Legacy Of Failure:  
The Meaning Of The Election In Mexico

By Ramon Eduardo Ruiz  
Professor Emeritus of History

Not since the 1860s, when the Liberals ousted the Conservatives from the National Palace, has Mexico held an election as critical and revealing as that in July 2006. Although the challenge of Andrés Manuel López Obrador fell short – by an eyelash – the campaign laid bare the utter failure of the ruling oligarchy's dogged efforts to impose the neoliberal economic orthodoxies of its imperial neighbor to the north.

This election can best be understood by recalling what led up to it. For a full seven decades, one political party, the Partido de la Revolución Institucional (PRI), ruled the roost unopposed. Led by a gang of politicos, the PRI handpicked the president, along with state governors, the congressional deputies and senators, as well as sundry municipal officials. This was the result of a pact concocted in 1929 by the generals, state caudillos, and Plutarco Elías Calles, president from 1924 to 1928, to put an end to turmoil caused by a bitter struggle to succeed him among his underlings. The pact stipulated that presidential elections were to be held every six years. Until 2000, as the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa observed, it was the “perfect dictatorship.”

Embarrassed by their own baldly dictatorial lock on power, the Priistas opted to open avenues of opportunity for dissenters, mainly the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN). This is a party launched in 1939 by businessmen, the Catholic clergy, and middle-class conservatives frightened by land reform and particularly by Lázaro Cárdenas’s expropriation of the petroleum properties of Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. Beaten in every election until the 1980s, the PAN finally won the governorship of Baja California Norte, and from then on triumphed in other northern states, the most conservative of Mexico’s provinces.

In 1988, to forestall a looming victory by Cuauhtémoc Cardenas, the leader of a breakaway leftist coalition soon to become the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), the Priistas simply stole the election. Through that hocus pocus, Carlos Salinas, a neoliberal icon, became president and proceeded to sell off nearly all the paraestatales (government-run enterprises), among them the national telephone system, to friends and cohorts for bargain-basement prices.

In 1996, Salinas signed NAFTA, the free trade agreement with the United States and Canada, agreeing to eliminate all tariffs, including duties on imports of corn, the life support of the campesinos — the subsistence farmers.

The PAN did not contest the spurious election of 1988, preferring a conservative Salinas to Cárdenas, who, like his father, championed the cause of the campesinos and workers. In Congress, the PAN worked closely with Salinas and his majority party. During his six-year term Salinas not only showered benefits on business and the rich but also followed the lead of Washington in diplomacy.

Under Salinas, poverty grew at an alarming rate: half of Mexico’s 100 million inhabitants were officially considered poor, and some 20 million were destitute, stalked by hunger. Especially hard hit were many campesinos, who watched helplessly as cheap corn from highly mechanized American farms replaced their home-grown product in the marketplace. To make matters worse, Salinas and his henchmen, among them his brother, were hardly models of rectitude. Official corruption flourished while the narco-trafficking “capos” became millionaires.

Then, in 1994, just as Salinas was bragging that Mexico had become a first-world nation, the country went bankrupt, largely because of the foolish economic policies pursued by Salinas and his U.S.-trained technocrats. At the same time, the Indians of Chiapas, calling themselves...
Zapatistas (after the legendary Emiliano Zapata and his revolutionary followers) revolted, capturing a small city and three towns. The army put down the uprising, wantonly killing some 150 of the rebels.

Foreign investors, their faith in Mexico’s stability shaken, took their money home. Salinas, the darling of American media pundits and academics, left it to his successor to clean up the mess – with the help of a $50 billion loan from Washington and American banks.

The economic crisis of 1994-1995 gravely jeopardized the investments of the country’s banks and devastated millions of ordinary Mexicans, but Ernesto Zedillo, Salinas’s successor, bailed out the bankers, who were equally responsible for the mess, and partially repaid the bailout by a sales tax on food and medicines. Recovery came slowly but left Salinas and his technocrats with more than egg on their faces.

That near debacle opened the doors to presidential power for the PAN in 2000. Its candidate was Vicente Fox Quesada, once head of Coca Cola’s empire in Mexico and later governor of the small, conservative state of Guanajuato. A charismatic candidate, Fox won the presidency with the help of the voto útil – the hope that he would put an end to seventy years of PRI chicanery – and the support of big business and the middle class. On the campaign trail, he held up democracy as the Holy Grail, and promised to clean up politics, reinvigorate the economy, and settle the Zapatista problem in “fifteen minutes.”

Unfortunately for Mexico, Fox and his Panistas left things more as less as they had been. The conservative PRI was replaced by a conservative PAN. Fox’s cabinet even included a U.S.-educated Priista as minister of Hacienda, the key ministerial post that sets economic policy. Under Fox, control over inflation took precedence over spending for public needs. His school budget ranked among the lowest in Latin America, at a time when public education was on the ropes. As for the Zapatistas, the problem Fox had promised to settle in fifteen minutes continued to fester: they were left to fend for themselves, as abandoned as before. Fox even proved to be an inept politician, a charlatan who never tired of giving rousing speeches but left the poor as neglected and exploited as ever. As for the labor unions, their old corrupt leaders – baptized charros (literally, cowboys but Mexican slang for sell-outs) – went on being charros beholden to big business and the políticos in the capital.

Grand economic nostrums, an American pundit has observed, last no more than a few decades. Those programs in tune with technological or political developments may make it to half a century, but others can only be sustained by force of arms. Neoliberalism, with its market idolatry and technological determinism, has been held up as a panacea for thirty years, but is now suffering death agonies, judging by its current rejection in much of Latin America. Only in Mexico does the ruling oligarchy, especially those of its members with commercial and financial ties to the U.S., continue to dance blindly to the tune of free trade and globalization, the gospel music of Western imperialism.

But the 2006 election has made it apparent that the oligarchy has altogether lost touch with the goals of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the current aspirations of millions of Mexicans. As Octavio Paz, the poet and Nobel Laureate, mused some years ago, one Mexico does the ruling oligarchy, especially those of its members with commercial and financial ties to the U.S., continue to dance blindly to the tune of free trade and globalization, the gospel music of Western imperialism.

As a result, after being put into office in 2000 to rid Mexico of the domination of the PRI and plant democracy, Fox leaves behind one of the biggest political crises in the nation’s history, along with a bloated informal sector, economic stagnation, and staggering social inequities. Calderón, his hand-picked successor, now takes office – and inherits the wind.
Expanding the Emeritus Mentoring Program

By Mel Green, Professor Emeritus of Biology

In over 40 years as Professor of Biology at UCSD, my greatest sense of reward and pleasure has come from close interactions with students. I believe that real teaching must extend far beyond the classroom. For me it often takes place at lunch, in the coffee shop, on the tennis court, and at times even in my office. The many letters and notes of gratitude from my students have made it clear that my efforts to provide some guidance have been greatly appreciated.

I say this not to toot my horn, but rather to encourage all of my emeriti colleagues to join in this rewarding experience. The Emeritus Mentoring Program (EMP), initiated last year on a small scale, will be a major focus of attention this year. Because “mentoring” can mean many different things, we plan to leave the specifics of what is done up to each individual mentor. To become a mentor, a commitment for the entire academic year is required. In addition to undergraduate students, we plan to include junior faculty as mentees this year.

Like a good marriage, a successful mentoring relationship is highly dependent upon mutual interests and compatible personalities. Allowing mentees to select their own partner (mentor) based on professional and extra-curricular interests is the best way I can imagine. We can always make changes (dissolutions) should things seem unacceptable to either partner. A difficult decision concerns which students to select for EMP. Last year, 12 students were selected as mentees from the Academic Enrichment Program (AEP) directed by Dr. David Artis. My suggestion is to limit our mentoring to students in their first or second year at UCSD who have no other faculty advisor. We may also wish to serve only Regents and Presidential Scholars as a form of recognition of scholastic excellence. I am open to your suggestions, but please note that we would like to start the program by early November.

Please see the link on our Website (http://emeriti.ucsd.edu) for an application to participate in the Emeritus Mentoring Program, or contact me either by e-mail (mgreen@ucsd.edu) or phone (858) 534-9926. Our Board is unanimously supportive of EMP; I’ll be looking forward to receiving your applications.

UCSD’s Preuss School: Making A Difference

Mary Corrigan interviews Doris Alvarez, Principal of the Preuss School

When and why did the school get started?

The immediate trigger was the passage of Proposition 209, banning racial or ethnic criteria in admissions to colleges and universities – or what had come to be known as affirmative action. Several faculty members, led by Cecil Lytle, Provost of Marshall College, were concerned that as a result, youngsters from ethnic and racial minorities would be denied access to higher education in the state unless they could receive preparation that would qualify them for admission without special consideration. They decided to try to take advantage of the new provision for charter schools by proposing the creation of a small charter high school on the UCSD campus.

That proposal was shot down, however, by the Academic Senate on grounds that providing secondary education would be an improper use of university resources. Provost Lytle resigned in protest and Chancellor Robert Dynes appointed a committee headed by Professor (later Dean) Paul Drake to reconsider the proposal. The committee recommended that the school be established on university property but that it be totally self-sufficient and designed for grades 6 through 12. With these and other changes, the concept won approval from the Senate. The university then negotiated with the San Diego School Board to provide bus transportation – for which, however, we had to get private funding after three years – and the Unified School District agreed to provide operating funds. With major philanthropic support, notably from Peter and Peggy Preuss, for whom the school was named, the school opened its doors in 1999.

Admission is open to students whose parents did not attend college and who qualify as low-income under the federal

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free school lunch program. We read all 800-1,000 applications and consider grade point average, especially in mathematics or “language arts,” teacher recommendations, and other relevant considerations. Applications must be handwritten because we want to minimize the possibility that a parent will write the student essay. When we winnow down the applicant pool, we then use a lottery to pick the incoming class. Counting all classes, current enrollment is about 770.

How did you get to be chosen its founding principal?

For twelve years previously, I had been principal of Hoover High in the mid-city area. Hoover had such a diverse, immigrant-heavy student body that the kids spoke 38 languages! Partly because of its ethnic and racial diversity and also because of the area’s high poverty and crime rate, it had been selected for special attention by the UCSD Teacher Education Program under Hugh (Bud) Mehan, Professor of Sociology. Bud worked closely with Provost Lytle and Professor Drake and suggested that I apply for the job.

Is there anything especially unique about the Preuss School curriculum?

We have nineteen more days of schooling than public schools provide. Class size is reasonably small – 25 to 27 on average – and we do more advising and faculty preparation than most other schools.

Every high school in the area requires that a parent will write the student essay. Our Mentor Program is run by a volunteer coordinator. Anyone interested should get in touch with Eva Mejia at (858) 658-7473 or by e-mail at emejia@ucsd.edu.

We would love to have them! One UCSD emeritus professor, Jamie Lyon, donates books to the library all the time. We would welcome help from emeriti. They could give pointers to our teachers of what is expected in university programs or how best to teach certain subjects. Some might want to serve as mentors – perhaps to meet with a student every so often for 30 to 40 minutes. Faustina Solis has been a mentor and is thrilled with the students. Our Mentor Program is run by a volunteer coordinator. Anyone interested should get in touch with Eva Mejia at (858) 658-7473 or by e-mail at emejia@ucsd.edu.

Emeriti Website

The UCSD Emeriti Association maintains a website: http://emeriti.ucsd.edu

Clicking the NEWS, PROGRAMS & MEETINGS button will allow you to view past issues of this newsletter. The website also provides the constitution and by-laws, lists of members, and minutes of meetings.

Webmaster: Marjorie Caserio mcaserio@ucsd.edu
The Blowback Trilogy

By Chalmers Johnson
Professor Emeritus of International Relations

In 1992, after I retired from the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, I formed a small independent research organization, called the Japan Policy Research Institute (www.jpri.org). I did so because I was convinced that academic political science, then and still today dominated by something called rational choice theory, was losing its ability to make any meaningful contribution to analyzing international politics.

In 1999, JPRI published a book of essays about America’s sixty-one-year-old occupation of the Japanese island of Okinawa and our thirty-seven military bases there. In 2000, I followed this with a book called Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire because my research on East Asia indicated that our policies there and elsewhere around the world would have serious future consequences. The book got good reviews, but not until after 9/11 did “blowback” become a household word and my book a best-seller.

In this book, I set out to explain why we are hated around the world. The concept “blowback,” a CIA coinage, does not just mean retaliation for things our government has done to and in foreign countries. It refers to retaliation for the numerous illegal operations we have carried out abroad that were kept totally secret from the American public. This means that when the retaliation comes – as it did so spectacularly on September 11, 2001 – the American public is unable to put the events in context. So they tend to support acts intended to lash out against the alleged perpetrators, thereby most commonly preparing the ground for yet another cycle of blowback.

After Blowback and as a continuation of the analysis started there, I began doing research on the network of 737 American military bases we maintain around the world (according to the Pentagon’s 2005 official inventory). We now station over half a million U.S. troops, spies, contractors, dependents, and others on military bases located in more than 130 countries, many of them presided over by dictatorial regimes that have given their citizens no say in the decision to let us in. This research resulted in my second book on the growth of American imperialism and militarism, The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic, which was published early in 2004.

I never intended to write a third book about the decline and fall of the American empire, but our occupation of Afghanistan and invasion of Iraq turned out to be major fiascoes, discrediting our military leadership, ruining our public finances, and bringing death and destruction to thousands. The president assumed powers specifically denied him by our Constitution, and Congress abdicated its responsibilities to balance the power of the executive branch. This led me to write the third volume of my inadvertent trilogy – Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic, which will be published in February 2007. Until the 2004 presidential election, ordinary citizens of the United States could at least claim that our foreign policy, including our illegal invasion of Iraq, was the work of George Bush’s administration and that we had not put him in office. In 2000, Bush lost the popular vote and was appointed president thanks to the intervention of the Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision. In November 2004, regardless of claims about voter fraud, Bush won the popular vote by over 3.5 million ballots, making his wars ours.

Whether Americans intended it or not, we are now seen around the world as having approved the torture of captives at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, at Bagram Air Base in Kabul, at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and at secret prisons around the world, as well as having seconded Bush’s claim that, as a commander-in-chief in “wartime,” he is beyond all constraints of the Constitution or international law. We are now saddled with a rigged economy based on record-setting deficits, the most secretive and intrusive American government in memory, the pursuit of “preventive” war as a basis for foreign policy, and a potential epidemic of nuclear proliferation as other nations attempt to adjust to and defend themselves from our behavior, while our own, already staggering nuclear arsenal expands toward first-strike primacy.

In Nemesis, I present historical, political, economic, and philosophical evidence of where our current behavior is likely to lead. Specifically, I believe that maintaining our empire abroad requires resources and commitments that will inevitably undercut our domestic democracy and in the end produce a military dictatorship or its civilian equivalent. The combination of huge standing armies, almost constant wars, our economic dependence on the military-industrial complex, and ruinous military expenses are destroying our republican structure in favor of an imperial presidency. We are on the cusp of losing our democracy for the sake of keeping our empire. Once a nation starts down that path, the dynamics that apply to all empires come into play – isolation,

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overstretch, the uniting of forces opposed to imperialism, and bankruptcy.

History is instructive on this dilemma. If we choose to keep our empire, as the Roman Republic did, we will certainly lose our democracy and grimly await the eventual blowback that imperialism generates. There is an alternative, however. We could, like the British Empire after World War II, keep our democracy by giving up our empire. The British did not do a particularly brilliant job of liquidating their empire, and there were several clear cases where British imperialists defied their nation’s commitment to democracy in order to keep their foreign privileges. Kenya in the 1950s is a particularly savage example. But the overall thrust of postwar British history is clear: the people of the British Isles chose democracy over imperialism. For this reason, I can only regard Britain’s willingness to join the U.S. in its invasion of Iraq as an atavistic response. Britain’s closing down its empire for the sake of its democracy is one of its most admirable legacies.

Unfortunately, our government is tending in a Roman direction, and Nemesis – in Greek mythology the goddess of vengeance, the punisher of hubris and arrogance – is already present in our country, simply biding her time before she makes her presence known.

By Sandy Lakoff

With congressional midterm and state elections at hand, herewith our own non-partisan voter’s guide:

On Democracy: In democracy it’s your vote that counts. In feudalism it’s your count that counts.

Campaign Finance: “There are two things important in politics. One is money and I forget the other.” (Mark Hanna) “A billion here, a billion there, and pretty soon you’re talking real money.” (Everett Dirksen) “I just received the following wire from my generous Daddy – ‘Dear Jack, Don’t buy a single vote more than is necessary. I’ll be damned if I’m going to pay for a landslide.’” (John F. Kennedy)

Political Strategy: After Elliott Richardson had been fired by President Richard Nixon in the Watergate scandal “Saturday night massacre,” he and his sidekick Dick Darman became Fellows at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. One morning late in 1974, as they both entered the building, Richardson – normally a proper Bostonian was roaring with laughter. “What’s so funny?” I asked. Darman explained that Richardson had just addressed a breakfast meeting of the Tuesday Club, composed of Republican congressmen, all fearful that Watergate would cost them their seats in Congress. “I see that the Vice President up and you’ll find Willie.” . . . In 1940, FDR promoted his decision to lend Lend-Lease equipment to Britain by comparing it to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire and who would return it when he no longer needed it. Senator Robert Taft was not persuaded. “Lending equipment is a good deal like lending chewing gum. You don’t want it back.” . . . In 1942, Winston Churchill stayed at the White House. One morning FDR wheeled himself into Churchill’s bedroom just as the Prime Minister emerged from the bathroom stark naked and gleaming from a hot bath. Roosevelt apologized and turned around to leave when Churchill protested: “The Prime Minister of Great

Anecdotage

Poet’s Corner

Injustice

One mutant jellyfish – a thing I’ve never seen before – Has six great gonads in a ring, Instead of merely four. To be this multiply endowed Is really quite unfair While I am only just allowed To have a single pair.

Ralph Lewin, Blue Green (Kluwer, 2003)

Put Downs: Prof. Harold Laski campaigning for the British Labor Party, responding to a heckler who accused him of not being a true Marxist: “We both follow the same master; you in your way, I in his.” Congressman Charles Rangel on President George W. Bush: “Well, I really think he shatters the myth of white supremacy once and for all.”

Ethnic Log-Rolling: On Israel’s Independence Day in 1948, Edward Clark, the Irish mayor of my home town in New Jersey, came to the celebration and urged the Jewish audience to “keep the faith!” In appreciation, the cantor at one of the city’s synagogues sang to the crowd at a “Jewish night” in the next election campaign: “Er is mensh fein un shark, vote far Mister Edward Clark!”

Retorts: Jean Edward Smith, who did visiting stints at UCSD, has written a new biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt to appear in the spring of 2007 in which he recounts many a delightful FDR story, including these: On learning that his Vice President, John Nance Garner, had decided to compete against him for the presidential nomination in 1940, FDR remarked: “I see that the Vice President has thrown his bottle – I mean his hat – into the ring.” . . . Graffiti in the same campaign: “A horse’s tail is silky, lift it up and you’ll find Willie.” . . . In 1940, FDR promoted his decision to give destroyers to Britain by comparing it to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire and who would return it when he no longer needed it. Senator Robert Taft was not persuaded. “Lending equipment is a good deal like lending chewing gum. You don’t want it back.” . . . In 1942, Winston Churchill stayed at the White House. One morning FDR wheeled himself into Churchill’s bedroom just as the Prime Minister emerged from the bathroom stark naked and gleaming from a hot bath. Roosevelt apologized and turned around to leave when Churchill protested: “The Prime Minister of Great
Britain has nothing to conceal from the President of the United States."

Playing to the crowd: Adlai Stevenson in Cambridge during the 1956 campaign: "I have just been to MIT, where I tried to humanize the scientists. Now that I am at Harvard, I will try to humanize the humanists."

Geopolitics in North America: One day, while I was teaching at the University of Toronto, the doorbell at our home nearby rang and I was solicited by an "enumerator" – a canvasser paid fifty cents a head to register voters. "Sorry," I said, "but I can't vote in a Canadian election because I'm an American citizen." "No, no," he said insistently, determined to make that half-a-buck, "that's OK – you can be from anywhere in the British Isles!" "Ah," I said, somewhat taken aback, "I think that matter was settled differently sometime ago!"

Ethnicity and Diplomacy: When Henry Kissinger, America's first Jewish Secretary of State, met with Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, he is reported to have told her solemnly to bear in mind that in his dealings with her he was first of all an American and only secondly a Jew. To which she is said to have replied: "I understand, but you should bear in mind that in this country we read from right to left!"

The Party Punch Line: In the old days of the Soviet Union, a worker asks his local Party secretary: "Comrade, what should we do if the Americans launch a nuclear attack?" "Simple," the Party Secretary replies, "you wrap yourself in a sheet and make your way slowly to the cemetery." "Why slowly, Comrade?" the worker asks. "Simple again," the Party Secretary replies, "so as not to cause panic." (From a book on civil defense by Lawrence J. Vale.)


Dear Abby: My husband is a liar and a cheat. He has cheated on me from the beginning, and when I confront him, he denies everything. What's worse, everyone knows he cheats on me. It is so humiliating. Also, since he lost his job nearly eight years ago, he hasn't even looked for a new one. All he does is buy cigars and cruise around and bullshit with his pals, while I have to work to pay the bills. Since our daughter went away to college, he doesn't even pretend to like me and hints that I am a lesbian. What should I do?

Dear Clueless: Grow up and dump him. For Pete's sake, you don't need him anymore. You're a United States senator from New York. Act like it!

Q: How many women does it take to satisfy Bill Clinton's sexual appetite? A: It takes a village!

Four United States Presidents get caught up in a tornado and off they whirled to the land of Oz. They finally made it to the Emerald City and went to find the Great Wizard. "What brings the four of you before the great Wizard of Oz?" he asks. Jimmy Carter stepped forward timidly and said: "I've come for some courage." "No Problem!" said the Wizard. "Who's next?" Richard Nixon stepped forward: "Well, I think I need a heart." "Done!" says the Wizard, "who comes next before the Great and Powerful Oz?" Up stepped Dubya and said: "I'm told by the American people that I need a brain." "No problem!" said the Wizard, "consider it done." Then there is a great silence in the hall. Bill Clinton is just standing there, looking around, but he doesn't say a word. Irritated, the Wizard finally asks, "Well, what do you want?" "Is Dorothy here?"
Mark Your Calendar!

Gary C. Jacobson
and Sam Popkin

Nationally renowned UCSD experts on congressional politics and voting behavior

will speak to the Emeriti Association on

“The People Have Spoken: What Exactly Did They Say?”
An early look at the election returns

Wednesday, November 8, 4:00 p.m.
The Green Faculty Club