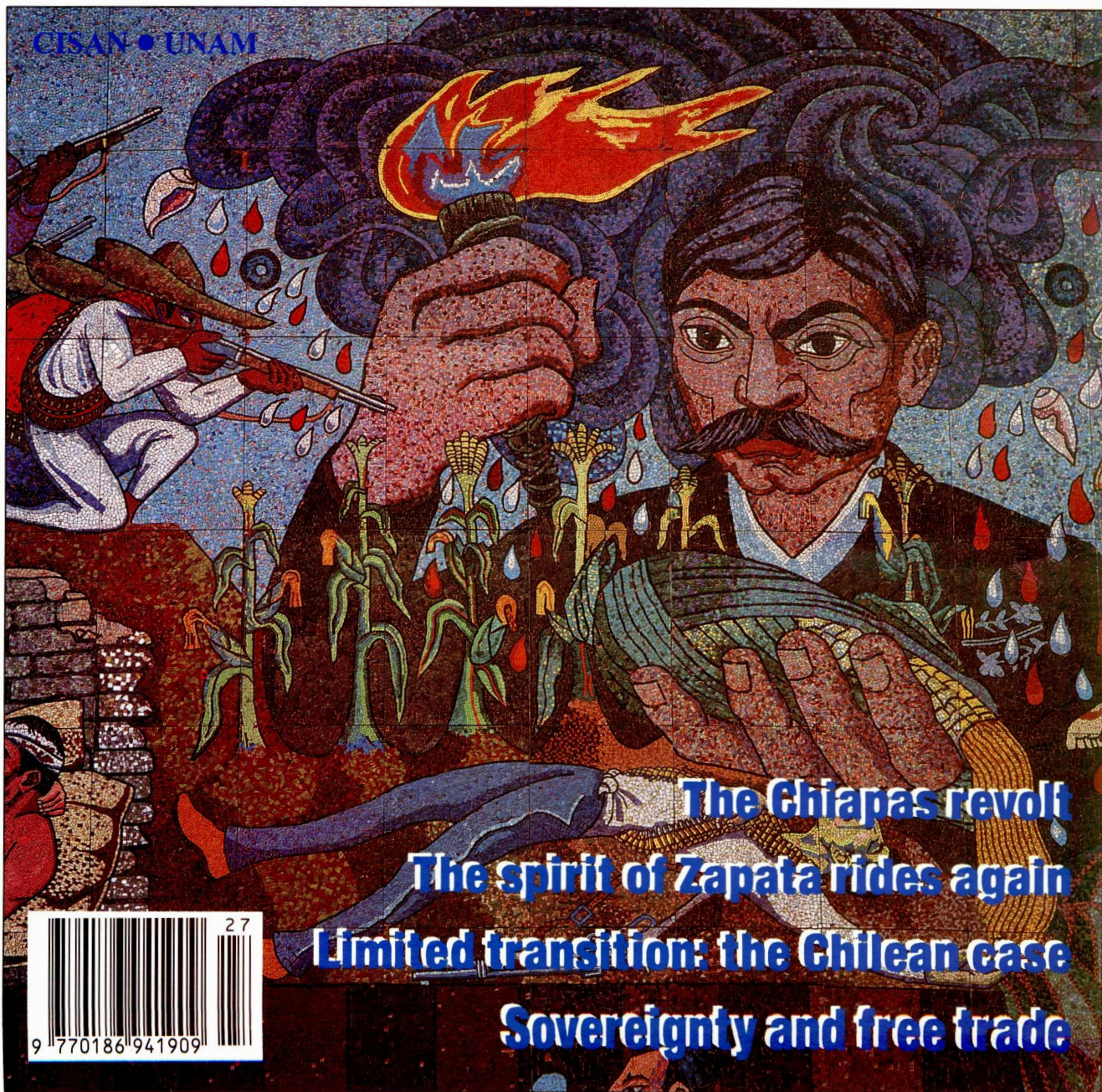


# Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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**The Chiapas revolt**  
**The spirit of Zapata rides again**  
**Limited transition: the Chilean case**  
**Sovereignty and free trade**



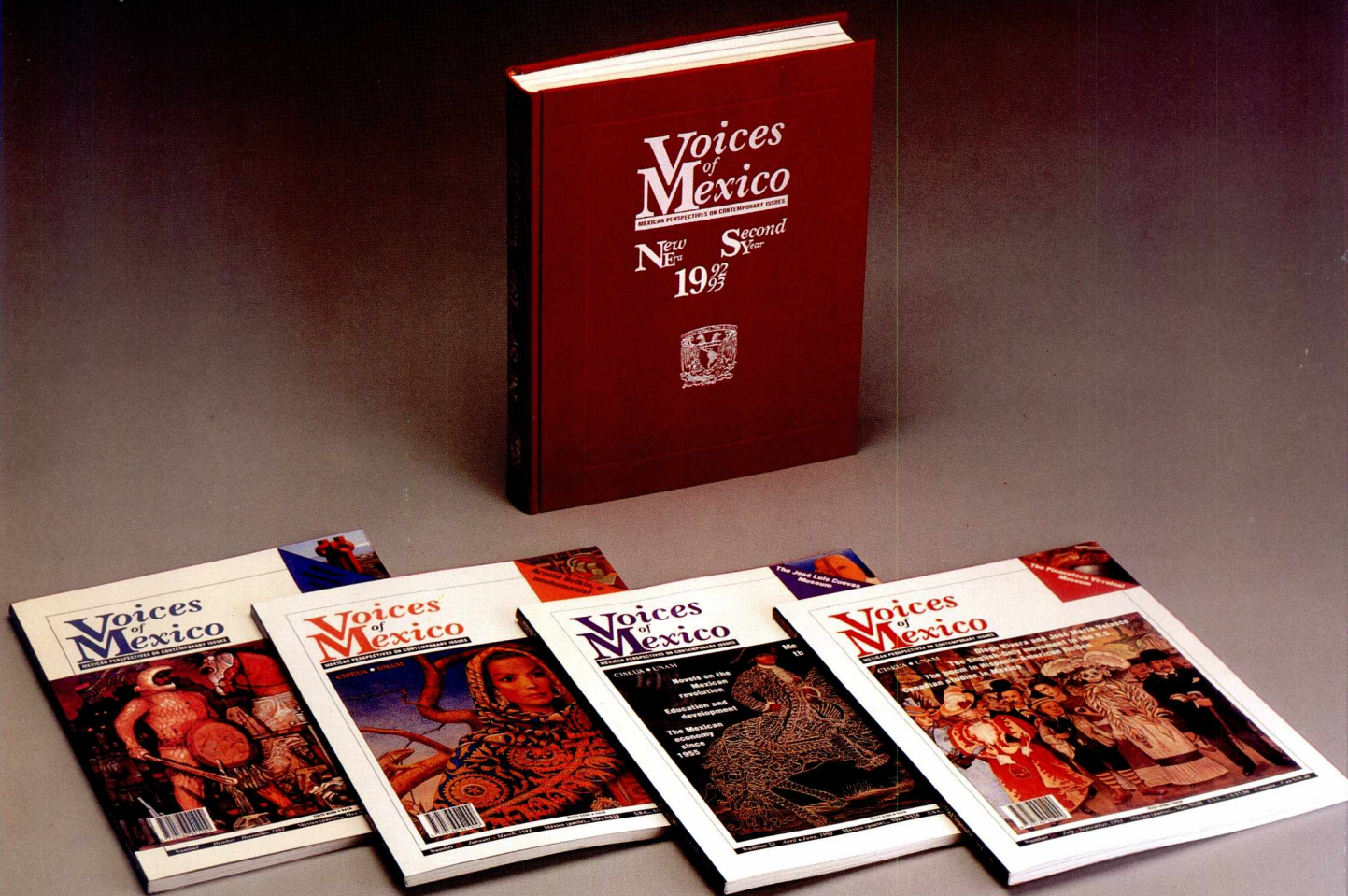
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# Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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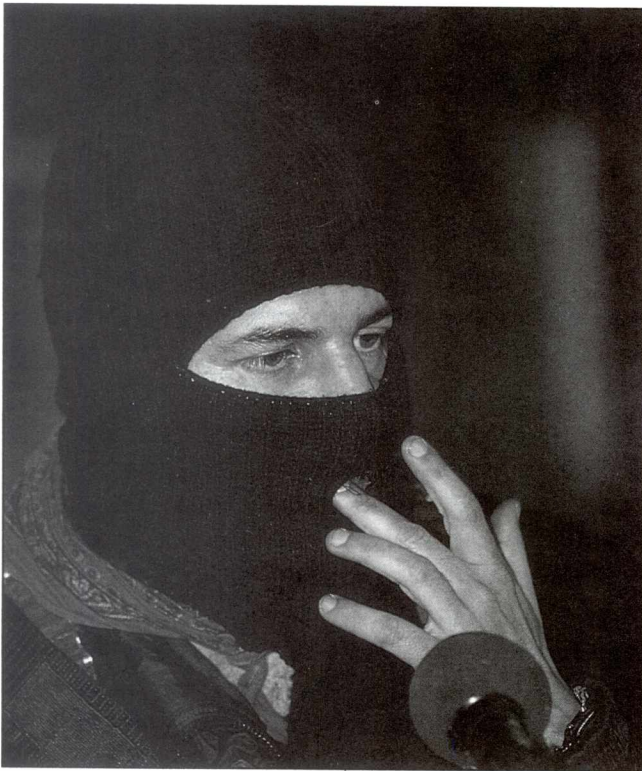
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Cover: Emiliano Zapata, detail from Diego Rivera's mural at the Insurgentes Theater.  
Photo by Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

# Our voice

**T**he uprising of poverty-stricken Indian peasants at the beginning of the year has had domestic and international repercussions. All eyes were to have been turned to NAFTA, then coming into effect; instead they focused on the armed rebellion of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN).

The campesinos of Chiapas, who since the time of the Spanish Conquest have suffered pillage, abuse, neglect and death, took the name of the peasant hero Emiliano Zapata, who rose up in arms in 1910 in the state of Morelos under the slogans "Land and Freedom" and "Bread for All." The demands which led to that revolution remain unfulfilled; while there has been significant progress in Mexico, it has not spread throughout the nation.

At the beginning there was an effort to crush the armed revolt in Chiapas through force. Armed clashes and aerial bombings shook public opinion not only in Mexico but throughout the world. Fortunately a ceasefire was declared and peace negotiations begun. In eight days of talks, 34 demands were put forward, with point-by-point answers to each. It is noteworthy that this dialogue was achieved in such a short period of time.

If a lasting peace is obtained in Chiapas this will establish an enviable example for other countries torn by internal struggles, which unfortunately have not won a negotiated peace



after decades of effort. Extermination of one's enemy is impossible.

Key among the demands is reform of electoral laws —those in force caused conflicts in the 1988 national elections as well as in state elections in San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato, Michoacán and Yucatán; the abolition of the Chiapas penal code, which allowed landowners and local government authorities to grind down the poor peasants; reforms to Article 27 of the constitution, the application of which has led to poor peasants being dispossessed of their community (ejido) lands; bilingual education, so Indians may speak Spanish as well as their mother tongues; and respect for Indians' age-old, special democratic forms of government, without breaking the pact achieved on the federal level.

At the end of the talks the different ethnic groups' representatives returned home to consult their communities and obtain their approval of the points discussed with the Mexican government.

In one of his many communiqués, subcomandante (EZLN Deputy Commander) Marcos stated:

"We ask everything for all, nothing for ourselves."

The striking concentration of wealth among groups which have benefited from the economics of privatization, contrasting with the extreme poverty in which many Mexicans live, makes it necessary to correct current policies. What our country needs are better forms of redistributing wealth, fundamentally jobs and education, so we may all enjoy a decent life.

At the end of last year a political analyst sent us a series of reflections on the situation of the country, raising the question whether Mexico should continue along the political and economic path taken. The particular merit of Miguel A.

Ortega's article is that, anticipating events, it pointed out problems that make up the background to the Chiapas revolt.

Voices of Mexico will be following the development of these important events; yet even now one can state that New Year's 1994 changed the country. Attention is now focused on how to achieve progress that will benefit everyone.

"There is no progress without social justice, just as there can be no social justice without progress"—this axiom is gaining new force again today.

In the electoral field, José Francisco Ruiz Massieu has contributed an in-depth analysis of the Chilean case. He leads us to think about the sort of "padlocks" a regime can impose to limit the transition to democracy, as Pinochet did when he realized the international community was intent on isolating him and he sought to hold on to power through the most various sorts of legal reforms.

Five months before the presidential elections, Mexico has experienced a serious blow against democracy. Luis Donaldo Colosio, presidential candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), was assassinated. This unexpected and brutal tragedy has transformed the country's political landscape. More than ever we need serenity from political parties and the public in general, in order to achieve peaceful elections.

We hope light will be shed on this useless crime, and that in these difficult moments we will achieve national unity to continue on our path of progress through dialogue, negotiation, peace and stability. And that the enemies of democracy will be overcome by the power of civil society. **N**

Hugo B. Margáin  
Editorial Director.

# Reflections on the country's situation and the continuity of current policies

*Miguel A. Ortega \**

*In light of events in Chiapas, it is important to point out the context of this article. Sent to us in mid-November as a critical response to President Salinas' Fifth State of the Union Address (November 1, 1993), it has the virtue of predicting events.*

\* Political analyst.

Following the Fifth State of the Union Address, attention is now focused on the process of presidential succession, as well as on NAFTA. Thus, this is a suitable moment to offer a few reflections and considerations on the current economic and political situation, with a view to contributing to the debate on the suitability or otherwise of continuing present policies.

The Fifth Address is seen as not fully portraying the reality of Mexico. Any economic policy has benefits, and invariably involves costs; otherwise it would be perfect. It is widely considered that the document read by the president underlines the former and at best ignores the latter, in some cases presenting figures that are either incomplete or of questionable validity.

Various government sources, including the president himself, have indicated that a predominant feature of the next government will be the continuity of policies—known as “Social Liberalism”—begun by the previous administration and intensified by the current one. This affirmation is based on two premises that imply a certain degree of risk:

- That the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) candidate will win the elections. While this is likely, as a premise it does not seem to encourage a culture of mutual recognition; and
- That the PRI candidate will be absolutely committed to Salinas' project, which implies a worrisome degree of political presumption on the part of the present government.<sup>1</sup>

Although the most recent indicators of freedom of debate and willingness to listen to alternative points of view are hardly encouraging, it does not seem advisable to accept the continuity of current policies without discussion.

This continuity is based on the notion that economic agents react favorably to certainty in economic direction. The drawback to this theory is that it offers no guarantees and has no time limits; the deterioration suffered by the country in the meantime may be irreversible.

As a preamble to these reflections, the three main tenets held to be the basis of the current administration are given below:

1. President Salinas' conviction of the need to reform the state. “This implies modifying doctrines and habits of thought and action, appropriate to previous moments and circumstances in Mexican society and the world.... We have modified institutional instruments, means and practices, over time, and under new circumstances, since what worked before no longer corresponds to the world we live in.... We cannot attempt, at the end of

<sup>1</sup> In his acceptance speech, the PRI's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, stated his intention of guaranteeing the continuity of President Salinas de Gortari's economic and social policies (see *Voices of Mexico* No. 26). On March 6, during the PRI's 65th anniversary, he modified his stance. (Editor's note.)



the 20th century, to do things the same way as they were done at the beginning of the century.”

2. A highly unusual view of the populace, based on the belief that it lives under a series of myths and taboos that have to be overcome. Yet this view is not based on consulting the population, for the same reason: the belief that it lives in a non-existent past. Thus it is seen as unprepared for participation in what should be a democratic decision-making process. This is obviously a subjective view, but one it has not been easy to refute.
3. A severe crisis of legitimacy. The current regime's margin of legitimacy is “the smallest in the entire history of the Mexican political system.... No Mexican president had ever come to power with a vote of fewer than 26% of registered voters and fewer than 11% of the country's entire population.” (*Sucesión pactada* [Pact for Succession], Unidad de Análisis Prospectivo, *El Financiero*, Plaza y Valdez, Mexico City, p. 95.) This, of course, without even questioning the authenticity of official election results which have been queried on a number of occasions.

As a result of these three elements, we find ourselves in a *de facto* situation. The president, whose ascent to power has been the most disputed—and which in any case came through the smallest number of votes—in the country's history, has carried out the most profound and significant transformations ever, based mainly on unlimited presidential powers and with questionable popular support. These measures have ranged from the “reform of the State” to the “reform of the Revolution.” In itself this would not necessarily be negative, but it is worth analyzing the country's current situation to see whether the actions carried out have translated into improved well-being for Mexicans.

### Economic considerations

These are the main achievements of President Salinas' economic policy:

- Inflation has been substantially reduced.
- Public finances show a surplus.
- The economy has been greatly opened up.
- Industry is beginning to be deregulated.
- International reserves have reached a record high.

However, the high cost of these policies should be stressed in order to attempt a cost-benefit analysis and have the necessary elements to judge the advisability of their projected continuity.

**Economic growth curbed.** The growth rate for the GDP has fallen consistently: from 4.4% in 1990, to 3.6% in 1991 and 2.6% in 1992, and it is expected to sink to 0.9% in 1993. Although the average may be satisfactory, the overall trend is worrisome, and exactly the opposite of what the administration had planned.



*It does not seem advisable to accept the continuity of Salinas' policies without discussion.*

**Increased poverty.** According to the World Bank, nearly 20% of all Mexicans, some 16.8 million, live in extreme poverty. It is estimated that nearly 41 million Mexicans are unable to meet their basic food needs, while the middle classes have become drastically impoverished, seeing their purchasing power fall 50% in the past ten years.

**Concentration of wealth.** *Forbes* magazine places Mexico in fourth place on the list of countries with the most millionaires, with 13, after the United States (108), Germany (46) and Japan (31), and with a national economy clearly dominated by monopolies and oligarchies. According to data from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Information Science (INEGI) and the Mexican Stock Exchange (BMV), just 12 entrepreneurial groups control 32% of the GDP of the manufacturing industry, while at least 11 areas of industrial activity, including the most dynamic sectors, are almost totally controlled by between one and four companies.

President Salinas' justification —“If we didn't have large groups in Mexico, it would be difficult to meet the challenges of globalization”— seems inadequate in view of the country's current conditions, and would appear to be a weak defense against growing criticisms that “investors

with close ties to the PRI were given privileged access to state firms” in the process of privatization (Tom Barry, coordinator, *México, una guía actual* [Mexico, a Current Guide], Editorial Ser, México, 1993, p. 208).

It is significant that the inability to win his bid to acquire Banca Somex cost the head of the bidding group 50 billion pesos in fines alone, which led to the following comment: “Never before in the country’s history has the enrichment of so few been treated as lightly as it is today” (José Cabrera Parra, *Siempre* magazine, March 25, 1992).

It is also telling that, according to *Business Week*, while Banamex occupies the 148th and Bancomer the 171st position in the list of the world’s 200 largest banks, they occupy the second and third place in the world as regards profits obtained—despite the fact that neither of them fulfils the minimum norms for financial solvency established by the Bank of International Payments, the world banking regulator.

**Unemployment.** Although figures vary according to the source, from INEGI (5.5%) to Wharton (9.4%), all coincide in citing mid-1993 as the period of peak unemployment for the entire presidential period; at the same time, over four million senior citizens are condemned to misery, and retirement in Mexico is regarded as a “challenge to survival.”

**Company problems.** Lack of liquidity and high real interest rates, as a result of the economic policy that has been adopted, have caused severe financing problems for small and medium-sized firms that have been unable to obtain financing from abroad. At best, this caused severe problems of overdue loans; at worst, the closing of a large number of these firms: 600,000 according to some estimates.

**Balance of payments.** As a result of the exchange rate policy adopted and an almost indiscriminate opening of the economy, the country’s trade deficit reached record levels in 1992, which have gradually fallen in 1993, mainly as a result of the shrinking economy. In addition, Mexican businessmen have seen their products become more expensive abroad, lost their share of the domestic market due to an excessive number of imports, and experienced additional problems due to a lack of financing.

The external deficit has renewed the problem of the foreign debt, now at its highest level ever.

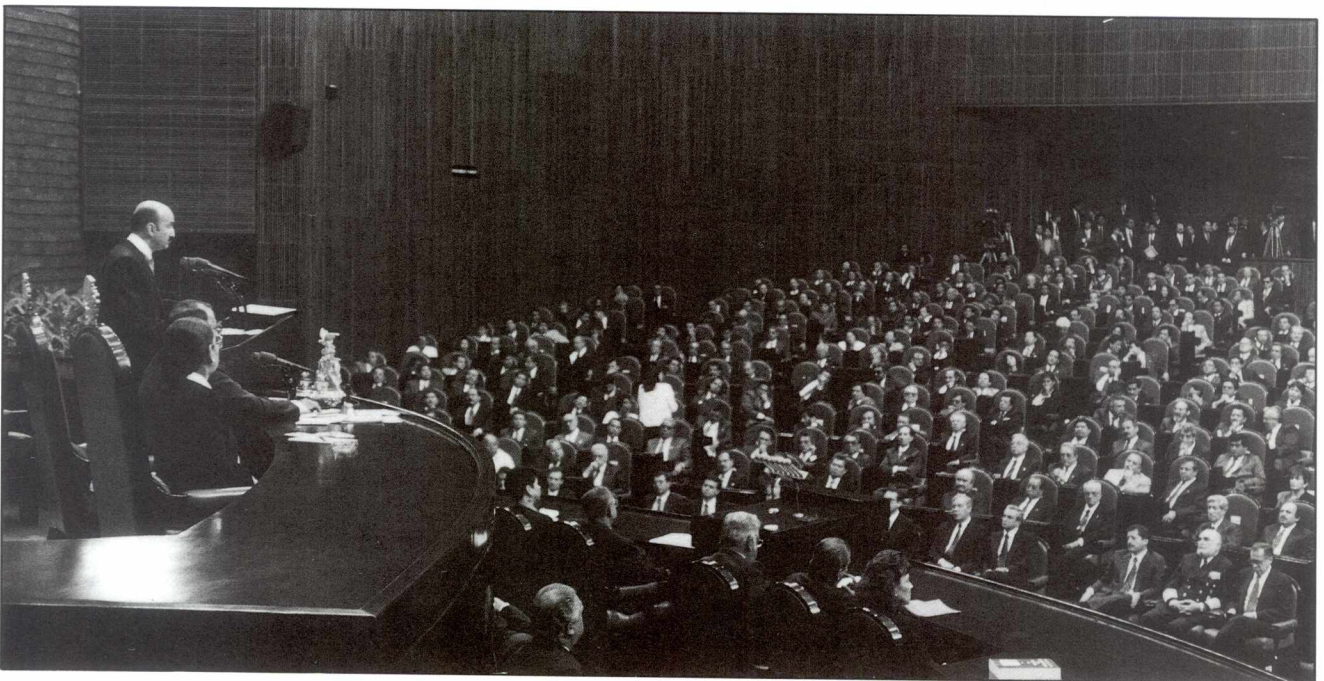
**Neglected infrastructure.** As a result of the policy of reducing public expenditure, one of the most affected areas has been the maintenance of infrastructure, which has severely deteriorated. Examples include Pemex facilities, the road network, airport services and electricity stations.

### Reflections on NAFTA

To a greater or lesser extent, it would seem that NAFTA has been a touchstone of this administration’s economic policy: for some, it has been the basic objective of that policy. In view of its importance, a number of considerations on the subject are given below.

Negotiations have followed a tortuous route; at times the process has been slipshod. These negotiations are considered to have been hampered not only by the size of the project, but because they were influenced by several questions that have yet to be answered.

One of the first things that strikes one about the agreement is Mexico’s radical change in position, from its



Half of Mexico’s population is governed by individuals who were not elected.

## Challenges for the 21st century

Mexico is currently undergoing a new stage of modernization and change, as it prepares to meet the enormous challenges and possibilities of the 21st century.

We shall have to concern ourselves not only with moderating growth, but also achieving a more balanced geographical distribution of the country's population. While medium-sized cities are experiencing a new —albeit far from straightforward— dynamic of growth, urban concentration in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey has already reached critical levels.

Despite the efforts that have been made, Mexico's process of urbanization has outstripped planners' projections and even the most elementary framework provided by the authorities. It is no overstatement to note that phenomena of "ungovernability" have resulted from this process.

The decentralization of national life, a more balanced regional development and the strengthening of federal and municipal systems are essential goals for today and tomorrow. It has been clearly established that excessive centralism inhibits and distorts national development.

These are complex, laborious and long-term tasks. It will not be easy to overcome inertia and centralist habits. These are traits, inherited from the pre-Colonial era and reinforced in New Spain, that we have not managed to overcome since Independence.

The task of regulating our demographic growth and improving population distribution is vital if we wish to achieve a greater and more equitable development, with higher living standards for the majority of Mexicans, and sustainability as regards our natural resources. We cannot tolerate social inequality, which offends and degrades us while jeopardizing social peace.

*Miguel de la Madrid*

**Former president of Mexico.**

Extract from a speech given at the Architects of Mexico meeting, February 3, 1994, in support of the UNAM Foundation as part of the program on "The University and its Men."

evident reserve and caution when the project was suggested by President Reagan, to President Salinas' unusual hurry in signing the agreement. Obviously, Mexico's turnaround was due to its president's perceptions.

There are two main trends of thought on the matter. The first is that, during his first trip to Europe, President Salinas perceived that the future of the world economy lay in the formation of trade blocs, in the European style. Mexico could not afford to be excluded from this, and North America seemed the natural trading turf.

The second is that NAFTA was the result of the "spirit of Houston" that arose between Presidents Bush and Salinas in their first interview in that city. The subject of the two leaders' private discussion was not made public, but one can imagine that, among other things, they discussed NAFTA and the renegotiation of Mexico's debt.

It is of course feasible that both events influenced the president of Mexico, and one should not discount the possibility that other considerations weighed on him as well, more related to the doctrine of "social liberalism" in general than free trade in particular.

If the European Community was the paradigm, it is well known that the process of integration has been taking

place over the past 40 years, albeit with very slow periods of development. This contrasts sharply with the Mexican president's urgency regarding timing.

As for the "spirit of Houston," what one finds hard to explain, given NAFTA's evident importance for Salinas, is how he could have gambled everything on Bush's reelection, without even remotely considering his possible electoral defeat, engaging in sloppy diplomacy with then-candidate Clinton, for which he will obviously have to pay a price.

Another factor that weighed against the approval of NAFTA is the lack of popular support it inspired in each of the three member countries, as a result of the great secrecy with which negotiations were conducted. In Mexico, attempts were made to endorse the presidential decision to begin negotiations by means of an extremely heterodox "consultation" of the Senate, whose representativeness, in any case, poses another kind of problem.<sup>2</sup> Also, it was always said that NAFTA would be "good for everyone," without providing any basis for this assertion. This lack of information and handling of

<sup>2</sup> The Mexican Senate has an overwhelming PRI majority. (Editor's note.)

## What's needed in Mexico?

As Arturo Warman rightly points out (see pages 80-81), what's needed is persistence, work, resources, imagination, audacity, and once again persistence.

We would add that the country also needs to be governed by people with a real vocation for service and the skills required for adequately administering resources; who are honest, creative and open to seeking advice from experts. Politicians well-rooted in local realities, knowledgeable about the region they seek to govern and the characteristics of its inhabitants, with a competitive spirit driving them to be the best at promoting the prosperity of their communities.

That state and municipal governments be genuinely autonomous in utilizing their resources and making decisions to achieve greater regional development. That the executive branch be genuinely balanced with the legislature and judiciary.

We need to be governed by men and women elected democratically by the people and for the people, who are convinced that our nation can grow and achieve high levels of well-being through the education of its inhabitants. Because an educated people strengthens its country.

It is necessary to fight intolerance as well as the mentality and attitudes characteristic of *caciquismo*. [Literally, the rule of local political bosses (*caciques*). More broadly, the authoritarianism of hidebound vested interests.] In order to do this we must lay the groundwork for genuine national reconciliation. Let those who abuse and silence the voices of the downtrodden understand that the wealth they obtain with these methods will always be at risk and that extreme inequality makes for a sick society.

It is necessary to recover the dignity of the Indian population and of Mexicans in general. [In our translations of articles written in Spanish, we have used *Indián* to translate the Spanish word *indígena* (indigenous or native person). It seems important to note that unlike *indígena*, in Mexico the word *indio* is often considered to have a racist connotation.] Especially in this era of globalization, we must recover our roots, cultural grandeur and age-old veneration for nature so we may become part of modernity in a balanced way and in accordance with our own interests.

The editors.

perceptions gradually translated into diminishing popular support for the Agreement.

One issue that has yet to be explained, from the point of view of Mexico's negotiating position, is why the economy was opened so quickly, unilaterally and indiscriminately, before NAFTA talks began, when this opening process could obviously have served as a negotiating instrument for obtaining better terms.

The fact is that Mexico's negotiating position has gradually weakened since President Clinton's election. Mexico has been forced to make all sorts of concessions to the United States, from parallel agreements to the acceptance of "non-traditional" sanctions; from permitting the interference of foreign tribunals ("not supranational, but trinational") in matters of sanctions, to last-minute negotiations in the areas of sugar, citrus fruits, household electrical appliances, vegetables, plate glass and wine. The situation of the Mexican in-bond (*maquiladora*) industry has yet to be clarified, and it is still unclear whether Mexico will continue to benefit from the General System of Trade Preferences.

All these concessions, together with sloppy negotiating on the part of the Mexicans and President Salinas'

ultimatum—"Delaying the date NAFTA comes into effect would mean cancelling the agreement, perhaps for many generations"—naturally lead one to ask, "Why the hurry?"

The answer may involve Carlos Salinas' perception of the agreement, the continuity of his project, and presidential succession, subjects that are obviously interlinked. In this respect, one could hypothesize that:

- The main advantage Salinas saw in NAFTA was that it guaranteed the continuity of his project, regardless of who his presidential successor might be. Thus, one reason why the Agreement became the dominant issue may have been that attempts to promote re-election failed, for the time being at least.<sup>3</sup>
- In keeping with the above, the time pressure has to do with the political moment, and everything would seem to confirm the accuracy of the perception that NAFTA's ratification or defeat will have a determining influence on the PRI candidate's nomination, since without the agreement, Salinas would be more dependent on the next president for the continuity of his project.

<sup>3</sup> Mexico's constitution limits presidents to one term in office. (Editor's note.)

### Political considerations

*The Institutional Revolutionary Party.* One of the results of President Salinas' administration has been the weakening of the PRI as well as growing dissatisfaction within its ranks in general and among its traditional cadres in particular. The reasons behind this include the following factors:

- Bringing the scheme of national privatization to the party level by attempting, among other things, to collect \$25 million USD from each of the country's leading entrepreneurs, which was interpreted as, "I have scratched your back, now you scratch mine."
- The PRI's traditional cadres have been pushed aside to a considerable extent by Salinas' inner circle, which handles the country's politics and administration. This group scarcely identifies itself with the party and may even regard it as an obstacle to the country's modernization.
- Unexpected and sloppily handled replacements of PRI leaders.
- Many of the constitutional reforms that have been carried out are regarded, within the party, as counter-revolutionary and opposed to PRI ideology.
- The majority of the old "revolutionary family" feels increasingly remote from the main positions of power, and from the ideological orientation that has been imposed on the country. That orientation coincides more and more closely with, and sometimes even surpasses, the ideology of the National Action Party (PAN).
- The post-electoral negotiations conducted with the opposition, in which the party's stated triumphs were placed on the negotiating table with no advance warning or previous consultation.
- In many cases, the structure of the National Solidarity Program (Pronasol) has replaced local party cadres. Pronasol has become a much more reliable springboard for state governorship than any party position or activity.
- The process of selecting PRI candidates for positions filled through popular election has become centralized in Los Pinos (the Mexican White House). The president's stated aim of involving the basic party cadres in these processes has remained a pipe dream.

*Crisis of governability in the states.* Another characteristic feature of the current administration's political management has been the crisis of governability in the states. This is both cause and effect of the lack of respect towards popular will and sovereignty, and the imposition of central executive decisions through interim governors attempting to eliminate "centers of unrest."

"Presidential interference in state affairs and the removal of governors at the federal leader's behest have never before produced such severe conflicts of governability as they have during the present

administration" (special report in *El Financiero* newspaper, November 7, 1992).

By the end of 1992, 14 governors had been forced to resign over a period of four years. In the case of San Luis Potosí, this reached absurd proportions when an acting governor had to be designated to replace an already acting governor.<sup>4</sup> Thus, a third of the country's population is now governed by individuals who were not elected; over half, if one includes Mexico City.<sup>5</sup>

This would seem to pose no problem at all for President Salinas. He appointed a governor, Patrocinio González Garrido, to replace Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios, precisely in the Ministry of the Interior, which created a new temporary government, this time in Chiapas.<sup>6</sup>

*Political reform.* One of President Salinas' first promises was to extend democracy. After two political reforms in the course of this administration, one might think that some progress had been made. However, an analysis of the elements in these reforms leads to the conclusion that the basic structures and procedures that could effectively democratize the country have stayed on the shelf. The expression coined to describe this situation is that Mexico is "the perfect dictatorship."

None of the changes made in the Constitution and the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (Cofipe) are thought to respond to the most fundamental demands for genuine progress towards democracy: that electoral institutions become autonomous, and that there be a delimitation of presidential power—which has been omnipresent during this presidential term and will reach its fullest expression shortly. It's no wonder that in Mexico discussion of the presidential succession is considered "one of the most useless pastimes."

It is worth pointing out the view that the PAN is jointly responsible for the limited nature of these reforms, since it adopted a strategy of acquiring political spaces to recover its position as the second political force, in exchange for moderating its demands as an opposition party and making concessions to the PRI.

In this sense, a certain frustration is evident, not only because the president offered to extend democracy, but also because he continually fed people's hopes, with his spectacular coups at the beginning of his term, his exhortation to change, his swift, dramatic constitutional modifications, and his invitation to destroy taboos—in short, his constant urging to modernize the country. It is now patently clear that the country's modernization did not include its democratization. ❧

<sup>4</sup> The same situation now exists in the states of Yucatán and Chiapas. (Editor's note.)

<sup>5</sup> The Federal District (Mexico City) mayor is appointed by the president of Mexico. (Editor's note.)

<sup>6</sup> Patrocinio González Garrido was then replaced by Elmar Setzer, who was in turn replaced by Javier López Moreno. (Editor's note.)

# Limited transition: the Chilean case

José Francisco Ruiz Massieu \*

## Transition theory

Transition theory,<sup>1</sup> derived from schools of political development, is held in high esteem in academic circles. Yet, despite its success, it is going through a stage of deep terminological and conceptual confusion, which has affected usage of terms like “liberalization,” “political reform,” “democratization,” “democratic reform,” “democratic development,” “re-democratization,” “political or democratic modernization” and, obviously, “political development.”<sup>2</sup>

Schools of political development proliferated in the years following World War II, with decolonization and the advent of the Marxist-Leninist so-called “peoples’ democracies.” These schools put forward a dynamic, optimistic view of democracy, seeing it as the unfolding (the dynamic aspect) and inexorable perfecting (the optimistic aspect) of democratic institutions.

This view was fed by the idea—or should it be called the belief, à la Ortega?—that the whole world would inevitably be developed (the concept of preordained progress), thus establishing the material basis for political development. A good many political scientists agree that political development and democratic development are exactly the same thing.

In the sixties and seventies, this view was challenged by the thinking of the Non-Aligned Movement and Third Worldism, based on the idea that the development of non-industrialized countries required a new world economic order. These schools simultaneously upheld the thesis that if the needed economic, social and cultural conditions did not exist, political democracy, and consequently, electoral democracy, was neither sustainable nor viable.

In contrast, in recent years the so-called democratic wave, —which began in Mediterranean Europe with Portugal, Spain and Greece, continued in Latin America with the elimination of military regimes and culminated in the fall of Real Socialism in both Central and Eastern Europe—, would seem to back up those who argue that political democracy can exist even within the framework of economic and social underdevelopment.<sup>3</sup> Others take this argument even further by saying that the advent of democracy in itself carries development with it.

The case of Spanish democracy, with all the basic elements of a paradigm, extended and deeply rooted the concept of democratic transition. A transition is a change in regime, a change from an authoritarian regime to a fully democratic one; and thus it is more than just a change in regime.

The axis of this transition is the agreement between the authoritarian regime and the democratic forces on a basic agenda: the design of new political institutions and a new electoral system; an agreement on the status of political parties; a general legal framework and human rights; and the solution of regional questions. Although the question of human rights goes to the heart of the economic and social system, it is not commonly part of the transitional agenda, since it goes beyond the boundaries of politics per se.

The agenda also includes different specifics like phases, deadlines and the definition of actors and procedures.

I have called the technological/methodological dimension of the transition “democratic engineering” to denote that it transcends convictions or emotions to include the operational and democratic planning spheres.<sup>4</sup>

Viewing the transition in this way provides an approach to deliberate democracy, which is the result of foresight and deliberate intent, a democracy which can effectively replace authoritarianism because throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Ruiz Massieu, José Francisco, *El proceso democrático de México*. FCE, Mexico City, 1993, pp. 123-257.

<sup>2</sup> Pye, Lucian W., *Aspects of Political Development*. Little, Brown and Co., United States, 1966; and Almond, Gabriel and Powell, Bingham, *Comparative Politics. A Development Approach*. Little, Brown and Co., United States, 1966.

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<sup>3</sup> Huntington, Samuel P., *The Third Wave*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

<sup>4</sup> Ruiz Massieu, José Francisco, “La ingeniería democrática,” in *Ideas Políticas*. Year I, No. 2, Cambio XXI, Fundación Mexicana, Mexico City, 1992, pp. 28-49.

**Table 1**  
**Forty years of ideological alternation, 1952-1993 \***

YEAR	POLITICAL AFFILIATION	PRESIDENT
1952	Quasi-left populism	Carlos Ibáñez
1958	Right (conservatives)	Jorge Alessandri
1964	Center (Christian Democrats)	Eduardo Frei, Sr.
1970	Left (Socialist Party and Popular Unity)	Salvador Allende
1973	Right authoritarian (military regime)	Augusto Pinochet
1989	Center-left (democratic coalition)	Patricio Aylwin
1993	Center-left (democratic coalition)	Eduardo Frei, Jr.

\* Presidential election years, plus 1973, the year of Pinochet's coup d'état.

dictatorship comes to the conclusion that it cannot maintain total power indefinitely, while the opposition realizes that a violent change of regime is not in order, that it is a question of politics and not war. Both sides agree that the only way out is a pact and, therefore, that each must make concessions to the other.

In Chile, the Pinochet group had control over state power and the democratic forces had the strength given them by consensus, the

change itself, rules are followed and the most appropriate methods used.

In order for the transition to be effective and lasting, there must be a shared, deep-going idea of democracy, enriched by the familiarity with real democracy and comparative political systems needed to avoid conceptual mistakes and mystifications. In this sense, democracy is a deliberate, collective, unfinished process which at any moment can be reversed; the transition is a process both inclusive (everyone has a role to play) and dialectical (it means cooperation, not Manicheism).

The transition is a process of inertia (we will come back to this point later): the authoritarian regime initially intends to circumscribe, limit or graduate democratic change. But when the process reaches a certain stage and goes beyond certain limits, it takes on its own dynamic and depends less and less on the authoritarian regime and more and more on the democratic forces promoting the change.

### Two paradigmatic transitions: Chile and Spain<sup>5</sup>

The Chilean transition brings together the outstanding elements of a paradigmatic transition because it includes many of those to be found in the Spanish case and still others which give it a profile of its own.

The essence of the transition is the pact established between the authoritarian regime and the political forces fighting for democracy. This pact is based on each side's view of its own possibilities and those of its opponent: the

population's aspirations, the stimulus of international public opinion and a collective democratic memory.

The accord did not lead to a new constitution nor a formal act of negotiation—as in the case of Spain with the Charter of 1978 and the so-called Moncloa Pact—but was initially based on the legal framework of the authoritarian government itself as established in the 1980 Constitution, decreed from above by the military government.

Another difference between the two situations is that the transition in Spain was precipitated by the death of Franco, while in Chile, the authoritarian regime was dismantled while still led by the dictator.

Chile and Spain are also different in terms of the depth of the transition. Chile is a case of re-democratization in which, in the 1980s, the political generation which had participated in the pre-Pinochet democratic era was still active. In Spain, by contrast, re-democratization took place forty years after Franco's victory; by the mid-70s, practically no participants of the pre-Franco era survived.

In Spain, the king acted as the fulcrum between the outgoing and the incoming regimes, playing an extremely efficient role as an arbitrator in the non-partisan task assigned to him by the democratic monarchy. In contrast, in Chile the "presidential regime" and the participation of the dictator himself did not allow for the emergence of a political arbiter.

The role played by King Juan Carlos compelled the armed forces to rapidly abandon their aim of being arbiters themselves (after Tejero's attempted coup) and to withdraw into the institutional role assigned them by modern constitutionalism. They even accepted that a civilian fill the cabinet post overseeing the military.

Chile has moved along the opposite road: the armed forces have assumed *de facto*—and in good measure, even *de jure*—the role of supreme arbiter in the political arena.

There is yet another distinction between the two cases. In Spain, the first transitional government, backed by

<sup>5</sup> The most outstanding contributions of a plentiful bibliography on this subject may be found in the volumes coordinated by Rodolfo Cerdas and Daniel Zóbatto, *Elecciones y democracia en América Latina (1988-1991), una tarea inconclusa* (IIDH-CAPEL, San José, 1992); and in Ascanio Cavallo Castro, Manuel Salazar and Oscar Sepúlveda's *La historia oculta del régimen militar. Chile, 1973-1988* (Diana, Mexico, 1990), for the Chilean case. For the case of Spain, the most outstanding is *La transición democrática española* (Editorial Sistema, Spain, 1989) by the same three authors.

popular vote and democratic legislation, was really the transmutation of the previous government, set up by non-democratic mechanisms: the new monarch together with the Council of the Realm, itself Franco's creation, designated Adolfo Suárez, secretary of the National Movement—"the single party"—as president. He then made pacts with forces both inside and outside the democratizing camp, thus turning his regime into a sort of para-democratic government, although his origins were not democratic. This para-democratic government gave way to the first transitional government, which won the 1979 elections and was headed by Suárez himself. The axis of this transition, then, was Adolfo Suárez.

In Chile, the first transitional government, headed by Patricio Aylwin, resulted from elections which had been part of a pact, but were the fruit of Pinochet's defeat in the 1988 plebiscite and the failure of Buchi, the official candidate, who lost the 1989 elections to the converging democratic forces.

At the same time, there are many similarities between the two processes. An outstanding one is that both in the Spain of the '70s and the Chile of the '80s, the international situation was a lever for democracy. The Europeanization of Spain through its incorporation into the European Community, and its subsequent affiliation to NATO and other regional organizations, called for dismantling the authoritarian regime and replacing it with complete democracy.

In the case of Chile, internationally, the United States, Spain itself, the Holy See and non-governmental human rights organizations exerted pressure on the regime to hold the 1988 plebiscite and the 1989 elections to permit the people to express their will openly. As a result, the Pinochet regime realized that the international community was resolved to isolate it.

In Spain as in Chile, details aside, the Catholic Church hierarchy contributed to democratic change by beginning to distance itself from the regimes and finally demanding the restoration of democracy—despite its initial closeness both to Franco and Pinochet due to its opposition to the Republican and Allende-aligned left.

Worker and peasant organizations, demobilized during the authoritarian period, did not play a completely active

role in designing the transition, but did show their ability to exert pressure. In both cases, capital kept a prudent distance during the process.

### Engineering the Chilean transition <sup>6</sup>

Chilean democrats rested their democratization project on two solid bases: an understanding among the different opposition forces and the pact with the authoritarian regime.

The convergence of these opposition forces, particularly the historic parties <sup>7</sup> and personalities of all persuasions, centered on recognition of the need to restore electoral democracy; the postponement of all economic or social reform which would carry with it the risk of dividing the members of the entente; and the acceptance of the regime's rules of the game after the

convergence had exerted political pressure.

It is important to emphasize that the democrats—by submitting themselves to the legal framework of the authoritarian regime, including recognition of government-dominated electoral bodies—were running a calculated risk, that of being defeated in a process in which complete guarantees of their rights were by no means ensured.

This stance, like the acceptance (albeit tacit) of Pinochet's "padlocks" on the process, reveals that Chilean democrats were

conscious that if they became more demanding, the Pinochet regime would become more rigid and could even postpone the elections.

In any case, they were also aware that transitional pacts, as in all agreements in which both sides make mutual concessions, do not set up optimum rules for democratic change and that once set in motion, they unleash a process driven by inertia: it is a process of democratic change that, though initially spurred by an outside driving force (the pact), at a certain point comes to be driven by the process itself.

**Table 2**  
**Presidential elections**  
**(1958, 1964 and 1970)**

YEAR	CANDIDATES	VOTE
1958	Jorge Alessandri	31%
	Salvador Allende	28%
	Eduardo Frei, Sr.	20%
1964	Eduardo Frei, Sr.	56%
	Salvador Allende	39%
1970	Salvador Allende	36%
	Jorge Alessandri	35%
	Radomiro Tomic	28%

<sup>6</sup> Arrate, Jorge; Allamand, Andrés; Silva, Patricio; and Medina, Manuel, "Continuismo y ruptura: el caso chileno," in *Transición política y consolidación democrática en el Cono Sur Latinoamericano*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Madrid, 1991, pp. 89-161.

<sup>7</sup> Osorio, Jaime, *Raíces de la democracia en Chile*. Biblioteca Era, Mexico City, 1990.



In short, they realized that the very holding of free and honest elections, despite the “padlocks,” would inevitably lead to advanced phases of democracy.

The internal pact among the most important opposition forces regarding a democratic project also required large doses of both wisdom and pragmatism, particularly given that the historical affronts, ideological enmities and economic and social demands that had divided the democrats during Allende’s short administration had to be put aside.

While the program of the martyred president—including nationalizations and a state-led economy—gave rise to clashes between Congress and the Executive and between the Executive and the armed forces and several power groups,<sup>8</sup> the dictatorship had taken the road of an accelerated, deep-going neo-liberal policy.

Bringing these points up in discussions would have caused the desertion of some of the groups which supported democratization.

The Agreement for Democracy, a coalition formed by almost twenty political organizations, key among them the Christian Democracy and a good number of Radicals and Socialists, was aimed at developing the democratic project. The very nomination of Patricio Aylwin—a Christian Democrat, whose organization had confronted Allende’s Popular Unity government and kept its distance at the time of the 1973 coup—as its candidate, shows just how profoundly the democrats agreed that their internal pact required a clear sense of the political moment.

### The limits

When General Pinochet became convinced that he would not be able to continue heading the state with the voters’ support and that a democratic government would probably be the outcome of elections, he enacted a range of legislation to limit the new government and retain a large degree of power that would serve as a dissuasive, inhibiting factor for those who would replace him.

These limits involve the constitution, the Congress, the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Tribunal, the

<sup>8</sup> Various authors, *El golpe de Estado en Chile*. FCE-UNAM, Mexico City, 1975.

**Table 3**  
**Plebiscite for the 1980 constitution**

VOTE	%
No	30%
Yes	67%
Annulled	3%

armed forces, the central bank, the National Security Council, the regulatory body for radio and television transmissions, and electoral norms.

Chilean Socialist Party leader Jorge Arrate, at a Friedrich Ebert Foundation-sponsored colloquium,

passionately summed up many democrats’ opinion of the “locks” Pinochet had written into the constitution:

*To be able to open that safe, you have to know two combinations; one isn’t enough. The locks have two mechanisms: first, the constitution itself establishes that an extraordinarily high proportion of votes is required for the constitution to be amended. Certain chapters require a two-thirds majority, while others require six-tenths. A series of pieces of legislation called organic constitutional laws—about 150 of them, which to a certain extent really form part of the constitution itself (for example, the Education Act and the Armed Forces Act)—can only be amended with a little over 57 percent of the vote. This is one of the singularities of the Chilean transition, because it is a four-sevenths’ majority, a percentage I believe appears in no other constitution in the world.<sup>9</sup>*

In addition to this, a virtual *de facto* amnesty was declared, eliminating the possibility of any systematic attempt to bring to trial anyone who had broken the law or violated human rights as part of the repressive dynamic of the authoritarian regime.

Any review of the limits on the transition must begin with an examination of the 1980 constitution and the process whereby it was written and enacted.<sup>10</sup>

Pinochet’s constitution is virtually a model of what is known as a “professorial constitution,” the result of an academic exercise, far removed from the participation of the public and the dialectic of real power relationships. It is a made-to-order constitution, since its fundamental aim was to defer to the interests of the authoritarian regime.

The enactment of the constitution was prepared in several stages: in the 1978 plebiscite, the people accepted that a new constitution be written; that

<sup>9</sup> Arrate, Jorge, *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>10</sup> Nogueira Alcalá, Humberto, “El sistema constitucional chileno,” in *Los sistemas constitucionales iberoamericanos*. Dykinson, Madrid, 1992, pp. 175-324.

**Table 4**  
**Plebiscite for the election of**  
**Augusto Pinochet, 1989**

VOTE	%
No	54%
Yes	43%
Annulled	3%

**Table 5**  
**The presidential elections of**  
**the transition**

1989	
CANDIDATE	VOTE (%)
Aylwin	54%
Buchi*	29%
Errázuriz	15%
Annulled	2%

\* Pro-Pinochet.

1993	
CANDIDATE	VOTE (%)
Frei, Jr.	58%
Alessandri	24%
Piñeira*	06%
Others	10%
Annulled	2%

\* Pro-Pinochet.

same year, the Commission to Study a New Constitution (with the participation of Jorge Alessandri, who was a Pinochet appointee like all the rest of the members) presented a rough draft to the government; the government, in a second stage, developed another draft, written by the Council of State, dominated, obviously, by unconditional supporters of the regime. Both drafts were then studied by the junta, which combined them into the definitive version put to the vote in the 1980 plebiscite.<sup>11</sup>

While the voters approved the government draft (66% voted "yes," 30% "no" and the remainder of the ballots were either blank or annulled), it is important to remember that the plebiscite was carried out in the framework of a state of emergency, that political party participation was blocked to the maximum and that basic political freedoms were limited.

The 1980 constitution was the framework for the search for democracy over the subsequent decade, acting as a bridge between democracy and the final phase of the Pinochet dictatorship. It established that:

- Pinochet would remain in power eight more years.
- The junta would remain in place in the same terms for those eight years, retaining practically all its legislative faculties.
- The heads of the armed forces and the Carabineers (special police) would name the sole presidential candidate to run in the 1988 elections, and the new president would have an eight-year term.

<sup>11</sup> Fernández, Mario, "Sistemas electorales: sus problemas y opciones para la democracia chilena," in *Sistemas electorales y representación política en Latinoamérica*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Madrid, pp. 77-93.

The constitution had 29 transitional articles setting out in great detail the rules of the game from the time it was passed until it went fully into effect in 1990.

As was to be expected, the commanders of the armed forces selected Augusto Pinochet as the sole presidential candidate, but the public's repudiation of him<sup>12</sup> led to a democratic election, with contending candidates: the 1989 presidential, senatorial and congressional elections.<sup>13</sup>

This weakening of the authoritarian regime facilitated its coming to an agreement with the joint opposition forces—before those elections—on 54 amendments to the 1980 constitution, as well as the relaxation of restrictions in electoral legislation aimed at moderating representational distortions and permitting the creation of electoral fronts to group the enormous number of existing political organizations. Manuel Alcántara<sup>14</sup> summarizes the package of constitutional amendments:

*The key points among the 54 proposed constitutional amendments were the following: the replacement of Article 8, which made unconstitutional all political parties that subscribed to a totalitarian doctrine or were based on the class struggle, with a wording to better ensure real and responsible political pluralism; the increase of the number of senators elected by direct vote, through the creation of regional districts in each of which two senators would be elected, with the exception of six regions which would be divided into two senatorial districts; also, while the possibility of perfecting some National Security Council dispositions was left open, the norms on the Armed Forces remained intact; the rule requiring the approval of two successive legislatures to amend certain constitutional chapters was replaced by only a two-thirds vote of the deputies and senators in office; finally, and most importantly, only for the presidential term beginning March 11, 1990, the chief of state elected will only be able to serve four years and will not be able to run for reelection for the following term.*

The congress is elected in such a way as to give privileges to the Pinochet forces, through a system of multiple districts with binomial majority election of slates. The functioning of this system, unprecedented in electoral democracy, has been described by Humberto Nogueira Alcalá:

*If the [winning] slate receives double the number of votes of the slate which is first runner-up, the first slate*

<sup>12</sup> "Yes" votes, 44%; "No" votes, 54%.

<sup>13</sup> Fernández Baeza, Mario, "Análisis del proceso electoral chileno de 1989," in Cerdas, Rodolfo and Zobatto, Daniel (coordinators), *Elecciones y democracia en América Latina, 1988-1991. Una tarea inconclusa*. IIDH-CAPEL, San José, 1992, pp. 524-531.

<sup>14</sup> *Sistemas políticos de América Latina*, Volume I. Tecnos, Madrid, 1989, p. 73.

will be assigned all the seats up for election [in that district]; if the slate with the highest number of votes does not receive double the number of votes of the first runner-up, the two slates with the highest number of votes will each win one seat, which will be assigned to the candidate within each slate who received the highest number of individual votes.<sup>15</sup>

As this jurist points out, this *sui generis* system is neither majority-takes-all nor proportional.

The election results were as follows: Agreement for Democracy (the coalition of democrats headed by Aylwin) won 70 seats in the Chamber of Deputies with 49.33% of the vote; Democracy and Progress (the Pinochetists, headed by Buchi) won 48 seats with 32.4% of the vote. The overall number of right-wing deputies, then, was sufficient to block any initiatives in the lower house.<sup>16</sup>

The 1980 constitution had reinforced the Senate as one of Pinochet's "padlocks"; the bicameral congressional structure allowed it to block any undesirable bill. There were three ways of becoming a member of the upper house: by election (38 seats); by virtue of being a former president of the republic; and by appointment.<sup>17</sup> Senators have eight-year terms, and half the seats come up for election every four years, with the exception of the ex-presidents, who retain their seats for life.

In the senatorial race, the democrats received 50.5% of the vote, winning 22 seats, while the right received 43% of the vote and 24 seats (including both elected and Pinochet-appointed seats).

The junta put yet another "padlock" on the judiciary, despite its being the only branch of government which survived from Allende's time, given that it had acquiesced to Pinochet. The dictator forced the early retirement of several members of the Supreme Court and appointed judges who shared his thinking. He did the same with the Constitutional Tribunal, thereby limiting two basic institutions of a genuinely democratic state.

It should be noted that the Constitutional Tribunal is charged with deciding the constitutionality of organizations, movements or political parties and the responsibilities of high public officials, including the president of the republic.

Also, four out of five members of the Electoral Tribunal, without whose unquestionably honest and

<sup>15</sup> Nogueira Alcalá, Humberto, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>16</sup> Valenzuela, Arturo, and Siavelis, Peter, "Ley electoral y estabilidad democrática: un ejercicio de simulación para el caso de Chile a partir de las elecciones de 1988," in Cerdas, R. and Zobatto, D. (compilers), *op. cit.*, pp. 533-576.

<sup>17</sup> Nine senators are appointed every eight years in the following way: the president names a former cabinet member and a former university president; the Supreme Court designates two of its former members and a former controller general; and the National Security Council names a former head of the Carabineers and of each branch of the armed forces.

## Milestones of the transition

### 1978

- Writing of new constitution approved in plebiscite.
- The Commission for the Study of a New Constitution presents its draft to the government.

### 1980

- New constitution approved in plebiscite. The transitional regime established therein takes office, headed by Augusto Pinochet.

### 1988

- The citizenry defeats Augusto Pinochet at the polls.

### 1989

- The Agreement for Democracy signs a pact with the authoritarian government to reform the constitution.
- Patricio Aylwin, Agreement for Democracy's presidential candidate, triumphs at the polls, and his colleagues running for senators and deputies win a plurality.

### 1990

- The new Congress begins its term and President Aylwin is inaugurated.

### 1992

- Municipal reform effected.
- Partial congressional elections.

### 1993

- Presidential and congressional elections.

unbiased functioning a democratic transition cannot be carried out, are named by the Supreme Court.

The process of economic restructuring, to modernize the country along the lines of the neo-liberal model begun by Pinochet's government, produced positive macroeconomic results, but had high social costs.<sup>18</sup>

Within this sphere as well, two more limits were placed on the transition: a) the Central Bank was set up, with complete autonomy vis à vis the government, with a five-member board of directors, two of whom were appointed by Pinochet; and b) at the end of Pinochet's government, a rapid series of privatizations put businessmen closely linked to the dictator in very powerful positions.

<sup>18</sup> García, Roberto (compiler), *Economía y política durante el gobierno militar en Chile, 1973-1987*. FCE, Mexico City, 1989.

The Central Bank is important because, according to the constitution, "It may only carry out operations with financial institutions, be they public or private. Under no circumstances may it give them its guarantee, nor may it acquire documents issued by the state, its institutions or companies. No public expenditure or loan may be financed with either direct or indirect credit from the Central Bank."<sup>19</sup> Thus, several instruments of economic policy were taken out of the hands of the incoming democratic government.

By means of what might be called the granting of autonomous status to strategic state institutions, the government lost control of the National Television Council, the seven directors of which were Pinochet appointees.

As Manuel Alcántara Sáez correctly points out, the make-up of the National Security Council under the 1980 constitution is far from democratic.<sup>20</sup> Its members are the commanders of the three branches of the armed forces and the general director of the Carabineers—these four alone make up a majority—plus the presidents of the republic, the Senate and the Supreme Court. The president of the republic alone cannot recall the Council, but must have two more members' votes to do so; and the legal quorum is four members.<sup>21</sup>

It is the Council's duty to judge "any event, act or item which in its opinion may represent a grave threat to the country's institutions or could compromise national security."<sup>22</sup>

In the same vein, it is important to note that the dictatorship hastened to dissolve the National Center for Information (previously the National Directorate of Information [DINA], the military and political intelligence agency, with its somber history of repression), transferring several of its members to the army, thereby putting them out of reach of the judiciary and under the direct orders of the Pinochetists.

### The process of inertia

Francisco Franco arrogantly wrote in his political testament that he had "left everything neatly tied up"; Pinochet shared that wish and introduced all sorts of "padlocks."

However, the election of President Aylwin was a catalyst for a democratic process which slowly but surely began to take on a rhythm of its own: while Pinochet and the armed forces have retained the role of arbiters they took upon themselves, they have not had the opportunity to interfere in political life; city governments once again became elected bodies; mid-term elections were democratically held; and criminal investigations were cautiously opened up regarding some of the most heinous crimes committed under the authoritarian regime.

<sup>19</sup> Article 98 of the 1980 constitution.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>21</sup> Articles 95 and 96 of the constitution.

<sup>22</sup> Article 96, Fraction B of the constitution.

Only four years after the first free elections since 1973, the outcome is impressive: the Congress and the Constitutional Tribunal have been restored to functioning; political parties function normally; the state of emergency was replaced by the rule of law; the armed forces are increasingly controlled by civilian authorities; the repressive police apparatus has been dismantled and the Carabineers subjected to civilian rule; the administration of justice has been reformed; civic freedoms are exercised; society is going through a process of reconciliation; and rules of civic responsibility are developing in political life.

Clearly, the limits imposed by Pinochet have not canceled out the enormous democratizing effort Chileans have made. Quite the contrary: it has become evident that a transition is above all else a collective venture of intelligence, pragmatism and prudence.

### The elections of consolidation

On December 11, 1993, the first elections in more than twenty years carried out under the aegis of a completely democratic government were held. The results point to the fact that the limited transition has entered a phase of clear consolidation. It is to the democrats' credit that, headed by Aylwin, they were perceptive enough to understand that the restoration process would take on a dynamic of its own, ridding itself of Pinochet's "padlocks."

It is worth reemphasizing that they understood that a genuine transition is a process of inertia whereby—though the authoritarian regime may initially intend to limit, dictate and graduate democratic change—when the process reaches a certain point, it changes, beginning to depend less and less on the authoritarians and more and more on the democratic forces involved.

The results of the autumn elections (which pushed the Pinochetists into their own final winter) allow for no confusion: Frei, who nominated Aylwin four years ago and in 1993 was the candidate of a center-left coalition, won an absolute majority of votes (58%), thereby making a second round of elections unnecessary. The same coalition also won a congressional majority, thus contributing to governability and the efficient operation of political institutions.<sup>23</sup> The elections were peaceful, credible and legitimate, giving rise to no controversies whatsoever. At the same time, historic political currents consolidated themselves, pushing the Pinochetists electorally to the sidelines for good (their vote dropped from 30% in 1989 to 6% in 1993).

It is noteworthy that for the first time since 1915 a presidential candidate from the same political grouping as the outgoing administration won the elections **M**

<sup>23</sup> Of 120 congressional seats, the PPI coalition won 70, and of 18 senatorial seats up for election, it won 9.

# Mexico's presidential candidates

*Hernán Ancona C.\**

**T**he political scene is set, the lights are on and the entire cast of nine actors have begun to deliver their lines with a vengeance; their supporters and the circumstances demand no less.

The Mexican electorate can look forward to a wide range of political options including Luis Donaldo Colosio (PRI), Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (PRD), Diego Fernández de Cevallos (PAN), Pablo Emilio Madero (UNO), Cecilia Soto (PT), Jorge González Torres (PVEM), Marcela Lombardo Otero (PPS), Rafael Aguilar Talamantes (PFCRN) and Alvaro Pérez Treviño (PARM).

The candidates' initially lackluster performance was followed by a radical change, largely as a result of the uprising launched by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN). Although experts say the EZLN will not guarantee the transition to democracy with acts of violence, it has made the country's leaders aware that democracy has become a necessary pre-requisite for social peace.

The terms of the new Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures have forced minority and so-called satellite<sup>1</sup> parties to offer presidential candidates.

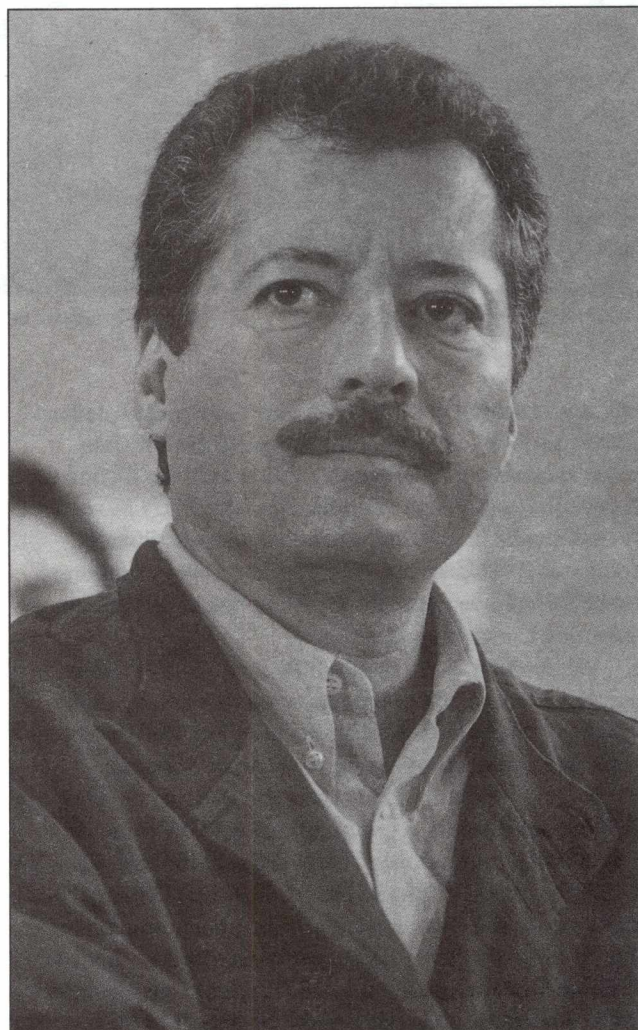
The forthcoming August 21 elections will be the most hotly contested in the country's modern history. Yet while the number of candidates is the largest in recent years, only three candidates are thought to be really in the running: Luis Donaldo Colosio, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Diego Fernández de Cevallos.

The long list of candidates includes two women, who, although little-known in the national political scene and virtually outside of the hard-fought contest, also form part of this smorgasbord of options: Marcela Lombardo Otero and Cecilia Soto González.

Daughter of the socialist ideologue Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the 67-year-old Marcela enjoys the benefits of her paternal surname, but lacks any political background. Since her youth she devoted herself to organizing cultural events as part of the construction of the Popular Socialist Party (PPS), founded by her father in 1949.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., those which traditionally backed the PRI. (Editor's note.)

\* Journalist.



*Luis Donaldo Colosio (PRI).*

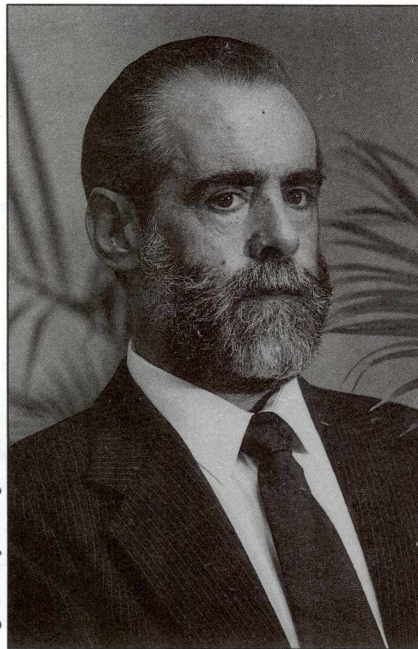
Marcela Lombardo graduated as a teacher in 1943, and as an economist from UNAM in 1948. She carried out studies in science in Canada and was awarded a Ph.D. *honoris causa* by the Simón Bolívar University of Colombia, to name but a few of her academic qualifications. Despite having served as a member of congress on two occasions, Lombardo has always been far removed from the dynamic activities of party life, charged

Marco Antonio Cruz / Imagenlatina.



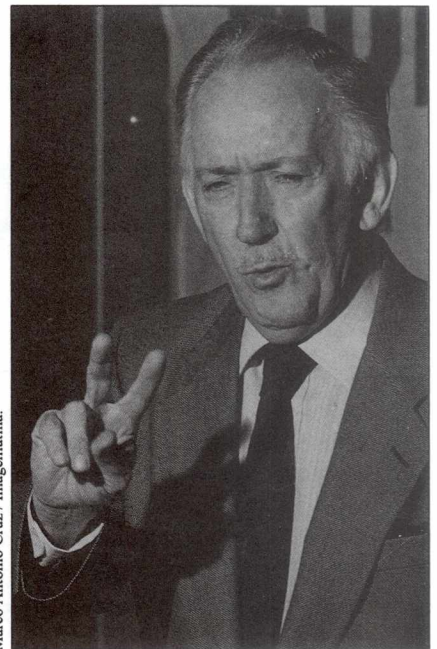
Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (PRD).

Angeles Torrejón / Imagenlatina.



Diego Fernández de Cevallos (PAN).

Marco Antonio Cruz / Imagenlatina.



Pablo Emilio Madero (UNO).

only with running the PPS's Vicente Lombardo Toledano Center for Philosophical, Political and Social Studies.

It should be mentioned that this is only the second time in over 50 years that the Popular Socialist Party has offered its own candidate, the last one being when its founder, Lombardo Toledano, ran. The PPS had always supported the PRI's candidacies, with the exception of 1988 when it supported Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas.

While there is not much to be said about Marcela Lombardo's election prospects, even less can be said about Cecilia Soto González, about whom little is known or remarked except in her native state of Sonora.

In 1985, she joined the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM), a grouping that split off from the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in the mid-50s.

As a student of physics at the National University of Mexico, Cecilia Soto participated in student movements. One of these allegedly had a profound effect on her life: the June 10 demonstration in 1971, which was repressed by police forces. A social activist on behalf of the working class, of great prestige in her home state, Cecilia Soto was a member of the Sonora legislature during its 52nd term.

With a candidacy born from in-fighting within the Labor Party (PT)—given that until recently she was a member of the PARM—the 43-year-old Soto considers that a social movement like the one she represents has possibilities of becoming a viable option for voters.

In contrast, several things can be said about Jorge González Torres, the candidate of the Mexican Green

Ecology Party (PVEM), but very few or none in his favor. The dominant feature of this presidential hopeful, in the words of political analysts, is that he does honor to his party's colors—in other words, he is a bit green for this sort of thing.

González Torres has come under attack from all sides; both from ecological groups who reject the political use of ecological phenomena and from the opposition, which argues that his party was created at the government's behest to steal votes from Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

Born in Mexico City, González Torres began his political career in the early '80s when he led the "Work, Democracy and Social Justice" brigade, aimed at demanding solutions to problems in poor neighborhoods. Later, as a result of the influence of environmental deterioration in Mexico City, the brigade decided to change tack, becoming the National Ecological Alliance, which later changed its name to the Mexican Green Ecological Party.

An industrial relations graduate from the Ibero-American University, González Torres has joined the presidential race with no political background or gifts, no team, cadres or party structures. Although he states that his party has principles and a platform, very few know what these might be, and many doubt the feasibility of proposing a serious government structure based on environmental and ecological recovery.

Diego Fernández de Cevallos, leader of the National Action Party (PAN), has already had a taste of power. Even

## As we go to press...

Luis Donaldo Colosio was assassinated at the end of a campaign event in a low-income neighborhood in Tijuana, Baja California, on the afternoon of March 23. Taken to the city's General Hospital, he died three hours later as a result of the two shots he received point-blank—one in the abdomen and one in the head—from a .38-caliber revolver.

President Carlos Salinas, after receiving the news of the candidate's death, delivered an address to the nation in which he condemned the assassination: "There is no political or moral reason for violence to be justified in Mexico; this is an affront because there was a climate of dialogue, understanding and negotiation among political forces aimed at leading the diversity of proposals along the path of law and legal reform."

He stressed that energetic and rapid efforts would be made to clarify the assassination within the framework of the law, while making a call for concord: "The Mexican people must be assured that at all times we will abide by the Constitution and laws of the country.... Political and party leaders have communicated to me their conviction and commitment to act responsibly in accordance with these new circumstances.... Today, the best way of showing love for Mexico and faith in its future is to strengthen our unity and for our voice of concord, as one people, be heard in all corners of our motherland and throughout the world."

All presidential candidates condemned the assassination and announced the suspension of their campaigns.

In three months of campaigning—beginning on January 10—Colosio travelled through 21 of the republic's 32 states, seeking to convince the citizenry of his commitment to politically transforming the country, strengthening democracy and guaranteeing clean elections on August 21, as well as restoring credibility to his party, whose links with the government have guaranteed the victory of its candidates for over 60 years.

His will for change while "conserving what is valuable" was expressed in his most important speech. On March 6, during the PRI's 65th anniversary celebration, he stated:

*We will lead a new stage in Mexico's political transformation.... Today we are living amidst competition and we must abide by competition, and in order to do this we must leave behind old practices: those of a PRI which carried out dialogue only with itself and with the government, those of a party which did not need to make a big effort in order to win. As a party in competition, today the PRI's victories are not guaranteed in advance; it has to fight for them.... We want neither concessions outside the framework of votes nor votes outside the framework of the law!...*

*I state my commitment to reforming government in order to democratize it and put an end to any vestige of authoritarianism.... Reforming government means a presidency strictly subject to the constitutional limits established by its republican and democratic origin... strengthening and respecting the role of the federal Congress... making the system of administering justice an independent body, with the highest level of respect and certainty among the institutions of our republic... bringing the government to communities through a new federalism... this also means new methods of administration....*

*I hope that together we will broaden the autonomy and fortify the impartiality of our electoral institutions, so that the will of the people, and only that will, determines the results of elections. Reliable, certain, regular and clean elections cannot remain mere aspirations.... This is the reason for our commitment to having observers of the electoral process....*

*In these months of intense travel throughout the country, of visits to many communities, of contact and dialogue with my party and all the citizenry, I have met the Mexico of justified complaints, long-standing grievances and new demands; the Mexico of hopes, which calls for answers and can wait no longer....*

*I see a Mexico with a hunger and thirst for justice. A Mexico of people aggrieved by the distortions imposed on the law by those who should instead be serving the law. Of women and men afflicted by the authorities' abuse and the arrogance of government offices. I see citizens anguished by the lack of security....*

*My commitment is to all Mexicans: to fight against inequality and prevent the creation of new privileges for groups or regions.... The time has come for Mexico's different regions to better use the resources, abilities and talents of each of the country's communities... for a regional development which opens up the hopes of every corner of Mexico....*

*This is the time to overcome the arrogance of centralism... to resolutely support the municipalities... to give greater political and financial power to our states... to fully guarantee the conservation of our ecology... of high-quality, nationalist education.... Education is our greatest battle for the future. We will provide it with greater resources....*

*We want a united, strong, sovereign Mexico; a Mexico of liberties and peace, because the channels of democracy and justice are broad.*

**Luis Donaldo Colosio, rest in peace.**

**The editors.**

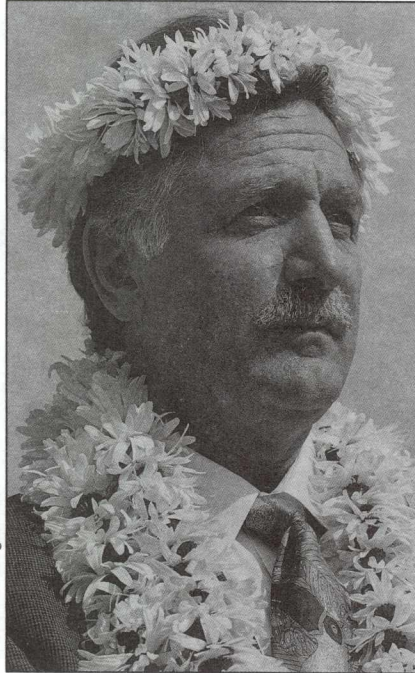


Héctor García / Imagenlatina.



Cecilia Soto (PT).

Martín Salas / Imagenlatina.



Jorge González Torres (PVEM).

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Marcela Lombardo (PPS).

though its presidential candidates have invariably been defeated by the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the PAN's political situation is promising, since it currently has three governorships (Baja California, Chihuahua and Guanajuato), 99 mayors, 232 federal and local congresspeople, one senator and 2,000 municipal officers throughout the country.

Nevertheless, the PAN's success has given rise to questions both inside and outside party ranks. Its leaders have been accused of achieving electoral and political successes through alliances with the government, with the PRI's agreement, and of abandoning the party's original doctrinal principles. As a result, the PAN has lost several outstanding members, many of whom now belong to the Doctrinal and Democratic Forum, which, once established as a political party, decided to support Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano's presidential candidacy.

Since its founding, the PAN has been closely associated with the Catholic church. Its declaration of principles is based on a doctrine regarded as humanistic and democratic and on a political philosophy characterized by conservatism, as attested by the priority given to private property and its desire to exclude the state from managerial control. Broadly speaking, this is the party represented by Diego Fernández de Cevallos in the presidential race.

Born in Mexico City on March 16, 1941, Diego Fernández de Cevallos obtained his law degree at the National University of Mexico. Since his youth, his political career has been linked to the National Action Party, and he was greatly influenced by his father, one of the party's

founders. A charismatic but controversial personality, he has been accused of "agreement-concession politics" a reference to his negotiations with the government.

Under the shadow of party infighting and reproaches against his line of action, Fernández de Cevallos has so far elicited a muted response from his followers, who hope his campaign will gather strength over time. However, his bid is still regarded as having great potential.

A former PAN member, Pablo Emilio Madero Belden reappeared on the election scene sporting the red and white colors of a minority party, the Mexican Democratic Party (PDM), renamed for the elections as the National Opposition Union (UNO). This party is also linked to the Mexican right and is the inheritor of the far-right "Synarchist" movement.

As well as having been the leader of the PAN and a member of congress, Madero also sought the presidency in 1982. A native of Coahuila, now resident in Monterrey, Madero left the ranks of the PAN, because, as he explained, "We were fighting against the constitutional reform that opened the way to the 'self-assessment' of the Chamber of Deputies and Senators and the inclusion of magistrates chosen by the president in the Federal Electoral Tribunal, and the PAN agreed to accept this setback."

A co-founder, together with other distinguished former PAN members, of the Democratic Forum Party, which he later quit, Pablo Emilio Madero is now criticized for accepting the candidacy of a party that seeks only to preserve its legal registration, thereby dividing a powerful-



looking opposition. At the age of 72 —the oldest presidential candidate ever— Madero is thought to enjoy the support of only a few disgruntled PAN members.

First among the front-runners, in spite of everything, is Luis Donaldo Colosio, the PRI candidate who in the past eight years has occupied all the posts one could aspire to: deputy, senator, presidential campaign coordinator, party leader, secretary of state and now presidential nominee.

Born in 1950 in Magdalena de Kino, Sonora, Colosio was educated in public primary and secondary schools. He later graduated in economics from the Monterrey Technological Institute. Two years later, in 1974, he left for Pennsylvania where he obtained a master's degree in regional development and urban economics.

Spokesman and energetic lobbyist for programs to combat poverty during his time as head of the Ministry of Social Development, the coordinating body for the National Solidarity Program, Colosio is regarded as the candidate of continuity, as attested by his first campaign speech, during which he paid homage to Carlos Salinas as the "president of modernity."

Colosio outlined his plan for government in that same speech: complete exercise of Mexico's sovereignty, free trade, favorable conditions for competitiveness, improved rules for political competition, regional development, recovery of marginalized zones and continuity in the fight against inflation.

Although he benefitted from the work of the National Solidarity Program, created to attack extreme poverty,

Colosio more than any other candidate will have to overcome the weight of the Chiapas conflict and combat opposition taunts that his "continuity" will only prolong the current administration.

Under pressure from the current situation and overshadowed by events in Chiapas, Colosio Murrieta has had to strengthen his campaign by focusing more on the country's marginalized zones and, above all, stating that he will unconditionally respect the outcome of elections. The country's political and social establishment favors this candidate.

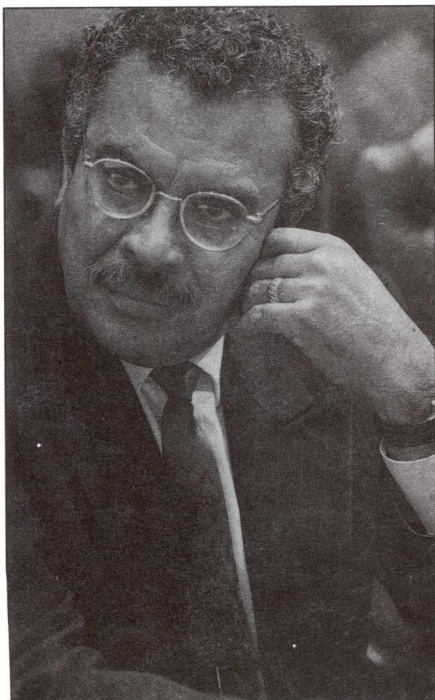
A controversial personality who inspires distrust among both leftist and rightist parties, Rafael Aguilar Talamantes is currently candidate of the Party of the Cardenista Front for National Reconstruction (PFCRN, not to be confused with Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' PRD). His political career began in 1958, when he identified himself with working-class struggles, for which he was eventually imprisoned.

Aguilar's political swings have taken him from the leadership of the Communist Youth to supporting the left wing of the government, and from his party's support of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' candidacy in 1988 to marked affinities with Salinas' government.

This Baja Californian undoubtedly lost whatever supporters he once may have had, when he discredited himself by taking his election campaign to Chiapas during the height of the armed conflict in that state.

The Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM) was late in offering its candidate, Alvaro Pérez Treviño, about whom only the barest minimum can be

Marco Antonio Cruz / Imagenlatina.



Rafael Aguilar  
Talamantes  
(PFCRN).

Héctor García / Imagenlatina.



Alvaro Pérez  
Treviño (PARM).

said, since he has hardly campaigned at all and has virtually restricted himself to making declarations from his native Tamaulipas.

The following quotation from Pérez serves to define the candidate's political profile: "Our proposal does not support the left, the right nor disorder. It supports legality and honesty." In political spheres, it is thought that Pérez Treviño will eventually step down and offer his party's support to the PRI.

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, former governor of his native Michoacán and son of former president Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, came into the political spotlight in 1988, when he made a bid for the presidency as representative of a coalition of parties grouped together as the National Democratic Front.

Cárdenas' candidacy shook the Mexican political system when his campaign proved unexpectedly successful. Although the official vote count established the PRI candidate as the winner, some sectors of the population believed that Cárdenas was the real winner. The famous "collapse" of the computerized vote-tally system and the Electoral College's difficulty in assessing the results fed people's doubts.

Founded by a group of former members of the PRI who led that party's so-called Democratic Current—headed by Cárdenas himself and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo [a former president of the PRI]—as well as a combination of different leftist organizations, notably the Mexican Socialist Party, the Party of the Democratic Revolution has come to be regarded as the PRI's main political opponent in the five years since it was formed.

The party's main proposals include the creation of opportunities for a free, egalitarian and equitable society; democratization of the state; encouragement of private enterprise; fair distribution of wealth; unlimited respect for the *ejido*,<sup>2</sup> communal land and smallholdings; and stimulation of industrial development. Despite the burden of his PRI background, Cárdenas is still in the line of battle.

The most important issue at stake for the country is the re-establishment of a lasting, equitable peace. A prerequisite for this is democratic progress, which can be achieved only through impartial, democratic and indisputable elections accepted by Mexico's citizens and political forces alike ❧

<sup>2</sup> A form of common land ownership established after the Mexican Revolution. (Editor's note.)

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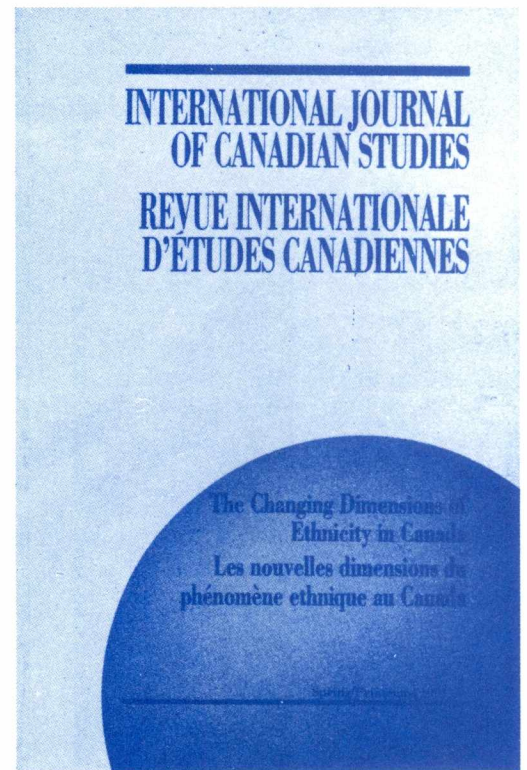
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# Women and electoral politics: the Canadian federal elections of 1993

*Verónica Vázquez García \**

**T**he Canadian federal elections of October 25, 1993 were distinguished by an unprecedented presence of women in the electoral process. The results, however, were uneven. While two parties that were led by women for the first time in Canadian history suffered a crushing, historic defeat on election day,<sup>1</sup> the number of female candidates elected to Parliament was higher than ever before.<sup>2</sup>

This situation raises a number of questions regarding women's role in electoral politics: how did other party leaders, the media and the electorate respond to the fact that two major parties were led by women? What role will a relatively large number of

female Members of Parliament play in the future government? Does women's presence in election campaigns and in Parliament facilitate the discussion of women's issues and the achievement of gender equality in Canadian society at large?

The purpose of this article is to answer some of these questions. I will focus on the dramatic defeat of one of the two parties led by women, the PCP, and argue that Campbell was obliged to run her campaign under very difficult circumstances, despite the image-building crusade she undertook during the summer of 1993.

The real story behind the defeat of the PCP under Campbell's leadership is that the party had little chance of

reelection after nine years of failed attempts to reduce the deficit and reconcile Quebec nationalism with federalism, and two years of recession and high unemployment. As at other moments in Canadian history, a woman was given leadership of a major party when its possibilities for winning were minimal and a new image was required.

## **Kim Campbell's election campaign**

The election of Kim Campbell as the leader of the PCP in June of 1993 made her the first woman prime minister in Canadian history. But the task facing her was not easy. Brian Mulroney's administration had hit historic lows in opinion polls for several years, and he was personally disliked by many Canadians.

Campbell thus started a crusade to make the public forget Mulroney's nine-year administration. She spent the summer traveling across the country to meet voters informally and spread the message that the Conservative Party would be different under her leadership from what it had been under Mulroney.

"Her attempts at differentiating herself reaped success as polls showed her popularity, and that of her party, rising. By Labour Day [September 6], she was the two-to-one favorite for Prime Minister." The policies were a little shopworn, "but the Conservatives had a new image—that of a smart, energetic woman with quiet managerial skills—that

<sup>1</sup> These parties are the Progressive Conservative Party, led by Kim Campbell, and the New Democratic Party, led by Audrey McLaughlin. The number of parliamentary seats they hold fell from 169 in 1988 to 2 in 1993 and from 43 in 1988 to 9 in 1993, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The number of female candidates in federal elections has grown consistently since 1980. In that year women accounted for 5 per cent of the total number of candidates running for the Progressive Conservative Party, 8.2 per cent for the Liberal Party and 11 per cent for the New Democratic Party. In 1984 the percentage rose to 8.2 per cent for the PCP, 16 per cent for the LP and 22.7 per cent for the NDP, while in 1988 it further increased to 12.5 per cent for the PCP, 17.3 per cent for the LP and 28.5 per cent for the NDP (Young, 1991:82). The number of female candidates increased once again in the 1993 elections: 23 per cent or 67 women running for the PCP; 22 per cent or 64 women running for the LP; 38 per cent or 113 women running for the NDP; 11 per cent or 23 running for the Reform Party; 13 per cent or 10 women running for the Bloc Québécois (*La Presse*, October 1, 1993). Accordingly, the number of women who were elected to Parliament in 1993 was higher than ever before: 54 of the female candidates will be going to the House of Commons, 16 more than in 1988. This number represents slightly less than 20 per cent of the 295 seats, and comes close to the "30 per cent critical mass"—that is, the point at which feminists believe "the number of women starts to significantly influence the operation of Parliament and raise issues of special interest to women high in the political agenda. The theory is based on European parliaments that have had a high proportion of women as members" (Makin: October 27, 1993).

\* Researcher at the CISAN, UNAM.

they thought would sell" (Campbell and Sallot: October 26, 1993).

Campbell called for a federal election in early September. Despite her summer crusade and a 36 per cent support rating in opinion polls,<sup>3</sup> she started the campaign under difficult circumstances. Brian Mulroney had taken over the party in 1983 after a divisive leadership battle with Joe Clark, yet had a year to heal the wounds before heading into an election. In contrast, Campbell had little time to unify the party (Sallot: October 1, 1993).

She had become the leader of the PCP in opposition to Mulroney, who threw his support to Jean Charest. On taking office, Campbell refused to reach out to Charest, and Mulroney was forced to mediate. Campbell also turned to advisers in whom Mulroney had little confidence (Thorsell: October 27, 1993).

As a relative newcomer to the party, Campbell was unable to coordinate her election campaign adequately. She was unknown to some of the key people who surrounded her; even some members of her own campaign team hardly knew her. A Tory veteran who saw her up close said Campbell was "uncomfortable with some of the strategy that the campaign organization" had laid out for her, and that she lacked "Mulroney's instinctive understanding of why the advisers are proposing certain things to her." By the middle of the campaign, there were rumors of conflicts between the staff on the road and party headquarters (Sallot: October 1, 1993).

Campbell headed straight into an election with her personality as the party's major card, confident that it was sufficient to put her into office. As Mendelssohn suggests, these elections were distinguished by the contenders' reliance on leadership qualities rather than on values and competing visions of Canada. None of the issues raised—whether taxes, the deficit, or job creation—was as much of a key factor as the 1988 free-trade debate (Mendelssohn, quoted by Murray Campbell: October 7, 1993).

Campbell in particular emphasized image-building rather than debates over policies or social programs. As Frank Davey pointed out during the campaign, "In Kim Campbell's case, the dividing line between substantive issues and image projection is much less clear than it often is for a politician. She and her many images have themselves become campaign issues" (Frank Davey: September 16, 1993).

Campbell made the "politics of inclusion" or "new politics" an integral part of this image-building and the *leitmotif* of her campaign. Part of these new politics was her preference to meet with groups of voters and small crowds to answer questions rather than delivering rousing stump speeches or handing out daily policy statements. According to her, this style was both a lesson from the referendum campaign and a product of British Columbia (B.C.) politics, where "people are more frank. Saying what you think is not an unusual thing." In an interview with CKNW radio, she explained:

*Far from being arrogant, it seems to me that my whole approach to public life, going back to being a school trustee and even now, the campaign that I'm conducting now as prime minister, is to go out and talk to people and listen to them.... I've been taking my campaign to what I call "the locations of the new Canadian reality" and it's*

*been perplexing for some people who are already committed to vote for you, coming out and waving their signs.... I've been going into factories, and into schools and into town hall meetings in unstructured, uncontrolled situations to try and show that... I believe this is a country that can survive and thrive. I see the strength of ordinary people who really understand what changes need to be made* (Campbell quoted by Susan Delacourt: September 28, 1993).

Campbell also attempted to be seen as above the fray of old-style confrontations between candidates. By September 23, she had made no comments on the Liberals' economic program and leader, Jean Chrétien, apart from a few dismissive remarks about "pork-barrel politics" and "wheel-barrows of money." She never spoke of the other parties except when asked by journalists. By late September PCP strategists were urging her to do so. The issues were NAFTA, the goods and services tax and the Liberals' economic program. She argued that "any gains from those policies would be more than offset by increases in inflation and the deficit" (Ross Howard: September 23, 1993).

Campbell's new politics also meant avoiding promises—or giving too many details that could be interpreted as promises. Trust and directness were major themes in the early part of her campaign. But as Chrétien's strategists—as well as members of the Reform Party—believe, by relying on trust rather than details Campbell seriously weakened her chances of winning (Ross Howard: September 21, 1993).

She wanted people to believe that she would eliminate the deficit, although she did not provide details as to how this could be accomplished. She declared that job creation and economic recovery were unlikely to happen before the end of the century, given that 12 per cent of Canadians were

<sup>3</sup> See Hugh Winsor, "Polls shows PCs, Liberals neck and neck. Campbell popularity key to rise in Tory support, Globe survey finds," in *The Globe and Mail*, September 16, 1993. The same survey showed that "even substantial numbers of people who plan to vote for other parties say she [Kim Campbell] would make the best Prime Minister. Among those are one-third of the Bloc Québécois supporters in Quebec, besides 16 per cent of Reform supporters and 16 per cent of Liberal supporters."

officially out of work. Her failure to give details on deficit reduction and job creation at a time of high unemployment and a huge federal deficit indicated that, despite her emphasis on new politics, she was not in touch with the reality many Canadians were living. For her, the important question was “how we practice politics”; talking about how many jobs she would create was “old politics” (Kim Campbell, quoted by Murray Campbell and Jeff Sallot: October 26, 1993).

Campbell realized too late that her personality and “new politics” were not enough to win. By late September, the Liberals were already five to seven points ahead in the polls. At that point Campbell dropped all references to “trust” with regard to her ability to overcome the deficit, and began not only discussing social and economic issues but attacking the Liberal program for economic recovery as well.

But the change in strategy only underlined the fact that Campbell could not separate herself from Mulroney’s legacy. She continued to emphasize deficit reduction and proved unable to link the issue of the deficit to job creation, social programs and economic recovery.<sup>4</sup> Voters turned to Jean Chrétien, who—while portraying himself as fiscally prudent—did not make deficit reduction the central issue of his campaign; instead he emphasized the importance of job creation. Those frustrated with the Conservatives’ inability to reduce the deficit, in spite of high taxation and cutbacks in social programs, went for Preston Manning,

who had argued that the deficit could be eliminated in three years and offered a plan to do so.

There are several lessons to be learned from Campbell’s experience. Although—according to Shari Graydon, president of Media Watch (quoted by Murray Campbell: October 12, 1993)—Campbell was in the main judged by the same standards as Jean Chrétien, Preston Manning and Lucien Bouchard, and male party leaders put aside whatever discomfort they professed to feel about fighting female party leaders, the fact that she had to rely heavily on image-building is indicative of gender discrimination in Canadian politics.

As former Manitoba Liberal leader Sharon Carstairs told Campbell “woman to woman” well before Mulroney’s resignation, Campbell “would win the Tory leadership, lose the general election and then have the party turn against her because she could not do the impossible” (quoted by Murray Campbell: October 12, 1993).

It is not a new feature in Canadian politics for women to be placed at the head of parties that find themselves in bad shape and with little chances of winning. Historically, parties have turned to women for leadership when they are in trouble or in the “last stages of power.” Among such cases are the B.C. Social Credit Party, which turned to Rita Johnson in 1991, and the federal NDP, which chose Audrey McLaughlin in 1989 “because it needed a breakthrough to become really competitive.”

Kim Campbell was also elected in June 1993 to “erase the legacy of the Mulroney guys-in-suits era” of the federal PCP. According to Bashevkin, “the conditions under which women are seen to have potential for leadership are when the party is on the skids enormously, when the competitive status is vastly diminished or when the party was never in a competitive position” (Bashevkin quoted by Murray Campbell: October 12, 1993).

Still, it is hard to affirm that Campbell was a victim of male-dominated parties. First, she believed that she could win on her own, without the support of some her own party’s members. Otherwise she would not have made critical comments about Mulroney, Mazankowski and Charest in an interview with Montreal’s *La Presse*—comments that resulted in party tensions breaking into the open (*The Globe and Mail*, October 18, 1993).

Second, she alienated female voters by avoiding discussions of women’s issues regarding social programs such as day care (which the Liberals did discuss), and by failing to respond to the attacks on feminism made by members of the Reform Party. As Judy Rebick, ex-president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, wrote in a letter to *The Globe and Mail*, Campbell had a chance to attract female voters with her politics of inclusion: “when she was behaving differently over the summer and when she was talking about being a woman Prime Minister and being a role model and bringing more women into politics, that is when her popularity soared.... If only she had done what she had promised” (*The Globe and Mail*, October 12, 1993).

Third and most importantly, Campbell did believe that politics was a friendly space for women. Despite her many remarks on the “loneliness” she felt in a male-dominated environment, Campbell was caught between the new image she was supposed to portray through a new politics of honesty, trust and consensus-building on the one hand, and the arrogance and lack of popularity of the party she represented on the other. Campbell is a liberal feminist who believed she could achieve anything she wanted to,<sup>5</sup> in a world made by men, for men.

<sup>4</sup> See Geoffrey York and Susan Delacourt, “Liberals outstrip Tories in polls,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 27, 1993. The authors believe that Campbell’s focus on deficit reduction hurt her campaign, at a time when 71 per cent of Canadians thought that job creation was more important than deficit reduction. Also, 71 per cent of Canadians did not believe that Campbell could fulfill her pledge to eliminate the deficit in five years, and two-thirds were convinced that she would continue Mulroney’s policies.

<sup>5</sup> During her campaign, Campbell loved to tell the story of a little girl who shook her hand as her mother said: “Now you can be anything you want.”

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**XX**  
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editores

## Novedades

La creación literaria

### LA PALABRAS ANDANTES Eduardo Galeano

Este libro está tejido con historias-leyendas sobre los espantos y encantos de la imaginación —provenientes de diferentes países latinoamericanos—, y breves ventanas que provienen de 'la vigilia de la realidad'. En esta obra no sólo habitan las palabras de Galeano sino los fantasmas, diablos, animales fabulosos y figuras grabadas en madera realizadas por el artista José Francisco Borges, maestro brasileño del antiguo arte del "cordel", folletín popular que se difunde, todavía, en los pueblos y mercados de su tierra.

La creación literaria

### EL POLVO Y EL ORO Julio TRAVIESO

Esta novela sitúa a su autor en la vanguardia de la literatura latinoamericana. Es la historia de la degradación y la riqueza, la fantasía y la verdad, una meditación gozosa de la historia cubana donde pueden advertirse múltiples aristas de la realidad actual; hecha con desenfado y riguroso oficio, con "sabio decir" como diría el académico. Además con profundo conocimiento del tema, aparece la santería afro-cubana y su efecto en la mentalidad de la Cuba actual.

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NOVIEMBRE-DICIEMBRE, 1993

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Jorge Carpizo McGregor. América Latina y sus problemas  
Andrzej Dembicz. Estudios latinoamericanos en Polonia. Retos y proyecciones  
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# The Olympic Museum

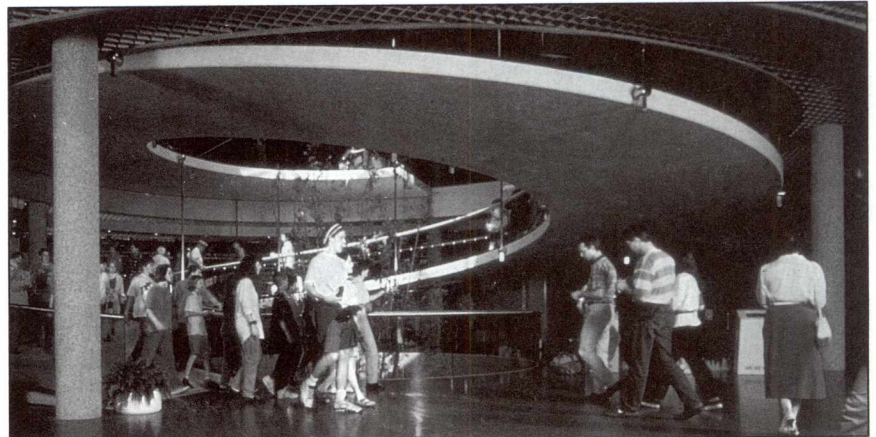
*Alejandro Lazo \**

**T**he Olympic Museum, the world's largest center of written, graphic and visual information on the Olympic Games, was inaugurated in Lausanne, Switzerland, on June 23, 1993. Through exhibiting works of art, historical artifacts, documents, videos and all kinds of objects related to the Olympic Games from ancient Greece up to the present day, the museum seeks to analyze that combination of sport, art and culture which Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Games, dubbed "Olympism."

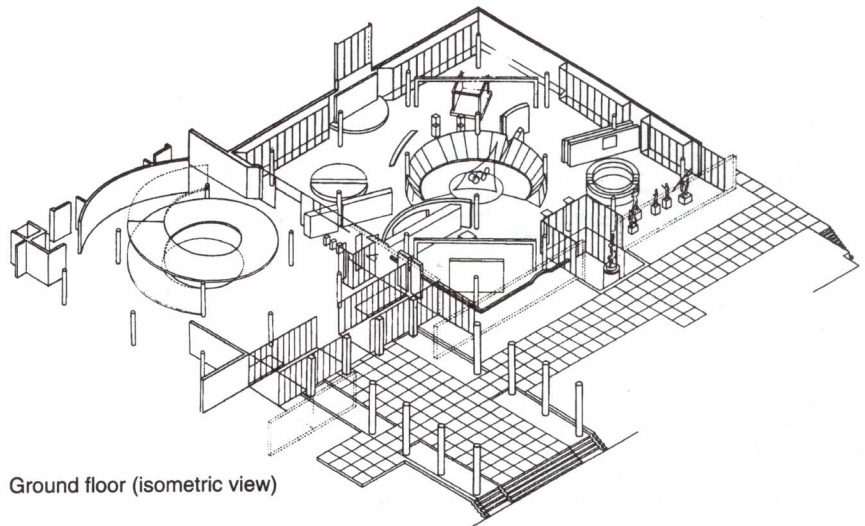
The museum is a new honor for Mexico and its architecture. It was created by architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, an exceptional Mexican who recently completed his fiftieth year in the profession, serving as an example of continual achievement for students and professionals in his field.

Ramírez Vázquez, a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), has defined the Olympic Museum as a center of information on the influence of the Olympic tradition on art, culture and world peace.

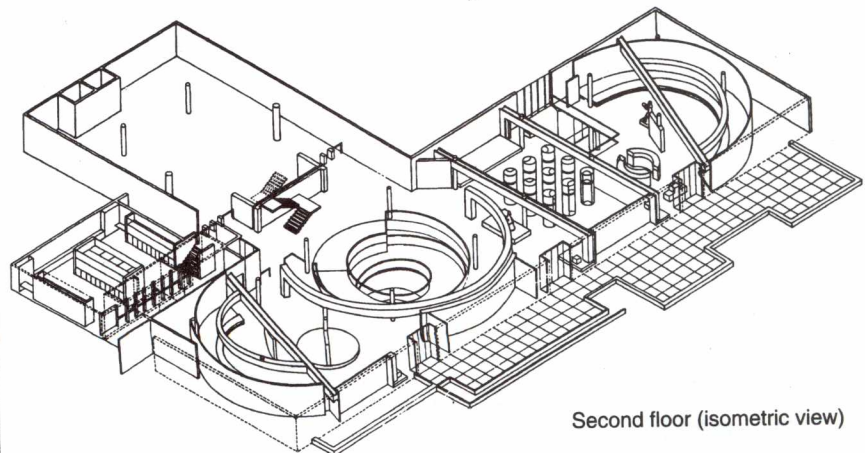
Regarding the nature of the museum, the architect says: "In 1915 Baron Pierre de Coubertin conceived the idea of a museum that would not only keep alive the tradition of the Olympic Games, which had recently been renewed, but also embody the ideals of the Olympic movement—the union of sport, art and culture, combined so as to produce the loftiest human achievements. Through the analysis of the Olympic Games from antiquity to the modern age, the museum will provide a complete overview of the history and evolution



*The museum is aimed primarily at children and young people.*



Ground floor (isometric view)

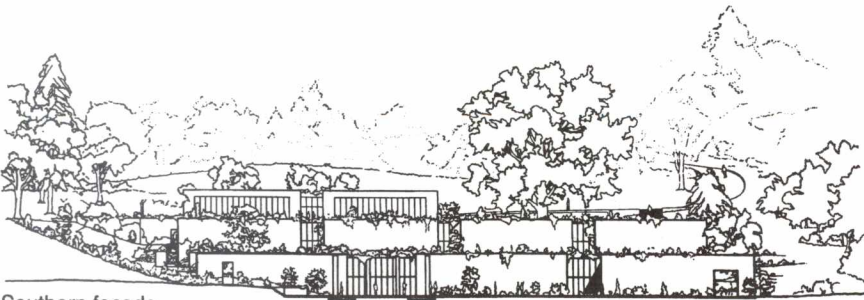


Second floor (isometric view)

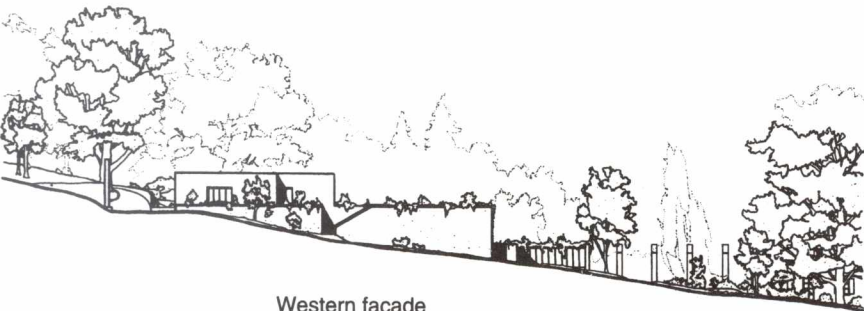
\* Industrial designer.



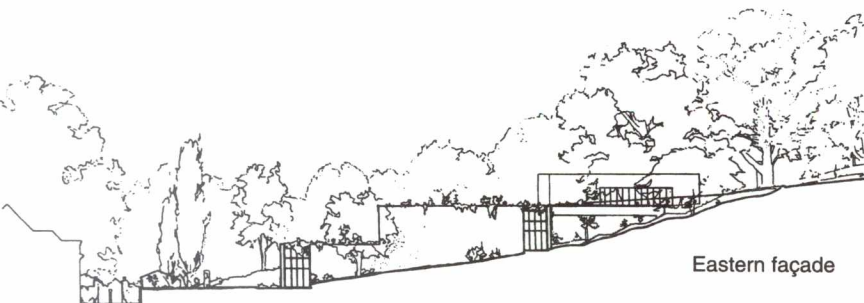
*White marble represents the purity and simplicity of the Olympic movement's ideals.*



Southern façade



Western façade



Eastern façade

of the games and will be a tribute to Coubertin, founder of the Olympic Movement.”

The museum is aimed fundamentally at children and young people, with the objective of creating harmony, understanding and mutual respect among them, using sports as a medium so that this seed may promote peace in the future. This message is transmitted through the architectural spaces and museum design, which function independently.

Interactive exhibits on the selection and training of competitors will represent an homage to the athletes who participate in the games, while other exhibits of a historical nature will outline the origins of the games, keeping alight the Greek tradition's flame. The museum's expositions, interactive videos and teaching resources will give visitors the opportunity to analyze the Olympic movement's role in modern society.

### **The museum building**

This is not simply another museum with its traditional exhibition halls, but also a center for information and motivation on Olympic ideals. The white marble used in its construction represents the purity and simplicity of the Olympic movement's ideals, as well as recalling the origin of the Olympic Games, since it was donated by the Greek government. IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch provided invaluable guidance and support for the conceptualization and realization of the museum project.

The design has nothing to do with additional decoration, but rather with a pre-existing visualization of the areas which were to be built and the way in which their contents would be housed. The spaces themselves create the atmosphere for the presentation of documents, objects, and the museum's exhaustive store of information. Thus the museum's interior is not conceived or constructed in an abstract



## Pedro Ramírez Vázquez

Over the fifty years of his professional life, he has designed buildings of all kinds as well as playing an outstanding role in many fields as organizer, builder, museum designer, public official, industrial and graphic designer, glazier, academic, promoter of a range of professions, advisor to Mexican and foreign businesses, etc.

Pedro Ramírez Vázquez's vast professional activity, as well as the high quality of his work, have won him international recognition and a place of honor in history and world art.

He was born in Mexico City on April 16, 1919 and educated at *UNAM*. In 1939 he was made a member of the University Council as representative of the students at the National School of Architecture, where he taught composition and urban planning. In 1952 he was part of the team that built the National School of Medicine at *UNAM*'s University City campus.

He served three consecutive terms (from 1953 to 1959) as president of the National Association of Architects and the Society of Mexican Architects. In 1956 he was awarded the Prize of Honor at the International Festival of Architecture and Monumental Art in Paris for the exhibition and book *4,000 años de arquitectura mexicana* (4,000 Years of Mexican Architecture).

In 1958 he was named general manager of the Federal School Construction Program. He created the prefabrication system used in the construction of 30,000 school buildings in Mexico and 17 countries of Latin America as well as the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Italy. As of 1990 this system had been used in the construction of more than two hundred thousand other buildings in Mexico.

In the sixties he planned and built the Mexico Pavilion at the Brussels Universal Exposition, winning Belgium's Gold Star Prize. He built the gallery of history in Mexico City's Chapultepec Park and the headquarters of the National Child Protection Institute in the southern part of the capital city.

He planned the design for the Mexico City Museum and in 1964 designed the Mexico Pavilion at the New York World Fair. That year he also inaugurated two extraordinary works, both located in Chapultepec Park: the National Museum of Anthropology and History and the Museum of Modern Art.

From 1965 to 1968 he designed the Secretariat of Foreign Relations building, the Japanese embassy and the Aztec Stadium, located in the capital, and Cuauhtémoc soccer stadium, in the city of Puebla. During that period he was named president of the Organizing Committee for the XIX Olympiad; under his direction several buildings were constructed in Mexico City for the games.

In the 70s he built the Mexico Pavilion at the World Exposition in Seattle, Washington; IMAN's Children's Hospital and Children's Home; and the "Tollocan Promenade" in Toluca (State of Mexico).

He was a founder and rector of the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, a unique and audacious departure in Mexico's higher education system. He served as an advisor in the design of the university while carrying out a range of other highly important works in Mexico City, such as the Basilica of Guadalupe and the Templo Mayor Museum.

Some of his most recent works are: the Tlalpan House of Culture; Puebla's Amparo Museum; the Chapel of Guadalupe in the Vatican; the Temple of Tocombo in Michoacán; the Library and Museum of the State of Mexico; the Mexico Pavilion at the World Fair in Seville; and the Museum of the Teotihuacan Pyramids.

way; it is directed towards future contents, towards those messages which will need to be communicated or transmitted—and it is also directed towards the services the museum seeks to provide to visitors.

The building is an example of the greatest respect for the environment and ecology—a characteristic of Swiss culture which should be emulated by us all. The architectural

design and construction were oriented to the preservation of existing green areas, and particularly to the conservation of the extraordinary oak tree which holds the statue of Pierre de Coubertin.

The water used in the air-conditioning system comes from the depths of a beautiful lake that faces the museum. The water is pumped from the lake and returned to it at a great

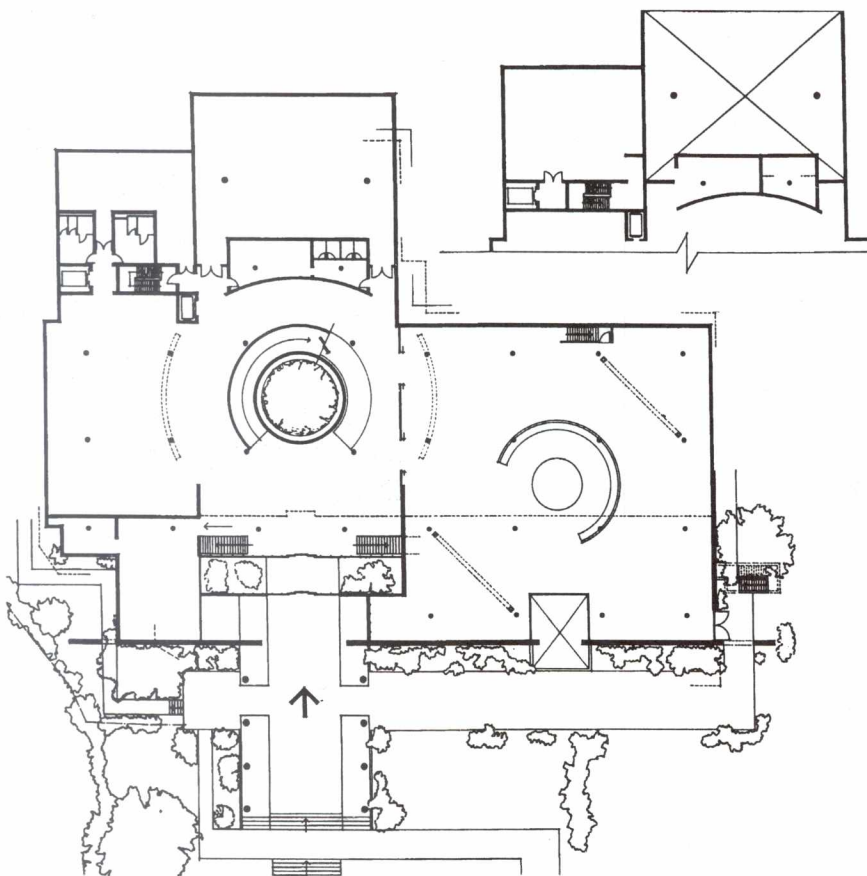
depth, in such a way as not to alter the normal characteristics of the lake.

### Facilities

The museum's facilities consist of two floors totalling more than 11,000 square feet of space for permanent and temporary exhibits. The permanent exhibits include: historical studies on the Olympic Games' origins in ancient Greece; dynamic and interactive



*The museum houses well-stocked archives of films and videos.*



Ground floor

presentations on various Olympic sports; exhibits tracing the games' influence on art, design and urban planning through the 20th century.

The collection of art work ranges from Greek and Etruscan pieces to paintings and sculptures by such artists as Auguste Rodin, Antoni Tàpies, Jean Tinguely and Robert Graham. The museum also has a very complete collection of Olympic coins and stamps, an archive of 200,000 photographs and a wide-ranging collection of other objects relating to the Olympics, back to the beginning of the games' modern epoch in 1896.

The museum includes a broad range of information services, libraries, well-stocked archives and videos. Exhibits make use of historical data on each period and events related to the Olympic Games, making extensive use of electronic methods in four languages. Thus, the museum is both educational and interactive, and the range of possibilities means each visit can be made into a unique and different experience.

The information systems allow visitors to consult facts related to the winter and summer games, up to the ones that have taken place most recently. This is, therefore, a one-of-a-kind museum, with a data bank which is updated every two years.

The museum will house the world's most complete archive of films and videos on Olympic themes, 7,000 hours of images in all. Equipped with the most advanced interactive audio-visual equipment, it will permit both casual visitors as well as researchers to trace the history of the games and the Olympic movement through time, and to have access to every kind of visual and written information. This modern technology, including high-resolution television, will also provide enormous capacities for communication through fiber optics and satellite transmission.

As a symbol of the Olympic Games, an eternal flame will burn near the entrance to the building **M**

# The University Museum of Contemporary Art

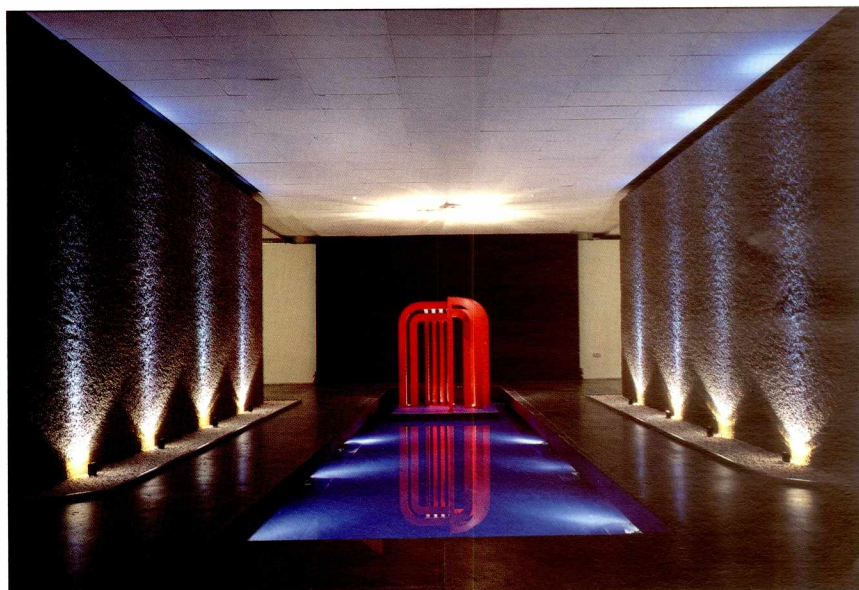
**T**he University Museum of Contemporary Art (formerly the University Science and Art Museum) was set up in 1960 next to the Architecture Faculty in University City.

From the time of its establishment until last November, the museum alternated art exhibitions with exhibits on scientific and humanistic topics. However, since the creation of the “Universum” Science Museum (see *Voices of Mexico* 25), it has been exclusively devoted to contemporary art.

Occupying 2,800 square yards, its adaptability has made it a model for other museums. In 1961, Julio Scherer, then a reporter for *Excelsior* newspaper, wrote that the museum “Has a spacious entrance hall.... Simply walking inside gives one a marvelous impression. The museum’s construction —there are no pillars— is certainly eye-catching. But the light inside, which permits full visibility due to the combination of natural and artificial light, is what is initially most striking.”

The University Museum of Contemporary Art holds about four large exhibitions and three smaller ones annually, thanks to the participation of institutions and private collectors who lend their art collections for this purpose.

During its three decades of existence, the museum has held painting, sculpture, engraving and photography exhibitions, covering such diverse topics as astronomy, mathematics, biology, law, accounting, and industrial and graphic design.



*Sebastian, Cathedral, painted metal, 1989.*

Some of these exhibitions have had great museological importance.

The first exhibitions held here were “Pre-Columbian Art of the Gulf,” coinciding with the American Society of Anthropology’s first meeting in Mexico, and the “First Salon of Student Painting at UNAM,” which included 194 paintings by 80 beginning artists who participated in the First University Painting Competition.

*El Universal* newspaper (March 8, 1960) commented, “Doubtless some of the great Mexican painters of the future will be included among the competitors.” As indeed they were. The first and second prize-winners, Miguel Hernández Urbán and Edmundo Aquino Pérez respectively, as well as Leonardo Nierman, who received honorable mention, would take part in the 1990 exhibition, “Three Decades of Plastic Expression.”

January 1961 saw the inauguration of the exhibition “Artistic Treasures of Peru,” which included 212 pieces of gold and Peruvian art from all periods. Visitors flocked to see the exhibition, whose success is still remembered.

In 1968, the museum held an exhibition on “Kinetic Art,” which brought apparatuses that worked with light, electricity, water, foam or bubbles and earth.

The 18 kinetic settings were produced by artists from 11 countries, and aimed to rediscover natural elements through technical and mechanical means. The museum was conceived as a labyrinthine unit in which the public would move from one setting to the next to experience the impact of each work.

Among the most striking rooms were those with stroboscopic light,



Leopoldo Flores,  
Man-Sun, Cosmovitral  
of Toluca.



Jorge Quiroz,  
Isabel Cibernetica,  
mixed media, 1988.



Sergio Dorantes.

"2000 A.D." exhibition.

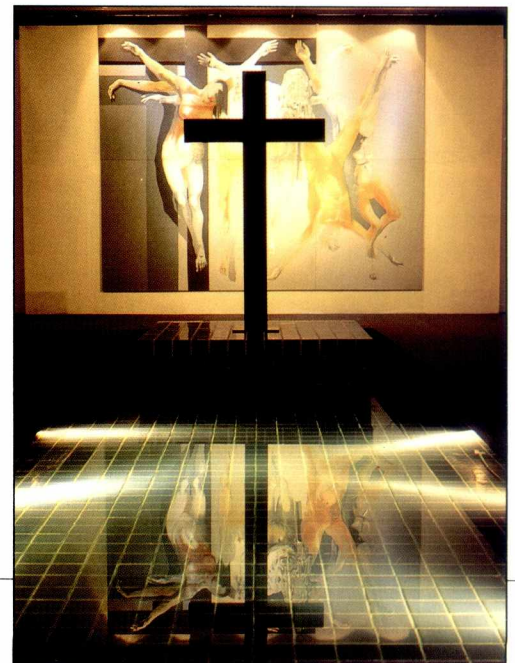


Sergio Dorantes.

A sample of the  
beautiful layout of  
"2000 A.D."  
exhibition.



Xavier Esqueda,  
Monument, oil on  
canvas, 1988.



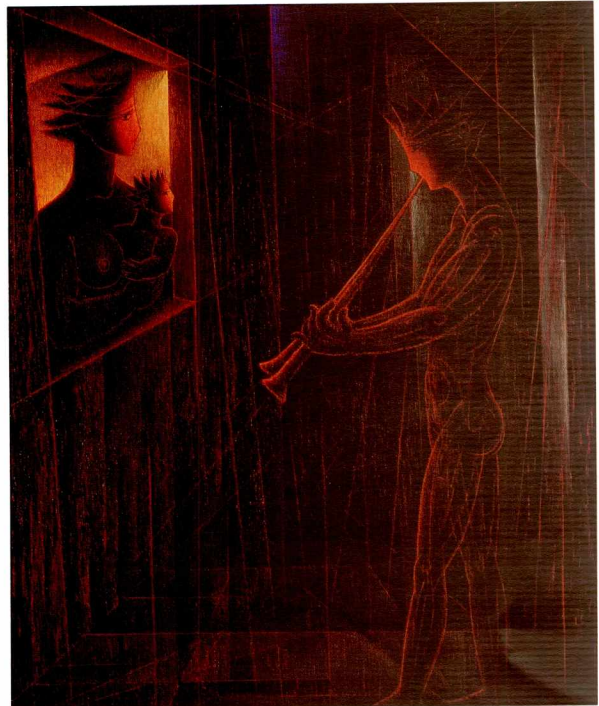
Leopoldo Flores,  
Don't Cry, My Daughters  
of Jerusalem, 1993.

Sergio Dorantes.

Sergio Dorantes.



*Leopoldo Flores, Jesus in the River, 1993.*



*Miguel Hernández Urbán, Family, acrylic on canvas, 1990.*

Sergio Dorantes.



*Leopoldo Flores, Hanged with His Umbilical Cord (center), 1983.*

Sergio Dorantes.



*Entrance to the "2000 A.D." exhibition.*



*Benjamín Domínguez, Hell, oil on canvas, 1989.*

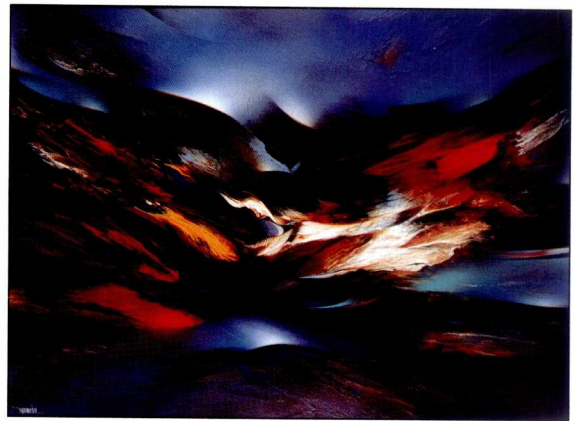
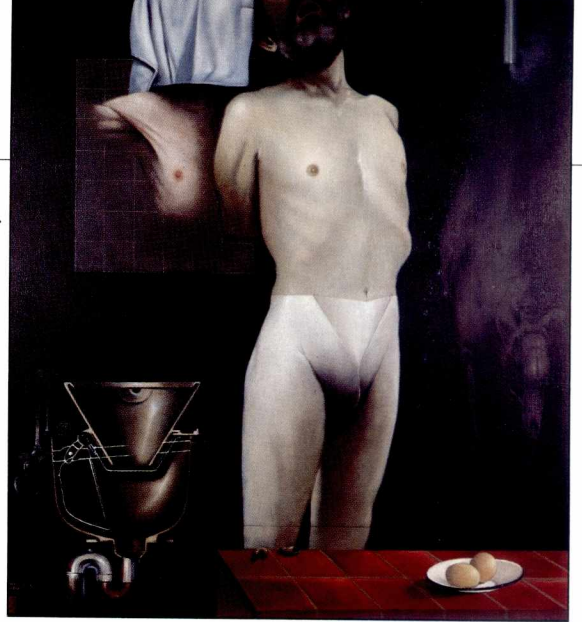
*Leopoldo Flores, Andromeda, Cosmovitral of Toluca.*



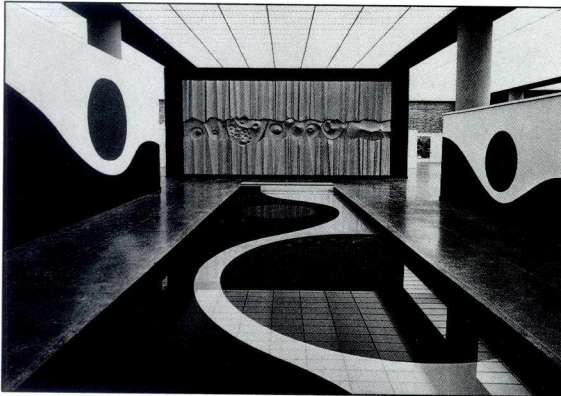


Ana Luisa Domini, Nocturnal Butterfly, 1986.

Arturo Rivera,  
Region of  
Variations,  
oil on canvas,  
1987-1989.



Leonardo Nierman,  
Genesis, mixed  
media on  
fiberboard, 1990.

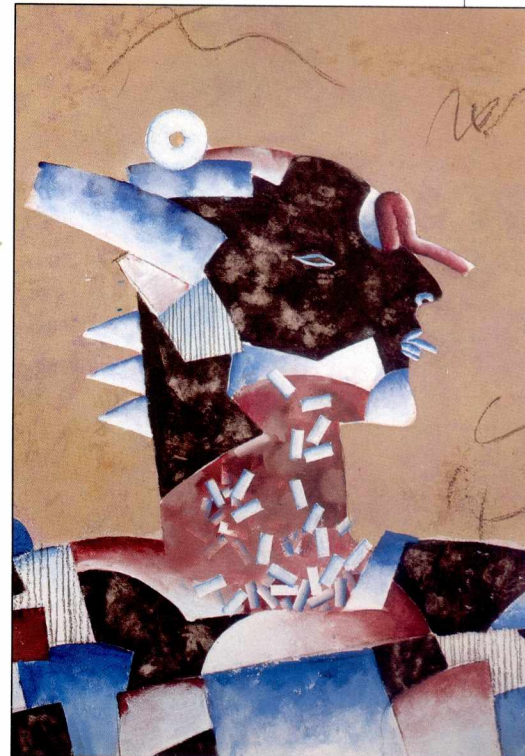


Tapio Wirkkala, Last Bulrush, mural on wood, 1972.



Esther González,  
The Ermine Woman,  
oil on canvas, 1990.

Brian Nissen,  
Medium Profile,  
acrylic on canvas, 1981.





Fernando Ramos Prida,  
Three and Time, acrylic  
on canvas, 1980.



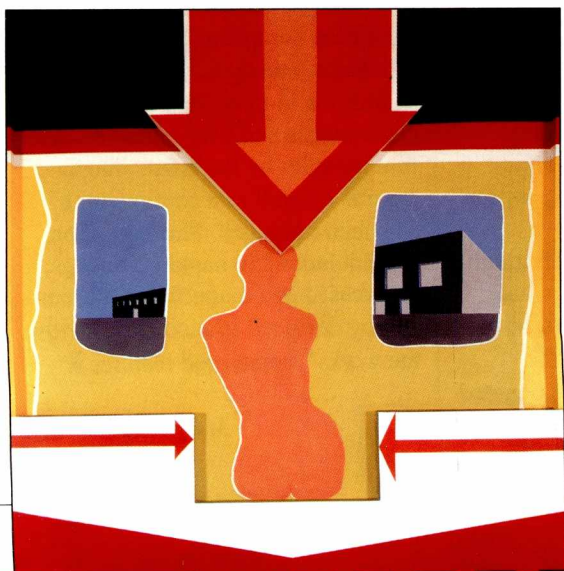
Carmen Padin,  
Plumed Village,  
"ixtle" fibers, 1980.



Augusto Escobedo,  
Metamorphosis of  
Form, "lost-wax"  
bronze, 1976.



Salvador Pinoncelly, In God We Trust, stained glass, 1986.



Felipe Ehrenberg,  
Conceptual Art, acrylic  
on fiberboard, 1968.



Carla Rippey,  
Annunciation,  
pencil drawing, 1989.



Sergio Dorantes.

"2000 A.D." comprises 80 acrylic canvasses, mostly 6.5' by 6.5' in size.

electric noise-sensitive light and light energy, and those with storm simulators, smoke, foam and laser rays.

One of the participating artists remarked, "Seeing is no longer the most important means of acquiring knowledge. Listening, shouting, touching and smelling are now more important.... Art has invaded the field of natural energy and technology."

The exhibition called "A Viking in Mexico" was also held in 1968. The Finnish artist Tapio Wirkkala astounded the public with his work *Ultima tule* (The Last Bulrush), a magnificent wood carving thirteen by thirty feet in size.

In 1969, the highly-successful "Independent Salon" presented works by avant-garde Mexican painters. In the words of the painter José Luis Cuevas, "This is not a commercial exhibition. It is the result of a struggle to break away from official art. Its main feature is freedom of expression. All plastic trends are represented here."

That same year saw a different kind of exhibition, "The Life and Works of Thomas Mann," in which photographs, books, manuscripts and testimonies were used to illustrate

the thought and experiences of this great personality.

One of the exhibitions with the greatest impact was "Death: Mexican Expressions of an Enigma," which showcased the best of Mexican art on the subject. Inaugurated in November 1974, the exhibition was so successful that it remained open until April 1975.

"Sebastian, A Universe of Forms" (1987) combined the twin talents of the sculptor Sebastian and the museum specialist Rodolfo Rivera. Elisa García Barragán, former director of the Institute for Aesthetic Research, commented on the exhibition: "The dialogue between the two creators extended to the spectator, who was therefore able to integrate himself into the aesthetic relationship...."

The outstanding exhibition "Three Decades of Plastic Expression" was organized in 1990 to commemorate the museum's thirtieth anniversary. The 114 Mexican and foreign participating artists, some of whom had been members of the "Independent Salon" in 1969, donated the works shown in the exhibition to the National University of Mexico.

Paintings, sculptures, engravings, serigraphy, stained-glass windows and multimedia techniques make up this important collection. Almost-monochrome canvasses contrast with works from the most diverse trends: Realism, Surrealism, Hyper-realism, Geometrism, Abstract Art, Conceptualism, Expressionism, Op Art and naïve art.

The museum houses a number of collections that make up part of the university's heritage. These include gifts offered by the visiting Olympic delegations in 1968 as a symbol of fraternity.

The museum has benefitted from the acquisition of the Spratling collection, archeological pieces from Veracruz from the pre-Classic period; the Rosch collection, 800 pieces from the pre-Classic period of the central highlands, and the Hecht collection, with Oriental and African sculptures.

The museum also holds Diego Rivera's sketches for his artistic project for the university stadium and Carlos Mérida's sketches for decorating the mural at the Juárez housing complex.

The University Museum of Contemporary Art is currently holding the "2000 A.D." exhibition by Leopoldo Flores, creator of the Toluca "Cosmovital," with its 3520 square yards of stained-glass windows, considered one of the largest and most important works in this genre.

The spectacular "2000 A.D." exhibition comprises 80 acrylic canvasses, mostly 6.5' by 6.5' in size, in addition to three 16.5-foot-long cloth murals and fifty seven- by nine-foot modules by the artist, who regards himself as a continuator of Mexican muralism. The exhibition also includes 250 napkin drawings, all showcased in a magnificent museum setting designed in accordance with the works' themes and features.

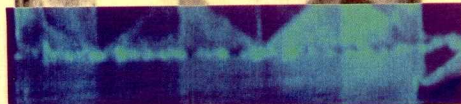
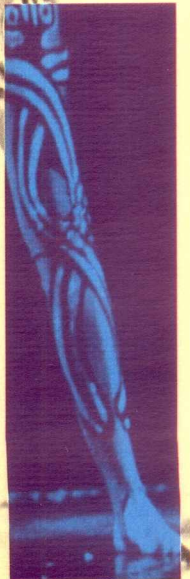
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# TEATRO Y DANZA



**Esto es  
también  
la  
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# Sovereignty and free trade: reflections on the Canadian experience

Julián Castro Rea \*

**T**he governments of the three signatory parties to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into effect on January 1, have insisted that the agreement is exclusively commercial in nature. This argument is based on the classic definition of a free trade zone, understood as an international agreement under which one or more countries gradually eliminate obstacles to the free circulation of goods and services.<sup>1</sup>

However, several economic integration theorists point out that trade agreements contribute to increasing interdependence between participating countries. Sooner or later, any trade agreement will invade other spheres of these countries' life. This creates a spillover<sup>2</sup> into increasingly complex economic issues. Eventually, the spillover in turn produces a political, social and cultural multiplier effect, encouraged by the mass media and pressure groups whose actions transcend borders.

The experience of Canada, junior partner in the free trade agreement (FTA) linking it to the United States since early 1989, provides further evidence of this spillover trend. At the same time, it sharpens our view of the possible effects that NAFTA will have on Mexico. More broadly, this essay will outline the challenges the current free trade agreement poses for Mexico's sovereignty.

## The FTA campaign

At least four internal Canadian political issues were affected by the bilateral U.S.-Canada FTA. These include:

- The 1988 federal elections.

<sup>1</sup> See Jacob Viner, *The Customs Union Issue*. New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1950; and Ramón Tamames, *Estructura económica internacional*. Madrid, Alianza, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> This concept was introduced by the European integration theorists Ernst B. Haas and Leon N. Lindberg. See E. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford University Press, 1958; and L. Lindberg, *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*. Stanford University Press, 1963.

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- The correlation in political terms established between the FTA, economic performance and the government's legitimacy.
- The constitutional process, particularly the national movement in Quebec and the regionalist movement in the West.
- The emergence of new trans-national political players. These events and issues, which arose during the same general time period, are closely correlated and influence each other.

Even before it came into effect, the FTA had internal political repercussions for Canada. While negotiations for the agreement concluded in 1987, the ratification process continued through all of 1988. This long wait favored the polarization of positions that had been outlined since the summer of 1985, when the Progressive Conservative Party (PCP) led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced its intention of negotiating a free trade agreement with the United States.<sup>3</sup> Canadian opinion was split into two well-defined camps:

- Those who defended the agreement—the Conservative government and prominent business groups.<sup>4</sup> Based on a

<sup>3</sup> Mulroney legitimized his decision through the recommendations given by the "MacDonald Commission," a multi-party parliamentary work group formed in 1982 to provide the government with options for Canada's economic recovery. Although the conclusions were published at the beginning of September 1985, the prime minister had been aware of them since early summer. Not only had the Commission originally been created by a government of the Canadian Liberal Party (CLP)—Canada's other principal political party, in the opposition under Mulroney—but Donald MacDonald, Chairman of the Commission, is a prominent Liberal. The prime minister was thus able to present the decision as a bipartisan initiative. See *Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada*. Ottawa, Department of Supplies and Services, 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Mainly the Business Council for National Issues, the country's most important top-level business organization, which brings together at least 150 large firms and maintains organic links with three other business organizations. Through its former leader, Senator Thomas D'Aquino, this organization is undoubtedly the most influential in defining public policies.

neo-liberal view of the economy, they presented the agreement as the best strategy for economic recovery and growth, given the potential for trade and investment that elimination of barriers would create for Canadian firms.

- Those who fear harmful effects from a close alliance with the United States —trade unions and numerous non-governmental organizations.<sup>5</sup> They held the opposite view of the agreement: that in light of the huge imbalance between the U.S. and Canadian economies, elimination of trade barriers would only reduce Canada's ability to create an autonomous economic policy while increasing its dependency; and that this would entail enormous costs to the country, such as capital flight, unemployment, a deteriorating trade balance and reduced levels of social welfare.

Thus the main subject of the November 1988 Canadian federal elections was the FTA. The three political parties with parliamentary representation fell into the two above-mentioned categories. The governing PCP obviously defended the agreement, depicting it as Canada's path to the future. Conversely, the CLP and the New Democratic Party (NDP) opposed the treaty, the former out of tactical electoral considerations and the latter in line with its trade-union base and social-democratic ideology.<sup>6</sup> Faced with an increasingly skeptical public opinion,<sup>7</sup> the elections served to determine whether or not the PCP possessed the legitimacy to implement what had been negotiated with the United States.

The results (see chart) confirmed opposition of the absolute majority of Canadians to the trade deal, since 52.3% of the country's citizens voted for parties that expressly promised the annulment of the agreement in their electoral platforms. However, the electoral system used in Canada, with a simple majority and only one round of voting, and the parliamentary system in which the legislative majority forms the executive, brought the Conservatives to power for the second time running.

The new Tory government ratified the agreement the following month. This permitted the implementation, starting on January 1, 1989, of a trade agreement that had been unpopular from the start and would have been defeated in a national referendum.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the anti-FTA movement, see the section on the new trans-national players later in this article.

<sup>6</sup> A review of the trade agreement's importance in the 1988 elections may be found in G. Bruce Doern and Brian W. Tomlin, *The Free Trade Story: Faith and Fear*. Toronto, Stoddart, 1991, pp. 226-242. This work also contains the best and most impartial documented analysis of the FTA's origin, significance and possible consequences for Canada in the realm of policy-making.

<sup>7</sup> Two days before the election, 41% of Canadians opposed the agreement and only 34% supported it. See Jon Hughes, "Canadians Unsupportive of Tory Trade Policies" in *The Gallup Poll*, Toronto, August 30, 1993, p. 2.

### The Conservative government's loss of legitimacy

Since 1990, Canada has experienced a deep economic recession that has not only meant the deceleration of its productive sector, but also the loss of jobs, plant closings, capital flight and the concomitant increase of the tax burden to defray the cost of unemployment benefits and help companies experiencing difficulties.<sup>8</sup>

Groups that opposed the FTA's ratification at the time believe that the agreement produced the recession, or at least helped cause it. Nationalist leaders such as Mel Hurtig and Maude Barlow<sup>9</sup> accused the Conservative government of secretly making agreements with the United States, as a concession in the FTA negotiations, to keep the Canadian dollar overvalued vis à vis the U.S. dollar from the time the agreement came into effect, as a means of reducing Canadian firms' competitive advantages in the liberalized North American trade context.<sup>10</sup>

While controversial, given the difficulty of unequivocally proving a causal relationship between the agreement and recession, this interpretation has gained ground in the heart of Canadian public opinion. Opposition increased still further with the trilateral trade agreement.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Canada's gross domestic product fell 0.3% in 1990 and 1.3% in 1991, rising by only 1.1% in 1992 and 2.4% by September 1993 (annualized rate). Between January 1990 and October 1991, 16,453 Canadian firms went bankrupt. Every bankrupt company signifies the permanent loss of jobs. In 1990, the unemployment rate was 8.1% of the EAP; by the end of 1993, it had risen to 11.2%. In absolute terms, this percentage represents 1,565,000 unemployed. Young people under 25 are particularly affected; in June 1993, 452,000 were unemployed. The highest job losses were in the manufacturing and building industries. Between June 1989 and March 1991, 435,000 jobs were lost in the Canadian manufacturing industry, representing 21.7% of the EAP in this sector. Figures from Statistiques Canada, Royal Bank of Canada, Scotiabank, Clyde Graham "Histoires d'horreur" in *Le Devoir*, Montreal, December 21, 1993; and Kim Moody and Mary McGinn, *Unions and Free Trade: Solidarity vs. Competition*. Detroit, Labor Notes Book, 1992, pp. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> Mel Hurtig is founder and leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party, which ran in the October 1993 elections. Maude Barlow is the leader of a pressure group called the Council of Canadians. For their arguments against the trade agreement, see M. Hurtig, *The Betrayal of Canada*. Toronto, Stoddart, 1991; and M. Barlow, *Canada*, and (with Bruce Campbell) *Take Back the Nation*, Key Porter.

<sup>10</sup> Defenders of the bilateral agreement stress that, thanks to the FTA, Canada's trade balance with the United States has remained positive. This affirmation is relative, since it only takes into account trade in goods, not the other items in the current account balance (mainly services and investment earnings). In 1992, while the goods balance between Canada and the United States was 10,301 million dollars in Canada's favor, the latter reported a negative balance of 5,816 million dollars in its current account. United States data from *Statistical Abstract 1993*. Washington, U.S. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, 1993, p. 796.

<sup>11</sup> In a survey conducted in August 1993, 46% of Canadian interviewees expressed their opposition to the bilateral agreement, as against 41% who supported it. 58% of the interviewees opposed the trilateral agreement and only 29% supported it. See Hughes, "Canadians...", p. 2.

## Bill Richardson awarded the Aztec Eagle

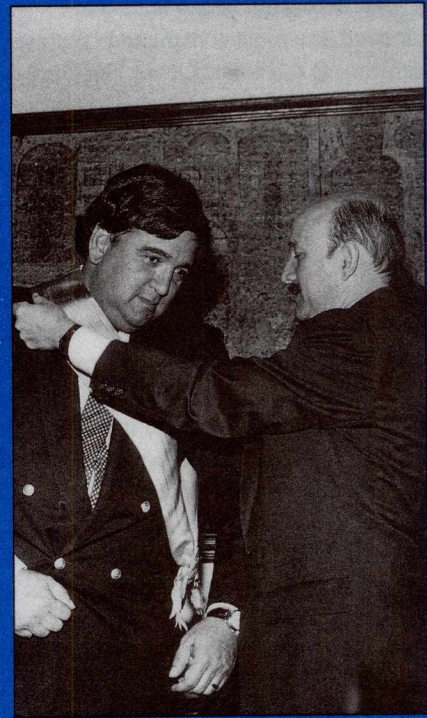
On March 14 President Carlos Salinas de Gortari awarded the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle to U.S. Senator Bill Richardson for his work in strengthening relations between the two nations.

The Mexican government instituted the Aztec Eagle award in 1933 as a form of recognition for services rendered to Mexico or to humanity as a whole by citizens of other countries.

During the ceremony Undersecretary of Foreign Relations Andrés Rozenthal stated that the objective of decorating Bill Richardson—son of an American father and a mother of Mexican descent—is to give recognition to a man of strong convictions and deep roots, a politician committed to the best causes, and an active, visionary leader. He noted that Richardson has succeeded in maintaining a high sense of responsibility, which has won him the respect and admiration of those who know him.

The New Mexico senator played an important role in the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

*Raquel Villanueva*  
Staff Writer.



The rejection of the Tory government's trade policy, a keystone of its economic program, was a major factor in the declining popularity of Mulroney's government.<sup>12</sup> Support for Mulroney, who had received 43% of the popular vote in the 1988 elections, fell to 11% in early 1993, the lowest approval rate for a prime minister in Canadian history. Mulroney's resignation in February 1993 and his replacement three months later by Kim Campbell did little to alter Canadians' rejection of the PCP. In the October federal elections that same year, the PCP won 16% of the popular vote throughout the country, but had only 2 deputies elected, which meant that its parliamentary representation fell to under 1%.

The electoral disaster suffered by Canada's oldest political party cannot be explained simply by voters' dissatisfaction with the Canadian economy's lackluster performance or the party's loss of legitimacy due to opposition to the free trade agreement. However, both of these were major factors in the 1993 electoral results.

### The constitutional process and regionalism

Another factor worth considering, among the causes of the PCP's defeat, is the Mulroney government's failure to achieve its two great bids for constitutional

reform: the Lake Meech (1987-1990) and Charlottetown (1992) agreements.

The former failed when it did not receive the support of all provincial governments, the latter due to its rejection in a national referendum. A major factor in explaining these failures is the strengthening of regionalist movements.

It would seem that the lack of consensus for maintaining a united Canada lent provincial options more credibility as alternatives for solving national problems. These options support free trade as an instrument for lessening the provinces' dependence on the rest of the Canadian federation. The Tory government unwittingly prepared the ground for a flourishing centrifugal movement by using the FTA as an instrument for reducing regional tensions.<sup>13</sup>

The best-known regional movements are Quebec nationalism and the Reform movement in the West. Both stem from the regions' feelings of alienation from the federal government and the fact that Ottawa does not meet their real needs and demands. The failure of the government's constitutional initiatives was due in part to these movements, and strengthened them in turn, so much

<sup>12</sup> Another crucial factor was the failure of its initiatives regarding the constitution, analyzed below.

<sup>13</sup> Simeon, Richard and Ian Robinson, *State, Society and the Development of Canadian Federalism*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, p. 309.

so that they are currently more influential than they have ever been in recent Canadian history.

Indeed, the most conspicuous representatives of both movements at the federal level, the Quebec Bloc (BQ) and the Reform Party (RP), emerged as the second and third strongest parliamentary forces in the 1993 elections, with 52 and 54 deputies respectively, out of a total of 295. In Quebec and Alberta, these two parties flourished at the time of the PCP's triumphs in 1984 and 1988.

The RP's program took advantage of Alberta's opposition to a national energy policy. In the early eighties, the Alberta provincial government allied itself with oil companies, most of which were American, to combat the National Energy Program (NEP), aimed at orienting energy production and distribution to meeting Canada's needs first. The NEP thus limited companies' ability to adapt to changes in the energy market.<sup>14</sup>

The FTA consolidated this attack on regional interests in Alberta, the main oil-producing province, by endorsing the principle that the Canadian government would not establish any limits on oil company exports, even as a contingency measure should there be a hydrocarbon shortage.

Nevertheless, Reform supporters believe that free trade is a necessary option for the national economy, although they would like adjustment mechanisms (reduced interest rates, realistic exchange rates, the elimination of trade barriers between provinces, transition programs for the labor force, etc.) to be implemented to make the FTA more favorable to Canada.<sup>15</sup>

In the national debate on free trade, Quebec was the province that most forcefully defended the trade agreement. The different autonomy-seeking trends, known as "nationalists" in Quebec—ranging from those attempting to broaden the province's margin for maneuver in relation to Ottawa to those seeking its independence, pure and simple—coincide in favoring the liberalization of trade with the United States and Mexico.

This support is due in part to the fact that the U.S. market is more important for Quebecois exports than the Canadian market. Moreover, for the past thirty years, the Quebec government has conducted its own diplomacy parallel to that of the federal government, with the hope that international recognition will strengthen its position within Canada.<sup>16</sup> NAFTA forms part of this strategy, but there are other reasons why Quebec nationalists supported it:

- The agreement signifies a reduction of the federal government's power, since trade liberalization gives companies more leverage in economic policy issues. As a result of a process begun in the sixties, firms with Quebecois capital currently control the main share of the province's manufacturing and financial sectors.<sup>17</sup> In addition, this voluntary withdrawal on the part of the federal government favors sub-national governments, including provincial ones.
- Mexico's participation in the trade agreement allows Quebec to affirm North America's heterogeneity. Quebec will not be the only discordant culture surrounded by an Anglo-Saxon ocean. Francophones will be able to demand respect for their language just as Spanish-speakers do. Besides, thanks to the linguistic barrier, Quebec nationalists feel their province is immune to cultural assimilation by the United States, a fear that exists in the rest of Canada and one that fostered opposition to free trade.
- Trade liberalization reduces Quebec's economic dependence on the rest of Canada still further, since the agreement institutionalizes economic relations in North America. NAFTA may cushion the harmful effects of an eventual secession for Quebec, by reducing the possibilities for reprisal by the rest of Canada or the United States.

Thus, NAFTA is a strategic weapon readily accessible to regional interests in their struggles against the national government, a weapon which weakens the Canadian state.

### **New trans-national political players**

The intensification of relations between the United States and Canada as a result of the bilateral trade agreement favored the emergence of non-governmental political players trying to exert influence across the border. The FTA promoted the exercise of "civil diplomacy"<sup>18</sup> or pressure by groups in one country on the government of another to achieve political aims.

Thus a series of trans-national players monitor the way the Canadian government handles its internal affairs. These new players are the result of alliances formed between Canadian groups and their counterparts in the United States and later Mexico.

The first subject pronounced on by these trans-national players was, of course, the FTA itself. The alliances between companies and governments in favor of the agreement,

<sup>14</sup> See Simeon and Robinson, *State, Society...*, p. 308.

<sup>15</sup> See Preston Manning, *The New Canada*. Toronto, Macmillan Canada, 1992, pp. 179-180 and *The Parliamentary Weekly, Quarterly Report*. Vol. 2, no. 3, Ottawa, September-November 1993, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> See Claude Morin, *L'art de l'impossible. La diplomatie québécoise depuis 1960*. Montreal, Boréal, 1987.

<sup>17</sup> Gérald Bernier, *Industrial Development Policies in Québec Since the Quiet Revolution: An Empirical Assessment*. Université de Montréal-Université du Québec à Montréal, December 1992 (Cahiers du GRÉTSÉ, no. 10), pp. 51-63.

<sup>18</sup> This concept was introduced by Adolfo Aguilar Zinser in "Non-Governmental Organizations in Canada's Political and Social Process," a talk given at the international seminar "Canada in Transition," CISAN, UNAM, November, 1992.

Chart

Party	Seats in the Commons	% of seats (total=295)	% of popular vote
PCP	170	58%	43.0%
CLP	82	28%	31.9%
NDP	43	14%	20.4%

which helped to achieve its passage through lobbying and propaganda, met with the concerted action of groups opposing the agreement. These groups included trade unions, churches, students and professors, intellectuals, farmers, Indians, cultural associations, womens' groups and other non-governmental social organizations.

Opposition to the bilateral agreement with the United States was grouped in a coalition called the "Pro-Canada Network".<sup>19</sup> When the FTA was approved and put into effect in 1989, instead of being dissolved, the opposition coalition was reorganized to keep up the fight against the agreement. The following year, it decided to oppose the trilateral agreement with Mexico, adopting the name "Action Canada Network" (ACN) so as not to offend Quebecois members' sensibilities.<sup>20</sup> This network developed contacts with organizations opposed to the agreement in the United States and Mexico, promoting pressure groups with similar aims.

The ACN is closely linked to Mexico's Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), with which it shares the basic aim of putting an end to the agreement with the United States and Mexico.

Civil diplomacy is not only exercised in connection with the FTA. Opposition to the agreement prompted U.S. pressure groups' observation of the way Canada handles its internal affairs. There have been at least three cases in which Canada was pressured by U.S. groups, allied with coinciding Canadian interests.

In the summer of 1990, Native American groups in the U.S. actively collaborated with the Mohawks on the

Kanesatake reservation in Quebec in defense against territorial claims by the neighboring municipality of Oka. The intransigence of the parties involved led to an armed confrontation between the provincial police and the reservation's security corps, leaving one policeman dead. Canadian armed forces were called in, and the Indians sat out a long siege while a negotiated settlement was reached.

Throughout the conflict the Mohawks were supported by sectors of the U.S. press and public opinion, which questioned the

Canadian government's commitment to respecting human rights and Indian treaties.

The second example occurred the following year. In 1991, Greenpeace Canada launched a campaign against the hydroelectric projects being carried out by the provincial public service corporation Hydro-Québec in the north of the province. The ecology group allied itself with Cri, Abenaki and Inuit Indian groups, whose territories would have been affected by the dams, and with U.S. pressure groups, environmentalist organizations, media (particularly *The New York Times*) and other organizations. The Quebec government fought back, using a costly public relations program to counteract negative U.S. public opinion.

The campaign against the projects proved successful; in 1992, the State of New York cancelled a contract to buy electricity from Hydro-Québec, worth 17 billion Canadian dollars. This cancellation raised doubts about the viability of these projects, aimed basically at exporting electrical energy to New England, and postponed their completion indefinitely.

The last example is similar, and its protagonists probably drew their inspiration from the success of the campaign against Hydro-Québec's projects. Environmentalist groups from British Columbia appealed to U.S. public opinion to stop what they saw as excessive logging in the forests on Vancouver Island, used primarily to produce lumber for construction and cellulose for paper production. Both products are Canadian exports of the first order, in which Canada has comparative advantages. As a result, U.S. protectionist sectors happily supported the environmentalist-organized boycott.

These three conflicts had various consequences, the most important of which was to increase Indian groups' say in the political process. The Indians' new clout enabled them to successfully negotiate something they had not been able to achieve in the past: recognition by the federal and provincial governments of the so-called "intrinsic right to governmental autonomy" which, although still not well-defined, implies some form of participation by Native groups in the government of the regions they have historically inhabited.

<sup>19</sup> Prominent groups participating in the coalition included: Assembly of First Nations, Canadian Auto Workers, Canadian Federation of Students, Canadian Labour Congress, Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec, Confédération des syndicats nationaux, Council of Canadians, Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice, OXFAM Canada, Public Service Alliance of Canada. See Tony Clarke, "Fighting Free Trade, Canadian Style" in *Crossing the Line: Canada and Free Trade with Mexico*. Vancouver, New Star, 1992, pp. 118-127. Clarke is the coalition's national leader.

<sup>20</sup> Many Quebec nationalists opposed to the FTA were hesitant about supporting an association that declared itself "pro-Canada." The coalition's new name eliminated this ambiguity.

This recognition was confirmed in the Charlottetown constitutional reform bill. While, as we have seen, the bill was rejected, this sets a precedent that will be difficult to reverse.

### Some reflections by way of conclusion

On January 1, destiny caught up with us: the controversial NAFTA agreement went into effect. Now more than ever, it is time to recognize that the agreement, while negotiated in terms of trade, clears the way for a greater interdependence among North American countries in other spheres.<sup>21</sup> The Canadian experience, begun five years ahead of our own, serves as a lesson regarding the effects that trade liberalization agreements can have on the internal political dynamics of participating nations.

There are ample grounds for maintaining that the U.S.-Canada FTA produced swift, direct effects on Canada as a result of the linguistic and cultural similarity between the two countries. Mexico—and, to a certain extent, the province of Quebec—are relatively protected in that sense. Nevertheless, the challenge is real.

The Canadians, open to the world much earlier than Mexico due to their participation in post-war multilateral institutions, and less jealous of their sovereignty as an absolute value in international relations,<sup>22</sup> have begun to be concerned about the challenges posed by international intervention in their country's internal affairs. A document recently issued by the policy planning unit of Canada's Ministry of Foreign Affairs sounds the alarm on the risks of interventionism.<sup>23</sup>

Canadians reacted in the same way as Mexicans to the Torricelli Law (on reinforcing the blockade of Cuba through sanctions on companies anywhere in the world that traded with the island) and, in the context of NAFTA's parallel agreements, to U.S. attempts to impose economic sanctions on violations of environmental protection

standards and to submit national courts' decisions on environmental issues to a second, trans-national court.<sup>24</sup>

Mexico is already being subjected to surveillance by U.S. and Canadian government and society in all spheres. Since the first day NAFTA came into effect this surveillance has become particularly important with regard to human rights and democratic freedom issues, as a result of the peasant uprising in Chiapas against marginalization and the lack of democracy.

In the United States, public opinion, prompted by the special hearings organized in Congress by those opposing NAFTA, was forced to revise the image of a modern, competitive Mexico that part of the mass media, together with the Mexican government's intensive campaign, had put forward with considerable success.

Canada reacted in turn with moral condemnation of the practices of the Mexican government and army, at the same time as it considered the rebels to be archaic. A Canadian editorial spoke of a "democratic deficit," stating: "Events in Mexico also pertain to our common space. ...[Canadians and Americans] cannot wash their hands of this, given the persistence of a quasi-feudal system in a country whose destiny we shall share from now onwards."<sup>25</sup>

Interventionism is not merely declarative. NAFTA's coming into effect has irreversibly increased Mexico's political vulnerability to the actions of both North American partners, not just the United States. The conflict in Chiapas produced the first examples of Canadian interventionism, with visits by at least two observers' missions demanding that their government pressure ours for a prompt solution to army abuses.<sup>26</sup>

This pressure may be beneficial for a negotiated, democratic solution of the conflict, although it is a clear case of interventionism in issues that are exclusively the province of Mexicans. In any case, it is a fact that the Chiapas conflict is eroding the foreign and domestic capital earned by Carlos Salinas and Luis Donaldo Colosio, the ruling party's candidate, with the passage of NAFTA.

Conversely, the Mexican opposition's demands are finding a response abroad. Their demands are aimed at North American partners because, paradoxically—given

<sup>21</sup> NAFTA will also have effects on Mexico's foreign policy that might be so extensive as to realize the wishes of the former U.S. ambassador to Mexico, John D. Negroponte: "An FTA would institutionalize acceptance of a North American orientation to Mexico's foreign relations," as he wrote in a confidential memorandum published by the Mexico City magazine *Proceso* (May 13, 1991). For the moment we will limit ourselves to indicating this possibility, given that this essay focuses on trade liberalization's effects on domestic politics.

<sup>22</sup> At the Human Rights Conference held in Vienna in June 1993, then-chancellor Barbara MacDougall said that defense of human rights by the international community is an absolute value that cannot be subjected to the sovereign will of states.

<sup>23</sup> André Ouellette, Stewart Henderson and Daniel Livermore, *Sovereignty, Non-Intervention and the Intrusive International Order*. Ottawa, External Affairs and International Trade Canada, 1992 (Policy Planning Staff Paper, No. 92-2). André Ouellette was named Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the new Liberal government.

<sup>24</sup> This convergence led analysts think that Mexico and Canada would form a common front in negotiations. See S. López *et al.*, "Respecto a la soberanía: Wilson" in *El Financiero* (Mexico City), April 8, 1993; and Ian Austen, "Fight over Side Deals Lines Up Canada and Mexico against U.S." in *The Spectator* (Hamilton), May 22, 1993. In the end Canada maintained her position while Mexico gave in.

<sup>25</sup> See "The Heirs of Zapata" in *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), January 5, 1994; and Lise Bissonnette, "Un déficit démocratique" in *Le Devoir*, Montreal, January 7, 1994.

<sup>26</sup> One was led by Gérard McKenzie from the League of Rights and Liberties and the other by Ovide Mercredi, Grand Chief of the First Nations of Canada (a pan-Canadian Indian confederation). See Sylvie Dugas and Philip McMaster, "Ovide Mercredi veut promouvoir une organisation indienne transnationale" in *La Presse*, Montreal, January 19, 1994.



the peculiar nature of the Mexican political system— U.S. and Canadian public opinion is just as important, if not more so, in moderating the Mexican government's actions than the opinion of Mexicans themselves.

Now that openness to the outside is irreversible, and the country's domestic affairs are being subjected to outside judgment, Mexico faces the challenge of redefining her sovereignty. To achieve this, the country will have to distinguish between essential and incidental issues, separating those on which international surveillance is admissible from those where foreign opinion is excluded.

The former could include, by way of example, trade policy expressly involved in NAFTA, environmental protection, the application of national legislation in social and labor issues, and respect for human and political rights. Conversely, industrial and monetary policy, the free use of natural resources, and the unrestricted definition of legislation in social and labor issues should be jealously guarded.

The implementation of an active foreign policy—based on putting forward proposals and not simply reacting—is also necessary. Instead of passively submitting to the negative consequences of trade liberalization and greater exposure to the outside, Mexico should take advantage of the situation.

Trade liberalization does favor interdependence in North America. In other words, not only is Mexico more vulnerable to American influence, but the United States is also more exposed to Mexican influence.

Of course, the relationship is far from equal, but a balance can be sought with the help of the other North American partner which, as we have seen, has experienced the consequences of trade liberalization with the world's greatest power for the past five years. An alliance between Canada and Mexico to defend common interests in the North American sphere could be the best strategy for obtaining substantial advantages from the commercial integration already underway.<sup>27</sup>

Contrary to possible first impressions, Mexico and Canada could be in a favorable position to achieve success—far more so than many other countries. The complex relations that the United States' neighbors maintain with her increase interdependence. Put another way, this great power requires the cooperation of her neighbors to resolve a number of issues that affect the very security of her territories.

Power is a relative variable which depends on the circumstances, timeliness and intensity with which pressure is exerted.<sup>28</sup> Mexico and Canada are well placed to manipulate interdependence in their favor, all the more

<sup>27</sup> This thesis was defended by Victor Flores Olea in *La Jornada*, November 19, 1993 and by the author in the *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*. Mexico City, Spring 1993.

<sup>28</sup> See William Mark Habeeb, *Power and Tactics in International Negotiations: How Weak Nations Bargain with Strong Nations*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

effectively if this manipulation is exercised within the logic of U.S. domestic policy and in a concerted fashion.<sup>29</sup>

Political collaboration may even be crucial to the achievement of economic aims and attaining the greatest possible advantage from the economic model currently being implemented in North America. This was the Mexican government's position last spring, during the negotiation of NAFTA's parallel agreements.<sup>30</sup>

The experience of Canada, with five years of free trade behind her, is a lesson for Mexico, since it serves as an example of the inherent risks of trade openness with our powerful neighbor. At the same time, it is the best argument for convincing Canadians of the need to cooperate with Mexico to cushion negative internal repercussions of the process of North American integration. ❖

<sup>29</sup> See Joseph S. Nye and Robert O. Kephane, *Power and Interdependence*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1977.

<sup>30</sup> See Bertrand Marotte, "Canada, Mexico Must Unite to Tackle U.S. 'Elephant'-Diplomat" in the *Daily News* (Halifax), April 17, 1993. The opportunity to do so arose a month later, on the occasion of Mexican and Canadian opposition (described above) to the application of tariff sanctions in response to violations of environmental agreements. However, for some reason, the occasion was wasted and Canada, maintaining her position, achieved what Mexico was denied.

## Explicación de textos literarios

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SUN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

# NAFTA, cultural industries and cultural identity in Canada

Graciela Martínez-Zalce \*

**F**or decades, the concept of culture has sparked debate in Canada, above all around the issue of what it means to have a cultural identity. However, in our day it is clear that culture is expressed through very concrete forms: specifically, through cultural industries.

Since it is through these industries that Canadians have affirmed their cultural identity, the Canadian government decided to leave them out of negotiations, first, for the Free Trade Accord, and subsequently, for the Trilateral Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

It therefore became necessary to define these industries—those related to telecommunications, radio, television, publishing, cinematography and recording—and pass legislation to cover them. Thus, Canada became the only country—aside from the United States—to have a commercial definition of culture.

Canada's decision has bothered American investors since the eighties. Canada has been accused of imposing protectionist barriers in this domain which go against the spirit of the treaty.

In the mid-80s, a survey of entertainment entrepreneurs in the U.S. found that most believed the so-called barriers involved unjust competition, due to public financing of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and—through Telefilm Canada and the National Film Board—of television and movie productions.

They viewed as discriminatory such fiscal policies as the Capital Cost Allowance (CCA), which allowed a 100 percent deduction for private investors who carried out certified Canadian productions, or Bill C-38, which prohibited deductions for Canadian advertisers who placed commercials in foreign publications, radio or television stations while providing them to companies which advertised in Canadian media. The same bill also required cable substitution—that is, that Canadian cable operators

replace the signals from American stations when both broadcast the same programs—so that U.S. commercials could be replaced with Canadian ones.

They also criticized the existence of retransmission rights which were exempt from the payment of compensation to broadcast and cable companies, as well as the Canadian content regulation, which they considered discriminatory against American programming.

Lastly, they spoke out against restrictions on foreign proprietorship and control of electronic and print media, import taxes on records, tapes and cassettes, and Canadian attempts—through a measure requiring that 15 percent of profits obtained from distribution remain in Canada and be used in Canadian productions—to prevent U.S. companies from controlling movie and video distribution in Canada.

Almost a decade later, in the context of free trade projected to lead towards economic union, some Canadian intellectual sectors believe this will also involve—at least to some degree—a kind of shared sovereignty in which Canada will be a junior partner. Their distrust is motivated by the fact that, while the conservative Canadian government that negotiated NAFTA did not change the tone of its discourse in this field, the measures it undertook contradicted its words, which came to be viewed as a smokescreen.

The journalist Lawrence Martin relates:

*George Bush came, as the 1990 baseball season began, to Toronto's SkyDome—the wondrous, white whale addition to the continent's many covered stadia. Bush loved baseball. It was the American game, and he once played for Yale.*

*It was fine symbolism: the U.S. president comes north across the free trade border to witness non-Canadians playing America's game. The fantastic success of baseball north of the U.S. border was yet another sign of the times. Major league ball now enjoyed charter membership in English Canada's new continentalist*

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*culture. In sports, as in music, film and books, it was a culture less conscious of borders.*<sup>1</sup>

The symbolism is clear. And while Canada's culture is not the only one being Americanized, we must keep in mind that Canadian intellectuals' concern derives from the fact that Anglophone Canada is unique in being situated directly on the U.S. border, without the protective barrier provided by a separate language. As a consequence, homogenization tends to be all the more rapid.

Concern deepens when empty official verbiage is compared with the real measures taken by a government which dismantled the mechanisms which had protected Canada's cultural sector, so vulnerable vis à vis the United States.

First the incentives for movie and video distribution disappeared; then CBC's budget was slashed—Telefilm's subsidy has been frozen since 1989. Thus, as Colleen Fuller points out, "Canada's largest and most important window for independent production—...the central instrument of the government's cultural policy—is increasingly blacked out."<sup>2</sup>

In addition, independent movie and television production, which had grown 445 percent in the 1980s, collapsed to the point of having a zero real growth rate, subsequently shrinking by 43 percent when tax deductions were reduced from 100 to 30 percent of the Capital Cost Allowance.<sup>3</sup>

Further, NAFTA's inclusion of publicity has helped U.S. agencies eat up Canadian ones, which are much smaller.

Both intellectuals and entrepreneurs in publishing and film production believe that the exemption of cultural industries from NAFTA makes no sense if these industries are not strengthened and supported, and if there is no defense of their right to remain Canadian property. It is absurd to speak of the defense of cultural sovereignty when a 7 percent tax has been imposed on books.

The situation is worrisome indeed, in the face of U.S. industries' onslaught. Canadian cultural companies produce 80 percent of all the cultural work carried out in that country but have captured only 16 percent of the market.

*The result of this market structure, then, is the existence of a quasi-nation where a child of 12 has spent 2,000 more hours watching American television shows than attending schools. When the child does*

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt, published in April 1993 by *The Toronto Star*, from Lawrence Martin's book *Pledge of Allegiance: The Americanization of Canada in the Mulroney Years* (McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Colleen Fuller, "Fade to black: culture under free trade," *Canadian Forum*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that Quebec is the exception in this regard: despite benefit reductions, production has not fallen as noticeably there.

*make it to the classroom, two thirds of the textbooks are American. As the child ages, some 90 percent of the movie viewing, 70 percent of the book reading and 70 percent of the music listening will be directed toward the American product.*<sup>4</sup>

While cultural industries continue to lose their privileges, U.S. entrepreneurs clamor for the market to be opened completely. Canadian nationalism strikes them as ridiculous. "It's only entertainment, pure and simple!" they say.

The situation continues to worry those who believe that defense of one's own cultural identity is a question of sovereignty. Articles have appeared in the press asserting that under-the-table negotiations were carried out to ease the signing of NAFTA, and that the short-lived government of Kim Campbell prohibited access to certain archives related to the manner in which culture-related negotiations were carried out.

Thus, far from being gratuitous, concern for this issue is inevitable. If the world becomes one big village ruled by the forces of the market, only cultural differences will make it possible to have a national identity.

As for Canada, the province of Quebec has been able to ensure and strengthen a solid cultural heritage, given its Francophone character. For its part, Anglophone Canada must remain alert in the face of inundation by U.S. cultural industries.

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<sup>4</sup> Lawrence Martin, *op. cit.*

# Juridical aspects of NAFTA

*Fernando Serrano Migallón \**

**A**ugust 12, 1992 marked the conclusion of negotiations between Mexico, the United States and Canada for a free trade agreement, which was signed by the three heads of state on December 17. A year after NAFTA negotiations were finalized, parallel accords on environmental and labor issues were signed, committing the three countries to protect and improve the environment and oversee compliance with labor laws so as to improve working conditions and living standards for workers.

The treaty and parallel agreements created a free trade zone, which Article XXIV of GATT defines as: "A group of two or more customs territories substantially eliminating customs rights and other restrictive commercial regulations with regard to trade between the constituted territories in products coming from those territories."

With this definition in mind we can state that NAFTA is a novel and highly complex treaty, given the breadth of activities it covers and the mechanisms of its application. It goes beyond the terms laid down by GATT, since it regulates not only goods but also services, intellectual property, investment, disloyal commercial practices—in fact, all relevant areas of today's commerce.

NAFTA consists of 24 chapters, organized into eight parts or sections. The first section, covering "general aspects," includes the treaty's objectives and the legal definitions necessary for its application.

The second deals with trade in goods, incorporating the basic principles of national treatment and free access to markets through gradual, step-by-step elimination of tariffs, recognizing the specific circumstances of each sector; most duties are to be removed within 10 years.

A series of rules are established allowing for uniformity and juridical security as regards application and the solution of such conflicts as the rules of origin may give rise to. Emergency measures, better known as safeguards, have been regulated; these measures may be used if a particular industry is adversely affected by the increase in

imports, so that no barriers to commerce will arise. Such measures may be applied temporarily, with compensation to the country affected by their application.

The third part sets norms relating to technical barriers to trade and normalization measures implemented by the signatory nations for promoting security and protecting human, animal and vegetable life, as well as health, the environment and consumers.

The fourth part deals with public-sector purchases. Clear rules are set forth for bids by suppliers in the NAFTA countries, respecting the principles of national treatment and most-favored nation.

The fifth sets norms for investments, trans-border trade in services, telecommunications, financial services, policies regarding competence and the temporary entry of businesspeople. In general terms, the treaty maps out a gradual liberalization in these sectors, establishing a mechanism for resolving controversies between investors and NAFTA's member countries. This consists of international arbitration, subject to the rules of the International Center for Resolution of Differences Regarding Investments or those of the United Nations Commission for International Trade Law (UNCITRAL).

The sixth section of the treaty institutes effective mechanisms for the protection and defense of intellectual property, on the basis of the principle of national treatment as well as the principles set forth in international agreements on this subject.

The following section relates to the creation and functioning of the institutions responsible for the treaty's application and procedures for resolving controversies.

The central institution established by the treaty is the North American Free Trade Commission, a trinational political-administrative body made up of the member nations' ministers of commerce. The Commission's function is to oversee the treaty's application and supervise the functioning of the committees and work groups charged with ensuring the fulfillment of NAFTA's provisions. A technical support body for the Commission is also created: called the Secretariat, it is divided into three sections, one for each country.

\* General Counsel for UNAM.

It is important to stress that, unlike the situation in the European Community, NAFTA's administrative bodies—the Commission and the Secretariat—are not supranational institutions. In the free trade zone established by the treaty, each member country fully retains its autonomy in setting its trade policy towards countries outside NAFTA, and no government may grant its nationals the right to sue another member state in the first country's courts. Thus NAFTA introduced neither the principle that individuals may invoke the treaty nor any supremacy of NAFTA writ over laws of the member states.

The overall mechanism for conflict resolution negotiated as part of the treaty consists of three stages: consultation among governments, procedures undertaken before the Commission, and the formation of arbitration groups. The first two stages are conciliatory; only the third is contentious. The arbiters who will make up each panel will be chosen from a closed list of up to 30 persons, through a "crossed selection system" which prohibits the contending countries from choosing their own nationals as arbiters. In the event of non-compliance, NAFTA projects

the suspension of benefits derived from the treaty until such time as the issue is resolved.

While there is a single mechanism for conflict resolution, there are a number of special mechanisms regarding investments, disloyal practices, financial services and private trade controversies on agricultural products.

The eight and final part of the treaty includes provisions ensuring the signatory countries' ability to protect their national interests through a series of exceptions which can be invoked, such as national security, taxation, the balance of payments and culture-related industries.

NAFTA is an open treaty. It allows for other countries or groups of countries to join the free-trade zone, and any of the member countries may withdraw after six months' prior notice.

From the above we may conclude that full confidence in the trilateral Free Trade Agreement is justified on the basis that it draws upon the experience accumulated in previous bilateral and multilateral agreements and represents a significant advance in the organization of international commerce **M**

## REVISTA MEXICANA DE SOCIOLOGÍA

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# Ricardo Pozas Arciniega

*Elena Poniatowska \**

**I** What a time for Ricardo Pozas to die! Just when Chiapas, that open wound, needed him most. In 1957, I had the privilege of interviewing the author of *Juan Pérez Jolote, biografía de un tzotzil* (Juan Pérez Jolote, Biography of a Tzotzil, published for the first time by students at the School of Anthropology in 1946, and illustrated by Alberto Beltrán), when the book was already in its seventh reprinting, following its republication by the Fondo de Cultura Económica.

I say privilege because Ricardo Pozas was a delightful man, with all the charm of one who is passionate about his work. Ricardo regarded it as a divine gift to be able to conduct his field work in Chiapas, because he admired the Chamulas.<sup>1</sup> He thought they were strong, gallant, brave and extremely patient. "What splendid people! What a wonderful country we have!"

Isabel Horcasitas, his wife, also used to enthuse about "field work" —as anthropologists call their arduous, exhilarating stays among the ethnic groups, from which they always return enriched and moved. It was a pleasure to see this intelligent, exuberant couple talking about their work.

On his first trip to Chiapas, to San Cristóbal and San Juan Chamula, Ricardo Pozas Arciniega needed an interpreter and an escort for his field work, which was how he met Juan Pérez Jolote, who actually called him "Licaldo" since the Tzotziles cannot pronounce the letter "r".

Juan Pérez Jolote was also Ricardo's informant and his friend. Juan loved the good, mild-tempered man, the doctor with the ready smile whose round face immediately inspired trust. Besides, "Licaldo" adapted to all the difficulties of the journey, the poverty, the unrelenting sun —Chultetic—, the moon —Chulmestic—, the cold, the rain, not being able to have a bath, and the endless walks.

Ricardo never tired or got into a bad mood, never complained of the bare earthen floors or the straw sleeping mat he used for a bed, and never found any stone too hard. On the contrary, he used to laugh and was never arrogant or

impatient. He was a man who understood compassion in the deepest and broadest sense of the word.

Also, he used to enjoy listening, learning, listening some more, understanding and finding out. He never wished to impose anything, not even a piece of soap. He wanted to find out about things, and to do so, he had to adapt. And he never did anything but this: enter fully into the Chamulas' lives. And love them.

In 1957, I asked him,

- *Why did you write Juan Pérez Jolote?*
- To provide information on the lives and customs of Indian people. I thought it would be interesting to let everyone know about this sector of the Mexican population that is extremely backward, both socially and economically, and make people reflect on the obligation we all have towards the Indian population.
- *How did you come to write Pérez Jolote?*
- It was during one of my journeys to Chiapas in September, journeys that I used to make to carry out specific research. I was interested in obtaining data to explain the social organization of the Indians in that region, since I was going to draw up some genealogies of all the Tzotzil villages. I left Chamula with Juan Pérez Jolote, an old informant of mine from previous trips.

*Ricardo Pozas, great university professor and defender of the destitute, died on January 20. He left us the legacy of his classic work on Mexican anthropology: Juan Pérez Jolote, Biography of a Tzotzil. In honor of his memory, a caravan taking aid to those affected by the conflict in Chiapas was named after him by UNAM students.*

Summary of the article "Chiapas and Ricardo Pozas" published in *La Jornada* newspaper, January 22-24, 1994.

<sup>1</sup> The Tzotzils are one of the main Indian groups of Chiapas. Chamulas are people from the Indian village of San Juan Chamula. (Editor's note.)

\* Journalist and writer.

When you make a study of an Indian community, you have to find the Indians who speak the best Spanish. Juan had given me some information on the fiestas in Chamula. Along the way, we ran into bad weather, hurricane winds with fine rain that went on for four days. We had to take shelter in a house where the authorities from the village of Magdalenas live.

During those hours spent waiting for good weather, with nothing to do, it occurred to me to ask Juan to tell us the story of his life. He told me the most important events but I always asked him for more details and began to expand and organize his biography. Then I thought it would be interesting to weave everything that I knew about the Chamula people's customs and traditions into the story of Juan's life.

That is how I came to write *Pérez Jolote*. Before I had it published, I obviously read it to him with all the additions I had made, so he could correct any mistakes. When the book was published I sent him a copy.

● *So if it hadn't rained for four days, Juan Pérez Jolote might not have told you the story of his life because he would have been busy translating what the other informants said?*

■ It's a good thing it rained, then, isn't it? (Another broad smile.)

● *And what was Juan Pérez Jolote's reaction when the book was published in 1946? Was he pleased?*

■ He put the book in his haversack and went everywhere with it, showing it to people and telling them that this was the book that talked about the whole village. Once he lent the book to a nurse from the Indian Coordination Center,

who never returned it. I gave Juan a replacement copy published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica, which he did not like as much as the *Acta Antropológica* edition. (The School of Anthropology publishes all the studies it considers of interest to the general public in this collection.)

A couple of months later, Alberto Beltrán, who produced all the illustrations for the book, went to Chamula and Juan Pérez Jolote asked him to get a copy of the *Acta* edition, "Because that one's bigger, it's a quarter of a yard long, this little one's no good to me at all."

What would Juan Pérez Jolote have to say today about the communiqués of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)? What would Ricardo Pozas, who loved, or rather worshipped the Chamulas, have to say about them?

## II

In his own humble, impeccably modest way, Ricardo Pozas did a thousand times more for the Indians (whom he regarded as the poorest, most neglected Mexicans) than a bunch of new, gleaming offices with their hordes of secretaries, errand boys, writers, paperwork and bureaucratic formalities.

He knew about corn, beans, unscrupulous middlemen, liquor and ceremonies, because he lived in San Juan Chamula and San Cristóbal with the Indians, observing and sharing their hunger and suffering.

The middlemen could not stand Pozas.

Pozas not only worked in Chiapas, but also in Atlixco, Puebla, among the peasants who become workers; in the Indian areas of Oaxaca, in the Puebla mountain range,

—My son thinks that the law [for providing education to Indians] is reasonable and necessary, and that [Lázaro] Cárdenas is a just president.

My mother started and said heatedly,

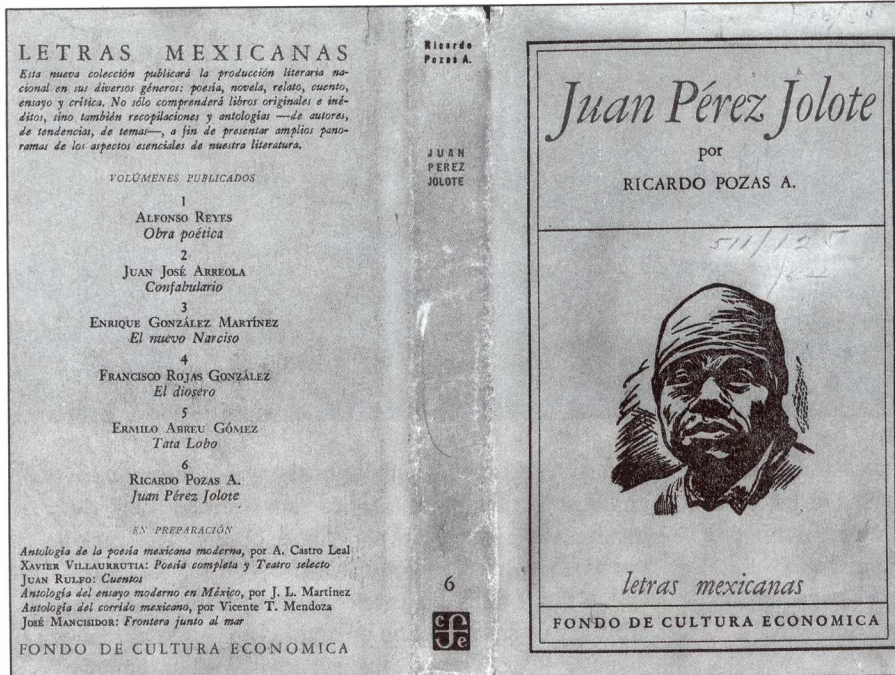
—Just? When he tramples on our rights and seizes our property? And who's he going to give it to? The Indians. The thing is, he doesn't know what they're like. He's never gotten close to them or smelt how they reek of filth and liquor. And he's never done them a favor and had them pay him back with ingratitude. He's never asked them to do a task to see how lazy they are. They're so hypocritical, so underhanded and so insincere!

—Zoraida, said my father reproachfully.

—It's true, she shouted. —I would a thousand times sooner never have lived than been born among this race of vipers.

Rosario Castellanos, *Balún Canán*.





Cover of the first Fondo de Cultura Económica edition, with drawings by Alberto Beltrán.

in the southeast among the Mazatecs, and in Papaloapan when the river flooded the Indian communities and people had to be literally saved from drowning.

Pozas never sat behind a desk, and even wrote *Juan Pérez Jolote* on a notebook on his lap.

"I studied anthropology from the time the Polytechnic College opened, because I wanted to try help the Indian population and the best way of doing this was to study their lives, their origins and their social organization.

"I thought that by getting to know the Indian peoples one would be able to understand their problems better and then be able to achieve the national integration we all aspire to. The Indians should be like us...they should adopt all our positive aspects. We have to get them to take part in our highest values, our economy and our institutions.

"We have to take them the finest fruits of modern civilization, Spanish, for example, so that they can communicate with the rest of the world. This does not mean that they should abandon their folkloric aspects, but we should modify their technical methods and cultural formation.

"Each of the Indian peoples in the Chiapas highlands constitutes a religious unit, grouped around a patron saint and the church that protects them. And the groups fight among themselves because one saint does not get on with another.

"Zinacantán, Chamula and Teopisca each had two churches, one for worshipping St. Sebastian and the other for the patron saint. St. Sebastian always had a rough time. They never accepted him as a patron saint in any

village because he used to get distracted and protect more than one village (the Indians wanted exclusive rights). Also, he was always naked and that would never do, because the faithful had to dress like saints and vice versa, and in that cold weather, how could the Chamulas go about in the nude? It was quite enough that they should go around bare-legged, wearing their rough leather sandals with thick soles."

### III

If Rosario<sup>2</sup> always had a sense of guilt, it was due to the fact that she realized she was a white woman among Indians, a landowner amidst the poor and a mistress with servants. She soon became indignant over the treatment given to the Indians, opposed her own

family and supported the agrarian reform implemented by Lázaro Cárdenas [president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940].

For this reason, Rosario Castellanos regarded teaching as an apostolate and as soon as she finished her degree she began working at the National Institute for Indian Affairs. She also wrote plays for a character named Petul, a smiling puppet dressed in coarse cotton cloth, sandals and a straw hat with flowing ribbons like the ones worn by the Chamulas. Petul went from village to village speaking of the benefits of vaccinations, the advantages of hygiene, the importance of DDT (now no longer used because of its hazards), the usefulness of toothpaste and toothbrushes, and the good of penicillin.

Rosario travelled on horseback through the communities, suffering the discomfort of the journey, the cold and the heat. However, she had a sense of humor, and once told of getting onto a headless horse, because she had got on the wrong way.

Many years later, in one of her articles, she wrote something I shall never forget. As well as Rufina, Rosario had another playmate called María Escandón, a Chamula girl who was given to Doña Adriana Castellanos to keep Rosario company and carry her. All the little rich girls had their nannies, their carriers.

<sup>2</sup> Rosario Castellanos (1925-1974): Mexican writer and poet laureate who spent her childhood in Comitán, Chiapas. Much of her literary work —such as *Balún Canán*, *Oficio de tinieblas* (Shadowy Trade), *Ciudad real* (Royal City)— tells of the misery and "caciquismo" (domination by petty chiefs or political bosses) in Chiapas. (Editor's note.)

Ahead of us walked an Indian. When he reached the ticket box [for the fortune wheel at a fair in Comitán, Chiapas] he asked for a ticket.

—Hey, just listen to this upstart Indian. He's speaking Spanish. I wonder who gave him permission?

Because there are rules. Spanish is a privilege that belongs to us [the whites]....

—An Indian up on the fortune wheel! It's the anti-Christ!

Rosario Castellanos, *Balún Canán*.

"This idea of having an Indian girl was at its peak. It meant that the masters' child had a child his or her own age to play with, besides his toys, which were not very many in any case and rather simple. The girl was sometimes a playmate with initiative and a capacity for invention who took an active part in the other child's

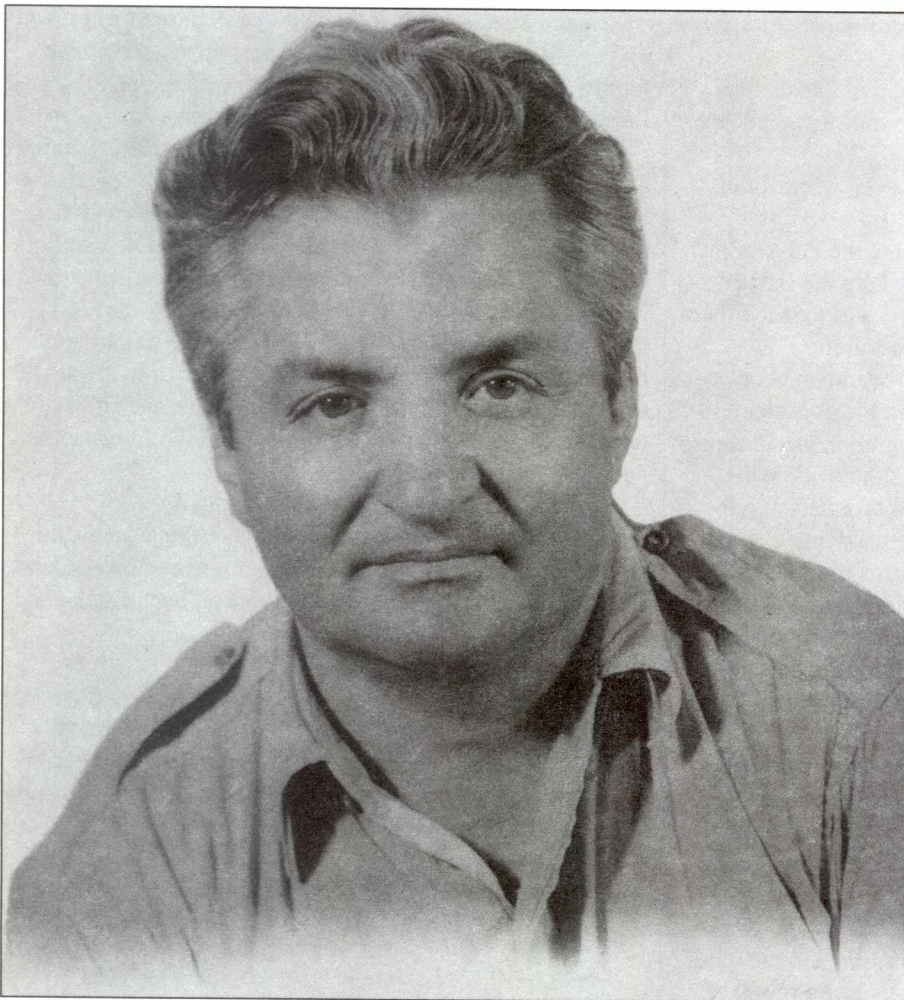
games. At other times, though, she was nothing more than an object for the other child to vent his moods on: the inexhaustible energy of childhood, boredom, anger and the bitter jealousy of possession.

"I don't think I was exceptionally capricious, arbitrary or cruel. But no one had ever taught me to

respect anyone other than my equals, and of course respect my elders far more. So I just drifted along. The day I suddenly realized that this thing I used was actually a person, I made an instant decision: to apologize to anyone I had offended. Another decision, which was to last the rest of my life, was not to take advantage of my privileged position to humiliate others."

María Escandón, her nanny, remained in Rosario's service until she married. She did not even leave her when Rosario had to spend almost a year in a TB clinic. She only felt relieved of her obligations when Rosario married. Only then did María Escandón take her leave, with the following words: "Now you'll be ruled by a man."

Strangely enough, *Juan Pérez Jolote* was translated into several languages, and only recently into Tzotzil and Tzeltal. This gave Ricardo Pozas great pleasure. He wanted to introduce us to the poorest people in Chiapas so that we would love and respect them, and appreciate their bravery and charm ❧



Ricardo Pozas appreciated the bravery and charm of Chiapas' poorest people.

# Mariana Yampolsky, the singing camera

**M**ariana Yampolsky —with eyes as green as prickly-pear pulp and shiny white hair— emerges from between the rain-drenched trees and plants. She is followed by one of her dogs; a cat which she has had for sixteen years, and which doesn't like to be photographed, prowls around her. At the back of this garden, which smells like the countryside, is a house with large windows.

“Words of praise last only a moment —says Mariana. Five minutes later they are forgotten. At least that's what happens in my case. But what endures is work. A work which is seen, enjoyed, discussed... which serves the people. Homages don't impress me much. Not even those that are made during a person's life, because in any case posthumous praise has no meaning. Sometimes I get a lump in my throat when I learn that colleagues have died, who worked so hard to please their people while no one paid attention to them when they were still alive. The posthumous testimonials, although they are a form of recognition, seem to me like a kind of worship. For me, the best testimonial is for someone to buy one of my photographs.”

● *Gabriela Rábago*: You've just returned from Iceland. How do you feel about your work having taken you to the North Pole?

■ *Mariana Yampolsky*: I imagine it was the first time there was an exhibition of Mexican photography in Iceland. I was surprised to find similarities between Iceland and



*For me, the best testimonial is for someone to buy one of my photographs.*



Elsa Escamilla.

*Mexico is a country of colors.*

Mexico. The exposition site was surrounded by lava. There are large fields of lava very similar to ours, which made me feel at home.

The people were nice, very generous. They invited us to stay in their homes.

Iceland is a very strange, sort of moon-like country. The people keep much longer hours during the summer because there is no night. I saw children riding bicycles at 11 at night. The light is extraordinarily beautiful. What I liked most of all was the water. I drank it all the time. They say the water has been distilled in the lava rocks for 400,000 years, since the glacier period. It is the purest water in the world.

In Iceland, people are anxious to see cultural exhibitions from other places. Sebastian's sculptures have been well received and people speak warmly of him. This year there were many Latinos: there was Cuban dance and painting, and I think we were able to bring some of the warmth of our land to that country, which is so cold.

I would like to tell you that while the island has only 250,000 inhabitants, 800 new books in Icelandic are published every year, which places them among the top publishers in the world. I gave an

exhibition about architecture and was interested to find out that in Iceland in the past century, peasants' houses were built underground to escape the cold. Now hot water is the basis of the island's heating systems. Also in their warm way of relating to others, the Icelanders reminded me of Mexicans, which made me feel very happy.

● *GR*: What was the size of the photographic display that you took?

■ *MY*: There were sixty photographs, with the theme of houses of the people. This display was not related to the "Caressing Houses" exhibition shown in the Museum of Anthropology. I made sure that all of the material for the Iceland exhibition was different. As you know, I have always been interested in everything that human beings do, everything their hands have touched. Architecture is an important aspect of humanity. Over the years I've taken pictures of country houses, former haciendas and architecture in general. I would dare say that I have the largest archive of popular architecture in Mexico. I know of no others who have dedicated themselves to this for so long.

I'm often asked for these photos now because people want to see and learn about the vernacular architecture. In the famous book *Arquitectura sin arquitectos* (Architecture without Architects), there are houses and buildings from all parts of the world, except Mexico. I liked that theme so much that I decided to correct the error. Then the SEP published my book *La casa que canta* (The Singing House), about this subject.



*Mariana Yampolsky, Mazahua Mother.*



Mariana Yampolsky, Otomi Woman.

At the end of 1993 the English publishers Thames and Hudson came out with a book of mine on traditional Mexican architecture. They also asked me to do an exhibition about this architecture. I was glad about this, but at the same time there are other aspects of life to enjoy, and I wish the galleries would take that into account.

The Mexican people have an astonishing vitality. It's not for me to analyze why. However, I'm going to say something outrageous: I believe the thread of continuity was never completely broken. It is a country whose anonymous pre-Hispanic art is so unquestionably powerful. This continues into the Colonial period, it mixes with European art. It's very interesting to visit Baroque Europe and to compare it to what has arisen in Mexico, because it's different. This thread continues through the entire history of the country.

Today, if we look at what has been produced by countries with great

cultures —Egypt and Greece, for example— there is no comparison to what they did in the past. In Mexico, there is. I believe I am not wrong when I say that in the history of art, Mexico is a country *sui generis* in that sense.

At the same time I'm against comparing one person's product to another's. I believe we're falling into the pattern of yearning to be the first and most outstanding. I am surprised to hear that Picasso is the most notable painter of this century. How can different kinds of expressions be judged in this way? I can't say that pre-Hispanic Mexican work was superior to that of ancient China, Egypt or Greece. I believe that life is not about finding the best or the first.

In Mexico we have photographers who work a lot, who start to define themselves and stand out, and each has his or her own distinct value. Why do we have to find the best? There's room for plenty in this world, and that's a good thing. During this *fin de siècle*, the U.S. way of looking at

things is characterized by such oddities as saying that the largest state of the Union is Texas and the most beautiful woman in the world is the so-called Miss Universe.

I can't understand how you can think of having that kind of contest. The physical make-up and features of one racial group are different from those of others. What is important is that they function in accordance with their geographical placement. Based on what principles can you say that a Mexican woman is more beautiful than a Chinese woman? I really don't understand, it doesn't make sense. In the Mexican art world they are applying schemas of that kind. They waste a lot of energy trying to be the best, the most famous, in order to serve the art market.

● *GR*: Would you say that market is a recent invention?

■ *MY*: In the epoch of muralism that market did exist, but it lacked the power it has now. Now the work of many artists is oriented towards the market, not their country or people. I see a difference between people and country, and that leads me to a



Photographers capture the image of others all our lives.

Elsa Escamilla

delicate subject: how many members of the common people have the opportunity to see what their compatriots are doing in the field of culture? Culture doesn't reach television, or it's shown so superficially that there's no time for the person who sees it to assimilate it. There is no doubt that people know more about what's happening in other countries than their own. Art is concentrated in the large cities.

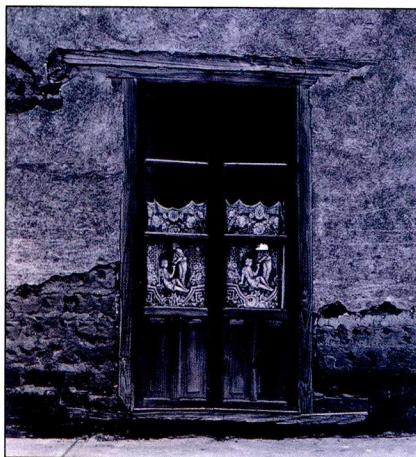
For photographers, who capture the image of others all our lives—the only way to photograph is to steal people's image—how to return those images to the photographed subject is a problem. One way is through exhibitions and books, but books are very expensive and the majority of people can't afford them. Exhibitions are limited to big-city museums. So there isn't the sort of give and take that I would like.

I'd love it if the people whose photographs appear in my new book about the Mazahuas could see themselves there. What these people think about their portraits is something we haven't heard. At first, many are afraid of the camera or angry, and I think I speak for most photographers when I say that we face situations where people challenge us, saying we'll make a lot of money from the pictures we take of them. Sometimes I feel the need to find out whether the subject of the photograph really thinks the image has turned out to be so good or so awful.

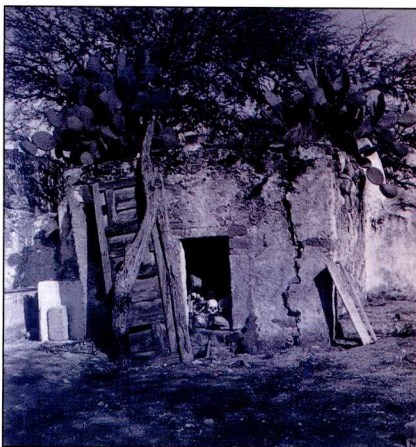
When I've had the opportunity for such a confrontation, I've seen many reactions: silence—perhaps out of respect, perhaps because of a breakdown in communication; the pleasure that comes from showing the picture on the wall; or disenchantment because the image is in black and white, not color. This is very understandable: since Mexico is a country of colors, the people see in color. I wish someone would investigate what is behind this "leap"



Mariana Yampolsky, *The Store*.



Mariana Yampolsky, *Lace curtains*.



Mariana Yampolsky, *House of bones*.

from color to black and white. It's interesting. I sometimes take pictures in color because reality demands it. It says "I am," and I can't ignore it. Perhaps in other parts of the world they see photographers from Latin America as an unusual phenomenon because "we're still in black and white," which signifies the past to many people.

I'm going to say something else outrageous: when a black-and-white photograph is well done, the viewer adds the color. There's no such thing as "without color." The range of black and white, with all the intermediate greys, suggests, gives form and volume. I read a phrase from an anonymous author which I liked very much: "To describe is to kill; suggestion is life."

● *GR*: Would you agree that at the present time, artists—including photographers—are characterized by individualism?

■ *MY*: Yes, it's an individualism provoked by an unbridled search to be different. Not long ago I saw some photography magazines, and I noticed something interesting but not very successful: a series of experiments which gave me the feeling that the artist wanted to justify his profession. This happens in other artistic fields: a singer that seeks a huge audience.

In fact, I believe the period we're living through is the time of singers. That photography, sculpture, painting, have taken second place in terms of public response. Throughout the West, the first place is held by popular singers. When I see photographs of Madonna, I feel she has her hands on the pulse of what her society needs, but I also find an extraordinary desire to shock, to be remembered. I figure Madonna can't sleep for thinking of what she can do tomorrow to outdo the shock she caused yesterday. There's not much further she can go.

That also happens with photographers. I'll mention the case of an American artist who, from the

Elsa Escamilla.



Mariana Yampolsky, The Kitchen.



Mariana Yampolsky, The Barber.



Mariana Yampolsky, Angels.



Mariana Yampolsky, Wall of Thorns.



*To describe is to kill; suggestion is life. I'm concerned with how much I'm able to interpret what's going around me.*

technical point of view, does impeccable photography, but presents such images as a woman giving birth to a pig; the breasts of a woman symbolically profaned, tied up with black string so she is unable to breastfeed. That brings us to the phenomenon of wanting to make your mark on the world. I found those photos disagreeable because I couldn't stop seeing in them the denigration of woman, to such a degree that I find it hard to view that artist's work objectively.

The photographer certainly has the freedom to express whatever he wants. I'm not in favor of clipping anyone's wings. It's just that if I talk about my photos, I locate myself as the spectator, not as the creator of new symbols. I am a discoverer of what exists around me. I'm not that concerned about my ego. I'm concerned with how much I'm able to interpret what's going on around me. Nothing else.

In counterposition to extreme individualism, I miss the collective

work which was my training in the People's Graphic Workshop. When I look back, I realize it was part of a movement when Mexican art was in its golden era. A very special moment. Diego and Siqueiros had a public debate in which they exchanged harsh words and, even at that time, there was a lot of favoritism, feuding and vendettas.

Nonetheless, all that had a different dimension. It wasn't personal. It had to do with issues of social interest and went beyond the world of the artists themselves, really becoming important for society in general. I'm very grateful for that training. If there is something which bothers me now, it's the lack of cooperation between artists. All that counts is the quest for fame and fortune. And I believe that quest makes one lose the work's human dimension. ❧

*Gabriela Rábago Palafox*  
Staff writer.

Lourdes Laborde.

# The passion of Fernando García Ponce

**E**very work of art is born from an internal phenomenon which seeks to make the essence of reality communicable. As Mario Vargas Llosa says, reality, having been badly made, is insufficient when it comes to satisfying human desires and aspirations. The painting of Fernando García Ponce is, to a certain degree, the freeing of an instinctive force which gives us the artist's own response to an imperfect reality and succeeds in giving shape to that secret order that makes painting "appear."

Almost six years after his death in Mexico City on July 11, 1987, the Banamex Cultural Foundation paid homage to this painter, a member par excellence of what has been called the "generation of the break," publishing, in 1992, a large book with a red cover. (Red was his favorite color.)

The friendship of the book's author, María Luísa Borràs, with the

painter is reflected in the great affection that shines through her comments, as well as the meticulous collection of texts on the artist's work, from his first exhibition of 26 oil paintings—which opened on April 20, 1959 at the Gallery of Mexican Art, then under the direction of Inés Amor—to his last show of collages at the Ponce Gallery in 1986.

The path leading García Ponce from those first oils to the collages of his artistic maturity parallels the transformation of his own life, a life which, in the words of Roger von Gunten, was as close as could be to the romantic ideal of the artist possessed. To seek the causes that gave rise to this intense and painful personality of contrasts would mean entering the world of coincidences, chance, fortuitous encounters; to go back, that is, to the enigma and very beginning of time.

The product of all these indecipherable elements of chance, Fernando had a somewhat lonely childhood. Together with his brother, the great writer Juan García Ponce, he studied in Mérida while the boys' parents lived in Campeche, in Mexico's tropical south. Years later, as an adolescent, he studied in the capital, later attending a boarding school run by the Marist Brothers in San Luis Potosí where, according to Fernando himself, he learned two fundamental things: that religion is worthless and that one must make his own way.



*Untitled, 1985.*

This sense of solitude, of facing the world alone, may never have left the painter, who despite himself was what we might call the typical former Marist student: ultra-intelligent, ultra-shy, ultra-solitary, ultra-tormented.

He abandoned the faith. Art became his protection against the attacks of the world (in the sense of that little net that protects one against the implacable attack of mosquitoes); the terrain where García Ponce could continue to follow trails, seeking lost signs, as he had done in his childhood in the woods with his "wolf cub" scouting companions: his brother Juan, Manuel Felguérez, Jorge Ibarguengoitia.

But now this extreme sharpness of the senses, this capacity for "sustained" emotion that is so rarely found in an individual, was directed towards the task of tearing off reality's veil, in the search for some kind of sign or signal. García Ponce's signs



*The artist in the living room of his house in Coyoacán.*

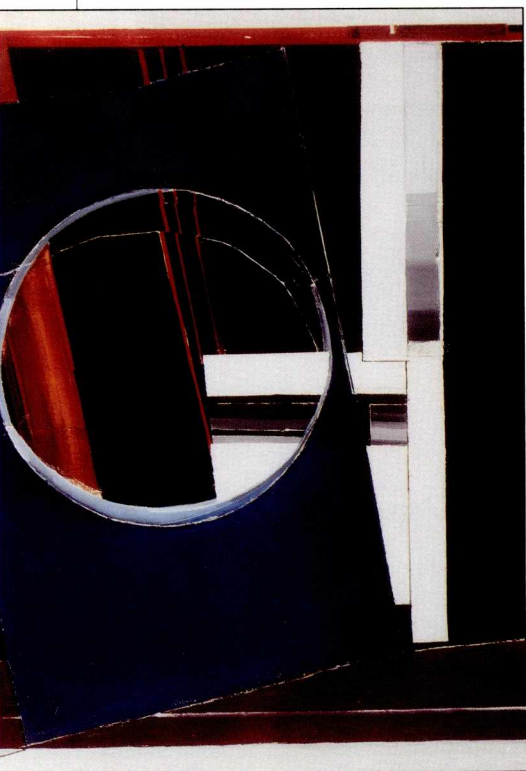


were as intense as they were contradictory, as sublime as they were impassioned.

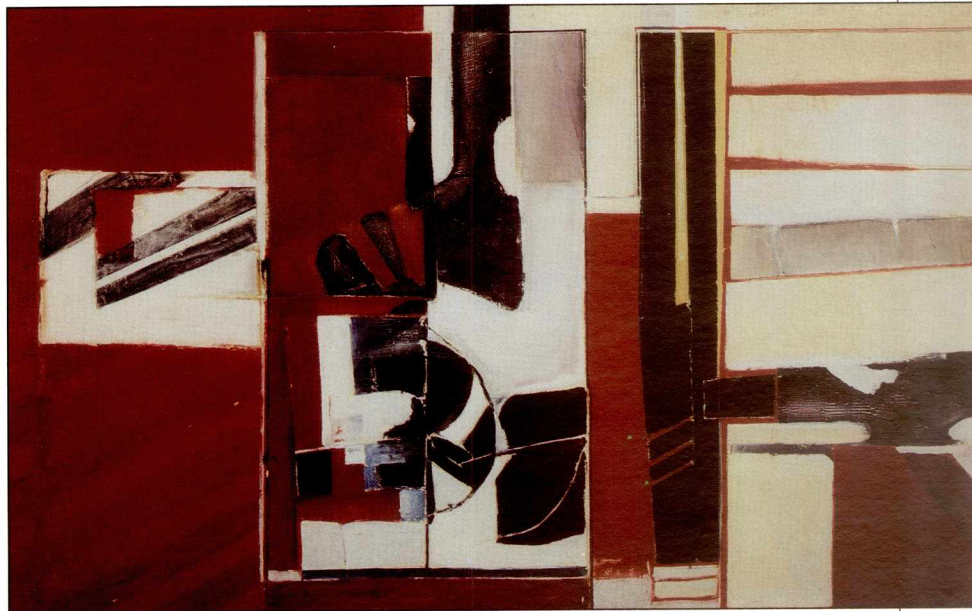
A photo of the artist by Manuel Alvarez Bravo shows us a García Ponce whose austere way of dressing—dark sweater and pants—contrasts with his visible internal complexity. The far-away, self-absorbed, profound gaze evokes the synthesis of the contradictions every human being is made up of.

But in the case of García Ponce this intense gaze heralds what the artist will put on canvas: slices of memory in which permanent relations in space are the product of a highly complex purification of elements; of a simultaneously explosive and decanted mixture of a perception that is both sensualist and puritanical; of the inseparable relation between light and shadow.

Because this need to paint, to compensate for the world's insufficiency, is rooted in an individualism which is a matter more



*Untitled, 1976.*



*Composition No. 2, 1977.*

of fate than choice. Between the explosion of Van Gogh's sunflowers and the balance of Juan Gris—two of his favorite painters—Fernando García Ponce succeeded in finding a language which powerfully expressed the truth as he saw it.

"Towards the end," writes Dore Ashton in the prologue to María Luísa Borràs' book, "there were coarse diagonals which broke his surfaces and red stains suggesting disaster. Weights and balances were askew and there was a sense of frenetic haste to show the explosive feelings which tormented his days. The tragic element, so present in these final works, and which seems so fundamental to his personality, burst forth ferociously, expressing the passion, the internal struggle, which had marked all his life as an artist...."

After the images of Fernando García Ponce as a child in 1935, of Fernando and Juan in the uniform of the Marist Brothers' Montejo School in the Mérida of 1938, of the brothers on vacation in Lerma, of Fernando with such close friends as Juan Vicente Melo, José Luis Cuevas, Maka Strauss, Vicente Rojo, Manuel Felguérez; of García Ponce facing the

marvelous portrait Francisco Corzas made of him; of the artist drinking coffee, or with his cat at his house in Coyoacán; of García Ponce making a collage; of the painter's hands holding a piece of cardboard as if his life depended on it... the last and final image is that of the death of the painter as seen by another painter (Manuel Felguérez):

"...He was in bed face down, dressed, as if he had fallen asleep. His room had no door and you could see to the end of the hallway as if it were enclosed in a wooden frame. To me, it looked like a carefully set scene. On his bedside table a book by Schewitters lay open; a sort of fireplace was decorated with empty beer bottles. A recently finished picture lay against a bookshelf and another lay on the floor, half-painted. It was a very large composition... so it left only a narrow passage to walk through. It was very moving. All in an atmosphere of calm and peace. He died in the midst of his work. A very beautiful and very sad image, which will remain with me forever."

Nevertheless, in the language of Fernando García Ponce's work tranquility is contrary to art. His work

Lourdes Laborde.



*Untitled, 1979-1980.*

stands against conformity, creating dissatisfaction and discontent. I think that would be the highest compliment to a man who was always a defender of truth and pitiless nemesis of posturing and hypocrisy. I can only say I am sorry not to have met him.

*Laura Emilia Pacheco*

### **García Ponce, the poet of the void**

The painter was part of the generation which in the 60s —when the mural painting of Siqueiros, Orozco and Rivera was still at its height— presented the “Confrontation 66” show at the Palace of Fine Arts in which young artists exhibited “the new Mexican painting.”

This group of painters went from the quest for a more spiritual abstract art like that of Gunter Gerzso and Matías Goeritz, to a more lyrical and

contained geometricism like that of Vicente Rojo, Kasuya Sakai, Manuel Felguérez and García Ponce.

In addition to providing a new vision of what painting is about, this generation brought fresh air to the static and rarified Mexican art milieu.

Any discussion of this generation of artists brings to mind the rise of geometrical abstraction in Mexico, a phenomenon which was more than the product of simple coincidences in time and technique. It involved a conjunction of historical factors and individual wills.

García Ponce’s work went through several stages, while always conserving its rational and orderly attitude towards composition and the intellectual investigation of pictorial structures. He was a courageous artist who always expressed what he thought, believed and felt throughout his long career, in his own artistic

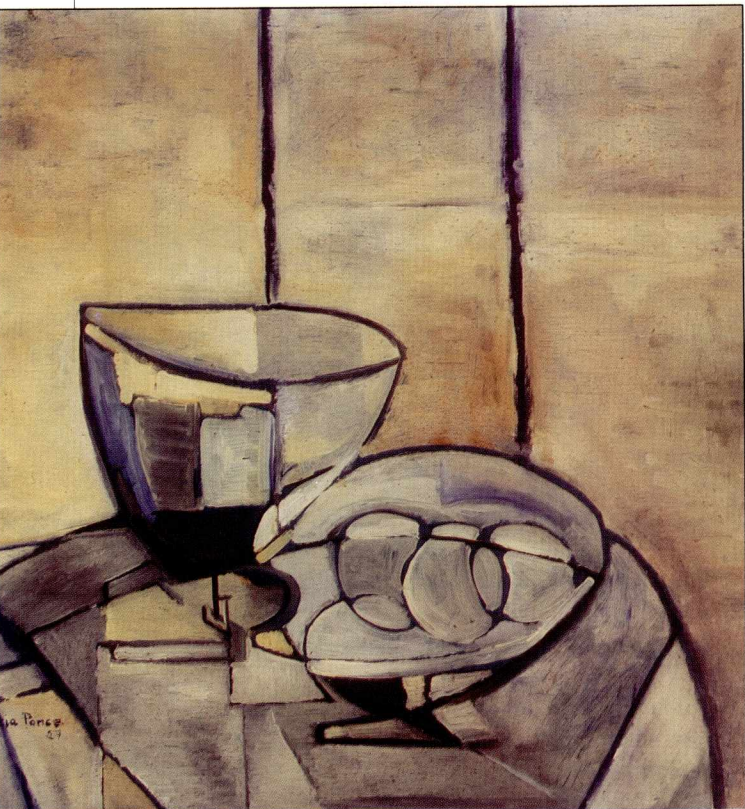
handwriting. Some called him “the poet of the void,” and writers considered this highly personal painter to be one of the most significant abstract artists in Mexico in the past 25 years.

In the 1980s, after several exhibitions in different parts of the world, he began a new kind of work: a play of abstract forms and audaciously expressive works, using —for the first time in Mexico— the collage technique, incorporating such variegated elements as pieces of paper, charcoal and magazine clippings into his canvases.

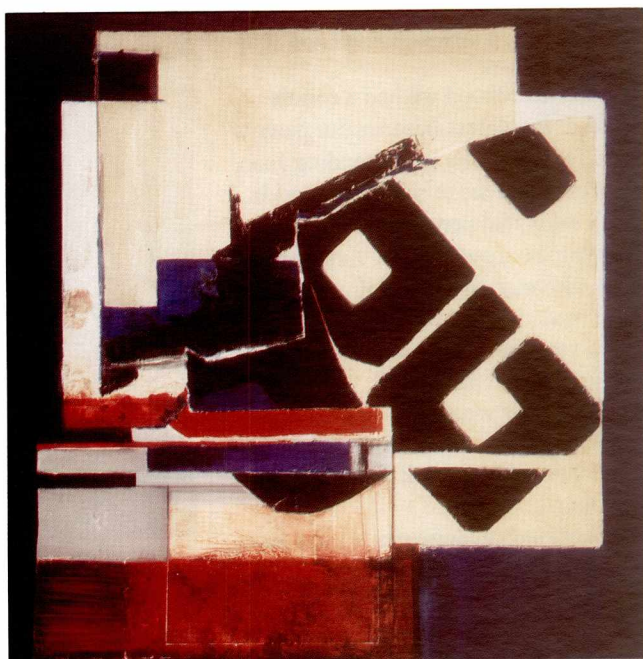
It was thirty years of meditation, searching, development and practice that led to García Ponce becoming one of the most important abstract painters in Mexican art. Now, several years after his death, his work is beginning to be known and appreciated abroad. In 1965 he was awarded the National Prize for Fine Arts as Mexican art’s first abstract painter.



*Fernando García Ponce is a member of the “generation of the break.”*

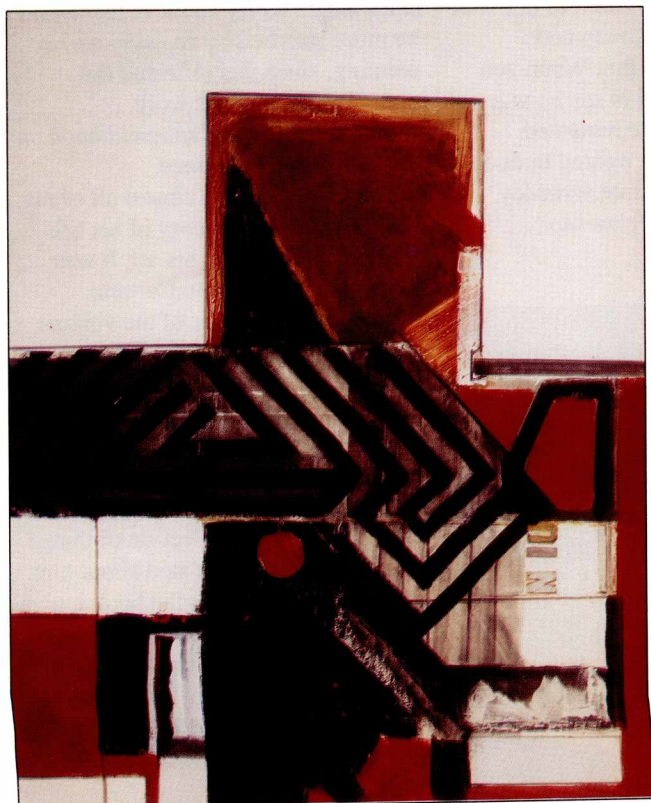


Untitled, 1975.

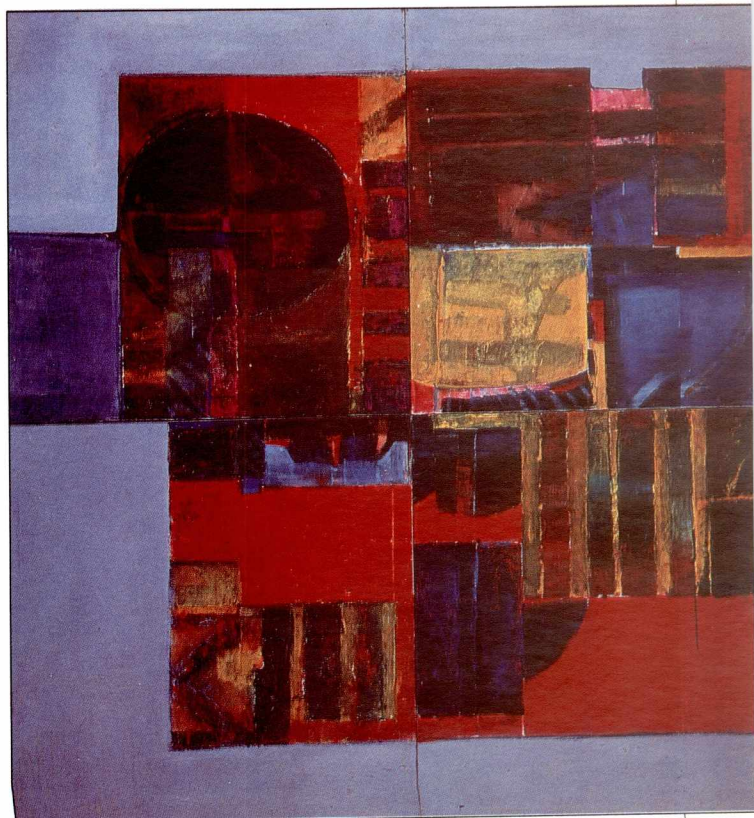


Untitled, 1973.

Lourdes Laborde.



Untitled, 1978.



Untitled, 1969.

### An interview with the artist's brother Carlos

● *What sort of childhood did you and Fernando have?*

■ In our childhood we had a certain sense of loneliness because our parents lived in Campeche while sending Juan, Fernando and me to school in Mérida. I don't think that period influenced his painting, because it was a very tranquil time, although that tranquility might have made him introverted.

● *Do you think Juan had an influence on Fernando's painting?*

■ While they were very close, I don't think Juan influenced his painting since Fernando's work was always very personal.

● *What kind of memories do you have of your childhood together?*

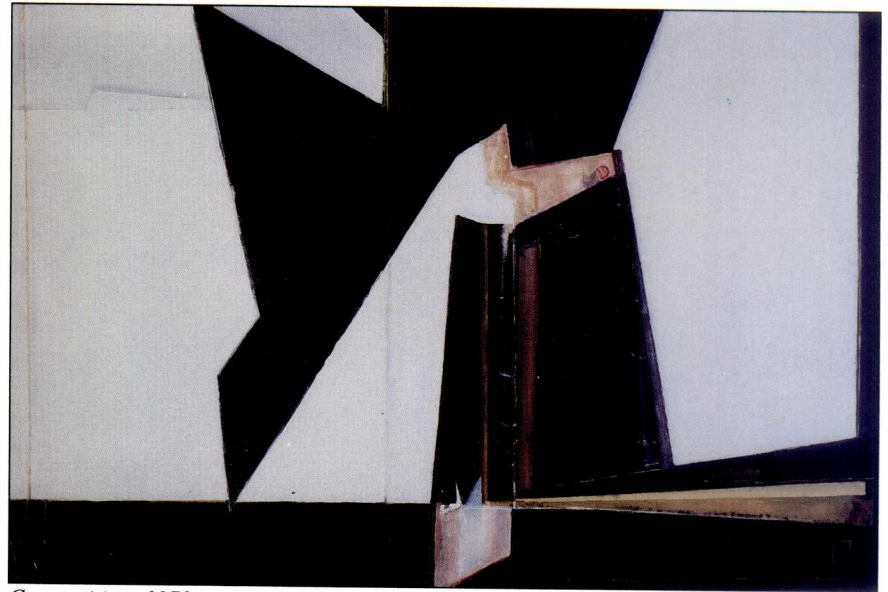
■ Juan was the key figure in our games. We accompanied him, whether it was swimming, tree-climbing or organizing imaginary wars.

● *What was Fernando's life like?*

■ Peaceful, in his house in Coyoacán. If he wasn't drinking he would paint, and if he was painting he wouldn't drink.

● *Why do you think he began to use collage?*

■ In conversation he would change topics with great ease. He would suddenly tell you something, like that he changed his way of painting because he had changed women or houses. Fernando's personality was like a collage, and when he began to



*Composition, 1973.*

include photos in his collages he was doing his biography.

● *What sort of character did he have?*

■ Although Fernando appeared to be a "lone wolf," his character seemed like a lot of fun; he was a lot of fun. He liked to recall the period when he was married to Leonor Llaesas. He lived ducking the plates she used to throw at his head, and to him living and painting seemed like fun. When you talked to him he used to say he was a lucky person, since he remained conscious of what he wanted to do in his life.... A good picture someday.

● *What was life for Fernando?*

■ A search.

● *Was he satisfied with it?*

■ No.

● *What was the primary personal influence on your brother's painting?*

■ His mood. His painting is closely linked to his life.


● *Did Fernando believe in art criticism?*

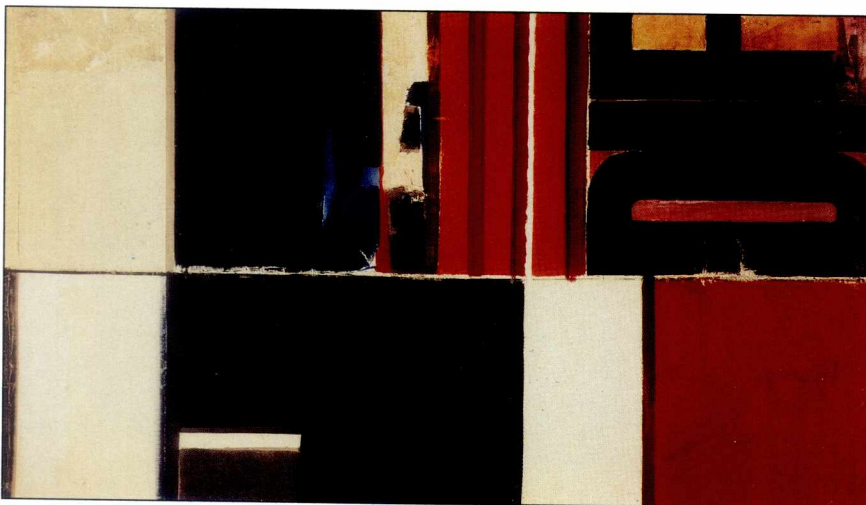
■ He didn't worry about it. He would be more satisfied by an essay on his painting, since this reflected the central attitude of his work.

● *Tell me about this splendid book on Fernando García Ponce.*

■ The book sums up almost all of my brother's work, the story of his life and the best texts on his art. It was published by Fomento Cultural Banamex. The author of the volume was María Luísa Borràs, and Sara Sierra Knopfler was in charge of the coordination and research.

The book has met with great success, since instead of seeking a new appreciation of his work it is a very praiseworthy selection of things that had already been said about him.

When you look at the book it gives you the impression that Fernando painted one single picture that spills over into the infinity of works that make up the totality of his production. It was published as a tribute to him 



*Painting No. 4, 1973.*

*Karla Vander*

# Remedios Varo

## (1908-1963)

**W**hen an artist produces from the depth of his being... he transcends fashions, because his creation contains the whole, imbued with principles and infinity. Remedios Varo belongs to the universe.

Her art is a form of painting that reflects the connection with other worlds...that weaving in and out of different mental planes, bodies and souls dancing with the spirits of a wall, of the water, and those that hide under the boards or evaporate among the sighing of the floors. Space, where time and gravitation are the daily languages of magicians and hermits. Every picture is a window reaching into the depths of those that contemplate it. Codes and symbols of

the occultism of all times, the vitality that transmutes the probable to approach the essence of things. Silent music of magical architecture and solar or lunar vehicles. Feline companions of the soul tussling playfully and affectionately with strands of wool in a burst of joy. Lovers who corrupt the shadows. Scientists impregnated with Nature. Mystical strokes evoking memories. Birds, chairs, textures from different realms and star dust that by some sort of alchemy acquire life and color in visual stories with a thousand versions, linked by a common thread, that lovingly prolong the intensity of experience.

This and much more constitutes the symbolic, surreal universe of



*The Lovers, 1963.*

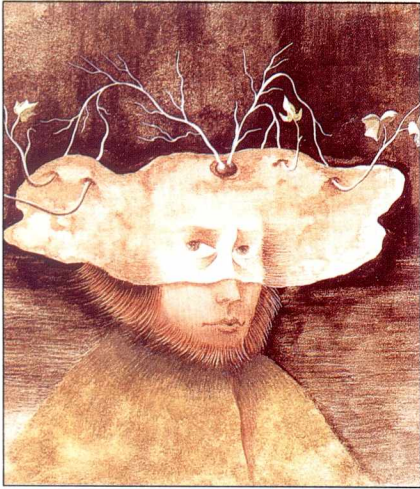


*Revelation or the Watchmaker, 1955.*

Photos by Blanca Charolet (pp. 67-71).

Remedios Varo, whose work we can admire today in Mexico City's Modern Art museum. Followers of this unique painter have waited for this moment for years, because they knew the exhibition would be a delight. Those seeing Varo's painting for the first time will doubtless experience a revealing introspective journey.

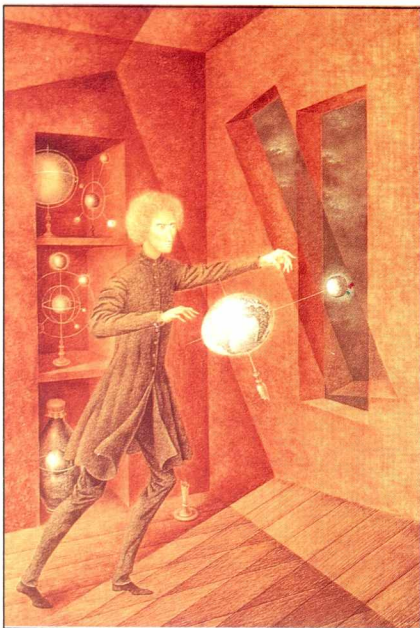
The "Remedios Varo 1908-1963" exhibition opened on February 24. For the first time ever, 172 works have been assembled, showing the painter's artistic progress—which included such diverse techniques as oil painting, gouache, pencil and collage as well as various pieces with original



*The Farmworker, 1958.*

techniques and materials rarely used in the visual arts, such as silver leaf, incusted mother-of-pearl, mixed technique on glass, gold leaf and leather, appliqué, frottage, bird feathers and bones and metal and mirrors on wood.

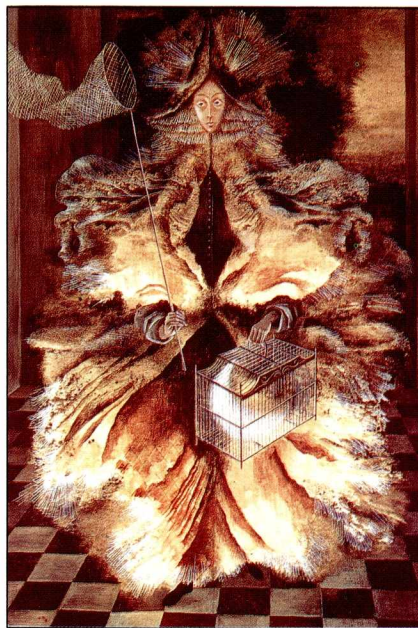
Seventy of these works have never been exhibited before. Thanks to the enthusiasm of private collectors, they have been sent from Argentina, Spain, the United States, France,



*Weightless Phenomenon, 1963.*

Mexico, Peru and Switzerland so they may be shown as part of this exhibition. They span forty years of history and subtle pictorial adventures from 1923 to 1963, the year when Remedios Varo left this world.

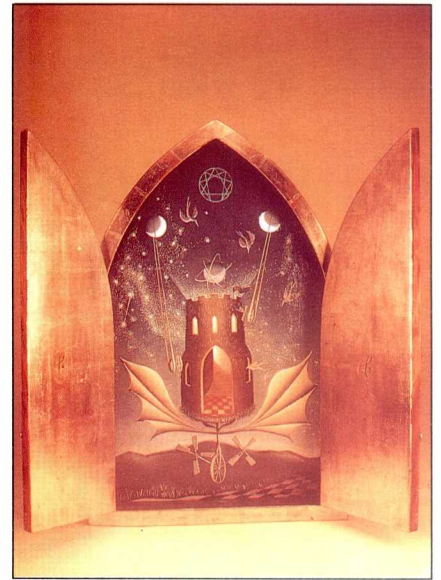
On the night of the inauguration, Teresa del Conde, director of the Museum of Modern Art, remarked that this great dream was realized thanks to Walter Gruen, Remedios Varo's widower, and Ricardo Ovalle, a collector and profound admirer of



*Star Huntress, 1956.*

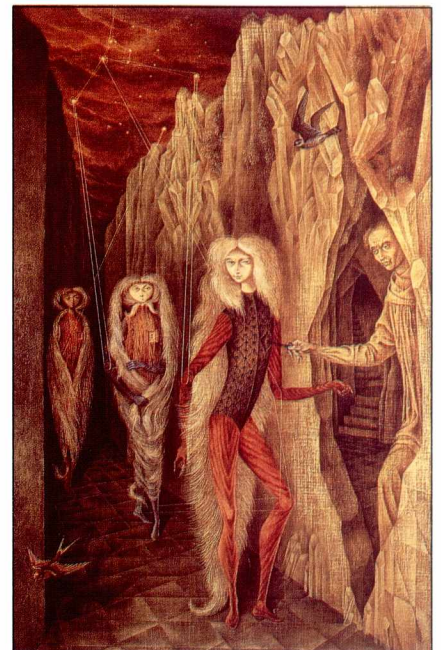
Remedios' work. Both threw themselves into the task of looking for the collectors who made this great compilation possible.

Alexandra Gruen also worked with the collectors to create a "detailed catalogue" in honor of the artist, more than 30 years after her death; the catalogue will be available to the public later this year. Meanwhile, visitors to the exhibition will be able to acquire the catalogue that the museum has prepared on the occasion of the exhibition, in a bilingual Spanish-English edition with 69 reproductions of the works being shown.



*Icon, 1945.*

During the press conference before the inauguration, Janet Kaplan, Remedios Varo's biographer and author of the book *Viajes inesperados, El arte y la vida de Remedios Varo* (Unexpected Journeys, The Art and Life of Remedios Varo), said the Mexico of



*Portrait of Dr. Ignacio Chávez, 1957.*



Discretion, 1958.

the 1950s provided Remedios Varo with a stimulating environment, where surrealism was an experience that people actually lived through.

Remedios Varo was born in Angles, in the province of Gerona, Spain, on December 16, 1908. At the age of 21 she met Fernando Lizarraga at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid, where she began the search for her own life and art.

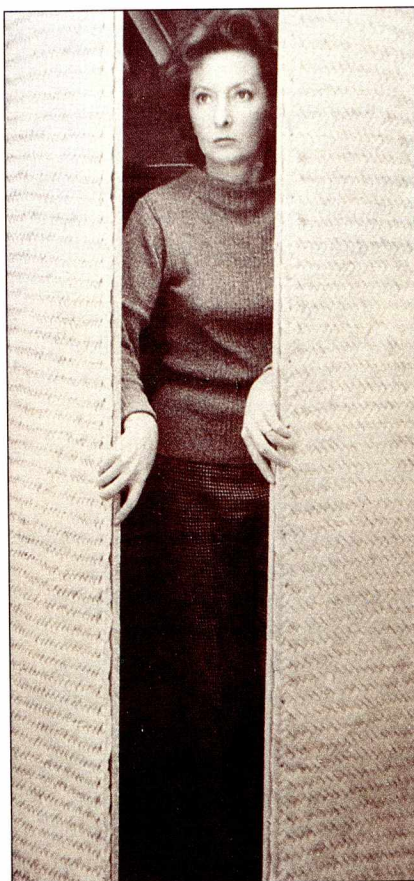
In Paris, her life took a completely different turn when she entered the world of the Surrealists: Esteban Francés, Benjamin Péret, André Bréton, Max Ernst, René Magritte, Wolfgang Paalen, Victor Brauer, Marcel Jean, Oscar Domínguez, Jacques Hérold, Wifredo Lam and Leonora Carrington, her best friend and soulmate.



*I belong more to Mexico than anywhere else.*

In 1941, she came to Mexico as a political exile, and finally found a safe refuge to work. Remedios Varo once said:

*I belong more to Mexico than anywhere else. I don't know Spain very well. I was very young when I lived there. After that came the years of learning, and assimilating into Paris, and then the war. Mexico is the place where I have felt welcome and*



*In Paris she entered the world of the Surrealists.*

*safe.... I don't enjoy travelling at all.... It is not an experience I would like to repeat.*

In the early '50s, Remedios Varo married Walter Gruen. He had come to Mexico in 1942, escaping the war and Holocaust in Europe. Here was a man who crossed oceans and time to reach his destiny: Remedios Varo, the



The Pauper, 1958.

woman and her work. She finally found the peace and emotional support she needed to be able to paint, and it was during these last years of her life that she produced almost all of the works that made her famous.

Walter Gruen continues his quest to increase public knowledge of Remedios Varo's work. His is one of those romantic destinies in which time and physical presence transcend human rules and are only understood in the heavens ❖

Dinorah Isaak  
Staff writer.



The Encounter, 1962.

# Depression, the illness that overwhelms us

Luis A. Toro \*



Detail from painting by Remedios Varo.

**T**he increasing importance of leisure time, society's growing dependence on technology, the ever more competitive nature of modern life, the transformation of moral values and resulting instability—these are some of the reasons why depression is on the rise worldwide, especially in the developed countries.

In the United States, for example, clinical depression attacks 15 million people each year, according to National Institute of Health reports. Because of the magnitude of the problem, a conference designated as the National Day for the Recognition of Depression was held in the U.S. on October 8, 1992.

At this meeting, psychiatrists and other mental-health professionals agreed to work on a voluntary basis towards discovering some of the millions of cases of undiagnosed depression, and a toll-free phone number was established to provide assistance to depressed individuals.

This has made it possible to save the lives of people with strong self-destructive tendencies who require immediate hospitalization.

Psychiatrists and public-health experts from Duke University estimate that losses due to acute depression alone reached 16.3 billion dollars in 1986 in the United States.

But lesser degrees of depression are much more common, and as a result more costly, because people suffering from depression lose more days from work than those with heart disease.

This mental-health problem is complicated by society's attitude toward the illness. Less than fifty percent of Americans consider depression to be a health problem, and more than two out of five believe it is a form of personal weakness. Consequently, many depressed people do not seek specialized medical treatment which could help them resolve their problems.

Clinical depression is an illness which causes long-lasting changes in mood, behavior and emotions, interfering with and disorganizing an individual's work and family life.

Depression can affect people of any age, without regard to religion, race or social status, although—as with heart disease or alcoholism—some people are more predisposed to depression than others.

Depression is almost always manifested between the ages of 24 and 44. Studies by the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health show that women are two times more prone to suffer clinical depression than men.

The possibility that depression will develop in an individual is present when there is a family history of the

illness. However, not all genetically susceptible people will go on to develop the disease.

People suffering from major depression frequently exhibit a pattern of neurochemical imbalance, but there are other factors which can initiate depression as well.

A person's psychological make-up plays an important role. Prone to this disorder are those who have a low level of self-esteem, are continually self-critical, have a pessimistic world outlook, or let their problems overwhelm them.

An important loss, chronic illness, a troubled relationship, financial problems or any undesirable change in one's way of life may also provoke a depressive episode. A combination of genetic, psychological and environmental factors is generally found to cause the illness.

The principal symptoms of depression are:

- A persistent state of sadness, anxiety or feeling of emptiness.
- Sensations of desperation and pessimism.
- Feelings of guilt, uselessness, inability.
- The loss of interest or pleasure in hobbies and activities the individual previously enjoyed, including sex.
- Insomnia, very early rising or excessive sleeping.

\* Psychiatrist.



- Appetite disorders and weight changes.
- Loss of energy; fatigue or weakness.
- Thoughts related to death or suicide; suicide attempts.
- Malaise, irritability.
- Difficulty in concentrating, remembering and decision-making.
- Persistent physical symptoms which are unresponsive to treatment, such as headaches, digestive disorders and chronic pain.

Not all of these symptoms need be present for a diagnosis of depression to be made. Doctors and mental-health specialists consider symptoms' persistence to be the key factor.

While the majority of depressed people improve by themselves over a period of several weeks or months, early diagnosis and treatment can



Remedios Varo, *Insomnia*, 1947.

reduce the duration and intensity of depression.

Treatment may also help reduce the chances that depression will recur. This may involve the use of various anti-depressant medications—which are non-addictive and do not affect behavior—as well as individual psychotherapy.

Some people experience relief through psychotherapy, some through the use of anti-depressants, and others through a combined treatment—in other words, the use of medication in order to achieve relatively rapid symptomatic relief and psychotherapy in order to learn how to confront the problems of life.

Depressive disorders cause people to feel worn out, useless, crippled and hopeless. These negative thoughts and feelings can make some people give up entirely.

It is important to recognize that these negative ideas are part of depression itself, and that they will disappear to the degree that treatment is effective. In the meantime, the depressed individual should:

- Avoid setting him or herself difficult goals or taking on large responsibilities.
- Divide large tasks into small parts, setting priorities and doing what is feasible.
- Not expect too much of him or herself, since this may increase feelings of failure.
- Try to be with other people.
- Participate in activities which make him or her feel better, but without overdoing it or getting upset if there is no immediate improvement in mood. Feeling better takes time.
- Not make important life decisions such as changing jobs, getting married or divorced without consulting other people who know the individual well and can give a more objective opinion on the situation. In any case it is prudent to postpone major



Remedios Varo, *Woman Coming Out of the Psychoanalyst's Office*, 1960.

decisions until the depression has diminished.

- Reject negative thoughts.

As in the case of other illnesses, family and friends play an important role, as they are the first to note signs that the depressed individual is improving or getting worse. Care must be taken that the depressed person not attempt suicide as an escape from their suffering. Research shows that 15 percent of people suffering from acute depression end up committing suicide.

The most important elements in helping a depressed person are seeing that they receive adequate treatment, providing them with moral support and company, and stressing that with time and help they will be able to overcome their illness **M**

# CHIAPAS

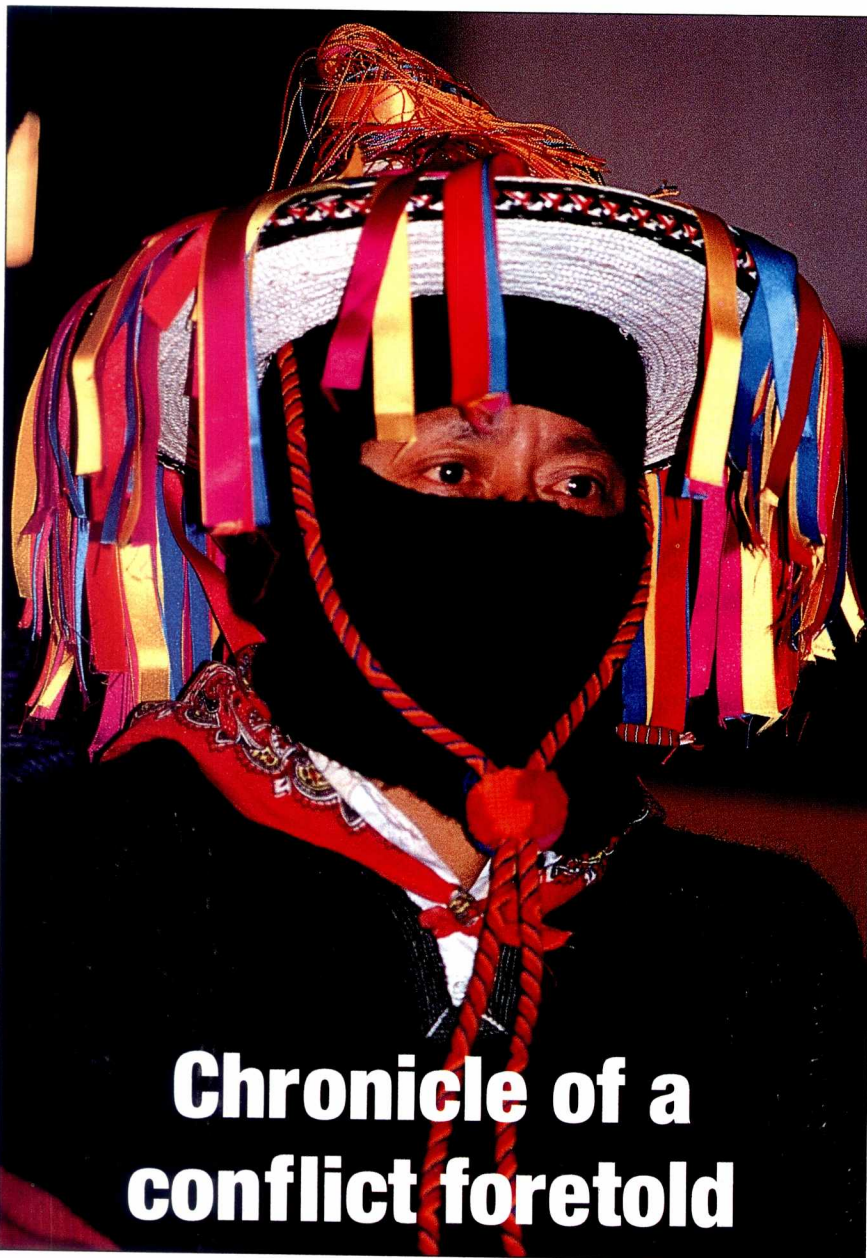
Voices of Mexico / April • June, 1994

*When the flood waters knock down the houses and the river overflows, sweeping away everything in its path, then it is a sign that without our knowing it, the rains began in the mountains many days ago.*

Chiapas peasant.

January 1, 1994 saw the beginning of an Indian rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas. The attack by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) took the whole country by surprise, particularly those whom it targeted: the Mexican government and army. The conflict was surprising not only because of its unexpectedness but because of the speed with which events, reactions and interpretations followed one another, and the impact it is predicted to have on the nation.

Paz means peace. (Editor's note.)



**Chronicle of a  
conflict foretold**

### The twelve-day war

At approximately 0:30 a.m. on New Year's Day, a group of armed peasants and Indians, driving trucks stolen a few days earlier, occupied the cities of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano and Las Margaritas.<sup>1</sup> The towns were defended by municipal and judicial police. Preliminary figures in the press reported 6 dead and 12 wounded (*La Jornada, Excelsior, El Financiero*, January 2, 1994).

The rebels destroyed furniture and windows in municipal and police buildings, prevented access to occupied towns and freed 179 prisoners from the San Cristóbal jail as well as taking provisions from stores. They also took over the radio stations at Ocosingo and San Cristóbal to broadcast messages about their movement, proclamations against the government and the army and invitations to the people to join them. Between 800 and 1,000 guerrillas are said to have taken part in the occupation of San Cristóbal.

In his first public appearance, on the balcony of San Cristóbal's town hall, a man wearing a ski mask and a black and red uniform<sup>2</sup> identified himself as Commander Marcos,<sup>3</sup> spokesman for the movement. Speaking of the motives and objectives of the EZLN's struggle, Marcos said the decision was made to launch the rebellion on New Year's because that was the day the North

Antonio Turok / Imagenlatina.



The EZLN takes over San Cristóbal de las Casas.

American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, calling NAFTA "a death sentence for Mexico's Indian ethnic groups, which are dispensable as far as the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari is concerned."

Marcos went on to say that in Mexico freedom and democracy do not exist, and declared war on the army, calling for Salinas' government to be deposed and a transitional government to be set up that would call clean elections. He described the movement as an ethnic one, based on ten years of political work and preparation, and denied rumors of the presence of Guatemalans in its ranks or that it had any links with drug traffickers. Marcos also said that he was under orders to advance as far as the capital (*La Jornada*, January 2).

The EZLN's General Command distributed a document (the *Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle*) to the people of Mexico, in which it elaborated on Marcos' declarations as well as stating that "we are conscious of the fact that the war we have declared is a last-ditch measure, but it is a just one." The declaration stated that the EZLN fights for "work, land, a roof over our heads, food, health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace," and invited others to join the

rebels. They proclaimed they would not stop fighting until they achieved their demands, and asked to be formally recognized as a "belligerent force," in accordance with international conventions (*El Financiero*, January 2).

In a communiqué issued by the Ministry of the Interior, the federal government appealed to the rebels to use good sense, asking them to lay down their arms and begin a dialogue. The government acknowledged the region's historical backwardness, "which five years of government have been unable to erase," but warned that social demands cannot justifiably be used as a pretext for disturbing law and order and defying authority (*La Jornada*, January 2).

For its part, the Chiapas state government issued a communiqué calling for dialogue and prudence. It stated that "there are approximately 200 Indian insurgents and the problem is restricted to four municipalities," while the rest of the state was reported to be calm. The communiqué asked security forces to "convince the Indians to change their attitude and use legal channels to express their needs" (*La Jornada*, January 2).

That same night, the government of Chiapas issued declarations that the rebels were supported by Catholic

<sup>1</sup> *Excelsior* newspaper mentions eight occupied towns (January 2, 1994), while EZLN spokesman *subcomandante* (deputy commander) Marcos told the Multivisión cable network (January 30 and 31, 1994) that in fact seven towns had been taken.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with Geneva Convention requirements that combatants should be clearly identified, EZLN members wore a uniform consisting of a brown shirt with red and black insignia, green pants and rubber boots, covering their faces with ski masks or bandannas.

<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards Marcos clarified that he is a deputy commander rather than commander.

## The papal bull "Sublimis Deus"

The Dominicans, champions in defense of the Indians, fought bitterly against the infamy (that held the Indians to be irrational), and when Fray Julián Garcés was Bishop of Tlaxcala, in accordance with Fray Domingo de Betanzos, who was the provincial of Saint Dominic in New Spain, Fray Domingo de Minaya was sent to Rome bearing letters and testimony for His Holiness Pope Paul III, relating to the Indians' absolute rationality and the need for a final pontifical definition which would once and for all put an end to this degrading calumny. It cannot be said for whom this invention was most shameful: for those falsely accused of a supposed incapacity, or for those who knowingly invented this lie for their own benefit.

The Franciscans, for their part, were no less forceful in their defense of the Indians' rationality. Fray Martín de Valencia, Fray Jacobo de Tastera, Fray Cristóbal de Zamora and others wrote to the Emperor in this regard, from Huejocinco in New Spain, on May 7, 1533.

Fray Domingo de Minaya's efforts and the detailed information he presented to the Holy See led to the promulgation of Pope Paul III's bull "Sublimis Deus," on June 2, 1537. Among other things it stated: "It is necessary to confess that man is of such condition and nature that he can receive the very faith of Christ and that whomsoever is of human nature is apt to receive the very same faith. *Euntes, docete omnes gentes*" (Teach to all nations).

The Sublimis Deus bull came to constitute the affirmation of the rationality of some of the Spanish Crown's vassals, whose human dignity no responsible person had put in doubt. On the contrary, this had always been the subject of particular attention in all the Royal Edicts and Ordinances addressed, from the discovery [of the Americas] onwards, to the justices, prelates and captains of the Indies by the monarchs of Spain, who repeatedly recommended the Indians' conversion and attraction to civilized life, stressing the responsibility of all, both kings and vassals, for the salvation of their souls.

This is apart from the fact that Columbus, upon setting foot on Guanahani lands, was mindful of the importance and grandeur of a future Spanish action which would have as its principal task the conversion of so many people to Christianity.

All this implicitly involved the recognition of the Indians' rationality, until a few malicious and selfish people invented the argument that they were irrational, in order to evade complying with a number of laws that were favorable to the Indians, the disobedience of which would otherwise have earned them the corresponding punishment. This argument gave first Montesinos and later Las Casas ample motive for their censures and campaigns.

The real significance of the Sublimis Deus bull was that it definitively put an end to the question, once the Pontiff, *ex cathedra*, cut short this lowly calumny through the weight of his authority and implacable declaration.

A. Ballesteros, *Historia de América*, Tomo XVI, pp. 264-265.

Nevertheless, signs declaring "we serve people and Indians" still hang outside some barbershops in Chiapas.

The editors.

"liberation theology" priests, "who gave them the use of their radio communications system in the diocese of San Cristóbal."

Members of the Catholic clergy remarked that the uprising was a warning to the Mexican government that extreme poverty leads to violence. The bishops of Tapachula and Tuxtla Gutiérrez offered to act as mediators. The diocese and the Fray Bartolomé de

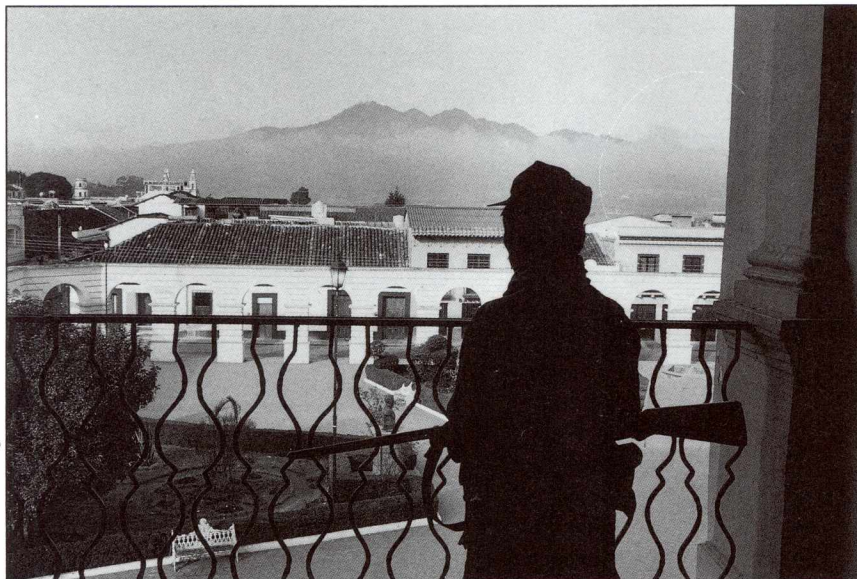
las Casas Human Rights Center in San Cristóbal denied any connection with the uprising, while confirming their total commitment to the defense of Indians' rights through peaceful means.

Meanwhile, the press reported army activity in the 23rd Military Zone (located a few kilometers outside San Cristóbal), Tuxtla Gutiérrez and the outskirts of the occupied zones, although there was no fighting.

The Interior and Defense ministers travelled to Chiapas.

On January 2, the Zapatistas left San Cristóbal, and attacked the military barracks located 10 miles outside San Cristóbal in the village of Rancho Nuevo. The army reported five dead and six wounded among its ranks, while the bodies of 24 Zapatistas were found in the combat zone. Fighting also took place in the

Antonio Turok / Imagenlatina.



Zapatista standing guard at San Cristóbal de las Casas town hall.

Ocosingo area, leaving one soldier dead and several wounded.

Fighting between the army and the guerrillas continued for several days thereafter. The press reported bloody clashes in Ocosingo, where Zapatistas' bodies were left lying in the main square for several days. The army bombarded the mountainous areas near San Cristóbal, and there was fighting near army roadblocks and along the highways, as well as in Altamirano, Chiapa de Corzo, Chanal and other towns.

Attacks were reported on vehicles and reporters passing through combat zones. The exact number of victims was unknown, although the Red Cross estimated approximately 120 deaths throughout the area, mostly EZLN members, with 8 casualties among the civilian population (*La Jornada*, January 2-4; *Reforma*, January 17).

On January 3, President Salinas mentioned the events in Chiapas for the first time. While admitting the existence of deficiencies in the area, he condemned acts of violence, since "they delay solutions to social needs." Salinas described the situation as delicate and spoke of respecting human rights at all times. The Zapatistas kidnapped retired army

general Absalón Castellanos Domínguez, a former governor of Chiapas, accusing him of seizing land, abusing power and violating Indians' and peasants' human rights during his term in office.

In a joint communiqué, the ministries of the Interior, National Defence and Social Development, together with the Attorney General's Office, declared that the situation was gradually returning to normal. At the same time, they denied the Indian and peasant origins of the

movement's leadership, saying it consisted of well-educated Mexican and foreign professional experts in violence and terrorism. In their opinion, Indians were "recruited under pressure by the leaders of these groups or by taking advantage of their historical demands."

However, the ministries admitted that since mid-1993, they had been aware of the existence of illegal activities by small groups in the area: trafficking in arms and military equipment, as well as the existence of training centers, but that "the particular circumstances of the region's age-old backwardness made it necessary to act with special prudence and care" (*El Financiero*, January 4; *La Jornada*, January 6).

Despite reports of a return to normality, the conflict spread over a wide area. Hourly declarations were issued on the events. Governors, secretaries of state and businessmen condemned the rebellion, while trade unionists, intellectuals, grass-roots and Indian organizations and political parties regretted the causes leading to the uprising while declaring themselves against armed struggle. The conflict affected the start of the presidential candidates' campaigns for the August elections.



Mexican army troops leaving Tuxtla Gutiérrez for Chiapas' Los Altos region.

Marco Antonio Cruz / Imagenlatina.

Still, little was known about the main protagonist, the EZLN. Following its initial declarations during the occupation of San Cristóbal, it remained silent during this first stage of the fighting.

What made front-page news in magazines and newspapers five days after the onset of fighting was the discovery of five corpses of alleged Zapatistas in the market at Ocosingo. Reporters declared the bodies had been found with their hands behind them, as though the men had been tied up; and that they had been given the coup de grâce. The Mexican army was accused of violating human rights, while government sources insisted that if abuses by soldiers were proven, those responsible<sup>4</sup> would be punished according to the law (*La Jornada*, January 5).

President Salinas ordered the Minister of Social Development,<sup>5</sup> Carlos Rojas, to visit the scene of events, to set up an Office for Social Reconciliation and attempt to contact the rebels through the various

<sup>4</sup> Both video images and photographs of the bodies provoked worldwide comments on the abuses allegedly committed by members of the Mexican armed forces. This was the start of a series of declarations that created unease among the armed forces. Since then, there have been numerous declarations by both civilians and the military in defense of the army's actions. In a speech delivered on February 10 to President Salinas during the commemoration of the March of Loyalty, the Minister of Defense, Antonio Riviello Bazán, described the army's intervention in Chiapas as legitimate, legal and necessary. Criticizing those who made apologies for the rebels, he urged his listeners not to forget that the army did not start the violence and was in fact attacked. Photographs of dead Zapatistas clinging to wooden rifles were used by government and military sources to condemn the Zapatista leaders for sending unarmed Indians to fight. According to these sources, this corroborated the version that Indians were used as cannon fodder by non-Indian Zapatista leaders themselves equipped with modern weapons.

<sup>5</sup> This office is responsible for the National Solidarity Program (Pronasol), a key project in the Salinas government's social policy.



Antonio Turok / Imagenlatina.

*The Indians of Chiapas have found a great spokesman in subcomandante Marcos.*

grass-roots, peasant and Indian organizations in Chiapas. The minister was accompanied by the governor of Chiapas, Elmar Setzer, and other government officials.

To the media's surprise, a press room was set up in the city of San Cristóbal by order of the Ministry of the Interior and official instructions issued to give total access to the national and foreign press. Some foreign newspapers expressed sympathy for the Zapatistas, while U.S. State Department spokesman Mike Curry supported the Mexican government and praised efforts to prevent further bloodshed (*La Jornada*, January 5).

During a press conference, the bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Samuel Ruiz, reported that there had been civilian casualties and denounced the detentions and executions that had occurred. He also requested the presence of national and international human rights organizations to protect the population from possible abuses. The bishop stated he had received no reply from the rebels regarding his mediation initiative, and called for a truce (*La Jornada*, January 5).

An official communiqué from the Ministry of the Interior reported the recovery of towns occupied by the rebels and provided a partial physical description of *subcomandante* Marcos. He was described as a fair-skinned man with a prominent nose and green eyes, fluent in four languages.<sup>6</sup>

Independent peasant organizations in Chiapas denounced the arbitrary detention of their leaders and expressed fear of becoming involved in the conflict (*La Jornada*, January 6).

While the EZLN withdrew to positions in the jungle, army reports spoke of 61 casualties and 34 detainees among the Zapatistas, although they admitted that these figures could not be accurate, since "the transgressors usually pick up

<sup>6</sup> Marcos' partial physical description led to great speculation and gave weight to the official version that the EZLN was in fact a non-Indian movement led by foreigners or whites. It also provoked ironic comments on the difficulty of capturing a man whose description tallied with that of many government officials and members of Mexico's financial circles. As the conflict progressed, Marcos became a sort of national folk hero.

their wounded and the bodies of their combatants.” The Church said it knew of a far higher number of deaths than the official count (*La Jornada*, January 6).

On the morning of January 5, the federal government announced its

willingness to engage in dialogue to avoid further loss of life, on condition of what amounted to a total surrender: suspension of hostilities and attacks; the laying down and surrender of arms, including 1,100 lbs. of dynamite stolen from Pemex (national oil

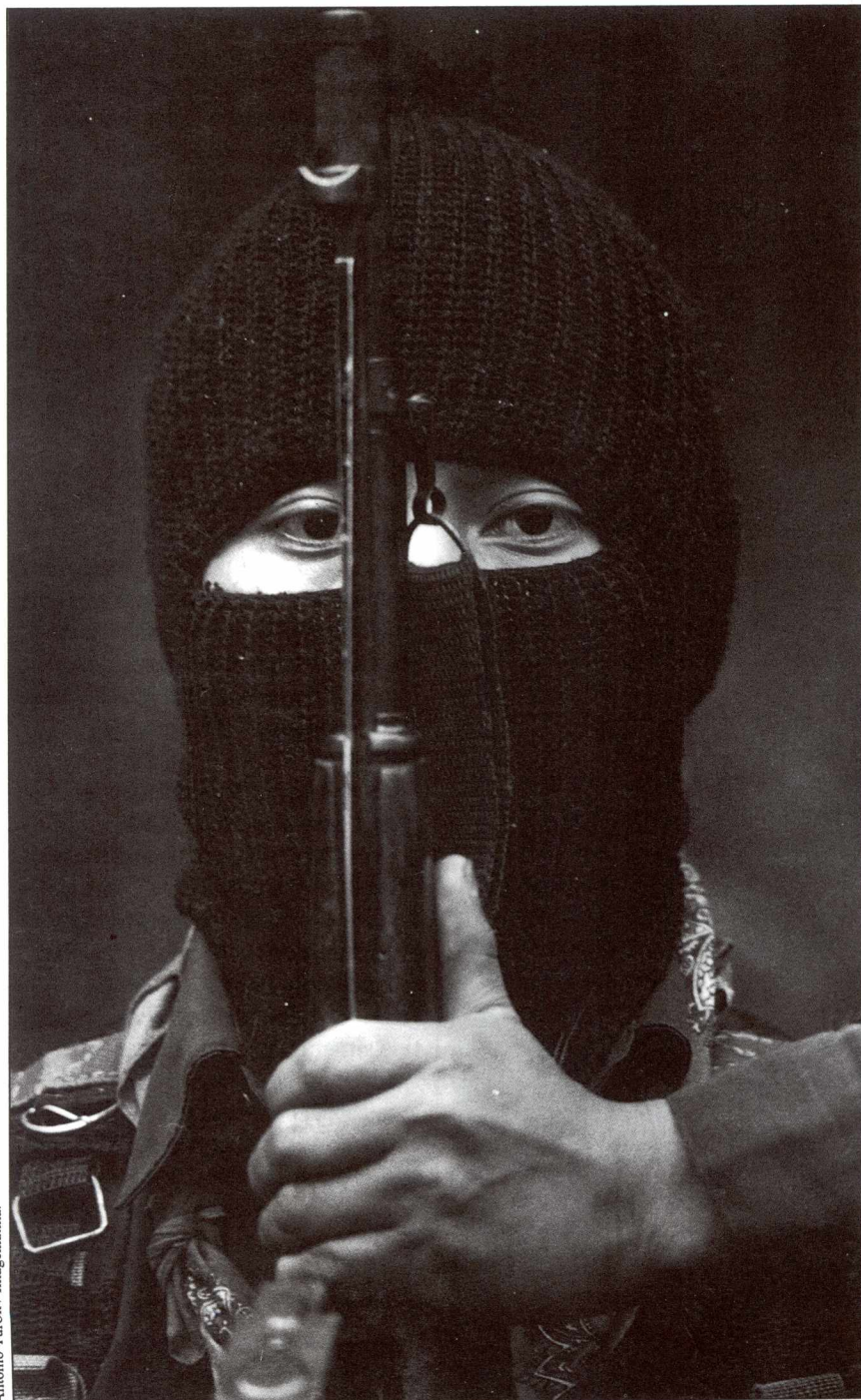
company) facilities on December 31, 1993; the return of hostages and the identification of spokesmen and leaders of the armed groups. For Bishop Samuel Ruiz, these demands “would seem unacceptable, although they are a sign of government interest in a negotiated settlement” (*La Jornada*, January 6).

The next day the president repeated his conditions in a message to the nation, declaring that “for those living in poverty who took part as a result of deception, pressure or even through desperation, and who end their violent, illegal behavior, we shall seek benevolent treatment and still consider a pardon.”

The president reiterated the official interpretation of events: “...it is necessary to distinguish clearly between two situations: armed aggression by a violent group on the one hand, and an entirely different one derived from the region’s poverty and shortfalls on the other. This is not an Indian uprising, but rather the action of a violent armed group fighting against communities, public peace and government institutions, in other words, against what we Mexicans have taken generations to build”<sup>7</sup> (*El Financiero*, January 7).

On the morning of January 7, a car bomb exploded at a shopping center in Mexico City; five people were said to have been wounded. Two days later, explosions were reported in four Mexican states, together with several bomb threats in other shopping centers and public offices in the capital. Concern that the conflict would spread

<sup>7</sup> This interpretation of events has remained substantially unchanged among government officials, the military and government spokesmen. The president himself reaffirmed his conviction regarding the origins of the uprising in a January 27 speech to cabinet members, legislators, members of the assembly and governors, as well as during at the World Economic Forum, which he attended during a quick trip to Switzerland on January 29.



Antonio Turok / Imagenlatina.

The ski mask used by the EZLN has become a symbol.

## What are they going to forgive us for?

Until today, January 18, 1994, we have only had news of the formalization of the "pardon" that the federal government is offering our forces. What do we have to ask forgiveness for? What are they going to pardon us for? For not dying of hunger? Not suffering poverty in silence? Not humbly accepting the enormous historical burden of contempt and neglect? Taking up arms when all other paths were closed? Not obeying the Chiapas penal code, the most absurd and repressive code within memory? For showing the rest of the country and the whole world that human dignity still exists, among the country's poorest inhabitants? For having prepared ourselves well and conscientiously before we started? For using guns in war, instead of bows and arrows? Learning to fight before we actually started fighting? Being all Mexican? Being nearly all Indian? Encouraging the Mexican people to fight, any way they can, for what belongs to them? Fighting for freedom, democracy and justice? Not following the pattern of previous guerrilla wars? Not giving up? Not selling out? Not betraying each other?

Who should ask for forgiveness and who should grant it?

Those who for years sat at a well-served table until they were satiated, while we sat with death, which became so familiar and so much a part of us that it eventually no longer frightened us? Those who filled their pockets and souls with declarations and promises? The dead, our dead, so mortally dead from "natural" causes, such as measles, whooping cough, dengue, cholera, typhoid, mononucleosis, tetanus, pneumonia, malaria and other gastrointestinal and lung delights? Our dead, so overwhelmingly dead, so democratically dead of shame because no one did anything since all the dead, our dead, just went, with no one to count them nor finally say, "That's enough!" and no one to ask those who always die, our dead, to come back to die once more, but this time in order to live? Those who denied the right and gift of our people to rule and govern themselves? Those who denied us respect for our customs, our color and our language? Those who treat us like foreigners in our own land, asking us to show our papers and obey a law whose existence and fairness we are unaware of? Those who tortured and imprisoned us, murdered and eliminated all traces of us for the serious "crime" of wanting a piece of land, not a large piece or a small piece, just one we could make something from to fill our stomachs?

Who should ask for forgiveness and who should grant it?

The President of the Republic? Secretaries of State? Senators? Deputies? Governors? Municipal presidents? Policemen? The federal army? The owners of banks, industry, business and land? Political parties? Intellectuals? *Galio* and *Nexos* magazines? The mass media? Students? Teachers? Neighborhood residents? Workers? Peasants? Indians? Those who died a meaningless death?

Who should ask for forgiveness and who should grant it?

**Subcomandante Marcos**

to other states increased. The EZLN denied any connection with the bombings. The press produced isolated reports on army mobilization in areas where guerrilla movements had broken out in previous decades, such as the mountains of Guerrero, Oaxaca, Veracruz and Hidalgo.

In his third report, the Interior Minister provided extensive information on the EZLN's activities, cadres and weapons. The minister maintained his version that the Zapatistas had received support from ideologues and clergymen and used threats and pressure to recruit Indians.

The minister added that the EZLN had 15 training centers in the state of Chiapas; training cadres made up of Mexicans and foreigners, linked to disbanded guerrilla groups from the 1970s; a radio communications network and various types of modern weapons, which, he stressed, are only used by the elite.

Finally, he regretted the blocking of "justified preventive measures that would have permitted more effective action by the government against the eventual creation of this clandestine, extremist group" (*La Jornada*, January 8).

According to a confidential report drawn up by the state government of Chiapas, there are 42 "high-risk" communities in the state, where conditions were ripe for an armed uprising. The report insisted that activists from social and religious organizations contributed to this situation and recommended special vigilance in 13 zones. It suggested reorienting government action towards Los Altos, the jungle and areas along the Guatemalan border (*La Jornada*, January 8).

A solution to the conflict still seemed very distant, and according to government sources from Chiapas, measures to cope with a long, drawn-out war were predicted.

However, the next day, the president created a Special



Commission for Chiapas, made up of the Chiapas writer Eraclio Zepeda, anthropologist Andrés Fábregas Puig and the senator for Chiapas, Eduardo Robledo (a member of the PRI). Their mission would be to “establish a dialogue with the different social sectors of Chiapas to increase channels for civic participation, help reestablish peaceful coexistence and normality in social life and assist the Office for Social Reconciliation” set up four days earlier.

This commission, the second to be sent to the area, would have autonomy in evaluating situations and problems, as well as in proposing solutions. Two days later, by nominating Manuel Camacho Solís as the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation, President Salinas would create a third authority which would overshadow the previous ones and create confusion as to who was responsible for what.<sup>8</sup>

Through the Mexican Primate, Archbishop Ernesto Corripio Ahumada, the Church responded to the Ministry of the Interior’s report by demanding proof of the accusations of complicity by the clergy.

Meanwhile, despite their brand-new press room in San Cristóbal, members of the press, trapped in the city, were unable to provide much news; access to combat zones had been sealed off by the army. Also blocked was a peace caravan organized by representatives of non-governmental organizations to force a cease-fire. The cordon sanitaire also affected members of the

<sup>8</sup> On January 19, yet another commission was set up, the National Commission for Integral Development and Social Justice for Indian Peoples, as a non-governmental organization for providing opinions, debate and recommendations. Its aim was to orient federal public administration policies to combat the backlog of neglect of Indian peoples, under the direction of Beatriz Paredes, ex-governor of Tlaxcala, at that time Ambassador to Cuba.

## The root of the problem

Now the problem will become the responsibility in particular of the Secretary of Agrarian Reform, for the simple reason that the officials of that Secretariat always rejected the Indians’ petitions while protecting the *caciques* [rural bosses] and politicians.

It will not be easy to take away the lands they have stolen. Former Chiapas governor Patricio González himself [until recently Secretary of the Interior] stated in an interview: “Bishop Samuel Ruiz [of San Cristóbal de las Casas] says that the Indians’ lands were stolen and should be given back to them. I would ask the bishop, if this happens, then where will *mestizos* like he and I live.”

And that really is how it was. The governor confessed that he lived on stolen lands and —like the *caciques* and Absalón [Castellanos, ex-governor of Chiapas held hostage by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation]— could not live without the lands that had been stolen from the Indians. The Secretariat must now do the opposite of what it did for so many years and give the Indians back their lands, without which they cannot live. This is what the settlers of Chiapas were told by their first bishop, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, at the beginning of the 16th century.

The multimillion-peso aid provided by Pronasol (the National Solidarity Program) was of little help, because the *caciques’* lands were not touched and there was no change in the monopoly of meat, coffee, tobacco, of the coconut growers, banana plantations and commerce.

The revolutionary problem will not be resolved soon. It affects big interests, and only through education and the intervention of honorable officials will the Indians learn how to manage the problems of markets, economics, veterinary science and medicine, in order to enjoy their own riches.

Everybody is talking about Chiapas now, but they are unaware of the magnitude of the problem.

*Fernando Benítez*

**Mexico’s Ambassador in Santo Domingo**

Author of *Los indios de México*  
(The Indians of Mexico).  
*La Jornada*, February 2, 1994.

National Human Rights Commission. Bishop Samuel Ruiz remarked that limiting press coverage was of little benefit to the country, since “it gives the impression that something is being hidden” (*La Jornada*, January 10).

It was publicly revealed that since January 2, the Minister of Defense had been personally in charge of military operations in the area. The military blockade affected 400,000 inhabitants

of 15 municipalities that were kept isolated, with insufficient food supplies. The army was said to have seized most of the existing supplies for its men.

On January 10, the president announced a series of political measures which were a “recognition of the things that didn’t work.” Interior Minister Patrocinio González, repeatedly accused of being

## Chiapas: long-standing problems

Of all Mexico's states, Chiapas is the one with the highest level of marginalization, in other words shortfalls and restrictions on the well-being of its people.

In these regions, nature is generous only in her beauty. In the Los Altos area [of Chiapas] the land is poor and tired; used for many centuries, it has turned miserly; it is degraded and eroded. In the jungle and along the border, rain and vegetation are exuberant but not lavish; the soil is shallow and deteriorates rapidly when deprived of protective vegetation.

Fine woods were taken in the most rapacious, negligent and irresponsible fashion; the jungle has been jeopardized by pillage and can perish if we do not seriously protect it. We should not forget that there is oil, and alternatives for development are not lacking. What is required is persistence, work, resources, imagination, audacity, and once again persistence.

There are very few roads in this zone, and most are bad: precarious openings always threatened by rain and vegetation. Even those roads were expensive to build, and are even more expensive to maintain. Few goods are carried on them, and this has delayed the gigantic investment required for transportation in these regions. Trips—whether to go to market, to a service or carry out some official business—are measured in days. Physical isolation is a fact which expresses itself as social distance.

Settlement continues to abide by an old pattern, colonial in its conception and implementation. Towns, where wealth, services and power are concentrated, inhabited by "people of reason"—as *criollos* [term used in colonial times to describe people of Spanish ancestry born in the colonies] and *mestizos* [people of

mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry] were called until only recently—surrounded by a constellation of small and dispersed communities where the indigenous peasants live. Many services are insufficient or entirely absent in these communities: education, electricity, potable water, medical services, markets—in short, the services common in other places. Once again it proved to be too expensive to provide services for so few people, who were so distant and dispersed.

The pattern of reproduction among the poor—many children to better face needs and restrictions—remained in place despite the fact that mortality rates, while still unacceptably high, have fallen over the past fifty years. Population growth gave rise to migrations, pressure on the land and resources, agrarian conflicts and many other problems, but the pattern of concentration and dispersion was not broken. On the contrary, it expanded. This is the logic people learn to live with, and they project it as their own future; this, among other reasons, is why it has lasted so long.

The majority of the population in the rural communities, and by now many city dwellers as well, are Indians; above all Tzeltals, Tzotzils and Tojolabals. There are those who see this as a problem and also a potential source of rebellion. This is incorrect. It is, rather, a difference which adds dimensions to life and living together. The problem is rooted in the old inequality which continues to persist, which makes the Indian poor by origin and—if we do not change things—by destiny.

There is prejudice and discrimination, without a doubt, although it seems to me they have become less virulent and intense in recent years. There is exclusion and mistreatment. In consequence there

responsible for the armed uprising,<sup>9</sup> was relieved of his duties and replaced by Jorge Carpizo MacGregor, the then Attorney General and former

<sup>9</sup> Before being named Minister of the Interior in January 1993, González Garrido—described as a hard-line politician—was governor of Chiapas. His governorship was criticized due to the measures he adopted to eliminate social movements in the region. According to *Proceso* magazine (February 14), the penal code enforced during his administration was "the most repressive in the history of Chiapas. Denouncing government

chairman of the National Human Rights Commission. Carpizo's former position as Attorney General was filled by Diego Valadés Ríos.

officials was punished as libel or slander. Crimes such as rebellion, conspiracy or sedition were included and the free expression of ideas was forbidden. Any meeting could be considered illegal. The code's Forestry Ban was famous because Indians were imprisoned for simply cutting a tree into logs or possessing an axe." When González Garrido was designated Interior Minister, Elmar Setzer was made interim governor.

Another decision that caused surprise in political circles was the so-called rehabilitation of Manuel Camacho Solís,<sup>10</sup> named

<sup>10</sup> A close friend of President Salinas, he was Luis Donaldo Colosio's main rival in the bid for the PRI candidacy for the August 1994 presidential elections. The day Colosio's nomination was made public, Camacho was the only one who failed to congratulate him, breaking an established custom among PRI "pre-candidates" of being the first to congratulate the "winner." This was interpreted among political circles as a sign

are grievances, grudges and also expressions of intolerance, but I think these phenomena are not only "supplementary" but diminishing. To say it another way: the ethnic conflict provides adjectives that describe social inequality, but it does not furnish the definition for mutual tolerance. We are not in Bosnia. Let us reject the forces and fundamentalisms which would seek to lead us to that extreme.

These are the conditions in which *caciquismo* [the rule of local bosses, known as *caciques*] manifests itself: the concentration of political and economic power in one single person, known to all by his first and last name. At times, in extreme cases, this personal power is complemented with private, independent armed forces. The *cacique* is a nodal point of networks of personal relationships which supplement or include civic and institutional relations.

The *cacique* is the obligatory interlocutor with the outside world for everything that concerns his dominion, his bailiwick. He imparts justice and defines economics in accordance with his own particular interests, almost always to the detriment of the people and natural resources. He slows down and combats the advance of institutions, works and services, of all expressions of modernity, which erode the base of his archaic, unipersonal power.

This classic type of *cacique* is present in the memory of the Chiapanecans (the people of Chiapas), who know them by name. *Caciquismo* persists, although it has been deprived of many of its previous characteristics and is clearly in retreat. Its longevity is also the result of its links with other shortfalls and forms of backwardness, as well as the networks of personal relations which are established

in this context, including *compadrazgo* [the relation of being *compadres*; literally a form of ritual kinship but more broadly buddies, partners, allies] and kinship.

The historical lag can —when one observes only those processes that fall within its boundaries— seem almost timeless. Although they were written thirty years ago, the works of Rosario Castellanos seem fresh today. The world described in those works had its own forms of violence. The most frequent form was individualized, with precise victims, identified by their own names, and which was carried out —rarely to be sure— in the forms of assassinations and ambushes. More wounding than violence itself was the impunity and injustice which accompanied it. Much less frequent were the communal riot, the spontaneous revolt with precise and detailed causes and concrete demands.

More or less every century there was an Indian rebellion, a rising which grouped all grievances around a millenarist vision, a divine message to change all existence from the roots on up. Once again one saw the spontaneous explosion, the precariousness of organization after the riots, the appearance of the communities' own religious leaders, the articulation of clear demands for the region —which were incomprehensible to outsiders— and the repudiation of additional wrongs, of the drops that made the cup run over.

Arturo Warman

Advisor to the National Human Rights Commission and Attorney General for Agrarian Affairs.

*La Jornada*, January 16, 1994  
(excerpts).

Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation and charged with creating a framework, agenda and procedure for setting up negotiations

of distancing between the former pre-candidate and the president. At a press conference the next day, Camacho announced his resignation as Mayor of Mexico City and his acceptance of the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. He also dispelled rumors that he might resign from the PRI to run for president as the candidate of another party, and declared he would remain in public service under the

in Chiapas. The president declared that Camacho would receive no salary for performing this function, nor would he be entitled to create any new

president's orders. His designation as peace envoy was made public the same day that Colosio began his presidential campaign, meaning that the latter received very little press coverage. In the days that followed there were rumors that Camacho might still be nominated presidential candidate, either replacing Colosio or as candidate of an opposition party. However, President Salinas ended these speculations when he "unveiled"

government structure. Camacho is reputed to have been given the post as a result of his recognized skill as a negotiator. Indeed, some political analysts cite him as one of the cabinet ministers who, at the outset of the hostilities, suggested the path of political negotiation, as opposed to the

Colosio again at a meeting with PRI members. (For more information on the *destape* [unveiling] see: "How Presidential Succession Works in Mexico," *Voices of Mexico*, No. 26, pp. 75-81.)

"hard line" supported by Patrocinio González and presidential advisor José Córdoba Montoya, who argued for the use of armed force.

These nominations were welcomed by Mexican society.<sup>11</sup> Political analysts interpreted the changes as a sign of the Mexican government's willingness to solve the conflict by negotiation.

That same day, the EZLN delivered a communiqué to the mass media.<sup>12</sup> Dated January 6, 1994, it rejected the terms of the first proposal formulated by the government (issued on January 4). It proposed the recognition of its troops as a belligerent force, a bilateral cease-fire, the withdrawal of federal troops, the suspension of bombardments of rural populations and the creation of an international mediation commission.

The communiqué also reported lower numbers of casualties among EZLN troops than those given by the Ministry of Defense. It accused the army of executing Zapatista fighters in cold blood and reported having freed over a hundred hostages. Finally, it

<sup>11</sup> Carpizo and Valadés are government officials with considerable moral authority and credibility among the citizenry. Both are seen as skilled professionals with a sense of vocation and extensive knowledge of Mexican law. In addition, one possible effect of Carpizo's nomination is that the Ministry of the Interior might be called upon to act as impartial judge of the 1994 presidential elections, since its director has declared he has no affiliation with any political party or trend.

<sup>12</sup> This was the beginning of the EZLN's policy of communicating with civil society. Since then, the EZLN has fired off more communiqués than bullets, giving information on its positions, proposals and analysis of the situation through the mass media that they themselves chose: the national newspapers *La Jornada* and *El Financiero*, the local San Cristóbal gazette *El Tiempo* and the weekly magazine *Proceso*. As negotiations proceeded, the Zapatistas agreed to give interviews to the press and TV, both foreign and national. This has led to the presence of a third army in Chiapas: journalists.

denied the existence of foreign elements among its troops and rejected any link with religious institutions of any creed.

Military activity was on the decline, with reports of only a few isolated attacks. Hostages freed by the EZLN declared that the kidnapped general, Absalón Castellanos, still

“If my pen had the gift of tears, I would write a book about the Indians, to make humanity weep”

Juan Montalvo

in the Zapatistas' hands, was in perfect health.

During his first public appearance in Mexico City as peace envoy, Manuel Camacho began by acknowledging the Zapatistas' existence. "This is not the government's position, but for me the existence of the Zapatista National Liberation Army is a fact. If we want a solution to the conflict, we will have to talk to them" (*La Jornada*, January 12). This contrasted with the way the EZLN had been referred to by the military until then.<sup>13</sup>

A delegation of merchants, members of the service sector, industrialists and cattle ranchers from Chiapas travelled to Mexico City to give the Minister of Finance and Public Credit, Pedro Aspe Armella, suggestions aimed at reactivating Chiapas' economy which they stated had experienced losses of 60 million

<sup>13</sup> It is worth mentioning that official communiqués from the Ministry of Defense do not refer to the rebels as Zapatistas or members of the EZLN, but as a "group of transgressors of the law." Some radio and TV reporters have been given orders not to include the EZLN's name in their articles, as a result of which they refer to them as an "armed group," "transgressors of the law" and "criminals."

new pesos (approximately 20 million dollars) as a result of the armed uprising.

They also asked the federal government to "keep the army in the zone of conflict and get rid of all the foreigners in the region, including Catholic priests...since they have been partially responsible for the

differences there, given that they are unfamiliar with the local population's problems" (*La Jornada*, January 12).

On January 12, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, in his position as President of the Republic and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, announced his decision to "suspend all attacks in the state of Chiapas" as a first step towards "saving lives and taking the path towards reconciliation." The army would only respond if attacked and to defend the civilian population. The president repeated his offer of a pardon for those who, because of coercion or desperation, had taken part in the uprising.

That same day, Camacho Solís arrived in San Cristóbal wearing a black ribbon on his arm, "for all those who have died." Accompanied by Bishop Samuel Ruiz and members of his logistics group, Camacho Solís declared that the peace process would take some time and exonerated the bishop from blame for the conflict, describing him as a "friend of peace." This was greeted with approval both nationally and internationally.

Thus, the outcome of the armed confrontation between the Mexican army and the EZLN was unlike that of other guerrilla

## Religion and expulsions

Representatives of the progressive Catholic Church, mainly the Bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Samuel Ruiz, and his group of priests and catechists, have been repeatedly accused of stirring up unrest among the Indian population, as a result of their work in defense of the Indians' rights, based on the principles of "liberation theology." With over thirty years in the area, Samuel Ruiz has gained the affection and admiration of hundreds of Indians, but also the enmity and antagonism of cattle ranchers, local rulers and government officials who regard him as an agitator of Indians. The bishop acknowledges that he has worked to make the Indians aware of the need to defend their rights and fight to improve their living conditions through their own organizations, as well as to recover their dignity and appreciation of their own customs and cultures, although he states that taking up arms is not the best way to fight. In his pastoral letter of August 6, 1993 (a copy of which was personally delivered to Pope John Paul II during his last visit to Mexico in September) Samuel Ruiz denounced the state of dependency, marginalization and oppression in which the Indians are held (*Proceso*, January 24, 1994).

The bishop's position led to attempts by the papal representative in Mexico, Girolamo Prigione, to obtain his removal. The Indians, with the support of grass-roots organizations both in Mexico and abroad, demanded he should stay. This helped to polarize social groups in the state.

At the same time, the heightened presence of other religious groups has served as a pretext for a complex problem in the state: expulsions. The best example of this is the Chamula community, located a few miles from San Cristóbal, where, under the pretext that the "new religions" contradict Catholic customs, respecting neither patriotic symbols nor civil authority, thousands of inhabitants have been expelled from their lands and prevented from returning. These expulsions have prompted all kinds of violence, theft, pillage, rape, imprisonment and even the burning of houses and belongings.

"For more than twenty years, expellees have complained to governors and courts about these outrages, whose main aim is to eliminate resistance to the *caciques* [local political bosses], yet so far they have never obtained a satisfactory response.... The *caciques* in San Juan Chamula are highly aware politically and know that during electoral periods they can do as they please.... In 1987 and 1988, election years at the state and national levels, one expulsion followed another.... In the courts, lawsuits against the expellers had no effect, because the *caciques* in Chamula threatened not to vote for the PRI [in 1988], refusing to accept their 'voting slips' if lawsuits against them continued. The government gave in and once again the *caciques* 'won the war'.... It is estimated that 20,000 Indians have been expelled and scattered throughout a dozen municipalities in the state.... The local deputy from San Cristóbal, Francisco Zepeda, asked the expellees to 'forgive their brothers who expelled them, because they are all God's children,' offering them land on a small farm outside San Juan Chamula as a solution to the conflict" (Gaspar Morquecho in *La Jornada*, February 7, 10, 12 and 13, 1994).

movements in both Mexico and Central America. In a period of just twelve days, the Mexican government ordered a ceasefire in order to begin negotiations.

### The negotiation process

On January 16, the Clandestine Indian Revolutionary Committee of the EZLN issued a communiqué (dated January 12) announcing its decision to accept the ceasefire. Despite the fact that the EZLN thought that the demands expressed in its January 6

communiqué had not been fully met, it saw the president's measures as a beginning. The EZLN then ordered its troops to suspend all attacks, while maintaining their positions. It also stressed that it would not lay down its arms or surrender.

From then on, although some fighting was reported,<sup>14</sup> the conflict moved into the negotiating phase.

<sup>14</sup> On January 14, *La Jornada* reported some fighting in the jungle. In a communiqué dated January 13, the Zapatistas also denounced violations of the ceasefire by army troops.

In the days following the armed conflict, before the first meeting between the Zapatistas and the Peace Commissioner was arranged, several events occurred that significantly affected the peace talks. They include the following:

- President Salinas submitted an amnesty bill to Congress on January 16. This was approved by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in an extraordinary session on January 21. The law benefits "all those against whom penal



Two jaguars on the prowl.

action has or may be taken in the federal courts, because of crimes committed as a result of the violence that occurred in several municipalities of the state of Chiapas” between January 1 and 3 p.m. on January 20, and authorizes the executive to set up a commission to coordinate the enforcement of this law.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Thus on January 22, the president set up yet another commission, the Commission for Amnesty and Reconciliation in Chiapas, made up of the Ministries of the Interior and Social Development, the Attorney General, the Director of the Agrarian Attorney General’s office, and the directors of the National Institute for Indian Affairs and the National Commission for Integral Development and Social Justice for Indigenous Peoples.

Its beneficiaries cannot be arrested or tried for acts covered under this law. In a communiqué sent to the press on January 20, the EZLN rejected the amnesty as premature and also because the political and social causes that led to the conflict still prevailed.

*Subcomandante* Marcos sent a letter to various mass media questioning the pardon offered to

the EZLN (see inset)<sup>16</sup> (*La Jornada*, January 21).

- The EZLN acknowledged Camacho Solís as the “real interlocutor” in the negotiations and Samuel Ruiz as mediator.
- The interim governor of Chiapas, Elmar Setzer Marseille, regarded as a continuer of Patrocinio González Garrido’s policies, resigned and was replaced by another PRI member, Javier López Moreno (January 18).
- President Salinas made a lightning visit to Tuxtla Gutiérrez, capital of the state of Chiapas, on January 25, meeting with 42 leaders and representatives of 280 peasant and Indian organizations from the state. The meeting was unusual because of the free, uncensored way in which problems were discussed. Referring to the Chiapas penal code currently in force, a peasant told the president: “Under the present laws, all of us in Chiapas are potential criminals.”<sup>17</sup>
- The government announced an immediate injection of funds into Chiapas, through the INI (National

<sup>16</sup> The amnesty was described as “atypical” by opposition members in the Chamber of Deputies, because it was decided before the peace negotiation process, which according to them made it equivalent to asking for surrender (*Proceso*, January 24).

<sup>17</sup> A week after this meeting, Javier López Moreno, recently designated interim governor, submitted a set of bills to the local congress to reform the system of administering justice and create a more democratic environment in the state. The most important bills involved the abolition of the penal code and the prevention and punishment of torture.

“ In our nation there will always be battles for social justice, so long as the memory and example of Emiliano Zapata remain in Mexicans’ hearts ”

Carlos Salinas de Gortari  
Fifth State of the Union Address.

Institute for Indian Affairs), Pronasol (National Solidarity Program), IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute) and other federal organizations.

- General Absalón Castellanos was freed (February 16). In the presence of mediator Samuel Ruiz, Peace Commissioner Manuel Camacho and more than three hundred journalists, the Zapatistas formalized Castellanos' release through the International Red Cross, which certified the latter's good state of health. Before being released, Castellanos listened to a political trial in which he was accused of committing grave abuses during his period as governor, such as seizing land, using public resources and violating the law for the benefit of himself and his family, repressing peasant and teachers' movements and indiscriminately exploiting the region's natural resources (*Proceso*, January 21). The general denied these charges when he spoke to the press.
- The EZLN refused to grant the powerful Mexican television network Televisa<sup>18</sup> permission to cover the peace talks. This sparked an intense debate on the Zapatistas' right to veto the media. Camacho Solís suggested that no one be refused access. Even though the ban was not lifted, the network managed to broadcast General

<sup>18</sup> The Zapatistas had initially extended their ban to the other private Mexican TV network, Televisión Azteca, but this was later withdrawn.

“ *Unsatisfied aspirations produce feelings of disappointment, but unrealizable expectations cause feelings of deprivation. Disappointment is generally tolerable; deprivation is usually intolerable* ”

Bert Hoselitz and Ann Willner



*The minister of defense described the army's intervention as legitimate, legal and necessary.*

Castellanos' release and the start of the peace talks between the Zapatistas and Camacho.

At the same time as these events occurred, repercussions of the conflict began to emerge, revealing the difficulties that both sides would have to face before reconciliation would be achieved:

- Various kinds of peasant and Indian organizations called for a general mobilization, such as taking over public buildings and private banks and invading land, to solve the agrarian problem. The state governor reported that there was no more land to be distributed. The Ministry of Agrarian Reform and the National Peasant Confederation declared that recent modifications of Article 27 of the Constitution (relating to community land rights), promoted by President Salinas, would not be changed.
- Hundreds of Indian families fled their communities, fearing EZLN

## Other deaths in Oxchuc

*Oxchuc, Chiapas, 1974.* Old man Martín died before they got there. He was so skinny that, even with his last convulsion, he didn't take up any more space in the Volkswagen. That's how they die here in these lands, in silence. You couldn't hear his dying gasps; there were a lot of crickets in the weeds by the road, it got dark and the crickets had started singing.

He was in the back seat, flanked by his sons. In the front were the doctor and his wife, who took his pulse and tried to encourage the boys. They were taking him to the hospital in San Cristóbal. Mistake, serious mistake. That hospital, staffed by students, meant a bad death for the Indians and the poor. A bad remedy. Better to die in a hut than venture out in a Volkswagen. The ambulances and vans donated by UNICEF were used by the doctors of Salubridad [the health service] to visit their families. They took the gasoline, medicines, everything, for use in their private practices. The hospital does not even have IV fluid.

When they were near El Chivero, having almost reached San Cristóbal, the sons asked the doctor to take them back to Oxchuc. Otherwise they would have to deposit the old man on the slab at the municipal mortuary, where autopsies are performed. Since the old man died on the road, the officials would start prying, even though his death was not violent. All that happened was that the abscess in his liver ruptured, the kind of abscess amoebas make.

They would have to rent a funeral carriage, pay money to have the body released to them, pay even more if there was a roadblock of *judiciales* (Judicial Police), the army or immigration, even though the dead man was Mexican. That's how things are around here. Then there was the business of carrying the body out naked, stitched up as if it were nothing but a big sack. People here don't understand that, although they do put up with it, the way they put up with all kinds of suffering.

They're on their way back. But they had to get some gasoline. Don Martín was seated tightly between his sons, so he wouldn't tilt over or fall on his face. But even though putrefaction had not yet begun, the odor of death caught the attention of the gas attendant and the boy who cleans the windows. The grimace on the old man's face was not exactly the sort caused by a dream, it didn't look like he was sleeping; he was playing the part of a dead man to a tee.

It took four hours in the fog to reach that town, which doesn't even appear on the maps. Here, not even the anthropologists stop to study the *huipiles* [embroidered Indian dresses]. They are only rags, nothing of elegance to show off at a party in Coyoacán. Would this town be famous some day?

The fog darkens the road, but inside the car the old man begins to emit a sad blackness, as if a cloud of melancholy had somehow gotten inside. This is how they die here, how they get sick.

A few days ago, on Sunday, the door of the clinic in Oxchuc opened. A group of people came in, Indians in an Indian line. Heading the march was a child of eight years, drunk like those who followed him, the sister, another brother, one more, the mother, the father and the grandmother. They came into the dining room where the doctor and his wife —and, curiously, a couple of foreign anthropologists, friends of the doctor— were sitting.

Without saying a word, the family surrounded the table; they went around and around until they were tracking through the big drops of blood that came dripping from the father's hand. He had nearly had his finger cut off in a fight. They had to amputate. The anthropologists ran away, terrified.

Forget about going to San Cristóbal or Tuxtla; they would have allowed the hand to develop gangrene. At least this way he could get used to picking coffee in the *caciques'* fields with four fingers, be able to trim the bosses' gardens with a machete or —why not?— to grasp a rifle when patience wears out and maybe Oxchuc will now show up on the maps and maybe even in other countries. It's only the middle of the seventies.

Eduardo Monteverde  
El Financiero newspaper,  
February 1, 1994.



## Key economic activities and land tenancy problems

In Chiapas, 58.3% of the working population is in the primary sector, where traditional farming practices, with insufficient modernization and little crop diversification, prevail (*El Financiero*, January 5, 1994).

For decades, the region's main products were coffee, wood, cattle and corn, activities which have declined dramatically over the past five years. In 1989, the imposition of a ban on forestry removed a source of income for the region's inhabitants. The international price of coffee fell from \$120-140 to an average of \$60-70 per 100 lbs., leading to a 65% decrease in producers' income. The closure of the government-controlled Inmecafé company eliminated channels of commercialization and technical support in the region. Cattle-breeding experienced a crisis of profitability, while corn productivity fell as a result of the exhaustion of available land (Luis Hernández Navarro in *La Jornada*, January 9, 1994).

The fight for land tenure has been a source of tension in the state throughout its history. Since the beginning of this century, the region's cattle ranchers and farm owners have been accused of depriving the Indians of their lands, through violence and threats, with the protection of local governments. Chiapas is the state with the second largest number of *ejidos* (common-land farms) and agrarian communities in the country, with a total of 2,072, as well as being the state with the highest number of peasant takeovers of private farming land. There is also the pressure of overpopulation. From 1980 to 1990, Chiapas reported an average growth rate of 5.4% annually, twice the average annual rate for the whole country, which was 2.15% during the same period (Sergio Sarmiento in *El Financiero*, January 24, 1994).

or army attacks. The refugees pressured municipal leaders, demanding a solution to the conflict. The lack of clothing, food supplies and medicines for the refugees became increasingly obvious. The government announced numerous investments in the state. Food parcels were distributed at the municipalities in conflict, Solidarity program grants were offered and it was announced

that schools, clinics and training centers would be built. A trust was set up to help those who had been widowed or orphaned as a result of the conflict. Booths were set up to attend land and human rights problems. Teachers were given financial incentives. Twenty-three municipalities in the state were exempted from taxes and inhabitants of the Soconusco region were permitted to negotiate

their overdue debts (*Proceso*, February 14).

- Indians and peasants occupied various mayors' offices in the state, demanding the dismissal of town leaders accused of corruption and *caciquismo* (the rule of local political bosses). Aldermen from various municipalities journeyed to Mexico City to speak to the president, who offered them his support on the condition they

## Electoral processes

According to official statistics, there is no opposition in the state of Chiapas. In the last two presidential elections, the population of Chiapas voted solidly for the PRI: while national votes for the PRI fell from 91.9% in 1976 to 70.9% in 1982, with the party achieving its narrowest margin in history in 1988 when it obtained just 50.7% of the vote, in Chiapas the PRI's presidential candidates obtained 91.89% and 89.91% of the votes in the 1982 and 1988 presidential elections respectively. In many municipalities, particularly those where the Chiapas rebellion broke out, votes for the PRI totalled 100% in 1988. "These data are all the more surprising when one considers that they come from one of the country's poorest states, whose population is marginalized and lacks basic social services and where 30% of inhabitants are illiterate" (Sergio Sarmiento in *El Financiero*, January 10, 1994).

The state's governorship and municipal presidencies are held by PRListas. Complaints about regarding their alliance with the cattle ranchers and farm owners to the detriment of the Indians' rights. According to analysts, this factor led Indians to take up arms, in view of the evidence that their demands went unheard and unheeded and that their participation in decision-making was not required.

## Living conditions

Chiapas is extremely backward, socio-economically speaking, with 80% of its municipalities suffering acute marginalization. 1990 data from the National Population Council show that out of a population of over 3.5 million, 30.1% are illiterate while 62% did not complete their primary education. Almost a quarter of the population (885,605) are Chol, Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal and Zoque Indians. More than 35% of the state's dwellings lack electricity or drainage, while 51% have earthen floors and 70% are overcrowded. Nineteen per cent of the occupied population receives no income and nearly 40% receives less than the minimum wage, while 21.2% receives between one and two minimum wages. Sixty-five per cent of the population is scattered among communities with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants.

This situation is even worse in the Los Altos and jungle regions, where the armed uprising began. Forty-nine per cent of the nearly half a million inhabitants of the area, mostly monolingual Indians, are illiterate, while more than 70% of the population over fifteen did not finish primary school. Eighty per cent of all dwellings are overcrowded, have earthen floors and no drainage or sanitary services. Only one out of every ten people has a daily income of over two minimum wages (*El Financiero*, January 5, 1994).

Paradoxically, Chiapas possesses natural resources that are strategically important for the country. It is Mexico's largest generator of hydro-electric energy, with its four reservoirs accounting for 55% of the country's total production. By contrast, in 1990, 30% of all dwellings had no electricity, 40% lacked piped water and only 2.9% of agricultural land had irrigation systems. As for gas and oil production, Chiapas was the country's third and fourth largest producer respectively for a decade. It also possesses abundant natural resources, some of them underused, such as its 156-mile-long coastline, and others over-exploited, risking ecological catastrophe, such as the Lacandon Forest, whose rate of destruction is so rapid that in the past 30 years it has lost 70% of its resources (María del Carmen Legorreta Gómez, *La república, de Aguascalientes a Zacatecas* [The republic, from Aguascalientes to Zacatecas, forthcoming from UNAM's Center for Interdisciplinary Research in Humanities]).

Health services are insufficient and ineffective. Poverty-related diseases, preventable through vaccination and sanitary measures—such as intestinal and respiratory infections, tuberculosis, malaria and river blindness—are the main causes of morbidity and mortality.



Marco Antonio Cruz / Imagenlatina.

Rancho Nuevo: Zapatistas killed in clash with the army.

carry out their duties honestly. According to *Proceso* magazine, the president told them, "Don't try to eliminate your adversaries. Choose the path of dialogue, unity and government for all" (February 14).

- Indians who in recent years had been expelled from their communities for religious reasons asked the governor to review their cases and provide support to enable them to return to their homes. According to the Indians, the motives behind the expulsions were economic, and therefore unjustified.
- Cattle ranchers and farm owners in the region began to show their displeasure at the treatment given to the EZLN. They requested the

army's continued presence in the state, and asked the governor for guarantees to protect their families and property. They denied the existence of large landed estates or "white guards"<sup>19</sup> in the state, or the fact that they exploited Indians, declaring their willingness to defend their properties and families with their lives. They attacked Bishop Samuel Ruiz and the priests in his diocese, whom they accused of having encouraged and supported the emergence of the EZLN.

<sup>19</sup> One of the main accusations against cattle ranchers and farm owners is that they possess their own armed groups (called "white guards" or "rural defense") to terrorize the Indians, make them give up any attempt at organization, and prevent them from carrying out land takeovers.

Patricio Robles Gil.



In 1990, 40% of all dwellings lacked running water.

The broad national and international coverage of the uprising, together with a diversity of opinions, analyses and references to the situation of extreme poverty prevailing in this Mexican state, proved decisive in creating a forum of discussion on the issue.

Once it recovered from its surprise, civil society rejected violent solutions to the conflict, opting for a negotiated solution instead. It also recognized the need to take part in creating democratic spaces at the national level to permit the pluralistic expression of agreements and divergences regarding the way social, political and economic processes are conducted in this country.

Against this background, on February 21, after an endless series of communiqués, letters and declarations, the first meeting was arranged between the Zapatistas and the Peace Commissioner, with the mediation of Samuel Ruiz, to be held in the cathedral of San Cristóbal de las Casas.

### Commitments for peace with dignity in Chiapas

The initial phase of the meetings for peace and reconciliation ended with "Commitments for a Peace with

Dignity in Chiapas," a document containing the agreements reached in response to the 34 demands put forward by the EZLN. Key points in the document include:

1. A point-by-point reply to each of the demands (with the exception of points one and two, regarding democracy on a national scale, excluded from the negotiations from the start, and point thirty,

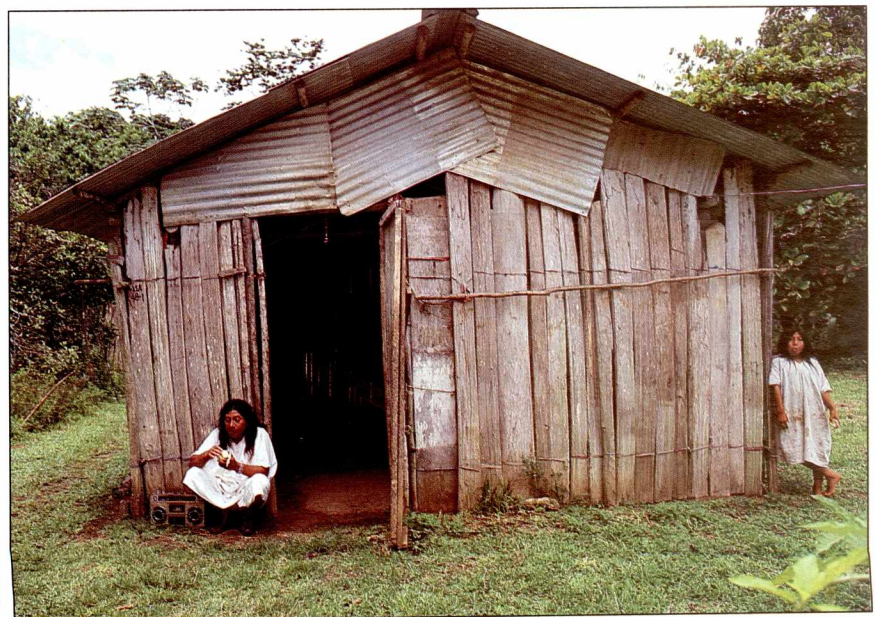
demanding the political trial of three former governors).

2. The establishment of time limits of no more than 90 days to submit evaluations and proposals in response to the commitments assumed.

3. The establishment of an organization responsible for carrying out the development projects specified in the document. This organization would be made up of representatives of Indian communities, federal and state government representatives and citizens with proven experience of working with Indians and peasants. To attend to similar demands in other Indian regions in the country, the National Commission of Development and Social Justice for Indian Peoples will draw up programs similar to those proposed in Chiapas, in conjunction with the corresponding state governments and municipalities.

4. The recognition by both sides that they are in a situation of armed peace, whose final outcome will depend on the total fulfillment of these agreements.

*Democracy and electoral processes.* At the national level, these points were not scheduled to be



In Los Altos, 80% of homes have earthen floors and no drainage or sanitary services.

Sergio Dorantes.

negotiated at the table, but both sides referred to them, with the EZLN suggesting two possibilities. In the first, it demanded the president's resignation to guarantee truly free, democratic elections. In the second, it proposed a political solution through legal reform and the inclusion of citizens who are not active members of any political party to guarantee the fairness and impartiality of the electoral process. Peace Commissioner Camacho described the first option as impossible but offered to push for the second. He reported President Salinas' decision to have "equitable methods to guarantee impartial representation in the electoral organizations and the incorporation of citizens and civic groups...in both the creation of electoral organizations and at each stage of the process." The possibility has been broached of arranging for extraordinary sessions of the Mexican Congress to reform the electoral law. As for Chiapas, it has been agreed that the governor will summon the State Congress to an extraordinary period of sessions on April 15 to draft reforms that will guarantee the impartiality of the electoral process, define a greater

number of electoral districts providing more representativeness for ethnic groups at the local and federal level, create new municipalities, and arrange for gubernatorial elections to be held at the same time as local elections so as to have both a new state congress and mayors.

*Agrarian justice.* It is widely recognized that the Mexican Revolution's agrarian reform process was not fully implemented in Chiapas, meaning that solutions have to be found for numerous agrarian conflicts, without affecting small landholdings. There are plans to draft a General Law on the Rights of Indian Communities and a Law of Agrarian Justice for the State of Chiapas. These laws will attempt to establish suitable provisions, uses, reserves and destinies for land, water and forests; establish procedures for dividing up large landed estates (based on Clause XVII of Article 27 of the constitution); determine the instances in which the expropriation and occupation of private property would be of benefit to the public; protect the ownership and integrity of the Indians' common land; provide compensation, based on objective

assessment, for stolen land and water that belongs or used to belong to Indian communities; grant the Agrarian Attorney's Office full authority to resolve controversies; and encourage diversification in the countryside through the introduction of technology and infrastructure and long-term financing to support the capitalization of communities and common land. A time limit of 90 days has been set to assess the scope of demands in the different regions, as well as the possibility of meeting those that are most urgent.

*Administration of justice.*

Reforms will be implemented in Chiapas' judicial system to guarantee respect for human rights and define new legal paths to agrarian justice. The current penal code will be abolished and a new one drafted in which the expulsion of Indians from their communities will be classified as a crime. Changes will be made in the state constitution and the Law on Judicial Power and Local Police so that judges and government legal officials will be chosen from a list of candidates proposed by the Indians. An Attorney General's Office for the Defense of Indians, with bilingual officials with a knowledge of common law, will be set up to ensure the administration of justice. The Attorney General will be nominated by the State Congress, by a qualified majority, on the suggestion of the communities themselves, taking the opinion of civil society into consideration. Finally, an exhaustive review of the records of all Indians taken prisoner as a result of social conflicts will be carried out to assess the legal possibility of their early release.

*Free Trade Agreement.*

The Ministry of Commerce and Industrial Development is to conduct a study of NAFTA's impact on Indian communities within a period of 90 days. The study will be used to design job training programs, with the



Sergio Dorantes.

*It is estimated that 20,000 Indians in Chiapas have suffered religious expulsion.*

Martin Salas / Imagenlatina.



"What are they going to forgive us for?" —subcomandante Marcos.

communities' participation, for those whose productive activities might be affected.

*Labor justice and employment.*

Salaries and benefits to which workers are entitled are to be paid in full; Indians will be granted representation at labor Conciliation and Arbitration Boards and within a period of not more than 60 days a project for agricultural activities should be presented, with the resources required

for creating the largest number of jobs in the shortest time possible.

*The right to information.* In a period of not more than 60 days, a radio station run by the Indians and independent of the government is to be set up. If no radio frequencies are available, funds will be provided to purchase a station.

*Respect for the Indians' dignity and customs.* In April, the president will submit a General Bill on the

Rights of Indian Communities to the Mexican Congress. This law will recognize traditional institutions, authorities and organizations; community uses, habits and customs; a person's right to use his own language in proceedings, educational processes, communication and relations with the authorities. Special attention will be paid to the education of young people and children to encourage the appreciation, respect and admiration of their origins and the culture of Indian peoples and avoid discrimination and contempt towards Indian peoples. A bill is to be drafted —based on Article 40 of the Constitution— to punish, for the first time ever in the Mexican legal system, discrimination by individual persons against Indians. This will also establish state institutions' obligations to enforce equality by law, including the creation of an Attorney General's Office for Indian Rights. Indians and their communities will have guaranteed participation in the planning and development of projects, the supervision of the resources invested in them and the evaluation of results.

## Reasons and causes behind the EZLN

On March 1, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) issued a communiqué in which it protested the government's never having provided a genuine solution to the following problems:

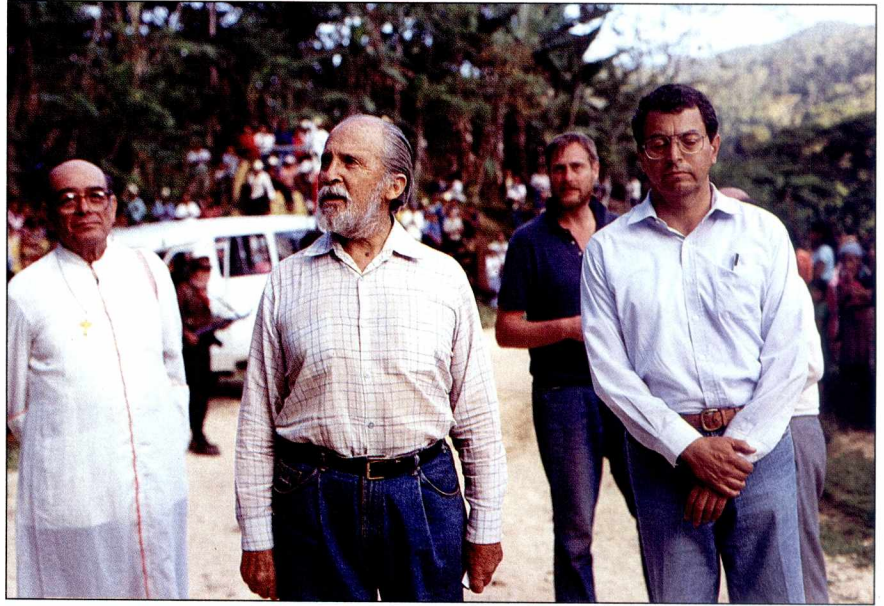
1. *The hunger, misery and marginalization we have always suffered.*
2. *The total lack of land to work on for survival.*
3. *The repression, eviction, imprisonment, torture and murders with which the government has responded to the just demands of our people.*
4. *The intolerable injustice and violation of our human rights as impoverished Indians and peasants.*
5. *The brutal exploitation we suffer in the sale of our products, our working day and in the purchase of articles of basic necessity.*
6. *The total lack of indispensable services for the great majority of the Indian population.*
7. *The lies, tricks, promises and impositions of governments for over 60 years. The lack of freedom and democracy to decide our destinies.*
8. *The application of constitutional law according to the governors' convenience. We Indians and peasants are made to pay for the slightest error and they force us to bear the burden of a law we did not make, while those who made it are themselves the first to break it.*

### *Infrastructure and basic services.*

Greater balance will be sought for Chiapas, to further its contribution to national development and in light of its social conditions, in a way that will cause the least conflicts for other Mexican states. In July, housing construction and improvements are to begin—including basic electricity services, safe drinking water, roads and environmental control and health facilities—through a special program of the Ministry of Social Development, including support for sports and culture.

**Health.** The state's health programs are to be reorganized, with yearly goals and an emergency plan to cover urgent needs. Campaigns on sanitation and disease control will be launched, and clinics and hospitals are to be set up with doctors, nurses and trained health personnel. Traditional medicine will be supported and special attention given to primary and secondary health care. A program is to be set up with the help of UNICEF to attend children from the age of 0 to 6 suffering from extreme malnutrition. Support will be provided for programs to improve nutrition and set up community stores offering basic articles at a fair price.

**Education.** A plan is to be drafted immediately to improve the



*The freeing of Absalón Castellanos (center), accompanied here by Manuel Camacho and Bishop Samuel Ruiz.*

quality of public education in the area and offer bilingual education schemes, permanent teachers and instructors, and the timely delivery of educational material and grants to give students access to high-school and professional education.

### *The participation of women.*

Indian women's projects and demands will be supported, especially those that contribute to developing their participation in

community processes, without neglecting their family relationships.

### *Support for victims of the conflict.*

Economic support is to be provided for widows, orphans and victims of the conflict.

### *Guarantees for the EZLN.*

The Federal and State Amnesty Law is to enter into force a day after the peace agreement has been signed, in favor of all those who took part in the armed uprising and events associated with the conflict. It will also guarantee respect for the lives and rights of all members, sympathizers and collaborators of the EZLN.

Once this initial stage of negotiations was over, Zapatista representatives took the document back to their communities for it to be read and approved. The Peace Commissioner also submitted a report to President Salinas with the aim of consolidating responses to the demands that had been raised.

Regardless of the results of the peace negotiations, the Zapatista rebellion already constitutes a watershed in the history of Mexico **M**

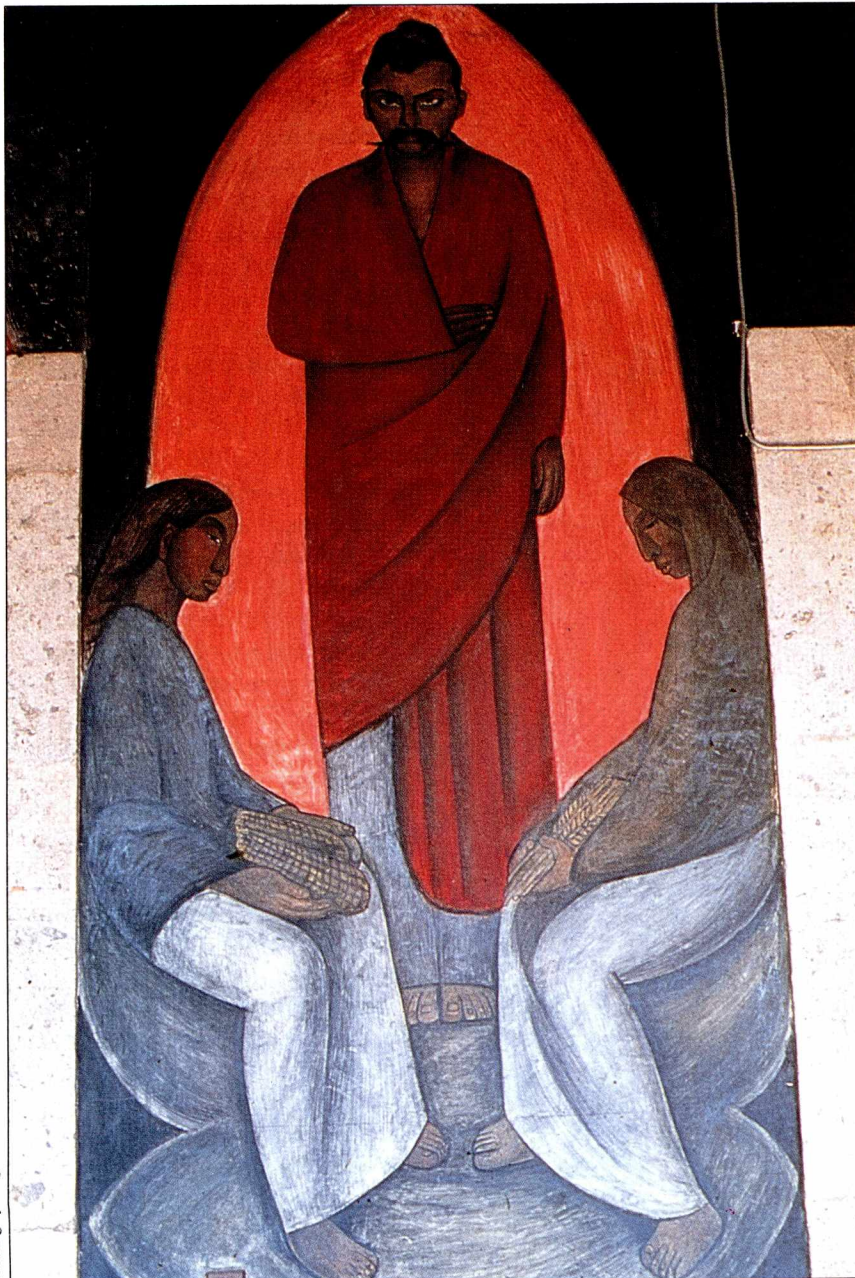


*The negotiations took place in the Cathedral of San Cristóbal de las Casas.*

*Elsie L. Montiel*  
Assistant Editor.

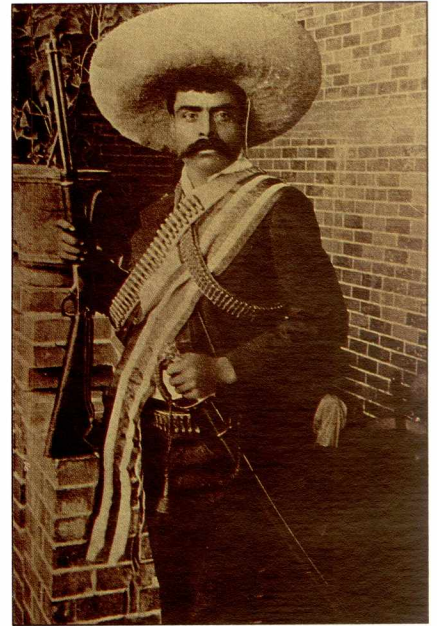
# Emiliano Zapata, a brief biography (1879-1919)

IIE / UNAM.



Painting by Diego Rivera.

*"It is no coincidence that Zapata... has repeatedly served as a model for Mexican painters" –Octavio Paz.*



*He took pride in his enormous mustache.*

**Z**apata was the son of a *mestizo* peasant who trained and sold horses. He was orphaned at age 17 and had to look after his brothers and sisters. In 1897 he was arrested because he took part in a protest by the peasants of his village against the hacienda that had appropriated their lands.

After getting a pardon, he continued agitation among the peasants, and so he was drafted into the army. He served six months, until he was discharged to a landowner to train his horses. In 1909 his neighbors elected him president of the board of defense for their village. After useless negotiations with the landowners, Zapata and a group of peasants occupied by force the land that had been appropriated by the haciendas and distributed it among themselves.

Francisco Madero, a landowner of the north, had lost the elections in 1910 to the dictator Porfirio Díaz and had fled to the United States, where he proclaimed himself president and then reentered Mexico, aided by many peasant guerrillas. Zapata and his friends decided to support Madero.

- “—Father, why are you crying?  
 —Because they are taking away our land.  
 —Who is?  
 —The masters.  
 —And why don't we fight them?  
 —Because they are powerful.  
 —Well, when I grow up I will make them give it back”

Emiliano Zapata at the age of 10



Diego Rivera, Ballad of the Revolution.

In March 1911 Zapata's tiny force took the city of Cuautla and closed the road to the capital, Mexico City. A week later, Díaz resigned and left for Europe, appointing a provisional president. Zapata, with 5,000 men, entered Cuernavaca, capital of the state of Morelos.

Madero entered Mexico City in triumph. Zapata met Madero there and asked him to exert pressure on the provisional president to return the land to the *ejidos* (the former Indian communal system of landownership).

Madero insisted on the disarmament of the guerrillas and offered Zapata [compensation] so that he could buy land, an offer that Zapata rejected. Zapata began to disarm his forces but stopped when the provisional president sent the army against the guerrillas.

*The Plan of Ayala.* Madero was elected president in November 1911, and Zapata met with him again but without success. With the help of a teacher, Otilio Montaño, Zapata prepared the Plan of Ayala, which declared Madero incapable of fulfilling the goals of the revolution.

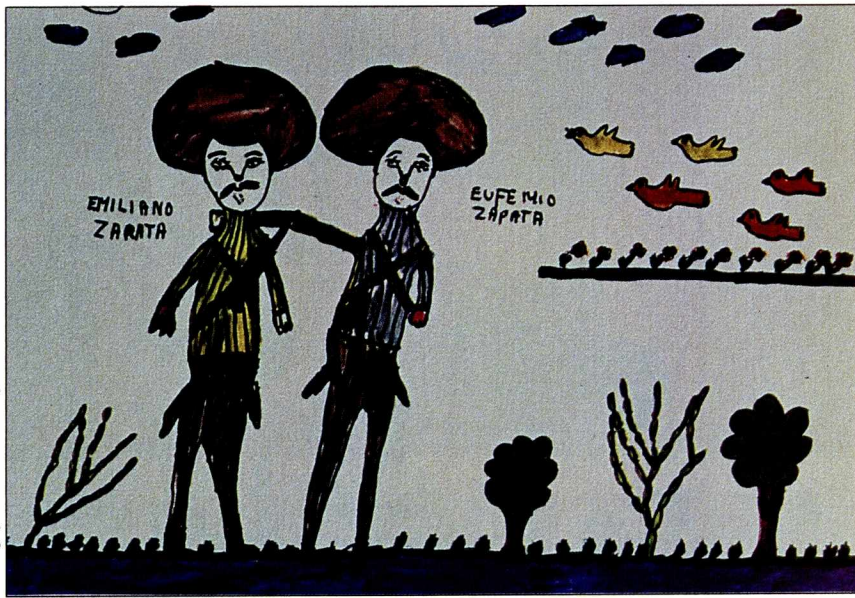
The signers renewed the revolution and promised to appoint a provisional president until there could be elections. They also vowed to return the stolen land to the *ejidos* by expropriating, with payment, a third of the area of the haciendas; those haciendas that refused to accept this plan would have their lands expropriated without compensation. Zapata adopted the slogan "*Tierra y Libertad*" ("Land and Liberty").

In the course of his campaigns, Zapata distributed lands taken from the haciendas, which he frequently burned without compensation. He often ordered executions and expropriations, and his forces did not always abide by the laws of war. But underneath his picturesque appearance—drooping moustache, cold eyes, big sombrero—was a passionate man with simple ideals that he tried to put into practice.



Lourdes Laborde

Painting by Ma. de Jesús Ocampo.



*"I fight for the land, for our Mother Earth which sustains and takes care of us" –Emiliano Zapata.*

*“ Many did not want to believe that Zapata was dead. Strange stories began to circulate... that the body that was shown had not really been Zapata’s... The belief that he hadn’t died was a consolation... In the final analysis... it was a way of remaining loyal to the chief even after he had departed ”*

John Womack

HIE /UNAM.

Painting by Diego Rivera.



*"Like the land, he is made of patience and fertility, of silence and hope, of death and resurrection" –Octavio Paz.*

The Zapatistas avoided battle by adopting guerrilla tactics. They farmed their land with rifles on their shoulders, went when called to fight, and returned to their plows at the end of a battle or skirmish. Sometimes Zapata assembled thousands of men; he paid them by imposing taxes on the provincial cities and extorting from the rich. Their arms were captured from federal troops.

When General Victoriano Huerta deposed and assassinated Madero in February 1913, Zapata and his men arrived at the outskirts of Mexico City and rejected Huerta’s offer to unite with him. This prevented Huerta from sending all his troops against the guerrillas of the north, who, under the direction of a moderate politician, Venustiano Carranza, had organized the Constitutional Army to defeat the new dictator. Huerta was forced to abandon the country in July 1914.

Zapata knew that Carranza’s Constitutionalists feared him. He attracted some intellectuals from Mexico City, among them Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, who became his theorist and later established an agrarian party. When Huerta fell, Zapata invited the Constitutionalists to accept his Plan of Ayala and warned them that he would continue fighting independently until the plan was put to practical use.

In October 1914 Carranza called an assembly of all the revolutionary forces. Pancho Villa, who commanded the most important part of the army of the north, refused to attend because he considered Mexico City as enemy ground. The assembly was moved to Aguascalientes, where both the Villistas and the Zapatistas attended. These two groups formed a majority, and the convention agreed to appoint General Eulalio Gutiérrez as provisional president. Carranza rejected this decision and marched with his government to Veracruz.

War broke out between the moderates (Carrancistas) and the revolutionaries (Conventionists).

On November 24, Zapata ordered his army (now called the Liberation Army of the South and numbering 25,000 men) to occupy Mexico City.

The people of the capital watched in astonishment as the peasants went from door to door humbly asking for food and drink, instead of assaulting palaces and violating women.

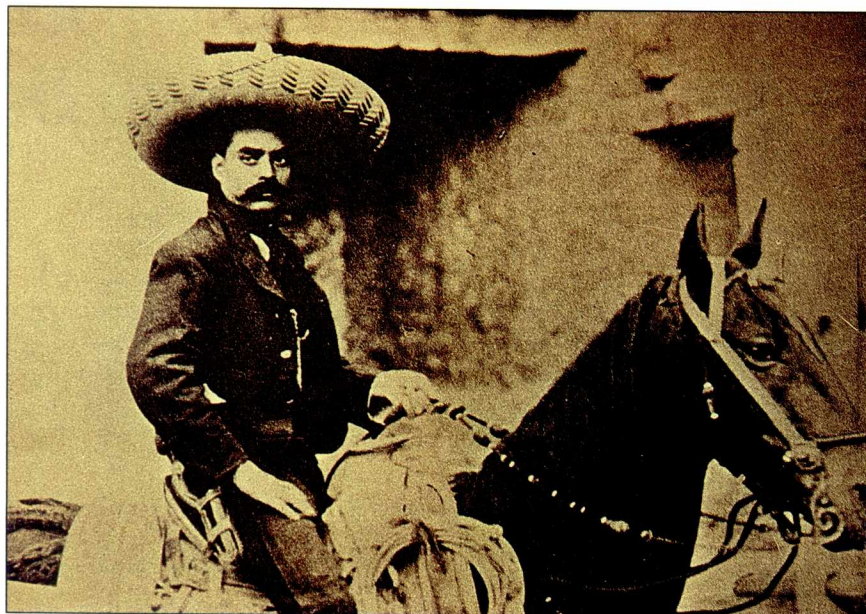
Two weeks later, Zapata and Villa met on the outskirts of the capital and then visited the National Palace. The two leaders promised to fight together until they put a civilian president in the palace, and Villa accepted the Plan of Ayala.

*Agrarian reforms.* Zapata created agrarian commissions to distribute the land; he spent much time supervising their work to be sure they showed no favoritism and that the landowners did not corrupt [the commissions'] members. He established a Rural Loan Bank, the country's first agricultural credit organization; he also tried to reorganize the sugar industry of Morelos into cooperatives. In April 1915 U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's personal representative in Mexico met with Zapata; Zapata asked that Wilson receive his delegation, but Wilson had recognized the Carranza government

## Zapata a symbol in Italy

The Indian rebellion in Chiapas has inspired the creation of the "Viva Zapata" movement in Italy, a different voting option for the elections held this March.

The new group is running candidates for members of parliament and senators in Puglia, a region in Italy's south, under the motto "Wind from the South." Its ballot symbol is the image of Zapata holding a shining dove in his right hand.



*He stood out because of his good clothes.*

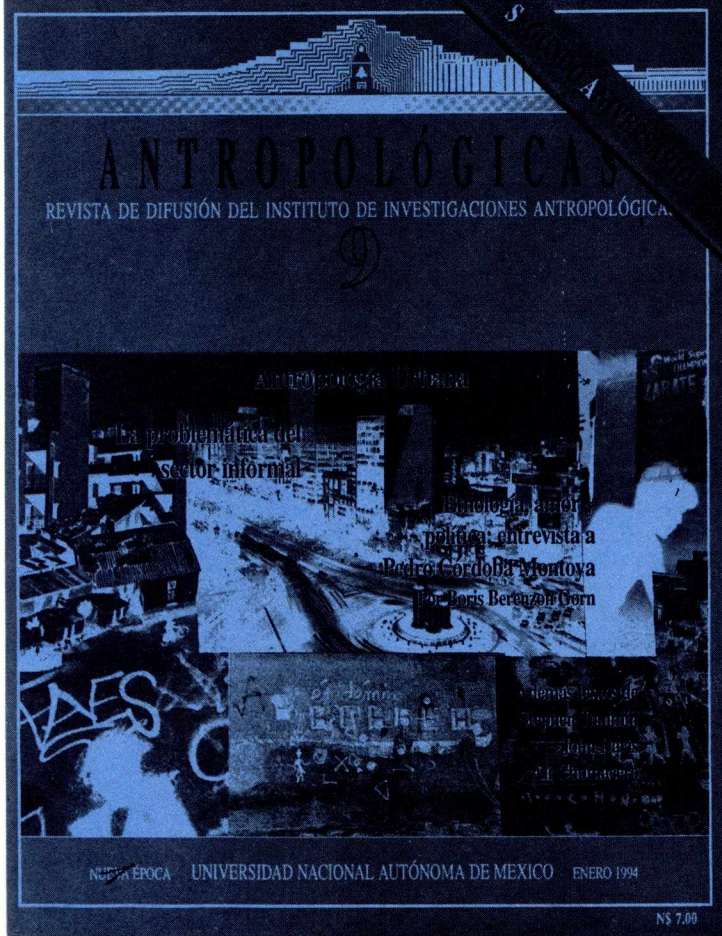
(the convention's government under Gutiérrez had dispersed).

Meanwhile, the war continued. Zapata occupied the city of Puebla and won various battles, advised by some professional soldiers who had joined his side. In 1917 Carranza's generals defeated Villa and isolated Zapata. Carranza then called together a constitutional convention but did not invite Zapata; the convention approved a constitution and elected Carranza as president of the republic.

A new U.S. envoy, William Gates, visited Zapata and then published a series of articles in the United States; he contrasted the order of the Zapata-controlled zone with the chaos of the constitutional zone and said that "the true social revolution can be found among the Zapatistas." When these articles were read to Zapata, he said, "Now I can die in peace. Finally they have done us justice."

In 1919 General Pablo González, who directed government operations against Zapata, had Colonel Jesús Guajardo pretend to want to join the agrarians and contrive a secret meeting with Zapata at the hacienda of Chinameca in Morelos. There, Zapata was ambushed and shot to death by Carrancista soldiers. His body was carried to Cuautla and buried there **M**

*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia.* Volume 12, 1993, p. 897.



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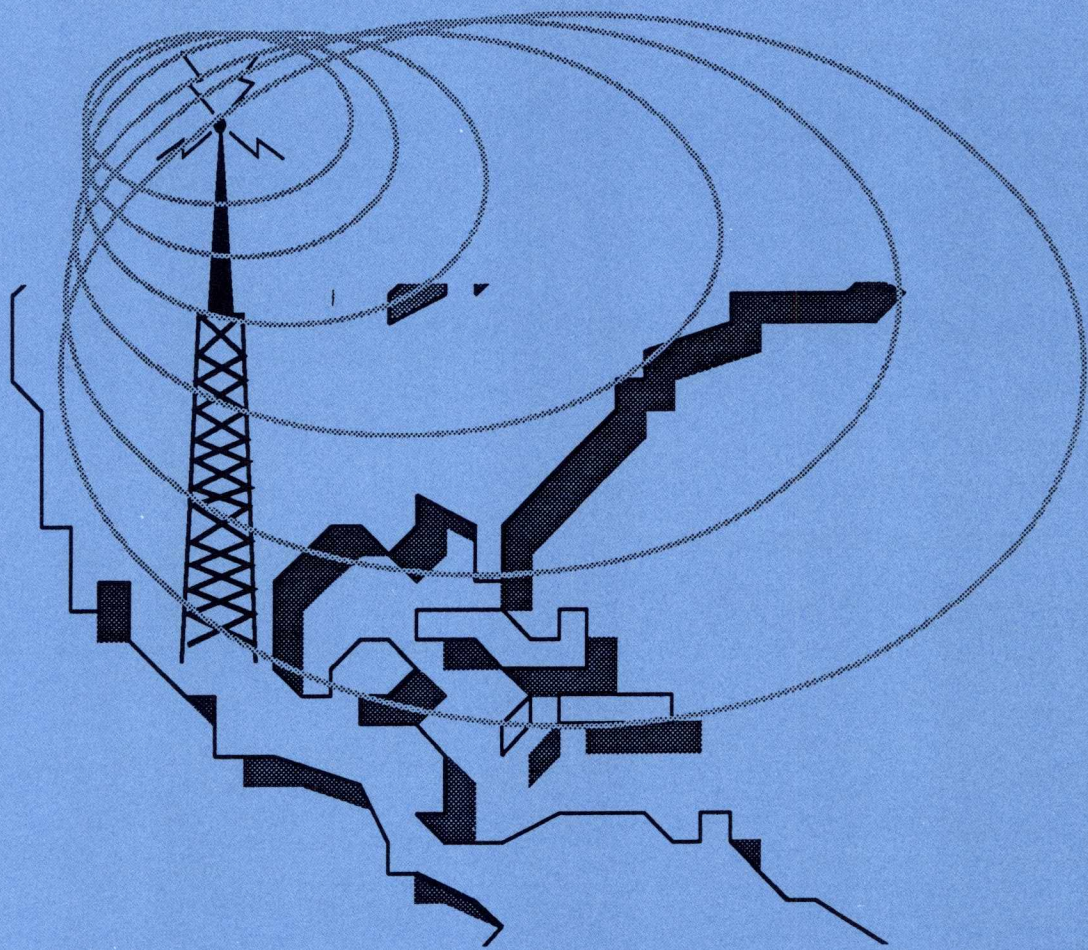
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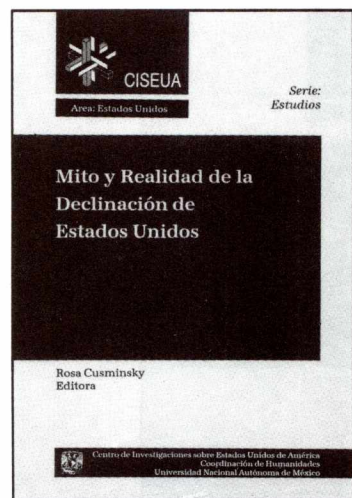
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This book analyzes the likely impact of NAFTA on: the energy industry, agriculture, geographical regions, in-bond industry; labor rights, immigration to the U.S., social classes, democracy, diplomatic relations, telecommunications and higher education. NAFTA is considered in light of other trade agreements, U.S. economic requirements and political processes.



## Mito y realidad de la declinación de los Estados Unidos

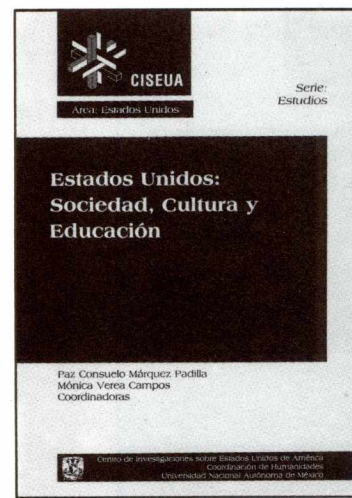
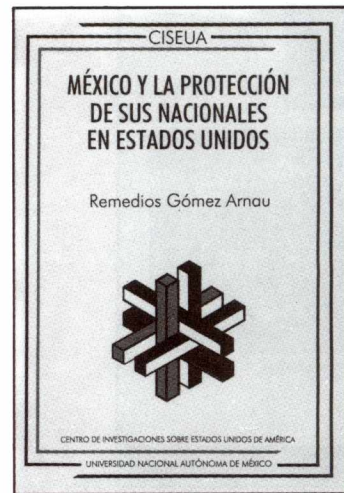
Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner (ed.), Serie: Estudios, 1992, 180 pp.

This book contains the contributions of lecturers from various countries who participated in the seminar "The Myth and Reality of the Decline of the United States of America," on the present academic debate about the crisis of the United States' hegemony.

## México y la protección de sus nacionales en Estados Unidos

Remedios Gómez Arnau, 1990, 245 pp.

A chronicle of the Mexican government's efforts to protect the rights of Mexican migrant workers in the United States. An impressive study that sheds new light on the issue. Recommended for experts and non-experts in U.S.- Mexican relations and human rights.



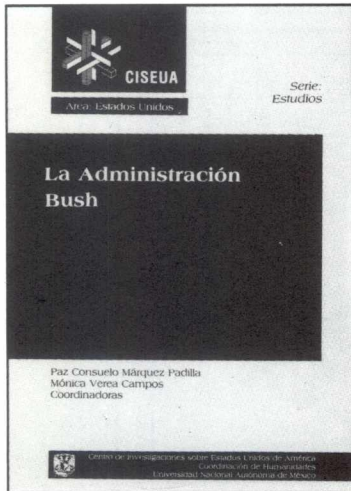
## Estados Unidos: sociedad, cultura y educación

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, Mónica Vereza Campos (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 177 pp.

Thirteen Mexican and U.S. specialists analyze from different perspectives the socio-cultural components of the U.S. as a rich mosaic of cultures and their main forms of expression, the complex social fabric, and the highly-debated U.S. education system.

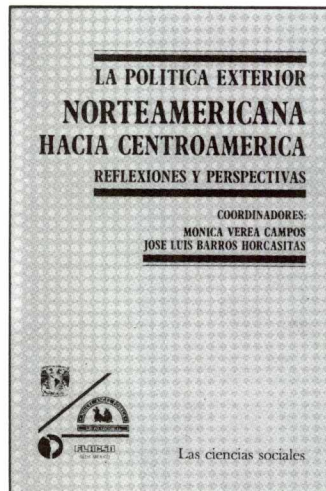
### La administración Bush

Mónica Vereá Campos, Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 210 pp.  
Fifteen Mexican and U.S. specialists examine the main events of the first year of the Bush administration. This includes studies on minorities, arms control, the war on drugs, the economic crisis, foreign policy, and the North American Free Trade Agreement.



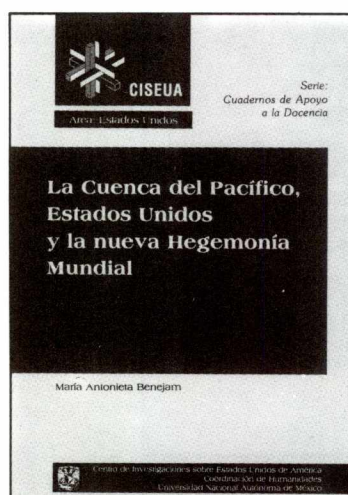
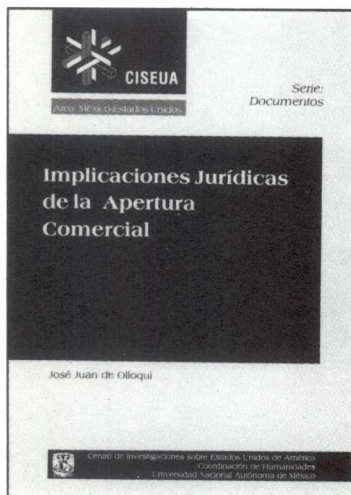
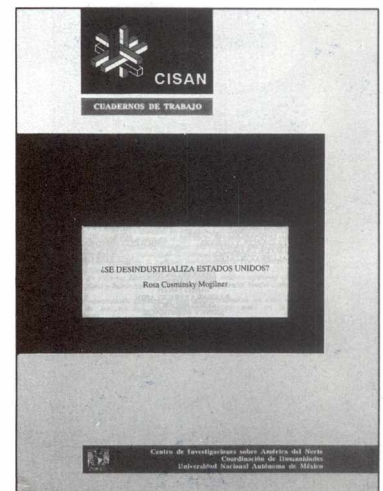
### La política exterior norteamericana hacia Centroamérica: reflexiones y perspectivas

Mónica Vereá Campos y José Luis Barros Horcasitas, FLACSO, CISEUA-UNAM, Editorial Miguel Angel Porrúa, Serie: Las Ciencias Sociales, 1991, 442 pp.  
This book contains various articles written by North American and Central American specialists regarding the role of the United States in Central America's recent history.



### ¿Se desindustrializa Estados Unidos?

Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner, Serie: Cuadernos de Trabajo, 1993, 139 pp.  
Fears relating to the industrial decline of the United States are associated with questions about the ability of the U.S. to maintain its position of influence and world leadership.  
This book summarizes current debates on whether U.S. industry has ceased to be competitive.



### Implicaciones jurídicas de la apertura comercial

José J. de Olloqui, Serie: Documentos, 1991, 42 pp.  
An in-depth analysis of legal issues concerning free trade. Olloqui examines trade and legal developments under President Salinas' administration, within the framework of the Mexican Constitution, trade in Mexico, the internationalization of the financial system and other topics of interest.

### La Cuenca del Pacífico, Estados Unidos y la nueva hegemonía mundial

Ma. Antonieta Benejam, Serie: Cuadernos de Apoyo a la Docencia, 1991, 106 pp.  
A book on the leading role played by the United States in the geopolitical processes of the Pacific Rim countries, a region of decisive importance to the future World Order.

### Arte chicano como cultura de protesta

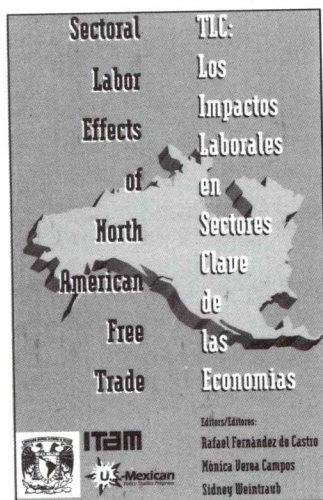
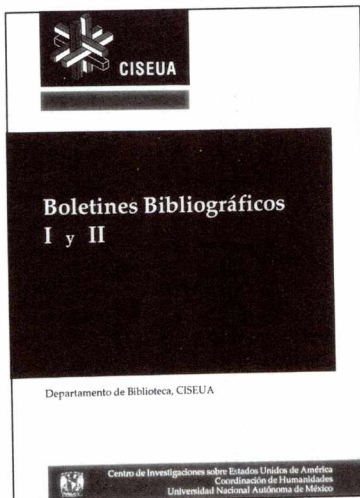
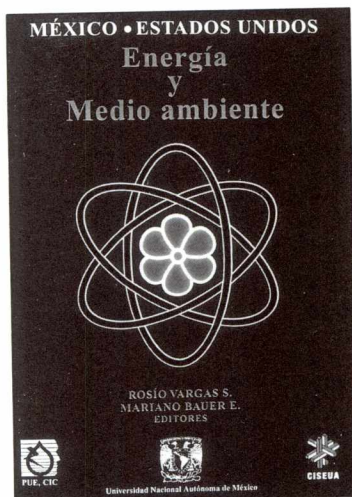
Sylvia Gorodezky, 1993, 169 pp.  
An incisive analysis of how Chicanos give artistic expression to the effects of the social and political oppression they experience within "mainstream" society. Includes photographs of key murals, sculptures and other works of art.



## México-Estados Unidos. Energía y medio ambiente

Rosío Vargas and Mariano Bauer (eds.), 1993, 259 pp.

An overview of Mexican and American environmental legislation as well as its social, political and economic implications in the context of NAFTA. Also analyzes the relation between energy policy and environment in both countries.



## Sectoral labor effects of North American Free Trade/TLC: Los impactos laborales en sectores clave de las economías

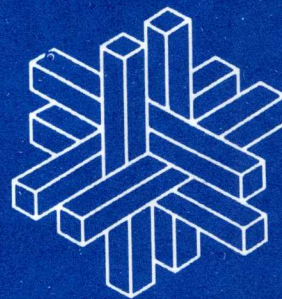
Rafael Fernández de Castro, Mónica Vereá Campos and Sidney Weintraub (eds.), 1993, 368 pp.

This book examines possible effects on the labor force of the countries involved in NAFTA, particularly in such industrial sectors as autos and textile as well as in agriculture and the *maquiladoras*. Some of NAFTA's legal implications are also reviewed.

## Boletines bibliográficos I y II

Centro de Investigaciones sobre Estados Unidos de América-  
Coordinación de Humanidades,  
1991-92 edition, 212 pp.

These bibliographical bulletins catalogue the materials which the library of the Center for Research on the United States of America (now Center for Research on North America) has been collecting since its creation in June of 1989. This collection is composed of recently-published works, so as not to duplicate the efforts already carried out by other libraries in Mexico. Our main objective is to put together a collection of the most up-to-date books possible on different aspects of the United States and its relations with Mexico, as well as on Canada.



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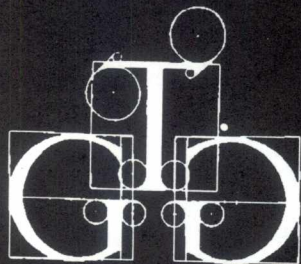
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## MUSEUM OF PALACIO DE BELLAS ARTES (FINE ARTS MUSEUM)

This museum shelters 17 wall mural paintings created by the most outstanding Mexican artists like Rivera, Orozco and Siqueiros. Its temporary halls lodge national and international expositions from different authors and times.

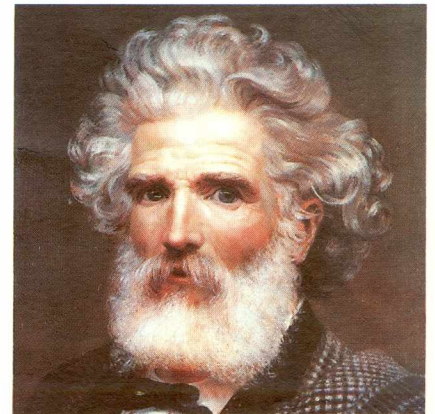


## TEMPLO MAYOR MUSEUM

A great collection of archaeological pieces rescued during excavations at Tenochtitlan Templo Mayor and its surroundings. Ceramics, ancient stones, shell, bones, metal as well as human and animal bony rests. Nocturnal guided visitations from Friday through Sunday.

## SAN CARLOS' MUSEUM

A Manuel Tolosa's neoclassic style building. It has an oval shaped yard from XIXth century unique in Latin America. European painting, sculpture and engraving from XIVth up to XIXth centuries.



## NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY. CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE

A building from XVIIIth century. Furniture, arms, clothing, painting, chattels, sculpture, technology, numismatics, musical instruments, documents and flags from conquest period up to the revolution.

# TO THE WORLD

# La Vista de Toledo

de Diego Rivera (Guanajuato, México 1886 - Ciudad de México 1957)



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La obra *La Vista de Toledo*, de Diego Rivera, es un hermoso cuadro precursor de la época cubista del famoso muralista mexicano, que forma parte de la colección de la Fundación Amparo, que se exhibe en el Cuarto Mexicano del área colonial del Museo Amparo de la Ciudad de Puebla.

El cubismo fué un movimiento que atrajo e intrigó a Diego Rivera, después de estudiarlo inició sus primeras obras en la segunda década de este Siglo, consolidándose en esta corriente en 1913.

Este movimiento rompió las formas que habían sido aceptadas durante siglos, y con los fragmentos procedió a crear nuevas formas, nuevos objetos, nuevos moldes y también nuevos mundos. El pincel y la paleta de Diego Rivera a base de figuras geométricas realizaron una obra de gran belleza y genialidad, plasmando el espíritu y estilo del artista.

El lienzo que muestra una vista parcial de la provincia del centro de Castilla la Nueva, Toledo, muestra al lado izquierdo superior la majestuosa Catedral Gótica, obra arquitectónica que destaca por su proliferación de capillas y por la disposición del coro en el centro de la nave principal, con lo que se impuso una costumbre que se siguió en la mayor parte de las catedrales españolas.

El río Tajo, tranquilo y sereno, bordea las orillas de Toledo. Los reflejos sobre la superficie invitan al espectador a permanecer un largo rato en contemplación.

Al extremo superior derecho, se aprecia con claridad El Alcázar, fortaleza que fué construida sobre el promontorio más elevado de la Ciudad, edificio que ha sido determinante tanto en la historia como en la arquitectura de Toledo.

Los árboles en tonos ocres, que se incorporan a la obra al igual que el resto de la arquitectura, nos hacen recordar el clima de aquella provincia; el verano cálido y seco.

Para 1914, el pintor mexicano empezó a ser mencionado por los críticos, como uno de los más interesantes miembros del movimiento cubista. Precisamente en ese año, Pablo Picasso, el más grande representante de este movimiento, ídolo en aquellos tiempos de Diego Rivera, le manda decir que desea conocerlo. Ambos artistas se vuelven grandes amigos.

El ser aceptado por el maestro del cubismo, era una fuente de satisfacción personal para el maestro mexicano. *La Vista de Toledo*, es a su vez una obra que muestra con claridad la maestría y dominio del cubismo en la trayectoria artística de Diego Rivera.