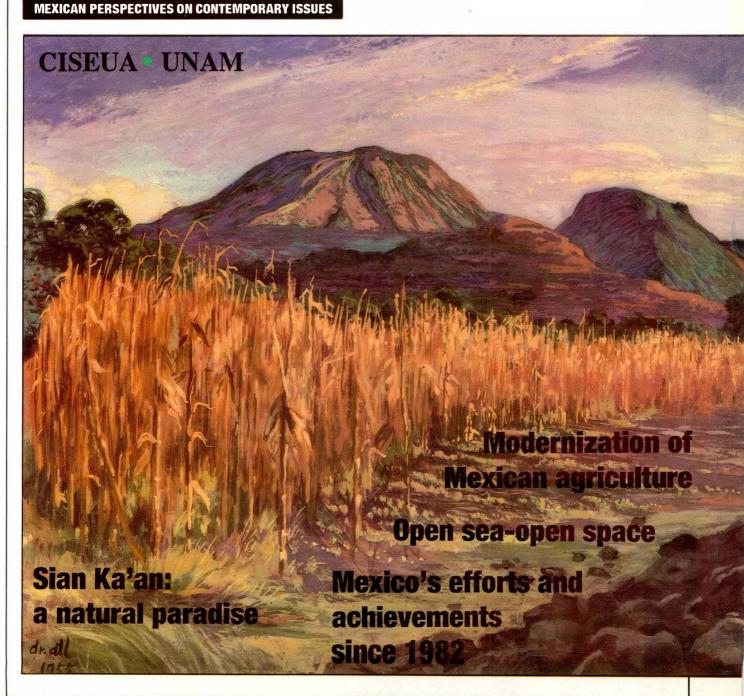
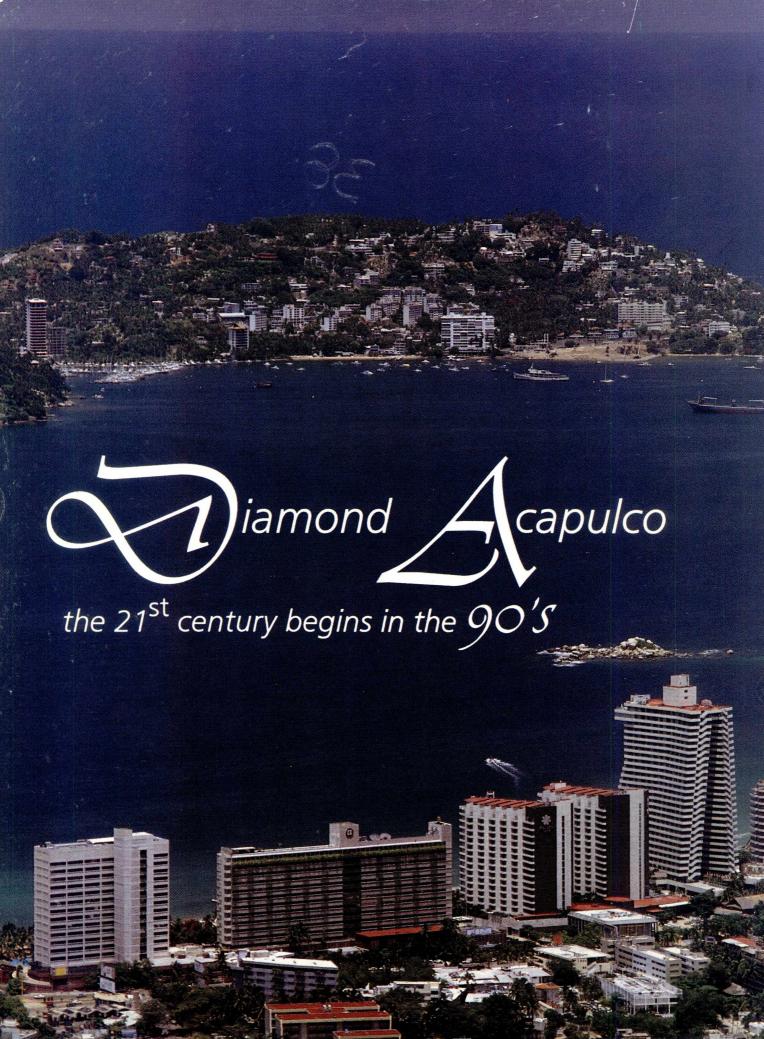
# Voices of exico







Mexico has emerged on the world scene with renewed vitality as a result of increased international integration and internal modernization. New and exciting interests are developing as traditional values are being reaffirmed and reshaped. *Voices of Mexico* brings you opinions and analysis of issues of vital interest in Mexico and the rest of the world. You, the reader, are invited to enjoy the most important English language quarterly currently published in Mexico. We welcome your letters, manuscripts and questions and will do our best to engage your areas of interest.



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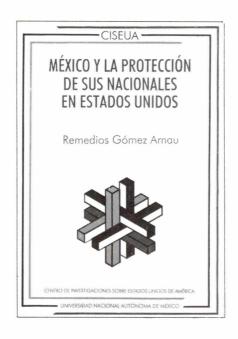
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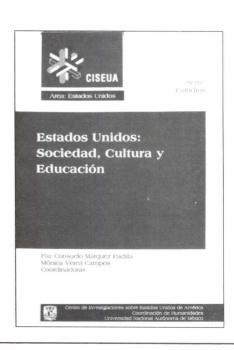
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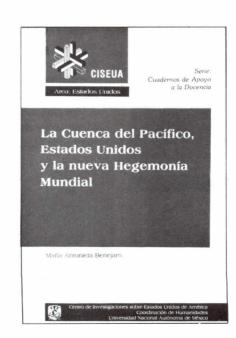
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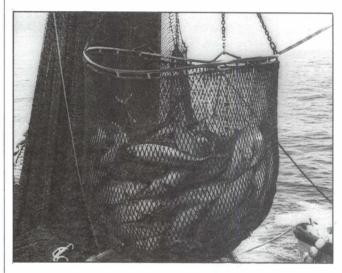


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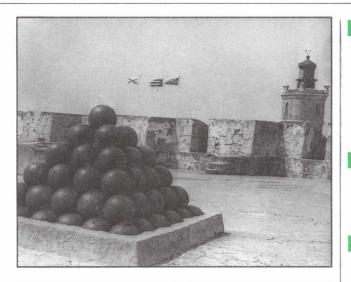


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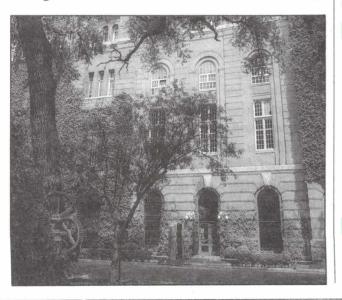
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# Our voice

nvironmental destruction is a worldwide problem. We must preserve the breath of life on the only known inhabited planet in the immensity of the universe.

Industrialized civilization has recently stepped up its plundering of air, sea and land. We are in serious danger of forever extinguishing species whose life is part of our planet's marvelous ecological balance.

Recommendations by well-known experts appear in this issue asking heads of state for policies aimed at protecting the environment. No one except human beings, conscious of their responsibility, can take charge of protecting their common heritage. We must prevent destruction caused by egotistical over-exploitation of resources without thought of the future.

At Sian Ka'an, in the State of Quintana Roo in southern Mexico, there is a model nature reserve which has been declared part of the planet's human heritage. Our National University is part of this effort, as we report in these pages.

The remarkable Cacaxtla murals in the State of Tlaxcala, more than a thousand years old, appear in this issue as another contribution to the knowledge of the roots of our indigenous history. Native Mexican culture surprised the conquistadors, and it is still alive in our mestizo country. Mayan civilization shone in Mesoamerica as one of the most outstanding on

the continent, even before the Europeans arrived. Research on the Maya has reached universal proportions. They have been studied by important archaeologists and historians from various countries, forming a well-known group of "Mayologists," to whom we owe our knowledge of the "Athens of America." The review published here concerns foreign contributions to research on the Maya, added to that of our own specialists.

Continuing our list of important museums, we now present one in Monterrey, capital of Nuevo León, a state that borders on the United States. Our visitors will savor there the special wealth of our past.

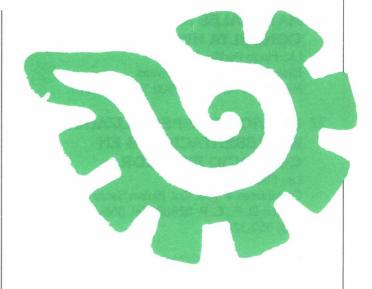
Difficult negotiations led to the process for peace in El Salvador. In historic Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City, witness to great events of the past, the Secretaries General of the UN and of the OAS, representatives of member states on this continent and of Spain, signed the foundation for a peaceful coexistence in El Salvador and for the repudiation of war in January of 1992.

Bellicose attitudes were again shown to be useless and destructive. The only things fashioned are death, misery and destruction. In contrast, this reasonable and attainable agreement is a sure guide to peace and harmony.

Articles included in this issue, as in the last one, focus on commentary about the future of a globalized world. When common interests coincide among several nations they are identified with goals that benefit everyone. While unified progress prevails, groups of freely associated states will carry on a common endeavor, because it will surpass individual efforts. If the price is too high, such associations of states will become precarious and will dissolve. Meanwhile, the old idea of autocratic sovereignty will be modified in favor of higher goals that are beneficial to all. This is the world we live in.

The North American Free Trade Agreement under study between Canada, the United States and Mexico, must prove that it can yield common benefits; the only way it can become permanent. We will achieve an active economic relationship on the continent through dynamic modern development that respects sovereignty.

Music is an important part of our culture.
This issue continues with the history of music in the Metropolitan Cathedral. As in all aspects of art, the European models that arrived via Spain were modified by the artistic talents of native Mexicans M



Hugo B. Margáin Editorial Director





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Mexico is a country of great natural wealth. This has attracted the interest of many specialists from around the world for several centuries. They have attempted to understand and to explain its different forms of cultural expression. Artists, writers and researchers from UNAM, have shared these same interests. An exceptional editorial program has provided an outlet for their academic production on a wide variety of subjects. These subjects include the history of human populations; social relationships as seen through languages, legends, myths and artistic expressions; the mixture of pre-Hispanic roots and Spanish influence during the Colonial epoch, etc.

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# MUSEO UNIVERSITARIO DEL CHOPO





# Sian Ka'an: a natural paradise

ian Ka'an, Mayan for "where the sky is born," is an extraordinary example of the diversity of habitats, flora and fauna to be found in Mexico. Located on the Yucatan Peninsula, on the central coast of the state of Quintana Roo, Sian Ka'an was designated a biosphere reserve by presidential decree on January 20, 1986. It is part of the International Network of Biosphere Reserves and, in 1987, was included in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites.

Covering 528,147 hectares, it constitutes one of the largest protected areas in the country and is one of its richest because of the variety of environments therein. One-third of the entire reserve is tropical forest, another third is grazing land, savannahs and mangrove swamps, while the rest consists of marine habitats, including 110 kilometers of barrier reef, considered the second longest in the world.

Sian Ka'an is home to all of the mammal species known to the region. Among them are some in danger of extinction due to hunting, illegal trafficking or the destruction of their habitat. The creation of the reserve is the best alternative for preserving the jaguar, puma, ocelot, jaguarundi and margay, which need large tracts of

The first two biosphere reserves in Mexico were officially created in Mapimi and Michilia in 1977. The Montes Azules region in Chiapas was also so designated in 1978. Sian Ka'an was the fourth reserve to be set aside and the most extensive. See Fundación Universo Veintiuno, Fauna silvestre y áreas naturales protegidas (1988), p. 79.

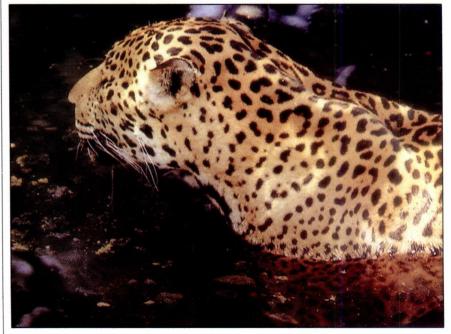
jungle to survive, as well as the spider and howler monkeys, tapir, manatee, brocket and white-tailed deer.

With more than 300,000 hectares of aquatic habitats and wetlands, it harbors one of the best preserved populations of savannah crocodiles (*C. moreleti*) and is one of the few regions where they coexist with river crocodiles (*C. acutus*). Hence, the reserve provides an excellent environment for studying basic crocodile population parameters. Species such as horseshoe crabs are to be found there, and hawksbill, loggerhead, leatherback marine turtles and white river turtles lay their eggs on its beaches.

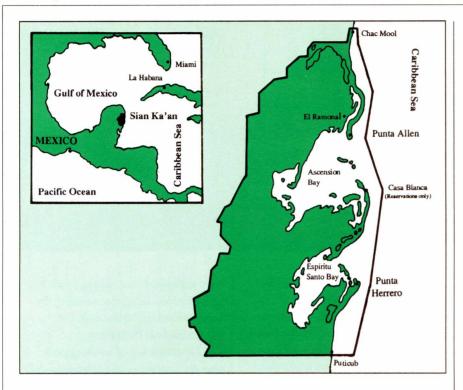
Sian Ka'an provides a habitat for 336 of the 475 species of birds

reported on the Yucatan Peninsula, including ocellated turkey, toucan, parrots, great curassow and trogon. As well as aquatic birds such as the white ibis, flamingo, roseate spoonbill, jabiru stork, wood stork and 15 species of heron.

In the *cenotes* (sinkholes) and *petens* (forest islands within savannahs or sinkholes), there are 15 ecosystems sheltering more than 1,500 different species of plants, 200 of which are still used by the Maya. Sian Ka'an also hosts approximately 30 unexplored archaeological sites, including places such as the town of Chunyaxche or Muyil, one of the most important pre-Hispanic Mayan communities.



Jaguar.



#### Sian Ka'an: biosphere reserve

Sian Ka'an is an example of one alternative to protect natural areas, developed during the seventies, in which protection means reconciling development with conservation.

The concept of biosphere reserve recognizes man's predominant role in the deterioration of the environment. However, it does not interpret conservation as prohibiting the use of natural resources, but rather as rational long-term use, in keeping with ecological norms.<sup>2</sup>

Sian Ka'an caught the world's attention because of its attempt to blend its ecological wealth with conservation programs attuned to

The biosphere reserve concept was developed under the egis of the UNESCO program "Man and the Biosphere." The original idea was to create a set of areas linked by a coordinated international system. The first biosphere reserves in the world were designated in 1976. By 1986, there were 243 in 65 countries. However, many industrialized countries have decreed already existing national parks and scientific reserves as biosphere reserves, without in-depth changes. *Ibid*, pp. 74-5.

local problems and involving the native population. More than a thousand people live within the reserve and 99% of its land is federal property. The reserve is divided into three different zones:

 Core zone: This comprises the best preserved areas, where human intervention is to be minimal. The

- goal for this area is that it be used for scientific research and serve as a pattern for measuring environmental changes produced in zones used more intensely by the inhabitants of the reserve and neighboring areas.
- 2. Buffer zone: This was established to protect the core zone and allows for the development of productive activities and the rational use of natural resources not negatively affecting the ecosystem within its confines. Organic agriculture, fruit and vegetable crops, and the rational gathering of forest products, such as chicle, as well as developing ecological tourism, are some of the projects that have been presented or are under way. The object is to benefit the inhabitants of the reserve and make them co-participants and responsible for conservation.
- 3. Cooperation zone: This is a non-delimited and constantly expanding area surrounding the biosphere. The scientific, technological and practical know-how obtained inside the reserve will be applied to achieve a rational and continuous use of the natural



Espíritu Santo Bay.

resources. The idea is to provide real benefits to the people settled in the surrounding area. Eventually, it could become a factor for regional development.

The reserve operates and subsists with the cooperation of the Ministry of Urban Development and Ecology (SEDUE), the government of the state of Quintana Roo, the municipalities of Cozumel and Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the Quintana Roo Research Center, as well as the Non-profit Friends of Sian Ka'an Association. The latter was founded in 1986 and operates with funding provided by both national and international individuals and groups concerned with conserving species.

As part of its efforts to support conservation projects, the Friends of Sian Ka'an Association organizes and encourages visits to the reserve. They include transportation from the city of Cancún, bilingual guides trained in biology, waterborne tours of the canals, lagoons and mangrove swamps, an opportunity to swim in a *cenote* which is home to more than thirty different species of fish, food service, even binoculars for bird watching. Such visits provide tourists visiting Quintana Roo



Arboreal anteater.



Sunset from Sian Ka'an.

with a unique opportunity to see and experience a natural area.

There are four tourist facilities inside the reserve including the Casa Cuzan, at the fishing village of Punta Allen. It offers solar-powered cabins for tourists, bird-watchers, scientists studying endangered species, and fly-fishermen after species such as threadbone fish, milkfish, starry butterfish and snook. A number of sites of great interest, within easy reach are Cayo Culebras, where several varieties of marine birds lay their eggs; Bahía de la Ascensión; and many other beautiful places within walking or boating distance.

#### Sian Ka'an: preserving the future

Mexico's diversity of climates, and enormous wealth of flora and fauna makes it third in bio-diversity worldwide. Efforts to study and protect long-term biotic resources are currently one of the government's policy priorities.<sup>3</sup> In 1988, natural areas

Modern protection of natural areas in Mexico dates back to 1876, with the defense of the "Desierto de los Leones". During the following 58 years nine new areas were added. However, the government's attitude was a rather unfortunate copy of U.S. national parks addressing recreation and the isolation of protected areas. In the fifties the first efforts were made to find new means for designing and managing protected areas. La Jornada Ecológica, year 1, Num. 6, 19th Sept. 1991, p. 3.

were grouped into a national system by a presidential decree creating the Law on Ecological Balance and Environmental Protection.

Development of an integrated plan for managing protected areas has faced certain difficulties: among them, insufficient provisions for management, maintenance and enforcement; a lack of resources and qualified personnel; problems of land tenure; and lack of specific regulations to administer and manage them adequately.

Future problems may come to Sian Ka'an by virtue of its location on the southern border of the Tulum-Cancún tourist corridor. Keeping the original plan for the reserve intact and avoiding the effects of traditional tourist development is going to depend, to a great extent, on political will and the authorities' power of conciliation.

Fortunately, Sian Ka'an's core zone is still one of the best protected and least altered areas of Mexico. Its beauty and biological wealth clamor for the right to be a privileged place on our planet: a reserve for life, destined, above all, to the benefit of its inhabitants and humanity M

Elsie L. Montiel
Assistant Editor.

# Compact for a new world

An Open Letter
to
The Heads of State and Government
and Legislators
of the Americas
from the members of
THE NEW WORLD DIALOGUE
ON ENVIRONMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT
IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

#### **Your Excellencies:**

Alarmed by a decade of accelerating environmental damage and rising poverty, we, the undersigned, members of the New World Dialogue, respectfully appeal to you to begin now to forge the international initiatives and agreements necessary for lasting prosperity and environmental protection in the Americas. Our belief is that nothing less than an international Compact for a New World is needed.

Men and women from diverse cultures, we speak different languages, work in different professions, and hold different political views. Nevertheless, we have found common ground. As we have worked on this Compact, our initial differences came to seem trivial compared to the problems that press ever harder on our hemisphere-global warming, forest loss, debt, poverty, population pressure, lagging trade. Our hope is that you also will put aside your differences and work with other governments, making reciprocal commitments to solve these problems, starting at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

In the following pages, you will find some specific propoals -North-South bargains for mutual benefit. We urge, for instance, that our governments, which have so long neglected the environment and the poor, now put

them first. We propose that population stabilization by mid-century become an explicit goal for our countries and that this be matched by reductions in the consumption of resources by the well-to-do, wherever they live. We want Canada and the United States to sharply curtail their per capita use of energy, thus reducing their damaging emissions of greenhouse gases and other pollutants, while the Latin

American and Caribbean countries halt and then reverse deforestation. We want strong laws and regulations and rigorous enforcement to protect the environment, even as we reform our economies and unleash the energy of communities and private enterprise everywhere.

We welcome the stimulus to economic growth that increased trade could bring in our hemisphere. But



Development to meet the needs of the present with thought to the future.

trade initiatives will promote only the inequitable and environmentally unsustainable growth of the past unless accompanied by powerful complementary initiatives such as those that we propose here.

We believe that the eight initiatives in our Compact for a New World are realistic and feasible. Please accord them your highest immediate attention and join with other nations at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in formalizing the necessary commitments, both global and regional. We urge you to contribute all that you can, on behalf of your country and your people, to the common solutions and the cooperative endeavors that are within reach.

We see the difficulty of the political challenges ahead. We are confident, however, that our historical and cultural ties, our widening embrace of democracy, and the leadership that you can provide will make it possible to find the solutions desperately needed the world over.

#### Respectfully,

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October 1991

#### New world dialogue on environment and development in the western hemisphere

In 1990, with colleagues from Latin America and the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States, the World Resources Institute organized a New World Dialogue on Environment and Development in the Western Hemisphere. This non-governmental initiative aims to help move the governments of the hemisphere toward the international commitments needed to secure economic development that is environmentally sustainable and socially equitable.

Women and men from twelve countries are members of the Dialogue. They come from many walks of life -from universities, business, environmental organizations, policy institutes, national legislatures, and city politics- and bring to this endeavor broad experience and a redoubtable commitment to making a difference in the hemisphere.

The New World Dialogue was organized in Mexico in September 1990. Subsequent meetings were held in Caracas and Washington, D.C. As a first step, the Dialogue has drawn up a North-South compact calling for specific international commitments by the hemisphere's governments.

We single out the Western Hemisphere for several reasons, not least because this is where we live and where our future lies. Despite political differences over the years, we are bound by many real geographic, ecological, economic, and cultural ties. Through our numerous regional and subregional institutions, we have already acquired habits of cooperation. The past decade has seen a resurgence of democratically elected leadership, and, with it, heightened concern for the well-being of all citizens. The waning of the Cold War and wars in Central America offers breathing space and hope for reducing military expenditures. The phenomenal growth of "green" movements and civic and local community organizations throughout the hemisphere signals that citizens are aware of the impact of environmental degradation on everyday life and are demanding change.

Across the Americas, we see a growing convergence of values and interests that, combined with increased political will, could permit us to tackle a common hemispheric agenda. No part of the hemisphere is without serious problems, but neither is any part without significant intellectual and natural resources to bring to the task. It is fitting, therefore, that we, in the Americas, take the initiative in meeting the challenges that face the world.

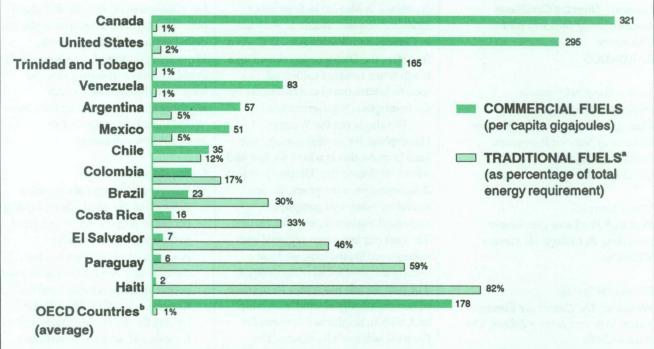
Ultimately, all nations must be partners in this compact to sustain the earth and its people. Economic and environmental challenges are bigger than any one region, and many require global solutions, lest the whole world face a degraded, impoverished future.

Unless major complementary initiatives are undertaken to bring environmental, economic, and social objectives together in the new synthesis called *sustainable development*, liberalizing trade and reviving growth could lead to short-term gains and long-term disaster. More than anything else, the Compact for a New World must be a compact for sustainable development.

#### **Current trends**

- Poverty and hunger are growing throughout the hemisphere, forcing people to despoil the environment in their struggle to survive. According to Our Own Agenda, there were at least 204 million poor people in Latin America and the Caribbean in 1990. The official figures for the United States and Canada add another 38 million. Real per capita income for Latin America as a whole fell by almost 1 percent a year from 1981 through 1990. Wages have deteriorated badly, by 50 percent or more in some places. Income disparities in the hemisphere are among the world's highest, posing threats to political and social stability in some places. The most vulnerable groups, women and children, suffer the most from poverty throughout the hemisphere.
- Although birth rates have fallen over the last 30 years, population growth in the Americas still outstrips our ability to provide jobs and services to all who need them. In Latin America and the Caribbean, 44 percent of the labor force is unemployed or eking out a substandard living. The quality of housing, health care, and education grows steadily worse. In the United States and Canada, too, citizens share these concerns.

# Per capita commercial fuels consumption and relevance of traditional fuels, selected countries, 1988



Source: United Nations (UN), Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, 1989 Energy Statistics Yearbook, (UN, New York, 1991).

Notes: a Traditional fuels include wood, charcoal, and agricultural wastes.

<sup>b</sup> The countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

- Soils, forests, and water supplies are being laid waste, along with the plants and animals that depend on them. Encouraged by tax breaks and hidden subsidies for developers, as well as by the desperation of the poor for land to farm, deforestation claimed some 7 million hectares a year of irreplaceable tropical forest during the 1980s. Temperate forests in both North and South America are also being cut at unsustainable rates. Overgrazing, badly managed irrigation systems, and overuse of pesticides are degrading soil and water quality from Canada to Argentina. Overfishing, pollution,
- silting, and other forms of habitat destruction are depleting aquatic life.
- The waste of energy and other resources is evident throughout the hemisphere, particularly in Canada and the United States, where per capita resource consumption and waste generation are the highest in the world. At the same time, millions in Latin America and the Caribbean go without the energy services needed for development.
- Many of our cities -home to three quarters of our people- have become sinks for pollution, crime, congestion, and social unrest.
   Housing, water supply, sanitation, and other urban services, never

- adequate, lag farther and farther behind as urban populations skyrocket. Drug trafficking is a universal problem.
- Budget austerity in the 1980s, when university and research funds were slashed, cut deeply into the capacity of Latin American and Caribbean institutions to develop the technologies and technical training required for sustainable development. Critical expertise continues to be lost through emigration to the more highly industrialized countries.

  Meanwhile, much of the needed technology resides in private companies in the United States and

- other wealthy countries, financially out of reach for many.
- Our ability to tackle urgent social and environmental problems is constrained by past economic waste and mismanagement. Most of our countries are deeply in debt, and the need to service it keeps budget deficits high, fuels inflation, saps investor confidence, and -where hard currency must be earned for debt servicing- distorts economies. In fact, resource transfers in the hemisphere have reversed direction: since 1982, Latin America and the Caribbean have transferred a net U.S. \$20 to \$30 billion a year to the industrial world. Added to capital flight, this hemorrhage of capital deprives countries of resources needed for investment and crucial imports, to say nothing of basic social programs.

#### Initiatives

## 1. A forestry initiative to reverse deforestation and protect biological resources

Temperate zones. Canada, the United States, Argentina and Chile would stop overcutting their temperate forests, protect key habitats, and move quickly to sustainable forestry on both public and private lands. Among other things, this would entail ending subsidized timber cutting and easing the economic transition for timber-dependent communities. In particular, ancient forest reserves would be established in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States and Canada to preserve unique and rapidly disappearing ecosystems.

Tropical forests. For their part, tropical countries would halt and then reverse net forest loss by reforming policies that promote deforestation, creating economic opportunities that take pressures off forest areas, and developing broadbased programs to promote afforestation, sustainable forest management, and livelihoods

based on nontimber forest resources. Both market incentives and government regulation will be required, particularly to control the destructive activities of some ranchers, miners, and timber companies.

International assistance. North America has a vital interest in the well-being of tropical forests, for both their biological diversity and their function as carbon sinks. The United States and Canada would therefore provide major support for Latin American and Caribbean efforts to conserve forests and bring them under sustainable management. This would include, depending on national needs, not only direct support for national forestry plans, but also assistance in addressing such underlying causes of deforestation as poverty, inequitable access to land, population growth, and the need to service international debt. Latin American and Caribbean countries would contribute development funds too. Major new funds could become available through debt reduction or direct financial aid from a new international ecofund or sustainable development facilities established within the multilateral development banks (see Financial Initiative).

Biological diversity. Good management of forests, wetlands, coastal areas, and other natural ecosystems is essential for protecting biological diversity, but countries of the Americas also need to expand their ecologically important protected areas. The costs of protecting such ecosystems need not be unreasonable -particularly if international assistance were available. Governments of both North and South America would also commit themselves to creating incentives for maintaining biodiversity, for example, by helping to develop an international code of conduct for collectors of genetic resources, by conducting joint research on both traditional and emerging biotechnologies, and by agreeing to

licensing arrangements that recompense indigenous peoples for commercial use of traditional materials and techniques that have medical or agricultural value.

#### 2. An energy initiative to provide energy for development and reduce greenhouse gas emissions

Action in the United States and Canada. They would commit to reducing their per capita emissions of carbon dioxide by 30 percent by the year 2005. Even this reduction would leave the United States and Canada behind the average now achieved by OECD countries. To achieve this goal, they should rely on a combination of regulation incentives to reward energy savings, and marketbased policies that make the price of fossil fuels reflect their environmental and security costs. One study suggests, for example, that a U.S. \$60 per ton carbon tax, phased in over 15 years, would reduce U.S. carbon dioxide emissions by 20 percent. The funds generated -an estimated \$78 billion a year- would be returned to consumers through cuts in payroll and income taxes.

Efficiency, subsidies, and renewable energy. All nations of the hemisphere would commit to three complementary objectives. The first is to achieve major gains in national energy efficiency, thereby reducing the amount of energy required to produce a unit of gross national product. There is much room for improvement on this score in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as in North America. The second is to eliminate the widespread energy subsidies reflected in today's domestic energy prices. Studies have shown that such subsidies encourage pollution and wasteful use of energy but do not necessarily boost national economic performance. The third is to move our economies away from dependence on fossil fuels and onto a renewable energy path.

Research and training. The commitments outlined above imply greatly increased research and training on energy efficiency and renewable energy throughout the hemisphere. This would be one of the chief focuses for the centers of excellence suggested elsewhere in these pages (see Science and Technology Initiative).

#### 3. A pollution prevention initiative to halt and ultimately reverse the growth of industrial and vehicular pollution

Incentives. All governments would agree to revamp the improper incentives that reward private and public corporations for despoiling the environment –tariffs that protect polluting industries, subsidies for chemical fertilizers and pesticides that foul the water, low gasoline prices and other policies that encourage profligate use of automobiles, and so on. It is essential that the hemisphere's developing countries not repeat North America's mistakes in their drive to industrialize. In the long run, it is easier and cheaper to prevent pollution than

to clean it up afterward. New plants should be encouraged to incorporate recycling, co generation, and nonpolluting technologies from the start. Incentives should be adopted to speed the retirement of the dirtiest plants and vehicles.

Regulation. In addition, governments should develop and enforce antipollution regulations aimed at both the private and public sectors. At minimum, leadfree gasoline and regular maintenance should eventually be required of all vehicles, starting with those that are publicly owned. Mining procedures that involve the use of toxic chemicals (e.g., cyanide heap leaching in the western United States and mercury use in Amazonian gold mines) should be strictly regulated until they can be phased out.

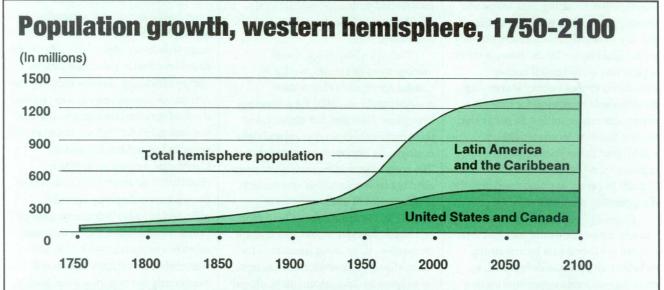
Technology transfer. The more technologically advanced countries throughout the hemisphere should help by making up-to-date pollution prevention technology readily available and by supporting collaborative research to promote the state of the art.

They also should offer major support for building the institutions and training the scientists and technicians needed to develop, install, and maintain modern technology.

# 4. An antipoverty initiative to help end hunger and poverty in our hemisphere

Caught in the daily struggle for survival, the poor and the displaced crowd into congested, unsanitary cities or settle onto ever more marginal land, where they burn forests, overgraze grasslands, and plant steep slopes. It is doubly important, therefore, that the hemisphere's governments commit themselves to a concerted effort to improve the lives of their most deprived citizens.

Rural Latin America. Reducing poverty and increasing food production in rural areas will require, among other things, promoting sustainable agricultural practices among small farmers (including women, whose role in agriculture is growing). It will also require more secure access to land and an end to subsidies that distort food



Sources: Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, Atlas of World Population History (Penguin Books Ltd., Great Britain, 1978). Rodolfo A. Bulatao, Eduard Bos, Patience W. Stephens, and My T. Vu, World Population Projections, 1989-90 Edition: Short- and Long-Term Estimates (The Johns Hopkins University Press, for The World Bank, Baltimore and London, 1990), p. xliv. The World Bank (WB), unpublished data (WB, Washington, D.C., 1991).

prices or damage the environment. International cooperation -including South-South cooperation- is needed to help raise smallholder productivity while reducing the use of high energy inputs, adapting and improving integrated pest-management technologies, refining watermanagement techniques and making them more economical, improving soil conservation strategies, and restoring degraded lands. Cooperative research, especially on-farm research to tap the knowledge of local farmers and develop applications for diverse physical conditions, is also essential. In the Andean countries, joint efforts are needed to provide profitable substitutes for coca production, the mainstay of many peasant farmers. Since environmental technologies such as afforestation and integrated pest-management are labor-intensive, they can provide poor men and women with many new income opportunities, making poverty eradication and environmental goals not only compatible, but also mutually reinforcing.

In the cities. Governments would take advantage of the talent and creativity of the urban poor by working with, not against, the informal sector's institutions, adjusting licensing and permit requirements as necessary to maximize creation of jobs, housing, and services. They would provide assistance for upgrading polluting technologies used by the poor and would strive to meet United Nations goals for the provision of water and sanitation. As an added benefit, tackling these fundamental urban environmental tasks would provide jobs for the cities' unemployed workers. U.S. and Canadian development assistance would promote these ends both directly and through the multilateral banks.

#### **5.** A population initiative to achieve stabilization by midcentury

This goal is as important for the United States and Canada, where

growth rates are low, as it is for countries where growth rates are high because per capita consumption of resources in North America is so high that even modest population increases have an outsized environmental impact. Countries that have reduced growth to 1 percent per year already (Barbados, Canada, Cuba, the United States, and Uruguay) can expect to stabilize earlier, but all would strive to reduce growth to 1 percent by 2020 and to reach zero population growth by 2050. Experience suggests that the way to reach this target is through greatly enhanced access to education, employment, and primary health care, especially for poor women and their children, and universal access to family-planning services. At the same time, governments would make it clear that national goals and programs would never be used as excuses to force women to have fewer children.

Both the United States and Canada would increase their support for international population programs until both countries were contributing their fair share to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities' "Amsterdam 2000" target of U.S. \$10 billion annual world spending on population programs.

# 6. A science and technology initiative to develop and disseminate the technologies needed for sustainable development

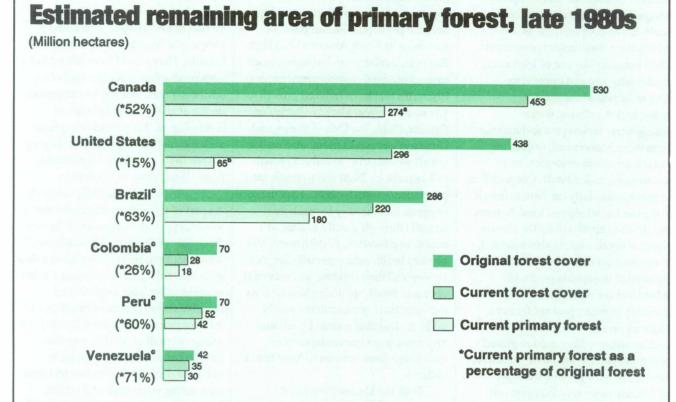
Centers of excellence. This initiative proposes the joint creation of a network of strong regional research and training institutes throughout the hemisphere, preferably attached to existing universities and research institutions and linked to a global research network. At these centers, researchers would develop or adapt advanced approaches to biotechnology, telecommunications, and informatics, for example, while also enhancing traditional knowledge and technology with more advanced techniques and

equipment. They would both contribute to and have access to the "common market of knowledge" advocated by Uruguay's President Luis Alberto Lacalle. They would have strong links with production processes and offer advice to public and private enterprises on the availability and choice of technologies. They would cooperate with international agencies and serve as training institutions for nationals from all countries of the region.

Accounting for natural resources.

As part of this initiative, governments would support development of the new discipline of "ecological economics," which seeks to reinvent the economics of public policymaking so that it takes account of both the positive and negative consequences of development. At least one center in each country, or group of small countries, would be devoted to developing systems to collect and analyze environmental data, monitoring environmental trends, estimating environmental costs, and training both economists and environmentalists in the new discipline. Nothing less than a transformation in the ways that policymakers throughout the hemisphere (and, by extension, the world) make decisions is called for here.

Access to technology. Industrial managers and farmers throughout the hemisphere also need to be assured that they will have access to the best available technology to control pollution and manage resources wisely. Many of the technologies required for increasing energy efficiency and food production, and even the basic bioengineering techniques, are in the public domain, but they still require major international cooperative efforts -both North-South and South-South efforts- to adapt them to the specific requirements of sustainable development. Governments of technologically advanced countries should agree to provide incentives and otherwise urge private companies to



Source: Lester R. Brown, Alan Durning, Christopher Flavin, et al., State of the World 1991 - A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society (W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1991), p. 75.

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Consists mostly of "unproductive" forest (189 million hectares). Based on age-class survey, 85 million hectares of "productive" primary forest, with more than 50 cubic meters of wood per hectare, remain.

<sup>b</sup> Consists mostly of Alaskan forests (52 million hectares); figure for lower 48 states (13 million hectares) is mid-point of estimated range of 2-5 percent of original forest area.

<sup>e</sup> Figures for tropical nations refer to tropical moist forests only.

transfer proprietary technologies to all countries on affordable terms.

Multilateral banks and special funds would help finance the transfer.

# 7. A trade and investment initiative to promote sustainable development while protecting the environment

Environmental criteria for the hemisphere. The goals here are to enlarge free trade areas and to encourage international investment within the hemisphere while protecting the environment. The full environmental implications of any new bilateral or multinational trade regime would be aired during negotiations. In addition, hemispheric

leaders would take the lead in activating the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Working Party on the Environment with the aim of guaranteeing that governments have the capability to impose legitimate environmental regulations without violating the GATT agreement.

A mechanism for consultation.

These goals cannot be met, nor can such thorny issues as intellectual property rights be resolved, without a regional mechanism for regularly evaluating the environmental impacts of regional trade policies and patterns. We therefore call upon governments to establish a special ongoing hemispheric consultation on trade and the

environment to identify impediments to sustainable development, define legitimate trade measures for protecting the environment, and design better mechanisms for handling disputes involving environmental criteria. This consultative body would be the appropriate venue for strengthening hemispheric control over international traffic in hazardous substances, the transnational migration of polluting industries, and the international sale of products, such as DDT, proven to be unsafe and prohibited from use in the exporting country. The removal of such impediments to sustainable development as agrochemical and fossil-fuel subsidies (which encourage

overuse) and agricultural export subsidies (which encourage overproduction and depress world prices) would also be discussed in such negotiations.

8. A financial initiative to generate additional funding for sustainable development from new and existing sources

#### Domestic resources.

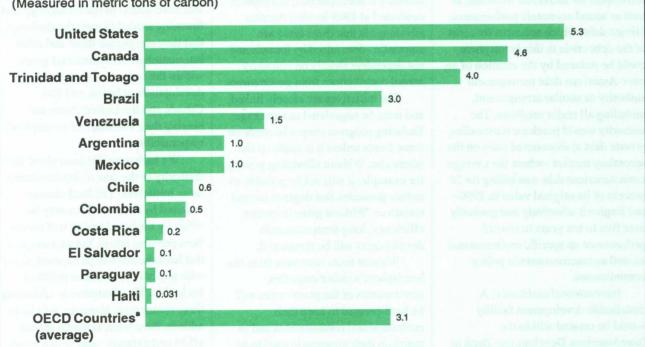
Realistically, funds for the transition to sustainable development must come primarily from each nation's own resources -resources freed by redirecting funds away from unsustainable activities, and by adopting policies that assure far-reaching economic reform, promote private

savings and investment, reverse capital flight, and encourage debt-for-nature and debt-for-development swaps. If governments set incentives properly, private sector investment could supply a sizable portion of the capital needed for sustainable development. In addition, governments need new policies to unleash the energies of the burgeoning civic and local community associations, "green" movements, and selfhelp and other citizens' organizations. Governments should see these groups as sources of strength, not as impediments to growth.

Reduced military expenditure.

Oversized military budgets, no longer required for national security in the post-Cold War era, should be converted in part to environmental, economic, and human security budgets. Indeed, because environmental damage may well pose the greatest security threat to the next generation, it is appropriate that military expenditure be reprogrammed to meet this new threat. Each government in the hemisphere would strive to reduce its military budget by at least 20 percent from 1990 levels over the next five years. Hemisphere governments will pledge to use the dividend (at the end of five years, a minimum of U.S. \$50 billion a year in 1990 dollars) to reduce their national debt and to pursue sustainable development strategies at home and abroad.

# Per capita carbon dioxide emissions From fossil fuel sources, selected countries, 1988 (Measured in metric tons of carbon)



Source: Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center (CDIAC), unpublished data (CDIAC, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, July 1990).

Note: 
<sup>a</sup> The countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

International debt. Additional monies would come from the creative use of public and private international debt and from the recycling of interest payments. In collecting official debt owed by Latin American and Caribbean countries, creditor nations would make repayment terms more flexible, permitting interest payments on debt to be used for developmental purposes and recognizing the efforts that most Latin American and Caribbean countries have made to reform policy already. Economic and environmental conditions imposed on debtor countries should be replaced by symmetric commitments for sustainable development in developed and developing countries alike. Countries' performance should be evaluated using indicators showing improvements in the quality of life, protection and restoration of the resource base, eradication of poverty, and respect for individual freedoms, as well as sound economic performance. Private debt, which accounts for most of the debt crisis in this hemisphere, could be reduced by the creation of an inter-American debt management authority or similar arrangement, including all major creditors. The authority would purchase outstanding private debt at discounted rates on the secondary market -where the average Latin American debt was selling for 28 percent of its original value in 1990and forgive it selectively and gradually over five to ten years to reward performance on specific environmental as well as macroeconomic policy commitments.

International assistance. A sustainable development facility would be created within the InterAmerican Development Bank to provide the special support needed to increase the number and quality of sustainable development projects. Funds could be used to further a wide variety of environmental and equity purposes, including coastal protection,

sustainable agriculture, family planning, energy efficiency, forestry and protected areas management, and pollution prevention -or for education and training in any of these areas.

A new ecofund. Necessary new funding for the initiatives described above would come from an "ecofund" created by the governments of the Americas and managed by a hemispheric agency. As suggested by José Goldemberg, Brazil's Minister of Education, resources for this fund would be raised through an agreement among the nations of the region to "make the polluter pay" by levying a special tax on oil and the carbon equivalent in other fossil fuels. Although based on the collection of small levies, such taxes can raise large amounts of money. (In the example cited here, for instance, a U.S. \$1.00 tax per barrel of oil or its equivalent would produce U.S. \$16 billion annually if hemispheric consumption continued at 1989 levels.) Another advantage is that these taxes are automatic -determined by formula and not dependent strictly on voluntary annual contributions from governments.

The initiatives are closely linked, and must be negotiated as a package. Enduring progress cannot be made on some fronts unless it is made on the others also. Without alleviating poverty, for example, it will not be possible to reduce pressures that degrade natural resources. Without gains in energy efficiency, long-term economic development will be threatened.

Without more resources from the hemisphere's richer countries, governments of the poorer ones will be hard-pressed to keep their environmental commitments and to maintain their progress toward more responsive democratic rule. Without environmental commitments, the global environment and the natural resources needed for economic development will continue to deteriorate, further impoverishing generations to come.

Furthermore, the initiatives are linked politically. The New World Compact cannot succeed unless each nation is convinced that its efforts are being matched by actions in other countries, to the benefit of all. This will require binding agreements, with specific goals, progress toward which can be measured, wherever possible, by quantitative indicators. The keys here are mutual interest and trust.

Political support in the United States and Canada for debt reduction and development assistance, for example, will be strengthened if these moves are linked to full Latin American and Caribbean participation in international regimes to protect forests and species and to mitigate global warming.

Similarly, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are more likely to respond to such challenges as global warming if they know that they will have access to the technology and financing needed to meet the challenge, that they can pursue these and other international environmental goals within the context of sustainable development at home, and that Canada and the United States are bearing their full share of hemispheric responsibility.

We harbor no illusions about the difficulty or the cost of implementing these initiatives. The hard choices required by some of them may be offset by the benefits that will accrue from pursuing others, but we recognize that hard choices will be required, along with persistence and firm political leadership. The alternative to addressing these issues now, however, will be to address them later, at vastly greater effort and expense –and with a much higher risk of failure.

It would be particularly fitting if the nations of the Western Hemisphere, on the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the New World, could set an example for the rest of the world M ature reserves are areas of water or land, targeted for programs of conservation. National parks, sanctuaries and various kinds of reserves fall under this category.

In the past, nature reserves were inspired by religion, aesthetics, recreation, economy, culture and ecology but the common bond was always man's relationship with nature. Nature reserves are a form of social strategy towards nature or a kind of territorial arrangement to preserve the ecological balance. As man's impact on specific parts of the environment becomes greater, the need to maintain areas free from his interference becomes a priority.

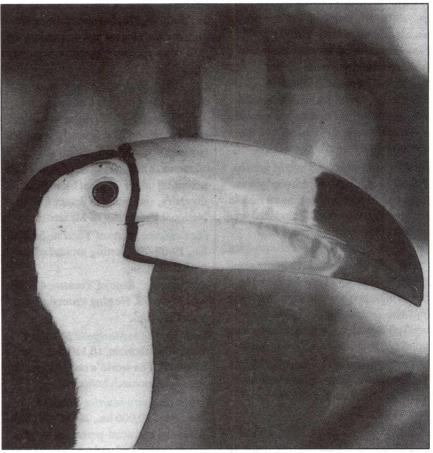
The modern idea of a nature reserve was born in the mid-nineteenth century when a contradiction emerged between the natural balance of ecosystems and the material development of industrialized society, characterized by the intensive and unplanned exploitation of natural resources.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the dominant form of reserve was the national park. National parks were considered enclaves, or protected areas where any form of exploitation was strictly forbidden. This type of reserve was characterized by its recreational function.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, fears of an unprecedented ecological crisis have provoked a worldwide response and heightened international cooperation to tackle ecological problems.

The early seventies marked a crucial stage in global attitudes towards environmental issues with the establishment in 1972 of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). In 1974, UNESCO founded The Man and the Biosphere Program, and in 1980, the World Conservation Strategy was set up. Nature reserves spread rapidly, and in 1973, 1,036

## **Nature reserves**



Tucan.

reserves were registered around the world, leaping to 3000 by 1985.

However, the national park, which is the most common form of nature reserve, has been unsuccessful in non-industrialized countries which are characterized by high population growth and incoherent programs of land-usage. Therefore, The Man and the Biosphere program of UNESCO which focuses on the conservation of the biosphere, remains the most promising nature conservation alternative for these nations.<sup>1</sup>

Source: Fauna Silvestre y Areas Naturales Protegidas Fundación Universo Veintiuno, Mexico, 1988, pp. 71-75. Mexican nature reserves 1991<sup>2</sup>

#### Biosphere reserves

Montes Azules, State of Chiapas, 331,200 ha, 12-01-78. One of main ecosystems of the Mexican wet tropics, and natural habitat of species such as the toucan, the tapir, and the spider monkey.

La Michilía, State of Durango, 20,000 ha., 18-07-79. Characterized by pastures, pine trees and tropical oaks. Inhabited by black bears, wild boar, and white-tailed deer.

Source: La Jornada Ecológica, Year 1, Num. 6, 19th September 1991, pp. 7-8. Mapimí, State of Durango, 20,000 ha., 19-06-79. An ecosystem which is home to the legendary gopher tortoise. Much scientific research has been carried out on its unique climate. El Cielo, State of Tamaulipas, 144,530 ha., 15-06-85. Home of 175 species of native and migratory birds. Mesophyllous mountain forests and sub-perennial jungle.

Sian Ka'an, State of Quintana Roo, 528,147 ha., 20-01-86. Middle and low sub-perennial rain forests, mangroves and coastal dunes. Forms part of the second biggest reef in the world.

Sierra de Manantlán, State of Jalisco, 139,577 ha., 23-04-87, Mesophyllous mountain forests, and deciduous middle forests. Migratory birds include the wild turkey. Also home of Euchlanea Luxurians, a plant in danger of extinction. El Vizcaíno, State of Baja California Sur, 2,546,790 ha. 30-11-88. Believed to be the biggest reserve in Latin America, and also the mating site of the grey whale. Vegetation includes xerophyllous, microphyllous and coniferous scrub. Calakmul, State of Campeche, 723,185 ha., 23-05-89. High, middle and low semi-perennial forests. Home to a variety of wildcats.

El Triunfo, State of Chiapas, 119,177 ha., 12-03-90. Cloud jungles, made up of 12 microclimates. Natural habitat of the quetzal and the peacock.

Pantanos de Centla, State of Tabasco, 290,037 ha., Important site for

290,037 ha., Important site for hydrological cycles and a protected area for the jaguar.

#### Special biosphere reserves

Isla de Guadalupe State of Baja California, 25,000 ha., 27-12-22. A sanctuary for sea mammals. Vegetation of mixed cacti and pine forest.

Cajón del Diablo, State of Sonora, 12-09-37. Xerophyllous vegetation. Home to wild boar, quail, white and purple-winged doves.

Isla Contoy, State of Quintana Roo, 176 ha., 08-02-61. A sanctuary for

over 60 species of seabird. High and middle perennial jungle.

Isla Tiburón, State of Sonora, 120,800 ha., 15-03-63. Natural habitat of the bighorn sheep; the mule deer and the osprey. Isla Rasa, State of Baja California, 6.9 ha. 30-05-64. Nesting site of the brown gull and the elegant tern accounting for 90% of the species. Vegetation is mostly cacti.

Islas del Golfo de California, State of

Sonora, State of Baja California, 150,000 ha, 02-08-78. Home to marine reptiles and seabirds. Sparsely vegetated. *Volcán de San Martín*, State of Veracruz, 1,500,000 ha. 20-03-79. High perennial jungle of great biological diversity, and research center for the National University of Mexico.

*Ría Celestum*, State of Yucatan, 59,130 ha., 19-05-79. Nesting ground of the pink flamingo.

*Ría Lagartos*, State of Yucatan, 47,840 ha., 26-06-79. Nesting ground of the pink flamingo.

Santuario de la Mariposa Monarca, State of Michoacán, 16,110 ha., 09-04-80. The world's only hibernating site of the monarch butterfly.

Sierra de Santa Martha, State of Veracruz, 20,000 ha., 28-04-80. High perennial and semi-perennial jungle, natural habitat of owls, parakeets and raccoons.

Cascadas de Agua Azul, State of Chiapas, 2,580 ha., 29-04-80. Perennial jungle. Habitat of many bird species, including the red macaw.

Arrecifes de Cozumel, State of Quitana Roo. 450 ha., 11-06-80. A natural submarine garden teeming with magnificently colored fish.

Selva del Ocote, State of Chiapas, 48,140 ha., 20-10-82. Perennial jungle. Home to many endangered species, including the tapir, the jaguar, the king vulture and the harpy eagle.

#### National parks

*Izta-Popo*, State of Mexico, 25,679 ha., 08-11-35. Pine forests with a limited

wildlife, including the volcano rabbit, the white-tailed deer and the crow. *Nevado de Toluca*, State of Mexico, 51,000 ha., 25-01-36. Source of the River Lerma-Santiago hydrological system.

Cerro de Garnica, State of Michoacán, 968 ha., 05-09-36. Pine and fir forests. Home to the gray fox, the ring-tailed cat, and the white-tailed deer.

Nevado de Colima, Colima, 22,200 ha., 05-09-36 and 06-12-40. Pine and fir forests, nesting site of falcons, woodpeckers and hummingbirds.

Los Mármoles, Hidalgo State, 23,150 ha., 08-09-36. Madrone, juniper, walnut and pine forests. Inhabited by small wildcats and birds of prey.

El Potosí, State of San Luis Potosí, 2,000 ha., 15-09-36. Semi-tropical forests inhabited by coyotes, skunks, Mexican opossums and falcons.

Insurgente Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (La Marquesa), State of Mexico, 1,750 ha., 18-09-36. Site of the Mexican Institute of Nuclear Research.

El Gogorrón, State of San Luis Potosí, 25,000 ha., 22-09-36. Pine forests and hillside cacti. Wildlife includes roadrunners, foxes, hares, and doves.

Cumbres del Ajusco, Federal District of Mexico, 920 ha., 23-09-36. Pine and fir forests, inhabited by small fauna, squirrels, volcano rats, rabbits, falcons and the blue grosbeak.

Lagunas de Zempoala, State of Morelos, 4,669 ha., 27-11-36. Studies indicate a number of lagoons are quickly drying. *Pico de Orizaba*, State of Veracruz, 19,750 ha., 07-01-37. The highest peak in the Republic.

El Tepeyac, Federal District of Mexico, 302 ha., 18-02-37. An area reforested with eucalyptus.

Zoquiapan y Anexas, State of Mexico, 19,418 ha., 13-03-37. Pine and tropical oak forests with typical wildlife.

Lagunas de Chacacua, State of Oaxaca, 14,418 ha., 09-07-37. An estuary of unique beauty, and a lizard breeding ground.

#### Molino de Flores Netzahualcóyotl,

State of Mexico, 55 ha., 05-11-37. Giant bald cypresses, pepper trees, and Mexican ash trees. Mainly doves and reptiles.

Benito Juárez, State of Oaxaca, 2,737 ha., 30-12-37. A reservoir site, supplying water to the city of Oaxaca. Cañon de Río Blanco, State of Veracruz, 55,690 ha., 22-02-38. Subtropical forests, natural habitat of weasels, iguanas and other species. Los Remedios, State of Mexico, 400 ha., 15-04-38. Eucalyptus forest. Cerro de la Estrella, Federal District of Mexico, 1,100 ha., 24-08-38. Indigenous fauna and flora have been reduced by 85%.

El Sabinal, State of Nuevo León, 8 ha., 25-08-38. The place takes its name from the abundance of "sabinas" or juniper trees.

*La Malinche*, State of Puebla, 45,700 ha., 06-10-38. Pine and fir forests with typical wildlife.

Insurgente José Ma. Morelos y Pavón, State of Michoacán, 1,813 ha., 22-02-39. Cypress, firs and conifers and a variety of wildlife.

Sacramonte, State of Mexico, 45 ha., 26-08-39. Cedar forest. Wildlife includes ring-tailed cats, blue grosbeaks and skunks.

Cumbres de Majalca, State of Chihuahua, 4,772 ha., 01-10-39. Pine and tropical oaks abound, the natural habitat of the black bear, the tinamou, the woodpecker and the falcon.

Cumbres de Monterrey, State of Nuevo León, 246,500 ha., 24-11-39. Pines and tropical oaks abound. This is the site of the famous Cola de Caballo Waterfalls.

Los Novillos, State of Coahuila, 42 ha., 18-06-40. An oasis surrounded by walnut, tropical oak, willow, and aspen. Wildlife includes tortoises, hares, coyotes and other desert species.

*Pico de Tancítaro*, State of Michoacán, 29,316 ha., 27-06-40. Tropical oak, fir and pine abound. Typical coniferous forest wildlife.

Bosencheve, State of Michoacán, 15,000 ha., 01-10-40. Pine and fir forests, home to armadillos, and a stop-over for many migratory bird species.

Lago de Camécuaro, State of Michoacán, 9 ha., 08-03-41. Juniper and giant bald cypress trees grow on its banks.

Desierto del Carmen, State of Mexico, 549 ha., 01-10-42. Temperate forests which are home to many birds of prey and rodents.

Rayón, State of Michoacán, 34 ha., 29-10-52. Pine forests, inhabited by white-tailed deer, armadillos and ring-tailed cats.

El Tepozteco, State of Morelos, 24,000 ha., 22-01-57. Forests of pine, tropical oak and fir. Wildlife includes the gray fox, squirrels and other small mammals.

Lagunas de Montebello, State of

Chiapas, 6,022 ha., 16-12-59. Its 52 lagoons are part of an ecosystem of mesophyllous forest, quetzals, tayras, margays, and other animals.

Constitución de 1857, State of Baja California, 5,009 ha., 27-04-62. Coniferous forests, scrub land and cacti. Home to the mule deer, the coyote and other species.

El Veladero, State of Guerrero, 3,159 ha., 17-06-80. Low deciduous jungle. Wildlife includes songbirds and reptiles. Cañón del Sumidero, State of Chiapas, 21,789 ha., 08-12-80. Middle and low jungle, the natural habitat of the anteater. Isla Isabel, State of Nayarit, 194 ha., 08-12-80. Sparsely vegetated, but nesting site of the blue-footed and brown boobies, the frigatebird, and the pelican. Cascadas de Basaseachic, State of Chihuahua, 5,802 ha., 02-02-81. The waterfall measures 311 m in height. Pine and tropical oak forests. Wildlife includes the puma and the white-tailed

*Tulúm*, State of Quintana Roo, 664 ha., 23-04-81. Middle jungle, with coastal dunes. Natural habitat of species of hot and humid climes.

deer.

Tula, State of Hidalgo, 99 ha., 27-05-81. Semi-desert, inhabited by



Macaws overflying the shores of the Usumacinta River.

many species of snake and small reptiles and rodents.

Palenque, State of Chiapas, 1,771 ha., 20-06-81. High perennial jungle, inhabited by great curassows, parrots, ocelots, spider and howler monkeys. *El Cimatorio*, State of Querétaro, 2,447

El Cimatorio, State of Querétaro, 2,447 ha., 21-06-82. Semi-arid xerophyllous scrub land.

El Chico, State of Hidalgo, 2,739 ha., 13-09-82. A forested region. Indigenous wildlife is in danger of extinction. Dzibilchaltun, State of Yucatan, 539 ha., 14-04-87. An archaeological zone of the classic Mayan period.

#### Protected aquatic wildlife zones

Chichinautzin, State of Morelos, 37,302 ha., 30-11-88. Local inhabitants recently protested the construction of an express railroad through this ecological corridor.

#### Protected natural resource zones

El Pinacate, State of Sonora, 28,600 ha. Mainly xerophyllous scrub land. Home of the bighorn sheep, the puma, the pronghorn antelope, and the gopher tortoise

# The UNAM ecology reserves

Dr. Jorge Soberón M.\*

he National University of
Mexico (UNAM) has some of
the most important biology
reserves in the country, not
for their size, but for the quantity and
quality of biological information
created in them.

There are three main land reserves: Los Tuxtlas and Chamela run by the Biology Institute, and El Pedregal de San Angel, managed by a committee from the Biology Institute, the Ecology Center and the Faculty of Sciences. The Department of Urban Development and Ecology (SEDUE) recently delegated operation of its Lacandon Forest station to the UNAM.

#### Los Tuxtlas

Los Tuxtlas, near Catemaco, Veracruz, was created in 1968, and contains 700 hectares of high rain forest. It is one of the last forest areas remaining in an area that until recently was covered by exceptionally exuberant foliage. Few species of large mammals survive there because of its small size. The larger carnivores and herbivores have disappeared, leaving small colonies of howler monkeys, large populations of small vertebrates and a great number of invertebrates and plants.

The Los Tuxtlas rain forest is fondly called the "plastic jungle" by researchers who work there. This exaggeration refers to the many years of research projects that have left tags

\* Researcher at the Center for Ecology and Head of the Postgraduate Studies Division of the Faculty of Sciences, UNAM. on thousands of plants, and the lines and blazes marking zone boundaries remain.

The Los Tuxtlas forest is one of the best known in America. Several classic works in international literature originated there. For example, pioneer studies on tropical tree demography were started there in the nineteen seventies by Dr. José Sarukhán, present rector of the UNAM. These studies led to methods for evaluating the age of forest clearings, and resulted in important research on the dynamics of undisturbed and disturbed rain forests.

The first studies on ecological physiology of tropical tree seeds were also begun there twenty years ago. These studies, also an international

first, were made by Alfredo Gómez Pompa, Carlos Vázquez and others, and are much sought after when forest regeneration programs are planned.

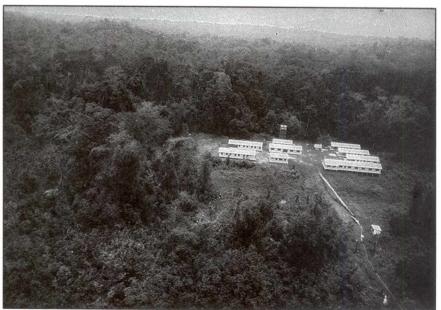
Many important tropical ecologists have been trained or have worked in the Los Tuxtlas Reserve.

#### Chamela

The Chamela Reserve, located on the Pacific coast in the state of Jalisco, contains 1,500 hectares of low deciduous forests. Other protected areas and little-disturbed ranches surround the reserve, permitting large mammals like jaguar to survive. The station, created in 1972, is one of the better known Mexican protected areas.

Ecosystem studies made there on how valleys function under different management systems (traditionally clear-cut and planted corn fields, different types of parcel management, forest management, etc.) are unique in Mexico. Once more, the large number of flora, fauna and population studies developed there have laid foundations for the rational use of many neighboring low forest areas on the Pacific coast.

Recent generations of biologists and tropical ecologists have been



Chajul.

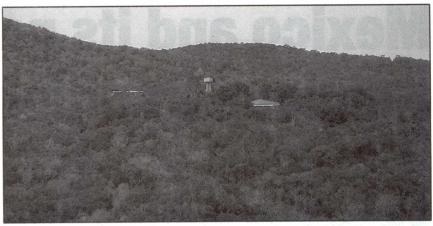
trained in Chamela, as in Los Tuxtlas, since increasing interest has been shown in southern Mexico's low forests.

#### El Pedregal de San Angel

This reserve is radically different from the other two in its environment, because it is located in the University City, completely surrounded by Mexico City. Created in 1983, at present it contains 140 hectares.

A little-known fact is that the overwhelmed city of Mexico, example of untold environmental woes, contains a wild area where more that 150 species of butterflies, around twenty species of mammals (squirrels, rabbits, civet cats and even foxes), more than sixty species of birds and 300 flowering plants all survive.

The Pedregal reserve is really small, but justified, because it serves to protect the last outpost of vegetation



Chamela.

in the rocky southern area of the Federal District. There is also a natural interest in this type of extremely varied and lush ecosystem, and in its role for training and educating biologists and ecologists.

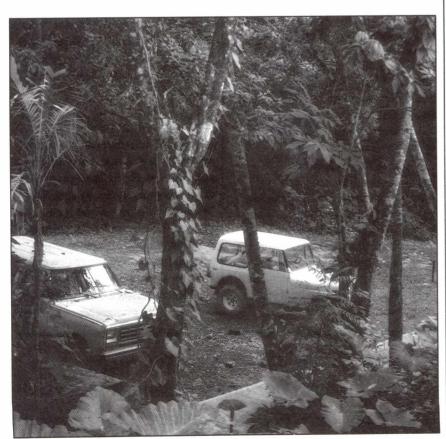
Indeed, the reserve has become a natural teaching laboratory, inspiring biology and ecology theses at both graduate and undergraduate level. On the other hand, the experience and knowledge generated in this small area became the foundation for the Ajusco mountain, middle level restoration program. The UNAM is currently working on the program with officials of the Department of the Federal District and the Tlalpan Delegation.

#### Chajul

The Chajul Biology Station is the latest acquired by the UNAM. The Center for Ecology was authorized by the SEDUE to operate this station in December 1991; it is located in the extreme southwest of the Montes Azules reserve in the Lacandon Forest.

Based on work already done in the area, development of a program for active basic and applied ecology has been planned for this station. This will lay the foundation for the rational use of rain forests and provide productive non-destructive alternatives for the region's inhabitants.

This ambitious project needs the participation of other institutions, and considerable financing. Based on results from other reserves operated by the UNAM, we expect the Station to have a beneficial influence on the area. Also anticipated is the production of high-quality scientific information and trained researchers.



Tropical Biology Station Los Tuxtlas, Veracruz.

# Mexico and its popular religious tradition

José Luis González M.\*

atin America has little to celebrate during the Quincentennial of the discovery of America but, inexorably, it should come to terms with the fact that its present configuration:

-complex, multiform, mestizo and promising, does derive from that irreversible event, the Conquest. The mere fact of coming to terms with this represents something of a balancing of accounts with actors from the past and something of peace making with itself. Both free the collective memory, preparing it to face the future, its own future.

Any conquest is annihilating, be it from physical extermination or from destroying a people's culture. The conquistador can only fully carry out his aims by annihilating the vanquished, reducing them to nothing. Therefore, the first measure of resistance by the vanquished is to survive, both physically and culturally. That is why the vanquished people's resistance and creativity is of such great importance. It is within that framework that the conquistadors and their victims recreate and reconstruct their very being, reediting their identity within a dialectic into which the processes of conquest and colonization have inscribed them.

Mexican popular Catholicism has been, among other things, a cultural space in which a new (Christian) identity has crystallized for the peoples of Mexico and a number of

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mechanisms to resist the dominant culture have been articulated, both in its religious (Official Church), and its civil version.

The following presents some ideas concerning this popular process of creative and autonomous participation in preserving the peoples' collective memory and in organizing their lives.

#### A concept and a hypothesis

In a strict sense, what we understand by popular Catholicism is the systematic way in which marginal sectors and cultures of each era have reinterpreted and appropriated, though not exclusively, some fundamental aspects of Christianity. Those reinterpretations and appropriations have been developed and functionally systematized based on the culture and social practices of the poor.

One of the fundamental hypotheses that has served us as a stimulus throughout the 15 years we have been studying these phenomena is that, given the fact popular Catholicism has a poor and devout people as its prime historical subject, it expresses, in form and content, the utopia of an alternative social and religious order.

Insofar as the word poor is concerned, popular Catholicism projects a different social order in its own codes, one more just and humane. Concerning the word Christian, it voices a permanent longing for a church that is less clerical and more secular, in which lay people can participate in managing religious goods.

In myths, in legends, in narrative theology in which people come to a realization of their experience and religious tradition, in the autonomous organization with which it directs its own rituals, we have found abundant testimony of this permanent list of complaints which popular Catholic sectors keep alive.

#### A Christianity of conquest

As in all of the Americas, the Gospel arrived in Mexico in an act of conquest and violence. For us, the recognition of this entry is not merely anecdotal. We believe that one of the main interpretative keys of the relationship that Christianity established with Mexico's indigenous population derives from the asymmetrical relations established between conquistador-conquered and evangelizer-evangelized.

Popular religion has permitted the predominantly poor and indigenous to survive and resist the dominant culture and religion brought by Spanish friars some 500 years ago.



Moctezuma meets Cortés in a modern Mexican mural.

From the arrival of the Franciscans (1524), Dominicans (1526) and Augustines (1533) in New Spain, the conflict surrounding the Church's plans in the conquered territories grew virulent.

Cortés wanted a "Church of friars," not of bishops. Among those friars, the Franciscans clearly intended an "Indian Church," based on the simplicity and poverty of native Mexicans, guided by Franciscans and inspired in the millenarian ideas of Gioacchino di Fiore, not a "Spanish Church in the Indies."

The Franciscans and Augustines were closest to the indigenous Mexican reality, with greater sensitivity to and, at times, admiration for their cultures. Religious practices were, of course, what attracted their attention the most. Though it is true that until the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the overriding intent was to Christianize the natives and eradicate idolatry, there was an important desire to "get to know in order to evangelize." The monumental effort of Friar Bernardino de Sahagún was carried out at that time. With the influence of Trent and its obsession for orthodoxy, a harder line was taken toward native cultures and religious practices. The new criterion was: extirpate in order to evangelize.

We believe that Trent's influence caused not only a shift in the evangelizers' attitudes toward the evangelized
cultures, but an
increase in
Indian resistance
toward the new
religion as well.
Indigenous
religions were
preparing to
resist, but new
Christians were
likewise
preparing to
continue
preserving a

good part of their old beliefs. A long process of syncretism began.

#### Five-hundred years of inheritance

We are aware of the multiform complexity of the above mentioned cultures resulting from the conquest. Therefore, we cannot equate the Catholicism present in lower income neighborhoods of Mexican cities with that of Mayan, Otomí, Nahua, Purépecha, Tarahumara and Totonac communities.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their diversity, Mexican popular Catholicism was born and transmitted as a redoubt of identity. Besides the penetration of the conquistadors' nature, fundamental aspects of pre-Hispanic identity were preserved.

The Virgin of Guadalupe is not only the most intensive and extensive example of devotion, but the prototype for the Mexicanization of Christianity down through the 500 years since the arrival of the first twelve Franciscans. To those more concerned with orthodoxy than life, Mexican popular Catholicism would seem impure, because of its syncretism. However, it is in this creative and integrating syncretism, that the most precious thing retrievable from a Gospel that arrived impregnated with violence is hidden.

Generally speaking, syncretism is built up from below. From above, official pastoral plans always seek to implant dogma in all its purity and without concessions, though not necessarily coincident with the Gospel. It was the people who integrated Christianity into a pre-Hispanic world view better suited to a mystical and participative communion in which nature, society and culture converge harmoniously.

C. Geertz, treating the systematicintegrational nature of life as a whole, presents religion as a "cultural system." Popular Catholicism is a good example of this aspect of religion. In most cases, it is really a radically different cosmography from the one present in Western culture.

Those who see Mexico cloaked in accelerated modernization should not forget that there are many groups in the depths of this country's being not sharing the cultural presuppositions of the West, a West that has converted the world into merchandise. The majority of Indian cultures see the world as a network of mystic relationships in which nature, man and culture are interwoven.

Any economic plan that aims to respect these peoples and their cultures should take into account that, for native Mexicans and many campesinos, to sell their lands is to sell themselves, to lose their lands is to lose themselves. Land, for them, is radically sacred and, rather than saleable property, it is the nucleus of their identity.

Indigenous Mexican groups, "witnesses" to the confrontation of the Conquest, in the words of Darci Ribeyro, have achieved a religious system coherent with their history and with their social position in the subsequent order. But it is not their pre-Hispanic religion nor the Christianity that the friars preached. It is something else. It will probably disillusion both anthropologists with a romantic view of indigenous Mexicans and Christian inquisitors alike, but we find ourselves, irreversibly, some 500 years later.

The native face of the Virgin of Guadalupe was, evidently, not only an aesthetic option. It is a major symbol of those who, through conviction, pressure, violence or inertia, gradually appropriated Christianity and made of it a significant system articulating their lives, their culture and their world view.

The system of religious hierarchy ("cargos") motivated the community, guaranteed its festivals, ritualized idleness and channeled the prestige of those performing diverse community services. Christian saints and their festivals were not only an occasion for ensuring the collective consciousness, but also a "popularization" of the Christian pantheon.

These "minor gods" have often been excellent syncretic bridges interconnecting Christianity with indigenous religions, giving rise to nuclei of syncretic creativity: the Virgin of Guadalupe was shaped in close relationship with Tonantzin; Saint Thomas with Quetzalcoatl; and many other specialized saints for different needs were correlated with competent entities in different moments of life and the agricultural cycle.

However, in addition to the creativity and functionality of popular native religion, we should also point out the exercise of autonomy and popular



Jesús Helguera, Yalalteca.

participation in it. The history of official Christianity is a sad one: stripping laymen of mutual responsibilities and concentrating ecclesiastical functions in the clergy.

In contrast, the history of popular Christianity is a history of the implicit or explicit recovery of the status of the layman. Hence, the popular hierarchy, which has always been the driving force behind popular practices. Mexican popular Catholicism is the space belonging to the laymen. Pilgrimages, vows, funeral rituals, family shrines, festivals for patron saints, etc. are some of the important moments in which the people direct their own religious experiences.

Having put these brief reflections into the perspective of the Quincentennial, we would like to end with an allusion to the indigenous movements through which subjugated peoples have tried over and over to shake off the yoke of colonial oppression. They are particularly significant moments in the creativity of popular religion. In the early decades of the conquest, such movements attempted to break with the culture and religion of the conquistadors and return to their long-time gods (revivalism).

It is interesting to observe that there has been a rebellion of symbols before a rebellion of arms in many of these movements in New Spain since the end of the 16th century. What does this rebellion of symbols consist of? Indians reinterpret Christianity from their socio-historical viewpoint, undermining the colonial system's self-attributed religious legitimization and constructing an alternative Christian legitimization for the growing insurgency.

From this new legitimization, which could be a miracle or a reinterpretation of Christian values from the viewpoint of the poor, Indian nations are summoned to rise up against their oppressors. In some cases, calls to rebellion not only summoned them



*Jesús Helguera*, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas.

to form a new social order, in which they no longer had to pay tribute, but to participate in a new Church: the native Church.

#### Conclusions

During these 500 years of Christianity in Mexico, the Hierarchical Church has not been the sole protagonist in the religious configuration of these peoples. Much is due to what is said as well as to what is not said. But during this period, there has also been great religious creativity among Mexican peoples and cultures.

After 500 years, with nuances and adjustments, it may be said that Christianity is an important part of the life of the Mexican people. But, in Mexican popular Catholicism, it is important to distinguish between what comes from the ministry of shepherds and what the people themselves have developed in the dialectical relationship with the "colonial" commitment of a Church that was incapable of becoming Indian.

Mexican popular Catholicism bears the scars of the domination of the body and soul of its people. But it also bears signs of another part of its identity that has always emerged in the midst of military, civilian and religious domination M



Organ: detail.

#### Francisco López Capillas: organist and choirmaster

Uncertainty surrounds Francisco López Capillas's birthplace: some say it was Andalucia and others Mexico between 1612 and 1615. He was probably a student of Juan de Riscos, choirmaster of Jaen. Once he had been ordained as a priest, he began work as an organist and fagotist in the city of Puebla on December 17, 1641, often replacing the resident organist Pedro Simón.

In May 1648 he went to Mexico City. He may have been encouraged in this venture by Fabién Ximeno, the resident organist at the Metropolitan Cathedral who had just paid an official visit to Puebla. López Capillas presented the Cathedral authorities with a choirbook containing his own compositions and when Ximeno died he was appointed to the two posts of Cathedral organist and choirmaster. Though he was exceptional in both posts and even had the opportunity to compose the music for the consecration of the new Cathedral, he constantly requested to be relieved of one. It was not until 1668, 34 years after his appointment, that his request was granted. Joseph Ydiaquez was employed as organist.

The date of López Capillas's death is also uncertain, but it is known that he died between January 18 and

\* Sub-director of the Library of Mexico.

# Music in the Cathedral (Part II)

Fernando Alvarez de Castillo\*

February 7, 1673. His musical legacy is of the utmost importance; it includes eight masses, a group of excellent magnificats kept in manuscript form in the Cathedral archives, and an excellent choirbook which he sent to Spain and is now in the National Library of Madrid. He often composed for four voices but never for a double choir. His music, so beautifully fresh and elegant, kept to conservative structures.

#### José de Nasarre: the cathedral organ maker

In 1730, the organ maker José de Nasarre, who had apparently built the Guadalajara Cathedral organ, was commissioned to extend the range of the *Epistle* organ, which was at the east end of the choir. Once he had completed this task in 1734, the Chapter then commissioned him to

build a second organ, known as the *Gospel* or the Mexican organ, and to modify the *Epistle* organ, which was built in 1696, so that it would be identical to the new one. José de Nasarre completed his masterpiece in October 1776, and it was inaugurated on December 3, 1776.

In 1817, the *Gospel* organ was modified once more. Both organs were restored between 1975 and 1977 by Flentrop, a Dutch company, because they had been badly damaged by a fire on January 18, 1967, caused by a short circuit.

#### Antonio de Salazar: choirmaster and teacher

Antonio de Salazar is the last composer we shall mention here. He was born around 1650 in Seville. The little that is known about his life may be found in archives in Guatemala

Many of the musical scores composed by the talented choirmasters at the metropolitan cathedral lie buried in the archives. Only when they have been dug up and performed in their original setting –if not their original context– can the true quality of composition be appreciated. where he was choirmaster before his appointment to the same post in Puebla on July 11, 1679. He held that post for nine years.

In 1688, Salazar was one of five candidates for the post of choirmaster of the Metropolitan Cathedral, but his rivals offered little opposition and he began his new job on September 3.

As a musical expert, his work was not restricted to composition and the direction of the choir. He also took on the tasks of ordering the Cathedral music archives and of supervising the installation of the first Great Organ –built in Madrid– at the east end of the choir in the Cathedral.

He was recognised by one and all as an excellent teacher. Among his most outstanding students were Pérez de Guzmán in contrapuntal composition, who became the choirmaster of Oaxaca Cathedral, Francisco de Atienza y Pineda and the famous Manuel de Zumaya, who not only held the post of choirmaster at the Metropolitan Cathedral and later at Oaxaca Cathedral but was also the composer of the first opera written in America.

Around January 1710, Salazar placed his state of health on record, pointing out that he was ill and almost

blind, for which reason he handed over some of his responsibilities to Manuel de Zumaya. No record remains of the date of his death, but it is known that he died before May 27, 1715.

Salazar's contrapuntal texture is free-flowing, but his style is conservative in its long phrases, open spaces and subtle contrasts. Some of his choral works were written to be accompanied by instruments. Even though he composed a great number of works very few were preserved for posterity.

In the eighteenth century Juan Tellez Girón, Juan Pérez Zamora and José Suárez were the resident organists in the cathedral which housed José de Nasarre's magnificent organ.

#### The maintenance of the organs

The Chapter was quite aware of the importance of these new instruments and sought a specialist who would keep them in tune and in a perfect state. José de Nasarre recommended José Cacela, who had worked on the construction of the Valladolid organ, but the Chapter chose Francisco Pelaez since he had previously been the cathedral tuner. He was given a salary of 400 pesos a year. However,



Organ and choir.

he was advised that he should leave a surety to guarantee the quality of his work and that all minor repairs would have to be done at his own risk and cost, since the Cathedral would only pay for major repairs.

Now that the Metropolitan
Cathedral had such magnificent
organs, the musical repertoire grew
considerably. Manuel de Zumaya,
Ignacio Jerusalén y Stela, Mateo
Tollis Della Rocca and Antonio de
Juanas, the last choirmaster before
Independence, left a fine musical
legacy of organ scores, which are still
in the archives. It is for this reason that
the organists play Spanish music in the
concerts given on these Great Organs.

Many of the choral works of the Mexican colonial period remain buried in the archives. The analysis and preparation of these scores would make sense only if the performance bringing them back to life does justice to them.

Cathedral music of the colonial period should be seen within the context of centuries of colonial life, but we have to look beyond the celebrations of the discovery of the Americas to appreciate their true worth.



Organ: detail.

# Opensea(1492)openspace(1969)

Hugo B. Margáin\*

#### Two dots in the cosmic void

Man first stepped on the moon on July 19, 1969. When returning to earth, one of the astronauts was overheard saying something along the lines of the following. Our planet is haloed by an intense blue light: an island of life in the ocean of darkness of the cosmic void. Tiny and refulgent, it is the only haven of life yet known. From outer space, there is no sign of those artificial boundaries, the inventions of man and the propagators of so much hatred and resentment. From the immensity of space, the earth, a tiny luminous planet and the sole repository of life, calls upon humankind to live in peace and harmony with justice for all. Humanity is one, but the responsibility for survival rests with each individual.

\* Editorial Director.

On July 16, 1969, Apollo II was launched on its conquest of space – the scientific and technological achievement of this century. The three men on board were Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins. Armstrong and Aldrin transferred into the lunar module and landed on the surface of the moon for the first time in human history.

They stepped on the moon on July 19 at 20:15 G.M.T. Armstrong, wearing his space suit and carrying oxygen tanks, went down the ladder from the module. His first words upon landing on the moon's dusty surface were: "One small step for man; one giant leap for Mankind."



Christoforo Colombo.

This miraculous step into space, which opened it up, recalls Columbus' miracle. One cannot help but draw the historical parallel between the voyage to the moon and the voyage to the Americas, which, on October 12, 1492, marked the beginning of the meeting of two worlds.

Upon Columbus' triumphant return, Europe trembled at the sight of men and women of other races, unheard-of animals, the famous dazzlingly coloured parrots, unknown fruit, exotic plants and flowers ... The astronauts returning from the moon brought minerals, rocks, and dust particles from a planet without atmosphere or life.

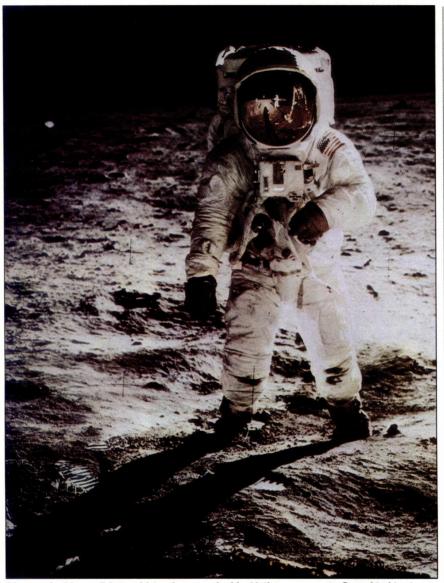
#### The new worlds: paradise lost or regained?

When Pedro Martyr saw the "Indians" in Europe, he was certain that they did not stem from any known race and he thus called them "new men" in his correspondence. Shortly afterwards, he dwelt upon this concept in many works and baptised the place of their origin as the "New World".

During the last few years of the fifteenth century, the seas were conquered: they were open to the brave; open to cultural and human exchange; open to justice and injustice in regions formerly unknown to the Europeans.

When the astronauts stepped on the moon, they opened up space to new discoveries, to the further advance

The discovery of the Americas ushered in the modern age; the moon landing ushered in the space age. Celebrated as supreme examples of human progress and ingenuity, both these great moments in history harbor the threat of death and destruction caused by the desire for conquest and colonization.



Man on the Moon: Edwin Aldrin photographed by Neil Armstrong (reflected in his visor).

of humanity and to its dangers. When the new oceans were discovered, they were opened to colonization, to the abuse of power and to the enslavement of the indigenous peoples who were taken to Spain in chains. Whole communities on some Caribbean islands were wiped out. The conquest of the moon, in turn, may give way to a meaningless "war of the galaxies".

Columbus believed he had found the gateway to Paradise -Paradise regained- when he contemplated the beauty of the new continent and the mouth of the powerful river flowing into the Gulf of Paria. But the ravages of egoism and the black-white dichotomy of colonialism soon put an end to this paradise. When the time was ripe, the colonized countries sought their independence under the banner of liberty and justice, their guarantee of freedom and peaceful coexistence.

In the meantime, the Old World was busy destroying itself in armed conflicts, which came to be known as "world wars" in this century but were more like "European civil wars". On account of scientific and technological advances, the moon was still open to the human race. However, space was also open to destruction, to thermo-nuclear war and to the possibility of a "nuclear winter" for everybody, since there can no longer be any victors.

#### HERE MEN FROM THE PLANET EARTH FIRST SET FOOT UPON THE MOON JULY 1969, A.D.

NEIL A. ARMSTRONG ASTRONAUT MICHAEL COLLINS ASTRONAUT EDWIN E. ALDRIN ASTRONAUT

RICHARD NIXON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

On October 12, 1492, the walls of the "non plus ultra" came tumbling down. Ever since that time, the human race has lived within the cloisters of this planet. In July, 1969, the walls of "the nothing beyond" collapsed again as the human race began its conquest of open space, if we can survive the ever-present threat of a thermonuclear holocaust.

#### Serendipity versus science

While each step of the astronauts' voyage to the moon was calculated with precision, Columbus' journey was fraught with uncertainties. The former was monitored with technological rigor; the latter was an act of pure imagination since the so-called scientific speculations were proved wrong.

The first ships headed into mysterious waters, into the unknown. Nobody knew anything about the prevailing winds and currents. The rudimentary nautical instruments consisted of an astrolabe, a cross staff and a quadrant. The compass had deviated during the voyage; it was only strength of conviction, inspired by the subtleties of the old poems, that enabled Columbus to maintain command and impose his will in the face of adversity.



Salvador Dalí, Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.



Columbus finally convinces Queen Isabella of Spain to support his Indies project.

There were two counts of the leagues covered: the accurate one for himself and the official one for the crews. Despite his precaution, the crews mutinied over the course they were set on during the later stages of the voyage. On the edge of human resistance, the inspired visionary won his battle. The Admiral of the High Seas was a good cosmographer, an experienced sailor, a dreamer, a courageous man and an excellent "starwatcher".

For the success of their mission the astronauts relied on the support of researchers, technicians and modern machinery. The glory went to the group who planned the voyage, the moon landing and the return to earth with exact timing. Columbus, however, was a lonely dreamer. Apart from maps, charts and erroneous speculations, he could rely on no one. It was serendipity and poetic intuition that opened the seas to the human race.

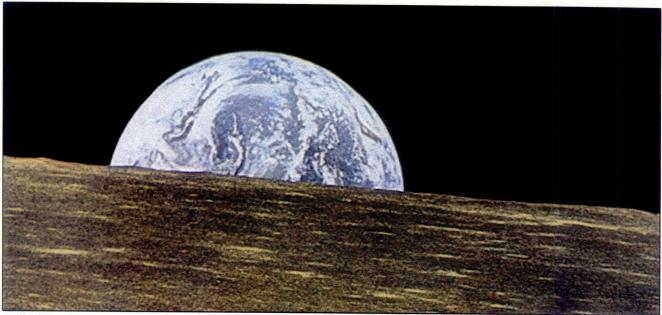
Toscanelli believed that India could be reached by sailing westward. The discoverer was a little wary of Toscanelli's chart and his entire voyage was guesswork. One of Columbus' most heroic gestures was his silent suffering when he discovered

a mistaken calculation on his voyage towards what he so desperately sought.

He was really saved by the New World, which no cartographer had even envisaged; only the poets had dreamed of it. The daring sailors entered the waters of the "Mare Tenebrosus", the unknown sea, as yet unopened to the predominant ideology. Columbus opened it to the human race. The moon on the other hand, was known to be airless, uninhabited, hostile, more dangerous in its airlessness than the heart of dark waters.

The astronauts never lost touch with the earth-bound scientists during their voyage to the moon. Television screens brought to the whole world the instant, at the instant, when man stepped on the moon for the first time. The astronauts' voices could be heard throughout the voyage, while the general consensus was that Columbus and his courageous seamen had perished.

Columbus dispelled the mystery and phantoms which darkened the horizon of other lands and civilizations; the myth of the precipice at the end of the oceans; the receding Island of Saint Balandrán and the non-existent St. Elmo's fire.



Stafford, Cernam and Young in lunar orbit, see the Earth rise over the lunar horizon from Apolo 10.

This voyage also destroyed many myths of monsters of the deep, which, as a product of Europe's confinement for so many centuries, had been created by fear of the unknown. Culture, a captive of the old European house, broke its chains: the western world experienced the euphoria of the liberated Prometheus.

#### The modern age and the space age

The discovery of the Americas ushered in the modern age; the conquest of the moon ushered in the space age.

Armstrong and Aldrin spent more than two hours collecting stones, rocks and dust particles from the surface of the uninviting satellite in the absolute silence of lifelessness and nothingness: nothingness, an absolute void, the bleak silence of a dead planet. They carried their collection to the lunar module. They left the flag by the launch module and a plaque on it, which read:

Here men from the Planet Earth first set foot upon the moon. July 19th, 1969 A.D. We come in peace for all mankind.

Upon their return to earth, the astronauts were put in quarantine for three weeks, in order to make sure they had not come into contact with any

harmful and unknown organism, and then they were set free. They had completed a mission which would have incalculable repercussions in the future.

Washington Irving, one of Columbus' biographers, examined the logbook of that immortal voyage in great detail. During the ill-fated days of dissatisfaction caused by the seamen's fear of the unknown, land birds were spotted flying southward. This omen made Columbus set course for the southwest.

The flight path of some birds determined the future destiny of the continent: if Columbus had remained on course, he would have discovered the Americas at the latitude of the present Carolinas. However, the birds' flight led the expedition to San Salvador Island (now known as Watling Island) and from there on to the Caribbean in search of gold, where the ships came across of numerous islands belonging to the new continent. It was not "Cipango" or "Catay" as the dreamer persisting in believing.

There are people who have reflected on how a trivial act may, in certain circumstances, become of vital importance in determining destiny and the course of history. The birds' flight transformed the future of the Americas; those delicate birds were decisive to the future distribution of the new lands among the European cultures.

Rodó picks up this episode and speculates what would have happened if Columbus had not changed course: the whole framework of conquest and colonization was modified by the flight of a few birds. The world would be quite different if nobody had noticed these birds. And Rodó asks himself: what happens to each one of us when an event more important than a trivial one presents itself in our lives?

We should all ask ourselves what effect a decisive event will have on the future of the human race. We are now talking not about the flight path of birds but of the conquest of the moon and the opening up of outer space. This gave us a different conception of the world; it was the first step into our own galaxy. The cosmos awaits us.

Human progress was the most significant historical consequence of Columbus' voyage; the paths into outer space remain open and we hope they will work towards the common good, as Kantian milenarianism hoped, the only thing that justifies the immortality of the human race

# Mexico's efforts and achievements since 1982

José Angel Gurría\*

exico's economic situation has not always been so favorable. The 1980's were, in many ways, a "lost decade" in terms of growth and development, though not, I would argue, a "wasted decade" in terms of very real and very necessary economic reforms.

Nevertheless, the 1980's were exceptional times for Mexico. In the postwar period, and right up to 1982, Mexico achieved continuous growth, bested, in my recollection, by only a handful of countries. Inflation had always been low or moderate, though rising from the mid-70's, in line with the experience of most countries.

However, while the industrialized world recovered rapidly from the recessionary impact of 1980/81 efforts to control inflation, the impact of high real rates, combined with falling oil prices and economic policy which displayed no adaptability to changing external circumstances, nor to growing domestic structural imbalances, brought Mexico to an economic, financial and political watershed in 1982. A long standing economic model, based heavily on public sector spending as the primary promoter of growth and on a protected, inward-looking industry, broke down in the face of collapsing confidence and manifestly mistaken policies, adhered to despite early warning signals indicating the need for change.

At the end of that year, Mexico found herself for the first time in modern economic history with inflation racing towards triple digit figures, unprecedented fiscal deficit, lack of confidence in a seriously devalued currency and a recently acquired mountain of external debt. A grim picture, to say the least, requiring an immense effort, clear ideas and a strong political will to turn it around.

#### The economic reform implemented since 1983

The most urgent priority was putting public finance on a sound footing and ensuring that fiscal discipline be the guiding principle for the future. Positive results ensued: the public sector's financial deficit dropped from 16.9% of GDP in 1982 to 3.5% in 1990, with a 1.3% deficit

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estimated for 1991 -though the actual figure will show a surplus of about 2.4% once divestiture proceeds are added.

If we consider the primary balance, revenues minus expenditures net of interest payments, the public sector switched from a deficit to a surplus in 1983, with the current primary surplus on the order of 6.0% of GDP (and almost 10% including divestiture proceeds).

Meanwhile, the operational balance, which excludes the inflationary component of interest payments on domestic debt, has shown a declining deficit over the last few years, to the point where in 1991 a surplus of 2.5% of GDP was obtained, with an even higher figure expected in 1992.

Strengthening of public finance has rested as much on rationalization of expenditure as on revenue growth, through actions such as the sale of non-strategic or non-priority state enterprises, elimination of non-justified subsidies and major tax reforms, which have increased the taxable base and revenues despite marginal tax rate reductions to

Mexico's economic and financial successes over the last few years garner numerous headlines, generating growing international investor interest to support continued success. The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of the bases for continued, justified interest in Mexico by the international financial and investor community.

Mexican Economy (Key variables)											
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991°	1992 <sup>p</sup>
Real GDP <sup>1</sup>	-0.6	-4.2	3.6	2.6	-3.8	1.7	1.4	3.1	3.9	4.0	4.0
Inflation	98.9	80.8	59.2	63.7	105.7	159.2	51.7	19.7	29.9	18.5	9.7
Nominal interest rate <sup>2</sup>	45.3	56.6	48.6	60.2	88.5	96.0	69.2	45.0	35.0	21.3	9.7
Real interest rate <sup>2</sup>	-25.2	-3.8	1.1	9.9	14.1	-2.9	28.4	29.9	8.4	4.6	_
As % of GDP	at attribution	1.0	i es tu	nani es	0830	ad ayawi	E VID BIT	To Rule	Part And		
Fiscal deficit <sup>3</sup>	-16.9	-8.6	-8.5	-9.6	-15.9	-16.1	-12.4	-5.5	-3.5	-1.3	8.0
Financial savings <sup>4</sup>	32.1	30.3	31.5	29.7	37.2	39.9	30.9	36.1	40.6	45.0	0.8
Private investment	12.8	11.0	11.3	12.5	12.9	13.4	13.8	13.4	13.7	14.1	day 🛴
Estimated. Proyected. Growth rate. 28-day Treasury Bills, and Excluding revenue from p	rivatizations	Corporal Control	ringered uni 1801 Uni-sente transacti	inerraci e-cerita ilsa illaile de	ed y	dinantiti pini pini pini pini pini pini		to year or produced by the control of the control o		it and the comment of	poyst off so to leave died so leaster
M4 minus notes and coin  Source: SHCP and Banco de M		on.									

internationally competitive levels. Although corporate income tax rates have been reduced from 42% to 35% and personal income tax rates from 60.5% to 35%, tax revenues have increased by 1.6% of GDP since 1987.

The correction of public finances has pursued twin objectives: first, to establish the macroeconomic foundations for sustaining and strengthening confidence and, secondly, to concentrate the State's resources and efforts on those sectors which have traditionally been considered most needy.

A strong financial position affords the public sector the maneuvering room to devote itself to projects with the greatest social impact, increase productivity and ultimately enhance the competitive position of the country. The commitment to prudence is evidenced by the decision to create a Contingency Fund from divestiture proceeds to ensure the viability of the 1991-1992 economic program in the face of any possible external shocks, instead of spending such proceeds.

In late September 1991, it was decided that the full amount of the contingency fund, equivalent to around \$6.5 billion dollars, be used to reduce domestic debt, resulting in a cancellation of fully 1/8th of the public sector's gross domestic debt. This will be followed by similar steps in the future.

Behind all of these actions is a substantial redefinition of the role of the State in the economy without infringing upon its constitutionally mandated regulatory and administrative obligations. It is a fact that the public sector no longer exerts pressure on domestic financial markets today, thus providing room to channel more resources toward productive investment at lower costs.

The decline in nominal and real interest rates is a consequence both of confidence in economic policy and of the declining, or even negative, financing requirements of the public sector. This is in fact a "crowding in" of the private sector in the credit markets. Going forward, the efficiency of the public sector will be measured against results obtained in areas such as education, health, infrastructure and social security. It is in these areas that the Mexican government is seeking to make a greater impact. With regard to the external sector, important strides have been made since 1983 to correct the structural imbalances inherited from the later stages of Mexico's import-substitution era. The authorities have consistently adopted realistic foreign exchange policies, combined with measures specifically aimed at promoting exports through deregulation.

These policies allowed the value of manufactured exports to increase annually by an average 21% between 1983 and 1990. More important, exports have been

diversified to the extent that manufactured exports now represent 56% of total exports against only 14% in 1982. At the same time, the importance of oil has been reduced from 78% of total exports in 1982 to 30% in the first half of 1991.

Thus Mexico no longer depends on the export of a single product, thereby reducing the economy's vulnerability to the vagaries of a volatile oil price. For instance, in 1986 the price of oil fell to around \$10 dollars a barrel, reducing the value of oil exports by 57%. Nonetheless, total exports only fell by 21% as non-oil exports grew by 41% that year.

Since then, the Mexican economy has become even less vulnerable both to oil and interest rate movements, the latter as a consequence of the 1989/90 debt restructuring under which interest payments on a quarter of the nation's debt were fixed at below market rates.

Despite undeniable progress achieved in the correction of trade imbalances, its rate was hindered by an obstacle that became evident from 1983 onwards, namely that Mexico began to be a net exporter of capital in contrast to being a net importer in years before. This situation was incompatible with economic growth, since it drained the economy of savings and therefore of investment.

An excessive level of net resource transfers abroad, in the case of an industrializing country, will impede the ultimate success of any economic reform program, hindering growth and presenting an obstacle to the elimination of inflation, no matter how consistent or far-reaching the program may be.

The burden of external debt is not only financial but also psychological, since it weighs heavily on the public's perceptions of the viability of the economic program, thereby creating uncertainty. At the same time, foreign investors are daunted by the political and economic risks posed by an unsustainable level of transfers abroad.

Between 1983 and 1988, the net transfer of resources abroad represented an average 6% of Mexico's GDP. This not only choked growth but also increased the vulnerability of the economy to external shocks, which made the adjustment program even more of an uphill battle.

External debt negotiations held between 1982 and 1987 gave the economy some breathing space. Nevertheless, they were not enough to resolve the fundamental problem which consisted of reducing net external transfers as a proportion of GDP. This could only be achieved through voluntary debt or debt service reduction or "new money" flows.

A successful renegotiation of a country's external debt overhang, whether commercial or official, can only occur once it has been made manifest to all creditors that despite profound structural reforms, the country still suffers from excessive external indebtedness which will ultimately impede the recovery of growth with price stability, as became evident in Mexico by 1988-1989.

The object of the 1989-1990 debt negotiations was to achieve permanency and solidity with respect to Mexico's external debt by eliminating the debt overhang. Once such a renegotiation was concluded, it was felt there would be a catalytic effect that would "cement" the structural reforms put in place and lead to a "virtuous circle" of increased confidence, reflected in lower domestic interest rates, higher domestic and foreign investment, capital repatriation, voluntary access to international capital markets and further consolidation of public finance and inflation control.

Mexico's recent economic history has shown that this is indeed possible. In fact, the so-called "virtuous circle" arrived with greater speed than one might have expected in mid-1989 when Mexico completed its international debt agreements.

The results of the 1989-1990 negotiations with the international banking community will permit net external transfers to be reduced to a maximum yearly level of 2% of GDP on average between 1990 and 1994, low enough to allow the restoration of historical levels of investment and growth. In fact, because of the "virtuous circle", Mexico is once again a net importer of capital, as was historically the case prior to the debt crisis of the 1980's.

The "deleveraging" of the Mexican economy has been remarkable: total public sector debt has fallen sharply from 78.4% of GDP in 1987 to about 42% of GDP in 1991. While gross internal debt dropped from 23.1% of GDP in 1987 to 18.1% in 1991, net external debt has shown the most impressive decrease, from 55.3% of GDP in 1987 to just 24% in 1991. Concurrently, the servicing costs of the total external debt have declined considerably, with interest payments in the first half of 1991 representing only 18.6% as a proportion of exports of goods and services, down from 43.6% in 1982. As a proportion of GDP, total interest expenditure -internal and external- by the public sector is forecast at only 4.2% of GDP for 1992, down from 16.8% as recently as 1988. These figures would lead one to the inescapable conclusion that Mexico's debt levels are now quite sound by international standards.

The lower perceived risk associated with Mexican debt instruments has not only led to a sharp decrease in domestic real interest rates, which have fallen from 45% just before the 1989 debt agreement was announced to current levels of around 5%, but also to an impressive return to the international capital markets. Since 1989, over \$5 billion dollars of debt and equity instruments have been

This is a contractual public sector external debt net of financial assets held abroad for collateralized purposes and debt repurchased but not yet cancelled.

floated by the public and private sector on ever improving terms.

Perhaps the best indicator, though, of the restoration of confidence in the Mexican economy is the return of flight capital, which has totalled over \$9 billion dollars since July of 1989, when the external debt agreements were announced.

A thorough opening of trade has been a key component of the structural reform policies implemented. Until 1982, Mexico's economy was practically closed to external competition. Though this may have been a necessity in the initial stages of industrialization, over time it proved to be a source of major inefficiencies. In order to overcome these distortions, a policy of gradual trade liberalization was instrumented.

The value of imports subject to permits has been reduced substantially, from nearly 100% in 1982 to around 14% today. At the same time, administrative procedures relating to tariffs on imports and exports have been simplified, official reference prices for imports were eliminated and tariffs have been reduced both in number and rates, so that the maximum tariff on imports is now 20% against 100% in 1982.

The commitment to the opening of the Mexican economy has been marked not only by deregulation but also by institutional changes such as entry into the GATT in 1986 and, more recently, by negotiations to create the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) between Mexico, the U.S. and Canada.

Moreover, Mexico recently signed a free trade pact with Chile and negotiations are underway, parallel to the NAFTA, with Colombia, Venezuela and Central America. The institutional nature of these changes not only signifies commitment to open markets but also what I call the "irreversibility" of the course taken by the Mexican economy. This has and will continue to be reflected in heightened investor interest in Mexico.

A cornerstone in the process of inducing greater efficiency in the industrial sector. has been the divestiture of nonstrategic or nonpriority public sector enterprises. The public sector's participation in the industrial sphere had not always followed clear guidelines, since many of the enterprises acquired were the product of rescues from bankruptcy, even though the underlying viability of the project was questionable.

Divestiture seeks first to assist in the correction of public finances, eliminate unjustified subsidies and strengthen the State's ability to focus its attention on truly priority activities. The number of firms under state control has been reduced from 1,155 in 1982, to 250 by late 1991.

Deregulation has been part and parcel of economic reform and modernization. Some regulations have been eliminated and others simplified and made clearer. The changes made to foreign investment regulations now allow for automatic approval of projects in the majority of cases, portfolio investments through special trust funds and majority ownership in an expanded number of sectors.

<b>Domestic debt</b>
(Billion pesos)

	170											
		1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991 <sup>e</sup>	1992 <sup>p</sup>
Gross domestic debt <sup>1</sup>	- Indeed	2.6	4.8	6.5	11.1	25.5	64.1	113.9	132.9	166.9	139.0	108.6
Fiscal revenue		2.8	5.9	9.5	14.8	24.1	59.1	118.5	149.1	199.2	_	_
Public sector												
domestic interest		0.5	1.4	2.3	3.7	9.6	29.7	52.0	47.3	49.7	-	_
GDD/GDP <sup>2</sup>	1. (1.12)	iu_ †	20.6	19.1	18.6	23.0	23.1	22.6	24.1	22.4	18.1	12.6
Interest/GDP		5.1	7.8	7.8	7.8	12.1	15.3	13.2	9.2	7.4	_	_
Interest/fiscal												
revenues		17.9	23.7	24.2	25.0	39.8	50.3	43.9	31.7	24.9	_	_

e Estimated.

Sources: SHCP and Banco de México.

Projected.

Gross public sector domestic debt, defined as Federal Government and publicly controlled and non-controlled firms. Figures are for end of period.

Based on average annual balance.

The international response to these changes and to the improved business climate has been very favorable: between January 1989 and June 1991, Mexico received \$15.4 billion dollars of foreign investment. Moreover, the pace of investment has quickened, with \$3.5 billion invested in 1989, \$4.6 billion in 1990 and \$7.3 billion during the first six months of 1991, including portfolio investment in Mexico's securities and equity markets.

Important reforms have been implemented in the financial sector to improve the market efficiency, especially since 1988. At the end of that year, restrictions were lifted on the issuance of bankers' acceptances and high reserve requirements were replaced by a liquidity coefficient of 30%.

Shortly thereafter, in April of 1989, the government extended the elimination of controls on interest rates and maturities on all bank instruments and deposits, though the latter also became subject to the same 30% liquidity coefficient, and preferential lending to certain sectors at concessional rates was no longer required of commercial banks.

In the latest stage of liberalization, the 30% liquidity coefficient has been eliminated to allow commercial banks complete flexibility in their liquidity management. In late 1989 and early 1990, the government introduced important new legislation, passed by Congress, relating to the formation of financial holding companies in the first instance and, secondly, to the privatization of the commercial banking system. The objective here was to establish the groundwork for the creation of a "universal banking" system, which is viewed as an essential cornerstone for shaping a modern, competitive and efficient financial sector.

In 1987, the Mexican economy was on the verge of falling into a hyperinflationary spiral. This was averted through the implementation of an apparently heterodox program which has been remarkably successful, precisely because it followed on the heels of a multi-year orthodox program designed to correct the fundamental imbalances of the economy.

The *Pacto*, as the new program has become known in Mexico, consists of an accord between the government, labor and business to adhere to mutually agreed targets aimed at beating inflation. Despite the restrictive character of monetary and fiscal policy, the concerted social pact has prevented the program from adversely affecting growth. In fact, the economy has begun to grow at increasing rates, with 3.1% for 1989, 3.9% for 1990 and 4.8% during the first semester of 1991. In the meantime, inflation has dropped from 159% in 1987 to 18.8% in 1991.

An agreement was reached between the three sectors to extend the *Pacto* until January 1993. The main features of the latest extension include a reduction of the peso float

from 40 to 20 centavos per day, a 12% rise in the minimum wage and, thanks to the robust condition of public finance, a reduction in the value-added tax rate from 15% to 10%. Overall, we believe that the Mexican economy has entered 1992 with strong bases for the last push towards single-digit inflation, with a Dec.'91-to-Dec.'92 target of 9.7%. For 1992, the government has set a target of a public sector financial surplus before privatizations of 0.8% of GDP (or 3.1% after), which is without precedent in Mexico's modern economic history. Notwithstanding this strict fiscal stance, expenditure on social developmentoriented programs will increase by nearly 18% in real terms.

#### Conclusions

In general, the results of eight years of economic reform have been quite satisfactory, which is not to say that all problems have been solved, but simply that the bases have been laid for keeping Mexico on the path of growth with price stability.

It is important to point out that the sequencing of the policy measures adopted since 1983 turned out ex-post facto to be the proper ones for the Mexican economy. The priority given to the correction of public finances provided the maneuvering room for stabilizing the economy and managing economic reform in an orderly fashion.

It is undeniable that the Mexican economy is today more solid and its potential for development greater than in the past. Inflation has been sharply reduced, due as much to sounder public finances as to the accepted social pact. State intervention in the economy is now more effective, having shed unnecessary or undesirable appendages without sacrificing its key administrative role.

Fiscal discipline has been established as a norm, yet room has been created for pursuing those objectives which truly require government promotion or intervention. The industrial sector is more competitive in response to deregulation and the commercial opening, as reflected in the performance of manufactured exports, a key source of growth now and in the future.

The optimism felt in Mexico today is thus the result of nine long years of effort. Economic restructuring has not ended, since important changes will still be forthcoming as a consequence, among others, of an even more profound opening to North America, Europe, South America and the Pacific Basin. In his last state of the nation address, the President outlined three major areas due for profound reforms: the educational system, the agricultural sector and Church-State relations. I would like to make a few comments on the second of these, particularly because the Executive launched an initiative to introduce legislation that led to a profound transformation of the agricultural sector in Mexico.

This was one of the most politically and economically significant actions taken by the Executive in recent administrations. While preserving the spirit of reform embodied in the Revolution and formalized in the 1917 Constitution, the proposed amendments fundamentally transformed patterns of ownership, association and production which had been a feature of the agricultural sector for decades.

Conscious of the fact that a quarter of Mexico's population is rural but generates only 10% of GDP, leading

to a situation of poverty relative to urban Mexican standards, the government reviewed the existing legal structure with regard to land tenure and decided that, while the system of centralized distribution of land had played a just role in the decades following the Revolution, it was an impediment to modernization and growth in the agricultural sector in the recent past.

Under the existing *ejido* system, peasant farmers enjoyed the State-given right to use communal lands but not to own, rent or transfer them except to direct

External debt (Millions of U.S. dollars)											
and accommending the first of the contract of	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991°	1992 <sup>p</sup>
Total contractual debt* Public sector	86,179	93,000	95,264	96,566	100,991	107,469	100,914	95,114	98,173	100,270	101,470
-Contractual debt -Net debt <sup>a</sup>	58,874	62,556	69,378	72,080	75,351	81,407	81,003	76,059 75,492	77,770 70,843	78,070 66,332	80,070 66,555
Interest payments Net external	12,203	10,103	11,716	10,156	8,342	8,097	8,639	9,278	7,891b		_
resource transfers <sup>c</sup>	-9,127	-11,282	-10,691	-11,462	-4,578	-3,456	-11,233	-1,494	4,568	8,000	-
As % of GDP						eggan jara Limit sala				Carri An	Ge bassa
Total contractual debt <sup>1</sup> Public sector	eteletele katele ele	60.2	53.6	52.0	75.9	73.5	59.7	47.0	40.6	35.4	32.0
-Contractual debt1 -Net debt <sup>a1</sup>	- 161 m <del>-</del> -	40.8	37.6	38.4	56.7	55.3	46.5	37.7 37.6	32.3 30.7	27.8 24.5	25.1 21.1
Interest payments Net external	7.2	6.8	6.7	5.5	6.4	5.7	5.0	4.4	3.3	2.7	
resource transfers <sup>c</sup>	-5.4	-7.6	-6.1	-6.2	-3.5	-2.4	-6.4	-0.7	1.9	2.8	
As % of current account inc	ome	- Francis	p bd m	atotori		all his re	er deft i	k Sign in	a results	i jegysti	100
Total contractual debt <sup>1</sup> Public sector	Tagental 7	309.5	286.1	301.9	408.7	341.0	319.7	257.5	214.4	198.4	-
-Contractual debt <sup>1</sup> -Net debt <sup>a1</sup>	histological	209.8	200.5	222.6	305.0	256.4	249.2	206.3	170.6 162.3	155.8 137.2	
Interest payments Net external	43.6	34.9	35.6	33.0	34.5	26.5	26.5	24.4	17.5	15.0	
resource transfers <sup>c</sup>	-32.6	-39.0	-32.5	-37.2	-18.9	-11.3	-34.5	-3.9	10.1	16.0	

<sup>\*</sup> Includes public sector, private sector, banks and liabilities of Banco de México with the IMF.

Source: SHCP and Banco de México.

e Estimated.

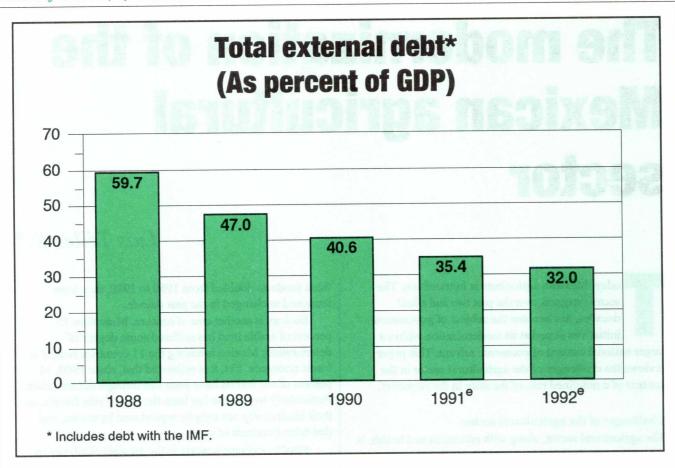
Projected.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This is public sector external debt net of financial assets held abroad, as well as of debt repurchased but not yet cancelled.

Interest payments were 9,019 million dollars. The difference accounts for the interest rebate deriving from the retroactivity of the 1989-92 Financing Package.

Net external resource transfers = -Current account balance + factor services balance + balance of transfers + variation of international reserves.

Calculated from annual average balances.



descendants. Over time, due to increasing demands for land and as a consequence of the Constitutional mandate to distribute land, the ejidos became smaller and less productive. This trend towards smaller scale, inefficient production was accentuated by legal restrictions which hindered the pursuit of profitable economic association with the private sector.

To this end, and in recognition of the fact that its original purpose had now been fulfilled, land distribution has ceased; land rights over existing parcels will be formalized and the individual will now have the option of economic association or of transfer of land, along with that of maintaining his status. The *ejido*, as such, is not abolished but forms part of a wider range of possibilities from among which the individual can freely choose.

We are fully aware, however, that the consequences of this will only be realized over an extended period of time in view of the magnitude of the population affected. The legislative initiative is accompanied by a financial support package for 1992, featuring almost \$3 billion for strengthening infrastructure, introducing new technology and credit supports.

It should be clear that Mexico cannot turn back from its chosen path of economic modernization. It is not possible to substitute sound economic policies for uncertainty or arbitrariness in today's world. I would go further to argue that one of the most significant by-products of the events following 1982 is that the government has become fully accountable for its actions, both domestically and externally. The government has to prove, day in and day out, that the course taken is indeed in the country's best interests. It is only results that count.

Having left behind the major clouds of the 1980's such as debt and inflation, I am looking forward to the day, soon to come, when discussion of this "virtuous circle" will also be relegated to the past, as Mexico becomes simply one more prosperous partner among the group of industrialized nations M

# The modernization of the Mexican agricultural sector

Luis Téllez K.\*

oday, Mexican agriculture is in transition. The sector, stagnant over the past two and a half decades, has become the subject of government initiatives aimed at its modernization within a larger national context of economic reform. This paper reviews the challenges of the agricultural sector in the context of a redefined role of the state in the economy.

#### Challenges of the agricultural sector

The agricultural sector, along with education and health, is one of the principal focal points of the Salinas administration.

Since the mid-sixties, sources of growth for the agricultural sector have diminished. From 1948 to 1965 growth of agricultural production was well above the rate of population growth, increasing by 6.7 percent annually; and from 1966 to 1979 as well. Although the rate diminished to 2.9 percent, it remained above population growth. Nevertheless, from 1980 to 1987 population increased more rapidly than agricultural production. During 1988 and 1989 production decreased at a rate of 3.9 and 4.3 percent, respectively. The sector has recovered in the last two years, as production grew 3.4 percent in 1990 and 4.2 percent in 1991.

The agricultural trade balance also deteriorated over the same period. Agriculture, livestock, forestry and processed foods and beverages, were an important source of foreign exchange. The agricultural trade balance registered a surplus of 2.3 percent of gross domestic product during 1960-65, a surplus of 0.7 percent during 1975-79 and a deficit of 0.3 percent during 1980-89.

Another symptom of the agricultural crisis is productivity. The area devoted to the production of corn, beans, sorghum and rice accounts for more than two thirds of the total area harvested. Although productivity levels for

these products doubled from 1960 to 1980, they have remained unchanged in the past decade.

Ecology is another area of concern. More than 75 percent of arable land has suffered some degree of deterioration. Mexico is among the 11 countries richest in forest resources. Yet, it is estimated that, since 1960, 34 percent of our forests have been lost through deforestation. Particularly worrisome has been the loss of rain forests, as their biodiversity can only be reproduced by nature, and that takes hundreds of years.

Finally, extreme poverty is the greatest challenge in rural areas. Various studies reveal that approximately 20 percent of Mexico's population lives under conditions of extreme poverty, with 70 percent of it living from agriculture. Moreover, while more than one fourth of Mexicans live in rural areas, the agricultural sector contributes only approximately 8 percent of total gross domestic product. This implies that average rural income is only one fourth the income earned in urban areas.

#### Causes of the agricultural sector's stagnation

- 1. Macroeconomic instability. During the eighties, high inflation, volatile real interest rates, and an unstable exchange rate made financing costly and sometimes unavailable. Projects could not materialize as the variability of economic conditions contributed to a substantial reduction of resources allocated to the sector. Furthermore, the high price volatility caused an inefficient use of resources as prices ceased to serve as market signals.
- State intervention. The state intervened directly in production, pricing, distribution, credit, insurance, inputs (water resources, fertilizers and seeds), transportation and storage. In most cases, since policies
- \* Undersecretary for Planning in the Department of Agriculture and Water Resources.

were not in accordance with domestic and international markets and prices did not reflect real costs, intervention created distortions and a misallocation of resources.

- 3. International trade distortions for agricultural products. Countries such as the United States, the E.E.C., Canada and Japan heavily subsidize domestic agricultural production and in some cases, exports as well. International prices for some products do not even cover costs of production, creating distortions in international trade. Mexican agriculture has been affected by this situation as lower import prices depress domestic production.
- 4. Legal framework. The Constitution instructs the executive branch to distribute land to any newly formed settlement (or group of peasants) without land. To comply with this, the executive could expropiate land from private owners, and through endowments constitute new ejidos. Land distribution in itself became one of the most important sources of land tenure insecurity that inhibited investment and the development of the agricultural sector. Regulations created many restrictions that hindered factor mobility, limited producers' decision-making, and did not guarantee the necessary certainty for producers to invest in long term development projects and for financial institutions to provide credit. The results were low levels of investment, low levels of productivity, and technological backwardness, all of which translated into low standards of living.

#### The path of agricultural recovery

Opening the economy has required structural adjustments in many areas. Development of markets and correction of flaws are some of the fundamental conditions, since all factors of production –land, labor and capital – must have the mobility necessary to ensure an efficient allocation of resources. Enhancing the development of markets has been necessary to eliminate impediments to full development and to reduce the high costs of transaction associated with developing economies.

The North American Free Trade Agreement will be an important opportunity for Mexico, the United States, and Canada to benefit from the complementary aspects of their respective economies. With clearer and more transparent rules, investment horizons will expand, and each country will specialize in the production of those goods in which they have comparative advantages.

Consumers and producers in all three countries will be greatly benefitted: consumers will benefit from lower prices and higher quality products; producers, from economies of scale and access to the largest common market in the world, the North American Free Market.

The government has replaced protectionist policies with market-oriented policies, taking a long term development perspective into consideration. The present administration has diminished government intervention in various sectors, encouraging the participation of the private sector and removing obstacles and market distortions that prevent Mexican agriculture from developing to its full potential.

State-owned enterprises such as: *Inmecafé*, *Azúcar S.A.* and *Tabamex* (in the coffee, sugar and tobacco markets, respectively) have withdrawn from production and distribution of agricultural products, and have been privatized or are exclusively involved in research, technical assistance and information services. Others like *Fertimex* and *Pronase*, which monopolized the fertilizer and seed markets, are now subject to private competition and an open border.

Additionally, the state-owned purchaser and seller of agricultural products, *Conasupo*, has withdrawn from trade in grains and oil seeds, except for corn and beans which are basic staples. Its previous distribution and pricing policies were costly and misdirected subsidies; they also inhibited efficient participation of the private sector. The government is loosening the reins in commodity price controls. Currently, corn and beans are subject to price guarantees established prior to the harvesting season.

In order to promote efficient marketing and create markets to replace state intervention, an organism called *Aserca* was created. Its role is to provide marketing support by providing information on national and international prices, aiding producers in finding distribution channels, and facilitating credit, transportation and related services. Additionally, and to consolidate these efforts, a commodities market for agricultural products is expected to open in Mexico next year.

#### Land tenure reforms

A crucial component of agricultural modernization was the reform of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. Perhaps no other single issue could have been more controversial and difficult to resolve than this. The fact that such a sensitive matter came about peacefully and democratically demonstrates Mexico's strength and political stability, as well as its ability to adapt its institutions and regulations to the rapidly changing needs of its people.

Article 27 revamps Mexico's land tenure system and recognizes three forms of land tenure: private property (known as *pequeños propietarios* or smallholders, with limits to property holdings), *ejidos* and communities. The *ejido* is not private property, since ownership is communal

and individual rights are restricted to the direct exploitation of specific plots of land.

In 1988, *ejido* land amounted to 95 million hectares, equivalent to 49 percent of Mexico's total land area. Moreover, *ejidatarios* and communal farmers constitutive more than 60 percent of all rural producers. *Ejidos* are principally devoted to agricultural production (84 percent) and of these, the majority engaged in corn production destined principally for subsistance. Agricultural production on private farms is more diversified and livestock is more in evidence.

Legally, under previous legislation, the *ejidatario* could not sell, rent, or mortgage his plot of land and inheritance was regulated by certain legal stipulations that could prevail over his explicit will. In addition, the land could not be retained by judicial decree or any other authority, effectively prohibiting its use as loan collateral. The ownership of *ejido* land could not be individual; instead the lands could only be held by the *ejidatarios* as a group.

Land was utilized for production in one of two fashions:

1. the *ejidatarios* and their families could each work individually on their plots within the *ejido* or 2. the *ejidatarios* could work the entire area collectively. Labor on the *ejido* had to be performed by the *ejidatario* and his family since the hiring of outside labor was prohibited by previous legislation. The result: limited opportunities and subsequent fall in the standard of living of the Mexican rural population.

The restrictions on *ejido* land tenure and the lack of land mobility created one of Mexican agriculture's most serious problems, known as *minifundismo* (very small land holdings). According to recent sources, more than 60 percent of *ejidos* cover an area of less than five hectares. Smallholdings are generally associated with inefficient production, low productivity and low incomes for the peasants and their families.

Poorly defined property rights, restrictions on the establishment of contracts for a period of more than one year on *ejido* lands, and the ability of *ejidatarios* to unilaterally revoke them, created great uncertainty as to the future use of the natural resources, inhibiting long term development projects. Participants sought to obtain maximum benefit in the short run, with no provision for future conservation of resources.

The amendment to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, formally ends land distribution, in recognition of the fact that there is simply no more land in Mexico to distribute. Under today's conditions, continued land distribution would no longer imply justice and equality in the rural sector.

Since the Revolution, more than 104 million hectares have been redistributed, equivalent to 53 percent of Mexican territory. Currently, the rural sector is composed of 28

thousand *ejidos* and approximately 2.8 million *ejidatarios*. However, the great number of still unresolved demands for land by approximately 2.5 million citizens, who theoretically have a right to land, would require 250 million hectares for their successful resolution, an area which is greater than Mexico's total land area.

Clearly, previous legislation was out of phase with the realities of the rural sector, and the lack of action to resolve this issue only promoted uncertainty, since the pressure to either distribute land and break up land holdings into even smaller plots was great. The reform will encourage development by insuring investment in land and transfer and development of technology.

Changes also grant *ejidatarios* the freedom to organize and produce as they see fit; this includes the freedom to buy or rent land, to hire labor or to associate with other producers and third parties, and to sign contracts or establish joint venture schemes with domestic or foreign private investors.

Additionally the changes also grant the necessary legal safeguards for private investors to participate in long term development projects. Principally, both domestic and foreign corporations will now be able to buy and operate land for agriculture, livestock and forestry, within the limits established by the Constitution.

By permitting *ejidatarios* to enter into associations, their income and the welfare of their families will significantly improve as economies of scale will be attained. For example, if two *ejidatarios* who produce corn, with 3 hectares each, join their plots, each one would increase his production by 25 percent and his income by 30 percent. In the case of beans, if an *ejidatario* joins with a smallholder, both with 5 hectares, the incomes of each would increase by 35 percent.

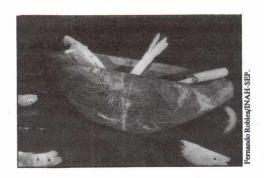
Associations greatly benefit *ejidatarios*, smallholders and private investors. One example of potential joint ventures is the pilot project that *Gamesa* (one of Mexico's largest industrial bakers) formed in 1989 to produce wheat and beans on 3.5 thousand hectares.

With an initial investment of 12 million dollars, the project has used available water optimally, as two good crops a year are now harvested where barely one was possible in the past. Producers participating in the project (mostly *ejidatarios*) have been able to increase their income sixfold over what they previously received.

With better access to international markets, well-defined property rights and free and developed markets in which to operate, Mexican agriculture enters a new era with a solid foundation for a period of long term sustained growth M

Mexican tuna exports have been embargoed several times by the U. S. on the basis of excessive dolphin deaths publicized by ecology groups, with important economic, political and social repercussions.

# Another tuna embargo?



Eva Ríos Servín\*

n October 17, 1990, the Mexican press reported a new U. S. embargo on tuna, in effect since October 10th. The Department of Fisheries was notified by Judge William W. Fox, of the Northern California District Court decision to revoke their ruling that "The Mexican Marine Mammal Plan is similar to the United States Plan". This followed a United States government decree that Panama alone should be embargoed for not meeting the law's provisions.

To the Mexican government this meant that about 10,000 tons of yellowfin tuna, valued at 8.0 million dollars, would not be exported to the U. S., in spite of efforts made by the tuna fishing fleet to avoid accidental dolphin capture.

The tuna embargo was defined by the Mexican government as a unilateral U. S. act which could have negative economic, political and social effects for Mexico. According to Department of Fisheries statistics, dolphin deaths had been reduced 64 percent between 1986 and 1990. Mexico's trade with the United States, therefore, suffered another heavy blow, due to the embargo on Mexican tuna imports because Mexico's fishing methods killed too many dolphins and other marine mammals.

#### History

The most notorious tuna embargo occurred in the 1960's when Mexico established limits on its territorial waters, hindering the U. S. fishing fleet which routinely sailed unchecked in areas rich in marine life.

In July 1980, U. S. fishing boats were detained by Mexican officials for fishing in the Mexican Exclusive Economic Zone without permission. The U. S. government response was swift: On July 14 an embargo was declared on all tuna species, causing serious repercussions in Mexico. Tuna processing facilities on shore were soon filled to capacity, and fishing boats had to remain in port for long periods to unload their catch. Other serious problems were finding domestic outlets for the product and diversifying international markets.

The Mexican tuna industry was not alone in facing serious difficulties. U. S. processors had trouble satisfying domestic demand due to insufficient supply of tuna following the government's decision to impose the embargo. The canning industry had to buy fish from other countries at higher prices, which were passed on to consumers.

The United States tuna embargo of 1980 is generally considered a struggle between U. S. tuna fishermen attempting to exploit a natural resource, and the countries in whose waters that resource was found. Mexico was not the only country under the embargo; Senegal, the Congo, Costa Rica and Ecuador were also included.

While the rest of the countries were faced with an embargo on all of their tuna products, Senegal and the Congo were only restricted in yellowfin tuna. Thus the Mexican tuna fleet had to endure strong competition from a

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U. S. fleet that was technically much more advanced and had a far greater hold capacity.

#### Tuna, an international affair

Fishing incidents like the tuna embargo have also produced positive results in the field of international law, promoting awareness of offshore marine resources in maritime states, to the benefit of their inhabitants.

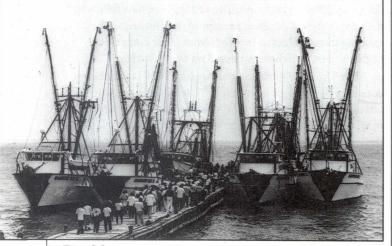
However, planning and coordinating tuna reserves is required on a world-wide basis. Tuna are a highly migratory species and can move to many places during the several yearly seasons. Thus they travel easily from one fishing region to another.

An analysis of available volumes and their rational use is possible from eatch statistics, provided the countries involved supply reliable figures, and forestall fishermen's qualms that these statistics will be used to impose new limitations, such as banning specific fishing areas.

Furthermore, in the tuna family, yellowfin is one of the most favored marine species in developed countries and most highly valued by U. S. fishermen, but it happens to be found most often inside the 200 mile limit. Maritime states retain sovereign rights in this zone to explore, utilize, conserve and manage their renewable and non-renewable resources.

Yellowfin tuna is one of the most sought after species for the quality of its meat, bringing the highest prices in the tuna family. It is also found almost all over the world in deep warm waters where temperatures vary from 16 to 27 degrees celsius, and the species is easily located in large schools close inshore. Rapid growth is another characteristic: four-year-old fish weighing 63 kilograms or more are common.

Traditional characteristics of the international tuna market are a heavy concentration of fishing fleets, catch



Tuna fishermen.

size, established processing capacity and consumption in a few countries. Most important are the United States and Japan, followed by Italy, Spain, France and Portugal.

#### The 1990-1991 embargo

The U. S. Secretary of Commerce announced on October 10, 1990, that the government would neither import nor export fish products of countries that, in their judgment, violated U. S. environmental laws or used inappropriate fishing methods.

# 66 In spite of a 64 percent reduction in dolphin deaths, Mexican tuna was embargoed in October, 1990

Thus, once again Mexico was faced with a tuna embargo, ordered by Federal Judge Thelton Henderson whose grounds were the dolphins killed in tuna fishing. It should be noted that U. S. ecologists who want dolphin deaths completely prevented ask the impossible since, for some still unknown reason, dolphin and tuna always swim together in the Pacific.

In spite of Mexican tuna fleet efforts to lower the number of dolphin deaths, U. S. ecology groups formally requested on November 1, 1990 that France, Spain, Italy and the rest of the European Community join the embargo against Mexico on environmental grounds.

The measure was not very successful, since on November 15, 1990 the Mexican embargo was temporarily lifted until January 30, 1991, when the U. S. Commerce Department would make its decision public.

The embargo's temporary suspension was due to a ruling by the Northern California IX Circuit Court of Appeals.

When the new deadline passed months later, and still lacking the necessary evidence, the U. S. authorized the extension of tuna import permits until May 31, 1991. On February 21, 1991, however, the San Francisco Court ruled to reinstate the tuna embargo. That same day the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs declared that "no country is empowered to impose its own criteria on others, let alone to apply sanctions", and accused the U. S. of ignoring Mexican progress in protecting dolphins.

It might be thought that the measure was intended to pressure Mexico, since dolphin deaths caused by tuna fishing dropped 64 percent from 1986 to 1990. Furthermore, months before the tuna embargo U. S. trade

officials unleashed a chain of restrictions on bilateral trade with Mexico, such as barring cement -one of Mexico's most important exports- from U. S. markets, creating a protectionist bill limiting the growth of textile imports, and even restricting the entry of brooms.

#### The U.S. view

Ecology groups like the Earth Island Institute, founded in San Francisco, California, in 1985, and Greenpeace, an international environmental organization founded in 1983, have been interested in accidental dolphin killings in the eastern Pacific.

Earth Island has been the leader of the tuna-dolphin issue since 1987, bringing suit against the U. S. Commerce Department for neglecting to enforce the Marine Mammal Protection Law. That same year they publicized and helped biologist Sam LaBudde who, disguised as a sailor, signed on a Panamanian tuna ship to film a documentary on massive accidental dolphin deaths in the eastern Pacific.

This operation produced an eleven-minute film that was shown on U. S. network television. As a result, H. J.

Heinz, owners of Starkist Seafood Co, adopted measures to stop buying, processing or selling tuna caught by deliberate net fishing over dolphins. Thus, ecological concerns were mixed with economics, and since 1989 Earth Island has concentrated on promoting the tuna embargo by singling out Mexico as the main culprit in eastern Pacific dolphin killings.

As mentioned above, on October 10, 1990, Judge Thelton Henderson of the Northern California District Court ruled that the Commerce Department should embargo Mexican yellowfin tuna, overturning the U. S. executive decision of September 7. The Commerce Department had ruled that Mexico's Marine Mammal Program was comparable to the U. S. program.

U. S. measures in the Mexican tuna embargo can be summed up as follows: In April 1990, three U. S. canners; Starkist, Van Camp Seafood and Bumble Bee Seafood Inc. decided to stop buying Mexican tuna on the grounds of protecting marine mammals, dolphins in particular, trapped in tuna fishing nets. At the same time, Greenpeace mounted a campaign aimed at U. S. consumers insisting

#### The tuna embargo: an international problem

n January 31, San Francisco Federal District Judge Thelton Henderson, handed down a decision banning imports of yellowfin tuna from Mexico and Venezuela. This time the ban included 27 tuna processing countries that ship Mexican and Venezuelan tuna to the US, in retaliation for what the judge called "tuna laundering" operations.

The US Department of Commerce immediately sought a stay of the decision, but in the face of Judge Henderson's refusal, was forced to interpose an appeal in the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Nonetheless, on February 13, the Appeals Court upheld the decision to impound tuna imports from the affected countries as of midnight January 27. The nations most affected by the secondary embargo are: Japan, Italy, France, Spain, Colombia, Panama and Costa Rica.

Pedro Noyola, Undersecretary for Foreign Trade of Mexico's Department of Commerce and Industrial Development (SECOFI), declared that Mexico would seek redress through GATT. He pointed out the measure is protectionist and unfounded, in view of the fact that the rate of dolphin deaths in Mexican waters is very low.

GATT declared against the embargo on February 11, in a 46 page report published in Geneva that called the embargo protectionist and stipulated that the United States had no right to dictate environmental policy to other nations. Arthur Daniel, GATT Director General, warned against the risk of using the environment as a pretext for encouraging protectionist trade policies. Representatives of 17 nations, not including Mexico and the US, called for approval of the report. The matter will be debated again at the next meeting of GATT on March 18. However, it is expected that the US will prevent further discussion of the report by coming to an agreement with Mexico. Venezuela, on the other hand, maintains the option of bringing suit against the US under GATT, if the US does not lift the embargo in a "reasonable length of time."

Representatives for Mexico and Latin America of such environmental organizations as Greenpeace and the Cousteau Society have also declared in favor of suspending the embargo, calling it an ecological disguise to hide economic intentions of a protectionist nature.

they stop buying tuna as a protest against unintentional dolphin killings.

Three months later, the U. S. government opposed a dolphin protection law which regulated tuna fishing and sales. Michael Tillman, Assistant Director for Fisheries in the Commerce Department pointed out that proposals made by some members of the Senate and House were counterproductive to the government's position in the GATT and to negotiations in progress with Mexico for the Free Trade Agreement.

California House member Barbara Boxer and Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware sponsored bills that would require U. S. canners to include the words "dolphin safe" on tuna cans, and also proposed that U. S. observers verify if foreign fleets caught dolphins in the eastern Pacific.

Faced by this situation, Roger Wallace, U. S. Under Secretary for International Trade announced that the country's executive branch would appeal for a suspension of the October 10 embargo against Mexico. One month later the U. S. government certified for the second time that Mexican fishermen respected natural resources.

A document presented to Judge T. Henderson, signed by Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, Ambassador to Mexico John Dimitri Negroponte, Undersecretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries, David Coldson and National Fisheries Chairman, William Fox, pointed out that Mexico had substantially reduced unintentional dolphin deaths in tuna fishing. Thus, on the 15th of November 1990, the Northern California Court of Appeals agreed to lift the embargo until February 1991.

Later, on January 30, 1991, the Commerce Department authorized Mexican yellowfin tuna imports until May 31st, when they would certify the Mexican tuna industry methods, releasing a new decision on unintentional dolphin capture by the Mexican fishing fleet.

Disregarding U. S. Commerce Department endorsement of Mexican tuna fishing procedures, the San Francisco Court ruled to reinstate the tuna embargo on February 21, 1991.

#### **Mexican repercussions**

One of the main problems caused by the embargo was that Mexico had to seek new markets for tuna not exported to the U. S. To cope with what amounted to 67% of total exports, part was shipped to Italy and the rest was placed on the domestic market.

Mexico, with the second largest tuna fleet in the world, has suffered seriously from tuna prices falling approximately 52% since 1981, while imports have increased 400 percent.

Constantly decreasing international tuna prices have meant that while exports earned 1,727 dollars per ton in 1983, the price had dropped to 812 dollars by 1989. At the same time, every ton of imported tuna cost 2,656 dollars.

Mexico exported a total of 189,864 tons of fish in 1989, approximately 70 percent of which went to the U. S. The rest went to Italy, Costa Rica, France, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Canada and Brazil.

Another problem the Mexican tuna industry will encounter when faced with demands to lower accidental dolphin deaths faster than the necessary technical changes can be made is that it will probably concentrate on catching young tuna. In the long run this will cause a decline in the tuna population. The real danger of the tuna embargo is that if the Mexican fleet stops fishing for lack of markets, according to international laws Mexico must authorize entry of other countries into her Exclusive Economic Zone because tuna is a renewable resource



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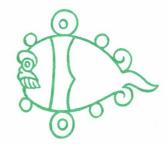
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The U. S., as principal world buyer, imported 250,000 tons of tuna in 1989. Latin-American countries supplied 25 percent; Venezuela 30,409 tons, Mexico 16,409 tons, Ecuador 13,364 tons and Panama 6,659 tons.



# Mexico's fisheries



o talk about fisheries is to talk about life, food, hu man and his environment, fishermen and their communities; about an essential part of Mexico. In a short time, Mexico has become a middle level power in world fisheries. Its abundant natural resources, the capability and experience of its human resources, as well as the vigor injected into the sector by the state, have brought about this achievement.

Within the framework of fisheries modernization begun by President Salinas de Gortari, Mexico seeks self-sufficiency in the capture and distribution of diverse species. Its aim is to strengthen national sovereignty within an exclusive zone, thereby maintaining absolute control over Mexico's resources.

Mexico's exploitation of its marine resources is based on a policy of protecting species, as well as on rational and careful administration that supports and promotes fisheries. This has been widely acclaimed in scientific and legal forums both at home and abroad. In recognition of the foregoing, Mexico was elected, in April 1991 in Rome, to the Chair of the Fisheries Committee of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

The history of fishing in Mexico is part of the conscience of its inhabitants and of its enormous and varied marine wealth, which stretches along 11,500 kilometers of coastline. In ancient times, the original inhabitants of Mexico, particularly coastal dwellers, devoted themselves to fishing, as did inland indigenous communities close to rivers and lakes. It should be remembered that the Aztec plateau was a vast lake region abounding in such fresh-water fish as the juil (Algansea tincella) and itzatacmichin, a white fish of which there were three species. At the time, the native Mexicans fished the lakes in boats, using hand nets, spears, as well as fishing poles and line.

Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala, who set out to explore the Coatzacoalcos region in 1824, wrote that the region stretching from ocean to gulf was not only blessed with an accessible coastline, but possessed by 26 rivers, the largest being the Coatzacoalcos. In addition to its agricultural wealth, he noted its abundant fish:

In the big creeks of certain depth, such as the Colorado, the Rabón, the Prieto and the Tortuguero which we have explored and which flow into the sea between the Coatzacoalcos and Toneladas rivers, and the big stream and the Cuatajapa which flow into the Coatzacoalcos, there are considerable fish of all types, shrimp, crab, crayfish and turtles, just as in the lagoons...The Santa Ana River flows in the right direction and carries little water, and since it is too wide, it is not very deep, ending in a beautiful lake, that produces such a prodigious amount of oysters that they even form banks.

Here is an image...contemplated by a Mexican participating, in his own enthusiastic way, in the start of a transcendental period in the development of a liberated nation. That geography was lost in modern times, devoured by oil wealth and the petrochemical industry.

On November 20, 1829, the government expressed interest in developing fishing and navigation, and issued provisions applying the 1820 Decree of the Spanish parliament. Outstanding was the concept of promoting fisheries as a basis for employing the coastal population.

From that moment on, Mexicans from the coast as well as the central highlands became increasingly conscious of fisheries, even though mining and agriculture absorbed greater interest and effort. Furthermore, fishing appeared to be an efficient means to improve the livelihood of certain indigenous communities.

The utilization of plains and valleys, mountains and hillsides, rivers and lakes, coast and sea was a wish for economic integration. But such objectives could not be thoroughly planned for political reasons and the lack of financial resources.

The earliest fisheries regulations were issued in 1872. They stipulated that fishing, pearl diving and the utilization of all maritime products were to be free for all the nation's inhabitants. Duties were mentioned for both domestic and foreign ships, with temporary permits not exceeding six months for the latter.

This regulation, the first of its kind, was issued by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Matías Romero. It stated that patents and permits enabled those obtaining them to set up temporary shelters on the coast to preserve fishery products and process them.

On July 3, 1883, the Ministry of Development sent a circular to all governors requesting reports on the various species of fish and crustaceans in their states. This was the second formal attempt to gather information on fishing as a national resource. The same had been attempted in 1854, but data was incomplete.

Baja California became famous for its pearls and whales; Campeche for its *cetacea*, such as dolphins and sharks; pigfish, lizard fish, *zaques*, sardines, *bulcay*, *pejepluma*, trout, pompano, snook, medregal, etc.; Guerrero for its ocean whitefish, *sigarrilla*, *chupa piedra*, trout, *charra*, and shrimp excelling in variety and size. Sinaloa is well known for its seafood, such as lobster, crab, oysters, crayfish, hawksbill and loggerhead turtles, shrimp and barnacles.

#### Maritime law and resources

The age-old problem of the sea was aggravated in the 16th century by the emergence of nationalities and the determination of the rights of each nation. The principle of freedom of the seas was universally accepted only after bloody battles. The vital issue for coastal countries then emerged: how to determine a legal limit that would serve, at the same time, as protection against warlike incursions and as a source of sustenance for the people.

The limit of territorial waters has been debated for more than 400 years, with nations still unable to agree. At the time of Mexico's independence, Spanish law set Mexico a limit of 9 miles of territorial waters. With the Treaty of 1848, the U.S. recognized Mexico's right to 9 nautical miles. The recognition of fishing areas and the development of oceanographic studies at the beginning of the century, brought the issue once again into public debate, with the U.S. wanting to set a maximum limit of 3 nautical miles.

President Avila Camacho decreed that underwater land down to 200 meters was part of the nation's territory, thereby increasing Mexico's surface area by some 500,000 square kilometers. Mexico also claimed sovereignty over the waters adjacent to its continental shelf.

With 11.5 million kilometers of coastline on four seas –the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of California, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea– Mexico enjoys one of the longest coastlines in the world. It extends 6,608 kilometers on the Mexican Pacific, including Pacific and Gulf of California islands that have approximately 1,008 kilometers of shoreline themselves. It is 2,611 kilometers long on the Atlantic side, including islands in the Caribbean, with close to 106 kilometers of shoreline. Mexico's continental shelf down to 200 meters, represents 153,000 square kilometers on the Pacific coast and 235,000 kilometers on the Atlantic.

The two maritime areas of Mexico, the Atlantic and the Pacific, are both situated in the tropical zone of the world's waters. In spite of this, they present very different ecological characteristics. The Atlantic side, where depleted stock waters predominate, display low organic productivity compared to the Pacific. The latter has waters rising to the surface carrying nutrients which, in turn, are highly productive organically. Therefore, while the Atlantic side offers relatively low productivity, the Pacific side is one of the most productive areas in the world's oceans.

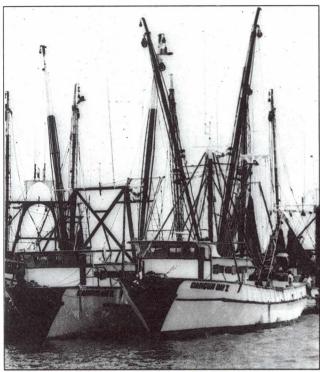
According to its oceanographic characteristics, Mexico's seas, generally speaking, consist of the following regions:

- 1. Baja California-Pacific: Located in the western part of the peninsula of the same name. It belongs to the southern portion of the California Current, carrying cold waters of low salinity southward.
- 2. Gulf of California: A prolongation northward of the Panamic region, though its mouth receives waters brought by the California Current. Considered an immense natural laboratory, it has caught the attention of scientists from all over the world. Some oceanographers consider it part of the Panamic region.
- 3. Pacific Ocean Panamic Region: The Mexican portion of the eastern Pacific tropical region, extending from close to Ecuador to the Gulf of California, also called the Panamic Region. Generally speaking, it has temperate waters, with marked seasonal and annual fluctuations.
- 4. Southwestern Gulf of Mexico: Includes the region between the Rio Grande and the San Pedro River and is characterized by the influence of the rivers flowing into its waters. Its bottom is made up mainly of waterborn earth sediments.
- Bank of Campeche: Extends from the eastern part of the Laguna de Términos to Isla Mujeres, with a wide continental shelf and a bottom composed of calcareous sediments.
- Mexican Caribbean: Extends from Isla Mujeres to the Belize border. It includes great expanses of coral reefs and highly saline ocean waters.

The significance of the sea was radically transformed for Mexico with the establishment of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone in 1976: 2,892,000 square kilometers, that is, more than 100% the country's total land surface (1,969,269 square kilometers).

Two main types of water are distinguishable off the Mexican coast, known for their generous abundance of species,

Temperate waters: Located in the northwest, the
western coast of Baja California, and the Sea of Cortés
or Gulf of California. They contain massive resources
such as sardines, anchovies, squid and red pelagic crab.



Tuna boats.

2. Tropical waters: Located off the Pacific coast, from Mazatlán, Sinaloa, to Puerto Madero, Chiapas and the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. They shelter a variety of resources such as shrimp, lobster, clams, octopus, shark and most of the species known in Mexico as scale fish: grey snapper, rock bass and red grouper; pompanos, white sea bass, sole, croakers and kingfish.

Fisheries are so diverse in Mexico, as to make it difficult to adopt a single criterion to group them. Not only are methods and types different, but catches and processing also differ. However, there are two fundamental factors that determine the characteristics of all fisheries. They are the distance to the fishing grounds and the degree to which the catch is processed. The principal fisheries may be classified in the following three groups:

- 1. Traditional export fisheries: shrimp, lobster, abalone, some marine algae and giant kelp.
- 2. Mass high-sea fisheries: Tuna, sardine, anchovy, squid, sea crustacea and hake.
- Regionally important species: Red snapper, shark, clam, octopus and oyster.

Mexico is among the world's top 20 fishing nations, its catches averaging 1.5 million tons annually. In 1990, the production of fish and other seafood in Mexico was 1,580,898 tons, of which 161,059 were exported, generating 475,244,000 dollars in revenue.

During the first three months of 1991, the balance of trade in fisheries products was favorable to Mexico in the amount of 104,300,000 dollars. During this period, 35,720 tons were sold in foreign markets, an improvement over the 32,255 tons exported during the same period of 1990, for a total of 95,286,000 dollars. This figure is lower than the total of 116,080,000 dollars earned from January-March 1991.

Mexico's most lucrative sea food product on the world's markets is shrimp. The processed catch rose from 4,361 to 5,767 tons during the aforementioned period. It earned a total of 54,568,000 dollars for the first three months of 1990 and climbed to 74,971,000 dollars in the same period of 1991. Other products exported were abalone, tuna, algae and giant kelp, skins, fish oil and fishmeal, as well as lobster and diverse thin-scaled species.

Catches of shrimp, abalone and lobster are exported mainly to the U.S., while tuna, skins and oils, fishmeal and scale species are also sold in Europe and Asia, mainly in Spain, Italy, England, Japan and Canada.

The diversification of markets, especially canned tuna and sardines, and fresh/frozen tuna in European and Asian countries during 1991, allowed Mexico's fisheries to place 175,565 tons abroad, for a total income of 493,455,000 dollars. This produced a favorable balance in the fishery trade of 439,499,000 dollars, Mexico having imported 54,886 tons of foreign seafood, at a cost of 53,956,000 dollars.

#### Modernizing fisheries law

More than 300 agreements have been signed to date to permit the association of private investors with fisheries cooperatives, in the interest of coordinating the efforts of private capital with those of the government. Domestic and foreign investors may thus freely fish for reserved species provided they are associated with fishing cooperatives as stipulated by the law.

The legal criterion, and basically what the Federal Fisheries Law sets forth with respect to private-sector and foreign investment in association with fishing cooperatives, is that the control and integration of diverse legal arrangements should, in principle, be under Mexican law. Priority is given to Mexican investors and the maximum capital share for private investors may not exceed 49%.

The capture of species reserved strictly for fishing cooperatives, including *ejido* and communal associations, are abalone, mussels, clams, sand bass, shrimp, lobster, oysters, marine turtles and totoava. Should a foreign investor wish to fish for these species, he must become an associate of a domestic cooperative.

Foreign and domestic investment in the industrialization and export of marine products, is allowed great latitude, provided it conforms to Mexican law.

Insofar as aquaculture is concerned, Mexican and foreign investors must also adhere to the laws of Mexico. Under this heading, there is greater freedom for investing in the process as a whole, with the exception of those wishing to channel their capital into reproduction. This must be done through cooperatives, since collecting larvae and post-larvae is considered catching fish.

A special information booth has been set up at the Department of Fisheries to provide information on requirements, paperwork and orientation for parties interested in investment options for the sector. If prototype agreements had not been worked out, private and foreign investors would not have any access to reserved species. There are presently no plans to eliminate reserving such species to cooperatives just because the area is becoming accessible to the private sector. However, the law is under study and will be changed as the need arises, with an eye to the public interest and fishery productivity.

#### Mexico: ecologically responsible

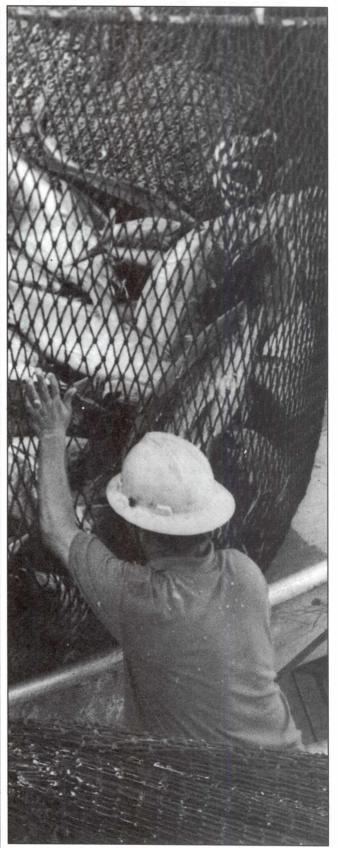
Species that were historically the object of major fishing, or that were potentially so, to the degree that they are now endangered species or on the verge of extinction, include crocodiles, aquatic mammals and some turtles, the totoava and pearl oyster, among others. Therefore, since the middle of the last century, Mexico has pursued a marked policy of conservation, particularly for animal species in danger of extinction. Among the actions and measures the federal government has taken so far are the protection of turtles, dolphins and marine mammals in general.

Marine turtles: Of the 12 species existing in the world, nine reproduce on Mexican beaches. The National Institute of Fisheries has been carrying out studies and research on marine turtles for more than 27 years. Directives for their protection and preservation have been issued based on the results of these studies since 1927. Testimony to this is the permanent prohibition of exploiting their eggs and destroying their nests, as stipulated in Article 50 of the Fishing Regulations issued February 17, 1927.

Given the destruction of this resource by man in the 60's, 70's and part of the 80's, on May 28, 1990, the total and permanent prohibition of capturing any and all species and subspecies of marine turtles was decreed for waters under federal jurisdiction in the Pacific Ocean, Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea. Similarly, any animals caught accidentally must be returned to the sea immediately.

During the arrival of turtles on Mexican beaches in 1990-91, these provisions protected some 504,516 nests, 25,479,500 eggs were collected for artificial incubation, and 8,279,400 young released.

Grey whale and marine mammals: Measures applied by the Mexican government on the northwest coast of the



Tuna coming aboard.

Peninsula of Baja California have been determining factors in preserving the grey whale, one species threatened by extinction that has managed to recover. As part of these steps, the San Ignacio and Ojo de Liebre lagoons in the state of Baja California Sur are, by decree, natural refuges for the protection and reproduction of whales and baby whales.

Protectionist measures carried out through the National Program of Research and Conservation of Marine Mammals resulted in approximately 1,500 individual whales being identified in Mexican waters during the 1990-91 season, a number kept stable over the last 10 years. The grey whale population worldwide varies between 17,000 and 25,000 individuals, having previously dropped to about 3,000.

Policies protecting species have, as a result, also led to the recovery of other species, such as the sea lion population in the northern Pacific region and the Gulf of California. There has been a 7% increase in their number in the last 10 years, practically eliminating the risk of extinction. Currently, approximately 17,000 are estimated.

Dolphins: An important aspect in protecting marine species is the relationship between dolphins and tuna fishing. The Mexican government issued a priority decree on May 20, 1991, to cut the average rate of incidental deathby 80% during operations of the Mexican fishing fleet.

The earliest Mexican regulations protecting dolphins during tuna fishing with purse-seines have been in effect since September 1977. They specify that the Mexican tuna fleet's purse-seines must be equipped with a dolphin safety panel to prevent dolphin deaths; "full astern" or "reverse gear" maneuvers must be executed immediately to facilitate the dolphins' escape; the obligatory rescue of dolphins by the use of skiffs; and the freeing of dolphins trapped in the nets, are among other obligatory measures.

Regulations issued by Mexico in 1977 were on a par with the norms of other nations, even those adopted by the U.S., under the 1972 act protecting marine mammals. Mexico reformed regulations on tuna fishing and protecting marine mammals in June 1987. The agreement requires tuna permit holders to take part in the Program for Protecting Marine Mammals, and aid observers and scientists in carrying out their activities on board tuna boats.

The May 20, 1991 agreement sets up a Committee of Experts from the Department of Fisheries (Sepesca), with the participation of representatives from the government and private sectors involved in tuna fishing, as well as highly qualified technicians from the tuna fleet and scientists specializing in the field. The committee is charged with doing follow-up studies on the incidental death of marine mammals, as well as evaluating how well the fleet does during its fishing trips.

Mexico hopes, by these measures, to meet its goal of cutting the rate of incidental death by 80% during the period 1989-1995. Present plans call for meeting half the goal set for the period in the first three years.

Moreover, by means of a June 13, 1990 agreement, Sepesca set a series of norms specifying both fishing equipment as well as maneuvers, installations and complementary elements for the Mexican tuna fleet, further assuring that marine mammals trapped incidentally will be freed. This same agreement prohibits night fishing and the use of explosives during any phase of purse-seine fishing for tuna that might be associated with dolphins.

In addition, permit holders must present annual plans for reducing observed levels of marine-mammal mortality to Sepesca. They must include an evaluation of how efficient their captains and fishing techniques are in helping to bring down recorded mortality rates.

As a result of the regulations in force since 1977 on purse-seine and fishing maneuvers for rescuing and freeing dolphins, incidental deaths of these mammals have been significantly reduced. A move of considerable impact on the reduction of incidental deaths was a program implemented in 1985: observers were placed aboard fishing vessels operating within Mexico's exclusive economic zone. This resulted in a better understanding of the interaction between tuna and dolphin, permitting us to expand our knowledge of the subject.

From the viewpoint that economic recovery is not at odds with protecting the environment, on September 27, 1991, the federal government issued a regulatory agreement setting forth the criteria to be followed by captains, fisheries technicians, crews and owners of domestic fishing vessels, as well as appropriate measures in case of nonfulfillment. It even provides for stronger recourse, permitting sanctions and even jail for violating laws concerning marine ecology and the protection of the species. In particular, it stipulates jail sentences for those violating restrictions on dolphins.

Similarly, and within the framework of the Program for Protecting Dolphins, approximately 3 billion pesos in funding are foreseen for studies on equipment and techniques to reduce incidental dolphin capture. At the same time, the federal government has pumped some 700 million pesos into the Project for a Natural Sanctuary for the Preservation of Dolphins at Punta Mita, Nayarit, turning it into an ecological reserve for dolphin preservation, increasing their breeding and encouraging them to develop under the best possible conditions.

Celia Martínez Zwanziger

Staff Writer.

#### Canada

Unlike the United States and Mexico, in Canada the Constitution has very special meaning. It is not a unique document, nor the latest handed down, or approved by a special constituent assembly, nor is it final or has its last word been written.

It is an "evolving" constitution, which begins with the British North American Act (also called the 1867 Constitutional Act), and comes down to the recent 1982 Constitutional Act (signed by Elizabeth II), which includes several amendments and intermediate constitutional additions.

Thus, the Canadian Constitution is composed of the 1867 Constitutional Act, subsequent constitutional laws and, lately, by the 1982 Constitutional Act. In addition, a series of judicial resolutions, of the highest level, based on "common law" and customary British practice, have also achieved constitutional status and form part of the Canadian Constitution.

The 1867 Constitutive Act created a Confederation called the "Dominion of Canada", so named to emphasize the complete sovereignty of Canadians over their territory which joined the two Canadas (Ontario, Upper Canada, and Quebec, Lower Canada), as well as the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Later, six more provinces were included to make a total of ten. Two territories were also included. The provinces enjoy great autonomy, while the territories depend on the general (Federal) Government.

Strangely enough, this original 1867 Constitutional Act did not include a Declaration of Human Rights, although their neighbor to the south, the United States, had already proclaimed a "Bill of Rights" in the previous century. Nor was there an established means to amend the Constitution. Both omissions were corrected through the 1982 Constitutional document.

Canada is a democracy within a Constitutional Monarchy, whose Head

# Constitutional procedures for the approval of treaties in Canada, the United States and Mexico

Emilio O. Rabasa\*

of State is the Queen of England. Every public act is performed and formalized in her name. It is also a Federal State which seeks to combine unity with diversity. It was very difficult for Canada to achieve "international status." Though this was finally obtained when it was accepted as a full member in the former League of Nations.

The country was built and functions under a parliamentary system; that is, under the predominance of the Legislative Branch. A Governor General, proposed by the Prime Minister and appointed by the Queen, represents

her. The Parliament includes the Queen, the Senate which consists of 104 members appointed by the Governor and the House of Commons, whose members are elected by proportional distribution among the provinces and territories. The cabinet is formed by the winning party in an election and its leader becomes the Prime Minister, who becomes the head of government.

In Canada, treaties, mentioned very briefly in the Constitution (Article 132), hold a very special position. Treaties are not part of domestic law, as they are in the United States and Mexico. Custom distinguishes between the "power to

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As regards the Trilateral Trade Treaty, which is now being negotiated between Canada, the United States and Mexico, most commentators have referred to the substance of the matter, that is, to the diverse issues which will constitute the trilateral treaty. I consider it of considerable interest to deal with the subject from the formal aspect of the treaty, in relation to the constitutional procedures which will have to be followed in all three countries for the treaty to be approved.

sign treaties" based on constitutional usage, and the "power to implement" them, based on the division of powers determined by the constitution.

The latter, the implementation, only follows if it lies within the jurisdiction of the government of Canada or if the necessary legislation has been approved or an agreement with the provinces has been reached.

Before a treaty is concluded, verification takes place, to determine if domestic legislative changes are required in order to implement it. In the event such changes are necessary, the relevant legislative adjustments are made in advance.

No rule is imposed on the general government, to refer or send the treaties to Parliament. Quite often, they are concluded and formalized without the approval of Parliament and even without its official knowledge.

The constitutional way to negotiate and formalize treaties is performed according to Royal prerogative usage (section 9 of the Constitution) delegated to the Governor General. Thus, in the recent agreement concluded between the United States

and Canada, it was the Governor General, who verified the ratification, establishing January 1, 1989, as the date on which the Trade Agreement between the United States and Canada came into force.

Summarizing, the treaties in their negotiation and conclusion are an act of the Executive, carried out, in fact, by the Prime Minister and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and formalized by the General Governor. They may be submitted for prior approval of Parliament, but there is no constitutional requirement to do so. The Parliament acts, as mentioned above, when there is a need to write related domestic legislation, prior or subsequent to implementation or execution of the treaty.

#### **United States**

International treaties are a very important part of the written law of the United States. International relations are entrusted to the President. Yet, treaties formalized by the President, must always have the "advice and consent" of the Senate, by a majority of two thirds of its members. Approval

by the Senate is so crucial that failure to obtain it, for example, meant rejection of the League of Nations Treaty so earnestly promoted by President Woodrow Wilson. On the other hand, the U.S. Senate's rejection of the Maclane-Ocampo Treaty, fortunately spared Mexico the cession of most of its Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the United States.

How do treaties relate to the Constitution of the United States? the answer appears in its Article VI, paragraph two:

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

In general, international treaties that comply with constitutional requirements, come into force without the need of special law. Yet, certain kinds of treaties require the passage of auxiliary laws for their proper fulfillment and, as laws, are approved by the entire Congress, that is, the House of Representatives and the Senate. In such cases, it is important to have the support and prior approval of both chambers.

An obvious example of the above, is the Free Trade Treaty between Mexico and the United States<sup>1</sup>, assuming it will be a formal treaty and not merely an executive agreement. President Bush asked for the "fast track", not only to speed up paper work for the agreement, but also because its approval will involve and require Congressional law for its execution.

Approval by the Senate will continue to be indispensable for the

I start from the assumption that the international agreement to be celebrated by Mexico and the U.S., will be a formal treaty and not a mere executive agreement. Mexico-United States Free Trade Agreement. Though the House of Representatives' blessing will ostensibly not be essential to approval, laws will be required for the implementation of the Agreement, which must indeed be approved by both House and Senate.

The federal government's "Treaty Making Power" includes accepting regulations not included in the expressed prerogatives of the government and which can therefore affect the States of the Union.

In accordance with general International Law, treaties are the supreme law among states and, thus, rank above constitutions, the supreme law of each state. Were it otherwise, international law would be at the mercy of the will of each nation. Yet, from the domestic legal perspective of most nations, enforcement and precedence of agreements is ruled by what domestic legislation establishes, at the head of which stands the constitution, the Supreme Law of the Land.

In the United States, the constitution is unquestionably the highest law, admitting no other law above it, even of an international nature. Yet, a treaty approved with all the requisite formalities (President and Senate) could one day be challenged as unconstitutional, for example, if the agreement encroached on the Human Rights guaranteed in the constitution.

The next issue refers to the precedence of treaties with respect to the laws of Congress. Interpretations of this vary according to country.

In the United States, conflicts between treaties and laws of Congress are not solved by criteria of rank or precedence, but by applying principles of general law that have existed for centuries, in which recent law revokes or abrogates prior law, even though the latter may not be expressly mentioned. Thus, in the event of conflict between treaties or laws of Congress, the treaty or law subsequently approved is the one that prevails. Under the

constitutions and laws of the States, treaties always take precedence.

#### Mexico

Just as in the United States, in Mexico treaties are negotiated and formalized by the President of the Republic, whose powers include (Article 89 of the Constitution) directing foreign policy and concluding international treaties. These must be submitted for approval by the Senate, approval which may be granted by simple majority of the senators present, and not, as in the U.S. Senate, by a two thirds majority of the whole.

Constitutional supremacy is express in Mexico, since the Constitution of 1857 (article 126), and was reaffirmed in article 133 of the Constitution of 1917, now in force:

This constitution, the laws of the Congress of the Union set forth by it and all the treaties in accordance with it, celebrated and to be celebrated by the President of the Republic, with approval of the Senate, will be the Supreme Law of all the Union. Judges of each State will adjust laws and treaties to such Constitution, notwithstanding opposing regulations found in the Constitutions or laws of such states.

According to the above provision, there is no doubt that the Mexican Constitution prevails over treaties. To eliminate any doubt in this respect, under my father Ambassador Oscar Rabasa's initiative, article 133 originally approved by the Constituent Assembly of Queretaro, was added by amendment of January 18, 1934, which states that treaties must be in accordance with the Constitution.

President of the Mexican Supreme Court of Justice, Ignacio L. Vallarta, did not share the thesis of the Constitution's supremacy over treaties. He considered treaties and constitution to fall within two different systems of jurisprudence.

The issue, whether treaties rank higher, equal to or lower than federal

laws, "the laws set forth by Congress", has not, as yet, been clearly solved in Mexico.

A first "literary" reading of article 133, might indicate that the legal "pyramid" or ladder strictly establishes the following order: first, the Constitution; second, federal law and third, treaties. Consequently, treaties would be subordinate to the laws of Congress.

Some Mexican jurists have wanted to seek the preeminence of either Congressional law or treaties, by classifying the laws of Congress as constitutional laws or organic law and others.

I believe the distinction to be somewhat whimsical, for each and every law set forth by Congress, is supposed to be constitutional. On the other hand, which would be the organ to decide upon the exact nature or classification of these regulations? I consider federal laws and treaties, when the latter are concluded in keeping with the Constitution, to rank at the same level.

Therefore, once more, resorting to the old principle under which recent law annuls or revokes law promulgated in the distant past, in the event of conflict, either the law of Congress or the treaty may prevail depending on their dates of promulgation.

What is indisputable, under the Mexican Constitution, is that the Constitution itself, the laws of the Congress of the Union set forth by it and all the treaties in accordance with it, concluded by the President of the Republic, with the approval of the Senate, are the supreme law of all the Union. They constitute higher law which definitely prevails over the constitutions and laws of the states.

Lastly, treaties that fulfill constitutional requirements, become an effective part of the Mexican juridical order, as do all other laws issued in accordance with the Constitution our years have passed since the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the United States was signed. During this short time -compared to the originally specified period of nearly fifteen years- there have been enormously important economic, political and social changes directly affecting how early results have been evaluated differently. The changes are not only domestic; recent international events have affected the agreement's functioning.

Surely, one of the most interesting aspects is that since the end of 1990, the most pressing economic problem for both Canada and the U.S. is the recession, with rising unemployment and the closing-down of many businesses, mainly in Canada.

One of the strongest criticisms from Canadian opposition concerns the role of private international capital in both countries that is, to many, the real winner in the Free Trade Agreement. The key clauses mainly favor trans- national businesses, economically handicapping smaller Canadian firms.

Neo-liberal parameters were followed in drafting the agreement and, in that sense, the influence and importance of business groups during the negotiations is not surprising. Since Ronald Reagan's first administration both domestic and international economic policies opposed government intervention and supported the private sector's preeminence in an economy where free market forces were the only control permitted.<sup>1</sup>

Not only the agreement's de-regulatory content, but also inequalities existing between U.S. and

Gutiérrez H. M. Teresa. "La Política Económica de los Estados Unidos Bajo el Libre Comercio", in the collective book La Administración Bush, Center for Research on the United States, UNAM, 1991.

# An unofficial evaluation of the Canada-U.S. FTA

María Teresa Gutiérrez Haces\*

The Free Trade
Agreement between
Canada and the
U.S. has produced
a series of plant
closings and lost
jobs for Canadians,
as firms move to
the U.S. and
Mexico.

Canadian successes have become evident over time. Several critical aspects stand out in Canada: From now on the government's economic policy must be conducted not only in accord with domestic needs, but correlated to the U.S. economic policy.

This point is illustrated by agricultural policy discussions in the GATT Uruguay Round, for which no favorable end is in sight, due to

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disagreement between the European Economic Community, the CAIRNES group and the U.S. over agricultural subsidies considered as unfair competition.

Canada faces a very limiting situation in the Free Trade
Agreement, signed at the end of 1987, since norms established and approved by the FTA cannot be changed, virtually forcing their agreement with the U.S. proposals.

Thus FTA articles 701 and 709 forbid any subsidy for agricultural exports in the two countries, and these clauses specifically state that "the interests of the other party should be taken into consideration when concessions are granted to third countries".<sup>2</sup>

Another problem facing Canada is that many of her industries are moving to the U.S. or to the northern Mexican border. This phenomenon has drawn the most heated censure from the Canadian opposition and has shown the weakness of an agreement that does not seriously consider possible effects to job structure. Nor is

The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Chapter Seven, p. 75-77. industrial policy planning considered necessary to harmonize with the changes provoked by practically unrestricted opening up to U.S. investment in all of Canada's economic sectors.

Industrial relocation has several causes: Higher salaries in Canada –12.97 dollars per hour, compared to 11.10 in the U.S.– and better Canadian Social Security. This has caused Canadian businessmen to protest complaining that competitiveness is reduced.<sup>3</sup>

Lost jobs during June 1990 were estimated at 165,000 in the manufacturing sector alone. Eight

#### **Ontario Business Closings** 1987-1991

Year	Clo	sed	Partially	Closed	Total		
	<b>Plants</b>	Jobs	<b>Plants</b>	Jobs	Plants	Jobs	
1991	49	5,181	14	777	63	5,958	
1990	110	15,339	27	5,215	137	20,554	
1989	77	9,705	22	2,979	99	12,684	
1988	58	8,670	12	1,129	70	9,799	
1987	60	9,124	10	980	70	10,104	
	30	,,,,,	.0	300	70	10,10	

Source: Ministry of Labour, Ontario, 1991

percent of this figure corresponds to Ontario, considered the best region in the Canadian job market. Official government sources deny that business closings resulting in unemployment are one of the FTA's

#### Highlights of seven years of

#### March 1985

U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney meet. They agreed to request their respective ministers to explore the possibilities for reducing and eliminating trade barriers.

#### September 1985

President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney exchange letters of resolution to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement(FTA).

#### October 1987

U.S. and Canadian negotiators sign a draft of the Agreement.

#### December 1987

The heads of both delegations ratify the text of the Agreement. The final version is sent to the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament.

#### January 1989

The FTA between the U.S. and Canada goes into effect.

#### March 1990

The Wall Street Journal publishes an article asserting that Mexico and the United States have agreed to initiate negotiations to develop a Free Trade Agreement.

#### **April 1990**

The Mexican Senate establishes a forum for consultations on the FTA.

#### June 1990

The U.S. Senate opens Hearings on a "fast track" bill that would allow President George Bush to negotiate directly with President Carlos Salinas. Both Presidents issue a Joint Communiqué announcing their intention to negotiate a FTA, and instructing their respective trade representatives to explore the possibilities.

#### August 1990

The Mexican Secretary of
Commerce and the U.S. Trade
representative meet and issue a
Joint Recommendation to
President George Bush, urging
that the U.S. and the Mexican
President initiate FTA negotiations.

#### September 1990

President Carlos Salinas appoints an Advisory Committee for FTA negotiations and informs President George Bush that Mexico intends to sign a Free Trade Agreement. President Bush sends a bill to Congress to open negotiations. Canada expresses its desire to join the largest trade bloc in the world.

Gutiérrez Haces M. Teresa, Libre Comercio y Oposición Sindical, Revista Trabajo No. 5, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco, 1991.

negative results. However, data published by the Canadian Labor Congress, the strongest national union, and the *Confédération des*  and contract re-negotiations commonly include references to "possible business closings" or plant relocation to the Mexico-U.S. border.

### **66** Free market concepts were followed when FTA was written **99**

Syndicats Nationaux, located in Quebec, show this process on the increase (see tables). Part-time jobs have doubled from 1983 to 1989, and the policy of reducing working hours increased from 1989 to 1991. Businesses have generally toughened their tactics when confronting workers and unions. Claiming unemployment insurance has become more difficult

This issue has provoked paranoid reactions towards Mexico, seen as a giant competitor who grants concessions to foreign investment. Some of the Canadian arguments used to demonstrate unequal labor practices in the three countries are: Mexico's low salaries, weak unions and lack of effective worker protection measures, like unemployment insurance, and

some officials who ignore employer's abuses or the violation of worker's health or pollution laws.

Perhaps one of the newest aspects in the debate over labor and wage policy centers on the discussion of a "social salary", which is one of Canada's greatest national union conquests. During the FTA negotiations Canadian officials promised that existing worker's benefits would not be affected, and a labor adjustment program would be applied to counter possible lay-offs or the negative aftermath of partial or total business closings.

Since signing the FTA the conservative government has not been able to implement this program. On the contrary, there is an obvious tendency to modify unemployment

#### free trade negotiations

#### February 1991

President Salinas, President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney agree to start trilateral negotiations for a North American FTA.

#### May 1991

The U.S. House of Representatives votes in favor (231 to 192) of approving the "fast track" for negotiating the FTA with Mexico. The U.S. Senate also approves the motion (59 to 36) to give President Bush the authority to negotiate.

#### June 1991

Trilateral negotiations between Canada, Mexico and the U.S. open in Toronto, Canada. The issues discussed include access to markets, trade regulations, investment, technology transfer, services and settlement of disputes.

#### August 1991

The ministers of commerce of the three countries meet for a second time in Seattle, Washington. They agree on a gradual reduction of tariffs, to be carried out in three stage, on all products to be imported and exported between the three countries. They resolve to make an in depth analysis of the restrictions on government purchases in the three nations. In addition, a working group is created to strengthen the Mexican assembly plant program. The governors of the fifty U.S. states express their support for the negotiations.

#### October 1991

The Ministers of Commerce of the three countries meet for a third time in Zacatecas, Mexico. The meeting is attended by U.S. negotiator Carla Hills, Canadian Minister of Commerce Michael Wilson, and Mexican Secretary of Commerce Jaime Serra Puche, along with their respective negotiating teams. They review the progress of the working groups assigned to each of the nineteen major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January of 1922. The agree to approach labor and the environment as parallel issues, but not to include them in the text of the agreement.

#### February 1992

The presidents of the United States and Mexico, George Bush and Carlos Salinas de Gortari, meet in San Antonio, Texas, to discuss progress at the 7th plenary negotiating session, held at Dallas. Progress was reported by 8 of the 18 working groups. Differences persist in such key areas as enery, agriculture and the automotive industry.

insurance. Federal assistance programs, such as children's aid, pensions and maternity benefits, among others, have been limited.

Unemployment insurance has stopped being a three-party negotiation, tending to become an arrangement between the worker and the company, since the government does not participate. Calculations based on recently published data indicate that 200 thousand workers have stopped receiving unemployment insurance benefits, and 170 thousand possible applicants cannot expect to receive it.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of this cutback in aid programs, the Canadian government has calculated a savings of 15% in pensions and family assistance programs. Everything seems to be headed toward a downgrading to equal the U.S. system which is more privatized than Canada's. One must not forget that U.S. insurance companies are eager to enter the Canadian market where they have not found ready clients, thanks to present social security policies.

On the other hand, a tendency to modify fiscal policy has also surfaced. A new fiscal regulation, the General Sales Taxes (GST) has been levied on

# Canadian plants relocated to Mexico

Company	Location	Jobs Lost
General Electric	Quebec	200
Ford Motor Co.	Ontario	900
Motorola Co.	Ontario	186
Square-D	New Brunswick	156
Square-D	Ontario	107
General Motors	Ontario	800
General Motors	Quebec	1700
General Motors	Ontario	2700
Black and Decker	Ontario	100
Black and Decker	Quebec	150
Whirlpool Co.	Ontario	870
Echlin Canada	Ontario	58
Echlin Canada	Ontario	125
Northern Telecom	Quebec	680
Northern Telecom	Quebec	250
Northern Telecom	Ontario	240
Northern Telecom	Ontario	145
Northern Telecom	Ontario	120
		120

Source: Réseau Canadien d'Action, April 1991, Canada.

exempting almost 100% of capital gains and approximately 24 percent reductions for high level tax payers, while some of the taxes are recovered

### 66 Subsidies on agricultural exports are forbidden by the FTA >>

consumer goods and services, and that is only the beginning of an obvious restructuring in view of the government's need for new sources of tax income resulting from reduced import duties.

Other tax changes include lowering credit for scientific research,

Gutiérrez Haces M. Teresa, (compiler), Experiencias de la Negociación de T.L.C. Canadá-Estados Unidos, Mexico-Canada Conference proceedings, Partido Acción Nacional, México, 1991. from low- and middle-income consumers through the GST.

In the controversial area of foreign investment, U.S. negotiators had determined to liberalize Canadian investment laws as much as possible, creating new norms to assure that no future government could possibly modify what had been won:

The overall objective of these conversations is to extend liberalization of Canadian foreign

investment policies as much as possible, and on the other hand, it is essential to freeze former rules in order to favor U.S. investors and prevent future Canadian governments from returning to the unsatisfactory policies of a few years ago. From now on, Canada will not put any restrictions on exports, local content. domestic sources or import substitutions for U.S. investors. If we can't put an end to existing Canadian Investment, we can significantly reduce its field of action. Starting today, the real FTA achievement will be that the vast majority of new U.S. investments will flow into Canada without Canadian government interference.5

5 U.S. State Department, cited by John Dillon in "Energía e Inversión Extranjera", in the collective book Experiencias de las Negociaciones del T.L.C., op. cit., p. 77. Following this State Department declaration, one might add that 13.7% of the Canadian Domestic Product represents direct U.S. investment, and 70% of foreign investment in Canada is from the U.S., an unbalanced situation when compared to a 7.6% Canadian investment in the U.S.

1988 and 1989, leaving 136 businesses with Canadian investment. At the same time, obligations on U.S. businesses have been disappearing: for example, requirements for minimum purchases of Canadian materials, including a certain percentage of the value

# 66 An estimated 165,000 Canadian manufacturing jobs were lost in June, 1990 alone 55

In addition to these figures, Free Trade Agreement chapters 14, 16, 105, 501 and 502 establish guidelines for applying the National Protection clause, indicating that, among other things, permission from the Foreign Investment Revision Agency is needed only for huge investments of more than 10 billion Canadian dollars.

As a result, 460 Canadian firms converted to foreign control between

added for Canadian workers, or regulations on earnings transferred outside Canada.

Tariffs, central to the agreement, have also had unexpected results. At the outset, gradual reductions were calculated to take 10 years, but in reality the process accelerated surprisingly. As a result, Canadian business' competitive ability did not have time to consolidate when faced by an

#### Quebec Sectors Affected by Unemployment November 1988 - October 1990

Sector	Businesses	Lost Jobs
Food industry	14	2,107
Textiles and clothing	38	2,763
Shoes	4	531
Furniture and wood products	15	987
Paper and packaging	11	1,894
Chemical and pharmaceutical	10	1,036
Metals	21	2,268
Electrical and electronics	16	3,046
Total	129	14,632

Source: Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, Quebec, 1991.

invasion of products, investments and services.

The only possible solutions were shut-downs, mergers or maximizing production management to recover losses at the workers' expense. For example, this has harmed fishing and lumbering, two of the main activities in British Columbia. In both cases, part of traditional operations have been moved to the U.S., causing lost jobs and reduced salaries.

Services will certainly be one of the future points of conflict, as in the case of agriculture, insufficiently regulated pending the conclusion of the Uruguay Round. The Canadian services sector generates more that 2/3 of domestic earnings and comprises 70% of jobs. However, the sector is based on the domestic market and shows a negative balance compared to the U.S.

Optimistic evaluations of results were not lacking during the FTA's first year. But as time passes, they have diminished when faced by the complexity of the issues.

In August 1990, Canadian discontent showed up at the ballot box when the conservative party was defeated by the New Democratic Party, which shows social-democrat tendencies.

In the middle of 1991 discussions grew on revoking the FTA and domestic debate intensified when faced with the appearance of new participants and scenarios, rooted in President Bush's Americas Initiative and in the North Atlantic Free Tree Agreement negotiations between the U.S., Canada and Mexico.

All this indicates that the last word has not yet been said regarding the most ambitious economic integration project in America M

# Agriculture and the free trade agreement

Felipe Torres Torres\*
Javier Delgadillo Macías\*\*

s in all negotiations between unequal parties, in the case of Mexico's agricultural sector two different, although not necessarily substantiated positions propound reasons for including or excluding it from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Canada.

The position defending inclusion in the NAFTA, held mainly by officials not directly involved in rural problems, maintains that Mexican producers have the capacity to face foreign competition. Cited especially are cattle production and crops such as fruits and vegetables, traditionally related to international markets.

Moreover, they point out, in sectors such as basic grains and fodder, that show a depression so serious that not even present internal demand can be supplied, the NAFTA will provide an excellent opportunity to revitalize production patterns, reverse aspects of dependency and even gain foreign markets.

Permeating this proposal is the reappraisal of land tenure, inasmuch as it considers the *ejido*, a system

which came out of the Mexican Revolution, as an obsolete productive unit incapable of withstanding economies of scale. The *ejidos* remain so impoverished and dispersed that only with great difficulty could they aspire to production levels required by the new market conditions. Thus the sale and/or rental of *ejido* parcels to make investment attractive to domestic or foreign agro-businesses has now been legalized.

On the other hand, the old idea of comparative advantage is re-examined and readapted in terms of what it means to buy and sell within a competitive scheme including agricultural systems very different in production volume, technological level, organizational capacity, and so on.

This first position does not consider reinforcing the structure of domestic production, nor does it justify the use of protectionist mechanisms to balance such differences; it simply proposes to open the market independently of later repercussions.

The other proposal, which paradoxically also has strong official support, is based on reconsidering the importance of recovering domestic food self-sufficiency. This possibility is unattainable if at the outset smallholders producing rainy-season corn and beans and, lacking the capacity to confront huge world-wide grain producers, are forced into an internationally structured competitive scheme.

It is here that current official efforts to protect domestic producers become evident, inasmuch as international prices of basic products, for example corn, rice, wheat and sorghum, are almost half the guaranteed domestic prices. This is a result of production costs that are way below Mexico's, and products that come from countries with high levels of protection for agriculture.

This proposal includes re-adapting the *ejido* to new production and world market conditions, where the Mexican government should assume its historic responsibility of financing agriculture and guaranteeing the food supply of the economically most disadvantaged.

Mexican agriculture faces the free trade agreement with two positions: Join – Mexico can compete in cattle, fruits and vegetables; existing inadequate production in grains will be stimulated. Hold off – Mexico must regain agricultural self-sufficiency through ejido reform, new investment, modern technology and higher production.

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The proposal, in short, is to put off opening the sector and to reappraise the policies that aggravated Mexico's agricultural crisis. Though it presents a nationalistic perspective for the future of the agricultural sector, it contains the weakest arguments in terms of the NAFTA negotiations.

Furthermore, the Mexican government seems unwilling to give massive aid to agriculture. First, because it has decided to abandon what it considers the paternalistic criteria that formerly inspired agricultural policy. Second, because the exercise of budgetary discipline imposed by external financial commitments makes the massive sums of capital required by the magnitude of the agricultural problem unavailable. And third, because it is contrary to free enterprise, which opposes regulatory mechanisms for both domestic and foreign capital which require the disappearance of state monopolies as a condition for investment.

More evidence of its weakness is that at least for the past year, the proposal has been widely outdone by inescapable market reality: the domestic supply system is flooded with foreign agricultural goods brought into the country through commercial triangulations between transnational companies whose position will be reinforced by the NAFTA.

This is borne out by the appearance of exotic fruits from China, Thailand, New Zealand, Chile, India and even Europe; vegetables from the United States and Central America; Oriental and South American spices and even chili peppers from Japan and China.

agricultural producers in the world, unless the idea is basically a model for integration and not for complementary relations between the three countries.

It seems, however, that there is no way to go, for two reasons. First, neither the government nor domestic

## 66Depressed sectors can be revitalized and dependency reversed 99

The most generous conditions now exist for importing all these products by authorized domestic agencies, even for medium-size merchants, but all this leads to dismantling the domestic production structure and a renewed tendency to become a captive consumer market with short term economic and political costs.

Grains (mainly corn and beans) are a separate subject; what we are trying to do now is to call attention to what are supposedly our strong points in an open market.

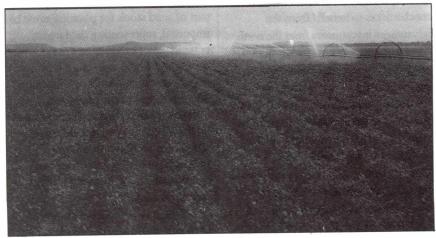
Which is the best alternative? In our opinion, neither proposal offers the possibility of confronting the challenges of foreign competition, not even in Mexico's domestic market. They are not based on objective analysis of the real situation in the countryside on terms comparable to the two strongest

businessmen show any real ability to "save" this sector from current international penetration. And second, we cannot imagine the agricultural sector outside the NAFTA, while all other sectors, even including segments of education, technological development and copyrights, are in it.

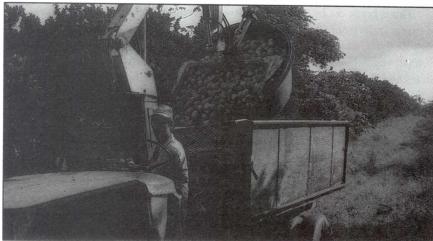
It should be noted that firms like Pioneer and Northrup King, which were seriously affected by the present recession in the international grain market resulting from a drop in Latin American (including Mexican) production, are the same firms pressing for inclusion of this sector in the agreement. They would thus be assured unrestricted access to domestic germ plasma and could increase their sales through an assured imposition of the U.S. production model, based on intensive systems with standards for homogeneity and specific product characteristics theoretically aimed at satisfying a unique and demanding market.

At the same time, in view of the dynamics of events, it seems that to join or not to join is a sterile discussion. It is evident that the NAFTA merely legitimizes a current and predetermined reality in the U.S. agricultural sector, but with Canada included.

Actually, its goals are to abolish the few tariff barriers against U.S. products, legalize direct investments which would eliminate outmoded contract farming, permit the buying.



Irrigated bean fields.



Mechanized harvesting.

and selling of land, and take advantage of crop and labor location, locally hiring the *braceros* who by migrating, could formerly earn up to seven times more by simply crossing the border. World-wide technological control over agriculture would also overcome European arrogance and Chinese mysticism, since the remaining agricultures don't count because they are either one-crop or are insufficiently developed.

In any case, what NAFTA boils down to for this sector is competition between United States and Canadian firms, where Mexico is only a combat zone. Or, from another angle, world-wide marketing organizations will be able to sell products from any part of the world in Mexico, with no tariff barriers or payments for "seller's rights", and without the source of production being precisely within the countries that signed the agreement.

Several factors favor the assumption that things will not happen in any other way. At present, the U.S. has sufficient capacity to flood the world market with practically any agricultural product, whether produced in the U.S. or not, by simply using triangulation schemes, or by employing sophisticated stock-exchange mechanisms.

On the other hand, the U.S. enjoys an added market advantage from current reordering and reopening of diverse regions of the world that have disjointed production structures, specifically the countries of the former Eastern bloc. Canada also enjoys the opportunity, although on a more restricted level, to expand its markets without having to withstand stormy discussions before signing the NAFTA.

The key point is what these countries expect when they sign an agreement with Mexico. The question could have several answers (political, market, natural resources, etc.). But

Some examples illustrate this better than futuristic speculation. In the case of sorghum, the United States has lowered its production from 25 million tons (half of world production) to less than 15 million tons at a time when demand is constantly increasing, mainly due to new agreements with the countries of the former USSR regarding economic cooperation, where the supply of fodder rations will certainly be considered. A major percentage of growing European demand is supplied by the United States, while Argentina, another important producer, has practically disappeared from the world market.

In this situation Mexico would not be driven out of the domestic sorghum market by the United States; moreover in view of present domestic production deficits, an excellent opportunity may exist to increase volume and even to export. This would also check the looming threat of Mexican beans, corn and rice being overwhelmed, and would afford an opportunity to fully utilize marginal agricultural areas.

#### Restructure the ejido permitting sale or rental of land to attract investment

everything seems to indicate that what is being sought are more flexible mechanisms to benefit from the advantages investments from the north have traditionally enjoyed in the Mexican countryside. Included are natural resources, germ plasm in particular, to obtain new varieties, and the laborers themselves, who are faced with the prospect of losing their land with no alternative source of employment. It is to be presumed that the same advantages will exist for domestic investors, but this leads to an even simpler question: Who holds the keys to the lock?

The huge bottleneck for domestic sorghum, however, is that the greater part of seed stock for planting must be imported, representing the largest percentage of production costs. Given these conditions, only large U.S. contractors would be in a position to take advantage of such marginal areas, because no aid program is envisioned by the Mexican government. In other words, the sorghum that is not produced in the United States would be produced here, but without any benefit to Mexico.

Wheat is in a similar situation, although with other peculiarities. Production in Sonora and Baja

California is supposed to be sufficiently competitive, based on yields per hectare and harvested volume when compared to the U.S. and Canada, and should therefore be stimulated and protected. However, faced with the need to satisfy the domestic demand for corn, those responsible for Mexican agricultural policy are reconverting areas to corn production that were originally in wheat. This would leave the door open to wheat from the United States in years to come and put the future of domestic wheat in serious doubt.

There isn't even a remote possibility of competing in corn, beans and rice. United States production costs are half of Mexico's for corn, as mentioned above, and even if Mexico required only white corn, production of which is limited in the U.S. and Canada, they would immediately be able to satisfy the demand.

In spite of import controls on beans, widespread small-scale smuggling exists which affects internal prices and currently threatens bankruptcy for domestic producers and marketers.

Canadian rice production costs are a fifth of Mexico's, and if this were not



A reaper in operation.

The fishing industry is shown to be constantly under pressure for different reasons, either ecological or sanitary. All this caused the agricultural trade balance deficit to grow 33.03 percent in the last year.

In no way should this be interpreted as a fatalistic view of including the agricultural sector in the NAFTA -what's more, it is already included through the in-bond agrocontract system. What we recommend in any case is greater restraint regarding the subjects included and how they are considered in the negotiations.

program seeking to rescue the foods and the productivity of the domestic agriculture sector.

It is unreasonable to force the entire agricultural sector into a no-holds-barred competitive system with two of the world's major food producers, especially in the area of basic grains. For example, about three million Mexicans depend on corn production, and would be literally left "high and dry" when faced by the profound differences in production costs and prices compared to the United States.

How, and with what, is Mexico competing? What is the domestic technological level compared to her neighbors' computerized cattle and foodstuff production? What capacity do domestic businessmen have to re-capitalize the countryside when confronted by rearranged international capital that is currently at work in different regions of Mexico through the above mentioned agro-contract system? Can the Mexican government under the NAFTA scheme once again be the force that drives agricultural development and makes it competitive?

The view is not clear, but in this case it is better to follow the turtle's strategy rather than to be beaten before the race starts M

## 66 Recovery of domestic self-sufficiency in food production >>

enough, the advantages Mexico formerly had in fruits and vegetables thanks to a stable climate in the northwestern part of the country are now reduced, due to technological advances by growers in California and Florida.

Meat is not even worth mentioning because, as some point out, Mexico's production would not even cover the requirements of one week's consumption in the United States.

Mexico is a chronic importer of milk and its byproducts, as well as oilseeds, eggs and other products.

In our view, what seems most viable is to protect the sector by leaving it out of the initial NAFTA negotiations for at least 10 years. That would allow the development of a scientific and technological infrastructure and the social conditions for domestic production which would permit a balance between our infrastructure, production, costs and yields, and those in the U. S. and Canada.

To this end, the government, agro-business and farm workers could coincide in a short and medium-term

# Mexican tourism and the free trade agreement

#### Bernardo Méndez Lugo\*

ourism is a relatively new phenomenon which developed on an international level after the Second World War. Tourism has played a significant role in Mexico since the 1950's, and it was an important factor in the balance of trade until the end of the 1960's. Income from agricultural exports and tourism bolstered substitutional industrialization by providing funds for machinery and equipment imports.

Tourism has been considered a high-yield activity and is called an "industry without smokestacks", but there is little analysis of its impact on society and culture. Little is known of the changes in attitudes, consumption patterns, psychology or, in general, the values produced in a society by large scale tourism in the towns and areas where tourist services are the main source of income.

Outgoing tourism is also considered significant in Mexico, that is, Mexicans who travel outside the country, most of whom (90%) travel to the United States. In fact, since the 1960's, the balance between outgoing and incoming tourism has tended to

\* Member of the Mexican Foreign Service in the Department of Foreign Affairs. considerably reduce Mexico's tourist earnings.

Except for 1983-1988, when outbound tourism decreased, for every dollar that Mexico received from a visitor between 1970-1981 and from 1989 to the present, 70 cents were spent by Mexican tourists outside the country, particularly on U.S. products and services.

Tourist industry growth has followed the Mexican development model: monopolization, relatively high prices and deficient services, government investment for infrastructure and joint investment for first-class hotel mega-projects (five stars and grand class) through the National Tourism Fund (FONATUR), the National Foreign Trade Bank (BANCOMEXT) and large banks.

Favored are large-scale hotels linked to foreign capital, and magnet tourist areas tend to be virtually isolated with preferred access by air, through interconnections and with tourist packages that generally include all services (meals, tours, sports, etc.). Most of the benefits are for international hotel chains and some high-class domestic chains (four stars and higher).

Small domestic hotels (one, two and three stars) are generally developed without any kind of help and grow as periferal business organizations, often they are forced to become part of the unregulated or semi-legal economy in order to survive.

This situation can clearly be seen at the large beach tourist enclaves of Ixtapa, Acapulco, Puerto Vallarta, Mazatlán, Huatulco and Cancún, among others.

Other cities with significant tourist trade on the northern border are Tijuana, Nuevo Laredo, Ciudad Juárez, Reynosa and Matamoros. What is important here, however, is outgoing tourism with massive border crossings in order to work or to purchase products and services in the U. S.

Tourism also plays a major role in the economies of other large and small cities in Mexico like Guadalajara, Guanajuato, San Miguel Allende, Zacatecas, Morelia, Pátzcuaro, Oaxaca,

Mexico needs to revise priorities and redirect funding toward small and medium-size tourist facilities, without hurting the mega-projects which continue to develop the resorts that have traditionally been planned, financed and operated internationally.



San Francisco Beach, Cozumel.

Veracruz, Mérida, Puerto Escondido, Isla Mujeres and Cozumel.

Generally speaking, the impact of domestic tourism is not significantly different from that of foreign tourism. By and large, domestic tourism is mixed into the often similar and many times identical routes and tourist packages used by foreigners. It may be said that to the local inhabitant or worker in a resort area, a visitor or tourist is a foreigner, whether he comes from New York or the Federal District.

Some recent studies, however, show that several cities (Acapulco,

#### The main players and the risks

There are two well-defined participants in Mexico: first, the government through its agencies such as the Department of Tourism, FONATUR and the various state tourism departments.

Second, international and domestic capital within the hotel industry and, joined or associated with it, the international and domestic airlines.

Small and medium-size travel agency owners are a group within the private domestic sector that operate near the fringe of the large hotel promoters and airlines.

Rarely noticed yet potentially decisive groups are the domestic and foreign consumers and tourist service users themselves. cities, as well as in Acapulco, Mazatlán and Cancún.

If the negotiating team for the Free Trade Agreement continues to give priority to mega-projects, this model will be reinforced, with undesirable social, cultural and ecological effects. It usually creates notorious local contrasts, with one group participating, and another that is left out and impoverished. Cancún, Huatulco and Acapulco are examples of this social and economic rift.

This has also caused a deterioration of local productive practices, with serious changes in food production and ecosystems. Furthermore, most of the income does not stay in the town or the region, but is "exported" outside the country, or to Mexico City.

### **66** Tourism is a desirable high-yield "clean" industry **> 9**

Local and municipal authorities notoriously have no voice in decisions or approval of the large tourist mega-projects that later create a fast-growing demand for urban infrastructure and services (education, health, housing and public transport) among the local population.

# 66 Mexicans spend 70 cents out of every incoming tourist dollar in the U.S.

Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez) with a heavy tourist traffic have developed certain cultural resistances and a reaffirmation of their identities when confronted by the tourist "invasion". There are instances of social behavior which selects and discriminates between the "values" brought by tourism, and even generates dual or parallel patterns in the local residents.

Local and even state governments are also left out when it comes to obtaining tax funds, since the federal government receives 95 percent of taxes. This phenomenon of concentrating centralism versus local capabilities exists in all of the so-called "development areas". The urban infrastructure and basic services situation is particularly difficult and disturbing in large border

#### **Proposals**

The trilateral Agreement could provide a magnificent opportunity to reorder and redefine the Mexican tourist industry. Luring a greater number of tourists to domestic one-, two- and three-star hotels would imply a diversification in tourism facilities, and increase the promotion of local attractions and new sites.

It would be important to reinforce the norms, standards and quality control of tourist services for economy and medium-priced hotels. Such types of establishment should have regulations corresponding to their size and resources, avoiding the requirements and the demands put on large hotel chains.

Changes are required to modernize and adapt tourism legislation to meet present needs of users and providers of services. At the same time, FONATUR should noticeably modify its criteria for granting credit and investment priorities.



Cozumel.

It would be suitable to promote tourism for the local and foreign middle-class, as well as foster tourism for young people, senior citizens, government employees and business service personnel, among others, without discriminating against or eliminating mega-project resorts. This would create new possibilities for less expensive tourism committed to multiplying benefits for the local Mexican businessmen.

This could present attractive options for potential tourists looking for a more "natural" experience, one of better "interaction" with local people and without interference from the "standardized apparatus" of the large hotel chains.

To this end, specific policies for training personnel, granting credits to improve and rehabilitate installations, creating tax incentives and adequately promoting new sites should be initiated. In addition, centralization must be weakened and regulations reformed in order to yield more tax-collecting power to town and state governments.

On the other hand, Mexico needs to make visits easier for foreign tourists. Beginning in September 1991, Mexico began to grant long-term visas for up to ten years. To stay in Mexico, tourists from the United States and Canada, including legal residents of both countries, need only present a valid passport, or for United States citizens, any proof of citizenship. In addition, visas good for up to one year are now being granted to businessmen, with multiple exits and entries and with quick and easy renewal.

The idea is to connect the tourist zone of Tijuana-Ensenada to the Tijuana-Tecate-Mexicali-Rosarito-San Felipe-Ensenada loop, appealing to 500,000 golfers and 8,000 yacht owners. This megaproject requires a 1.67 billion dollar investment and the creation of 64,000 jobs.

Lobbyists for the Mexican
Association of Hotels and Motels are
pressuring for the authorization to
operate casinos and gaming rooms in
Mexican hotel complexes, particularly
in beach tourist areas.

Another recent trend is the interest shown by some U.S. hotel chains in three star hotel ventures in medium-sized Mexican cities. The idea is to serve frequent travelers, such as salespeople, business representatives, business and government middle management, and others. For example, the Holiday Inn chain has begun "Holiday Inn Express" projects in several medium-sized Mexican cities.

According to the U.S. Tourist Office in Monterrey, N. L., the first two years after signing the North

### 66 Mega-projects for first-class tourism have been favored in Mexico >>

These changes, along with policies for assistance and protection to users of tourist services, which eliminate mistreatment or abuses, are key elements for increasing competitiveness and improving the image of Mexican tourism.

#### Conclusion

Mexican tourism policies now show a tendency to foster and consolidate megaprojects. For example, the Rajamar megaproject begun in the Tijuana, Baja California area in early 1991, will draw tourists from southern California, southwest Arizona and Baja California.

American Free Trade Agreement will bring a ten percent increase in tourism between Mexico and the U.S. An increase of fifteen to twenty percent is expected later.

According to the director of that office, the main deterrents to increased tourist traffic are: unsafe Mexican highways and infrastructure that fall short of providing comfortable travel by car and camping for U.S tourists.

In summary, if officials concentrate only on megaprojects and tourists who come to Mexico by air, the multiplier effects of millions of potential visitors in diverse regions of the country will be lost M

ith the signing of the Salvadoran peace accord at Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City, on January 16, the world witnessed a historic event that put an end to eleven years of bloody civil war. It left a total of 75,000 dead, an enormous number of missing, and an economically and socially devastated country.

The signing of the peace agreement closes a bitter chapter in the history of El Salvador, marked by bloodshed and armed confrontation caused by a broad sector of El Salvador's population searching for political and social space.

The signing ceremony was singular in the light of its meaning for the Salvadoran people. In a single forum, President Alfredo Cristiani and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), who with hundreds of Salvadorans were part of the opposition for years, finally signed a political pact. It was witnessed by eight heads of state and government, including representatives of Cuba, the U.S., and the Secretaries General of the U.N. and O.A.S.

The accord envisioned broadreaching compromises and reforms. Noteworthy were: new plans for constitutional, non-political armed forces; separation of the National Civil Police from the armed forces; strengthening the judicial system, and making it independent from other organs of state and political parties.

In the economic and social spheres, a minimum platform of commitments was established, especially in the agrarian sector. Mechanisms for the political participation of the FMLN were envisioned, guaranteeing it the full exercise of its rights. An end finally came to armed confrontation.

January 16 also marked the end of sensitive, far-reaching negotiations, bringing together many diverse efforts and participation in an intent to provide a solution to the Salvadoran

## Peace for El Salvador

#### Alejandra de la Paz\*

conflict. The process dates back to the controversial Franco-Mexican declaration of 1981, which recognized the FMLN as a representative political force and suggested a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Next were the efforts of the Contadora Group to open new spaces for negotiation. They served as the basis for what might be called the "Central-Americanization" of peace, with the Esquipulas I and II accords in 1986 and 1987, respectively. In them, Central American governments took the pacification of the region into their own hands.

The process came to an end with the twenty meetings following the agreements reached at the Geneva Meeting between representatives of the Salvadoran government and the FMLN in April 1990, including the participation of then UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar. These were supported by a group of the Secretary General's friends, consisting of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Spain. The final meeting, held in New York in December 1991, led to the signing of the New York Document, with all parties agreeing to sign the final accords in Mexico City.

The selection of Mexico City for the signing was not due merely to chance. It reflects a recognition of Mexico's decisive efforts to solve these problems from the very beginning of the armed conflict. It constituted recognition of Mexico's active and effective diplomatic efforts. This continuity of endeavor, in different ways and nuances, opened spaces and formulas favoring dialogue and compromise between government and insurgents.

This historic period through which the Salvadoran people are living is not without its difficulties. They will have to overcome many obstacles, ranging from the challenges of inequality and injustice that led to their armed uprising, to tendencies underlying each of the opposing parties. This includes the interests of the Salvadoran far-right, as well as the FMLN's real chances of becoming a political force able to achieve its goals peacefully under the rules of democracy.

Peace has been won, but for it to be a lasting victory, enormous effort will be required from all of El Salvador's social sectors, as well as from the international community, which must offer its continuing support and cooperation.

This commitment, formalized by the Salvadoran government and the FMLN with the signing of the peace accord, has profound implications for all Central America. The gradual solution of armed conflicts encourages one to believe that the region may focus its efforts on striving for the economic, social and political development that may consolidate the integration currently underway.

Finally, the pacification of El Salvador points to new ways of problem solving: the preeminence of reason and democratic exchange rather than armed solutions, in a search for equitable development.

# Puerto Rico: hovering between 'yes' and 'no'

referendum was held in Puerto Rico, December 8, 1991, or whether to vote "yes" or "no" on the Law Guaranteeing Democratic Rights. These involve six rights dealing with the island's political status. The content of the ballot was as follows:

- 1. The inalienable right to freely and democratically determine our political status.
- 2. The right to choose a fully dignified political status without either colonial or territorial subordination to the plenary powers of the U.S. Congress.
- 3. The right to vote the three status alternatives grounded in the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican people (a freely associated semi-autonomous commonwealth, statehood, and independence).
- 4. The right that the winning alternative in a referendum on status obtain more than half the votes counted.
- 5. The right that all alternatives in all referenda on status, guarantee our culture, language and identity, including our representation in international sporting events.

Can they be territorially and politically independent and still be US citizens, there lies the rub.

6. The right that all alternatives in all referenda on status, guarantee the U.S. citizenship protected by the Constitution of the United States.

#### From a Spanish to an American colony

Puerto Rico came under U.S. sovereignty in 1898, when Spain lost the Spanish-American War. From then on, the governor of Puerto Rico was named by the president of the United States. In 1949, Luis Muñoz Marín took office as the first governor elected by Puerto Rican voters.

In 1952, the island became a Commonwealth, with the door open for later changes, by mutual consent, in the relationship between the island and the U.S. For the first time, the Puerto Rican flag waved as the country's official flag, next to the American flag.

The UN recognized Puerto Rico's new status one year later. However, the UN is currently in favor of the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to their self-determination and independence.

#### Language and citizenship

In 1899, the U.S. government decided to change the island's name to Porto Rico, for linguistic reasons. Not until 1932 was the name Puerto Rico reinstated.

Eleven years later, the Association of Puerto Rican Teachers denounced the failure of the educational policy



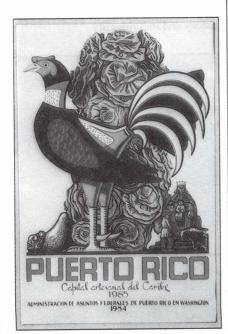
Morro Fort, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

imposing the study of English, that Puerto Rico had been following for thirty years. It declared in favor of public schools teaching in Spanish once again, with English as a second language. However, it took a few years longer to implement bilingual education, with the Spanish language predominant.

Last year, the Puerto Rican government took an important step: Governor Rafael Hernández Colón signed a law making Spanish the sole official language of the island. The law abrogated the one in effect since 1902, which had established both English and Spanish as the official languages of Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican governor's decision was applauded by the Spanish Crown which awarded it the Príncipe de Asturias Prize in honor of its exemplary defense of the Spanish language.

Not all Puerto Ricans, however, favor doing away with the bilingual system. Sectors of the construction industry, for example, managed to get the law's period of exception extended until December 1993.



Craftsmanship is the soul and spirit of our people.



Luis Muñoz Marín (in white suit), father of modern Puerto Rico.

Hence, engineers, architects and surveyors may continue to submit documents in English, in view of the fact that the majority of their procedures are carried out in that language. They are even trying to obtain a permanent exception.

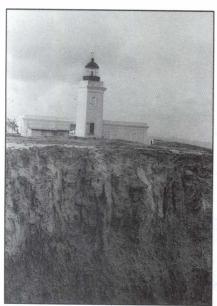
President McKinley signed the Foraker Act, which refers to the island's inhabitants as citizens of Puerto Rico, thus granting them citizenship in a non-existent nation, similar to the status of native Americans on the mainland. Finally, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones-Shafroth Act in 1917, granting Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship.

#### Culture versus well-being?

In the Puerto Rican newspaper *El Nuevo Día* (December 7, 1991), María Judith Luciano pointed out that the referendum scheduled for the following day had caused utter confusion among the Puerto Rican people. She blamed the intensity of political debate on either side during the campaign, the rush to hold the referendum, and the many questions arising from the fact that six points were being voted under a single mark on the ballot.

Four factors surrounding the debate influenced the final vote: the alliance of political parties in favor, the question of cultural identity, the territorial pact with the U.S., and the question of citizenship.

- The referendum was organized by the administration of Rafael Hernández Colón, who is not only governor but president of the Popular Democrátic Party (PPD), which enjoys the support of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the opposition of the New Progressive Party (PNP). These three parties constitute the island's main political forces. In her article, María Judith Luciano stated that "not only does the prostatehood sector denounce and reject the PPD-PIP combination, but thousands of PPD rank and file, identified as pro-U.S. are not too happy about the PPD having the PIP as a partner."
- 2. The PNP warned that the fifth right under the Law submitted for referendum was one of the most deceptive. The party's president, Pedro Rosselló, remarked that, "The preamble to our Constitution underscores the importance of the coexistence of the two cultures and



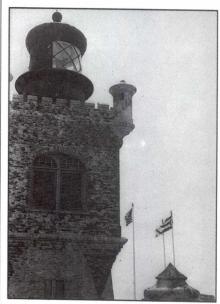
Lighthouse, West coast.

- we are opposed to the inclusion of that (fifth) point in the Constitution, because it permits politicians in office to decide what is culturally permissible... and that is against the essence of being Puerto Rican and against freedom of expression. It is cultural control. And if Spanish is the language for some, for me and many others it is bilingualism."
- 3. Under the Territorial Clause. Puerto Rico is subject to the plenary powers of the U.S. Congress. To be able to work out another agreement with the U.S., the current one would have to be abrogated. This would mean transferring power to Puerto Rico so that it could negotiate. In this context former Puerto Rican governor, Carlos Romero Barceló (El Nuevo Día, 17 November 1991), warned that, "if the 'yes' should win, both Congress and federal authorities would perceive it as a growth in the number of separatists and communists on the island...they will interpret it as a rejection of the United States by the people." Puerto Rican journalist Rechani Agralt (El Nuevo Día, 3 December 1991) wrote, "Voting 'yes' is

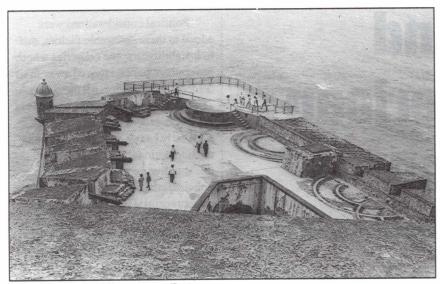
- asking to deprive our workers of the protection of federal laws that guarantee them better working conditions and higher wages...it sends the US the message 'Yankee go home.' Congress seems already to have acknowledged receipt and has begun sending its own messages. Last week, it stripped Puerto Rico of benefits from a law providing multimillion-dollar disaster aid, the kind that was granted to the Virgin Islands and other U.S. territories. They deliberately and specifically excluded us.. classifying us with the Associated Republics of Micronesia who have no right to those funds because they lack the protection of U.S. citizenship."
- 4. Intimately related to the preceding is the issue of preserving U.S. citizenship, contained in the sixth right submitted for referendum. This is the most sensitive point for a large sector of the Puerto Rican people. For Governor Hernández Colón, voting 'yes' for this right meant, "That the legislation being submitted to the people, offering the choice between retaining commonwealth status or seeking statehood or independence, must guarantee U.S. citizenship...the U.S. Congress must previously go on record in cases of statehood or independence, otherwise, U.S. citizenship would not be duly guaranteed." However, the Republican (minority) leader of the Congressional Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs. Robert Lagomarsino, a staunch defender of statehood (El Nuevo Día, 7 December 1991), warned. "The question the people of Puerto Rico have to ask themselves on December 8 is: "Do you want to separate from the United

States?...The people have been led to believe that a 'yes' vote would guarantee U.S. citizenship under independence or a Commonwealth outside the plenary powers of the Congress, but the United States has set a precedent with the Republic of the Philippines and the Commonwealth of Micronesia, taking U.S. citizenship away from their inhabitants." The Justice Department (El Nuevo Día, 27 December 1991) also warned, "Puerto Ricans are granted U.S. citizenship pursuant to a law which is not the equivalent of the citizenship guaranteed under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, so that it would, in theory, be possible for Congress to revoke or qualify such citizenship." This was the prospect that led the

Puerto Rican people to vote 'no' last December 8. This does not mean Puerto Ricans have turned their back on their cultural identity. On the contrary there is, now, a noticeable enthusiasm on the island for rescuing Puerto Rico's human and material values, for preserving its history and individuality.



Light tower Morro Fort, San Juan.



Colonial coastal artillary, Morro Fort.

#### The fall of the 'no'

Rafael Hernández Colón was first elected governor of Puerto Rico in 1972. He was defeated twice by Carlos Romero Barceló, returning to power in 1985 and reelected in 1988. Before the referendum, he had voiced his intention of running for a fourth term, but in his New Year's message, he announced his retirement from public life, one year in advance.

Thus, due to political miscalculation, a woman from his own political party is preparing to run for governor of Puerto Rico: Senator Victoria Muñoz Mendoza, known to Puerto Ricans as Melo. She has the advantage of a distinguished political heritage: her father and grandfather were eminent Puerto Rican statesmen. Her grandfather, Luis Muñoz Rivera, is considered the George Washington of Puerto Rico, because of his pioneering role in the movement for autonomy, while her father, Luis Muñoz Marín, is credited with forging modern Puerto Rico.

Muñoz Marín was governor of the island from 1949 to 1964, the year he retired. During his fifteen year tenure, Puerto Rico made spectacular progress in public health, education, housing, industry and trade. The other important contender is Pedro Rosselló, the president of the PNP, whose party believes its popularity was reinforced by the results of the referendum.

#### Referenda and plebiscites in Puerto Rico

Liquor Laws (prohibiting the consumption of alcoholic beverages)
July 16, 1917
Registered voters: 244,530
Voter turnout: 166,650
Voter participation: 68%
Yes: 102,423; No: 64,227

Law 600 (providing for the organization of constitutional government for Puerto Rico)
 June 4, 1951
 Registered voters: 781,914
 Voter turnout: 506,185
 Voter participation: 65%
 Yes: 387,016; No: 119,169

Constitution of the Commonwealth March 3, 1952 Registered voters: 781,914 Voter turnout: 457,572 Voter participation: 58% Yes: 374,649; No: 82,923

 Amendments to the Constitution (to bring it into line with federal law) November 4, 1952 Registered voters: 883,219 Voter turnout: 477,719 Voter participation: 54% Yes: 419,515; No: 58,204

Supreme Court
November 8, 1960
Registered voters: 941,034
Voter turnout: 485,271
Voter participation: 52%
Yes: 385,523; No: 104.748

Pre-state Margin
 December 10, 1961
 Registered voters: 802,032
 Voter turnout: 465,593
 Voter participation: 58%
 Yes: 385,369; No: 80,224

Plebescite on Status
 July 23, 1967
 Registered voters: 1,067,349
 Voter turnout: 703,692
 Voter participation: 66%
 Yes to Commonwealth: 425,132
 Yes to statehood: 279,312
 Yes to independence: 4,248

 Amendment to the Constitution (eliminating special elections to fill vacancies for district representative)
 November 3, 1964
 Registered voters: 1,002,000
 Voter turnout: 400,332
 Voter participation: 40%
 Yes: 310,431; No: 89,901

Voting Age: 18 years:
 November 1, 1970
 Registered voters: 1,043,733
 Voter turnout: 362,696
 Voter participation: 35%
 Yes: 213,782; No: 147,037 №

Marybel Toro Gayol Managing Editor.

# Mexico and Latin American integration

#### Miguel de la Madrid\*

or the last 35 years, achieving
Latin American integration
has been the subject of widely
differing projects: from the
1956 model proposed by the Economic
Commission for Latin America and
the Caribbean (ECLA), to the founding
of the Rio Group and today's renewed
proposals for fostering sub-regional
consolidation.

During this period, the most important events relating to integration have been: the Treaty of Montevideo creating the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) in 1960; the Managua Treaty creating the Central American Common Market also in 1960; the 1969 Cartagena Treaty formulating the Andean Pact whose purpose was to activate and bolster integration; the Latin American Economic System, born in 1975, to foster the creation of a new international economic order and to improve Latin America's position internationally: and the 1980 transformation of LAFTA into ALADI (Latin American Association for Integration) where theoretical bases for integration seem to have been set aside in favor of more practical reasons.

Projected Latin American integration has stumbled time and again over many obstacles that, to date, have prevented its crystallization. Twenty years after the Montevideo Treaty were not enough to reach LAFTA's original goals. On the contrary, negotiations stagnated. It was not a complete failure, but results were very limited when compared to its goals.

Political pacts alone, or the mere willingness to act, have been insufficient to develop decisive measures designed to take advantage of regional markets. Protectionism has proven stronger than the desire for integration.

The lack of commitment to consolidation, combined with the absence of forums for resolving differences and a disregard for multilateral trade standards (subsidies, anti-dumping, technical norms, and so on), clearly showed a desire for extreme flexibility in applying trade policies to regional exchange. This concern is understandable in the light of Latin America's perception of itself as highly vulnerable to international economic imbalances. This was particularly acute in the nineteen eighties.

Political considerations were added to these economic factors, due to instability in some countries where government policies moved away from democratic principles. All the domestic and foreign factors leading to crisis in the last decade were also present, especially heavy debt, uncertainty in the international raw materials market, diverse monetary exchange policies, credit shortages and even entrepreneurial indifference to the problems posed by integration.

International conditions were largely responsible for discouraging regional efforts toward integration. Constantly rising interest rates provoked large increases in debt payments resulting in considerable loss of income.

Protectionism in industrialized countries diminished Mexico's ability to increase her exports to the world market. Monetary disorder was another destabilizing factor during those years, revealing the inadequacy of the industrialized nations' efforts to attenuate it, given the complexity of international economic relations.

It has been during the last decade, viewing her relations with Latin American as of the highest priority in the context of her international political and economic strategy, that Mexico has given renewed thrust to Latin American integration. Mexico's attitude was reinforced by the reestablishment of democracy in most Latin American countries and by their leaders' renewed faith in integration.

Mexico's Active participation in the 1983 Latin American Economic

A brief chronology of the most recent events in the process that began with independence from Spain, sheds light on the many differing proposals advanced in interests of achieving integration in Latin America.

<sup>\*</sup> Former President of Mexico.

Conference, held in Quito, contributed to the ALADI Ministerial Council's adoption of several measures to reinforce economic and political ties and to strengthen cooperative procedures in the region.

That same year, the Contadora Group was established to prevent war and foster a negotiated peace in Central America, thus creating a joint and active Latin American diplomacy aimed at regional problems and their solutions. nations and in the interests of achieving a wider and stronger alliance. The final objective would be to create a really politically and economically integrated Latin American Community of Nations.

Three months later, in December 1986, the Rio Group was founded as a first step toward establishing a permanent mechanism for discussion and cooperation to strengthen and regulate consultation procedures between the eight countries on subjects

development of plans and programs aimed at solving regional problems.

From that meeting came the sixty items in the Acapulco Agreement for Peace, Development and Democracy, and the multiple factors involved in Latin American reality were classified and identified. This document noted dangerous economic stagnation in the region, protectionist policies and the malfunctioning of agencies for international cooperation. The importance of cooperation as a means to foster growth in less favored nations was also pointed out.

Commitments made in Acapulco were followed up by the Cartagena de Indias Meeting in February 1988, where an agreement was reached to strengthen Rio Group presence internationally through wider political dialogue with other countries, especially members of the European Community.

The most important and well-received outcome of this meeting was the Economic Cooperation Plan for Central America, which pointed out the region's low standard of living as its main problem and the need to raise it.

All these events, where Mexico played a leading promotional role,

### **66** Latin American integration has yet to be realized **99**

In 1984 the Cartagena consensus that grouped the eleven most indebted Latin American countries, presented a common view of the economic crisis, and gave integration prime importance for renewed growth.

The Contadora Support Group, founded in 1985, allowed the hemisphere to capitalize on wide-spread Latin American legal and diplomatic experience to establish new courses of international action.

Worried by delays in plans for integration, representatives of the ALADI nations met in Acapulco in 1986. On this occasion agreements were reached to broaden the Regional Preferential Tariffs Program; strengthen the Regional Agreements List of Markets to be Opened; negotiate the Limited Agreements for Growth and Recovery of Inter-regional Trade and create a Program for Multilateral Elimination of Non-Tariff Restrictions. The results of this meeting renewed the will to carry out Latin American integration.

In order to strengthen these commitments, in September 1986 Mexico presented its government's policy to the UN Latin American Group in New York, aimed at contributing to integration among the Latin American of common interest. This meeting defined, among its basic objectives, the strengthening of regional cooperation and integration by stimulating existing processes and exploring new fields.

There was much activity in the process of regional integration in 1987. The Rio Group met in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Mexico. The last meeting, held in Acapulco at the presidential level, was the most important of the four due to the



Acapulco Agreement for Peace, Development and Democracy.

were landmarks in the process of Latin American integration. In keeping with this strategy, Mexico endeavored to strengthen trade relations and further the arduous process of integration.

From within ALADI, Mexico strove to recover and encourage international trade levels with member countries, devoting special efforts to widening and utilizing regional mechanisms for integration.

In addition, through its Program for the Rationalization of Protection, then being put into operation, Mexico fully complied with the ALADI Ministerial Meeting resolution approved in March 1987, for elimination by March 1988 of most non-tariff barriers on inter-regional trade.

As an ALADI member, Mexico endorsed a wide range of treaties with Contracting Parties throughout the nineteen eighties. Among the most important were those granting 10% to 22% regional tariff preference to member countries, based on development levels. Mexico also signed treaties with the association's economically less developed nations granting duty exemption on certain

the five Central American nations and Panama, granting unilateral tariff concessions without compensation. This type of agreement was signed with Cuba as well.

In these cases, Mexico showed that the Latin American spirit of her international policy, particularly in trade relations, was not limited to the scope of ALADI.

A solid example of Mexican cooperation within the ALADI

interdependence and regional grouping.

New subregional initiatives and revitalized older integration projects, such as the Andean and Central American ones, established guidelines for new relations with nations in the area, recently expressed in the Free Trade Agreement with Chile, in broadening Central American agreements and in initiatives with Colombia and Venezuela.

## **((Heavy debt and other factors produced crises in Latin America during the last decade))**

framework, producing short-term results, was an agreement signed with Argentina in 1987 to lay an oil pipeline from Loma de la Lata to Buenos Aires. It was a civil engineering project carried out by Mexican entrepreneurs that met local specifications and strengthened trade with Argentina, as part of the project was paid for in various agricultural and industrial products.

Favorable conditions are presently developing for revitalizing the original integration projects. A large number of regional economies are currently being adjusted and trade barriers are being removed. Under these circumstances, it is not unrealistic to propose serious commitments to accelerate programs of convergence.

Faced by the world's economic and political changes, Latin America has the opportunity to participate in the challenge and to transform itself into a dynamic zone of rapid growth capable of creating its own competitive advantages.

However, it is each nation's responsibility to further its economic restructuring, and to strengthen alliances within the region and with the more developed countries.

In short, Latin American integration must be revitalized with effective new measures of cooperation that afford the region a significant presence on the international scene especially in the process of change now underway. What is accomplished will help to define Latin America's role in the multi-polar scheme of the next century M

## (6 The Contadora Group and the Cartagena Agreement were established to foster peace and economic unity in Latin America)

products without compensation.

Furthermore, Mexico signed the ten Bilateral Agreements called limited scope agreements with each ALADI member country, granting and receiving tariff and non-tariff preferences.

Mexico also signed eighteen Limited Scope Agreements, of a sector nature, based on Article 25 of the Treaty which authorizes ALADI members to enter into this type of agreement with other Latin American countries. Pacts were also signed with Another example of Mexico's spirit of Latin American cooperation was its support, by prompt yearly renewal, of the San Jose agreements to supply oil at preferential prices and under terms of credit to Central American countries.

Mexico has always favored initiatives designed to further integration, since it has long foreseen the profound worldwide economic changes now characterized by globalization, multi-polarity,

### **Awards**

Distinctions for three
Mexican-Americans. This past
December, President Carlos Salinas de
Gortari awarded the Aguila Azteca to
three Mexican-Americans for their
meritorious efforts in defense of
Mexico's culture and the rights of
their fellow countrymen in the United
States.

Blandina Cárdenas, with a doctorate in Education, staunch defender of bilingual education and champion of human rights, started her career teaching migrant children in El Río, Texas. Objecting to the conditions under which these children were taught, she became influential in deciding educational policy in the U.S. She is a member of the Commission on Civil Rights of the U.S. Senate and Director of the Office of Minority Concerns of the American Council on Education.

Antonia Hernández, a young professional with a major in Migration and Human Rights, has devoted herself to protecting the rights of millions of native-born Mexicans living in the U.S. Her first job as an attorney was at the Los Angeles

Center for Law and Justice. She is currently President and General Counsel for the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the largest organization devoted to protecting the civil rights of minorities of Mexican origin.

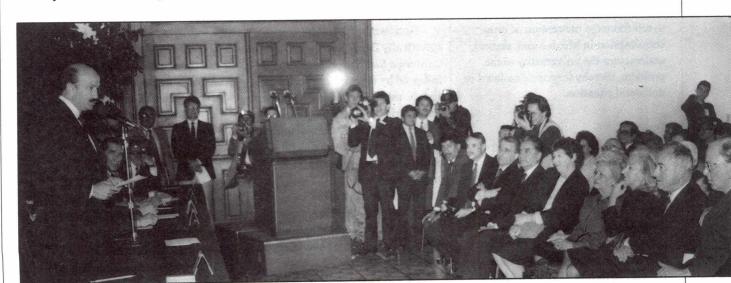
Luis Leal, professor emeritus of the University of Illinois, has devoted himself to studying Latin American, Mexican and chicano literatures and cultures, and might be described as a Mexican version of the Encyclopedia Britannica. He has made contributions on Ibero-American literature, as a translator, researcher and analyst. His literary production includes 15 books and more than 300 studies. For the last 13 years, he has been visiting professor and researcher at the Center for Chicano Studies in the University of California at Santa Barbara. In December, he celebrated 49 uninterrupted years of intellectual endeavor.

These three distinguished Mexican-Americans have also been awarded numerous distinctions in the U.S. for their outstanding work. France decorates a Mexican woman for her cultural role. At a ceremony in the Ambassador's residence, in January, Mercedes Iturbe received the ribbon of Chevalier of Arts and Letters from French Ambassador to Mexico Alain Riquier, in recognition of her efforts as director of the Mexican Cultural Center in Paris from 1980 to 1990.

A decade of service at the head of the Center brought the cultures of Mexico and France closer together. At the ceremony, the Ambassador explained that the decoration is conferred by the French government on well known French and foreign artists, and other personalities who have contributed significantly to the field of culture in France.

Mercedes Iturbe, now director of the International Cervantes Festival, turned Mexico's Cultural Center into a meeting place for Latin American artists and intellectuals in Paris

> Raquel Villanueva Circulation Manager.



President Carlos Salinas and prize recipients.

The National Drug Control Program is a special program under the terms stipulated by the Law on Planning. Diverse sectors of the federal government are committed to it, state authorities are encouraged to participate, and society at large is expected to cooperate, in accordance with three fundamental principles: the preservation of the general health of all Mexicans; the defense of Mexico's sovereignty and security, and the reinforcement of Mexico's solidarity with the international community.

#### Diagnosis

Drug consumption and the drug trade persist because of the huge profits from its illicit commerce and the negative evolution of some of society's traditional values.

Moreover, drug traffickers have proven themselves highly skilful in eluding any kind of control, quickly adjusting their operations and marketing procedures, as well as the addicts' patterns of consumption.

Another fundamental part of the international problem is the steady rise of supply. Its network being changed by the search for new markets and the strengthening of areas of production and illicit methods of traffic.

From the Mexican point of view, this reality creates, first of all, a need to reinforce the prevention of drug consumption in Mexico and, second, underscores the universality of the problem, thereby impeding isolated or unilateral attention.

#### Demand

In 1988, the health sector carried out its National Survey on Addiction. According to its findings, 4.8 percent of the urban population between the ages of 12 and 65 has used marijuana, drugs, sedatives, stimulants, inhalants or other drugs at least once or more times.

Marijuana is the most commonly used drug, followed by tranquilizers and inhalants, while other substances

### National Drug Control Program: 1989-1994

registered notoriously low percentages.

Northwestern Mexico, specifically Baja California, Baja California Sur, Sonora and Sinaloa, followed by the northern border area and the main tourist areas are at the greatest risk of consuming derivatives. University students were identified as the group at the highest risk of consuming marijuana and amphetamines.

Inhalable substances are used by very underprivileged minors, while heroin or cocaine consumption is related to youths that have worked or lived in the U.S.

By age group and sex, men, in particular, use marijuana and inhalants,

while women use medical drugs. Both male and female users fall primarily into the younger groups, 12-17 years of age.

Consumption of inhalable solvents and cocaine has risen over the last ten years, while the use of marijuana and psychotropic medicines has remained stable.

#### Production

Marijuana, opium gum and crude heroin are all produced on Mexican territory. Marijuana's characteristics lend themselves to cultivation almost anywhere in Mexico.

Poppies are produced on the Pacific coast in places where the Western Sierra Madre mountains are at their highest. Crude laboratories for transforming it into heroin are usually associated with the areas of cultivation.

#### Traffic

The U.S. is one of the world's largest consumers of illicit drugs, with dangerous repercussions for Mexico, since the two share almost three thousand kilometers of border.

Other factors can be added to this proximity, such as the marginal existence of campesino groups, the fact that weather and orographic conditions favor cultivation and traffic, and protecting its clandestine nature, in addition to the great profits to be had from it. These reasons make Mexico's territory attractive for drug routes habitually used by traffickers.

#### Prevention

The Mexican government believes that prevention is the most efficient way to impede crimes against the people's health and, therefore, maintain healthy conditions overall.

Education is one of the best ways to solve the serious problems of psychotropic and other drug consumption, especially for the long term. The latest findings on these important issues should be used.

In Mexico, we are attempting to erect a cultural barrier to protect society from drugs: a culture for life, a type of education that rids us of the causes of drug consumption, as well as the counterculture representing and glorifying them.

The efforts of diverse federal government dependencies should be pointed out:

Health Sector. An epidemiological watchdog system has been worked out. The goal is to keep us informed on demand for and consumption of drugs. It has produced television programs and audiovisual materials on basic aspects of the prevention and treatment of addiction, as well as

participating in youth programs promoting all-around development. At the same time, Mexican social security institutes have provided people with information, training and rehabilitation, as well as the means to detect problems of addiction in the home and work place.

Education. This sector has informed, oriented and trained teachers, parents, technicians and professionals by means of a program on preventing addiction, so they can distribute the information among their students and children.

#### Department of the Federal District.

It has implemented a program mobilizing communities against drug use. It provides information, training and recreation, and promotes treatment and rehabilitation centers that provide information and counsel addicts.

National System for the Integral Development of the Family

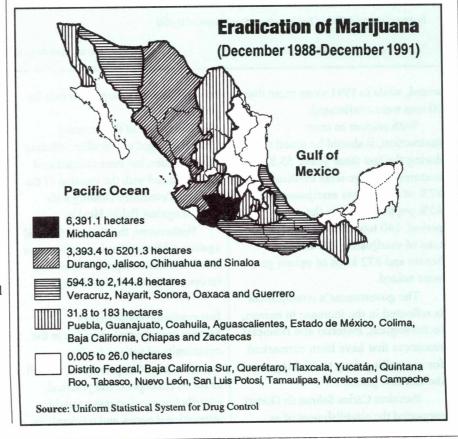
(DIF). It has developed an integral youth program, offering them better alternatives for protecting their health, and supporting an anti-drug attitude.

Diverse organizations, such as the Centers for Juvenile Integration, in addition to charitable and social organizations, are helping with rehabilitation services and treatment for children and youths with drug related problems.

#### Crimes against public health

The most important and consistent results have been obtained in the last three years, during which 71% of the cocaine was seized, 60% of the heroin and opium gum, and 51% of the marijuana.

Cocaine trafficking has skyrocketed during the last decade. In 1983, 650 kilos of this substance were



Users <sup>2</sup>	Marijuana	Tranquilizers	Inhalants	Amphetamines	Narcotic analgesics	Cocaine	Heroin drug	Any
Total	388,000	132,500	113,000	129,000	21,000	44,000	18,000	692,500
Prevalence (%)	1.08	0.37	0.31	0.36	0.06	0.12	0.05	1.92
Region with most consumption (%)	l: 23.30 V: 17.96	II: 25.44 V: 21.18	IV: 30.06 I: 14.61	V: 35.72 VI: 21.31	V: 64.79 IV: 12.31	IV: 37.13 I: 30.93	II: 72.3 I: 25.57	V: 21.38 VII: 8.25
Sex: Men Women	98.70 1.30	54.54 45.46	99.50 0.50	45.56 54.44	64.68 35.32	100.00	100.00	79.57 20.43
Risk group (starting age)	12-17	18-25	12-17	18-25	18-25	12-17	12-17	

- \* Percentage of the total population
- \*\* Region
- \*\*\* Percentages of total users of each drug
- Northwest: Baja California, Baja California Sur, Sonora and Sinaloa
- II: Northeast: Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, Nuevo León, San Luis Potosí and Tamaulipas
- III: North Central: Aguascalientes, Colima, Jalisco, Nayarit and Zacatecas
- IV: Mexico City: Distrito Federal
- V: Center: Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Estado de México, Morelos, Puebla, Tlaxcala and Querétaro
- VI: Center South: Guerrero, Michoacán, Oaxaca and Veracruz
- VII: South: Campeche, Chiapas, Quintana Roo, Tabasco and Yucatán

seized, while in 1991 alone more than 50 tons were confiscated.

With respect to crop destruction, it should be noted that, during the last three years, 55,823 hectares of drugs were eradicated, 57% of which was marijuana and 43% poppies. During the same period, 140 tons of cocaine, 1,586 tons of marijuana, 532 kilos of heroin and 872 kilos of opium gum were seized.

The government's commitment is reflected in the increase in human, technological, material and financial resources that have been earmarked for controlling drug trafficking over the last few years.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari supported the establishment of an inter-ministerial group to oversee the program.

The Office of the Attorney
General, charged with dealing with drug
related issues, has been restructured
and enhanced with the creation of the
General Committee Dealing with
Crimes against Public Health.

Furthermore, the National Council against Addiction has been given new life. It has more responsibilities and its operations are wider ranging.

#### International cooperation

Mexico enjoys ample prestige in the community of nations for the steadfastness of its principles, as well as for its conceptual and practical contributions to designing suitable international norms and mechanisms.

Based on full respect for the efforts made by each country, Mexico has coordinated multilateral efforts and has extended ties of regional and bilateral cooperation.

Its participation in the Narcotics
Commission of the U.N. Economic and
Social Council and in its subsidiary
bodies has been noteworthy. Moreover,
Mexico has contributed to the UN
Fund for Drug Abuse Control, as well
as to the OAS Inter-American
Commission for the Control of Drug
Abuse, which it currently heads.

The Mexican government has supported bilateral action, signing related agreements with countries in the Americas and Europe, especially such neighboring countries as the U.S., Belize and Guatemala. It has

Source: General Office of Epidemiology, Department of Health

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Data from the National Survey on Addiction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Having used drugs six times or more.

worked out plans with them for land, sea and air border interception. With Belize and Guatemala, in particular, its has encouraged the Program for Strengthening Legality on the Southern Border. On the U.S. border, it has implemented a bilateral epidemiological watchdog system for addictions.

#### Program objectives and implementation

The overall goal of the Program on Drug Control is to reduce drug dependency, as well as illicit production, processing, trafficking and distribution of psychotropic and other drugs. It serves as an overall focus, promoting a reduction in demand and reducing the supply of such drugs through preventive, dissuasive and judicial-penal actions

and through community and international participation.

It serves as the federal government's working guideline on drug-related problems. Solving this complex phenomenon requires not only government participation at all levels, but also a coordinated effort and the participation of parents, teachers, business leaders, academicians and intellectuals, as well as of social organizations.

It is up to the head of the federal Executive to take the appropriate decisions. The president created a special task force to coordinate the program within the national security cabinet.

This group is made up basically of the Departments of the Interior, Foreign Relations, National Defense, Navy, Finance and Public Credit, Agriculture and Water Resources, Public Education, Communications and Transport, and Health, as well as the Office of the Attorney General.

The latter agency, through its General Office for Attention to Crimes against Public Health, is acting as a Technical Secretariat, coordinating the implementation, follow-up and evaluation of the special task-force's programs and agreements.

Starting in March 1991, with the goal of duly coordinating information on drug trafficking, the Planning Center for Drug Control (CENDRO) was set up. It is an inter-departmental group effectively interrelating the agencies involved in controlling drugs and exchanging information on a permanent and timely basis.

CENDRO's operations will make it possible to plan and effectively

#### **II Regional Anti-Drug Summit**

he II Regional Anti-Drug Summit was held on February 27th in San Antonio, Texas, to draw up strategies against drug production and trafficking. Present at the meeting were Bolivian president, Jaime Paz Zamora, Colombian president César Gaviria; Ecuadorian president Rodrigo Borja, Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari; Peruvian president, Alberto Fujimori; Venezuelan foreign minister Armando Durán, and U.S. president George Bush who also hosted the event.

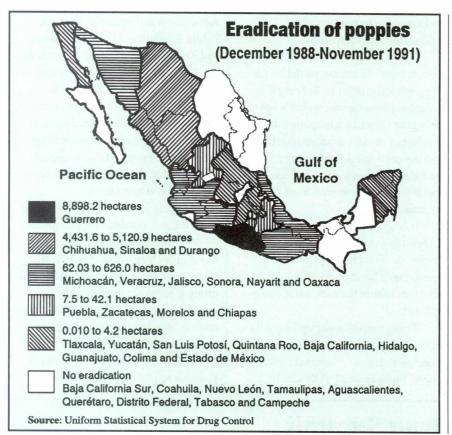
In the joint declaration, participants expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved over the last few years in decreasing cocaine production and demand, enforcing alternative development programs, and dismantling international financial networks linked to the drug-trade.

The meeting resulted in the creation of 14 drug control strategies and the reinforcement of judicial systems in the areas of training, information exchange, airspace and aircraft control, air and maritime operations; inspection of land transport systems; and investigations into the trade of drug-processing chemicals.

Participation in the anti-drug war was also proposed for European and Asian nations, particularly Japan, as well as for international financial institutions like the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the OAS and the Commercial Organization for Development.

During the inaugural ceremony, president Bush pointed out the need to combine anti-drug campaigns with programs of economic aid for drug-producing nations. He asserted that all attempts to halt the production and trafficking of narcotics were insufficient if demand could not be reduced, and recognized that this responsibility fell largely on his country.

Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari referred to the importance of maintaining respect for national laws and sovereignty in any international cooperation against drugs. He also mentioned the link between abject poverty and drug production, and stressed that any preventive measures should take broad modernization and economic development programs into consideration. Dwelling on the same theme, Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori, protested against recent foot dragging over the delivery of funds in support of alternative preventive programs.



#### Conclusion

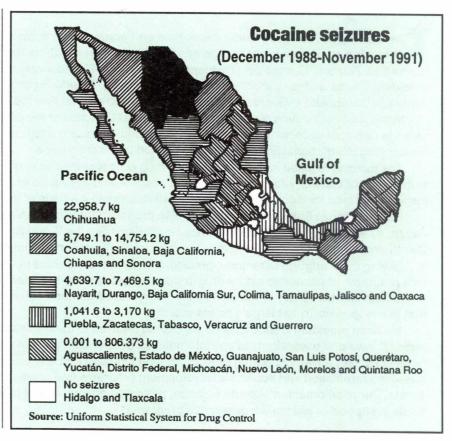
The national program gathers, synthesizes and sifts through years of drug control experience in Mexico. It lends order, methodology and universality to recent experiences. It brings in contemporary thinking and, along with it, ways of working that are more socially oriented, more advanced technologically, better coordinating the numerous government departments involved and taking advantage of the wide-ranging possibilities offered by international cooperation.

The plan does not purport to be a finished product, but rather a general and original approach to be kept up-to-date. It is, therefore, the synthesis of Mexico's experience, the accumulation and ordering of bold ideas, but, above all, the commitment of the entire Mexican nation to its younger generations \*\*

coordinate the efforts of the Mexican Government and its various levels dealing with drug problems. This will lead to more efficient results, rationalization of efforts and joint resources, as well as increasing the ability to anticipate the perpetration of crimes, thereby improving the traditional pattern of reactive investigation.

The Uniform Statistical System for Drug Control (SEUCD) was set up in 1991. The National System on Information and Documentation on Drugs (SINID) will eventually be linked to it, permitting exchange of information on diverse aspects of drugs, as well as the actions taken by institutions involved.

There is also a Hemispheric System of Information on Drug Control (SHICOD) comprising an intelligence network to combat of drug trafficking on a continental level. The Mexican government has supported the establishment of this network and has joined it through CENDRO.



## The Monterrey Museum

#### Jorge García Murillo\*

he Monterrey Museum opened its doors on November 7, 1977, thereby becoming a part of the great Mexican museum tradition. It was founded thanks to the generosity and vision of the Cuauhtémoc Brewery's directors and managers who realized that Monterrey needed a museum offering important national and international works of art to the community.

#### The building and its spaces

The Monterrey Museum is located in a splendid building erected at the end of the nineteenth century that had housed the Cuauhtémoc Brewery's production and administrative areas. Retaining the building's beauty and character, the ground and first floors were adapted for museum displays.

The remodeling was done to the highest standards of the International Council of Museums. Conditions were carefully monitored to the last detail, including proper humidity control, special lighting for art works on paper, wood, oils, etc., air conditioning and an electronic security system. The result could not be more gratifying: an architectural example with a personality fitting the period when it was built.

Passing through the impressive ivy-covered facade, visitors enter a grand lobby. A majestic period staircase

\* Director of the Monterrey Museum.

and steps made of steel, with bronze hand rail and finials, leads to the first floor. Huge barrels (that once held beer during the fermenting process) frame the cafeteria and access to upper rooms.

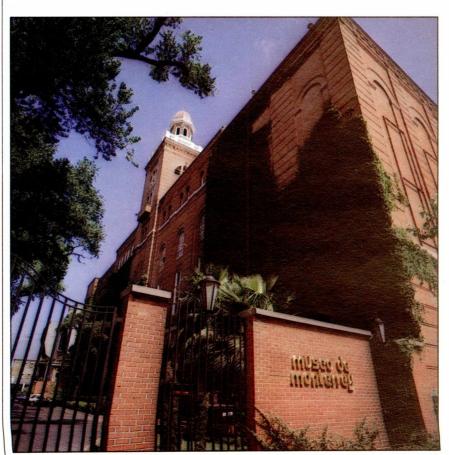
Today the Museum houses ten exhibit halls, a specialized art library, a video library, a cafeteria and a gift shop. Visitors can buy art books, catalogues, publications, souvenirs and gifts.

#### Permanent collection

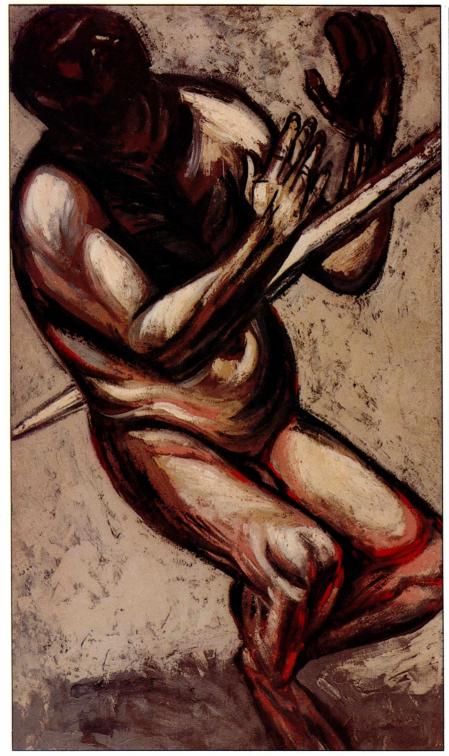
Central to all museums is the series of art works that constitute its collection. An important collection of pictorial and sculptural works has been gathered during fifteen years of operation.

From the outset, it was decided that the collection would focus on representative modern and contemporary Latin American art, especially Mexican art.

To date, the collection comprises more than a thousand works, of which four, considered Mexican masterpieces, stand out. They are included in the Mexican artistic heritage: El maizal (The corn field), by Gerardo Murillo (Dr. Atl), 1955, El Grande de España (The Spanish grandee), by Diego Rivera, 1914, El alanceado (The victim of the lance), by José Clemente Orozco, 1947 and La Mujer Dormida (The



Exterior of the old Cuauhtémoc Brewery, now the Museum of Monterrey.



José Clemente Orozco, The victim of the lance, 1974.

Sleeping Woman), by David Alfaro Siqueiros, 1946-47.

Other Mexican masters such as Roberto Montenegro, Rufino Tamayo, Leonora Carrington, Juan Soriano, Vicente Rojo, Gunther Gerzso, Francisco Toledo, Carlos Mérida, Fernando García Ponce and Lilia Carrillo are included in the collection, as are other important modern and contemporary Mexican artists.

Other important Latin American works are: Edulis, by Roberto Matta, Chile; Cuando yo no duermo, sueño (When I don't sleep, I dream), Wilfredo Lam, Cuba; Construcción en blanco y negro (Construction in black and white), Joaquín Torres García, Uruguay; and Puerto cerca de la Guaira (Port near la Guaira) Armando Reverón, Venezuela; More excellent works by Marcelo Bonevardi, Argentina; Armando Morales, Nicaragua; Jacobo Borges, Venezuela; Fernando Botero, Colombia; Julio Larraz, Cuba; Fernando de Szyszlo, Peru; Luis Caballero, Colombia; and Antonio Amaral, Brazil; are included with many other artists from Central and South America.

The sculpture section contains works by Edgar Negret, Colombia; and Sebastián, Angela Gurría, Francisco Moyao, Manuel Felguérez, and Jorge Elizondo, who are all Mexican.

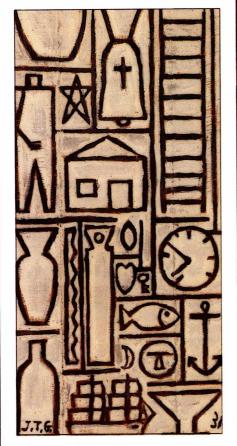
#### **Donations**

When the Museum opened, it received a donation that became the first painting in the permanent collection: A magnificent canvas, *El maizal*, painted by Dr. Atl, generously donated by Mrs. Rosario Garza Sada de Zambrano.

On the tenth anniversary of the Museum in 1987, Cartón y Papel de México donated their large collection of Panamerican graphic arts. The collection is unique, including approximately 500 works by artists from all regions of America, commissioned by the company.

This collection grows every year, thanks to Cartón y Papel de México, who continue their annual editions of works on paper by diverse artists of all the Americas. The Monterrey Museum is the only American institution that has the complete collection.

Institutional and private collectors, and artists, regularly donate works





Old vats at the Cuauhtémoc Brewery, now the Museum of Monterrey cafeteria.







Diego Rivera, The Spanish Grandee (The Blue Angel), 1914.

Interior view of the ground floor galleries.



Interior of one of the second floor galleries.

that enrich the museum's art holdings. Specially significant is the Olivieri, Capetillo and Traeger families' donation of a huge collection of pre-Hispanic pieces that Dr. Otto Roehr amassed during his lifetime.

#### History

The list of exhibits presented over a fifteen-year period, is too long to include here. The Monterrey Museum has presented temporary exhibitions of such highly recognized artists as Giacometti, Henry Moore, Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Rufino Tamayo, Remedios Varo, Claudio Bravo, Sandro Chia, Juan Soriano, Gunther Gerzso, Armando Reverón, Fernando de Szyszlo, Jacobo Borges, and Julio Larraz.

Likewise, the Museum remains interested in showing collected works of great interest in the history of art. Some of them are: El Templo Mayor (The Great Temple), Pintura mexicana, 1950-1980 (Mexican painting, 1950-1980), Escuelas al aire libre (Open-air schools), La mujer en México

(Women in Mexico), Constantes del arte catalán actual (Constants in today's Catalan art), El surrealismo en México (Surrealism in Mexico), Escuela del sur, el taller Torres-García y su legado (Southern school, the Torres-Garcia studio and its legacy), and Retrato civa de la Nueva España (Civil portrait of New Spain). The Museum has maintained contacts with the best museums in the world regarding itineraries of expositions, so that the Museum has presented projects assembled in Europe and also in North and South America.

#### Themes

The Museum has conceived and organized exhibitions on important themes that merit special mention. The exhibit entitled *Castas mexicanas* (Mexican castes), shown by the Museum in 1989, is a collection of a type of painting that thrived during the colonial period. In 1990, the Museum's spaces were transformed into the interiors of a palace of that period. More than 850 objects including paintings, sculpture, furniture, ivory, candelabra,

etc., were part of the exhibit called Los palacios de la Nueva España, sus tesoros interiores (The interior treasures of the palaces of New Spain).

#### Cultural center

Like all museums, the Monterrey Museum endeavors to include catalogues with its temporary exhibitions. Visitor's material such as sheets for each room, brief monographs on artists, educational information and theme posters are also produced.

Besides, lectures, round tables, informal talks and debates about exhibitions; concerts, theater and poetry readings, live theater, cinema series, book presentations and discussions with artists have made the Museum's spaces into a dynamic center for the dissemination of culture.

#### **Mexican traditions**

The Museum maintains a program to preserve and recover Mexico's most treasured traditions. Specific traditional events are celebrated: a Good Friday altar is decorated at Easter; patriotic decorations are put up in September when Independence day is celebrated; an altar is decorated for the Day of the Dead (All Souls); a Nativity is presented and a Mexican posada with a piñata and Christmas songs is held. These are son:e of the events the community enjoys at the Museum.

#### Fifteenth anniversary

This year is the Museum's fifteenth anniversary and important events are being prepared for the celebration. The high point will be the First Monterrey Biennial, with painting and sculpture exhibitions organized by the Museum. The Biennial, a national event for the first time, will offer large prizes and will, doubtless, draw the participation of the artistic community

# Cacaxtla: an example of pre-Hispanic grandeur

Sergio de la L. Vergara B.\*

espite the fact that only the area around the Great Base, or central palace, of Cacaxtla has been explored<sup>1</sup>, it is one of the best excavated archaeological sites in Mesoamerica. Its importance lies in what it reveals of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican architecture and city planning.

Cacaxtla was built over several periods of time. Originally, it was thought to have existed between the 7th and 15th centuries. However, more accurate information now dates it from the 3rd to the 16th centuries, when its population decline began.

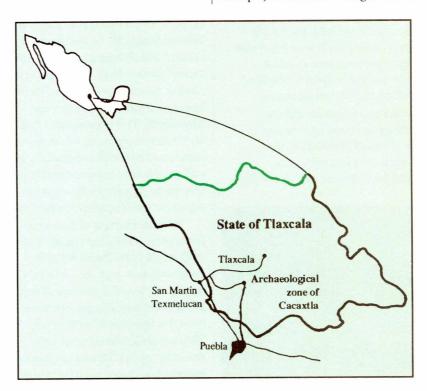
Currently, an interdisciplinary research team composed of architects, restorers, archaeologists, historians and, as in-house specialists, the site's custodians, is studying and doing conservation and restoration work in the archaeological area. It has been covered by a huge 10,300 m² roof to protect it from the weather and preserve the structures and decorative elements, such as paintings and sculpture, integral to its architecture.

One of Cacaxtla's main characteristics is that it was a fortress

inhabitants built on top of their previous edifices, constructing new ones for the beginning of the new era. Foundation elements were repeated and, in some cases, new walls were built to support later ones.

Cacaxtla was a perfectly planned and organized city, requiring considerable knowledge of urban planning, the use of space and of constructions methods. Its geometric layout aided experts in making their discoveries. Palaces, priests' quarters and living areas could be located mathematically.

New excavations on the site have advanced our knowledge about Cacaxtla and its architecture, murals, social organization and lifestyles. For example, the location of neighborhoods



or defensive site constructed over several periods. Fifteen years of work by technicians from the National Institute of Anthropology and History have solved some of the great mysteries of the site's pre-Hispanic architecture. Because of a belief in the cyclical renewal of life, Cacaxtla's populated by craftsmen was recently corroborated by the presence of kilns, ceramics and lower-class dwellings, characterized by living quarters and patios, adobe structures with stucco walls and floors. This type of dwelling

\* Coordinator of Conservation of the Cacaxtla Project.

Some 10% of the archaeological site has been explored.

always had access to plazas and streets, and stairways to terraces, demonstrating the inhabitants' skill in the use of terraces and split-level areas for fortified centers, in addition to their social functions.

Some elements lead to the belief that there were main avenues connecting specialized neighborhoods. In built-up areas such as plazas, they used compacted landfill with structural cells and stone retaining walls. The stone, various in origin, was combined with tezontle and tepetate stone, and whitewashed to lend beauty and harmony to the area. Runoff flowed through drainage ducts and aqueducts, possibly to storage tanks located at the ravine's edge.

Just as in Teotihuacan and Cholula, main avenues were lined with religious and/or public edifices. Built with *tepetate*, their panels were lined with sculpted pumice stone as ashlar. Ramps and stairways were covered with lime and river-sand stucco.

The central palace and the buildings surrounding it display perfect spatial distribution. For example, the plaza with three pyramidal bodies on one side of the



Bird-Man (detail).



Bird-Man (detail).

Great Base, follows the contours of the land, with a facing retaining wall. This lends not only an architectural element, but also integrates it into the natural surroundings. There are signs relating the measurements and their bearing toward the volcanoes and Xochitécatl. This demonstrates that the builders were aware of the golden section and its use in architecture, as well as of how to integrate buildings into nature, an extremely important aspect for pre-Hispanic city dwellers.

Another example of how new findings have shed light on the history of Cacaxtla is the discovery of the cuexcomates or granaries. Not only do they reveal how the problem of corn storage was solved in pre-Hispanic times, but their social function as well. They are hollow ovoid structures protecting up to 1 1/2 tons of grain from rodents, insects and weather. Access holes are in the upper section and on the side at the base. They measure 2.5 m high, 2 m in diameter at their widest and were set one meter apart. A single cuexcomate stored enough grain for a nuclear family for a year<sup>2</sup>.

Restoring them and verifying this data was possible because *cuexcomates* are still used by families in the region. Since several of them were found lined up on the Great Base and their storage capacity exceeded a single family's needs, they were probably used to supply a dominant group and for storing surplus production for a certain sector of the population.

Precise layout, knowledge of scale, and efficient employment of materials produced a safe place for the inhabitants to live in. For example, in spite of torrential rains typical of the area, polished floors over compacted soil with a tezontle base facilitated all-weather movement and could withstand heavy loads without collapse.

Judging by the maintenance applied to the floors of the second body, the Patio of the Altars, the structure was densely occupied, saw heavy use and considerable traffic.<sup>3</sup>

Analysis of the Great Base explains its method of construction. It shows thorough knowledge of the use of regional building materials and broad experience in building cities. Just as in the area surrounding the metropolis, the palace area is a fortified complex, with palaces in

Due to the fact that it was not one of the main structures.



Jaguar-Man.

the center, facing North, South, East and West.

The layout shows lateral access by stairs. Landings are made of tezontle, covered with a thick layer of stucco, and both tread and height are on a human scale. Access was always through passageways, indicating the importance they gave to privacy and to controlled access. Behind the stairways and around the perimeter are passageways and rooms, perhaps for service personnel. They had smooth stucco floors and walls, with outward-facing pillars. This was possibly used to create a chiaro-oscuro, resembling a niche, a classical pre-Hispanic element, mainly in Teotihuacan and Cholula, though possibly influenced by the Petén region.

Of all the passageways, the most noteworthy is the one along the Latticework, with paintings of a man and a woman displaying animal duality on each of two different pillars.

Mural painting is another typical feature of Cacaxtla. In the painting above, the man has a scorpion tail and the woman a short jaguar-skin skirt. Both figures wear a circular belt, a symbol of Tlaloc; winged elements on their bracelets; and claw-like gloves

holding starfish. Both figures are barefoot, poised on an aquatic border with marine fauna below including herons, fish, snakes and sea horses. Both wear shell necklaces and feather masks.

Recent excavations at the Great Base of the palace have shed new light on them. They revealed the Man-Scorpion, Woman-Jaguar and Old Man (trading) figures, accompanied by flora and fauna, as well as marine and land animals guiding them; pavements decorated with maguey plants, turkeys and cacao, dismembered and integrated into white-skinned personalities. Together with the birth of corn with human faces, they represent a path to a new life.

The pillars supporting these paintings are made of tepetate, mud and stucco. First, clay is interlaced with tezontle, then burnished with lime and fine sand, and finally topped off with grout and mineral-based tempera paints. Behind the passageways are stucco stairways leading to the upper floors. Most important, there is a central vestibule. It had a portico with

half-standing columns and two more facing the outer courtyards.

Thanks to the second excavation, an arched patio was revealed in the middle of the structure. Made of tepetate covered with mud stucco, it was finished with a fine layer of lime. A noteworthy vermillion-red frieze, partially retains only a lime burnish. There are buildings with murals in the central patio, such as the The Battle; a stairwell mural (Feathered Man and Feathered Jaguar) leads up to priests' quarters; passageways; niches; and, possibly under the sunken patio, the palace's central patio. Just like the lateral patios, it must have had sculptures and decorative elements in niches and panels: raw clay relief figures and circles decorating the jambs.

With respect to the meaning of the Battle murals, the presence of unopposed single and dual aspects simultaneously lead to the belief that they represent an ideological justification for warlike incursions by the inhabitants of Cacaxtla. The pictorial complex exhorted its inhabitants to conquer the men to the South and the land of plenty



South jamb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This technique differs from that used in Building A, where fresco painting was used.

associated with life, jade and quetzal plumes, the cardinal point where mythical Tlalocan was to be found.

This was ideologically justified. In a dual universe, as one group consciously and deliberately assumes it belongs to one half of it, its subsistence and the immutability of the cosmic order can only be achieved by controlling the other half. In the world of humans, this would be like starting a holy war in which, ethnocentrically, they assumed they were on the deity's side.



Jaguar-Man (detail).

Therefore, Lord Three-Deer, as leader of the group whose mission it was to retake control of what was part of "their" universe, was ideally represented with his warriors, achieving their entirely justifiable victory.

The new discoveries in the underlying layers of the central patio reveal signs of a mural painted passageway depicting a marine border with personalities new to the life of Cacaxtla: turtles, snails, frogs and ears of corn with faces, as well as a jaguar protected by a tortoise shell (animal-animal duality), whose claws hold a shell with an unidentified fanged animal inside, piercing the marine border.



War mural.

HE LINAN

The mural's personalities are an old merchant with his wicker crate (cacaxtli), hovering over a feathered serpent, seemingly guiding it, with his knowledge and wisdom, toward a new life. Important personalities are painted on the floor, and the life of flora and

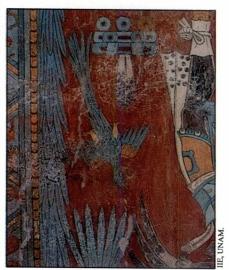


Unbaked clay relief.

IIE, UNAM

fauna on the surrounding framework. It is all painted directly on a layer of mud and lime stucco<sup>5</sup>, over composite or compacted-mud walls.

Interior living quarters can be clearly seen on the upper-level (Patio of the Rhombuses) but a division was built somewhat later in this structure, possibly to support another no longer extant. Their coverings and decorations, both interior and exterior, were perfectly planned to resist the elements and survive to our day<sup>6</sup>.



Bird-Man (detail).

Cacaxtla is testimony to the ingenuity, structural calculations and sublime artistry of its creators. The more we learn about it, the more we realize the talent and knowledge of pre-Hispanic man. Notwithstanding the many excavations, this archaeological site remains full of questions and enigmas, every discovery adding more to our knowledge of Mexico's pre-Hispanic peoples and their social, political and cultural lives.

The Cacaxtla archaeological site is located in the state of Tlaxcala, some 126 km from Mexico City M

Its influence on regional building methods has yet to be studied.

A totally different technique.

# The Mayas in the ancient art of Mexico

Antonio Luna Arroyo\*

nternational cooperation among technicians and scientists in restoring the world's art is a shining example of how nations can relate amicably to the benefit of humanity's cultural heritage. Restoration of the world-renowned monuments of Mayan culture, are a case in point. The remains of this unique Mesoamerican culture have been reconstructed in all their splendor and are now open to visitors at Chichén Itzá on the Yucatán Peninsula. An area combining archaeology, history and art, it is one of the best reconstructed and integrated in the world, comparable in grandeur and beauty to the remains of golden age Greece's Funerary Stela of Athens, Tower of the Winds, Temple of Minerva, Acropolis, and Stoa of the Porch of the Caryatides. The pillar of friezes of the Temple of Chac-Mool, the Castle, the Temple of the Jaguars, and the Temple of the Warriors, lose nothing by comparison with them. Nor do Mexico's pyramids and stone mounds, such as the pyramid and Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque, and the Temple of the Queen at

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Chichén-Itzá: Temple of the Jaguars.

Mayan art rivals the art of ancient Egypt and Greece. Mexican and foreign specialists and institutions have contributed to reconstructing sites such as Chichén Itzá to breathtaking examples of ancient Mayan grandeur. Yaxchilán make less of an architectural impression than Egypt's pyramids at Cheops, or the colossal Sphinx of Giza.

An admirable wealth of mystic expression and a sense of magic that inspire flights of creative fancy predominate in Mayan art. As the anthropologist and art critic Ricardo Mimenza y Castillo says:

The bodies of the jaguar, the mountain lion, the serpent and the toad, are extended and dislocated expressions often associated with fire, with the savage vegetation of the tropics,



Chichén-Itzá: The Snail.

Renaissance and, in another vein,
Mayan murals with those of the Sixtine
Chapel. Mayan murals have been seen
and studied by great international artists
and archaeologists, and are now part
of collections in the world's leading
museums. Reproduced here are some
of the Bonampak murals depicting the
great pre-Hispanic ballet, which
included high-ranking military officers
and priests and inspired modern dances.

Mayan architecture and murals were discovered and elucidated by a



Chichén-Itzá: The Snail.

with the feathers of the most colorful and beautiful birds in the world, like nightmare visions...
There are feathered serpents like mythological birds, two-headed dragons, gods with nose exfoliated or elongated like a tapir's snout, sumptuously dressed in luxurious and fantastic cloaks, resembling luxurious foliage or textiles adorned with necklaces, bars, emblems and fantastic attributes.

Other Mayan palaces are comparable to works of the Italian



Classical Palenque: Temple of the Inscriptions.



The Great Palace of the Sun.

multitude of US and European archaeologists, anthropologists and sociologists who descended upon Mexico full of admiration and enthusiasm. Ellie Faure, a leading historian and critic of French contemporary art, observes in his work *Ancient Art*, that:

Archaeology has has sought and found the original sources of this culture, determined its kinship, related works and schools, and revealed their universal scientific status.

When the world's archaeologists and artists discovered Mayan art, they organized research teams of specialists who recognized the value of the ruins in Yucatán. Among the institutions that provided support for their efforts were the Carnegie Endowment, which underwrote work on the Temple of the Warriors, the atrium of the Complex of a Thousand Columns and the Temple of the Snail at Chichén Itzá, as well as on the edifices of what has been called Old Chichén. Mexican



Yaxchilan.

Uxmal: the nun's quadrangle.

government archaeologists discovered and restored the Castle, the Inner Temple, the Temple of the Jaguars (the Ball Court), and the Temple of the Bearded Man, in addition to other buildings and sacred cenotes.

Other university groups have collaborated with their Mexican counterparts: the Middle-American Research Institute, Tulane University; Harvard University; and the Museum of the City of Bristol, England, which now owns the mural paintings from the interior of the upper Temple of the Jaguars, copied by the English artist Adela C. Breton. The University of

Alberta financed the mapping of the largest buildings, as well as ink and water-color drawings of other lesser structures that are important because of their beauty. But the most systematic work done to date, in more than twenty volumes, with articles in English and Spanish, is that of the Center for Mayan Studies of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

Interest in Mayan art and archaeology and the insights and discoveries revealed by researchers in many fields continue to fascinate people all over the world. As recently as November-December 1991, the Leiden Museum of Ethnology presented an exhibition of Mayan art entitled



Chichén-Itzá: Battle scene (detail), Temple

"Splendor of a Great Civilization." A foreign correspondent at the opening reported that "the Exhibition Hall was

de Estudios Mexicanos, 1943. Estudios de Cultura Maya No. 11, 1987. Faure, Ellie. El arte antiguo. vol. 2. Buenos Aires, Editorial Poseídon, 1940. Palacios, Enrique Juan. Guía argeológica de Chichén Itzá. México, 1935.

Soustelle, Jean. El arte antiguo de México. Barcelona, Editorial Juventud, 1969 M

IIE, UNAM. Chichén-Itzá: Temple of the Tigers and Jaguars.



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# Changes in world equilibrium

#### Jorge Montaño \*

or three weeks last September and October, the 166 member states of the United Nations participated in a General Assembly debate analyzing the events of the last twelve months. This traditional ritual has undergone changes as drastic as required by the turbulent international situation. Generally speaking, a positive change is noticeable in the prevailing atmosphere, not necessarily implying that what can be expected is completely clear.

The messages presented by the principal representatives of the industrialized nations generated an air of uncertainty as to the definition of the so-called "new international order." There were some indications, but few affirmations. In any case, it was clear that the current challenges of development, particularly the economic crisis draining most countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, were being side-stepped. There was a message clearly underlining priorities of common interest, but any mention of the historical lag in development itself was

However, some lessons contributing to the analysis and interpretation of changes and modifications in the

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structure of world politics were evident. The experience of the last few months has shown the need for prudent and cautious analysis.

Following are some reflections on the reaccommodation of political forces on the world scene, taking advantage of U.N. experiences, an unquestionably good vantage point for international events.

1. For the majority of member states, the events that began in the Soviet Union on August 19 constitute a watershed in the direction of debate, confirming the fact that the world has undergone a fundamental and radical change in the last five years, especially in the past 24 months. In fact, it would not be too hazardous to state that there have been more historical changes in this brief period than in the last two generations. The failed coup d'etat proved, among other things, that the balance of terror that has conditioned international relations since 1945 is behind us. Similarly, it confirmed that the Cold War is a chapter that has been outgrown in recent history, and is unlikely to be repeated. It was also evident that, in spite of having created an uncertain and potentially dangerous situation in the stability of a nuclear power, the Western nations demonstrated a capacity for consensus in responding to a system of collective security unprecedented in recent decades.

At the same time, with notable exceptions, there has undoubtedly been universal support for the in-depth reforms going on in the Soviet Union and in the rest of Central and Eastern Europe, rejecting any attempt to return to the old order. These reforms are, of course, not limited to the domestic effects of glasnost and perestroika, but to their external impact shaping new world equilibriums.

 Their effects have led to important shifts in the balance of power in international politics. The bipolar pattern, which pitted East against West for four decades, has ceased to exist.

The peaceful transformation of Autumn 1989 meant, among other things, the beginning of hurried democratic processes in

The new world order has yet to be defined, in view of the centrifugal and centripetal forces now at work. Power is being spread more evenly and, though the U.S. is still pivotal, U.N. efforts and consensus diplomacy are yielding positive results.

Eastern Europe, German reunification, and the consolidation of integrationist trends all through Europe. Subsequently, they gave rise to drastic changes, accelerating the evolution of the Soviet republics toward independence and emergent, though incipient, democratic models. The most eloquent manifestation of this has been the dismantling of the Communist Party apparatus. The economic consequences of these wide-ranging changes are worth noting. The "new" European regimes have become potential competitors, with privileges inherent to their geo-strategic condition and they may receive international technical cooperation and financial resources, to the detriment of developing countries. This has been the case not only with aid from industrialized countries, but also with the flow of private-sector investment and with the earmarking of resources from multilateral financial organizations.

- 3. As a consequence of the unexpected transformation in its role as a superpower with global interests, the Soviet Union made an about-turn in its policy of hegemonic control of the developing world. The most evident manifestations of this were the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the suspension of economic and military aid to many countries or opposition forces within them. The notable exception has been Cuba, though the future of this relationship is increasingly uncertain.
- 4. A direct effect of this has been a new climate of close cooperation between the two great powers in putting an end to situations of

- conflict which had been a direct consequence of the Cold War. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, firm steps have been taken to put an end to long-time confrontations, support processes of national reconciliation and reduce sources of regional and global tension. The list during the last three years is impressive: the independence of Namibia; the end of complex conflicts in Central America; the cease fire and negotiated solution of differences between Iran and Iraq; the end of hostilities in Angola and Ethiopia; reconciliation between the parties in Cambodia, among others. Even the Middle East, a region continuing to challenge even the most imaginative peace efforts, advances slowly toward a diplomatic solution.
- 5. In multilateral forums, and specifically in the United Nations, a spirit of collaboration and consensus has emerged, only imagined in the most idealistic dreams of the drafters of the San Francisco Charter. The harmony demonstrated in the work of the five permanent Security Council members is not only unprecedented but has even gone beyond anyone's most reasonable expectations. Strictly speaking, all progress made in solving conflicts was possible because of the atmosphere of cooperation between the "Five," but especially between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. The diplomacy of consensus prevailing during the conflict generated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait constitutes one of the most significant examples of this new climate. Therefore, as in the past, it is the United Nations that permits us to make a realistic diagnosis of the current state of world politics. It is, at the same time, a forum for debate on the most important

- issues of international politics; a stage where tendencies are defined and courses of action are drawn up for the future; and a catalyzer of many of the processes of change experienced by the international community today.
- 6. The United Nations is casting off more than four decades of crisis to fulfill the role imagined by the drafters of the San Francisco Charter. For example, at times when there seems to be a growing trend toward national fragmentation, the member states of the United Nations have proven themselves increasingly willing to strengthen the underlying principles that gave rise to it as a multilateral organization.
  - Nevertheless, trends toward multipolarity, which would eventually replace the bipolar model, could already be distinguished before the end of the Cold War. It is clear today that the trend continues.
- 7. At the same that time the U.S. was guaranteeing its position as leader and driving force behind international change, the limits of its position were also surfacing. Germany and Japan have become first-rate economic powers, even though the recent Persian Gulf conflict revealed wavering on the part of both nations. The conclusion was that they are still unable to take the initiative and exercise authentic political power on the international scene. They preferred to play subsidiary roles, supporting the U.S. by covering war costs for the first time in their history.

During the period, the European Economic Community assumed a more important political role, especially in relation to events in Central Europe and the definition of its position with respect to changes in what was the Soviet

- Union. In any case, there has been consensus with American authorities on various points. The latter have preferred to adopt a lower profile concerning specific conflicts, such as in Yugoslavia, Albania and even the Soviet Union.
- 8. A legal and political discussion has cropped up in the U.N. on an essential point consecrated in the Charter. It is the product of the reality of the second post-war era, already outdistanced by events, namely, the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the Security Council. Moreover, the wisdom of maintaining the presence of a regional group such as Eastern Europe is being reconsidered. Evidently, the events of the last two years have radically modified both realities. In the first case, the accelerated disintegration of the USSR did not lead to a questioning of the right of the Russian Republic to occupy the former USSR's seat. From a strictly legal point of view, the disappearance of the central authority of the Soviet Union should require a review of the Charter to consider its seat on the Security Council. A Pandora's box would be opened
- if there were a political discussion on who really should occupy that spot, opening discussion on making room for the aspirations of other nations. In the second case, the community of nations formerly accepted Eastern Europe ad hoc: as a special group that made room for ideological differences with Western Europe. These have now ceased to exist. Nevertheless, from the point of view of elections and the distribution of technical assistance provided by the United Nation's system, they will want to maintain their status, to the disadvantage of other regional groups, especially Asia, Africa
- 9. For developing countries, the disappearance of the East-West conflict poses new challenges and opportunities. The triumph of liberal ideology, with its emphasis on democratic principles in political questions and on free trade in economic ones, has spurred internal reforms in the great majority of nations. At the same time, it has led to a reexamination of foreign-policy strategy by the countries to the South, both individually and

and Latin America.

jointly. Evidently, traditional patterns of clientelism vis-à-vis either of the two past superpowers have become obsolete. The policy of equilibrium long underlying the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is now adrift since it lost its points of reference. There are important trends and initiatives underway consolidating alliances that respond to the new profile of international politics. These new alliances or commoninterest groups today constitute the essential axes of policies between nations. They include, among others, the integration of blocs, such as the European Economic Community; the ASEAN nations; and in Mexico's case, the Trilateral Free-Trade Agreement with the U.S. and Canada, as well as the bilateral treaty with Chile. Moreover, other groups have formed or are doing so. This process is far advanced in Latin America, as evinced by the Rio Group, the Group of Three, Mercosur, and the Ibero-American Summit. It is not pretentious to underscore the fact that Mexico identified these new trends far enough in advance and has been in the vanguard with its initiatives to create some of the most innovative and effective regional

10. Hence, the Group of 77, a mechanism for furthering the interests of developing countries within multilateral forums for more than two decades, is growing weaker and less effective. The dynamics of today's international reality has gone beyond a discourse that needs up-dating. Its limited influence in the economic sphere and the influence of the non-aligned in the political sphere have strengthened groupings of countries acting in defense or promotion of specific interests

and international alliances.



Berlin Wall, November, 1989.



Yeltsin and Gorbachev: a reversal of roles.

without greater ideological pretensions.

11. The aforementioned changes, offered not as an exhaustive but as a representative list, have led to discussions on the varying forms of a "new order." In reality, it is premature to speak of a new order at a time when we evidently find ourselves in a state of constant transformation. The final product will undoubtedly be an international structuring quite different from what has prevailed since 1945.

Global transformation has challenged Mexico to find a way onto the international scene best suited to her interests. We have already mentioned her active participation in new plans for integration, by advancing toward the consolidation of a North American market, with a view toward strengthening and guaranteeing her sustained development. At the same time this move affirms the political ties uniting her with Latin America and explores new forms of economic cooperation. In the forum of the United Nations, Mexico also follows policies destined to strengthen her contribution in the transition

- toward global equilibrium. Mexico is trying to direct consensus within the Rio Group through emphasis on points of common interest. This exercise at consensus is vastly important, since, at present, only the nations making up the European Community, EFTA, CANZ, the Nordic Group, and ASEAN, act in this way. If this trend takes hold, the Rio Group will emerge as a first-rate power in international politics.
- 12. The end of bipolar confrontation has also led industrialized nations to focus anew on the developing world. This postulates the advisability of applying the principles and norms of Western political development in analyzing the benefits of modernization. Attempts have been made to suggest adopting uniform norms in electoral processes. Moreover, they have tried to keep a close watch on human rights in several states, setting criteria for determining how governments are doing, thereby conditioning the granting of technical assistance and cooperation. Similarly, attempts have been made to impose universal criteria for protecting the environment, without taking different levels of

development into account, and to set aside the concept of international borders with the justification of administering emergency humanitarian aid. All the above share the common denominator of tending to ignore the traditional sovereign rights of states and affirm the intent to consecrate or legitimize the right to interfere in questions that, until now, have been considered to fall within the internal competence of nations. We consider that an effective transition toward a new order requires the maintenance of respect for the sovereign rights of states as an inviolable principle.

#### Conclusion

It should be noted that, in view of the fluidity of events, apparently contradictory realities make up the emerging framework of new equilibriums throughout the world.

Though there are a multiplicity of actors on the international scene (new nations, specific interest groups), it is also a fact that there are integrationist tendencies reducing the number of political participants (the diverse groupings that join nations).

At the same time, there is a phenomenon of power diffusion, to the degree that there is no single element of worldwide control. However, the U.S. role as the focal point for developments of worldwide change cannot be ignored.

It is evident that some time will pass before there is a new international order to replace the one currently in the changing. The world community will continue to search for equilibrium providing stability and security to the international system. The trends delineated above suggest an emerging view of a new order and its implications for Mexico

## Labor force and economic development in Mexico and the U.S.

James W. Russell\*

conomists generally consider the labor force to be made up of all those who are involved in the production of goods and services. How a society's labor force is distributed among agricultural, manufacturing, service, and other activities as well as how it is organized into classes of employees and business owners reveals a great deal about its level of development. In these respects the labor force in Mexico and the United States show distinct differences.

Examination of government data from both countries reveals that in 1988, only 34.5 percent of Mexicans were active in that country's labor force compared to 46.7 percent in the United States, percentages that have been rising over the last several decades in both countries.

The labor force participation rate in the United States is higher than in Mexico for primarily two reasons. There are proportionately more women working outside of the home and in the labor force in the United States than in Mexico, thereby accounting for part of the difference.

There is also a purely demographic factor that accounts for a significant difference in labor force participation rates between the two countries. The Mexican population contains significantly more members under 16 years of age and therefore by definition outside the labor force, than does that of the United States.

#### Primary, secondary, and tertiary labor

It is conventional for economists to study the spatial distribution of a country's labor force in primary (agricultural and mining), secondary (industrial and construction), and tertiary (services, commerce, and transportation) activities. This follows from the assumption that economic development proceeds in stages.

In the first stage farmers increase their productivity so that fewer of them are necessary to maintain and increase primary food supplies for the population as a whole. This

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A comparative analysis of employment in the U.S. and Mexico and economic development in both countries.

then releases labor from the countryside to secondary manufacturing and industry in cities.

In the second stage technological advances allow industrial workers to increase their productivity so that fewer of them are necessary to maintain and increase supplies of necessary industrial goods for the society. This releases labor from factories and other industry to tertiary services.

In this respect there are dramatic differences between labor force distributions in Mexico and the United States. Nearly forty percent of the Mexican labor force is devoted to primary economic activities, of which agriculture is by far the largest part, compared to only 4 percent of the U.S. labor force. The Mexican labor force conforms, in this respect, to the typical profile of third world labor forces where agriculture continues to be the predominant economic activity.

In general the distribution of the United States labor force shows clear evidence of the progressive development from primary to secondary to tertiary activities, while the Mexican labor force is still significantly located in primary activities. By 1988 only 28.6 percent of the United States labor force (compared to 55.6 percent in Mexico) was required to produce necessary agricultural and industrial goods. By far the greatest contrast was in the agricultural part of the primary sector which absorbed a full 38.8 percent of the Mexican labor force compared to only 2.8 percent of the U.S. labor force.

If we follow the technological mode of classification espoused by a number of sociologists such as Daniel Bell, we must conclude that Mexico remains an essentially agricultural society since agricultural activity absorbs the largest part of its labor force, while the United States is a post-industrial society in the sense that services now absorb by far the largest part of its labor force.

Three additional contrasts stand out in how these countries's labor forces are spatially distributed. Mexican labor contains proportionately more business owners and unpaid (mainly family) and informal sector workers than does that of the United States.

#### **Business owners**

In Mexico 25.4 percent of the labor force is self employed compared to only 8.6 percent in the United States. The self employed in Mexico are highly stratified. While there are some prosperous owners of large businesses, the vast majority are owners of small farms, urban shops called *tianguis* or itinerants who go from place to place peddling their goods or services.

Many members of the urban *tianguis* and itinerant populations prefer to work regular jobs when and for as long as they can be found. But when they cannot find regular paying jobs they must hustle livelihoods as best they can as itinerant peddlers of goods and services. Thus, in the Mexican labor force there is active circulation between the unemployed and the bottom levels of both the working and small business classes.

It is typical, for example, for a worker to be laid off, be unemployed for a period, and then start some type of itinerant business in order to garner an income. The business will then be abandoned when a better paying position as an employee opens up. On the other hand there is also a substantial part of the *tianguis* population that earns income higher than average wages and thus prefers to remain in that position.

Because of this sporadic employment pattern of a substantial part of the labor force, it is difficult to estimate the true size of unemployment in Mexico. Depending on whether they are counted as employed, underemployed, or unemployed greatly affects overall estimates of unemployment in the country.

There does indeed exist a population of somewhat similar itinerant sellers in large U.S. cities such as Washington,

#### Population and labor force (1988)

	Mexico	<b>United States</b>
Population	83,700,000	246,300,000
Labor force	28,874,780	114,968,000
Labor force		
as % of pop.	34.5	46.7

Sources: Calculated from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1989 and the following publications of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática: VI Censo Agricola-Granjero y Ejidal, 1981; IX Censo de Transportes y Comunicaciones, 1981; Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares, 1984; Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales de México 1985-1988; and Resultados Oportunos, 1990.

New York, and Los Angeles, and the growing existence of week-end flea markets indicates that many people are at least part-time itinerants, but the significance of itinerancy is no where nearly as great as in Mexico.

In Mexico tianguis and itinerant sellers are one of the largest components of the labor force. In the contemporary United States they are a distinctly marginal phenomenon, but they were not always marginal. At the turn of the century many especially immigrant neighborhoods contained street markets and itinerant sellers. The relatively large itinerant population in Mexico is thus a reflection of the country's stage of development.

#### Unpaid labor

What also stands out about the Mexican labor force, compared to that of the United States, is the large proportion of unpaid laborers in it. Of the Mexican labor force 24.2 percent are unpaid laborers, compared to 0.4 in the United States. These are usually family members of the owners of small businesses. In agriculture 78.2 percent of unpaid laborers are family members of the owner. The largest fraction of the unpaid labor force (three-quarters) is to be found on farms, with significant fractions also being devoted to trade and services.

#### **Labor force distribution by source of income** (1988)

	Me	xico	United States		
	(number)	(%)	(number)	(%)	
Self employed	7,322,874	25.4	9,917,000	8.6	
Wage and salaried workers	14,569,126	50.4	104,641,000	91.0	
Unpaid workers	6,982,780	24.2	410,000	0.4	
Total	28,874,780	100.0	114,968,000	100.0	

Sources: Calculated from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990 and the following publications of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática: Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares, 1984; VI Censo Agrícola-Granjero y Ejidal, 1981; IX Censo de Transportes y Comunicaciones, 1981; and Resultados Oportunos, 1990.

#### Labor force distribution by economic activity (1988) Mexico **United States** (number) (%) (number) (%) **Primary** Agriculture 11,213,616 38.8 3,169,000 2.8 Mining 273,000 0.9 753,000 0.7 Secondary Manufacturing 2,665,100 9.3 21,320,000 18.5 Construction 1,915,032 6.6 7,603,000 6.6 **Tertiary** Transportation, communications, util. 1,163,535 4.0 8,064,000 7.0 Commerce 4,171,903 14.5 23,663,000 20.6 **Finances** 489,000 1.7 7,921,000 6.9 Services 6,983,594 24.2 42,475,000 36.9 Total 100.0 28,874,780 114,968,000 100.0

Sources: Calculated from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990 and the following publications of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática: VI Censo Agrícola-Granjero y Ejidal, 1981; IX Censo de Transportes y Comunicaciones, 1981; Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales de México 1985-1988; and Resultados Oportunos, 1990.

The large part of the labor force accounted for by unpaid workers is a logical consequence of farming and self-employment still being predominant in the Mexican economy. There is a high correlation between the existence of family ownership of small business in a sector and the use of unpaid family labor. Traditionally the family members, including children, of both farmers and urban small business owners have been called upon to supply labor when hired workers could not be afforded. To the degree that farms and small businesses decrease, as they have in the United States, such opportunities for employment of unpaid family labor decrease.

#### The informal labor force

If we consider the Mexican informal labor force to be made up of unpaid laborers and self-employed workers who have neither fixed places of business nor employees then it constitutes at least one-third of the total labor force. To the extend that there is an informal labor force in the United States, it does not absorb regularly more than at most 1 or 2 percent of the total.

A comparative examination of the labor forces of Mexico and the United States thus reveals clear differences. The greatest difference is that agricultural activities still absorb a substantial part (39 percent) of the Mexican labor force while they absorb less than 3 percent of the United States labor force. The second greatest difference is that the Mexican labor force contains proportionately four times as many self employed laborers as does that of the United States.

Finally, because small family businesses continue to occupy a substantial part of Mexico's economic structure whereas they no longer do in the United States, there are

relatively more unpaid, usually family, laborers in Mexico than in the United States.

The present configuration of the Mexican labor force has, however, been undergoing changes. As peasants have left the countryside over the past several decades in search of better opportunities in urban areas, they have reduced the proportion of agricultural laborers in the labor force. But, what worries a number of economic analysts is that more of these former peasants are finding work in tertiary service than in industrial occupations.

The signing of a free trade treaty between Mexico and the United States will also most certainly have a significant impact on the Mexican labor force. To the extent that the two economies become more integrated, depending on the terms of the treaty, the configuration of the Mexican labor force will begin to approximate, at least to a degree, that of the United States.

In particular, there will be a proportionate reduction in agricultural laborers as small farms become consolidated into larger units, as happened earlier in this century in the United States; and there will be a corresponding reduction in the number of small businesses as these too begin to consolidate in larger units to meet the increased competition of larger U.S. based businesses.

The decades ahead thus portend dramatic changes in how the Mexican labor force is constituted. It seems safe to predict that just as the shift from an industrial to a so-called post-industrial economy created new working and living patterns in the United States, the proportionate reduction of primary and self-employed laborers in the Mexican labor force will create new institutional patterns in economic production and distribution.

### Reviews

#### **Historical honesty**

The British government generously provided the venue and the backing for the recent celebration of an extraordinarily enlightening exhibition on the disastrous venture of the 'Invincible Armada', as King Philip II called it. In its attempt to invade the British Isles, the Spanish Armada got caught in strong gales which wrecked hundreds of transport vessels and many men-of-war. Most of the shipwrecked were drowned, but the few survivors swam to the shores of England, Ireland and Scotland, where their descendants still live, though their surnames have now been anglicised, such as the Barrons (Barrones) of Aberdeen.

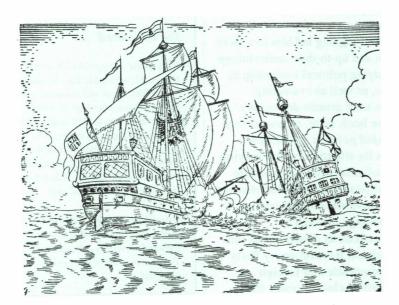
This exhibition on the bank of the Thames is a show of open honesty and conclusive proof of King Philip II's words, when he heard the Duke of Medina Sidonia's report on the disaster: 'I sent you to fight the English, not the elements.'

For years, the consensus of opinion was that the defeat of the Spanish Armada had been the cause of the decline in Spanish power. We now know that it was a case neither of Spanish defeat nor English victory, but of a disaster taken advantage of mainly by the Dutch, whose timely intervention the English were relying on.

Both this exhibition and the recent publication of *El México*Antiguo –a collection of essays written by Dr. Miguel León Portilla and scholars from the United States and compiled by Hanns J. Pren and Ursula Duckerhoff (published by Plaza and Janés) – have helped to dispel the dark legend concerning the cultural history of Hispanoamerican countries.

Antonio Armendáriz

Professor in the National University of Mexico.



Lorenzo Meyer Su Majestad Británica contra la Revolución Mexicana, 1900-1950,

El Colegio de México, 1991

el fin de un imperio informal.



Around 1910, the British Empire had its best and most lucrative relations with Mexico. Porfirio Díaz needed British capital to counterbalance excessive U. S. influence. England had a major share in Mexican railroad construction, banking and oil, and was very important in other areas. Her relations with the government and dominant groups went back to the years when New Spain emerged as a mining power.

A few months later the Díaz regime was overthrown, beginning a long period from the very beginning of which the Mexican government and British subjects residing in Mexico made disparaging attacks on each other.

Peoples of different nationalities tend to think of each other in terms of clichés that usually tend to deform, and this is the story of a long misunderstanding.

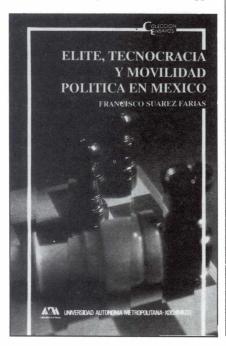
With this compact and particularly well-documented text, in my opinion the most complete on Anglo-Mexican relations, Lorenzo Meyer has produced a work that fills large gaps in our respective historiographies. Sometimes it reads more like a crime novel, as in the matter of the Rosalie Evans' murder during the Carranza period, than a study of history. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in the Mexican revolutionary period.

#### Alonso García Chávez

Seminar on pre-Hispanic Studies for Mexican Decolonization.

#### Mexican political leaders

Francisco Suárez-Farías
Elite, tecnocracia y movilidad política
en Mexico. México, Universidad
Autónoma Metropolitana, 1991. 303 pp.



Although diverse American and Mexican political scientists have studied public power from varying points of view, including the recruitment of political leadership, little has been written about the process and its most conspicuous characteristics and technocratic tendencies between 1970 and 1991.

Francisco Suárez Farías, researcher at the Metropolitan University at Xochimilco and professor in the graduate school of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the National University of Mexico (UNAM) makes an in-depth study of the most influential Mexican politicians and their mobility in strategic positions at local, state and federal levels.

At the beginning of his research, the author reviewed and built upon the pioneering efforts of Frank R. Branderburg, Wilfred Gruber, Martin and Carolyn Needleman and, more recently, Peter H. Smith and Roderic Ai Camp, among others. He also evaluated the accuracy of political theorists such as Peter Bacharach, Robert A. Dahl, Karl Mannheim, William Kornhouser, Joseph A. Schumpeter and Giovanni Sartori in explaining the Mexican political system.

The foregoing led him to a more modern and up-to-date methodology for studying political leadership in Mexico, as well as evaluating Mexico's sui generis democracy.

The book Elite, tecnocracia y movilidad política en México centers its attention on the varying levels of academic, bureaucratic and political specialization reached by top government officials in their passage through organizations as dissimilar as the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), domestic and foreign universities, elected posts, the

Supreme Court and the government, among others.

Based on a contrastive study of the public and educational profiles of old-time professional politicians and modernizing political technocrats, the book treats the high degree of specialization displayed by the members of Carlos Salinas de Gortari's cabinet and those of previous administrations.

Suárez Farías guides the reader through the labyrinth of political cliques, dynasties and families in power, as well as innumerable incidents and anecdotes relating to the exercise and development of their public careers. With a wealth of statistical data to support his findings and a unique methodological approach to the topic at hand, the book should be required reading for anyone interested in forming a precise and up-to-date opinion on contemporary leaders in Mexico

Francisco Suárez Farías

#### For the record

- \* An article on page 85 of Voices of Mexico 17, referred to the absence of Puerto Rico, Haiti and Jamaica, from the First Ibero-American Summit, though they were invited to attend. The explanation appeared in the same paragraph, which clarified that they were invited to attend but not to take part because the summit included only Ibero-American heads of state.
- \* An article on page 35 of Voices of Mexico 18, appeared without the authorial credit due Jaime Garcia Terrés, a member of Mexico's Colegio Nacional.

## About the Cora of the Nayarit Sierra

The Wounded Fox

(Jesús María, a Cora village)

Holy week rites are being celebrated as usual. The Cora men have "erased" themselves by wearing a mask each man has made according to his self-image, his identity and totems.

They appear masked in strange, unreal shapes, animal, vegetable or looking like rocks; mixtures of horns, hair, teeth and ears, painted in bright colors. Each man is possessed by his subconscious self, his underworld being, that arises from the corrupt core that all possess.

They are the "Judea," the evil ones, the Christ killers, the ones who, possessed by the devil, take over the town.

There are many, wandering the streets in groups, wielding wooden swords; naked, but for colored stripes painted all over their bodies.

They wear only a waist band with a turtle shell, the symbol of sexual power.

No one leaves the house, families peep through a crack in the window, then quickly close it again. The "Judea" are crazed by peyote that gives them the mental power to enter another dimension.

Suddenly they form a ring, dancing and shouting raucously, they make sexual displays among themselves. They separate, howling, running, jumping and dancing with incredible strength and agility. It is an overcast Good Friday, evil has triumphed. At three in the afternoon, with a knife attached to the end of a long reed, they stab their church's huge, cane-paste Christ in the chest. The final aggression, "Good" has died.

Then comes the dizzying paroxism that celebrates the triumph of evil

Horrified, we watch the spectacle from inside the small clinic. The "Judea" seem more terrifying in the shadows, as night falls.

A pack of them flashes past our window. One falls, bleeding, and lies face up on the stones. He is a fox, his head moves from side to side, he writhes and howls. A wounded fox.

We can't leave him there, bleeding. So we go out with the first-aid kit to help him.

We calm him with words he can't understand, clean his wound and, like an animal, he accepts, feeling consoled.

Horrors! A deafening racket from the end of the street; they're back. They threaten us and we run inside slamming the door.

They surround him, the fox is in a convulsion, he arches his neck, raising his muzzle, white foam dribbles out. One of them lifts the mask and stuffs peyote in his mouth. The effect is immediate. He gets up, stretches his arms, roars victoriously and, waving his sword, takes off with the rest.

#### Georgina Luna Parra

The whole night, seems an eternity of impotence and terror.

At sunrise on Saturday, church bells begin to ring. The "erased" Coras drag themselves in agony and defeat around the atrium. The paint runs from their bodies, they seem to melt in their sweat and, at ten, the gates of Glory open! Good has triumphed again.

Swaying and staggering, the devils go down the street to the sacred river.

They seem to revive as they submerge in the cool blue water. Their cleansed brown bodies shine in the sun; they remove their masks and sink them in the river.

The water becomes tinted with bright colors. The ritual objects of their demoniacal possession disappear; and turning their smiling faces, they become the same native *campesinos* they were before.

The women come down the hill, gracefully, wearing their wide, colorful skirts, their arms full of white cotton shirts and pants for their menfolk.

The "erasure" is over. The magic has dissipated.

One of them turns and finds me. He didn't sink his mask. He brings it to me, saying something in his language that I don't understand.

I still have it, hanging by an image of Christ, because it is "bewitched." I keep it lovingly, in memory of the "wounded fox" M



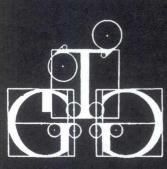
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