

Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Arnold Belkin, a
neohumanist

CISEUA • UNAM



Maria Félix
in the world of art

The Mexican
financial system

The University
City murals

The search for
global order



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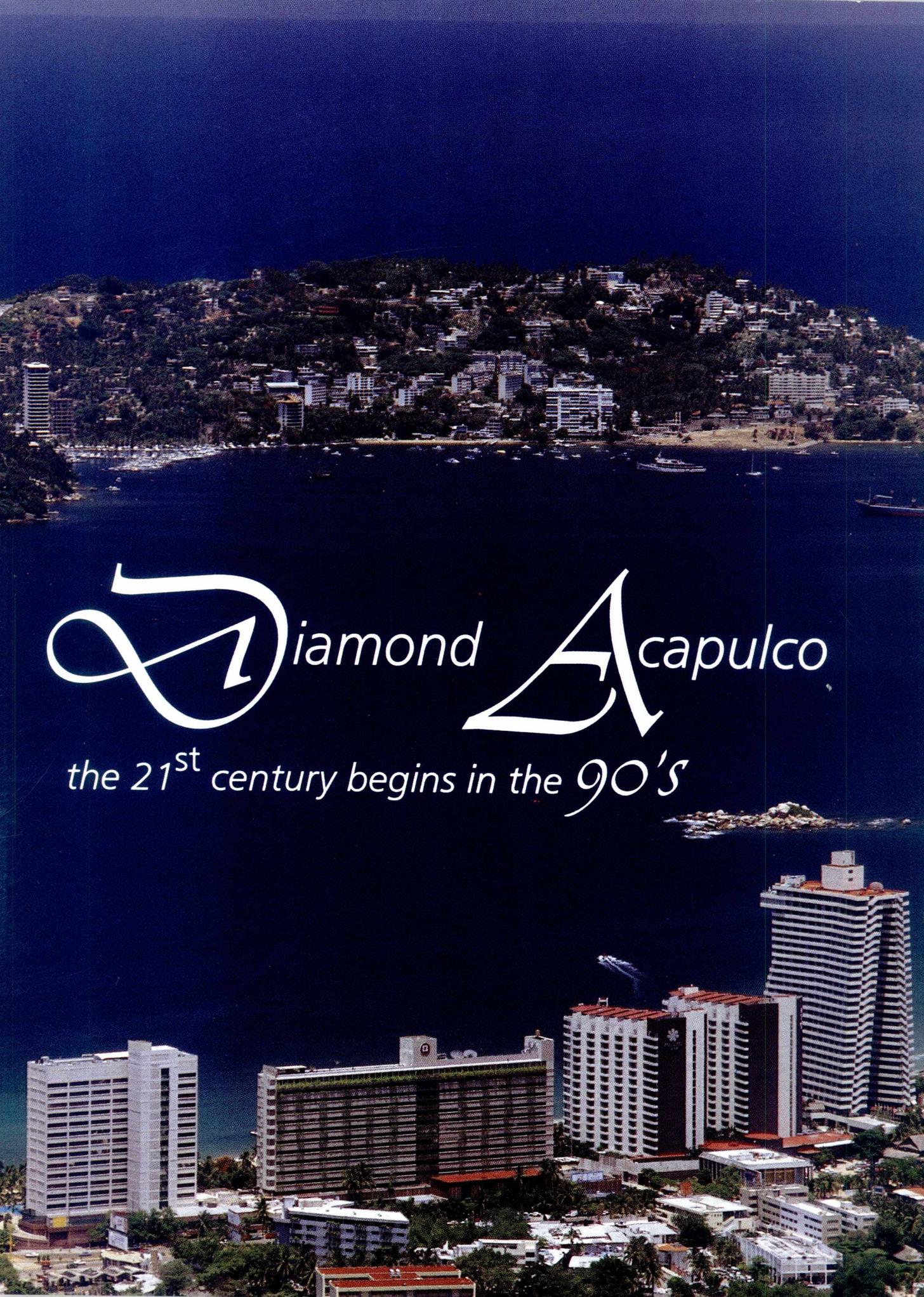
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the 21st century begins in the 90's

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Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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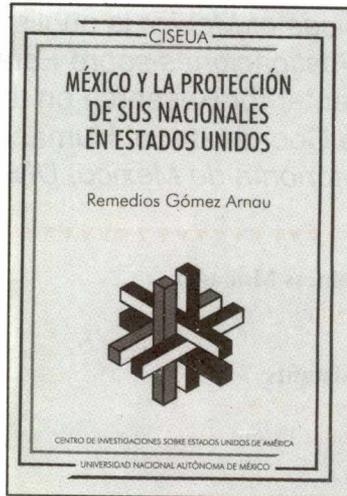
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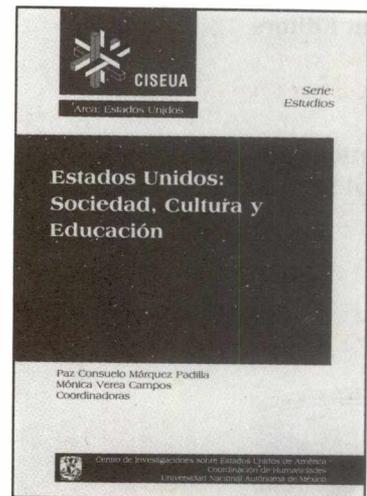
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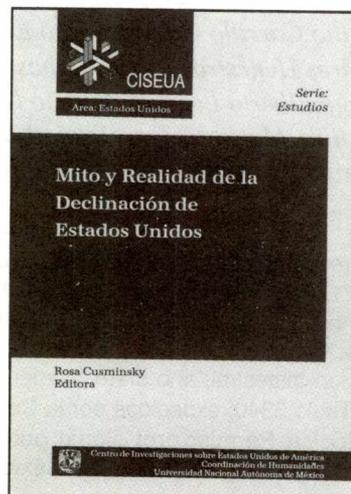
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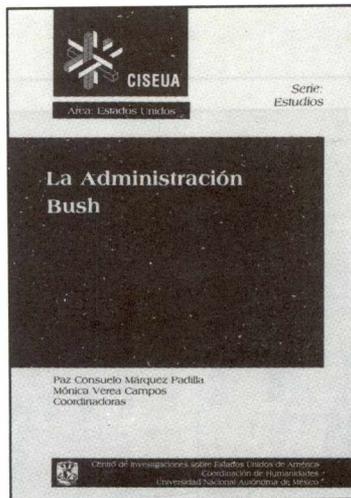


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This book has the contributions of lecturers from various countries who participated in the Seminar "The Myth and Reality of the Decline of the United States of America", on the present academic debate about the probable hegemonic crisis of the United States.





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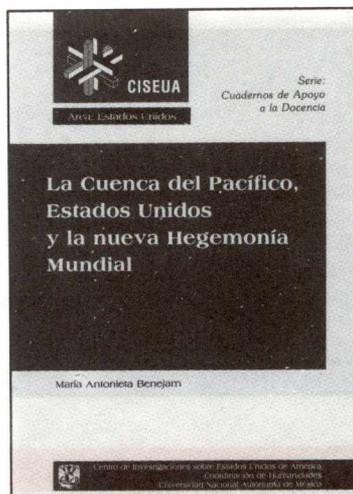
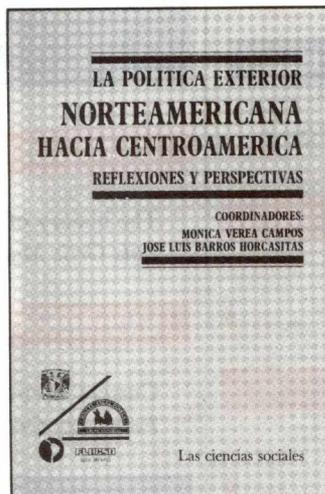
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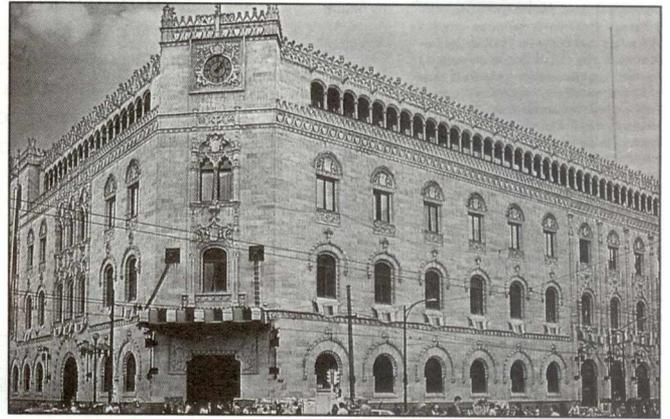
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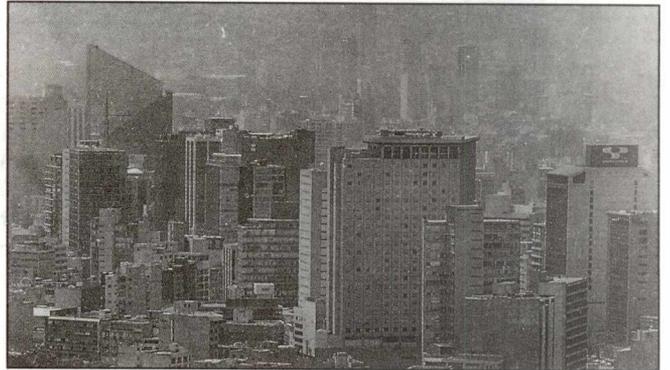


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Cover: *Antoine Tzapoff, Doña Iguana, 1984.*
Photo by Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Our voice



As the new year begins, the world is undergoing vast changes, the magnitude, ideas involved and pace of which have rarely been experienced in the course of history.

The dissolution of the USSR and subsequent demise of the cold war, have been the source of the economic deterioration affecting so many of us, the arms race, and deprived of its raison d'être. The possibility of investing enormous amounts of capital to consolidate a climate of permanent peace seems to finally have become a reality.

Individual welfare, education, health-care and environmental protection will be just some of the many challenges facing us in the new year. Individual liberty and human rights will prevail over state domination.

Individual participation in governmental decisions is also a sign of the times. The goal of placing authority at the service of human beings, rather than viceversa, is becoming increasingly evident.

The change brought about in the United States through the elevation of a new generation to the echelons of federal government reveals the deep desire of its people to leave economic crisis and racial discrimination behind. The changes promoted in Canada show a marked tendency toward greater respect for plurality.

In the countries of the former Soviet Union, the process of change faces the challenge of affirming individual liberty while generating overall progress, as opposed to stockpiling

nuclear weapons. The greatest aspiration of social justice, the redistribution of wealth, is a policy which in economic and cultural terms, will lead us to a more egalitarian society.

The 1992 Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to Guatemalan Rigoberta Menchú is of great significance, promising positive projections into the 21st century. This award has drawn international attention to the importance of minority cultures, so frequently oppressed and despised.

To commemorate the celebration of the Quincentennial of Columbus' voyage, Juan Pellicer eloquently stresses the "discoveries" given to the world by the American continent. One such discovery is the Tlatelolco Treaty, which condemns the use of atomic power for destruction, advocating its peaceful implementation.

The UNAM celebrated its fortieth anniversary at University City, a new home built with the collaboration of the most outstanding architects, engineers, workers and artists. This common effort provided Mexico with one of its most beautiful universities. Some of the murals decorating its façades, the work of eminent artists whose fame is now worldwide, have been reproduced in this issue.

International concern regarding the urgency of environmental protection has been reflected in Mexico by several measures. Fernando Ortiz Monasterio, General Director of the Universe 21 Foundation, mentions some of the work already

carried out, as well as other projects planned for the future.

Aside from specific clean-up programs, education must begin at an early age to instill students with a true respect for ecology.

Archaeology has always been a part of Voices of Mexico, this issue focuses on one of the greatest legacies of pre-Hispanic civilization: Teotihuacan. The Rufino Tamayo Museum, created by the donation of the artist's personal art collection to the people of Mexico, is also included.

Helmut Schmidt explains his ideas regarding the advent of a new order based on the achievement of justice, through the participation and effort of all the nations of the world. The importance of strengthening world organization is therefore a key point.

The United Nations is a forum where large and small nations alike may participate in the solution of conflicts, in an atmosphere of equality, without resorting to force.

The profound changes of this fin de siècle promises a period of general, cultural and economic progress in which everyone should participate ✎

Hugo B. Margáin
Editorial Director.

The world is at a crucial turning point. Behind us: almost half a century of stifling cold war and management of superpower confrontation. Before us: the historic chance to move towards a new era of peace, cooperation and dialogue.

Although the old order is gone, a coherently structured new order offering a predictable framework for international intercourse is not yet in place. Conflict management and international cooperation are vital in this period of transition.

Moreover, the new era is inconceivable without a redefinition of the interrelationship between national and global interests, without new institutions, mechanisms and instruments, and without effective political leadership.

The immediate challenge is to establish common structures and a set of rules into which all the new state actors can be integrated and can manage their relations and conflicts. The creation of such a modernized world order may take some 10 to 20 years.

Beyond this, the world community is at present not equipped to deal efficiently with the new threats, which had so far been overshadowed by the cold war but which today are more and more understood as menaces to mankind: environmental degradation and biospheric depletion, climate change, the emission of greenhouse gases, the demographic explosion and transborder population movements, AIDS, drug trafficking, ethnic and regional conflicts, the callous disregard of human rights and the specter of nuclear proliferation and terrorism. A new cooperative global order must be devised to safeguard mankind from self-destruction.

The search for global order

*Helmut Schmidt**

New dangers in the post-cold war era

As political units disintegrate into yet smaller units, the national interest moves again to center stage. The quest by minorities for self-determination causes further complication, undercutting the sovereignty of a larger entity.

In the process, a complex set of territorial disputes may arise, which the international community must help to resolve. Yugoslavia or Azerbaijan serve as unhappy reminders of the potency of nationalism and the drive toward political fragmentation.

In Europe, there is some concern about a possible tendency toward hegemony of Russia and of Germany. The former represents a danger not only for Eastern Europe but for the entire continent. As yet, Europe has no mechanism such as the creation of a European Security Council to counteract such developments.

We may also witness mass migrations across sovereign borders of a staggering magnitude. This is bound to lead to new types of conflict—from police-type interventions escalating into local and regional armed conflicts or wars.

Such migratory processes will not be stemmed unless the main

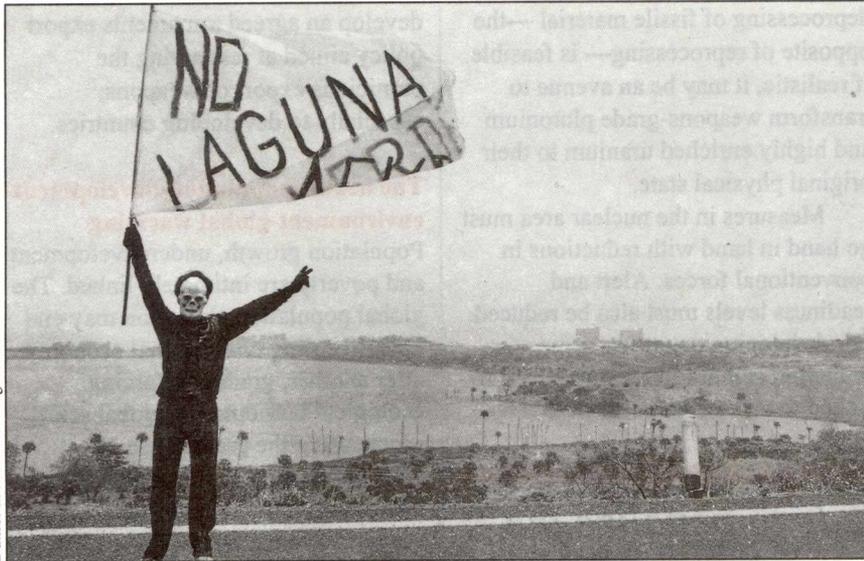
determining factors such as overpopulation, environmental degradation, and economic and social underdevelopment are alleviated.

Worldwide, conflicts between ideologies persist. It is possible that religions and their political interpretations may turn into the ideological instrument for carrying on conflicts which in reality originate from hunger, poverty or destitute economic conditions. The re-emergence of ideological conflicts disguised as religious conflicts might be a prime source of future tensions.

Local violence may also escalate all over the world, mostly as mutual violence rather than one party indulging in violence against another party. In large parts of the world, handguns and weapons are readily available to individuals, exacerbating problems of local violence, crime and policing.

Efforts must be made to penalize the possession of handguns and weapons and enforce legislation. This is above all a question of leadership and political will. Local activism may also be an effective way to tackle this problem, another—if present conditions persist—may be international intervention.

* Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1974-1982).



Daniel Mendoza / Imagenlatina.

Safety and waste disposal, obstacles to a wider use of nuclear power.

Peace and security

While the cold war period has expired, its ultimate instruments are far from being eliminated. Previously, weapons of mass destruction were in the domain of a few countries. Today, partly as a result of a disintegrating nuclear-armed superpower, a larger number of countries are within reach of their possession. This threatens to induce new types of conflict.

Collective efforts must be mounted to prevent the leakage and proliferation of nuclear weapons, hardware and technologies. Equally, the spread of chemical, biological weapons and ballistic missiles must be brought under control.

In the wake of the breakup of the Soviet Union three distinct problems are endangering nuclear non-proliferation:

Loose nukes. There are some 15,000 tactical nuclear weapons and 12,000 strategic weapons in the territory of the former Soviet Union, whose existence per se poses obvious risks. However, the successor states—the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—are neither technically nor financially capable of dismantling such a large number of nuclear devices in short order. The cost of their dismantling and destruction is in the

order of several billion US dollars per year. The Western countries must speedily provide technical and large-scale financial assistance for the disposal facilities, control capabilities and storage technologies of fissile products.

White collar mercenaries. The know-how of nuclear weaponry may be spread by hundreds of thousands of now jobless engineers, scientists, technicians and specialists. Apart from a mere monitoring of such disquieting developments, the international community must create and fund

appropriate employment programs, in conjunction with the dismantling of nuclear weapons and civilian nuclear programs to improve the safety standards of nuclear plants.

Nuclear aspirations of states. Especially in the Middle East and Asia, countries with clandestine nuclear weapons programs and ambitions may attempt to attract

nuclear mercenaries from CIS countries. This would exacerbate the problem of nuclear proliferation. Measures should therefore be taken in the CIS countries to prevent the brain drain of nuclear expertise.

The adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) must be broadened. States should be approached both on a regional basis and through the United Nations. Greater authority must be conferred and substantial funding granted to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to carry out challenge inspection of all nuclear facilities.

More NPT signatories should adopt the policy of the G-7 countries—cooperation on civilian nuclear matters only with those countries which accept full-scope safeguards.

The NPT review and extension process should yield certain trade-offs: all nuclear weapon states should voluntarily commit themselves to signing the total nuclear test ban treaty, subscribe to the principle of non first use of nuclear weapons, and pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and nuclear weapon-free zones.

In North East Asia, a spiraling danger of proliferation lingers since

“A new cooperative global order must be devised to safeguard mankind from self-destruction”

North Korea could become a nuclear weapon state by the beginning of 1993. If agreements are concluded and implemented putting all North Korean nuclear installations under international surveillance in accordance with the IAEA safeguard regime, the region may witness a peaceful revolution comparable to that of Central Europe in 1989-90.

If no agreements are concluded, a nuclear North Korea may emerge with major implications for South Korea's military ambitions and for the strategic choices of the United States, Japan, China and Russia.

The nuclear non-proliferation treaty will have to be reviewed in 1995. As a minimum, the treaty should be extended for a further 25 years. This period must be used to strengthen non-proliferation, including provisions to prevent signatories from withdrawing.

deprocessing of fissile material—the opposite of reprocessing—is feasible. If realistic, it may be an avenue to transform weapons-grade plutonium and highly enriched uranium to their original physical state.

Measures in the nuclear area must go hand in hand with reductions in conventional forces. Alert and readiness levels must also be reduced. For developing countries, arms reduction is more likely to succeed if linked to an incentive.

develop an agreed armaments export policy aimed at restraining the pernicious export of weapons, especially to developing countries.

The nexus: population-development-environment-global warming

Population growth, underdevelopment and poverty are intimately linked. The global population explosion may end up suffocating one national economy after another, gradually forcing ecological burnout on a global scale, accelerating the greenhouse effect with devastating rise in sea level and loss of agricultural lands, and triggering considerable population movements which would intensify the spiral of ever more poverty, disease and conflicts.

The population explosion. World population presently exceeds 5 billion and is doubling every 40 years. Different scenarios estimate that by the year 2025, world population may reach anywhere between 8 and 14 billion. Whether the low or the high estimate will materialize depends on policies and measures taken in the next few years. Twenty years ago population growth was cast in terms of North-South antagonisms. Today (contrary to the rest of the world including most of the Far East, South East Asia and Latin America) the African and Islamic countries are

“Efforts must be made to penalize the possession of handguns and weapons and enforce legislation”

Irrespective of the time and cost factors involved, the elimination of all nuclear weapons should unambiguously be declared a long-term objective.

The elimination and destruction of all nuclear weapons—and related clean-up operations—will be extremely costly. For the US and the CIS this effort may absorb about 10% of the defense budget or, for each country, more than US \$20 billion a year.

Some of the non-fissile parts can be destroyed, while the fissile material will have to be stored. The International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation explored the issue of international plutonium storage for energy related reasons. This should be re-examined from the security perspective.

Until such a treaty can be concluded, negotiations should be continued aiming at a reduction of former Soviet warheads to 1 000 or 2 000. British and French nuclear weapons should then also be brought to account.

The scientific community may have to determine whether

There should be clear rewards for reduction, e.g. by tying official development assistance to the military expenditures of a country. The lower the military expenditures, the higher the chance of it receiving substantial development assistance.

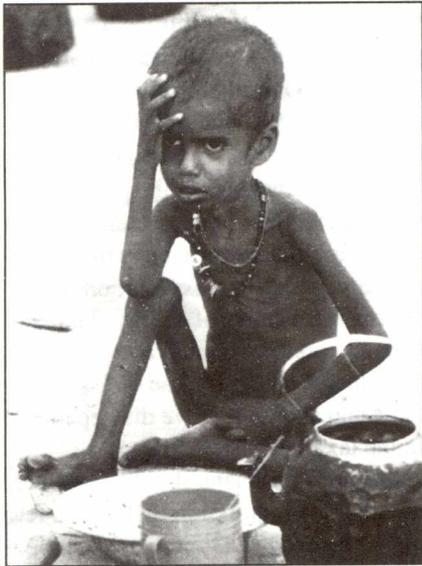
To curb the proliferation of biological weapons, incentives could be equally effective. The relations between biological weapons development and human vaccination is so close that some vaccines have dual applicability.

“Rise in sea level can have disastrous consequences...”

A fund could therefore be established to finance vaccination programs for those countries which subscribe to a biological weapons convention and open their countries up to inspection.

The arms trade remains unregulated and beyond any effective governmental or international control. The industrialized countries should

growing dramatically. This suggests that policies must be devised in the regional rather than the global context. If, by the year 2040, 10 billion people are to enjoy the same opportunities as the present generation—without pushing the planet beyond critical thresholds—agricultural production will have to quadruple, energy production multiply six-fold and



AP.

By year 2040, agricultural production will have to quadruple, to end these nightmarish scenarios.

incomes rise eight-fold. Can growth on such a scale be managed on an ecologically sustainable basis? To achieve a stable global population at the end of the next century, the reproduction rate must continue to decrease to 2.1% as soon as possible. If this is done by 2025, world population may stabilize below 10 billion. If it is reached 25 years later, another 3 billion may be added. The overall goal can be achieved through a variety of measures:

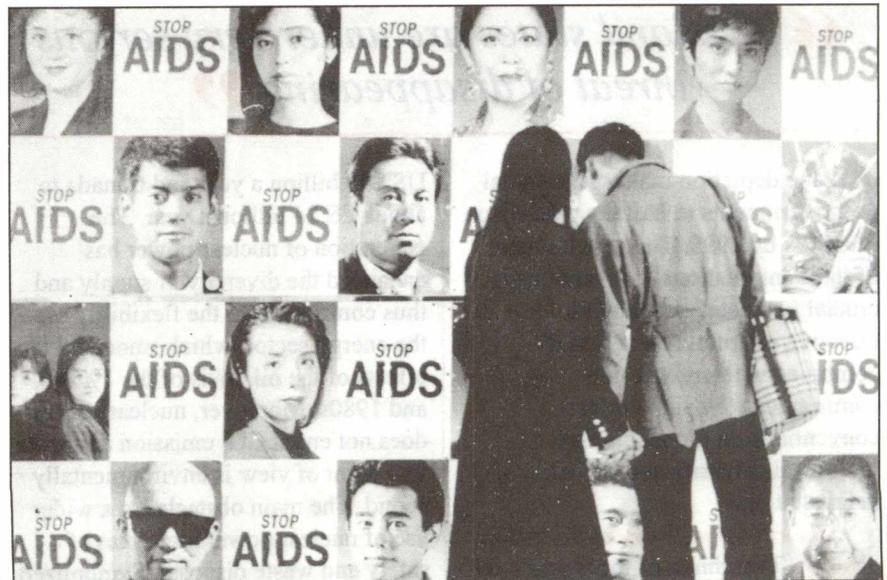
- Access to, and utilization of contraceptives (at present only about 40% of fertile couples in the world have access to contraception).
- Extended education of girls, preferably until the age of 14-16 years.
- Enhancement of women's rights, their status and employment opportunities.
- Improvement of basic health services.

The realization of these programs will require considerable additional financial resources. In order to increase the rate of access to contraceptives from 40% to 70% of fertile couples by the year 2025, it is

estimated that the current US \$3 billion spent would have to rise to US \$10 billion per year. In particular, international assistance, which is almost negligible now, must be mobilized. To encourage movement in this direction, no official development assistance (ODA) should be given after 1995 to countries that do not demonstrably pursue any of the above measures aimed at mitigating population growth. Church and political leaders must recognize that such measures are entirely unrelated to the issue of abortion and its attendant

Environmental degradation and global warming. We are mismanaging our planet. Poverty and affluence equally cause environmental degradation. Rich countries utilize a disproportionate share of the world's resources and discharge their waste in quantities that exceed the ecosystem's absorptive capacity. A number of developing countries over-exploit their resources just to stay alive. National policy in most countries leads to unsustainable forms of development and encourages global warming, acid rain, air pollution and related syndromes. In its recent scientific assessment, the Intergovernmental

Panel on Climate Change projected increases in all greenhouse gas emissions—CO² from fossil fuel burning, deforestation, CFCs and methane—over the next century, assuming various scenarios. There was a consensus on the scientific reality of global warming and a consensus on its risks and potential impacts. Given the inertia in the world's climate system and the long lead times required for international agreement and national action, immediate action must be initiated. If no steps are taken to limit greenhouse gas emissions—if the world in its complacency and short-termism continues business as usual—, global mean temperatures will increase between 2.6° and 5.8°C over the next century. Sea levels have risen by 4 to 6 inches in the last century. The median forecast is for a further rise of 8 inches by the year 2030 and 26 inches by the year 2100. Rise in sea level can have disastrous consequences, especially when coupled with intensified hurricane and storm surges, and taking into account that up to 37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing if the world grows any warmer. Coastal areas which contain up to one third of the world's population and economic



REUTER.

Short-term national interests can no longer be segregated from the global challenges.

infrastructure could be devastated within the lifetime of our children and grandchildren. Massive flooding of coastal areas may moreover create millions of new environmental refugees, especially in the poorest countries. A three-foot rise in ocean levels would render 72 million people homeless in China, 11 million in Bangladesh and 8 million in Egypt. In 1985, the highly industrialized countries, including the former Soviet Union, emitted nearly 60% of all greenhouse gases although they account for less than 25% of the world's population. Developing countries with over 75% of world population contributed 40% of all such gases. Subsidies tied to agricultural production encourage farmers to engage in practices that cause a drop in ecological capital, i.e. soil, water and wood. In OECD countries alone, such subsidies total about US \$300 billion every year and virtually every country provides incentives to overcut forests. These subsidies must be stopped and policies put in place to prevent environmental degradation and to encourage an increase in net forest cover worldwide. The scientifically confirmed acceleration

third in the rest of the world. But only 28% of world oil production stems from the Gulf while 72% is produced by the rest of the world. Thus, the rest of the world rapidly depletes its oil reserves, leaving the majority of the reserves in the Gulf. The possibility of further increasing reserves in the Gulf is enormous. So, world dependence on oil coming from the Gulf is increasing rapidly and will grow further. Fluctuating prices are a reflection of different demand and supply situations and prices will undoubtedly fluctuate in the future. However, the world might face a very serious problem, even a disaster, if a few million barrels a day were to be withdrawn. This would lead to a dramatic increase in prices, ruining the world economy. Close cooperation among producers and consumers is essential. As regards coal, there are abundant resources that are heavily subsidized, especially in Europe and Japan. But even if all countries were to abolish coal subsidies immediately, coal would not completely disappear as an energy source for the generation of electricity. In general, most governments subsidize the fossil fuel industry, e.g. the United States to the tune of about

standards in Eastern Europe have given rise to a nightmarish scenario. How can CO² emissions be stabilized by the year 2000 and a further 20% reduction achieved by the year 2005? Through an increase in the price of fossil fuels to discourage their use, to encourage energy efficiency measures and to stimulate the exploration of alternative sources of energy. To that end, all countries should move to introduce a tax on the use of fossil fuels and should remove discrepancies in the taxation system among countries. Politicians should, however, not give the impression that with a few higher taxes the CO² problem will be solved overnight. While it would be an illusion to believe that far into the next century the world could do without coal, oil and gas, determined steps are required to make more use of new and renewable sources of energy, especially wind, solar and biomass energy. Without such efforts, by the year 2000, a mere 7% of total primary energy would be generated by renewables, of which 90% would be hydropower. All countries should be enjoined to increase efforts and devote financial resources for the development of renewables, both nationally and internationally.

“ 37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing ”

of ozone depletion makes it essential for governments to halt the production of CFC's by 1995. The development of three international conventions is crucial to create a framework for effective international action if combined with enforceable commitments by signatories: conventions on global climate, biological diversity and global deforestation.

The choice of sustainable energy policies. Two thirds of the world's oil reserves are in the Persian Gulf, one

US \$40 billion a year and Canada to about US \$4 billion a year. The generation of nuclear power has enhanced the diversity of supply and thus contributed to the flexibility of the energy sector, which smoothed the effects of the oil crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, nuclear energy does not entail CO² emission and from that point of view is environmentally sound. The main obstacles to a wider use of nuclear power are issues of safety and waste disposal. Symbolized by Chernobyl, the poor safety

Challenges in the economic and financial area

Unlike political and security issues, the international economic scene is fundamentally the same as it was before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The legacy of the communist states has proven to be, by and large, one of economic, social and ecological ruin. The global economic downturn is undermining public support for incumbent leaders, specially in industrialized countries, beset by:

- Sluggish economic growth well below capacity.
- High levels of persistent unemployment.
- Large, abiding imbalances at the national and international level.

can it authoritatively intervene against a country that has not acceded to a particular treaty. If at all possible, all international legal instruments should gradually be placed under the umbrella of the United Nations.

The very character of the new generation of global problems demands a substantial restructuring of the United Nations system, some of which may entail the transfer of sovereign rights to the world body.

A number of remedies have been suggested to fill the present institutional lacunae. They range from the periodic convening of special sessions of the Security Council devoted to the new threats to peace and security, the creation of an Earth—or economic security—Council (along the lines of the Security Council but without the right of veto), to a revised mandate for the Trusteeship Council, converting it from a trustee of decolonization into a trustee of the planet's environment and common resources.

Special attention must be paid to the restructuring of the decision-making and management of United Nations development assistance programs. These activities have been fractured and scattered among various

organizations such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, and a myriad of specialized agencies.

There must be unified direction to the development strategies that these UN organs should follow and how they should be implemented at the level of developing countries. In general, the multitude of UN-affiliated organizations, grown unwieldy over a period of 45 years and competing with each other, must be pruned.

In the environment area, an international court of the environment could be established either within the present International Court of Justice or patterned along it to adjudicate environmental conflicts under the proposed conventions.

The Security Council reflects a bygone order with the preeminence of the five permanent members. It must be restructured so as to acquire the legitimacy, authority and political and financial support necessary for discharging its full responsibilities in the new global order.

Leadership in a global order

History is witness that no new global order will emerge without leadership. The disappearance of the cold war has

deprived the population of many nations of their major organizing principle. The first duties of leaders is to lead and not to follow popular sentiment alone. The population at large seems to be aware of the impending dangers. Many political leaders, however, appear to be incapable of dealing with them.

Political leadership must recognize that short-term national interests can no longer be segregated from the new global challenges which all humanity shares. For too long, political opportunism has substituted political meanderings for final destinations. It is no longer sufficient to manage change alone, it is imperative to change human behavior.

Altruism and morality alone will not work. Neither should we be so naïve as to expect them to. What we need is enlightened self-interest. The countries called upon to provide greater resources will only do so once they fully appreciate that their interests, livelihood and electorates are affected.

Latin America is nuclear-free today because of deliberate decisions by its leaders and not so much because of treaties and effective inspection techniques.

The key challenge for governments is to strike a balance between national interest and global security. That balance cannot be set in concrete and will vary from issue to issue. But the central danger of the accelerating proliferation of almost everything that has a destructive power or can be used for destructive purposes can no longer be ignored.

A leader's most noble duty is to safeguard the security of, and provide a vision for the future of, his or her people: it is time that leaders began to realize that ultimately no facet of national security can be protected any longer without the assurance of global security in the broadest sense. This requires a change of attitude of the first order **M**



AP.

37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing.

End of the century trends

*Hugo B. Margáin**

Two well-defined trends are evident in the world at the close of this century: on the one hand, nationalisms have become more acute, as manifest in the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. On the other is the trend toward the formation of blocs of nations voluntarily united for economic reasons, as in the creation of the European Community.

The speed and depth of world change concerns us all, for they are not alien to our hemisphere. The predominant tendency is obvious in the regionalization or globalization of the northern part of our continent. The future centers on free trade between the US, Canada and Mexico, a first step toward the integration of our entire hemisphere.

The vigorous shift began in this century after the First World War. First, diverse states were formed, based on racial, cultural, linguistic and territorial union. Nationalism divided the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Treaty of Versailles (1918) gave birth to a number of nations.

At the same time, a trend opposed to national isolation began to gain ground, opening the way for negotiated settlements. These were freely accepted by various states in the interest of forming broader-than-national markets, thereby spurring development.

Two small states, Belgium and Luxembourg, merged in 1921. Later, in 1944, in the light of their excellent results, they were joined by the Netherlands, forming the Benelux group.

This was the starting point for a more extensive European market. The economic results achieved by the Benelux nations drew considerable attention. Their commercial, industrial and financial sectors grew rapidly, something each country could not have achieved by itself.

France and Germany arranged to share coal and steel from the Saar region, a cause of bitter controversy between them in the past. Robert Shuman and Jean Monnet, authors of the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the basis for the European Common Market, were inspired by the Saarbrücken and Benelux experiences. It is clear that European integration aspires not only to economic union, but to political and monetary union as well.

Free movement of capital now exists in Europe, so that the investor can place it wherever he chooses. Products may be exported without tariffs, and workers have the freedom to offer their services wherever they wish, in any of the European Common Market countries.

The arrangements that statesmen made to create this common market have not only accelerated development, but have also managed to eliminate economic war, the prelude to wars that solve nothing and leave a colossal balance of death and destruction such as the world suffered during the two so-called world wars of this century.

Economic blocs tend toward free internal trade among group members and protectionism against outsiders, in other words, the rest of the world.

European imports from our region, that were essential years ago, can now be done without. They do not

need us. This is one of the reasons for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the US, Canada and Mexico, as well as for plans for hemispheric integration.

Attempts at unification by means of armed force have failed in the past, as did the Pan-Europe aspired to by Napoleon, and in this century, the Pan-Germanic zeal of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Meanwhile, grouping by negotiation and mutual respect have continued to work peacefully and have become increasingly enriched.

In this context, Mexico is in favor of the North American Free Trade Agreement. The European Community has been achieved in spite of rivers of blood shed during its endemic wars, in spite of the different languages of its various member states, in spite of pronounced racial differences, in spite of asymmetry in development, and in spite of the egoism and defensive attitudes of the past.

Armed conflicts have been rarer on our continent, in comparison with Europe. English is spoken in the North, along with French in part of Canada, and Spanish and Portuguese predominant in the rest of the continent. The American hemisphere's linguistic advantage over Europe is obvious, whereas multiple and profound cultural differences exist in Europe.

In contrast, we have predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Ibero-American-Indigenous cultures. The two ought to be able to get along by virtue of the teachings of classical Greece, common to them all. The key lies in reason, the *logos* that respects

* Editorial Director.

plurality and national sovereignties. Reason prevails over both the strong and the weak. All should live under its sway, in a civilized world.

Another transcendent reality produced in the second half of this century is the United Nations, a global organization created after the Second World War.

The first attempt to bring international conflicts to debate and resolution before multinational organizations, was the League of Nations, generally accepted during the sessions devoted to the Treaty of Versailles (1918). But the United States did not become part of the League that President Wilson proposed in Europe. The US Senate voted against it.

The United Nations, taking full advantage of its predecessor's experience, has grown stronger in its many years of activity from 1945 to the present. This international organization can be improved if we put democratic principles to work.

Veto power in the Security Council is reserved to the nations that won the Second World War. That privilege should disappear in keeping with the principal of equality among the member states of the United Nations.

World affairs should be resolved in the UN. No single nation should unilaterally lead the world now that the cold war has ended and one of the bipolar rivals has disappeared.

The arms race of the cold war era, now coming to an end, was profoundly damaging. Investing world resources in arms deepened the misery and ignorance of the planet, and caused serious economic crises.

The peaceful resolution of disputes in the UN is the key to peace. We need to be resolute in applying the principle of international cooperation for development, and in supporting progress in culture and education worldwide; in illuminating consciences; in guiding men and

women to their higher destiny. We must increase the number of schools throughout the world.

In 1986 a commission was set up, composed of twenty experts from Mexico and the US, charged with studying the future of relations between our two countries. It was the first time Mexicans and Americans sat down to study and debate our main bilateral problems together.

After two and a half years of work, the commission's report was presented to Presidents-Elect Bush and Salinas in November 1988. A simultaneous change of presidents occurs in our two countries once every twelve years.

The binational commission's proposals were accepted by both sides. The issues studied were: the nature of bilateral relations, the economy (debt, trade, and investment), migration, drug problems, foreign policy and interstate relations, and new understanding through education.

The report influenced the UN meeting in Vienna that same year (1988), where a worldwide document against drug addiction was signed on December 20. In it, as in the bilateral report, emphasis was placed on combating the illegal consumption of drugs, prohibiting apologies for it in any type of media, be it movies, magazines, TV, newspapers, or others. Emphasis was also placed on not impinging on the sovereignty of other states when pursuing international crime.

The need to prepare the United Nations to aid experts in eradicating drug addiction was discussed, making it a multilateral, rather than a bilateral effort. This had been a cause for friction between the US and Mexico, to mention only our case.

After the conclusion of the Vienna meetings in 1989, a panel of experts on drug addiction in our hemisphere was organized by the Institute of the Americas and the

Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies of the University of California, San Diego.

In their reports, they too emphasized the monumental task of combating drug demand: if there is no demand, there will be no supply. If we combat only production and trafficking on our continent, our hemisphere's supply will be replaced from another part of the world to satisfy our hemisphere's demand.

Young people must be educated, and rehabilitation programs for the sick encouraged. Education and information about the individual and collective damage involved is essential for combating the habit.

On occasion, friction has been created by mere ignorance of cultural differences between the US and Mexico. The best way to avoid this is through an increasingly in-depth knowledge of the northern part of the hemisphere, where two different cultures live face-to-face: the Ibero-American, and the Anglo-Saxon and French of the North.

The economic asymmetry between Mexico and her northern neighbors is very great. With time and effort, we can make that asymmetry disappear.

Insofar as Mexico's historical past is concerned, incomparable indigenous cultures developed long before Columbus' journey. They did so too during the 300 years of the Vice-Regency, and my country's strong cultural expressions of the present have also earned worldwide recognition.

Culture is the basis of sovereignty. Under the North American Free Trade Agreement, as each of our three countries penetrates deeper into its own culture, it will strengthen its own national profile. This is happening in Europe, to the benefit of plurality, part of the rich variety of world culture. Let us guarantee that reason and dialogue light our path 

Teotihuacan

*Linda Manzanilla**

Ours is a totally urban civilization. While many cities of the past are of particular interest, it is surely early urban centers that exert the greatest fascination.

Teotihuacan was the archetypal city of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, a paradigm of civilized living on the central plateau. During its period of

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splendor (the first seven centuries A.D.), Teotihuacan was the most important settlement in the Basin of Mexico, comprising 50 to 60% of the entire population, with the remainder living in rural areas.

Teotihuacan was the principal pilgrimage center and dominated the rest of the region both politically and economically. Evident signs of urban planning, special districts for craftsmen and foreigners, public

services, housing units and an area of 20 km² capable of sustaining several tens of thousands of inhabitants identify it as a true city.

Teotihuacan was built in the valley of the same name for a number of reasons; local grey obsidian deposits and nearby green obsidian deposits in the Sierra de las Navajas (obsidian being the basis of pre-Hispanic technology), several dozen fresh-water springs in the southeast of the valley, the proximity of Lake Texcoco and the fact that it offered the easiest access to the Basin of Mexico from the Gulf Coast.

The valley had clay soil for making pottery, basalt, pyroclast and tuff for building, land for growing



HE / UNAM.

Temple of Quetzalcóatl and Tlaloc.



IIE / UNAM.

Moon plaza.

crops on the San Juan River alluvial plain and other resources provided by the mountain slopes.

The city of Teotihuacan achieved its final shape in approximately 300-400 A.D. There had previously been a densely populated center in the waterless northeast of the valley, as though the Teotihuacans had kept the alluvial plain for growing crops. However, it is strange that they did not build near the springs.

A series of tunnels and caves under the northern part of the city has recently been explored. The system was probably man-made and created by the Teotihuacans by extracting pyroclast and basalt from the volcanic ash cones buried in the valley. The city and its pyramids were built from this material.

However, some of the caves probably held water, which might

explain the presence of this first urban center in a cave setting, so far from a permanent water source. Once the city was built, the tunnels may also have

been used for ritual purposes, probably connected with *Tlalocan*, the underworld of *Tláloc*, the city's god. We expect to find offerings and



Quetzalpapalotl patio.

IIE / UNAM.



IIE / UNAM.

Temple of agriculture.

storehouses associated with the earth's fertility, and also graves.

Teotihuacan might have been called "the colorful city." Numerous painted murals decorated its stucco

walls. The lime coating used as a surface for paintings and for covering both floors and avenues came from the limestone brought from Tula, Hidalgo.

To produce lime, the Teotihuacans had to burn the limestone, and in doing so, they deforested a good part of the valley's surroundings. The wood was not only used for producing lime but also for building roofs, as well as domestic and craftsmen's fuel. This marvellous city, where sacred time and space were created, served as a model for subsequent civilizations; some of its main features are described below.

The existence of streets and avenues

Avenida de los Muertos was the main avenue crossing the city from north to south. It has been suggested that another avenue should run from east to west, starting in the center of the Citadel, stretching east for more than 3 km and west of the Grand Complex for over 2 km. Together they would cut the city into quadrants, making the Citadel in the center particularly important.



IIE / UNAM.

Citadel.

Most houses were built along the streets, which ran parallel or perpendicular to the evenly-spaced main avenues. Remains of houses built on a grid, facing 15° north by east, can still be seen several kilometers from the city center on nearby slopes.

The city was plotted using markers in the shape of concentric circles with crosses; these can be found on the nearby hills and in the city itself. The angle of the Pyramid of the Sun has been attributed to astronomical reasons, especially the setting of the Pleiades in front of the structure.

Water supply and drainage system

Apparently there were both drinking water and sewage systems. The latter fed its run-off through a tank 200 m northeast of the Pyramid of the Moon. Water from the stream descended through the section between Coronillas and Gordo Hills.

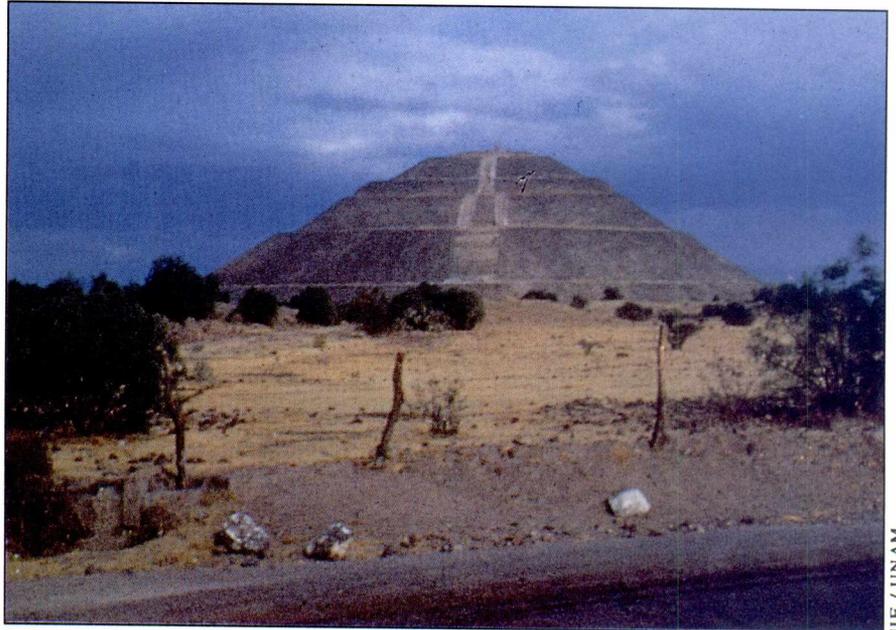
Building these systems involved channelling the San Juan River to fit the city grid, as well as straightening the meandering San Lorenzo River to prevent sudden, disastrous flooding.

The system of internal drainage included a vast network of underground channels that flowed into a central channel running under the main avenue and emptying into the San Juan River.

Administrative and political buildings

There are administrative and political buildings along the Avenida de los Muertos. However, owing to a lack of available data, it is difficult to define their precise function.

Recent excavations have unearthed two residential complexes north and south of the Temple of Quetzalcóatl that may have served as some kind of political center. It has been suggested that at some time they may have been the city's religious and administrative center



Sun pyramid.

as well as perhaps the city governors' residence.

However, these structures differ very little from others along the Avenida de los Muertos and are not substantially different from the residential buildings around the center.

The Grand Complex, facing the Citadel, on the other side of the Avenida de los Muertos, is the largest structure in the city, covering a larger area than the Citadel. It consists of two wings, (north and south), with street-level entrances on the Avenida de los Muertos, while to the east and west they surround a huge open space.

René Millon's hypothesis is that the square may have been the location of the city's largest market and that this may have been the institution that integrated Teotihuacan society. However, there is no concrete evidence to support this hypothesis.

Residential buildings

There is a series of residential buildings around the central part of the city: Tlamimilolpa, Xolalpan, Atetelco, Tepantitla, Tetitla, Zacuala and La Ventilla, among others.

These buildings generally have several rooms at different levels

around open courtyards. They contain domestic shrines and the whole complex is enclosed by an outer wall.

Interestingly, these structures were based on a 57m. module, with multiples and submultiples. Thus Millon suggests that there were three types of complex that could house twenty, fifty or a hundred people respectively.

They may have been occupied by corporate groups of the same trade, since it has been observed that different craftsmen lived in separate housing areas.

Another feature of these complexes is that they were designed with privacy in mind. Each building was set away from the street with windowless outer walls. The inner courtyards were unroofed, allowing light and air as well as rain, to reach the inside of the complex.

The Teotihuacans cultivated three varieties of corn, black and large kidney beans, various types of squash, chile, tomatoes, amaranth, edible greens and prickly pears. They ate fruit such as the capulin cherry, the fruit of the Mexican hawthorn, and perhaps white sapodilla. They gathered wild potatoes, bulrush, purslane, and acacia.

Animal protein was provided by rabbit, hare, deer, fresh-water fish and aquatic birds, although they also ate turkey and dog.

The Basin of Mexico is a predominantly volcanic area, meaning that the Teotihuacan communities had basalt, andesite and pyroclast to use for building. There was grey obsidian in the northeast part of the Teotihuacan Valley, and green in the Sierra de las Navajas in Pachuca.

Cotton, strangler fig bark paper and avocado, jadeite, turquoise and serpentine, together with precious bird feathers and other resources came from areas outside the basin.

Craftsmen's districts and areas

Crafts are attested to by numerous obsidian workshops. This craft soon became specialized, even to the type of object made. Some workshops produced small prismatic razors while others made spearheads and knives. The main obsidian area was west of the Pyramid of the Moon. Other workshops that have been discovered produced pottery, figurines, precious or polished stones, and slate objects.

There are districts in the city that contain abundant pottery shards made elsewhere than Teotihuacan, leading some researchers to assume that these were residential areas for foreigners. Examples include the "Oaxacan district" in the southeast of the city and the "Merchants' district" in the eastern sector.

This last district was recently excavated by UNAM researchers who found round, adobe structures and tombs with Mayan and Gulf Coast pottery. Thus, Teotihuacan was a cosmopolitan city, with foreign residents, that had established numerous links with distant corners of Mesoamerica.

It has been suggested that political alliances were formed with Monte Alban in Oaxaca; and Teotihuacan colonies established in Maticapan (Veracruz), Kaminaljuyú (Guatemala) and perhaps Tingambato (Michoacan) and Altavista (Zacatecas), and that the city interfered in the politics of Mayan cities such as Tikal. The valleys of Puebla-Tlaxcala, Toluca and Morelos seem to have been under Teotihuacan's control.

Unlike other urban centers in Mesoamerica that were ruled by

governors and dynasties, government and administration in Teotihuacan were probably in the hands of the priests.

There have been countless hypotheses concerning the end of the Classical period: epidemics, invasions, internal conflicts, environmental disasters, blocked trade routes. The fact remains that Classical urban life collapsed; there were population drifts towards Central America and vice versa. The next phase, the Post-Classical period, was dominated by military conquests and tributes. Mexico City is the megalopolis of today. It is interesting to note that one of the greatest urban phenomena in pre-industrial times, Teotihuacan, was also set in the Basin of Mexico. Both ends of a historical process have had to face excessive rural-urban migration, an over-extended water supply, soil erosion, deforestation, over-population and other phenomena that lead to reflection on the future of urban life on this planet.

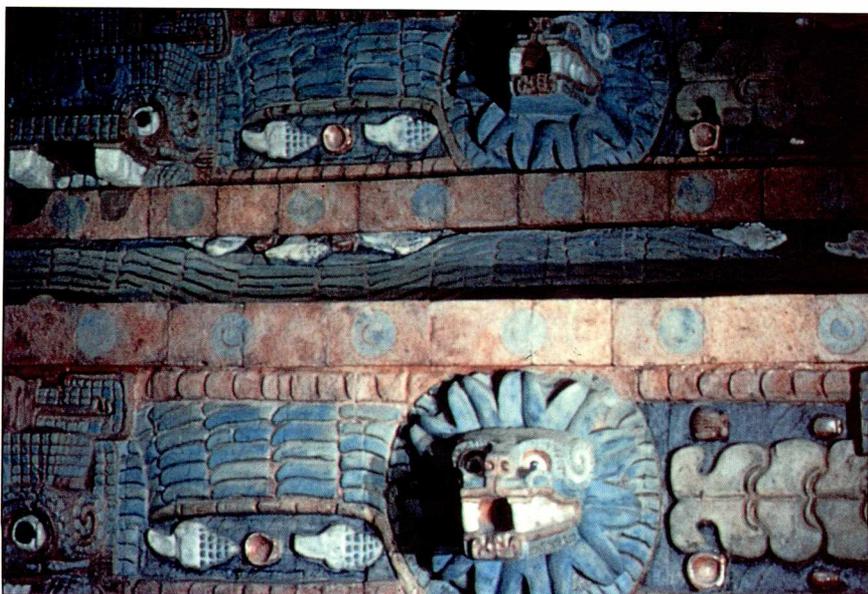
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JIE / UNAM.

Temple of Quetzalcóatl (detail of the plumed serpent).

The history of Mexico City

(Part III)

*Luis Ortiz Macedo**

The Republic

The Wars of Independence and the newly-established Republican government paralyzed civil activities, putting an end to international trade and mining prosperity, which in turn wrecked agriculture and incipient industry.

Mexico City suffered a recession and was no longer able to provide adequate urban services.

Unemployment rose among miners and factory workers who flocked to the cities, especially the capital, in search of work.

By 1845, the population had reached 230,000, but no provision had been made to accommodate the extra numbers. Spacious viceregal residences were soon overflowing, more floors were built and orchards and gardens sacrificed.

The city gradually deteriorated and Liberal governments started to disentail city real estate belonging to various branches of the clergy. This property was sold to private owners who soon converted it into crowded, unhealthy public housing.

Political instability and overseas conflicts did nothing to encourage urban development and improvements. However, old baroque buildings continued to be remodelled in the

neoclassical style that became increasingly popular toward mid-century.

The few architects who graduated from the recently reorganized academy were determined to find new uses for large colonial buildings and to redesign their façades. The Spanish architect, Lorenzo de la Hidalga, and the Italian, Cavallari, were commissioned to design some of the few public works undertaken, most important of which

were Cinco de Mayo Avenue and the National Theater.

The French invasion and the short-lived Second Empire spawned urban and architectural projects aimed at modernizing the city and adapting the most important buildings. Attention was focussed on the National Palace and Chapultepec Castle, but the only significant work that came to fruition was the Emperor's Avenue, running from the first roundabout on Bucareli to the slopes of Chapultepec Hill. Ambitious Austrian and German projects never materialized.

It was not until Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada's presidency (1872-1876) that the first changes occurred. Together with other city landowners, Martínez de la Torre, a businessman, suggested that the haciendas on the outskirts of the city be subdivided. These were to become the Guerrero, Santa María la Ribera, Juárez and San Miguel Chapultepec districts. The first of these subdivisions or districts was inaugurated by President Lerdo as a center for workers' housing, because of its proximity to the industries that



Mexico City (XIX century).
G.N. Renner (lithograph).

* Professor of Architecture.



Iturbide's entry to Mexico City with the "trigarante" army (XIX century).

had grown up around Azcapotzalco, Tacuba and Santa Julia.

Newly enriched families began to move into the areas near Bucareli and Reforma Avenues (formerly known as Paseo del Emperador) and urban services improved.

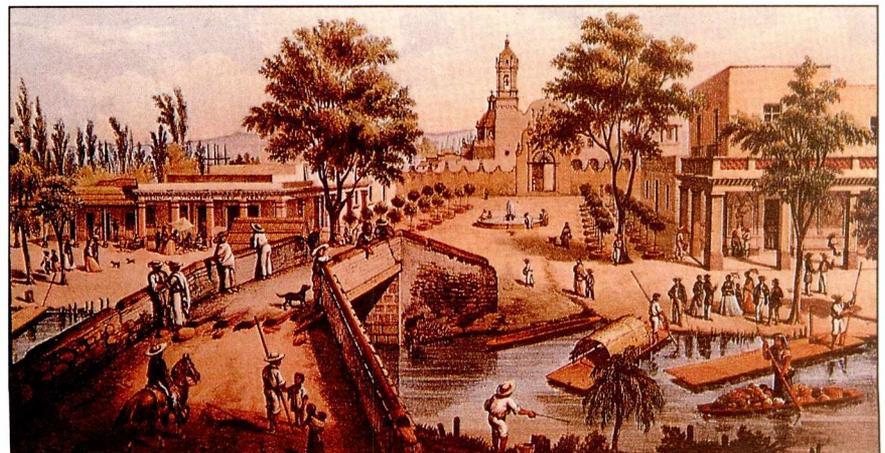
However, the one factor that radically changed city life, by linking towns in the basin and making land transport faster, was the arrival of the railroad, planned and built by two businessmen, Manuel and Antonio Escandón. Rail links were gradually established between the capital and principal ports and provincial cities, providing new opportunities for farming, livestock-raising, and industry.

In its thirty years under General Porfirio Díaz, Mexico experienced a

wave of economic prosperity it had not known since the end of the 18th century. The newly accepted model of urban planning attempted to reach

standards of excellence similar to those in the great European cities.

The government sought to express its prestige through buildings



*Ixtacalco (XIX century).
Casimiro Castro (lithograph).*



Markets were relocated.

symbolizing its modern spirit and the beginning of a new age.

City administration was reorganized in accordance with a new political structure that divided the city into twelve municipalities. Electricity, trams, telephones and telegraphs were introduced at the same time as water and drainage were extended by the Great Drainage Canal.

Towns in the valley were embellished with public parks, their main squares landscaped and schools and social services established. Town halls were built and new markets relocated in spacious areas with metal roofs, specially designed by large European and American companies.

The urban model devised by the so-called *scientists* (the ideologists of the Porfirian era), required drastic changes: efficient and high quality

urban services, new road surfaces to withstand motorized transport, plentiful and effective communication systems, improved housing, and buildings symbolizing progress and efficiency.

Sumptuous *chalets* appeared along the Paseo de la Reforma and surrounding areas; three- and four-storey apartment blocks became

twenty architects available of whom the most famous were Antonio Rivas Mercado, Emilio Dondé, the Agea brothers and Manuel Gorozpe.

The municipality opened the design and construction of its most important buildings to international bids. A French architect, Bénard, was commissioned to build the legislative



Panoramic view of downtown Mexico City. (XIX century). Casimiro Castro (lithograph).

increasingly common, and innumerable colonial houses were demolished to make room for new buildings.

During the early part of the century, the city's population rose to an astonishing 450,000, with just over

palace, and Italians, Silvio Contri and Adamo Boari, undertook the Department of Communications, the Correo Mayor (main post office) Building and the National Theater. Cinco de Mayo Avenue was completed, while Paseo de la Reforma was extended as far as the old Chapultepec Forest. Plans for an international fair on either side of the avenue never materialized.¹

The city put on its best face in 1910 to celebrate the first centenary of the nation's Independence, receive foreign delegations and show the world what it had achieved in the last thirty years.

Despite this ambitious program, the poverty and unsanitary conditions that had plagued the city since the mid-19th century were never fully eradicated ❧



Castle of Chapultepec.

¹ This stretch of Paseo de la Reforma was called Avenue of the Fair in 1910.

Current environmental issues in Mexico

*Fernando Ortiz Monasterio**

Mexican environmental laws, regulations and standards are administered and enforced by the Ecological Office of the Department of Social Development (SEDESOL).

Mexico's first modern environmental law was passed in 1972. This law was superseded in 1988 by the General Law on Ecological Equilibrium and Environmental Protection (the General Ecology Law), a comprehensive statute covering all types of pollution as well as protection and preservation of natural resources.

Four regulations relating to air pollution on a national level, air pollution in Mexico City, environmental impact assessment and hazardous waste have been issued under the General Ecology Law since 1988. There are also regulations that remain in effect from prior law for noise and waste-water discharge. A new regulation dealing with water pollution has been drafted and is expected to be released shortly.

More than 70 Technical Ecological Norms or standards have been adopted for air emissions, waste-water discharge limitations, noise levels, etc. In addition, 26 of Mexico's 32 states have environmental laws.

* Director General ERM-Mexico (Mexican environmental science and engineering consultants).

Mexico's environmental laws, regulations and standards are similar in many respects to those in the United States. The General Ecology Law embodies principles similar to those in US laws and regulations, and the technical standards for implementing the General Ecology Law are comparable to those of the United States.

However, some aspects of US regulations, such as Superfund and regulation of underground storage tanks, are not yet covered by Mexico's environmental laws, regulations and standards.

Since the General Ecology Law was passed, SEDESOL has taken increasingly stronger measures to bring existing sources of pollution into compliance and to demonstrate its commitment to enforcing the law.

The US-Mexican border has limited water and financial resources. We are learning that we must work together if we are to improve the quality of the environment in this region. There is a very significant movement underway in Mexico to improve the quality of the environment through enactment and enforcement of new laws and regulations.

From March 1988 through the end of 1990, 5,500 inspections resulting in 908 partial or temporary plant closings and 43 permanent closings took place.



Since 1988 stronger measures have been taken against pollution.

Can you imagine US regulations that would allow an EPA inspector to come into your plant and because your waste water discharge was out of compliance, require that you shut down the entire plant or a key part of your process? Not only would you have to continue paying all your workers but you could not start your plant up again until you signed a consent agreement to bring your facility into compliance, and post a bond to finance the required improvements.

In March 1991, Mexican President Carlos Salinas closed the PEMEX 18th of March oil refinery in Mexico City. The closing of this refinery, which accounted for 8% of PEMEX's crude distillation capacity and involved a \$500 million investment and 5,000 jobs, demonstrates Mexico's commitment to improving the environment.

SEDESOL has increased its environmental budget sixfold, but US per capita spending on the environment was US \$0.08 in 1989; US \$0.20 in 1990; and US \$0.48 in 1991. By contrast, US EPA expenditure in 1991 was \$24.40 per capita.

In January it was announced that the Federal Government had formed a Commission for the Prevention and Control of Pollution in Mexico, with a budget of US \$169 million for 1992, 50% of which is a loan from the World Bank and Japanese banks, and the other 50% is from the Federal Government. This amount is about four times more than the national expenditure of SEDUE for 1991.

Handling and disposal of hazardous waste

According to various sources, Mexico generates between 5 and 6 million tons of hazardous waste per year. This amount is relatively small in relation to the 250 million tons per year generated in the US, but is similar to the annual rate of waste generation for Germany, England or France. About 3

million tons per year are generated in the Mexico City valley.

About 60% of total hazardous waste generated in Mexico is discharged into sewers, the rest being dumped in barren areas, municipal landfills or others. It is estimated that less than 5% of total hazardous waste is disposed of in an environmentally sound way.

Since 1988, Mexican authorities have taken a serious approach to toxic controls, mainly through legislation, enforcement, prevention of trans-border transfer of toxic materials, and encouragement of the private sector to operate waste facilities.

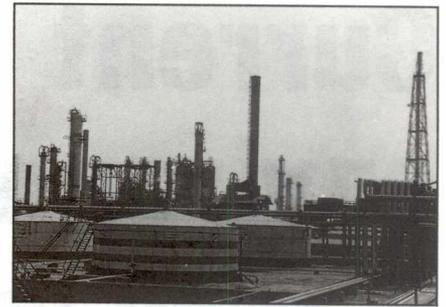
Existing deficiencies in toxic and hazardous waste management infrastructure, together with the "not in my backyard" syndrome has produced clumsy management of hazardous waste in Mexico. Due to a lack of enforcement pressure from the regulatory authorities, many generators of hazardous waste currently choose cheap alternatives to the treatment required by law and in some cases this has had serious public health implications. The improper disposal of hazardous waste has become increasingly serious in in-bond areas.

Hazardous waste management is regulated in Mexico by SEDESOL under regulations published in the government's official gazette on November 25, 1988.

These regulations implement the General Law on Ecological Balance and Environmental Protection in matters of hazardous waste.

The term "hazardous waste" is defined in Mexico in roughly the same manner as under US regulations. However, Mexico is presently still using the Extraction Procedure (EP) Toxicity Test rather than the Toxicity Characteristic Leaching Procedure (TCLP).

Generators or handlers of hazardous waste are required to obtain SEDESOL permission to carry out such activities. All hazardous waste



In 1991 the 18th of March oil refinery was closed to improve the environment.

generators are required to register with SEDESOL and maintain a monthly log of waste generated. As with US regulations, incompatible waste must be segregated and waste must be appropriately stored or containerized.

Transportation of hazardous waste may only be undertaken in vehicles authorized by the Department of Communications and Transport. A bi-annual report of hazardous waste movement is required.

All hazardous waste treatment, storage and disposal (TSD) facilities must obtain SEDESOL authorization. TSD facilities must have personnel training programs for hazardous waste handling, documented qualifications of the facility manager and an emergency plan. Storage of hazardous wastes must be away from office, service and production areas and areas where finished goods and raw materials are stored. Storage areas must contain sumps or containment structures with a capacity equal to 20% of the material stored. This is to control leaks or overflows. A fire-extinguishing system is also required in the storage area.

All open areas used for hazardous waste storage must be located above extreme high water level with a 1.5 safety factor. All flooring must be impervious to the waste stored. Covered areas must be adequately ventilated. Hazardous waste in uncovered bulk storage is not authorized if the waste can produce a leachate.

A log book must be maintained for all waste storage areas to record

waste as it enters or exits the facility. Unlike US regulations that limit the time waste can be stored, Mexican regulations include no time limit. Storage time is generally a function of available space.

In the event of a spill during handling, SEDESOL must be notified immediately and a written report submitted to SEDESOL within three days. The report must describe the location of the incident, the cause, the types and quantities of waste involved, emergency actions taken including clean up, and any ecosystem damage.

In-bond industries are required to return all hazardous waste generated from components originating in the United States to the United States. Mexico excludes imports of all hazardous waste except such waste as is to be recycled or reused. This is to prevent Mexico from becoming an international dumping ground.

Regulations for the status of worker health and safety

The environment includes the complete physical setting in which man lives and work environment is a very important component of this reality. In addition only a very thin line separates environmental health and occupational health.

In fact, firms that have for some decades taken care of their work environment have fewer

environmental problems today. By contrast, firms with relatively high rates of industrial accidents or hygiene and security problems are the ones that SEDUE had to press to meet pollution control requirements.

The most commonly reported categories of health problems in Mexico deriving from inappropriate working conditions have resulted from:

- Exposure to chemical products or waste.
- Breathing high concentrations of solid particles.
- Inadequate protection equipment and prevention systems.
- Exposure to asbestos and silica.
- Contact with lead either as dust or fumes.
- Exposure to solvents.
- Excessively high concentration of gases such as carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide and others.
- Impact by physical agents such as noise, vibrations, heat, light deficiencies and others.

Among the most common health problems resulting from inadequate working conditions are accidents, respiratory diseases, skin disorders, cardiovascular disorders, cancer and reproductive system damage, neurological and psychological deficiencies.

The impact of pollution on health, as well as occupational health, is regulated by the General Health Law.

The functions of the Department of Health with respect to health regulations are as follows:

- To establish the technical norms for the use of substances, machinery, equipment or tools to reduce risks to the health of exposed workers.
- Determine the maximum pollution exposure limits of workers and conduct relevant toxicology research.
- Enforce public health regulations with the cooperation of local authorities.

According to the Health Law, companies are obliged to observe all norms or standards of industrial hygiene and safety, adopt appropriate measures to prevent accidents and guarantee the health and safety of their workers.

The 271 articles that make up the Health Law regulations are set by Federal Labor Law which requires the establishment in all firms of Mixed Safety and Hygiene Commissions in the workplace, including owners' and trade union representatives.

In short, in compliance with Article 27 of the Constitution, Mexico has a very complete set of regulations to protect the health and safety of workers. However, in many cases, these regulations are not implemented or enforced until serious incidents have affected workers, and trade unions have stepped in.

New "polluter pays" waste-water treatment regulations

In a recent study prepared by Environmental Resources Limited, the London ERM, for the International Finance Corporation, it was estimated that the capacity of Mexico's 223 municipal and 177 industrial waste-water treatment plants is at most 16% of total municipal and industrial waste-water generated in the country.

In addition, many of these plants frequently do not operate satisfactorily. In the dry parts of the country, much of the untreated

Table Mexican taxes on waste-water discharge which exceed Technical Ecological Norms (Standards) (a)			
Zone No. (b)	US\$ per million gallons	US\$ per lb of COD	US\$ per lb of total suspended solids
1	505	0.04	0.07
2	126	0.01	0.017
3	50	0.004	0.007
4	25	0.002	0.0035

a Conversion rate US\$ 1.00 = 3,000 Mexican pesos.
b Zones were established by the National Water Commission based on water availability and existing water quality.

municipal waste water is used to irrigate crops. Because the waste water may contain heavy metals, solvents and other compounds, this practice may be causing ground-water contamination.

In an attempt to improve water pollution control, the Mexican government published a new law in the December 26, 1990 Official Gazette, which taxes waste water discharges unless they have been treated to meet certain prescribed standards known as Technical Ecological Norms. The law has been nicknamed the Polluter Pays Law, since it is intended to complement SEDESOL's existing enforcement powers with taxes on dischargers.

This law, which went into effect on October 1, 1991, became a major landmark in Mexico's environmental protection legislation because for the first time it started using taxes rather than a watchdog policy to improve and protect the quality of Mexico's surface and ground-water.

The law will be enforced by the National Water Commission, but all



About 40% of hazardous waste is dumped in barren areas.

payments will be made to the Treasury Department. It provides that all waste water discharged into the ocean, bodies of water, soil or ground-water above certain technological standards will have to pay a tax for the privilege of continuing to discharge. The amount of the tax varies from region to region and is based on quantity, dissolved organics and total suspended solids (see Table).

In many cases, industry does not discharge directly into an aquatic ecosystem but rather to a municipal sewer. In this case it is the municipality that will have to pay the discharge tax and in turn collect the money from the industrial discharger.

Mexican officials are not only planning to use this law to force construction of needed waste-water treatment facilities, but also plan to turn over to private enterprise the sampling and analysis of waste-water discharge rather than continuing to try to perform this function with their own limited resources and personnel.

Environmental impact assessment requirements for new plant construction

Environmental regulators believe that one of the best planning tools for preventing environmental damage is the preparation of environmental impact assessments. They evaluate and mitigate damage to the environment and human health before it can occur.

The Mexican government has published instructions for the preparation of environmental impact assessments in Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the General Ecology Law Regulations (*Gaceta Ecológica* Vol.1, No. 3, September 1989).

The basic structure of an environmental impact assessment contains the following:

- General information on the company.
- Description of the project.
- General aspects of the natural and socioeconomic setting.

- Applicable norms and regulations.
- Identification of potential environmental impact.
- Prevention and mitigation of the environmental impact identified.
- Conclusions.
- References.

In addition, all new projects—private or public—are required to present SEDESOL a written Preventive Report describing the project's basic characteristics and advising that the environmental impact assessment will be performed by a consultant registered with SEDESOL.

NAFTA's probable impact on operations in Mexico

The main concerns over NAFTA's environmental implications have been loudly stressed by several groups: the location of American investments in Mexico where there is less stringent environment legislation, waste export from one country to another, and cheaper production of goods and services in Mexico where wages are lower and investment required for pollution control is lower than in the United States.

NAFTA however opens up a vast new field of opportunity when responsible and profit-oriented enterprises decide to work with binational logic, understand that there is no real reason to pollute one country more than another, and work to try to avoid extremely difficult situations.

An example of the latter is the illegal transfer of toxic waste from the US to Tijuana, where it is dumped in the sewage that goes into the Tijuana River, crosses the border back to the US and is finally released at Imperial Beach, San Diego County, where for public health reasons the beach has been closed.

NAFTA's thrust is that member nations have similar environmental controls to prevent one nation gaining trade advantages over another.

The Integrated Border Environmental Plan (IBEP) and how it will affect border industries

The border area between the US and Mexico extends for nearly 2,550 kilometers from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Though dry desert conditions exist over most of it, demographically and economically it is the fastest growing area in both the US and Mexico.

Its population has grown from 3,000,000 in 1980 to 6,000,000 in 1990, concentrated in six principal "sister cities" located across the border from each other.

Recent Mexican industrial growth in the border area has been led by in-bond plants that receive raw materials and machinery from the US duty-free and return them as finished products.

SEDUE and EPA identified a wide variety of serious water and air quality-related environmental problems in the area caused by waste handling and response to chemical and radioactive accidents.

Formal Mexican and US efforts to protect and improve the border area environment began in 1983 with the adoption of the Agreement Between the United States and the United Mexican States on Cooperation for the Protection and Improvement of the Environment in the Border Area, signed by Presidents James Carter and Miguel de la Madrid at La Paz, Baja California Sur.

On November 27, 1990, Presidents Carlos Salinas and George Bush met in Monterrey, Nuevo León. Their joint communique emphasized the need for ongoing cooperation in the area of environmental protection, and instructed their respective authorities responsible for environmental affairs to prepare a comprehensive plan designed to periodically examine ways and means of reinforcing border cooperation in this regard, based on the 1983 Bilateral Agreement.

The plan was to cover an area extending 100 km on both sides of the border.

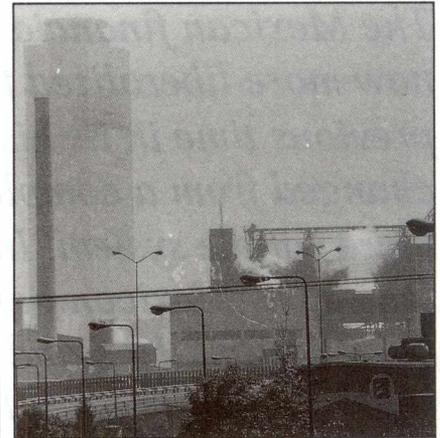
In October 1991, Presidents Salinas and Bush presented a working draft of the Integrated Border Environmental Plan for the Mexico-US Border (first stage 1992-1994).

Following joint meetings between EPA and SEDUE, a first draft of the proposed plan was made by a consultant with input from both EPA and SEDUE and selected state, regional, and local officials. The plan was then published and distributed for public comment. A series of public meetings were held along both sides of the border to collect testimony in addition to the written comments received by EPA and SEDUE.

The draft plan was not well received along the border, particularly in the United States. It was characterized as poorly written, short-sighted, lacking local and regional expertise and input from the border area, and providing no real plan for handling environmental problems related to air, ground-water, surface water, or hazardous waste management along the border.

It lacked any real detail of the need to develop an appropriate infrastructure to handle environmental problems stemming from the population and industrial growth now occurring and that will accelerate with the pending development and implementation of NAFTA.

More important, the plan was completely silent on the matter of funding. A plan with no funding was seen as no plan at all, since significant funding will be required for implementation. In addition, communities along both sides of the border are characterized as among the poorest in both countries and the border communities made it clear that they had neither the tax base nor the local infrastructure in place to implementing such a program with local resources.



Fabrizio León.

We know where we need to go and what we must do.

The plan is presently being revised and we hope its final version will delve more deeply into tough questions such as development of infrastructure, particularly on the Mexican side where, for example, there are essentially no industrial or municipal waste-water treatment plants. It must recognize that such resources as air, surface water and ground-water interact and do not stop at geographic boundaries.

Conclusions

Mexico stands today at the forefront of an era of industrialization and revitalization that may well make it a fully industrialized nation. However, with the development of in-bond industries, the tremendous potential for growth under NAFTA, and the continued growth of the Mexican economy, major environmental problems will continue to grow.

Mexico is a country intent on development and growth to provide jobs and to increase the standard of living for its people but not at the expense of its environment. We will continue to work toward environmentally sound management of our resources, but many problems that exist today will take a significant amount of time and funding to correct. We have seen the progress made in the US and other countries and we know where we need to go and what we must do. ❧

The Mexican financial system is now more liberalized than at any previous time in its history. It has changed from a complex to a more simple system. In the last ten years, Mexican banks have been nationalized and then reprivatized. The results of these reforms cannot yet be fully evaluated.

The Mexican financial system

*Eduardo Suárez González**

The evolution and structure of the financial system

In the 1980s, the aggregate macroeconomy suffered severe crises that modified its previous pattern of growth. From the 1940s to the early 1970s, monetary and fiscal policy had been used to achieve constantly high rates of economic growth.

Excessive public sector indebtedness after 1971 led to two successive crises, one in 1976 and a worse one in 1982. Poor macroeconomic management and the abandonment of fixed exchange rates in 1976 stimulated the economy at first, but then led to the worst recession of this century.

This resulted in a shift in economic policy and the adoption of a long term national development plan. Immediate policy actions aimed at containing the rate of

inflation (which was reaching unprecedented levels) by reducing the fiscal deficit and controlling foreign exchange. In 1988, the government announced the first of several economic pacts to lower inflation and recover the economy's ability to grow.

The most important event of the last decade was the decision to change the import-substitution industrialization strategy, that had been the core of development policy in Mexico for many decades, to an outward-oriented strategy. The first step was to enter the General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1986, after Mexico had refused to do so in 1980.

Since then, Mexico's economy has been thrown into a competitive spree which has resulted in far-reaching changes in its exports, which were traditionally dependent on oil.

The exchange rate had remained fixed at 12.5 pesos per dollar for more than 20 years, from 1954 to 1976. Thereafter, exchange rate policy responded more to antiinflationary criteria than to export promotion or balance



Monetary controls prevented the banks from becoming more efficient and competitive.

* Member of the Executive Board of the European Co-Investment Project of *Nacional Financiera, S.N.C.* The views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of *Nacional Financiera*.

of payments policy. At times, our currency has been overvalued, and convertibility has been hampered.

For most of its existence, the Mexican financial system has operated under financial repression. Such controls and restrictions as legal requirements on commercial banks, selective credit allocation and control of interest rates applied to a wide variety of financial instruments. Real interest rates were not always negative, however. From 1962 to 1972 interest rates were positive and encouraged domestic savings. This policy led to a constant increase in the deepening of the financial ratio from 20% of GNP in 1962 to 36% in 1972.

Financial repression was increased during the 1970s because of the growing fiscal deficit which reached 9.3% of GDP in 1975. This decade marks the end of a long period when the primary goal was the control of inflation.¹ To achieve this end, public finances were generally kept in equilibrium and international credit was used to cover small deficits in current accounts by means of development project financing.

One of the principal causes of the growing fiscal deficit in the 1970s was the expansion of the public sector. Many enterprises were transferred to the public sector and others were created in the hope that employment would remain high. The government created the so-called *fideicomisos* (trusts) in order to develop particular regions of the country or sectors of the economy. This added pressure on public expenditure was not met by tax reforms or other increases in public revenues. The result was high inflation, an overvalued currency and balance of payments crises. (Table 1)

The banking sector was subject to many regulations on interest rates for deposits and credit allocation. When distortions became evident, a new leading rate emerged which was termed the "Average Percentage Cost" (CPP). The CPP was a rate charged on credit which considered all costs born by the lending institutions. The regulations covered maximum, but not minimum deposit rates. Thus, the regulations were tilted in favor of credit users and against depositors.

It has been argued that monetary controls prevented the banks from becoming more efficient and competitive. However, at least two important liberalizing measures were adopted. Banks were allowed to expand operations almost everywhere and multiple banks were created.² This allowed the integration of different financial institutions into one bank.

In 1978, the issuing of new Treasury Certificates made possible a new way of financing the fiscal deficit. The

¹ This strategy was known as *desarrollo estabilizador* (stabilizing development).

² Multiple means that a bank may perform deposit, savings, mortgage and other activities in the same office.

Table 1
Public fiscal deficit 1970-1992
(as percentage of GDP)

Year	Financial deficit	Primary balance	Operational balance
1970	3.4	1.3	2.6
1971	2.3	0.4	1.3
1972	4.5	2.2	3.3
1973	6.3	3.5	2.5
1974	6.7	3.7	3.1
1975	9.3	6.0	6.8
1976	9.1	4.6	4.1
1977	6.3	2.2	2.6
1978	6.2	2.2	3.4
1979	7.1	2.7	3.8
1980	7.5	3.0	3.6
1981	14.1	8.0	10.0
1982	16.9	7.3	5.5
1983	8.6	-4.2	-0.4
1984	8.5	-4.8	0.3
1985	9.6	-3.4	0.8
1986	15.9	-1.6	2.4
1987	16.0	-4.7	-1.8
1988	11.7	-8.1	3.5
1989	5.6	-8.3	-1.7
1990 p/	3.5	-8.0	1.8
1990 a/	1.9	-6.9	2.8

Source: Treasury Department.

p/ Preliminary.

a/ Projected.

Financial deficit = public sector borrowing requirements.

Primary balance = central government expenditures minus revenues, net of all interest payments.

Operational balance = PSBR minus inflationary component of domestic interest payments.

traditional reserve requirements on banks, previously used to draw funds from the private into the public sector, were abandoned.

The 1980s were difficult times for the Mexican economy. The first two years of the decade were marked by capital flight, currency devaluation, external short term indebtedness, exchange controls and the nationalization of the banks. In the following years, growth stagnated and inflation increased from 27% in 1981 to 115% in 1983. This was accompanied by high fiscal deficits in an adverse international environment which was characterized by rapidly rising real interest rates, falling oil prices and deteriorating terms of trade.

Aggregate demand, measured in logarithmic terms, was driven from its long term structural trend during the late 1970s. In 1973, there were already signs that the economy was growing too fast. In 1976 and 1977, an

attempt was made to check this long-term tendency, but without significant results. Monetary and fiscal policy were atuned to attain high growth rates.

By 1981, the economy was well above its natural trend, with government spending being the principal factor. Private consumption decreased from more than 80% in the early 1940s to 62% in 1984. A restrictive economic policy was necessary to stop the economy's high rate of growth.

The economic crises Mexico's economy experienced during the 1980s demonstrate how informal credit markets arise when there are liquidity constraints in the financial system.

The nationalization of private banks in 1982 marked a complete break from the past. From then on, big brokerage houses began to compete with banks to finance business needs. This had a positive result for capital and money markets since they were now more important and stable.

These reforms in the financial system were part of the government's response to the new international environment in which the economy is operating. From 1954-1970, the years of the stabilizing development strategy, real interest rate policy encouraged savings through positive rates.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there have been wide movements and negative real interest rates in all maturities. Emerging capital and money markets created pressures to raise negative interest rates in the banking sector and resulted in the creation of new competitive instruments.

There are now many more instruments to finance the fiscal deficit. Open market operations have changed the

legal requirements and the CPP has been replaced by the "Treasury Certificate Rate" (CETES).

Financing public deficit during most of the 1980s led to high public sector net requirements components which forced up the rate of inflation. Public sector net financing requirements rose after nationalization of the banks because of the need to pay indemnization to the former owners.

Public preference for the newly-issued certificates and government bonds was enhanced by a positive differential interest rate in comparison with deposit certificates issued by banks. This differential interest rate reached a high of 20% in 1988. (Figure 1)

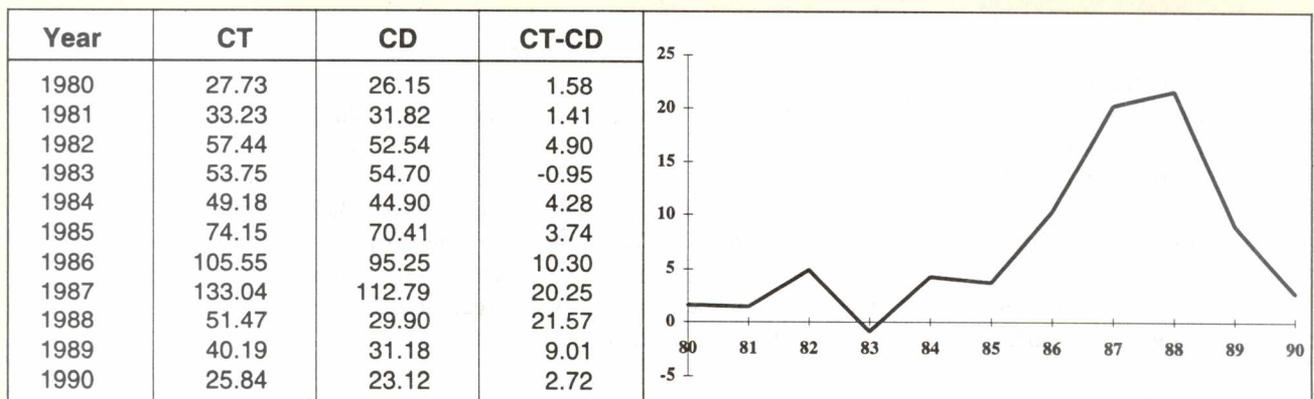
These new instruments, new financial intermediaries and growth of capital and stock markets led to high levels in the financial deepening ratio as measured by the broadest monetary aggregate. (M4)

This ratio is 44.1% of GDP, which compares favorably with the 26% at the end of the 1970s. This policy continued through the 1980s, helping to create and develop money and capital markets.

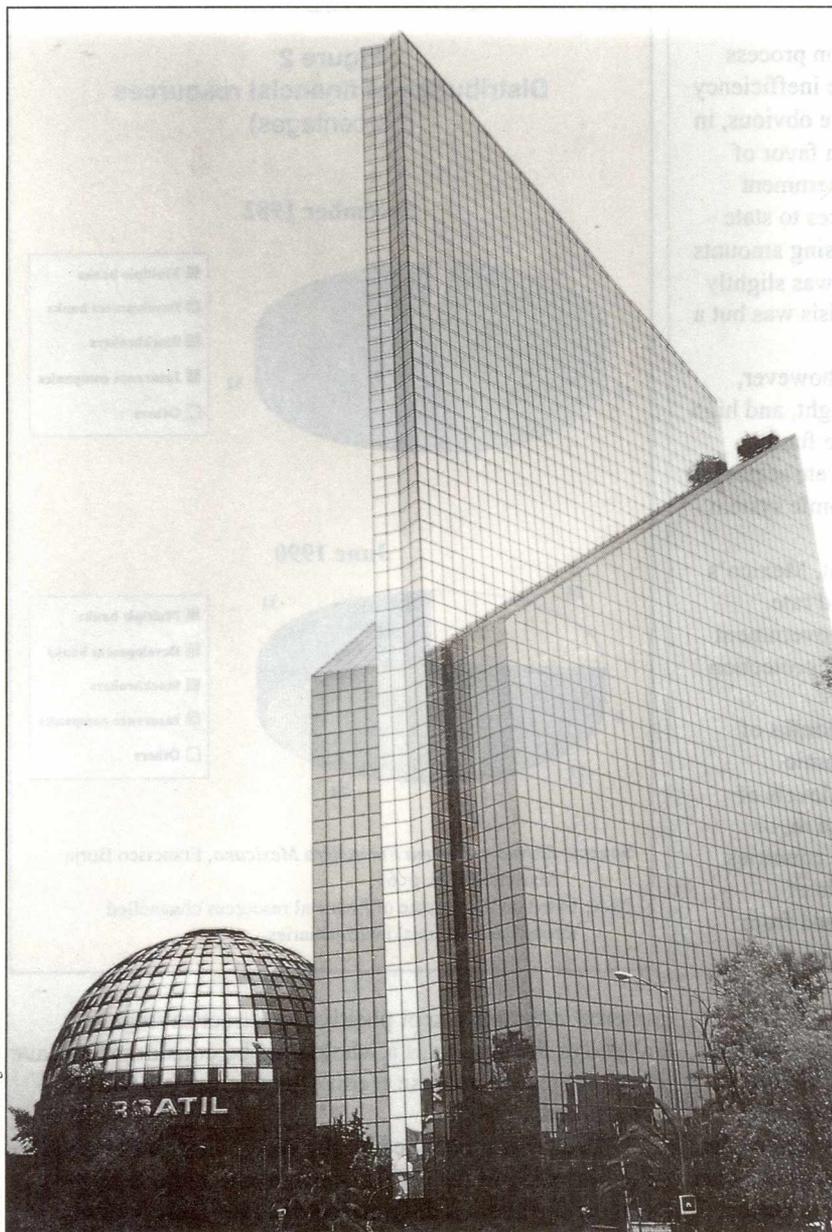
Prior to the bank nationalizations in 1982, there were 60 commercial or multiple banks. Private banks held a large share of more than 300 Mexican businesses in all sectors of the economy. Many of these are still leading companies. Fourteen development banks were created between 1926 and 1975. Seventeen development trusts were set up to support various sectors of the economy.

The Mexican banking system now consists of privatized commercial banks, a central bank (*Banco de México*), and the development banks. There are eighteen commercial banks. Six are national, seven are

Figure 1
Differential Interest Rates, 1980-90
Treasury Certificate (CT) minus Deposit Certificate (CD)
(three month rates)



Source: *Indicadores Económicos*, Banco de México; *La Economía Mexicana en Cifras*, Nacional Financiera.



Marco A. Cruz / Imagenlatina.

The Mexican Stock Exchange's new building.

multiregional, and five are regional. At the time of nationalization, there were 60 private and semiprivate banks. In 1972, there were 250 specialized banks.

The main purpose of the development banks is to finance and assist productive activities in training, use of technology, commercialization and distribution. The *Banco de México*, founded in 1925, sets monetary policy. It is the only institution allowed to print and mint money, regulate interest and exchange rates, and act as a reserve bank.

Finally, there are a number of supervisory institutions: the National Banking Commission, the National Insurance and Bond Commission, and the National Securities and Exchange Commission.

In addition to the structural changes³ in the economy, the financial system has also been reformed to render it more modern and efficient. Banks are now allowed to determine interest rates and maturities on deposits and to choose the best investment alternatives for such resources.

Non-banking financial intermediaries, such as brokerage houses, and leasing, insurance and factoring companies, have also benefitted from several liberalization measures aimed at increasing domestic savings. Direct investment in the stock market is now possible through investment funds similar to those created abroad.

One of the most important measures taken to promote the modernization was reestablishment of private ownership of commercial banks. President Salinas de Gortari's reprivatization decree of May 2, 1990, includes other weighty elements as well. It permits minority foreign investment in financial intermediaries in order to promote capitalization and the use of advanced technology. Foreign investments may be made by purchasing Certificates of Ownership Shares on a maximum of 34% of marginal capital. These certificates convey corporate rights. Foreign investment is also permitted in financial leasing companies, and insurance and other financial intermediaries. Foreign partners are excluded from ordinary capital investment in commercial banks, stock brokerages, foreign exchange transactions and financial group holdings.

As of June 1990, the three largest Mexican banks held 64.8% of total financial system deposits. Although the system is highly concentrated, resources are now better distributed among financial intermediaries. Multiple banks held 51.9% of the resource structure in December 1982, as compared with 30.8% in June 1990. Development banks also show a significant reduction in their participation. Stockbrokers and investment funds have become important. (Figure 2)

³ Another important aspect of the structural reform initiated in the Mexican economy is related to state owned enterprises. Since 1982, 908 of a total of 1,155 public enterprises have been sold, merged, liquidated, closed or transferred to the state governments or the private sector.

Financial policy and resource allocation

The growing complexity of the industrialization process resulted in big distortions in the economy. The inefficiency of overintervention in financial matters became obvious, in part, because of a bias in resource allocation in favor of public enterprises. Until very recently, the government channelled subsidized credit and fiscal resources to state enterprises in ever-increasing amounts. Increasing amounts of external debt were contracted. This pattern was slightly altered after 1982, as it was thought that the crisis was but a temporary phenomenon.

This relative optimism started to change, however, with the drying-up of foreign credit, capital flight, and high debt payments. This reduced to a minimum the funds available for investment by the public and private sectors. It was finally realized in the 1980s that the economic system had to be liberalized.

In 1985, Mexico joined GATT. As a result, Mexico's trade regime began to open up at an accelerated rate. Between June 1985 and December 1988, the government substantially reduced the average level of tariff protection from 23.5% to 11.0%.

Similar measures were taken in the first months of 1988 in connection with the associated "Economic Solidarity Pact." This further reduced average levels of protection to less than 10%. This figure is close to, or perhaps less than, that prevailing in developed countries.

Equally important is the reduction in levels of dispersion among nominal tariffs. This decreased from 25.5% to 7.8% between June 1985 and December 1988, pointing to a much greater uniformity of tariff rates by sector.

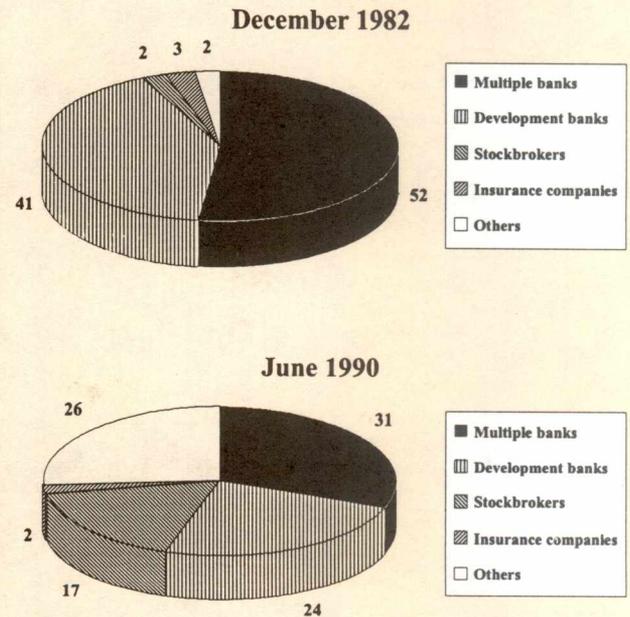
In 1989, the Law on Foreign Investment was modified, considerably reducing the number of activities in which foreign participation is banned. In other activities, new legislation has relaxed many regulations which limited the percentage of equity interest that foreign investors can own. Many legal formalities for foreign investors have been greatly simplified.

As a result of these measures and the reprivatization of the banks, Mexico's direct foreign investment policies are now no more limiting than Canada's before the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, nor than those of other developed nations.

According to theoretical criteria, a financial system is repressed if real interest rates are negative, financial deepening is low, and financial savings as a percentage of total savings remain low. A report by the World Bank (1989) defined the Mexican financial system as highly repressed, at least for the period 1974-1985.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that the study of the Mexican financial system should be divided into different periods. During the stabilizing development years, real

Figure 2
Distribution of financial resources
(percentages)



Source: *El Nuevo Sistema Financiero Mexicano*, Francisco Borja Martínez, FCE, p. 61.

Note: based on the volume of financial resources channelled through are financial intermediaries.

interest rates were kept positive to attract savings although the system as a whole may be considered to have been repressed because credit allocation was tightly controlled.

The years mentioned by the World Bank correspond to the beginning of the period of macroeconomic instability. (Figure 3) Inflation differentials with the United States, Mexico's main commercial and financial partner, reflect the discrepancies in economic policy in both countries. Real interest rates in Mexico began to swing to the negative side in a recurrent manner.

Of course, the upward trend in the ratio of financial deepening (M4/GDP) immediately decreased after 1972. It fell from 36% to 22% in five years. The financial imbalance caused by this policy was capitalized by other non-banking intermediaries.

During and after the 1970s, development funds and banks were considered to be a basic instrument of economic policy. Although many of them were of a general type, others were specialized institutions which financed particular activities. Hence, credit policy was used to achieve financing objectives set by structural, sectoral and

regional development policies. Many of these institutions merged with other development banks or disappeared altogether in the 1980s.

Commercial and development banks shared equal percentages of credit disbursements during the 1950s and early 1960s. This was a period when large infrastructure projects were undertaken, such as the development of energy resources and steel, roads and transport facilities. In 1965, there was a departure from this trend when the share of private banks increased and that of national banks decreased. This pattern was reversed during the early 1970s. For almost a decade, the share of both types of banks remained at equal percentages. This occurred during the years of the debt crisis when both increased at the same rate. In recent years, the share of private banks in total credit allocation has increased substantially and that of development banks has decreased.

Development banks financed a high proportion of public sector activities, although some funds channelled resources to private areas which needed promotion to foster productivity gains. Commercial banks primarily financed private sector activities, although this proportion decreased with the debt crises, when the growing fiscal deficit demanded extra funds from the private sector.

After reaching a peak when almost 62% of the credit from commercial banks went to the public sector in 1986, this share has decreased every year since and in 1990 amounted to only 29%. This has led to a 60/40 percentage structure of credit channelled to the private and public sectors, respectively.

In real terms, credit supplied by national and private banks has shown a steady upward trend for most of the past three decades. Nevertheless, financing has generally been available only for large enterprises or big projects. Small and medium-sized businesses have had to turn to informal markets and other sources of financing. This has prevented them from integrating with large companies that control an important market share, and has made them less efficient.

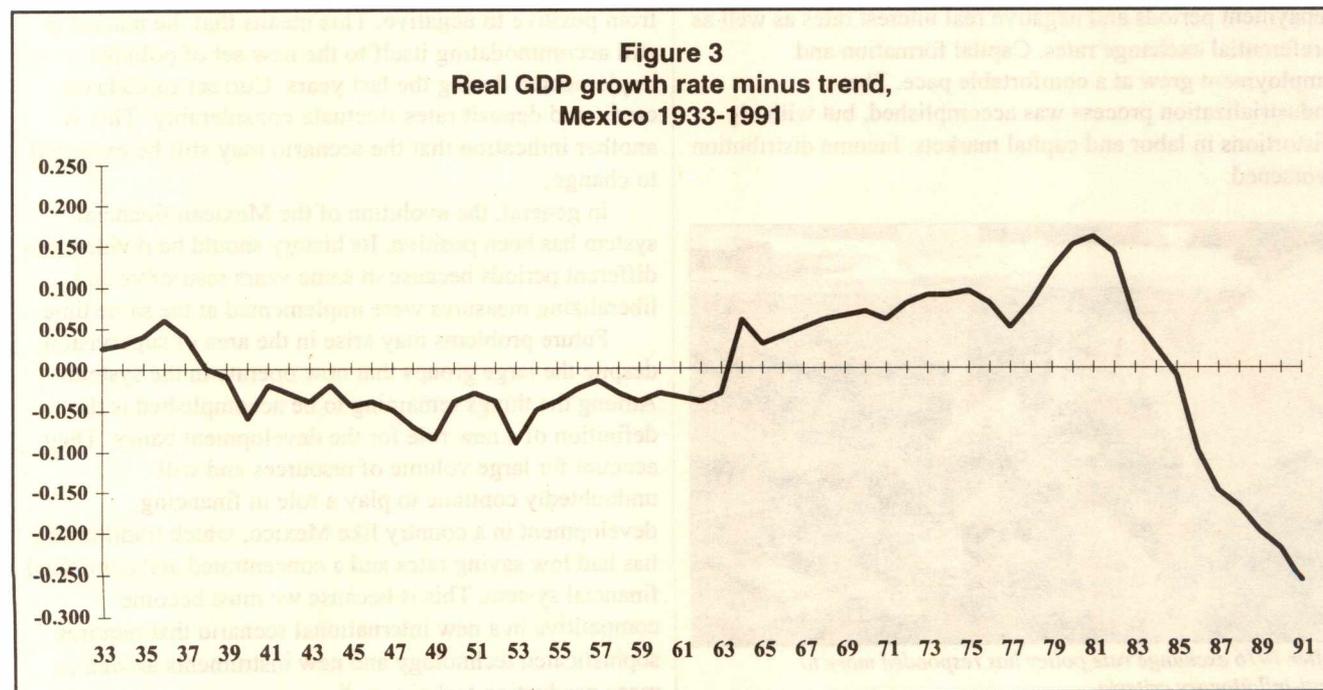
Monetary policy during the 1980s was consistent with the goal of bringing inflation under control. The reduction in net financial requirements by the public sector, combined with the use of non-inflationary resources, reduced the pace of price increases. Restrictive monetary and fiscal policies also reduced the growth rate of the money supply. (M1)

Financial liberalization resulted in big increases in credit to all economic activities, particularly at the end of the 1980s. Deregulation and the redirection of resources from development banks to small and medium-sized businesses helped to change the historical trend of credit allocation.

Capital formation and the efficiency of credit policy

Development and industrialization in Mexico had been financed by a concentrated and controlled financial system for almost fifty years, well into the 1970s. During most of that period, financial deficits and the rate of inflation remained low by international standards. As long as the degree of industrialization and division of

Figure 3
Real GDP growth rate minus trend,
Mexico 1933-1991



labor were not very high, the state administration was able to manage the relatively uncomplicated decision-making process.

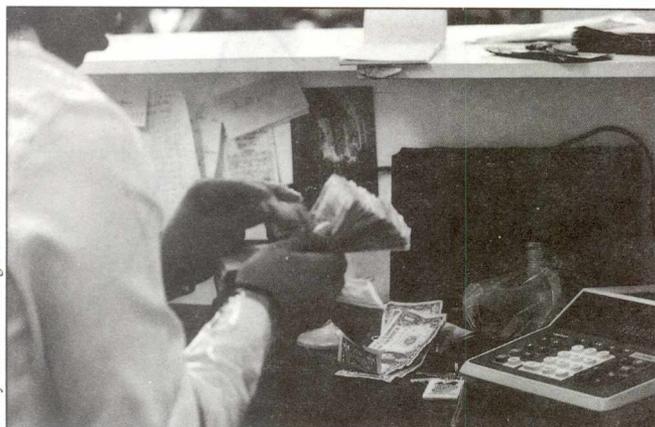
Under these circumstances, the government could easily define priorities for industrial and regional development. Risks of additional production costs due to externalities such as implementation of learning efforts, economies of scale, mass production, incomplete markets or the need for risk capital could be easily absorbed. Static and dynamic comparative advantages could be easily evaluated.

However, the decision-making process and the need for internal coordination became more complex. At the same time, the efficiency of factor and credit allocation worsened, creating oligopolistic structures in many industrial sectors such as the automotive industry, steel, petrochemicals, and heavy machinery.

There was some degree of success in directing credit policy to investment in relatively capital-intensive sectors with rather modern technology requirements. Often, however, modern product standards such as quality, costs and prices, could not be achieved. At the same time, internal and external markets could not be developed.

Little attention was paid to downstream and upstream linkages. As a result, productivity remained low while the need for imports increased or remained strong. The low use of productive capacity increased costs, generating further demands for outside protection.

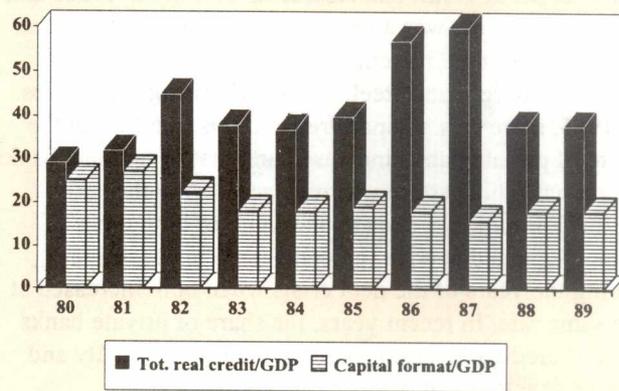
Capital intensive sectors were given high priority and credit flowed into different sectors of the economy because of the low rate of inflation. Credit policy included long repayment periods and negative real interest rates as well as preferential exchange rates. Capital formation and employment grew at a comfortable pace. The industrialization process was accomplished, but with big distortions in labor and capital markets. Income distribution worsened.



Rossy Alemán / Imagenlatina.

After 1976 exchange rate policy has responded more to anti-inflationary criteria.

Figure 4
Real credit & capital formation to GDP
(percentages)



The 1980s brought a different picture, however. Public and private investment decreased substantially. Current public expenses of the federal government and state-owned enterprises, as well as debt interest, were financed with both external and internal credit. As a result, the ratio of capital formation to GDP declined steadily during the 1980s. (Figure 4)

Conclusion

The financial system has changed from liberal interest-rate policy (positive interest rates and credit restrictions) to deregulated credit and real interest rates that swing from positive to negative. This means that the market is still accommodating itself to the new set of policies implemented during the last years. Current spreads on credit and deposit rates fluctuate considerably. This is another indication that the scenario may still be expected to change.

In general, the evolution of the Mexican financial system has been positive. Its history should be divided into different periods because in some years restrictive and liberalizing measures were implemented at the same time.

Future problems may arise in the area of supervision, despite the large groups that now operate in the system. Among the things remaining to be accomplished is the definition of a new role for the development banks. They account for large volume of resources and will undoubtedly continue to play a role in financing development in a country like Mexico, which traditionally has had low saving rates and a concentrated and controlled financial system. This is because we must become competitive in a new international scenario that requires sophisticated technology and new instruments as well as mass-production techniques ❧

Foreign policy and Mexico's modernization project

*Tomás Peñaloza W.**

The profound changes that Mexico has experienced since the 1980's have made it necessary to reconsider traditional responses to internal events and re-examine relations with other countries.

Mexico's new approach to foreign affairs seeks to assure our inclusion in the international policy-making process which, by its very nature, tends to be the province of industrialized countries. We should realize, however, that this will occasionally force us to adopt positions which diverge from those of the developing countries with whom we have previously been aligned.

These structural changes in Mexico's foreign policy and the redefinition of our international ties, rather than altering our identity, will enrich our nation and enhance its standing in the sphere of international relations.

Nonetheless, we should not overlook the fact that this will imply adjustments in foreign policy to the extent that we take the same position as certain other groups of countries rather than those of our previous alliances formed under different circumstances.

The modernization of Mexico

The structural reforms carried out by the Mexican government over the last few years have included greater commercial and financial openness to other countries, deregulation of economic activities, reorganization of state participation in the economy, improvements in public finances and reduction of foreign debt servicing.

Continuity in these internal adjustments has kept the economic crisis at bay and prevented social conflict and isolation from the rest of the world from growing any worse. These structural changes and adjustments have significantly improved the country's expectations. Inflation has been controlled, growth rates are beginning to recover and the influx of foreign investment continues.

Inflation rates have been reduced from 200% in 1987 to slightly more than 20% in 1991. GDP has risen from a virtual standstill between 1982 and 1988 to its current growth rate of 5% in real terms. Our country's main export commodities have changed radically, with non-petroleum exports now responsible for 70% of the total. The flow of foreign investment, whether direct or financial, has been

considerable. In 1990, this amounted to 4.5 million dollars, 40% of which was in investment portfolios.

On the international front, these profound changes have been accompanied by a revision of our bilateral and multilateral economic ties, in order to place the country in a dynamic international context. Important steps include Mexico's affiliation with the GATT in August 1986 and measures aimed at modifying the country's relationship with the main economic blocs. Current efforts focus on production, commercial and investment flows, technological resources and the international flow of capital.

Today's world is increasingly characterized by the formation of economic blocs that stimulate internal growth while limiting the possibilities of expansion for non-member countries. Consequently, there is a need to find a way to participate in them.

The tendency to experiment with different types of economic integration is also a result of the difficulties that have beset multilateral trade negotiations within the GATT. The collapse of the GATT would lead to further dispersion of the blocs, increased commercial friction between countries and could possibly have a negative effect on the behavior of international trade. This explains Mexico's interest in forming a new relationship with the United States and Canada, as well as with other countries in Latin America, Europe and Asia.

However, we should not forget that our principal short and medium-term priority should be to strengthen our ties with our main trading partners, because they are not only a source of investment and financing, but also a means of access to new technology. Such agreements should enhance our relationship with First World countries, a group we would like to join in the near future. The fact that the Mexican government recently declared that it

* Assistant Director of Bancreser.

HIGHLIGHTS OF SEVEN YEARS

March 1985

US President Ronald Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney meet. They agree 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

US 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 US Congress and the Canadian Parliament.

January 1989

The FTA between the US 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 US 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 US Trade representative meet and issue a joint recommendation to President George Bush, urging that the US 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.

February 1991

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

May 1991

The US House of Representatives votes in favor (231 to 192) of approving the "fast track" for negotiating the FTA with Mexico. The US 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 US 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 stages, 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 US 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 US 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

OF FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

groups assigned to each of the nineteen major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January of 1992. They 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 in Dallas. Progress was reported by 8 of the 18 working groups. Differences persist in such key areas as energy, agriculture and the automotive industry.

March 1992

Agreement on 14 subjects in the general text is sought at meetings held in Mexico, Canada and the US. Joint declaration, by the three chiefs of state, after a telephone conference call on May 17th, to the effect that negotiations are proceeding as planned. 23-27, 8th plenary meeting with chiefs of negotiating teams Julius Katzs, US, Herminio Blanco, Mexico, and John Weeks, Canada. Note taken of points pending and of those settled.

April 1992

6-8, Trade representatives Jaime Serra Puche, Mexico, Michael Wilson, Canada, and Carla Hills, US, join in 5th ministerial meeting in Montreal to discuss and

eliminate differences in the key areas of energy, agriculture and livestock, automotive products and conflict resolution, as a step toward the final phase of negotiations. 27-May 1, 9th Plenary Meeting with chiefs of negotiating teams. Progress is made on energy, automotive products and agriculture, nevertheless differences remain.

May 1992

10th Plenary Meeting in Toronto. Most working groups are closed, leaving only energy, rules of origin, and agriculture and livestock pending. It is reported that high level political decisions will be required to surmount the obstacles remaining in these chapters. It is rumored that the US and Mexico may sign a bilateral agreement on agriculture in view of Canadian insistence on maintaining current marketing systems for agricultural products. The automotive sector is reported to be almost concluded.

June-July 1992

The three nations' chief negotiators meet in Washington, D.C. on several occasions to overcome differences on six of the most controversial issues: financial services, energy, agriculture, the automotive industry, government procurement and trade practices. The 6th ministerial meeting is held in Mexico City, hoping to conclude negotiations. No final text emerges in the light of

persistent differences in key sectors.

August 1992

7th ministerial meeting in Washington, D.C., headed by the Ministers of Commerce of the three countries, with chief negotiators also attending. Following two weeks of anticipation, the end of negotiations is formally announced at daybreak on August 12, after 200 meetings between negotiating teams and 7 ministerial sessions. Complete agreement is reached on the agenda's 22 points, and final revision of most chapters already closed is completed. In a three-way telephone conversation, the US and Mexican Presidents and the Canadian Prime Minister express their approval. They issue a message to their respective nations announcing the result of the negotiations.

October 1992

On October 7, the trade representatives of the three countries "initial" the final legal text of the treaty in San Antonio, Texas. Presidents Bush and Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney are present as witnesses. It is agreed the NAFTA will enter into force on January 1, 1994, but the date remains subject to two further requirements: its signature by the chiefs of state of the three countries and ratification by their respective Congress.



Relations with the developing countries, with whom we do most of our trading, are given more weight.

intends to join the Organization for Cooperation and Economic Development (a group composed of the main industrialized countries) provides tangible proof of this.

In short, Mexico's current foreign policy is pragmatic. It recognizes the situation prevailing at the end of the 20th Century, searches for new relationships with economic blocs, acknowledges the existence of an international hierarchy, and is motivated by the desire to be one of the policy-makers whose decisions affect the world's economy; all with the aim of furthering the country's development.

The redefinition of international ties

As a result of the measures which our government has taken to internationalize our economy in recent years, a need has arisen to review Mexico's formal bilateral and multilateral relations. The search for new forms of association with other countries assigns priorities based on economic interests. Relations with the developed countries, with whom we do most of our trading, are thus given more weight.

In this new context, we should not entertain any false hopes of acting as a spokesman for developing countries or as an intermediary between them and the developed

countries. Most industrialized countries have very clearly-defined policies regarding their bilateral and multilateral relations with developing countries. This makes an intermediary unnecessary and also enables the developed countries to reward some developing countries and punish others, according to their interests of the moment.

In the past, France relied on her economic strength, her history and a special foreign policy to adopt such an intermediary role on occasion. However, France's recent intervention in the Gulf War on the side of the Allies has lost her moral standing in the eyes of the Third World.

To the extent that we begin to support the economic policies of organizations whose members are mainly or exclusively industrialized countries, and these policies may adversely affect the interests of developing countries, the latter would be unlikely to accept us as intermediaries. On the contrary, they would probably reject our point of view as being associated with interests opposed to theirs. Mexico's new policy toward the First World has motivated Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay to attempt to establish their own free trade zone, the "Mercosur."

Structural changes and redefinition of our relations with other

countries also implies re-thinking Mexico's position on multilateral organizations. The ongoing negotiations for the Uruguay Round of the GATT are a case in point, because Mexico's internal changes now require that we defend positions that we did not previously hold, such as openness to foreign trade and the elimination of subsidies.

Mexico's new policy not only coincides with that of the industrialized countries in the economic arena, but also shares many general principles adopted by the developing countries, as shown by the World Bank's most recent report on development. Mexico has broadly applied the principles of deregulation, greater fiscal and monetary discipline, reduced state ownership, and openness to foreign investment and trade. This has resulted in a division among developing countries so that they can no longer be considered to be a homogenous bloc.

Toward a new foreign policy for Mexico

Development policies based on isolationism and economic self-sufficiency are rapidly becoming obsolete. Closer links with worldwide trends in business, capital and technology are essential.

Mexico's rapprochement with the industrialized countries represents a tacit acceptance of the key role played by economic factors in reaching political decisions which affect the outcome of international events.

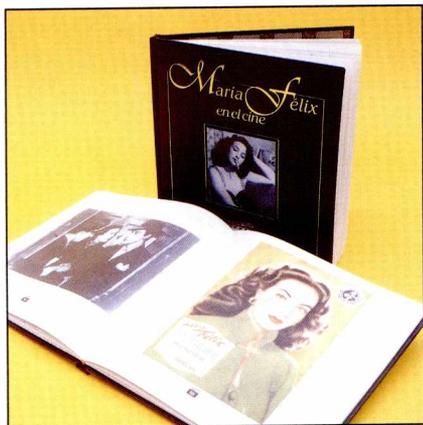
Recent changes in Mexico's foreign policy will no doubt further align us with certain developed countries and distance us further from the positions traditionally upheld by developing countries. This is inevitable if we wish to behave realistically in the sphere of international relations. Our policy toward the so-called Third World cannot afford to be the same as it was in the past ❧

María Félix en el cine

Aguirre, Eugenio and Aguilar, María Aurora,
Editorial Coordination

Noriega, Ricardo and Belmar, Marco Antonio
Design

Ediciones Culturales Internacionales, SA de CV
Mexico, 1992, 111 pp.



María Félix in the world of art

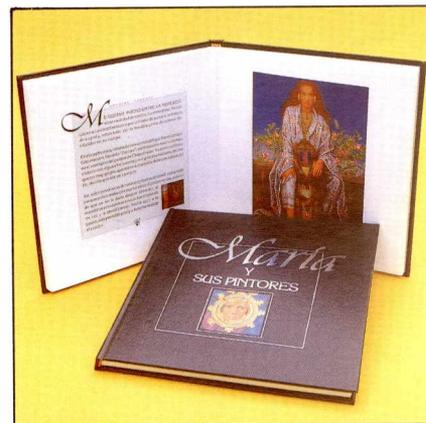
María Félix y sus pintores

Aguirre, Eugenio

Editorial Coordination

Noriega, Ricardo and Belmar, Marco Antonio
Design

Ediciones Culturales Internacionales, SA de CV
México, 1992, 93 pp.



The beautiful and controversial María Félix or “Lovely María” as the famous Mexican composer Agustín Lara called her, “La Doña” or “The Boss” as she is respectfully known by her fellow-countrymen, has been immortalized in films and paintings.

She was an outstanding figure during the “Golden Age” of Mexican cinema, appearing in 47 films produced between 1943 and 1971.

Her beautiful eyes are remembered for their cold, hard gaze, which is one reason why this strong, daring, domineering woman, both respected and feared, is known as “The Boss.” It explains why she always gets what she wants and also makes her one of the world’s greatest divas.

As homage to the actress and in recognition of her work, the National University of Mexico has begun a project on all her films called “The complete filmography of María Félix” so that “future generations may have access to ‘the stories’ that made María Félix a part of our history.”¹

María Félix en el cine provides a summary of all her films as well as relevant information about the film, giving names of other cast members, directors, producers, screen writers, cinematographers, music directors, sound engineers, scenic designers and editors. It also shows scenes from some of the films.

¹ Iván Trujillo Bolio, *María Félix en el cine*, p. 13.

By contrast, in *María y sus pintores* “La Doña” herself gives an account of the stories behind her paintings. “Why did I have my portrait painted throughout my life? Casting back, I can recall being heart-broken in Paris, with the grey city acting as a backdrop for my grief. Jorge, yes, Jorge Negrete, had just died. 1953 had left me an embittered widow in danger of staying one forever. I felt I had to react in the face of adversity. After thinking over the matter for several days, I came upon a solution I have never regretted: I decided to have my portrait painted.”

That was how Leonor Fini’s “The Sun Queen”, came to be painted. The portrait originally included a tortoise whose face bore a striking resemblance to Agustín Lara. When María realized this, she had the painting changed. Thus Leonor left only the tortoise shell, covered with precious stones.

“I thought Agustín was extremely good-looking, although everyone else wondered how I could possibly live with such a monstrosity. I agree he wasn’t exactly handsome, but he was certainly very interesting. A great composer. That’s where his beauty lay. I have the ability, the privilege, of finding beauty where most people see nothing but ugliness.”

In Antoine Tzapoff’s “Tehuana,” one of María’s favorites, she is wearing



Daniel Nierman.

Antoine Tzapoff, Tehuana (1991-92), wooden frame (1870), 2.10 x 1.60 m.

Daniel Nierman.



Antoine Tzapoff, Portrait of María riding a rhinoceros bareback (1985-86), solid repoussé silver frame, 2 x 1 m. (approx).

three gold bracelets that together spell out "Doña María Bonita" in diamonds, a present from her great admirer and suitor, Agustín Lara.

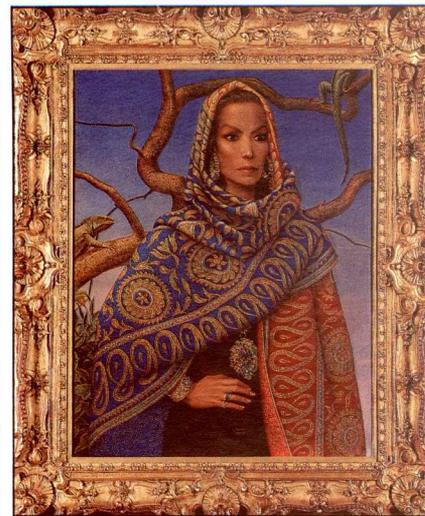
This portrait was painted at María's request, to make amends for the one by Diego Rivera showing her dressed as a Tehuana. "I never liked the painting, which is why I don't have it in my house. Diego painted me in a see-through white dress that

showed me nude. I didn't like being painted that revealingly."

So "La Doña" had the dress plastered over by a workman. The painting was "retouched" and is currently owned by the singer Juan Gabriel, although no-one knows how he acquired it

The value of María's portraits lies in their subject and the size of most of them, the artists' talent and the fact

that they are hung in carved wooden frames dating from the 17th century onward or in solid silver frames. The exception is the triptych, "Dream of the fiery siren," whose frame was specially designed by the painter, Leonora Carrington, for her first portrait of María.



Antoine Tzapoff, Doña Iguana (1984), wooden frame (1850-60), 1.28 x 1.08 m.

Leonora's subsequent portraits are proof of "La Doña's" ability to always get what she wants. The artist was reluctant to paint a second portrait, but María used her ingenuity and armed herself with patience. She took Leonora mariachis on her birthday and her



Antoine Tzapoff, María and Pedro (1981-82), Italian wooden frame (1830).

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

request was granted the following day. From that day on, a firm friendship sprang up between the two women.

The artist christened the second portrait, "The tarot girl," because of María's fondness for card games, especially poker and gin rummy. The furry, kite-shaped figure emerging from the stole draped round María represents the "bad vibrations" leaving her body. "I have always been grateful to Leonora for that."

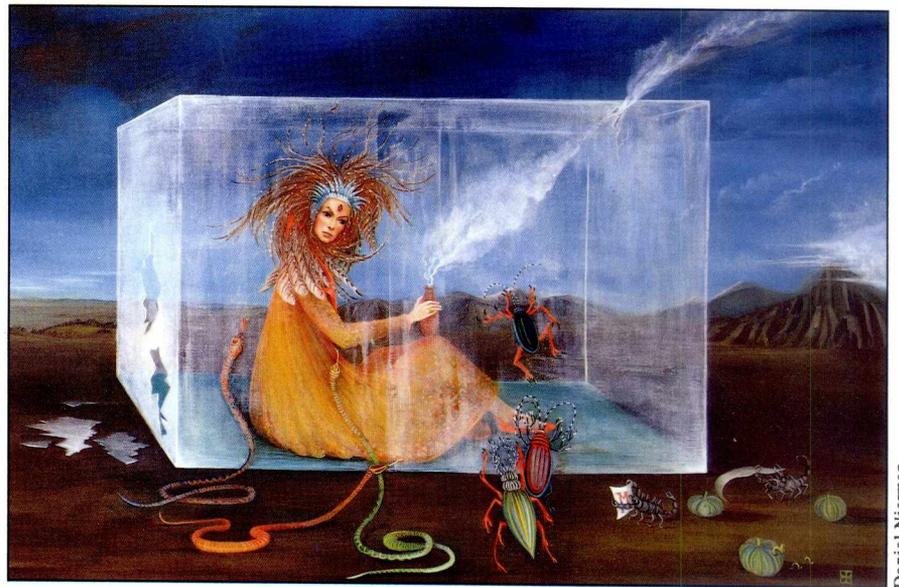
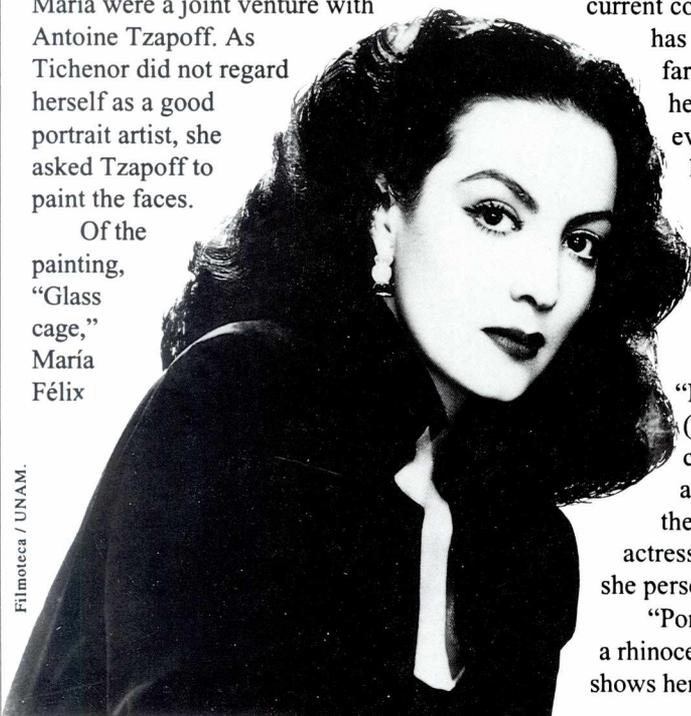
Among smaller paintings of "La Doña," four by Estanislao Lepri stand out. In one of them, María is shown as a Monarch butterfly, surrounded by other "jewels that fly." In "Queen of birds," María is transformed into a cockatoo amid other beautiful birds. In "Empress of foliage" María's face is shown as the pistil of a huge calla lily, with other exotic plants around her.

In the fourth portrait, "María's ace of hearts" a griffin offers María this letter, "The ace of hearts is the love card. It is a card I have always held. No doubt about that! I think I have had good fortune throughout my life, but I am also aware that my strength of will has been a key factor."

Bridget Tichenor's portraits of María were a joint venture with Antoine Tzapoff. As Tichenor did not regard herself as a good portrait artist, she asked Tzapoff to paint the faces.

Of the painting, "Glass cage," María Félix

Filmoteca / UNAM.



Bridget Tichenor and Antoine Tzapoff, Glass cage, 95 x 70 cm.

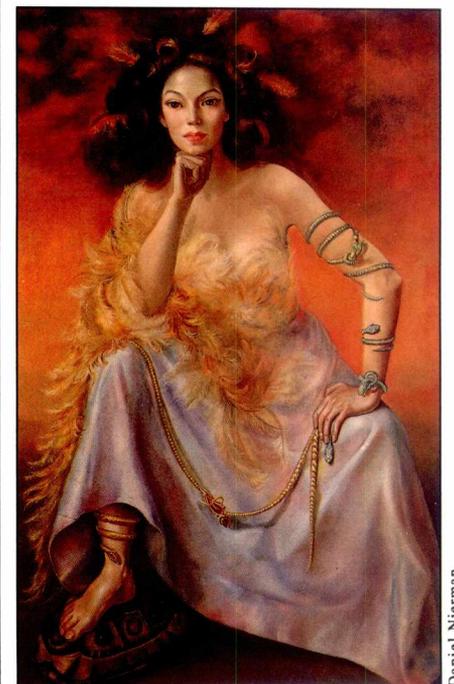
remarks, "I am neither frightened of nor repelled by snakes. On the contrary, I think they are wise, secretive, creatures, that do not immediately reveal themselves but know how to move slowly and softly into the cold areas of the universe, the universe that one sometimes constructs on one's own in order to kindle the flame of renewed passions."

The person who has painted most portraits of her is Antoine Tzapoff, her current companion. Tzapoff has painted eleven so far, since he promised her a new portrait for every year of their life together. The book shows nine; not included are "María and Pedro," finished after the book was published, and "Doña Iguana" (1984). All the clothes and accessories shown in the paintings are the actress' own and ones that she personally chose.

"Portrait of María riding a rhinoceros bareback,"

royal gown and holding a walking-stick. The gown is embroidered with dragons with five-fingered claws, a symbol of royalty in Imperial China. The walking-stick alludes to a slight leg affliction that María had at the time of the portrait (1985-86).

At María's insistence, Tzapoff painted "La Doña with Blackmoor," of the two of them, although in fact

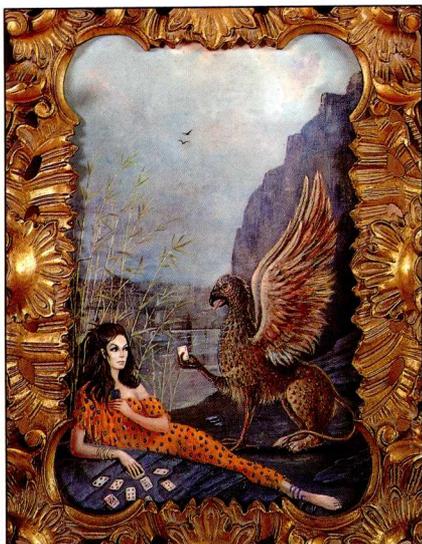


Leonor Fini, The Sun queen
1.19 x 0.88 m.

Daniel Nierman.

Daniel Nierman.

Daniel Nierman.

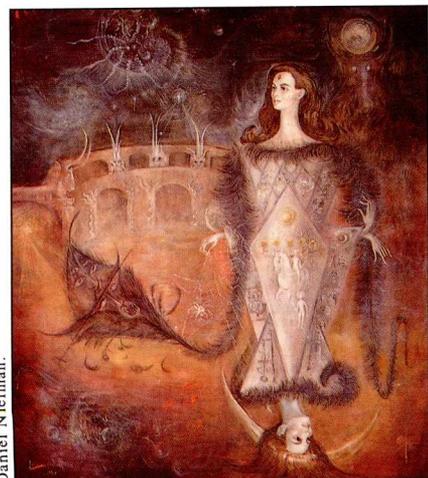


Estanislao Lepri, María's ace of hearts, gilded wooden frame, 71 x 47 cm.

three people are shown: María and Antoine dressed up as North American Indians, and Antoine once more as a wooden Blackamoor.

María y sus pintores is full of interesting anecdotes such as the story of María's first portrait by Antoine Tzapoff, "La Doña wearing a Huichol costume." When the friend who had commissioned the painting refused María's request for it, she stole it from his house during the dinner at which she was introduced to the painter.

She also talks about her personal relationship with some of the great



Leonora Carrington, The tarot girl (1965), 2.04 x 1.83 m.



Antoine Tzapoff, La Doña with blackamoor, (1981-82), Italian wooden frame (1830).

artists who painted her. "I had an intense friendship with Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, and shared an important part of my life with them. There is no better proof of this relationship than the phrase on the front of the house where they lived that said, "This house belongs to Diego, Frida and María."

Now that Fridamania is at its peak, it is a pity there are no portraits of María by Frida that would have immortalized our passion for both women **M**

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

The University City murals

*Lourdes Cruz González Franco**



Louise Noelle / IIE / UNAM.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, New symbol of the university (Rectorate Building, 1952-56).

Mexico's University City is one of the most important works of contemporary Mexican architecture because of its contribution to both urban planning and architecture. The murals on some of its buildings, painted between 1952 and 1956, are equally noteworthy.

They are outstanding examples of the stylistic trend, known as artistic integration, that emerged in Mexico in the 40s. This was an attempt to fuse painting and sculpture with architecture in a unified whole. Besides being significant in their own right, each of the murals contributed to the University City's uniquely Mexican character.

The Central Library

There are two parts to the library: a horizontal section housing the reading rooms and a ten-story vertical section containing the collection. The second section is without windows or doors in order to preserve the books inside and its four outer walls are faced with what was the largest mural of its time: four thousand square meters of natural colored stone arranged by Juan O'Gorman to form a narrative and symbolic summary of Mexican history.

The technique was derived from that of a previous mural jointly executed by O'Gorman and Diego Rivera at the latter's studio, known as Anahuacalli, in 1941.

The method consisted of pouring small concrete slabs, five centimeters thick and one meter square, into plaster molds. These were placed over stone mosaics, previously arranged to fit the design and color of the pattern first copied to scale on sheets of paper. Once the concrete set, the portable squares could easily be positioned on the library walls.

The stones were personally chosen by O'Gorman in various parts of Mexico and then hammered to

* Institute of Aesthetic Studies, UNAM.

pieces by a groups of masons. The advantage of using natural stone in outer walls is that, unlike paint, it withstands sunlight, rain and bad weather.

The library's north wall depicts the pre-Hispanic era, with gods of the indigenous cosmogony, such as Tezcatlipoca, Chalchiuhtlicue, Quetzalcoatl, Tláloc and the symbol of the founding of Tenochtitlan.

On the south wall, the nation's Colonial past is symbolized by Charles V's coat of arms, a church built on a *teocalli* and Ptolemy's and Copernicus' view of the cosmos, among other images.

The east wall alludes to the modern world, with the struggles of Zapata and Villa. It also includes symbols of the atom, technology, architecture and modern industry.

On the west wall, modern Mexico is represented by the National University of Mexico's coat of arms. Below this is a spring symbolizing culture and knowledge, with the fruits of study and work on either side.

The Rectorate Building

The Rectorate houses the university's governing body, which explains its rank and importance with respect to the other buildings in the complex. Its proportions, together with the use of materials such as onyx and glazed earthenware in its façade and the quality of David Alfaro Siqueiros' murals make this one of the most successfully executed buildings.



Juan O'Gorman (Central Library, north wall, 1952).



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *The people to the university, the university to the people* (Rectorate Building, 1952-56).

Siqueiros' wonderfully expressive vinylite mural, entitled the *New symbol of the university*, decorates the fifth and sixth floor façade of the Rectorate, corresponding to the University Council Hall. His glass mosaic *The people to the university, the university to the people*, appears on the lower half of the building's south wall, while his vinylite mural on the north wall *Allegory of culture* remains unfinished.

A striking feature of these murals is that the figures appear three-dimensional, since they stand out up to a meter in relief from the building's façade, allowing them to be seen from numerous angles, even from moving cars.

The Faculty of Science

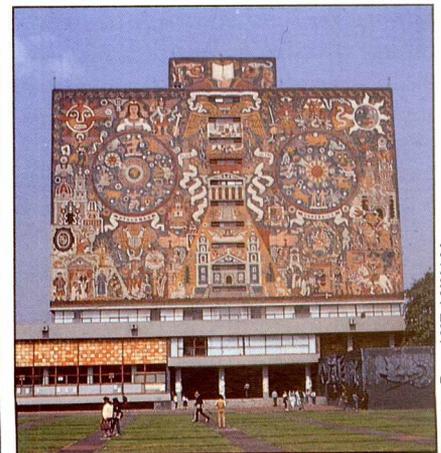
This building no longer houses the faculty, now transferred to newer, larger premises. The painter José Chávez Morado executed three murals here, two on the outer walls and another above the entrance to the auditorium.

The largest of these, *The evolution of energy*, is on the north façade of the auditorium. Using glass mosaic, Chávez Morado

depicted man's struggle to find a life source, from the discovery of fire to nuclear energy.

On the south façades Chávez Morado used the same type of mosaic for *The return of Quetzalcóatl*, showing the pre-Hispanic god's return to Mesoamerica, in the company of some of the best-known gods of universal culture.

Finally, Chávez painted the vinylite mural at the entrance to the auditorium, *The builders*, representing the various social strata that helped to build University City.



Juan O'Gorman (Central Library, south wall, 1952).



Louise Noelle / IIE / UNAM.

José Chávez Morado, *The evolution of energy* (Faculty of Science).

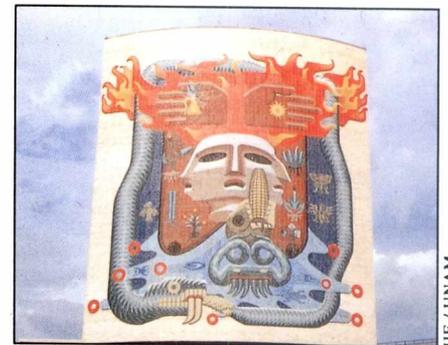
The Faculty of Dentistry

Francisco Eppens' 1953 mural for this faculty appears on the south wall of the amphitheater. Called *Man's*

a tree trunk emerging from the ground as a result of his intelligence —symbolized by a flame issuing from his head and hand—, culture —being represented by a plumed serpent— and morals by a missionary.

The Faculty of Medicine

Francisco Eppens created a 360 m² glass mural, *Life, death and the four elements* on the outside walls of the faculty's auditorium. The fact that it is located inside University City is important, since it overlooks a large square crossed by thousands of students every day.



IIE / UNAM.

Francisco Eppens, *Life, death and the four elements* (Faculty of Medicine, 1953).

the right and in the center, the product of their union, the mestizo child representing modern Mexico.



IIE / UNAM.

Francisco Eppens, *Man's self-improvement* (Faculty of Dentistry, 1953).

self-improvement, it is made of glass mosaic covering an area of 120 m².

The painter wished to express the supremacy of modern man depicted as

The mural is an allegory of life based on indigenous motifs. Life and death are represented by the serpent that surrounds the whole work. The four elements are interpreted as follows: water, by the god Tláloc, and the glyph for water; air, by birds and insects; earth, shown by the breasts, necklace, hands and skull of Coatlicue who is devouring an ear of corn; and fire, depicted by the flames of Mayan suns.

This mural also symbolizes the Mexican mestizo by a three faced head with the profile of an indigenous mother on the left, a Spanish father on

The University Olympic Stadium

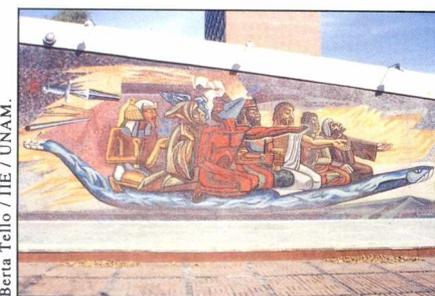
In 1954, Diego Rivera began a mural on the outside of the stadium, which he never finished. The original idea was to use stone mosaic to make a painting in relief of the development of sport in Mexico from pre-Hispanic times to the present. Unfortunately, Rivera was able to complete only the central part showing the University's coat of arms borne by the eagle and condor.

These murals are representative of a period in Mexican art, both for their location and the fact that they are successfully integrated into their surroundings. It should be noted that over the years painters have continued to enrich the university with murals on a number of walls. To cite just one example, in 1980, Federico Silva painted *The history of mathematical space* on the outside of the Faculty of Engineering 



Louise Noelle / IIE / UNAM.

Diego Rivera (University Olympic Stadium, 1954).



Berta Tello / IIE / UNAM.

José Chávez Morado, *The return of Quetzalcóatl* (Faculty of Science).

The “Latin boom” in visual arts

*Richard Griswold del Castillo**

During the past decade there has been a flowering and maturing in the visual arts produced by those of Mexican and Latin American heritage in the United States. The term “Latino” has come to be accepted by many people as a way of describing the heterogeneous Spanish speaking population north of the Río Grande—a group that includes large numbers of non-Mexican residents from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Central America and South America, along with millions of persons of Mexican heritage.

The Chicano artists of the 1960s have been influenced by new Latin American immigration in their vision of *la raza* and their political messages. Bolstered by new creative energies coming from the Cuban, Puerto Rican and other Latin American cultures, Mexican-American creative artists have enjoyed a new popularity. One important aspect in “the boom” in Latino visual and performing arts was the growth of a Latino market. For the first time it was possible for many Latino artists to earn a living from their work by selling their art to other Latinos and to Anglo-Americans who were interested in this new exotica.

The main impetus in the change in Latino arts, however, came from the artists themselves who made a conscious choice to expand beyond

the barrio and movement audiences to gain acceptance and recognition from the larger society.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the emergence of Latino culture has been in the film industry. After withstanding Hollywood’s exclusion of Latinos from producing and directing major productions for decades, the 1980s saw the exhibition of major motion pictures written, directed, or starring Latinos, based on Latino themes.

Perhaps the most artistically powerful statement tying the immigration to Latinos was the movie *El Norte* (1983), a moving saga about a Guatemalan brother and sister, and their adventures fleeing through Mexico to the U.S.

Produced and directed by Gregory Nava, a Chicano, and starring a well-

known Mexican actor, Pedro Arizmendi, the film made powerful statements about the tragedies of Latino immigrants in the US. It also highlighted the competitive and exploitative relationship between the Chicano and the newly arrived immigrant. However, *El Norte* had limited distribution.

The first in a series of box office hits was *La Bamba*, written and directed by Luis Valdez about the life and tragic death of Richie Valens, a popular rock-’n’-roll star of the 1950s. Earning more than \$55 million dollars, this film showed Hollywood that Latino themes could sell.

Next, Cheech Marin starred in the movie *Born in East L.A.*, a comedy with serious undertones about Mexican immigrants and their relationship to Latinos. This also was a modest financial success.

In 1988 Hollywood produced three major films starring Latinos and developing Mexican-American cultural themes. Robert Redford with Moctezuma Esparza did *The Milagro Bean Field War* with a large Latino cast and starring Rubén Blades, a well-known Latino recording artist.

Ramón Menéndez directed *Stand and Deliver*, starring Edward James Olmos, based on the true story of a



The most dramatic evidence of the emergence of Latino culture has been in the film industry.

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Angela Caparoso.

The successful Mexican painter Frida Kahlo contributed to the "Latin boom" in visual arts.

successful barrio high school math teacher and Raúl Julia starred in the film *Romero*, a moving account of the life and assassination of Archbishop Romero of El Salvador.

In 1989 other films emerged to capture a portion of the market. Raúl Julia and Brazilian Sonia Braga starred with Richard Dreyfuss in *Moon over Parador*, a satire about a Latin American dictatorship. Jimmy Smits and Jane Fonda starred in Carlos Fuentes' *Old Gringo*, a story set during the Mexican revolution.

A consequence of these and other films produced in the 1980s was the promotion of new Latino film stars, many of whom had been languishing in stereotyped minor roles. One of the most promising of these was Edward James Olmos, the son of Mexican immigrant parents, who had grown up in East Los Angeles.

After a number of small parts in television series, Olmos was "discovered" by Luis Valdez who cast him as the Pachuco in the 1978 play *Zoot Suit*. Olmos; he later starred in the movie version, won a Tony nomination and a Los Angeles Drama Critics Circle award for his acting. This led to supporting roles in the films *Wolfen* (1981) and *Blade Runner* (1982).

Olmos was committed to accepting only roles that presented positive images of Latinos. His most important films in this regard were *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982), a drama based on Americo Paredes' book, and *Stand and Deliver* (1988). He accepted the role of Lt. Martin Castillo on the popular television series *Miami Vice* in 1984, only after promises that he would have creative control of the character.

By the end of the decade, Olmos had established his own production company with the goal of making Latino movies that were artistically powerful and as well as socially responsible. Most recently, he wrote, produced, directed and starred in *American Me*, a brutally realistic story of the Mexican mafia. This was a film whose message served to deromanticize gang violence.

Latino visual artists had somewhat more success than fiction writers in gaining national recognition for their work. The diversity of artistic expression multiplied and mural art declined as the dominant form for Chicanos.

In 1987, a national touring exhibition of Latino artists, "Hispanic art in the United States: thirty contemporary painters and sculptors",

showcased the rich imagery and vitality of modern Latino artists of diverse Latin American backgrounds. Another national touring exhibition, opening in 1990, "CARA: Chicano art resistance and affirmation," interpreted the Chicano art movement (1965-1975) within a larger historical and cultural framework. Another historical retrospective organized by the Brony Museum in 1990 was "The Latin American spirit: art and artists in the United States, 1920-1970" that focused on the international influences of Latin American art and artists on the United States. These shows, and many other locally organized art exhibits, publicized the emergence of new talent and energies, and challenged the conservative dominance of the American art academy.

In 1991, the Mexican government organized a major historical and contemporary touring exhibit of visual art entitled "Mexico, Splendors of Thirty Centuries." This exhibit made the public more aware than ever of the traditions of Latino art.

The main aesthetic directions of Chicano art in the 1980s were toward the private and away from the public. Artists sought commercial success in creating canvas paintings not public murals. A host of new talents sold their work in galleries in Los Angeles, Austin, San Francisco and San Diego.

As art collectors began to bid thousands for works by artists such as John Valadez, Luis Jimenez, Carmen Lomas Garza, and Carlos Almaraz, Chicano art graduated from the streets to the salons.

During the past fifteen years, a Chicano artistic renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s has been transformed into a Latino "boom." Because of the new waves of immigration and rising economic power of Spanish-speaking people in the United States, mainstream America has become more aware of the wealth of Latino cultural expression in the visual and performing arts ❖

America: an ongoing discovery

*Juan Pellicer**

Who said America has been discovered?
Alfonso Reyes

discovery and development of America.

The fact that we, in Europe as well as in America, all call it a discovery since we learn it that way at school may well be another expression of ever-prevailing Eurocentrism, the vision of the world from the European point of view. Even time and space have been defined from the point of view of Europe as the center of the world.

Very often, Europeans forget that the American continent began to be populated by its real discoverers fifty thousand years ago. It seems that since Europe was not duly informed, this fact could not be regarded as discovery.

As when the existence of Bolivia depended on the royal mood of a not always very jolly British sovereign and the appropriation of America on the infallible judgement of a not always very holy Pope, relations between America and Europe have somehow always been marked by rather rigid roles: Europe as discoverer, America as discovered. It might be called the discovery complex.

Apparently, nothing is quite as satisfying to Europe as to discover

Rather upset by a certain lack of respect shown by the Bolivian government to Her Majesty's ambassador, stately, plump Queen Victoria crossed Bolivia off the big map at Buckingham Palace with a piece of chalk and majestically declared to her Prime Minister: Bolivia does not exist.

Only a couple of years after the discovery, both the Spanish and the Portuguese crowns asked Pope Alexander VI to play the role of supreme arbiter in their conflict over the ownership of America. Doubtless, inspired by Solomon, His Holiness drew a vertical line with another piece of chalk on the big map at the Vatican: the land on the left side of the line —the West— was then formally the property of the Spanish crown, the land on the other side —the East— the property of the Portuguese. Thus, America was divided and blessed.

When confronted by this piece of news, a Central American Indian chief laughed and said that the Pope must have been quite drunk when he made such a decision because nobody in his right mind disposes of something that does not belong to him.

With the Quincentennial, every American country set up a special committee to deal with all aspects of the celebration: What should we celebrate? Our own discovery? The birth of colonialism in America? The meeting of two different worlds? The utopian possibility of the creation of a better and happier society? An invasion, a defeat, a foundation or an invention? There has also been a proliferation of books, essays, articles, research, lectures and seminars on the



* Ambassador of Mexico.



Periódico El Nacional.

Alfonso García Robles (left) with our Editorial Director Hugo B. Margáin.

something, and to complete the symmetry, nothing delights America more than to be discovered. America is measured by European standards. Of course, if Americans do not get good marks they feel hurt. If they do, they feel blessed, their prestige is then intact.

Europe measures America by European standards. If Americans refuse to be measured, Europe feels hurt. If she is allowed to be the standard, she feels fulfilled and her prestige certified. This may be fate and, however childish and simplistic it sounds, it seems to be true.

Closely observed, the five-hundred-year history of American-European relations may be defined as a permanent discovery or, as our title suggests, an ongoing discovery. In America, Europe has not only been discovering a different natural environment but also a different reality. Gold, silver and opportunities for remunerative employment are not all that create wealth and turn dreams into reality; so also do different ways of expressing the world.

The recent discovery of Latin American literature is a case in point. Specialists have of course always been

aware of its importance but the public at large seldom has. The so-called "Latin American boom" of the sixties promoted a number of living literary figures whose texts reached numerous European readers.

This stimulated interest in the literary roots of those authors and the European public began to "discover" our literary figures of the past. Many people in Europe have "discovered" America by reading our fiction and poetry.

But not only the "boom" and its far-reaching marketing promotions have contributed to this "discovery". Nobel prizes—undoubtedly the most prestigious awards in the world—have played a key role in this respect since 1945, when a Chilean, Gabriela Mistral, became the first Latin American writer to receive one; in 1967 it was awarded to a Guatemalan, Miguel Angel Asturias; in 1971, to another Chilean, Pablo Neruda; in 1982 to Colombian Gabriel García Márquez; and in 1990 to a Mexican, Octavio Paz. The Nobel committee may well be regarded as an efficient European agency in the ongoing quest for the discovery.

It was mainly through the Nobel Peace Prize awarded in 1982 to the Mexican internationalist Alfonso García Robles, that Europeans chanced to discover another significant aspect of America. I refer to the most important American peace initiative ever put forth: the total prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America as stated in the Treaty of Tlaltelolco. García Robles has been acknowledged the architect of the Treaty that transformed Latin America into the first nuclear weapon-free zone to cover densely inhabited territories.¹

Under the political circumstances currently re-shaping the map of Europe, literally every day, through accommodation, unification and even declarations of the non-existence of whole nations—*mutatis mutandis* Queen Victoria's old formula—I would not hesitate to single out Latin American military denuclearization as the most relevant feature of peace, disarmament and security, yet to be fully discovered by Europe. By fully discovered, I mean not only studied but regarded as a source of inspiration for new developments in the fields of national, regional and continental security policy currently being reassessed and changed in Europe.

However, the circumstances are different. Our military denuclearization is typically and characteristically American. I would not hesitate to say that it may be regarded as a 100% American product. It is part of our historical context and traditions.

It is indeed how Latin American nations preserve their security as opposed to the US's historical implementation of its national security

¹ Apart from Latin America, only Antarctica, Outer Space, the Sea Bed and the South Pacific (Treaty of Rarotonga) have similar prohibitions, based on four different treaties concluded in 1959, 1967, 1971 and 1985, respectively.

policy. In this sense, the Treaty may be regarded not only as a Latin American product but as fully American, since the US is also part of its reason for being.

During the fall of 1962, the world was brought to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Deeply shocked by high altitude photographic evidence, the US

Why only Cuba? Grave concern then grew throughout Latin America over the possibility that the superpowers might easily turn our territory into a nuclear battlefield, as was about to happen during the Cuban missile crisis, or at least into a nuclear arsenal with all the obvious dangers involved.

A joint declaration was issued soon afterwards. Ambassador García Robles became its chief negotiator. In the following autumn, a UN General Assembly resolution welcomed the initiative and encouraged its implementation, which was approved without a single dissenting vote.

When President López Mateos launched that historic initiative, he must have pondered not only on the recent missile crisis but the overall development of US-Latin American relations, continental security and particularly the possibility of turning Latin America into a superpower battlefield.

Indeed, US national security policy has traditionally been inspired by the possibility of extracontinental threats to the hemisphere. When the US was only a regional power —throughout the 19th century— the threat was represented by European centers of colonial power. When the United States became a global power and particularly after the Second World War, the threat was posed by Soviet expansionism. It was during the long period of the cold war that practically all popular —social, political and economic— struggles in

“Many people in Europe have discovered America by reading our fiction and poetry”

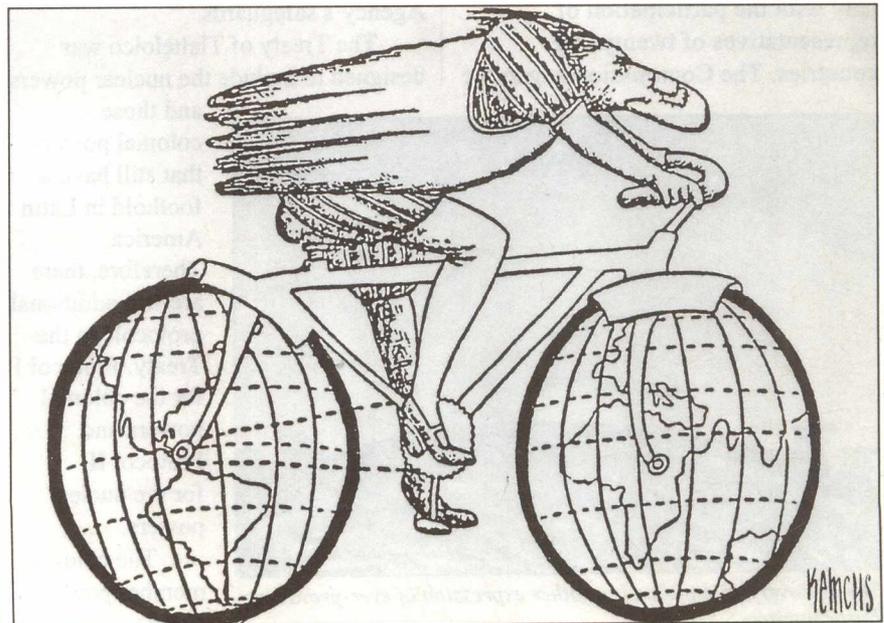
government demanded that Cuba and the Soviet Union immediately remove Soviet nuclear missiles deployed on the island after the attempted US invasion of Cuba.

The US navy blockaded the island while a number of Soviet naval vessels, possibly carrying more nuclear weapons, sailed toward Cuba determined to follow their course all the way. Under the tremendous pressure of this contest of wills between the two superpowers, the UN Security Council met at once. Negotiations began.

While the Soviet ships continued approaching the island, one hundred and eighty US navy units blocked the way to Cuba, one hundred thousand US troops prepared for action, more than one thousand military planes were stationed in nearby Florida and two marine battalions were alerted at Guantánamo (the military base the US still has in Cuba).

Fortunately, the superpowers finally reached an agreement: the Soviet Union would immediately remove the nuclear weapons if the US would commit itself to refraining from further attempts to invade Cuba, as long as Cuba did not represent a threat to US security. I assume this meant, as long as Cuba was in fact a nuclear weapon-free zone.

Only a few months later, at the beginning of spring 1963, Mexican President Adolfo López Mateos wrote to his counterparts in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador. He proposed the earliest possible joint declaration of their governments' will to sign a multilateral agreement with the other Latin American states forbidding the manufacture, deployment, storage and testing of nuclear weapons and devices to launch them, anywhere in Latin America.



Latin America were interpreted by US and many other administrations as East-West conflicts.

Fear of communism created a very distorted perspective in the US's interpretation of Latin American events and maintained constant tension in the region. Most regrettably, US administrations have never been able to understand that motivation for socialist policies in the area has actually been due more to the inability of prevailing socioeconomic systems to meet the elementary needs of the vast majority of the population and their tendency to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few, rather than to Soviet expansionist strategies.

Therefore, alarmed by the possibility of a nuclear superpower confrontation on the Latin American stage, the UN General Assembly fully supported the Latin American governments' decision to cancel that possibility for good.

García Robles' consultations and negotiations led first to a Latin American conference to design the structure needed to draft the text of the treaty.

The Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America was then set up in Mexico City with the participation of representatives of twenty-one countries. The Commission began the

painstaking task, led by García Robles himself.

As soon as the treaty was ready for signature it was subscribed by fourteen of the commission's twenty-one members on February 14, 1967, at the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs located in the old Aztec district of Tlalotelco. Today, twenty-five years later, a total of twenty-seven nations have signed it.

According to the Treaty, its members agree to total prohibition of nuclear weapons. Total prohibition, as stated in the text, refers to testing, manufacture, production, acquisition or use, by any means, as well as the reception, storage, installation, deployment and any form of possession of any nuclear weapons by Latin American countries. Peaceful uses of nuclear energy, however, are not at all limited by the Treaty.

To this end, the agreement set up a mechanism to verify and prevent that such energy be in fact developed for the testing or manufacture of weapons. Nations are under the obligation to deliver specific, periodic reports about this, as well as to allow inspection under certain circumstances. The system calls for the full application of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards.

The Treaty of Tlalotelco was designed to include the nuclear powers and those colonial powers that still have a foothold in Latin America. Therefore, there are two additional protocols to the Treaty. Protocol I for the colonial powers and Protocol II for the nuclear powers.

The colonial member powers agree to apply the

statute of military denuclearization defined in the Treaty in the Latin American territories ruled by them. This protocol has been signed by all of them (France, Netherlands, United Kingdom and United States).

Protocol II has been signed by the five nuclear powers that, as parties to the Treaty, have assumed the obligation to respect the statute of military denuclearization in Latin America and have agreed not to contribute in any way to the commission of acts violating the Treaty, nor to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the parties to the Treaty.

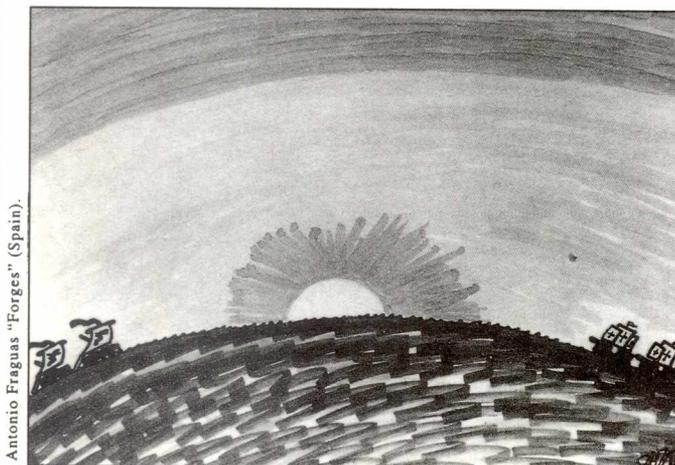
This stands as an invaluable precedent in future disarmament developments of this kind in other areas of the world. If the nuclear powers are already no less than grantors of a military nuclear statute in a certain part of the world—as in Latin America—nothing should prevent them, in principle, from doing the same in other regions.

After the signing of the Treaty of Tlalotelco, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed in London, by Moscow and Washington on July 1, 1968. García Robles also played a central role in the negotiations and drafting of this document.

Today, one hundred and forty-one countries are parties to the Treaty.² It prohibits any kind of trade in nuclear weapons, as well as the assistance, encouragement or inducement of any non-nuclear military power to manufacture or acquire such weapons.

During the fourth session (Geneva, August 20-September 14, 1990) devoted to reviewing how nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states had observed their Treaty obligations during the five preceding years, the Latin American initiative must again have been a

² SIPRI yearbook 1991. Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 668.



The discovery of America is another expression of ever-prevailing Eurocentrism.

frequent source of inspiration for many participants.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)³, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines strongly supported the project to set up a nuclear weapon-free zone in South-East Asia. For their part, Nigeria, Ghana and Morocco stressed

Exploitation, slavery and crime were certainly not all that the colonizers undertook from the moment they set foot in America. Many missionaries, inspired by early Christian communism and also by the utopian ideas of contemporary thinkers like St. Thomas More, established and developed utopian

historical process, the announced reality is already present in the act of denunciation and annunciation.⁵ This engagement transforms the historical process. It actually turns out to be the most dynamic factor in history. And in this sense, the Treaty of Tlaltelolco may rightly be considered a utopian achievement since it implies a denunciation, an annunciation and the presence of the announced reality. It is not only words but also action. It is a promise as well as its own fulfillment as all utopias should be.

Since the beginning of colonial times, America was divided, not only as decided by that old Solomonic Pope, but also by the origin of its colonial rulers: the southern part of the continent became Latin and the northern, Anglo-Saxon.

Today, therefore, it is understandable that America also be divided by totally different ways of understanding and carrying out national and international security policies, and by different attitudes toward nuclear weapons.

Alfonso García Robles, who was born and grew up in that dearly loved spot where Vasco de Quiroga

“The Nobel committee may well be regarded as an efficient European agency in the ongoing quest for the discovery”

their common intent to carry out the necessary work to turn Africa into another nuclear weapon-free zone.

Egypt and Morocco also supported the initiative to establish a similar statute of military denuclearization in the Middle East. North Korea urged South Korea to join in creating together a Korean nuclear weapon-free zone.

Seventeen years after the Treaty of Tlaltelolco came into force, another region followed the Latin American example. On August 6, 1985—fortieth anniversary of Hiroshima—the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty was signed in Rarotonga, Cook Islands. Today, the Treaty already has eleven members.⁴

From the very instant that it became a geographic reality for Europe, as the Mexican writer Alfonso Reyes remarked, America started to enrich the utopian sense of the world, the faith in a better, happier and freer society... America is essentially a better place to choose what is good since America has lighter—more casual—traditions, with its stratifications caused rather by chance than by will. People dreamed about creating a happier mankind without Europe's vices.

projects among indigenous communities all over the continent.

Some of them are well known. For example, the Jesuit missions in Brazil and Paraguay, or the communities organized by Vasco de Quiroga in Mexico where justice, freedom, productivity, health and peace were actually enjoyed for long periods that sometimes lasted for centuries.

Begun in the 16th century, the American tradition of utopian projects is still very much alive

“During the fall of 1962, the world was brought to the brink of nuclear catastrophe”

today, particularly in Latin America and above all among those often inspired by the growing Liberation Theology movement.

Indeed, America and its discovery has always been associated with hope and utopianism. Utopia not in the sense of pure impracticability, idealism, naiveté, fantasy, and dreams, but in a rather different sense. Formulated by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freyre as an engagement in denunciation and annunciation, as a moment in a

organized his utopian communities in the 16th century, devoted practically his whole life to the task of world disarmament. His memory could not be more inspiring. His Treaty of Tlaltelolco stands as the most important Latin American contribution to world peace. It might be a good thing for the new reunited Europeans to discover it ✕

³ Ibid, p. 565, 574.

⁴ Ibid, p. 668.

⁵ *Cultural action for freedom*. Penguin Books, Middlesex 1972, p. 40.

Confederate colonization of Mexico

Roberto Casellas*

I have seen or imagined a great empire beyond the river; the river they call El Grande.

Joseph Shelby

The following is the account of an intriguing historical event that could have changed the course of our relations with the United States. The monumental historical work, *Mexico over the centuries*, devotes only a few lines to the subject: "Let us examine the means by which Maximilian and his allies attempted to stave off the storm in the North...They naturally thought of creating a barrier against the United States by colonizing the South; in other words, they would introduce an army into the South disguised as settlers.

"It is just possible, said Marshall Bazaine to the Archduke Maximilian...that once Confederate General Slaughter, in command of Brownsville, becomes aware of his party's defeat and President Jefferson Davis' capture by the Union Army, he may lay down his arms as have the other southern generals. However, given Mexico's proximity, they may well be tempted to take refuge across the river."

The book goes on to point out that this would have been dangerous for Mexico since it could have seriously complicated matters with the United States.

Southern colonization of Mexico was a short-lived event, given little attention by historians, and of which I was unaware until I came across Daniel O'Flaherty's *Undefeated Rebel*, a biography of Confederate General Joseph Shelby, based on the campaign diary of Major John Newman Edwards, who accompanied him on his Mexican adventure.

It is clear that General "Joe" Shelby was a pillar of the Confederacy during the War of Secession, as much for his

bravery as a soldier as for embodying the quintessential Southern lifestyle and the inherent romanticism of the time, particularly in that part of the United States.

It is difficult to think of any other reason for his determination not to lay down his arms, knowing that Lee had done so at Appomattox, and lead volunteers from his former Missouri Cavalry Division to offer their services indiscriminately to either Juárez or the Second Mexican Empire.

Born in 1830 to Kentucky aristocrats, Joseph Orville Shelby soon moved to Missouri, where he married and inherited a fortune from his father. He increased his inheritance still further by cattle-raising and lumbering along the banks of the Missouri River.

However, the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act allowing those territories to be colonized, affected the slave economy that had made the Shelby firms so prosperous. Thousands of colonists from the North set off towards the new lands, threatening to flood the entire West, make it abolitionist and provide greater support for abolitionism in Washington through their representatives in Congress.

A clash between the Missouri minority and the Yankee majority was inevitable, and it began when Southerners tried to rig Kansas elections to prevent the colonists from electing their own representatives and thereby control them.

It was then that Shelby first took up arms in a series of skirmishes, known as the Frontier Wars, that served to stir up the passions which led to civil war in 1861.

Shelby's performance during this conflict and the subsequent war was outstanding: no other Confederate officer covered as much territory or took part in as many battles. He was, in the words of his enemies, "The best cavalry general the South ever had." In fact, following the battle of Second Newtonia, the last fought west of the Mississippi and won by Shelby, General Sterling Pierce, former governor of Missouri and Shelby's superior, said this of him: "I regard him as the best cavalry officer I have ever known."

An impatient Shelby spent the last winter of the war (1864-65) stationed at Pittsburgh, Texas, with his cavalry division. News of the South's surrender reached him there and it was then that he hatched his great plan.

Figuring that many Confederate soldiers from Lee and Johnson's armies would prefer to join him rather than live under enemy rule, Shelby thought he could offer either Maximilian or Juárez an army of one hundred thousand veterans who, together with a similar number of Mexican soldiers, would threaten the Union government with an indefinite war, which neither Lincoln nor the war-weary northerners were prepared to face.

Peace would then have to be negotiated and a vast new empire in the Southwest and Mexico would be open to immigration by advocates of slavery. It would be a revival

* Ambassador of Mexico.

of the proud South and the lifestyle that went with it. "The Yankees can keep their black republic," he used to say. "We're going to have a bigger and better Confederacy in the Southwest."

A plan such as this implied a considerable lack of knowledge of Mexican history and completely overlooked its inhabitants' deeply nationalistic character. It was therefore unlikely to succeed and a more rational mind would have considered it further before trying to put it into practice, but not this swashbuckling character, unhampered by intellectual baggage, for whom audacity had been the keynote of existence.

"Boys," he said to his men, "the war's over and you can go home. But I'm not going back. Across the Rio Grande lies Mexico. Who's going to follow me there?"

Several hundred soldiers stepped forward. Five hundred, according to Major Edwards, although it is difficult to say exactly, because many others joined up later and some withdrew. A sergeant brought out the division's torn old banner and stuck its staff into the ground. Struggling to control his voice, Shelby noted that although

the flag was in shreds and the red had faded, the blue stripes still blazed with the white stars of hope.

The next day, a new brigade marched south under Shelby.

They carried enough weapons because the blockades at Galveston and Matamoros had created an ample supply of French and Austrian artillery in Texas. Shelby was thus able to assemble ten new Napoleon Howitzers, two thousand Enfield rifles, forty thousand rounds of ammunition, pistols, cartridges and five hundred sabres. Each man already carried a Sharpe carbine and one hundred and twenty rounds of ammunition. They found plenty of food and other supplies in an abandoned railway carriage on the way to Waco.

However, it should not be thought that Shelby intended to live off plunder and loot. On the contrary, one of his first acts was to rid Houston of its outlaws, and later Austin and Wakahachie. In Austin, a group of bandits, led by the notorious Captain Rabb, was intent on stealing the Confederate gold and silver left in the custody of Governor Murrah. Having thwarted their attempts, after a bloody fight in which all the bandits and some of his own men

were killed, Shelby refused to accept one cent of the sum offered by the governor to cover back pay for his men. "We know what the world would think," he explained, at the foot of the steps to the Texas Capitol. "We won't take the money. We're the last of our race. Let's be the best, too." Loved and respected, the general was always right in the eyes of his men, who cheered him wholeheartedly.

Shelby soon gave another example of his Quixotic behavior in the presence of former Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith, whom Shelby himself had deposed before his big decision, when a group of officers resolved to continue fighting. Upon arriving in San Antonio, he learned that his former superior was hiding in the city under an assumed name. Shelby and his men serenaded the general to make amends, first singing "Hail to the Chief" under his window, followed by "Dixie" and an ovation, until the humiliated general appeared with tears in his eyes.

Shelby spent a few days in San Antonio, working out the details of his next expedition, while his men amused themselves with money they received from the local merchants, who were



Jorge González Camarena, Benito Juárez.

delighted by the safety their presence afforded in those troubled post-war days.

In early July, Shelby and his troops embarked on an uneventful journey from San Antonio to Eagle Pass. There, before the Río Bravo (or Grande), a simple ceremony took place in which the Missouri Cavalry Division's flag, wrapped around the black feather that had once graced the former general's hat, were forever submerged in the waters of the river. No one thought fit to make a speech, so none was made.

Placing his cannons on the river bank in full view of the Piedras Negras garrison, Shelby sent one of his lieutenants to parley with Coahuila Governor Viesca, who commanded two thousand men in the city. Once the meeting was arranged, Shelby crossed the river.

No one knows exactly how the conversation went, but Shelby must have set forth his case in roughly these terms: "The war in the United States is over and Secretary of State Seward is calling for the French troops to leave Mexico. If they don't, there will be another United States intervention and it will be 1848 all over again. You can avoid this by enlisting Confederate men to reinstate Benito Juárez as President of the Republic."

Apparently, Shelby also put forth the strange argument that his proposal had the support of the Yankee government itself, since they thought it preferable to win an undeclared war against the French than a formal one.

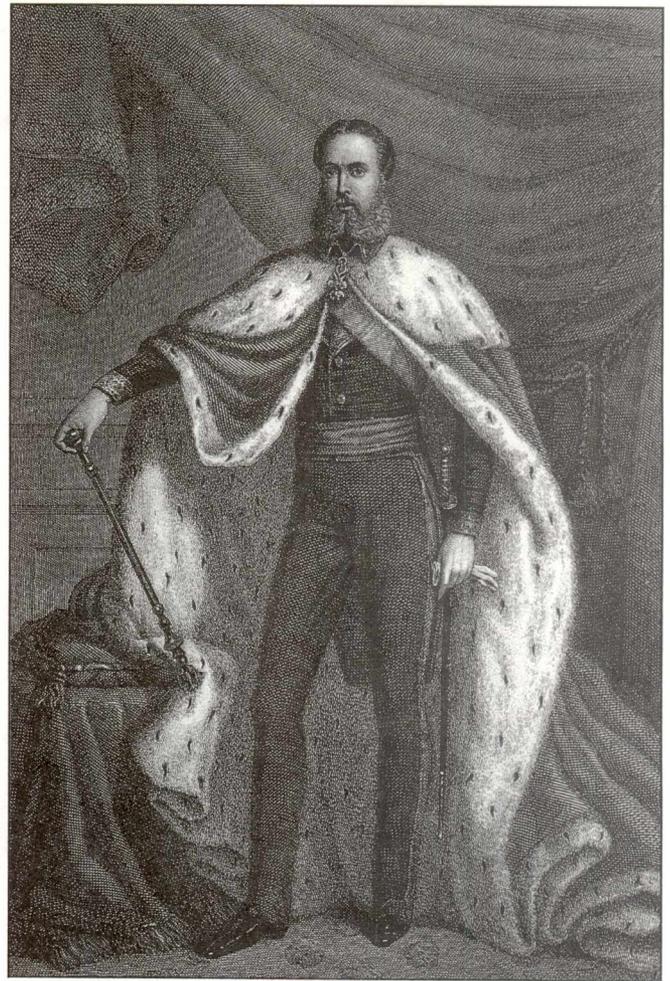
Given the governor's position and conditions prevailing in the land, with General Díaz cut off in the South and Juárez sheltering at the border, there is no doubt that Viesca accepted and offered Shelby military command of Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, reserving civil government for himself.

Shelby, however, thought his men also had the right to express their preference and allowed them to vote on this, but not before he had made it clear that he supported Juárez. Before reaching this conclusion, he no doubt waged a difficult internal struggle, in which his adventurous side came to the fore.

When, however, after long debate, his companions decided they had been through enough trial, dust and tribulation, and preferred to savor the delights of the new Mexican Empire, Shelby gave in readily and, in an about-face, agreed to put himself at the service of Maximilian.

"If that is your answer," he said, "it is mine too. We start marching to Monterrey at four o'clock tomorrow afternoon. You have chosen the Empire, which may be the right decision. Be that as it may, your destiny is my destiny, and our fortunes are one and the same."

Viesca was forced to accept this new decision philosophically, since his forces could not have prevented the Confederate advance, and being a practical man, he offered to buy the cannons, on the grounds that they would



Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico. Lithography by Nargeot / Printed by Ch. Chardon.

be a nuisance and that the men would need money for their long journey.

The operation was carried out, in spite of a fight over some horses, which left dead and wounded on either side. Their spirits cooled, relieved of their cannons and other equally cumbersome weapons, the troops went on their way to Monterrey.

However, this soon turned out to be little more than a brief respite, since the rest of the journey to the capital of Nuevo León was plagued with incidents, the first of which was an ambush by eight hundred men, whom Edwards did not hesitate to call guerrillas and bandits, and which caused the death of more than fifty of the invading party.

From then on, in the face of continuing hostility, the men began to take reprisals, until Shelby issued the following warning, "There are signs among you of poor discipline... fight those who attack you, but I do not wish to see a single hand raised against a noncombatant Mexican. We may be invaders but we are not murderers. Anyone who steals, insults women or takes unfair advantage of unarmed or old men...will be treated as though he were the enemy."

His words carried an implicit threat of death and no one dared reply. Nevertheless, a journey like theirs, to which they had no right at all, across a country in the throes of war, was bound to have consequences, and so it was that in Paso de Palmas, north of Lampazos, they were again attacked by guerrillas, who were drawn by the foreigners' fine horses and weapons, to say nothing of their other possessions.

Having fought off this latest attack by killing the ringleaders, the brigade continued its journey to Lampazos, where another, although smaller, incident occurred after a young Mexican challenged one of the soldiers to a knife duel for attempting to kiss his sister when she was alone.

Although apologies were made, the unhappy incident ended with the death of the injured party, going down in history as yet another futile death resulting from an exaggerated sense of honor. The killer, in turn, died in the next skirmish.

In Monterrey at last, Shelby reported to Colonel Jeanningros, who commanded a military stronghold with five thousand troops, including four



J. Vennerson of Richmond.

Robert E. Lee.

regiments of the Foreign Legion, the Third Zouaves, and two from the Mexican Imperial Army, constituting the Empire's northernmost line of defense.

O'Flaherty's book vividly describes the city's execution wall, dark red with the blood of men, including French soldiers shot for paltry barracks offences, and portrays Colonel Achilles Dupin as a sadist with a questionable past who cut off the hands of Juarez' supporters to discourage them from ever taking up arms again against the Empire. He once hanged a landowner because it was a pity that one of his trees had never borne "fruit."

As they approached Monterrey, Shelby sent Jeanningros a message couched in these terms, "General, I have the honor to inform you that I am but a mile away. Preferring exile to surrender, I have come to put myself at the service of His Majesty, the Emperor Maximilian. Is there to be peace or war between us? If the former, I shall cross your lines, demanding the courtesy owed one soldier by another. If the latter, I propose to attack you without more ado. Respectfully, Jos. O. Shelby."

Jeanningros hastily replied that he would be well received by both himself and the Emperor, as the first North American soldier to join their ranks.

Shelby and his men spent several days in Monterrey, enjoying the hospitality of the French; the book recounts the French colonel's opinion of Maximilian, "...more of a scholar than a king, he is a fine botanist, a poet at times, and a traveler who collects curiosities and writes books, a saint with wine and a sinner with tobacco, he adores his wife and has more faith in destiny than in a well-trained battalion. He is a good Spaniard in everything but treason

and deceit; an honest, persistent man who is sincere and has a good heart.

"He has too great a faith in the liars who surround him and too pure a heart for what he has to do. He cannot kill like we French. He is not a diplomat. In a nation of thieves and murderers, he goes devoutly to mass, makes donations to hospitals, says his prayers and sleeps the sleep of the just in Chapultepec Palace. His days are numbered and all the power in France will not suffice to keep the crown on his head, even if he manages to keep his head on his shoulders."

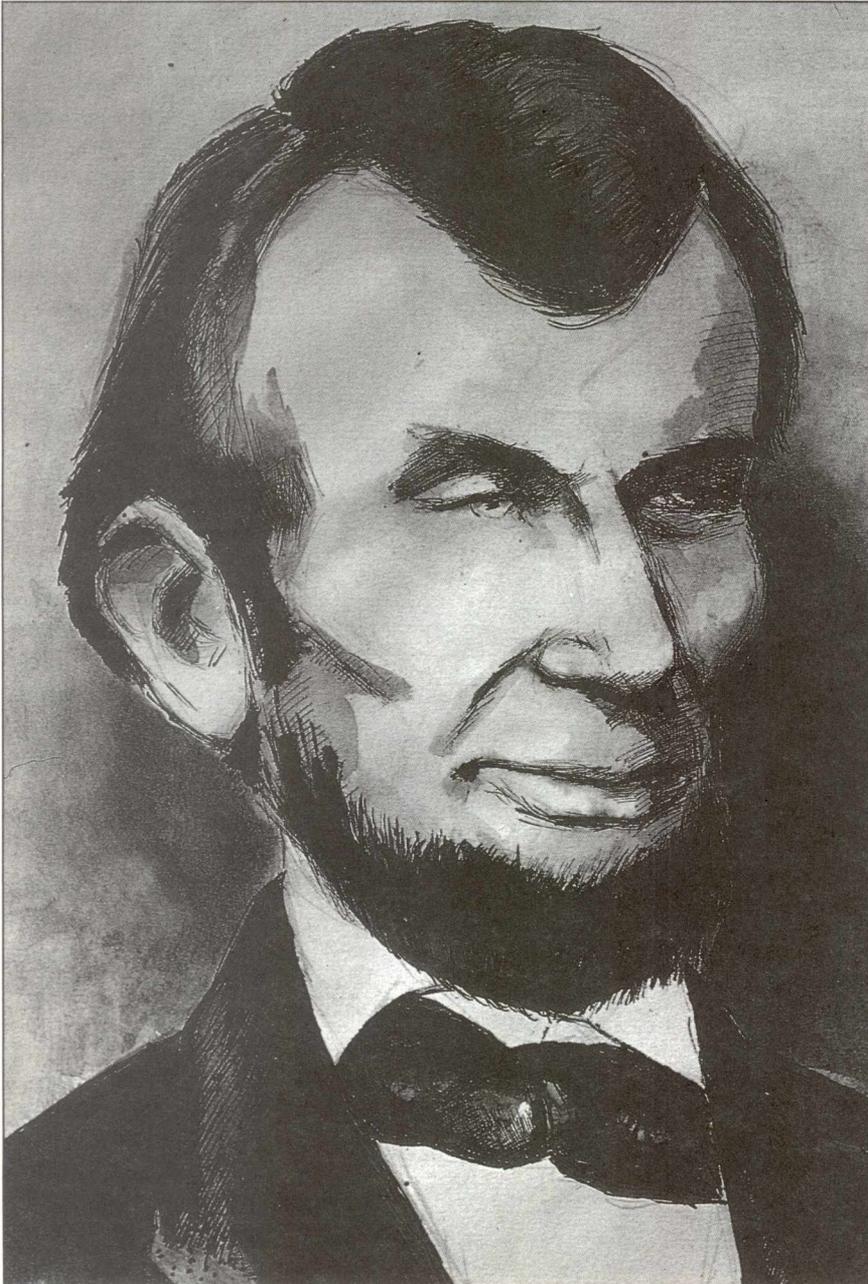
On their way to Guaymas or Mazatlán, where Shelby intended to set up a bridgehead for soldiers emigrating south to support Maximilian, he and his men reached Parras.

Colonel Depreuil, commanding the 52nd Regiment of the Line, regarding Shelby's men as little more than looters, gave them a cooler welcome than his companion in arms at Monterrey.

Besides, he thought their presence might cause even greater friction with the Union troops at the border, and said as much to Marshal Bazaine, who agreed and sent instructions to Shelby to carry on to the capital where he could report to Maximilian.

On the way to Mexico City, the Confederates missed no opportunity to prove their chivalry, this time by saving a beautiful young, Mexican-American maiden held prisoner in a fortress-hacienda by a villain, and killing both her captor and all his men. Inés Walker, the lady in question, once she had recovered from the terrors of captivity, joined the soldiers on their journey south. O'Flaherty makes no further mention of her.

The former cavalry division's last act of war took place at Matehuala in August 1865, and consisted of relieving Major Pierron's besieged regiment of the line. With this magnificent feat behind them, Shelby and his men reached Mexico City that same month and were ceremoniously received by a battalion of Chasseurs d'Afrique that Bazaine had sent specially for the purpose.



Abraham Lincoln (india ink painting by the author of the article).

The meeting with the Emperor took place in a small reception room at the National Palace, with Maximilian flanked by Bazaine and the Count of Noué, who acted as interpreter, even though Maximilian understood English. Shelby was accompanied by Commodore Maury, the first cartographer to chart ocean currents, General Magruder and Major Edwards.

Maximilian received them simply and warmly. Shelby explained his plan and offered to enlist up to forty thousand Confederate troops and supervise the Imperial army, so that the departure of the French army would cause no inconvenience. He assured them that the United States government would have no objection, adding that, with his support, he saw no reason why relations between the Imperial government and that of United States should not improve.

The Archduke did not reply directly and withdrew, but Noué gradually gave them the negative verdict: Maximilian could not afford to depend on such a large foreign army.

"So I gathered," said Shelby, simply.

"How?" asked Noué.

"I never saw his face light up. He has faith but no enthusiasm, and what a man in his situation needs is not only that, but boldness."

In the ensuing conversation, Shelby told the interpreter about his experiences along the journey, making it clear that there was no support for the Empire anywhere in Mexico.

"As sure as there's snow on Popocatepetl, Juárez lives in his people's hearts."

Shelby and his men then proceeded to discuss countless plans, but in fact, as soon as the Emperor's reply became known, the iron brigade ceased to exist. Bazaine, relieved to see a potentially troublesome group disintegrate so peacefully, gave each of the men fifty dollars' worth of gold to go their separate ways.

Some of the men joined the Zouave regiments and were sent back to Monterrey. Others, like Shelby and the aforementioned General Pierce, also exiled in Mexico, planned to set up a farming community, taking advantage of the Imperial Decree of September 5, 1865, which allowed freedom of religion and other benefits, such as the right to bring in former black slaves as paid laborers. They chose several thousand acres of land, abandoned because of the war, around Córdoba, Veracruz. There, they founded an exact replica of a Southern town, which they named Carlota, in honor of the Empress. As a result of publicity in the United States, particularly in the South, and in spite of US government prohibition, it attracted several hundred settlers who traveled by boat to Veracruz, by train to Paso del Macho, whence they reached Carlota by stagecoach or horseback.

By late September of that year, there were already ninety-eight Confederate families in the area. Shelby, who



General François Bazaine Achille.

had bought a farm called Santa Ana, began to prosper as a farmer once more, and decided to bring his wife and family to Mexico. He had also set up a mule-drawn freight wagon service between Paso del Macho and Mexico City.

The colony thrived. In a press interview in the spring of 1866, General Pierce declared that he was already exporting coffee to the value of \$25,000 as well as other products, and that the other settlers, who now numbered almost five hundred, were also prospering. All was peace and progress... or so it seemed.

However the settlers' domineering attitude toward the natives became increasingly obvious, and caused considerable resentment, which in turn provoked an attack by the nearest Juarist Commander, Colonel Figueroa. While the French were distracted, Figueroa devastated the area and took thirty hostages. When these and the other settlers returned, they found that nine months' work had been laid waste and that Carlota had been razed. Even though the French sent their forces to capture Figueroa, who was eventually arrested and executed, this was the end of the colony.



General Elie Frédéric Forey.

The few who had settled in the area around Córdoba were not disturbed, and continued to live there, but most went back to the United States. Undeterred, Shelby tried to set up another colony, this time near the banks of the Tuxpan River, confident that its distance from trouble spots and the lack of communications would allow him to live in peace.

With the help of a sizable French garrison, he soon started work again and even began building a railway-line between Tampico and Veracruz, which involved coping with financial hardship, bad weather, and epidemics that ravaged his men. Once the garrison was called back to Mexico, two thousand of Porfirio Díaz' men marched in to the cry of "death to the gringos" and put an end to the new project.

Shelby's last act of war was in defense of his freight wagons, which he had drawn up in a circle, in true western style. Under attack by General Escobedo's troops, north of San Luis Potosí, the man who had so often risked his life was saved once again by the timely intervention of his French allies. After their withdrawal from Mexico, Maximilian called Shelby to him and asked:

"How many Americans are left?"

"Not enough for a bodyguard."

"I need twenty thousand."

"Begging Your Majesty's pardon, you need forty thousand, but I can't depend on numbers now, only on your men's devotion. There is only one of me, but I am at your service."

Edwards recounts that Maximilian, who was extremely moved, dismissed Shelby and awarded him the Golden Cross of the Order of Guadalupe.

That is, in broad terms, the story of this extraordinary man's Mexican adventure. Shelby's own words, set down by his faithful Major Edwards, (later director of Mexico's first English-language newspaper, *The Mexican Times*, and then one of the great American journalists of the 19th century), best describe his spirit—daring, romantic, Quixotic—misguided and incapable of understanding the extent to which events had changed in the course of his own lifetime.

Back again in the United States, forever restless, Shelby tried railway building, mining, agriculture and other activities, all with indifferent results. He saw his house go up in flames and once more almost lost his life in the midst of a frenzied crowd. He had done more in his life than a dozen men before age finally forced him to settle down.

He was briefly in the limelight again as a flamboyant, chief witness at the robbery trial of Frank James, who with his brother Jesse had served under Shelby during the war.

Shelby died in Kansas City on February 13, 1897, surrounded by his beloved family, and was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, with full military honors and the respect of his fellow citizens. We can only speculate on what might have happened to this deluded romantic if he had served Juárez rather than Maximilian. Although it is unlikely that his settlers' project could ever have been carried out on the grandiose scale that he would have wished, he and his men could have made a pleasant niche for themselves in the Republic, which, once restored, amply rewarded those who had served it well.

His project, on a more modest scale, might just have been unofficially supported by Lincoln, as Shelby himself maintained until his death. Or so he was assured by his cousin, Frank Blair, the President's adviser, whose house is now used to receive distinguished foreign visitors to Washington.

Lincoln may well have encouraged this project, albeit as a means of ridding himself of a potential troublemaker, so as to achieve peace in the land more quickly.

Finally, I wish to thank my friend Robert W. Crawford in Washington D.C., a scholar of Confederate history and Shelby's fellow countryman, for his help in tracing these events ❧

Spanish is our language... and so is English

Raúl Avila*

The northern border of Mexico is an ideal place for an observer to watch the flow of words across the border. If he has nothing better to do, he might well spend his time worrying about the influence of English on Spanish.

The observer should note that English words are like words in any other language — they don't require a passport or visa to travel. They are transmitted by direct contact at the border and by the mass media (computer magazines too). This explains why there is probably more influence of English in Mexico City than at the border.

As a victim of English, our observer might forget that further south he is the oppressor of the speakers of Mexico's indigenous languages. Since he is not interested in these languages he thinks Mexico is a monolingual country and that the legacy of his pre-Hispanic culture is limited to an extensive collection of museum pieces and exotic place names like Tzintzunzan, Atzacapotzalco and Chichen Itza.

Our observer has not discovered the sounds of Otomi that can be heard only a few miles outside Mexico City at roadside stalls that serve tacos and quesadillas. He is even less likely to study Nahuatl, Maya or Tarasco. In his double role of oppressed and oppressor, our observer no longer wants to be one of the oppressed, but neither does he look beyond the folkloric aspects of the people he himself oppresses.

According to an article in *The Economist*, English is "the first truly universal language wider in its scope than Latin was or Arabic and Spanish are."¹ I saw that for myself in Beijing, where taxi drivers learn English over their car radios, clutching their "First Course of English."

¹ "The new English empire", *The Economist*. Vol. 301, 7477-7478, December 20, 1986, pp. 127-131.

* *El Colegio de Mexico.*

Paper read at the colloquium "Cultures in contact", organized by *El Colegio de Mexico, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, The University of California in San Diego, San Diego State University* and other institutions, in Tijuana. A more detailed Spanish version of this article was published in A. López, A. Malagamba and E. Urrutia, eds., *Mujer y literatura mexicana y chicana: culturas en contacto*. Mexico, El Colegio de Mexico, 1990.



Angeles Torrejón / Imagenlatina.

Spanish comics and magazines with wide circulation have contributed to this language being spoken from Asturias to Patagonia.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appeared on New Delhi television in 1986, speaking English to Mr. Gorbachov, who answered him in Russian. Had Gandhi used Hindi, his mother tongue, he would have stirred up political enmity in the southern Indian states that are unwilling to accept the preeminence of Hindi over their own languages.

The expansion of English owes more to economics than to linguistics. It used to be said that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. The force behind this army and navy is, of course, economic power. "English is a world language because of Britain's power in the 19th century and America's in the 20th."²

Linguistic reasons for the spread of English are debatable. Some say it is due to structure. According to *The Economist*: "English is easy to speak badly and that is all that is required of a world language,"³ although adding that its vast vocabulary does present a formidable obstacle.

However, I fail to see how the structure of a language can make it easier to express thoughts. This fallacious belief has led some to think that Germanic languages have been responsible for the economic development of the Scandinavian countries. This ignores the fact that Romance language-speaking countries have in the past possessed

² *Ibid.*, p.127.

³ *Ibid.*, p.128.



Gerardo García / Imagenlatina.

Words in any language don't require a passport or visa to travel.

informants.⁸ In addition, nearly all the foreign words we encounter are used internationally, and not all of them come from the English language.⁹ We shall also find that foreign words and expressions are encountered more often in the speech of middle and upper class subjects.¹⁰

Let us now spend a week reading every issue of *Novedades*, *El Universal*, *Excelsior*, and *La Prensa*; the four oldest newspapers in Mexico City with a daily circulation of more than 100,000 copies each. A close reading of these newspapers found—after a statistical survey—less than one foreign term for every thousand words. Once again, we found more foreign terms in *Novedades*, a paper aimed at the upper classes, than in

La Prensa, a newspaper for the lower classes.¹¹ Even sports magazines, which might be expected to have more foreign terms, do not use more than four in every thousand words.¹²

For a change of scenery, suppose we go shopping in Mexico City. We will find that stores use foreign words in direct proportion to the price of their products or their clients' purchasing power.¹³ In expensive areas of the city almost 50% of the stores have non-Spanish names, while the figure is 20% in less affluent areas.¹⁴ This shows that

⁸ Cfr. R. Avila, "Las palabras de todos y las de cada uno: un análisis estadístico del español hablado en México" (The words of each and all: a statistical analysis of Spanish as spoken in Mexico), *Estudios de lingüística de España y México*, México, 1990, pp. 335-349.

⁹ Following is a sample of foreign words that occurred four or more times: kinder, basquetbol, voleyball, karate, sandwich, chance, hobby, record, rock (and roll). Foreign terms are defined as those that do not appear in the Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary of the Spanish Language, 20th ed. 1984; or other general Spanish dictionaries.

¹⁰ The frequency of foreign terms, mainly from English, in our sample was 0.06% compared to 0.04% for words from Mexican Indigenous languages.

¹¹ See Avila & Gardner, "Extranjerismos en periódicos de la Ciudad de México" (Foreign Terms in Mexico City Newspapers), a Paper presented at the Colloquium on the Spanish Language. Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language. Mexico City, September 1982. The percentage of foreign terms was as follows: *Novedades*, 107,561 word frequencies, 243 foreign terms (0.097%); *Excelsior*, 196,512 wd. freq., 181 foreign terms (0.092%); *El Universal*, 186,339 wd. freq., 143 foreign terms (0.077%); *La Prensa*, 78,997 wd. freq., 40 foreign terms (0.051%).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Avila & Gardner, "Extranjerismos en establecimientos de venta y servicio en la Ciudad de México" (Foreign Terms in Sales and Service Establishments in Mexico City) a Paper presented at the Colloquium on the Spanish Language, Mexico City, September 1982.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Gerardo García / Imagenlatina.



There is more influence of English in Mexico City than at the border.

we need not be particularly concerned with foreign terms unless we are shopping.

Linguistic borrowing, superfluous in some instances but necessary in others, is limited by nothing more than the consensus of the linguistic community that borrows terms from other languages.¹⁵ Thus, it is important to research the attitudes of English and Spanish speakers concerning this phenomenon.

English speakers do not seem overly concerned about the borrowing of words from other languages. The French, however, show a radically different attitude.¹⁶ Spanish speakers, like the French, take a more defensive position

¹⁵ See I. Guzmán Betancourt, "Extranjerismos lingüísticos: su origen y efecto en los idiomas" (Linguistic foreignisms: their origin and effect on languages), in *Voces extranjeras en el español de México*. Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language, Col. Nuestro idioma. No. 3, 1982, p. 22.

¹⁶ Foster, Brian, *The changing English language*. Pelican, 1970, p. 76. "Throughout its history, the English language has always been hospitable to words borrowed from other languages and while it is doubtless true to say that all forms of human speech have to some extent been borrowed from outside models there are grounds for thinking that English is more than usually open to foreign influence as compared to other great languages. The French, indeed, have set up an organization whereby they hope to stem or, at all events, regulate the flux of foreign words into their vocabulary, but this would probably seem a strange idea to most English speakers, who appear to believe in a species of linguistic free trade and argue that if a term of foreign origin is useful, it should be put to work forthwith, regardless of parentage.

revealing uncertainty about the future of their language. This is illustrated by the creation of the now defunct Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language and its successor in the Mexican Senate.¹⁷

Throughout its history, the Spanish language has had an Iberian base which has resulted in its assimilation of many Latin, Greek and Arabic words. In the Americas, Spanish profited from the addition of indigenous and foreign words. Thanks to this colorful history, Spanish speakers need not study Latin or Greek

to understand international technical terminology. Nor do they need to study Nahuatl to understand many indigenous place names.

Perhaps necessary foreign words should be adapted to our Spanish pronunciation and spelling in order to keep them within the spirit of our language. We might see English as a gateway to words of Germanic origin as well as comprising another conceptual universe.

A peoples' cultural identity is important and language is a basic component of this identity. Yet no people can survive in isolation. For that reason, it is important to learn an international language such as English. It would be wonderful if we could all be fully bilingual and avoid using foreign terms inappropriately when we speak our mother tongue.

English may be a *lingua franca*, but there is nothing to prevent us from making it our own, just as we have done with Spanish. As bilingual English and Spanish speakers, we would be able to understand and share two different visions of the world. We could discuss each other's words and provide them with new shades of meaning. We might then appreciate the expressiveness of the many varieties of non-standard English and Spanish spoken as a mother tongue on both sides of the US-Mexican border and in over twenty other countries throughout the world ❧

¹⁷ The Commission was created by President López Portillo. It was abolished by his successor, President Miguel de la Madrid.

Mexican press coverage of the US elections (Part III)

General features

The period under analysis saw the publication of 282 articles written entirely by Mexicans in six Mexico City morning papers, an average of almost 35 per week. This figure reflects an increase in the Mexican press' interest in the US elections.¹

The period began in early July with a virtual tie between the three candidates, George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot; reversed by Ross Perot's decline and later withdrawal from his independent candidacy. Coverage increased substantially with Perot's withdrawal and the Democratic and Republican Party conventions. (Graph 1)

Most items appeared on front or other pages of the first section, as op-ed articles written in Mexico or by Mexican correspondents in the US. The papers carrying the most news

¹ The following methodology was used in this study: election news items were selected from six Mexico city morning dailies (*El Día*, *El Financiero*, *La Jornada*, *El Nacional*, *El Universal* and *unomásuno*) all written by Mexican sources. Not all items were tabulated. In view of the large number relating the elections to the North American Free Trade Agreement, it was stipulated that the principal subject had to be the elections for the article to be included in the analysis, and that the article did not mix Mexican writers with international news services. Information was processed according to a code manual listing 150 variables. The manual provided information on coverage and media perception of diverse election matters. After encoding, information was processed by the Statistical Program on Social Sciences (SPSS) package.

This is the third in a series of four articles on the US elections as perceived by the Mexican press. It aims to analyze Mexican press coverage of the Democratic and Republican Party conventions in July and August of 1992.

items were *La Jornada*, *El Universal*, and *El Financiero*, accounting for seven out of every ten articles published.

Opinion on the elections was equally divided between negative and neutral (Graph 2), the most frequently quoted sources being US media, the Executive and the Democratic Party.²

Views on the political system, parties and candidates

The Mexican press' image of the US political system as a whole is still negative. With the exception of the nomination process, remaining variables showed a high incidence of negative reference.³

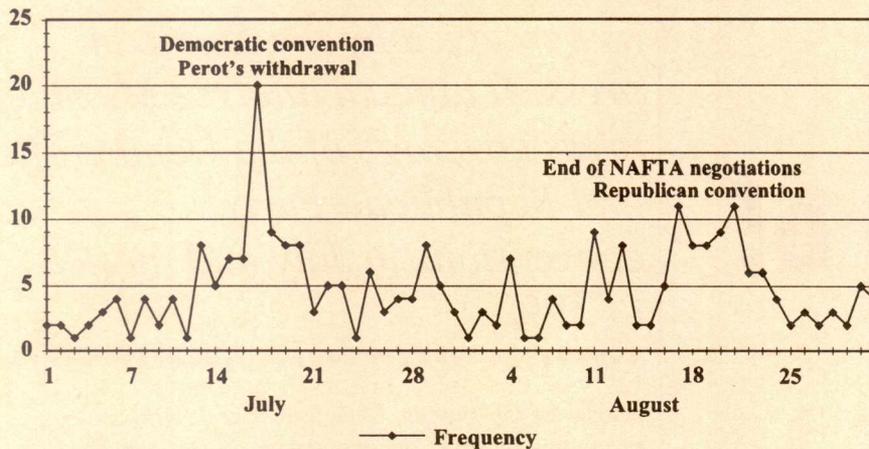
Content analysis of the main US political forces produced the following results:

- The period reflects a change in the Mexican press' view of the Democratic Party, now regarded neutrally, with a slightly positive bias, as opposed to the Republican Party which is viewed negatively.
- Similarly, the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Clinton and Gore, are more favorably rated than their Republican counterparts, Bush and Quayle, with the latter having a negative effect on Bush's image.
- The Democratic convention and the election platform are also rated as being neutral, with a slight positive bias. Conversely, the Republican convention and platform are also rated neutral but with a slight negative

² To assess the Mexican media's position, their views on the candidates and campaign topics were rated as a) positive b) negative or c) neutral. Each variable for topics and candidates includes a series of values classifying the remarks analyzed, giving favorable opinions a positive value, criticism a negative value and a neutral value to remarks on the candidates or topics that did not express any particular opinion.

³ The Mexican press perceives general political variables as follows: (only the highest negative percentages shown) US political system, 76; absenteeism and public opinion, 73; electorate, 62, and electoral system, 56. Media perceptions of these aspects have remained unchanged since the beginning of the year. See the first article in this series in *Voices of Mexico* 20, July-September, 1992.

Graph 1
Frequency of articles on US elections



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. July-August 1992.

bias, in spite of the favorable atmosphere produced by the end of the NAFTA negotiations between Mexico, the United States and Canada, only days before the beginning of the Republican convention. (Graph 3)

The Democratic convention

Ross Perot's withdrawal from the election campaign reinforced trends in media coverage of the Democratic convention. The press regarded Perot's move favorably since, "it helped clarify the US political process. We are left with just two alternatives for the forthcoming November elections that, regardless of their failings and the reactions they may provoke, have at least been clear and explicit about their aims and programs."⁴ (*La Jornada*, July 17:1)

As previously mentioned, the press shifted its opinion of the Democrats and their candidates. The Democratic convention was seen as a move by the formerly "Liberal" party toward the center and moderation, considerably removed from the position that was responsible for its defeats in the 80s and closer to the Republican Party.

Emilio Zebadúa saw Clinton's nomination as a long-awaited triumph of the Democratic Leadership Council: "It was a triumph of Conservatives over Liberals (Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and Mario Cuomo) and Progressives (Jesse Jackson). They finally managed to be at the center of the US political spectrum, after trying for

⁴ During this period, Perot was regarded extremely negatively by the Mexican press, with 67% of all articles rating him negatively and 28% neutrally. For a detailed analysis of the Mexican press' initial view of Perot's candidacy and of his importance for the US political system, see the second article in this series in *Voices of Mexico* 21, October-December 1992.

almost a decade. There is hardly anything left of the party as it was." (*La Jornada*, July 15:39)

El Universal's correspondent, José Carreño Figueras, wrote that, "in a convention carefully designed to avoid any hint of disorganization or conflict, Clinton and his advisers managed to present a "rejuvenated" Democratic Party, with a veneer of unity and aimed at the middle class, without formally excluding any social group." (*International Section*, July 20:1)

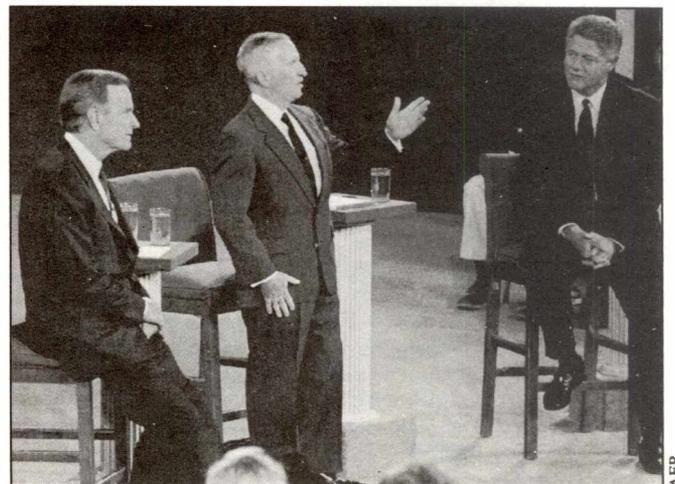
The Clinton-Gore ticket was seen as a "new option for Americans" that would capitalize on the US domestic economic situation and Bush's weakness both within the country and

abroad. (María Gallo, *El Financiero*, July 31:48)

Both are regarded as moderates and part of a "new generation" that has broken with the tradition of choosing a running-mate to contrast with the candidate. (Mauricio Rossell, *El Universal*, July 28:1F)

The Democratic Party, Clinton and his proposals would no longer represent the old sectors on which the New Deal was based, but they had still to win the support of moderate conservatives, big business and Reagan Democrats.

For David Brooks and Jim Cason, *La Jornada* correspondents, "the political risks for Clinton are clear. Demobilizing the trade union and civil rights bases that meant a huge number of votes for Democrats in the past, to court the "center" could be their downfall," but "Clinton's



The consequences of Ross Perot's candidacy, the development of Bill Clinton's campaign and George Bush's poor performance led the Mexican press to view Clinton differently.

team think they can afford to neglect the party bases they are demobilizing since they know they have no option but to vote for the Democrats. Their motto is unity against Bush at all costs, i.e. not necessarily everyone on Clinton's side." (July 26:47)

The economy was an important topic for the Mexican press. For Rosalba Carrasco and Francisco Hernández, "Democrats' concern for the growth and creation of jobs is no minor issue. It focuses on what is probably one of the most important aspects of the recent US economic situation." (*La Jornada*, July 20:37)

La Jornada correspondents, David Brooks and Michael Fleshman, pointed out that in Clinton's acceptance speech, "the subject of Blacks, Hispanics, Mexico and Latin America was conspicuously absent." (July 17:45)

Apart from topics concerning Mexico, to be analyzed in the last part of this series, the Mexican press focussed on Bill Clinton's remarks on the economy, employment, economic, budget and trade policies, the environment, health, education and foreign policy, ignoring his personal affairs.

The Republican convention

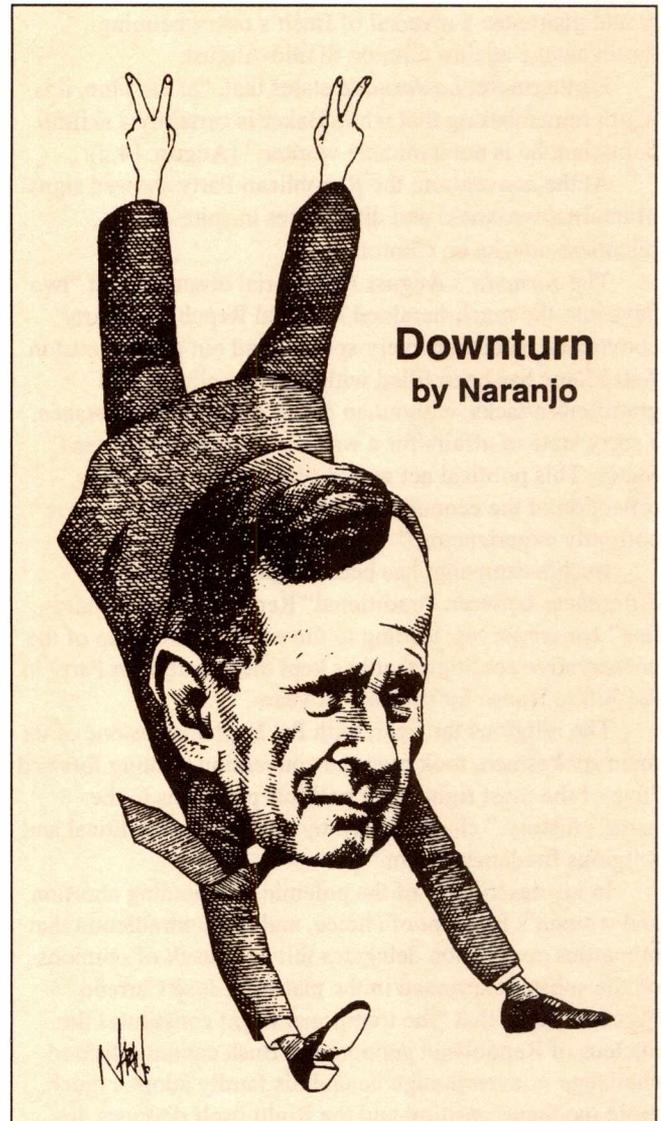
Clinton's broad lead in the surveys was the basis of the Republican Party convention. The Mexican media disapproved of Bush's electoral moves prior to the convention; he was severely criticized as the electoral process advanced and his actions and election strategy were viewed more and more negatively.

As for Bush's performance in government, Jaime Mendoza García pointed out that he "has failed in several aspects of his presidency. Bush cannot escape the fact that he has neglected economic, social and environmental policies as a result of attempts to improve his ratings in public opinion polls." García also regards him as "the least suitable candidate to balance the budget, since he is not prepared to make drastic cuts in military spending and stubbornly refuses to raise taxes to reduce the cost of public health." (*El Universal*, July 25:6A)

The president was not only criticized on the domestic front. On the question of foreign policy, the media expressed concern that Bush might be prepared to use the conflict surrounding Iraq's refusal to allow UN inspections for electoral purposes.

In its July 30 editorial, *El Universal* noted that if the US started a new war game in the Persian Gulf, "We would be witnessing a near collapse of the US political system, not just because world peace could be jeopardized in the interests of re-election but mainly because of what this would imply for Washington's ruling structure, currently so much in dispute and lacking validity in the population's eyes."

According to Jenaro Villamil, Bush's chosen tactic has been to "adopt last-minute policies to improve his



**Downturn
by Naranjo**

Periódico El Universal.

popularity ratings and make him the only leader capable of governing the US in these times of world reorganization." (*El Financiero*, August 13:42)

Bush's paradoxical situation was also mentioned, "While Bush stands to lose the election, his arch-enemy Saddam Hussein has managed to stay in power." (Rayuela, *La Jornada*, August 12:48)

As for government strategy, the press criticized Bush's nomination of James Baker, "his pal Jim" in Emilio Zebadúa's words, as director of the campaign and various aspects of the convention.

In a *La Jornada* editorial, Baker's nomination was seen as a "risky move" since it is plausible that "Baker's absence from the State Department might be felt in US foreign policy—the only area where Bush dare boast of his achievements—which would then backfire on the Republicans." In addition, *La Jornada* did not think this

would guarantee a reversal of Bush's overwhelming disadvantage against Clinton in mid-August.

Furthermore, *La Jornada* states that, "at the time, it is worth remembering that while Baker is certainly a skillful politician, he is not a miracle worker." (August 14:2)

At the convention, the Republican Party showed signs of internal weakness and differences in spite of its relentless attacks on Clinton.

The *Jornada's* August 19 editorial observed that "two days into the much-heralded National Republican Party convention, each and every speech read out at the Houston Astrodome has been filled with rhetoric, clichés and gratuitous attacks, without an ounce of political substance, a sorry state of affairs for a world power like the United States. This political act would seem to be an accurate reflection of the economic and social crisis the country is currently experiencing."

Bush's campaign has been plagued by serious differences between "traditional" Republicans and "hard-line" conservatives, leading to the eventual break-up of the conservative coalition that has kept the Republican Party in the White House for the past 12 years.

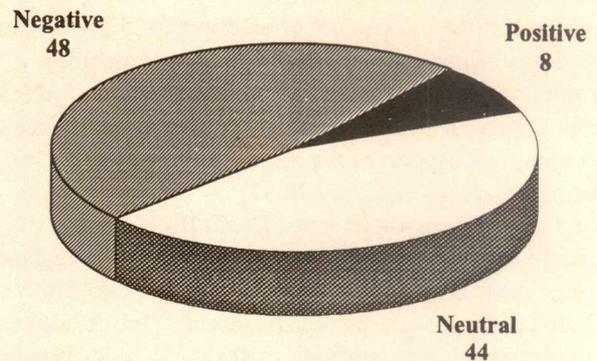
The religious far right, with Pat Buchanan as one of its main spokesmen, took over the convention, putting forward "one of the most right-wing political platforms in the party's history," characterized by "Republican political and religious fundamentalism."

In his description of the polemic surrounding abortion and women's freedom of choice, and the contradiction that numerous convention delegates felt as a result of opinions on the subject expressed in the platform, José Carreño Figueras noted that "the traditional Right constitutes the nucleus of Republican support and Bush cannot afford to challenge it, even though he and his family adopt a much more moderate position and the Right itself distrusts the president." (*El Universal*, August 17:1)



View of the Democratic convention.

Graph 2
Mexican press rating of US elections
(percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. July-August 1992.

For Bush and the Republicans, this implies the possibility of losing support from moderate sectors both inside and outside the party. *La Jornada* correspondents Cason and Brooks noted that "even though platforms are hardly ever part of the next administration's policies, the far right's position on social issues such as the family, homosexuality, AIDS, pornography, federal funding for the arts and particularly abortion, could alienate potential Republican voters." (August 16:35)

Similarly, a *La Jornada* editorial considers that by exchanging the pragmatism that characterized his government measures for the conservative family values of his election platform, Bush is "expressly forgoing a struggle with Bill Clinton for the broad mass of moderate, center or not necessarily conservative voters and aiming his political message at a sector of voters that, notwithstanding the end of the cold war, still maintain a schematic, Manichean view of the world, as though everything could be reduced to a struggle between good and evil." (August 22:2)

As for Bush's attacks on Clinton, Jim Cason and Pedro E. Armendares note that "these attacks, however, may be much less effective than in the past as US citizens begin to despair about the state of the economy and show more interest in pulling out of the recession than in defending the country from the ideological extremes described by Republican spokesmen." (*La Jornada*, August 18:48)

The press sensed a severe crisis in almost all campaign issues except those concerning Mexico. The economy, employment, economic, budget, trade and foreign policy and Iraq, to mention only the most commonly-discussed topics, are all very negatively rated.

Topics covered, the NAFTA and Mexico

The Mexican press covered topics in both conventions that it considered most important for the United States. In the press' view, the topics mentioned, in order of importance, were NAFTA, US economy, employment, Mexico, Mexico-US relations, foreign policy, budget and trade policies, the environment and economic policy. The same list applied for both Clinton and Bush, except that education was an important issue for Clinton, while Iraq was for Bush.

By grouping the variables under four main headings, it is evident that the Mexican press considered the US domestic economy the most important issue, followed by Mexico, foreign policy and social problems. The candidates' averages show that Bush is generally rated very negatively and hardly ever given a positive rating, while Clinton's ratings are fairly evenly divided between the three categories.

Bush's handling of the economy and social issues is very negatively rated, while his approach to foreign policy and Mexico is viewed more favorably. Clinton is rated positively on the issues where Bush fares worst, his weakest area being foreign policy, while his ratings for Mexico are almost the same as Bush's. (Graph 4)

It is interesting that Mexico is positively associated with the US electoral process, more so by Republicans than Democrats. This can be explained by the fact that the Mexican press echoed statements regarding the benefits that would accrue to Mexico under NAFTA.

In fact, some Mexican papers continued giving greater priority to candidates' views on NAFTA than "real campaign issues", with the result that candidates' views on the subject influenced the media's opinion.

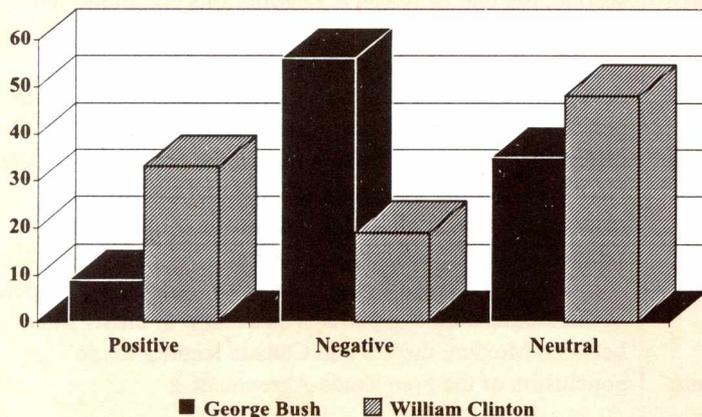
The tie between Bush, Clinton and Perot in July, for example, caused uncertainty in several papers, since NAFTA negotiations and bilateral relations could be affected by a victory by either Clinton, who had not yet committed himself, or Perot.

From our point of view, developments in NAFTA negotiations between Mexico, the US and Canada provided some Mexican sectors with a new perspective on US domestic political processes in general and the presidential election in particular, i.e. the fact that the success or failure of trade negotiations depended on the position of the US Executive branch or the Congress.

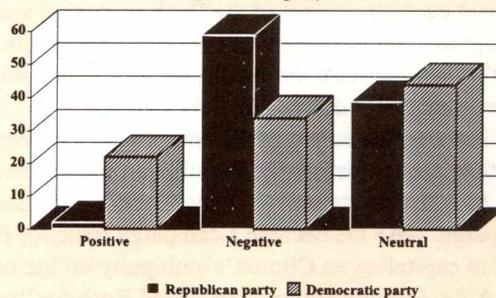
Salinas' visit to San Diego to talk to Bush just at the time of the Democratic convention was interpreted by columnist Miguel Angel Granados Chapa as evidence of

Graph 3

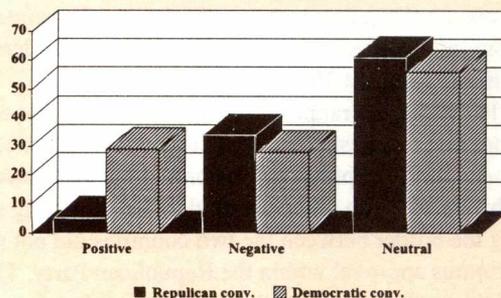
Candidate's ratings
(percentages)



Party ratings
(percentages)

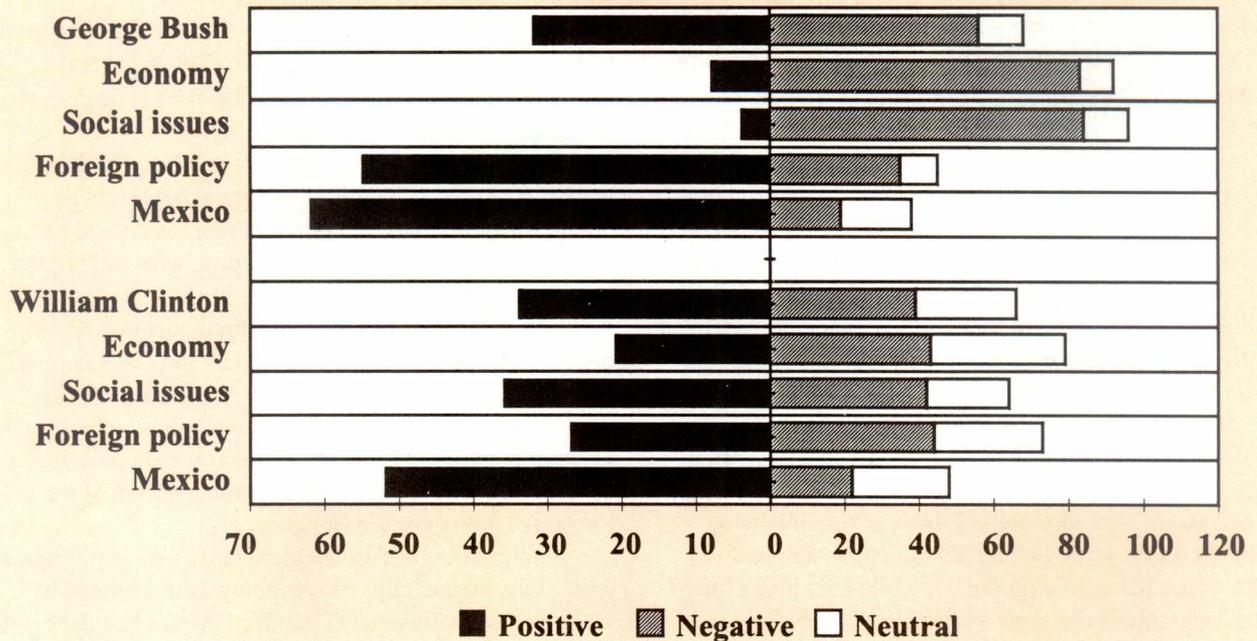


Convention ratings
(percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. July-August 1992.

Graph 4
Press rating of campaign issues
 (percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. July-August 1992.

Salinas' explicit support of the Bush campaign and an attempt to "win over the vast Mexican community in California, or at least those who identify with Salinas' achievements." (*La Jornada*, July 14:1)

The announcement of the end of NAFTA negotiations less than a week before the Republican convention was seen as a further attempt to revive Bush's lackluster campaign. NAFTA became a campaign issue for Bush who tried to capitalize on Clinton's ambiguity on the subject.

A *La Jornada* editorial criticized Bush for "supporting NAFTA not just to help reactivate the beleaguered US economy but also to shore up his campaign." It was even more critical of the fact that "an economic issue should become a political weapon overnight as a desperate means to convince voters of the American dream's leadership qualities." (August 19:2)

However, the rapprochement between Salinas and Bush did nothing to forestall the harsh criticism of Mexico included in the Republican platform at the insistence of Pat Buchanan. As with other issues, the idea of putting up a wall along the border between the two countries did not meet with unanimous approval within the Republican Party. This incident suggests some of the difficulties that may arise in Mexico-US relations, presidential good will notwithstanding.

Conclusions

Media coverage increased during the conventions for two reasons. First, this is when the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are nominated and second, the end of NAFTA negotiations coincided with the election campaigns.

The consequences of Ross Perot's candidacy, the development of Bill Clinton's campaign and Bush's poor performance led the Mexican press to view Clinton differently. In spite of Bush's role in the conclusion of the NAFTA talks, his attacks on Clinton and the latter's reservations concerning NAFTA, media opinion was swayed by the US domestic situation.

Growing interest in the US electoral process is evident in the Mexican media, perhaps as a result of closer links between Mexico, the US and Canada leading to the conclusion of the Free Trade Agreement \times

Graciela Cárdenas
 Marcela Osnaya
 Miguel Acosta
 Research Assistants,
 CISEUA, UNAM.

Rufino Tamayo International Art Museum

*Mauricio de la Paz**

Located in Mexico City's old Chapultepec Park, this museum offers visitors the opportunity of admiring one of the most important 20th century art collections in Mexico.

Sponsored by private enterprise, the Tamayo Museum, as it is commonly known, was opened in 1981 to house the collection donated to the people of Mexico by painter Rufino Tamayo and his wife Olga. In 1986, it became part of a group of museums administered by the Institute of Fine Arts, receiving additional support from the *Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo, A.C.*

The collection

Within the scope of national museums, the Rufino Tamayo Museum permanent collection, consisting of paintings, sculptures, graphic art, photographs and tapestries, is truly unique. It contains a group of works, representative of the changes in universal culture that began at the end of the 19th century. During this period, all traditional concepts were questioned, thereby paving the way for present century "modernity".

In the area of the fine arts, the movement away from the established

aesthetic guidelines which considered all artistic expressions to be little more than a copy of nature, brought with it the personal interpretation of the artists as well as the depicting of a world in constant flux.

Most of the works exhibited at the Tamayo Museum were produced after the Second World War, reflecting a critical position vis-à-vis human vulnerability, violence, solitude and disenchantment.

Nevertheless, they also embody certain tendencies which recover the aesthetic possibilities of color and matter, or the synthesis of traditional form made abstract, whether geometrical or lyrical. This tendency eventually led to the emergence of conceptual languages, the purpose of which involved breaking the illusions surrounding the artistic object and placing a special ephemeral and non-commercial emphasis on technical proposals.

A tour through the museum shows that works are grouped into three 20th century approaches: figuration, abstraction and conceptual art.

The exhibition rooms offer examples of abstract and lyrical expressionism. Especially outstanding are the works by masters such as Soulages, Alechinsky, Hartung, Gottlieb, Frankenthaler and Rothko, representatives of the movement which began in the United States,

particularly in post-war New York. This is non-objective painting, inspired by the desire to use color and form to express intense moods.

Another important part of the collection is devoted to the geometric and kinetic tendencies exhibited in the work of Le Parc, Crippa and Iannelli. It is characterized by the introduction of real movement, provided by mechanical, electrical or hydraulic devices, or by creating the illusion of movement through optical effects (optical art). By viewing the work from different angles, the spectator becomes directly involved in the composition.

There are also examples of geometric abstractionism, with its roots in the cubism of Braque and Picasso, the geometrism of Mondrian and Russian constructivism, among other influences. In these works, the geometric shape forms the basis of solid, rational and mathematically-structured compositions.

As regards different pictorial tendencies, the collection contains expressions of informalist and Spanish "matérico" or material art, created by artists such as Canogar and Tapies.

According to Dorfles, the term "informal" is synonymous with non-geometric abstractionism, in other words, without defined forms. On the other hand, the adjective material (matérico) refers to the importance of the material used as an expressive element in painting and sculpture. Within this genre, the paintings by Tapies and the monumental tapestry created especially for the museum by Catalan Josep Grau, are especially noteworthy.

A retrospective selection of the work of Rufino Tamayo constitutes an essential part of this outstanding art collection. The chronological arrangement allows visitors to gain an insight into the artist's evolution and development together with an understanding of his synthesis of the Mexican spirit. He delves far beyond

* General Director of the *Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo, A.C.*



Rufino Tamayo, New York from the terrace, 1937.

the purely picturesque, dealing with universal questions.

Visitors will also find that this collection contains surrealist art, a movement which emerged after the First World War, during the mid 1920s, as a reaction to automatism and dehumanization of society.

Inspired by stimuli emerging from the individual subconscious, the influence of the new trends in psychology, above all psychoanalysis, is very clear in this movement. Such elements are present in the work of Magritte, Miró, the metaphysical painting of Chirico, the Chilean Matta, Max Ernst and André Masson.

The work of Francis Bacon, Jean Dubuffet, Franz Ringel and Frank Anherbach leads us to a new notion of figuration, a tendency which "was mainly centered on the isolated human figure, without any apparent contextual relations, generally deprived of historical and social connotations and moving between subjectivity and objectivity."

Emerging from mass culture and mechanical means of reproduction, Pop Art reflects the situation of recent change within urban culture and is represented by the work of Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein and Alex Katz.

The museum's permanent collection of contemporary sculpture contains work by Arnaldo and Ghio Pomodoro, Henry Moore, Isamu Nogushi, Kiyoshi Takahashi, Barbara Hepworth, Alexander Liberman, Edgar Negret and Sergio Camargo, among others.

Aside from its permanent collection, the museum also has two large sections for temporary exhibitions.

These rooms have been used to exhibit the work of outstanding

contemporary artists such as Robert Motherwell, Fernando Botero, Armando Morales, Dieter Hacker, Andrés Nagel, Sandro Chia and Eduardo Ramírez Villamizar, to mention but a few.

The building

One of the most outstanding examples of contemporary Mexican architecture, this building is one of the few expressly designed as a museum.

The project was awarded the National Architecture Prize in 1981 for its exceptional spatial conception and esthetic solution.

Its beautiful interior and exterior are part of Mexico's rich architectural tradition, which began with the squares and pyramids of the country's pre-Hispanic past and was further enriched by the inner courtyards of convents and the functionality of modern architecture.

Completely built of concrete mixed with marble, the museum's elegant architecture blends in perfectly with its surroundings.

In the Tamayo Museum, exhibit space is structured with the aim of



Rufino Tamayo, Ball players, 1968.

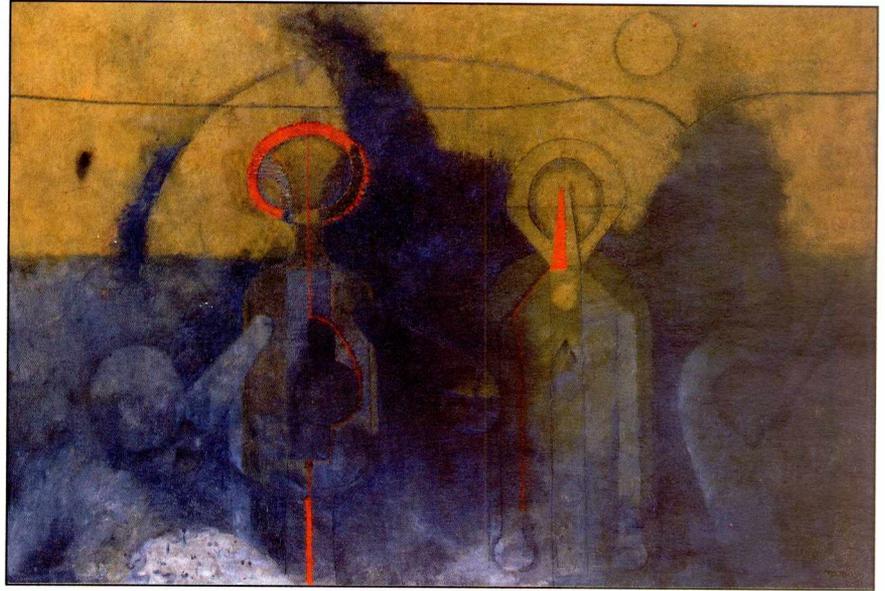
providing a varied array of atmospheres. This is achieved through the use of different dimensions and types of illumination, both natural and artificial. This treatment of space marks the external volumetry of the building.

The large central patio, the system of adjoining exhibition rooms, facilitating the movement of visitors through the different exhibitions, a shaded luminosity and the unmistakable balance between large volumes and empty spaces, are just a few of the most spectacular characteristics of this building.

Occupying an area of 2,800 m² and with 4,500 m² of construction, the building itself is indeed one of the high points for museum visitors. It is totally air-conditioned and has ten exhibition rooms, a sculpture patio, an auditorium (with capacity for 180 people), storage rooms, offices and a shop selling books, magazines, catalogues, posters and other articles on works and artists.

Services offered

In addition to its permanent and temporary exhibitions, the museum is also involved in the organization and



Rufino Tamayo, Women, 1971.

promotion of other artistic events, undoubtedly increasing our involvement with current cultural phenomena.

Activities such as theater, music, dance, literary presentations, conferences, round tables, testimonials, courses, workshops, alternative and special events make the museum a living cultural center.

The museum's international standing has also permitted the

development of programs, designed to promote the work of artists from other countries. While allowing the public to become an active spectator of current cultural dynamics, these programs also enrich the vision of Mexican artists.

Furthermore, the museum houses the Rufino Tamayo Documentation and Information Center, specializing in the collection and updating of bibliographical, journalistic and photographic materials covering the work of the artists who are part of the permanent collection, as well as general, contemporary modern art. The Fondo "Rufino Tamayo," a considerable collection of documents on the artist himself, is another important part of the museum.

The Tamayo Museum offers guided tours, provided by the Educational Services Department. This department handles the organization and administration of special workshop programs and children's summer workshops, in which games and manual activities are used to put children into contact with color, volume, texture, space and other basic concepts of art. 

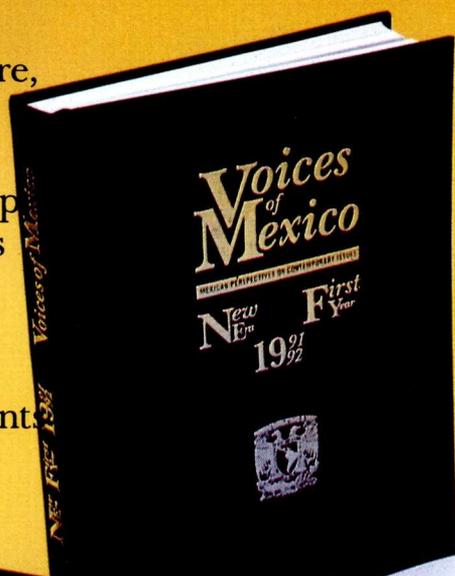


Rufino Tamayo, The family, 1987.

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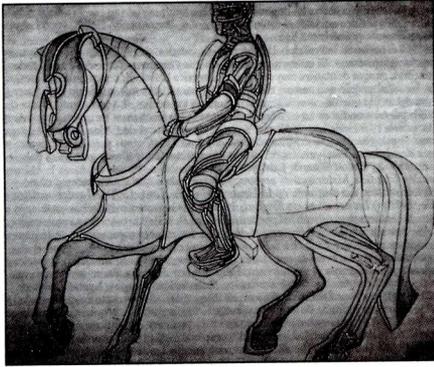
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Arnold Belkin: a neohumanist

Arnold Belkin was born in Calgary on December 9, 1930. He later studied painting at The Vancouver School of Art. He came to Mexico at the age of 18, attracted by its murals and became a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1958. "I am Mexican by choice, not by accident. It is here that I want to do my painting." (*El Gallo ilustrado*, February 6, 1966). He died of cancer at the age of 61 on July 2, last year.

Robot-men, cybernetic heads, slashed figures showing their internal organs and the inside structure of the human body, were resources he used to emphasize man's nature and martyr status, as well as creating the illusion of movement and constantly evolving dynamism.

Belkin thought that true artists should not remain silent, painting and sculpting to amuse the buyer while they were aware of what was going on in the world. In his book, *Against amnesia. Texts: 1960-1985*, he comments, "Complacency is terrifying. Art should have content and show concern for man's destiny. Given the total annihilation facing the world, how can one possibly produce art that is simply decorative and cowardly?"

In August 1961, he and the painter, Francisco Icaza, produced the manifesto, "New Presence," which highlights his rejection of "good taste" in art, academicism, intellectual criticism and myths. Together they published five issues of a poster magazine of the same name.

He, photographer Nacho López, and painters Francisco Corzas, Rafael Coronel and José Luis Cuevas took part in an art exhibition called "The insiders"¹, organized in July 1961. The exhibition highlighted similarities between the work of these artists who had had no previous contact: the choice of dramatic subjects, the predominance of black and the limited use of color; for a long time, Belkin based his paintings on ochre tones.

Since the publication of *New Presence* coincided with the exhibition, all the participating artists were regarded as a group who agreed with the manifesto. Belkin's

Painter, engraver, costume and set designer and muralist, Belkin was a non-conformist, rebel artist, the theorist behind his own artistic proposals who created series, paraphrases and epic paintings and was an advocate of portable murals.

responded, "We are not a group. Some of us reject the term 'insiders'".

In spite of his dislike of labels, he preferred the term 'neohumanist' to 'insider', although both imply art with a commitment to man, that seeks images of truth and the possibility of communicating at a broader level, without compromising the integrity of art's message.

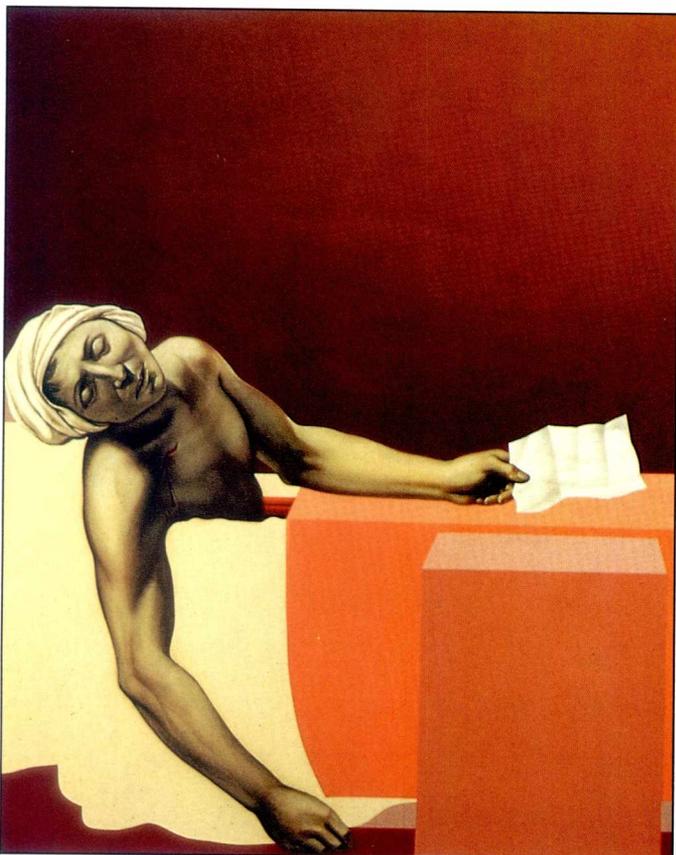
Belkin defined neohumanism in art as the defense of human existence against the danger of man's dehumanization through machines and an inhuman form of social organization invented by man and to which he is chained.

"It is not a simple denunciation of everyday crimes; it is a grand denunciation of crimes that man commits against himself, by means of artistic language that can transcend time. We have to represent a new man, since we are in a stage of transition and want to address present and future generations, not those that have already died."

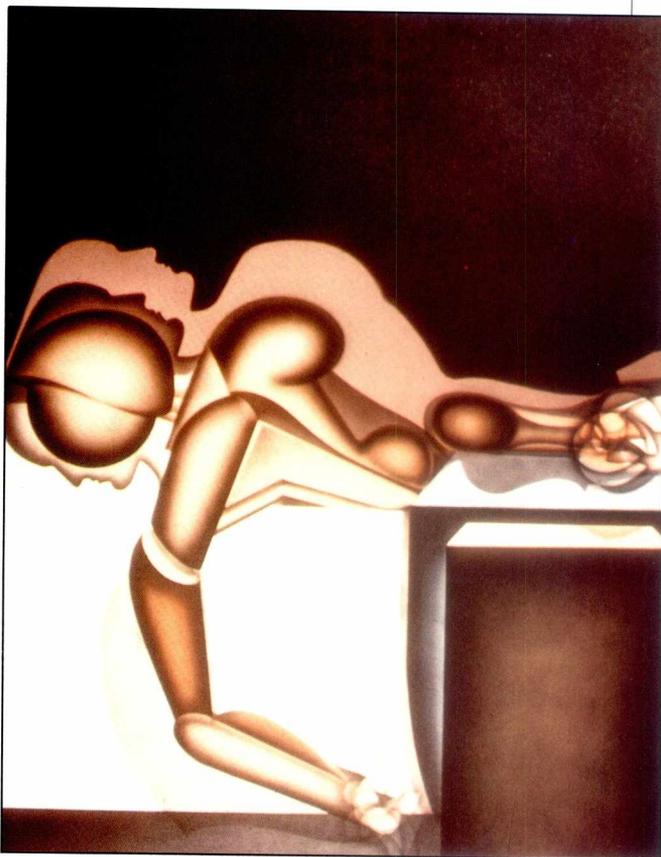
In 1975, in *Excelsior's* cultural "Diorama," he explained the motives that led him to live in New York, "Living in the heart of the monster made me much more politically aware. The world's largest city is a microcosm... I went there at a time when artists, intellectuals, and people from the neighborhoods were

¹ As they were called by the American critic, Selden Rodman.

IIE / UNAM.



IIE / UNAM.



Four of the 16 paintings in the "Marat" series, 1971.

taking part in political movements, protests against Vietnam, the Greek coup, the restriction of Blacks' civil rights and discrimination against women."

He dedicated most of his work to Latin American revolutionary leaders such as Simón Bolívar, Che Guevara, Emiliano Zapata, Francisco Villa, the Serdán brothers, Felipe Angeles, Rubén Jaramillo and Lucio Cabañas, of whom he was a great admirer. However, one of his sixteen paintings of the French revolutionary, Marat, was chosen to preside his funeral homage at the Museum of Modern Art.

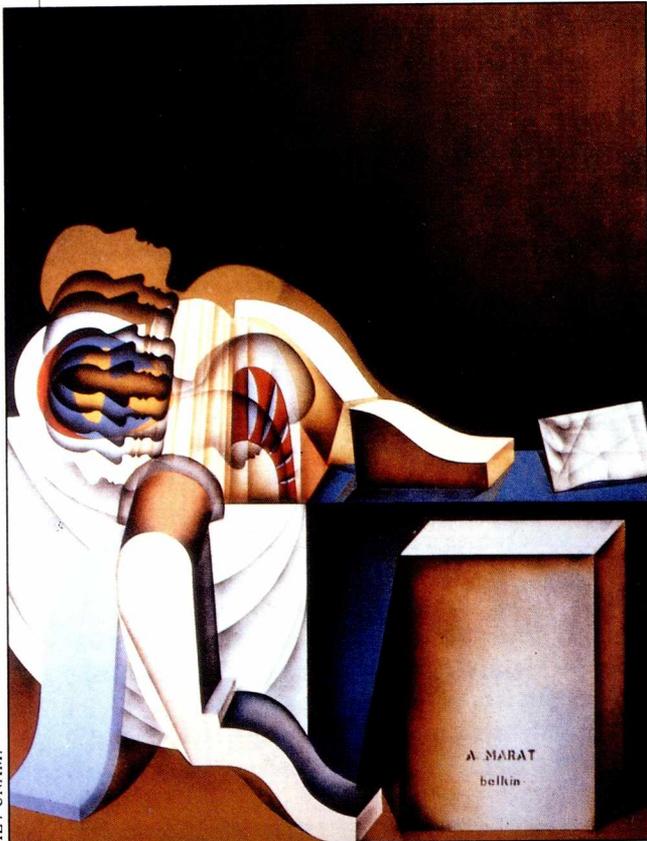
Belkin rejected academicism, but he was a disciplined artist. He was a master of the airbrush and sketches using photographic projections. Cameras and projectors were key features in his visual metaphors. "Photography has always been a wonderful source of images and information and has been an increasingly important tool for fine artists in recent years."

Belkin studied Siqueiros' theories, and reviewed Neoclassicists, Romantics, Constructivists, Futurists, Cubists and Expressionists before finding his own style, characterized mainly by the creation of series (variations on a theme) and paraphrase (the transfiguration of famous works of the past).

In Belkin's view, the progression of an image through a series of pictures and constructions that have a similar

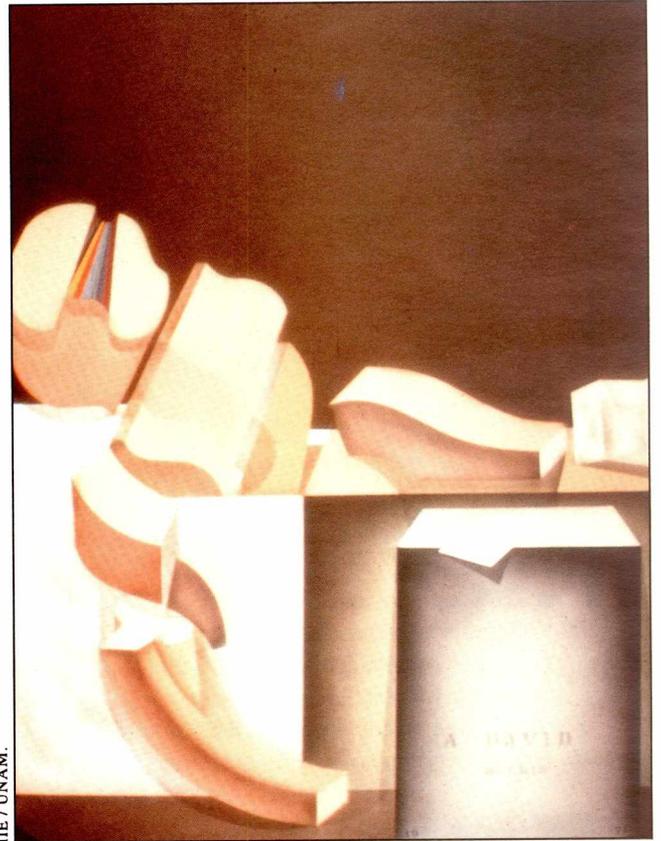
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The 1970 Kent State University killing, 5.50 x 2.44 m. mural in New Hampshire, 1974.



JIE / UNAM.

basic form, but vary in color and intensity from painting to painting, creates internal variety and dimensional richness that cannot be achieved with individual paintings or a set of different images.

The “Marat”, “Zapata” and “The lovers” series are particularly outstanding. “The lovers,” inspired by “Poems of love and indifference,” by Mario Benedetti, was an interdisciplinary work in which Benedetti himself took part in the selection of his poems and Rafael Donmiz provided a series of photographs that Belkin used to project onto the canvas.

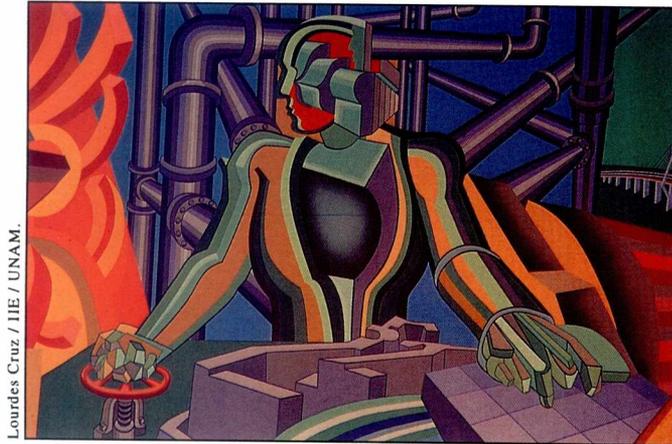
The paraphrase, “The annual anatomy lesson” links a press photo of the dead Che Guevara, surrounded by journalists and soldiers, with the Rembrandt painting, “Dr. Tulp’s annual anatomy lesson.”

Belkin took advantage of the similarity of the corpse’s position in Rembrandt’s painting and Che’s photograph to produce three paintings: one of Che’s death, as if the press photo had been painted by Rembrandt, one of Rembrandt’s painting as if it were a press photo and one of Che’s death as if it were a Rembrandt painting.

On the subject of muralism

According to Belkin, there is the same difference between a painting and a mural as there is between a private





Lourdes Cruz / IIE / UNAM.

Inventing the future, detail of the mural, 1990.

conversation and a speech, since the latter is public and therefore has to be more precise, elaborate and weighty.

He painted his first professional mural, "We are all guilty," in 1960 commissioned by the Federal District's General Prosecutor's Office, having undertaken an extensive study of criminal psychology, with Dostoyevsky as one of his main sources, before carrying out the painting.

When the mural was unveiled in the Santa Marta Acatitla Penitentiary, one of the prisoners remarked, "For

being the 'owners' of a mural that attracted the public and aroused its sympathy rather than repulsion or fear."

However, Belkin was aware that the theme of this type of mural might not be topical for very long and that such works would have a very short life span, either because the paintings did not last more than fifteen years or because the buildings on which they were painted might be demolished.

Arnold Belkin was a great defender of portable, mobile murals, "This is a genre or sub-genre of mural art that has been extensively employed by muralists (one of the finest examples being Picasso's "Guernica") but scarcely written about by critics and theoreticians of the fine arts.

"Mobile murals have very special features. Like paintings, they bear no relation to architectural space, but because of their size, they are regarded as public art and their internal organization is faithful to the concept of a mural. The artist chooses a large format to handle an epic topic, because the smaller, more intimate size of a studio painting does not lend itself to this concept."

Another of Belkin's concerns was to fight for the creation of an archive of Mexican muralism. Paradoxically, the largest archive of this type is to be found in Uppsala, Sweden.

He frequently remarked that bibliographical and visual material, studies, notes, sketches, preliminary sketches,



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The annual anatomy lesson, in its three versions, 1972-74.

those of us who have temporarily been deprived of one of life's most precious gifts, our freedom, Arnold Belkin's mural represents the hope that society and justice may rectify the errors that destroy many valuable lives.

Belkin thought that a new form of muralism could only be executed by a new generation with the wish and ability to work in groups, as did the US urban muralists between 1967 and 1971.

"The methods used to paint murals, their popular content, and references to social problems and local politics make this a truly democratic form of art for the people."

In the 70s, Belkin painted a mural in the Hell's Kitchen district of New York, taking into account the community's opinions and suggestions. "The district changed. Crime and aggression levels went down. Why? Because lots of new people came to see the mural. Residents were proud of

tracings, photos, slides and videotapes, provide valuable documentation to a mural's progress, recording changes in ideas and variations in the development of a topic, particularly for art students.

In 1977, Belkin proposed the creation of the Museum of Contemporary Mexican Art, so that 20th century Mexican art could be permanently displayed.

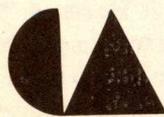
Arnold Belkin was not content to be simply an accomplished artist and, although criticized for doing so by an art critic, he never hesitated to write about his ideas on aesthetics and his concerns as a human being, or share his knowledge, since he was a tireless campaigner against amnesia ❧



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Luis Cardoza y Aragón and Rafael Solana

*I feel no nostalgia for the places
I have left. One never really leaves,
hence one never returns either.*

Luis Cardoza y Aragón

Luis Cardoza y Aragón: the lines of his hand

Luis Cardoza y Aragón, who died last September 4, was one of the most important and singular American writers of the 20th century. A Guatemalan-born creator of poetry, narrative, essay and art criticism, he lived in exile in Mexico from 1952 to his death, becoming a central figure in Mexican culture. His critical spirit, his love of democracy and his defense of human rights made it impossible for him to return to the country of his birth. However, Guatemala was always present in his life and in his work.

Cardoza y Aragón was born in the city of Antigua on June 21, 1904. In his childhood and adolescence he witnessed the persecution of democracy's defenders. His father was harassed and jailed under the dictatorship of Manuel Estrada Cabrera.

Aided by his family, Luis left his country at the age of seventeen to live in Europe. He began studying medicine in Paris, but his passion for literature, the discovery of authors such as Rimbaud, Baudelaire and Nerval, and his friendship with surrealists such as André Breton, led him—within two years—to drop medicine for literature.

The surrealist movement and most modern European art trends were then centered in France, decisively influencing his development as a writer. His surrealist works include: *Luna park*, 1923, *Maelstrom*, 1926, *La torre de Babel* (The tower of Babel), 1930, *Cuatro recuerdos de infancia* (Four childhood memories) and *Elogio de la embriaguez* (In praise of drunkenness), 1931, *El sonámbulo* (The sleepwalker), 1937, *Pequeños poemas* (Short poems), 1945-1964, *Arte poética* (Poetic art), 1960-1973 and *Dibujos de ciego* (Drawings by a blind man), 1971.

His *Pequeña sinfonía del nuevo mundo* (Short symphony of the New World), written between 1929 and

1932, has been defined as a true masterpiece of poetic prose. In it, he combines biting criticism of the capitalist world and his preoccupation with what roads to follow in the face of crisis, with a marvelous song of hope for mankind's destiny.

While in Europe, he travelled through the Soviet Union and lived in Spain, where he made friends with Federico García Lorca—they wrote several magazine pieces and a play together. He also travelled to Florence and Rome, where he studied Flemish painting and the Renaissance at close hand. On returning to the Americas, he visited New York and Havana, arriving in Mexico for the first time in 1932.

In Mexico, he concentrated on study and art criticism. His efforts made him one of the greatest critics in Mexico, due to his innovative and singular way of approaching Mexican visual arts.

He was a contributor to *El Nacional*, in charge of its cultural section; a university professor; and a founding member of the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists. According to his friends, Cardoza y Aragón possessed a penchant for sarcasm that earned him the nickname "Savage wolf", since his sharp judgments fulminated his adversaries.

He wrote several books and essays on contemporary Mexican painting, on the frescoes at the Department of Public Education, as well as on Mexican painters José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros and Rufino Tamayo, among others. Outstanding works are *La nube y el reloj* (The cloud and the clock), *Apolo y Coatlicue*, and his book on Orozco, published by the UNAM.

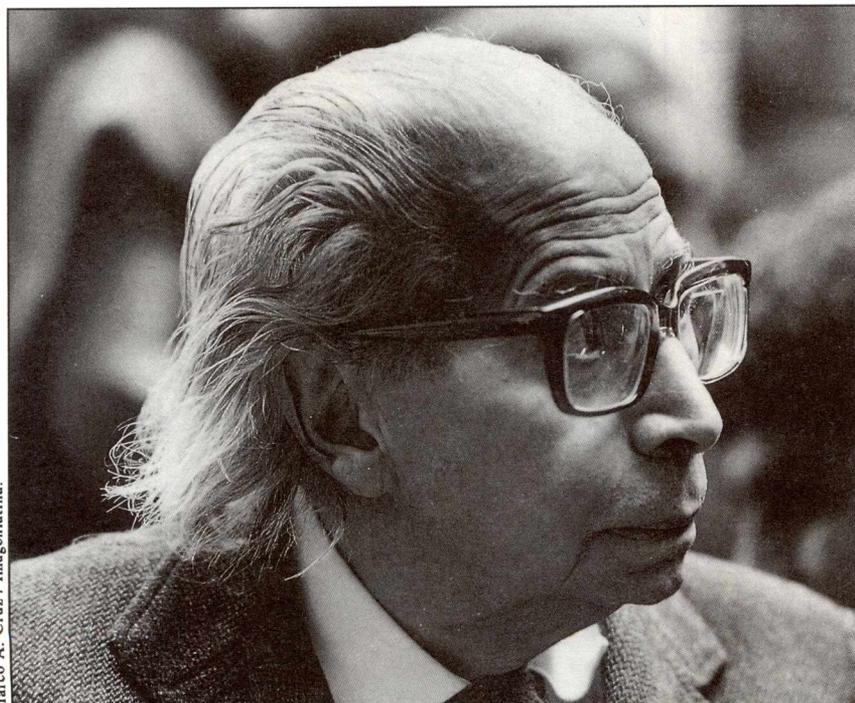
Cardoza y Aragón always travelled the innovative path. Constant creation—influenced by passion, love, and death—was his only way of accepting reality and transcending it. He stated: "In Paradise there was no art because there was no sin. Because there was no desire. Because there was no death. Art for art's sake is impossible, even in Paradise. A poet in Paradise would write escapist poems." In this spirit, his colleagues referred

to him as “Head Warlock,” one who lived out his nonconformity with savagery and abandon.

He returned to Guatemala full of enthusiasm for the efforts progressive organizations were making to leave behind dictatorial governments and bring democracy to the country, that had begun with the 1944 uprising. Jacobo Arbenz, declared Constitutional President of Guatemala, wanted his government to give land to the *campesinos*, dignity to native Guatemalans, and food and education to all Guatemalans. Cardoza y Aragón lectured at the Faculty of Humanities in the University of San Carlos, founded the *Revista de Guatemala* (Guatemalan journal), and also created the Guatemalan House of Culture.

He represented his country as a diplomat in Sweden, Norway, the former Soviet Union, Chile and Colombia. In Colombia he married Lya Kostakowsky, a Mexican of Russian ancestry, who was to be his lifetime companion—her death in 1988 was a great blow to him. To her he wrote:

*Because I have wanted nothing
beside your love
I never lost my homeland
that invented me with you.
I live enamored
of light, sea and heaven.
I wish I were embroidered
on your soul and on your handkerchief.*



Marco A. Cruz / Imagenlatina.

Cardoza's nickname was “savage wolf”, since his sharp judgments fulminated his adversaries.

The Guatemalan experiment in democracy was doomed to fail. With help from Washington, a mercenary army overthrew Arbenz and reestablished the dictatorship. Categorically refusing to collaborate with the traitors, in 1952 Cardoza decided to return to Mexico as an exile.

A discerning perception of his country's issues, and his acute sociopolitical thought are reflected in books such as *El pueblo de Guatemala* (The Guatemalan people), *La United Fruit y la protesta de Washington* (The United Fruit Co. and Washington's protest), and *La revolución guatemalteca* (The Guatemalan revolution).

In *Guatemala: las líneas de su mano* (Guatemala: the lines of its hand), he shows broad knowledge of his country's history and reality. The work includes three distinct portraits of one single Guatemala.¹

The first part, entitled *La boca del polen* (The mouth of pollen), is a poetic portrait: childhood memories, descriptions of geography and everyday life in Guatemala, where he shows his indignation at the misery of the Guatemalan Indians: “To see them provokes suffering, anger, a desire to serve. I don't pity them, I pity myself. How miserable I am, how can I sleep, how can I eat, without my dreams becoming nightmares and my bread souring? I could never envision my country as colorful, miserable and backward Indians in a glass case.”

The second part, *Las huellas de la voz* (Voiceprints), presents a historical portrait, a synthesis of Guatemalan history. The third part, *El peso de la noche* (The weight of the night), offers a sociological portrait, an attempt to interpret Guatemalan psychology, from its pre-Hispanic roots to the present. In it, he asserts that Guatemala has been a land of “eternal tyranny,” not one of “eternal spring” as touted by a well-known slogan.

This book, defined as an explicit repudiation of intervention and successive dictatorial governments—military or civil—closed the doors forever on his return to Guatemala. He would never go back, but he never abandoned the struggle to defend the Guatemalan people's human rights and dignity. In this regard, he pointed out: “I have accompanied my people from afar and in the best way I could. This has torn me, because even if Mexico is

¹ The description of this work is based on an article by Otto-Raúl González, “Adorable Lobo Feroz”, published in the newspaper *El Financiero*, on September 7 and 8, 1992.

my country by choice, what has been happening in Guatemala has hurt me deeply.”

He rejected several subsequent invitations to return made by the military governments, since he always maintained he would never go back until the political situation changed. “I am not a rebel, it so happens that I have shame, and believe that I have lived by an obstinate coherence of which I have never tired.”

He preferred the dignity of exile, where he represented all of his country’s exiles, whether intellectuals, professionals or natives. In his autobiographical novel *El río: novela de caballerías* (The river: a novel of chivalry), he says “The exile never loses his homeland. He takes it with him, more in imagination than in memory. As in love, it is the image we love more than the land itself.”

He always rejected injustice, and therefore he sympathized with Latin American rebel movements. He believed in socialism as a means of fighting injustice, but was neither a man of dogmas or parties, but of convictions and sound ideas: “I have always possessed a critical eye and have never been unconditionally for anyone. The fundamental principle of my life has been not to accept dogmas.”

Cardoza y Aragón received various awards in Mexico and abroad. The Order of the Aztec Eagle, the highest honor awarded a foreigner by the Mexican government, was given to him in 1979. He was awarded the Ruben Darío Order of Cultural Independence by Nicaragua, the Pablo Neruda Prize by the Soviet government, the Order of Félix Varela by Cuba, and other distinctions in France and Spain.

In February, 1992, he received the Mazatlán Literary Prize for the novel *Miguel Angel Asturias: casi novela* (Miguel Angel Asturias: almost a novel), as well as an honorary Doctorate from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala.

The passage of time affected his body, but left his mind intact. He said he did not resent or fear this: “Perhaps, it is because when I look to the past, I find the figure of a boy whose ideals are identical to those I now hold. This means I have not betrayed my life.”

In spite of a chronic lung condition, he remained active until the end: “The intelligence that serves a man for living should also be useful for dying. I know that my end is near. I accept it. I only fear to leave my affairs in disorder or my plans unfinished. So, now I am working very hard not to be beaten by time.”

Before he died, Cardoza y Aragón was putting the final touches to an anthology for the Ayacucho Library in Guatemala, an essay on the painter Agustín Lazo, and a posthumous seventy-page poem, *Lázaro* (Lazarus). He also personally supervised shipping all his books to

Guatemala; his entire library was donated to the country of his birth.

At his request, he was cremated and his ashes scattered on the Ajusco, a mountain on the outskirts of Mexico City, as were those of his wife Lya, who died in 1988. He also arranged for the sale of all his belongings to establish the Luis and Lya Cardoza Foundation, the only purpose of which will be to award an annual *Lya Kostakowsky* essay prize, as an aid to young authors.

The death of Cardoza y Aragón, Guatemalan by birth, Mexican by choice and Latin American by conviction, is a great loss for all who knew his life and work. Author Elena Poniatowska sums up: “There are no more men like him. Poets, astronomers, visionaries, subversives, unsubmissive, able to lavishly spend themselves until they are empty, to pour themselves out and give away their blood, men like that are hardly seen any more.”

Rafael Solana, prolific and versatile writer

The Mexican writer, Rafael Solana, died in Mexico City on September 6. His work covers a surprisingly broad range of genres: poetry, short stories, novels, essays, bull-fight chronicles, plays and above all, newspaper articles. Journalism was his first and most constant literary activity,



Poet at 18, short story writer at 28, novelist at 38 and essayist at 48.

although his plays earned him greater recognition, both at home and abroad.

He was born August 7, 1915, in the Port of Veracruz. At the age of fourteen he entered the world of journalism, following in the footsteps of his father, who had written bull-fight chronicles for the daily *El Universal* since 1916. "My father was a superb bull-fight chronicler as well as a clever, incisive journalist. He covered all the topics open to a journalist... It was through him I learnt to be a journalist, because we used to get all the papers and his journalist friends and colleagues used to come to our house."

Solana's writings span bull-fight chronicles, opera, music and drama criticism, and international and domestic political analysis. He worked for a number of dailies, among them: *El Universal*, where he was a journalist for 63 years; *El Día*, which published almost 1,500 of his articles over 30 years of continuous contributions, *Excelsior*, and the weekly magazine *Siempre*.

While studying law at the National University, he studied literature at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in the afternoon, soon giving up law for literature.

His first volume of poems, *Ladera*, was published in 1934. At about the same time he co-founded the literary magazine, *Taller*, with writers Efraín Huerta and Octavio Paz. Although regarded as one of the most promising young poets of the early 40s, together with Huerta and Paz, Solana stopped writing poetry, turning instead to short stories, novels and finally essays.

"My poetic inspiration started to fail as I grew older so I began writing short stories that I later developed into novels and then essays," said the author of seven volumes of short stories, seven novels and a vast number of literary studies and prologues. He described the course of his literary activities as follows, "Poet at 18, short story writer at 28, novelist at 38 and essayist at 48, with the exception of journalism, first and foremost of my literary activities, as well as the most consistent."

According to a number of writers, Solana was not appreciated as a poet, short story writer or novelist. His works do not appear in anthologies of Mexican poetry or short stories. Nonetheless, short stories such as "El oficleido" are regarded as classics of contemporary narrative by several compilers. Conversely, his novel, *El sol de octubre* (October sun), together with Carlos Fuentes' *La región más transparente* (Where the air is clear) and Luis Spota's *Casi el paraíso* (Almost paradise) is considered a seminal work of Mexican urban literature that paved the way for later generations such as "the wave."

However, Solana is best known for his plays. In his opinion, when a writer's powers of observation and style have developed he aspires to works of greater scope and

maturity such as plays, since in this literary genre, accurate character portrayal requires a writer to draw upon his store of experience. A broad knowledge of grammar and considerable linguistic skill are also necessary to create authentic dialogue for characters from a variety of social backgrounds.

Solana studied acting at the National University to learn more about the theater. He was also a founding member of the National Theater and Music Chroniclers' Association, and three-time President of the Theater Critics' Association and Music Critics' Association.

His plays, translated into several languages and performed in Latin America, the United States and Europe, are characterized by satire, humor and local color. His first play, *The golden islands*, was produced in 1952.

He subsequently wrote close to 30 plays. Among the most famous are *Fading star*, *Born with a silver spoon*, *The return of Lazarus*, *His very image*, *Only the feathers were left*, *Noah's ark*, *The miraculous catch*, *A peaceful old age* and *Family talk*. His favorite was *It could have happened in Verona*, although *There should be lady bishops* ran for almost three thousand performances, with more than twenty actresses in the leading role.

Solana held a number of government posts, including Private Secretary to Jaime Torres Bodet while the latter was Minister of Public Education (1958-1964), Press Chief during the 1968 Olympic Games and Press Chief of the Mexican Social Security Institute from 1969-1977.

His work was recognized by four Mexican presidents; awarded the National Chronicle Prize by Luis Echeverría, the 1979 Special Prize for Journalism by José López Portillo, the National Linguistics and Literature Prize by Miguel de la Madrid in 1987, and early in 1992, he received the Mozart Medal from President Salinas de Gortari for his contribution to music in his role as critic.

He also received the French Medal of Merit and the City of Madrid Medal. Declared Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Veracruz in 1991, he was awarded the "Juan Ruiz de Alarcón" National Prize for Drama in Taxco, Guerrero, that same year. In 1992, the Drama Critics' Association awarded him the "Sergio Magaña" medal for his play *Family talk*.

Up to the time of his death, Solana was Secretary General of the Theater Foundation and both director and teacher at the School of Journalism and Art for Radio and Television. He was a writer of astounding versatility and impeccable professionalism. His death is a loss to Mexican literature, but his work will continue to stand as an example for future generations of writers, journalists and playwrights ❧

Rigoberta Menchú, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

The Nobel Committee awarded the 1992 Peace Prize to Rigoberta Menchú, in recognition of her efforts to achieve social justice and reconciliation between diverse ethnic groups and respect for the rights of indigenous groups.

Rigoberta Menchú, a Mayan Guatemalan living in exile in Mexico since 1981, was born January 9, 1959, in the village of Chimel de San Miguel Uspatán, Quiché. Even as a child she participated in pastoral activities with her Indian parents, who were Christian leaders in the area.

In 1979, she joined the Committee for Farm Workers' Unity, an organization devoted to achieving economic, social, political and ethnic rights for farm workers. Menchú is the first Guatemalan woman to have participated since 1982 in the UN working group on indigenous peoples.

In 1983, Menchú helped form the Guatemalan United Opposition Front. She has also attended numerous international Indigenous and Human Rights conferences and peace colloquia.

The Nobel prize-winner has received a number of international awards, including "Testimony" from the House of the Americas in Havana, for her book, *Rigoberta Menchú - the birth of awareness*, a testimony to the life of Guatemalan Indians, the UNESCO Peace Education Prize in Milan and the Mayor and County of San Francisco Honorary Diploma.

This is the fifth time the Nobel Prize has been won by a Latin American. It was previously awarded to Costa Rican president, Oscar Arias Paz in 1987, and shared in 1982, by a Mexican, Alfonso Robles and a Swede, Alva Myrdal.

The prize, consisting of 6.5 million Kroner (1.2 million dollars) is the highest ever awarded to a native voice of the unheard dispossessed of the world. For Menchú, it represents hope for dialogue and peace in both her country and the rest of Central and South America ✕

Raquel Villanueva
Staff Writer.



Rigoberta Menchú and Mexican president Carlos Salinas.



Rossy Alemán / Imagenlatina.

Her kindness and simplicity are framed by her richly colored dress.

Self-sacrificing motherland

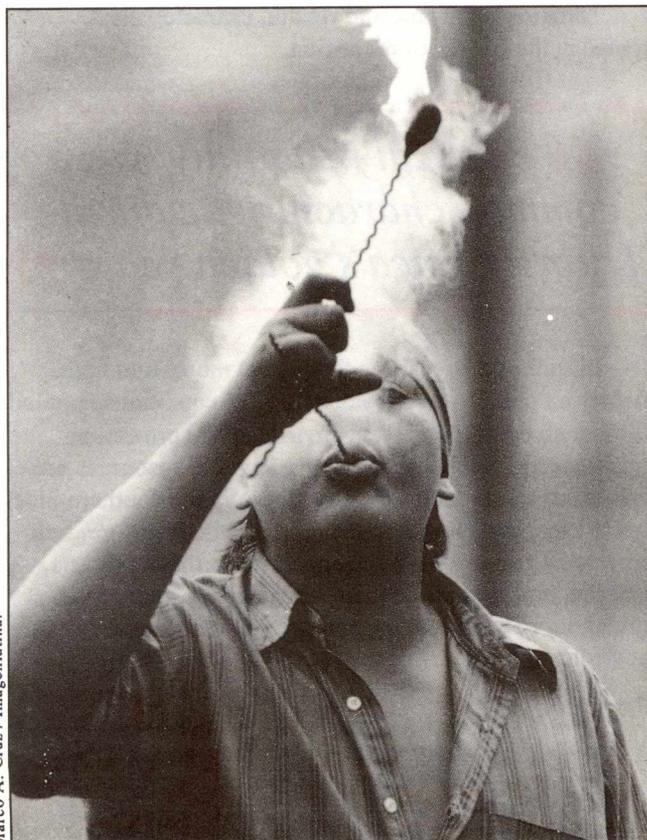
I crossed the border, my love,
 I don't know when I'll be back.
 Perhaps in summertime,
 when grandmother Moon and father Sun
 greet each other once again.
 One bright dawn,
 feted by all the stars.
 The first rains will fall
 and the squash will blossom that Victor sowed
 the afternoon the soldiers mutilated him,
 the peach orchards will flower and our fields will flourish.
 We shall sow much corn.
 Corn for the children of our land.
 The swarms of bees that fled
 so many massacres and so much terror will return.
 Once again, calloused hands will make more
 earthen jars for collecting honey.
 I crossed the border steeped in sorrow.
 I feel immense grief for that dark, rainy daybreak,
 that goes beyond my existence.
 Raccoons and howler monkeys cry,
 coyotes and mocking birds remain silent,
 snails wish they could talk.
 Mother Earth mourns, drenched in blood,
 weeping night and day from so much grief.
 She will miss the soothing sound of hoes,
 of machetes and grindstones.
 Dawn after dawn she will listen anxiously
 for the laughter and song of her glorious children.
 I crossed the border bearing my dignity,
 carrying a sack full of so much from that rainy land:
 the age-old memories of Patrocinio,
 the sandals I was born with, the smell of spring,
 the scent of moss, the corn field's caresses
 and the glorious callouses of childhood.
 I carry the multi-colored *huipil* for the homecoming fiesta,
 the bones and what's left of the corn. And of course!
 Come what may, this sack will return whence it came,
 I crossed the border, my love.
 I shall return tomorrow, when my tortured mother,
 weaves another colorful shift,
 when my father, burned alive, rises again at dawn,
 to greet the sun from the four corners
 of our little ranch.
 Then there will be home-brewed liquor for everyone, incense,
 laughing children and lively marimbas.
 There will be fires in every little farm, at every river
 to wash the corn for tortillas at daybreak.
 Pitch pine will be lit to illuminate the trails,
 ravines, rocks and fields.

Rigoberta Menchú

involvement in the production of goods and services, was not accompanied by prudent price, tariff and finance policies. This affected the administration of monetary policy negatively: deficit spending inflated the money supply and monetary instability.

The foreign sector proved to be even more vulnerable. Countries that had progressed industrially, transformed production methods and introduced new technology, did not develop sufficient competitiveness to participate adequately in the international marketplace. Raw materials continued to dominate Latin American exports with the result that their share in world commerce and the terms of trade continued to decline. Yet models for replacing imports by "internal development" generated chronic economic instability and dependence on foreign resources to finance recurrent deficits in international payments.

Latin American's share in world trade declined persistently from more than 10% of world exports in 1945 to 7.5% in 1980. On the other hand, chronic fiscal and balance-of-payments deficits encountered practically unlimited availability of private international credit. This contributed to the creation of the huge foreign debt that, from the beginning of the 80s, set off the crisis in Latin American development.



Marco A. Cruz / Imagenlatina.

Several nations have recently shown reversal of trends toward recession.

The lost decade

Mexico's suspension of foreign debt payments in August 1982, formally marked the beginning of the foreign debt crisis and the "lost decade" of the 80s. In Argentina and Chile, internal political circumstances had brought on the crisis somewhat earlier.

“Recent reversals can be seen in trends for recession, capital flight and high inflation rates”

According to ECLAC (Economic Council for Latin America and the Caribbean), real prices of the principal Latin American export commodities fell almost 30% in the 80s. In addition, the region continued to suffer the effects of European Common Market agricultural policies and increasing protectionism for such sensitive products as textiles and steel. Changes in conditions abroad forced a huge effort of adjustment and a massive transfer of funds to service foreign debt.

This unleashed a general decline in economic and social conditions. During the "golden years," annual inflation had fluctuated around 25%, but by the end of the 80s it was over 1,000%. Per capita output that had grown 3% annually, suddenly dropped close to 1% in the 80s. The investment rate fell 30%, while Latin American's share in world trade continued to decline, falling to only slightly more than 3% in 1990.

During this period, the number of people below the poverty line increased to more than 200 million, and currently number around 40% of the total population. The reduction in economic growth and drop in capital formation led to increased unemployment, socioeconomic isolation, and the migration of both unemployed and skilled workers.

Economic insecurity succeeded in aggravating the endemic capitalflight. It is currently estimated that funds deposited in foreign accounts by Latin American residents equal approximately 50% of the region's foreign debt.

The change of direction

The crisis unleashed by adjustment to new conditions, foreign trade during the 80s increased frustrations that had built up during the boom period. On the political front there was a general rejection of dictatorial regimes by all the nations of the South American sub-region. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay all succeeded in establishing democratic governments.

In the economic sphere there was open debate as to the advisability of traditional methods of import substitution



Rafael Bonilla.

Progress in environmental goals will not be possible without the eradication of poverty.

backed by strong government participation. A new model gradually took hold. It was based on the search for macro-economic equilibria and free markets, curtailing government intervention by deregulation and divestiture, reducing protectionist barriers and liberalizing rules for foreign investment.

The financial community and creditor governments played a very important role in this process. The same factors that had provoked endemic weakness in development patterns and a huge foreign debt by the end of the 70s, also prevented Latin American debtor nations from adopting strong negotiating positions to confront their creditors (Ferrer, 1984).

Conditions imposed to permit access to foreign funds complementary to resources designated for debt service, added new elements to the terms traditionally observed in foreign debt adjustment by the IMF.

Other components were added to classic fiscal, monetary, and exchange agreements. These tended to liberalize the functioning of the market system by reducing government presence and opening up the economy to outside competition. Foreign investment, technological development and other sensitive areas were deregulated to facilitate the participation of leading industrialized nations. These criteria, defined in the *Washington Agreement*, make up the present agreement conditions of the Brady Plan and the support of participating creditor nations.

The long-term impact these new directions will have on human development and environmental protection in Latin America is still unclear. Several nations have recently shown considerable economic improvement, including reversal of trends toward recession, capital flight and high inflation that predominated during the "lost decade" of the 80s.

Chile and Mexico showed the most successful results of these new tendencies. Economic activity, investments, and employment have begun to rise, starting up a

substantial new influx of foreign capital. Real estate and share prices on local stock exchanges have increased strongly in both nations.

These results, however, are not particularly impressive when compared to the "golden years." Not even the most successful nations have recovered the growth rate and capital accumulation of those years. Nor has the inflation rate differed substantially, despite rigorous and successful application of stabilization and adjustment procedures in Chile and Mexico.¹

Directional changes are being made, but so far results are still insufficient to support reliable predictions of results. It may be said unequivocally that there are real costs attached to such changes in direction and that they are paid by lower income groups, precisely those who should be the beneficiaries of sustainable development.

If there is no progress in the eradication of poverty, in dealing with urban problems and others that affect the quality of life, the necessary progress toward strictly environmental goals will not be possible.

Current dominant trends and the effect of foreign influence in Latin America reveal fewer opportunities for Latin American societies to choose their own path of development. At the same time growing inequalities and cracks in the social structure continue, based on concentration of income and wealth, characteristically rooted in the history of the region.

“Political instability was a common characteristic during Latin America’s golden years”

In short, the prevailing theoretical model and Latin American policies do not yet satisfy the conditions required for human development and environmental protection.

Poverty and the destruction of natural resources are now central problems affecting not only the southern bloc but the leading nations of the world. It is, therefore, not surprising that studies have appeared on these subjects, and that multilateral financial organizations have been giving more attention to problems of poverty and environmental protection.

¹ A comparison between the two periods should take into account changes in international conditions. At present, world production is growing at a rate approximately 50% below that recorded between 1945 and the beginning of the 70s, and world trade is growing at about 20% less than it did then. International financing conditions are also less permissive and the results of foreign debt persist, at different levels, in various countries.

As a result, the Second United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992) was held in entirely different circumstances from the first, twenty years ago.

In view of this new context, the fact that 77% of the world's population receives only 15% of its income can no longer be ignored, nor that *per capita* income in the North is almost 20 times higher than in the South and, according to current demographic trends, 85% of humanity will live in the Third World in the first quarter of the next century, while 95% of the increase in the world's labor force will also be based in the South.

“Democratic governments were established in South America during the 80s”

The principal problems that developed nations face are migrations of political refugees and people looking for work, drug trafficking, spread of epidemics, environmental destruction and conflicts that constantly break out in various regions of the planet.

The gap between agreements made for sustainable development and real behavior on a global basis is huge. Military expenditure, for example, continues to absorb an important part of world resources.

The Third World, with 15 % of world income, imports 75% of the world's arms. This is probably the greatest “transfer of technology” ever from North to South within the southern bloc. Around 4% of world income continues to be destined for military purposes, thus diverting funds essential for human development and environmental protection.

Sustainable development is also sabotaged by the following:

1. **Transfer of funds.** Up to 1981, money transferred from North to South totalled 43 billion dollars. The flow was reversed in the 80s, between 50 and 60 billion dollars having moved from South to North by 1989. The money drained out of Latin America during the decade represented 4% of the region's entire income. It was only in 1991, for the first time in a decade, that a positive transfer of 6.7 billion dollars reappeared. Prevailing insecurity and aggressive pursuit of deposits by private international banks aggravated the endemic problem of capital flight in many developing countries.
2. **Trade.** Southern exports are subject to tariff and non-tariff restrictions in the markets of industrialized

countries that protect such sensitive sectors as agriculture, textiles, and steel. Estimated annual cost to developing countries is 100 billion dollars on agricultural and 50 billion dollars on textile exports. At the same time, restrictions on technology transfer, trade in services and foreign investment dealings are designed to favor the interests of businesses and influential economic sectors in developed countries. But the terms of trade and relative share in food production, commodities, and energy are declining not only because of protectionism in the industrialized nations. New technological models in microelectronics, information systems, and biotechnology tend to reduce labor, energy and raw materials costs in the overall cost of production. Low paid, unskilled labor is being displaced by knowledgeable skilled labor. Natural products are displaced by new compound materials and energy-saving policies. Inevitably these processes reduce competitive advantages based on low salaries and natural resources.

Furthermore, macroeconomic disequilibria prevailing in industrialized countries and in their reciprocal relations generate instabilities in exchange and interest rates. This stimulates speculation and short-term capital movements in the main money markets, unrelated to production growth and real investment.

Advances by industrialized countries in recent years have not yet managed to solve chronic problems of unemployment and deficits in the balance of trade and payments. The current dispute between the United States and Japan proves that profound imbalances persist among industrialized nations. The formation of trade blocs in North America, Europe and Asia will hardly solve existing inequalities within the northern sector and,



The number of people below the poverty line has increased.

viewed pessimistically, could even force the break-up of the world market.

The new international order

The principles set out in the United Nations Charter acquire fresh meaning and validity in the new global framework. Its bases are not only political. They also respond to requirements essential for human development and environmental protection.

At the same time, participation in concerted international action for sustainable development and the protection of human rights implies waiving the concept of sovereignty and a commitment to fulfill contract obligations. What are the conditions necessary to reconcile such apparently contradictory elements?

1. Making common interests operational. To implement acts that reflect and deal with recognized problems, joint action by the international community must be based on symmetrical commitments involving all its members and on truly multilateral design and execution of programs.

Symmetrical commitments. Since it has tremendous impact on the functioning of the world economy, the northern bloc's role in a new international order should require commitment to several basic resolutions. These are the correction of imbalances in the leading economies, reconstruction of the monetary system and the consolidation of free and multilateral international trade. Policy coordination between major nations should be more efficient to assure stable interest and exchange rates as well as promoting increased production, investment, and

world trade. The North must take effective measures to ensure environmental protection, to prevent global warming, the destruction of the ozone layer, and of temperate forests, and the spread of toxic waste—all areas to which it is a major contributor. Efficient control of drug use and arms trafficking are further priority areas. The North should also be responsible for transferring funds and technology as a contribution to the sustainable development of the world economy. At the same time, developing nations in the new order should assume wide-ranging commitments, from protection of tropical forests and bio-diversity to policies for reducing extreme poverty, protecting human rights, consolidating democracy and mobilizing their societies' creative potential, including programs for regional integration between developing countries and South-South cooperation.

“Latin America's fiscal deficits became the source of a growing money supply and monetary instability”

Multilateral design. A “new human order,” a “world-wide agreement for human development,” and a United Nations program for Sustainable Development or, on the American continent, a Pact for the New World, can only be designed in forums that are truly multilateral. The United Nations is the natural setting for the design and follow-up of concerted action for sustainable development. This does not exclude the existence of regional programs such as, for example, those within the Organization of American States. Building a new framework for solidarity in sustainable development requires a profound change in international decision-making.

2. Making the right to self-determination operational. Effective participation in the benefits and support for an emerging new world order cannot exist without active commitment to human development and environmental protection. These commitments must not refer to the national policies, because the capability to design and implement such policies is the essence of the right to self-determination and individual choice. They need to be based on concrete indexes of health, education, distribution of wealth,



Marco A. Cruz / Imagenlatina.

Democracy, liberty and human rights were conspicuously absent for a large portion of the continent.

effective enjoyment of liberty, respect for human rights, and environmental conservation. A realistic and global understanding of economics and society, from the perspectives of human development and environmental protection, requires an orderly manipulation of macroeconomic variables. It is impossible to improve the quality of life or implement effective environmental policies in any country beset by macroeconomic disorder and hyperinflation.

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The lawyer of the 21st century

*Mario Melgar**

The institutionalization of political democracy in the 18th century assigned new tasks to lawyers, beyond those which they had traditionally performed under the system of Roman Law which dominated Europe since the 6th century. Lawyers were now expected to participate in public administration as government employees or civil servants.

Lawyers now perform a number of social roles which go beyond merely representing clients in legal matters. They may now be called upon to act as judge, notary, legislator, minister, teacher, researcher or consultant.

In transitional periods the law recovers its supreme function as an instrument of social transformation. Modern democratic theories of the State and the separation of powers are based on the premise that government is a social creation of human beings which is institutionalized by legal methods and procedures.

By making its constitution the supreme source of authority, a legally constituted state strives to assure the coherence of the laws which it enacts. Governmental actions which do not strictly adhere to the constitution are illegal. In a democracy, the constitution provides for its own defense and thus affords equal protection of the law to all citizens.

In a democracy, the law determines the form of government and defines the powers and duties of governmental bodies and officials. Hence, it is necessary in a legally-constituted democratic state that those responsible for government affairs be lawyers or have the assistance of lawyers. Government officials must base their decisions on the law. This makes it necessary for them to have an adequate knowledge of the legal system.

In Mexico, legislators are required to have a thorough knowledge of the Mexican legal system. The principle of legality requires that all court decisions be based on

precedent. The logic of the law does not permit a law to contradict the constitution or a previous ruling by the courts. Should this unlikely event occur, the legal order itself would determine the appropriate procedure to uphold both the constitution and the law.

What questions will arise in the next century for those who interpret, study, and make the law? Some suggestions follow.

Human rights

In 1824, when Mexico's first constitution was drafted, federalism was an important concern and normative principle. In 1857, individual rights and guarantees were the predominant concern. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 was far ahead of its time in its statement of social rights and guarantees.

As we near the end of the 20th century, the question which inevitably arises is what the new focus of concern in the area of human rights will be. Mexico, as a democratic society, follows the humanist tradition in its national and international policies.

The creation of the National Human Rights Commission and state human rights commissions is an organic expression of this trend. The Commission's work in the two years since it was founded demonstrates that human rights is not only a current issue but will continue to be a matter of concern in the future.

In this respect, the role of an Ombudsman is particularly important. It may be that an Ombudsman's presence will be required to resolve other national



In a globalized economy, labor relations need to be "harmonized" across borders.

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The majority of complaints the National Human Rights Commission receives are about arbitrary arrest.

problems, such as those concerning the ecology, indigenous communities and social communication issues.

Despite enormous efforts in the field, miscarriages of justice continue. According to the National Human Rights Commission, the majority of complaints it receives are about arbitrary arrest, denial of justice, abuse of authority and delays in the legal process. Other complaints include false accusations, procedural anomalies, torture, disagreements with court findings, decisions, or sentences, and denial of medical treatment to persons in custody.

There have been encouraging signs, however, beginning with the creation of the National Human Rights Commission. During the first year of its existence, the greatest number of complaints received concerned torture. According to the Commission's Fourth Semiannual Report: "In the first year of the Commission's existence, torture took first place among complaints about violations of human rights received; in the third semester it fell to third place, 6.2% of all complaints. In the fourth semester, torture occupied seventh place, with 134 recorded instances, equivalent to 2.9% of all complaints."¹

Future lawyers should devote serious attention to human rights and contribute to the efforts to see that they are respected. They will have to reconcile the need to preserve juridical norms with society's demand for greater

public safety. Here they will have to tread the thin line between protecting public safety at the expense of human rights and defending human rights without compromising public safety.²

Democratization

Another issue for 21st century lawyers to consider is democratization, i.e., the process necessary for society to move toward greater political participation by its members.³ Democratization is a suitable subject for lawyers because it is based on normative rules. There are dysfunctional aspects of democracies all over the world, including Mexico. The laws need to be improved to provide for better organization of elections, to determine which independent government organizations should be responsible for judging the

electoral process, to review the role of the media, and to reduce anomalies in the democratic process.

Labor law

In a welfare state which follows protectionist policies, laws protecting workers' rights suffer from the imposition of dogmatic requirements. An example of this is Mexico's Federal Labor Law which states that labor is a social right and duty. There is little emphasis on the fact that labor is not an object of commerce and it is unlikely that this concept will survive the process of economic globalization which already affects us in Mexico. The Federal Labor Law states that no distinctions may be made between workers on the basis of race, sex, age or religious belief. However, in a globalized economy labor relations need to be "harmonized" across borders which inevitably means that certain issues will have to be confronted.

Other legislative systems make distinctions on the grounds of race or sex. The basic premise of "affirmative action" in the United States is to establish minimum quotas of Black or Hispanic workers to compensate for their disparity in numbers in comparison with white workers and to lead to their greater participation in social processes. This will have to be reviewed in the case of Mexicans joining the labor market in the United States. Either new conventions will have to be drafted or a similar system

¹ *Fourth Semiannual Report of the National Human Rights Commission*, June 2, 1992. See Fox, "Litigation in the Year 2050," *Fordham Law Review*, Vol. 60, 1991, who notes that in 1932 it was common practice in Philadelphia to obtain confessions by violent means and that this occurred in 20% of arrests in New York. The recent videos on American television showing police brutality in Los Angeles confirm that this still holds true.

² Compare the remarks of Diego Valadés, Attorney General of Mexico City, in *El Nacional*, July 2, 1992.

³ José Francisco Ruiz Massieu in a lecture at the UNAM Law School, on March 2, 1992, referred to democracy as a static concept, whereas the idea of process suggests a dynamic and an evolution.

implemented here for foreign companies operating in Mexican territory.

We should preserve our protective laws, guide the class struggle and protect the working classes, but how can we reconcile this with the need to achieve the productivity levels required by international competition and to maintain good-quality products, competitive prices, adequate purchasing power and job benefits? A change of attitude is required regarding the purpose of the right to work.

One cannot ignore the need to include the handicapped, the sick, the unemployed and senior citizens in the Social Security system. However, this should not be based on indiscriminate fiscal subsidies, but on a new concept of social and economic efficiency that would abolish the present system in which most Mexicans are treated in state or social security hospitals, while those who can afford private medical insurance can go to the hospital of their choice.

Federalism

Mexico has a long federalist tradition that began with the Mexican Constituent Act.⁴ The 19th century witnessed struggles between Conservatives and Liberals to establish Mexico's form of national government. Federalism is concerned with the nature of power and its distribution. Competition between different levels of government provides a mechanism to assure the balance of power required in a democracy.

Although there is a modern tendency toward greater decentralization of governmental power, there is a lack of a coherent doctrine regarding the nature and role of local government. Lawyers who deal with such issues should have no shortage of work in the 21st century. They might involve themselves in issues concerning the relations between federal and state government, and between federal agencies and local governments.

Relations between state and society

The reform of the governmental apparatus implies the creation of a new relationship between state and society. This is a task for lawyers because such changes would have to be set forth in the form of laws.

In a democracy there is a bilateral relationship between society and state, governors and governed, which places limits on the role of each. However, the relationship between a society and the social groups which comprise it also has to be defined. The same applies to the relationship between individuals and groups, and between individuals and the state. For example, it is necessary to define the relationship between schools, pupils and parents; between



Angeles Torrejón / Imagenlatina.

The laws need to be improved to provide for better organization of elections.

individuals and the mass media; and between consumers, producers and distributors.

The Ombudsman could become a key figure in defining the legal relations between individuals and groups with social authority which may not necessarily be identical to the state.

Church-state relations

The reform of Article 130 of the Constitution and the enactment of the new law concerning religious associations and public worship present a new legal problem: how to render effective the rights created by the church's new status. Lawyers who are notaries may now register church property. This was not possible under Mexican law inherited from the 19th century which refused to recognize church property.

Conclusion

Lawyers now play a key role in keeping society running smoothly. In the 21st century, this role will undergo modifications as lawyers assume different functions. There is a pressing need to redefine the constituent elements of the state and the legal system.

The legal concepts of popular sovereignty, democracy, and nationhood are no longer adequate for a world characterized by economic globalization and universal problems of environmental protection. New means must be found to adapt national and international law to this new reality in order to encourage greater development and guarantee freedom and social welfare throughout the world.

It is for these reasons that the role of the lawyer in shaping national and international, as well as public and private, law will develop new dimensions in the 21st century. Lawyers are central figures in society. They are responsible for drafting, enforcing, interpreting, executing and applying the laws which govern social life. Lawyers play a vital role in the functioning of society's legal system because it is their responsibility to see that justice is done ✘

⁴ The 1824 Constitution was based on this Act which laid the basis for Mexico's independence.

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Shrove Tuesday

Rosamaría Casas

Eustaquio was reluctant to move to his aunt and uncle's house in Veracruz, but they were his only remaining relatives after his parents' death. At the age of fifteen, changing one's home is a frightening experience, and the fact that he would have to go to a new school, in a place where the climate was so different from Mexico City, did nothing to improve his frame of mind.

His uncle and aunt were very different from his parents. Uncle Ernesto, obsessed with the punctuality of his thirty-seven clocks, spent the whole day making sure they were wound up so they would ring every quarter of an hour. Aunt Lucha took little notice of her family. Most of her time was occupied with breeding dogs and she was nearly always holding a puppy in her hands. Grandmother was a forgetful old lady; when she was not asleep, she spent the time with her dolls, human beings seemed unreal to her. Eustaquio found all this highly unusual and the family's eccentricities helped to distract him from his nostalgia.

His cousin Fabiola was the best thing that happened to him. He realized that her presence chased his sad thoughts away. Since she was always joking, he too laughed more often.

When Fabiola walked, the rhythm of her swaying hips made her breasts bob under her cotton blouse. Eustaquio was embarrassed to look at her, but stole glances at her, especially when she was taking a siesta in the hammock. He would sit nearby so he

could watch her. His cousin had inherited the Arab taste for hidden gardens, Spanish features and the reticence of the Olmecs, disguised as lightheartedness that hid her constant encounters with her own lust.

Though he had never touched more than her hand, Eustaquio would embrace her as he fell asleep. He would imagine that he kissed her from head to toe. When he came to her head, he enjoyed undoing her braids and playing with her silky black hair. It was as if he knew the taste of her tongue and the warmth of her body. Fabiola was always at his side and he never left her, even when he was asleep. She inhabited his dreams and was his constant companion.

Fabiola introduced him to all her friends at school and managed to have Eustaquio stay behind a year so that they would be in the same class. She taught him to enjoy himself on the beach with their classmates; he was swept along by the warmth of her easy laughter. She did not seem to mind that her cousin was not very talkative; her vitality was enough for both of them. Eustaquio tried not to stay away from her any longer than was necessary. He felt as though he was in the eye of a hurricane; there was no time to remember the past and it was as if every day were the night before a party. Every morning, when he woke up, his body felt different, and he experienced new sensations in both his head and groin. He grew sensitive to smell and could tell when his cousin was approaching, even if she made no noise, because he could sense the

perfume that emanated from every pore of Fabiola's body. Eustaquio seemed to be in perpetual motion, like the pendulums of his uncle's clocks.

The whirlpool accelerated during preparations for carnival. Using gauzy material she had found in her grandmother's trunk, Fabiola made herself a tunic that covered her like mist, from her tall pointed hat to her golden sandals. She found a Phrygian cap for Eustaquio and a velvet cape that made him perspire.

On Shrove Tuesday, Fabiola, Eustaquio and their friends went to the most crowded street. They were pushed along by the crowd that surged like a river of laughter and music. The cousins let themselves be carried along. Eustaquio felt his feet lifted off the ground and his only thought was to prevent anyone from getting between him and Fabiola. He had never been so close to her and noticed her smell of talcum powder and sweat. With his arm around his cousin's waist he was only aware of her warm flesh.

Fabiola and Eustaquio were separated from their companions by the jostling crowd. Suddenly, they found themselves in the midst of a group of young men in fancy dress. Some were dressed as women, others disguised as devils, the leader clad in a white tunic with a pointed hood covering his entire face except for the eyes that glinted from behind two vertical slits.

They were blindfolded with a black cloth and dragged along, almost flying, in spite of their shouts of protest that mingled with the crowd's yelling.

The voices of the street soon died away. The only sound was the soft murmur of the boys who had carried them to the garden of a deserted house near the beach. They could hear the noise of the waves crashing against the beach; the breeze had a slight salt taste.

Amid threats of "Shut up or we'll cut out your tongues with this knife," the cousins stopped their protests when they were placed in the middle of the circle of men dressed as women, devils and the hooded figure. Fabiola stared at the ground, so Eustaquio could not catch her eye when the young men began to strip her. He tried to break free of the arms holding him, but the knife at his throat forced him to keep still. When the filmy blue gauze hung in shreds, revealing Fabiola's pale breasts, Eustaquio shut his eyes, not daring to look at her. His knees felt weak and he would have fallen if the arms holding him had not pulled him up, with a threatening, "Coward!" whispered into his ear by moist lips that kissed and insulted him at the same time, while several hot hands began to tear off his clothing. Wrapping his clothes into a bundle, with the velvet cape on top, they threw them onto the ground and dragged him toward Fabiola.

They had forced her against the trunk of a jacaranda tree and now shoved Eustaquio against his cousin's body, so they were facing each other. He would have embraced her to console her, but they had fastened his arms to his sides when they tied them to the tree. The cousins felt cold sweat sticking their bodies together, the acrid smell filled their nostrils. They could not see each other's faces, since the rope tied around their necks had made them into a single head, with their

profiles touching. When Eustaquio covered Fabiola's nakedness with his own, they felt less ashamed.

When their bodies merged, Eustaquio and Fabiola no longer heard the voices around them and the noise of the waves died away; they could hear only the rush of their blood and their deafening heartbeat, resounding like a bell in the depth of their bellies. Sweat no longer came out of their every pore and they breathed a deep satisfying peace. "Don't be scared," Eustaquio whispered softly, so that only Fabiola could hear.

The devils placed dried branches at their feet. Laughing, they threatened to roast them alive, like fresh caught fish. The devils were lighting a torch made of strips of the velvet cape when a violent tropical downpour put an end to the ceremony.

Eustaquio and Fabiola murmured tenderly to each other, making promises of love that lessened the gravity of the incident. Sometimes they fell silent, fatigue making them drowsy. Their legs hurt and their bodies were sore from the bruises caused by the ropes. They were only aware that hours had gone by when daylight pierced their aching eyes. Their bodies, bound together, breathed in unison, and their minds were like a calm summer sea.

The police found them in the morning, soaking wet from the cloudburst that had flooded the city. The devils' callous deed and the fright they had caused the couple gave rise to widespread indignation and the authorities pledged to find those responsible so they could be duly punished for a prank that might have caused their death.

From that day on, Fabiola and Eustaquio spoke only to each other. No one could tell what they said. They did not utter a word to others. Their noisy laughter and their friends' lively company disappeared. The only sound in the house was the puppies' barking, the clocks' ticking and grandmother's lullabies as she rocked her dolls to sleep.

The cousins spent most of their time by the sea. When they were in the house, they whispered so no one could hear them. They lived in a world of their own, like two ghosts, inseparable night and day. They did not seem to notice that grandmother's dolls disappeared at the same time as her lullabies. Nor were they surprised when uncle Ernesto's clocks stopped chiming in unison every quarter of an hour, or that the pendulums hung still. One day Fabiola said she was glad there were no more noisy puppies in the house, but she never mentioned her mother's absence. Eustaquio did not find this strange; he was only aware of a single presence, his cousin's.

The palm trees are gone from the beach. There is now an apartment building where the abandoned house once stood. Curious passersby notice a man and a woman walking along the beach. The woman has grey hair and a deeply lined forehead, the man moves stiffly, his shoulders hunched. When they reach the rocks, they stand very straight, facing each other, their arms at their sides, their cheeks touching. They stand thus for a long time, two bodies fused into one, until the tide comes in and wets their feet and the waves' caresses seem to wake them from a deep sleep 



Surface Archaeology

Eugenio Aguirre

I
"It sounds exciting!" Laura said, her face shining happily, an attitude she adopted whenever something interested her. "And how do you do it?"

"It's very simple," I answered not really looking at her. The ties on my huaraches were wrapped around my ankles and required all my attention. "I pick out a fairly large area, preferably near a mound that seems to be a pyramid or burial site, and slowly walk around among the furrows made by the farmers. There I usually find ceramic pebbles, pieces of obsidian and, if I'm very lucky, a small face or a leg or hand or part of a torso. Very rarely, a complete figure."

"And why do you want them?" the girl asked in her lilting voice. "Well, I'm not an archaeologist, a scientist, you know, but I admire pre-Columbian cultures. I'm very much interested in them. I know something about the styles of the classical period and the preclassical... the decline, and even the methods used by the natives, their work in tablets, bas-relief, their use of beads and other jewelry. I find in them a special language that tells me about their past grandeur, the flourishing of their arts. The truth is, Laura, I collect them and keep them in these cookie tins. Of course, at times I look at them, examine them, show them to my friends!"

"Fabulous!" Laura cried with a touch of mockery that made me flush. "I hope they amuse you a lot."

"So you won't come? I assure you it's..." Her sarcastic smile cut me off. In the crow's feet around her beautiful eyes there was an all too clear message which said "stupid." I changed position and began whistling a well known folk song. "And tonight?" I asked.

"You're not going to try to take me out into the fields to see if you can find one of your little figures?"

"To the fields? You're crazy! I'm talking about another kind of surface research."

"Oh, I get it! Well, that sounds more entertaining, more exciting. But be careful about trying to collect any of my little pieces because I'll pull off you know what."

"Don't worry, I'll be tender."

The blazing Sunday sun found me walking in a bog that sank under my feet after nightlong rain. My back was burning. I had spent three hours searching and only a dozen pieces of various kinds of ceramic had found their way into my knapsack. Some with borders in high relief, some smooth and some polychromed. My footsteps covered more than an acre of land carefully prepared for seeding. It would be done the next week the farmer had told me as he urged on his yoke of oxen.

Laura had stayed at the hotel to play tennis with Señora Esparza. Her hands would be clean, at most dampened by the natural sweat of her palms. Mine, on the other hand, were filthy black, the nails made unrecognizable by bits of accumulated mud. They had worked hard to find something good... but nothing.

It must have been two in the afternoon when I seemed at last to have found something exciting: a complete hand, intact but for the plow's mutilation of the wrist.

With great care I removed accumulated mud, looking, always looking for the body it belonged to. But it was alone and there were no indications or fragments to suggest the presence of other parts. I blew off the dry dust covering it and tugged at it hard.

II
"I had to pull with all my might, father. The piece resisted me with great force. It seemed to be a fight for survival. As I grabbed it, I closed my fingers the way you showed me and locked my thumb and forefinger together. Then the battle started. He was pulling from above and I, from below. Until I managed to get his head in the furrow and then everything was much easier. Look, it really is a very curious piece."

"That is interesting, Citlacoatl. Those who devote themselves to following the movement of the stars through the pathways of heaven, those who practice *ilhuicatl*, have told me they are much interested in the kind of archaeology you practice. Although, when they realize you keep all your pieces in red clay amphoras and store them in the back of the palace, they shake their heads in disapproval."

"Why, father? If they're only good for entertaining your friends and as an excuse to take beautiful women to the countryside and..." ❧

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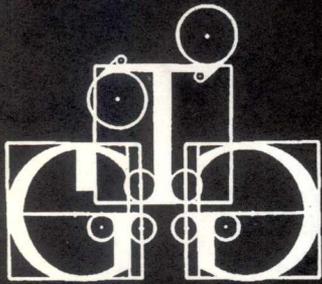
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