Panteón Rococó: Mexican Ska and Collective Memory[1]

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This work analyzes the musical practices of the Mexican Ska group *Panteón Rococó*, as a form of local global expression of youth culture. Particularly, it presents a discursive analysis of the group's songs and concerts. The interviews with different members of the group give us a panorama of the meaning of their musical style and political practices. This work shows that, in spite of the repression and exclusion that they have been subjected to, for the youths of the hard-working classes, rock music has been a space of youth expression, esthetic creation, and intercultural communication. Ska is not only a cultural commodity and a means of cultural homogenization. On the contrary, as it is shown in this work, Ska music and lyrics had been a space of intercultural communication, political participation, and youth organization. In contemporary México, Ska has been a space for youth style and resistance.

Ska arrived in Mexico in the 1980s with the group *Maldita Vecindad y Los Hijos del Quinto Patio* [Damned Neighborhood and the Sons of the Fifth Yard]. Born, as they say, "from the rubble" of Mexico City's earthquake, they have performed urban chronicle from 1985 using Ska rhythm, inscribing their music in two different traditions: the Mexican *corridor* and the Jamaican Ska, a musical style very popular in the fifties and sixties, "grown out of […] mento, the drum music particularly associated with country based Rastafarian religious groups, and the American R&B sounds which were available in Jamaica from Radio station based in the Southern states of USA" (Longhurst, 1995, p. 14). According to Rocco—*Maldita Vecindad*'s vocalist—Ska has developed its cultural identity in three stages:

> The Ska was born in Jamaica… Then this mixed (*mestiza*) music spreads out all over the world, first with Jamaican migration to England, with the people who went to work there. In England it starts the Ska's second wave, a conjunction of the punk movement there with the "*Skaer"* Jamaican band; then we have the "Two Tone" movement with groups as *The Specials* and *Madness* who put together Jamaican black members with punk white British ones. They played Ska with punk attitude, and the message was entirely anti-racialist, for peace, tolerance, freedom… I would say that the Ska's third wave took place in Latin America, even before than in the United States or other places. From the eve of 1980s with *Maldita Vecindad y Los Hijos del Quinto Patio* in Mexico, after that *Los Fabulosos Cádillacs* [The Fabulous Cadillacs] in Argentina and also *Desorden Público* [Public Disturbance] in Venezuela . . . . (Soco, 2003, p. 1)

With the Zapatista National Freedom Army's (EZLN) uprising on January 1, 1994, Ska has had a new impulse in Mexico. As an active member of civil society, *Maldita Vecindad* encouraged the formation of the organization "Peace, Dance and Resistance" in order to support *zapatista*'s goals, organizing concerts and transforming their music into a political practice. Among the Mexican Ska bands which were participating in that collective

organization, we can mention *Sekta Core*, *Nana Pancha*, *Salón Victoria* [*Victoria's Saloon*], *Los de Abajo* [*The Underdogs*], *Royal Club*, and more specially, *Panteón Rococó*, constituted with that name in 1995.

In this paper I will analyze political aspects in the musical practices of the Ska Mexican group *Panteón Rococó*. In order to demonstrate that the cultural practices of the group are the result of globalization and intercultural communication, first I will tackle the cultural meaning that *Panteón Rococó* assigns to their name and their inscription on both the local Mexican collective memory and the global youth culture. As Longhurst (1995) points out, "More attention should be paid to the production (and consumption) of music in specific local contexts, as part of a consideration of the interaction of the global and the local" (p. 53). That is because the production of music involves complex negotiations and struggles around the placing together of different cultural elements. In the second part I will focus on the links between memory and politics, articulating three dimensions of the group's musical practices: (1) the five CDs edited up to now, symbolizing the different stages of the group's musical trajectory; departing from the influence of world music Ska, they go back and forth to their local community and from the *zapatist* struggle to the antiracist global movement; (2) in the content and the form of their songs, they mixed up their own Mexican culture with the world youth culture and style; and (3) the performative dimension of their concerts as a kind of political participation, an attempt to join the struggle of hardworking people all over the world in order "to articulate a coherent sense of identity in resistance to the destabilizing imperative of neocolonial social, economic, and political forces" (Cooper, 2004, p. 2).

Panteó Rococó came up precisely in the context of the rallies and demonstrations supporting the EZLN, and in a sense, it can be stated that the group exists thanks to the zapatista's movement. In fact, they echoed the zapatista's thinking in their slogan "Autonomy, Freedom, and Self-Management" and according to Dr. Skenka—the group's vocalist—"this movement [EZLN] gave us freedom to act, possibilities to express ourselves and to perform . . . ." (Salgado-Ramírez, 2006, p. 5). With an explicit and consistent political position, the group started playing mainly at events organized by trade unions, as well as at students' demonstrations. Later on they acquired renown and started to perform at commercial concerts nationally and internationally.[2] They have produced a demo and five CDs with commercial distribution.

Panteón Rococó: Signifying a Name

Putting a name to a group seals the beginning of its trajectory, the projection to the future, its cultural identity, and its possibilities. What we have here is the inner paradox of a naming act. First, this is a sign of power and authority through which a person or a group is constituted as a subject. In a name we recognize the singularity and its right for autonomy. However, at the same time the name limits, restricts, and circumscribes a specific normative system. Beyond the group's reasons to select that name, the chosen words are bearers of meanings that exceed its intentions, dragging with them some elements of their original contexts. In the two words *Panteón Rococó*, different levels of collective memory are settled (Connerton, 1989; Halbwachs, 2004).

The word *panteón* ("graveyard") describes a monument destined to bury several persons. The popular use in México extends that meaning to also signify the cemetery. This word has

not only a denoted but a connoted meaning. *Panteón* also signifies darkness. The word *rococó* designs an architectural style characterized by profuse ornamentation with garlands and volutes. It shares with the baroque the predilection for the overdone. The overflowing fantasy and bright colors contrast with the pessimism and obscurity that also characterize it.[3] As an adjective, the word *rococó* means that which is excessively decorated, twisted, ridiculous, antique, and old fashioned.

Together, the two words *Panteón Rococó* are a fixed syntagm; but at the same time they are the noun chosen by the group, and also the noun for a singular graveyard: the specific (and imaginary) space in which the drama play *The Lonely Crocodile of Panteón Rococó*[4], by the Mexican playwright Hugo Argüelles (1995), takes place. In the plot, the *Panteón Rococó* was the property of an aristocrat, who exploited the Tultepec people by extracting "all the wealth" from them. According to Quirino, the town's poet:

> That rogue was an idle in his ranch
> planning an extremely-exquisite *panteón*
> (expecting to make a legend of it).
> But by mixing the baroque and the gothic
> the horrendous thing ended up being *rococó*.
> And even unpleased with the style profanation
> he puts a crocodile as a guardian to it." (Argüelles, 1995, p. 242) [5]

The *panteón* is not only a physical place but also a bearer of highly symbolic contents in the play. According to Quirino, a luxurious tomb represents an "illusion" to the poor, something that is impossible to get in life:

> And the haughty chapel, as a secret dream
> will show you straightforwardly my victory. (Argüelles, 1995, p. 247)[6]

Thanks to Quirino's reflections around the human need for transcendence beyond death, and facing the lack of clients because of the competition represented by another town's *panteón*, Librado, the man in charge of the *Panteón Rococó,* devised a plan: he would sell the aristocratic tombs under his custody to the people of the town. The play ends when the people uncover the trick and decide to lynch the responsible party as an act of justice, catharsis, and liberation. Libardo's tragicomically and grotesque fate—originating from corruption, subjection, and failure, as well as his relationship with the inhabitants of the town—is a parody and a metaphor of the Mexican people and their rulers' destiny.

By choosing *Panteón Rococó* as a name, beyond its explicit intention, the group inscribes themselves in a tragicomic tradition of gothic resonances, dark humor, and in some way they assumed Argüelles' critique to Mexican society. The name conjoins the ridiculous and the sinister, the festive and the dark character of death in Mexican culture. This tradition is best seen at the Day of the Dead celebrations, in the artist José Guadalupe Posada's skull pictures, and in Mexican country style songs in which life is worthless. But the name of the group also plays ironically with the meaning of those symbols within punk and dark youth global subculture and style.

Through the act of self-naming, the group chooses a place from which they are projecting the lyrics. The name is one of the group's figurative elements, as well as the signs inscribed in their gestures and their clothes, and in all of the visual signs through which they configure a complex process of communication; these are different from the linguistic exchange they keep with their songs, but are of equal importance. On the one hand this name is related to Mexican culture of the dead and at the same time a particular appropriation of punk and dark youth global subculture. The paradoxical character of the name is expressed in their musical practices, songs whose lyrics are mainly critical and pessimistic, but without giving up the festive and dance-like mood of Ska, as we will see in the next section.

Who is Panteón Rococó?

The group has nine members[7] who have been playing music together for more than 13 years. Most of them met as high school students and some are relatives. All of them participated to a lesser or greater extent at the performances-meetings organized by *Maldita Vecindad* and by other rock bands at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

> Really we're nine different persons . . . only two gave up the road . . . . If it wasn't for Panteón we wouldn't be neither so good friends nor so *cuates*[8] because we're very different . . . . The founders are four . . . . During the following eight months all of us added to the group . . . . From the first recorded demo we're the same nine members . . . only the percussionist [Tanis] came after the first demo . . . we started to play Ska with a Latin rhythm. (Missael, saxophonist, personal communication, March, 2006)

> The keyboard player, Felipe, and Iram, the drum player . . . they were at the high school number 9 of UNAM . . . I am the drum player's cousin . . . . Then they met with their friends . . . shaping the band . . . and I used to go to see them . . . when I realized that they needed a bass player, then I thought myself, 'I'll make up my mind,' 'I'll play with them . . . .' Leonel, the guitarist, also used to play with them at the high school . . . and Leonel's cousin is the singer… Luis [Dr. Skenka]. He used to go and listen to them, as me. At some moment he liked them . . . first, he started to play guitar because we had another vocalist; when that one left, Luis took the voice . . . Gorri, the other guitar player, he also was at high school but he was younger . . . he had his own band and he joined us later. (Darío, bass player, personal communication, March, 2006)

The band's members define themselves as *zurdos* (leftists), Skaers, and Mexican with a local, national, and international assumption. These are different sides of what they characterize as a mixed (*mestiza*) and antiracist, marginal position. Or, as they summarize: "underground." The band alludes to a symbolic relation with the indigenous past searching for its origins, its roots, and as cosmopolitan citizens, they establish a genealogical connection with all the peoples who are looking for their roots. Thus, they project a certain mythic origin, giving sense to their group's identity and to their political action.

A "Mestizo" *and Anti-Racist Ska Group*

The band's musical style, even when they inscribe themselves into the movement created by the Ska as a worldwide-music, is a mixture not only of youth globalized styles—rock, dark, reggae, and hip-hop—it is also mixed with local Mexican and Afro-Caribbean rhythms as *cumbia*, *merengue*, *son* and *corrido*. As a rock band, they play international instruments as well as Mexican indigenous ones used in the past and in the present. The logo of the band and the stage decorations include body and head skulls, ambiguous symbols linked to the Mexican Day of the Dead tradition and attached to the global gothic style of "dark" and "punk" bands of the seventies (Urteaga, 1998). All this contrasts with the lively and gay rhythm of their music.

The *mestizaje* (mixture) is also salient in their clothes. Each one of them dresses distinctly: the vocalist as a hopper with wide trousers from hip to knees, with trainers and socks. The saxophonist wears a Galician cap or a felt hat, a tight-fitting black shirt, and striped trousers with suspenders, just as the "*pachuco"* style (Mexican-American style of the fifties)[9], like "Tin-Tan" (García Riera, 1986),[10] or the Jamaican "rude boys." The drum player and the guitarist look like members of a reggae group with their *rastas* (dreadlocks). The bass player for a while had discolored hair, as the purely punk style. These are only some examples of the nine members' clothing.

Ten Years of a Brightly Alive Panteón

Up to now they recorded a demo, "Toloache Pa' Mi Negra" ("A Potion to My Baby")[11] and five CDs. The first album was available from 1999 and it was called "A la Izquierda de la Tierra" ("On Left Side of Earth"), because according to themselves, "On the left side of earth there are the people who look for their origins. There are the people and the communities forgot" (González Jordán, 1999, p. 1). In 2002 they edited their second CD, "Compañeros Musicales" ("Musical Comrades"), as they were called by a *zapatista* community they had visited. With that community the band started a musical dialogue during a work stay in San Cristobal de las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico. In 2004 with the launching of their third CD, called "Tres Veces Tres" ("Three Times Three")—with which they celebrated the band's nine-year anniversary—they returned to the "navel" of the urban axe: Mexico City's *zócalo* (the historical central square). They had not performed there since 2001. In 2005 the fourth CD was launched, edited by Sony Music and BMG: "10 años. Un Panteón Muy Vivo" ("10 years. A Brightly Alive Panteón").[12]

Their fifth and more recent work, "Panteón Rococó" (2007), was dedicated:

> to the indigenous *zapatista* resistance: we walk for and with you; to the *Frente de Pueblos para la Defensa de la Tierra Atenco* [Peoples' Front to the Land Defense in Atenco], to the APPO Oaxaca, to *Mujeres sin Miedo* [Fearless Women], to *CCBJ Votan Ican* A.C.; to MAIZ; to the group *Ya Basta* [That's Enough] in Germany; to the Solidarity Platform with Oaxaca and Chiapas in Austria, Switzerland, and Denmark; to the group *Antifascist Action* in Europe.

It was also dedicated to "all the fans all over the world and to our audience in México. In spite of Imposition, Fraud, Calumnies, Confinement, Marginalization, Forgetting and Death, they never lose hope and have always the soul resisting in step with a song" ("Panteón Rococó," 2007).

Their Songs' Subjects

Panteón Rococó's musical repertoire includes three main topics: love songs, urban chronicle and denounce, and social and political criticism. In this repertoire love and disaffection are usual themes, but some others songs only aim to entertain. Narratives of everyday life in the city refer mainly to the marginalized sectors of the population: prostitutes, housewives, children, unemployed people, workers, and victims of capitalist exploitation and urban violence. Most of their lyrics, however, are a social and political criticism of American imperialism as well as of the Mexican government as an accomplice of it. The songs also condemn conformity and passivity among youth because these behaviors echo the prevailing oppressive system.

Rock Concerts and the Places of Memory

The *zócalo* is the main square in Mexico City, a political and religious centre where every year Mexicans celebrate the "Independence Day" on September 16th, so it is really a crucial place for meetings. It was also the destination of the most important workers' demonstrations organized by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 70 years. It has always been a symbol of the nation, rigorously controlled by the police and the federal army, and was a silent witness of popular repression. Expressing demands at the *zócalo*—sometimes assaulting it by force—means to be a part of its dense political plot. To the rock bands—excluded from public places and relegated to funky hovels as a corollary of students' repressions in 1968 and 1971—coming to light and taking the streets, public spaces, and particularly the *zócalo*, was also a big challenge.

Panteón Rococó performed for the first time at the *zócalo* on March 11, 2001, at the big concert celebrated with other bands, when "the landed-skinned demonstration"[13] arrived in Mexico City. Recognizing the place's political dimension, the band was involved in "recovering the *zócalo* to the Ska," at their ninth anniversary celebrations on June 12, 2004. That concert-political meeting was defined by Dr. Skenka as "the Antifascist Exercise 314" (Cruz Bárcenas, 2004, p. 5). In that anniversary *Panteón Rococó* celebrated (and is still celebrating) all the previous occasions in which the *zócalo* was taken by rock bands and leftist political groups. As they express in one of their songs:

> A guitar was listened in the distance,
> the *zócalo* will be full.
> The nostalgia for those days of glory
> will change our hearts . . .
> The *zócalo* is full
> and my people are there, all together.
> Today we'll celebrate.

We're tired of so many injustices
Today we'll finally rise up . . . .
(*Panteón Rococó*, "No Te Detengas" ("Don't Stop You"), 2005)

From Concert to Political-Meeting

Panteón Rococó stands out for their political participation in organized concerts to denounce injustice, repression, genocide, murders, corruption, all that has been causing millions of deaths[16], particularly affecting indigenous people whether they be black, women, children, or any one else who dare to protest. As one of their songs says:

Death is everything surrounding you
if you are dark-skinned
or if you dare to think . . . .
(*Panteón Rococó*, "Páralo" ("Stop It"), 2002)

Some of their songs, following a Mexican *corrido* style, narrate the deeds of collective or individual heroes who have fought for the liberation of oppressed peoples in Mexico and in a larger sense in Latin America. For example, "Corridos" with Ska rhythm as this one dedicated to "Sub-comandante Marcos":

Fly, fly little dove,
run and tell to the fakes
that the water is used up
because the *sub-comandante* is just arriving . . . .[15]
(*Panteón Rococó*, "Marcos Hall," 2003)

The song allows narrating history, remembering it and giving a particular sense, linking it with the long tradition of struggles in Mexico and Latin America. In this way it proposes a continuous historical line with other revolutionary leaders such as Genaro Vázquez (1931-1972),[16] Lucio Cabañas (1938-1974),[17] and Ernesto *Che* Guevara (1928-1967),[18] all of them icons of the guerilla wars in 1960s and 1970s in Mexico and the rest of Latin America:

He comes with the fist raised
as Genaro did,
as Cabaña did
and also *Che* Guevara . . . .
("Marcos' Hall")

The students' movement in 1968 in Mexico[19] and the students' protest tradition in general, are also historical events conjured up by *Panteón Rococó* to the memory of new generations, through their live recordings and concerts. In their ten years' commemorative DVD edition, they included a video-record of the song "Nada Pasó" ("Nothing Happened"), which remembers the October 2, 1968. As a prelude of the song, we can listen to the voice of

the former president Diaz Ordaz (1964-1970); a recording of his discourse pronounced after his presidential period and before his travel to Spain as the Mexican Ambassador:

> I don't agree with you in that there is one Mexico before Tlatelolco, and another México after it. For me, Mexico is Mexico before and after Tlatelolco. This is an incident… [After these words, shouts of people drown out the words on the tape-recording].
> Today goes to Spain a clean Mexican who doesn't have bloodied hands.
> But my greatest pride relating to these six years is 1968, when I was allowed to calm down and dress up the country . . . 20
> (*Panteón Rococó*, "Nada Pasó" ("Nothing Happened"), 2005)

Immediately the music starts and the song "Nada Pasó" says:

> With our ego risen up
> but our conscience down in dumps,
> thirty years later history seems to be memory;
> and everyone observes indifferent
> how our people is been murdered everywhere.
> ("Nada Pasó")

The group's volcalist Dr. Skenka questions the public singing:

> And you here, listening this song,
> tell me what are you doing to save the nation . . . .
> (*Panteón Rococó*, "Gente Reacción" ("People Reaction"), 2005)

Panteón Rococó's concerts combine discursive genres, rhetorical structures, and different ritual forms. They are a mix of rock concert, demonstration, and political meeting. Concerts have a performative role. Through them they carry out such political practices as denunciation, accusation, and demanding. *Panteón Rococó*'s concerts become forms of social protest:

> Hundreds of thousands of banners
> nourish the protest and decorate the city.
> Thousands of heads go in step with the throats
> shouting ecstatic, "Stop the slaughter!"
> ("Gente Reacción")

In some of their lyrics, in the announcements of their concerts, in the blankets and banners they use there, as well as in the master of ceremony's style to incite the people, we can see revolutionary slogans of the struggles in 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s in Mexico and Latin America: "Political Prisoners in Guadalajara: Freedom!," "Front Against Repression: Don't Shut Up!," "Fists Up People!," "Youth: Resist!," "Right to the Victory Forever!," "Till Forever Commander!" Concerts are also used to put in question the audiences' passiveness,

and to encourage them to awaken the conscience, to resist and to have commitment with peaceful political struggles. For example, in the concert celebrated at the *zócalo* on July 12, 2004, at step with the shouted slogan, "Peace, dance and freedom!" (Cruz Bárcena, 2004), *Panteón Rococó* asked more than forty thousand young people (15 to 25 year olds) to support the liberation of the anti-globalization protesters jailed in Guadalajara.

Through the song lyrics, the audience learns, understands, and memorializes different forms of valorization and social behavior, alternative from those offered by family, school, and mass media. For example, for the celebration of their 10 years, the band organized a popular festival at *Faro de Oriente*[21] which ended with a rock concert. Before the concert there were art workshops for children and young people and the band participated in many activities. Some of them helped to make three big skulls to decorate the stage; others formed a vocal chorus and representations to accompany the musicians. During the concert the variously aged audience, besides listening, was participating actively by singing and dancing to Ska rhythm. At the same time they echoed slogans such as:

> Murderers!
> Murderers!
> Murderers!
> Fuck your mother Bush!
> Fuck your mother Fox!
> (*Panteón Rococó*, "Asesinos" ("Murderers"), 2005).

Rock concerts offered by the *Panteones* are also, as every rock concert, a celebration and a party, a space to break everyday rules in which "other" normative systems are founded. Through singing and dancing, a new way is opened to express emotions; within a space for recreation, freedom, vertigo, and emotional relief, participants develop perceived means of escaping conditions of poverty and oppression:

> Today I want to keep dancing
> keep dancing till fall down
> it doesn't matter what is being celebrated
> the neighborhood is partying.
> (*Panteón Rococó*, "Seguir Bailando" ("To Keep Dancing"), 2002)

Another world can be imagined at the concert, a different one in which the force of unity around a common feeling is experienced, at least for a moment, if only ephemeral.

Notes

1. This are partial results of the research project "Democracy, Communication and Subjects of Politics in Contemporary Latin America," co-financed by UAM-X and CONACYT (Key 42715).
2. In 2001 they performed by the first time at the *Vive Latino* concert, and in 2006 they were specially invited to this event.

3. Considered as "aristocratic," mundane, exotic, and superficial in the eighteenth century France, the *rococó* style was in fashion in Mexico before the Revolution in 1910, among the parvenu and "French-like" aristocracy of the second half of the nineteenth century.
4. Tragicomedy in two acts performed for the first time at the Theatre Jiménez Rueda, Mexico City, April 21, 1982.
5. "*Dicho truhán holgábase en su hacienda/proyectando un panteón archiexquisito/(con pretensión de que llegara a ser leyenda)./Mas, por mezclar el barroco y el gótico/quedole en rococó la cosa horrenda./Y no contento con la profanación de estilo/le puso por guardián un cocodrilo*."
6. "*…y la altiva capilla, como un sueño secreto/ te mostrará mi triunfo sin linderos."*
7. Dr. Skenka (vocalist); Paco (trumpet); Missael (saxophone); Tanis (percussion); Dario (bass); Gorri (guitar); Felipe (keyboards); Iram (drums); Leonel (guitar).
8. *Cuate* comes from the indigenous nahuatl word *coatl* ("twin"). It is a Mexican popular word used to indicate a kind of closer friendship, involving complicity and commitment.
9. Usual adjective applied during the 1960s to Mexican-North American people inhabiting the southern American or the northern Mexican frontier.
10. He is an actor (1915-1973) who personified the *pachuco* character in the movie *The Derailed Son* (1945). In his vast filmography we can mention *The King of the Neighborhood* (1950), directed by Gilberto Martínez Solares during the Golden Age of Mexican cinema.
11. It is important to remark that *negra* literally means "a black woman," even when it doesn't always have that connotation in México.
12. This edition includes a DVD and a CD recorded at the live concert that took place on 14 May 2005 at the *Faro de Oriente* complex in Mexico City, as a part of the festival in which they were celebrating the band's 10 years.
13. In 2001 the Mexican president Vicente Fox sent to the Parliament an Indigenous Law initiative to achieve peace in Chiapas, as a result of the San Andres' Agreements. Because of that, the EZLN commanders organized the "Land Color Rally" to spread out the contents and goals of the law's proposals, and to attract civil society's support to get its approval. The demonstration arrived to Mexico City on March 11, 2001, to participate in parliamentary sessions, discussing the law as observers.
14. Also they tried to collect money to EZLN and claimed justice for the systematic murders of women in Ciudad Juarez. They expressed in favor of the liberation of "alter-globalization" political prisoners in Guadalajara and the liberation of San Salvador Atenco's inhabitants. The band also denounced the electoral fraud in July 2006 and demanded—to the Federal Electoral Tribunal—a judicial sentence in favor of the total re-counting of votes in that presidential election.
15. In English a literal translation gets lost in the musical rhyme. In Spanish it reads: "*Vuela, vuela palomita/ Corre y dile a los farsantes/ Que ya se acabó el agüita/ pues llegó el subcomandante*."
16. He was a leader of the Teachers Union Trade movement in the Guerrero state, México. He started to work underground in the 1960s to conduct the guerilla group "Civic National and Revolutionary Association." He was murdered by the army in a car accident.
17. Student leader at the Normal Rural School of Ayotzinapa, Guerrero state. Later on, as a teacher, he organized a pacific demonstration in May 18, 1965; it was fiercely repressed by the police and ended up in a massacre. He was accused of being an "agitator" and was

persecuted by the police. Cabañas ran away to the Guerrero mountains and there he organized the armed group "The Party of the Poor," becoming its commander. He was captured in an ambush by the Mexican army and murdered later.

18. Doctor, politician, and both Argentinian and Cuban revolutionary leader. He went deep into the Bolivian mountains with a guerrilla group. Guevara was captured and murdered by the Bolivian army in collaboration with the CIA.

19. Students' Movement of 1968 in Mexico started on July 22 with a confrontation between students. They were brutally repressed by the police. This stage of the movement ended with the massacre on October 2, 1968, at the "Three Cultures' Square." There, the Mexican army shot against the people who were completely disarmed. The events took place some days before the Olympic Games inaugurated October 12. The games took place as if nothing had happened, but the country was morally destroyed.

20. Discourse given by the Mexican former president, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, when he left to Spain as a Mexican Ambassador. Díaz Ordaz was responsible for the October 2 massacre and died unpunished in 1979. Even today, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, Secretary of Government in 1968 and later president of the country, faces a judicial process with the charge of "genocide" regarding the facts perpetrated on October 2, 1968, and June 10, 1971.

21. *Faro de Oriente* is an institution depending on the Secretary of Culture of Mexico City's government which combines a school of arts and technical skills, as well as an alternative space to host different artistic expressions, groups, and civil organizations. It is a popular space free of charge.

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