

## Guatemalan election

By Michael Beharie

**O**n December 29th, 2003, Oscar Berger of the conservative Grand National Alliance (GAN) won the presidential runoff against center-left candidate Alvaro Colom of the National Union of Hope (UNE). Guatemala's presidential, congressional and municipal elections have received much international attention after surfacing evidence of electoral fraud and intimidation. According to the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (CFA), during the November 9 initial presidential elections former dictator General Ríos Montt received 19 percent of the votes cast, losing to both Colom's 26 percent and Berger's 34 percent of nearly three thousand votes. General Montt of the Guatemalan Republican Front (FRG) ruled for eighteen months during the 36-year civil war and has been accused of genocide, evidenced by the mass murder of 200,000 and the displacement of nearly one million Guatemalans during the bloodiest years of the war in the mid to late 1980s. Montt's presidential campaign included paying off national police to only guard his party and organizing a break-in and robbery of the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office, according to CFA.

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**VOCES**  
PHOTO ESSAY  
BY

**Sysha Irot**



*The Navajo of  
Tohatchi,  
New Mexico*



## Capoeira in Salvador

By Cristina Greene

My *Capoeira* teacher, Mestre Faisca, once said: "Most students who walk into my school do not realize they have stumbled upon a pot of gold." I'm not talking about material wealth, but rather an infinite source of knowledge, wisdom and transformation that *Capoeira* offers to those open to its power. This Afro-Brazilian martial art is not only an activity, but a way of life that has transformed the lives of generations of Afro-Brazilians since the first slaves were imported from Angola five hundred years ago. Today "*Capoeira*" is a widespread Afro-Brazilian martial art practiced by people of all classes, races, and countries throughout Brazil and the world.

I was introduced to this world in four weeks of intensive "*Capoeira*" classes in Mestre Faisca's *Capoeira* Angola academy. Last winter term I flew to Salvador, Bahia in Brazil in search of a break from academic life and miserable weather of Oberlin. I had planned on spending January Term doing an internship in a local newspaper, enjoying the good weather and good life of the southern tropics. My internship fell through and I ended up taking *Capoeira* classes in a local academy of Mestre João Pequeno da Pastinha, in the neighborhood of Rio Vermelho. Little did I know what I was getting myself into.

I found out about this school through a friend of a friend who recommended me to contact a *Capoeira* master, named Faisca, the director of the Academy of Master João Pequeno da Pastinha, located in the neighborhood of Rio Vermelho in Salvador. He explained to me that he was an apprentice of Mestre João Pequeno, who is the oldest practicing *Capoeira Angola* master alive. You see, *Capoeira Angola* preserves the traditional forms of the "*Capoeira*" practiced by African slaves from Angola brought to Brazil about five hundred years ago. It has survived all these years through the strength and perseverance of a lineage of "*Capoeira*" masters. Master João Pequeno da Pastinha is one of the many masters that followed this lineage.

*Capoeira Angola* has been able to survive almost five centuries in the most impoverished neighborhoods of Salvador, being passed on from generation to generation. It has been a form of resistance of the descendants of African slaves of Salvador throughout the centuries, today the most marginalized class of citizens of Brazil. In the slums of Salvador (and all of Brazil) there are very few opportunities or possibilities of education and recreation for the youth.

*Capoeira* schools like the *Academia Mestre João Pequeno* are an oasis, a school of knowledge that provides physical training combined with spiritual education that enriches the soul and body, developing people's inner intelligence, ultimately for personal self defense and foundations for a healthy, balanced life. For many, this is the highest quality of education, and a way of life that can last for a whole lifetime and even more. For example, Mestre João Pequeno da Pastinha dedicated his whole life to practicing and developing the techniques of *Capoeira* Angola. At the age of 74, he claims to be still learning more about *Capoeira*. His knowledge of the martial art was passed down to him by Mestre Pastinha, the founder of this traditional "*Angola*" style, that preserves and develops the original movements of "*Capoeira*", practiced by African slaves in Brazil five hundred years ago who imported elements of the Yoruba culture of West Africa, from the region that today is Angola. When

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*Tohatchi, New Mexico Landscape — Photo by Sysha Irot*

### From the Editors

Due to various unforeseen circumstances, this is the first time *Voces* appears in quite a while. The paper has also adopted a different format, which will hopefully make it more accessible and easier to produce. From now on you can expect two issues of *Voces* per semester.

*Voces* will remain a paper made for and by students. As the editors of the first issue put it: "As the first bilingual paper on campus we hope to present a platform for discussion through which Latinos and all others interested in Spanish, Latin American, and Latino language and culture can express themselves". Everyone is invited to submit materials, in either English or Spanish.

Most of the articles that appear in this issue were written to be published last year. We apologize to both the readers and the authors for the long delay (better late than never!). Words of thanks are due to all the authors, and to Cristina Greene, Megan Highfill, and Patrick O'Connor.

### De los editores

Por una serie de circunstancias adversas, *Voces* no ha podido aparecer en mucho tiempo. Ahora se publica de nuevo, en un nuevo formato, que esperamos sea más accesible y menos difícil de producir. A partir de este número, *Voces* aparecerá dos veces por semestre.

*Voces* seguirá siendo un periódico hecho por y para estudiantes. Como decían los editores del primer número: "Como el primer periódico bilingüe en este campus esperamos ofrecer un espacio de expresión para latinos y todos los demás interesados en el idioma español y las culturas latina, latinoamericana y española." Invitamos a todos a mandarnos contribuciones para el número siguiente, que aparecerá en febrero.

La mayoría de los artículos publicados en este número se escribieron hace tiempo. Nos disculpamos ante los lectores y los autores por la demora (¡más vale tarde que nunca!) Agradecemos por su trabajo en la preparación de este número a todos los autores y a Cristina Greene, Megan Highfill y Patrick O'Connor.



The first two issues, published in February and March 2001

## Formaban parte de una delegación de derechos humanos

# Obies en Guatemala

Por Anne Getzin y Marian Schlotterbeck

**D**urante el Winter Term de 2004, regresamos a Guatemala y pasamos el mes con tres comunidades indígenas en el Ixcán, una región rural en el noroeste del país. Las comunidades fueron fundadas por retornados—un nombre usado para referir a la gente maya que vivió en refugio en México por más de una década durante los años 80 y 90. La primera comunidad, Santa María Tzejá, tiene un enfoque colectivo y fuerte en la educación de los niños. Existe un grupo estudiantil

de todos los que han sido becados que trabaja para ayudar a toda la comunidad. Se llama Asociación de Estudiantiles y Profesionales de Santa María Tzejá y de Aldeas Circunvecinas (AESMAC) Kemb'al Noj. En Kiche', el idioma maya que habla la comunidad,

Kemb'al Noj significa "tejer y compartir nuestro conocimiento y sabiduría entre todos". Durante una reunión con la junta directiva de AESMAC, propusimos un proyecto de intercambio entre su grupo y nuestro grupo estudiantil de Oberlin—Estudiantes de Oberlin que Trabaja en Solidaridad con la Gente Guatemalteca (OSSGUA).



*Celebrations and House Building in Guatemala (Photos: Marian Schlotterbeck)*

## Historia de OSSGUA

En enero de 2003, diez estudiantes de la pequeña universidad de Oberlin, en el estado de Ohio, con cuatro adultos de la comunidad de Oberlin viajaron por Guatemala, como parte de una delegación de derechos humanos.

Esta experiencia nos dio mucho para pensar y aumentó nuestra conciencia del mundo. Nos impresionó mucho el tiempo que pasamos con activistas y estudiantes de Guatemala, quienes nos dieron ejemplos de cómo unir una visión global con trabajo local.

Cuando regresamos a la comunidad de Oberlin, queríamos seguir lo que aprendimos. Entonces creamos el grupo OSSGUA. Dado que es posible tener pasión sin saber mucho, y también se puede saber sin tener pasión, lo más importante es unir los dos esfuerzos a través de la educación.

## Visión general

Nuestra visión es lograr una relación de solidaridad con la gente de Guatemala en sus luchas y sus vidas. Queremos que la gente de los EEUU aprenda qué es la realidad de la situación para la gente de Guatemala, y qué es nuestro papel como ciudadanos de los EEUU, un país que históricamente ha tenido una influencia fuerte en Guatemala. Reconocemos que esta influencia ha contribuido a la

injusticia y la opresión que ha existido en Guatemala en el pasado y que sigue en hoy día. Dado que los EEUU han explotado y siguen explotando las poblaciones y las tierras de países por todo el mundo, específicamente por América Central, tenemos una responsabilidad y un deseo de cambiar estas interacciones. Creemos que otro

mundo es posible, y que el cambio surge del pueblo. Entonces, como el grupo de OSSGUA, queremos trabajar en solidaridad con los que ya están en la lucha, y unir nuestros esfuerzos para seguir adelante con el cambio.

### Objetivos

Nuestro objetivo fundamental es la educación y la aumentación de la conciencia global. Queremos lograr este objetivo a través de:

- Dar pláticas de qué es la realidad para la gente de Guatemala (por ejemplo, temas relacionados a la explotación, la violencia, los tratados de libre comercio, los derechos humanos) a grupos civiles y religiosos.
- Crear una relación educativa con los jóvenes de Oberlin en las escuelas para incluir temas globales en su educación.
- Promover eventos y manifestaciones de solidaridad y en contra de los TLC y la militarización de América Latina.
- Traer conferenciantes de la comunidad para dar pláticas de la situación que existe hoy en Guatemala, y el papel que tienen los EEUU.
- Tener una relación de intercambio y solidaridad con otros grupos.
- Apoyar el trabajo que hace el grupo de hermanamiento entre Oberlin y Santa Elena (SEPA), incluyendo promover y organizar delegaciones de estudiantes de Oberlin para visitar a Santa Elena y conocer el país de Guatemala.
- Recibir y transmitir información y experiencias.»



*The Obie Student Delegation*

*Si tiene interés en participar en este intercambio, o otras actividades de OSSGUA, contactar: mschlott@oberlin.edu o Anne Getzin: agetzin@oberlin.edu*

## An American in Argentina “¿Hay guerra en tu país?”

By Joanne Winograd

“*¿Hay guerra en tu país?*” The question shocked me. When I first arrived in Argentina, I figured that people would be asking me about the political situation in my country, and I was never surprised when it was brought up. This time, however, was very different.

It was day 15 of my month-long travel abroad. I was staying with a great Argentine family who were constantly finding different activities for me in their tiny little pueblo. That week, I was volunteering at the local *colonia de vacaciones*, where the poorer kids in the town could come four mornings a week

and swim, play sports, do art projects, and be fed. My job was to help them paint. Of course the first day was a disaster when I couldn't understand the screams of “*¿Dónde está mi pincel?*” or “*¡Dáme una hoja!*”, let alone find where the paintbrushes or pieces of paper were located.

As time went on, I began to understand the children better and could actually help them draw flowers, cut out hearts, or glue on

glitter. They started warming up to me, and asking me all sorts of questions (the most common question being “*¿Tenés novio?*”—for some reason all foreigners, regardless of age or gender, want to know my romantic status). When one little girl discovered I was from the U.S.A., she didn't talk of McDonalds, the Bulls, or Britney Spears, as little children in France asked me several years ago. Her mouth dropped and eyes widened as she asked me about the war. The girl was six years old.

I explained to her that there were no *soldados* fighting on my homeland. I told her that we were all hoping for peace. I could see in her eyes that the things she knew about the United States made her fearful, and I answered one last innocent

question about the war before changing the subject back to the pink flowers she had been drawing.

Despite the years I spent studying foreign places, I found that I knew surprisingly little about my own home. I was continuously asked to describe in detail our government structure, education system, health care policies, and more. My opinion was representing the entire population of the United States, and I was expected to know the different costs of apartments in cities across the country. I also couldn't argue forcefully against any Argentine that was "100% positive" on some false fact about my country for fear of seeming snobby and pushy and thus confirming every belief she has about Americans.

It is astonishing what you will learn while living abroad. My month might have been short, but in those thirty days of immersion I discovered much more than just the language. Being abroad is certainly about taking in the new surroundings, experiencing a new culture, speaking a new language, and living with a new family. But the most unpredictable part about being abroad is the new view you acquire of your *OWN* country. «



*Navajo Boy Painting a Mural (Tohatchi, New Mexico)  
(Photo: Sysha Irot)*

## Oberlin Students in Solidarity with Guatemala

# New Student Group on Campus

By Marian Schlotterbeck

Ten Oberlin students traveled through Guatemala last January, on a human rights delegation sponsored by Oberlin community group the Santa Elena Project of Accompaniment (SEPA) and the national organization Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA). The depth of this experience led the students to form a new student group on campus—Oberlin Students in Solidarity with Guatemala (OSSGUA)—committed to promoting awareness of the salient issues faced by the people of Guatemala and Latin America. OSSGUA primarily focuses on education and solidarity actions. In two semesters we have coordinated five speakers at Oberlin, including two women from Guatemala. Our members have given presentations to students in Oberlin, Wellington and other communities. We have sent members to the April 2003 Latin American Solidarity Conference and the annual School of the Americas Rally in Ft. Benning, Georgia.

### SEPA

OSSGUA also operates as a student branch of SEPA and has assisted with their projects in the Oberlin community, including working at the farmers' market and selling textiles. We also hope to assist with promoting future Winter Term delegations to Guatemala.

OSSGUA is also interested in working with other campus groups to lobby around issues of free trade agreements. In the upcoming semester, we are planning on starting a letter exchange program between local high school students and students in rural Mayan communities in Guatemala. We are also beginning an exchange between OSSGUA and a Guatemalan Mayan university student group, AESMAC. In the words of one AESMAC student in Guatemala, "*La lucha empieza desde ahora*". We welcome anyone interested in joining OSSGUA or sharing their experiences in Guatemala. Please contact the author at [mschlott@oberlin.edu](mailto:mschlott@oberlin.edu) «

# Salvadorean immigrants misconstrued in U.S. press

By Michael Beharie

Immigration is a dynamic and important issue for the Latino community in the U.S. In Washington D.C. the vast majority of Latino immigrants come from El Salvador, the smallest and most densely populated nation in Central America. The Washington Post reports that there are around 400,000 Salvadoreans in the D.C. area, a large portion of the 2 million that reside in the entire country.

The belief that Salvadorean immigrated to the U.S. to find work is misconstrued. Most of the immigrants, especially those that arrived in the eighties and nineties, came to the U.S. to flee terror in their country. In 1980 a twelve-year civil war began between the U.S.-backed Salvadorean government and the *Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional*, a coalition of leftist guerilla organizations.

The Salvadorean troops, although armed with U.S. conventional weapons, were under constant ambush from the poorly armed but savvy guerillas. The army, frustrated with chasing the elusive rebels, brought the frontline of the war to any mountain village, any urban slum, and any unassuming hovel that might potentially harbor government opposition. Paramilitary goon squads murdered anyone suspected of being or having aided a guerilla, villages were obliterated, and a cloak of fear was spread over the country.

According to the D.C. Latino Civil Rights Task Force, the Salvadorean immigrants "fled the terror and danger of a war and a human rights disaster that over the last twelve years claimed 75,000 lives; over half knew someone who had been murdered, more than 20% had actually witnessed a murder, close to forty percent had been present when their neighborhood was bombed and about forty percent had been forced to seek safety from gunfire."

Unfortunately, U.S. immigration policy treated Salvadoreans not as political refugees seeking asylum but as immigrants seeking opportunity. This is evidenced in the meager 2.6 % of Salvadoreans who were granted asylum in the last years of the

civil war. The United States was not too quick to accept the refugees fleeing from a terror that they had a part in the constructing.

Since the war's peace accords, many Salvadoreans have come to the U.S. to find work. Centrist D.C. think tanks, embassy reports and the mainstream media generally ignore the impact of the civil war, choosing to focus their reports on the Salvadorean immigrants' contribution to the U.S. workforce and the remittances they send to family and friends back home.

The Washington Post describes how money earned by working relatively low-pay jobs in hotels and construction gets channeled back to El Salvador. Another article features a Salvadorean company that will begin exporting *pupusas*, the Salvadorean national foo, to the U.S. The Central American Free-Trade Agreement and a liberalized Salvadorean economic policy are represented as a positive means to development in the mainstream

media. Likewise, on the El Salvador Embassy web page in the United States, the description of the Salvadorean economy is one of progress, modernization, openness to foreign investment, and transparency of regulations.

But there is a grassroots counter narrative to the mainstream media's representation of Salvadoreans and El Salvador. Because of the number of Salvadoreans and the faulty immigration laws under which they must abide, new community organizations and progressive think tanks have appeared as a voice for the marginalized. Lately, these groups have become openly vocal in criticizing President Bush's new immigration proposal in which undocumented immigrants could apply for a job status that would last for a specified period of time. Firms would also be empowered to bring workers from abroad on a work visa also for a specific period of time. Technically the workers would be able to reapply for their guest passes.

Among the critics of the Bush proposal is the Washington D.C.-based Center for American Progress, which describes three problems with the proposal: there is no guarantee that the workers will receive permanent residency or citizenship, there are no guarantees on the quality of the workplace or rights of the laborers, and large firms

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***Most of the immigrants, especially those that arrived in the eighties and nineties, came to the U.S. to flee terror in their country.***

# Rebelión en la provincia natal de Zapata

Por Michael Beharie

La memoria histórica de los mexicanos es fuerte. El domingo 7 de enero 2004, un grupo indígena llamado el Consejo Popular Autónomo ocupó la alcaldía de Tlalnepantla en la provincia de Morelos, Mexico. (Morelos es la provincia donde nació Emiliano Zapata, uno de los grandes líderes campesinos en la Revolución Mexicana, asesinado en 1919.) Cinco días después de la ocupación, varios sectores de la policía retomaron la alcaldía y detuvieron miembros del grupo indígena. Un hombre del Consejo Popular Autónomo murió, tres policías y un número inconfirmado de comuneros fueron heridos, incluyendo mujeres viejas.

## Elecciones comunales versus elecciones individuales

El conflicto en Tlalnepantla empezó después de las elecciones del nuevo presidente municipal. Tradicionalmente, el pueblo vota en una asamblea donde hay diálogo entre comuneros y otros grupos sociales, un proceso que está de acuerdo con los usos y costumbres de la comunidad tlalnepantlense. En 2003 un decreto gubernamental decidió que miembros del municipio deberían votar individualmente usando una urna, lo cual era desconocido entre los ciudadanos de Tlalnepantla y en desacuerdo con los usos y costumbres del pueblo.

El día de las elecciones, solamente diez por ciento de los 4500 habitantes salieron a votar. Elias Osorio Torres, notoriamente apodado "el zorro" por los tlalnepantlenses, ganó las elecciones. Disatisfechos con el resultado y los procedimientos del voto, unos miembros del pueblo investigaron varios recursos legales para despojar a Torres de la presidencia municipal. Durante varios meses los tlalnepantlenses escribieron 535 cartas al gobernador, hablaron con legisladores locales y al Congreso del Sindicato, y peticionaron para un plebiscito. La Constitución mantiene en artículo 115 que "Las legislaturas locales, por acuerdo de las dos terceras partes de sus integrantes podrán suspender Ayuntamientos, declarar que han desaparecido y suspender o revocar el mandato de alguno de sus miembros..." El gobierno ignoró las peticiones.

## Marcha en la capital provinciana

Luego el pueblo, conforme con la ley, organizó unas elecciones por consulta popular y emprendió una marcha a Cuernavaca, la capital de Morelos, para hablar con el gobernador Sergio Estrada. El gobernador rechazó la oferta de negociar, rechazó al presidente municipal elegido por consulta popular (quien ganó en exceso de dos tercios del voto) y ordenó que la policía dispersara a los tlalnepantlenses que estaban bloqueando la autopista.

Aunque la marcha a Cuernavaca no resultó en un diálogo con el gobierno, aseguró que el problema llegara a la atención del público. Varios grupos sociales en la provincia de Morelos visitaron a Tlalnepantla en solidaridad con el pueblo y las peticiones legales. El gobierno todavía negó las súplicas.

## Ocupar la alcaldía. Reacción militar

El primero de noviembre 2003 unos manifestantes empezaron a ocupar la alcaldía del presidente municipal. Sesenta y nueve días después del inicio de la ocupación, el día 11 de enero, los manifestantes formaron La Consulta Popular Autónoma y declaró la autonomía de Tlalnepantla. La Consulta declaró: "No se puede seguir soportando amenazas y maltratos físicos que van en contra de la paz de nuestro municipio...en ejercicio de nuestros derechos constitucionales amparados por [el artículo] 39: 'La soberanía nacional reside esencial y originalmente en el pueblo. Todo poder público dimana del pueblo y se instituye para beneficio de éste. El pueblo tiene, en todo tiempo, el inalienable derecho a alterar o modificar la forma de su gobierno.'"

El martes después de la declaración, el Ministerio Público, bajo la demanda de Elias Osorio Torres, les ordenó que la policía estatal, municipal y ministerial retomaran la alcaldía. No es claro cuál lado empezó el intercambio de tiros, pero horas después de la llegada de sesenta patrullas un tiroteo comenzó. Los dos campamentos tenían armas de fuego, cada agente de la policía con ametralladoras y los rebeldes con varios metralletas, piedras y una bomba de Molotov.

Después del tiroteo inicial más unidades de la policía llegaron, incluso la policía montada, francotiradores y el Grupo Aeromóvil de Reacción Inmediata (GARI). Después de establecer un cuartel rodeando la alcaldía, la policía estatal soltó bombas de gas lacrimógeno y más tiros al frente del edificio.

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## Capoeira in Salvador

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Mestre Pastinha died, he left the responsibility in the hands of his apprentices- Mestre João Pequeno da Pastinha and Mestre João Grande- to continue the preservation of the *Capoeira Angola*. In 1982 Mestre João Pequeno opened a "Capoeira" academy in the fortress of Santo Antonio, in the old area of Salvador. His other schools are located in Sao Paulo, and in Minas Gerais. Mestre João Grande besides having a school in Salvador and the major Brazilian cities, expanded his energies, promoting *Capoeira Angola* overseas. He is a renowned *Capoeira* master in the US, with an important center in New York City, and with different schools nationwide.

Mestre Faísca, an apprentice of Mestre João Pequeno, is an example of a person who lives and breathes *Capoeira Angola* everyday. Mestre Faísca made his house into a live-in *Capoeira* school, in the middle of a valley of the city, Vale das Pedrinhas in Rio Vermelho. His school provides a free source of *Capoeira* education for this impoverished community. Three to four times a day, the streets of Vale das Pedrinhas are filled with the sounds of the drums, singing and vibrance from the "birimbau", "atabake", "pandeiro"- the various instruments that animate the "Capoeira" practice. These sounds stream out of the back entrance, which Faísca turned into a handcraft shop, where his wife and daughter sell handmade jewelry, clothes, bags, and other decorative items.

On the opposite side of the building, a hand-painted emblem on the wall: Academia João Mestre da Pastinha: announces the main entrance to the school. Students from different social and cultural backgrounds from Salvador and the rest of Brazil all come to Faísca's school to practice. For example, during the month of January, my Oberlin friend and I practiced *Capoeira* with the kids and teenagers of the neighborhood, a group of college students from Salvador, two girls from Rio de Janeiro, a group of apprentices from another Mestre João Pequeno school in Sao Paulo, and a guy from Uruguay. Faísca told me university students and tourists from Germany, England and France also occasionally knock at his door.

Faísca and his family, wife and three kids live in an apartment above the school. They dedicate their whole life to the maintenance of the *Capoeira* academy. All three of his kids are proficient *Capoeira* fighters, despite their young age. Mestre Faísca was born in the outskirts of Sao Paulo, Brazil. He did not have access to a good education,

but educated himself through the spiritual and philosophical teachings of *Capoeira Angola*. He spent years working and traveling throughout Brazil, trying different styles of *Capoeira*, until he found Mestre João Pequeno, in Salvador.

Today, Mestre Faísca is the director of the Academia João Mestre da Pastinha of Rio Vermelho, Salvador, which he founded in 1997. He has also taught various workshops throughout Brazil and abroad. In Brazil, he has taught in various universities and *Capoeira* groups in S. Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul, among others. Two years ago he taught a workshop in various universities of Switzerland, where he was offered a permanent job. Faísca refused the work offer to dedicate himself to the social work and teaching *capoeira* in his own community.

Today, Faísca's *Capoeira* academy is bustling with life. This year they even expanded the school, by forming an NGO João Pequeno, a non-profit organization that seeks to provide social assistance for the community, giving out need-based stipends/ scholarships for students to be able to practice *Capoeira Angola*. The organization also provides a space for dialogue between the community, the government, and different social classes, in an attempt to deal with economic problems of Salvador. It is also a cultural center of preservation of Afro-Brazilian traditions, and promotes social volunteer work for the community. Mestre Faísca and his NGO hope to further expand their horizons, by opening their door to volunteers from the US. «

*If you are interested in taking "Capoeira" classes in Salvador or doing volunteer work for NGO João Pequeno da Pastinha, contact Cristina Greene at [yatininha@yahoo.com](mailto:yatininha@yahoo.com) for more info.*

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## Roman Spain

By Mark Banta and Teo Gibson

Roman history has always been a topic of fascination to the Western cultures that Rome helped to found. Rome's accomplishments aren't really attributable to the greatness of the city itself, but rather to the expansionist doctrine that its culture successfully brought to most of Europe and throughout the Mediterranean. Some of the conquests that brought this fame were mere twists of fate that worked out in Rome's favor. The acquisition of Spain is one such case.

The start of the Second Punic War against Carthage piqued Rome's interest in the Iberian Peninsula. The history of Roman Spain began not with the Roman conquest of Spain, but with the Carthaginian colonization. Despite the accident that was the conquest of Spain, the new Roman provinces that were formed set new precedents for Roman policies in the centuries that followed. These new precedents set by the conquest had an important role in the development of Roman Spain.

The results of the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.E.) were what prompted the Carthaginians to colonize the Iberian Peninsula. The war was fought in part over the island of Sicily and over control of the Mediterranean Sea. Rome emerged victorious having gained control of Sicily and sufficient control of the Mediterranean such that Carthage could not have launched an effective naval counterattack to land troops on the Italian peninsula. This fact would later have important repercussions for the Iberian Peninsula during the Second Punic War. Rome exacted tribute from Carthage and withdrew its troops. After this defeat, Carthage became somewhat of a sworn enemy of Rome. Having lost control of the Mediterranean, the only way for

Carthage to get its revenge on Rome would be through land routes. Probably because of the strong civilizations that lay to the east, Carthage chose the westerly route through the Iberian Peninsula. This decision was the key event that brought Iberia to Rome's attention.

Rather than just marching through Iberia immediately, the Carthaginians built up their colonizing presence and firmly established themselves. They, along with their predecessors, the Phoenicians, had already established some colonies in the Peninsula. However, these few footholds were not enough for what Carthage had



*The Roman Amphitheater and Statues in Mérida, Spain (Photos: Mark Banta)*

planned. In the year 237 B.C.E. the Carthaginian colonization was put into effect. Hamilcar, a rising leader, went personally to establish colonies and close relations with the Iberians. Through these relations the Carthaginians reached agreements with the Iberians to recruit mercenaries and soldiers for their eventual assault on Rome. These expanded colonies reinforced the strength of Carthage, economically, politically, and militarily. Hamilcar eventually was killed in battle and his son-in-law, and his three sons Hadrusbal, Hannibal, and Mago, would eventually come to Iberia to succeed him. Of these three, Hannibal would be the most famous leading a rampaging march throughout the Italian peninsula.

At first the Romans were merely content with keeping tabs on the Carthaginian progress in the Iberian Peninsula. Rome and Carthage came to an agreement in the winter of 219 B.C.E. that the latter should not cross the Ebro river with any armed forces. The Romans also cultivated a relationship with the town of Saguntum. Saguntum was positioned such that any force attempting to cross over the Pyrenees mountains and into the rest of Europe would likely pass by the town. The goals of the Romans seem to have been to limit and keep track of Carthaginian military development in Spain. Rome may have wanted to take more proactive measures earlier than it did.



However, Rome also had to be mindful of the often hostile Gauls that lay just to their north.

It is not clear exactly when Rome decided to send troops to Spain. However, troops did finally arrive in the Peninsula in 218. The final ultimatum sent to Carthage left after preparations for war had already started being developed. Whenever the Roman Senate actually resolved to send troops to Spain, the timing of when the troops were actually sent out turned out to have important consequences for Roman interest in Spain. The Roman commander Publius Scipio arrived with his army by sea at one of the mouths of the Rhone river only to discover that Hannibal was already well into his famous march toward Italy. It was reported to Scipio that Hannibal either was currently crossing the Pyrenees mountains or had already done so. Scipio moved

his forces to intercept Hannibal by marching up the Rhone to a place where he assumed that Hannibal would attempt to cross. However, when he arrived there, he discovered that he was three days too late. It was P. Scipio's decision to divide his forces and lead a small portion of them back into Italy and send the bulk of his forces onward toward Spain under the command of his brother, Gnaeus Scipio. The Scipio brothers' campaign was going well until they decided to divide their forces within Spain. This division resulted in their deaths and the slaughter of most of their troops.

Had they discovered Hannibal's advance before P. Scipio had departed from Italy, or if Scipio had

decided to draw his whole army back into Italy, the Romans would have been delayed in reaching Spain, and perhaps may have never conquered it at all. Scipio made the assumption that New Carthage in Spain might become an important supply base for Hannibal, and that made his mission all the more urgent. Given that Rome was not able to get Hannibal out of Italy for fifteen years, cutting him off from reinforcements from Carthage could have been the only thing that prevented them

from defeat in the Second Punic War. The son of P. Scipio, who bore the same name, was sent to Spain as soon as Rome could spare any troops from the fight against Hannibal in Italy. He was able to prevent any reinforcements from reaching Hannibal, and by the time he was recalled to Rome in 206 B.C.E., he had driven the Carthaginians from Iberia.

It appeared that it was not the Senate's intent to remain in the area. They decided that they should reduce the number of commanders in Spain from two to one. It is likely that this reduction was actually the first step not as a decision to maintain control of a smaller part of Spain, but as a gradual complete withdrawal from Spain. However, this reduction in forces or commanders in the region never really took place. The situation in Spain had

become more complicated than simply a conflict between Rome and Carthage. Rome had become continually involved in fighting with some local peoples and had entered into agreements and obligations with others. To simply withdraw would have severely reduced the power of Rome in the eyes of everyone in Spain as they would either be retreating from a fight or ignoring promises they had made to nearly everyone with whom they had come into contact in Spain.

The Romans found that while they may have



Roman Masks (Spain) (Photo: Mark Banta)

wanted to leave, to simply withdraw would have been too messy. It is for this reason that the Romans continued to appoint two military commanders every year to be in charge of their troops in Spain. However, this ad hoc method of government was also unsatisfactory. In short, a huge area was controlled by two people who had never been elected by the Roman people (Rome was still a Republic at the time). In 198 B.C.E., the Roman people for the first time elected six praetors instead of four. The two new elected officials would essentially do the same thing as the previous commanders, but with the difference that they had been elected for the purpose instead of being simply appointed military commanders.

This is a departure from Rome's previous methods of dealing with external threats. Typically, Rome would send an army to subjugate the problem. A tribute would be set up where the local government or people would pay a certain amount

to Rome as a penalty for having been so defiant, and the Roman army would leave. It was a fairly new idea for Rome to remain in an area and then to incorporate that area into Rome's government structure. For example, at the end of the Second Punic war, Carthage was ordered to pay tribute to Rome, but Roman soldiers did not remain in North Africa. The islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily had all been made a part of the budding Roman Empire, but this had never happened with an area of land nearly as big as the two new Spanish

Roman provinces. Before the Second Punic War Rome's borders rarely went beyond the Italian Peninsula. After the War it had approximately doubled its territorial holdings and was on its way to becoming an Empire.

Rome's intentions for Spain were virtually nonexistent before the Second Punic War. Their conquest was reactionary to the Carthaginians' vengeful strategy to defeat Rome. Spain became a Roman province because the complications following the War made it impractical to withdraw. Spain set the precedent for Rome's eventual conquest of most of their known world. Rome's incorporation of large provinces into their greater society was first tested on the Iberian Peninsula and was later perfected elsewhere. As Spain became a *provinciae*, Rome became an *Imperium*. «

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## Odas elementales

A Pablo Neruda se le consideraba o un poeta sólo de amor o de la política cuando sorprendió a todo el mundo en 1954 con su colección *Odas elementales*, una hermosa colección de poemas que celebraban todo tipo de cosa, de diccionarios a alcachofas a gatos. Estos poemas fueron escritos en homenaje a Neruda tanto como en homenaje al agua y a la yerba mate (la bebida argentina).

### Oda al agua

Denise Jennings

Agua,

gotitas calmas  
corrientes fuertes,  
fuentes de la vida.

Gotitas calmas.

Cada gota un ejército  
que puede sosegar  
una Sed violenta.

Corrientes fuertes.

Su poder  
puede destruir ciudades  
con el esfuerzo de un niño.  
    ¿Cómo puedes matar  
    y dar vida?

Fuentes de la vida.

Su fluidez,  
su poder  
es la sangre de la vida.

Con su magia  
lo que está muriendo  
puede revivir.  
    Y los colores—  
    colores del cielo,  
    del pasto, del sol.

Un arcoiris  
en los pequeños cristales  
con los colores y la magnitud del mundo.

Agua,

gotitas calmas,  
corrientes fuertes,  
fuentes de la vida.

### Oda a la yerba mate

Stephanie Molina

Sustancia  
de la tierra  
que cura todo.

Alimento del cielo  
para Moisés  
que cayó por accidente  
sobre un terreno fértil  
de Sudamérica.

El océano verde  
nació ahí en  
medio  
del continente.

Infusión esmeraldina  
bailando con calentura  
y dolor.

Tanto movimiento  
espuma y vapor.

Bandera calma y verde  
sembrando esperanza  
por la tierra.

Se derrama  
dejando la profundidad  
húmeda empapada  
fecunda.

Emborrachando  
la vida con sabor a tabaco y yuyos.

Por mis labios pasa  
quemando  
formando  
recreando  
historia de la tierra  
en mis venas.

## Guatemalan Election

*Continued from p. 1*

After General Montt's loss, centrist pro-business voters in urban areas swung their support to Oscar Berger, who won the runoff by 5%. According to MercoPress, Berger, who was Guatemala City's mayor from 1990 to 1999, gained a 29 percent lead over Colom in the nation's capital. Colom, who campaigned as the poor man's candidate, was very popular in rural areas but victim to the illiteracy of his supporters and right-wing intimidation.

Although this was the first election in Guatemala's history to have the electoral rolls made available to the public, only 46 percent of registered voters actually got to the polls. Even with the formation of the federal Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and the citizen-led Mirador Electoral, absenteeism registered at 40 percent of the population. These groups also reported a slew of illegal activities among the political parties.

The Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA) reports: "Since May 15th, 20 political leaders and activists have been murdered; 13 have received death threats; another 13 have survived gunshot wounds; 11 have been the victims of physical and psychological intimidation; 9 have had their homes or vehicles fired upon; and three have had their homes broken into." These acts were attributed to exparamilitaries loyal to the FRG. The largest number of fraud and intimidation reports were filed during mayoral elections especially in rural areas. According to CFA, after the loss of FRG candidates in municipalities, ex-paramilitaries from the civil war and other FRG sympathizers began to kidnap public authorities, attack public buildings and burn ballot boxes. In total, there are 420 dead and 723 wounded from the so-called "vigilante justice".

Although General Montt failed to win the presidency, the FRG still gained many seats in Congress and many mayoral positions in the Municipalities. CFA reports that in the congressional elections GANA won 47 seats, FRG won 43 and UNE won 32. Members of seven smaller political parties, ranging from the Guatemalan Christian Democrats (DCG) to the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) hold the rest of the thirty-six congressional seats. CFA, americas.org and NISGUA report that in order to effectively govern, Berger will have to make alliances with smaller parties, as its plurality in the Congress is not adequate to pass legislation.

As for Oscar Berger's early administration, the

Washington Post reports that "he has worked hard to shed his elitist image since inauguration." Opponents have criticized Berger citing his promise to never become involved in politics after he lost the last election to FRG candidate and former President Portillo. Now that he has won, he has asked Noble Prize winner and Mayan activist Rigoberta Menchu to join his government and on January 18th invited the public to meet him and his wife at the Presidential Palace. He has also pleased the urban business-oriented community by reaching out to US importers, re-affirming his belief in the Central American Free Trade Agreement and making businessman Jorge Briz his foreign minister. The current US administration has extended its congratulations to President Berger and its hopes that an open and transparent economic relationship will continue. «

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## Rebelión en la provincia de Zapata

*Continued from p. 8*

### Testigos internacionales prohibidos.

Cuando doce personas cayeron heridos en la plaza de la alcaldía, varios manifestantes huyeron a sus casas o a tomar refugio en las montañas circundantes donde fueron perseguidos por el GARI. Los rebeldes que todavía peleaban fueron vencidos y encarcelados y la policía allanaron los domicilios de miembros de La Consulta Popular Autónoma y detuvieron a algunos dirigentes, incluso un niño de dieciséis años. Durante la pelea, la policía estatal bloqueó la autopista de Cuernavaca a Tlalnepantla, prohibiendo que una misión de observación de derechos humanos entrara al pueblo.

Al fin, Elias Osorio Torres regresó triunfante a la alcaldía con sus seguidores y su cabildo. El coordinador de la policía ministerial y el secretario de la Seguridad Pública declararon que "no hay heridos, sólo dos policías con heridas leves por postas de escopeta." Otras fuentes dicen que entre cinco y doce comuneros fueron heridos.

Reportajes sobre esta serie de incidentes han provenido de muchos lugares, de la prensa AP hasta El Centro de Medios Independientes, basado en Chiapas, Mexico, los cuales tienen las descripciones más completas de la pelea misma y las declaraciones de la Consulta Popular Autónoma. El conflicto fue ignorado por los medios tradicionales en los Estados Unidos. «

# Little Mornings

By Cristina Civalé

Translated by Marian Schlotterbeck

**B**efore and After. Before and after the dictatorship. Before and after the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1976. Life divided—pierced by the dark turn of an unforgettable date. Afterwards nothing would be the same, although we didn't know it then. A date like arbitrary arrows hurled at a blurred target on the surface of destiny. And in the woodwork were exile, refuge, ignorance, indifference, days crushed and repressed. We are all products of that little number, devoured and spit out by a process that processed us like data from dark calculations.

Everything started very early, during the hours in which the days confuse themselves, when today is still yesterday, yet it's today, it's the 24<sup>th</sup> of March. It's 12:45AM. The Casa Rosada is empty; the guards finish their routine, hiding, perhaps, some secret order. María Estela Martínez de Perón, Isabelita, the first woman president of Argentina, departs from the House of Government, climbs into a helicopter that will carry her to Olivos, but will never land in the green garden of her home. The chopper received the order to change its course for the Aeroparque. A soldier informed her that she had ceased to be the president. Relieved of her duties, just relieved. She wanted to assert the strength of her title; sympathetically they informed her that she would not be harmed. "Get in, señora."

It was the coup. The reality of a chronicle clearly predicted. At 3:21AM, on the national radio and television chain, those still awake were able to listen to the very first communiqué of the de facto government, sounding to the unmistakable beat of a military march, announcing that the country was now under the operating control of the Junta of Commanding Generals: Videla, Massera, Agosti. Land, water, air, official elements of a conspiracy completely un-elemental.

Radio Colonia repeatedly announced more detailed versions of the facts, yet the facts were also according to those who lived them.

Fito Paez was still living in Rosario and still shared his bed with his grandmother. At the time of the first communiqué he was sleeping and couldn't quite remember his dreams. He was thirteen and innocent. And then everything started getting strange. In the house, the women—his aunt and his grandmother—turned on anything that could give them some information. They switched on the radio, and then the T.V. The televised coup. Yet

also playing live. Just two blocks over there was a crowd that filled the sidewalks in the neighborhood, including Fito's, with tanks and soldiers. His aunt walked towards the department store, the fridge was half-empty. The soldiers wouldn't let her return, they stopped her from entering her own house. Fito lived through five anguish filled hours—separating him from his aunt was a wall and the soldiers. Clubs, weapons, fear. He didn't expect this would change his life. His aunt, an older person, returned without a scratch, but with a crushed heart.

Laura Ramos was at Despeñaderos, Jorge Lanata on a mini-bus, Guillermo Kuitca left for secondary school, and the Junta had already made its third communiqué.

Laura Ramos was seventeen and lived on the landed estate that her father owned in the countryside. The place was called Despeñaderos—Precipices, even though her grandmother insisted on re-baptizing it "Desamparados"—The Forsaken. Her father, the politician Abelardo Ramos, had left the house on the night of March 23<sup>rd</sup> with an undetermined and secret destination. It wasn't difficult for her to guess what would happen in the next few hours. At dawn the next morning, soldiers surrounded her rural estate. Laura was inside, scared, together with her stepmother and her brothers, hoping that everything would pass quickly. The soldiers arrested and carried away several people who were freed some time later. Laura spent two months without any word of her father; confined inside the gates of Despeñaderos, two months passed before she could abandon the countryside.

Very early in the morning, Jose Lanata returned to the downtown. He was riding in a mini-bus. The bus was stopped and seized but he continued, lightly distracted, thinking about the previous day's work, listening as the people by his side remarked: "Listen, there's a coup!". He was fifteen, looked out the window, at the Avenida de Mayo y Maipú, where everything seemed tranquil and from the people's surprised comments he casually found out that the dictatorship had begun. He was a journalist for Radio Nacional, assigned to the House of Government. From then on, his job consisted simply of carefully reading the cables for his sources and ending his broadcasts stating in a masked flattering voice: "Jorge Lanata reporting from the House of Government."

Guillermo Kuitca had risen very early, as always. He was in the third year of his bachelor's degree and had to go to school early and arrive before 7:45AM. For some forgotten reason, that morning he didn't meet his parents and, like always, didn't

listen to the radio. The college porter stopped him at the entrance gate and said kindly: "No, son, today classes are cancelled. There's been a coup."

Miguel Rep was walking through Boedo Street. He was on his way to the bakery with his mother. A neighbor told them that the coup had arrived. Rep and his mom listened to the news with sadness, but, just the same, they entered the shop to buy their daily bread.

Diego Maradona was still living in Villa Fiorito and was a few months away from joining Argentinos Juniors. That day not a single practice had been scheduled; and so, he didn't train. He slept until 11:00AM, listened to the news on the radio, some unpleasant music disturbed his morning, but nothing affected his routine.

Alejandro Agresti was in his third year of secondary school. After getting out of bed, his dad, with the radio playing, told him that something terrible had happened. "Son, the military men have returned."

Pedro Aznar listened to the little march on the T.V. and at once knew that something awful was moving in. When he stepped out into the street, there was less light than usual, or at least, that's how it seemed to him. There were police cars. He felt fear and the sensation of a frigid wind enveloping him from all directions. The sky was purple, darkened like destiny.

Martín Caparrós was in London, working as a waiter in a pub. While he was serving a customer, he glanced at the newspaper. The headline read: "Coup d' Etat in Argentina."

Juana Molina was about to catch a mini-bus with her sister, Inés, on their way to secondary school. A woman stopped them in the street and advised them to go home, the government has fallen. Juana woke up her mother. This caused a stir in the family. From this reaction, she sensed that something dangerous was starting to happen.

Rodrigo Fresán already lived in Caracas, Venezuela. A debatably rash act by his mother, who fought and studied at the University, rushed his family into premature exile. On March 24<sup>th</sup>, like any other day, he turned on the T.V., where he learned of the coup. He saw it as series of adventures, like another episode of "Mission Impossible", but this time the cassette tape didn't

self-destruct in thirty seconds, it lingered on with a frightening script for seven more years.

That morning marked with fluorescent adhesive tape the remainder of our path. If that morning had not happened, these events would, probably, not have taken place.

Juan Forn, on his trip through Europe, would have lived differently during his stay in Sitges, a



*Navajo Girl Playing Guitar (Tohatchi, New Mexico) (Photo: Syssha Irot)*

resort town in Catalonia. There he would not have encountered a group of exiles, all older than him, who explained what had really happened in the country that he had just abandoned. He would not have met human rights activists and would not himself have been a radical responsible for those cases. Probably neither would he have gone down to Las Ramblas of Barcelona to sing the re-vindicating songs of Daniel Viglietti and Silvio Rodríguez with a voice of questionable quality, because none of this would have been necessary.

If Guillermo Kuitca had only used his huge studio in Once for painting, he wouldn't have loaned it out for secret meetings of the PST (Socialist Workers Party) or for the FJC (Communist Youth Federation). He wouldn't have taken the risk that the two opposition yet antagonistic parties could accuse him of being the enemy or could close his studio for outlawed practices.

The guerillas would not have accused Martín Caparrós in Paris of selling his passport for a wad of bills, when, in reality, he stupidly lost it. Neither would they have expelled him from the movement—even though he had already distanced



himself in Buenos Aires—for that supposedly serious folly. And so he would not have had to cross the Franco-Spanish border after a long and futile trip; he would not have had to submit to the suspect judgment of a truck that picked him up and took him across without papers, and helped him enter France sheltered in the confidence of the routine of this crossing. Martín Caparrós, probably, would not have stayed so many years in Europe, first from exile, and later from habit. Probably not.



*Navajo Canyon (Tohatchi, New Mexico) (Photo: Sysha Irot)*

María Nova would have read other news in *The Buenos Aires Herald*. She would not have read the bilingual editorials every Friday from which she learned of the gathering of the mothers of the disappeared in the Plaza de Mayo. That story would not have existed because it would not have had a basis in reality to write about. She would not have joined any leftist party nor would she have deferred her career in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

Juana Molina would not have lived in Paris because her stepfather, Pino Solanas, would not have had to go into exile. Jorge Lanata would not have had to leave journalism to avoid being forced into hiding. Rodrigo Fresán and Alejandro Rozitchner would not have had to live in Caracas. Diego Maradona would not have had to play for the little Japanese league, forced to mix the excitement of his goals with the long lines in the Avenida de Mayo of people denouncing abuses at the office of the O.A.S., before the arrival of the International Human Rights Commission. Marcelo Moura would not have had to agonize over the disappearance of

his older brother Jorge, nor would he have had to suffer the humiliating journey to learn of his resting place. Alejandra Flechner would not have had to go on with her heart in her mouth, living with the possibility that they would arrest her parents or the parents of some of her friends. Rozitchner and Fresán would not have known the displacement of growing up in the Caribbean, between the violence of Caracas and the thoughtlessness of Margarita Island.

The fluorescent tape of our path would have marked another course. We will never know which, nor how.

But surely it would have been able to prevent this part of the story:

A truck, ordinary and somewhat dirty, stopped silently on a busy street of a Buenos Aires neighborhood. "Nourishing substances" said the inscription brazenly written across one side. Those who got out of the truck, men who didn't look like relief workers, began striking a seventeen year old girl—pregnant, frail, terrified. She was Alicia Elena Alfonsín de Cabandia. The truck engulfed her life and that of her baby, born in captivity. It was Spring 1977. The sun showed signs of warming up, but hardly anyone noticed.

Claudio Román Méndez was sixteen on that July dawn in 1976, when he was taken in the city of Córdoba. A month later, his name appeared in a local paper: "Dead in a confrontation", said the headline that cited a military source. Upon identifying the body, Claudio's parents discovered there wasn't a single part of their son's body not covered with lacerations, revealing that he had been brutally tortured before his death. Today he would have been thirty something. Just like all the boys and girls who disappeared from La Plata on the night of September 16, 1976, in what was called "Noche de los lápices" ["Night of the pencils"]. They are: Horacio Ungaro, Daniel Rasero, Francisco Muntaner, María Claudia Falcone, Víctor Triviño, Claudio de Acha y María Claudia Ciccioni. Another two-hundred and fifty children between the ages of thirteen and eighteen were taken from their homes, from on the streets, and from doors of their schools. Afterwards they were assassinated. They are the ones who will never be thirty.

If that one little morning had not happened, who knows what history we would be telling today. «

## Dos Respuestas a "The Hispanic Challenge"

*El profesor de relaciones internacionales de Harvard, Samuel Huntington, recientemente publicó un artículo controvertido sobre la relación entre los valores tradicionales de los Estados Unidos y el efecto sobre estos valores de nuevas olas de inmigración, particularmente de América Latina. De ahí que presentemos dos respuestas a ese artículo.*

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### Un estado unido por el racismo

Por Stephanie Molina

¿Cómo puede ser que un país como los Estados Unidos, que continúa en sus esfuerzos de la globalización, pueda negar y tratar de parar el resultado natural de su propia colonización, la inmigración?

Recientemente, un profesor de la Universidad de Harvard, Samuel Huntington, doctor de ciencias políticas, ha escrito un artículo esencialmente condenando la inmigración a los EE.UU. Mientras que nadie negaría que la

inmigración forma el fundamento de este país, Huntington nos dice claramente de los grupos que él cree no debieran entrar a los EE.UU.

Huntington está de acuerdo con la inmigración principal que hicieron los blancos anglosajones protestantes que hasta hoy día dominan el país. Los católicos europeos le molestan también, pero no tanto como los inmigrantes de Sudamérica, Asia, y el Medio Oriente. Estos grupos étnicos amenazan sus ideales y la seguridad de su país, un país que tiene formulado en su mente con creencias racistas, un país que solamente debe hablar una sola lengua y ser competlamente homogénea. Huntington habla de "culturas", no razas, pero su concepto de cultura no permite ni flexibilidad ni evolución, y de esa manera funciona como los racismos del pasado. Su visión es una visión falsa, puesto que los latinos son el grupo minoritario más grande en el país y

constituyen una parte esencial de los EE.UU., la clase trabajadora. Este país fue construido y sigue creciendo a las manos de los inmigrantes, específicamente los mexicanos que han llegado a este país. Parar la inmigración pararía el crecimiento del país económicamente.

Huntington se opone a una América oficialmente multilingüe: para él no debe haber más de una lengua oficial del país. El va contra el ideal de muchos seres inteligentes, puesto que en varias instituciones de la educación se valoriza mucho saber más de una lengua. Esto demuestra que él

quiere que los Estados Unidos sean unos estados unidos por una misma cultura, lengua y creencias homogéneas, creencias dictadas más bien por él. Más que democracia, este tipo de organización refleja un gobierno

fascista, y haría necesaria la expulsión de una gran parte de la población, la cual nos hace recordar un tiempo en la historia muy grave, el dominio de Hitler sobre los judíos, homosexuales, y gitanos de Alemania. En ese respecto son muy similares.

Huntington es un ejemplo de un estado en que están muchos de nuestro país, sin duda incluso nuestro presidente. Con la situación global que han creado, están demasidamente miedosos del futuro que les espera, un mundo donde ellos son la minoría dominada por los conquistados. El miedo crea acciones irracionales y espero que las palabras irracionales de Huntington no se vayan a convertir en acción. Su "Estado Unido" es una fantasía, pero una fantasía peligrosa.«

***Huntington se opone a una América oficialmente multilingüe: para él no debe haber más de una lengua oficial del país.***

# Ni las gracias merecemos

Por Lorena Lucero

“Los hispanos son los gusanos que consumen la riqueza del país.” No, señores, los hispanos son los que crearon el país. El anglosajón ha perdido la memoria, y se le ha olvidado que el “problema hispano” o el “problema mexicano” que presenta Samuel Huntington, en su ensayo “The Hispanic Challenge”, fue construido por los mismos anglosajones. Los mexicanos no cruzaron la frontera, la frontera los cruzó a ellos. México en el pasado fue robado, de sus tierras, sus riquezas, su vida, y ahora en 2004, se le roba su cultura. Los mexicanos son juzgados por ser humildes y trabajadores, así que ni las gracias se les da por tantos años de trabajo y sufrimiento. Ni el perdón se les pide por la explotación y las torturas que han tenido que vivir en los Estados Unidos.

¿Quién se cree el anglosajón, y qué le da el derecho a decir que el católico, el de habla hispana, sea menos que el blanco? El anglosajón ha matado, ha extinguido a millones de personas. Sin embargo, se cree mejor que el hispano y cree que tiene el derecho a decir que el problema del país es la misma persona que contribuyó a construirlo. El mexicano en la historia ha contribuido a la prosperidad del país, como ocurrió durante la primera y segunda guerra mundial, y como ésta fue implementada por el “Bracero Program”, que le abrió la puerta a millones de mexicanos para cultivar las tierras. Sin la presencia mexicana, los Estados Unidos no se hubiera cultivado la tierra o hubiera podido seguir prosperando. El bracero mexicano fue quien sostuvo a América durante la

segunda guerra mundial. ¿Por qué se olvida el anglosajón lo mucho que le debe al mexicano?

Sin ir tan lejos, ahora en el 2004, aunque el hispano es solamente 12% de la población legal y documentado de los Estados Unidos, representan un 20% de los soldados fallecidos en Iraq. Qué ironía: hasta un ciego puede ver que los hispanos son el grupo más sacrificado en la guerra contra el terrorismo. El gobierno le ha prometido al hispano

su ciudadanía y la ha ofrecido la oportunidad de una mejor vida, si se alista en las filas militares. Los hispanos están muriendo para un país que ni siquiera es suyo, muriendo por personas como Huntington que los identifica como un “problema” en vez de agradecer lo mucho que han contribuido al bienestar del país. Me gustaría preguntarles a Huntington y a otros que



Samuel P. Huntington (Photo courtesy of Colorado College)

***¿Quién se cree el anglosajón, y qué le da el derecho a decir que el católico, el de habla hispana, sea menos que el blanco?***

piensan como él, ¿quién construyó sus casa, quién las limpia, quién arregla su jardín, quién es responsable de convertir a Nueva York en la capital del mundo —el anglosajón? Por supuesto que no —es el inmigrante. El anglosajón necesita del

hispano, y a cualquier otro grupo que inmigra a los Estados Unidos. Para crear un gran país se necesitan personas que trabajen para construirlo. Aunque no quiera admitirlo, el anglosajón necesita al hispano, para seguir siendo “el mejor país y el más poderoso.” El hispano es, y seguirá siendo, uno de los grupos que más ha contribuido al desarrollo y progreso de este país. «



## Augusto Monterroso (1921-2003)

### El eclipse

by Augusto Monterroso

**W**hen Brother Bartolomé Arrazola felt completely lost, he accepted that nothing would be able to save him. The powerful jungle of Guatemala had seized him, relentless and definitive. Accepting his geographic ignorance, he tranquilly sat down to wait for death. He wanted to die there, without a single hope, isolated, with his mind fixed on distant Spain, particularly in the convent of the Abrojos, where Charles V once lowered his Eminence to tell him that he trusted in the religious zeal of his labor of salvation.

Upon waking up, he found himself surrounded by a group of natives with indifferent expressions on their faces as they prepared to sacrifice him on an altar—an altar that to Bartolomé seemed like a bed in which he would rest, at last, from his fears, his destiny, and himself.

Three years in the country had given him a mediocre command of the native languages. He attempted something, saying a few words that were understood.

Then an idea grew in him, overwhelming him through the worth of his talent, his universal culture, and his arduous knowledge of Aristotle. He remembered that a total solar eclipse was expected for that day. And was disposed, in his inner self, to make use of that knowledge to deceive his oppressors and save his life. "If you kill me," he told them, "I have the ability to darken the sun at its peak." The natives looked at him intensely and Bartolomé was startled at the disbelief in their eyes. When he realized that they were conferring among themselves, he waited confidently, and not without a certain scorn.

Two hours later the heart of Brother Bartolomé Arrazola vigorously gushed blood over the sacrifice rock (brilliant beneath the opaque light of an eclipsed sun), while one of the natives recited without any inflection in his voice, calmly, one by one, the numerous dates that produce solar and lunar eclipses, that the Mayan astronomers had predicted and recorded in their codices without the valuable help of Aristotle. «

*Translation by Marian Schlotterbeck*

## Los cachorros de Mario Vargas Llosa

# La virilidad peruana

Por Michael Beharie y Fernando Gattorno

Mario Vargas Llosa es uno de los literatos latinoamericanos más aclamados y destacados del siglo veinte. Sus obras han sido leídas en todos los hemisferios del mundo y han sido traducidas a varias decenas de lenguajes a través de los años. La primera obra de este autor peruano es *Los Cachorros*, escrita en el año 1967. En la novela el lector es testigo de varias ocurrencias que afectan las vidas de los personajes y cómo estos personajes interactúan con la sociedad que los rodea. Estos personajes son pasados por un proceso denigrante y deshumanizador por la misma sociedad a la cual ellos pertenecen o en algún momento pertenecieron.

### La conformidad

La acción de *Los cachorros* se desenvuelve

alrededor de un grupo de amigos y las diferentes etapas de la vida que ellos recorren desde la escuela primaria: "La Champagnat". La primera etapa de esta novela toma lugar en esta misma escuela en la ciudad de Miraflores. La novela empieza con la llegada de Cuéllar, el personaje central de la novela. Al momento que Cuéllar llega a esta institución de aprendizaje ya inmediatamente debe cambiar para poder ocupar un lugar adecuado entre sus amistades y la sociedad escolar.

La escritora Guadalupe Fernández Arisa explica cómo al momento de llegar al colegio, Cuéllar "debe posponer su afán de conocer, sus inquietudes intelectuales y aficionarse al deporte. Mejor dotado que el resto de sus compañeros, vivirá intentando romper los límites establecidos por la estrecha mentalidad social" (26). En esta cita, la escritora describe uno de los problemas centrales de la novela: la influencia de la sociedad sobre los personajes. Al momento de su llegada al colegio, Cuéllar se convierte en parte de este grupo de amigos que requieren de él dejar sus estudios para poder dedicarse a lo que viene primero en la sociedad juvenil: los deportes. Cuéllar se puede adaptar a este requisito y se acopla perfectamente

a esta situación social. Pero como muchas cosas en la vida, esto no duraría mucho.

### La castración

La razón por la cual la estadía efectiva de Cuéllar en este medio social no sería duradera recae sobre el evento sucedido entre Cuéllar y el perro mascota de la escuela: Judas. Una tarde después de práctica de fútbol, Cuéllar se está bañando en las duchas y es atacado por el perro Judas, que se escapó de su jaula. Unos momentos después de que se escuchan los gritos de ayuda y dolor de Cuéllar los hermanos del colegio lo encuentran en un charco de su propia sangre. El perro había castrado al joven. En esta parte de la historia es que el lector puede notar el

cambio efectivo del personaje de Cuéllar y la manera en la cual la sociedad de la cual él y sus amistades pertenecían tan efectivamente cambia en torno a él.

Lo que sucede luego del accidente es símbolo de lo que sería el resto de la

***Cuéllar no puede participar de los amoríos juveniles, los cuales toman lugar entre varias muchachas y su grupo de amistades, por causa de la falta de virilidad debido al accidente de juventud.***

vida de Cuéllar: enfrentar una gran hipocresía social. Los hermanos del colegio le siguen dando buenas notas a Cuéllar aunque él ya no se las merece. Los padres de Cuéllar le dan todo lo que él quiere sin que él tenga que pedirlo dos veces. Nunca se vuelve a mencionar ante a Cuéllar alrededor de una semana después de ocurrido el accidente que dejó a Cuéllar en su actual estado. El muchacho continúa viviendo su vida como si nada hubiese pasado aunque había sido robado de aquella cosa que su sociedad más valoriza: la virilidad. Mientras Cuéllar disimula su cambio, sus amigos no tienen problema alguno con la sociedad que está destinada a exilar a Cuéllar. Ellos están, de acuerdo a Fernández Arisa, "perfectamente adaptados al medio social y van atravesando las distintas etapas evolutivas sin problemás: el colegio, las chicas, la universidad, la profesión, el matrimonio. No hay ninguna quiebra entre los personajes y el mundo exterior" (31), excepto el personaje de Cuéllar.

### Los apodos

En cuanto al personaje de Cuéllar y su relación con el grupo se puede ver un distanciamiento eventual al momento en que el grupo se empieza a fijar en

el sexo opuesto. Aquí es donde se puede ver el fallo primordial de Cuéllar que no lo permite ser una parte de la sociedad en la cual vive. Cuéllar no puede participar de los amoríos juveniles, los cuales toman lugar entre varias muchachas y su grupo de amistades, por causa de la falta de virilidad debido al accidente de

juventud. Para estos tiempos en la novela se puede ver el desarrollo del apodo único de Cuéllar en el grupo: "Pichulita". Milagros Ezquerro nota en cuanto a este apodo como "el apodo es la marca de fuego infligida a los animales, un dominio del grupo sobre el individuo, una manera de reducir al individuo, de someterlo a la ley colectiva simplificando la complejidad individual, a través de la valoración de una particularidad única, considerada suficiente para definirlo. Este acto de despotismo colectivo tiene dos aspectos: por un lado, rebaja, estigmatiza, disminuye; por otra parte, confiere un signo de reconocimiento dentro de un grupo dado: de una cierta manera, el apodo integra la individuo" (31). Aquí Ezquerro explica cómo el grupo de Cuéllar trata de

integrarlo a ellos al ver que Cuéllar se está quedando atrasado socialmente y no puede mantenerse en la misma evolución que ellos.

La razón por la cual Cuéllar queda distanciado de sus amigos al llegar a la adolescencia recae sobre su obvia falta de virilidad y el rumbo que están cogiendo sus amistades hacia las chicas. Fernández Arisa vuelve a explicar la razón de Cuéllar por sentirse inadecuado ya que sus "compañeros le llevan hacia un camino que le perturba, ya que le incitan a entrar al mundo del erotismo, que está

vedado para él, le imbuyen una moral hipócrita para salvar las apariencias y seguir el juego convencional de las relaciones amorosas. Cuéllar es empujado en esta forma a conocer su condición de marginado, adoptando una actitud de ataque contra los mismos que le hacen tener conciencia de

su situación" (32). En esta etapa del libro se puede ver la caída lenta pero segura de Cuéllar dentro de la sociedad mirafloresina. Sus amigos y las novias de ellos se preguntan por qué el no tendrá novia aunque muchos de ellos saben la contestación.

### El renegado

Cuéllar se convierte en el renegado del grupo, el que está dispuesto a hacer lo que sea cuando sea, sin miedo a las represalias. De esta manera es que Cuéllar se puede acoplar a su situación dentro de la sociedad. Se convierte en un muchacho peligroso que le encantan las carreras de auto por las carreteras del pueblo y el campo, y le gusta correr olas en la playa durante tormentas y en la Semana Santa. Todo esto cambia al conocer a Teresita. La apariencia de este personaje en la novela prueba a ser una forma de paréntesis para Cuéllar, ya que él deja sus maneras de

antes y empieza a actuar como los otros muchachos del grupo para así poder "caerle" a Teresita. Este momento en la vida de Cuéllar es poco vivido por dos razones que estaban destinadas a ocurrir: la primera siendo la llegada de Cachito Arnilla a la sociedad; y la segunda siendo la obvia falta de virilidad de parte de Cuéllar. Cuéllar titubea al pedirle a Teresita que sean novios. Al llegar luego Cachito Arnilla a la sociedad mirafloresina se ve como él consigue el noviazgo de Teresita ya que tiene lo que Cuéllar nunca podría recuperar.



Mario Vargas Llosa

(Photo courtesy of the German Academic Exchange Service, [www.daad.de](http://www.daad.de))

### La hombría fracasada

Este fracaso rotundo al tratar de tener una relación con Teresita sirve como la paja que le rompió la espalda al camello. Cuéllar vuelve a ser el muchacho de antes: peligroso, borrachón, atrevido, y últimamente, un marginado de la sociedad. Para el final de la novela se puede ver como los otros muchachos del grupo han ido pasando por las diferentes etapas de la vida: estudian, trabajan, se casan, y tienen hijos. Cuéllar no puede seguir este camino esperado para él por la sociedad en la cual nació y fue criado. Al fin del cuento el proceso de expulsión de Cuéllar por la sociedad se completa. Ya no es parte de la sociedad mirafloresina a la que sus amigos pertenecen tan cómodamente. Cuéllar es un exilado social, forzado a vivir esa etapa de juventud, la única etapa en que en realidad perteneció a la sociedad, por siempre. Hasta su muerte lo único que podía hacer era correr carros, ir a la playa, y pasar el tiempo festejando con muchachos mitad su edad. La razón de esto recae no sólo en sus obvios defectos, sino en la sociedad en la cual se crió, una sociedad basada en apariencias y en poder ser un macho.

Esta sociedad le hizo claro a Cuéllar que él tenía que vivir en hipocresía por el resto de su vida o iba a ser expulsado de la sociedad por aquellas personas que habían sido sus amistades. Básicamente, al Cuéllar perder sus órganos sexuales, su virilidad, su "hombría", perdió toda oportunidad de vivir en una sociedad que valora más las apariencias y que enseña a sus hijos a hacer lo mismo. «

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### Salvadorean immigrants

*continued from p. 7*

will evade the legal consequences of employing undocumented immigrants.

Liberal Latino groups that have strong labor rights concerns see the temporary work pass as a new brand of indentured labor. The National Council of *La Raza* writes, "Immigrants would be asked to sign up for what is likely to be second-class status. In the American workforce...workers would be vulnerable during their temporary status, and even more vulnerable when it expires, which would also have a negative impact on wages and working conditions for their U.S.-born co-workers."

The community is asking for more than a finite number of paychecks; they want to build lives and homes and some want to start businesses. It is

ironic that an administration praising the Latino community for its ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit is proposing legislation that will stifle any long-term contributions that immigrants have been shown to realize. Take for example the Salvadorean restaurant *El Tamarindo* that raised \$5,000 to buy school supplies for Salvadorean children. Or look at the many activist groups like the United Salvadorean Communities of the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. Enduring economic contributions and socio-political activism cannot be contracted out in guest visas.

After the terror of a civil war in which the U.S. has blood on its hands, the only action our administration can take for El Salvador is creating neo-liberalistic trade agreements and facilitating firms to pick and choose who gets to smell our apple pie as we eat it. «

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### **El sueño del caimán**

por José Santos Chocano

Enorme tronco que arrastró la ola,  
yace el caimán varado en la ribera:  
espinazo de abrupta cordillera,  
fauces de abismo y formidable cola.

El Sol lo envuelve en fúlgida aureola;  
y parece lucir cota y cimera,  
cual monstruo de metal que reverbera  
y que al reverberar se tornasola.

Inmóvil como un ídolo sagrado,  
ceñido en mallas de compacto acero,  
está ante el agua extático y sombrío,

a manera de un príncipe encantado  
que vive eternamente prisionero  
en el palacio de cristal de un río...

### **The Cayman's Dream**

*Translated By Marian Schlotterbeck*

The enormous body of the cayman, grazed  
the wave, lies on the shore stranded:  
vertebrae like pointed mountains raised,  
with immense jaws and a tail guarded.

The Sun bathes him in a brilliant halo blazed.  
and displays his armor and helmet crested,  
which monster of metal that glitters glazed  
and that upon glittering, glistens nested.

Motionless as a sacred idol, fashioned  
in chain mail of impenetrable steel,  
still and somber, facing the water teal,

As an enchanted prince likened,  
who lives eternally a prisoner  
in the crystal palace of a river...



*Navajo Children (Tohatchi, New Mexico) (Photo: Sysha Irot)*