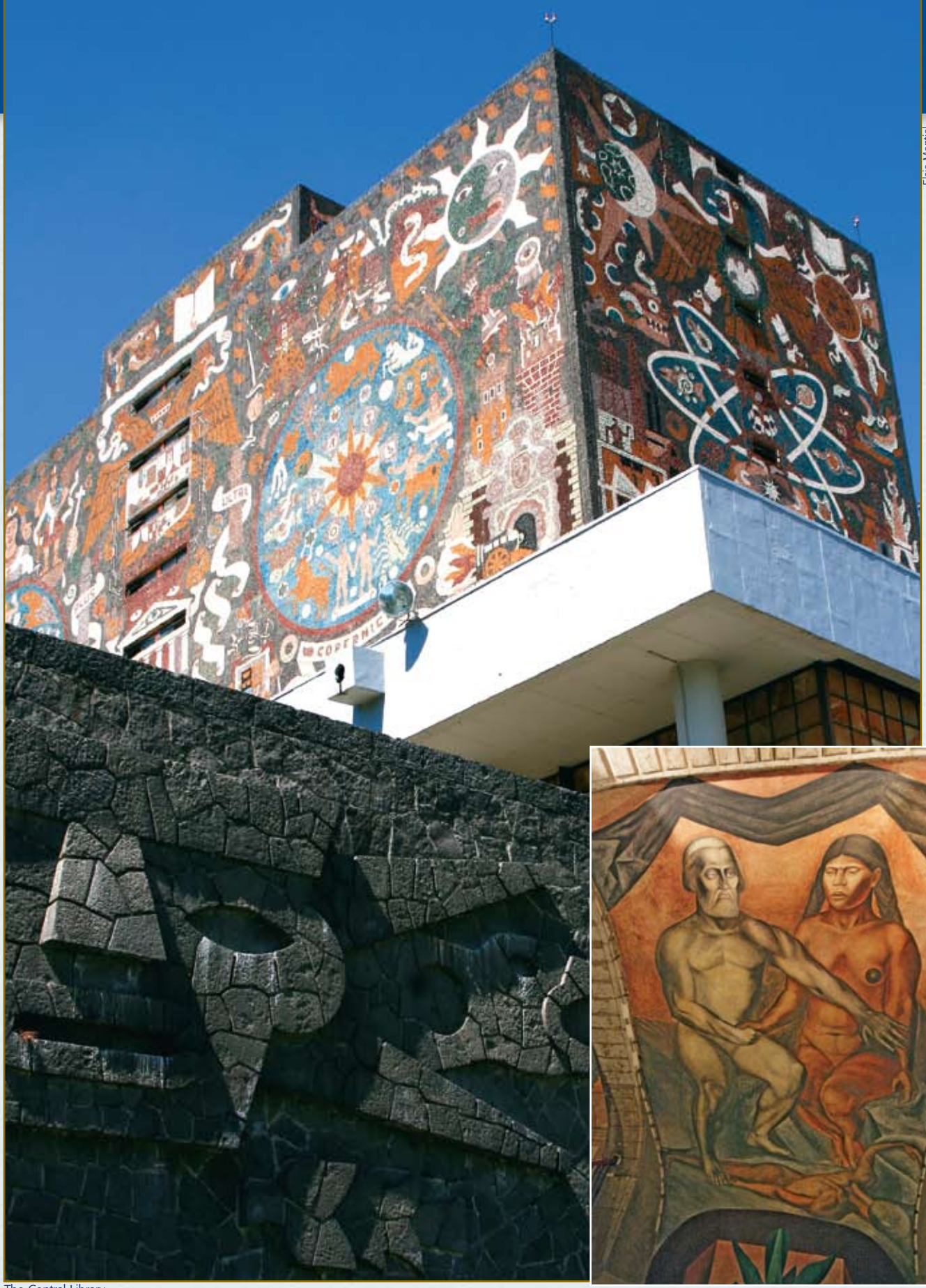
Descarga Cultura UNAM (UNAM Culture Download). This is a free site, open to the public, where scientific and artistic multimedia files can be downloaded: readings by well-known writers, music, theater, lectures, interviews, and courses. Go there: http://www.descargacultura.unam.mx/.

The prestigious UNAM Philharmonic Orchestra is known worldwide and has performed every season since 1976 in its habitual home, the Nezahualcóyotl Concert Hall.

Concert in the Carlos Chávez Hall.

OFUNAM concert at the re-opening of the Nezahualcóyotl Concert Hall.

Elsie Montiel



The Central Library.

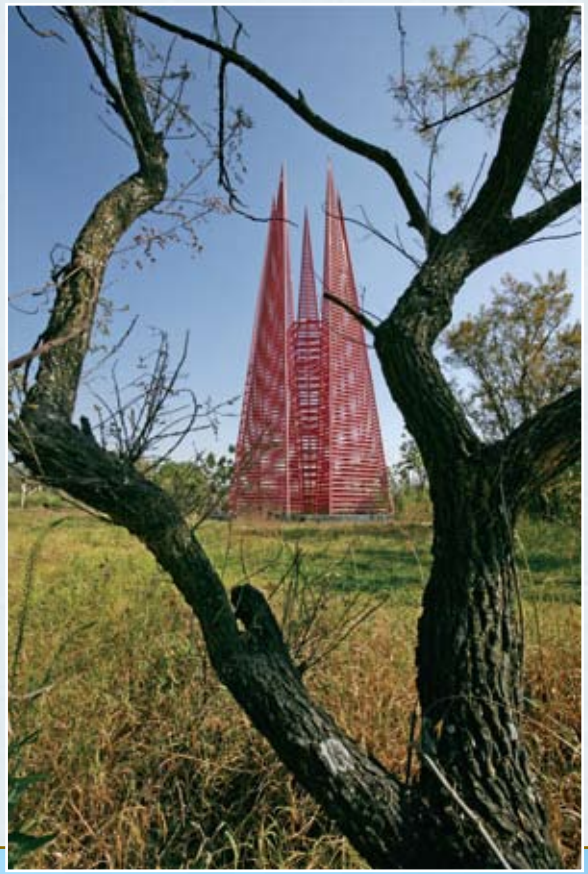
Detail of José Clemente Orozco's mural at the Old College of San Ildefonso.

The important literary and publishing efforts that our university has performed also deserve special mention. Today, it is the most prolific publishing house in Latin America, capable of putting out more than 1 400 new publications a year and boasting a network of bookstores at different locations in Mexico City.

Spaces for Cultural Life: The University Cultural Center

It is the responsibility of the Office for Cultural Outreach to maintain the prestige the UNAM has achieved in fostering cultural life. This task is carried out through a complex subsystem of 15 offices that program a wide array of cultural offerings, including cinema, music of all kinds, theater, dance, visual arts, literary activities, radio, television, workshops, and extension courses in many fields. A large part of the activities are planned for the University Cultural Center, conceived in the mid-1970s as a monumental work, built on the lava beds of the Pedregal area. It is a totally unprecedented space in the university cultural milieu, where each art form has an ideal space. It should be mentioned that maintenance on this complex was completed last April to preserve its functionality and architectural beauty. In this space, the Cultural Outreach Office offers the university community and society at large a wide diversity of cultural activities every day.

At the Sculpture Walk and Sculpture Space, visitors can enjoy the architecture, and the natural beauty of the vegetation and the volcanic rock blend harmoniously.



Elsie Montiel

The Crown of Pedregal, sculpture by Mathias Goeritz (above right). View of part of the Sculpture Walk (below).

History of the Puma Logo and the University Cheer

The UNAM's sports logo is the puma, alluding to the keen wits, intelligence, speed, and agility of the university's sportsmen and women. It was created by Manuel Andrade Rodríguez, nicknamed "Andrade the Bird." In blue and gold, it combines two elements: an abstract form of the letter "u" and a figurative, stylized representation of a puma's face. The puma is the university's mascot and represents it at all sports events and championships.

The university cheer is famous in Mexico: "Goya!" It originated in the 1940s and refers to the moment when high school students used to yell "Goya!" in reference to the Goya Movie Theater: what they meant was that everyone was supposed to cut class and go to the movies. Over time, this call has become identified with the UNAM community. It is shouted equally enthusiastically everywhere from celebrating a student passing a professional examination to cheering on the soccer team in the University Olympic Stadium. Listen to the complete cheer at http://www.clubpumasunam.com/index.php/portal/sonidos.

The Rooms, the Theater, and the Forum

The Nezahualcóyotl Concert Hall is perhaps the most important in Latin America because of its beauty and the perfection of its acoustics. The Juan Ruiz de Alarcón Theater is an ideal venue for classical theater. The Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Forum hosts the most outstanding plays of experimental and intimate theater. The Carlos Chávez Hall hosts some of the most experienced groups of chamber music. The Miguel Covarrubias Hall is a great stage for the country's dance repertoire and home of the UNAM Choreography Workshop. The José Revueltas and Julio Bracho Movie Theaters, for their part, program the best in world cinema.

Part of this architectural complex is made up by the Julio Torri Bookstore, the Azul y Oro Cafeteria, and, very outstandingly, the University Theater Center and the National Library and Periodicals Library, along the sides of which are the Sculpture Walk and Sculpture Space, leisure spaces any visitor should see, where the architecture and the natural beauty of the vegetation and the volcanic rock blend harmoniously.

In addition to its theaters, visitors to the University Cultural Center can enjoy open-air performances by the Commedia Cart Travelling Theater Company, whose specialty is classical theater.

Xipe-Tótec, a light installation by Thomas Glassford, at the Tlatelolco University Cultural Center.

Ephemeral Mural Contest. Graffitti artists 100 years on.

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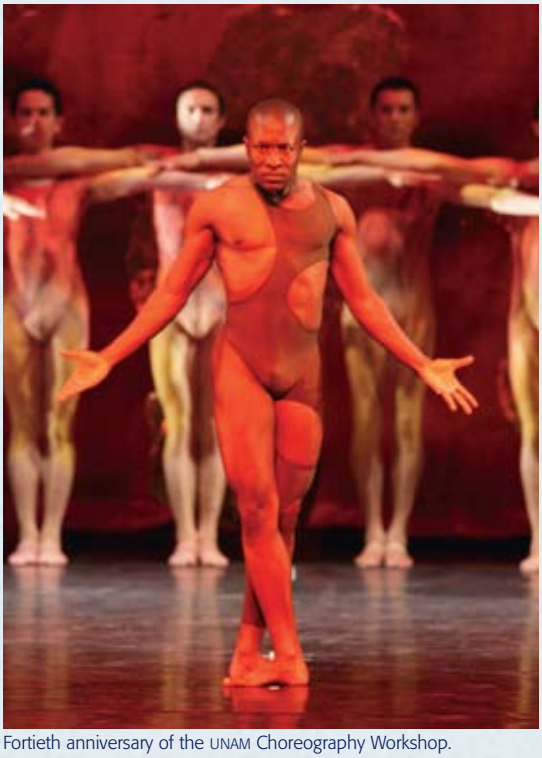

Fortieth anniversary of the UNAM Choreography Workshop.

The Commedia Cart Travelling Theater Company.

Ergo Materia, Arte Povera Exhibition.

Scattered around the city, the UNAM has other spaces where it programs a vast array of cultural offerings, among them the Juan José Arreola House on the Lake, and the Old College of San Ildefonso.

Off-Campus Culture

Scattered around the city, the UNAM has other spaces where it programs a vast array of cultural offerings, among them the aforementioned Juan José Arreola House on the Lake, a historic building where culture has been disseminated for almost half a century; the Old College of San Ildefonso, currently a museum famed for its monumental architecture and historic value, where world-class exhibitions are held; the Santa Catarina Theater, located in a traditional old house in the historic center of Coyoacán, which offers the theater-going public more experimental works; and we must not forget the Museum of the Palace of Autonomy or the Roma-Neighborhood University Museum of Science, a gallery for contemporary artists' work.

Commitment to the Present and The Future: the UNAM on the Internet

In accordance with technological advances and today's communications needs, the UNAM Cultural Outreach Office has proposed to avail itself intensively of the benefits of the internet by launching a series of innovative projects in the use of technology, like the portal www.descargacultura.unam.mx and the electronic publications put out by the Office for Literature, a poetry periodical, and reading materials.

The podcast portal www.descargacultura.unam.mx offers academic extension and cultural audio materials that can be downloaded to portable equipment and PCs to take with you and be listened to anywhere, at any time. This way, the student can make use of his/her transportation and leisure time to listen to a story, essay, or a novel being read, attend a

For a century, the UNAM has almost naturally taken on the responsibility for creating artistic and cultural projects that have been very important nationally and internationally.

lecture, listen to a play, enjoy a concert, or review a topic, just as easily as downloading music from other online sites.

Outstanding among the materials produced especially for this portal are the readings of their own works by renowned Mexican and Ibero-American writers like Elena Poniatowska, Vicente Leñero, Juan Villoro, Hugo Gutiérrez Vega, Fernando Savater, Antonio Skármeta, Sergio Ramírez, Carlos Montemayor, and Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda, among others. Fundamental works of Mexican and universal literature can also be downloaded, including pieces by authors like Rosario Castellanos, Oscar Wilde, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Anton Chekhov, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Horacio Quiroga, or Leopoldo García-Alas y Ureña, also known as "Clarín." In addition, the Office for Cultural Outreach has a digital billboard on the internet (www.cultura.unam.mx) where the UNAM offers everyone some of the visual, sound, graphic, and text materials that make up the institution's vast cultural offering. VM

View of the Central Library in University City.

UNAM Publishing

Gaceta UNAM

The university has a fundamental presence in the publishing world of Mexico and Latin America. Without a doubt, it the world's largest Spanish-language publishing house. In 2009, the UNAM published 2 113 titles, including 1 216 books, 353 e-books, and 544 issues of periodicals. In addition, the number of pamphlets, manuals, guidebooks, didactic materials, and catalogues came to 1 894. For the university's centennial, it published the *Catálogo de Revistas Científicas y Arbitradas de la UNAM* (Catalogue of the UNAM's Scientific, Peer Reviewed Magazines), both in a print version, and a virtual, digital version (at www.revistas.unam.mx), which includes 108 magazines covering all fields of knowledge. The university also has several popular magazines dealing with science, culture, literature, and other topics of both general and special interest. All the publications are distributed through a network of UNAM libraries (six in Mexico City, one in Campeche, and another in Mérida), at the most important national and international book fairs, and by many of the most prestigious bookstores in Mexico and abroad.

UNAM Office for Cultural Outreach
Communications Department

Notes

[1] This is was a heterogeneous group of Mexican and foreign artists living in Mexico who in the 1950s began to react against what they perceived as worn-out values of the Mexican School of Painting, whose nationalist, left-leaning, revolutionary themes had been the hegemonic artistic current in the country since the outbreak of the 1910 Revolution. This generation incorporated more cosmopolitan, abstract, and supposedly a-political values in their work, seeking, among other things, to expand its themes and style beyond the limits imposed by muralism and its derivatives. Among the members of this current are well-known painters like Rufino Tamayo, Manuel Felguérez, José Luis Cuevas, Pedro Coronel, Günther Gerzo, Vlady, Remedios Varo, Mathias Goeritz, Francisco Zúñiga, Alberto Gironella, Vicente Rojo, Juan Soriano, and Francisco Toledo. [Editor's Note.]

The UNAM Film Archives
50 Years of Cinema in the University

José Manuel García Ortega*
Adriana López**

Still from *La mancha de sangre* (Bloodstain), Adolfo Best Maugard (1933).

After digitally restoring images from its collection, the UNAM Film Archives just debuted the documentary *La historia en la mirada* (History on View), narrating the events in Mexico between the final stage of the Porfirio Díaz regime and the passing of the 1917 Constitution. When you watch this film, two things immediately come to mind: one, that the Mexican Revolution was the first social movement in the history of the world that could be filmed; and two, that the Mexican nation, already rich in historic memory, has in these images of historic events as they took place, a broadened cinematographic visual memory.

The Cinematographic Visual Memory

It can be said that, since they came into being as such, human cultures generate and leave as a legacy what we call visual mem-

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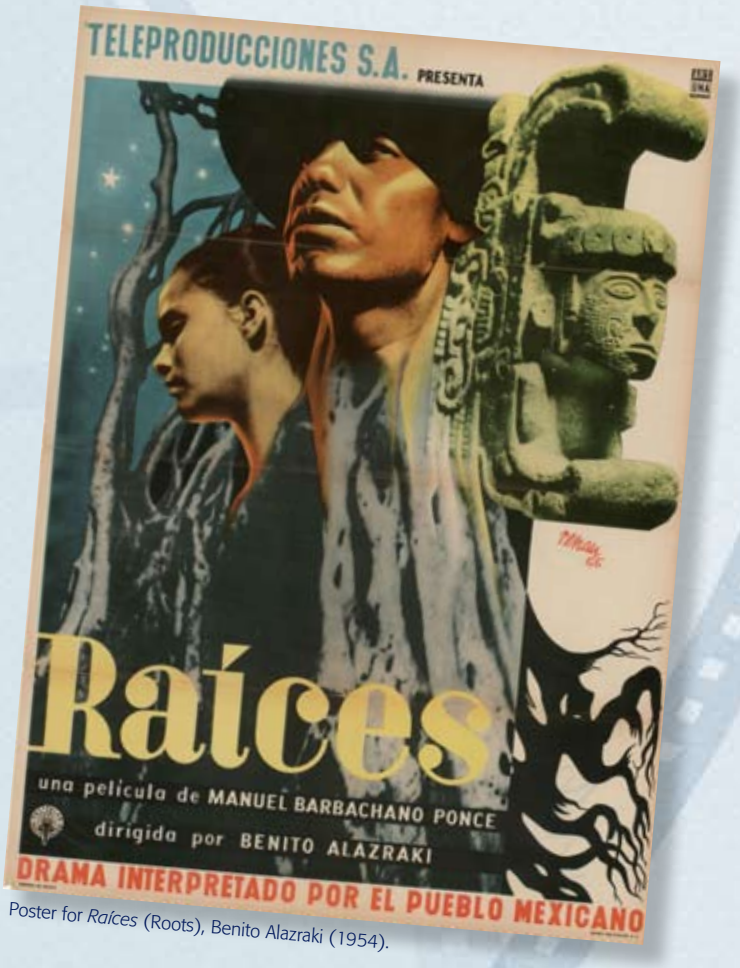
** Literature professor.
Photos in this article courtesy of the UNAM Film Archives.

ory, in the form of architectural pieces and other artistic objects: frescoes, canvases, and engravings, mainly. With the emergence of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, the possibilities for increasing this store of memories grew significantly.

In the case of images, even before the appearance of the Lumière brothers' *cinématographe* in 1895, the world's peoples took an extremely important qualitative leap forward that would increase that visual memory by reflecting about it. For example, André Bazin, who has theorized about history and the meaning of the image, pointed out that photography embalmed time. For his part, another French essayist, Édgar Morin, thought that the image in movement had the quality of bringing the past up to date, or recovering it better than any other art, since time gone by, far from disappearing, takes refuge in and underlies all memories; the power of the image in movement corporealizes that memory.

Human generations disappear; societies are transformed; and ways of thinking and conceiving of the world change. Like books, paintings, buildings, and other cultural and artistic manifestations, cinema prevails, but it needs an institution to protect and preserve it, to locate, store, identify, restore, distribute, and exhibit those images and everything related to them, like objects and documents. All this constitutes the mission of a film archive like the UNAM's.

Since its foundation in July 1960, the archive has dedicated itself to the task of collecting, preserving, cataloguing, and disseminating materials related to the craft of cinematography, particularly those most representative of Mexican culture, as we will see further along. Thanks to its existence and the preservation work it does, it is possible to understand the moment when the films were conceived and to see trends, needs, and economic and social conditions. Thus, the images preserved have become documents for posterity.



Poster for *Raíces* (Roots), Benito Alazraki (1954).

Everything Began 50 Years Ago

In Mexico's case, the idea of having an archive that would safeguard the national film patrimony began to become a reality 50 years ago. The inauguration was a ceremony on July 8, 1960 in which Dr. Nabor Carrillo, rector of the university, accompanied by, among others, Manuel González Casanova, was given by producer Manuel Barbachano Ponce the 16 mm copies of his films *Raíces* (Roots) (1953), directed by Benito Alazraki, and *Torero* (Matador) (1956), directed by

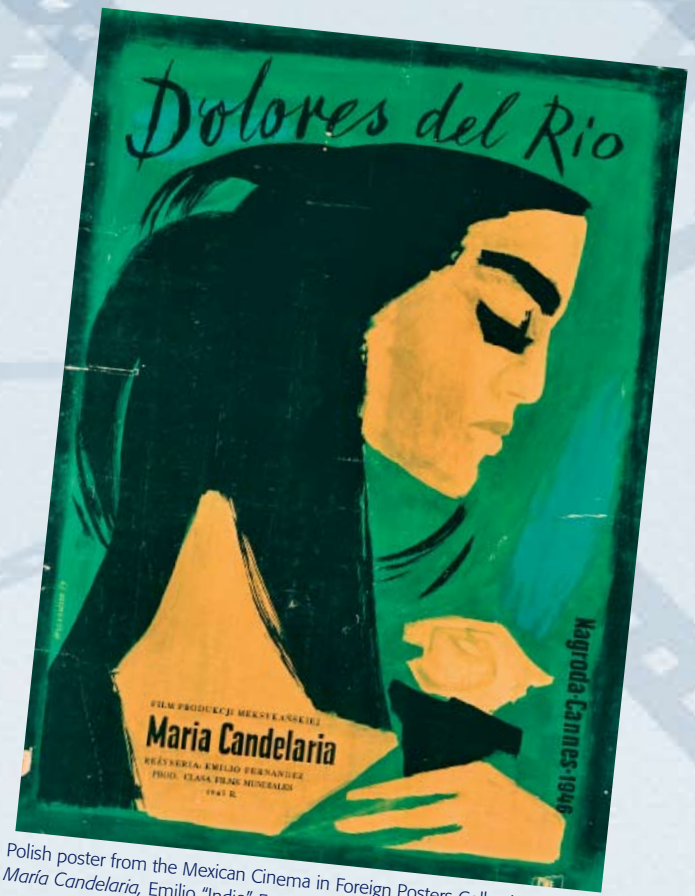
Billboard advertising the UNAM Film Archives' First Summer Film Festival in 1994.

Carlos Velo. This was the beginning of the Film Archives' collection, and formally began the loan service of films to university film clubs.

In 1960, cultural concerns in the university were very oriented toward the cinema and the possibility of understanding the world from this perspective. Eight years before, the Progreso Film Club had been founded, and in 1955, the magazine *Cine Club* (Film Club), at the same time that the Mexican Federation of Film Clubs was consolidating through the efforts of Manuel González Casanova. By 1956, the University Film Club was already hosting showings, which also went on in schools and faculties. Talks were organized featuring university figures like writer Jaime García Terrés, who published *El cine en la Universidad* (Cinema in the University), dealing with the transcendence of national cinema as the cultural patrimony of an entire people, underlining the need to promote one of the elements that goes along with the work of every film archive: the formation of cinema-loving audiences. The year 1959 would be important because of the creation of the Cinema Activities Department of the General Office for Cultural Outreach. This section responded to the interest of different university organizations in there being a body to deal with the film collection. By the following July 8, that section would turn into a university film archive.

Poster announcing the 1980 inauguration of the Julio Bracho and José Revueltas Movie Theaters at the University Cultural Center.

Thanks to its existence and the preservation work this film archive does, it is possible to understand the moment when the films were conceived and to see trends, needs, and economic and social conditions.



Polish poster from the Mexican Cinema in Foreign Posters Collection: *María Candelaria*, Emilio "Indio" Fernández (1944).

Recovery and Preservation of the Mexican Visual Memory

The recovery of national or foreign films thought lost forever; the restoration of great classics of national cinema or of little gems that the passage of time has turned into transcendental works; the creation of collections of feature fictional films and documentaries produced by public institutions or independently; the safeguarding of home movies shot in small or semi-professional formats, of news footage from the 1930s to the 1970s, of old optical equipment, including everything from magic lanterns to projectors, cameras, and mov-

The Film Archive also publishes significant books about cinema, and has produced dozens of valuable, historical, full-length films as well as hundreds of documentaries, short subjects, and television programs, work that has merited awards.

iolas; the preservation of thousands of magazines, pamphlets, scripts, and movie books, in addition to a large collection of posters, photo montages, and stills from Mexican and foreign films: all this represents what is undoubtedly the country's richest film documentation center, and one of the most important in Latin America, which offers its services to researchers, students, and the public at large.

In addition to all this, the film archive publishes significant books about cinema, and has produced dozens of valuable, historical full-length films like Leobardo López Aretche's *El grito* (The Shout) (1968); Alfredo Joskowicz's *El cambio* (The Change) (1971); Alfredo Gurrola's *Descenso al país de la noche* (Descent into the Country of the Night) (1974); and Raúl Kamffer's *Ora sí ¡tenemos que ganar!* (Now We Hafta Win!) (1978), as well as hundreds of documentaries, short subjects, and television programs. This work has merited awards, like the Golden Ariel for Overall Contribution to the Industry. In addition, the Film Archive has mounted original, successful shows as well as festivals and its own awards, such as the José Rovirosa Prize for the Best Documentary, the Film Archive Medal, and the Summer Festivals, all of which

The UNAM Film Archive facilities in University City.

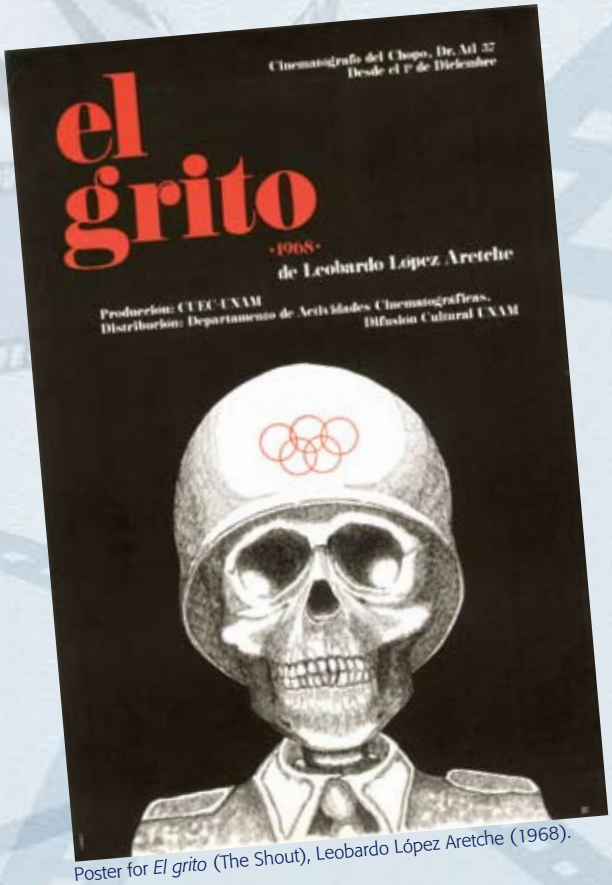
Photomontage from Luis Buñuel's *Los olvidados* (The Young and the Damned) (1950).

have meant that many institutions, production companies, directors, and collectors trust the institution enough to deposit their materials in it.

Showings are the central pillar of its dissemination work: a little over 1 000 titles are shown in different movie houses annually, including the José Revueltas and Julio Bracho Movie Theaters in University City's University Cultural Center, the El Chopo Art Film Theater in the El Chopo Museum, the House on the Lake in Chapultepec Forest, and, until very recently, in the Fósforo Art Film Theater, among other university venues. But, these films are also often projected in non-university venues, like those used particularly to show this collection during important national and international festivals.

The search for and collection and preservation of films have been basic for the UNAM Film Archive's development. As such, of central importance to the institution are the film and other materials donated that are found, acquired, restored, or archived. The Film Archive does not refuse entry to any title or collection, because it recognizes the present and future value of all these materials.

It especially important to mention that in addition to recovering images of the Mexican Revolution at its height, the archives include complete lots of work by the Alva brothers, pioneers of Mexican cinema, and other sources, pertaining to the years prior to or at the beginning of the revolution. For example, it includes the first full-length comedy shot in Mexico, *El aniversario de la muerte de la suegra de Enhart* (The Anniversary



Poster for *El grito* (The Shout), Leobardo López Aretche (1968).

of the Death of Enhart's Mother-in-Law) (1912), as well as footage from the period of the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship.

The archive also has several documentaries about practically unknown popular mobilizations during the 1920s in Mexico; its fictional film collection includes silent full-length features, some produced regionally, like *El puño de hierro* (The Iron Fist) and *El tren fantasma* (The Ghost Train), now restored. The number from the 1930s is even larger: the collection includes the original versions of *Santa*, *Dos monjes* (Two Monks), *Redes* (Nets) —the restored version—, *El compadre Mendoza* (My Buddy Mendoza), and *Vámonos con Pancho Villa* (Let's Go with Pancho Villa).

The institution has recovered other outstanding films, among them: *Los olvidados* (The Forgotten Ones, or, as released in the U.S., The Young and the Damned), *Desastre en Oaxaca* (Disaster in Oaxaca), *La mancha de sangre* (Bloodstain), *Zítari*, *Tepeyac*, *Muchachas de uniforme* (Girls in Uniform), *La mente y el crimen* (The Mind and Crime), *Olimpiada en México* (Olympics in Mexico), short subjects from the Fernando Gamboa collection about the Spanish Civil War, and even a porn film that used to be viewed in the 1930s and 1940s on the Mexico City brothel circuit. Among the recently restored works are Fernando de Fuentes's trilogy on the Mexican Revolution: *El prisionero 13* (Prisoner 13), *El compadre Mendoza*, and *Vámonos con Pancho Villa*; and Enrique Rosas's *El automóvil gris* (The Grey Automobile).

Along with several documentaries about practically unknown popular mobilizations in1920s Mexico, the archive's fictional film collection includes the recently restored works of Fernando de Fuentes's trilogy on the Mexican Revolution.

A Commitment to the Future

Collective memory in the form of a universe of images stored in cans and vaults; portraits of a world that no longer exists, but continues. Today, 50 years later, the UNAM Film Archive has changed, but continues to be an institution banking on the future, dedicated to educating generations of movie-lovers and researchers, armed not only with a rich treasure chest of collections of print materials for reference, but also with an invaluable collection of films: more than 43 000 titles to date.

The UNAM Film Archive continues its historic commitment, facilitating the way forward for future generations, opening up new pathways to emotions, culture, social responsibility, and the enjoyment of a film memory. Here, not only are images of the past stored; the bases for channeling the images of today and those that will keep coming are also being built. VM

Still from *El prisionero* 13 (Prisoner 13), Fernando de Fuentes (1933).

The University Program
"Mexico, a Multicultural Nation"

José Manuel del Val Blanco*

UNAM programs foster the development of particular areas of multidisciplinary research and the formation of human resources, strengthening the existing infrastructure to resolve complex problems in the interests of society. Examples are the University Food Program (PUAL), the University Program for the Science and Engineering of Materials (PUCIM), the University Energy Program (PUE), the University Program on Research and Health (PUIS), the University Environmental Program (PUMA), the University Gender Studies Program (PUEG), and the University Program for Studies of the City (PUEC), among others.

The Mexico, a Multicultural Nation University Program, created December 2, 2004 by Rector Dr. Juan Ramón de la Fuente, is headed by ethnologist José Manuel del Val Blanco. The program structure includes the Research Coordination Office, the Teaching Project Coordination Office, the Scholarship System for Indigenous Students, the Information Systems and Collections Coordination Office, the Office for the Coordination of Special Projects, and the Administrative Coordination Office.

* Director of the UNAM's Mexico, a Multicultural Nation University Program (PUMC). www.nacionmulticultural.unam.mx.

Photos in this article by Elsie Montiel.

PUMC work focuses fundamentally on and draws its vocation from the Constitution's recognition of the importance of exploring in depth certain fields of study. But it is also based on the knowledge that certain national and international laws that Mexico has signed identify us as a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multicultural nation with very rich, complex intercultural relations.

The PUMC's research, coordinated by Carlos Zolla Luque, involves diverse and fundamental tasks:

a) Researching the themes, scenarios, and mechanisms that express interculturality, capturing what we have characterized as "the dispersed social demand," and seeking to articulate and coordinate academic, institutional, and social efforts. The aim is to design projects with sizeable participation of the subjects involved: mainly indigenous and Afro-Mexican indigenous peoples and groups of immigrants, women, and students.
b) Identifying and studying the work of collective or individual actors whose historic and current activities decisively contribute to multi- and interculturality, that is, to the wide diversity that characterizes us. These actors include Mexican indigenous peoples and those from other parts of the Americas, as well as communities of non-indigenous immigrants, including Mexico's Black population, struggling today for recognition in the Constitution.
c) Fostering new partnership models with government researchers and institutions for projects conceived of as collective, transdisciplinary, and useful for students, and, above all, for public policy design.
d) Generating instruments for first-level, interdisciplinary and inter-institutional systematized information. This means information systems that, together with its conventional-format publications (books, magazines, manuals, technical reports), make the PUMC expert in interculturality.

In the field of teaching, headed by Evangelina Mendizábal García, the coordinator of the Teaching Project and Scholarship System, the main tasks have been:

a) Designing innovative teaching and training mechanisms to systematically present multiculturality to students, teachers, researchers, national and international institutions, social organizations, and the general public;
b) Fostering in the university and other academic areas the study of interculturality with a crosscutting strategy that does not confine the topic to the humanities, but delves into other non-humanistic disciplines;[1]
c) Promoting access for indigenous youth to a quality university education on all levels and in the different majors available in our institution's curriculum. The Scholarship System for Indigenous Students currently has 400 students registered in 72 of the UNAM's majors. This system is the most consistent initiative for achieving not only access to higher education for a sector of society that has been left behind for many years, but also in contributing to the training of a critical group of indigenous intellectuals and professionals. To date, 54 scholarship students have graduated in 24 majors (21 women and 33 men), mostly in economics, law, biology, psychology, medicine, nursing and obstetrics, dentistry, chemistry, geophysical engineering, and mechanical electrical engineering. Aware of the various difficulties these students face, the program has

organized a Tutoring Program to facilitate their insertion and performance in the community.

d) Contributing through teaching to solving the nation's central problems as an essential objective set by our highest university authorities in the fields of science and the humanities.

The PUMC vocation for teaching and contributing to society is also expressed in a series of proposals for strengthening indigenous leadership, such as a diploma course about indigenous women and the ethno-political initiative "The Becoming of Indigenous Peoples."

In the sphere of broadened diversity, the PUMC sees special importance in the study and information systems about the indigenous peoples of Mexico and the rest of the Americas. The projects and their systems balance quantitative, statistical information with qualitative studies with the help of a fundamental tool: geo-referential systems. All the projects mentioned below contribute data to our multicultural information systems and the information systems of Mexican indigenous peoples and those of other countries of the Americas:

a) The Pedregal Pact, signed by Rector Juan Ramón de la Fuente and 25 indigenous leaders from all over the hemisphere. This implied the UNAM's commitment and that of our program to developing technical evaluation reports about the UN Decades on the Indigenous Peoples of the World and designing indicators for the development and well-being of indigenous peoples.

b) Aware of the fundamental situation of Mexican indigenous peoples' economic and social development, the PUMC decided on a line of research on the topic. This has already produced results: the System of Economic and Social Development Information of the Indigenous Peoples of Guerrero, the Social Development Index (SDI), and the specialized report that was recently published in two volumes are all derived from it.[2]

c) The study of the impact of development mega-projects in indigenous and Black regions of Latin America and the Caribbean takes a hemispheric view of the process of economic globalization there. It has gathered a large quantity of information about a topic of immense concern for the peoples of the Americas: the destination and use of their natural and cultural resources.

d) Health is a privileged field for the observation of interculturality. The Mexican Traditional Medicine Digital Library and the Indigenous Peoples and Health Indicators Project that we are carrying out together with the PanAmerican Health Organization (PAHO) are the two most visible and significant recent products of this. The library has information about 1 000 medicinal plants, monographs about 56 indigenous peoples and their medicine, a dictionary with more than 1 100 entries, and bilingual documents about the medicinal flora of 35 indigenous peoples.[3]

In the sphere of broadened diversity, the PUMC sees special importance in the study of and information systems about the indigenous peoples of Mexico and the rest of the Americas.

e) Based on the recognition of Mexico's multiculturality, which has resulted from the co-existence of indigenous and Afro-Mexican peoples with members of numerous groups of people from the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa, who have made Mexico their new definitive homeland, the PUMC established a line of research called "Immigration and Cultural Diversity." Within that is the "The Mexicans Who Gave Us the World" Symposium, which has been held three times, in 2007, in 2008, and in 2010.

f) The "Half a Century of Indigenous Movements in Latin America" project analyzes the relevance, characteristics, and actions of indigenous movements in the Americas. This is because the issue of indigenous movements has become enormously important and has produced a huge amount of documents (declarations, manifestos, reports on indigenous summits, etc.), 1 500 of which are gathered together in digitalized form, open for consultation by the public.

g) At the request of indigenous organizations, the PUMC is beginning to put the finishing touches on a proposal to develop a diagnostic analysis of indigenous businesses (about 5 000 enterprises, large and small, formally, legally established or just groups of producers in partnership for a common end) as a fundamental input for the information system about options for indigenous development.

The PUMC is working intensely in the fields of cultural promotion, publishing, and communications coordinated by

One of the PUMC's main aims is researching the themes, scenarios, and mechanisms that express interculturality, capturing what we have characterized as "the dispersed social demand."

researcher Juan Mario Pérez. The most outstanding activities and products are the following:

a) Publishing: 26 books have been published as a result of our research and the analysis by theme for specialized technical reports. At our website, visitors can find information about the collections of reading materials related to indigenous and Afro-Mexican studies, among other topics, published by the program. Go to http://www.nacionmulticultural.unam.mx/Portal/Izquierdo/PUBLICACIONES/publicaciones.html.
b) The "Nación Multicultural" (Multicultural Nation) portal includes information about PUMC activities, as well as a large amount of materials on line: written documents, 55 videos of indigenous peoples, news, a few books and technical reports, and links to different micro-sites (the Arturo Warman Chair, Writers in Indigenous Languages, and the System of Economic and Social Development Information of the Indigenous Peoples of Guerrero).
c) The "Languages of the Americas" poetry festivals. The academic extension area also carries out activities like seminars, conferences, and diploma courses. Among the latter, the most recent have been the Diploma Course on Indigenous Languages, the Fourth Diploma Course on Justice and Pluralism, and the Diploma Course to Strengthen Indigenous Women's Leadership.
d) Given the nature of its cultural dissemination projects and activities, the PUMC is frequently asked to participate in roundtable discussions, interviews, radio and television reports, etc.
d) Given the expansion of communications about indigenous cultural life, the PUMC maintains contact with different government and community bodies and has developed the First Diagnostic Analysis of the Audiences of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) Indigenous Cultural Radio Stations System.

Widening Coverage Nationally: PUMC-Oaxaca

Today, the PUMC has offices in Oaxaca, headed by Nemesio Rodríguez. It has fostered projects throughout the state like the Socio-environmental Diagnostic Analysis of Oaxaca's Costa Chica, in coordination with the University of California at Davis; series of ethnographic lectures and video presentations; workshops, roundtable discussions and talks, many of which are held under the auspices of the Black Oaxaca Festival and the Census of the Black Population of the Oaxaca and Guerrero Costa Chica. Conversations have begun with the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) to set up a Center for the Education and Training of Indigenous Entrepreneurs in Tlacolula, Oaxaca.

Library of the Inter-American Indigenist Institute

The Inter-American Indigenist Institute (III), created in 1940 and based permanently in Mexico, has stopped operating. On the recommendation of the Organization of American States General Assembly, the III Executive Board decided to transfer its document collections, library and periodicals library to the UNAM, including the Manuel Gamio Library, home to the most important documentation on indigenous issues in the Americas. With Miguel Ángel Rubio as coordinator of collections and systems, the PUMC is responsible for preserving it, digitalizing it, and putting it at the service of researchers from all over the Americas, as well as to create the Center for Information and Research on the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. VM

Notes

[1] The elective course "Mexico, Multicultural Nation," the responsibility of 15 specialists, has been taught since 2004 in many UNAM schools, in two Sciences and Humanities High Schools (CCH), and at the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH). More than 12 000 students have taken it to date.

[2] The SDI is a powerful tool that allows for statistical analysis all the way to the local level. Ninety-six researchers from more than 35 Mexican and international institutions of higher education participated in creating it. Similar projects have begun in Chiapas, Michoacán, Sonora, and the Totonacapan region of Veracruz.

[3] The library can be accessed at http://www.medicinatradicionalmexicana.unam.mx/index.php. [Editor's Note.]

Kevin Lamarque/REUTERS

Mexico in the United Nations Security Council

In a single decade, Mexico has twice been a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. This was a break with its tradition of remaining on the sidelines of the UN's most important body because it thought that being a member could interfere, at least implicitly, with its non-interventionist foreign policy. The debate about the importance of being on the council or not is closely related to Mexico's actions in the two periods: 2002-2003 and 2009-2010. A first reading reveals an important change in Mexican foreign policy: both the administration of Vicente Fox and that of current President Felipe Calderón decided to step up and accept the challenge of contributing to international peace and security from the vantage point of the Security Council (SC). However, many questions remain that need answering: Will it become a tradition for Mexico to participate in the SC, and how often? What benefits and costs can accrue to the country by being part of the United Nations' highest body? What real contributions has Mexico made to the solution of global problems from inside it?

Understanding the Debate On UN Security Council Reform

G. Isaac Morales Tenorio*

New York, January 1, 2020 –After an intense debate among the 30 members of the United Nations Security Council, the resolution presented by the Russian Federation to promote the creation of an international force to put an end to Israel's blockade of the Revolutionary Federation of the People of Syria that prevents it from accessing drinking water was defeated. The proposal was voted down by one of the five countries with veto power, although it was approved by eight of the ten permanent members, three of the five semi-permanent members, four of the five recently re-elected members, and six of the nine non-permanent members. The representation of the small island states abstained, arguing that conflicts involving non-state organizations do not come under the competency of the Security Council. The matter will thus be reconsidered by the Committee on the Right to Access to Water, one of the 23 bodies of the Council itself.

I begin with this futuristic paragraph to warn readers about the transcendence and complexity of what goes on inside the United Nations (UN), in order to decide one thing: is it necessary to reform the current Security Council or not? How many states should be part of it? What status should they have? How open should its debates be? How much should its faculties be broadened or reduced? How should its working methods be changed?

Today different bodies sustain the UN's three pillars, security, development, and human rights. But, we should be advised that, of its entire institutional structure, the Security Council continues to be the main body. This affirmation is based on the UN Charter, signed in San Francisco 65 years ago. Articles 24 and 25 state that the member states recognize that the Security Council has the power to act in all their names and they agree to accept and comply with its decisions.[1]

A great deal has happened in the world since the end of World War II. However, there is not yet any world state or global government, or even a supra-national body that determines states' behavior. And this means that the UN Security Council continues to be the only body from which an order can be issued completely legitimately for universal implementation, mandatory at least for the 192 sovereign states that comprise the United Nations. As a result, the council continues to be a mold for "doing" international law.

Today, the Security Council is made up of 15 states with "sovereign equality,"[2] but with a different kind of participation: five are permanent members (the United States, the Russian Federation, France, the United Kingdom, and the People's Republic of China) with veto power,[3] and 10 are non-permanent members, elected using criteria of regional representation for periods of two years, without the possibility of consecutive re-election.[4] So, it must be understood when we speak of the UN, and particularly of the Security Council, that we are not talking about independent bodies, but of member states, each with its own national interests, which come into play in negotiations, votes, and decision-making processes inside the organization, confronting each other, coinciding, or superimposing on one another, but always limited by the Charter itself and international law.

I would also suggest we look at the Security Council as a body in constant movement, as a function of the national interests and diplomatic strategies that come with the representatives of the states seated around the table. For example, with the end of the Cold War and the confrontation of interests between the Soviet Union and the United States, the number of topics dealt with increased enormously, as did the ac-

* Director of classroom academic programs at Mexico's Foreign Relations Ministry Matías Romero Institute.

cords and resolutions approved. On the other hand, at the end of the George W. Bush administration, whose unilateral actions profoundly questioned the collective security system promoted by the UN Charter, it is hoped that the Barack Obama administration —by the way, Obama was the first U.S. president to preside over a debate in the Security Council— will open up new opportunities for multilateral treatment of the main international contingencies in the council itself.

From 1945 until today, the Security Council has broadened out the matters and issues it reviews and the kinds of measures it implements, if not the number of its members. Among the council's biggest responsibilities are the authorization of peacekeeping efforts, establishing committees to evaluate imposing sanctions, and creating *ad hoc* tribunals.[5] It should be pointed out that none of these measures are stipulated or defined in the UN Charter, which means that they are actually mechanisms conceived outside it, but according to its principles, to be able to effect functions and powers conferred on the council since the charter's signing in San Francisco. The council's evolution cannot be seen, then, in the normative structure, but is rather a product of experience, of the demand for attention to situations affecting international peace and security, with unprecedented causality and impacts.

With different formats and results, the Security Council has dealt with new topics that have traditionally come under the jurisdiction of other bodies in the UN system linked to the human rights and development agendas. As the UN agenda and concept of security have broadened out, the council deals with topics like migration and security, climate change and security, the protection of civilians, energy security, and food security.

Similarly, we find evidence of the council's decisions' coverage widening, once it adopts resolutions that identify not only member states but also non-state organizations and individuals as "mandated entities." This is the case of the resolutions and committees established to combat the financing of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

We should understand that this effective expansion of the council is not happening to the detriment of the charter, nor does it lead to violations of international law, since it rests on the principles of legitimacy and authority self-contained in the council. Nevertheless, it should be stated that this augmentation is accompanied by differentiated forms of action depending on the degree of interest each of its members has in the issues and countries involved. For this reason, before decisions are made, each of the countries should reflect on to what extent it is appropriate for the Security Council to increase its reach, considering the pros and cons of raising an issue to the level of a threat to international peace and security, and the future normative impact implied in any *order* issuing from the council.

In the debate about reform, there is more and more demand to increase the number of Security Council members, which undoubtedly stirs up "national passions."[6] However, nothing can assure us that a council with more seats would work better. To favor greater representativeness and more democratic functioning that would make its decisions more legitimate, the council's efficacy and effectiveness —already hard to come by in the UN system— might be sacrificed. Just as an example of the difficulties encountered in bodies with larger memberships, we could cite the case of the Conference on Disarmament (CD), which has been in a quagmire for about a decade.[7] In addition, in the main recent international crises, the most powerful countries have opted for not making decisions by consensus in groups of 50, 100, or more countries, but by negotiation in limited, discriminatory, questionable groups that are, nevertheless, more effective and executive.

In the debate about reform, there is more and more demand to increase the number of Security Council members, which undoubtedly stirs up "national passions."

There is no perfect formula. But, the fact is that the diplomacy of groups has gained ground in multilateralism.[8] We have to be realistic: no state would give up its veto power. None of the countries who aspire to occupying a permanent seat and/or have the veto currently has enough power to convince 191 states of the benefits of its incorporation into this exclusive group. Furthermore, there is also insufficient consensus for an agreement on permanent regional representations in a context in which the presumption of the existence of leaderships undermines from the get-go the principles of legitimacy and democracy that are so aspired to.

It would be better to accept and try to strengthen what exists today: a Security Council that in practice has been very

1951-1952, 1954-1955, 1963-1964, 1967-1968, 1988-1989, 1993-1994, 1998-1999, 2004-2005, and 2010-2011. Only Japan has been a member as often.

Mexico has had a low-profile agenda, focusing mainly on four issues: illicit trafficking in small and light arms; improving the situation in Haiti; strengthening mediation in conflict resolution; and protecting child soldiers in armed conflicts. These are all important topics, although the material and human resources the country can commit to furthering this agenda seem insufficient.

Let us compare that agenda with Brazil's. Before its latest election as a non-permanent member, Brazil announced the following as its objectives, among others: contributing to conciliation in Haiti, where it heads the 1700-person-strong United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), including military, civilian, and police personnel from 17 nations.[1] Its presence has become crucial in the face of the devastating earthquake that hit this Antillean nation in early 2010. Brazil also wants to help with the solution of the crisis in Guinea Bissau, a Portuguese-speaking country on the West Coast of Africa, which became critical after the March 2, 2009 death of President João Bernardo Vieira, very possibly at the hands of his own armed forces. In addition, Brazil wants to contribute to the peace processes in the Middle East, including specific actions by its President Luíz Inácio (Lula) da Silva in Israel and Palestine.

Other issues that Brazil has been promoting in the Security Council include international humanitarian law; strengthening peacekeeping operations, in which it has played an active part with military and civilian personnel; and a broad security agenda, with a focus on the relationship between security and development. No one has forgotten Brazil and Turkey's work as mediators last May in the crisis arising out of Iran's nuclear program, one of the trickiest issues on the international agenda. Brasilia and Ankara agreed with Teheran that it would deliver 1200 kilograms of low-grade-enriched (3.5 percent) uranium to Turkey, to be deposited under Turkish-Iranian supervision, and that, within a year, Iran would receive 120 kilograms of 20-percent enriched uranium from Russia and France to be used in its civilian nuclear program. Skeptics think this agreement does not resolve what the United States has called "the Iranian challenge," remembering that as soon as it was announced, the Security Council passed —with Mexico's vote— a new round of sanctions against Iran. However, undeniably, Brazil's foreign policy in international relations has created a pro-active image.

The important difference between Mexico and Brazil is that the latter has repeatedly pushed to increase the number of permanent members of the Security Council, with the clear intention of becoming Latin America's "representative." On the eve of the UN's fiftieth anniversary (in 2004 and 2005), Brazil, together with India, Japan, and Germany, formed a group that sought the international community's approval for changes in the composition of the Security Council. They all wanted to become permanent members, even if without veto rights. However, their aspirations were thwarted for several reasons: one was that the so-called "Group of Four's" proposal did not include any African country, even though Africa has 53 votes in the UN General Assembly, but is not represented among SC permanent members.

The next problem came up when different regions questioned the Group of Four's aspirations. Pakistan, for example, claimed the same right as India to aspire to a permanent seat. Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina, among others, presented similar arguments *vis-à-vis* Brazil. In Europe, Italy, which has long aspired to being part of the Security Council, questioned

Kevin Lamarque/REUTERS

The big difference between Mexico and Brazil is that Brazil has repeatedly pushed for more permanent members of the Security Council, with the clear intention of becoming Latin America's "representative."

Germany's ambitions. And, as if that were not enough, Japan faced —and continues to face— the People's Republic of China's reluctance: as a permanent member, China would not want the Japanese to have similar privileges; plus it shares the objections of other countries like South Korea, based on the abuses perpetrated by Tokyo during World War II.

But in addition to Brazil's aspirations *vis-à-vis* the Security Council, there are profound differences between Itamarati and Tlatelolco's diplomacy. Suffice it to mention that President "Lula" da Silva has made 189 trips abroad, surpassing his predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso's record of 115. So, the man who is still president of Brazil has traveled a large part of the globe and possesses a visibility and leadership seldom seen among Latin American heads of state. By contrast, since the beginning of his term, President Felipe Calderón decided to put the priority on the fight against drug trafficking and organized crime, giving foreign policy short shrift. Only the environment seems to have been an interest of the Calderón administration, judging by the fact that he has pushed an agenda that seeks to forge a consensus around the commitments to lower polluting emissions in matters of climate change following the Kyoto Protocol. However, compared to Brazil, Mexico's visibility in the world is very slight.

Central America is part of Mexico's security zone, which is why Brazil's actions there have done nothing but reinforce Mexican foreign policy's image of being defenseless and paralyzed.

As if that were not enough, Brazil has taken advantage of vacuums in Mexico's activity, even in areas traditionally reserved to Mexican diplomacy, like Central America. Brazil's actions in the face of the 2009 Honduran crisis, when the Brazilian embassy in Tegucigalpa hosted deposed President Manuel Zelaya, is only one example. Central America is part of Mexico's security zone, which is why Brazil's actions in the region have done nothing but reinforce Mexican foreign policy's image of being defenseless and paralyzed.

It is worth asking, then, what Mexico learned from its most recent participation in the Security Council. At first glance, it would seem that since it is the second time in a decade it participates, Mexico has decided on a course of greater activism. However, if it plans a "speedy" return to the Security Council, it is important that it clearly define its priorities and put an end to uncertainty on important topics like its participation in UN peacekeeping operations (PKOs) or on multilateral sanctions that the SC levies against those who violate international peace and security. On both these issues, Mexico is in limbo, and this is serious considering how frequently both PKOs and sanctions are part of Security Council actions to mitigate international conflicts.

Other no less important recommendations include the need for better planning of Mexican participation in the Security Council, both in terms of how often it tries to do so and the issues it wants to influence. It should find "niche agendas," that is, topics traditionally ignored by the great powers but relevant for the rest of the international community that can be promoted jointly with different nations. Consequently, it will be important to promote greater negotiation and understanding with the council's permanent and non-permanent members, including the People's Republic of China and other developing countries that in principle have like aspirations and situations.

No less important is it to remember that, given that a large part of the humanitarian crises take place in Africa, Mexico should improve its knowledge of and presence on that continent, still marginal in its foreign policy, judging by Felipe Calderón's National Development Plan.

A correctly structured strategy would allow Mexico to visualize possible alliances inside the Security Council to promote certain issues vital to its national interest. On January 1, 2011, Mexico will be replaced by Colombia, and four other countries will also become non-permanent members for two years: South Africa, India, Germany, and Portugal. If we take into account that they will be joining Brazil and Nigeria (elected for 2010-2011), this creates the most influential group since the SC was created, outside the permanent members. These are the main regional powers of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, something not seen every day.

It is reasonable to suppose that one of the issues these countries will promote will be the reform of the UN itself, given that all of them, with the possible exception of Portugal, aspire to being permanent SC members. This can be a double-edged sword because just as it could bring a breath of fresh air to the debate on the democratization of the United Nations, it could also generate tensions in the Security Council, even replacing other important matters that its members should deal with.

Since 2009, Mexico has been accompanied on the Security Council by Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Croatia, Libya, and Vietnam (which concluded their terms in 2009), and Austria, Japan, Turkey, and Uganda (whose terms end in 2010). When the countries whose term ended in 2009 left their seats on January 1, 2010, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gabon, Liberia, and Nigeria replaced them. Most of them are countries Mexico does not have fluid relations with, in many cases because of simple unfamiliarity, or which are rivals, like Brazil. By contrast, Brazil is fortunate, first of all for having a national project and clear vision about the role its foreign policy plays in it. But also, it seems favored by circumstances since countries with which it has created an intense dialogue and with which it shares aspirations are its fellow members of the highest political body of the planet's most important international institution.

In view of this, Mexico will have to carry out a profound review of its aspirations and interests in the world before running again for election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, all the time fostering the reform of the UN, because, ironically, despite its low profile in international relations, on this particular issue, it is right.

The reform of the United Nations cannot just be understood as just increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council. It must be much more than that: a comprehensive reform to improve the efficiency of different bodies, programs, and specialized agencies of the UN system, and that strengthens those that operate appropriately. Mexico is not alone in this aspiration, but if it does not look at the world and persists in isolating itself, its voice will not be heard by the community of nations. VM

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[1] See http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/. [Editor's Note.]

The United States And the Security Council

Guillermo J. R. Garduño Valero*

"In a long-term conflict, both sides end up ruined."
Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

The Security Council was created when the United Nations was established after World War II. The four victorious powers were given permanent seats, with another place allotted to China (before the triumph of its revolution) because of its huge population; the non-permanent seats were left to the rest of the world.

A security council was necessary not only because of the need to maintain hegemonies, but also to find mechanisms for containing any conflict that might arise putting humanity at risk because of the emergence of atomic power. The organizational principle it was based on was that the General Assembly, representing the governments of the world, should be an important forum for presenting and discussing prob-

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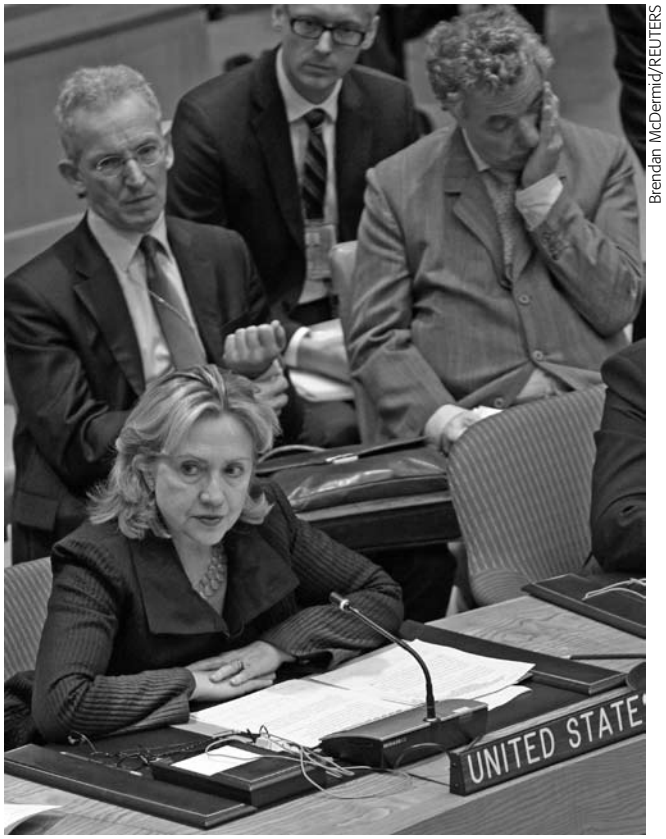

Brendan McDermid/REUTERS

Since Obama took office, the SC has set up international tribunals on Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia; intervened in "critical zones" in the Mideast and Korea; dealt with "failed states"; and acted on Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan.

lems, but it would not be an ideal place for making decisions, containment, and resolutions, in accordance with the principle that the possibility of reaching agreements is inversely proportional to the number of participants.

After the war, the United States became the first great nation. However, even though at the end of hostilities, it held a monopoly on nuclear power, this did not last long, since by 1948, it shared that distinction with the Soviet Union (USSR), and since then, new nuclear powers have emerged. Under these circumstances, the possibility of building a consensus among the great powers has meant the need to use a combination of Hobbesian realism and Machiavellianism, together with pragmatism. It is the same kind of consensus that Eisenhower would allude to when describing the U.S.'s bi-partisan political model: he said that the Democrats were conservative liberals and the Republicans were dynamic conservatives, allowing them to overcome Byzantine differences and agree on the priority of putting the interests of the United States above anything else.

We can add to this the view of Nikita Khrushchev, USSR prime minister from 1958 to 1964, when he said, "U.S. politics is very simple: Roosevelt proved that a president could stay in office for life; Truman proved that anyone could be president; and Eisenhower, that the United States could live without a president." Along these same lines, we would say that John F. Kennedy showed that the presidency could cost you your life; Lyndon B. Johnson, what a cowboy could do in the presidency; Richard Nixon, the tricks a president could pull; Gerald Ford, that it is not necessary to be elected to be president; James Carter, that an unknown could sit in the White House; Ronald Reagan, that all politicians are first and foremost actors; George Bush, that the presidency could be left to one's children; William Clinton, that when you govern with your wife, infidelity and power are incompatible; and George W. Bush, that alcoholism and ignorance, even without a majority of the vote, are no impediment for gaining the presidency. Finally, with Barack Obama, we have to remember that there is a big distance between campaign promises and deeds.

It could be said that these statements can be heard from a broad sector of the U.S. public. However, the problem becomes severe when confronted with what people of the rest of the world's powers think and what the positions are of the different regimes around the globe. The differences can be huge, which means that every intention has to be weighed, negotiated to the nth degree, and agreed upon according to the circumstances. So, while domestic politics may seem simple, U.S. foreign policy operates in an enormously complex context, since it means projecting a decision on a world scale, and unilateralism is not valid there.

Since Barack Obama has been in office (2009 and 2010), the consequences of Security Council resolutions can be summarized in the creation of international tribunals on Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, conflicts that have been going on for more than a decade without conclusion; working groups, outstanding among which are one on children in conflict zones and another on the fight against international terrorism; and the commission on reparations. These problems are structur-

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al and will not be definitively solved in the short term since they are beyond the scope of the council members.

A second series of problems the SC intervenes in can be classified as "critical zones," in this case those that have become permanent focuses of world tension. Among these are the case of the Middle East and East Asia, particularly the old conflict between the two Koreas, in addition to North Korea's policy of atomic-energy blackmail, which recently led to South Korea's shoring up its presence with joint military maneuvers with the United States.

Thirdly, we find the so-called "failed states," which Noam Chomsky classifies as those without the capacity or determination to protect their citizens against violence or even total destruction and are considered beyond national and international law, and at the same time suffer from extremely deficient democracies, robbing their institutions of legality and legitimacy.[1] In short, these are states of national insecurity. This is the plight of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, the Sudan, the Ivory Coast, Chad, the Western Sahara, Cyprus, and Haiti, and has been the topic of important SC resolutions in this period.

A fourth general line of action encompasses the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan. In the first case, as everyone knows, President George W. Bush started the war with Security Council backing in 2001, which, in its first phase, brought down the Taliban regime. However, the initial success has been followed by setback after setback, as the war has turned into a long-term conflict, muddying the lines of territorial domination of Karzai's government, considered pro-Western. At the same time, there is no certainty today about the U.S. stance: at the First NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008, George W. Bush agreed with France and Great Britain to reinforce the alliance to plan long-term actions, a very different position from Barack Obama's promise of almost immediate withdrawal, now slated for March 2011. In the face of this, the conservative grassroots and the army, in the voice of General David Petraeus, point out the agreements with the allies and the risks of losing the war, which will undoubtedly have weight in the minds of voters in November 2010.

Last August 31, President Obama addressed the nation from the Oval Office saying there was nothing to celebrate about Iraq and that the U. S. combat mission and Operation Iraqi Freedom had come to an end and that the Iraqi people were now assuming responsibility for their country. He went on to say that, with this conflict over, the task was now to put right the U.S. economy and get millions of unemployed Americans back to work.[2] The announcement, coming before the November elections, has all the hallmarks of concerns that the president and his party are not sure of winning.

In effect, a distinction should be made between the military-industrial complex that dominated wars until the end of the Cold War and modern warfare. In the former, employment was pegged to the scale-up of the military conflict, requiring huge inputs. The latter, since Operation Desert Storm in Iraq, characteristically uses sophisticated armaments produced by the technological military-industrial complex. This last feature is what differentiates it from the previous kind of warfare because it is not linked to increased employment: what it requires is experts, and it makes use of patents and different processes associated with multinational corporations, like in the case of modern missiles.

Though Barack Obama is fulfilling a campaign promise, the way and moment he is putting an end to the war in Iraq do not seem to be on the president's side. The ultra-right will want to know the terms of the accord with the Iraqis and the consensus of the populace about keeping troops on the ground with the pretext of advising the new Iraqi army. At the same time, this situation evokes 1963, when the crises around Cuba, Berlin, and the U.S. missiles in Turkey, and the assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngô Đình Diêm raged simultaneously, a political context which framed the assassination of John F. Kennedy. These crises, preceded by the first part of the civil rights movement, were followed by massive youth protests and the defeat in Vietnam. We should remember that after Richard M. Nixon took office in 1968, his presidency was marred by the Watergate scandal, followed by the 1973 Paris accords, marking the United States' first political-military defeat, which would give rise to the ambivalent phrase, "We wanted withdrawal, but not defeat."

This leads us to the power of the U.S. president and his capacity to influence the Security Council. The response to

an anti-war proposal can be used as a double-edged sword in a presidential campaign: domestically, it can create division, but *vis-à-vis* the great powers, it can cause huge confusion. We should remember what happened after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, where the Viet Cong took over the enormous amount of weaponry that the U.S. left behind and used it to expand in Southeast Asia.[3] The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was only the prelude to the end of the USSR and its satellite governments, which coincided with the end of the so-called Soviet "gerontocracy," facilitating the rise of inexperienced officials and the final collapse of the entire bloc's political, economic, ideological model.

I am convinced that the world of today cannot be led by charisma and image, which are fleeting but not a reflection of reality. Max Weber used to say that charisma is something that soon dissolves into routine and can lead to ineffective, inexpert, servile bureaucracies, as happens to the world's authoritarian regimes.[4] History remembers the presidents who for different reasons did not serve a second term: Herbert Hoover (1929-1933), because after he offered prosperity came the Great Crash of 1929; John F. Kennedy (1961-1963), because he did not understand the play of domestic and external factors that gave rise to his assassination in 1963; Gerald Ford (1974-1977), because he did not realize he was only a man for the transition; James Carter (1977-1981), because he thought image abroad was more important than at home; and George Bush (1989-1993), because he underestimated his adversaries. Finally, Barack Obama won a Nobel Peace prize without having earned it. He has proceeded halfheartedly and extremely cautiously to fulfill his campaign promises and probably has not taken into account the fact that wars come to an end, but not because one of the sides decides it, since whoever withdraws risks losing everything.

> While its domestic politics may seem simple, U.S. foreign policy operates in an enormously complex context, since it means projecting a decision on a world scale.

The probable repercussions of this are the increase of Iran's influence in the region and the spread of fundamentalisms in Pakistan; the loss of allies in the vital Middle East region; and the disintegration of national states in the area. In addition, we should remember that these actors have nuclear capabilities and that the recovery of the U.S. economy is by no means guaranteed.

We should recall that the Security Council is a decision-making body where views are aired and resolutions are by consensus; it cannot be led by a single man, since every proposal affects very diverse and contradictory interests like a domino effect.

At the same time, in this scenario, we should consider the presence of non-state actors, like multinational corporations that concentrate the economic elite, controlled by business leaders; organized crime; political or religious terrorism; and the influence of different churches. All of this changes the agreements among states. In addition to taking them into account because of their resources, mobility, and decision-making capabilities, we have to add the crisis derived from the corruption of the bureaucratic government apparatus. All these actors are global, in contrast to the states, which maintain their power over specific areas. For this reason, bodies like the Security Council are not enough to deal with them, even if they cause an ecological disaster of a magnitude of the one British Petroleum created in the Gulf of Mexico. Under these circumstances, in this century, it will be necessary to consider creating global bodies that can regulate these actors. VM

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[1] See Noam Chomsky, *Failed Status: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2006). [Editor's Note.]

[2] See http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/08/31/remarks-president-address-nation-end-combat-operations-iraq. [Editor's Note.]

[3] The Viet Cong, or National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF), was a political organization and army in South Vietnam and Cambodia that fought the U.S. military intervention and the South Vietnamese governments that supported the U.S. neo-colonialist project during the Vietnam War (1955-1975). [Editor's Note.]

[4] For more about this idea of charisma, see Maximilian Weber, "The Nature of Charismatic Authority and Its Routinization," in Max Weber et al., *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, A. R. Anderson and Talcott Parsons, trans. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947). This work was originally published in 1922 in German. [Editor's Note.]

The United Kingdom Notes for a Strategic Perspective

Carlos Ballesteros*

The United Kingdom's geopolitical positions are determined by multiple factors, outstanding among which are its imperial past, certain links between national pride and the role of the army, and a history of conflicts, differences, and alliances with the European continental powers. However, the U.K. foreign policy's main reference point, particularly after 1945, has been its firm ties to the United States.

It still sees itself as a global player in terms of world security and defense and on other issues that extend beyond Europe. The decline in British power after World War II prompted it to cooperate in international forums and play an important role in the UN Security Council as a permanent member with veto rights. At the same time, its membership in the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as its identification with the United States' world view, has allowed it to develop a very active foreign policy in pursuit of its national interest.

Taking these coordinates into account, its international position is not an easy one. Its foreign policy-makers have managed to maintain independence on complex international issues, but without escaping the consequences of being a second-class power. The United Kingdom's foreign policy faces contradictions stemming from the need to preserve its special relationship with the United States, even as it continues to have an important role in Europe, with which it has organic links and where many of its most direct interests are defined. However, historically speaking, between Europe and the United States, the United Kingdom has always opted for the latter on crucial international security issues. The European Union has served as a bulwark for the U.K. taking its distance from the United States on minor or less critical issues like Cuba, the Middle East, or climate change negotiations, on all of which it supports European Union positions.

Its foreign policy is two-sided, like Janus,[1] and subject to the eternal dilemma of being caught between the United States and Europe, although in the last analysis it always defines itself in the framework of NATO and in terms of its role as an ally of the world's main power in the UN Security Council. The United Kingdom's geopolitical position was defined after the 1956 Suez crisis, when, despite its own and France's veto in the Security Council, both had to accept the conditions laid down by the United States and withdraw from the Sinai in less than 48 hours. France chose to strengthen its position in Europe in alliance with Germany; Great Britain opted for establishing a "special relationship" with the United States. This was put to the test in 2003 when the U.S. invasion of Iraq brought down the Saddam Hussein regime, ratified by support from Tony Blair's government.

In recent history, U.K. foreign policy has been marked by the Blair government's activism (1997-2007), which began with the conflict in Kosovo and went into crisis with the Iraq war. It fell to Gordon Brown's government to re-legitimize British positions, particularly interventionism, with the concept of "the responsibility to protect," which permitted it to maintain troops in Afghanistan and Iraq.[2] However, after harsh criticism of the United Kingdom's subordination to the United States, Brown was forced to tone down the special relationship with the U.S. superpower without breaking the commitments taken on in Asia. In any case, the election of Barack Obama opened the door to a more diplomatic dimension in relations between the two countries.

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Jessica Rinaldi/REUTERS

The United Kingdom's foreign policy faces contradictions stemming from the need to preserve its special relationship with the United States, even as it continues to play an important role in Europe.

These observations allow us to establish a context for the new circumstances arising out of David Cameron's election, putting an end to the Labour Party's long hegemony. U.K. foreign policy right now is facing the conditions created by the change in government, but it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, no sudden shifts should be expected, although a greater distance from the European Union can be. The new coalition government has outlined the U.K. international position as maintaining the nation as an active member of the global community and promoting national interests while continuing to be a builder of the United Nations and other international organizations, including the Commonwealth, as well as fostering the reform of global institutions to make them ready to meet the needs of the modern world.

These general positions agreed on by David Cameron and Nick Clegg have been developing into more specific orientations.[3] The new foreign minister, William Hague, presented his proposal to Parliament for a "distinctive" foreign policy making Afghanistan the priority, but that, above all, putting forward greater coordination among foreign, defense, and security policies.

In fact, the coalition government's first big initiative has been to establish a new National Security Council. Other outstanding points are its backing for actions to prevent nuclear arms proliferation, a new commitment to the Middle East peace process, and the vow to convene a referendum on any measure that would broaden the powers of the European Union.

The new government's perspective coincides with that of the United States. At a May 14 joint press conference, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and U.K. Foreign Minister William Hague very precisely outlined the new strategic accord between the United States and the United Kingdom. The two particularly emphasized their common interest in guaranteeing that the Security Council would pass a resolution to make it possible to impose sanctions against Iran and stop its nuclear program; and Minister Hague committed himself to getting European Union backing for that resolution.[4]

The new sanctions against Iran approved June 8, 2010 by the UN Security Council definitively confirmed the permanent members' agreement on the need to prevent the advance of Iran's nuclear program. The United Kingdom maintained its backing for the strategic interests shared with Washington and contributed considerably to determining weighty sanctions against Teheran. For their part, Brazil and Turkey persisted in their attempt to sponsor alternative diplomacy and voted "no" as non-permanent members, while Lebanon, where the pro-Iranian organization Hezbollah has a great deal of influence, abstained.

The Iranian question and the episode led by Brazil and Turkey once again underscore the limitations of a Security Council subject to the will of the five great powers and their vetoes. The position of the European Union was also of interest: it proposed even more severe sanctions than those eventually passed by the Security Council. Last June 17, with just one day's difference, the European Union followed the United States in its position of imposing greater economic, financial, and technology transfer restrictions on Iran.

Obviously, Security Council members' attention, including that of the United Kingdom, is focused on the big Asian chessboard. There, greater forces, processes, and interests are deployed that make up a very dense, interlocking grid. In this regard, the United Kingdom has developed doctrines about crisis management and the concept of public diplomacy associated very closely with the idea of soft power.

To understand the U.K. position in the Security Council, it is important to observe its perspective about the reform

of that rough draft of international government. For the U.K. the number of permanent Security Council members should be increased to bolster its legitimacy. In principle, it would support integrating Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil, but given that it is very difficult to reach the consensus that would make this possible, the United Kingdom has proposed an intermediate option based on longer membership of countries through re-election. The expectation is that with time, this method would make it possible to increase the number of permanent council members.

The positions of the United Kingdom and the entire international movement on the Security Council lead necessarily to a reflection about the possibilities for greater political capacity to govern world forces and processes. The Security Council, and in fact, the UN itself and other international bodies, are the first step toward the conformation of a world interior policy. Of course, to get to that point, sweeping developments on the political and legal level through communication, deliberation, and cooperation are necessary. Undoubtedly, it is the Kantian proposal objected to by realism. But the truth is that the merely realistic perspective is not enough to deal with the world's problems. VM

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[1] In Roman mythology, Janus is the god usually depicted with two faces or heads looking in opposite directions: one looks back at the previous year, and the other looks forward to the year ahead. [Editor's Note.]

[2] Gordon Brown served as prime minister of the United Kingdom and Labour Party leader from 2007, after Tony Blair's resignation, to 2010. For more on Brown's "responsibility to protect" policy, see http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page15286. [Editor's Note.]

[3] Clegg, a British Liberal Democrat, is deputy prime minister of the United Kingdom, lord president of the Council and minister for constitutional and political reform in the coalition government of Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron. [Editor's Note.]

[4] For more about the press conference, see http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE64D5XA20100514. [Editor's Note.]

France and Africa And Realignment with The U.S. on the Iranian Question

Moisés Garduño*

To analyze the French agenda in the Security Council in 2009 and 2010, certain aspects had to be taken into account, mainly peacekeeping and international security, with an emphasis on security in Africa, as well as nuclear non-proliferation, international disarmament, and the peaceful use of atomic energy, with special emphasis on the Iranian question.

France has voted for nearly 28 resolutions in favor of renewing peacekeeping missions in countries like Somalia, Chad, the Central African Republic, Nepal, the Ivory Coast,[1] Djibouti, Eritrea, the Sudan, Liberia, the Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, and the Western Sahara. Given the importance of its commercial fishing and phosphates agreements with the kingdom of Morocco, it has never stopped defending it on the issue of the UN statements about applying the legendary referendum on self-determination.[2]

The French backing of this agenda has to do with its interest in safeguarding the stability of its political allies and looking after its oil supply on the continent, given the hike in oil exports from some African countries to the European Union, China, and the United States. In exchange, France has been promising to foster Africa's presence in the world, evidenced when it said there was the possibility of increasing the number of non-permanent seats in the Security Council. It mentioned this last May at the 25th Africa-France Summit in Nice, where Nicolas Sarkozy hosted 38 African

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presidents and almost 250 businessmen. France has gone even further, putting forward the possibility of creating an African seat that would give its occupant the status of permanent member.[3]

French Realignment with the United States on the Iranian Question

Keeping its relationship with Africa firm —and along with it, its quota of oil— is the French imperative, complemented by keeping the use of atomic energy under Western supervision and using its technology. With quite marked diplomatic ethics, France has decided to join forces with the United States to impose economic sanctions on Iran and force it to suspend its nuclear program.[4] France's position on Iran is absolutely unwavering; it has stated that it would be good news if Iran accepted an international inspection of its nuclear activities. Otherwise, it will have to assume the consequences.[5]

France's interest in going this way has to do with its role as a supplier of nuclear energy, since it is one of the few powers with the technology for building the latest generation of nuclear reactors. For this reason, the Sarkozy government has promoted the sale of this kind of infrastructure through the French company Areva, one of the world leaders in the field, and is moving through the Middle East, Latin America, and all of Africa to open up the market for the European pressurized reactor (EPR), one of the newest third-generation nuclear reactors.[6]

While France does this kind of business around the world, its speeches in the Security Council are clearly aligned with the United States in fostering sanctions against Iran, seemingly attempting to ensure that it does not achieve a level of nuclear technology that would make it self-sufficient in this field and able to compete in the region by supplying this kind of energy.[7]

Final Thoughts

The scarcity of oil and the quest to control nuclear energy may be big motivators in France's behavior inside and outside the Security Council. Keeping Africa as its main area of influence ensures its flow of oil, but the possible replacement of crude by uranium has pushed France to join forces with the United States and support sanctions against Iran, in contrast

Mike Segar/REUTERS

France's alignment with the U. S. can be explained by the need to block Mid-East competition, sustainability, and self-sufficiency in nuclear energy generation, and making sure Iran is dissuaded from dealing with regional geopolitical events.

with its stance on the 2003 invasion of Iraq, when France roundly opposed the initiation of hostilities.[8]

France's alignment with the United States in the Security Council can be explained by two things: the need to block competition, sustainability, and self-sufficiency in nuclear energy generation by the Middle East, which would come about if Iran's nuclear project were successful, and making sure Iran is dissuaded from dealing with regional geopolitical events like the reconstruction of Iraq, the stability of Israel, and the area's economic subjection to the will of the West.

Iran's response to the sanctions last June did not discard the possibility of using rhetorical maneuvering to accuse the West of the disastrous economic situation it finds itself in, and it will not hesitate to toughen its attitude toward the West emphasizing the agreement it signed with Turkey and Brazil to obscure its clear lack of willingness to cooperate. This could lead to two opposite results: the country's fragmentation into

the groups affected by the sanctions, which will try to take advantage of the situation by cooperating with the West on their own, or the emergence of a new internal alignment in which the Iranian opposition would close ranks with the government, as happened in the case of the Islamic Revolution against the Shah and of Saddam Hussein.

Along these same lines, given the risk that the June sanctions could be counterproductive in the future, a better way of bringing Iran closer to the West to finally bring the matter to a close, that is, to avoid nuclear proliferation in the world and the channeling of nuclear programs for military ends, would be to go back to the idea of making the Middle East a nuclear-arms-free zone. This would be the best way to put an end to the winds of war and the difficulties of the negotiations with the Islamic republic. However, despite the fact that this is part of France's ethical discourse in the Security Council, what it has actually done in these last two years has been another step toward joining forces with the United States, which is more than necessary for the big powers to be able to deal with Iran. **VM**

Further Reading

European Union, "Updating Position 2001/931/CFSP on the Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism and Repealing Common Position 2008/586/CFSPl," *Official Journal of the European Union*, January 26, 2009, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2009:023:0037:0042:EN:PDF, accessed August 5, 2010.

GlobalEconStats, "The Top Oil Suppliers of China", October 26, 2009, http://globaleconstats.com/wp/2009/10/26/the-top-oil-suppliers-of-china/, accessed June 3, 2010.

U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "U.S. Imports by Region 1986-2010," http://www.eia.gov/dnav/pet/pet_move_impcus_a2_nus_ep00_im0_mbbl_m.htm, accessed June 1, 2010.

Notes

[1] Based on Resolutions S/RES/1865/ (voted January 27, 2009) and S/RES/1880 (voted July 30, 2009), France sent troops to back up the Blue Berets.

[2] In Resolution S/RES/1871 (2009), the French refused to include a paragraph that Mexico, then president of the Security Council, argued in favor of respect for human rights in the conflict. This refusal was with full knowledge that for several years the Moroccans have used inhumane tactics against the Sahrawis in the occupied territories. Despite this, the document, published April 30, 2009, was not backed by the French and was voted without including the paragraph Mexico proposed. The text only mentions its recognition of "the human dimension of the conflict," a far cry from recognizing the violation of human rights.

[3] In the African press, the main candidates for occupying this seat were Morocco and South Africa because they are regional powers. However, Egypt was also mentioned because of its extensive diplomatic experience, as was Ethiopia because it is the headquarters for most of the continent's international organizations.

[4] Historically, France has assumed that it has the moral stature necessary to criticize aspects of international security. It does this based on its participation in the creation of various international instruments, like Resolution 1540, passed April 28, 2004, which states that the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and their delivery systems constitute a threat for international peace and security. It is also a contributor to Resolution 1887, adopted unanimously by the Security Council at the September 24, 2009 summit on disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the General Assembly's First Commission on international disarmament and international security, and to the UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC), as well as a signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Treaty on the Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Testing, among others.

[5] Europa Press, "Sarkozy asegura que Irán deberá atenerse a las consecuencias si no colabora con la AIEA," http://www.europapress.es/internacional/noticia-francia-sarkozy-asegura-iran-debera-atenerse-consecuencias-si-no-colabora-aiea-20091016033015.html, accessed August 7, 2010.

[6] Broadly speaking, the difference between conventional reactors and this new technology is that the third-generation reactors produce 50 percent more energy in a shorter time. For years, France has sold electricity to European neighbors like Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. In fact, with Italy, it has reactivated a trans-Alp nuclear program, discontinued in 1987. It is now renewing nuclear energy production thanks to an agreement signed by Silvio Berlusconi and Sarkozy. Coincidentally, the European Commission has promised "to stimulate investment in more efficient energy infrastructure," which France has channeled into agreements signed with different nations, mainly in Africa: Libya, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco are on the list. For more on this topic, see Pueblo en Línea Agencia de Noticias, "Areva construirá la tercera parte de nuevos reactores en el mundo," December 21, 2007, http://spanish.peopledaily.com.cn /31620/6325191.html, accessed July 2, 2010, and European Union, "Nuclear Energy," *Revista de la Investigación Europea* no. 40, http://ec.europa.eu/research/rtdinfo/40/01/article_496_en.html, February 2004, accessed August 6, 2010.

[7] France's influence in this matter has been manifest not only in the Security Council, but also outside it. One clear example has been its indirect support for the Mujahedin-e Khalq Movement (MEK), the main opposition to Iran's Islamic regime, who were removed from the European Union's list of terrorist organizations in January 2009 with France's backing, after their counterpart in the Iranian army (the Pasdaran) were put on the U.S. blacklist in September 2006. See the 2009 list at ttp://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2009:023:0037:0042:EN:PDF, accessed August 5, 2010.

[8] The last round of sanctions, proposed by the United States on May 18 and passed by the council last June, also includes the ban of the sale of tanks and other heavy weaponry to Iran. In addition, it is important to point out that the international press published this draft as a "consensus reached by Russia and China," when two days later, the United States would raise the sanctions imposed on the three Russian institutions (Rosoboronexport, the Moscow Aviation Institute, and the D. Mendeleyev University of Chemical Technology) accused of selling weapons of mass destruction technology to third countries in 1994. The announcement was a surprise not only because of Russia's approval, previously reticent to sanction Iran, but above all because it came just 24 hours after the accord reached by Brazil, Turkey, and Iran, in which the Islamic republic committed to sending uranium to Istanbul to be enriched to 20 percent. See Parisa Hafezi, "Irán, Brasil y Turquía firman acuerdo de intercambio nuclear," Reuters, May 17, 2010, http://lta.reuters.com/article/topNews/idLTASIE64G05120100517, accessed May 21, 2010. "Brazil: Agreement with Iran Is Still Posible". See the original at http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B4407AEC-ED63-47CF-AE34-FDF670E94EB9.htm?wbc_purpose=Basic&WBCMODE=PresentationUnpublished,PresentationUnpublished, accessed May 22, 2010.

China and the UN Security Council in 2010

Rodrigo Manuel Hernández Segovia*

When the United Nations was created after World War II and later for a large part of the twentieth century, the reasons for including China among the select group of powers that would forge the new international order were highly questioned. That is, why it was made one of the five permanent members of the Security Council after its participation in the war against the Axis had been very marginal and its economic weight did not justify giving it the privilege of a permanent seat.

Today we understand that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, well advised in geostrategy and geopolitics, realized the grave risk they would have been taking by leaving China out of the United Nations order. It is possible that it was more a strategy to contain the Soviet threat, in addition to the fact that the United Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) had a glimmer of the risk of sharing an enormous border with this demographic and territorial giant.

No matter what the reason for including China in this power group, today, its reality probably far surpasses predictions from 65 years ago about its economic, political, and demographic power and growth. It now accounts for more than one-fifth the world's population; it is the world's foremost manufacturing power and has the largest reserve of foreign currency. This year, it is already the world's number two economy, surpassing Japan and second only to the United States, at the same time that in the years of global financial and economic crisis, it has continued to grow at more than 8 percent a year. In addition, it is the world's third largest military power, after the United States and the Russian Federation.

All this indicates that, like it or not, China is a decisive actor in international relations, with muscle that at least for now tends to grow. The Western powers, particularly the United States, are perfectly aware of this. So, questions arise like: What are China's plans? Where is it going? Does it plan to consolidate itself as a hegemonic power, or is it just an emerging power whose growth rate will not be sustainable for more than 20 or 30 years? In any case, these questions aside, the United States already perceives China's rivalry and opposition in several spheres and scenarios; this has even led many scholars of international relations to consider the possibility that a new bi-polar world is emerging.

Let us remember that Zbigniew Brzezinsky, one of the great ideologues of U.S. power in Barack Obama's administration, proposed the concept of "G2" as the new scenario for understanding and coexistence between today's two great powers.[1] China, however, does not seem to like this approach, since it does not want to be perceived as a hegemonic power or as a threat involved in what was once the U.S.-Soviet rivalry. Until today, China has preferred "multi-polarity" as the most viable scenario for opening the way for its growth and development interests.

Beginning in the 1970s, China sought to distance itself from Soviet tutelage and become a protagonist as a member of the Third World. Today, basing itself on a political and numerical calculation, it is betting on its alliances with the emerging powers and the developing countries. China's discourse identifies itself as part of the developing world, as an emerging economic power, but not as a developed country as yet. To a great extent, this has been its negotiating chip for successfully approaching many countries like those in Africa, with which it maintains very fruitful trade relations.

China has had to adjust and adapt to the rules of a system created by the Western powers. One way or another, Roosevelt and Churchill fulfilled their aim of keeping Chi-

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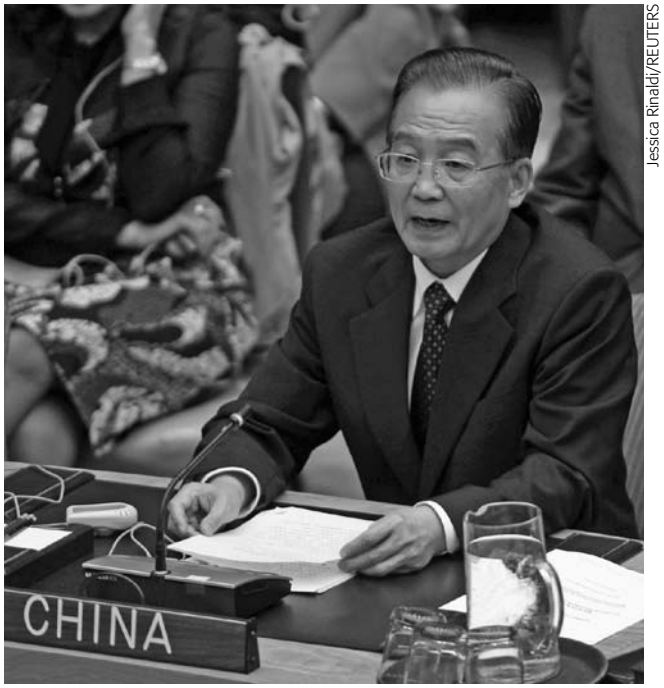
For China, the United Nations is a very good negotiating platform, where it tries to project a peaceful, friendly image. It needs the UN, so until now it has been respectful of it, at least more than the United States.



Jessica Rinaldi/REUTERS

na aligned and to a certain extent limited by the rules of the international order created by the United States and its allies. However, for China, the United Nations is a very good negotiating platform, since what it is looking for is to project a peaceful, friendly image. It knows that it needs the UN, and this is why until now it has been respectful of it, at least more than the United States.

China has been capable of making use of its status as a permanent member of the Security Council with its veto power, although it is the country that has used it the least in the history of council negotiations. This means that it has been capable of negotiating and playing its cards well, since most of the time it has only threatened to use it.

Today, in a Security Council headed by Mexico, China's clear priority is its national security. Of the large number of topics on the negotiating table, I will refer here particularly to the sanctions against Iran and Darfur because they are the issues on which China has shown itself to be a major player and has had more impact on the negotiations, since they are very important to its interests.

It is common knowledge that Iran's nuclear program and the UN sanctions against the regime of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad have been priorities on Barack Obama's foreign policy agenda. For several months, the United States, together with France, England, and Germany, has been negotiating with Security Council permanent and non-permanent members about the sanctions that should be applied to the Iran government given its non-conciliatory position and refusal to halt its uranium enrichment program.

While negotiations have moved forward —China did vote in favor of the fourth round of sanctions imposed on Iran— there is great uncertainty about whether China is really willing to back these sanctions in practice. Up until now, there is nothing to assure us that it will. We should remember that, since the end of the Cold War, China's negotiating style has been characterized by taking positions that do not commit it completely to any of the parties. During the U.S.-Soviet conflict, this was known as a "triangular strategy" or casuistical behavior.

For now, in his attempt to not make an enemy of Washington and to be seen as conciliatory inside the UN, President Hu Jintao has accepted Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton's requests that he back the sanctions against the Ahmadinejad regime, but many reasons suggest that in practice, he might not back them up: for example, Iran is a key to China's energy security. Today, China buys 400,000 barrels of oil a day from Iran, 11 percent of its net oil imports.[2] After Saudi Arabia, Iran is its second-largest oil supplier.

Nevertheless, many factors lead us to believe that China's best option will be to back the U.S.-proposed sanctions. Barack Obama has warned China about the Iranian nuclear program's threat to Israel's security and the possible preventive measure Israel could take against Iran. In addition, Israeli's defense minister traveled to Beijing last April to ask for Chinese government support for sanctions against Iran. He was very clear that if there were no sanctions, Israel would not hesitate to attack Iran's nuclear installations, oil deposits, and petroleum extraction infrastructure on which China's supply depends. So, China will have to ponder several factors.

Allowing the Iranian nuclear program to continue will increasingly jack up the tension in the Middle East. China is the party least interested in an outbreak of war in the region be-

China does not want to be perceived as a hegemonic power or threat involved in the old U.S.-Soviet rivalry. It has preferred "multi-polarity" as the most viable scenario for its growth and development interests.

cause, among many other consequences, that would undoubtedly hike up oil prices and China would be the most severely affected. For the moment, it seems in China's best interest to decrease its energy dependency on Iran, strengthening its presence and influence in other oil-rich countries like the Sudan, and maintaining good relations with the United States, avoiding getting caught up in a political confrontation.

Another especially important issue for Security Council negotiations in which China has a big sa y is Darfur. Mexico has expressed its interest in advancing this point on the council's agenda during its presidency, since it is central to human rights, an issue Mexico has particularly stated it wants to emphasize.

The situation in Darfur is already quite well known, as is China's position on it. The Asian giant has refused to recognize the gravity of the genocide the Sudanese government has perpetrated in the region. Since 2004 when an arms embargo was imposed on the Sudan, China has been one of the main suppliers of small and light arms to the Khartoum government, presumably until then the second largest supplier after the Russian Federation. But since 2004, 90 percent of the small arms in the Sudan come from China.[3]

Oil will once again be a key factor in relations between China and the Sudan. Just like in Iran, China's national oil companies have important investments in the Sudan in oil extraction. In 2008, the China National Petroleum Corporation, one of the Chinese state's main oil companies, controlled almost 70 percent of the Sudan's oil production. In 2008, earnings from oil sales came to 80 percent of the Sudan's total income. That same year, the Sudan earmarked 45 percent of that income for military spending, which has been that government's priority since 2001.[4] So, China is in a win-win business in the Sudan: it invests in infrastructure to extract oil; it buys Sudanese oil at very accessible prices; and it supplies the Khartoum government with arms, which it buys from the profit it makes from oil sales to China.

With these kinds of interests in play, it is only to be expected that China will continue to stay on the sidelines. Particularly on the issue of Darfur, China carts out its "non-interventionist" foreign policy stance. Criticisms of China for its indifference to the genocide in Darfur have been numerous and severe. They seemed to begin to bother it particularly in 2008, when it hosted the Olympic Games. Since then, China has considered reversing its stance on Darfur.

One of the instruments it has used has been the Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs), specifically the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Initially, China criticized the PKOs, calling them instruments for interventionism by the great powers. However, it has realized that the PKOs are a good way of acquiring international prestige and a good image as a country. China sees its participation in the UNAMID as an opportunity to make up in large part for its tolerance of the Khartoum government's human rights violations.

Since 2008, China has contributed US$3.5 million to the UNAMID. In 2009, it was the fourteenth largest contributor in military, civilian, and police personnel to UN peacekeeping operations. It is the largest contributor of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and in the specific case of the UNAMID, China has deployed 325 troops.[5] While in financial terms, China makes only a very marginal contribution, its increasing involvement in peacekeeping missions has greatly helped improve its image as an emerging power, above all in Africa and very particularly in the Sudan.

Another issue involving Darfur that will have to be dealt with in the Security Council during Mexico's presidency, given that the fundamental issue it wants to focus on is human rights, is the detention of President Omar al-Bashir. On this issue, the Security Council is facing an enormous challenge: making sure those responsible for the "ethnic cleansing" perpetrated in Darfur do not go unpunished and that the International Criminal Court really functions as an international legal institution. In that vein, one of the main obstacles is once again China, since it has said it is not willing to cooperate in detaining Al-Bashir. The issue is further complicated if we consider that neither the African Union as a whole nor the Arab countries have expressed willingness to cooperate in his arrest.

We should also remember that China has important political and trade alliances with both groups of countries and nothing forces it to participate in the detention of President Al Bashir, since it is not a signatory of the Rome Statute:[6] from the beginning it was one of the countries that opposed the creation of an International Criminal Court. Taking all this

into account, the arrest of Omar al-Bashir is very problematic, but must continue to be a priority on the Security Council agenda.

Clearly, then, China is a global power with important interests to defend at several latitudes across the globe. To do that, it will make use of the complex, broad set of alliances it has forged down through recent years. Just as in the past, today it is impossible to assess a country's power without taking into consideration its web of alliances throughout the world. China understands that it cannot emerge alone, and therefore it has been working to establish good relations on the seven continents. For now, it will have to move ahead in a "multipolar" world, as it likes to call it, but recognizing that there are issues pivotal to its security about which —like it or not— it will have to seek a consensus with the United States. NM

NOTES

[1] The term "Group of Two (G2)," originally coined by C. Fred Bergsten referring to an economic relationship, began to gain wider currency among foreign policy experts as a way of recognizing the centrality of the U.S.-China relationship toward the beginning of the Obama administration. To learn more about the term, see http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China_Business/KD22Cb01.html. [Editor's Note.]

[2] Blake Hounshell, "China Is Now Iran's Top Trading Partner," *Foreign Policy*, May 23, 2010.

[3] "China Definitely Propping up Sudan Govt: BBC," ABC News, July 13, 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/07/13/2302298.htm, accessed July 21, 2009.

[4] "UN: Create Darfur Recovery Fund for Sudanese Oil Revenues," UN (March 19, 2007), http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2007/03/19/un-create-darfur-recovery-fund-sudanese-oil-revenues, accessed May 2010.

[5] Gill Bates and Chin Hao Huang, "China's Expanding Role in Peacekeeping: Prospects and Policy Implications," SIPRI Policy Paper no. 25, November 2009, http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRIPP25.pdf.

[6] On July 17, 1998, 160 countries decided in Rome to establish a permanent International Criminal Court to try individuals responsible for the most heinous crimes affecting the entire world like genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The Rome Statute was amended several times (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002) and finally came into effect July 1, 2002. See http://untreaty.un.org/English/millennium/law/penal_matters/xviii_10E.htm. [Editor's Note.]

Agreements and Disagreements Between Russia and Mexico

Daniel Añorve*

Mexico's fourth stint in the United Nations Security Council (SC) lasted from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2010. This article will attempt to analyze Russia's position in the SC from 2009 to 2010 and identify points of agreement and disagreement with Mexico in this important UN body.

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Russian National Security Strategy (2009-2010)

To be able to analyze Russian participation in the council, it is a good idea to take into account the main points of its new national security strategy.[1]

Among its numerous points, in my opinion, the following eight are the most outstanding:

1) the clear delimitation and protection of its borders;
2) references to energy security, including oil and gas pipelines;
3) the mention of vital interests in the Arctic, the Caspian Sea, and Siberia;
4) cooperation as a state with the great powers;
5) the protection of the Russian Diaspora, which to a certain extent implies the idea of an "expanded" border;
6) the modernization of the army, making it smaller but more efficient;
7) the desire to become the world's fifth-largest economy measured in terms of GDP; and
8) an emphasis on human development.

The national security strategy has an impact on the new Russian military doctrine, which has four core points:[2] the reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in national security; limited use of nuclear arms for regional and global wars; the fact that while the 2000 military doctrine includes the use of nuclear weapons in situations critical to Russian national security, the 2010 doctrine proposes their use only when the existence of Russia is threatened; and an emphasis on the use of conventional weapons, precision instruments, communications, commandos, and control systems.

Russia's Position at the Sixty-fourth UN General Assembly

To understand Russia's position in the SC, it is necessary to look at the core points of its foreign policy in the UN in general, and therefore, its overall position at the sixty-fourth UN General Assembly.[3] Among the central points are the consolidation of the multilateral principles for world policy, which presupposes joint solutions; the observation of the exclusive rights the UN Charter gives the Security Council for keeping the peace and international security; and the reform of the Security Council, seeking better representation for developing countries, an increased number of non-permanent members, longer periods, and re-election. Respect for the exclusive rights of permanent members, including the veto, are non-negotiable.

Russia considers that the most important issues should not be resolved by a vote in the UN General Assembly, and seeks leadership in peacekeeping missions. It supports making the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism universal, as well as the resolutions for putting an end to piracy along the coasts of Africa, and the creation of mechanisms for a specialized international tribunal. It also supports processes for the resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East and the creation of an independent Palestinian state that can live in peace and security with neighboring Israel and condemns unilateral Israeli action. It supports the greatest possible UN involvement in Iraq; considers that the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan must be guided by SC Resolution 1267; opposes agreements with the Taliban and extremist groups; and, in the cases of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, seeks UN understanding of the region's new situation.

In addition to all this, Russia supports the existence of a binding document banning the use of force between Georgia and the new states, and will also promote these new states' security and economic and social development. To prevent the re-militarization of Georgia, it insists on an international embargo on offensive weapons against Tbilisi as one of the mainstays of stability in the region, and is convinced of the illegality of Kosovo's unilaterally declared independence. It supports the solution of the Cyprian conflict, and is in favor of establishing a bi-communal, two-zone federation not subject to outside arbitration that would serve the interests of the Greek and Turkish communities.

> Mexico and Russia have agreed on piracy in Africa; Iraq; the different UN missions; humanitarian law; women and conflict resolution; the condemnation of sexual violence during armed conflicts; North Korea; and nuclear non-proliferation.

Russia considers international sanctions the exclusive prerogative of the Security Council and thinks that under no circumstances should sanctions exceed SC resolutions, and that they should be applied very precisely. It is against measures that would deepen economic and social conflicts, and in favor of seeking a solution to the North Korean nuclear problem exclusively through political and diplomatic channels based on SC decisions.

Russia considers cooperation for the promotion and protection of human rights very important, but that the main responsibility lies with the states, not in international bodies. Therefore, it condemns the use of human rights as a pretext

Eric Thayer/REUTERS

Russia seeks leadership in peacekeeping missions and supports making the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism universal, as well as the resolutions for creating mechanisms for a specialized international tribunal, among other issues.

for interfering in the internal affairs of states and/or as means of exerting pressure. But, on the other hand, it does support strengthening UN humanitarian efforts, with the understanding that aid must be anchored in principles like humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence. The states in question will make the final decision to accept or reject it, and how to use it.

Russian Initiatives in the Security Council

The Russian Federation promoted three major initiatives from 2009 to 2010: the creation of an international tribunal to pursue sea pirates; the formation of a diplomatic foursome (the European Union, Russia, the United States, and the UN) to create a Palestinian state that could live in peace next to Israel (as was foreseen at the 2009 International Conference in Moscow); and, lastly the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, a joint Russian-U.S. proposal. In addition to these three initiatives, the federation calls on the international community to sign and ratify without delay the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Changes in Direction of the Russian Position

A clear demonstration that, even when it comes to official positions, states have a certain degree of flexibility, can be seen in Russia's reconsideration of two issues. In the case of North Korea, Dmitri Medvedev signed a decree so that Russia could vote for the SC sanctions against North Korea for its nuclear missile tests. Beginning on June 12, 2009, the purchase of arms and related materials from North Korea was banned and their transport through Russian territory toward North Korea has also been banned. Russia, initially unconvinced of the three rounds of sanctions against Iran, finally decided to support a fourth round.[4]

Mexico-Russia Agreements on The Security Council

Mexico and the Russian Federation have coincided in their judgments from 2009 to 2010 on the following issues: piracy in Africa; Iraq; the different UN missions; humanitarian law; the participation of women in conflict resolution; the condemnation of sexual violence during armed conflicts; North Korea; and non-proliferation of nuclear power. Lastly, Russia and Mexico voted exactly alike on Resolutions 1860 and 1936.

Differences between Mexico and Russia on the Security Council

Nevertheless, on at least five issues, Mexico and Russia did differ:

1) Conventional weapons: Felipe Calderón added his voice to the concern of President Óscar Arias, calling attention to the proliferation of conventional weapons, since small and light-arms trafficking causes around 1 000 deaths and 3 000 injuries a day throughout the world. As one of the world's largest exporters of con-

Russia opposes measures that would deepen economic and social conflicts, and considers cooperation for promoting and protecting human rights very important, but thinks that the main responsibility lies with the states, not international bodies.

ventional weaponry, Russia does not seem interested in controlling the proliferation of these kinds of arms.

2) Dismantling the UN Observation Mission in Georgia when it was vetoed by Russia. Mexico had voted in favor of renewing the mission, considering that fundamental UN principles are at play there like sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.
3) The arrest warrant issued by the International Criminal Court for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir and its effects on that country's humanitarian situation, particularly in the region of Darfur. Russia, like China, is against the request for an arrest warrant, considering it a "dangerous precedent." Mexico, abiding by the court's by-laws, is in favor of supporting and respecting its decision.
4) Kosovo. Mexico supports the International Court of Justice being the body that decides whether the current situation is in accordance with international law. As long as the International Court of Justice has not made a ruling, for Mexico, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries still stand. Russia refuses to recognize Kosovo's independence.
5) Sri Lanka. Russia refused to deal with and discuss the Mexican proposal to analyze the military conflict in Sri Lanka, particularly the humanitarian situation. It claims that Sri Lanka's situation does not merit SC intervention, arguing that the situation of the Tamil Eelam is very different from that of Kosovo.

Conclusions

As can be seen, Mexican and Russian interests coincide fundamentally on issues that are not vital for the Euro-Asian power. We can see that Mexico, as a peripheral state, is holding on to a "principled" position; Russia, as a re-emerging power, appeals to international law selectively. VM

Notes

[1] This strategy was approved by President Dmitri Medvedev May 12, 2009. See ""Strategia natsionalnoi bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii do 2020 goda," http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=87:russian-national-security-strategy&catid=1:latest-news, accessed August 12, 2010, and RIANovosti, "Russian President Approves National Security Strategy until 2020," May 13, 2009, en.rian.ru/russia/20090513/121575657.html, accessed August 12, 2010.

[2] This doctrine was issued February 5, 2010. See Nikolai Sokov, "The New 2010 Russian Military Doctrine: The Nuclear Angle," cns.miis.edu/... /100205_russian_nuclear_doctrine.htm, accessed August 13, 2010.

[3] See the 45-point document "Russia's Position at the 64th Session of the UN General Assembly," and www.un.int/russia/new/MainRoot/index_plain.html, accessed August 14, 2010.

[4] On June 9, 2010, the Security Council approved a resolution with a new package of sanctions against Iran for its lack of cooperation in demonstrating the peaceful aims of its nuclear program. The resolution received 12 votes in favor, including Mexico and the Russian Federation's, one abstention (Lebanon), and two votes against (Brazil and Turkey). The new package of sanctions restricts arms sales to Iran and allows all states to inspect Iranian ships and planes suspected of transporting nuclear-industry-related materials. The sanctions also reinforces control over Iran's financial and banking activities, and approves freezing assets of entities suspected of being related to undeclared nuclear program activities. In addition, they include the creation of a "blacklist" of Iranian companies banned from investing abroad. Lastly, they restrict travel of individuals linked with the companies on the list.

Potential Impacts of The 2010 U.S. Midterm Elections

Manuel Chavez*

Larry Downing/REUTERS

The November 2 U.S. midterm elections have particular significance not only domestically but also internationally. Their importance is due to the arrival of a very defined, ideologically conservative group of congresspersons. As this article shows, predicting domestic politics in the U.S. is becoming more elusive and complex; and as new political leaders arrive the repercussions on international issues get murkier. This is especially critical for the relationship between Mexico and the United States.

This article will first present the aftermath of the political change in Congress and in several gubernatorial seats, and then explore the potential consequences of these shifts on Mexico and bilateral relations. It will also explain that U.S. domestic politics is having fundamental impacts on the legislative agenda that will impact border security issues with Mexico and immigration regulations.

Underlying most analyses are the dire straits of the U.S. economy, which, despite efforts to stimulate job creation, has had dismal results. In 2010, for instance, the high national unemployment rate continued at around 10 percent, and even though there was a slight recovery in October, the rate was still 9.6 percent. While unemployment is high nationally, it is even higher in states like Michigan, California, and Nevada, where it ranges from 12 to 14 percent.[1] Added to low employment is the deficit: for fiscal year 2010 it came in at US$1.46 trillion, more than triple the record set just

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last year. This will make it very difficult to continue any efforts to invigorate the economy while there is general resistance to borrowing more.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE 2010 MIDTERM ELECTIONS

The midterm elections results show that in the United States, political forces are completely independent from the political power of the presidency. President Obama, who has enjoyed for most of 2010 a constant approval rating ranging from 51 percent March 4 to 46 percent November 15, had no influence on his party's candidates results.[2] Moreover, despite the president's approval ratings, the White House decided not to actively and openly engage in the elections, with the clear results of a no-show.

Democratic Party losses were very significant, but not as bad as many predicted. They lost Congress, kept the Senate, and lost some gubernatorial seats. Out of the total 430 congressional seats, the Democrats lost 61, and the tally is now 190 Democrats and 240 Republicans. In the Senate, despite losing six seats, the Democrats retained their control, with 53 Democrats and 47 Republicans. They also lost 7 gubernatorial seats, making for 29 Republican governors and 19 Democrats. The U.S. political map looks clearly more red than blue at all levels, federal, state, and local.

Consequently, the shift from Democratic control to a Republican-dominated political scene will bring important changes to reforms and budget allocations. During their campaigns, conservative candidates, especially in states where Republicans gained control of their legislatures, proposed major changes in bills passed by President Obama and the Democrat-controlled Congress. Three major targets are to deter and push back the federal health care law, to reduce the social agenda, and to enhance actions by states to control undocumented immigration.

CAUSES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN GAINS

The reasons the Democrats lost control of the House of Representatives, six Senate seats, and seven state houses will be fertile material for political, sociological, and communication research. As the results become clearer, two dominant interpretations of the Republican gains are the role of President Obama in the midterm campaigns and effective political campaigning by Republican candidates.

The first interpretation suggests that the election was a referendum on the Obama presidency and the liberal Democratic Congress. This interpretation is popular and commonly spread by conservative analysts, media commentators in conservative news outlets, and Republican strategists like Karl Rove. In the first post-balloting interviews and analyses of the elections, these conservative actors very insistently stated that Americans had voted on the presidency, rejecting Obama's liberal, "socialist" policies. They also linked the "generalized" American discomfort with the liberal Congress dominated by the Democrats and Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

The second interpretation relates to the well financed and organized campaigns by most Republican candidates. This interpretation is more popular among Democrats and liberal media commentators. The main premise is that due to the unprecedented sums funneled into conservative candidacies, Republican strategists were able to prepare very focused campaigns. Also, campaign contributions allowed the Republican Party to buy prime time advertising on television stations that distort many of the Democrats' achievements. Jim Carvill, one of the Democratic strategists, repeated this assessment on national TV after the results clearly indicated that the Democrats had lost control of Congress.

Two dominant interpretations of the Republican gains in the these elections are the role of President Obama in the midterm campaigns and effective political campaigning by Republican candidates.

My interpretation offers a third way of understanding the results. It is a composite of three factors: first, President Obama's participation in the elections was very timid and weak; second, the emergence of the Tea Party during the elections played a prominent role in promoting its candidates; and third, the shift from one political party to another is a cyclical change of political alternation and balance of power that Americans tend to like.

First, President Obama's lack of participation in the elections is one of the most evident factors affecting the outcome. He was absent in state elections, in areas where Democratic

candidates needed support, and in making clear the benefits of his policies. The White House had a serious communications problem during the month before the elections. For instance, Obama did not establish the clear benefit of all of his reforms, nor did he underline the importance of keeping or electing Democrats to consolidate them. His reforms and proposals were —and are— for the most part misunderstood by most Americans. Then, the departure just before the elections of White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emmanuel, the political architect of the Democratic control of the House in 2006 and a central advisor for the Obama's own political bid for the presidency, seemed to send the message that the Obama administration was falling apart.[3]

Secondly, the Tea Party's arrival on the scene is an important variable for understanding the election outcome. The Tea Party's name refers directly to the Boston Tea Party, the 1773 incident in which colonists destroyed British tea rather than pay taxes on it. They argued that taxes violated the concept of "no taxation without representation," which in turn became the basis for independence from Britain. The current movement arose as result of the Bush and Obama administrations' bank bail-outs during the 2008 financial crisis. As the movement increased, the Tea Party put pressure on Republican candidates to exercise more fiscal discipline and to reduce taxes and the role of government. For the midterm elections, it is unclear who benefited from Tea Party support: the analysis needs to be done election by election. In some cases, like Delaware, candidate Christine O'Donnell lost the election; in others, like Kentucky, Rand Paul won. Another unclear case of direct influence is the one of charismatic Republican Marc Rubio, a Latino candidate who won a Florida Senate seat on a very conservative agenda with wide support from an aged, conservative electorate.

> My interpretation offers a third way of understanding the results. It is a composite of three factors: first, President Obama's participation in the elections was very timid and weak; second, the emergence of the Tea Party; and third, the cyclical shift from one political party to another.

The Tea Party movement has gained visibility and support from conservative white, middle-class, middle-aged, suburban Americans who feel unrepresented and ignored by the Democratic administration and Congress. Also, supporters believe that the reforms proposed by President Obama and his party are costly, intrusive, and unfair. Ideologically, followers are against increasing the role of government, increasing the deficit, and more importantly against any form of tax hikes. One of its symbolic leaders linked to the party is former Alaska Governor Sarah Palin. Some analysts believe that the Tea Party movement is a franchise of marginalized Republican supporters who do not fit into the party's conventional strategies.

The third factor seems to be more obvious for many political analysts, that is, the cyclical alternation of political parties in control of the White House and Congress. This tends to be clear at midterm after a new president is elected or reelected. President Clinton's 1994 midterm elections lost the Democrats control of Congress and heralded the arrival of Newt Gingrich as speaker. Similarly, in 2006, after the reelection of President George W. Bush, Democrats gained control of Congress making Nancy Pelosi its first woman speaker. The balance of power and party alternation is a model Americans prefer, as opposed to total control by a single party.

The transition of political parties is predictable, and when one party controls more than one branch, American voters cast their ballots to reestablish what they perceive as equilibrium. So, the shift was no surprise; the surprise was that after Barack Obama's remarkable election, the White House did not use its political image to aid Democratic candidates.

The New Congress's Political Figures And Their Platforms

So, with a new political group of actors on the national scene, how likely is it that will they be able to make or induce significant policy changes? And more importantly for Mexico, what do the new leaders think about issues that affect bilateral relations? Rather than restricting our analysis to only newcomers on the political scene, I am including figures who will play a role in bi-national affairs like Jan Brewer, the newly elected governor of Arizona, and Sarah Palin a political figure who wants to bridge Republican and Tea Party strategies and who has presidential aspirations for 2012.

Below is a table showing the views of John Boehner, the next speaker of the House; Rand Paul, senator-elect for the state

of Kentucky who is a major figure of the Tea Party movement; Marco Rubio, the new Latino senator for Florida who is touted as the next Republican leader; Jan Brewer, Arizona's conservative governor who will continue drastic, antagonistic policies against immigrants; and Sarah Palin, former governor of Alaska, a strong supporter and influence in the Tea Party and Republican 2008 vice-presidential candidate.

The table summarizes the positions and statements these political figures have made public. The two topics selected include their views on border security (second column) and on immigration, citizenship, rights, and even benefits for immigrant children (third column). As the table shows, prospects do not look promising in either area, both of which have direct implications for Mexico.

First, John Boehner, Republican congressman from Ohio, who will become speaker of the House, has very strong views on border security. He states, "We need to have stronger border protections and full enforcement of our immigration laws. America is a nation of immigrants, but we are also a nation of laws —those laws must be obeyed and enforced." Coming from a leader of Congress, this is a clear signal of non-tolerance of illegal immigration regardless of the measures and cost. He wants to keep taxpayers' money from benefiting illegal immigrants (see table).[4]

TABLE
RELEVANT POLITICAL FIGURES PERSPECTIVES. 2010 MIDTERM ELECTIONS

	On Border Security	On Immigration
John Boehner Next Speaker Of the House	* Securing borders and stopping the flood of illegal immigration is first priority of the new Congress * Increase funding for the "Secure Fence Act" * Secure America through "Verification and Enforcement Act"	* America is a nation of laws. Laws must be obeyed and enforced * No public money to benefit illegal immigrants * Assimilation, learning English, and embracing common identity as Americans
Rand Paul Senator, Kentucky	* Stricter control of the border * Electronic fence * Helicopter stations near the border * Construction of military bases to monitor the border	* No support to amnesty * No birthright citizenship for children of illegal immigrants * Removal of public subsidies for illegal immigration * Making English the official language of the United States
Marco Rubio Senator, Florida	* Supports states like Arizona in trying to control the border * States can act when the federal government is inefficient	* No public support to illegal immigrants * No counting illegal immigrants in the census
Jan Brewer Governor, Arizona	* Place the National Guard on the border * Local law enforcement needs to enforce immigration controls * Completion of the border fence and the double-layered fencing * Heavy penalties for criminal aliens	* Strict enforcement of immigration laws * No public services, including education and health, for illegal immigrants and their children * No support to amnesty * Considers illegal immigration a hidden tax * Signed the Immigration Control Arizona Law (HB1070)
Sarah Palin Ex-governor, Alaska	* States can take any measure to protect their borders * Secure borders are a government priority * Equates border security with terrorism	* Only legal immigration helps the U.S. * Laws should not help illegal immigrants * No support to amnesty * Strong support for Arizona Law

Rand Paul was elected U.S. Senator for the state of Kentucky. As a force behind the Tea Party, he does not support amnesty and believes that arriving to the United States requires respecting the law. He wants to eliminate any public money for illegal immigrants. He also supports making English the United States' official language and building an electronic fence and helicopter stations near the border, as well as constructing military bases to monitor it.[5]

Marco Rubio, a Latino of Cuban descent, was elected as U.S. senator for the state of Florida. He was supported by strongly conservative Republican voters and endorsed by the Tea Party. He is touted as the Republican Party's rising star. Rubio has stated several times that the federal government should not interfere with the Arizona anti-immigrant law.[6] He did not support counting illegal immigrants in the census and did not take a stand when an immigrant identification bill was proposed in Florida.[7]

Jan Brewer was elected governor of the state of Arizona in her own right in the November elections. After taking office initially after Janet Napolitano's resignation, she signed HB1070, increasing the role of law enforcement to control immigration in the state. She proposes a four-stage plan to control the border with Mexico: putting the National Guard back on the border; finishing the border fence, including double-layered fencing; enforcing current immigration laws; and reimbursing the state of Arizona for the cost of imprisoning criminal aliens.[8] She is the most articulate official who blames all Arizona's problems on illegal immigration.

Sarah Palin is the former governor of Alaska. She is an informal leader of the Tea Party and supports Governor Brewer's measures in Arizona. She is a strong advocate of military control of the U.S.-Mexico border. She stated that President Obama does not have the "*cojones*" to enforce the laws on the border, and she does not support amnesty. Palin thinks the Arizona measures need to be emulated by other states.[9]

Implications of the Midterm Election Results

One of the situations that most threatens a positive relationship with Mexico is the growth and expansion of the Tea Party movement. As it grows, the chances to create bi-national solutions are more limited, since its followers only perceive one-way, traditional immigration and border controls. These general views are embraced and sponsored by its supporters.

The best indicators of how the new Congress will act are not directly related to Mexico. They include the control of the deficit, tax cuts, and limiting earmarked projects by Congress. One challenge for the new Congress and its new leaders will be to identify budget areas to target for reduction. But, this Congress will make all efforts to polarize President Obama and his administration in order to reduce his possibilities for reelection in 2012.

Fortunately for Mexico, some things are working well, like the continuing growth of the Hispanic population in the U.S., close to 70 percent of whom are of Mexican origin. Also, the current U.S. State Department, represented by Secretary Hillary Clinton, is a friend to Mexico, and more importantly, the interdependence process between United States and Mexico is more intertwined every day. Economic and commercial transactions continue unchanged: the close to one million U.S. daily inspections on the border with Mexico are not slowing down. Foreign direct investment in Mexico grew 28 percent to US$12.2 billion in the first six months of 2010, compared to 2009. This could make 2010 the strongest year for foreign investment since 2007 when Mexico received $23.2 billion.[10]

Hopefully the polarization of the U.S. domestic politics will not continue and the fragmentation and internal struggles will not affect the relationship with its neighbor to the south. Otherwise, not only Mexico and the U.S. lose, but so does the entire North American region. VM

Notes

[1] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, http://www.bls.gov/cps/.

[2] "Obama Job Approval," *Gallup Daily*, 2010, http://www.gallup.com/poll/113980/Gallup-Daily-Obama-Job-Approval.aspx.

[3] Emmanuel left because he is running for mayor of Chicago.

[4] John Boehner's campaign website, accessed October 28, 2010, http://johnboehner.house.gov/Issues/Issue/?IssueID=3945.

[5] Open statements on Mr. Paul's webpage during his 2010 bid for the U. S. Senate, http://www.randpaul2010.com/issues/h-p/illegal-immigration/.

[6] Statements by Marco Rubio on his website, accessed November 5, 2010, http://www.marcorubio.com/rubio-justice-departments-lawsuit-is-a-waste-of-resources.

[7] He is quoted by the political website "Politico," accessed November 4, 2010, http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0810/40996.html.

[8] Gov. Brewer, quoted from http://www.janbrewer.com/on-the-issues/securing-our-border, accessed November 5, 2010.

[9] Interview with Sarah Palin by Fox anchor Chris Wallace, November 10, 2010, http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/fox-news-sunday/transcript/sarah-palin-talks-immigration-economy-and-political-future?page=1.

[10] Reuters *Business Story*, accessed November 16, 2010, http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN2312911920100823.

Challenge from China
A Short Study Trip

Leonardo Curzio*

Sean Yong/REUTERS

Traveling to China has become obligatory for anyone who assumes that in this century, globalization is no longer a process of the planet's Westernization or, even Americanization. China has radically changed the board on which the world's chess game is played, and therefore we need to be more familiar with its recent trajectory and predict as far as possible its future behavior.

Those of us, like myself, who are unknowledgeable about the topic, have to prepare our trip very carefully and prudently because the number of things we don't know about is so huge that if we don't do something to remedy it, we run the risk of repeating five centuries later what some call the "Columbus syndrome." This is nothing less than undertaking a long journey without knowing exactly where you're going and for a very long time supposing that you've arrived somewhere you haven't. In short, what you need is a good short history of China —the El Colegio de México version is splendid—[1] and a couple of other texts that can help broaden out your viewpoint.

Before starting the trip, I had the felicitous idea of slipping into my hand luggage a book called *El océano Pacífico* (The Pacific Ocean), published by the *Revista de Occidente* (Magazine of the West) in 1972, written by a remarkable man, Carlos Prieto. A vibrant book, it is sub-titled "Navegantes españoles del siglo XVI" (Spanish Seamen of the Sixteenth Century), and when it says "Spanish," it is talking about the seamen who, long before the English, French, or Americans, fully traveled the routes from Mexico and Peru throughout the immense Pacific Ocean. I am no fan of chauvinism, but it seems to me only rigorous to recognize that the feat of

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discovering the Pacific routes was a glory that must be claimed by New Spain, or, to be more direct about it, Mexico.

In his book, Prieto recalls all that century's expeditions, beginning in 1519 with Fernando de Magallanes, who got all the way to the Philippines. Eight years later, in 1527, Álvaro de Saavedra tried to cross the ocean, twice attempting to return to the Mexican coast. But he failed: the farthest he got was north of the Hawaiian archipelago. After this failure to find the return route across the Pacific, the expeditions from Mexican ports became less frequent. In 1542, Ruy López de Villalobos was lost in the Mariana Islands.

The glory of discovering the eastward route across the Pacific from Asia, just as important as the route discovered by Christopher Columbus, fell to the expedition of Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés de Urdaneta in 1564. Urdaneta is buried anonymously in an unmarked grave in one of Mexico City's historic downtown buildings, forgotten both the man and his accomplishment. After Urdaneta came the Peruvian expeditions that would leave and return to Callao, like those of Álvaro de Mendaña, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, and Luis Váez de Torres.

In the XVI century, Mexico was in close contact with the Orient. Its "strong pesos" were the currency most used in trading, and the Chinese Nao covered the most important trade routes for several centuries. Mexico was key to the world's awareness of its own shape.

In the sixteenth century, Mexico was in close contact with the Orient. Mexico's "strong pesos" were the currency most commonly used in trading,[2] and the Chinese Nao, the three- or four-masted sailing ship that went back and forth to Asia, covered the most important trade routes for several centuries. Mexico was key to the world's awareness of its own shape.

In his book about sixteenth-century navigators, Carlos Prieto assumes that first known contacts between the Americas and the Far East occurred then. However, other theories —until now not completely proven, but frankly intriguing— suggest that contact between the two regions could be older. In 1752, the Chinese scholar, Frenchman Joseph de Guignes received a letter from a French missionary living in Beijing who stated with some certainty that a Chinese monk named Hui Shen had traveled to Mexico (or the country of Fu Sang) in the fifth century. A large number of historians consider this improbable. The publication of this theory, however, had a big impact among specialists, who for over 200 years have been discussing the enormous parallelisms between the colors, flavors, and even the sensibilities of these two peoples.

Recently the discussion has rekindled after the publication of a book that very convincingly revives the hypothesis that the Chinese arrived to the coast of the Americas before Columbus did: *1421. The Year China Discovered the World.*[3] This book by British Admiral Gavin Menzies is uneven and sparks suspicions, since it makes some very strange generalizations about pre-Columbian cultures: it suddenly situates the Mayas in Uruapan, Michoacán, or confuses them with the Cora.[4] However, it does include maps that open up the option of seriously considering the possibility that a Chinese expedition did reach American shores. The book makes a few almost acrobatic leaps, but it is an exciting read that I'm sure any of the lovers of the mysteries of history will love, among other reasons because it shows us just how little we know about the world. But, let's get back to our day.

The Enigma of the Dragon

China is an economic giant, and, according to the most recent figures, it's not tiring of growth. In the last 12 months, its gross domestic product has risen almost 12 percent, and there is certain concern because it might close the year at 10 percent, and 2011 with 8 percent. With these growth rates, the latest figures show that China has positioned itself as the planet's second-largest economy, surpassing Japan. Just to mention it in passing, in addition to its being an economic success, this has enormous symbolic political significance because of the two countries' rivalry and the terrible humiliations China has suffered at the hands of the Japanese over the last two centuries.

A look at its streets, buildings, and, in general, its infrastructure sheds immediate light on why investment is flowing everywhere. I visited the Sichuan region, devastated last year by a fierce earthquake, and the vitality with which this great nation recovers from its tragedies and the pride with which it shows visitors its achievements is astounding. Its great, perfectly tended avenues show that local governments work hard to improve their cities' image and, therefore, the Chinese people's quality of life. Beijing, particularly its downtown

areas, is a clean city with tree-lined avenues and improved public transportation that significantly reduces inequalities.

China continues to be the world's great factory because of its ceaseless ability to produce cheap manufactures that have had such little-studied effects as increasing the purchasing power of the popular classes in Latin America and thus decreasing poverty indices. But, besides being the world's factory, it is now playing two more roles in the world economy: on the one hand, its growth rates have made it one of the most important driving forces behind the international economy by pushing Western companies to satisfy its emerging middle classes' enormous appetite for cars and luxury goods. Secondly, a key factor for international financial stability is that it has become the guarantor of a large part of U.S. debt, popularizing terms like "Chinamerica,"[5] in addition to contributing to the stabilization of the euro zone after the May 2010 turbulence.[6]

These new responsibilities pose new problems. China is dealing with the challenges of being an economic power of the first water, and the most visible of all, the G20's big topic of discussion, is the tension arising from how it handles its currency, which some Western countries perceive as arrogant and unfair. If we look at its trade balance, its surplus is nearly US$140 billion, something like four percent of its GDP; among other things, this explains why the yuan continues to be so highly valued.

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Its growth not only creates problems and tensions in the money market, but also reactivates old fears. China's new maritime map and the geo-politics of the Indian Ocean involving both neighboring and distant countries like Vietnam, India, Japan, and the United States, recently dealt with by Robert Kaplan in two articles, are extremely relevant topics on the strategic agenda for the coming years.[7]

Politically, the problems arising from the dragon's new dimensions keep mounting. Europe and the United States, not to mention the entire community of democracies, are juggling attempts to find a balance between criticizing and not criticizing the human rights situation in China, particularly around paradigmatic cases like that of Lui Xiaobo, and protecting their economic interests. The November 2010 visit of China's leader to France, while Barack Obama was visiting India, focused on the signing of contracts worth millions with the aeronautics firm Airbus and the development of new nuclear plants, despite public protests that demanded the Sarkozy government take a firm stand on the imprisonment of the Nobel Prize-winning activist.

The other area China is criticized about abroad is the environment. The Chinese do not deny there are problems; but their room for maneuver both domestically and internationally seems limited. The country's enormous coal consumption and visible contamination of rivers and cities are a serious challenge to domestic governability. The population may be as patient as can be, but the deterioration of living conditions could unleash a wave of rather significant discontent. Internationally, the world's second-largest economy can not play the card of differentiated responsibilities for global warming very much longer, even though, of course, these differentiations are real.

China is right, but its new condition forces it to take on a more constructive role in accordance with its weight today. The G2, that is, an understanding between China and the United States to deal with the most polemical issues, was a simple out, flirted with before the Copenhagen summit based on the quest for a kind of Confucian harmony between the two to resolve all post-Kyoto issues on the agenda. Today, it is no more than a memory.

DOMESTIC CHALLENGES

Dizzying economic growth has another face that is often not clearly perceived when viewed from outside: the growing inequality the market economy creates in a communist society that proclaims equality as a fundamental premise.

Let's look at some figures. For example, the Chinese regime has to deal with income distribution that has noticeably worsened in recent years, with a growing gap between rich and poor. The famous Gini coefficient measures inequality in a society on a scale of 0 to 1. On this scale, 0 represents a perfect distribution of wealth; that is, if there are 10 loaves of bread and 10 people, every person has a loaf of bread; the number 1 on the scale, on the other hand, means that one person eats all 10 loaves.

When Deng Xiaoping began opening China to the world in 1979, the coefficient was .35, but by 2009, it had risen to .47 —leaving it still quite far from that champion of inequality, Brazil, with .57, for example. The inequality in China is explained by the dual strategy of first opening up the coastal areas and leaving behind the country's interior. But it is also explained by the fact that some very dynamic sectors of the economy generate many opportunities, while others are still traditional.

The dragon's big challenge is to not fall into what has been called the "Latin American trap," in which certain cities progress while the countryside lags behind. China's authorities say that it must avoid this inequality, and that it has managed it by having a centralized political system that has advantages in decision-making and imposing those decisions, but that hides weakness that I am really unable to estimate. Will younger generations with access to the universities ask for a more open political system? The big issue is knowing whether, with an undemocratic political system, equilibrium can be maintained that would be unthinkable in Western societies with certain economic openness.

A member of the State Information Council told me that, for them, democracy is fine as a form of government, but that if democracy and public participation bring with them disorder and obstacles for a better functioning economy, they prefer something else. It's a matter of approach. Of course, every country sets its own priorities and the Chinese are very optimistic about their nation's future. We'll see.

The Asian giant's media and communications performance promises to be one of the most serious areas of conflict. The media system is impressive: they have dozens of information channels in several languages, and in Latin America we can see several of them on CCTV 2.[8] They also have a wide variety of entertainment channels, and some with other content. The print media in Chinese is difficult to evaluate for someone who does not read Mandarin, but the *China Daily* is a well laid-out newspaper, printed on good quality paper, and is an interesting reflection of how China sees the world.

I cannot give a precise opinion about the content of radio broadcasts, but the medium continues to be very much alive. It is in internet service where China faces great paradoxes. For example, it has banned Twitter, and there is great fear of opening up channels of expression for people because what has the upper hand is the "official" truth, something I do not know how much longer can continue to be controlled.

Those profoundly atavistic ideas that the media must be an appendix of the government, that they must applaud everything it does and silence scandals are still very deeply rooted. The reason is that the media depend economically on the government; they are not at the service of the people; and Chinese journalists and editors have trouble thinking about making that change.

Expo Shanghai and the Message to the World

To build a new image as a power, the Chinese organized the Olympic Games in 2008, and in 2010, they hosted the World Exposition in the vibrant city of Shanghai. They say in Shanghai that if Xian, the city of the famous terracotta warriors, is the showcase for two millennia of Chinese history, and Beijing is the political capital that has witnessed China's decay and resurgence in the last 500 years, definitely, Shanghai is the city that best explains the new China. And with the Expo Shanghai, the city has opened up to the world in a spectacular way.

The label "underdeveloped" fits countries like those in Latin America and a large part of Africa like a tailor-made suit. China, in contrast, is a country that is emerging forcefully, as expressed in its dazzling economic growth rate.

The central message of this huge event is China presenting itself to the world as a country that has decided to grow, putting on its best face, so it can stop being seen as a threat and be recognized as an economic, technological, and commercial power.

We should remember that words take on meaning when they refer to a context and they are de-codified from a particular rationality. In this sense, I haven't the slightest doubt that whoever coined the term "emerging countries" had China in mind, because if the adjective "emerging" replaces "underdeveloped" when talking about certain countries, I think it expresses the situation of the Asian giant better.

The label "underdeveloped" fits countries like those in Latin America and a large part of Africa, since it refers to a long, complex chain of social, economic, and cultural factors

invariably topped by the absence of rationality in public decision-making. This description fits these countries like a tailor-made suit. China, by contrast, is a country that is emerging forcefully, as expressed in its dazzling economic growth rate. However, there are still unsolved puzzles about this emergence process, some of which have barely been sketched in this article.

China will change helmsmen very soon; President Hu will leave the post to Xi Jinping, who will be responsible for setting the rhythms and scope of the reforms that will allow the Asian colossus to maintain its complicated internal and external equilibriums. VM

NOTES

[1] Flora Botton Beja, comp., *Historia mínima de China* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2010), https://publicaciones.colmex.mx/infopub.aspx?cve=A/143. [Editor's Note.]

[2] The peso ($) is the legal currency in eight countries in the Americas, although its value is different in each. Its origin dates back to the 1497 Spanish monetary reform, which created, among others, a coin called the "real de a ocho" or the "duro." In Mexico City in about 1535, the first equivalent of this coin was struck in silver and called initially the "strong peso," or the "real." It weighed 27 grams and was 92-percent pure silver. [Editor's Note.]

[3] Gavin Menzies, *1421, The Year China Discovered the World* (London: Bantam Press, 2008).

[4] The Cora are an ethnic group who live in the Nayarit Mountains in the eastern part of the state of Nayarit, Mexico, and in neighboring Jalisco. They call themselves the *Nayeri*. [Editor's Note.]

[5] Niall Ferguson uses this term widely in *The Ascent of Money. A Financial History of the World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).

[6] See http://www.america.gov/st/business-english/2010/May/20100514162544saikceinawz0.2122614.html. [Editor's Note.]

[7] Both articles appeared in *Foreign Affairs*: "Center Stage for the 21st Century" (March-April 2009), and "China's Grand Map" (May 2010).

[8] CCTV-2 is the CCTV (China Central Television) economic channel. CCTV is the People's Republic of China's biggest television network, with its own government vice-ministry. Its content is generally thought to reflect the Communist Party of China line. It was born in 1958 under the name Beijing Television, which changed to CCTV in 1978. [Editor's Note.]

The World Mayors Summit on Climate

Beatriz Bugeda Bernal*

Rodolfo Angulo/Cuartoscuro

The World Mayors Summit on Climate in Mexico City. In the front row, Bertrand Delanoë, mayor of Paris; Marcelo Ebrard, mayor of Mexico City, and Antonio Villaraigosa, mayor of Los Angeles.

Climate change is one of the most important points on the international political agenda and the agendas of many of the world's cities. The new challenges it poses in terms of policy design, industrial processes, production-consumption patterns, and for civil society, are monumental. Cities are facing more and more frequent devastating climate events forcing authorities and inhabitants alike to plan a way to deal with them effectively before it is too late.

More than half the planet's population lives in cities; they consume two-thirds of the world's energy and generate more than 70 percent of its CO_2 emissions. This makes cities the main contributors to the creation of greenhouse gases (GHG) and an important part of the problem. But it also

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makes them part of the solution for climate change. If urgent measures are not taken, by the year 2030, energy consumption in the cities will increase 73 percent, and CO_2 emissions, 76 percent, according to International Energy Agency estimates.

Among the direct sources of GHG emissions in urban centers are energy generation itself, public lighting, vehicles, transportation, industry, and the burning of fossil fuels for domestic use. Emissions generated by transportation are increasing 2.4 percent every year; this includes not only an increase in CO_2, but also carbon monoxide, lead, and nitrogen oxides dumped into the atmosphere.

Industry, for example, is responsible for 43 percent of global CO_2 emissions through the burning of fossil fuels. To this, we have to add the significant reduction of green areas in urban centers, decreasing the capacity to absorb these gases, as well as many cities' very deficient waste management, causing the release of gases like chlorofluorocarbon (CFCs) and methane into the atmosphere.

IMPACTS AND VULNERABILITY

On the other hand, cities are also highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change because of their geographical location (most are in coastal areas, exposed to rising ocean levels), the large number of people who live in them (which is increasing with migration), and the vulnerability of many social groups that live in them (in unequal conditions of development).

Both their potential for suffering damage due to climate change and their capacity to adapt are directly associated to a series of factors. One of the most important involves their infrastructure, since the absence or unequal distribution of basic services like drainage and water supply can increase the risks of flooding and landslides in the case of extreme precipitation. Their high population density makes them more vulnerable to environmental emergencies, since it increases the number of potential victims and therefore, the social cost associated with climate change.

The productive structure is another element that should be evaluated, since many urban communities depend for their subsistence on a single predominant activity, like agriculture or fishing, and climate change can be devastating for their economy and eventually for the food supply. Health conditions are also essential, since the disasters linked to climate change (storms, flooding, air pollution, and heat waves) make their citizens more vulnerable to infectious diseases.

> The signatory cities of the Mexico City Pact have a strategic role in fighting climate change as centers for economic, political, and cultural innovation, and for managing large quantities of public resources, infrastructure, investment capital, and knowledge.

Finally, water-supply capabilities are also important because they relate directly to weather conditions, specifically to the amount of rainfall. With a larger population, water consumption increases substantially; in addition, floods can contaminate water sources and even treatment plants.

For all these reasons, we can say that cities' heterogeneity makes evaluating their vulnerability difficult. However, clearly, the most critical conditions can be found in cities with the poorest populations who live in the most ecologically fragile surroundings. This is the case of many cities in developing countries, among them, Mexico.

MITIGATION AND ADAPTATION MEASURES

What can cities do in the face of these challenges? Some measures that can be implemented are simple, like fostering public awareness about the effects of climate change, creating more green areas, and promoting the use of bicycles and low-fuel-consumption public transport. Others require political will, legislative support, and large public investments; these are the ones known as mitigation and adaptation strategies.

Mitigation measures aim to reduce GHG emissions, including the elimination of carbon by using sink holes (systems that extract GHG from the atmosphere and store them), and involve the energy, transport, industrial, residential, forestry, and agricultural sectors, among others. Adaptation measures include activities to decrease cities' vulnerability and increase their recovery capability in the face of the impacts of climate change.

Given the magnitude of the problems, right now, measures for adaptation seem much more urgent than mitigation strategies, above all in cities in the poorest, most vulnerable countries that are already feeling severe effects of climate change. This is even more the case when, according to the

The most important issue on the agenda of most NGOs is environmental protection; thus, the participation of the mayors and the activities they can promote through the public are key for the success of any strategy to fight climate change.

specialists, the effects of mitigation (emission reduction) will not be perceived until the second half of the century. This does not mean that it is not important to continue fostering measures to reduce GHG emissions, or that climate policies should be limited to choosing between mitigation and adaptation. In any case, it shows the urgency of having adaptation strategies with immediate effects, above all in the places that are most vulnerable because of their high population density.

Among others, adaptation measures include early warning systems, systems to detect climate change hot spots, and risk management. An important range of actors and sectoral interests are involved in this task, including agriculture, tourism, and the leisure industry; human health; water supply; coastal management; urban planning; and nature conservation.

To increase cities' adaptive capabilities, it is fundamental to introduce the analysis of climate change impact on urban development planning by including adaptation measures in plans for land use and infrastructure design, as well as in developing strategies for improving their response to natural disasters and establishing a link between climate change, disaster risk reduction, and urban management.

The World Mayors Summit on Climate

Mexico City hosted the first World Mayors Summit on Climate (WMSC) on November 21, 2010. The meeting was convened by the World Mayors Council on Climate Change (WMCCC), the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI), and Mexico City's Federal District government.

The summit's main objective was to establish an international mechanism for local governments that would be a platform for promoting cooperation, commitment, and agreement among the largest number of cities possible in order to fight global warming through concrete, effective actions to mitigate GHG and adapting to its effects on cities. The mechanisms for achieving this are the Global Cities Covenant on Climate (the Mexico City Pact) and the establishment of a carbonn Cities Climate Registry (cCCR).

The WMSC was the result of a series of previous actions by cities around the issue of climate change. Among them are the signing of the World Mayors and Local Governments Climate Protection Agreement and Action Plan (2007), the Copenhagen World Catalogue of City Commitments to Combat Climate Change (2009), the Dunkerque 2010 Call for Climate Action (2010), the Bonn Declaration by the Mayors Adaptation Forum (2010), and the Climate Summits of Major Cities of the C40.

The Mexico City Pact

The Global Cities Covenant on Climate, or Mexico City Pact, is a voluntary agreement on commitments in which the signatory cities underline their strategic role in fighting climate change due to being centers for economic, political, and cultural innovation, as well as for managing large quantities of public resources, infrastructure, investment capital, and knowledge. The covenant contains a preamble and a series of commitments to promote strategies and actions aimed at mitigating GHG emissions and adapting cities to the impacts of climate change.

The preamble refers to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) GHG-reduction considerations, establishing the need to limit the increase in global temperature to less than 2 degrees Celsius by the end of this century. The recommendations underline the need for mayors' commitments and actions to be measurable, reportable, and verifiable (MRV) in order to be recognized and get support from multilateral funding agencies. This commitment to establish MRV actions is undoubtedly one of the most important points since it is fundamental for establishing clear, independent, and effective management, monitoring, and control indicators to make it possible to review results and evaluate the advances *vis-à-vis* the commitments made. All this must take place in a transparent, participatory framework that guarantees the right to access to information and accountability, and that makes it possible for the different actors who participate in the strategy, including civil society, to have an effective impact on it.

The pact's specific agreements are formulated in 10 points. The first establishes the fundamental commitment: "Reduce our local greenhouse gas emissions voluntarily." To achieve this, the mayors agree to promote "measures, policies, laws, plans, and campaigns to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases in our cities, taking into account our individual resources and capacity to do so."

Points two and three lay out mitigation and adaptation measures, stipulating that the mayors will "adopt and implement local mitigation measures designed to achieve our voluntary reduction targets," promoting "sustainable transportation, proper waste management, [and] energy efficiency." In addition, they will "develop local adaptation strategies to address the local impact of climate change" through the design of "appropriate local adaptation plans and …operational mechanisms that improve the quality of life of our inhabitants, in particular the urban poor, who are [the] most vulnerable."

To ensure that the actions will be MRV, the mayors will register them in the carbonn Cities Climate Registry (point 4) to contribute on-going information on line to make sure the efforts are transparent. The details of this registry will be discussed further on in this article.

The mayors' pact also deals directly with the issue of financing. Point 5 commits them to "seek the creation of mechanisms that allow direct access to international funding for local climate actions," for which they will seek support from national governments and different multilateral funding agencies. In a WMSC informative document, the convening organizations report that to this end, they have the support of the World Bank, which will organize a Workshop on Financing for Climate Actions in Cities. The inclusion of financial mechanisms to be able to achieve these objectives is perhaps the most important element for guaranteeing this instrument's success.

In the covenant's remaining points (6, 7, 8, 9, and 10), the mayors agree to establish a pact secretariat to follow up on the actions; seek alliances with multilateral institutions and national governments for local climate actions; promote alliances and cooperation among cities; and disseminate the pact's message, in particular, encouraging and inviting leaders of other local governments to join it.

The mayors' commitment to promote the inclusion of civil society in the fight against climate change is fundamental because today, the most important issue on the agenda of most NGOs is environmental protection, and their participation and the activities they can promote through the public are key for the success of any strategy to fight climate change.

THE CARBONN CITIES CLIMATE REGISTRY

When they signed the Mexico City Pact, the mayors committed themselves to register their climate actions in the carbonn Cities Climate Registry (cCCR), to turn over their official documentation as part of a system of regular reports on their GHG reduction commitments, as well as their portfolio of mitigation and adaptation actions. All this would go through the on-line infrastructure that the Bonn Center for Local Climate Action and Reporting has developed for this purpose.

The cCCR is the mechanism intended to guarantee transparency and accountability. It includes two sections: the first is for cities that want to implement adaptation and mitigation measures and that, when they signed the covenant, committed themselves to taking their first steps, like preparing their inventory of emissions, designing and implementing a climate action plan, and adopting local legislation to favor GHG emissions reduction. The second section is for those who have already implemented climate actions and want them to be MRV.

The cCCR has been on line since October 2010, and the initial registry has been open to the cities since November 22. The agreement was that the cities would have eight months after the signing of the pact to present all the information required.

CONCLUSIONS

Urban residents face a monumental challenge with regard to climate change. By 2030, cities will be the home to almost four billion people. Making them more resistant to the climate and taking GHG reduction actions must be the priority today for all local authorities. If they do not do this, the risks are enormous and the damage could undermine the economic and social progress achieved up until today. The World Mayors Summit on Climate and above all, the results it gets, are what the mayors of the world are betting on to deal with the challenges. The urgency is clear, and public participation is key. If the WMSC and the Mexico City Pact manage to consolidate their objectives and send a clear, strong message to the heads of state that now is the time to act and commit themselves, they will have fulfilled their aim. VM

Bolívar Echeverría (1941-2010)

Ignacio Díaz de la Serna*

For Raquel, Alberto, Carlos and Andrés

Bolívar is one of four people I have laughed the most with in my life. In 1976 or 1977, in the third or fourth semester of my undergraduate studies at the School of Philosophy and Letters, I enrolled in an elective entitled "Political Economy." I had no idea what it was about. I had even less idea about who was teaching it: Bolívar Echeverría.

After so much time, I can still recall perfectly certain sensations connected to this course. The lecturer was incredibly shy. I didn't always understand what he said or what he was talking about. The students barely participated or asked questions in the class. Not because the lecturer prevented us, not at all; we awaited his explanations in a kind of rapture. More than ideas, at least for me —and I was receptive to this— Bolívar transmitted a kind of controlled passion. From a great distance, you could sense that he was passionate about what he taught. Fortunately, his passion managed to overcome his shyness.

I'll say one more thing about his shyness: it was inevitable that he was going to seem shy to me, since the very same semester I was taking a course on Descartes with that marvelous, irreverent, unstoppable whirlwind by the name of Elia Nathan. Elia taught us a Descartes in an analytical guise, to be sure, but amidst the vulgarities, jokes and irreverent ex-

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A Brief Biography

Bolívar Echeverría was born in Ríobamba, Ecuador, and died in Mexico City on June 5 this year. He was awarded the title of magister artium *in philosophy from the Freie Universität of Berlin. He took a master's degree in economics and a doctorate in philosophy at the* UNAM *in Mexico City. From 1973 on, he taught and did research at our university. He was the editor of a number of journals, including* Cuadernos políticos *and* Theoria. *He was awarded the National University Prize for Teaching (1997), the Pío Jaramillo Alvarado Prize (Flacso-Quito, 2004), and the Liberator's Prize for Critical Thinking (Caracas, 2007). The author of numerous books, his main fields of research encompassed a critical rereading of Marx's* Capital, *the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, culture theory, the definition of modernity, and the interpretation of the Latin American baroque.*[1]

In 2009 he was named professor emeritus of the School of Philosophy and Letters. He coordinated the UNAM *seminar "Modernity: Versions and Dimensions" up until his death.*

[1] Bolívar Echeverría was also a noted scholar of the thought of Walter Benjamin, about whom he published, among other works, *La mirada del ángel. En torno a las tesis de la historia* (Mexico: UNAM/ERA, 2005). [Editor's Note.]

pressions that were her wont and which made her the delightful being she was. While Elia showed me an unusual way of dealing with the weightiness of philosophy, Bolívar, without my knowing it, was teaching me firmness and passion, complementary ways of dealing with lightness.

There are two other things I remember about that political economy teacher. One, his curious form of dress. By that I mean he looked different from the rest of my lecturers. Years later I understood where this difference lay. Bolívar at that time had recently returned from Berlin. His clothes were from there. And then there's the fact that most of the readings he gave us were in German. Later, too, I understood that this was not pedantic, it was just what he knew and was familiar with after his years of training in Germany.

At that time we didn't yet laugh together. Many years ago there was a philosophy conference in Jalapa that later passed into myth. It was one of the first held by the Mexican Philosophical Association, when it was still on a human scale and offered a genuine opportunity to spend time together. One night, as happens in a good jazz improvisation, unexpectedly several of us found ourselves around a table. There were a couple of Spaniards, Mariflor Aguilar and Marina Fe, among others. Bolívar was next to me —or I was next to him, which amounts to the same. At some point I began to chat with him. I reminded him that I'd taken his course on political economy some time previously. I regaled him with my impressions, mentioned above. And that was when he told me that at the time he'd only just returned from Berlin, etc., etc.

That night, everyone at the table clowned around like kids from an orphanage suddenly unleashed onto the streets to enjoy the world they've been denied for centuries. We couldn't stop laughing. Time and again we choked on our own laughter. We talked of everything and nothing, and laughed and laughed.

> More than ideas, Bolívar transmitted a kind of controlled passion. From a great distance, you could sense that he was passionate about what he taught. Fortunately, his passion managed to overcome his shyness.

That's when I began to laugh with him. At two later conferences something similar occurred. For me, Bolívar, philosophy conferences, and dying of laughter formed a sort of trinity: the three were different, but at the same time they were one. Nonetheless, in between conferences, I hardly ever ran into Bolívar; clearly our timetables in the corridors of the School of Philosophy and Letters did not match.

The years passed. One fine day I looked Bolívar up to ask him to be one of the seven committee members for my doctoral exam. He accepted immediately. He read my thesis quickly and closely. I can be sure of that because of his later comments.

The day of the exam arrived. The first examiner to speak was an illustrious member of the Institute for Philological Research, who monopolized proceedings for 45 minutes to

demonstrate that he understood little or nothing about Georges Bataille, and above all, that he had not read the thesis, or —worse still— that he had read it, but had understood nothing it discussed. When he had finished, Bolívar admonished him for his inconsiderate attitude. It was simply a question of basic arithmetic. If every examiner took this long, the question and answer session would last until the following day. Fortunately, the rest of the exam was uneventful. Next up were Mariflor, Óscar, and Carlos Pereda. Finally, as president of the examination committee, Bolívar spoke. He limited himself to a single question: what, in my opinion, was the most distinctive feature of Bataille's thought? The exam had been underway for almost three hours.

His question excited me because it gave me the opportunity to underline a point about Bataille's work that seemed to me to be crucial, definitive. I replied that, alongside Bataille's reflection on subjects like transgression or sacrifice, he had some extraordinary intuitions on the problem of writing and the communication of experience. I then said I would read a passage, a quote from a passage Bataille had included as a footnote in his book *The Impossible*, where he affirmed something terrible, something that few would dare to confess. I transcribe it here: "I recognize without vacillation my abuses, my lies. What I have just written, outside of me, is, in one sense, false: I was the puppet of a piece of trickery. In another sense, I was *inspired*, undergoing what I wrote. At the moment of writing, I was suffocating, with no exit, locked up in myself like in a prison, a being who lacks the courage to think what he is thinking. In this state of unease, like a shipwrecked person who grabs the first thing at hand, I followed the rules of rhetoric, seeking to produce an effect. I embodied the gallery (those who listen), the desire that needs to be moved."

> Bolívar never stopped surprising me. Sooner or later, I would try to turn the conversation toward my field, naively believing that this would grant me a certain advantage. Every time I was proved wrong through and through.

I added that much more than a confession, this comment, barely perceptible among thousands of printed pages, constituted the core of what Bataille had created as a thinker and writer. For him —I pursued the train of thought— thinking was synonymous with *dramatizing*; staging the ambiguities, the paradoxes, the mistaken desires that tear apart the one who thinks and writes. The individual is not the nucleus from which images, thoughts, ideas or words radiate; rather, he is the stage where *this thing* he undergoes and *this thing* that moves the gallery are expressed simultaneously. Thus, the author offers himself as a pulsating drama that hurts those who listen. The more he exposes himself, dramatizing the "intimacy" of what he experiences, what tears him apart, the more his individual experience takes on unlikely proportions. Out of empathy, the others end up being *this thing* he suffers, and no longer *this thing* that only listened.

I ended my answer with the following phrase: "And that's really fucked up." This way of expressing it came from deep within. I'll never forget Bolívar's reaction. He shot me a very strange look. Unlike what might be expected, it wasn't disapproving. In part, it was a reminder that I take stock of where we were and the conventions ruling such a situation. But at the same time, with this glance he allowed me to see just to what degree he *understood* what I'd said. With that, he declared the exam at an end.

That was when Bolívar appeared as an *accomplice*. Such moments, sometimes filled with a jocular complicity, would come to weave together our encounters.

Later, when a piece of mischief of mine was published, that book by Bataille that isn't Bataille's but is largely mine, entitled *La oscuridad no miente* (Darkness Doesn't Lie), I asked Bolívar to be one of the commentators at the book launch. He accepted without demur. He arrived punctually, along with David Huerta, Philippe Ollé-Laprune, and Nicolás Cabral. On that occasion he was generous, but not unconditional. He was similarly generous when I asked him, early last year, if I could interview him for *Norteamérica*, the academic journal of the UNAM's Center for Research on North America. He said yes without hesitation. We agreed I would send him the questions by e-mail, and set a deadline for delivery so the editing of the issue would not be delayed. He agreed. When the date drew near, I sent him a message reminding him of the commitment. I didn't realize he was abroad. He replied to me from Ecuador, telling me his father was ill, but that he would keep to what we'd agreed. In fact, his father was on his deathbed. He promised to send me his answers within a week, and kept his promise to the letter.

Time passed. One day I got a call from Raquel. She told me briefly about the seminar Bolívar was leading on modernity. She asked me if I'd like to attend. I accepted right away. Since then, this has been an important experience for me. After each session, we'd fire the question at each other: where are we going to have lunch?

In the last few years, the first Monday of each month has turned into a veritable fiesta. During these meals-cum-literary gatherings, we recover the healthy custom of behaving like naughty children. Those who attend —regulars and occasional visitors— talk of everything and nothing, and, of course, we laugh at the top of our voices. I remember one time especially. We went to new restaurant Ramón had recommended. Raquel, Maricarmen, Ramón, Bolívar, and I hardly ate, but the five of us laughed until we cried.

Then came the wedding of Raquel and Bolívar. For those of us who accompanied them and their children, Alberto and Carlos, in the house of Nora and Eligio, it already looked like a family reunion. Not long after, this was repeated and renewed with a surprise birthday party for Raquel.

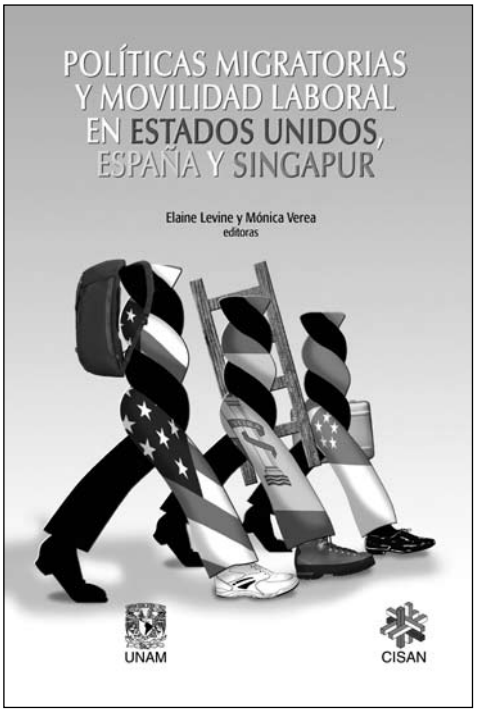
Despite all this, Bolívar and I did often talk seriously. He never stopped surprising me. He, an incorrigible Germanophile, and I, an incorrigible Francophile, understood each other perfectly. I have to confess that his knowledge of French philosophy, French writers, and French history greatly surpassed my knowledge of German philosophy, German writers, and German history. Sooner or later, I would try to turn the conversation toward my field, naively believing that this would grant me a certain advantage. Every time I was proved throughly wrong.

One day we were talking about materialism. Mistakenly, I supposed that his knowledge of the materialist tradition was limited to the decorous role it played as a forerunner for Marx. He left me open-mouthed. We spoke at length of Holbach and Offray de la Mettrie. In the end, I told him that I thought it was very telling that this early eighteenth-century tradition had not prospered, given that it wholly eradicated the possibility of hanging on to anything we might call the "spirit," a notion that remained central to our culture, both before and after Hegel, despite the best efforts of modernity to secularize our world. By obliging us to feel this perpetual thirst for the "spirit," materialism had been proscribed by modern and contemporary thought. Bolívar responded to my words with that same look as the day of my doctoral exam. I had in him an *accomplice* for what I'd said.

On another occasion, on the basis of a comment about Chateaubriand he had made during the seminar, I pursued a conversation about the writer. Anyone would think that nothing was further from Bolívar's interests than the conservative Chateaubriand and his work. As usual, I was bowled over. We talked about *The Genius of Christianity*, about those lyrical moments in Chateaubriand that are unique in the history of literature.

The last time I saw Bolívar was in the San Jerónimo mall. We ran into each other by chance. He had just bought bread and I was heading to the bakery. We spoke for a few minutes about this and that. And we laughed, naturally. We said goodbye, saying we'd see each other at the next seminar session. Bolívar didn't make it. He died two days before. So now, who am I going to laugh with? VM

Reviews



Políticas migratorias y movilidad laboral en Estados Unidos, España y Singapur
(Migratory Policies and Labor Mobility in the United States, Spain, and Singapore)
Elaine Levine and Mónica Verea, eds.
CISAN-UNAM
Mexico City, 2010, 304 pp.

The international migration process is frequently analyzed using two fundamental variables: the labor market and migratory policies. This book considers both variables for a more complex analysis centered on three case studies: the United States, Spain, and Singapore as destination countries for large numbers of foreign migrants. While this is a justifiable choice given the statistical significance the book itself argues, describing the three cases shows that if there is one thing that does not exist in today's world, it is a pattern in migratory policy that we can generalize about; what we see are the responses of each state to its own migratory flows in accordance with its interests and projections for the future.

The book is divided into four central sections. The first, by Mónica Verea, offers a panorama of each country's migratory policy. It presents a detailed contemporary history of each process and its specificities, like the long migratory process of the United States, the recent advent of flows into Spain, or the innovation of public measures for dealing with migration into Singapore. This is particularly useful both for those just starting out in the study of the topic and those who want to update their knowledge.

Four articles then detail the case of each country. In the first, Elaine Levine looks at the U.S., demonstrating the relationship between immigration policies and the labor market. She details foreigners' experience at work, particularly among the undocumented, a group made up in large part by Mexicans, and therefore, much of the data refers to that group. Some of this chapter's important contributions are that the author shows how the demand for labor is an axis for determining U.S. immigration policy, and the reasons for foreigners' relative success or failure in joining and integrating themselves into the workforce, above all because of the explicit market demands for certain kinds of workers who, because of their low educational levels, will be condemned to be marginalized.

Nevertheless, far from being undesirable, this is actually an advantage in strictly economic terms, and therefore becomes a substantial factor in outlining U.S. immigration policy. This leads us to suggest that greater consistency by the U.S. state would be desirable in resolving the contradiction between its openness to the circulation of goods and commodities and its increasingly closed attitude to greater mobility and circulation within the labor market.

The following section analyzes the experience of the European Union based on the Spanish case. In this section's two chapters, Genoveva Roldán and Fernando Osvaldo Esteban offer very revealing arguments for understanding how and why migratory policies are designed. On the one hand, they

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analyze the history of the recent mobility in each case (Spain and Portugal), as well as the effect of the whirlwind transformations in their traditional migratory pattern, changing from sending countries to countries receiving large numbers of immigrants. This is why the dilemmas and challenges of the community's policy have focused particularly on generating the conditions to regulate the massive influx of labor into Spain as the result of the large demand that its economic development brought with it. Parallel to this, Spanish emigration, previously one of the largest in the EU, plummeted abruptly in less than 20 years, demonstrating that development policy is the best mechanism for drastically reducing the flow of citizens abroad in search of better working and living conditions. This chapter points out the central problem of inconsistencies in European Union migratory policy. One interesting point is that, despite the supposed public policy to generate unprecedented mobility among EU member countries, what has actually happened is that labor mobility is very low (only 1.5 percent), and, to the contrary, each country has become dependent on its own domestic market. The paradox is that the greatest challenge to migratory policies is the mobility of non-EU citizens who contribute two kinds of indispensable benefits to the region's labor market: on the one hand, a large quantity of unskilled or low-skilled labor for the service and personal care sector, and, on the other hand, highly skilled labor, particularly welcome in countries clearly competing with the United States, the world's leader in attracting this kind of migrant.

All the cases analyzed include revealing aspects of the democratic scope of migratory policy. Except in more local cases, workers' human and labor rights are included in general positions, but not in specific programs.

Osvaldo's article develops two central issues for understanding contemporary migratory policies worldwide. On the one hand, labor insertion differentiated by skill levels and ethnic origin —in the Spanish case particularly, he talks about Rumanians, Moroccans, and Ecuadorians— as well as the role of second generations in assimilation as a means of reducing social inequality. This chapter details the prevailing situation of the European labor market, looking at overall statistics and the different niches for migrant labor, as well as employment rates compared to those of unemployed non-migrant workers. This article is complemented splendidly by Elaine Levine's contribution because their data allows comparisons of the U.S. and EU labor markets for foreigners. One distinctive characteristic is social policy aimed at immigrant communities, from recent arrivals to third generations, as something that defines migratory policies beyond the labor market, a fundamental contribution of this book. If in both cases discrimination and xenophobia are part of what migrants face, the central issue as highlighted here is observing how each state puts forward plans, programs, strategies, and laws to "manage reality" in terms of governability of the interaction among different ethnic and social groups.

The last chapter studies Singapore as a sample of Southeast Asian policy. While any case study is relevant, actually, despite recent high levels of migration to Singapore, chosing this case is not quite as clearly justifiable as those of the two previous countries. The example is still interesting, since Anahí Parra shows how the dynamics of migration have removed old structures and, given the high density of foreigners in the country, migratory policy is not at all divorced from essential issues like an aggressive plan for fostering the return of the Diasporas, particularly highly skilled workers. This runs parallel to a program to attract highly skilled labor as part of a medium-term strategic plan that competes for these workers with other markets like those of the U.S. and the EU.

All the cases analyzed include revealing aspects of the democratic scope of migratory policy. Except in more local cases, workers' human and labor rights are included in general positions, but not in specific programs. This is made more acute by visa requirements. While throughout the book, comparisons can be made between the cases, the book's importance, didactic quality, and first-hand information would make it desirable for it to close with a final chapter presenting conclusions detailing the comparisons that are possible among the cases selected. This work of highlighting what each case offers and, therefore, what finally backs the decision of contrasting migratory policies and labor mobility in different countries is a task that remains pending for a second edition of this work. VM

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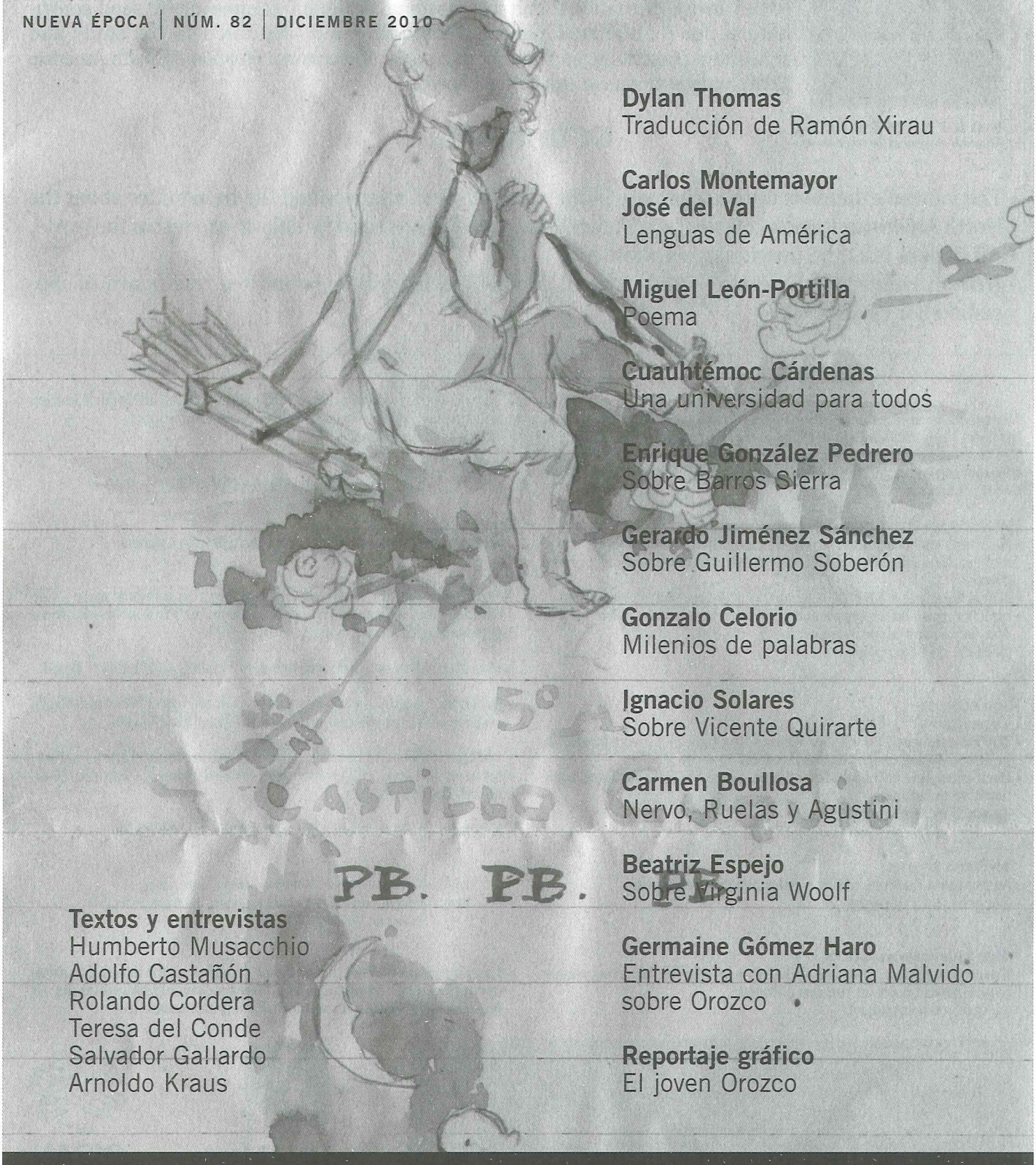

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Salvador Gallardo
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CALL FOR PAPERS

NORTEAMÉRICA
Academic Journal of the CISAN-UNAM

The National Autonomous University of Mexico's Center for Research on North America (CISAN) and the American University's Center for North American Studies (CNAS) invite the national and international academic community to send contributions for its biannual journal, ***Norteamérica***, dedicated to the study and reflection about the political, economic, social and cultural situation of North America. Contributions must conform to the following

GUIDELINES

- The journal's theme is interdisciplinary in the areas of social sciences and the humanities about the North American Region (Mexico, the United States and Canada) and its links to the rest of the world.
- All papers must be previously unpublished.
- ***Norteamérica*** is a peer-refereed journal, and all articles will be submitted to a board of specialists for review.

SECTIONS

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

Essays and Current Analysis

- Only articles based on scholarly research will be considered. These two sections will not publish articles on current events or opinion pieces.
- The articles must include relevant, up-to-date source citations.
- Articles must be accompanied by 4 to 6 key words and a 100- to 150-word summary or abstract.

Length: 20 to 40 pages.

Reflections

Interviews

- The interview will be with an outstanding figure from the academic, political, social and/or cultural world.
- Each interview will include between 5 and 10 analytical and comparative questions.

Length: 15 to 20 pages.

Critical Notes

- Academic reflections about a polemical, current issue.

Length: 10 to 15 pages.

Bibliographical Notes

- Essays that review, compare and analyze in depth from 2 to 5 recently published books on the same theme.

Length: 10 to 15 pages.

Chronologies

- They will deal with the most important events in North America and the rest of the world and their reciprocal impact.

Length: 20 to 30 pages.

FOR PUBLICATION

All manuscripts must comply with the following norms:

- A page is understood as a double-spaced text printed on one side of letter-sized (8.5 x 11 inch) paper in **12-point Times New Roman typeset,** with an average of 1,680 spaces.
- Manuscripts must be submitted electronically in Microsoft Word.
- Tables and graphs should be submitted in Microsoft Word and Excel, respectively, and will count toward the final total length.
- Source citation will be done using the author-date citations and references list style, also known as Harvard system. Example: (Diamond, 1995: 49-59).
- *Example of the reference list in the author-date style:*

Diamond, Larry, Seymour Menton and Juan J. Linz, comp.
1995 *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*, Boulder, Colo., Reinner.

- Longer explanations of the guidelines and norms for presenting manuscripts can be consulted or requested at: www.cisan.unam.mx, or requested by writing to: namerica@servidor.unam.mx.

Please send manuscripts to:
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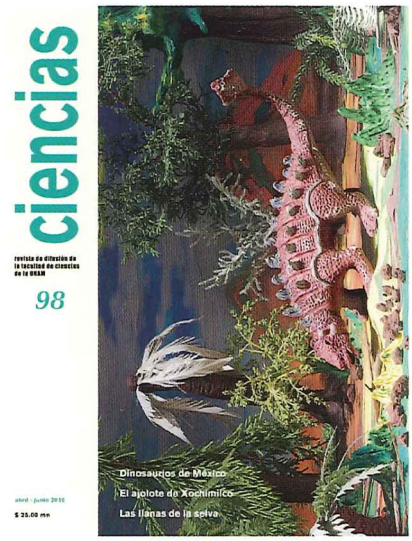

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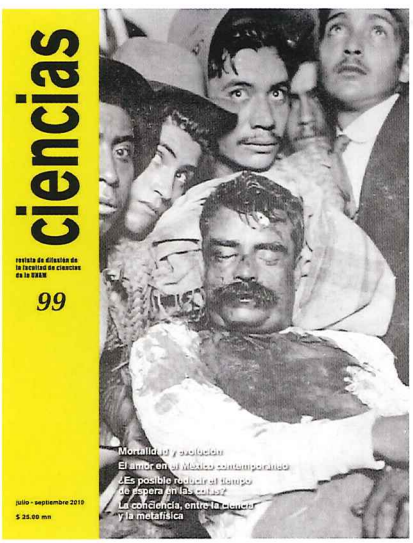

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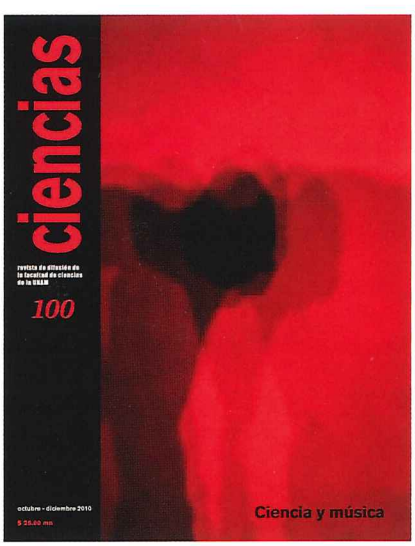

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