

Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES



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**Mexican press coverage
of the U.S. primaries**

**Lacandonia:
the final refuge**

**Undocumented migration
from Mexico to the U.S.**

**Jesús Helguera
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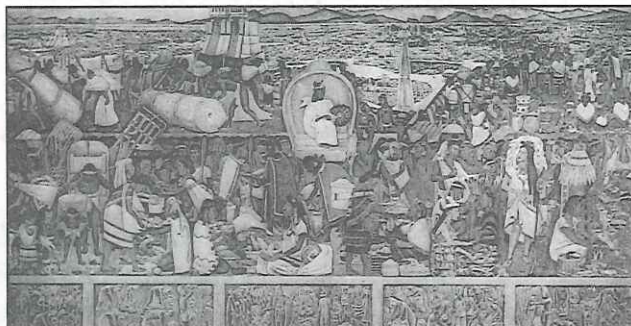
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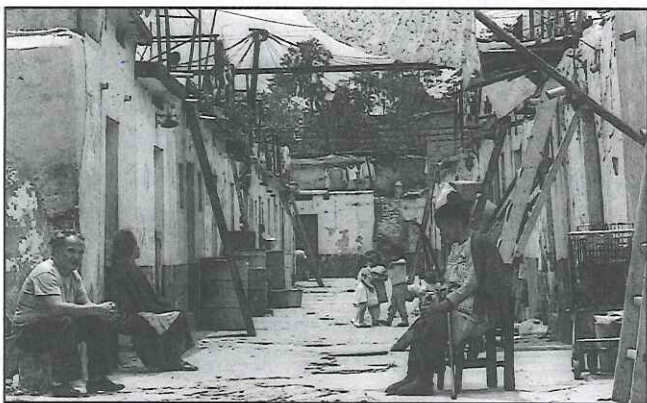


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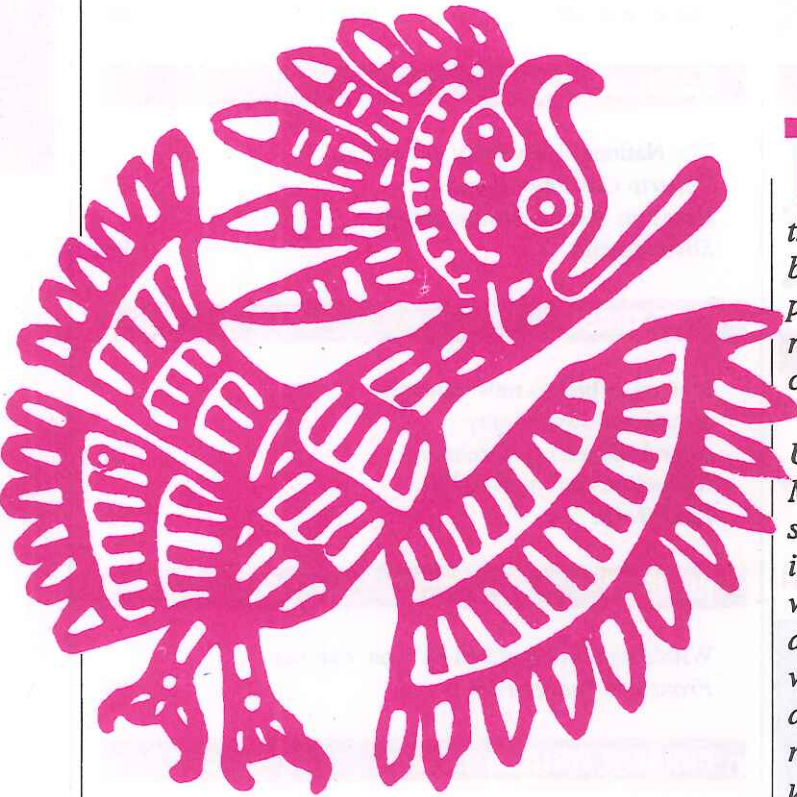
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Cover: *Lacandon Boy*. Photo by Antonio Vizcaino.

Our voice



The problem of Mexican workers emigrating to the United States is rooted in history. After the 1848 border treaty known as the "Treaty of Guadalupe" put an end to the war with the United States, residents on the Mexican side of the border continued to cross it as they had always done.

In 1942, during the Second World War, a US delegation negotiated permission for Mexican workers to be employed on the other side of the border in replacement of Americans in uniform. The agreements protecting Mexican workers' rights expired in December of 1964, and since then, only a limited number of workers, varying from year to year, has been allowed to cross the border. In fact, a larger number do enter the US: including so-called undocumented workers or "illegals" as they are known in the United States, who exceed the established quota.

This is one of the thorniest problems in relations between the two countries, and will be discussed by Mexican experts in this issue. Mexico and the United States have signed a number of agreements guaranteeing the human and labor rights of Mexican workers, whether illegal or not. Unfortunately, Mexican workers continue frequently to be mistreated, exploited and killed as a result of the persecution to which they are subjected. This poisons bilateral relations at a time when, in the light of the approaching Free Trade Agreement, they should be an example of neighborly conduct.

A smaller number of Mexican workers also emigrate to Canada, under an agreement signed

by the Mexican and Canadian governments; this has not caused any conflict between our two countries.

European workers from any of the European Economic Community countries are allowed to work freely in all of them. In the future, the same should apply to workers in North America.

Workers' freedom to seek employment in any of the three NAFTA nations has not yet been dealt with in current FTA negotiations.

This issue will discuss other aspects of the border, such as the rapidly expanding in-bond industries.

It will also cover one of Mexico's lesser known museums, the Spratling Museum in Taxco. William Spratling, an American, came to Mexico and settled in Taxco. He devoted himself to making silverware with Mexican themes, set up a school for silversmiths, and awarded prizes for the best work. The museum was built in his honor.

The Former Head of State of Nigeria and Chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum, Olesugun Obasanjo, expresses his views on the subject of a new world order. Always open to ideas from elsewhere, the UNAM welcomes the opportunity to publish the opinions of such distinguished personalities as Obasanjo. Since ideas know no bounds, we have included articles from prominent thinkers in Latin America, Europe and now Africa. An ecumenical sense of culture is one of the cornerstones of this university.

The preservation of our endangered environment will be a recurrent theme in *Voices*. In this issue, Dr. José Sarukhán, the university's rector, writes in defense of the Lacandon ecosystem, where progress is synonymous with ecological disaster.

Porrás Navarro highlights the contribution of native Mexicans to the new culture that grew out of the contact between Spaniards and natives in his article on the Painted books of pre-Hispanic and colonial Mexico.

Hector Luisi, a distinguished Uruguayan, who helped write his country's Constitution, discusses current inter-American affairs.

Edmundo Flores comments on the effect of constitutional reforms on the agricultural development of rural Mexico. Now the object of much attention and plans for development, the rural sector, home to almost half the population of Mexico, was subordinated to Mexico's move towards industrialization in the 30's.

Poverty, ignorance and unsanitary conditions are widespread in the countryside. It is essential to raise the campesinos' standard of living, implement modern agriculture and agro-industry, and provide education and health services if Mexico is to become a society where differences between rich and poor are lesser than they are today ✽

Hugo B. Margáin
Editorial Director.

Undocumented migration from Mexico to the U.S.

Jorge A. Bustamante*

Undocumented migration from Mexico to the United States has been a subject of much controversy and debate fueled more by emotion, prejudice and myth than by fact and scientific research. An illustration of this is the contrast between notions predominant in Mexico and in the United States about the same phenomenon. A fact considered positive in one country and negative in the other makes it difficult to conclude that the truth about the phenomenon is equally distributed on both sides.

The predominant notion in Mexico is that undocumented migration to the United States is basically a bilateral economic phenomenon created by a demand for cheap labor in the United States. Migrants are commonly called labor migrants. They are viewed positively as hard working people who are trying their best to improve their lot and have to cross the border without benefit of a migratory document because that is how the US really wants them, their undocumented status depriving them of their rights and therefore rendering their labor cheaper. In the US, the same phenomenon involving the same people under the same circumstances, is viewed basically as crime-related therefore requiring domestic solutions (under US legislation) of a police nature. Migrants are commonly called "illegal aliens" and are generally viewed negatively, as a threat, a sort of disease or plague caused by factors outside the US, of which the US is a victim.

The result of this contrast in perspective of the same phenomenon is miscommunication between the governments and the peoples concerned. They are at cross purposes on the subject of undocumented migration from Mexico to the United States.

Even when the two governments decide to negotiate a free trade agreement, the US decides unilaterally to exclude the migrant labor question from the discussion. However, there is a remarkable degree of consensus in the scientific community on both sides of the border, borne out by quotes in this paper.

* President of *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte* (The College of the Northern Border).

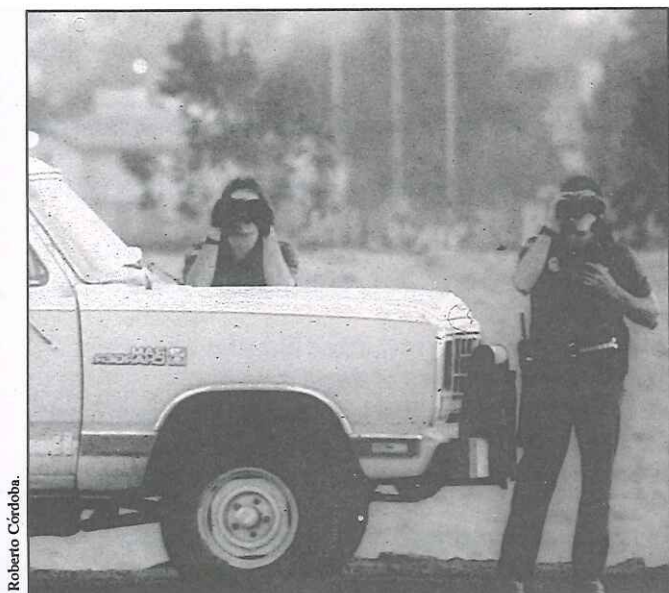
This paper presents recent data on the effects of the U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA).

The following analysis is based on empirical research conducted at *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*. The Zapata Canyon Project has sought to document the flow of illegal migration from Mexico to the United States since 1986.

Reform of U.S. immigration laws

The passage of IRCA in November 1986 was fueled primarily by the contention that the US had "lost control of its borders"¹. Diverse ideological factions worked to maintain fear in the American public that the presence of undocumented immigrants was a "serious danger"². The power of these ideological factions drowned out the voice of the experts who maintained that undocumented immigration did more good than harm to the US economy³.

- 1 The phrase "We have lost control of our borders" was coined on the eve of the presidential contest between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Through a dramatic and campaign on U.S. national television, the Republicans were trying to show President Carter's weakness in dealing with the more than 200,000 Cubans entering Florida. When the furor of the "Mariel invasion" died down, the phrase, which had captured the imagination of television watchers, was used by the proponents of IRCA to refer to the Mexican border situation.
- 2 In a public opinion poll conducted in California in 1985, 87 percent of those interviewed felt that undocumented immigration from Mexico was at that time a "serious thing" or "very serious" (see Muller and Espenshade, 1985, p. 201). This book, one of the few that casts doubt on the negative effects of undocumented migration for the United States economy, was written shortly before the passage of IRCA.
- 3 Shortly before the passage of IRCA, the U.S. Council of Economic Advisors released its annual report entitled *Economic Report to the President*, Washington, D.C., 1986. Chapter seven of this report is dedicated to the impact of undocumented immigration on the United States. It concludes, on page 233, that the overall impact is positive. It is amazing how little attention this report has received in the United States.



Roberto Cárdenas

Border patrol at El Bordo, Tijuana, B.C., 1989.

The principal objective of the reform was to eliminate illegal entry of foreigners into the United States. To achieve this goal, the new legislation included various provisions, the best-known and most controversial of which was the imposition of sanctions on employers who hired undocumented immigrants.

This provision abolished the 1952 reforms, or the Walter-MacArran Act, which, with the Texas proviso, had made the US the only country that expressly authorized employers to hire foreigners entering the country in violation of its own immigration laws⁴.

In 1987, a provision of IRCA, known in the United States as "amnesty", allowed undocumented immigrants to legalize their immigration status. The new legislation offered two main routes to legalization. One was "regular legalization", which was open to those undocumented immigrants who could prove continuous residence in the United States since January 1, 1982. At the end of the application period, which lasted from May 5, 1987 to May 4, 1988, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) reported that it had received 1.8 million applications, of which it estimated 90 percent would be approved (Espenshade et al., 1990). This figure was lower

than the 2 million applications the INS had estimated it would receive at the beginning of the program.

The other route for legalization was for "special agricultural worker" (SAW). This was open to foreigners who could prove that they had worked in perishable agricultural products in the United States for a minimum of 90 days during the 12 months preceding May 12, 1986.

A sub-category was opened in this route that granted temporary work authorization for one year, with the option to legalize permanently, so long as the work was exclusively in agriculture. After this period, qualifying individuals could apply for legalization as special agricultural workers. At the end of the last extension of the application period, on November 30, 1988, the INS reported that it had received more than 1 million applications.

Since undocumented immigrants who came to the United States after January 1982 were not eligible for the "regular legalization" program, the majority of undocumented Mexicans could not qualify, because their migration pattern included entering the US and returning to Mexico to visit relatives. This meant that the majority of undocumented Mexicans would try to qualify as special agricultural workers.

The INS reported that many of the applicants in this category presented fraudulent documents, so it was expected that in contrast to regular legalization, there would be a high percentage of applications refused in the special agricultural worker category (see Martin and Taylor, 1988).

In theory, the undocumented immigrants who did not legalize via one of the routes created by the new legislation would have to return to their country of origin. In reality, this does not appear to be occurring, the principal reason being that US employers have not stopped hiring undocumented workers⁵.

This has resulted not only in the continued presence of undocumented immigrants who did not qualify for legalization but also in the increased entry of new undocumented immigrants as shown in graph 1. The graph shows yearly changes after the passage of IRCA. The decline shown for 1989 was caused primarily by the number of undocumented immigrants who, after obtaining temporary work permits, caused undocumented migratory figures to drop once their applications for legalization of migratory status had been accepted.

⁴ Section 1342 of Immigration and Nationality Act or Public Law 414, in 1952 and reformed in 1986, read as follows: "Any person who willfully or knowingly conceals, harbors or shields from detection, in any place including any building or by any means of transportation, or who encourages or induces, or attempts to encourage or induce, either directly, the entry into the United States of any alien shall be guilty of a felony. Upon conviction he shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars or prison not exceeding five years, or both, for each alien in respect to whom the violation occurs. Provided, however, that for the purpose of this section, employment, shall not be deemed to constitute harboring (emphasis added)".

⁵ Ned Sullivan, director of the Los Angeles office of the U.S. Department of Labor, confirmed that the number of employers who pay less than minimum wage has increased since the passage of IRCA (in Weinstein, 1989). Anthony Mischel, a lawyer in the office of Legal Aid in Los Angeles, said that the number of cases (violations of the minimum wage law) formally opened, has tripled between 1986 and 1988 (in Weinstein, 1989). According to these observers, the majority of cases pertain to undocumented immigrants, for which specific examples are given.

The process of migration

- Migration pressures are the result of differentials in job creation levels, job openings, and wage levels from one side of the U.S.-Mexican border to the other.
- The flow of legal and undocumented migrants from Mexico to the United States responds to both push and pull factors.
- It is strongly resistant to government intervention.
- While the migrant workforce provides benefits to U.S. producers, there is growing evidence of the fiscal impact of the migrant workforce on social services and health care costs.
- Mexican policymakers would prefer to have migrant workers employed in a revitalized Mexican economy, thereby eliminating the human trauma and risks that characterize the process of illegal migration.
- Massive and unregulated flows of migrants are problematic for both nations, but legal and agreed-upon levels of migration are advisable—and should be the subject of continuing bilateral discussion.
- The social and political tension that immigration sometimes creates can be ameliorated through a continuing bilateral policy dialogue.

As a general principle, we believe that the ultimate key to reasonable policies on migration lies in the achievement of solid and sustained economic growth in Mexico. Successful resolution of the problems of debt, trade, and investment constitutes a prerequisite for coping with the phenomenon of migration. We do not recommend efforts to seal off the border between Mexico and the United States, which would not succeed in any case. Measures necessary to achieve this goal would probably require the militarization of the border, the adoption of national identity cards, the imposition of severe penalties on employers of undocumented workers and widespread deportation of undocumented migrants—measures not likely to be accepted by the American public.

For the United States government, the Commission recommends:

1. Create a new application period for immigrants who might qualify for amnesty under the provisions of the current IRCA legislation.
2. Consider the creation of a special "temporary amnesty" for those who entered the United States between January 1982 and November 1986 (when Simpson-Rodino was signed into law).
3. Issue regular public reports on the full range of effects of the Simpson-Rodino legislation, and make these reports available to the binational interparliamentary meetings of U.S. and Mexican legislators.
4. In keeping with national traditions, promptly and publicly endorse the forthcoming United Nations resolution on the human rights of migratory workers—and extend its provisions to all Mexican and other immigrants within the United States.
5. Insure that public officers adhere to standards of civilized behavior toward migrants, and avoid physical or verbal abuse.

A paradox

It is paradoxical that legislation as restrictive as IRCA could pass in the same year that, because of changes in U.S. demographic patterns, the demand for foreign labor increased. In effect, in 1986, the year IRCA was passed, there was a turnabout in the population dynamic of the US labor force, marking the beginning of a drop in the entry of young male workers into the labor market.

The U.S. Department of Labor has estimated that by the year 2000 there will be a 6 percent decrease in the number of young men between the ages of 16 and 24 entering the labor market and a 15 percent decrease in those between the ages of 24 and 34 entering the labor market.

Young men constituted 23 percent of the labor force in 1972, whereas in 1986 they comprised 20 percent. By the

year 2000 it is estimated that this percentage will decrease to 16. In the meantime, the proportion of workers over age 35 will increase from 51 percent in 1986 to 61 percent by the year 2000 (Fullerton, 1987).

If the preceding data are not sufficiently demonstrative of the relationship between these demographic changes and increases in the demand for undocumented immigrant labor, recent projections of the composition of the United States labor force are even more convincing⁶

Silvestri and Lukasiewics (1987), of the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Labor Statistics, found

⁶ See George T. Silvestri and John M. Lukasiewics, "A look at Occupational Employment Trends to the Year 2000", *Monthly Labor Review* 110 (9) 1987, pp. 49-63.

For the Mexican government, the Commission recommends:

1. Forge a clear definition of the Mexican national interest regarding migration.
2. Stimulate the creation of employment in the major sending areas, particularly those where outmigration is seen as contrary to the national interest.
3. Cooperate with U.S. authorities in assuring faithful U.S. compliance with the U.N. convention on the human rights of migrant workers.
4. Actively collaborate with the U.S. government in the construction of a bilateral approach to immigration questions.

For both the U.S. and Mexican governments, the Commission recommends:

1. Work together to obtain an accurate quantitative count of the migrant population.
2. Undertake to reach a formal bilateral agreement on migration.

And with or without a formal agreement, the two governments should adopt an explicitly bilateral approach to migration issues. The purposes of this agreement should include:

- Consideration of a possible increase in the legal quotas for Mexican migration to the United States, in accordance with a clear understanding of the national interests of the two countries.
- Agreement on the flow and treatment of "seasonal agricultural workers", a group that has received special (but not fully defined) status under the IRCA legislation.
- Agreement on measures to protect the basic human and labor rights of the migrant population, including undocumented workers, and to assure reasonable working and living conditions.
- Consideration of a long-run temporary worker program.

And as a basis for bilateral negotiation, it is essential that Mexico and the United States reach a common understanding of the causes and consequences of the problem. It is also essential for both governments to have a clear idea of national interests —of their own and of each other's. Any program for regulated labor migration must include satisfactory provisions for access to health and social services.

We realize that this is an imposing agenda, but we believe that a common agreement on such questions is desirable and necessary for both countries. An understanding on this issue would also remove a major obstacle to the long-term betterment of U.S.-Mexican relations.

**Bilateral Commission on the Future
of U.S.-Mexican Relations.**

that the occupations for which the greatest demand will exist between 1986 and 2000 are: waiters and waitresses; grocery store clerks; cleaners of homes, offices and public places; restaurant cooks and their assistants; bartenders; service employees in private clubs; and security guards. These are the occupations in which more than half the undocumented population is employed, as shown below.

Silvestri and Lukasiewics (1987) also reported that the service sector, which includes the preceding occupations, will be the fastest growing sector between now and the end of the century, expanding from 17.5 million workers in 1986 to nearly 30 million in the year 2000.

Given the growth patterns of the age groups that will be working between now and the end of the century, the

population of working age in the US cannot possibly meet the demand for more than 5 million employees in jobs with low level salaries and qualifications.

Unless new labor-saving technologies enable such jobs to be performed less expensively in the near future than they are at present by undocumented workers, the U.S. economy will be threatened by an economic slowdown. Such a slowdown can be avoided only by "importing" the foreign work force necessary to fill the shortages inherent in the aging of the US working population.

Measurement of migrant flows across the border

The previous discussion underscores the need to address scientifically the question of whether IRCA reforms have produced the effects intended. At *El Colegio de la*

Table 1
PROVINCES WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBERS OF UNDOCUMENTED
IMMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO BY BORDER CITIES
WHERE THEY CROSSED (SEPT. 1988-DEC. 1990)

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN	CITY OF CROSSING	ABSOLUTES	(%)
CIUDAD JUAREZ	CD. JUAREZ	3886	14.0
DISTRITO FEDERAL	TIJUANA	2079	7.5
MICHOACAN	TIJUANA	1782	6.4
JALISCO	TIJUANA	1634	5.9
GUANAJUATO	MATAMOROS/ NVO. LAREDO	1539	5.5
TAMAULIPAS	"	1426	5.1
SAN LUIS POTOSI	"	1375	4.9
NUEVO LEON	"	1058	3.8
VERACRUZ	"	1057	3.8
ZACATECAS	TIJUANA	957	3.4
OAXACA	TIJUANA	913	3.3
TOTAL		17706	64.0
OTHER		9926	36.0
TOTAL		27632	100

Source: Zapata Canyon Project. Continuous monitoring survey. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

Frontera Norte, we responded to this question by using two methods to observe the northward flow of undocumented immigrants.

The first was based on a short questionnaire administered to a select sample of about 25 persons a day, three days a week, in cities where *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte* has permanent research offices along the border (Tijuana, Mexicali, Nogales, Ciudad Juárez, Nuevo Laredo and Matamoros).

These questionnaires were designed to be completed in less than three minutes by undocumented immigrants in the parts of each city that show the most crossings of such immigrants into the US. These questionnaires have been administered, with interruptions, since September 1987.

The other method of observation is the source of data presented in graph 1. This was derived from the use of photographic techniques to measure the flow of undocumented immigrants who cross through Zapata Canyon at the US-Mexico border between Tijuana and San Diego. Migrants gather on an esplanade at the foot of Mesa de Otay, inside US territory. They wait there until dark, then walk north seeking to reach the urban area of San Diego County undetected.

Measurement consists of taking three photographs covering the same geographical space of the esplanade, at one hour intervals. The third picture is taken 10 minutes before sunset, the second picture is taken one hour earlier and the first picture two hours earlier.

It has been empirically detected that the peak number of people concentrated on the esplanade is systematically

reached within this two hour period. The numbers taken from each picture are then fed into a computer and a data base organized chronologically.

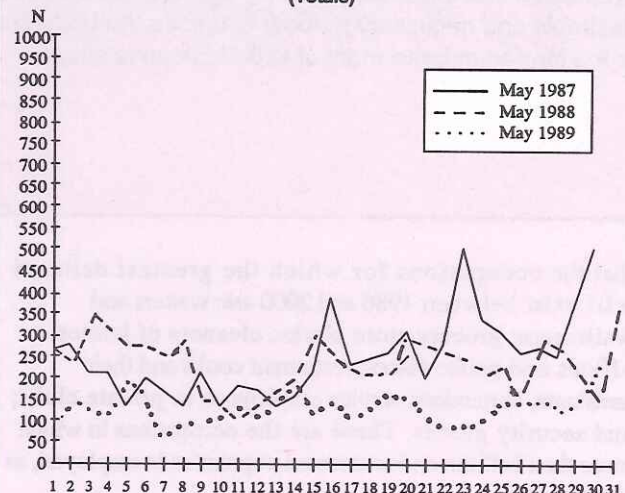
The crossings of undocumented immigrants through Zapata Canyon account for 75 percent of the undocumented crossings through the city of Tijuana. Crossings through this northernmost city of Mexico account for 55 percent of all undocumented crossings of the entire US-Mexico border⁷.

The photographs were taken daily in one of two places in Tijuana, Zapata Canyon and at the Tijuana river levee or *el bordo*. The photographs vary in the number of people sighted at various times. The area known in Tijuana as *el bordo* parallels the Mexican-U.S. border along part of the road leading to the scenic highway that stretches from

Tijuana to Ensenada. This site joins the four areas of *el bordo*.

On the south side of the road is the old part of Tijuana known as the "northern zone". The proximity of

GRAPH 1
FLOW OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO
Highest number recorded per day in the months of May 1987-1989
(Totals)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

⁷ In addition to our own continuous survey described above, the same finding was reported by the National Population Council. See CONAPO, *Survey on the Northern Border of Undocumented Workers Deported by the U.S. Immigration Authorities. Statistical Results*. Mexico, D.F., Consejo Nacional de Población, 1986.

el bordo to where undocumented immigrants gather before leaving on their clandestine journey to the United States means that they remain there for a shorter time waiting for it to get dark than those who cross by the Zapata Canyon. For this reason, only two pictures were taken there daily, also at one-hour intervals.

Taken together, the daily photographs in both Zapata Canyon and in *el bordo* cover 90 percent of the entire border over which undocumented immigrants cross between Tijuana and San Diego. This is important in light of the fact that more than 50 percent of all undocumented crossings between Mexico and the United States take place in this area.

To count and classify migrants, transparencies are back-projected on a screen provided with a grid that facilitates electronic recording in terms of spatial coordinates.

Each month three types of graphs are produced: one for the total number of people, one for men and one for women. These graphs represent the greatest number of undocumented immigrants appearing in the three daily shots of Zapata Canyon and the two daily shots of *el bordo*.

Both sets of statistics comprise data for the Zapata Canyon Project, so named in honor of the place where our systematic measures began. These measurements now cover five border cities through which 93 percent of all undocumented immigrants cross into the United States.

Some of the most important findings of this project have been published bimonthly since the end of 1987 in *El Correo Fronterizo*, the official publication of *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.



Roberto Córdoba.

A hole in the fence.

Preliminary findings

Our continuous survey of undocumented immigrants, interviewed in five Mexican cities as they surreptitiously cross the international border, has produced 27,632 personal interviews from September 1988 to December 1990.

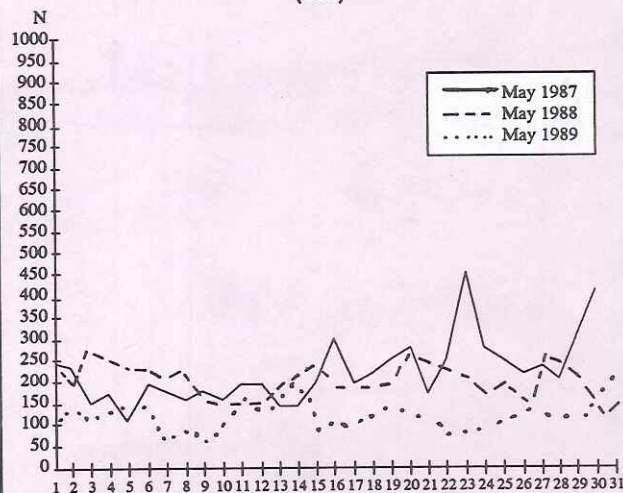
Table 1 shows the area of origin of the highest numbers of these undocumented immigrants, by the border city where they were interviewed. The number corresponding to Mexico City illustrates one of the most important changes in the socio-economic profile of undocumented immigrants over the years, i.e. the predominance of urban over rural origin of these migrants. They are no longer the illiterate peasants who used to go to the United States in search of jobs in agriculture.

When I began research on undocumented immigrants as a graduate student working for Dr. Julian Samora of the University of Notre Dame in 1968, more than 85 percent of the total number I interviewed for the book *Los Mojados* (The Wetback Story) were migrants coming from rural communities. More than 90 percent of the total were looking for farm work in the United States.

In 1991, less than one third came from Mexican rural communities and less than one fourth sought jobs in US agriculture.

GRAPH 2

ZAPATA CANYON PROYECT
Highest number of undocumented immigrants per day
(Men)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

Both Ciudad Juárez and Mexico City are new in the list of the most predominant places of origin of undocumented immigrants from Mexico.

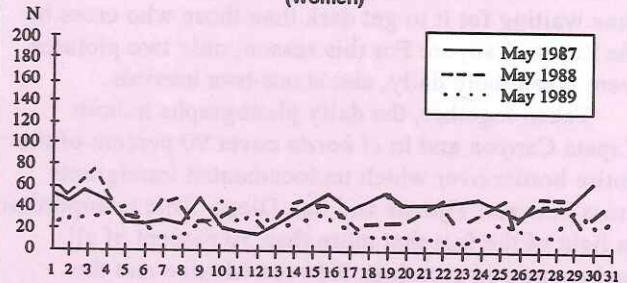
Another newcomer in these lists is Oaxaca. This is an exception to the rule. Oaxaqueños are among Mexico's poorest. Most of them are Mixtec Indians. They demonstrate a unique level of solidarity, thanks to which an increasing number of Oaxaqueños are able to finance their long journey to the United States with the dollars sent by earlier migrants already working there.

The rule is that, as the cost of migration (transportation, lodging, payment to *polleros* or *coyotes* who take them across the border with lesser risks, police extortions, etc.) increases, the poorest Mexicans are left out of the flow. This is one reason why the modern undocumented immigrant from Mexico is more urban in origin, more skilful in his talents and with higher than national averages of formal education (years of school attended).

Table 2 shows the US cities highest on the list of preferred destinations of undocumented immigrants in our survey. Noteworthy are the courageous 26 who gave Canada as the destination of their undocumented migratory journey. The rest are shown preferring the great cities of the U.S. Southwest, with Los Angeles as the virtual Mecca (table 3).

GRAPH 3

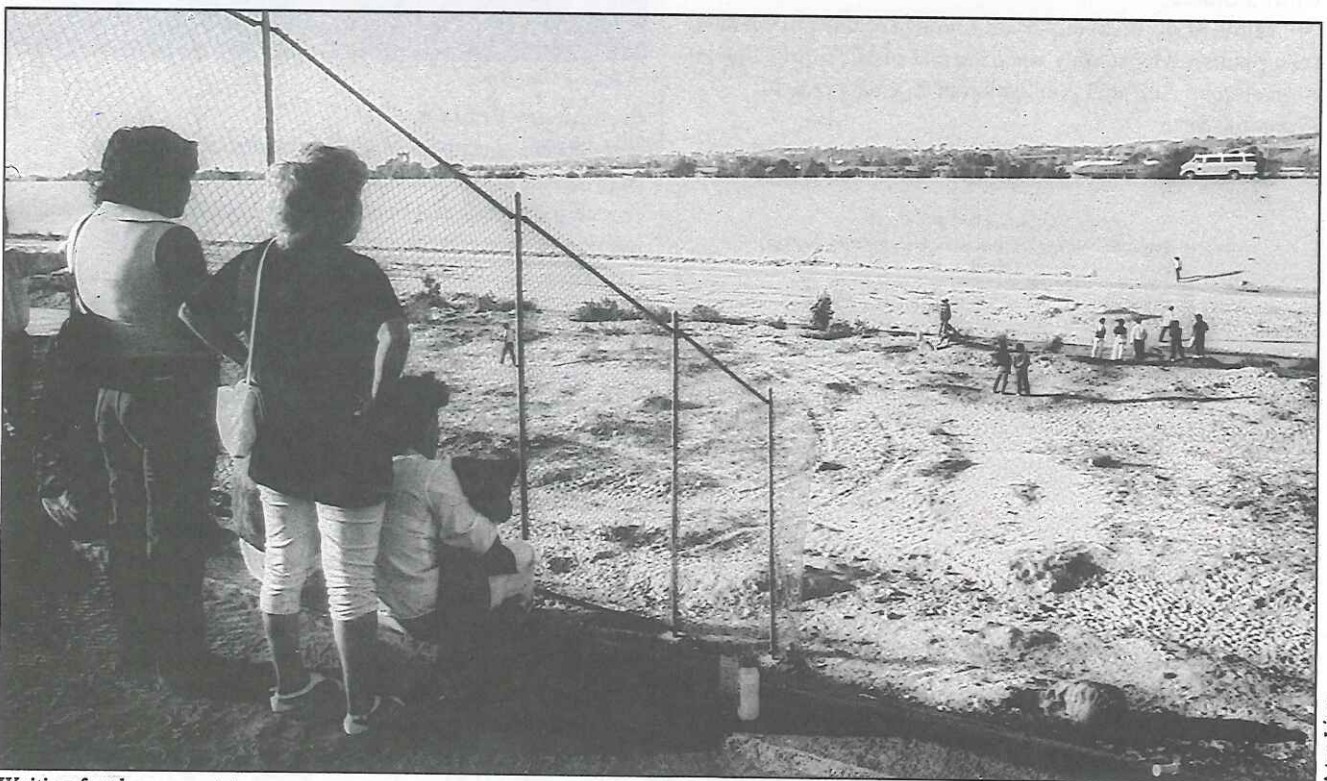
ZAPATA CANYON PROJECT
Highest number of undocumented immigrants per day
(Women)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

Graphs 2 and 3 provide a comparison of the greatest number of undocumented immigrants found in the three photographs taken daily in May in Zapata Canyon in the years 1987, 1988 and 1989. The peaks correspond to weekends. It is important to note the difference in the daily flow of male and female migrants. The proportion of women migrants varies between one third and one fifth of the total.

These proportions are among the largest observed along the Mexico-US border, due to the larger market for women in the service sector and textile industry in the state of California. Gender fluctuation is as important as proportional



Waiting for the moment to cross.

Table 2
CITY OF MIGRATORY DESTINATION OF MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS
BY BORDER CITY WHERE THEY CROSSED (SEPT. 1988-DEC. 1990)

U.S. CITY OF DESTINATION	TIJUANA	MEXICALI	CD. JUAREZ	MATAMOROS/ NVO. LAREDO	TOTAL
LOS ANGELES	3311	1285	114	115	4825
SAN DIEGO	816	98	1	13	928
SAN FRANCISCO	240	362	7	26	635
LAS VEGAS	8	31	9	1	49
TUCSON	1	10	4		15
ALBUQUERQUE	1	4	48	4	57
DALLAS FT.W.	4	4	40	834	882
HOUSTON		2	10	2011	2023
CALEXICO	1	2	1		4
SAN ANTONIO	1	3	5	1011	1020
McALLEN		10	1	5	16
EL PASO	1	11	4032	5	4049
NEW YORK	87	2	4	69	162
MIAMI	6	2	7	628	643
CORPUS CHRISTI			2	86	88
CHICAGO	193	35	25	365	618
WASHINGTON	103	61	1	34	199
SAN CLEMENTE	8	96	1		105
FRESNO	476	473	2	1	952
OTHERS IN CA.	1314	1342	40	8	2704
PHOENIX	1	34	10		45
OTHERS IN AZ.	3	94	50		147
LAS CRUCES			90	1	91
SANTA FE		7	7		14
OTHERS IN N.M.		18	199		217
EL VALLE		11		716	727
AUSTIN		6	2	356	364
SEATTLE	8	3			11
BAKERSFIELD	81	23			104
SACRAMENTO	33	218			251
EL CENTRO		5			5
LAREDO		23		24	47
RENO	2	24			26
LUBBOCK			5	15	20
OTHERS IN TEXAS	4	40	33	43	120
OTHERS IN NEVADA	4	44	4		52
CITIES IN UTAH		5	2		7
DENVER		4	29	10	43
COLORADO		1		1	2
OTHERS IN COL.		11	35		46
KANSAS CITY	1	3	7	82	93
OTHERS IN KANSAS			14	4	18
OTHERS IN OKLA.	2		8	23	33
OTHERS IN N.C.			5	64	69
OTHERS IN OREGON	126	9	1	1	137
OTHERS IN IDAHO				1	1
OTHERS IN ILL.	2	1	2		5
MILWAUKEE		1		2	3
OTHERS IN WISC.			3		3
OTHERS IN N.J.				4	4
OTHERS IN CANADA	2	1	2	21	26
DON'T KNOW	1469	88	291	2529	4377
OTHER US CITIES	104	31	17	233	385
UNSPECIFIED	26	20	71	48	165
TOTAL	8439	4558	5241	9394	27632

Source: Zapata Canyon Project. Continuous monitoring survey. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.*

data, indicating a certain independence in migratory patterns of women as compared to men, corresponding to differing labor markets for each gender.

Graphs 4 and 5 provide a wider comparison of gender differences in migratory patterns, suggesting a need for further examination of the separate patterns of undocumented men and women. These graphs show cyclical decreases toward the month of December. Notwithstanding changes over the last 10 years in the socio-economic profile from rural to urban origin and from agriculture to service sector jobs, the pattern of returning to Mexico in December persists.

Contrary to contentions of US INS officials, sanctions against employers established by IRCA failed to curb the flow of undocumented immigrants from Mexico for the first two years after its passage, as indicated by data in graphs 4 and 5. The decrease shown for 1988 turned out to be temporary. Preliminary findings of our own survey show a new increase in 1990, close to the levels for years before IRCA.

The main reason for this new increase is associated with the fact that US employers have paid more attention to the law of supply and demand than to the immigration laws of their country. A loophole in the text of IRCA has helped their economic interest in continuing to hire undocumented immigrants. IRCA provides that employers must require the job applicant to demonstrate his or her eligibility to be employed in the US by presenting proper documents. In addition, the employer must fill out form 9A1 indicating the document shown by the job applicant to demonstrate such eligibility.

The loophole consists in leaving it expressly up to the employer to keep or not to keep copies of the document shown by the job applicant. In the absence of any procedure established by the authorities to verify the



Roberto Córdoba.

Migrants at El Bordo, 1991.

authenticity of the job applicant's documents, compliance is left to the word of the employer.

This has resulted in a mushrooming counterfeit industry facilitated by readiness on the part of US employers to laxly accept job applicants' documents. The persistence of US labor demands is the best explanation for continuing supply.

Our monitoring research has revealed that factors, other than U.S. legislation may be inhibiting Mexican migration to

the United States, for example, the financial cost of leaving one's place of origin to reach the US-Mexican border.

Graph 6 illustrates the importance of considering the cost of migration in explaining migration to the north by regions of origin⁸. The data in these graphs present the sum of all principal expenses (food, tickets, lodging, a *coyote* or *pollero* and police extortion or robbery) reported by emigrants who were interviewed. The number of individuals interviewed per month in the cities on each graph varied by city.

Among all the cities surveyed, Tijuana is located farthest from the usual places of origin of undocumented immigrants. The cost of getting to Tijuana is naturally the highest of all the border cities surveyed. The average inflation rate in the data for graph 6 (43 percent) was less than the official rate for Mexico in 1988 (55 percent).

My hypothesis is that these differences in cost are due to the proportion of migration expenses that are partially or totally financed by dollars sent by relatives or friends from the United States. In any case, the cost of migration rose in 1988 significantly less than it did in the two previous years.

Table 3
U.S. CITIES INDICATED BY UNDOCUMENTED
MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AS DESTINATION OF
HIGHEST PREFERENCE
(SEPT. 1988-DEC. 1990)

U.S. CITY OF DESTINATION	ABSOLUTES	(%)
LOS ANGELES	4825	17.4
EL PASO	4049	14.6
HOUSTON	2023	7.3
SAN ANTONIO	1020	3.7
FRESNO	952	3.4
SAN DIEGO	928	3.3
DALLAS FT.W.	882	3.2
EL VALLE	727	2.6
MIAMI	643	2.3
SAN FRANCISCO	635	2.3
TOTAL	16684	60.3
OTHER US CITIES	10948	39.6
TOTALS	27632	100

Source: Zapata Canyon Project. Continuous monitoring survey.
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

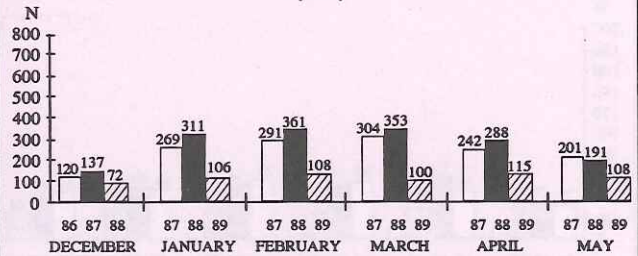
⁸ Regions of origin referred to in graph 8 correspond to the following: Center-West includes the provinces of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Estado de México, Querétaro and Colima. Center-North includes the provinces of Zacatecas, Durango, Aguascalientes and San Luis Potosí. Northwest includes Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora and Baja California. South includes Oaxaca, Chiapas, Yucatán and Guerrero. The number of individuals interviewed per month in the cities on each graph varied by city. The monthly average was 230 cases for Tijuana, 75 for Ciudad Juárez and 320 for Nuevo Laredo and Matamoros combined.

Graphs 7 and 8 illustrate the dynamic of the educational level of undocumented immigrants. The most important finding here is the higher level of education for female undocumented immigrants than for men. The hypothesis here is that this difference is part of the increasing phenomenon of urbanization in the migrants' region of origin. It is possible that job discrimination against women with higher education in the cities is associated with the difference shown in these graphs.

Another important finding is the significant difference between the educational level of the immigrants who crossed the border from Tijuana and those who crossed the border from Nuevo Laredo and Matamoros. There appears to be a correlation between educational level and the probability of reaching Tijuana. In any case, here we find evidence that the socio-economic level of undocumented immigrants varies in relation to the part of the border from which they cross into the United States.

Also interesting are the low levels of education in graph 7, in comparison with the data in graph 8, where there is a clear increase between October 1982 and

GRAPH 4
FLOW OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO
Monthly averages of the highest number recorded per day
(Men)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

September 1988 in the relative number of people with low levels of education, whereas in the case of Tijuana, the opposite is true, both for men and women immigrants. In this case, the flow of human capital through emigration seems to be greater through Tijuana than through the Northeast.

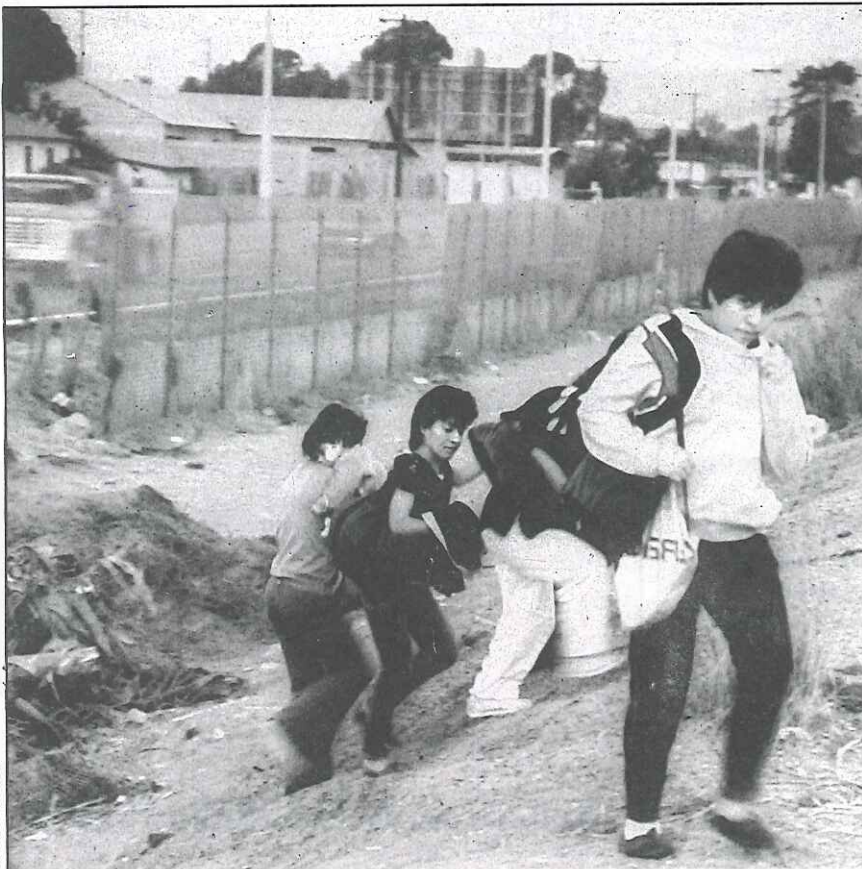
Certainly, these are not the immigrants of the past, who were predominantly poor and illiterate and of rural origin.

These are people with an average three to four more years of education than the national average.

Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn based on Zapata Canyon Project findings through 1988:

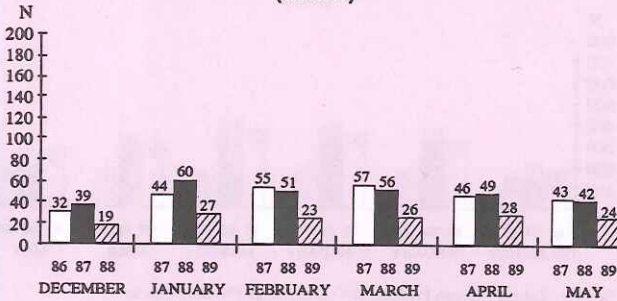
1. The continued flow of undocumented immigrants to the United States confirms that IRCA is not altogether achieving its principal goal of stopping the entry of undocumented immigrants. IRCA was not created to end undocumented immigrations so much as to respond politically to the ideological reasons behind the most restrictive provisions, such as those reflected in the phrase, "We have lost control of our borders". A country that had truly lost control of its borders would be concerned enough to officially indicate the exact location of the border at the most important crossing point between the two countries, namely Zapata Canyon. There is no official marker of the international border in this area.



Roberto Córdoba.

Migrants crossing at El Bordo, 1990.

GRAPH 5
FLOW OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO
Monthly averages of the highest number recorded per day
(Women)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.*

2. It appears that IRCA's legalization programs were designed to disproportionately favor non-Mexican undocumented immigrants, by creating a condition for

4. The data collected to date appear to reinforce the hypothesis that IRCA was designed as a precautionary instrument for times of economic recession, during which it would be necessary to take drastic measures to diminish the stock of undocumented immigrants, and that in times of economic expansion the law could be allowed to function with a maximum of flexibility, bordering on ineffectiveness.

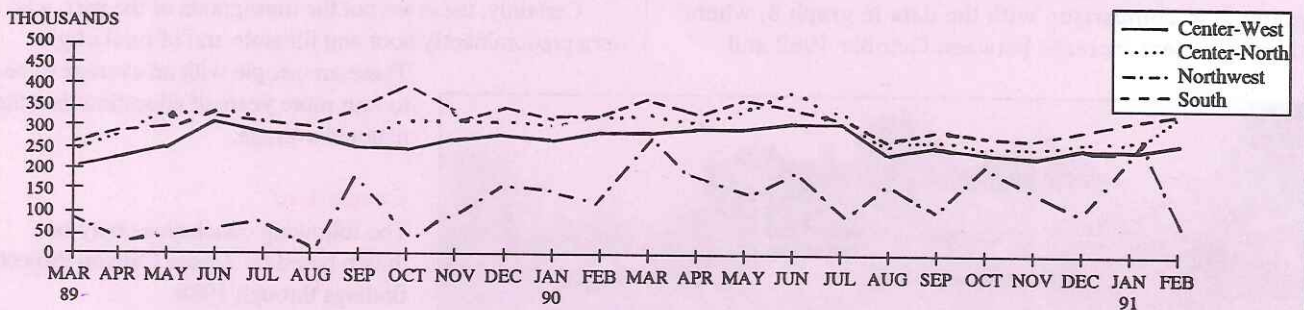
5. Finally, the data strengthens the hypothesis that IRCA was a more convenient alternative to bilateral or multilateral negotiations, because negotiations would have raised the value of foreign labor.

A unilateral measure, as legislation is by definition, allows greater control over migrant flows and over the labor market in which undocumented immigrants participate.

In short, six factors contribute to IRCA's ineffectiveness: the law was not created to limit the

GRAPH 6

IMMIGRANTS' TOTAL EXPENSES FROM THEIR REGIONS OF ORIGIN TO THE BORDER (TIJUANA)



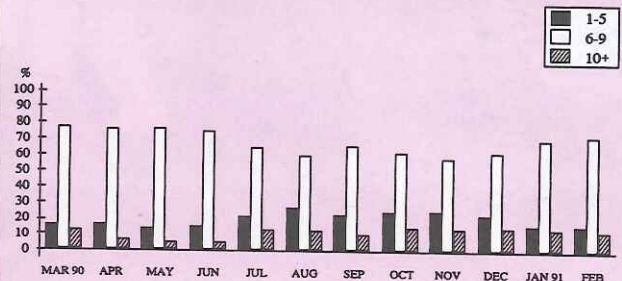
Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera.*

permanent residency that is contrary to the practice of Mexican immigrants who come and go between Mexico and the United States every year. On the other hand, it appears that IRCA's legislators wanted Mexican migrants exclusively for agricultural labor, because they designed requirements most likely to be met by Mexicans rather than by other nationalities. This could be interpreted as an interesting twist in the design of categories selected for the legalization programs.

3. Data up to December 1988, more than two years after the passage of IRCA, suggests that the legislation was designed so as to maintain the flow of those undocumented immigrants who earned salaries lower than the immigrants who became legal. This hypothesis is reinforced by data indicating that the number of violations of the minimum wage law in California has tripled since IRCA was passed, according to information cited in Silvestri and Lukasiewics (1987).

flow of undocumented immigrants, but to respond to political pressure from ideological factions that demanded the legislation. IRCA was designed to

GRAPH 7
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS WHO
CROSSED AT TIJUANA FROM MARCH 1990 TO FEBRUARY 1991
(MEN)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.*

favor non-Mexican undocumented immigrants who immigrate in a more permanent manner. The law was designed to channel undocumented Mexicans into agriculture. It was designed to provide a cheap labor force in which the continued presence of undocumented immigrants is a necessary element to lower the overall cost of the labor force of legalized immigrants. It was designed to get rid of undocumented immigrants in case of an economic recession. It was designed as an alternative to bilateral negotiation that might have increased the value of the labor force and facilitated the organization of migrant workers **M**

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Calm water, death in wait. Think about it... and think about your loved ones.

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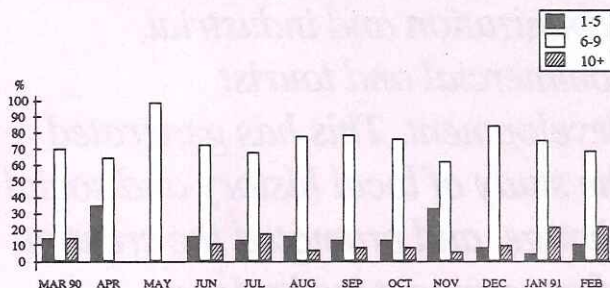
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GRAPH 8
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS WHO
CROSSED AT TIJUANA FROM MARCH 1990 TO FEBRUARY 1991
(WOMEN)



Source: Zapata Canyon Project. *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*.

The family on the northern border

*Lilia Venegas Aguilera**

Twenty years ago, Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana were large, sleepy, backwater towns. Local economies, though still somewhat dependent on farming and livestock, were moving towards tourism and services. In those days, the number of factories could be counted on one's fingers, and migratory movement northward across the border was in wavelets rather than the social floods that beset the communities of today.

When the *bracero* program came to an end in 1964 and the in-bond industry began to burgeon a year later, the urban landscape of these cities began to change rapidly. The press reported local surprise at the appearance of new neighborhoods in areas previously though uninhabitable, at the homeless deportees in the parks and on sidewalks, and the construction boom preparing for the arrival of foreign industries.

However, few could foresee the diverse changes that this semi-development would bring about. Today Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana compete for the rank of Mexico's fourth most populous city. They are home to most of Mexico's in-bond industries and have become striking landscapes of inequality, contrast, pollution, multi-ethnic settlement, social conflict and opposition to the government.

More or less obvious social transition has been quietly accompanied by fundamental changes. The peaceful rhythms and customs of family life have been irreversibly upset. Yet these changes, profound as they are, have not substantially altered the Mexican family system. Newly arrived hippie influence in Rosarito in the 1970s, or the individualistic model of the American nuclear family has had little effect on Mexican border families.

In this essay I shall try to analyze changes in border family life in the light of three phenomena: migration, in-bond industries, and tourism.

The family that came from the south

When the first ravages of recession and unemployment hit Mexico in 1982, employment opportunity emerged in the north not only for traditional peasant migrants from southern Guanajuato, Michoacán, Zacatecas, Jalisco and Hidalgo, but for the urban middle class as well.

Emigration to the US was made more attractive by the option of settling in Mexico's border towns, which by the mid-1980s boasted very low levels of unemployment.

Although Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez are not new to migration, its recent volume and diversification have caused profound changes in migrant as well as long-settled families.

The migrant family must usually first break with the local ties and customs of its place of origin. While Western family systems are basically nuclear and consanguineous, the Mexican family extends to numerous distant relatives with whom close ties are maintained. Migration usually fractures these ties, though this is not a hard and fast rule. The Mixtecs

In the recent past Mexico's northern border cities have become places of cultural encounter, rapid urbanization and industrial, commercial and tourist development. This has generated the study of local history and social change, and promoted the creation of government institutions responsible for border issues.

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in Tijuana and the Mazahuas in Ciudad Juárez still live and work together, maintaining their traditional lifestyle as much as possible. Though they are not the cities' largest ethnic groups, their presence is more marked than others, owing to their ability to maintain tight social cohesiveness.

Breakup of migrant families affects not only close family members. The nuclear family is usually the most affected by the temporary or permanent loss of a key member (usually the head of the family) who crosses the border in search of work. Hence the existence of many families in which the wife and mother assumes the leading role. Both intact and broken migrant families often shelter relatives or friends who migrate alone, which explains large numbers of extended families.

But it is not only emigration across the border that brings about these changes in the family. In-bond industries have been a magnet for many women with or without families, as well as numerous unattended children.

In the first half of 1990, US authorities deported more than 300 minors to Ciudad Juárez (75 accused of delinquency) who were finally taken in by the Child Protection Attorney's Office.

Although middle-class family structure is less irregular, its members too face adaptive difficulties when separated from relatives, entering a new social environment or meeting new local customs.

Migration also causes anarchic and haphazard population growth, reflected by inefficient and inadequate public services. For example, a new settlement is believed to appear in Ciudad Juárez every eight months. In-bond industries, tourist and service related businesses tend to recruit these new arrivals.

Migration, itself, creates employment and fresh resources in both the formal and informal economies, i.e. hotels and clinics near the U.S Consulate; complete border crossing services (including exclusive arrangements between clandestine guides [called *coyotes*] and border hotels); itinerants selling traditional Mexican products not usually available at the border, such as sweet potatoes and sweet corn, from pushcarts. Others

bring with them cultural novelties, like herbal medicine which attracts many customers in the old municipal market of Tijuana.

Although the foregoing seem unrelated to the composition of the migrant family there are other social phenomena that reflect its dysfunctionality. Most evident among these are the gangs of *cholos*, rockers or cowboys, formed from unattended children and youths, who are frequently arrested for vagrancy, street-fighting, assault, and drugs. In a related phenomenon many young men and women are drawn into prostitution, family values being easier to transgress several thousand kilometers from their place of origin. Finally, the response from established residents of the two cities makes adaptation difficult for new settlers. Migrant groups are not considered part of the city, although many of them finally become permanent residents.



Women, in-bond industry workers.

Family and in-bond industry

Diverse forms of industrial development influence family environment in different ways. Historically, the early stages of industrialization brought about radical change: the productive and reproductive unit centered in the household was split between home and factory. This interfered with the sexual division of labor in a patriarchal society which assigned different spaces, social functions, schedules, tasks and skills to men and women.

Before the arrival of the in-bond industries, work patterns in the border cities were generally compatible with traditional patterns. But, from its inception, the in-bond industry favored the hiring of women for assembly jobs. Around 1980, the percentage of women workers in Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez was close to 80%. This figure recently dropped to 65% due to an industry boom which increased its export value by 300% in the last ten years, forcing companies to hire men. However, in absolute terms, a large number of women are still employed by the industry.

Family changes brought about by this type of employment are part of an on-going process now 25 years old. Though there may not be enough of them to evaluate final results, there are enough to indicate trends. The following are some of the problems that work in the in-bond industry has brought into family life.

Changes forcibly occur when women in a patriarchal society begin to work outside the home. These are multiplied in the Mexican border cities. Preference for women workers in the in-bond industry provides them with ready opportunity for steady employment in jobs with social security benefits.

Men, on the other hand, tend to be employed in small workshops, personal services, or as journeymen construction workers, plumbers, etc. Their income may be comparable to a woman's, but not as secure or steady, and without social security benefits.

This situation unquestionably affects relationships between partners and between generations. The man probably feels his traditional authority eroded, while the working wife will demand reciprocity in household chores from her companion. Working daughters enjoy a degree of independence previously denied them.

Factory shifts also disrupt family harmony. They are generally eight hours long, not including over-time. Women workers clock-in at six in the morning, which means leaving home at five and returning after four o'clock in the afternoon. If the husband's schedule differs (which is usually the case), the couple have little time together, and their situation worsens if there are children.

A survey indicates that 47% of women workers in Ciudad Juárez have at least one child. Children enter and leave school between eight in the morning and one in the afternoon, leaving them alone in the house thereafter, or else

in the care of their father (an unfamiliar task for him), a relative or neighbor.

For the 76% of working mothers with children under five years of age, the situation is further complicated by the fact that Social Security Institute nurseries can accommodate only 8% of their children. More often, these children are looked after by relatives or baby-sitters, resulting in sub-standard child care, worried mothers and grumbling fathers.

Families of women workers in Ciudad Juárez, in fact, reflect an atypical structure. A survey revealed that only 46% of families consisted of father, mother, and children; in 32%, the working mother's companion was absent; 16% of families were composed of friends and relatives, and the remaining 5% were domestic groups with no family ties. To complete this picture, 19% of women workers were heads of family and 15% were single mothers.

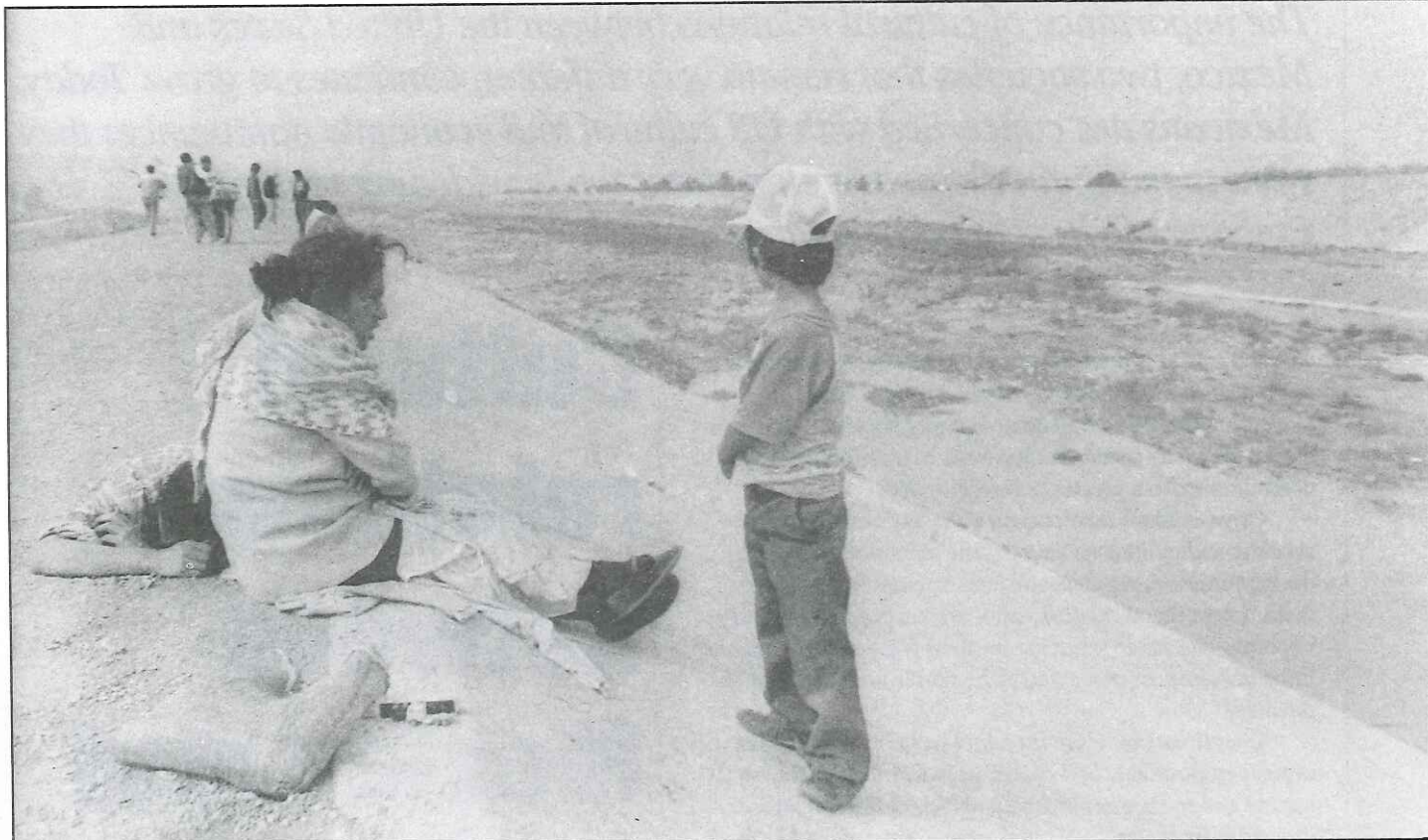
Tourism and the family

Tourism is an important source of foreign exchange and employment for the inhabitants of the border cities of Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez. Foreigners coming for a taste of Mexico are provided with a condensed and inaccurate summary of the nation i.e. mariachis; snapshots with a donkey; restaurants reminiscent of rustic Pedro Infante films, decorated with pre-Hispanic motifs or shaped like sombreros. Tijuana and, to a lesser degree, Ciudad Juárez' sleazy reputations were not created by this class of tourist, but by those who come for nightlife, gambling, strong drink and women.

Although 1920s and 1930s Prohibition, which fathered the world's longest bar, is long gone, lower prices for alcohol on this side of the border continue to support such flourishing watering places as The Manhattan, or Rafa's in Juárez, or the Bol Corona in Tijuana. While the US strictly controls the sale of alcohol to minors, college students coming to Mexico get two drinks for the price of one, on presentation of a student i.d., and women students are not questioned at all, out of deference to their sex.

Betting parlors have now been added to dog and horse race tracks, allowing gamblers to bet on a wide range of games broadcast by satellite from all over the world.

Prostitution is widespread around the old town centers, close to the border, which have become tolerated red-light zones in both Juárez and Tijuana. They are thoroughly modern, catering to all tastes, inclinations and pockets: the Salon Sonora in Juárez is a traditional brothel with a red light bulb over the entrance; the Noche y Día is frequently closed down because of the thirteen to eighteen-year old girls that are its specialty; the staff at El 88 serve the gay and lesbian community, and the Chicago in Tijuana caters mainly to Vietnamese customers. Other cheaper brothels employ elderly prostitutes.



Migrants waiting at the Río Bravo.

How does this underworld affect family life on the border? Although many customers are foreigners, including GI's from Fort Bliss, sailors from San Diego and ordinary US citizens, according to prostitutes at Juárez, their most frequent visitors are local married men and middle-class youths.

Night life and love for sale are to a large extent just another facet of urban reality, a dark world that sometimes spills into the sunlight, as when a prostitute from a notorious Nuevo Laredo brothel was married in a religious ceremony.

The wedding took place at exactly 11 o'clock in the up-town district of Longoria, at an hour when wealthy families from the Lions' and Rotary clubs gather at the church. The madame acted as mother of the bride and the elegant bridesmaids, all prostitutes, candidly greeted and smiled at their numerous embarrassed clients, who tried vainly to feign indifference.

Prostitution often seeps silently into society, drawing into its ranks women workers, peasant women and middle-class housewives. Factory uniforms and caps are often to be seen hanging from dressing-room coat racks at dance halls in Juárez. Women workers begin to arrive around four o'clock, change clothes and work until midnight, often earning three times their salary for an eight-hour shift at

the factory. Duties involve dancing on a small platform and drinking with the customers, for each one of whom they earn a token worth a dollar. Their income increases if they come to an arrangement with a customer.

Motives in such cases are not always financial. Summer temperatures in the area go up to 47 degrees Celsius and often drop below zero in winter. Such work offers many young women the opportunity to spend the afternoon in an air-conditioned environment, chatting with friends and listening to music rather than going home. Why then do these women stick to their factory jobs? Mainly because they provide a steady income, social security benefits and social acceptability.

Recent accusations by peasants also reveal that of the 5,000 prostitutes in Tijuana, almost half were tricked into the business by wily procurers. Prostitution among housewives is on a rather different basis, usually being contracted temporarily when investors, or high factory officials visit the city. The hospitality offered these privileged visitors includes the female company of their choice.

Curiously, the proper citizens of Tijuana tend to minimize this aspect of their reality, and when confronted with it insist that it is for tourists or foreigners; as always putting the blame on others **M**

The importance of cultural relations between the United States and Mexico, two societies that remain very different, continues to grow. Today, Mexicans are concerned with US cultural and economic dominance; they want to maintain their sovereign status while widening reciprocal exchange to benefit both countries.

Background

Cultural relations between human groups have constantly existed since the beginnings of history. As a result, it is almost impossible to find contemporary societies, however closed they may seem, that have not been influenced by other communities, to a greater or lesser degree.

Cross-cultural relations are everyday occurrences; scholars and politicians devote time and effort to identify, direct, stimulate, regulate and even attempt to manipulate them. Intercultural relations offer all manner of risks and opportunities for all participants, their positive and negative influences, events perceived as favorable and those felt as threats.

Over time, communities adopt patterns and form images of their environment and of themselves, giving meaning to natural and social phenomena and fashioning stereotypes, derived from the process of creating a view of the world. This results in diverse and complex cultural features giving each society its identity, different from others.

Culture is formed from a common origin, linked to the same soil and to the same physical and spiritual environment, from an accumulation of experiences, trials, triumphs and failures that are lived collectively. The possession of a common destiny and the will to face it portray a very personal way of seeing the world and of relating to it.

Culture makes us aware of ourselves and of our peculiarities, it causes us to feel different from others. This gives us a feeling of belonging to a specific human group, the basic ingredient of nationalities.

However, it is possible to detect regional subcultures even within consolidated countries. In societies basically composed of immigrants, cultural groups from diverse backgrounds retain, to a greater or lesser degree, a sense of loyalty to their roots and value them.

Cultural evolution is constant. History and Culture never end. Everything goes on forming and transforming. Change is a constant in human life.

Attitudes of sympathy or rejection emerge between different national cultures. Sympathy exists when the other culture's influence is deemed positive in some way, and does

Cultural relations between Mexico and the U. S.

*Miguel de la Madrid **

not compromise one's identity. On the other hand, rejection occurs when influences from another culture are considered negative or threaten the survival of the affected culture.

Today, due to great progress in transportation and in all types of communication, relationships are more intense, especially between neighboring countries like the United States and Mexico.

Both sides of our common border have been influenced by the great cultures of the world; at the same time, it is the frontier between the developed North and the developing South. It is also the line separating predominantly and highly dissimilar Anglo-Saxon and Latin American cultures.

Mexican and Latin American cultures are mestizo; over the centuries, they have contrived to combine and synthesize their diverse indigenous and Spanish cultural currents. Spanish culture was itself mestizo, due to extensive mixing on the Iberian Peninsula. African cultural influences also arrived in Latin America by the painful way of slavery.

* Former President of Mexico.

Even with all its past and present influxes from innumerable sources, the culture of the United States is mainly of European ancestry and, more precisely, Anglo-Saxon. This, in spite of obvious African influences and recent Latin American and Asian immigrations. Mexico has defined itself constitutionally as a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, acknowledging the descendants of its indigenous peoples. Efforts are made to link them to the mestizo majority by respecting and preserving the fundamental characteristics of their culture, and by developing bilingual and bicultural education in specific communities of indigenous origin.

“Almost all societies have been culturally influenced by their neighbors”

Mexico-United States

Let us assume that, in spite of ethnic and cultural plurality in both countries, we can refer to certain predominant patterns that allow us to speak, in general terms, of US culture and Mexican culture, inasmuch as both countries have their own style of living.

Our turbulent history, and certain structural elements in our societies, have caused positive and negative currents in both directions. On several occasions, confrontation, dislike, and as a result, distrust and fear have prevailed.

Mexicans realize that their country is relatively weak in comparison to the US, mainly in economic and military matters. Maintaining Mexico sovereign and independent in the face of a powerful northern neighbor has been a constant concern since the First World War, when the US clearly endeavored to become the supreme power, not only on the American continent, but in the western world.

Since the tragic collapse of the Soviet Union, it is evident that the US has become today's undisputed power, primarily in strategic and military matters. Its economy is, in spite of its difficulties, a decisive conditioning factor in the world economy.

In Mexico's history as an independent state, relations with the US have been important, critical and, at times, traumatic. Let us not forget that Mexican independence at the beginning of the 19th century acknowledged the late 18th century American Revolution as one of its main influences. Mexicans of that time studied the new nation's political system, in particular its constitutional principles, and tried to imitate it in many ways.

Even after its tragic experience in the War of 1847, when Mexico lost more than half of its territory as a result of war with the US provoked by Texan independence, Mexicans did not lose their respect for nor their interest in their victorious

neighbor. Juárez admired Lincoln for his liberating struggle, and Lincoln admired Juárez for fending off French intervention and the European attempt to install an empire in Mexico using outside help.

Neither is it coincidental that the Mexican Revolution of 1910, which led to modern Mexico, had strong support in the north of the Republic, and that Francisco I. Madero, the apostle of democracy, renewed his political movement in San Antonio, Texas, after escaping from a San Luis Potosí prison.

Little by little, Mexican governments that emerged from the Revolution found their *modus vivendi* with the United States, after several episodes of intervention, including the invasion of Veracruz in 1914 and the unsuccessful punitive expedition by General John Pershing in search of the guerrilla leader Pancho Villa.

Mexico's most important and complex international problem in the 20th century has been US influence. About two-thirds of Mexico's foreign trade and almost three-fourths of its foreign investment and tourism is with the US, facilitating US technological dominance over Mexico.

Mexican migration to the US has reinforced this relationship, not only economically, but mainly socially and culturally too. On the other hand, I believe that since the thirties US administrations have basically respected Mexico's domestic affairs.

Naturally, Mexico has been subject to intense US cultural influence, as has the entire planet. Some even speak of the Americanization of the world: jazz, rock-and-roll, Afro-American music in general, are heard and danced all over the globe. First films, and now television and satellites have been powerful channels for US cultural influence on the



Americans visiting the 30 Centuries of Mexican Art exhibition.

entire planet. Say what you will, hamburgers, hot-dogs, lemon pie and ice cream are consumed in every country.

Unquestionably, US prestige grew vastly among friend and foe alike as a result of winning two world wars. It is well known that European reconstruction owes a great deal to the Marshall Plan, and Japan's modernization to General MacArthur.

Hispanic influence is obvious in the US, and Mexicans are the majority in that ethnic group. Demographically, Hispanic-Americans are becoming the largest minority in the

“Every society develops its own unique culture based on common experiences, trials and triumphs”

US, both in absolute numbers of immigrants and in rate of demographic growth.

Their presence is obvious, not only in certain regions, but in the entire country. In fact, Mexican films, music and food and the Spanish language are part of today's US culture.

There are more *taquerías* in the US than hamburger shops in Mexico. McDonald's offers Mexican dishes —*burritas* and *nachos*— in their franchises. Mexico's Corona beer is the second largest imported beer, and is soon expected to be in first place.

Maseca, a Mexican company, sold more than 800 million dollars worth of corn flour for tortillas in the US last year, using one thousand delivery trucks in Los Angeles alone. American preference for Mexican *chilis* grows day by

“The US-Mexico border separates two very different cultures: Anglo-Saxon and Latin American”

day. Pepsico's Taco Bell chain, selling Mexican-style food, is the fastest growing branch of the corporation. US products are frequently advertised in Spanish.

Three US television networks broadcast in Spanish, and several series in English are subtitled in Spanish. Many radio stations broadcast programs in Spanish as well.

Annual crossings over our common border are the highest in the world: more than nine million people cross it in both directions every month in the Tijuana-San Diego area alone. Mexicans cross the border to shop in the US when it is in their interest, and Americans go to Mexico for the same reason.

Cultural relations between the two countries are not going to stop or decline. They tend to grow rapidly and we should take full advantage of this for both countries, fostering the beneficial effects and avoiding those that are harmful. Historically, border traffic has always been positive and enriching if good-will and respect exist.

It is well known that negative feelings about these influences persist on both sides of our border. I have pointed out some attitudes of jealousy and fear caused by US influence in Mexico that are explainable and even justifiable.

We know that Mexican influence is viewed with suspicion in the US too. It is evident in racially motivated fear of the contamination of Anglo-Saxon culture, and in acts to limit Latin migration, based on perceived competition in the labor market.

There are signs of Mexican mistrust in the face of increased relations with the United States. Mexicans are worried about economic subjugation, as well as the risk of eventual, unwarranted political infringement and negative cultural influences. Extreme chauvinistic attitudes persist, identifying patriotism with anti-Americanism.

“Mexicans recognize their economic and military weakness in comparison to the US”

Let us frankly recognize, however, that past negative events on both sides of the border have been harmful or still threaten us. A case in point is the drug trade and the addiction it fosters: some US circles blame Latin America, because cocaine, heroin and marijuana are produced in its countries and shipped to the US.

In Latin America, and particularly in Mexico, where this international crime is also felt, we think the crucial factor in narcotics production and traffic lies in growing US consumption, the largest source of demand and financing.

The problem has provoked mutual recrimination, creating a serious cause of friction between our countries. However, awareness is gradually growing of equally shared responsibility in the fight against this plague of our times.

Certainly, harmful cultural exchanges occur in both directions, damaging the prestige of both countries. Films and television are two cases in point: both countries produce excessively violent programs, replete with pathological sex and even approval of immoral behavior. Neither Americans nor Mexicans can be proud of all their films and television. The foregoing is not meant to minimize the important contributions that television makes

to our mutual understanding through positive programming.

Proposals

Given irreversible tendencies toward wider and more intense cultural exchange, rational circles in both countries, acting in good faith, should be able to find fruitful topics for agreement and cooperation.

We should start with the premise of respect for our national identities. Mexicans are a strongly nationalistic people, and we want to remain Mexicans and masters of our destiny. The same is true of the people of the United States.

Let us recognize our nationalistic upbringing, and face it with an attitude of respect, and dignified and fruitful

praising both our countries' values. This implies revising curricula and plans for cooperation in scientific and technological fields as well as in the humanities and social sciences, beginning with the elementary levels of education.

Cooperative agreements already exist between our universities and research institutes. We must promote and support them. The first obstacle to overcome is mutual ignorance of the other's country which, while not absolute, is still great. Ignorance is not a firm foundation for friendship, but it does imply a danger of conflict by fostering prejudice and distrust.

The various Mexican cultural institutes operating in major US cities could be good meeting places for cooperative cultural projects. They should foster programs for systematic



Angela Caparoso.

A cultural tour about to start.

collaboration. Let us, at the same time, strive for both countries to remain open to today's world of growing globalization and interdependence and reject distressing trends toward isolation and fanatical tribal nationalism.

Let us research what might be called our common history and culture. Binational studies by combined groups could tackle these tasks. To this end, I suggest improved links between our academic and cultural institutions. These contacts exist already; they should be given more support. It would be interesting to broaden and publicize research and analysis on the former Mexican territories and societies that preserve and cultivate their ties to Mexican culture.

We need to systematically and, above all, positively disseminate the particular attributes of both our cultures,

communication between students, professors and researchers at all levels.

We must achieve an ever broader exchange of cultural products, assuring that not only negative or poor quality products arrive in both countries but, on the contrary, the kind that disseminate the best of both our cultures. We must resist the inertia that contributes to making what is most negative, the best known.

All this can only be achieved by systematic effort on the part of government and private citizens alike. The media hold special responsibility in this sphere by virtue of the written word in newspapers, magazines and books, and the electronic signals of radio, television and satellites.

Finally, we should promote bilingual language teaching in both countries and reject all discriminatory attitudes ❖

Mexican press coverage of the US primaries (Part I)



George Bush campaigning in Florida.

Bill Clinton in Chicago.



Main characteristics

During the period under study, 752 short articles appeared in nine Mexico city newspapers¹, with an average of 12 daily. This is low coverage for nine newspapers.

Coverage was widest following the most important primaries: New Hampshire (February 18), Maryland, Colorado (March 3), the 12 Super Tuesday states (March 10), and Michigan and Illinois (March 17). Newspaper coverage fell in the periods between important elections (see graph 1).

Excelsior, *La Jornada* and *El Día* provided the most extensive coverage, with 19% appearing as front page articles and 35% appearing in the international section inside the newspaper. Three quarters of the articles were written in the US, mainly in Washington D.C., and only 20% in Mexico. Forty per cent were written by Mexicans, the rest being issued by international agencies or were translations of articles in the foreign press. This analysis covers only the opinions expressed in the 309 articles written by Mexicans²

Views of the Mexican press

The most commonly quoted sources were the White House (George Bush), and the media. The Mexican press' views on the US primaries reflect uncertainty surrounding the elections as a whole. Forty-five per cent of news reports offered negative viewpoints, with only 14% giving favorable opinions and 41% offering informative or balanced reports (see graph 2).

The US political system

The idea persists that the US political system is something well-known. However, there is a tendency to question the US model of democracy (73% of the articles assessed it negatively). In this respect, *unomásuno* states that "most

¹ The following methodology was used for this study. Nine Mexico City newspapers were checked daily for articles on the election, which were then classified according to a code manual which defined the universe of variables. The results were then recorded on the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS). The names of the newspapers follow, with the date they were founded. *El Universal* (1916), *Excelsior* (1917), *El Nacional* (1929), *El Día* (1962), *El Heraldo* (1965), *Unomásuno* (1977), *El Financiero* (1981), *La Jornada* (1984) and *El Economista* (1988).

² Mexican sources are defined as Mexican correspondents in the US, editorials, opinion pieces, special envoys, Notimex, newspaper reporters and cartoons.

Americans are unaware of how democracy works in their country" (February 19). *El Nacional* also criticized the democratic system, "when political power is in the hands of an elite.." (February 16), while *Excelsior* remarked that "US democracy is notably behind other political systems in the so-called post-industrial democracies" (March 12).

Some 59% of opinions regarding the electoral system are negative. The prevailing system of indirect voting is considered an obscure and inefficient way of electing the country's leaders. In the same article (March 12), *Excelsior* commented on the existence of institutional obstacles to electoral participation in the American system "caused by the way elections are organized" which has remained unchanged for many years.

Abstention was also criticized. According to *unomásuno*, "it is paradoxical that at a time when more Americans than ever have the right to vote, the country has the highest abstention rates of any of the industrialized nations" (February 20).

Nomination methods were accorded neutral treatment; 70% of all references were informative. It is noteworthy

that the three variables: the political system, the electoral system, and abstention, reflected a low positive image of the elections, which never rose above 10%.

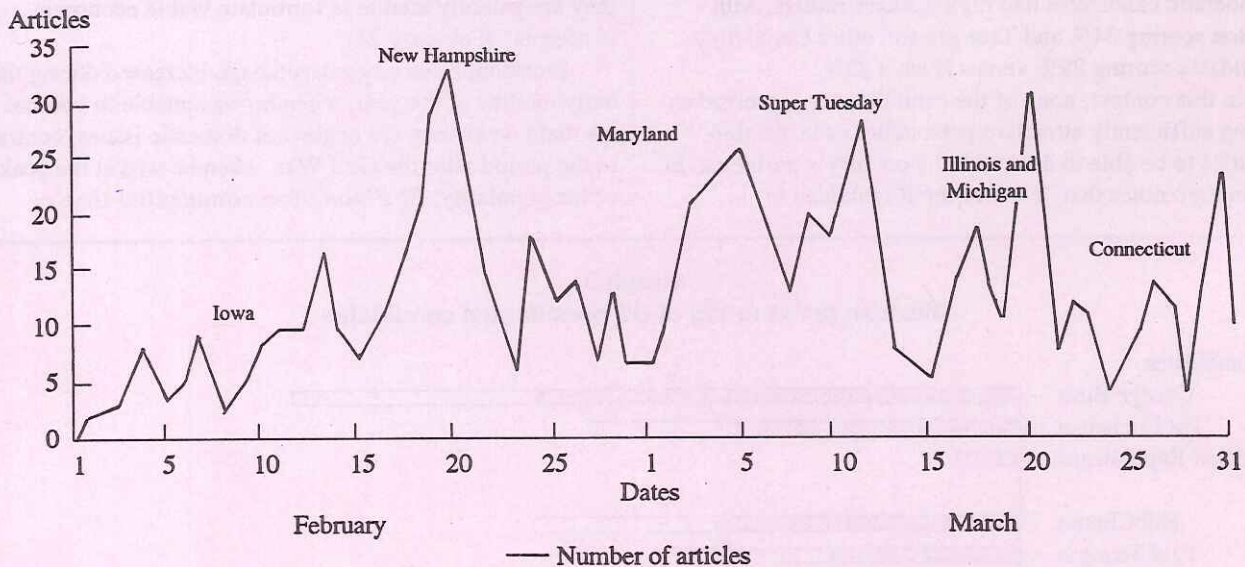
Candidates' image

The above perception extends to political parties as a whole as well as individual candidates. Negative opinions of the Republican party reached 45%, with 53% for Democrats. According to *El Día*, "there is deep division between party leaders and the rank and file, which is not restricted to Republicans alone and is even more pronounced among Democrats" (February 24).

The most frequently mentioned candidates were George Bush, Pat Buchanan, Paul Tsongas and Bill Clinton (see graph 3). Negative opinions tended to focus on George Bush, and to an even greater extent on Pat Buchanan, with figures of 45% and 60% respectively.

It is noteworthy that negative percentages were higher for the latter two candidates than for the Democrats, whose ratings wavered from neutral to negative. Negative ratings for other candidates, such as Tom Harkin, Bob Kerrey and

Graph 1
Frequency of articles on US elections



Source: Based on articles published in nine morning papers in Mexico City during February and March of 1992.

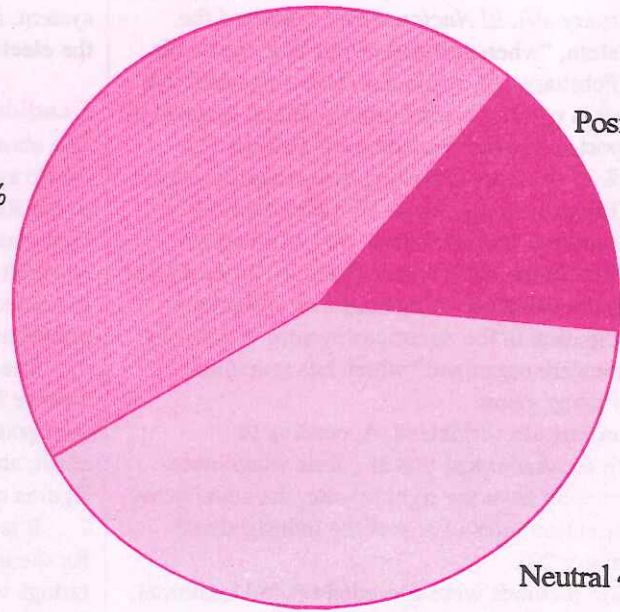
This is the first of a series of three articles analyzing Mexican press coverage of the 1992 US elections. The series will describe the various reactions of Mexican media to the results of the primaries held between February 1st and April 3rd.

Graph 2
Mexican press rating of US elections

Negative 46%

Positive 13%

Neutral 41%



Source: Based on articles published in nine morning papers in Mexico City during February and March of 1992.

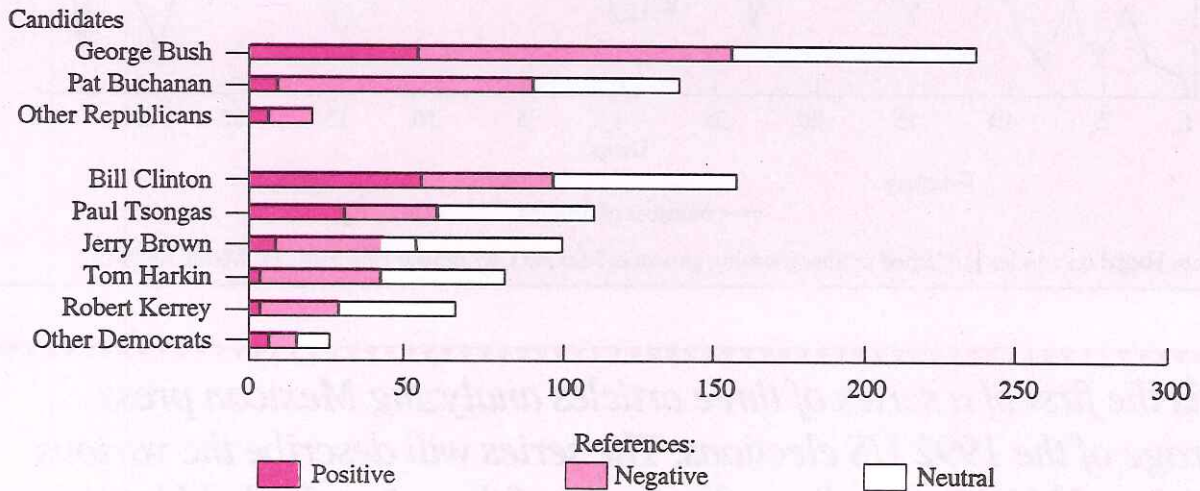
Jerry Brown reached approximately 40% (see graph 4). Conversely, Bill Clinton, Paul Tsongas and other Democratic candidates had high positive ratings, with Clinton scoring 34% and Tsongas and other Democratic candidates scoring 29% versus Bush's 23%.

In this context, none of the candidates is perceived as having sufficiently attractive personality or leadership qualities to be able to deal with the country's problems. *El Financiero* notes that "none of the Republican or

Democratic candidates exercises enough personal attraction to engage in a genuine political struggle, and they are patently unable to formulate viable economic platforms" (February 24).

President Bush's negative image increased during the early months of the year, when he was unable to conceal his main weakness, the neglect of domestic issues; contrary to the period after the Gulf War, when he was at the peak of his popularity. *El Financiero* commented that

Graph 3
Mexican press rating of US presidential candidates



Source: Based on articles published in nine morning papers in Mexico City during February and March of 1992.

"Bush's lack of decision and personal insecurity, reflecting a tendency to leave decision-making to his close advisers (...) are beginning to tarnish his image as a leader" (February 18).

In addition, according to the same source a month later (March 17), even though Bush had won all the primaries until then, "the persistent economic crisis, and even worse, Bush's inability to provide skeptical voters with viable solutions are making his re-election increasingly uncertain."

While the two Republican Party Candidates, Bush and Buchanan, held on, three Democrats, Harkin, Kerrey and Tsongas, withdrew from the presidential race, leaving Clinton and Brown. Clinton's successive victories and the withdrawal of three candidates meant that Clinton became a prime contender after Super Tuesday.

Clinton is regarded as the most likely Democratic candidate to be nominated, in spite of the scandals that have dogged his campaign. According to *La Jornada*, "at the moment, barring any more mistresses or illegal bank

accounts, Bill Clinton will probably be the Democratic candidate to face George Bush" (March 28).

Clinton's defeat in the Connecticut and Vermont primaries against Brown, highlighted his vulnerability and persistent Democratic doubts regarding his ability to beat Bush. *El Financiero* noted that "Clinton is by no means the charismatic opponent with national support who could easily take power away from Bush" (March 17).

Negative and neutral ratings for Jerry Brown, Clinton's rival, were almost as high (90%) as for Kerrey and Harkin. Brown is not considered powerful enough to beat the Governor of Arkansas, although he has created problems for Clinton and may even be able to force a "negotiated" convention, where a third candidate for the nomination might emerge.

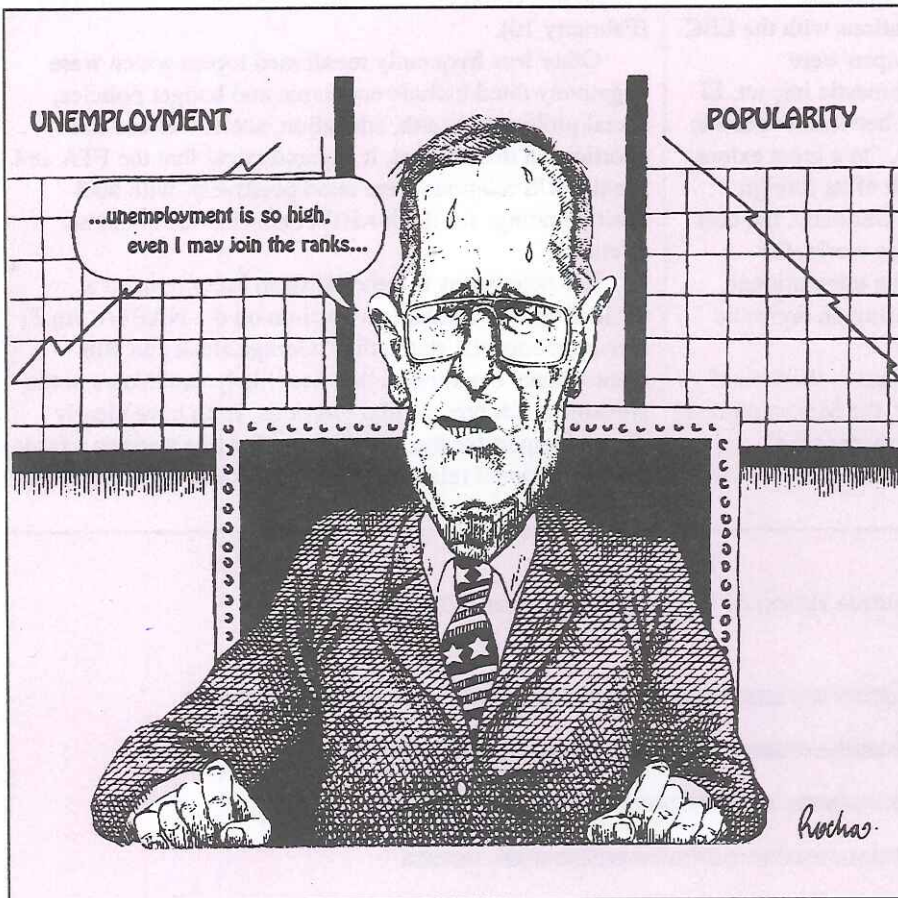
Subjects of debate

At the beginning of the primaries, debate focussed on the lengthy US

economic recession and foreign policy regarding possible international conflict, particularly in Iraq.

The outcome of the primaries and their geographical location has influenced the topics of debate. Until the end of March, the main subjects were the economy, trade policy and the FTA, which, except for the latter, the press reviewed negatively, with 84% negative ratings for the economy, 60% for trade policy and 46% for foreign policy (see graph 5).

The press has linked Bush's re-election prospects to the performance of the US economy. According to *La Jornada*, "US elections are generally won or lost according to the state of the economy. If the economy



According to *El Economista* (March 16), Buchanan was never regarded as a viable alternative because of his "isolationist, local and protectionist" brand of Conservative politics. Nonetheless, Buchanan's presence forced Bush to become more conservative, since "votes for Buchanan meant votes against Bush" (*El Financiero*, March 20).

On the other hand, *La Jornada* pointed out that "the president's policies were dubious, when a political nobody like Buchanan could take advantage of his weaknesses to obtain concessions for the right, even if this meant postponing programs and projects which might be essential to the recovery of the United States" (February 20).

improves (latest figures indicate that this is a possibility), then George Bush will probably win; if it continues to worsen, then Bill Clinton will probably win" (April 3). *El Financiero* thought that Bush would lose the elections as a result of "economic disenchantment following ten years of Reaganomics" (March 30).

The press has also linked Bush's economic policy to his bid for re-election. The media concludes that the state of the Union Message and the Budget for Fiscal 1993 were solely aimed to further Bush's electoral interests.

In the international context, US relations with the EEC countries, Iraq and Cuba, the CIE and Japan were perceived negatively because of their domestic impact. *El Nacional* established the following link between economic recession and the international situation, "to a great extent, problems in the US economy are a result of its foreign relations. Trade deficits with Japan and Germany, the cost of stationing troops in several parts of the world, the reduced competitiveness of US goods on the international market and other factors have had a bearing on domestic difficulties" (February 4).

Foreign policy becomes less important in the face of the country's economic crisis. However, the Mexican press has observed the candidates' inability to accept the challenge of US world leadership. *El Financiero*

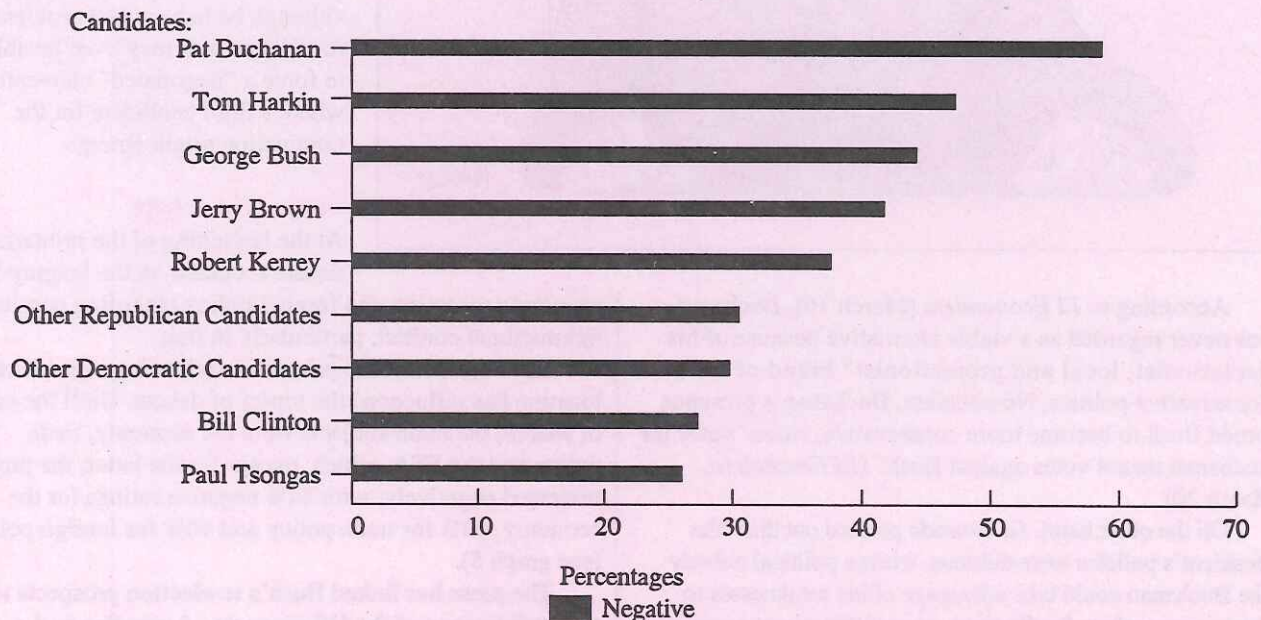
comments, "with the exception of Bush, candidates are extremely provincial, entirely lacking foreign policy credentials".

In spite of this, it has been suggested that Bush may attempt to create an international conflict to divert attention from unfavorable domestic issues surrounding his campaign. *La Jornada* comments on "the White House's intent to intervene anew against Saddam Hussein. They have not discarded the possibility of using the army as a successful foreign policy measure to reunite the American people in a common cause and as a mean to obtain votes" (February 10).

Other less frequently mentioned topics which were negatively rated include economic and budget policies, social problems, health, education, social welfare and abortion. In this context, it is paradoxical that the FTA and Mexico-US relations were rated positively, with 50% positive ratings for the NAFTA and 41% for bilateral relations.

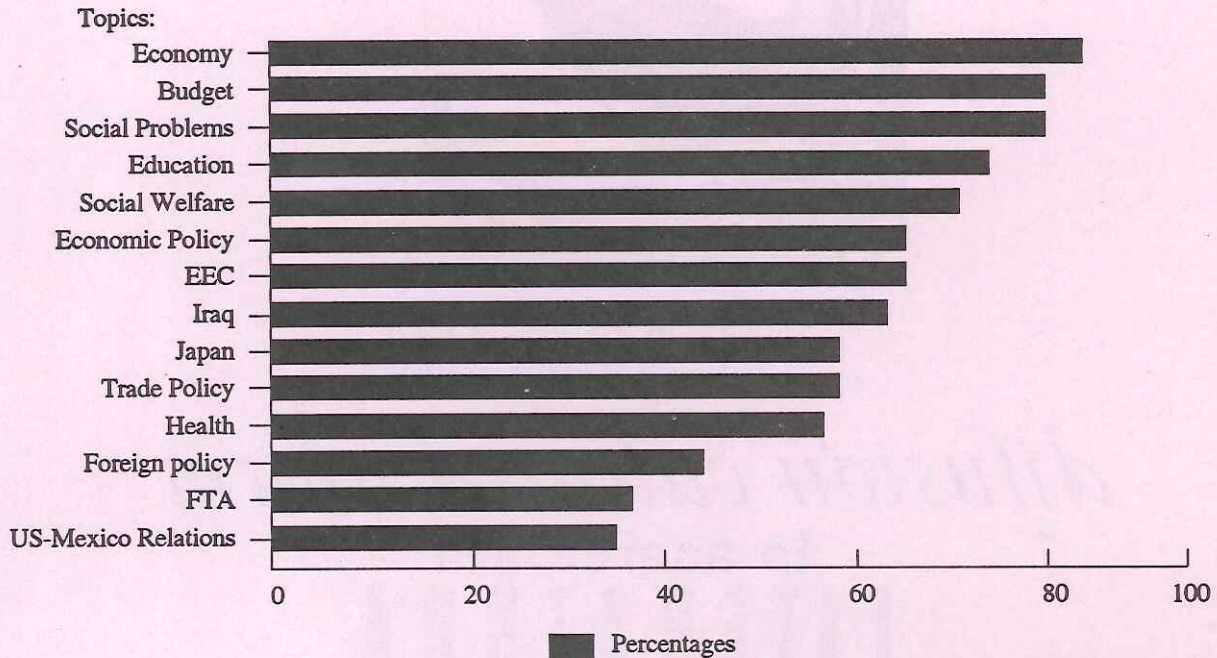
It is noteworthy that the Mexican Press' opinion is decided by the candidate's position on the NAFTA. An *El Nacional* editorial stated that "George Bush and Bill Clinton have emerged as the most likely candidates in the November US presidential elections. Both have clearly shown support for the NAFTA and for free trade as a basis for international relations. Their respective opponents, Pat

Graph 4
Negative rating of US presidential candidates



Source: Based on articles published in nine morning papers in Mexico City during February and March of 1992.

Graph 5
Election debate topics
(negative rating)



Source: Based on articles published in nine morning papers in Mexico City during February and March of 1992.

Buchanan and Jerry Brown, both protectionists, have fared badly in the primaries. Tom Harkin, the most radical Democratic opponent of the NAFTA, has already had to withdraw from the campaign" (March 22).

Conclusions

Mexican press coverage of the US elections has been patchy and inconsistent, increasing during important phases and decreasing in the interim. The press highlighted the primaries in New Hampshire and on Super Tuesday, March 10th, without providing similar coverage for later elections, during the period studied.

In general, there was a lack of awareness of the nature of the US political system and of the electoral process. The press has tended to take these elements for granted, and therefore thought it unnecessary to provide additional information on the subject. Coverage of the elections did not include an analysis of the key figures involved, or of the "hidden agenda". In this sense, there was an almost total lack of information on congressional re-election campaigns (except for the banking scandal involving hundreds of senators and representatives) or other important campaign topics such as education, health and abortion.

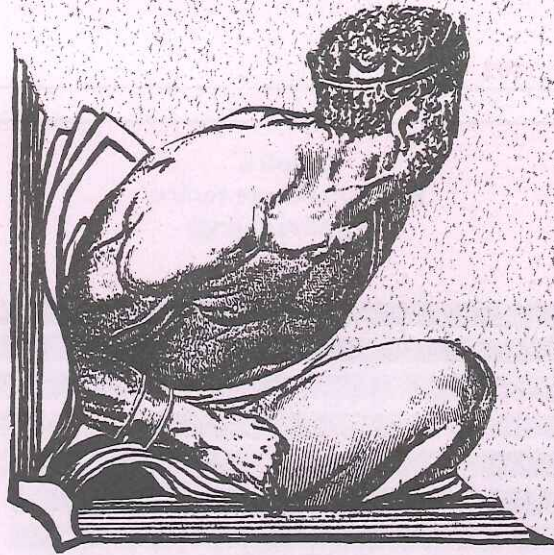
Another important point is that the Mexican weighs the elections and the candidates according to their position on the NAFTA. The media supports any candidate who favors the NAFTA while censoring its critics. The press was sympathetic to Bush and Clinton because of their stance on the NAFTA, judging them the virtual candidates in November.

However, some media did analyze the political process in more depth, discussing possible consequences for the US political system and the two party system as well. The case of the independent candidacy of Texas businessman, H. Ross Perot, began to be mentioned in the press towards the end of March.

In conclusion, Mexican press coverage of the elections will probably maintain its current level and gradually increase with the approach of the summer party conventions. However, it remains to be seen if quality of the coverage improves ❖

Miguel Acosta
Graciela Cárdenas
Marcela Osnaya
Alfredo Alvarez

Members of the CISEUA, UNAM.



LETRA a LETRA

difusión cultural unam
te acerca a la
LITERATURA

EVENTOS NACIONALES
E INTERNACIONALES
1992

**XII ENCUENTRO NACIONAL DE JOVENES
ESCRITORES**

Julio

**VII ENCUENTRO INTERNACIONAL DE POETAS DEL
MUNDO LATINO**

Octubre

VII ENCUENTRO INTERNACIONAL DE NARRATIVA

"Narrativa hispanoamericana hoy". Noviembre. México, D.F. y Valle de Bravo, Edo. de México.

POESIA DE FIN DE SIGLO (IV Fase)

Sábados: 13:00 hrs.

Casa del Lago, Antiguo Bosque de Chapultepec

NARRATIVA DE FIN DE SIGLO (IV Fase)

Casa Universitaria del Libro

The William Spratling Museum in Taxco, Guerrero, houses the considerable collection of pre-Hispanic works he donated to the National University of Mexico.

The William Spratling Museum¹

*Maricela González Cruz Manjarrez**



The William Spratling Museum, Taxco.

The William Spratling Museum is located behind the Santa Prisca parish church, next to little Juan Ruiz de Alarcón square, among the narrow alleys of picturesque Taxco, Guerrero.

The Museum building consists of three floors and a basement which, since 1989, has served as a space for temporary exhibits.

The permanent collection is displayed in rectangular rooms on the first and second floors. It includes pre-Hispanic pieces from Olmec, Huastec, Totonac, Maya, Zapotec, and Mexica cultures, from regions such as Mezcala, Guerrero and the Pacific coast (Nayarit, Colima).

A variety of pieces with identifying labels are located in glass cases: vessels, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures, musical instruments, yokes, palms, braziers, breastplates and others. The collection is highlighted by vertical stripes painted in bright Mexican pink on the white walls behind the glass cases.

Complementing the collection, chronological and comparative charts and maps of Mesoamerica's various

¹ Photographs by the author.

* Of the Institute for Aesthetic Research, UNAM.

cultural areas, and other world regions, help to understand the selections on display. On walls (behind the glass cases), or inserted on information panels, are quotes by William Spratling, Miguel Covarrubias, Paul Westheim and Octavio Paz, referring to the art of pre-Hispanic cultures.

A reproduction of the *Tamuín adolescent*, from the Huastec culture, is located in a separate first-floor area, almost opposite the Museum's entrance. An original stele from the Balsas region with sun-cult reliefs is presented next to it. Both are also visible from the second floor. Two



Archaeological treasures at the Spratling Museum, Taxco.

Gallery at the Spratling Museum, Taxco.



Gallery at the Spratling Museum, Taxco.

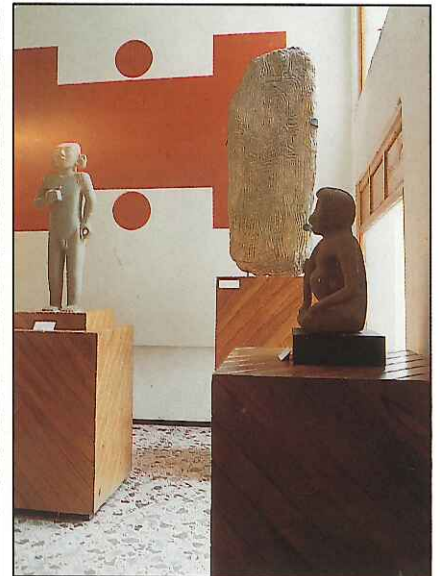
Figures from William Spratling's personal collection.

staircases, at opposite ends of the building, lead from the first to the second floor.


The collection includes approximately two thousand pieces, counting those in storage, almost four hundred of which are exhibited.

Most pieces come from the collection William Spratling donated to the National Museum of Anthropology in 1963. He had made an earlier large donation of pre-Hispanic works to the National University of Mexico in 1959. William Spratling lived in Mexico from 1929 to 1967, the year he died; he was named Favorite Son of Taxco in 1953.

The Museum exhibits a bronze bust of him by Monzalvo (1986), and



the reproduction of a lithograph of him done by Siqueiros in 1931, while the artist was under arrest in Taxco.

The National Institute of Anthropology and History has managed the Museum since its inauguration July 31, 1975. It bears the name William Spratling, in homage to the man who valued and preserved part of Mexican culture through collections, documentaries, articles and publications 

The history of Mexico City (Part I)

*Luis Ortiz Macedo**

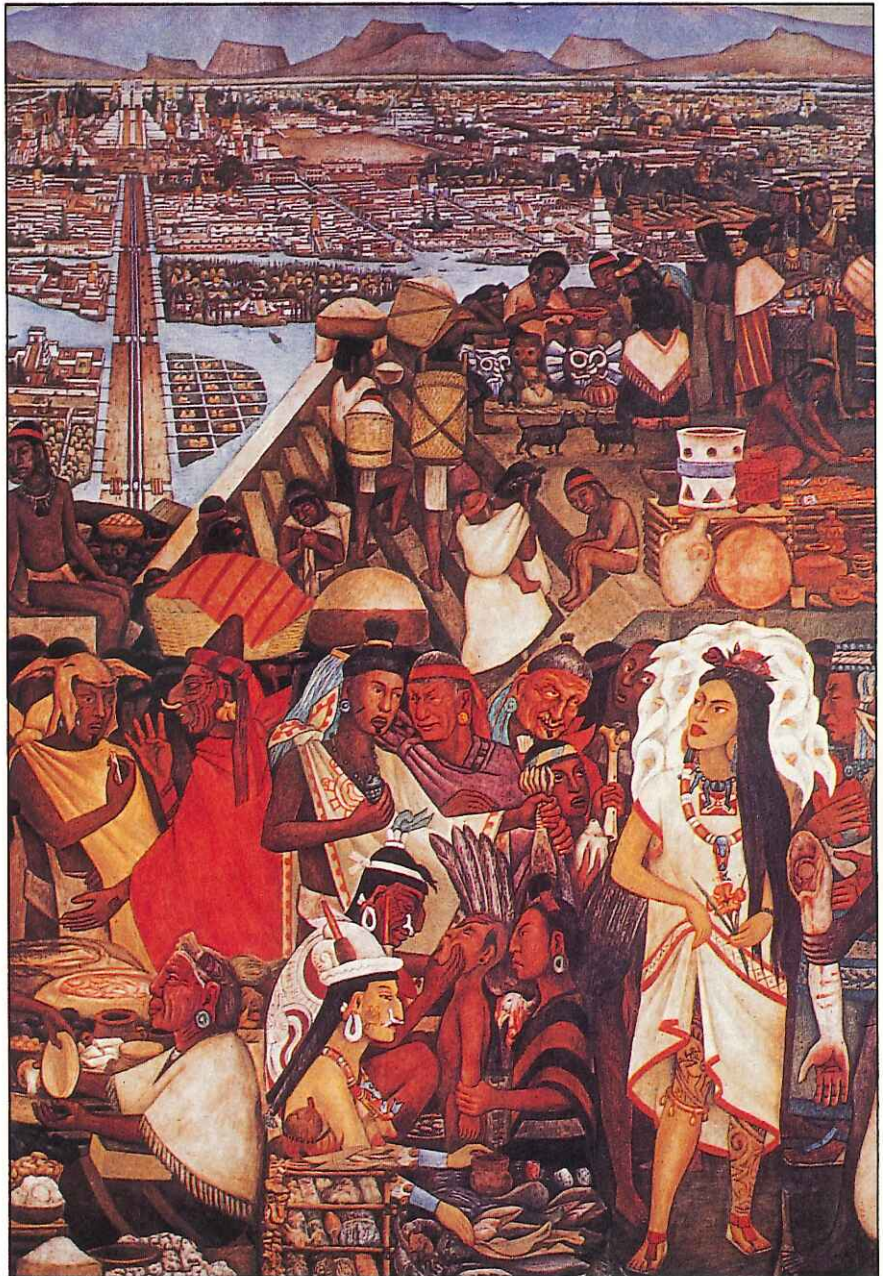
The pre-Hispanic city

Great Tenochtitlan, site and seat of the great empire consolidated on Mexico's central plateau and Central America in the 15th century, was founded three centuries before, in the 12th century. Extending its dominions by conquest, it subjugated civilizations that had flourished much earlier.

It reached its peak under Moctezuma I, and its influence over vast conquered territories soon acquired the characteristics of each tributary civilization.

The site chosen for the great capital was determined by a religious-mythical event. It was built on one of many islands in the complex system of lakes in the Mexico Basin, an enormous natural hollow containing the salt water of Texcoco and the fresh waters of Xochimilco and Chalco.

The dimensions of the island were gradually increased as small areas of water-covered bottom were



Tlatelolco market, with Tenochtitlan and the volcanos in the background. Detail of mural by Diego Rivera.

filled by a method developed in the basin itself. This was known as the *chinampa*, a plot formed by sinking wooden pilings into the bottom and subsequently filling the space within them with earth. As the island grew on *chinampas*, the city spread around a ceremonial complex known as the Great Temple and nearby grounds on which palaces and living quarters for the nobility and priests were built.

During its heyday, Tenochtitlan functioned as a parallel and complement to Tlatelolco, from which it was separated by no more than a broad water-filled canal.

This "sister city" was the site of the great market which so astonished the conquistadors, regulated by its *tecpan* or court of arbitration. Most of its inhabitants were traders and craftsmen. Tlatelolco also possessed a large

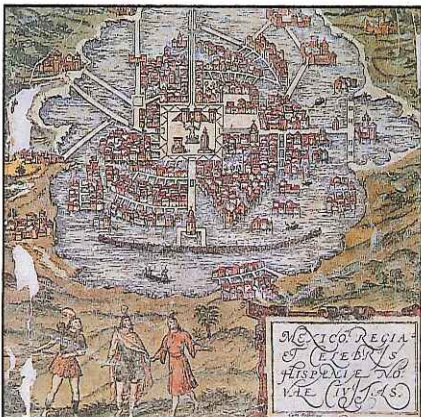
* Professor of Architecture.



Mexico City and the valley in the 19th century.

ceremonial center, discovered thirty years ago in the space now known as the Plaza of the Three Cultures.

Because of its spatial limits as an island, the complex of settlements near the basin must be considered part of the Tenochca metropolis. Some of these were the seats of former independent domains: Azcapotzalco, Tlacopan, Xochimilco and Chalco; Tenochca influence reached as far as Texcoco. Hence, the term Greater Tenochtitlan, implying a conurbation, defines it better than the suggestion that it was a single



Plan of Tenochtitlan attributed to Cortés (reproduced from a German atlas).

settlement. Communication between these towns was by means of shallow draft vessels, reinforced by the construction of four long avenues or causeways over the waters, connecting the center to Iztapalapa, Los Remedios, Tlacopan, (later called Tacuba), El Tepeyec and Chalco. The urban model from which the metropolis and the neighboring settlements around the basin grew, developed along two basic patterns:

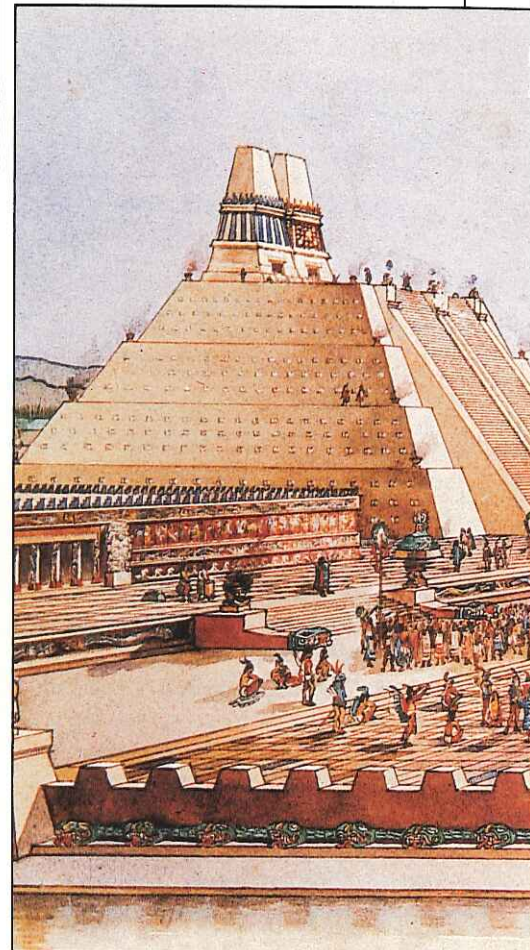
1. Island or lakeside settlements spread by reproducing the *chinampa* model of south bank settlements like Tlahuac, Mixquic and Xochimilco.
2. Settlements on solid ground around the ceremonial centers, adapted to the terrain by means of small arteries laid out in a rectilinear pattern. In residential areas, lots known to the Spaniards as corrals or Indian patios, were disposed along these arteries. They contained the dwellings that housed nuclear families, providing them with the means to carry on such complementary activities as working a small plot of land, or an

orchard and keeping domestic animals.

This particular type of patrilineal family residence, was kept alive in indigenous neighborhoods under three centuries of colonial administration and still survives as a residential unit in settlements around the periphery of the basin.

Areas reserved for religious activities and living quarters for the ruling classes, were carefully marked off from common residential areas which clustered around them in neighborhoods known as *calpullis*. Some of these neighborhoods had their own administrative authorities and even local courts.

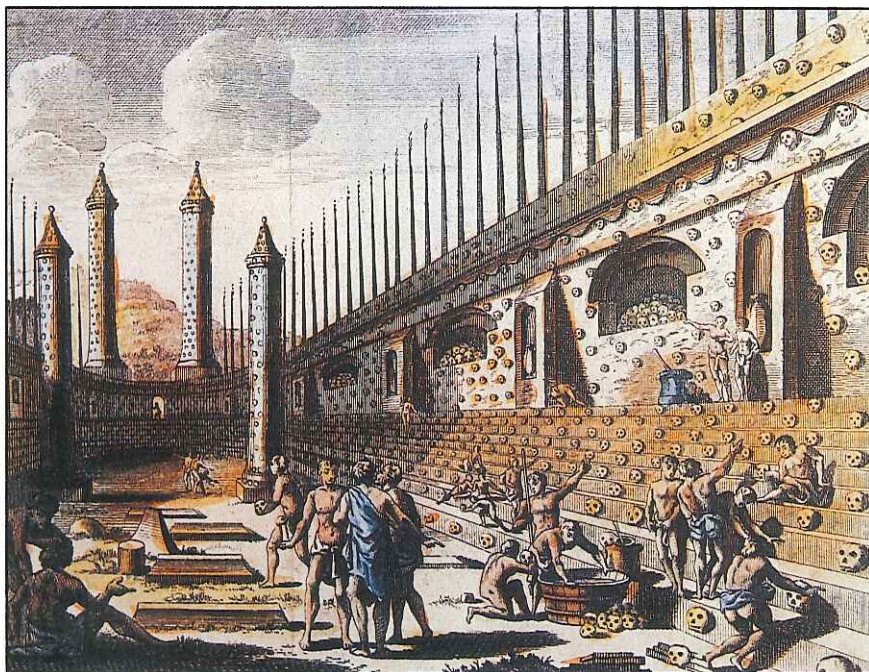
Waterways or canals facilitating waterborne transport were characteristic of island or lakeside settlements. In the metropolis itself, these waterways were



controlled by dykes, dams, earthen walls, and a multiple system of floodgates, during the rainy season.

The constant state of apprehension in which residents of the great capital lived because of seasonal flooding, continued into the early years of the colonial period, until it was finally decided in the 16th century to evacuate the waters by building the gigantic Nochistongo canal. From then on, the level of the lakes began to descend, leaving large areas high and dry, which the Spaniards soon took over and converted into farms and ranches.

The pre-Hispanic city was built on a geometric plan based on rectilinear streets following the cardinal points of the compass from the ceremonial and governmental center. Many of them were waterways, including diagonals that broke the uniformity of the model



Cemetery for victims sacrificed at the great Pyramid (18th century. Dutch engraving).

and even the Spaniards did not fill them in, due to their obvious utility as drainage channels.

The so-called plan of Moctezuma II's city, corresponds in shape and lot size to the one established by Alonso García Bravo by order of Cortés at the end of 1521, to divide land among the conquistadors.

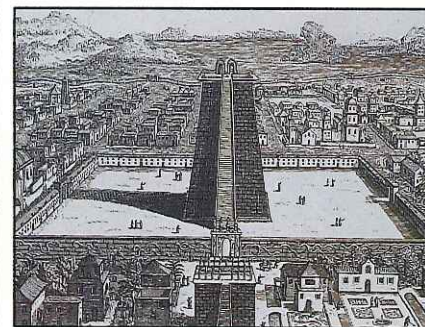
The intent was to fit them into a segregated area, not unlike pre-Hispanic times, with a main square at the center, on the south side of the great pre-Hispanic temples.

Thus, the new metropolis was laid out within the formal confines of the old, preserving the features and the traditional positions of the former *calpullis*, christianizing their names, replacing their temples with Christian chapels, and governing them in a manner similar to the indigenous precedent under the new name of "partialities". However, the peripheral native neighborhoods do not appear in the city plans laid out during the colonial period, which focus entirely on the Spanish city.

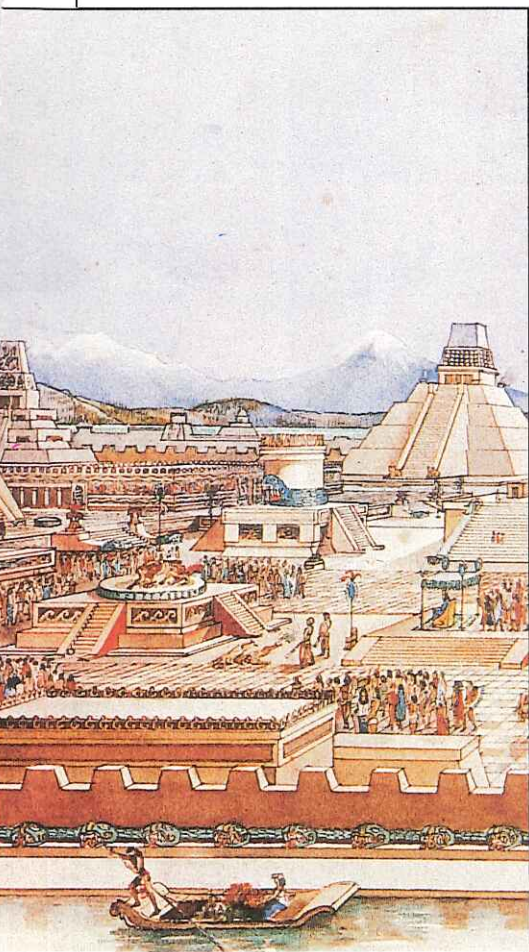
The temple as reconstructed by Marquina.

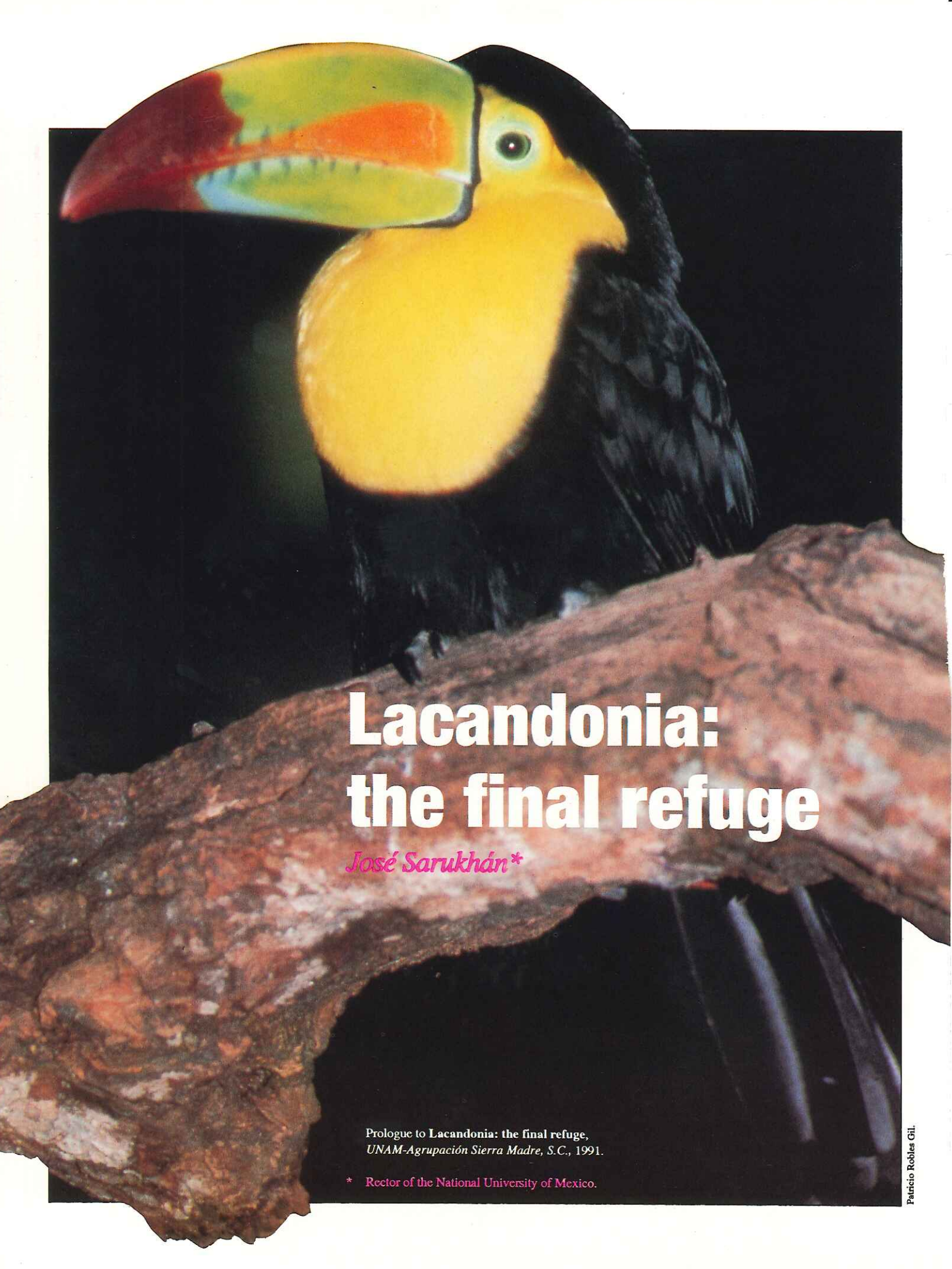
Pre-Hispanic structures, including residential units, were set upon foundations or platforms of packed earth, which raised them above the ground and protected them from frequent floods. This was made necessary by the soft soil at the center of the basin, composed of sediment conveyed by lake currents and heavy rain.

At times, temples and palaces could only be stabilized by means of foundations reinforced with wooden piles and stone embankments of varying height. Even so, larger structures sank under their weight and had to be rebuilt more than once **M**



The Great Temple (18th century engraving).





Lacandonia: the final refuge

*José Sarukhán**

Prologue to *Lacandonia: the final refuge*,
UNAM-Agrupación Sierra Madre, S.C., 1991.

* Rector of the National University of Mexico.



Patricio Robles Gil.

Lacandon girls.

I am lucky enough to have known the tropical rain forests. Many precious moments of my life have been spent in them, admiring their ancient trees, gazing in awe at their abundant wildlife.

It is in rain forests such as the Lacandon rain forest that the broad concept of "biological diversity", acquires its fullest meaning. It is a term which encompasses all forms of life:

The rapid destruction of rain forests in Mexico threatens one of the most beautiful natural tropical areas in the world and the remarkable biological diversity it represents.

Lacandonia: the final refuge is a book that seeks to bring about an awareness of the devastating exploitation of the Jungle of Lacandonia.

animals, plants, and micro-organisms, the ecosystems and ecological processes from which they derive, and is usually classified as follows: a) *Genetic Diversity*, b) *Diversity of Species* and c) *Diversity of Ecosystems*.

Genetic Diversity is the sum of information contained in the genes of animals, plants and micro-organisms on our planet. Each individual of a species, as in the case of man (*Homo sapiens*), also possesses another kind of information that differentiates him from other members of that species and provides him with his individuality.

Diversity of Species refers to the diversity of living organisms, between five and ten million varieties on our planet, of which modern science recognizes only 1.4 million.

Diversity of Ecosystems refers to the variety of habitats, biological communities and ecological processes which occur in the biosphere. Ecosystems recycle nutrients, oxygen, methane and carbon in several ways and have an important effect upon the atmosphere and consequently upon climate.

Natural resources, particularly water and soil, provide the sustenance for our society, and as such require special attention.

Despite the great technological advances of modern societies, their future prosperity is by no means assured, particularly in view of the effects of economic development on ecosystems today.

The present generation is largely responsible for destroying the natural resources it inherited. The decisions we make or fail to make about how we use, protect, and restore available natural resources for

the rest of this decade will determine the future evolution of human civilization and life on Earth.

Owing to a combination of privileged geological, topographical and geographical circumstances, Mexico is endowed with enormous genetic bio-diversity as well as a great diversity of species and ecosystems. Mexico is home to the largest number of reptilian species (717), the second largest number of mammals (440) and one of the five richest collections of flora in the world (approximately 30,000 species of higher plants).

However, Mexico unfortunately leads the world in the rate at which its rain forests are being converted to use as systems of cultivation or pasture land.

With rare exceptions the systems replacing the rain forests produce very low agricultural or livestock yields, and are frequently abandoned after a few years, or degenerate into vast inefficient systems that fail to meet the economic demands of their owners. They are not only destructive to Mexico's great biological diversity, but also its fertility and capacity to retain soil and water as well.

The book reviewed here is entitled *Lacandonia: The Final Refuge* because Lacandonia is the last sizeable tropical rain forest that still



Patricio Robles Gil.

Palenque.

survives as part of Mexico's heritage. In spite of numerous plans and programs of all kinds, the constant attack upon the region not only continues but becomes increasingly intense and uncontrollable.

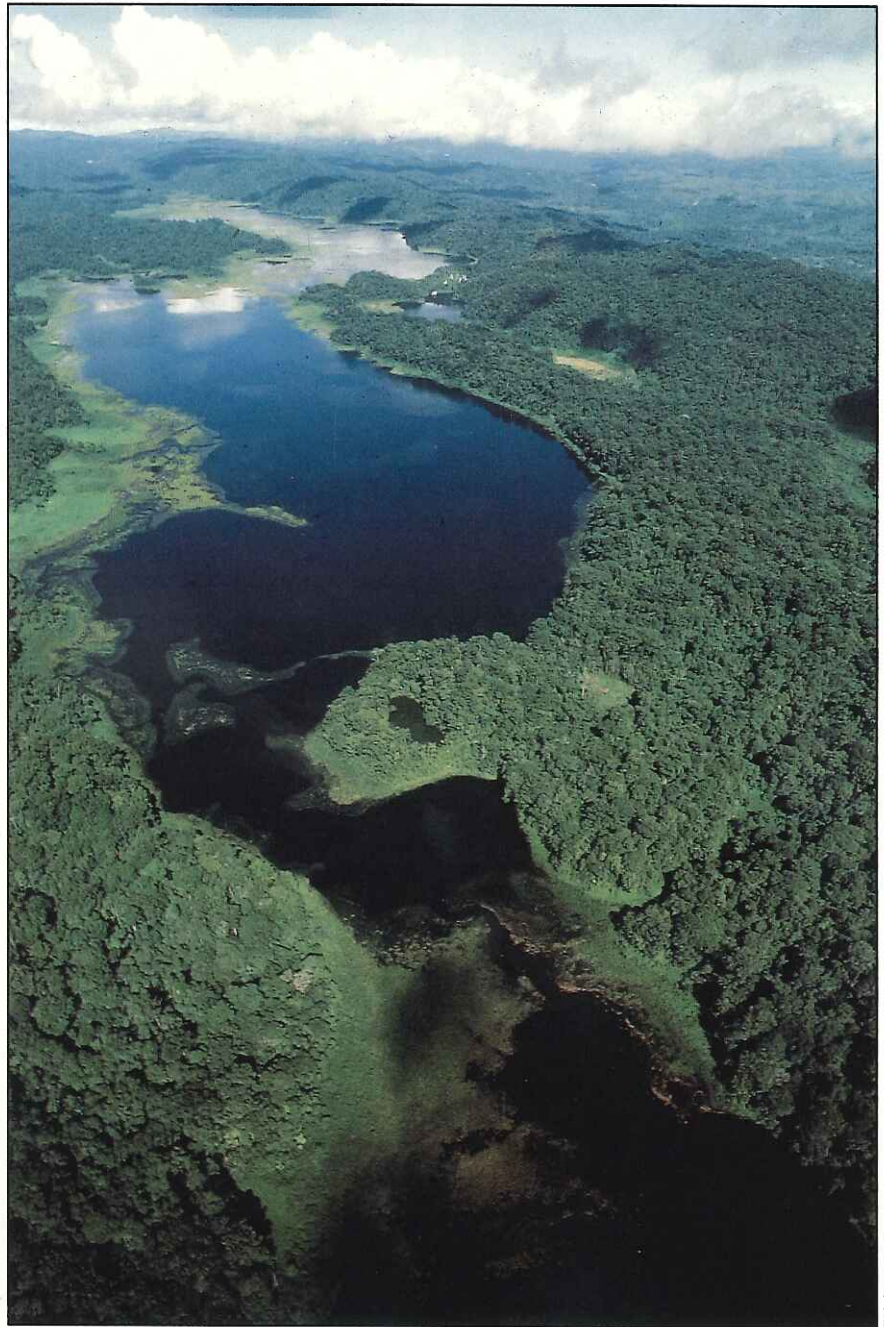
A dramatic testimony to the large scale transformation threatening the Lacandon rain forest is a photograph taken by the Landsat satellite in which the frontier between Mexico and Guatemala can be clearly traced by the destruction of rain forest in the states of Campeche, Tabasco and Chiapas on the Mexican side and its preservation on the Guatemalan side. This is a clearly unacceptable situation that requires strict enforcement of severe measures to preserve and restore the Lacandon rain forest.

Lacandonia: The Final Refuge contains a description of the remarkable features of this rain forest. It emphasizes the general importance of tropical rain forests as ecosystems and depicts the unique physical attributes of this one. It describes the region's biological characteristics not only in terms of the exuberant diversity, but of the intricate



Patricio Robles Gil

Destruction of the rain forest.



Fulvio Escardi

The rain forest intact.

relationship between plants and animals and their physical environment, and the fascinating ways they interact and forge their evolutionary characteristics.

The National University of Mexico, the research institution most involved in the study of Mexico's flora, fauna and natural resources, has published this book as a dramatic

appeal for the preservation of what remains of the Lacandon rain forest and the peoples who have legitimately inhabited it for generations.

The final goal is to harness public and scientific interest in and concern for this rain forest to act responsibly and effectively to preserve this irreplaceable national heritage for succeeding generations of Mexicans **M**

Mexico serious over clean border environment

*Ricardo Ampudia **

All along our 2,000 mile border Mexico and the United States share the elements of a common environment as well as mutual responsibility for its protection, which goes far beyond that invisible line.

That is why Mexico and the United States have been working together to ensure that people of each country can preserve and benefit from their natural resources.

Recently, both countries combined efforts to implement the "integrated environmental border plan" that will address environmental needs along the boundary. Several public hearings in 17 border cities became the basis for a three-year plan whose main objective is to clean up the most pressing environmental problems and to strengthen infrastructure along the frontier.

Under the plan, the US will invest \$380 million, and Mexico \$460 million. This reaffirms Mexico's long-standing commitment to protect environmental quality, as well as cooperate with the US in solving common problems, especially those regarding water treatment plants,

hazardous waste, sewage and anti-pollution equipment.

In Mexico, we are aware of the magnitude of the environmental challenge. Our common border is tremendously active, with more than 240 million crossings a year, intense economic activity and a population that has doubled in the last 10 years.

Mexico has already enforced its environmental legislation and increased its budget for this purpose by 800%. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of qualified inspectors. In-bond industries along the border have been required to recertify their operating licenses; the return of hazardous waste to its source of origin for disposal has also been enforced. Furthermore, Mexico has signed and ratified nearly all international treaties for the protection of the world's environment and natural resources, including agreements with more than 2,000 industries to install anti-pollution and emission control equipment.

In 1989 Mexico established legally enforceable environmental standards comparable to those of the industrialized nations, as well as penalties for non-compliance.

The goal of the Mexican government is to involve private enterprise in environmental protection initiatives. Eventually, certain advisory and inspection tasks will be performed by the private sector under government supervision.

Furthermore, it is appropriate for the private sector to be involved in the financing and management of projects such as water treatment plants. That is already occurring in Ciudad Juárez, across from El Paso, where some major US and Mexican companies have recently announced plans for their participation in a new water treatment plant which will benefit the entire border community.

Mexico understands that further growth cannot be achieved in isolation. It can only be reached through actively participating in the mechanics of the world economy.

In this context, by negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mexico seeks a commercial treaty that will benefit our nations and will take great care of the environment and the rational use of natural resources. Mexico will not accept any project, domestic or foreign, if it does not strictly comply with environmental criteria. **M**



Industrial pollution.

Heron Alemán/Imagenlatina.

* Former Mexican Consul General in Houston, Texas.

Characteristics and implications of different types of currency areas¹

*Miguel Mancera**

Mexico's possible participation in one or more free trade zones does not imply that we anticipate the formation of monetary unions in these zones. Furthermore, currency areas are not necessarily essential to a free trade zone's good performance, nor are the benefits from the formation of such areas self-evident. It must also be pointed out that formal monetary unions, that is, currency areas established by international treaties, are so complex that for now it would be virtually impossible to establish them in the free trade zones in which Mexico will probably participate.

It is not at all my intention to propose the adoption of any specific monetary scheme for trade zones. Rather, I would like to offer some reflections on the characteristics and effects of various types of currency areas.

The concept of a currency area can be understood in several ways. The broadest concept is that of a group of two or more countries whose currencies' exchange rates follow predetermined patterns. These patterns result from the exchange rate policies of the countries which are part of the currency area, although the exchange rate policy of the country whose currency serves as reference for the others may be entirely independent.

This type of currency area does not require an international treaty. It can simply stem from the desire and the ability of a country to unilaterally peg its currency's exchange rate (or the rate of change of the same) to another country's currency.

The other extreme might be represented by a currency area formed by a group of countries which adopt a

common currency. However, even in this case, there are at least two variants: The United States and Panama, for example, use the same currency, but this is a decision made by Panama alone; in contrast, several European countries are considering the adoption of a common currency to be issued by a Community central bank.

Between these extremes, there are several types of currency areas. Some do not require international treaties tantamount to law, but may nonetheless involve monetary cooperation agreements. Other currency areas, such as the so-called monetary unions, are usually based on international treaties, the scope of which varies from case to case.

Now, I would like to review the characteristics and the implications of various types of currency areas. First, I will discuss the most informal types, and last, I will make a few comments about those with a common currency.

Again, the broadest notion of a currency area is that attained by a country unilaterally pegging its currency's exchange rate to a foreign reference currency (or by fixing the speed of its crawl). This policy may have considerable advantages for the country that fixes its exchange rate, but only if certain conditions are met.

The first and by far the most important prerequisite is that the reference currency's purchasing power be reasonably stable. Other conditions are that prices as well as nominal and real personal income be generally flexible; that the country whose currency is used as a reference be an important trade partner, or that the country that has pegged its currency's

¹ Paper presented at the 15th Annual Economic Symposium held by the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, August, 1991.

* Director General of the Bank of Mexico.

exchange rate conduct most of its international trade in the reference currency; that there be no serious obstacles for the international mobility of merchandise; that the country which has fixed its exchange rate be not overly exposed to large external shocks; and, crucially, that sustaining the exchange rate be a real and credible possibility.

If this last condition is not met, there will eventually be speculative attacks against the currency, which may lead to an abrupt devaluation. In this case, the public may expect further devaluations, and such expectations imply among other effects, high interest rates, which dampen economic growth.

If all of these conditions are met, especially that of the reference currency's reasonably stable purchasing power, and that of the peg's sustainability, it is very likely that fixing the parity will yield considerable benefits.

The country's inflation rate should converge with that of the reference currency, at least in the realm of internationally tradable goods. At the same time, the risk involved in international transactions should be reduced. This implies greater certainty and confidence, which are essential for economic development.

The danger of pegging the exchange rate stems from the risk that these preconditions may not be satisfied due to circumstances beyond the control of the country which fixed the rate. For example, if the exchange rate remains fixed and the country experiences an external shock or the reference currency becomes unstable, the pegged country may face undesirable consequences. In fact, if the country which has a pegged exchange rate undergoes a severe external shock, it could suffer a deep recession, or if the reference currency country has an outbreak of inflation, this would imply general price hikes in the former.

Thus, we might question whether exchange rate rigidity is better than flexibility. Of course I cannot do justice to such a broad topic within the scope of this discussion; I will, however, offer a few comments.

First, a flexible exchange rate regime does not offer the same results in the case of revaluations as in the case of devaluations. When a currency is revalued to isolate the country from imported inflation, this would not normally have negative effects. Should there be negative effects, they would be minimal compared to the benefits of preserving domestic price stability.

On the other hand, currency devaluations tend to cause inflation and therefore ongoing uncertainty, which is very costly in terms of economic development and social equity. However, it is rightly argued that in certain situations, devaluations may in fact be a lesser evil.

For example, consider a country where the income of the general population is flexible in real terms, but downwardly rigid in nominal terms. Suppose it has pegged its exchange rate, and then suffers a massive external

shock. In this case, a devaluation and the ensuing higher prices permit the external shock's absorption through a reduction in the real income of a large part of the population, rather than through bankruptcies and public sector program cutbacks, both of which result in unemployment and lower production.

Thus, the most justifiable devaluations are in response to an external shock in the context of downwardly rigid nominal incomes. However, given that devaluations have inflationary consequences, one must ask whether there are not other means of handling the problems caused by, say, a sudden deterioration of the terms of trade or a natural disaster. In this sense, it might be convenient, for example, to remove nominal income rigidities.

An adverse shock inevitably has negative effects; yet a response conducive to inflation creates obstacles to economic growth and causes a chaotic redistribution of real income, which are both much worse than an explicit reduction in nominal income. It is regrettable that when economic reality dictates real income adjustments, these cannot always take place in an orderly and, indeed, civilized fashion. Sometimes the misguided step is taken, although surely with the best of intentions, of making reductions in workers' wages illegal, except in extreme circumstances which may be invoked only with great difficulty. And other times, noninflationary adjustment is problematic since people are misguided by money illusion, they are more willing to tolerate price increases than explicit reductions in their income. Such legal provisions, as well as money illusion, cause an unfortunate inflationary bias, the degree of which varies among national economies, but is present in all.

As I mentioned, one of the conditions for successfully pegging an exchange rate is that such action be viable and credible. With this in mind, we might consider establishing legal limits to primary credit expansion. At one extreme, the central bank's statutes may only allow currency to be issued against the purchase of a specific foreign currency or international assets in general. Under a fixed exchange rate regime, such a rule is highly appropriate since it makes it almost impossible for the domestic currency's value to erode with respect to the reference currency.

The rule is equivalent, in a certain sense, to adopting the reference currency as the domestic currency, but with the advantage that the reference currency need not circulate within the national territory and, importantly, "seignorage" can be earned from the issuing of domestic currency. Indeed, the central bank may invest the foreign exchange it purchases overseas, while not paying interest on the domestic currency it issues, and perhaps not paying interest, or only at a reduced rate, on its other monetary liabilities such as the commercial banks' deposits.

A few countries, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, have successfully adopted schemes of this sort. However,

in spite of the evident advantages for fixed exchange rate regimes, this is unusual, for several reasons:

1. It is clear that even under a fixed exchange rate regime, the judicious use of primary credit can in some measure influence the evolution of monetary aggregates and interest rates, without jeopardizing exchange rate stability.
2. It is obvious that the central bank's function as lender of last resort is nullified or severely limited if it cannot grant credit; under this scheme, the central bank could lend only as long as it had more foreign assets than liabilities.
3. Although this is not always acknowledged, with this sort of scheme the government renounces a source of financing which can be very expedient.

Of course, expediency as the only motive is questionable, as it has been precisely central banks' abuse of their power to grant primary credit which in many countries and on too many occasions has caused persistent inflation and recurring devaluations. Some countries have therefore relinquished the benefits of a moderate use of primary credit in exchange for the advantages of the monetary stability that results from an absolute confidence in the exchange rate.

Currency unions established by international treaties could be divided into three basic categories. The first is characterized by fixed exchange rates (or exchange rates which fluctuate within a band), but which are revisable and supported by a system of reciprocal credit. The European Monetary System's Exchange Rate Mechanism is an example of this type of currency union. The second type of currency union is the same as the first, but the exchange rates are permanently fixed. The third type of currency union establishes a common central bank and a single currency.

The first type of currency union resembles Bretton Woods, which established an international monetary system characterized by pegged exchange rates. This type of currency union diminishes the member countries' monetary sovereignty in the sense that exchange rate variations cannot be determined unilaterally but must be agreed upon by the union.

In exchange for this restriction, an important benefit is obtained: member countries agree to combine credit resources to finance temporary, non-fundamental balance of payments disequilibria and therefore support their exchange rates. This is further backed by member countries' efforts to coordinate their fiscal and monetary policies.

The second type of currency union, in which exchange rates are permanently fixed, implies very strict policy coordination among the member countries. In reality, this kind of coordination is closer to that required for the third type of currency union, with a common central bank and a single currency than it is to the first type. In fact, permanently fixing exchange rates is in almost every sense tantamount to monetary unification.

It could also be said that the requirements for policy coordination are virtually the same. However, under permanently fixed exchange rates, since the various domestic currencies would continue in circulation, with some transaction costs in exchanging one currency for another, there would be smaller benefits vis-à-vis a single currency system; this is also true to the extent that the population perceives some possibility, however small, that exchange rates could be modified by "force majeure".


Permanently fixing exchange rates requires that the national monetary authorities yield their prerogative to decide the amount and timing of currency issues to a common monetary authority. The implications of this are profound. National governments give up to an untested agency their "de jure" or "de facto" privilege to manage or at least influence their central bank's primary credit.

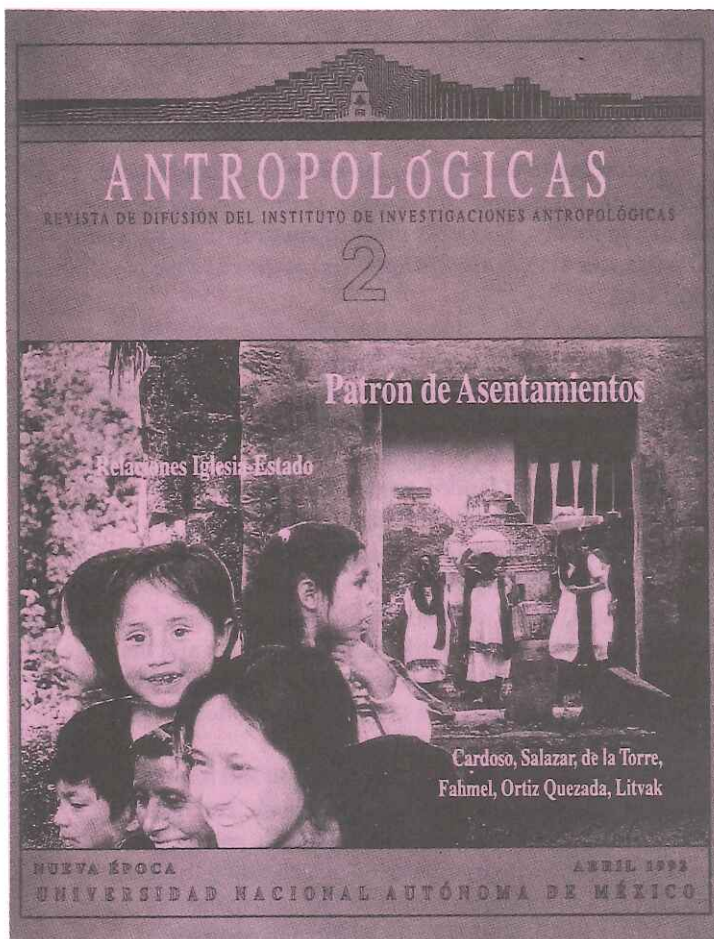
Furthermore, the recognition of a common monetary authority raises questions that are difficult to answer: whether this authority should be independent of the national governments; to whom should it be accountable; how should voting power be allocated among the different countries within the common agency; and who should be responsible for the regulation and supervision of financial intermediaries.

The third type of currency union, in which member countries adopt a single currency, implies the creation of a common central bank. By adopting an organizational framework similar to that of the Federal Reserve System of the United States, a common central bank could take advantage of the various original member country central banks' human and operational resources without incurring the costs of a full-scale merger.

This third type of currency union faces the same problems as the second type of union, as well as some others: for example, how to allocate the seignorage derived from issuing the single currency among the member countries. On the other hand, the benefits of this third type of union can be impressive. They include the reduction of investment risks, the practical unification of leading interest rates, and considerable savings in the costs of international transactions within the union, all of which are highly favorable for economic development.

Belonging to a currency area has advantages and disadvantages which depend both on the type of currency area being addressed and the circumstances of each country. When it becomes necessary to make a decision concerning this subject, as with many others, it is advisable to adopt an eclectic rather than a dogmatic position.

Moreover, considering the enormous variations in the rates of inflation within and among most countries, as well as price and wage rigidities, it is not unreasonable to argue in favor of floating exchange rates, notwithstanding the marked trend towards free trade and currency areas .



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The reform of article 27 and the future of agriculture

Edmundo Flores*

Some 22 years ago, in *Old Revolution, New problems*, (Joaquín Mortiz, Mexico, 1970) I warned that “if agricultural reform continues in the same way as it has up to now, it will soon provide every Mexican, in perpetuity, with a plot of land two meters long, one meter wide and two meters deep, just as in any graveyard worthy of the name.”

I made this statement at the time because the current Department of Agriculture had already distributed three times the available arable land in Mexico. Agricultural reform, which had begun in 1915, was already over 50 years old and the longest surviving program of its kind in the history of humanity, (see *Guinness Book of Records*).

In a rare flash of technical insight and political suicide, President Echeverría's Secretary of Agriculture, Oscar Brauer, declared, “the PRI organizes the *campesinos* to vote not to produce”.

By 1970, agricultural production had begun to decrease as agricultural imports increased. The population rose from just over 50 million to its present 86 million, while the number of Mexicans living below the poverty line swelled to almost 30 million.

Nonetheless, it took recognition of the problem, analytical ability and the spirit of modernization to admit that the distribution of land was finally over, reform article 27 of the Constitution and abolish the Department of Agricultural Reform, as has already occurred.

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According to the old law, the *ejido* could not be sold, embargoed, transferred, prescribed, or divided, but this was not true in reality. Mexico's great urban growth of the last 60 years was almost always achieved at the expense of *ejido* land.

Everyone in Mexico knew that *ejido* land was bought, sold and rented, and that it was the object of theft, trespass and fraud and frequently expropriated for “the public good” to be subsequently turned into golf courses and subdivisions on payment of minimal compensation.

Fears that great landed estates will reappear are groundless. The *latifundio* requires a medieval environment with servants and lordly privileges which have long since disappeared. It cannot survive in a society with railways, roads, schools, television, freedom of passage, free real estate markets, stock markets and the attractions of the northern border, which although fraught with risk, holds the promise of employment, dollars and fair-skinned women on its other side.

The reform will provide both domestic and foreign capital to get agriculture moving again. *Ejido*, communal land, and small holdings will be combined in enterprises known as “in-bond agro-industries” which, using the latest technology and machinery, will produce and industrialize food, fibers and flowers both for export and domestic consumption.

Profits will be shared equally among land-owners and investors, while the wages paid field laborers and industrial workers will be high. It will be feasible to create modern infrastructure to provide support and research for the whole sector.

At long last, wooded areas will be reforested with quick-growing varieties to produce cellulose and wood for domestic consumption. Finally, there will be a tremendous upsurge in agricultural, forestry and livestock research that will qualify a whole new generation of agricultural technicians. **M**

Sorting coffee beans near the Chiapas border with Guatemala.

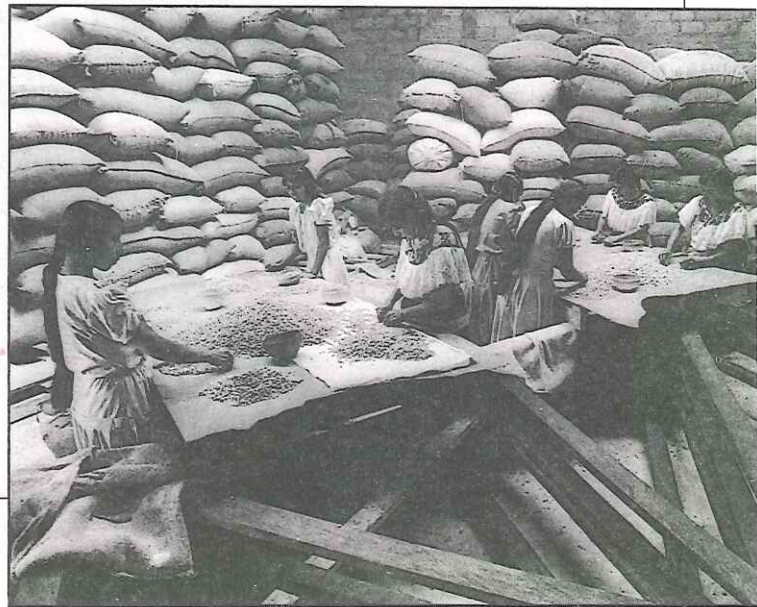


Table 1
Growth Rates

	1979-1990		1984-1990	
	Global	Annual	Global	Annual
Establishments	372.96	37.30	299.70	59.94
Employment	420.60	42.06	234.57	46.91
Workers	394.71	39.47	228.51	45.70
Man hours	399.74	39.97	236.52	47.30
Input	572.38	57.24	241.18	42.24
Value added	459.87	45.99	253.45	50.69
Compensation	399.82	39.98	248.10	49.62

Source: Compiled by the author. Based on INEGI in-bond industry export statistics.

Much has been said about the in-bond industry's possible multiplier effect on Mexico's economy. However, this does not seem likely in the economy as a whole. In terms of employment (see graph 2), it may affect collateral areas of the service sector, besides what it absorbs itself, but a basic and so-far insurmountable flaw has prevented its integration with the rest of Mexican industry.

It is well-known that Mexican industry provides the in-bond industry with barely 2% of its input and that though in absolute terms this represents sales that grow with the expansion of the sector, economic integration into the rest of Mexican industry is practically non-existent. The in-bond industry operates as a structurally impenetrable enclave within the Mexican economy, which, though it may look like a door from surrounding instability into development, is of very limited access indeed.

Production Capacity

One way to measure industrial activity and therefore, indirectly, productive capacity, is to measure the volume of

components or inputs processed by an industry. The volume of components (98% of which are imported) used by the in-bond industry in Mexico, increased 572% in ten years, from an average of \$2.97 million dollars per factory in 1979 to \$4.96 million in 1989.

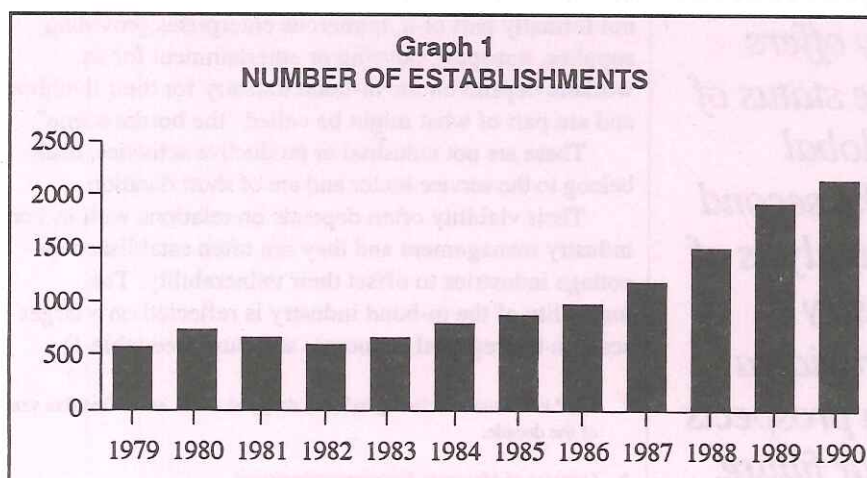
This increase in the volume of components processed and therefore in overall production is the result of an increase in the number of plants, coincident with an increase in productive capacity. The latter has been achieved by a combination of improved technology, organizational changes in production methods and greater pressure on the worker. If the volume of components processed per plant rose 167%, the number of components processed increased 151% per worker and 576% per hour. In other words, a 395% increase in the number of plants led to a 576% increase in the volume of manufacturing.

The average worker, therefore, produced 50% more in 1989 than he did ten years earlier. Since the working day has not been significantly lengthened (only 3.1% between 1980 and 1990), greater concentration and pressure during every working hour accounts for the increase in the volume of products assembled.

Value added

Under capitalism, every productive process involves added value. However, such value is extremely difficult to measure, in view of the fact that it is usually information that is held confidential by the manufacturer and is distorted and subject to complexities inherent in an industry that operates in more than one country. The following is therefore based on available figures and the

Graph 1
NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS



understanding that it is only a modest approach to the measurement of value added² in the in-bond industry.

Wages are a key measurement of value added since they are an expression of the value of labor. Internationalization causes the value of labor to vary even when the task and the manufactured items are the same³.

Nevertheless, value-added statistics for the in-bond industry show an increase of 460% over the decade 1979-1989. The principal category of wages, salaries and benefits fell from 58% in 1979 to 50% in 1989. Wages fell farthest, from 33% to 22% between 1979 and 1988, despite the inclusion of production technicians, who earn higher salaries than assembly line workers, and whose numbers rose from 8.6% to 12% of the employed labor force in the same period.

The profitability of in-bond industry operations is based on increases in all production indicators, including employment, and decreases in salaries in real terms. The only index that fell in the ten years mentioned was salaries, which dropped 33% (see table 2). Although a drop in wages increases overall production profit margins, it causes a corresponding distortion in value-added figures for in-bond industry operations. One way of calculating the effect of this distortion might be to compare the cost of salaries for the same work in the United States. If only manufacturing salaries were considered, without taking benefits into account, the annual wage difference would be \$20,000 per worker in 1987⁴, a total annual difference of \$5,172.49 million dollars.

Structure by branch of the in-bond industry

This industry's structure by branches is evident in the scope or intensity of their operations, measurable in the first instance by the number of people employed, and in the second, by the number of components assembled or the value of production (see graph 3).

The assembly of electrical or electronic components has traditionally been the most outstanding branch of the in-bond industry. The number of workers it employed in 1989, (divided by official statistics into two parts) represented 39.8% of all workers, and the number of plants totalled 26.6%. It created 40.3% of the in-bond industry's total value added and 44.2% of the value of its entire production.



Not all in-bond industries are high-tech.

Angeles Torrejon/Imagenlatina.

The second largest branch is transport equipment and automotive parts, which having significantly increased its in-bond activities now has the highest indices of concentration and capitalization, demonstrated by its volume of assembly of components and by the value of production per worker and per plant.

This growth, which changed the hierarchy of the various branches of the in-bond industry, occurred mainly during the ten years from 1979 to 1989. It was the result of one of the basic policies of restructuring the automotive industry worldwide, which added to increased investment gave it more solid prospects than any other branch of the industry.

Table 2
Wage Levels
(U.S. dollars)

Year	Hourly Rate	Monthly	Annual
1979	0.96	185.10	2221.18
1980	1.12	210.76	2529.16
1981	1.32	251.16	3013.94
1982	0.99	188.11	2257.28
1983	0.70	134.19	1610.33
1984	0.82	153.38	1840.53
1985	0.83	154.00	1847.99
1986	0.62	113.46	1361.47
1987	0.64	119.91	1438.91
1988	0.74	140.11	1681.28

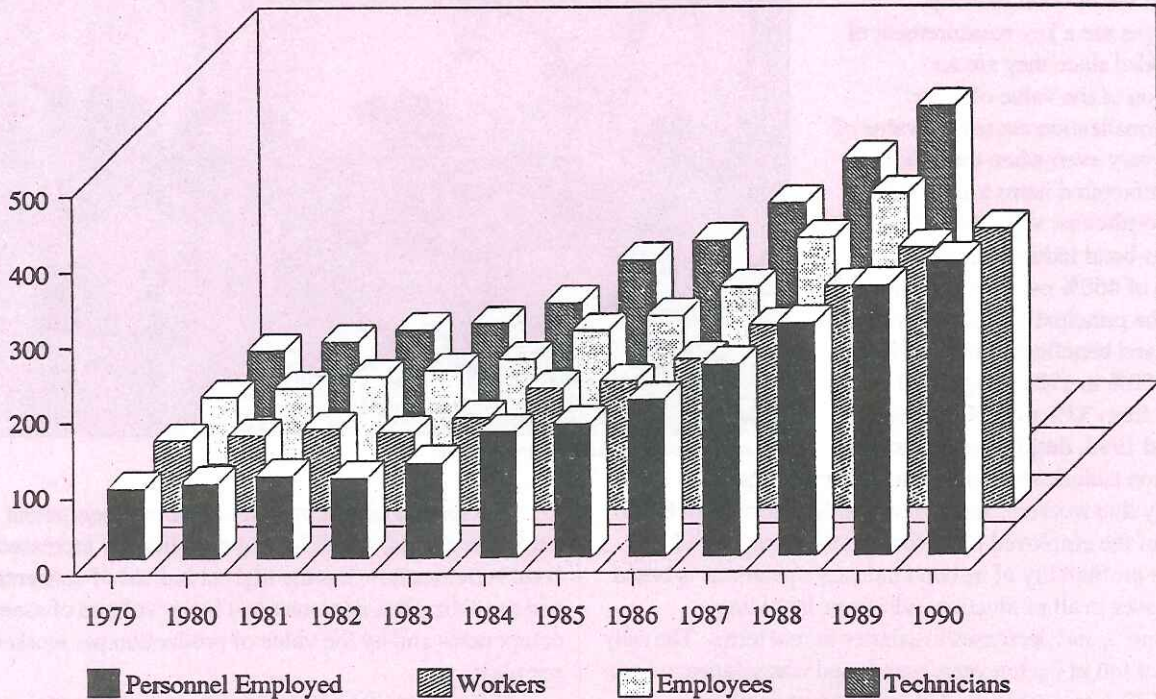
Source: Compiled by the author from INEGI in-bond industry export statistics.

² i.e. the creation of added value not the statistical category.

³ This is one of the theoretical challenges posed by the internationalization of capital, and will not be dealt with here. Nonetheless, its importance should not be overlooked.

⁴ Figures for 88-89 were unavailable at the time of writing.

Graph 2
CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT WAGE CATEGORIES



Taken together, these two sectors account for 60.5% of all employment, 72.7% of production value and 64.3% of foreign currency earnings for the in-bond industry as a whole (see table 3).

Nevertheless, the same decade also saw a considerable increase in the processing of chemical products. This branch's share of the industry's total profits is still very low but over the ten years for which statistics are available, it registered the greatest percentage increases in production value (4310%) and number of employees (3422.9%), which may well indicate that further increases are to be expected in the future.

One of the first branches of the in-bond industry to be developed was the textile industry and, though this still holds, its productive capacity and the value of its production are not as great as those of the branches mentioned above. It accounts for 9% of all in-bond industry workers, but its production value is only 4.7% of the industry's total.

It is unlikely that new technology will be introduced in this branch, since technological innovations have tended to focus on other areas. Nevertheless, materials processed per worker rose from 13% to 28% from 1979 to 1989, which is attributable to increased pressure on the worker.

From the point of view of profitability of investment and considering the specific characteristics of textile assembly, production has been raised by the simple expedient of increasing yield per worker. It is reasonable to suppose that,

precisely because of its particular technological features, this branch of the industry may increase its activities in Mexico in response to North American economic integration.

Two other branches which have shown stable, if less than spectacular, growth rates are wooden and metal furniture, and toys and sporting goods. No doubt, different factors are responsible for their growth rates, since furniture manufacture seems to be more related to supplying the U.S. market, while the growth of in-bond toy and sporting goods manufacture seems to respond to world-wide restructuring of the toy industry.

Prospects

This brief summary of trends in the in-bond export industry in Mexico provides a basis for observations regarding its future and the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement on it.

In general, the partial shift of production toward relatively low-cost areas has been one of the main features of world-wide restructuring of capitalist valorization. Ample savings in capital outlay which this implied led to significant reductions in the cost of merchandise thus produced. This resulted in greater centralization and concentration of capital and the consequent expulsion from the market of less efficient enterprises unable to break down their operations so as to benefit from world-wide comparative advantage.

Sector	Total		Per establishment		%	
	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989
Electrical and electronic material and accessories	39627	110617	252.4	291.1	33.1	25.3
Transport equipment	7500	90525	141.5	603.5	6.3	20.7
Assembly of electrical machines, equipment, appliances, and accessories	29774	63200	451.1	585.2	24.9	14.5
Garment assembly	17570	39077	150.2	141.6	14.7	8.9
Wooden and metal furniture	3230	21384	54.7	90.2	2.7	4.9
Services	6047	18821	252.0	235.3	5.1	4.3
Toys and sporting goods	2803	12154	133.5	405.1	2.3	2.8
Shoes and leather goods	1787	8090	85.1	168.5	1.5	1.9
Non-electrical tools and equipment	1834	5696	114.6	167.5	1.5	1.3
Food	1393	4361	116.1	128.3	1.2	1.0
Chemical products	83	2841	20.8	39.5	0.1	0.7
Other	7898	60114	125.4	173.7	6.6	13.8

Source: Compiled by the author from INEGI in-bond industry export statistics.

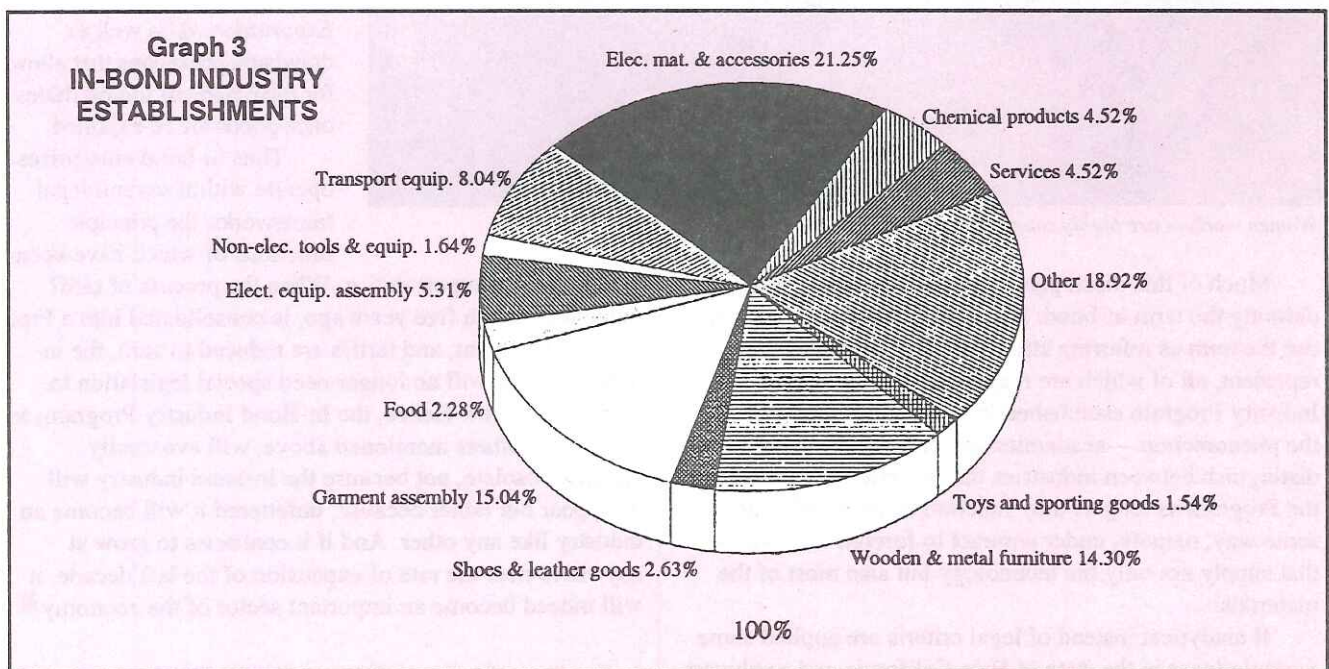
In this sense, in-bond industry production has been a key factor in the process of restructuring and the struggle for competitiveness and, paradoxically, in the development of production.

It may be indirectly inferred from the information presented above, that the industry has benefited from a gradual influx of capital which has enabled it to combine its earlier technique of obtaining absolute surplus value, with later methods of obtaining relative surplus value. In other words, current production levels are no longer simply attributable to the pressure of work on the plant floor, but also to productive capacity achieved by technological improvement.

The in-bond industry, which was originally created as a provisional measure for lowering costs and redefining the relationship between classes, has now achieved special status within the general process of

On the other hand, the process released remnants of capital for scientific and technological research that provided general productive reorganization undertaken by the more advanced branches of the industry, but that later became generalized, with the limitations inherent in this type of process.

capital valorization. It has not only stabilized but promises to maintain current growth rates and prospects for expansion comparable to rates of production anywhere in the world, particularly in relation to U.S. capital, or to the capital of any country that wants to penetrate the US market under optimum competitive conditions.



The future of the in-bond industry

Mónica Gambrell*

Just what the future of the in-bond industry in Mexico will be under a Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada is the subject of some heated debate. Critics contend that with the FTA the in-bond industry will grow to the detriment of domestic industries, turning the country into one big in-bond industry. On the other hand, in-bond industry leaders see the Free Trade Agreement as a threat to the bedrock on which their industry is built and demand guarantees that it will not disappear. How can such completely opposing views be expressed at the same time about the same thing?

Sonora use machinery and materials imported duty free under the 1933 Free Program rather than the In-Bond Program. Similarly, small and medium sized Mexican companies along the border can import machinery, raw materials and parts duty free if they are to be re-exported under the auspices of a presidential decree of March 15th, 1974 to promote border industrialization.

Several export promotion programs have been implemented during the 1980's that accommodate both in-bond contracts and local manufacturing companies needing access to competitive foreign inputs. These programs

include the Program of Duty-free Temporary Imports for Production of Articles for Export (*PILEX: Programas de Importación Temporal para Producir Artículos de Exportación*), the Program for Export Intensive Companies (*ALTEX: Programa de Empresas Altamente Exportadoras*), as well as drawback provisions that allow for repayment of import duties once goods are re-exported.

Thus in-bond enterprises operate within several legal frameworks, the principle functions of which have been

to circumvent import duties. When the process of tariff reduction, begun five years ago, is consolidated into a Free Trade Agreement, and tariffs are reduced to zero, the in-bond industry will no longer need special legislation to import duty-free. Hence, the In-Bond Industry Program, as well as the others mentioned above, will eventually become obsolete, not because the in-bond industry will disappear but rather because, unfettered it will become an industry like any other. And if it continues to grow at anywhere near the rate of expansion of the last decade, it will indeed become an important sector of the economy **M**



Hernández Alemán/Imagenlatina.

Women workers are highly sought after for the in-bond industry.

Much of this discrepancy may be explained simply by defining the term in-bond. *Maquiladora* industry leaders use the term as referring strictly to the companies they represent, all of which are registered in the In-Bond Industry Program established in May, 1965. Analysts of the phenomenon —academics and critics— tend not to distinguish between industries that operate in or outside of the Program as long as they function in essentially the same way, namely, under contract to foreign companies that supply not only the technology but also most of the materials.

If analytical instead of legal criteria are applied some *maquiladoras* in the state of Baja California and northwest

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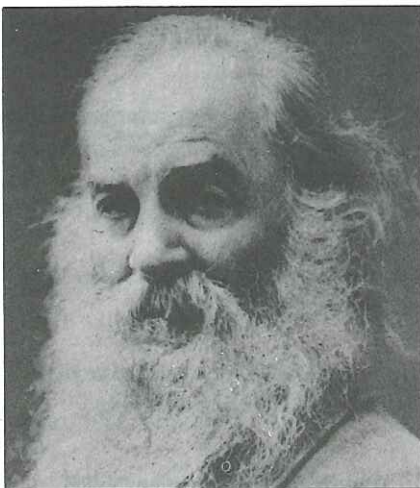
Walt Whitman, Christopher Columbus and Rubén Darío

*Ilán Stavans**

Was it destiny's game? Perhaps. The geographical and historical border that divides the United States from the rest of the hemisphere is, at least metaphorically, a chance happening and also a an abyss.

Two civilizations, two psychologies, two world views: the southern, timid and introspective, resenting abuses, encroachment and violence, looking backward to yesterday; and the northern, victorious, self-assured, looking forward to the future.

October 12, 1492 was zero hour, the first day, when tragedy struck some and glory came to others. From then on, patterns of behavior were established



Walt Whitman.

and perpetuated. Today the creature has two faces.

It will always be a delightful pastime to analyze, compare, and dissect the two literary portraits of the Genoese admiral with the shifting names; Christopher Columbus north of the Río Grande; Cristóbal Colón to the south¹. This article compares the version by Walt Whitman, considered North America's poet of poets, with that of his Latin American equivalent, Rubén Darío. Is it the same song, or two different voices? Their perspectives and goals are diametrically opposed: one geography and two realities, one sailor and two portraits.

According to Emir Rodríguez Monegal, Darío is the first Latin American poet to be taken seriously in Spain, particularly by Juan Valera and Juan Ramón Jiménez. But something

very different happened in the United States, where the Nicaraguan's influence on poetry was minimal or non-existent.

On the other hand, Whitman's adventures in Latin America are well documented. His modernist followers were José Martí, Darío himself, Leopoldo Lugones and Manuel Santos Chocano; his post-modernist followers, Sabat Erasty and Gabriela Mistral; Pablo Neruda, Javier Martínez Estrada and Vicente Huidobro among the avant-gardists, as well as Jorge Luis Borges and Octavio Paz.

What did they all find in his work? The liberating poetic voice, a communion between poet and society, a celebration of the self. Darío should be included among the passionate Whitman admirers, although they never met².

It would be a serious error to conclude that, by a mere and not the least symbolic coincidence, both poets, one from the north and one from the south, chose Columbus as their target, their lyric inspiration. After all, he is the port of entry, the salutation. For better

¹ Several studies undertake this analysis. The most ambitious is by Earl E. Fitz in *Rediscovering the New World, Inter-American Literature in a Comparative Context*, Iowa, 1991. It should be noted that the author omits this communion between Whitman and Darío on the cardinal point of Columbus. In this respect, see my essay, "E Pluribus Unum", *Review*, Penn. State University, vol. 14, 1992, pp. 43-54. Another valuable contribution is *Reinventing the Americas, Comparative Studies of Literature of the United States and Spanish America*, Chevigny, Bell Gale and Gari Laguardia, eds., Cambridge, 1986.

² See the excellent biography by Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman, A Life*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1980. Also my essay "Walt Whitman en persona", *La Nueva España*, Oviedo, May 10, 1992, p. 10.

* Mexican novelist and critic teaching Latin American Literature at The City University of New York.

or worse, the continent's modern history begins with Columbus. The Cuban, Alejo Carpentier wrote: in him lies the metaphor of the beginning³.

Whitman's text, in *Autumn Rivulets*, is entitled "Prayer of Columbus". It became part of the 1889 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. According to Gay Wilson Allen's biography, *The Solitary Singer*, he wrote it in the autumn of 1873 or the winter of 1874, while going through a difficult period of loneliness and desperation, whence the autobiographical tone⁴.

It was first published in *Harper's Monthly*⁵. Consisting of twelve stanzas, it has an arithmetical poetic structure. Whitman, the individualist, portrays the navigator as an ambitious and confused man:

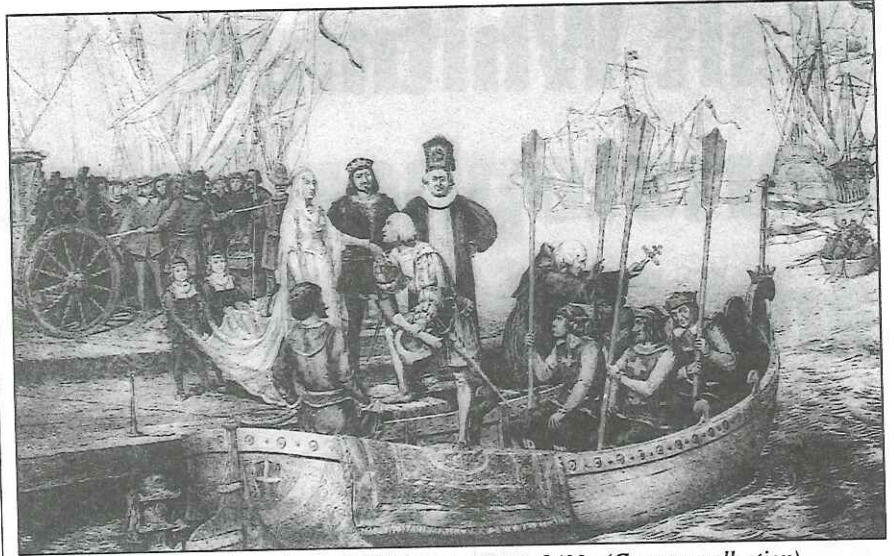
*A batter'd wreck'd old man,
Thrown on this savage shore, far, far
from home,
Pent by the sea and dark rebellious
brows, twelve
dreary months,
Sore, stiff with many toils, sicken'd and
nigh to death,
I take my way along the island's edge,
Venting a heavy heart.*

*I am too full of woe!
Haply I may not live another day;
I cannot rest O God, I cannot eat or
drink or sleep,
Till I put forth myself, my prayer, once
more to Thee.*

³ Columbus, as a literary figure, has attracted poets, dramatists and novelists on both sides of the Rio Grande: Washington Irving, William, Carlos Williams, Alejo Carpentier, Carlos Fuentes, Abel Posse, Alfred Tennyson, Joel Barlow and others. See my book, *Imagining Columbus: The Literary Voyage*, New York, Twayne, 1992.

⁴ The same feelings are evident in "Song of the Redwood Tree". See Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, introd. Gay Wilson Allen, New American Library, New York, 1955, pp. 328-330. All quotes are from this edition.

⁵ *Harper's Monthly* XLVIII, February 1874, pp. 366-7.



Columbus' departure from the port of Palos, August 3, 1492 (Granger collection).

*Breathe, bathe myself once more in
Thee, commune with
Thee, Report myself once more to Thee.*

The preface to this first edition in *Harper's Monthly* says: "It was near the close of his indomitable and pious life —on his last voyage, when nearly seventy years of age— that Columbus, to save his two remaining ships from foundering in the Caribbean Sea in a terrible storm, had to run them ashore on the island of Jamaica —where, laid up for a long and miserable year (1503)— he was taken very sick, had several relapses, his men revolted, and death seemed daily imminent; though he was eventually rescued and sent home to Spain to die, unrecognized, neglected and in want..."⁶ Thus it is Whitman himself who, in his old age, identifies with the Genoese admiral.

Eight years later, a few months after Whitman's death, Rubén Darío went to Spain, invited to take part in the four-hundredth anniversary festivities. For this occasion he wrote *A Colón*, which fifteen years later was included in *El canto errante*, a volume printed in Madrid in 1907.

⁶ Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman*, New York, 1967, pp. 458-9.

Composed in fourteen dodecasyllabic quatrains of unequal hemistichs, *A Colón* belongs to the second era of Darío's poetry, when he was in a period of intense poetic renewal. The content is more militant than historical; the cadence more denunciatory than harmonious. Whitman's Columbus, though confused and perplexed, looks to the future; Darío's *Colón* looks back on tragedy⁷.

*Unfortunate admiral! Your poor
America,
your beautiful, hot-blooded, virgin
Indian love,
the pearl of your dreams, is now hysterical,
her nerves convulsing and her forehead
pale.*

*A most disastrous spirit rules your land:
where once the tribesmen raised their
clubs together,
now there is endless warfare between
brothers,
the self-same races wound and destroy
each other.*

*The stone idol is gone, and in its place
a living idol sits upon a throne,*

⁷ Rubén Darío, *El canto errante*, Madrid: Editorial Pérez Villavicencio, 1907, pp. 23-24. Later references are from that edition.

while everyday the pallid dawn reveals
the blood and ashes in the fields of
neighbors.

Disdaining kings, we give ourselves our
laws
to the sound of cannons and of bugle-calls,
and now, on the sinister behalf of black
kings,
each Judas is a friend of every Cain.

We love to drink the festive wines of
France;
day after day we sing the Marseillaise
in our indigenous, semi-Spanish voices,
but end by roaring out the Carmagnole.
(trans. Lysander Kemp, *Selected Poems
of Rubén Darío*)

In contrast to "Prayer of
Columbus", Darío does not speak
through Columbus: the navigator's
personal destinies interest him less than
the impact of the Spanish conquerors
who followed him. His indifference and
his complaint are aimed at them. He
needs to picture the continent's
apocalyptic destiny, with its fratricidal
battles and ominous fortune.

However, God's presence is
symptomatic in both. Whitman's
Columbus is puritan; he sees himself as
a prophet, or at least he surmises it.



Rubén Darío.

"Is it the prophet's thought I speak,
or am I raving?"

The entire text is a prayer, a plea,
a monologue to the divinity:

One effort more, my altar this bleak
sand;
That thou O God my life hast lighted,
With ray of light, steady, ineffable,
vouchsafed of Thee,
Light rare untellable, lighting the very
light,
Beyond all signs, descriptions,
languages;
For that O God, be in my latest word,
here on my knees,
Old, poor, and paralyzed, I thank Thee.

Darío is direct, crude; his images
are religious, allegorical. He advises
Columbus to pray to God for the future
of the Paradise Lost that is Latin
America:

Evil mischance has placed afflictions,
horrors,
wars, and unending fevers in our way:
O Christopher Columbus, unfortunate
admiral,
pray to God for the world that you
discovered!

(Trans. Kemp)

The phenomenon of religious
syncretism pains him deeply: pre-
Columbian gods replaced by Christ.
That substitution was ineffectual, he
says in stanza 13, because
Christianity's symbol travels weakly,
alone through the miserable, empty
streets of the hemisphere.

Other recurrent themes are corrupt
politics, governments that use terror to
enforce their law, linguistic destruction,
and the literatures that have betrayed
the glorious Spanish tradition of Miguel
de Cervantes and Calderón de la Barca.
Darío has abandoned his idealized
vision of the continent, expressed in
"Caupolicán".

While Whitman's favorite
pronouns are personal and first-person
possessive ("By me and these the work
so far accomplished/ By me earth's
elder cloy'd and stifled lands uncloy'd,
unloos'd,/ By me the hemispheres

rounded and tied, the unknown to the
known"). Darío uses second person
pronouns and the accusative case
("When once the seed of the iron race
from Spain / was planted in the womb
of the Americas, / the heroic strength of
great Castile was mixed / with the
strength of our own Indians of the
mountains. // Would to God that these
waters, once untouched, / had never
mirrored the white of Spanish sails, /
and that the astonished stars had never
seen / those caravels arriving at our
shores! (Trans. Kemp). Darío assumes
that collective misfortune has stained
everything, including literature.

According to Roberto Fernández
Retamar, the histories of North and
Latin America are so different, they are
incommensurable. Fernando Alegría
proves it: "It is curious to note that
writing on the same subject, they differ
so much; for Whitman, Columbus
represents the tragedy of vain effort, of
solitude, old-age misery and sublime
achievement ignored; for Darío, the
navigator's figure is a pretext for
arguing against the division of America
and the supremacy of material values,
which the poet calls "prosaic",
defended by dictators and
revolutionaries. On one hand, it is a
moving human story, on the other, a
political lecture⁸."

I doubt that two poetic texts better
illustrate two views of the world:
individualistic versus collective;
triumphalist versus fatalistic;
democratic versus politically corrupt;
futuristic versus unjust. Two versions
that are geographic neighbors, in spite
of the fact that they live with their
backs turned to each other.
Christopher split in half **M**

⁸ Fernando Alegría, *Walt Whitman en
Hispanoamérica*, México, "Colección
Stadium", 1954, p. 134. An essay that
enlarges on and discusses the book is "The
Accidental Tourist: Walt Whitman in Latin
America", by Enrico Mario Santi, in *Do the
Americas have a Common Literature?*,
Gustavo Pérez Firmat, ed., Duke University
Press, 1990, pp. 156-76.

Music in the Metropolitan Cathedral (final part)

*Fernando Alvarez del Castillo**

Music versus the visual arts

It would be true to say that almost all western music falls into two genres, although they tend to overlap. On the one hand is religious music which has enlivened -and still does- church ceremonies and rites; on the other is secular music, which is created, cultivated and cast aside by the people. Ecclesiastical institutions have preserved their musical art throughout the centuries despite the changes in taste. However, there are hardly any means of keeping a record of secular music.

Music, as Uwe Frisch says, does not exist until it is heard. Indeed, music only becomes a reality when it is played and loses its reality when the last echo dies away.

Whatever our distance in time from a musical score may be, it still evokes a rather subjective and hazy response; it has, so to speak, a vague and mythical air about it which is quite different from the concrete reality achieved in other art forms.

Just as colonial architecture and paintings were destroyed and abandoned during the *Reforma*, so those scores, which had delighted the eye and ear and filled the naves during several centuries of gestation in different influences and novel trends, fell into oblivion.

Hardly had a style, a form or a model of composition been established in New Spain when a new kind of composer, who, if he did not come from Europe was steeped in European trends,

tried to infuse those original and growing concepts in European art with a genuinely indigenous flavor and offer them to the eclectic group of theatre and church-goers.

When the chronicles of the time mentioned the musical art of New Spain, they always did so with not unjustified pride.

We should not forget the power music has to move people and mirror their traditions. Fray Juan de Zumarraga said that music was more effective than sermons in converting the indigenous peoples to Christianity; and it was also reported that people went to mass to listen to music rather than to worship God. The same is still true today.

Our historical memory is rather hazy as far as music is concerned. It is worth remembering that any

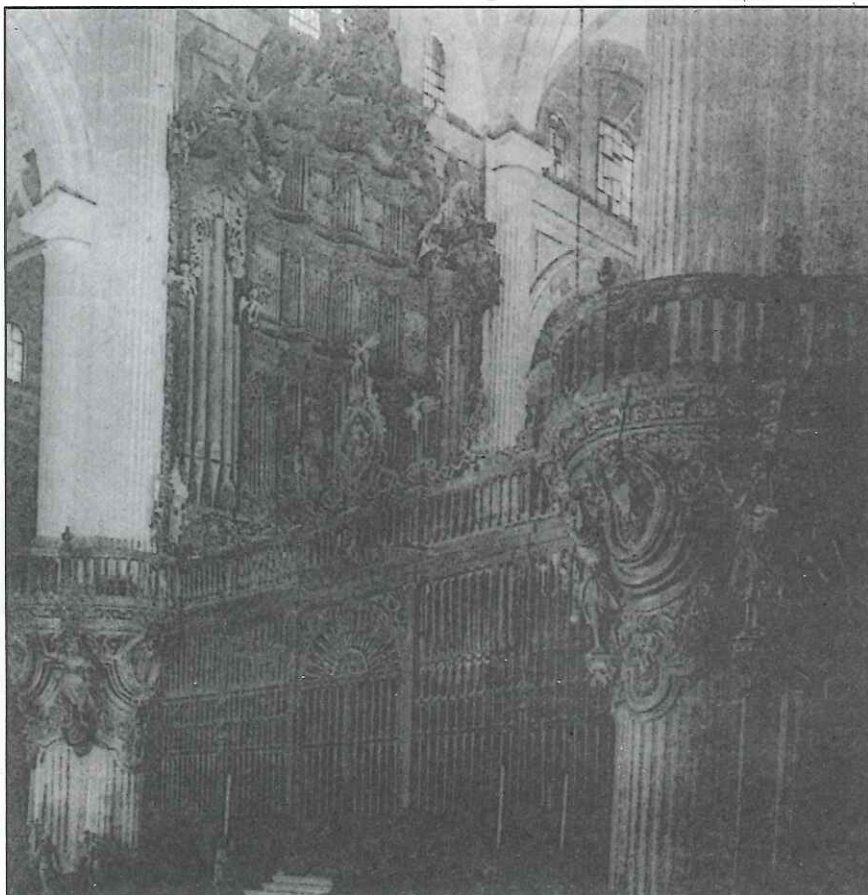
performance of our musical heritage, cast as it is today as an historical record, is bound to be distorted in one way or another by the distance in time from its context and function.

Nevertheless, some magnificent moments in the history of Mexican music, which was formerly the secret of the most important church in New Spain, may be relived, despite the distortions and background noises of a concert hall, in live recordings. Music has one great advantage over the visual arts of the colonial period: it does not age or deteriorate with time. It can be performed after centuries of silence and does not even need restoring. There are so many works in the field of visual arts —and perhaps this is the compensation— that their survival is constantly under threat.



Night view of the Metropolitan Cathedral.

* Sub-director of The Library of Mexico.



A Chinese grille in the Metropolitan Cathedral.

Hernando Franco on the picket line

It is thought that Hernando Franco was born in Garrovillas in Spain in 1532. From the ages of ten to seventeen, he was a choirboy at Segovia Cathedral and he arrived on American soil in 1554. It is known that he was choirmaster in Guatemala from 1573 to 1575 and was appointed as choirmaster of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City on May 20, 1575.

In 1582, Father Franco, who was earning 600 gold pesos per year, headed a protest movement against a decision taken by the Chapter on July 6 to halve the choristers' salaries, as the cost of their wages and upkeep exceeded that of the construction of the church.

Everybody was informed of the Chapter's decision by the secretary, who received a very direct reply from Father Franco: they went on strike from

July 13 to August 3. This was one of the first strikes in the history of New Spain, with the difference that, on this occasion, as Estrada put it, "it was not a case of downing tools but of silencing voices". The third Archbishop of New Spain, Pedro Moya de Contreras, kept an eye on events and finally gave his instruction that the choir and the choirmaster should be retained at their original salaries.

One of Hernando Franco's works, *Santa María*, is a rendering of the second part of the Ave Maria in Latin and Nahuatl.

Juan de Lienas

Very little is known about Don Juan de Lienas. Among the works attributed to him are two manuscripts of polyphonic music, a codex from the *Convento del Carmen*, which contains 16 works for female voices, and a volume which is in the Newberry Library in Chicago. His mournful *Salve Regina* brings to mind Cristobal de Morales' work. The Latin text comes from the original prayer. This evangelist work has no exuberant or sensual touches.

Manuel de Zumaya: a pioneer and an enigma

The work of Manuel de Zumaya embodies the grandeur of early baroque art in New Spain. Born in Mexico around 1684, it appears that he never left New Spain, which makes his work an original product of New Spanish culture. Besides composing cantatas, masses and other religious works for voice and instrument, he was the composer of the first opera written in America.

Zumaya became a choirboy at the Metropolitan Cathedral when he was very young. A few years later his father died and he had to work in order to support his mother, his sisters and himself. Aware of his talent, the Cathedral Chapter awarded him a scholarship to retain him as a permanent member of the choir.

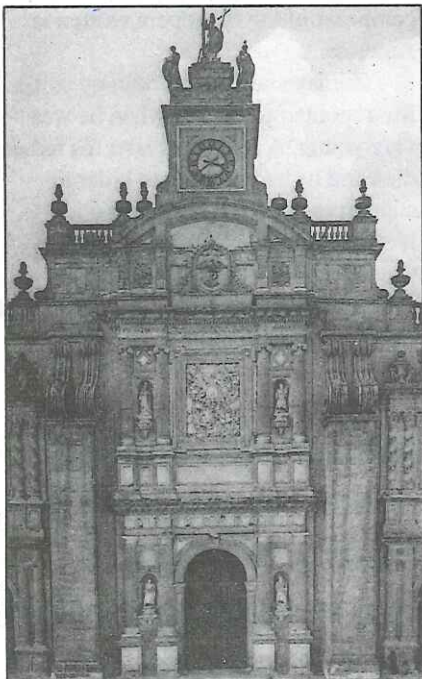
The Metropolitan Cathedral was the centre of piety and musical life. Attention was devoted to composing, performing and teaching church music which rivalled European churches both in repertoire and in excellence of choir and orchestra.

By 1712 he had an excellent reputation as an organist and held an important musical post in the Cathedral. A very active man, he was always supported in his work by the Chapter; in the few moments of silent and uninterrupted leisure he had, he composed masses, matins, carols, anthems, cantatas and even operas.

Zumaya also founded a Cathedral orchestra which, according to records dating from April 20, 1734, included violins, violas, cellos, double basses, trumpets, horns, and fagots.

Manuel de Zumaya was last seen on May 6, 1756 in the state of Oaxaca. The date of his death is therefore uncertain, though he must have been 72 years old.

Zumaya's two Baroque arias —*Hoy sube arrebatada* and *Oh, feliz culpa nuestra!*— follow the traditional Italian style of *Aria da capo* and the orchestral accompaniment includes some wind instruments. The second piece is preceded by the customary recitative and embellished with ornaments. Vocal and instrumental techniques are particularly well



Classic and neo-classic at the Metropolitan Cathedral.

developed in the melodic structure of the second aria. What is really notable about these works, however, is their economy.

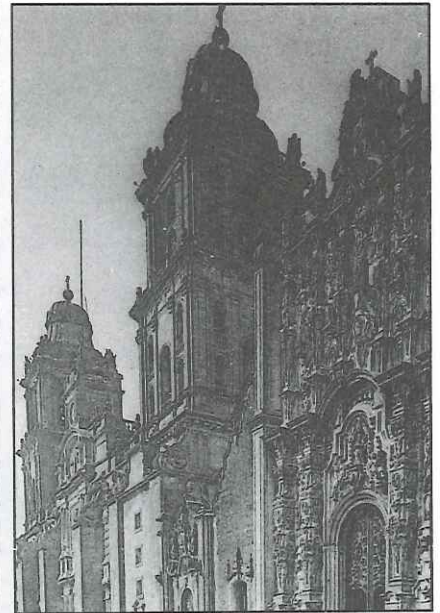
When Zumaya left the Metropolitan Cathedral in August 1739, the Chapter, after attempting both friendly and legal means to entice him back, lost all hope as he did not reply. One year later, the Chapter, now convinced that their attempts had been in vain, advertised, according to a record dated November 13, 1740, for a musician with sufficient experience to fill the vacant post. The few applicants did not meet the standard required and the post remained vacant.

The Chapter then appealed to the Archbishop to write to Seville with a view to interesting some Spanish musician in the post. In the meantime, Domingo Dutra y Andrade was appointed choirmaster.

Ignacio Jerusalén y Stella: the musical miracle

It was at this time that they thought of Ignacio Jerusalén y Stella, a Neapolitan musician born around 1710 and engaged in Spain as a violinist until his arrival in Mexico in 1742. Jerusalén made his name in New Spain as musical director at the Coliseum, where Italian opera was performed in Mexico. It was for this reason that the Chapter invited him, upon Canon de Hoyos's recommendation, to become the Cathedral choirmaster, though he would still have to apply through the official channels. Jerusalén's presence demoralised Domingo Dutra y Andrade, whom Dr. Antonio Armendariz and Dr. Joseph García de la Vega diagnosed as suffering from "a chronic illness and afflicted with hypochondria, melancholy and insomnia", for which they recommended a "lengthy treatment and a change of air".

Ignacio Jerusalén was finally appointed to the post of choirmaster of



Classic and Baroque at the Metropolitan Cathedral.

the Metropolitan Cathedral on November 3, 1750. He started his work as official composer by writing a *Miserere*, a *Te Deum* and a *Salve* and giving horn lessons —and probably violin lessons as the violin was his own instrument— to the children of the *Colegio de Infantes*.

Despite his respectability as a musician, it appears that Jerusalén led a rather dissolute life as he was always heavily in debt. He worked as a musician for both the Cathedral and the Coliseum, where he often had problems for neglecting his duties.

The choral and orchestral excellence of the Cathedral music during Jerusalén's time in office earned him the name of "the musical miracle". After nineteen years of service to the most important cathedral in the Americas, he died around December 25, 1769. He composed more than two hundred works in Latin, including carols, religious arias and orchestral passages between verses, which resemble the Italian *ritornello* and might be considered the first purely instrumental works in Mexican colonial history **M**

The New World Order: a Third World perspective

*Olusegun Obasanjo**

It is understandable and prudent that special attention be paid to Europe by the international community since during this century the world has been engulfed by two global wars emanating from Europe. Peace in Europe, therefore, tends to be associated with world peace, hence the particular attention of the international community to the resolution of Europe's current problems.

But other parts of the world, particularly the Third World, have problems that call for no less attention from the rest of the world. It is heartening that while we consider the United States and Europe in the context of a new world order, the Third World dimension should also be taken into account.

The fate of the New International Economic Order

As has happened at other crucial moments during this century, the notion of a new world order has again been articulated. In this instance, President George Bush invoked the concept in

August 1990, following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. Wittingly or unwittingly he gave rise to a new type of cottage industry. Left unfilled, the shell of a "new world order" captured the fancy of politicians and decision-makers in virtually all walks of life, all over the world.

When invoked, the call for a "new world order" struck a particular cord of frustration, sentimentality, irony, even cynicism, in the developing world. Lest it be forgotten, some 17 years ago the non-aligned

nations introduced the proposal for a "new international economic order" (NIEO) in an attempt to redress the growing and glaring inequalities between the industrialized and developing nations.

Subsequently, unanimously endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly, the declaration on the NIEO was almost instantaneously rendered meaningless by an avalanche of reservations from many industrialized countries. The fate of the NIEO is well known, a well devised conceptual and programmatic shell, yet in view of its underlying 'dirigiste' philosophy, unimplemented and left abandoned in the face of the realities and pressures of realpolitik, of the international marketplace and of the power play of nations.

Not least, the intensifying tensions and conflicts between the two then superpowers, especially in the developing world, and the resultant proclivity to view all issues through ideological lenses of friend or foe, doomed any chance for NIEO to be translated into reality.

The end of the Cold War

Today, we find—and we welcome—a dramatically changed framework of global intercourse. Suddenly, a readiness to pursue cooperative solutions abounds. It has replaced the



Some of the Third World's swelling population.

Jesus Carlos/Imagenlatina

* Former Head of State of Nigeria and Chairman, Africa Leadership Forum.

stifling Cold War atmosphere with its all-encompassing political, ideological and strategic confrontation between the two superpowers and their military, ideological and economic blocs. For many reasons, a resuscitation of the much reviled United Nations has come within the realm of the possible, leading away from unproductive decades of paralyzing veto politics.

This dramatic sea change would certainly not have been possible without the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, both domestically and internationally, and the global disengagement devised and pursued by President Gorbachev and his key collaborators. Furthermore, the abolition of the Warsaw Pact and the unravelling of the Soviet Union has deprived NATO and its leading power of their perception of a familiar enemy.

In the economic field, the Soviet Union and its bloc vigorously promoted its brand of socialism while the United States and its Western allies upheld and developed capitalism and the market economy. The collapse of the command economy and centralized planning system in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has, in the eyes of many, proved the superiority of the pure market economy.

Yet it should not be forgotten that indicative and participatory planning have served in many countries as essential instruments to foster economic

growth. No pure market economic system based on private ownership exists. Most economies are mixed systems with a vigorous private sector and a large, strong, public sector.

Uneven recognition for the developing world

Inextricably linked with the almost universal trend toward the market economy is the adoption and introduction of democratic and pluralistic features in political systems: free elections, the observance of human rights, accountability of political leaders and broader popular participation. Democratization is vital for any transformation to succeed.

It is difficult to generalize a point of view of the developing countries. They are extremely diverse, with the newly industrialized countries of Asia, the Latin American countries emerging from severe debt crises, the African countries striving to meet the basic needs of their populations, the oil-producing countries, notably in the Middle East, in the wake of the oil crisis, and China, India and Pakistan with their specific characteristics.

But, has the world given credit and political and financial encouragement, comparable to that lavished on Europe, to the determination, sweat and tears of more than five dozen developing countries, especially in Africa, which

are undergoing painful and drastic structural adjustment programmes, in many cases for more than five years, and under stringent, often counter-productive conditionality?

Democratic and political reforms usually follow on the heels of each other. The winds that swept away corrupt dictatorships, autocratic one-party systems and state structures, inefficient systems and

unresponsive social institutions in Eastern Europe are, for example, not unfamiliar to Africa.

While their success provided moral encouragement to their smouldering or dormant counterparts in Africa, we in a sense have been the unacknowledged avant-garde of economic reforms as we have unspectacularly pursued policies and conditions often imposed by unsentimental international financial institutions and banks.

Yet we witness largesse, compassion and economic interest on the part of the Western countries for their former adversaries, while our economic situation deteriorates even more rapidly and dramatically without triggering even remotely comparable understanding and support. We witness a paradox where in the face of growing needs, official development assistance flows are, in absolute and relative terms, declining.

The developing nations under a New World Order

Clearly, the old order is defunct. But what will be the shape and content of the new order? Hitherto, one of the basic problems besetting developing countries has unfortunately been treated as a taboo: population growth. Right now, the world's population is doubling every 45 years. The world of the year 2025 could be populated by twice the present number of 5.3 billion people. Most of this growth will occur in the developing world, outpacing any economic growth and thus vitiating possible, albeit modest, gains.

The habitable space of the world is not increasing and may even be decreasing at a higher rate due to the enormous consumption of fossil fuels responsible for the greenhouse effect. Population explosion plus greenhouse effect coupled with economic degradation are likely to cause massive migration flows, mainly from the South to the North, giving rise to new types of dangerous conflicts.



What chance do these children have?

Unless developing countries manage to stabilize their rate of demographic growth, there is no prospect whatsoever for economic recovery and development. In the spirit of enlightened self-interest, a new global order must find a new cooperative framework in which developing countries can be supported and encouraged to cope with this daunting task.

Developed countries must substantially increase their funding of effective family planning programs in the Third World. Proposals to link population policies and military expenditures to official development assistance and eventually to private investment should be vigorously pursued, preferably in a multilateral context to avoid the appearance of undue interference by individual states or groups of states.

The paradox of the arms trade

In the past, the readiness of the superpowers and their allies to supply arms to the developing world encouraged unnecessary arms build-ups in these states and diverted scarce resources meant for development to unproductive and wasteful ends. Recognizing the strategic importance of a viable arms industry for the economic fortunes of many industrialized countries (75% of the arms sold annually are bought by developing countries), arms imports by developing countries are reported to have risen from US \$1.1 billion in 1960 to US \$35 billion in 1987.

An effective forum to monitor and limit such practices must be designed and both old and new arms producers as well as traders must be integrated. The dividends of a more peaceful world lie in releasing resources from armaments to be reallocated to developmental purposes.

Grim challenges to a New World Order

The 1980's are often dubbed the "lost decade" when the cleavage between

rich and poor countries deepened dangerously (77% of the world's population earns less than 15% of the world's income; the average annual income in the North, estimated at US \$12,500, is eighteen times that of the South, recorded at US \$710). Chronic manifestations of political instability and insecurity, crushing debt burdens and virtual economic collapse of entire countries, falling and degrading standards of living and a rapidly deteriorating environment, with global ramifications, cannot go unattended with impunity.

One wonders whether and how the decade of the 1990s can usher the world as a whole into a more stable and economically viable next century. Any new world order must constructively address these vexing and complex issues of poverty and underdevelopment, otherwise it will be short-lived at best. Lip service is no longer enough, no country and no leader can shirk his or her responsibility.

Unless the process of development can be reactivated, migratory pressures toward the prosperous countries of the North will become unstoppable. New conflicts begin to show their ugly face. They are already looming large in Europe and are beginning to test the political fabric of Western countries. The honeymoon with the Eastern countries may also come to an end on the altar of immigration policies.

Debt relief and debt forgiveness

Here and now, the industrialized countries in particular are challenged to provide global leadership, farsightedness and understanding. Will the superiority and efficacy of the market system prevail in solving chronic problems of development and social inequality, distributive inequity and extreme wealth and poverty? Poverty and democracy make strange bedfellows.

One of the most pressing demands is to put in place an effective

mechanism, based on the principle of joint responsibility of debtors and creditors, to provide debt relief and reduction of the mounting debt burden. For example, Africa's debt multiplies at an average annual rate of 10 per cent. Estimated at US \$48.3 billion in 1978, it rose to US \$230 billion by 1988, and to US \$250 billion by 1989. Interest alone now constitutes about US \$75 billion of the total stock of debt. Let us consider the idea of debt forgiveness for credible and sustained adjustment programs by developing countries. Let us also consider the idea of debt forgiveness for credible environmental protection programs and for credible democratization processes. For most Third World countries, the debt problem is not just a financial problem, it is also a development and management problem to which serious attention must be given.

Unless matched by measures and resources to accelerate sustainable economic growth and human development, democratic reforms will remain fragile and inconclusive. This certainly is already the message from the brief experience of unshackled Eastern Europe. Western democratic models can certainly not be imposed lock, stock and barrel on developing countries as a condition for economic development assistance.

A single model of democracy may simply not do justice to all countries. Just think of the differences between the Swiss, German, French, British, Japanese and American systems. They are not identical. The cultural and political situation of each country should be taken into consideration in working out its model of democracy. What is important is that essential elements of democracy be contained and maintained.

But we are witnessing other dramatic changes which have not yet been harnessed conceptually, politically or systemically. The advancing globalization of financial markets occurs without adequate supervisory

policies and institutions in place, thereby increasing the potential for systemic risks. Weaker economies are overwhelmed by a process in which they have no direct influence. There is an urgent need for better, more appropriate and coordinated regulation and measures to ensure stability, transparency and efficiency.

Globalization and development

The developing world, already hamstrung by its debilitating debt burden, is unable to participate or even secure a minor share in the emerging tri-polar international monetary system of dollar, yen and ecu, which will shape the economic fortunes of the next decades. Moreover, a failure of the GATT Uruguay Round and any procrastination in opening markets especially by the industrialized countries will further frustrate the aspirations of developing countries and retard any hope for early economic advances and, thus, dampen the growth prospects of the world economy as a whole.

Monumental strides in transportation and telecommunications have further integrated the world. This has enabled transnational corporations to become prime movers and stimuli to the world economy without regard to national borders. The resulting flow of direct foreign investment has regrettably bypassed all but a handful of developing world countries, compounding deplorable marginalization in the process.

In addition to ODA, foreign direct investment is the last best hope of developing countries for attracting badly needed financial resources to underpin their development efforts and to bring with it technology and knowledge. Surreptitiously, a new topography of world power has appeared with respect to foreign direct investment, dominated by the US, Japan and European Economic Community triad. This is impressively described by a recent United Nations study. More than 80% of global capital

flows occur between these three economic superpowers.

Development and regional arrangements

We witness other faits accomplis of great concern to developing countries: the emergence of economic and trade blocs and zones accentuating global competitive pressures. Any new world order should be tailored to encourage and foster the integration of developing countries into regional economic zones and the sustenance of viable regional cooperation to bolster socio-economic transformation and competitiveness.

The developing world and especially Africa cannot afford the luxury of tearing itself apart under the banner of self-determination, as happens now in many countries, especially in Europe. Tragic divisions and fragmentation of states and nations will lead to further marginalization, the appearance of unfeasible entities and the chaos-prone emergence of nationalism.

A rethinking of international arrangements

The world community must indeed find a new beginning, not motivated solely by the success of one battle in the Gulf or the settlement of one or another regional conflict. Yes, there must be commonly agreed security arrangements taking due cognizance of the principles of respect for the UN charter, non-aggression, the observance of the rule of law, justice and respect for the sovereignty of nations.

But much more is at stake: the survival of humanity. The management of a hitherto unknown diversity of critical and linked global problems in this age of global interdependence require new instruments, new forms of leadership and a new definition of the interrelationship between national and global interests, epitomizing the logic of integration.

Unilateral national instruments can no longer solve the growing number of problems confronting the planet: environmental degradation and the ominous greenhouse effect; massive migration and refugee movements; persistent economic imbalances between North and South; systemic instabilities in the global financial system; explosive population growth; rampant poverty and social degradation; absence of adequate and safe energy sources; large-scale humanitarian emergencies; drug addiction, the trade in narcotics; and a persistence of the structural imbalances of the international trading system.

Hence, the need to rethink international relations and redefine a world order and world governance, concentrating on three main pillars:

- Peace and security.
- The global economy.
- The population-development-environment-migration-human rights continuum.

World governance

New structures and mechanisms of world governance must be drawn up for all these, and anchored in the international system. The range of global tasks necessitates a fresh look at the interpretation of the principle of sovereignty with a view to introducing a broader acceptance of the world community's right to interfere when basic human rights are at stake and human suffering can be mitigated. The new order should seek to be governed by delegated authority based on the subsidiarity principle according to which decisions should be taken at the lowest possible level at which they can be effective.

The United Nations as the main global institution can and must assume important responsibilities in this process, not least to ensure the participation of all nations in the creation and management of a new order. There can be no new world order deserving the name if it is built

on exclusion or domination. While the leadership of one global power or a few powers may be essential for the implementation of the international community's desirable goals, in the process of pulling along the rest care should be taken to avoid the impression and appearance of domination. Instead, the multilateral approach must uphold collaboration, cooperation, coalition and reasoning.

The role of the United Nations

The United Nations should not be overburdened with an indigestible, almost suffocating agenda. The application of the principle of subsidiarity might prove to have a salutary effect. This would, by implication, call for a strengthening and rejuvenation of the existing myriad of continental, regional and subregional organizations and structures. The exigency of any world governance inevitably also requires the granting of certain powers of enforcement, especially with respect to treaties protecting vital aspects of the future of humanity.

In matters affecting the maintenance of peace, a strengthened international security regime must be devised based on security measures and future peace enforcement, i.e. both economic sanctions and cooperative military arrangements. The proven ability of the UN to field and deploy peace-keeping forces effectively must be complemented by a system of conflict prevention, mediation and mitigation.

To that end, the Secretary General should be authorized and encouraged to deploy a monitoring scheme and global watch team that could discern impending crises. The Secretary General could advise on options available to the Security Council for initiating preventive actions. A permanently earmarked, securely financed and logistically prearranged peace-keeping force, on a standby basis, is the desirable and logical corollary for

such a comprehensive regime of collective security.

Internally, the Organization must be restructured and adapted to cope in a more effective and credible way with the new demands and expectations, lest the present honeymoon be only transitory. Having survived the paralyzing East-West conflict, the United Nations must now give priority to North-South relations. The UN has the capacity, resources and capability to operate truly effective cooperative international development machinery, instead of the presently fragmented system of competing agencies and entities. Cost-effectiveness can be assured.

If the United Nations is to respond to new challenges, however, its financial health will obviously have to be ensured. We might have to consider innovative approaches in this respect. The Charter of the United Nations speaks of "We, the peoples," not only of "We, the Governments". Maybe, therefore, modalities should be devised that would allow the private sector and non-governmental organizations to contribute to the United Nations budget.

The UN might thus be able to free itself from too great a reliance and dependence on the major donors. In return, such arrangements would also call for structural adjustments that might give non-governmental entities a modicum of participation and influence in the organization's decision-making, especially in the socio-economic sphere.

Whether we look at it from the strategic-security or socio-economic point of view, we cannot but agree that the United Nations — as devised after the Second World War together with its specialized agencies — is sufficiently armored to tackle the myriad problems facing the world today.

There need be no changes in the Charter. What is required is the political will to give history and nature a gentle push in the right



A trip to the communal water faucet, one of many.

direction. It is an opportune time for the world to rediscover itself through an honest and reflective soul-searching for an effective and equitable approach. The United Nations system contains within it the requisite mechanisms for a reinvigorated, renewed, rewarding and strengthened international cooperation in support of peace, global security and the welfare and well-being of all mankind.

But despite all adjustments and efforts at the global level, the developing countries must be masters of their fate and future. The success of the Pacific nations has taught all of us a lesson to emulate. We need to undertake new initiatives to achieve effective political and economic restructuring of our societies.

Responsive and effective governance is required to motivate economic growth, promote human development and, at the same time, renew and revive the dwindling interest of the international community. This can only be achieved in an atmosphere of peace, security, stability, cooperation and development **M**

Some constitutional aspects of integration in the Americas

*Héctor Luisi**

Three distinct phases are evident in the creation of constitutions in the Americas. During the first, which began with Independence, emerging nations approved constitutions strongly influenced by European Enlightenment.

That ideology, whose feudal components took four centuries to modernize, found fertile ground in the Thirteen Colonies, the majority of which were on the verge of modernity, but was harder to implement in countries where colonial administrations were unable to complete the modernization of the feudal aspects of the Conquest. From this point on, the processes began to differ.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, many of these constitutions did not correspond entirely to political reality, nor did they entirely fulfill expectations as instruments by which to govern nations. This marked the beginning of a second stage, which might be called para-constitutional, during which constitutions were respected as

symbols but not always obeyed. This was in many cases a period of dictatorships and constitutional instability, accompanied by the awareness that it was transitory and that greater efforts were required to attain judicial stability.

The para-constitutional period was followed by an idiosyncratic period, during which constitutions were sought in accord with a country's characteristics, socio-economic reality and current needs.

At the same time, the United States began an uninterrupted constitutional period of more than 200 years duration, unequalled at any time in history. If the 1776 Declaration of Independence and the later Bill of Rights are included in the US's constitutional corpus, as indeed they should be, the influence of European Enlightenment is again clear, but without organic effect on the Constitution.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, efforts tend to focus on technical creation of formulae appropriate to national characteristics and current necessities. At present, it

may be assumed that intense efforts in Brazil, Canada, Colombia and Mexico will be followed by others seeking to respond to the accelerated pace of history.

These three periods may now be followed by a fourth, devoted to the search for compatibility in the interest of integration, a challenge that must be faced sooner or later. To achieve this, it is vital to insure that minimal constitutional common denominators respect national peculiarities rooted in a country's environment, historical traditions and diverse indigenous and immigrant characteristics.

It should also be remembered that compatibility does not mean uniformity and is only intended to facilitate the convergence of different systems, and that a basic concept that fulfills all needs will always have to be defined. This concept can only be democracy, but it must be transformed, from nothing more than an attractively labeled receptacle, acceptable only when everyone can put into it what he wills, into a system with an unequivocally defined content.

It is essential, then, to define a concrete concept of dynamic

* Former Uruguayan ambassador to the United States, and author of the 1966 Uruguayan draft Constitution.

democracy, restating that its components shall not be merely cult objects but effective instruments always subject to improvement.

True democracy must recognize a heterogeneous citizenry without limitations of sex, race or religion, able to express its informed choice by free and responsible means, in elections whose fairness is guaranteed by the secrecy of the ballot.

A definition of principles and rights must follow, as well as guarantees to protect them from any abuse of power, regardless of its source, even if it come from a perverted majority trampling the legitimate rights of minorities.

This definition should, at the very least, recognize the right to life, security, religious observance, equality of opportunity, judicial stability, due process, protection of legal private activity, respect for legitimately acquired rights, freedom of expression, assembly and movement, inclusion of the rights defined under diverse treaties and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and all others inherent in human nature.

The core of democratic constitutions tends to strengthen these guarantees through a Representative System and the Separation of Powers, whereby the Executive branch, endowed with ample powers to rule, is controlled by a preferably bicameral Legislature, with the functions of a comptroller, both being answerable to an independent Judiciary, which safeguards the Constitution.

The resulting checks and balances are further strengthened by natural territorial representation in the Federal States and, under certain circumstances, by the stipulation of special majorities and the fulfillment of prior conditions of outstanding experience in public or private endeavor for the holding of positions of public trust.

The system of checks and balances may also be used to limit modern means of abuse of power, such as scientific manipulation of public opinion, the modern version of demagoguery. The institution of the "ombudsman" as a self-regulatory mechanism, which some information media have already incorporated into their

organizations, might be more widely adopted, since the ombudsman is often able to reconcile opposing claims of freedom and responsibility.

Finally, a Constitutional Council, charged with drafting constitutional reforms and submitting them for ratification, would complement the structural minimum necessary to build this dynamic concept of democracy.

The above attempts at definition can only provide rough guidelines for reconciling diverse processes of integration, since it is the responsibility of every State to undertake its own constitutional reforms. If studies of the field are begun now, they may minimize future constitutional difficulties, such as those currently delaying the final integration of the European Community.

Ignacio Bernal García Pimentel: archaeologist and teacher

Ignacio Bernal, the distinguished archaeologist and teacher, whose contribution to the study and interpretation of Mesoamerican cultures was recognized both nationally and internationally, died in Mexico City on January 24th, at the age of eighty-one.

Bernal was born in Paris on February 13th, 1910 and spent his childhood and adolescence in Mexico, Europe and Canada. He learned French from an early age at the same time as he was learning Spanish and later acquired fluent English. At 27, he travelled through Europe and North Africa. He began to study archaeology after dropping law at university when he was already over thirty.

According to Bernal, the decision to become an anthropologist sprang from his interest in Mexican history. Convinced that he would begin at the beginning, pre-Hispanic Mexico held a particular fascination for him.

In 1942, he enrolled in a course at the National School of Anthropology with Dr. Alfonso Caso, with whom he began working on the Monte Albán excavations in January of 1943. Bernal was one of Dr. Caso's most outstanding students. Heir to his teacher's passion for archaeology, he continued to work with him on the Monte Albán excavations, during the fourteenth and fifteenth excavation periods, in 1946 and 1947 respectively.



Ignacio Bernal at Monte Albán, Oaxaca.

In 1943, he began studying anthropology formally at the National School of Anthropology. In 1947, he obtained his Master's degree, with a specialization in archaeology, for which he wrote a thesis entitled *Pre-Classical Ceramics in Monte Albán*. That same year he began teaching, and taught "The Archaeology of Mexico and Central America II". In 1949, he wrote *The Ceramics of Monte Albán III A*, for his doctoral thesis at the Faculty of Humanities of the National University of Mexico. Bernal was the first Mexican to receive a doctorate in anthropology.

Although his work did not begin to appear in print until he was 38, his publications include some 270 books, articles and reports.

His works, written clearly, profoundly and in an immensely readable style reflect his very personal concept of archaeology and his passion for pre-Columbian cultures. In *A History of Archaeology* (1979) he discusses the importance of archaeology as a social science, whose scope should not be limited to the description and classification of objects. Instead, he argues, it should attempt to interpret them in order to understand the culture



Tourists at Teotihuacan.

of which they are a product. An archaeologist's behavior, he suggests, should be governed by enthusiasm, reasoned passion and imagination.

For Bernal, archaeology in Mexico is not simply academic work or the result of intellectual curiosity. Ruins and archaeological objects should be preserved since they are symbols of our past and form part of our national heritage and therefore, our lives.

In his excellent book, *Tenochtitlan on an Island* (1959) Bernal undertakes to reconstruct the history of Tenochtitlan from earliest times, suggesting the processes and attitudes which made the Aztecs the "chosen people" until the arrival of the Spaniards. Of particular interest is his reference to the idea of the cosmos held by the inhabitants of the island, which is crucial to an understanding of the practice of human sacrifice.



A Chaac Mol in the Museum of Anthropology.

The *Olmec World* (1968) was an attempt to interpret the bases of Olmec culture, which developed along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. This work summarizes all the archaeological information available at the time and organizes it in such a way as to explain the origin, development, rise and fall of the Olmecs. One of this book's main contributions was the historical dimension which it lent the Olmecs, with its hypothesis that civilization in Mesoamerica began with the Olmec world. This statement was a vital step toward providing a better understanding of the ancient world, since it established a principle of continuity between the various pre-Hispanic cultures known at the time.

Bernal felt a particular inclination towards the Zapotecs and Mixtecs, the inhabitants of what is now the State of Oaxaca. In addition to Monte Albán, he participated in and directed the exploration and excavation of the archaeological site at Mitla, Yagul, Dainzu and Coixtlahuaca, among others. The information provided by his research was crucial to an understanding of the development of the above mentioned cultures and their relationship with other pre-Hispanic cultures in Mexico and Central America.

As director of the Teotihuacan project, (1962-1964), Bernal directed excavation and restoration work on the archaeological site at Teotihuacan, just outside Mexico City. He proved that this site had not only been an important ceremonial center but also a great city with a sophisticated system of urban planning. The results of his research were always subsequently published.

As a professor, Ignacio Bernal won the respect and admiration of his students both at home and abroad. In

A History of **MEXICAN** **ARCHAEOLOGY**

THE VANISHED CIVILIZATIONS
OF MIDDLE AMERICA



One of Bernal's books in English.

Mexico, he taught at the UNAM, the National School of Anthropology and History, El Colegio de México, and Mexico City College. He was a visiting professor at various universities, including Harvard, the Sorbonne, Berkeley, Oxford and Cambridge.

He lectured and attended congresses in more than twelve countries. He received prizes and awards from institutions and governments in several different parts of the world. In 1969, he was awarded the National Science Prize by the Mexican government.

Bernal also held a number of administrative posts. He was Cultural Attaché at the Mexican Embassy in Paris, the Mexican delegate to UNESCO from 1956-1957, and the Director of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, (1968-1971). It was during his time in this last post that he devised the idea of awards for scientific research in anthropology and history, and later set up the Fray Bernardino de Sahagún Annual Prizes for the best Anthropological and Historical Research on Mexican topics in Mexico or abroad.

Bernal was one of the main proponents of the National Museum of Anthropology and History, and after its completion was its director from 1962-1968, and again from 1970-1977. Bernal felt that museums had a twofold



A vessel of the Zapotec culture, Oaxaca (Monte Albán II).



Zapotec urn, Oaxaca (Monte Albán III).

purpose: to preserve objects and spread knowledge, and thereby have a profound effect on scientific research.

This gifted historian, anthropologist and writer was a distinguished member of several societies and academies both at home and abroad, including The Mexican Academy of History, The National Academy of Scientific Research, La Real Academia Española, La Société des Américanistes in Paris, The Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, The American Academy of Science and Arts and The British Academy.

Ignacio Bernal had a long and successful life, on both a professional and a personal level. His relatives, friends and students remember him as a passionate, enthusiastic man, with a great capacity for synthesis and an open, critical mind. His wife and four children played an important role in his life, joining him in his adventures and discoveries.

During a ceremony organized by the Department of Public Education as a tribute to Bernal a month after his death, the Archaeologist Eduardo Matos Moctezuma remarked, "Ignacio Bernal searched in the past, lived in the present and left us the image of a scholar for the future" ✱

Elsie L. Montiel

Assistant Editor.

Setbacks are frequent in administrative and judicial procedures aimed at shattering criminal conspiracies organized by drug-traffickers.

Conditions for the exercise of the respective professional public services are unpredictable and huge disparities obstruct effective binational cooperation.

Skepticism, despair, and corruption prevail, eroding the moral authority of the State.

In this context, the great difference between the US and Mexican judicial cultures, in spite of their geographical proximity and intense demographic, economic and cultural interaction, may be the most formidable obstacle.

The existing differences between the two judicial cultures do not entirely exclude common denominators. The Constitution of the United States and its influence on the evolution of universal judicial culture was particularly significant in the constitutional makeup of independent Mexico in the 19th century.



Marco A. Cruz/Imagenlatina.

Incinerating marijuana in Chihuahua.

Parallels are evident in the sense of a constitution establishing a sovereign union or federation of states, and defining and guaranteeing the obligation of its respective powers, both to protect the "Bill of Rights," and safeguard "individual guarantees" in Mexico, via a federal judicial system headed by a supreme court and organized into circuits and districts.

A parallel exists, too, in the constitutional theory of Montesquieu's balanced division of powers safeguarding "the spirit of laws", and in the concept of universal suffrage to sustain all constitutional power.

There are similarities in the organization of investigation and accusation through Attorney General's Offices, dependent on executive power, and with the monopoly of the exercise of penal action by its agents.

Legal rationale and education are quite different in the two legal cultures. The legacy of European style codification, with its legislative restrictions on discretionary legal acts, and the weight of doctrinal judicial dogma make Mexico's prevailing deductive judicial reasoning (from abstraction to reality), highly formalistic. This contrasts with the realism prevalent in US legal culture, aimed at inductively persuading a jury of peers and a powerful judge, that the reality under trial must conform to relative interpretive legal precedents in the application of the Law. Law is taught in Mexico from textbooks based on the description of legal hypotheses and the analysis of their application to general theory and doctrine. In the US, the law is taught from texts of judicial reasoning. The study of law in Mexican universities does not require a prior university degree and is conceived of as an abstract social science, whereas in the US, a pre-law degree is required and the law is seen as a highly instrumental profession.

Professional practice is licensed differently in the two nations. In



A training jump.

Mexico, the government Department of Public Education issues a license which allows a university law student to practice after graduation. In the US the final authorization to practice law is obtained by passing a state bar exam.

Our legal cultures need to interrelate, get to know and enrich each other, so that the law and its fulfillment, not abuse and the traffickers, become the effective agents of binational interrelation.

A new approach and the distribution of federal, state and local power to combat the drug trade

Trafficking in illicit drugs is a federal offence in Mexico. The federal Congress has exclusive power to formulate penal policy and legislate against illegal trade, and the office of the Attorney General of the Republic pursues offenders under such laws through the Federal Judicial Police.

All other federal authorities, including military, local and state authorities, merely serve as "auxiliaries" to the Attorney General's Office. Under the Mexican Constitution only federal and state judicial police are legally empowered to investigate

offences. All others are considered "preventive police" who cannot interrogate suspects or detain them, unless caught in the act.

In contrast, the US Congress and state legislatures possess concurrent powers to hand down penal ruling. Federal and state authorities also possess concurrent powers to pursue the delinquent and investigative competence extends to local police as well. The constitutional power and autonomy of state and local authority make it almost impossible to draw up a coherent national drug-trafficking policy in the United States.

Mexico's federally centralized power of prosecution could be the basis for a coherent national policy. However, the ambiguities of "auxiliary" competence in these matters tend to prevent it from becoming a reality. The constitutional autonomy of state authorities combined with the administrative hierarchies of the military, and state and federal police authorities, prevents the formulation of a unified national policy.

A new approach is clearly needed. The principle underlying empowerment for such a new approach should be the specialization and exclusive competence of Mexico's Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (Ministerio Público Federal) and of the Federal Judicial Police to investigate and arraign offenders in drug-related crimes.

The new approach and the federal public prosecutor's office (Ministerio Público Federal)

The new approach requires a restructuring of the permanent anti-drug campaign. Since President Miguel de la Madrid's administration, a unique effort has been made to modernize and professionalize the administration of justice and broaden the protection of individual guarantees under the Constitution.

The territorial organization of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office was radically reorganized and the decision-

making process in the exercise of penal policy was decentralized. The Constitution and penal legislation were reformed to eliminate loopholes in the typification and appropriate penalization of corruption in the public service. The Code of Penal Procedure was also reformed in order to better protect human rights.

However, the permanent campaign against the drug-trade, has absorbed the attention of the Attorney General's Office, while progressively consuming more and more of its budget. There is clearly an inverse relation between this tendency, and the office's modernization aimed at improving its capability to identify, investigate and proceed against ever-burgeoning federal crime. Paradoxically, it is the drug-trade itself that appears to have benefitted most from this disparity.

The problem lies in the fact that the permanent anti-drug campaign is mainly concerned with destroying drug producing crops, which has little to do with the constitutional competence of the federal Attorney General's Office, whose principal responsibility is the pursuit of offenders against the safety of the Mexican population according to prevailing priorities.

The basic design of the permanent campaign against the drug-trade is the

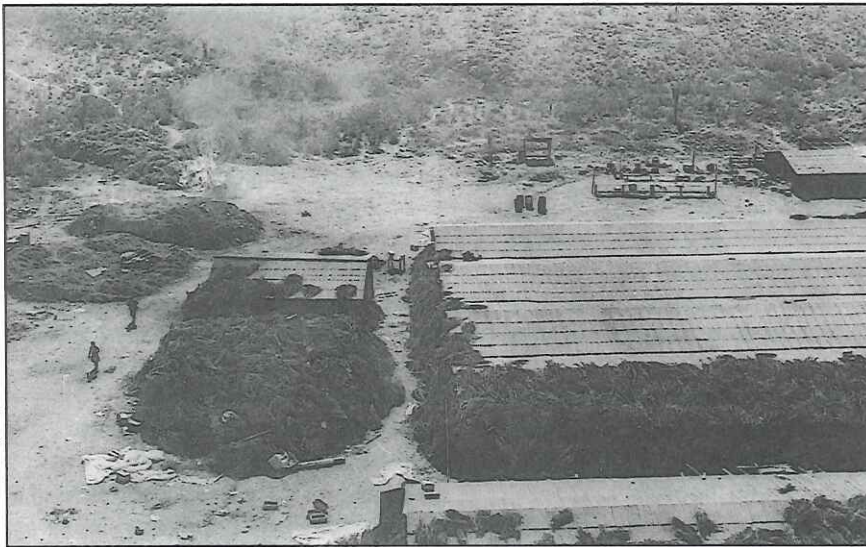
result of mistaken economic theory derived from the US international narcotics control program, which assumes that destruction of narcotic producing crops outside the US will prevent consumption within its borders.

Mexico is not an investigative or police state, but rather an under-investigated and under-policed state by comparison with the US. Formal Mexican law has traditionally limited the bounds of the police and the Public Prosecutor's Office: there is a constitutional prohibition against investigations, which is seen as a demand for voluntary denunciation of a crime committed being necessary to start an investigation. Electronic recordings are of no probative value at a trial. Covert investigations and the testimony they generate are obstructed by both penal legislation and procedure. The concept of state witnesses or immunity from prosecution in exchange for incriminatory testimony by accessories to criminal conspiracy, granted by the Public Prosecutor's Office, does not exist under Mexican law or procedure. Furthermore, the notion of a criminal enterprise and of criminal responsibility shared among its members, is considerably limited under the Mexican penal concept of "criminal association".



Antinarotics police in the field in the state of Veracruz

Marco A. Cruz/Imagenlatina.



Tons of confiscated marijuana at a processing plant in the state of Chihuahua.

All these legal instruments are fundamental to the identification, investigation and prosecution of modern organized crime. Their absence is a major source of abuse for most Mexicans, who have therefore no real means of availing themselves of protection under the law, and leaves them vulnerable to injustice, for only wealthy delinquents benefit from the limitations placed on the Public Prosecutor's Office.

The new approach and the police

The creation of a morally sound, professional, specialized and modern Federal Judicial Police, capable of investigating organized crime with transnational ramifications should be the cornerstone of the new approach to police organization. The focus on eradication has seriously distorted and damaged the capability of the existing Federal Judicial Police.

Ordinarily, the interception of large drug shipments or the destruction of large drug caches is the result of intelligence passed on to the Mexican judicial police by the US Drug Enforcement Agency. This brings about a distorted international division of police work which further atrophies the Mexican police's investigative capability: the DEA develops the

intelligence and carries out the inquiry, while Mexican authorities are left to arrest and confiscate.

There is nothing Mexico currently needs more than an honest, professional, responsible and effective police force to put teeth into the law. A new approach to the Federal Judicial Police ought to begin with adequate and competitive salaries in recognition of on-the-job risk and the high degree of professionalism and integrity required. Conditions for admission, training, promotion, and retirement can be developed from there. The foregoing should be combined with techniques of intelligence gathering, identification, documentation, records and accounts, as well as the theory and practice of investigating organized crime. Adequate equipment and facilities are an indispensable part of this modernization program.

The new approach and the Mexican penitentiary system

The Mexican penitentiary system is also remarkably backward in terms of the availability of security services able to appropriately handle organized criminals. They not only enjoy all sorts of privileges and continue to operate behind bars, but frequently escape.

Modernization is also essential here. It could begin with the federalization of a penitentiary for common offenders under the administration of a model unit, the creation and reproduction of which could develop into the modern federal penitentiary service Mexico so desperately needs.

The new approach and reciprocal legal assistance between Mexico and the US

There are about fifty bilateral agreements between Mexico and the US on matters related to trade in illegal drugs, with a recent Agreement on Reciprocal Legal Assistance awaiting ratification by the US Senate before coming into force. Domestic US legal concerns could lead this agreement to cause an even greater asymmetry in Mexico-US bilateral cooperation, to the detriment of Mexico. In addition, current asymmetry between Mexican and US public administration reduces the full benefits of reciprocal legal aid and bilateral cooperation. There is, moreover, a great imbalance between the US State and Justice Departments' demands for compliance by the Mexican government of contractual obligations, and the capacity of Mexico's Department of Foreign Affairs and Attorney General's Office to reciprocate.

In this context, the fundamental aim of the new approach is symmetry. Symmetry requires that existing terms of agreement be reviewed, to prevent Mexico from being tied to conditions that the United States is unwilling to undertake, and to give due consideration to requirements proposed by Mexico. Only thus can the modernization of Mexico's national security system and administration of justice be guaranteed. The immediate creation of a professional multidisciplinary administrative unit capable of interacting with the US judicial system is therefore indispensable to safeguard Mexico's rights. **M**

Mexico's pre-Hispanic and colonial painted books

*José Manuel Porrás Navarro **

"These chroniclers kept account of the days, months and years, and although they had no system of writing like ours, they had figures and characters to express whatever they wished; and of these they made books of such ingenuity and subtlety that they were almost as fine as our own. Our friars saw some of these books and I myself saw a few; they were burnt by order of the friars, who thought the parts concerning religion might have a harmful effect on these people, whose conversion had only just begun..."

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.

Man has constantly sought to communicate and preserve his ideas, doctrines and theories; in short, all the knowledge he has acquired since the beginning of time. To do this, he has



Codex Borgiaus.

used the materials that nature has provided. Examples of his work can be seen in wood, stone and bone carvings, which parallel gradual improvement in his means of communication.

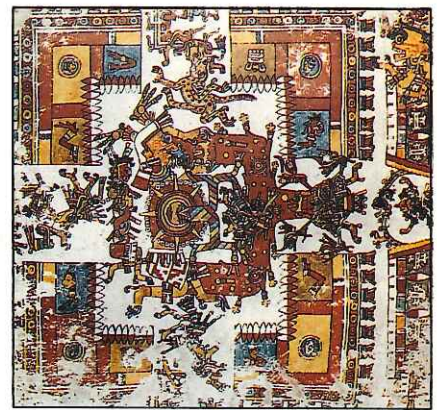
The earliest attempt to systematize the writing of a language was cuneiform writing on clay. Egyptian hieroglyphic writing followed, with nature once again providing the materials, including principally papyrus and later parchment.

In Mesoamerica, the development of writing appears in the pictographic records of its people, called codices by the Spaniards, (from the Latin *codex*, meaning code) since they were somewhat similar in format to the Roman codices.

It has been estimated that these pictographic records first appeared between the 7th and 9th centuries and that they continued to be produced by the various peoples of Mesoamerica after the Conquest.

It was the chroniclers and historians of the conquest who recorded the importance of these documents in Mesoamerican societies. They were called *amoxtli*, in Nahuatl, from which the term *amoxcalli* is derived, meaning a place for the preservation, storage and consultation of documents.

Cultural activity flourished in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, doubtless one of the main reasons why special storage



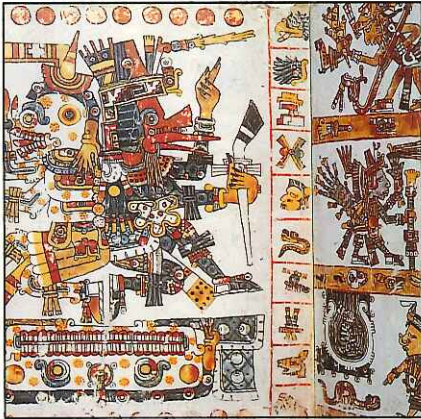
Codex Borgiaus.

areas were provided for official civil, religious, military, and economic documents.

According to Dr. Joaquín Galarza, an expert on the subject, the term *codex* today refers to manuscripts made by indigenous Mesoamerican peoples, to record their languages by means of a basic system of codified images derived from their artistic conventions. In other words, the codices were the visual records of their language.

The creation of these documents is inextricably linked to the *tlacuilo* (from Nahuatl *tlacuiloa*: to write or paint). The *tlacuilos* had to be able to draw or paint skillfully and possess a broad knowledge of their times and a thorough understanding of their

* Chief of the Special Collections Department, Library of Mexico.



Codex Borgia.

language. They might be either men or women, who, at an early age, were chosen for their ability. Later, they were highly trained in the techniques of making codices. Though their work was preserved in the *Amoxcalli*, their names were not recorded, for none of the codices bears the signature of its maker. According to some scholars, this is because the codices belonged to the community in which they worked.

The *tlacuilos* used a variety of media in making their codices: color and line drawings, combined with signs for phonetic transcription which all together created a writing system. Theirs was different from the European system, being recorded as if on a series of superimposed planes, finally to be read at the surface, where the phonetic signs combine with symbolic elements in an aesthetically balanced composition.

An even greater variety of materials was used in making the codices; pictographs were drawn on tanned animal hide, especially deerskin, handmade indigenous paper and textiles made from henequen (*Agave fourcroydes*), yucca (*Yucca filifera*) and cotton fibers.

The most commonly-used material was a paper made from the bark of the strangler fig or amate tree (*Ficus spp.* of which there are 55 genera and more than 700 species in Mexico). Preparation began by stripping the bark off the trunk or the largest branches of

the tree and soaking it in water. The bark fiber was then completely cleaned and softened on specially carved, grooved stone slabs, with bunches of willow twigs threaded through a hole and twisted to make a handle. It was then cut into strips which could be easily joined together by beating the bark with a smoother stone. Finally, the fiber was polished and cut into sheets of paper of any size required.

The 20th century has seen renewed production of this type of paper, mainly used in indigenous crafts. Production methods have scarcely changed since pre-Hispanic times.

Once the material had been prepared, it was ready to be used for drawing or painting. The colors used by the *tlacuilos* in the codices were made from natural raw materials such as plants, insects, sand and stone from diverse parts of Mesoamerica. The natural colors of the codices have withstood the elements for several centuries, and it is largely due to these pre-Hispanic dyes that the codices have been preserved to the present day in all their original splendor.

White or *iztac* was obtained from gypsum, called *tlacuac*; scarlet and purple from *cuamochiitl*, called Brazil wood by the Spaniards; black by burning and grinding guava wood or corn silk, although pine wood smoke was more common. Various shades of red (*chichiltic tlapalli*) were obtained from cochineal (*nocheztli*), better known as "prickly pear's blood". The Spaniards earned huge profits from the sale of this dye in Europe, Asia and Africa. The seeds of the annato or lipstick tree (*achiolt*, *Bixa orellana*) produced gold and orange, and yellow (*cuztic*) and ochre (*teocazhuil*) from the leaves of the yellow cosmos (*xochipalli*, *Cosmos sulphureus*).

The codices themselves bear witness to the instruments used to draw and paint them. Thick and fine brushes were used; rigid, sharp-pointed instruments of different thicknesses for drawing shapes and other semi-flexible

ones for extending colors and filling in areas. They were made of wood, reed, obsidian, bone and stone, and paintbrushes were made of wood and the fur of certain mammals. Examples of these appear in the Florentine codex.

Traditional pre-Hispanic writing was based on a series of images which taken either individually or as a whole provided detailed information on historical, genealogical, political, economic and social events, among others. These images can be divided into two groups:

Small images, known as "glyphs", represented proper names, places names and chronological accounts. These are the only elements of traditional indigenous writing recognized by specialists today as words.

Large images, known as "icons", are a product of the same representational and grammatical conventions as mentioned above. They include all the small images which together produce traditional indigenous writing.

The use of different levels of images appropriately arranged



Codex Mendocino (plate 12).

spatially by the *tlacuilo* created writing. The images constitute the text itself; there is no separation between text and illustration as in Europe. They are “text images” joined in a representational-phonetic composition, using a technique which was current until the 18th century. They consist of forms, colors and spaces which together shape concrete words.

The forms were taken from everyday objects, which had to be identified to enable their names to be pronounced and a syllabic transcription to be made. The same colors are used for the same objects, which is why researchers call them “phonetic colors”.

The *tlacuilos* used all the available space, covering the entire surface of the codex with “small images”, placing them in straight lines, in any order, either horizontally or vertically, and with no set limits. The only limits in pre-Hispanic Mexican “books” are representational and grammatical, the expressive fusion of words and text. The codex is both an artistic expression and a text to be read.



Codex Mendocino (plate 66).

Classification of the codices

Traditional indigenous writing is a broad subject about which diverse and extensive conclusions have been reached, few of which are as yet definitive. For research purposes, codices have been variously classified according to their format, subject matter, colors or the type of material used. However, they are generally divided into the following main categories:

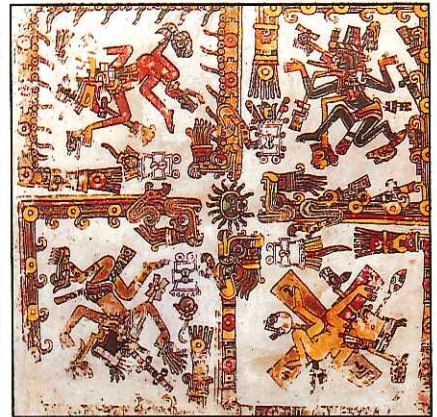
1. *Major or prestigious works:* spectacular, unique or particularly beautiful codices, exquisitely drawn, handsomely and brilliantly colored, and above all, produced in pre-Hispanic times. The category includes codices that provide solid and important information to researchers.
2. *Minor works:* codices produced after the conquest up to the 18th century, showing signs of European influence.

A further division distinguishes *codices with color or without*. In the former, bright colors were used to fill in the outlines, whereas in the latter, the outlines were not filled in, remaining as line drawings, with spaces held “in reserve,” by the *tlacuilos*. According to Dr. Galarza, this “reserve” meant that traditionally colored space was being left blank.

For a painter-scribe, or an “intellectual” of the time, who knew the colors for each sign, it would not have been difficult to recognize the colors for the reserved spaces. Color in the codices is a variable which may appear in pictographs, but its absence does not prevent the reader’s understanding of the subject matter.

Yet another division classifies codices according to subject matter:

1. *Calendrical and ritual codices:* these concern religion, ceremonies, chronology, and everything related to predictions and astronomy. They were ruthlessly destroyed by the



Codex Borgianus.

Spaniards, in an attempt to eliminate all traces of any former religion. Surviving examples of such pre-Hispanic codices include the Codex Borbonico and the Borgia Group of codices, while the Tonalamatl de Aubin, Ixtlixochitl and Telleriano-Remensis codices are examples of works created during the Colonial period.

2. *Historical and cartographic codices:* record the Mesoamerican peoples’ concept of history. Outstanding events are typically narrated in exact chronological order. Other matters are often included, such as the geographical layout of the region or the area where the events took place. The Pilgrimage Scroll, the Tepexpan Scroll and parts of the Sigüenza Map are noteworthy examples.
3. *Genealogical:* these are both pre-Hispanic and Colonial, although most surviving examples date from the latter. They record dynastic succession in specific areas. In colonial times, they were used to settle issues of land rights and privileges, brought before the Government of New Spain. Lineage was indicated by means of straight or dotted lines, speech virgules and footprints. The Genealogy of the Mendoza-Moctezuma Family and the Etlá

family, the Guevea Canvas, have been preserved to this day.

4. *Ethnographic codices*: record the customs, laws, lifecycles and behavior of conquered peoples. They were produced only during the Colonial period and were created to enable the colonial administration and friars to find out more about morals, education, the military, government and daily activities of the indigenous people. Examples of these are the Magliabechiano, Tudela and Mendocino codices.
5. *Chilam Balam*: these are mostly 16th century compilations of previously missing works written in the Mayan language. They include chronological, astrological and medicinal data as well as Mayan chronicles. The most famous examples are the Chilam Balam de Chan Kan, Ixil and Tizimin.
6. *Cartographic codices*: these are maps of specific areas, whose content is related to other topics. They record territorial boundaries, geographical features, towns, etc.



Codex Mendocino (plate 61).

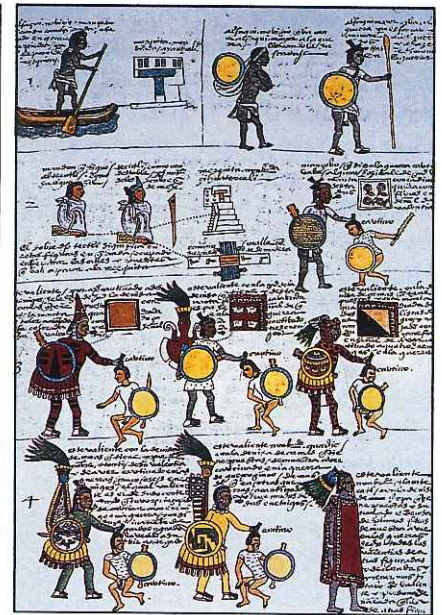
Many appeared during Colonial times as legal proof in property litigation both for groups and individuals. Notable examples include the map known as the Maguey Paper Plan, the Mauricio de la Arena Codex, the First Zacatepec Canvas, and the Map of Santa Cruz, among others.

7. *Economic codices*: these contain real estate records for tax purposes, civil, fiscal and tax records. They were produced both in pre-Hispanic and colonial times. Their importance lies in the help they provided the Spaniards to enrich themselves by exacting tribute. This category is represented by the Tax Register, and the Chavero, Mendocino and Sierra Codices.
8. *Testerian*: these are all post-conquest documents and include all the Mexican pictographic manuscripts containing transcriptions of prayers and recommendations for teaching catechism. The genre is said to have been originated by the monk Testera de Bayona, and the finest example of them is to be found in Gómez de Orozco's Christian Doctrine.

As to the format of the codices, pre-Hispanic versions differ physically from colonial products. Traditional codices were produced in various formats which may have been chosen to fit their subject matter. Ritual calendrical codices were usually created on folding, accordion-like, strips, so they could be illuminated horizontally on both sides.

The cartographic codices were drawn on pieces of cotton. Historical codices were drawn on strips of amate or deerskin, and called strips or rolls depending on whether they were folded or rolled up.

Other codices, produced during the Colonial period, had a book format. The leaves were stitched and pasted together on the left side and then bound in parchment or leather.



Codex Mendocino (plate 65).

The method by which several sheets of amate paper were joined together was known as the panel format, and was used during both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial times. Single sheets of either indigenous or European paper were also used.

These Mexican pre-Hispanic and Colonial painted books have played a vital role in the reconstruction and study of Mexican history. They are firsthand sources for political, economic, religious and social data on the peoples of Mesoamerica.

Moreover, the codices proved so versatile that the Conquistadors were able to adapt them to suit their own needs, which explains why they were still used for nearly three centuries after the Conquest.

Although different from European books, as far as layout is concerned, the Codices are regarded as indigenous masterpieces of pre-Columbian and Colonial times and the forerunners of books in Mexico.

The current resurgence of research into the subject, often overlooked for long periods, will no doubt provide valuable insights into both the codices themselves and the history of Mexico **M**

Jesús Helguera and Aztec mythology



Eagle warrior*.

Jesús Helguera was born on May 28th, 1910 in Chihuahua, Mexico. When he was seven, his family moved to Spain, where he began painting from an early age.

The headmaster of the primary school where Helguera studied noticed his skill at drawing and when he was

Every year, for three decades, thousands of Mexican families bought calendars illustrated by Jesús Helguera. What was this painter's secret? How did his paintings find their way into so many homes, becoming a tradition in their own right?



Jesús Helguera in his studio.

* Ma. Luisa de la Helguera de Popoca collection.

nine, put him in charge of the art class. It was at this time, that he began to illustrate history lessons and draw huge wall maps.

He received his artistic training by studying fine arts, observing nature and studying the works of the great masters at the Del Prado Museum.

As his work became better known, he was hired to illustrate books and magazines for prestigious Spanish publishers. Some of the well known works he illustrated were *Great deeds and great men*, *Brilliant historical*

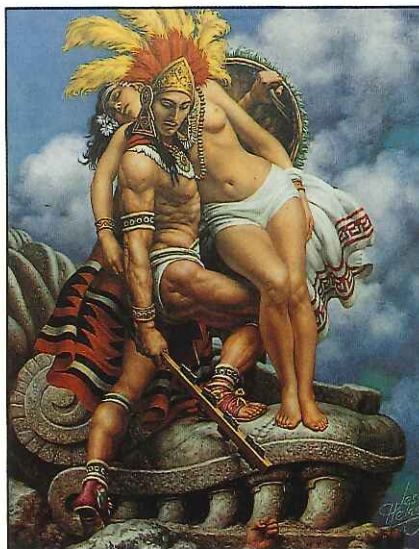
Text based on the biographical sketch of Jesús Helguera by Ismael Popoca Salas in *Jesús Helguera*, published by Galas de México, S.A. de C.V.



The celestial archer.*



The legend of the volcanos.*



An Aztec hero.*

The legend of the volcanos (Nahoa myth)

In *Teocozaucó* —the Fourth Heaven, in the yellow mansion of *Tonatiuh*, the shining one— there was a golden palace surrounded by marvelous gardens.

In this kingdom that was never in darkness, *Izcozauhqui* —Blond Yellow light, Golden Light—, son of *Tonatiuh* the Sun, lived happily.

One day the Sun's child heard that beyond his father's kingdom existed the gardens of *Tonacatecuhtli* and *Tonacacihuatl*, Lords of Sustenance. Wishing to know them, he headed in their direction and discovered, beside a lake, a beautiful maiden named *Coyoxauhqui* all dressed in silver. She was the one adorned with spring flowers, the daughter of *Metztlí*, the Moon.

These two, young as they were, fell so deeply in love that both constantly abandoned their celestial kingdoms to meet in other heavens.

The gods who discovered this idyll gave their blessing, since they loved each other intensely. However, they were warned never to leave the kingdom of heaven, for if they did, they would be severely punished.

Then one day *Izcozauhqui* and *Coyoxauhqui*, who had travelled through all the celestial beauties hand in hand, became curious about the world that existed below the gods' mansion. Without thinking of the consequences, and in mutual agreement, they left the roads in heaven to take the path leading to the earth.

How different was this world so far from heaven! Here there were neither gardens of gold nor gardens of silver! The fields were full of multicolored flowers that seemed like huge cloths woven with threads from the rainbow!

So he, full of strength, pride and will, and she, full of gentleness, sweetness and love, neither regretting nor fearing, entered the woods and fields.

When the gods learned of their disobedience, they decided to punish them: they could never go back to the celestial mansions!

So the son of the Sun and the daughter of the Moon reached the Valley of the Lakes where, in love with its beauty, they decided to stay.

Where else in the world was such beauty assembled?

Inside the blue crown of the mountains the quiet lakes were turquoises, and the woods looked like upraised emeralds longing to pierce the sky.

Broad fields full of green and showered with a thousand fragrant flowers spread out at the feet of two giants that seemed to watch over the Valley like its lords and masters.

Amazed, the son of the Sun and the daughter of the Moon gazed at everything. Birds sang in the groves, and flowers shone next to babbling brooks flowing here and there.

Close by the lakes, clouds of butterflies fluttered their colors on fragile wings, and the breeze, filled with aromas, delightfully kissed the springs' freshness.

The down-slanting slopes were covered with majestic green crowns of maguë leaves.

Everything here was wonderful, and alive!
How could they not think of staying in such a lovely valley?

True, there were no stars nor heavenly bodies here. There were no mansions of the gods, but this solitary world rivaled the kingdom of the heavens in beauty and greatness.

So, Izcozauhqui and Coyoxauhqui decided to stay forever in this enchanting place.

Unfortunately their joy was not eternal, for Coyoxauhqui fell ill with a strange sickness. Time passed, and since she did not get well and feared a tragic end, she told her dearly beloved companion in a voice filled with sorrow:

"Izcozauhqui, my beloved Golden Light, I know that I am going to leave you alone, because that is how the gods have punished our disobedience. Eternal life has ended for us, for I sense that my death is at hand. Izcozauhqui, if I die, in the name of our great love I ask that you put me to rest on top of that blue mountain, the one that seems like a bed, so that my mother, forgiving me, can come every night to kiss me."

Coyoxauhqui died several days later.

Izcozauhqui's grief knew no bounds.

His sobs and his supplications echoed on wings until they broke on the rocky mounds of the mountain giants.

The cries of love became softer, more delicate, more like whispers, until they tapered off, gently disconsolate.

When his heart accepted her loss, resolved to fulfill his beloved's wish, he lifted her gently in his arms and took the path to the mountains.

Thus he walked days and nights, never resting, never crying.

The birds grew quiet at his passage. The flowers closed their petals and the rivers hushed in pain, while the maguey and the trees bowed silently and reverently as he passed.

When he reached the top of the blue mountain, the one that looked like a bride's bed, he lovingly placed her on the crest.

She lay with her head motionless on the rock, her lifeless hair tumbling over the precipices, her breasts uplifted, her knees half-bent in deep rest, and she slept chastely inert under her *huipil* embroidered with threads of early morning light.

Afterward Izcozauhqui, desiring to warm his loved one, lit an immense torch of perfumed wood and, sitting down beside it, motionless, suffering, he stayed at her side.

The gods were so moved by such a beautiful love that they decided to reward his faithful tenderness by agreeing never to separate them.

So that they could be at each other's side for eternity, they were changed into rock and covered with snow.

Today, many centuries later, two volcanoes still adorn the Valley of Mexico, two beautiful gems set in the blue mountains, one all whiteness, the other all fire.

In the sweet Náhuatl tongue she is called *Iztaccíhuatl*, meaning the woman of snow or the sleeping woman; he is called *Popocatepetl*, the smoking mountain.

This is the beautiful legend of the volcanos in the Valley of Mexico!



*Cuauhtémoc**.



*Aztec grandeur**.

episodes and A selected collection of folklore from many countries, published by Editorial Araluce of Barcelona, which set the standard for similar editions.

Helguera married Julia González Llanos, a native of Madrid, who was the model and inspiration for many of his paintings, and mother of his two children.

After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, and following the death of two of his brothers, Luis Felipe and Fernando, of tuberculosis complicated by malnutrition, Helguera decided it would be best for his family to return to

The idyll of the volcanos

Iztacíhuatl traces the reclining figure
Of a woman asleep in the Sun.
Popocatépetl has blazed through the centuries
Like an apocalyptic vision;
And these two solemn volcanos
Tell a love story
Worth singing with all the intricacies
Of an extraordinary song.

Iztacíhuatl —thousands of years ago —
Was the princess who looked most like a flower,
And, in the tribe of the ancient *caciques*,
Fell in love with the most gallant of captains.
Her father opened his majestic lips
And pronounced to the courting captain
That if he returned one day with the head
Of the enemy *cacique* on the point of his spear
He would find at one and the same hour
A feast for his victory and a bower for his love.

And Popocatépetl went to war
With this hope in his heart:
He quelled the rebellions of the wildest jungles
The crags in mutiny against his victorious passage,
The audacity of the rushing streams,
The snares of the treacherous swamps;
And against hundreds upon hundreds of soldiers
For years and years he valiantly strove.

At last he returned to the tribe, with the head
Of the enemy *cacique* bleeding on his spear.
He found the victory feast all prepared

But his love bower was not there;
Instead of the love bower he sighted a burial
mound
Where his bride, asleep in the Sun,
Awaited to receive, in death, the kiss on her brow
From the lips that had never kissed her in life.

Popocatépetl broke across his knees
His quiver of arrows, and, with one voice,
Conjured up the shades of his ancestors
And waxed against their unfeeling God.
It was his life, his very own,
Because he had conquered death:
He had won victories, riches, power,
But he had no love ...

Then he made twenty thousand slaves
Erect a mighty mound to the Sun:
He piled up ten summits
In a stairway of his illusion;
He took his beloved in his arms,
And placed her on the mound;
Then he lit a torch and forever more
Has stood there kindling the sarcophagus of his
grief.

Sleep in peace, Iztacíhuatl: time will never
Efface the silhouette of your chaste expression.
Watch in peace, Popocatépetl: hurricanes will
never
Dim your torch, eternal as love ...

José Santos Chocano (1875-1934)
Peruvian poet.

Mexico, particularly since the Mexican government was repatriating its citizens.

In Mexico City, he was immediately hired to illustrate the magazine *Sucesos para todos*. Keen to discover and understand more about his native land, he travelled throughout the country on weekends. He was impressed by the beauty of the volcanos, and the country's rivers and lakes. He fell in love with the State of Veracruz, (where he had lived between the ages of two and seven) and which he included in several of his paintings.

He also spent time studying Mexican history and values. This provided the basis for his accurate depictions of pre-Hispanic and Colonial Mexico and the country after its independence. Aware that his work would be printed in offset, Helguera used bright colors for many of his paintings.

Toward the end of 1940, he finished the famous *Legend of the volcanos* based on Aztec mythology, reproductions of which have been seen by millions all over the world.

Numerous large printings have been made of Helguera's works,

especially of the *Legend of the volcanos*, *Indian love*, *The celestial archer* and *Aztec grandeur*.

His work has also been plagiarized for "pirate" editions and copied by artisans in ceramics, stone, metal and wood, with mixed results.

Helguera's death, at 61, brought to an end his traditional calendars with which Mexicans had come to identify and which were a phenomenon in his lifetime ❖

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

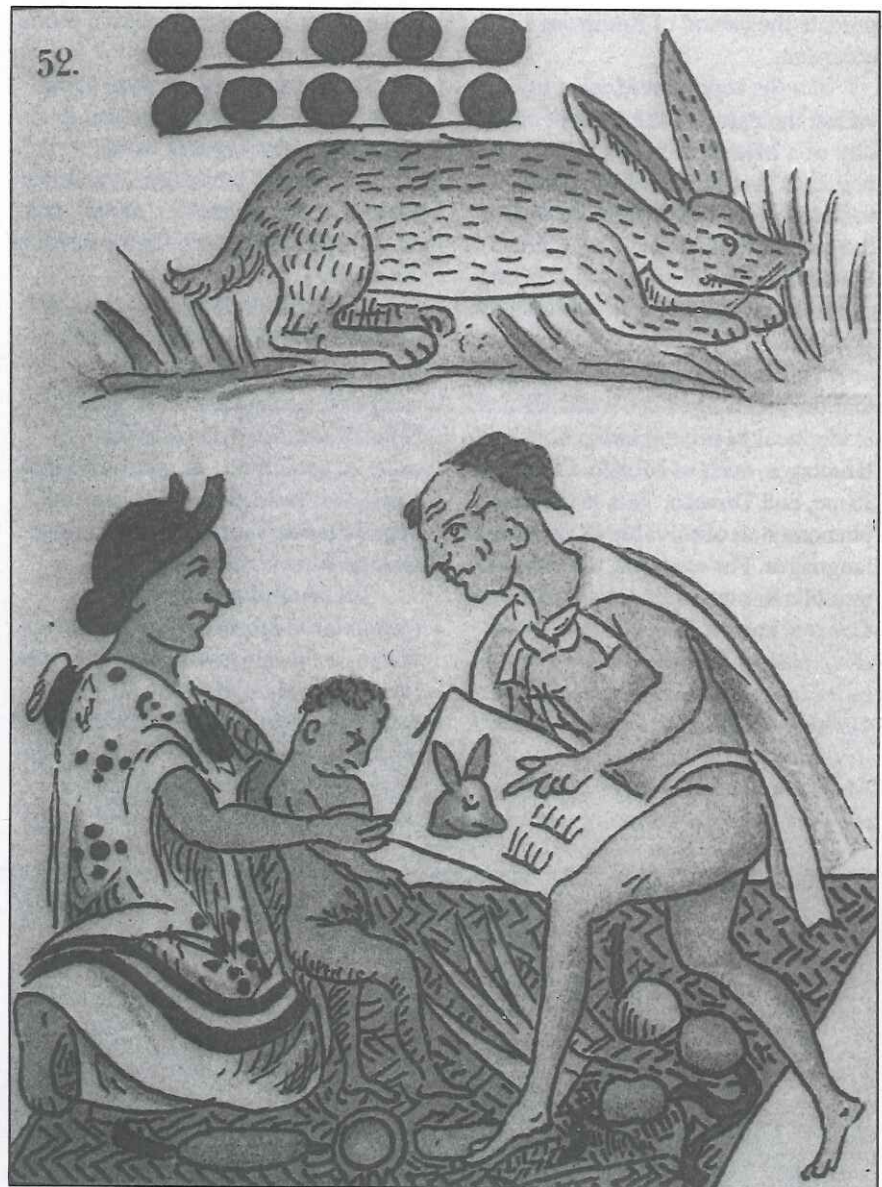
Mexico: the rabbit's navel¹

*Gutierre Tibón**

Toponymic studies often present difficulties requiring knowledge of other disciplines such as history, the study of symbols, and mythology. In dealing with placenames of American Indian origin, the more advanced the culture the more complex the problems the researcher must confront, for some etymologies—acceptable on the surface—even

¹ Translated from the Spanish by Professor Wayne H. Finke (Executive Secretary Treasurer of the American Name Society), with further assistance from Professor Enrique Ollivier, Professor of Spanish at the University of South Dakota.

* Professor in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, UNAM.



The toponym Mexico has long been etymologized as “the navel of the moon”. This anatomical image has been supported by recent research which identifies the positions of the early lakes on the present site of Mexico City, showing a pattern similar to that perceived on the moon, in both cases resembling a rabbit. Aztec priests searched for a long time to locate an island on which to build a temple. The island is in a position corresponding to the navel of the rabbit.

predate the period of European conquest.

For the toponym *Mexico* in which the name of the ancient capital city of a Mesoamerican empire becomes that of one of the great nations of our hemisphere as well as the name of one of the fifty United States, there exist some seventy-one different etymologies, of which only one is true.

This is demonstrated by the fact that the meaning of the word *Mexico* is identical in several indigenous languages, such as Mixtec, Otomí, Pame, and Tarasco. This is the same phenomenon observable in European languages. For example, the African republic known in English as the *Ivory Coast* is known in Spanish as *Costa de Marfil*, in French as *Côte d'Ivoire*, in Italian as *Costa d'Avorio*, and in German as *Elfenbeinküste*. Evidently, the comparative versions in Mesoamerican languages represent the first step in penetrating the arcane

sense of names whose meaning seems absolutely cryptic.

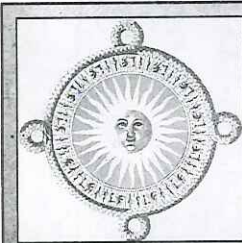
The common assumption about the etymology of *Mexico* is that it comes from three words of the Náhuatl (Aztec) language, as follows: *Metz(tli)* 'moon', *xic(tli)* 'navel', and *co* 'in', thus *Metzxicco* 'in the navel of the moon'.

I have dedicated forty years of research to *códices* prepared both before and after the Hispanic conquest, documents developed by Náhuatl and Spanish historians, in order to penetrate a magical-religious world that justifies and explains an appellation so far removed from our European understanding.

The second syllable, *xic* (pronounced [shik]), signifies "navel", which, as in European languages, also is the equivalent of "center". It follows logically that the capital of an empire is considered its central point, its navel. The center of the Greek world was Delphi, represented by an

omphalos stone, freely sculptured. The capital of the Aztec empire was consecrated to the sun in its denomination of *Huitzilopochtli*, a name which means "left-handed hummingbird".

What does the moon have to do with this? According to Aztec myth, the journey from Aztlán, or Aztlán Aztatlán, ancient capital of the kingdom of the same name (in Nayarit) to the Valley of Mexico was directed by this very *Huitzilopochtli* and his sister *Malinal Xóchitl* 'grass flower', that is, their images, considered as the deities themselves; the goddess manifested herself as the moon. One night, almost at the end of the long journey, the sun god abandoned his sister, who took refuge in Malinalco, a town that has preserved the name of the goddess, today a famous archeological center. Her son *Cópil* 'royal crown', another representation of the moon, attempted to incite the people of the Valley to



Santo Domingo Plaza (1815).

Raymond, drawing.
Authwaite, engraving.

make them destroy the Aztecs in Chapultepec. On the Cerro del Peñón (or Hill of the Big Rock) a mortal fight was waged between *Huitzilopochtli* (that is, the priest personifying him) and the young *Cópil*. The latter was defeated and slain by *Huitzilopochtli*, who told *Tenoch* (from the tree which produces the *tenochtli* 'red hard prickly pears', with its heartshaped fruit) to run to bury his nephew's heart on a certain islet that the high priests had patiently sought for an entire Aztec century (fifty-two years).

There are those who assert that the pristine islet was located on the spot where today stands—in La Plaza de Santo Domingo—the monument to the Corregidora (the mayor's wife), right within the circumference of the Main Temple of the Aztecs. There was no sign of what powerful impulse motivated the mystic searchers in the extremely vast extension of reeds and rushes: a mystery I am about to reveal.

We know that *Tenoch* buried *Cópil's* heart on the islet, and that by a miracle the *tenochtli*, the symbol of human hearts sacrificed to the sun—*Huitzilopochtli*—sprouted from his heart. This miracle also signifies the triumph of the Solar Aztecs over the Lunar Aztecs, loyal followers of *Malinal Xóchitl*, who, because of her maternal instincts, was opposed to human sacrifice.

This was the site indicated by *Huitzilopochtli* to establish the capital of the Aztec empire. But how can we, after 636 years, without documents to guide us, discover its exact location? What inspired the choice of that spot among so many thousand?

At this point, it is absolutely necessary to recall that the sun and its *nahual* 'double' the eagle are one entity; that is, their names are interchangeable. In like fashion the moon is identified with its *nahual*, the rabbit that lives on it. In contrast to the sun, which is all fire, the moon is a

place of quiet peace, the home of the rabbit, prolific rodent and symbol of fertility.

The victory of the sun over the moon does not deprive his sister of her role as the one who keeps the waters of the cosmos, sends rain, and preserves the pallid but providential light that the moon provides at night. The moon was worshipped in ancient Mexico in countless temples, the *metzcalli* 'lunar temples'. Thanks to the "repudiators of idolatry and superstition", Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón (brother of the esteemed Golden Age playwright) and Jacinto de la Serna, we know another metaphor that both authors considered "diabolical": the earth, in conjurings, was called "face-up rabbit, for thou art resplendent mirror..."; that is, the rabbit is the reflection of the earth on heaven or viceversa, and indeed deserves this epithet.

The words *Mexico Tenochtitlan* appear on the shield of the nation: the syllable *Me-* represents the moon, *metztili*, the rabbit; *xi-* is *xicli*, the navel or center, represented by the stone on which the *tenochtli*, the tree of hearts, is supported. The name *Tenochtli* is immortalized in *Tenochtitlan*: the syllable *tli* drops out and it is completed with the placename element *-titlan*. The sun, the supreme god, is the royal eagle that sits upon the *tenochtli*, and water, on which rest the most striking moments of the founding of Mexico, is also present in this picture.

The union of all the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, formerly interlinked from Zumpango to Chalco, has the approximate figure of the rabbit "sitting on its hind legs, as it is accustomed to do". In the same way that we can see the moon in the Tropic of Cancer, the ancient fishermen who for centuries navigated along the shores of this lake knew the moon-rabbit in its terrestrial reflection.

The last secret of the name of Mexico, the reason for the extremely long search to discover the site of incalculable sacred meaning, is the navel of the rabbit, a synonym for the moon, as the eagle is for the sun.

My deduction has become a visible reality, scientifically proven, thanks to the patient and valuable work of the geologist and vulcanologist Federico Mooser and his collaborator, the engineer Enrique Rodríguez Ramírez. The former reconstructed the boundaries and levels of the lakes, some seventy-five uninterrupted kilometers of fresh water and salt water drainage channels that the Spaniards viewed as "an inner sea". Rodríguez Ramírez enriched Mooser's bare maps with geographical names which, except for the imposing Sierra de Guadalupe, preserve their Nahuatl forms. Without the support of these two friends I could not have concluded my investigation begun back in the 1940s.

What really caught engineer Rodríguez Ramírez's attention in the conjurings of ancient Mexico was the multiple insistence with which the metaphorical lunar rabbit is identified with the earth: the object of a detailed study in my *History of the Founding of Mexico*.

Once the lake map was prepared, this engineer discovered that the site of the city of Mexico corresponds with mathematical exactitude to the navel of the rabbit. He generously informed me of his finding, accompanied by a complete map, which permitted me to tie up loose ends. The mystery of the fifty-two years of searching to find the islet amidst the cane fields has been clarified. A singular and unknown aspect of the Aztec myth is thus revealed to us.

At last, without a shadow of doubt, the root and reason for which Mexico is, esoterically, in the navel of the moon appear with radiant clarity **M**

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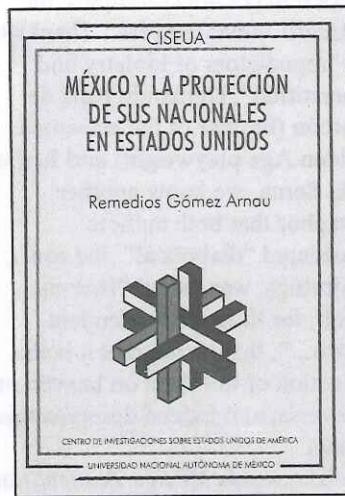
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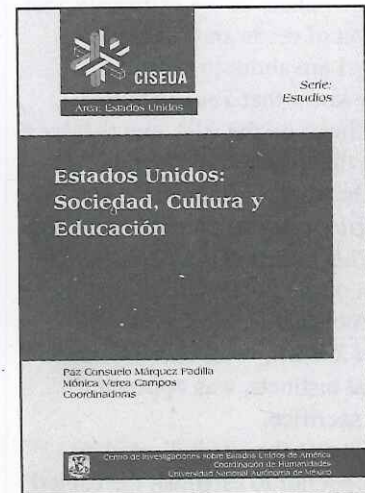
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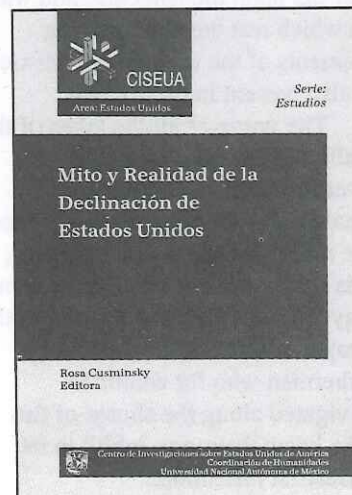
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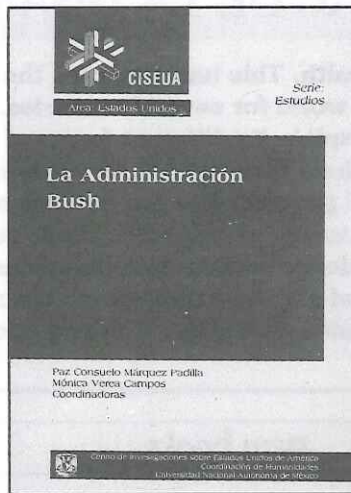


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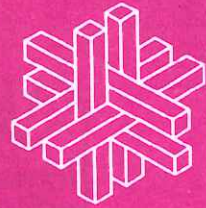




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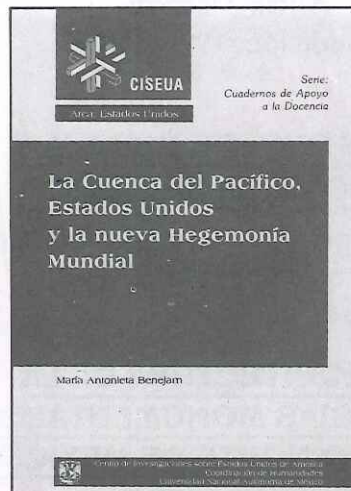
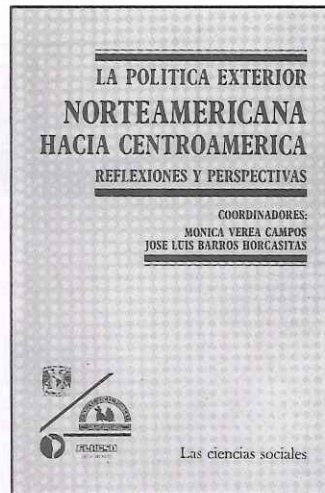
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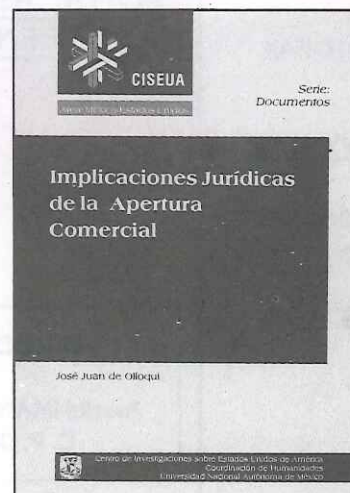
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The University campus is situated on 1,700,000 square meters of land, 68% of which is devoted to teaching, 16% to research, 9% to cultural dissemination, and the remainder to support systems and others. There are a total of 978 buildings on 244 sites, 21 of which are scattered around the country, 82 in metropolitan Mexico City and 141 within the University City campus. The UNAM is organized around four areas: teaching, research, cultural dissemination, and central administration.

Teaching

Upper secondary schooling falls within the purview of the National Preparatory School and the baccalaureate system of the College of Sciences and Humanities (CCH) scattered over 14 different sites around Mexico City. Undergraduate and graduate studies are offered by 13 faculties, 4 schools, 5 multidisciplinary units, and the academic units included in the Professional and Post-graduate Cycle of the CCH. Nine study plans are offered for 7 technical specialties and 110 curricula for 64 degree programs.

Post-graduate course options total 306 under 124 specialized courses, 134 at the masters level and 48 at the doctoral level. Since 1972, the UNAM also operates an Open University System in 9 faculties and schools that teach 16 degree-level programs, one technical, and three specialist.

The 434 degree programs and curricula are taught by a staff of 33,255; 4,000 of whom are tenured professors, 23,000 lecturers, 5,000 teaching assistants and the rest academic technicians.

More than 270,000 students were enrolled for the 1990-91 academic year. Out of every 1,000 students, 449 were upper secondary school baccalaureate candidates, 485 were undergraduate degree candidates, 43 were graduate students, 15 pursued technical studies and 8, university and musical initiation.

The University provides continuing education through its 19 schools and faculties, offering over 1,500 courses every year, with an attendance of approximately 33,000, and the participation of 8,000 university staff as lecturers.

The UNAM is empowered to extend its study plans and curricula to other institutions by incorporating them into its system, thereby providing official validation to studies pursued in both domestic and foreign educational systems. The system extends to 359 institutions offering lower secondary, technical, higher secondary and higher education, with a total population of 143,000 students and a teaching staff of 14,000.

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The UNAM supports the decentralization of research in Mexico through a nationwide network of research centers in the sciences and humanities: the Institute of Biotechnology with its 7 research centers, 19 National Seismological Service stations, 17 National Oceanographic Network stations, 5 observatories, 4 research institute laboratories, 7 research stations, one research unit, 16 telemetric detection and seismic survey stations, 2 experimental farms, one accelerograph network in Mexico's seismic zone, and two oceanographic research ships.

There are also 2,790 academics indirectly involved in research in the humanities and sciences through research and training centers under UNAM's co-sponsorship with CONACYT, the Federal government, and thirteen states.

During 1990, approximately 700 lines of research were pursued, of which 600 were science-related, and 100 in the



humanities. Similarly, approximately 3,000 research projects were carried out of which approximately 46% were devoted to the sciences and 54% to the humanities. These projects generated close to 2,000 published books and periodicals, and more than 2,000 specialized reports.

The quality of this work is reflected in the number of national prizes and distinctions awarded to UNAM teaching staff, such as the National Science Prize, the Scientific Research Academy's Prize, the Elias Sourasky Prize and others. One third of the researchers in the National System of Researchers are members of the UNAM's academic staff, as are 50% of the members of the Scientific Consultative Council and the National College.

Cultural Dissemination

This program is coordinated through 6 centers and dependencies devoted to the promotion of the arts and the dissemination of culture in various forms. The program's infrastructure consists of a total of 225 spaces in and outside the University City, for lectures, films and music, 15 periodical libraries, 79 auditoriums, 29 libraries, 43 large lecture halls, 14 audio libraries and 14 museums. South of the University City lies the University Cultural Center, the Miguel Covarrubias Hall, and the Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Theater.

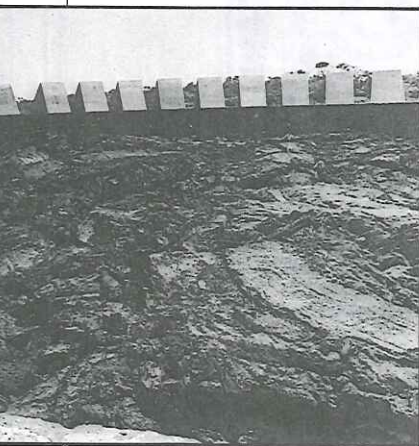
Dissemination and extension activities are performed by an administrative and academic staff of about 2,000. On average, each year, the program provides more than 10,000 services, publishes more than 50 books, 12 magazines, bulletins and booklets as well as editing records, and cassettes with a circulation of around 200,000. In addition, it produces 25 short, medium and full-length films, 50 dance and theatrical performances, 53 television spots and programs, and 3,500 radio and video programs.

The Central Administration

This is composed of 26 working dependencies, grouped around the General Secretariat, the Secretariat for Academic Services, the Auxiliary Secretariat, the General Legal Counsel's Office, and the General Information Office, which are all directly responsible to the Rector.

Over 25,000 people are employed by the Central Administration,

A sculptural homage to the ancient lava bed on the UNAM campus.



The UNAM Olympic Stadium.

José Luis Herrera.

of which 87% are administrative staff, and 13% are executive staff.

The university budget for 1991 was over \$650,000,000,000 pesos, of which 10% was income generated by the university itself, 66% was assigned to teaching, 24% to research, 6% to cultural dissemination, and the remainder to support services.

University Government

Self-government was achieved with the grant of autonomy in 1929, included in the university's constitution in 1933 and made specific in 1944 when the Caso Act defined the boundary between academic and political affairs. Student participation in the organs of authority has insured the University's constant self-improvement. The constitution establishes the university's governing organs as composed of the University Council, the Rector, the Board of Governors, the *Patronato*, the Directors of Schools, Faculties and Institutes, and the Technical Councils. These authorities are either collegiate or individual. To carry out their functions, both must seek the help of collegiate bodies such as inner councils, advisory councils, academic committees, post-graduate study councils among others. Both collegiate and individual university authorities are bound by a legal ruling establishing their interdependence and preventing the predominance of any one over the rest.

Collegiate bodies are composed of representatives of students, teaching staff, workers and individual authorities. Thus the university community is involved in appointing members to the University Council, which in turn appoints the members of the Board of Governors who designate individual authorities, who are always academics.

There are currently 296 collegiate bodies in the UNAM, consisting of approximately 3,000 members of the university. Area Academic Councils are now being created to serve as intermediate organs between the 22 School and Faculty Technical Councils and the University Council **M**

Notes on Mexican bibliography



*Silvio Zavala**

As the quincentennial nears, it is satisfying to recall that the first print shop on the American continent was installed in Mexico around 1539.

The book publishing that began then has remained constant and splendid. Proof of that is the beautiful *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, compiled and edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in 1886. Republished by the Fondo de Cultura Económica in 1954, it contains 581 pages with illustrations. Agustín Millares Carlo, a scholarly Spanish bibliographer then living in Mexico, made valuable additions to the text. It came out as part of the Biblioteca Americana, planned by Pedro Henríquez Ureña and published in his memory.

This excellent work was complemented in 1988 with two superb volumes by Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, entitled *Bibliografía novohispana de arte* (Bibliography of New World Spanish art) It is also part of the Fondo de Cultura Económica's Biblioteca Americana. The first part, *Impresos mexicanos relativos al arte de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sixteenth and Seventeenth century Mexican art prints), contains 382 pages and includes a preface by José Pascual Buxó. *Impresos mexicanos relativos al arte del siglo XVIII* (Eighteenth century Mexican art prints) is the second part, containing 414 pages.

Agustín Millares Carlo, a knowledgeable and dedicated scholar published his *Prólogos a la biblioteca mexicana* (Prologues to the Mexican Library), by Dr. Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren. This Spanish annotated version of the Latin text contains a preliminary note by Federico Gómez de Orozco, a biographical study and a bibliography of the author, both written by Agustín Millares Carlo.

This edition by the Fondo de Cultura Económica appeared in 1944, containing 302 pages. It points out that the first Latin edition of Eguiara's *Prólogos* dated from 1755, while the second Latin version was published in 1944 along with the first edition in Spanish.

In his preliminary note, Gómez de Orozco singled out Eguiara as an illustrious personality from the Mexican colonial period who gave us an overview of cultural activity

The first print shop on the American continent was established in Mexico in 1539, and since then a rich and varied artistic and editorial production has been part of Mexican culture.

Missale romanum ordinarium.



*Missale Romanum
nuper adoptatum cōmodū*

*quozūcūq; sacerdotū summa diligentia bñ-
ctū: atq; ita ex nouo ordine digentū vt appo-
sit; introitib; gradualib; offertorijs; cō-
munionib; oēs missæ sint in suis loc;
integrē. In quo etiā adiunctę sunt
mulę missę uouę, z alia plurima
supaddita, q̄ in missalib; bac
temp̄ ip̄sais dñiderabatur.*

1561

* Member of *El Colegio de México*.

from before the Spanish conquest and for the two and a half centuries of colonial domination. He showed that in Mexico, as in Europe, talent and scholarship were not rare, since valuable works of positive interest were produced that deserved the honor of being reprinted in nine European editions (p. 9).

Millares Carlo pointed out in turn that Eguiara's prefaces were the first attempt to "systematize literary and scientific Mexican works, dating from before the arrival of the Spaniards and from the period between the early sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century (p. 32)."

“Beristáin based his work on Eguiara's manuscripts, adding two thousand names”

Eguiara used native, Spanish and foreign sources to point out as fables the inaccurate opinions about American creoles repeated as truths among even influential and illustrious people in Spain (p. 35). Eguiara's words, translated from Latin to Spanish by Millares, show the native Americans' learning, and he uses their codices and libraries as his proof (p. 60).

He also writes of Mexican bookshops and books, and refers to certain well known European authors who praised Mexico, not only for its gold and silver, but for its written works (p. 113). Listed are existing libraries of note and bookstores (p. 123). The cleverness of the Americans and their love for and interest in literature absorbed Eguiara (p. 124). He concludes that he does not put Mexican talents ahead of all the others, nor is he belittling the glory of other countries. The latest work on this subject is a noteworthy edition of Eguiara y Eguren's *Biblioteca mexicana*, prepared by Ernesto de la Torre Villar and sponsored by the National University of Mexico.

José Mariano Beristáin de Souza (1756-1817) made an important contribution to Mexican bibliography in the nineteenth century, publishing, in 1816, his *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional o catálogo y noticia de los literatos, que ó nacidos, ó educados, ó florecientes en la América Septentrional Española, han dado a luz algún escrito, ó lo han dexado preparado para la prensa* (North American-Spanish Library, or Catalogue and Inventory of the Men of Letters, who being born, or educated, or having flourished in Spanish North America, have given birth to some writing, or who have left it prepared for printing). The work was reprinted in 1883. In December 1980 the Claustro de Sor Juana published a facsimile of the first

edition in Mexico City, supervised by the Instituto de Estudios y Documentos Históricos (Institute of Historic Documents and Studies).

Beristáin read Eguiara's *Biblioteca mexicana* for the first time in Valencia. It was one lone volume, containing only the names of Mexican writers for the first three letters of the alphabet and Beristáin, unsatisfied, longed to continue and finish it.

He came back to America in 1790, but lost his notes on returning to Spain in 1791. He did not think of the *Biblioteca* again until 1794, when he was granted a canonry in the Metropolitan Diocese of Mexico. He then requested Eguiara's manuscripts, but could only find four rough-draft notebooks in the library of the Church of Mexico. These only went through the "Js" for writer's names, and did not include the "Josephos", or even some "Joannes". Later he located other notebooks from Eguiara's catalogues, but in 1796 gave up hope of finding the rest of the printed work. He resolved to begin formulating his own catalogue, using another plan and method.

Based on his research and using Nicolás Antonio's *Biblioteca hispana* as his main guide, Beristáin began writing the *Biblioteca hispanoamericana* in Spanish. He arranged the authors in alphabetical order by their last names, not their first. He made use of a thousand articles that Eguiara had left printed or in manuscript, and added two-thirds more. Thus, the *Biblioteca hispanoamericana* contains 3,687 authors. As a result, Beristáin is considered the author of a new work.

“A Bibliography of Spanish-American writers published by José Mariano Beristáin de Souza in 1816 contained 3,687 entries”

Beristáin also defended the ability of the native Mexicans who translated many works from Latin to Nahuatl. They were works full of abstract and sublime ideas, like Thomas a Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*. Much more in the field of bibliography and in the life of books and print shops exists in Mexico than is mentioned here. However, my purpose was only to compile some novelties connected with classic Mexican bibliographical works. The country that acquired the first printing press on the American continent is faithful to her traditional love of books. Beautiful and useful editions of Mexican classics have recently been published in this area of cultural accomplishment ✱

Free trade breeds new concepts of national sovereignty

Alfredo Gutiérrez Kirchner *

Concepts of international law, domestic law and national sovereignty, differ between Anglo and Latin America. This was underscored by the recently adopted US-Canada and Mexico-Chile free trade treaties. They are particularly relevant to Canadian-US-Mexican negotiations for a North American Free Trade Agreement as prelude to a future single hemispheric trading bloc.

Canada and the US have charted an interesting but dangerous course in Article 1904.1. of their 1988 Agreement, which provides for the replacement of judicial review of final anti-dumping and countervailing duty determinations, by bi-national panel review. Mexico views the initiative with interest, for its possible bearing on the integrity of its own judicial review, when the North American Free Trade Agreement becomes law.

Under chapter 19 of the Canadian-US pact, either party may request bi-national panel review, based on administrative record and final anti-dumping or countervailing duty determinations by competent investigating authority on either side, to determine whether such resolution was in accordance with anti-dumping

or countervailing duty law. This consists of relevant statutes, legislative history, regulations, administrative practice and judicial precedent, to the extent that an importing party's court would rely on them in reviewing a competent investigating authority's final determination.

According to the same rule, within 30 days of publication of a final anti-dumping or countervailing duty determination, either party may request a panel of five nationals of both countries (two appointed by each and the third elected from either roster). The panel's decision shall be binding on the parties and shall not be subject to judicial review. Neither party shall provide for appeal from a panel determination in its domestic legislation.

The view of this procedure as dangerous, though innovative, stems not from the existence of a bi-national panel, but the willingness of governments to forego the basic principle of judicial review by domestic courts for themselves and their subjects. In this sense, national sovereignty is seriously challenged, because neither state is exercising supreme power in its own territory and in regard to residents and citizens being judged by foreigners.

Though the issue of anti-dumping or countervailing duty determinations

seems narrow, it should be remembered that in a free trade treaty, normal tariffs are eliminated at some point, so the only protection remaining to the importing state in cases of unfair trade practices lies in the statutes that punish dumping and subsidization, by either commercial or government exporters. It is, therefore, an issue of major importance as precedent in the legal structure of member states of free trade areas.

Article 3 of the US constitution situates judicial power in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as the congress may determine. Judicial power extends to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States and the treaties made by their authority. Furthermore, the 4th and 5th Amendments, establish the inviolability, without provable cause, of person, home, papers and effects and the non-deprivation of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.

At issue is whether any Court of Justice may be deemed *Supreme* if, as it appears, the US government has renounced the right to judicial review in matters of anti-dumping or countervailing duties on the importation of merchandise. There is also the matter of individual rights embodied in the 4th and 5th

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Amendments to the Constitution. Can due process of law be understood out of the context of domestic courts? The New York Bar Association pronounced the renunciation of judicial review by the terms of a treaty as unconstitutional.

Mexico has been much more conservative in matters of anti-dumping and countervailing duties. Chapter 16, article 33, of the recent Economic Complement Agreement, signed with Chile on September 22, 1991, ratified by Mexico's Senate and promulgated by the President on December 22, commits an affected party, wishing to use the avenue, to a flawed arbitration procedure. It is not exclusive and specifically excludes anti-dumping and countervailing duty law from such arbitration.

The matter is dealt with in Chapter 6, article 17, of the agreement and the basic principle is the application of domestic law in anti-dumping and countervailing duties. The fact that the so-called arbitration procedure is not imposed in lieu of judicial review and the preeminence of domestic courts over international trade obligations with Chile, guarantees that the Mexican government has protected the supremacy of the judicial power embodied in articles 90, 103, 104 and 107 of the Mexican Constitution. This includes Mexico's *Habeas corpus*, the *Juicio de Amparo*, as well as the principle of due process and inviolability, embodied in articles 14 and 16 of the Constitution.

It may, therefore, be said that while the US has partially abandoned the concept of sovereign power by virtue of its trade treaty with Canada, Mexico has restated that traditional concept in its economic agreement with Chile. In the first instance, the creation of similar bi-national panels includes express renunciation of judicial review by domestic courts, whereas in the second, citizens, residents or transients in Mexico, must

apply to domestic courts in matters of anti-dumping and countervailing duty law, as well as any other trade issues with Chile. They may choose between arbitration or resort to normal judicial review, including Mexico's cherished *Habeas corpus*.

In March 1960, I was privileged to attend a course given at the National University of Mexico by the eminent jurist and head of the

Viennese law school, Hans Kelsen. He stated the theory that law is a system of rules that do not conflict, not even between international and domestic law, because, unlike the dual or plural concept of law, his Pure Doctrine of Right propounds a monistic structure of the judicial system. Either international law validates domestic law, or vice versa, but it is impossible to assume the



Domestic and imported goods in a Mexican supermarket.

simultaneous validity of two parallel systems of law regulating human conduct, independent of each other and in contradiction and conflict.

In the pyramid of law, domestic law is supreme. If the validity of international law depends on one state's recognition of international rules as binding on its organs, which must therefore conform to them, then such compliance refers only to the specific content of those rules at the time they are recognized by that state. Thus international rules become part of domestic law by virtue of the validity granted them by the nation state, which thereby ratifies its sovereignty. In this sense sovereignty is the supreme law.

Hence, the opposing notion of the supremacy of international law over domestic law vitiates the concept of the sovereignty of the state. International law can only be considered objectively supreme as either an act of God or because states must behave according to a system of rules created by treaty, and that the intellectual suppositions therein implied are the supreme law. It is axiomatic that international law is concerned with the peaceful solution of controversy and that national law may give way to imperialistic notions.

However, sovereignty is not regulated by force. A weak state may be sovereign by exercising the supreme rules in its domestic legislation, while international law usually obscures the presence of a strong national political unit behind the scene.

Perhaps that is why the US supports the validity of its domestic legislation, on the one hand, by including the so called "grandfather clause" in the treaties it signs, though that legislation may be inconsistent with them, until the treaties are expressly abrogated by the legislative branch, while at the same time embarking on one of the boldest

moves to change the concept of sovereignty by means of the very same treaties.

The Canadian-US trade agreement reveals an evident desire to solve controversies by international means. Not because of the bi-national panel review, but more precisely by annulling judicial process by domestic courts. In the Chilean-Mexican pact, however, a similar panel is used as an alternative to normal domestic tribunals and, in the case of anti-dumping and countervailing duty law, not even as a vehicle parallel to domestic courts.

Following Kelsenian thought, it might be said that the US is finding the validity of its domestic right in international law by subjecting article 3 of its Constitution to the supreme mandate of article 1904.1. of the Free Trade Agreement with Canada. Mexico, meanwhile, is protecting articles 90, 103, 104 and 107 of the Mexican Constitution, including its *Habeas corpus*, its principle of due process and its inviolability clause, embodied in Articles 14 and 16, and therefore deriving the validity of chapter 16, article 33 and chapter 6, article 17 of the recent Economic Complement Agreement with Chile, from the basic principle of the supremacy and applicability of domestic law.

In other words, the powerful US has turned international, while less powerful Mexico is maintaining national sovereignty as the supreme rule of a monistic system of law. Our philosophies could not be farther apart on this issue, judging by the differing attitudes embodied in the trade agreements subscribed by the two nations with Canada and Chile.

It is easy to understand, in this context, why one of the thorniest issues to negotiate in the North American Free Trade Agreement is the chapter on settlement of disputes. Loud protests have been raised in the US itself against annulling the

validity of constitutional law by the terms of the Canadian treaty.

The superpower can afford to turn international, though not without difficulty and risk, as the matter inevitably approaches its constitutional test in the US Supreme Court, because the content of international law is very much dictated by it, particularly in world economic bodies.

The only defense available to a weaker country is to maintain the primacy of national sovereignty as the ultimate validation of domestic as well as international law. Recent conversations with Mexican trade negotiators lead me to believe there were doubts on this matter.

Nevertheless, the way the Mexico-Chile free trade agreement finally came out does honor to the agencies participating on the Mexican side. The Department of Foreign Affairs did a good job preserving Mexico's national sovereignty. Hopefully it will press for the same solution in the North American Free Trade Agreement.

It will be more difficult but necessary with such partners, as the stakes are higher with the US. Besides, now that Mexico is lobbying in Washington, let it not be forgotten that Mexico has allies defending the principle of national sovereignty, who will probably not countenance a policy that confines the US Constitution to a status beneath the mandate of a treaty.

International cooperation and the rule of law among nations can be obtained and observed. It can be achieved by taking domestic law as origin and validation of a monistic system of rules and not the reverse, thus preserving national sovereignty and the interests of weaker nations, such as Mexico, in a world that breeds new concepts of political science and government theory as free trade and economic integration become more of a reality in the years to come. **M**

Reflections on the NAFTA

Raúl Horta*

Although relations between Mexico and the United States have occasionally been strained, they are presently at a peak of cordiality as reflected by current negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement encompassing the entire North American continent.

The signing of the agreement will be unprecedented in the history of two countries sharing a common border more than 3,000 km long.

The FTA is justifiable on the grounds that it will encourage more trade among the three signatories. Since Canada and Mexico are already the United States' two most important trading-partners, the FTA will serve to intensify their existing trade relations.

At the same time, the FTA is a logical response to the emergence of other powerful economic blocs, such as the EEC and ASEAN.



Two views of the INS fence along the US-Mexican border... the antithesis of free trade.



The strengthening of regional economic arrangements, such as North America's, is a logical and advisable response to globalization of the world economy, and the rapid improvement of transport and communications.

Contrary to appearances, the governments of the three countries will not in fact be the prime beneficiaries of the Agreement. They will merely propose, negotiate and sign the documents, the real beneficiaries being productive private initiative in each country. Industrialists, agriculturists, service sector entrepreneurs and merchants will have to fight for the benefits of an expanded market or suffer the consequences of greater competition.

Hence, every sector and branch of private enterprise must be directly

* Director of Comercio magazine.

HIGHLIGHTS OF SEVEN YEARS OF FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

March 1985

U.S. 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

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

December 1987

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

January 1989

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

March 1990

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

April 1990

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

June 1990

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

August 1990

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

September 1990

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

February 1991

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

May 1991

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

June 1991

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

August 1991

The Ministers of Commerce of the three countries meet for a second time in Seattle, Washington. They agree on a gradual reduction of tariffs, to be carried out in three 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 U.S. states express their support for the negotiations.

October 1991

The Ministers of Commerce of the three countries meet for a third time in Zacatecas, Mexico. The meeting is attended by U.S. negotiator Carla Hills, Canadian Minister of Commerce Michael Wilson, and Mexican Secretary of Commerce Jaime Serra Puche, along with their respective negotiating teams. They review the progress of the working groups assigned to each of the nineteen

major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January of 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 at 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 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 Katz, 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.

involved in FTA negotiations to present and defend the special concerns of its area. If this does not happen, it may produce negative results and become the source of future conflicts that will then be hard to resolve.

An agreement of this scope and importance must reconcile the interests of all the sectors involved, beforehand.

Advantages and disadvantages for Mexico

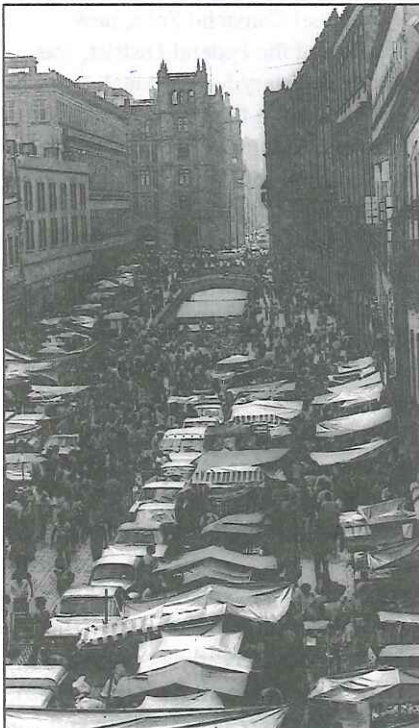
First and foremost, NAFTA will create the largest market in the world, one whose 360 million potential customers exceed those of the European Common Market, although the latter's overall higher standards of living mean that the EEC bloc draws on greater purchasing power.

In any event, the North American market will provide Mexican entrepreneurs with a broader range of outlets for their products and services, which may be a strong catalyst for the nation's economy.



Depressed living conditions in an eroded hill in Mexico.

José Gómez de León/Imagenlatina.



Marco A. Cruz/Imagenlatina.

Street stalls in an open air market in Mexico City.

However, the fact that two far more industrially developed countries than Mexico will be competing for their share of the Mexican market is a threat to Mexican producers, particularly those with small or medium-sized businesses, which run the risk of being sidelined or disappearing.

The challenge of the FTA has compelled Mexican private enterprise to make preparations in numerous areas, such as how to achieve greater productivity, improve quality control and even demand impeccable quality, streamline production costs and improve and expand distribution.

As a result, training has become increasingly important in Mexico, which is in itself a considerable advantage. Firms are modernizing their administrative systems, all the way to the highest executive level, to provide support for decision-making and strategy planning. All this will ideally

bring about changes in attitude, producing a more efficient and dynamic private sector, able to successfully meet its commitments under the FTA.

The negotiations underway also require a change of attitude on the part of US entrepreneurs and the authorities representing them, toward competing Mexican products that are often unfairly excluded by both tariff and non-tariff barriers.

A case in point is the so-called "tuna embargo" which arbitrarily harms Mexico's economy by protecting American interests under the environmental pretext of protecting dolphins.

If the benefits and risks of a frank liberalization of trade are to be shared, we should begin by dealing fairly. Only then will Alvin Toffler's dictum that the FTA will "be a shot of adrenaline" for the trilateral relationship between Mexico, Canada and the United States become a reality **N**

Who's who in President Salinas' cabinet

*Francisco Suárez Farías**

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's cabinet includes a number of distinguished politicians, technicians and administrators, all of whom hold degrees in a wide variety of fields and boast a wealth of experience in public service. At the same time, Salinas has balanced the youth of some of them with the political and electoral experience of others. The twenty top-ranking members of the current administration, including President Salinas himself, have served an average of 27 years in politics and government before reaching their present position.

They may be divided into three main groups; those with 10-20 years of public service, including Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (Public Education), Pedro Aspe Armella (Finance and Public Credit), Jaime Serra Puche (Commerce and Industrial Development), Ignacio Morales Lechuga (Attorney General), Arsenio Farrell Cubillas (Labor and Social Security), Víctor Cervera Pacheco (Agrarian Reform), Pedro Joaquín Coldwell (Tourism), and María Elena Vázquez Nava (Comptroller General).

The second group comprises cabinet members with 21-35 years' experience, such as Fernando Solana Morales (Foreign Affairs), Andrés Caso Lombardo (Communications and Transport), Guillermo Jiménez Morales (Fisheries), Miguel Montes García (Federal District Attorney General), Manuel Camacho Solís (Federal District Governor) and President Salinas himself, prior to his election. The third and last group includes politicians with 36-46 years of public service. They are Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios (Interior), Antonio Riviella Bazán (Defense), Luis Carlos Ruano Angulo (Navy), Fernando Hiriart Balderrama (Energy, Mines and State-run Industry), Jesús Kumate Rodríguez (Health and Welfare) and Carlos Hank González (Agriculture and Water Resources).

The group as a whole has occupied a broad range of positions in both central and decentralized federal government. A significant number typically moved up or horizontally through earlier presidential cabinets, before joining the present administration.

Fernando Solana Morales was Secretary of Commerce (1977) at the beginning of José Luis Portillo's term and later became Secretary of Public Education (1982), as well as holding decentralized government positions,

such as head of the Mexican Government Commission on Public Administration (1965-66), Secretary General of the National University of Mexico (1966-1970), Deputy Finance Director for CONASUPO (1970-1976), among others.

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León held the key post of Secretary of Planning and the Budget (December 1988-January 1992), until it was merged with the Treasury Department, when he became Secretary of Public Education.

Pedro Aspe Armella was Treasury Department Coordinator of Advisors (1978-1982), and in Miguel de la Madrid's term, Deputy Secretary for Planning and the Budget (1987-1988), and current Secretary of the Treasury.

Jaime Serra Puche has held several posts as advisor to senior officials in the economic sector, as well as Deputy Secretary for Income in the Treasury department under De la Madrid (1986-1988), and is currently Secretary of Commerce and Industrial Development.

Manuel Camacho Solís, now Governor of the Federal District, was Deputy Secretary for Regional Development in the Department of Planning and the Budget (1982-1986), and Secretary for Urban Development and Ecology (1986-1988).

Fernando Hiriart Balderrama has had considerable experience in the energy sector, particularly in electricity, where he was Deputy Director and Director General of the Federal Electricity Commission (1959-1970 and 1982-1988). He was also Deputy Secretary for State-run Industry, the department he now heads.

Jesús Kumate Rodríguez has held a number of posts in the Public Health sector, ranging from Director of the Mexican Children's Hospital (1979-1980), through Coordinator of the National Health Institutes (1983-1985), Deputy Secretary (1985-1988), and finally Secretary of Public Health, his current position.

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Carlos Hank González was Secretary of Tourism (1988-1990), during the early part of the present administration and is now Secretary of Agriculture and Water Resources. He was Director General of Conasupo (1964-1969) under Díaz Ordaz, and Governor of the Federal District (1976-1982) under López Portillo.

Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios' political career has included posts in the Department of the Interior and its Office of National Security (1958-1970). He was Deputy Secretary of the Interior for both Echeverría and López Portillo (1970-1982), and has been Secretary of the Interior since 1988.

Antonio Riviello Bazán was a member of the Presidential General Staff (1950-52), Defense Department Deputy Chief of Staff (1970-1973), chief and commander of various Military Zones, Inspector and Comptroller General of the Army and Air Force, (1983-84 and 1987-88) and Military and Air Attaché at the Mexican Embassy in Madrid (1985-1986).

Luis Carlos Ruano Angulo was Navy Chief of Operations in the Gulf and the Caribbean, commander of various Naval Zones, Inspector General of the Navy, Inspector General of Naval Ordinance, Inspector General of the Navy and President of the Admiralty Board, to name but a few posts he has held.

President Salinas himself held several important posts in Public Administration, particularly in the economic sector, where he was Technical Secretary of the Presidential Economic Cabinet under López Portillo and Secretary of Planning and Budget (1982-1988).

Some cabinet officers have had experience of elective office as governors, senators and local or federal deputies. Unlike his immediate predecessors, Salinas chose a number of his cabinet members from a select group of former state governors.

These include Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios (Veracruz), Carlos Hank

González (State of Mexico), Guillermo Jiménez Morales (Puebla), Víctor Cervera Pacheco (Yucatan), Pedro Joaquín Coldwell (Quintana Roo), and Jorge de la Vega Domínguez (Chiapas), who was Salinas' Secretary of Agriculture and Water Resources from 1988-1990.

Other cabinet members with elective experience include María de los Angeles Moreno Uriegas, formerly Secretary of Fisheries (1988-91), and currently a Federal Deputy. Miguel Montes García, Attorney General for the Federal District since May of 1991, was a state legislator in the state of Guanajuato (1965-68 and 1979-82) and then a federal deputy (1976-79 and 1988-91).

From a sociological point of view, Salinas' cabinet is composed of 15 out of 20 politicians born on an axis running from Mexico to Veracruz, an area which has traditionally produced much of Mexico's political elite.

Fernando Solana Morales, Antonio Riviello Bazán, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, Pedro Aspe Armella, Jaime Serra Puche, Manuel Camacho Solís, Andrés Caso Lombardo, Arsenio Farell Cubillas, María Elena Vázquez Nava and President Salinas himself, who has close family links with Nuevo León, were all born in Mexico City.

The second largest group comes from Veracruz, with Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios, Luis Carlos Ruano Angulo and Ignacio Morales Lechuga. Other states with representatives in the cabinet include Chihuahua (Fernando Hiriart Balderrama), Sinaloa (Jesús Kumate Rodríguez), the State of Mexico (Carlos Hank González), Puebla (Guillermo Jiménez Morales), Yucatan (Víctor Cervera Pacheco), Jalisco (Miguel Montes García), and Quintana Roo (Pedro Joaquín Coldwell).

Salinas' cabinet also has its share of members of Mexican political and intellectual families. Antonio Riviello Bazán comes from a distinguished military family. His father was General

Rodolfo Riviello Valdéz, and two of his brothers, Rodolfo and Guillermo Riviello, are also generals. Another brother, Fernando, is a colonel, while his sister, Olga Riviello Bazán, is an Army major, in the Military Health department.

Pedro Aspe Armella's wife, Concepción Bernal Vereá, is the daughter of the late Dr. Ignacio Bernal y García Pimentel (1910-92), a distinguished anthropologist who held a number of important diplomatic and academic posts. Pedro Aspe's mother, Virginia Armella de Aspe, is a researcher with several essays and books on the history of Mexican dress and other subjects to her credit. Manuel Camacho Solís is the son of General Manuel Camacho López, a distinguished military physician. Camacho Solís was married to the late Guadalupe Velazco, the daughter of Manuel Velazco Suárez, a neurosurgeon who held numerous posts in the health sector and was also Governor of Chiapas (1970-1976).

Andrés Caso Lombardo is the son of Alfonso Caso, lawyer and archaeologist, who was Secretary of National Property and Administrative Inspection under Miguel Alemán and director of the National Indigenous Institute for over twenty years. Alfonso Caso also wrote innumerable books and essays, and was a member of El Colegio Nacional, and received many other distinctions. Caso Lombardo's mother, María Lombardo de Caso, wrote numerous novels and short stories, and was sister to Vicente Lombardo Toledano, politician, labor leader and university professor.

Caso Lombardo's sister, Beatriz, is a well-known sculptress whose works include a monumental head of Juárez, in Gelatao, Oaxaca, a bust of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in the headquarters of the Organization of American States in Washington DC and a sculpture of Rosario Castellanos in Mexico City's hall of fame.

President Salinas is the son of Raúl Salinas Lozano, economist, university professor and public servant, the director of Economic Studies for the Treasury Department. He was Secretary of National Economy (1958), and of Industry and Commerce (1959-64) under Adolfo López Mateos, and Director of the National Price Commission, in the Department of Commerce (1977). He was Mexican delegate to the International Monetary Fund and Director of the Mexican Foreign Trade Institute (1978-1979), a senator from 1982-1988, as well as author of numerous essays on the

degrees, three hold master's and specialized degrees, and six hold doctorates.

Most of these degrees are in Economics, held by Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, Pedro Aspe Armella, Manuel Camacho Solís, Andrés Caso Lombardo, María Elena Vázquez Nava and the president himself.

There are five lawyers: Ignacio Morales Lechuga, Guillermo Jiménez Morales, Arsenio Farrell Cubillas, Miguel Montes García and Pedro Joaquín Coldwell; and four military graduates, Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios, Arturo Riviello Bazán, Luis

political science and public administration.

The National University continues to be an important source of candidates for the political elite and presidential cabinets. Nine cabinet members, Fernando Solana Morales, Jaime Serra Puche, Manuel Camacho Solís, Fernando Hiriart Balderrama, Andrés Caso Lombardo, Guillermo Jiménez Morales, Arsenio Farrell Cubillas, María Elena Vázquez Nava and Salinas himself are all UNAM graduates.

Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios brings the number of cabinet members who studied at military institutions, or



President Carlos Salinas in an early photograph with his cabinet prior to recent changes.

Mexican economy. His late mother, Margarita de Gortari de Salinas, graduated in Economics from the National University and was Founding President of the Association of Women Economists.

In addition to their broad experience and extensive public service, members of the present cabinet are also well-educated both in Mexico and abroad. Half of them hold licenciata

degrees. The remaining areas of study covered by cabinet members are Jaime Serra Puche (political science), Fernando Hiriart Balderrama (civil engineering), and Carlos Hank González (teaching). The noteworthy exception is Fernando Solana Morales, who took three degrees at the National University: in civil engineering, philosophy, and

obtained their specializations there, to a total of four. Antonio Riviello Bazán studied at the Military College, of which he was eventually deputy director. He took a degree in Military Administration at the Senior War College, where he also taught for a time. Luis Carlos Ruano Angulo is an engineer-geographer, with degrees from both the Antón Lizardo Naval School in Veracruz and the Pacific Naval School,

while Jesús Kumate Rodríguez obtained his degree from the Military Medical School.

Three other cabinet members obtained their degrees from public universities, two in the provinces. Ernesto Zedillo graduated from the National Polytechnic Institute, while Carlos Hank and Miguel Montes graduated from the Toluca Teacher Training College and Guanajuato University respectively. Private university graduates include Pedro Aspe Armella, from the Autonomous Technological University of Mexico (ITAM), Ignacio Morales Lechuga,

two or more from more than one country.

Among those with graduate degrees from Mexican universities, Fernando Solana Morales is a doctoral candidate in Political Science at the National University. Jesús Kumate Rodríguez has a postgraduate degree in Pediatrics from the Central Military Hospital, and Carlos Hank González specialized in history and geography at the Senior National Normal School.

Those with postgraduate degrees from American Universities include Pedro Aspe Armella, who has a PhD in Economics from MIT, and Salinas who

another Naval Staff Master's from the Center for Advanced Naval Studies.

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León obtained his PhD in Economics at Yale. He also attended courses in the assessment of human resource investment, at Bradford University in England, and courses in Economics at the University of Colorado.

Jaime Serra Puche has a Master's in Economics from the Colegio de Mexico and a PhD in Economics from Yale. Finally, ten of the twenty politicians mentioned in this study have written books, articles and essays in their special field of knowledge.



from the Free School of Law and Pedro Joaquín Coldwell, from the Ibero-American University.

The high educational level of Mexico's political elite reflects a tendency to select staff who not only have a strong professional and political background, but have also obtained graduate degrees either in Mexico or abroad. Nine cabinet members hold graduate degrees, with

is a PhD in Political Economy and Government from Harvard.

Three cabinet members obtained their postgraduate degrees in more than one country. Luis Carlos Ruano Angulo has one General Staff Master's from the Senior War College, another in Staff Management and Marketing from the Fayol Institute, another from the US Inter-American Defense College and yet

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The Chiapas Lacandon forest

Georgina Luna Parra

Nan-Kim, a love story

The Lacandon, scattered and yet united, hidden and ever present, mysterious and inaccessible, live in an awe-inspiring forest, a universal heritage and natural wonder, a jewel to be protected for the world's future.

No one knows how they appear and disappear in the darkness beneath the crowns of ceiba, cedar and many other varieties of giant trees. Where do they come from, where do they hide?

They are sometimes to be seen in the river, standing upright to row their dugout canoes, then they vanish like a mirage.

Suddenly, in a corner of a Mayan city or temple, on top of a pyramid or behind a stele, they spy on visitors, only to vanish into the forest's vapors and tangled underbrush. As if, by their presence, warning intruders at their sacred sites that they, the Lacandons, are the true owners. No one can follow them; the forest is said to swallow them up.

To have many descendants and preserve their race, the Lacandons are polygamous. Nan-Kim, a Lacandon prince, must have been about seventy years old. Well-known in the forest for his potent fertility, it was said that his children numbered a hundred. Any Lacandon woman was proud to bear a son of his. He was a strong man, taller

than most, and his face looked exactly like one of the Mayan masks at Palenque. Long, black hair fell straight down over his shoulders and back. In Lacandon fashion, he wore a white cotton tunic tied on one shoulder that fell in elegant folds to his ankles. A quiver of arrows hung from his other shoulder.

The first rural clinic that was built in the forest was situated in a little village many hours, over narrow paths, from Ocozingo. A young doctor by the name of María Elena was assigned to it.

Obviously, Nan-Kim offered to honor her by taking her to wife. She was so terrified, she wanted to return as fast as possible to Tuxtla and her family. She no longer wanted to be a doctor, or anything, just to be with her parents.

The medical supervisor explained to the prince that she could not accept, that customs were different. Being very persuasive, he convinced María Elena to stay on and work there. She remained several years and became like a mother, like a queen to the Lacandons. She cared for them, and loved them with all her heart.

One rainy night she arrived by jeep at the regional hospital, in San Cristobal Las Casas, the royal city of the Chiapas highlands. She brought

Nan-Kim in unconscious and very sick. They were accompanied by two of the prince's children, a middle-aged man, and a beautiful young girl, like a vestal virgin from a Mayan temple.

Nan-kim was in serious condition with a cerebral hemorrhage. María Elena, deeply moved, sat by his bed and tenderly stroked his hand. She told him things in his language, which she had by then learned. The two Lacandons stood at each side of the hospital room doorway.

He recovered rapidly; after three days he was conscious, eating and talking. His sexuality had also awakened, and when the nurses came close, he stretched out his hand to caress them.

He made quite a show when he left the hospital. Photos were taken of him standing proudly, with his princely air, at the top of the stairs, flanked by two of his people. He raised his head, arranged his locks down the front of his tunic, and posed.

He returned to the forest and the next year had another hemorrhage, and died.

María Elena asked for a transfer and left the Lacandon tribe forever.

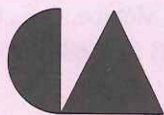
We never knew if she had fallen in love with Nan-Kim. It remained a mystery. A mystery like the Lacandons, like their imposing forest. ✽



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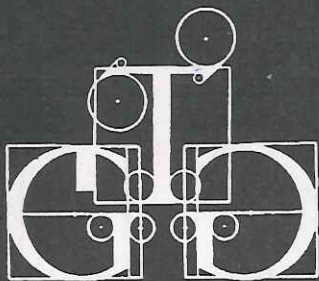
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