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Electoral Reform in Mexico

F. Calderón, S. Oñate, J. Ortega, A. Anaya

Mexico in the Global Village

An Interview with

Minister of Foreign Affairs José Angel Gurría

Science, Society and Environmental Ethics

José Sarukhán



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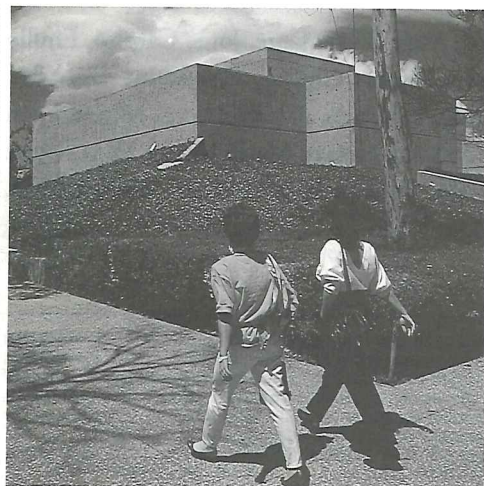
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Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Rufino Tamayo Museum Documentation Center



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Cover: Rufino Tamayo, *The Smile*, 1946 (oil on canvas).
 Photo by Jim Wells.

OUR VOICE

For Voices of Mexico, our thirty-seventh issue is a celebration: our magazine first came out ten years ago, sponsored by the National University and edited by MariClaire Acosta, who remained with Voices until its sixteenth issue. In 1991, the responsibility for the magazine fell to the then-Center for Research on the United States (CISEUA), now the Center for Research on North America (CISAN). Ambassador Hugo B. Margáin edited the publication with great enthusiasm from issues 17 to 32. I came onto the staff of Voices as managing editor for issue 31 and since issue 33 have been its director, privileged to present some of Mexico's finest voices to our readership abroad.

It is of utmost importance to mention that Voices has just been awarded a grant from the U.S.-Mexico Fund for Cultures sponsored by Mexico's National Fund for Culture and the Arts, the Bancomer Cultural Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The Fund's financial program is directed to support the development of high quality projects, capable of leading to solid cultural exchanges and close, lasting collaboration among artists, intellectuals and related cultural institutions of both countries.

Our contributors include some of the most outstanding academics of our university, the National University of Mexico, and other educational institutions. We have also invited government officials and members of all major political parties to contribute so our readers may see the growing plurality in Mexican society. We also enrich our magazine by showing the work of some of our best artists.

It is our firm belief that relations among countries must be based on understanding and negotiation and not on mutual ignorance and unilateral views. If Voices of Mexico plays at least a small part in improving mutual understanding in the region, we will have more than met our goal.

This issue contains a wide variety of materials we hope will be of interest to our readers. Something very important took place last August in Mexico: after many months of negotiations, Mexico's four main political parties signed the electoral reform. It was later unanimously approved by Congress, giving it even greater weight. The political players who participated were responding to the public's demand for more democracy and honesty in elections and showed their invaluable political willingness to come to basic agreements, even though they still maintain differences. Clearly, they were up to meeting the imperatives of our time, the public's demand that political matters be settled through persuasion and solid arguments and not through confrontation and lack of communication.

With such a significant event to cover, Voices of Mexico invited the main leaders of the political parties to briefly explain their viewpoints on the electoral reform, which is part of the political reform of the Mexican state. On this occasion, we asked them to explain what has been gained and what remains to be achieved regarding elections.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, the enormously uncertain global situation makes the international role and strategy of Mexico very relevant for our readers. This is why Voices of Mexico interviewed Foreign Minister José Angel Gurría, who explains his views in a penetrating analysis.

From the tendency to globalization, which unfortunately does not exclude organized crime, stems the need for supranational bodies for controversy resolution. Concluding our "Politics" section, Ricardo Franco Guzmán writes about the International Criminal Court, a body of just this kind.

In the section "Science, Art and Culture," the director of the Center for Research on North America, Mónica Vereá, writes

about the history of and current studies about the United States and North America in Mexico. She emphasizes the need for our three countries to continue this work in order to achieve better understanding in the framework of the consolidation of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The state of Oaxaca becomes festive and colorful every July when it celebrates the Guelaguetza. Local costume, food, flowers and dances combine to offer the visitor a gift of beautiful customs with the majesty of colonial architecture, the ruins of Monte Albán and the natural beauty of the state of Oaxaca as a backdrop. Who better to explain the meaning of Guelaguetza festivities than one of Oaxaca's most widely recognized writers, Andrés Henestrosa?

Alfonso de María y Campos writes about Mexican food, explaining how Mexican cuisine has influenced the world's gastronomy, as well as the influences it has received from abroad and how it has acquired—to our delight—a national character.

Our university gained legal autonomy in 1929, with the aim of protecting academic freedom. From then on, the university has had an independent budget guaranteeing freedom in research, so it could be a plural institution. This is the topic dealt with by Fernando Serrano Migallón, formerly the head of the UNAM's legal department. The "Society" section continues with an article by the current Coordinator of Humanities of the UNAM, Humberto Muñoz, in which he reflects upon the importance of eliminating the great inequalities still existing in our country's educational system, as well as the need to not be left behind vis-à-vis other countries.

The "Economy" section includes the second part of the article by Jorge Vargas about the legal controversies between Mexico and the United States with regard to Gulf of Mexico oil deposits.

Migration between Mexico and the United States is a complex question requiring a joint venture for its management. Gustavo Mohar tells us that without a doubt, immigration is the first point on the bilateral agenda between Mexico and the United States. He explains how disagreements about immigration have spurred the creation of a group of experts from both countries to come to a better understanding on the question.

In her article "Mexican-Canadian Relations," Isabel Studer analyzes the progress in bilateral relations since the signing

of NAFTA and finds that undoubtedly they have intensified and matured. She emphasizes the points of agreement and disagreement between both countries in different areas of foreign policy.

With literary grace, Luis Felipe Fabre describes traditional Mexican toys, the product of craftsmen who mix imagination, color and materials like clay, wood, wire and cardboard to give our children unique playthings. Like poetry, toys have their own musicality, the guide for their complementing each other and bringing forth wonderful works of art in playful symbiosis.

Washington's National Gallery of Art is featuring the exhibit "Olmec Art of Ancient Mexico" from June 30 to October 20 of this year. In her article, Professor Beatriz de la Fuente explains both the greatness of Olmec culture and the importance of the showing. Ann Cyphers tells us of the origins of Olmec culture and its most important centers in Mesoamerica. These two articles and the one on toys are the centerpieces of our section "The Splendor of Mexico."

Claire Joysmith, writing in English and Spanish, shares with us the problems translators encounter when dealing with Chicana literature.

The "Ecology" section in this issue presents a contribution by the rector of the university, José Sarukhán, in which he underlines the great difficulties involved in creating the awareness needed for long-term protection of the environment. His article emphasizes the role of women as educators in fostering this ecological awareness.

This issue's "In Memoriam" is dedicated to Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, a historian who enriched knowledge about the Mexican nation with his studies on the history of ideas, science and technology in Mexico, the history of Mexico City and the Enlightenment in eighteenth century New Spain, among many other topics. Rubén Bonifaz Nuño, one of our best known and most respected poets and academics, honors us with a text about this renowned Mexican.

As part of our celebration, this issue includes paintings by the great Mexican artist Rufino Tamayo. Samuel Morales Escalante writes of the painter, the man and his work. In the "Museums" section, Morales also invites us to visit the Rufino Tamayo Museum, one of the most important in Mexico City. ❧

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla
Editorial Director

ELECTORAL REFORM IN MEXICO

On the Road to Consensus

Despite the fact that the results of the August 1994 federal balloting —the most closely watched in the history of Mexican elections— were generally accepted as valid, they also spawned criticisms and comments about the organization of elections in Mexico and the laws governing them.

The political players in Mexico saw the need to carry out an overall reform of the state that would take into consideration the public's most heartfelt demands about political affairs: among them, a redefinition of presidentialism in order to take some powers away from the head of the executive branch and transfer them to the other two branches of



Imagenlatina-Alfonso Manzano

Signing the agreement. From left to right: Alberto Anaya (PR), Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (PRD), Santiago Oñate (PRI), Felipe Calderón (PAN), Emilio Chuayffet (Minister of the Interior), President Zedillo, Humberto Roque Villanueva (leader of the Chamber of Deputies).



Government officials will no longer head up Mexico's electoral bodies.

government; a change in the government's information and press policy; a comprehensive reform of the justice system; profound modifications in the relationship with indigenous peoples in Mexico; the direct election of the Mexico City government; and a major constitutional reform and modification of enabling legislation regarding Mexico's elections.

The electoral reform is the first part of the reform of the state to come to fruition. It took almost two years of effort and high-level negotiations, with the participation of the federal executive branch, represented by the Ministry of the Interior, and the country's most important political parties, represented by their national leaders and the heads of their congressional caucuses in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

For the first time in the history of electoral reforms in the country—and there have been several since 1977—agreement was reached by consensus of all the political parties participating in the negotiations. This paved the way, also for the first time, for unanimous approval of the constitutional amendments by the Chamber of Dep-

uties in August 1996. The fact that the four very different parties represented in Congress voted unanimously is an indicator of the ability of Mexico's political forces and players to resolve controversies peacefully at a negotiating table.

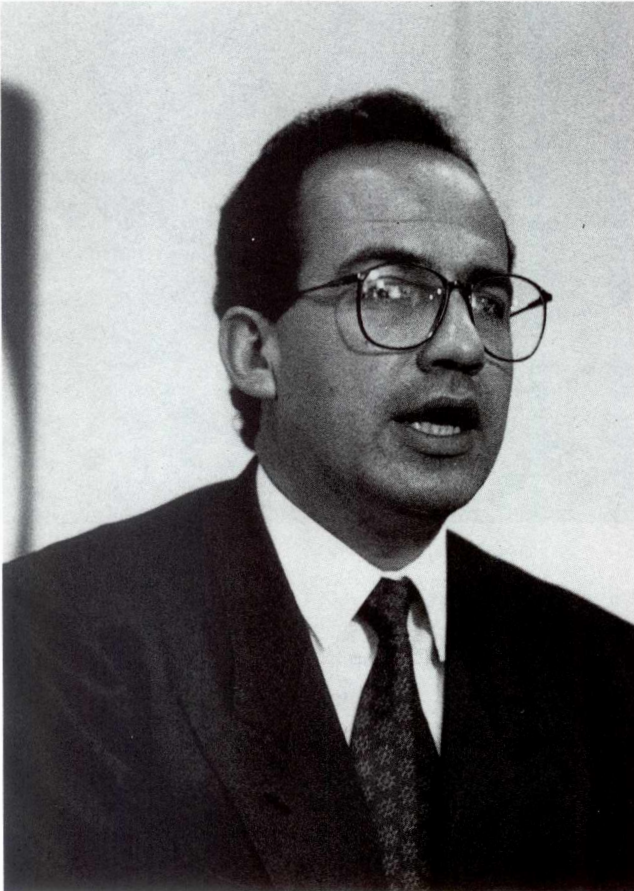
While the unanimity about the electoral reform is a landmark in Mexico's political history, it also should be stressed that it was reached despite the fact that the participants did not always come to agreements about some basic questions. For this reason, *Voices of Mexico*, conscious of the historic significance of the accord, but also of the fact that there are still many points to be resolved on the road to democracy, requested that the four parties which participated in the reform process each write a short essay about what was gained and what remains to be done with regard to elections in Mexico.

The presidents of the PAN, PRI and PT and the general secretary of the PRD share with the readers of *Voices of Mexico* their opinions on this question, whereby the magazine hopes to offer a general panorama of the reform as seen through the eyes of those who forged it.

A Continuing Challenge

Felipe Calderón Hinojosa*

Imageniatina-Jorge Silva



Too often we forget that only ten years ago we were living in unspeakable backwardness: for the world, my country seemed a model of political control.

In my opinion, the most important aspects of the political reform in Mexico are still pending, and my party, the National Action Party, demands they be implemented:

- The definitive elimination of the state party;
- The elimination of improper use of the national colors in the electoral symbol of the party in power;
- The end of the manipulation of poverty by the government to guarantee votes to the governing party;
- The establishment of the National Citizens Register and the issuing of a national identity card which would have better and broader uses than the current voter registration card;
- The incorporation of participatory democracy into the Constitution: plebiscite, referendum, citizens' initiative and freedom to organize in political associations;
- The right of all candidates and parties to public recourse regarding false or misleading information;
- The installation of centers concentrating several polling places, etc.

The most important challenge, then, is still before us. For PAN militants, this challenge is both a stimulus and a commitment. This does not in any way mean that we underestimate what has already been achieved:

- Individual affiliation to political parties, guaranteed by the Constitution;
- Equity as a guiding principle of the electoral framework;
- Improved regulations for limiting party campaign spending;
- A more equitable distribution of public funds for party campaign expenses;

* President of the National Executive Committee of the National Action Party (PAN).

- More independent electoral officials with the elimination of the participation of the executive branch in the General Council of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE);
- The incorporation of the Federal Electoral Tribunal (TFE) into the federal judiciary branch;
- A better way of determining the make-up of the Senate;
- A more equitable ratio between the percentage of votes and the percentage of representation in the Chamber of Deputies;
- Better legal procedures for presenting a case before the Federal Supreme Court to request that it declare electoral laws unconstitutional;
- Writing common principles into the Constitution for state electoral laws;
- Election of the mayor of Mexico City;
- Establishment of legal recourse for the constitutional control of local electoral authorities' acts and decisions;
- Establishment of a ceiling of 300 deputies for any single political party, etc.

The troubled times we live in often make us forget our achievements. Too often we forget that —politically— only ten years ago we were living in unspeakable backwardness: the basis for the world's dictatorships —including, of course, Mexico's— is being able to impose their rules on the community. For the world, my country seemed a model of political control, envied by dictators who urged their hired scribblers to find a way to set up Mexico's "perfect dictatorship" in their own countries.

In that situation, our fight was frequently misunderstood and attacked from different sides, undoubtedly because, no matter how much they despised us, our adversaries knew even then that, like it or not, we were right.

And we still are. This is proven not only by our contribution to the reform process but also by the heritage of political culture which we are willing to bestow.

We have always backed our demands with arguments and proposals. In the final stages of the recent reform, we fixed our position to emphasize the following constitutional changes:

- Explicit rules for public funding, eliminating discretionary decision-making in its allocation and apportionment;
- The permanent use of the mass media by political parties, with a balanced distribution of air time;

- In the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE): retaining the representation of the legislative branch, without the right to vote, but with the right to speak; the election of councilors based on a proportional number of votes; the election of the president by the councilors themselves;
- The right of supreme court justices to rule on the constitutionality of acts and decisions regarding electoral matters brought before them;
- Election of electoral tribunal justices by the Senate, upon proposal from the Federal Judiciary Council;
- Application of sanctions to political parties which surpass legally stipulated campaign spending limits on a local level;
- Attributing to Mexico City's Legislative Assembly the power to pass its own government charter and electoral legislation; and the election of the local head of government by universal, free, direct and secret ballot, etc.

An impartial analysis of our proposals, compared with the final results of the reform, will show that we have moved forward toward more democratic laws and practices, understood as the lucid participation of the community in the political life of the country. This participation, however, requires even greater political efforts to strengthen the basis for Mexicans' living together. It also requires stimuli for institutional political participation, without any manipulation or partisan exploitation —frequently induced from the government— of our people's basic needs.

Maintaining an atmosphere and attitude conducive to change for the better has always been the PAN's aim; this requires, at the same time, that the government permanently maintain the political determination to do so, which is essential for moving forward and consolidating the gains and perfecting initial results, without ruling out new democratic achievements. As of now, a step backward by the government would be suicide on the part of the ruling party because the dynamic of growing public participation makes the victories achieved irreversible.

In sum, what has been gained is of considerable importance, but before us stretches a long road of demands and achievements still to be attained. We take up this challenge based on our own convictions and the fundamental imperative of political morality. ❧

A Result of Mexicans' Determination to Change

*Santiago Oñate Laborde**

Imagenlatina-Marco A. Cruz



Our main objective as a political party in developing the new electoral rules is that they make it possible to achieve full democracy.

* President of the National Executive Committee of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Among the many positive aspects of the political-electoral reform recently approved by Mexico's different political parties and their legislators in the national Congress and the local Congresses, the Institutional Revolutionary Party would first like to emphasize that this agreement was the result of a prolonged, intense and difficult process of negotiations among the national political forces which for the first time in our history led to a complete consensus on this matter.

This is very important for the PRI because it is undoubtedly a reflection of the maturity and political goodwill of the different parties to culminate a series of reforms passed during the last decade. The main objective of these reforms is to create a system of electoral rules agreed on by all that would not be questioned, suspected or doubted by the electoral contenders.

Additionally, we consider it important that the legislation emanating from this reform will be applied during next year's federal elections, known in Mexico as intermediate elections, which are not as high-pressure as presidential elections. This will make it possible to evaluate the operation and efficiency of the new electoral institutions.

Our main objective as a political party in developing the new electoral rules is that they make it possible to achieve full democracy, governed by plurality and broad public participation in which legality, equity, probity and impartiality are all guaranteed in elections.

The Institutional Revolutionary Party never doubted nor had any reservations about supporting a new constitutional framework because it invigorates the party system, strengthens the independence of electoral bodies, enriches pluralism in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, improves conditions of equity for parties and candidates during campaigns, legalizes elections and broadens democracy in Mexico City.

The PRI has already expressed its support for consolidating the system of political parties in our country, ensuring it as a stable, plural and competitive system.

For that reason we agreed that in order for the already existing electoral parties in Mexico to retain their legal registration status and win seats in the Congress, the minimum percentage of the vote they must receive nationwide should be 2 percent. During the negotiations, other parties demanded that the percentage be 3 percent or 5 percent, but the PRI thought this inappropriate since it would have created a high, artificial barrier and inhibited pluralism in Mexico.

Along these same lines, the Institutional Revolutionary Party agreed with establishing substantial flexibility to facilitate electoral coalitions among those parties which might want to present common candidates for deputy, senator or president.

The PRI agreed with reestablishing a legal and political category that proved its efficacy in the past: that of political groups. This will open additional spaces where citizens may carry out political activity, besides the parties.

To emphasize the solidity and stability of the party system, we agreed that the enabling legislation should facilitate the road to definitive legal registration status for political parties in Mexico, and maintain this as the only category of registered parties.¹

One of the most important steps taken in this reform, which puts an end to a long debate and an electoral model in force since 1946, is making electoral bodies completely autonomous and in-

dependent. The Institutional Revolutionary Party agreed that the executive branch should not preside or even be a member of the highest electoral body in the land, the General Council of the Federal Electoral Institute. This also means that the executive branch will not be able to appoint the council's executive secretary or any other of its officers.

Two changes have been made regarding the legislative branch's participation in the General Council: the legislature will have non-voting-member status, with the right to address the Council; and, to ensure parity, each political party will have a single member of the council if they have representatives in either of the two chambers of Congress.

The PRI also supported and promoted the public becoming more and more involved in elections and was in agreement that the Federal Electoral Institute should be headed up by a citizen-president and eight electoral councilors, all of whom should not be members of political parties and prejudiced neither in favor nor against them.

Imaginatina-Octavio Gómez



Representation. No party will have more than 300 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

¹ Former legislation established the category of conditional registration. [Editor's Note.]

They will be elected by a two-thirds vote of the Chamber of Deputies, which means that no single party will be able to make the decision alone.

One of the most backward aspects of our electoral system—which we have overcome with this reform—is funding and media access for parties and their candidates. On these important points, the consensus was to elevate the principle of equality to the constitutional level.

A way of balancing the parties in matters of funding was found: state funds will no longer be distributed to parties exclusively on the basis of the number of votes they received in the last election. From now on, a significant part of the funding—30 percent—will be distributed equally among the parties with congressional seats. It was also agreed that public funding should predominate, which will strengthen party ties with society.

Formulas were established to guarantee fairer party and candidate access to the electronic media with regard to time slots, frequencies and the size of audiences.

The agreements arrived at about the new make-up of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate will facilitate a

*The PRI also
supported and promoted
the public becoming more and more
involved in elections.*

more plural representation and better relations between the majority and the minorities. For that reason, the Institutional Revolutionary Party agreed that the maximum number of legislators any party can have in the Chamber of Deputies be lowered from 315 to 300, and that there be an 8 percent ceiling on the over-representation of any party based on the ratio between its percentage of the vote and its number of deputies.

The Senate was revamped so that each state will have three senators; two of the seats will go to the party which

received the majority of votes in the state and the third will be awarded to the largest minority. Another 32 senators will be elected proportionally nationwide, regardless of representation by state.

It was also agreed that controversies arising in the Mexican electoral system should go to the judicial branch, so that they may be solved with legal criteria and judicial elements by the proper jurisdictional bodies. To bolster trust in the Federal Electoral Tribunal, it will be incorporated into the judicial branch of the government and its judges will be selected by a two-thirds majority of the Senate from among proposals made by the Federal Supreme Court. It is important to underline that, in contrast with the previous legislation, the president will no longer have the faculty to nominate these judges.

Along these same lines, the presidential election of the year 2000 will not be evaluated or sanctioned by a political body—like the prior legislation's Electoral College, which was the newly elected Chamber of Deputies. The validity of the 2000 election will be decided exclusively by the Tribunal.

We must point out that the reform makes it the Supreme Court's responsibility to decide on the constitutionality of any challenged federal or state electoral law.

One of the questions about which consensus was reached early on in the negotiations was the need to broaden out political rights for citizens and the guarantee that they be able to exercise those rights: the right to vote, to be elected and to freely and peacefully associate among themselves.

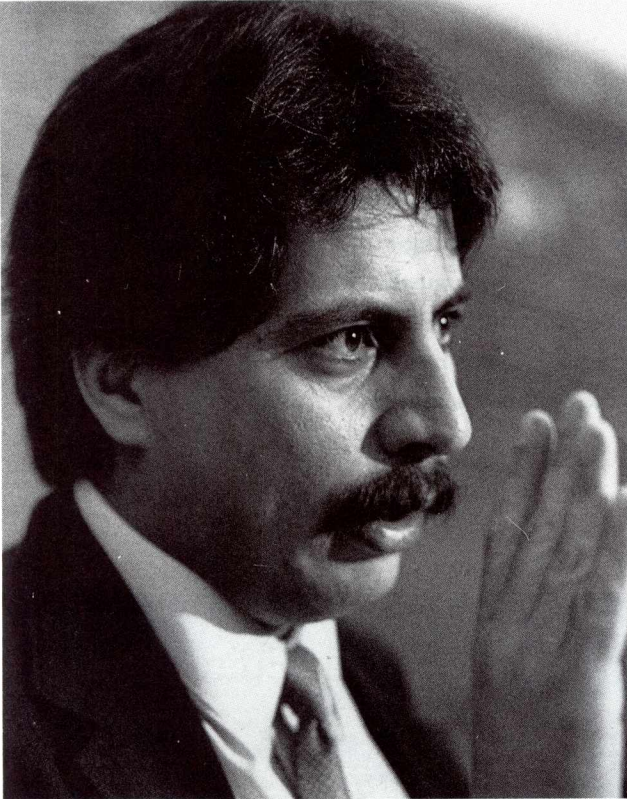
Another measure was decided upon that had long been demanded by the citizens of Mexico City: the right of the city's inhabitants to elect the head of their government and their Legislative Assembly by secret, free and direct vote.

In the Institutional Revolutionary Party, we believe that this political reform, a single part of the reform of the state to which PRI members are committed, is a reflection of Mexicans' determination to change in order to move forward definitively on the road to democracy. ❧

Waylaid on the Long Road to Democracy

Jesús Ortega*

Imaginatina-Angel Torres-Torrejón



What do we mean by the political reform? The transformation of the authoritarian, antidemocratic state that has existed in Mexico since soon after the Revolution.

The clamor for political reform emerged in Mexico after the government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz massacred students and workers on October 2, 1968. In mid-1968, high school and college students took to the streets to demand greater democratic freedom. The government silenced their demands with bullets. A still undetermined number of dead paved the way for Mexican politics to halfheartedly begin to liberalize.

But it was not until 1977 that this liberalization became law and some of the existing political groups opted for the electoral road to power. In 1979, the new legally registered parties were able to run for office, giving politics a completely new look. The make-up of the Chamber of Deputies, the only one of the two chambers of congress affected by the reform, changed radically. Until then, only four parties had congressional seats: the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the National Action Party (PAN), the People's Socialist Party (PPS) and the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM). The PRI, as the official party, had the absolute majority, and its almost exclusive task was to unanimously approve all bills sent by the president. For decades, the right-wing PAN, with a small number of deputies, merely bore witness to what went on. Although it was socialist, the PPS was incapable of opposing bills sent by the president because he was the one who had granted the party its congressional seats. The PARM was in exactly the same straits.

New parties in that Chamber of Deputies produced a new political situation: the voices of right-wing, communist, socialist and pro-Catholic deputies were heard. It was the beginning of an era of incipient political pluralism which can still be felt today. However, the pillars of the Mexican political system remained intact.

Since then there have been other reforms and counter-reforms, but they have all basically centered on electoral questions, without touching the pillars of the system. That is why the demand for political reform is still valid in Mexico.

* General Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

The electoral reform is the most important advance in Mexico's political reform. However, it continues to be insufficient for leading the country down the road to democracy.

What do we mean by the political reform? The transformation of the authoritarian, antidemocratic state that has existed in Mexico since soon after the Revolution and still exists today.

This demand is now viable because in recent years the public has participated more and is more demanding, and the political parties are stronger, more experienced and more capable of exercising the functions of government. The demand is, then, the reform of the state. But this task requires, among other things, another electoral reform to make elections in Mexico credible; a reform of the three branches of government; a reform of the relations between federal and state governments, with autonomous municipalities; and a reform of the media.

Of all these requirements for an authentic political reform, the only steps forward so far are in the electoral reform. Recently, the nth electoral reform was passed, and its advances are considerable. For the first time in Mexico since the Revolution of 1910, the elections will not be organized and carried out by the government, but by a Citizens Council elected by the Chamber of Deputies; the electoral justice system, forever absent from Mexican elections, has been strengthened; there will be more equality in electoral competition; and both chambers of congress will be made up in such a way as to favor a larger presence and better representation of political parties. In addition, Mexico City, whose citizens have not enjoyed full political rights since 1928, will have a government elected by direct, secret and universal ballot as of 1997.

The electoral reform is the most important advance in the Mexican political reform. However, it continues to be

insufficient for leading the country down the road to democracy, let alone for deactivating violent situations like the ones which now threaten Mexico's political stability.

The emergence of two guerrilla organizations in Mexico is the negation of the peaceful road as the only road to power. The problem is that the steps forward in politics are not paralleled, even minimally, with similar improvements in the living conditions of many Mexicans who are living —surviving— in conditions of extreme poverty and atrocious marginalization and pressure, particularly in rural and indigenous areas. The political reform must urgently be taken into these areas, but it will be of little use if the profound social inequalities there prevail. ❧

Siglo Veintiuno Editores



DESTINOS CRUZADOS

Cinco siglos de encuentros con los amerindios
Joëlle ROSTKOWSKI, Silvie DEVERS (Coordinadores)

El encuentro de Europa y América del Norte en los comienzos de la edad moderna provocó el gigantesco proceso de mestizaje cultural, choques e interinfluencias que cinco siglos no han podido aun consumir. Cuarenta autores eminentes exponen en este medio millar de páginas las interpretaciones más recientes de esta evolución trascendental de nuestro subcontinente. La primera parte, *Los indios mexicanos* ha sido coordinada por Miguel León Portilla; la segunda, *Los indios de América del Norte* estuvo a cargo de J. Rostkowski y W. Washburn; y la tercera, extraordinariamente reveladora, sobre los Inuit (esquimales) de Groenlandia y el Ártico, ha sido compilada por J. Malaurie y S. Devers.



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A First Step Toward Legality and Certainty

Alberto Anaya*



Cuartoscuro-Jorge Silva

The constitutional changes agreed on in the electoral reform have concluded. The road to the accords among the political parties with representation in Congress had its share of stumbling blocks and inertia that slowed down the work. Fortunately, despite their limitations, the results met with an important number of the demands made by the public about elections. Undoubtedly, the never-ending changes in reality will force new reforms in this area sometime in the future, but for the time being we have a renewed framework which strengthens legality and certainty about the next elections.

The delicate national situation, a result of the severe economic and financial crisis, of the exhaustion of the institutional underpinnings of the system and the existence of groups which refuse to change have all forced us to find new ways of making decisions and thus foster democratic transition. Including the main political actors—be they parties or citizens—and consensus are principles that the reform of the state must incorporate.

It is important to point out that electoral reform is only one part of the reform of the state, and other important topics, such as federalism, the division of powers, public participation, indigenous rights, etc., are still on the agenda. All together, these points will delineate the new political system that the democratic transition in our country demands.

It is worthwhile to enumerate the electoral reform accords which, because of their scope and significance, will have a profound effect on the next elections:

1. The bodies responsible for organizing elections will be substantially rooted in the citizenry, strengthening their autonomy and independence. This means eliminating representatives of the executive branch in the General Council of the Federal Electoral Institute.

* President of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party (PT).

Undoubtedly, the never-ending changes in reality will force new reforms in this area sometime in the future.

2. The Federal Electoral Tribunal will be incorporated into the judicial branch, strengthening the latter and allowing it to intervene, even if in a limited fashion, in different aspects of electoral justice. This means the renovation of structures and legal recourse which will better guarantee legal election results.
3. It is important to underline that the reform has raised the protection of the political rights of individuals and political parties to the constitutional level: Mexicans will join the political party of their choice freely and as individuals, eliminating collective membership.
4. With the electoral reform, competition among political parties will also be more egalitarian. Steps were made toward a less uneven distribution of funds for political activities and establishing equity and equality in media access.
5. The introduction of plurality into the Senate, paralleling that which already exists among political parties, implies that the reform has certain integrating qualities, since it makes it possible for growing political forces to participate more in the nation's fundamental decisions.
6. One of the most significant advances is the restoration of political rights to residents of Mexico City, who from 1997 on will be able to elect the head of their government by free, universal, secret and direct ballot.

Other indispensable changes will also be made in the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (COFIPE). Negotiations did go forward in this area, as is shown by the 79 agreements for enabling legislation signed by the political parties and the Minister of the Interior. Some of these points will have to wait for a better time to be implemented (for example, the referendum, the citizens initiative, balloting by citizens residing abroad, etc.). Others will legally formalize practices already tested during the 1994 elections (numbered ballots, the selection by lot of the officers of polling places, etc.). The remainder will be implemented according to the constitutional reforms passed.

With regard to the latter, and with the aim of supporting current efforts, I would like to make the following comments:

It is important to recognize that in a country like ours, it is a mistake to increase funding ceilings for political parties.

- a. The continued overrepresentation of the largest electoral force in the Chamber of Deputies obliges us to seek a formula that will distribute evenly among the political parties with the right to congressional seats the number of votes that each seat represents. In this manner, overrepresentation will not prejudice the political parties with a smaller percentage of the votes.
- b. It is important to recognize that in a country like ours, with an enormous social deficit and a profound economic crisis, it is a mistake to increase funding ceilings for political parties. For that reason, ceilings on campaign spending should be carefully defined, just as other party spending should be limited.
- c. The list of candidates for proportional representation in the Senate should be dealt with in a way which will not upset the balance of representation of the states and at the same time affect as little as possible the order decided upon by the parties.

We should mention, however, that the reform also has its limits. The Labor Party cannot but point to different items that were part of its initial proposals which were included neither in the constitutional reform nor in the 79 agreements for enabling legislation. From our point of view, had they been included, there would have been a more significant advance toward democracy in the sphere of national politics. Despite this, we will not falter in promoting new proposals like the plebiscite, the right to recall and the participation of citizens' organizations or associations in elections through coalitions. *Viii*

MEXICO IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

An Interview with José Angel Gurría Treviño

With the end of the Cold War, the world has moved from certainty in a conflictive situation into extreme —although to a certain extent more “peaceful”— uncertainty and volatility. The high risk of confrontation between the two superpowers kept all international players to minimal movements. This has clearly evolved into a world order in which any country can move, but outbreaks of low intensity warfare are the order of the day.

At the heart of the crisis of the international system is the contradiction between globalization and fragmentation: on the one hand, individual countries reinforce their national identities and on the other, ethnic groups emphasize their own particular characteristics. Regional trading blocs are forming and, at the same time, a more dynamic global economy is supposed to make room for new participants.

Voices of Mexico considered it important to find out about Mexico's role with regard to the different international players, as well as to know what its strategy is vis-à-vis some concrete problems. José Angel Gurría, Mexico's Minister of Foreign Affairs,

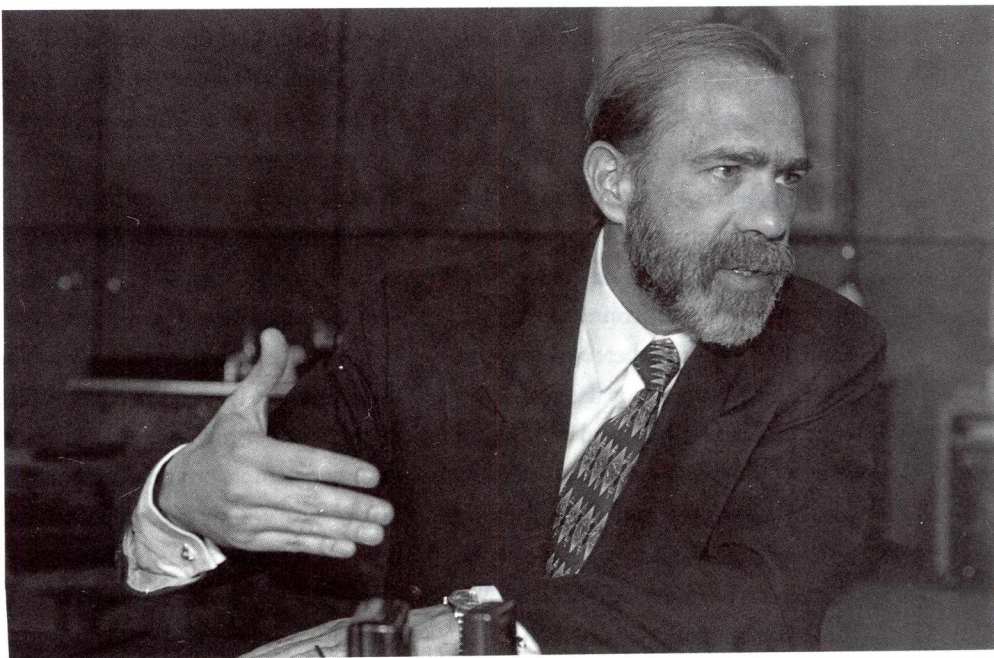
graciously made time in his busy schedule to answer these and other questions. The following are his points of view.

Voices of Mexico: *There has been a lot of debate about abandoning principles of foreign policy due to U.S. pressure. What comments can you make about that?*

José Angel Gurría: The principles that guide our foreign policy are embedded in our Constitution. That means that not only are they principles practiced day-to-day, but that those who both practice and define overall policies regarding government interna-

tional actions —the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and all its staff, including the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on a day-to-day level, and policy-making at the higher level, which obviously is the president's prerogative— are bound by those principles. They were incorporated into the Constitution after many years of guiding our actions, but now they are an obligation, a constitutional obligation. They provide the constitutional framework for every one of our foreign policy actions. It is therefore both a mandate

Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs



The minister in his office.



Photo: President's Press Office

The number of Mexico-Canada working groups has increased.

and a guide for foreign policy actions and the relationships that we establish with the rest of the world. Our foreign policy initiatives, our bilateral, our regional, our multilateral actions, all have to be incorporated, all have to be guided by those principles. So, I find completely ill-founded the statement that we may have either neglected or abandoned them. I cannot point to any particular instance of our having neglected the practice of or the respect for those principles. We abide by them every day. Every day that passes, in every one of our contacts with the United States—and there are hundreds, thousands, throughout the year—we have to adopt a balanced attitude in terms of defending the interests of Mexico, of preserving and strengthening our sovereignty, and that can only be enhanced by these principles. We think foreign policy is a set of actions which are complex, which demand

creativity, which demand very serious preparation, and I think that seriousness, that prior preparation and the setting of very clear objectives in terms of what we want to achieve are the tactical tools. But the strategy and the overall aim of foreign policy is always guided by these principles.

VM: People talk about the “good neighbor policy” as well as “distant neighbors.” How would you describe the current state of relations with the United States?

JAG: I think it's very difficult to put a name to such a complex relationship. People must realize that the relationship we have with the United States is unique. There is no other relationship in the world which has that kind of intensity, complexity, density. There is no other place in the world where, because there is a border between a developed and a developing country, you have this asymmetry in the economy. And there is no other border in

the world where you have 300 million legal crossings every year. There is no other country in the world where a developed and a developing country exchange more than 10 billion dollars of goods and services every month. So, it's an extremely unique relationship, and therefore there are no books, there are no blueprints for managing it.

I would say that one of the keys to the success of the relationship has been precisely that we have developed institutional channels of communication where today we can literally address practically every single issue that arises, even if it's very thorny, very difficult, controversial, where we have differences of views, etc. There is practically nothing that cannot be channeled through the institutional mechanisms we have created. I would describe the quality of the relationship as solid, mature and respectful. The quality of the communication—that is, the personal relationships, starting with the presidents and the cabinet level down to the working level—is also excellent. And that is allowing us to make more progress than we have made in a long time on a very broad set of issues on the bilateral agenda, which includes working together in some regional and multilateral fora. So, I think the relationship is going through a very good moment.

There is great awareness on both sides of the need to build on that relationship. And that is why we call it a new understanding. We have started to develop this new understanding based on both qualitative and quantitative appraisals of the relationship. Precisely because we are very aware of our principles and act accordingly, we have developed a capacity for dialogue and negotiation that is producing a better quality in the overall relationship with the United States.

VM: *The free trade agreement has been seen both as the cause of all of Mexico's problems and as its only salvation. What do you think about this?*

JAG: I think it is neither. NAFTA has provided opportunities for the three countries involved. It is helping create jobs, exports, investments. It is making the whole region more competitive vis-à-vis the rest of the world. And the fact that we have increased the trade between Mexico and the other NAFTA countries, the United States and Canada, from about 90 billion to about 125 billion dollars is very dramatic testimony to the success that we have had. I think that trying to pin the blame for the economic problems of 1994-1995 on NAFTA reveals either a lack of understanding of the reasons behind our economic problems—basically the low level of savings that we have had in Mexico and therefore the need to attract foreign capital which became speculative and short-term, leaving the country when we had some internal strife—or it reveals political motivations because NAFTA is associated with the government of President Clinton,

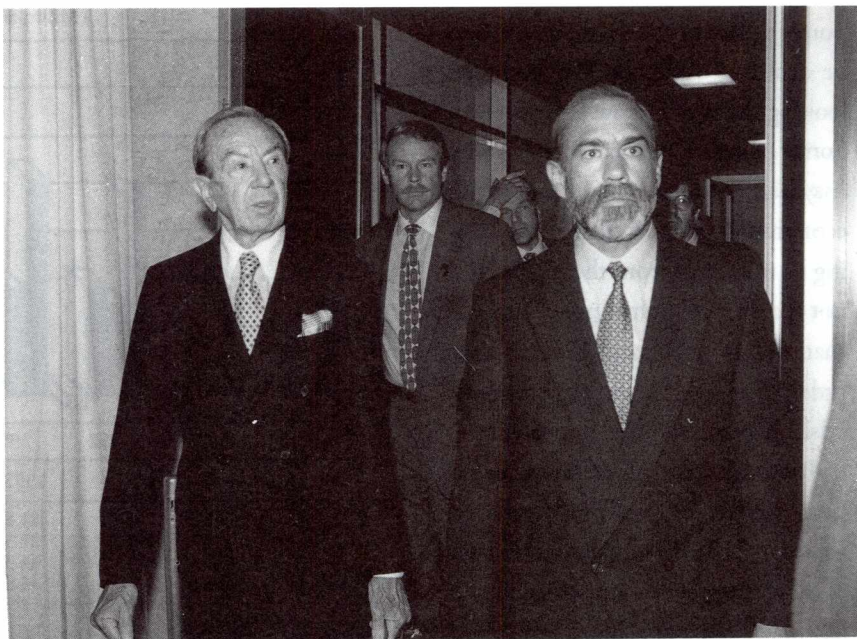
“Immigration is fed by economic, sociological, historical, family and cultural reasons, by decades of habit.”

who was the one who finally promoted its passage in the congress although it began in the government of President Bush. NAFTA is sometimes used during U.S. elections to criticize the president of the United States. In Mexico, it is used sometimes—again—with political motivations. But, it is absolutely wrong to attribute to NAFTA the economic problems of Mexico. NAFTA is contributing to the recovery of Mexico, to the increase in exports, to the opening up of markets in the United States and Canada.

We cannot say, on the other hand, that NAFTA is the cure-all for any problem. NAFTA is doing its job: it's a free-

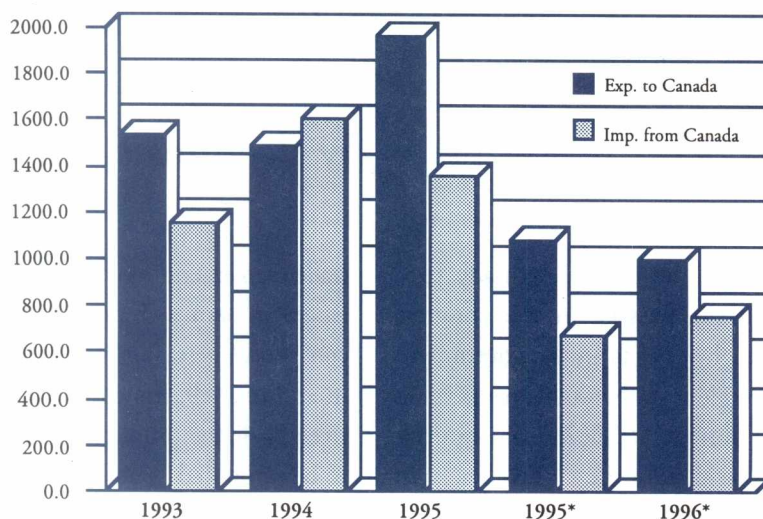
trade agreement. NAFTA poses challenges in terms of productivity and competitiveness, but NAFTA does not, in and of itself, provide the competitiveness or the productivity. That has to be promoted. NAFTA made the productive sector in Mexico aware of the challenges and the opportunities of free trade. I believe that the productive sector has been up to the challenge. But, when you talk about balanced budgets, bringing down inflation, less volatility in the markets, deregulation, structural change and even promoting free trade with other areas of the world, like we're doing now with the rest of Latin America, with Europe,

Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs



With U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

MEXICO-CANADA TRADE
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)



| | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1995* | 1996* |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| CT | 2704.0 | 3115.0 | 3353.6 | 1781.0 | 1770.0 |
| EXP | 1541.0 | 1495.0 | 1979.4 | 1095.0 | 1007.0 |
| IMP | 1163.0 | 1620.0 | 1374.2 | 686.0 | 763.0 |
| BALANCE | 378.0 | -125.0 | 605.2 | 409.0 | 244.0 |

Source: Banco de México.

* January-June.

NOTE: The last two columns compare first-half figures for 1995 and 1996.

with the Asian Pacific countries through APEC, that is independent of NAFTA. It is part of an economic policy that has to be looked at in a comprehensive way. If we limited our view of economic policy to NAFTA, we would also be deluding ourselves. We would be looking at a very narrow aspect of economic policy in general. So, that is why I say it's neither. It is not the root of our economic problems. In fact it is helping us to recover from them. And it is not the only economic policy variable that we are using and have used in order to recover from the economic crisis. It is helpful. It is important.

It has also the other rather unexpected effect of putting Mexico on the map, at least on the mental map of many people in many countries. It has made Mexico a more important player in the world of trade, invest-

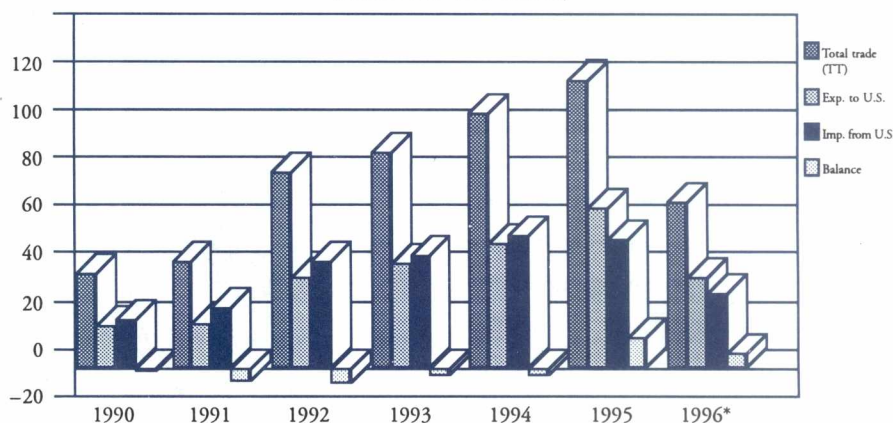
ment and in the business world. And I think it has been a very successful experience simply because even under

very difficult circumstances such as those Mexico went through in 1995, NAFTA continued to provide opportunities for exports, for job creation, investments, etc. So, its effects are cumulative. The whole area is gaining efficiency every day as non-tariff barriers are reduced or eliminated.

VM: *What can Mexico do regarding the violation of the human rights of illegal immigrants to the United States?*

JAG: The question of immigration is what we have called a structural relationship with the United States because it has been there for many, many years and it will continue to be there for many years to come. Some problems are addressed and solved. Some are addressed and managed, because you cannot solve them with a particular date in mind. Immigration is fed by economic, sociological, historical, family and cultural reasons, by decades of habit.

MEXICO-U.S. TRADE
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)



| | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996* |
|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| TT | 39.5 | 44 | 81.8 | 89.6 | 106.4 | 120.4 | 69.3 |
| EXP | 19 | 19 | 27.5 | 43.1 | 51.6 | 66.6 | 37.9 |
| IMP | 20.5 | 25 | 44.3 | 46.5 | 54.8 | 53.8 | 31.4 |
| BALANCE | -1.5 | -6 | -6.8 | -3.4 | -3.2 | 12.8 | 6.5 |

Source: Banco de México.

1990-1991 figures do not include maquiladora industry.

* January-June.

NOTE: The last column shows results only for the first half.

And there is no relationship—or better said—there is no correlation between immigration and the economic situation in Mexico. There have been times when economic activity in Mexico was buoyant and immigration was high. There have also been times when Mexico was going through a recession and immigration was low. There are many variables that come into the equation, including the very changing and sometimes volatile attitude of the United States vis-à-vis immigration.

We accept, and in fact fully support, the right of every country in the world to enforce their laws, including immigration laws. But, we believe that enforcing those laws has to stop at the moment when, by enforcing them, the human and labor rights of immigrants are or may be infringed. So, our leit motif, our demand, is that in enforcing U.S. laws, the immigration authorities of the United States must fully respect the human rights and the labor rights of immigrants, regardless of their migratory status.

There are some very newsworthy cases, like the Riverside case, where Mexican government action has already resulted in investigations being launched. The officials have been fired and there are still civil suits and federal investigations going on regarding the beatings of the Mexicans. But

people lose sight of the fact that the most important task, the most important obligation and the most important job that our consulates and our embassy in the United States do every day is the defense of the rights of the Mexicans against abuses and violations that come from a number of areas... and there are hundreds and thousands per day. Our consuls are unsung heroes. There are several million Mexicans in the United States—and that also makes us very different from any other country in the

the problem, and I think we've made inroads with federal authorities. We continue to have cases where local authorities are involved in the violation of human rights of our migrant workers... and we defend them in every case, doing everything from simply letting them know what their rights are, to the extreme case where we help transfer the bodies of those who—in those very tragic events that we have seen, off and on—died while crossing the border or the desert. We also help those who have acci-

Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Drug trafficking transcends borders and demands joint solutions.

world vis-à-vis the United States—some are legal residents, some undocumented workers. They all always have recourse to our consulates, to our embassy, to defend their rights. In our bilateral relation with the United States, the question of migration is something which always takes a lot of time and effort. We've made a lot of progress in terms of raising the awareness of the U.S. authorities about

dents, or sometimes are the object of abuse by some of the authorities. So, that is one of the most important jobs that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico does every day. What we see in the newspapers is just the tip of the iceberg. Our policy is invariable. Our position is absolutely unchangeable. We demand, and we see to it, that those rights are respected in every case.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also stepped up the activities of the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad. This program consists of several projects addressing education, health, sports, culture, business, community outreach and many other areas that are carried out through our 41 consulates and 21 Mexican Cultural Institutes in the United States. In this way we are strengthening the deep bonds that already link us with the Mexican and Mexican-American communities that live across the border.

VM: *That brings us to the next question, which I think has already been answered. When faced with a problem with no clear solution, like the problem of Mexican immigration to the United States, what is Mexico's strategy?*

“Drugs are a global phenomenon that transcends borders and is financed internationally. International cooperation is critical to the success of this battle.”

JAG: In many cases, the problem is that neither the U.S. nor Mexico know enough about the problem. Migration, paradoxically, although it is such an old phenomenon, is something about which for the first time ever, we have begun a binational study, about the amount of migration, the kind of people who migrate, the cost-benefits of migration to the United States and Mexico, and some proposals to deal with the problem. That is now underway. We are in the second year of the study, and we

expect to have the results toward the end of the year or early next year. But, of course, we're not waiting for the results of the study to address the matter every day: the work is part of our daily routine. But the study will help a lot to dismiss a number of myths and part of the conventional wisdom on the subject, and it should help us educate the public on both sides with the facts. It is particularly important, I think, to be able to document the positive cost-benefit ratio that migrant workers provide to the U.S. economy.

VM: *Drug trafficking is one of today's problems which transcends borders and demands joint solutions. What is Mexico's plan?*

JAG: Drug trafficking has threatened the bilateral relationship more

than any other single subject. And I would say that, even today, if you asked me to name the single greatest threat to the relationship in a word, I would say drugs. It is an emotional subject. It involves criminal activities. It involves the youth of both countries. And it also has to do with a worldwide phenomenon.

I think we have successfully changed—at least at the executive level of both countries—what used to be a very confrontational, very discriminatory relationship, into a coop-

erative one, by raising the level of discussion to the cabinets of both countries. President Zedillo suggested that we form a “high-level contact group on drugs,” which includes the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Attorney General of Mexico and high officials from the Ministry of Defense, the Navy and the Ministry of Finance (to deal with money laundering). As for our counterparts, they have what they call the drug czar (not a very fortunate term: he is actually the official in charge of leading the fight against drugs), Barry MacCaffrey, who is a member of the cabinet and answers directly to the president of the United States, plus the State Department, the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense and the Treasury. They are all involved in a very high-level policy discussion. We have already had two meetings of the senior members of the group, with literally dozens of working sessions of lower level officials. I think we have transformed this very divisive, potentially explosive issue into a much more cooperative, much more constructive relationship, in which the essence of the cooperation is the recognition that the enemy is a common enemy, that the problem is a common problem, that both our countries are victims, and that drugs themselves are the real enemies.

Drugs are a global phenomenon that transcends borders and is financed internationally. International cooperation—binational, regional and multilateral—is critical to the success of this battle. That is one of the reasons why Mexico has proposed a world conference on drugs, which

would be held in June 1998 on the tenth anniversary of the Vienna Convention on drugs. We will be looking at the subject comprehensively, integrally, giving all the different aspects of the problem the appropriate weight and the appropriate attention, including new phenomena like money laundering and the new threat of chemical precursors for the production of metamphetamine. I think that we need to be very clear that to succeed in this fight, we need to assume shared responsibility for it.

We are now working with the United States on bilateral issues, but we are also working together in the multilateral sphere, and I think we are getting very positive results. I think we have managed so far to change the perception, at least at the executive branch level of the U.S., about our commitment, our determination to fight drugs.

Although there is still a lot of work to do, we are making some inroads in terms of the opinion leaders in Congress in particular, who have been so critical of Mexico on this subject. Sometimes it looked like they were on completely different tracks. We were working very well with the executive branch, and the Congress, for its part, seemed to ignore everything we were doing. I think we're making some progress there, but there's a lot of work to be done on that particular score. There are still some very harsh initiatives that are approved by the U.S. Congress, chastising Mexico because of its lack of commitment in the war against drugs, using completely false or wrong information. And that's a challenge. We have to give the public

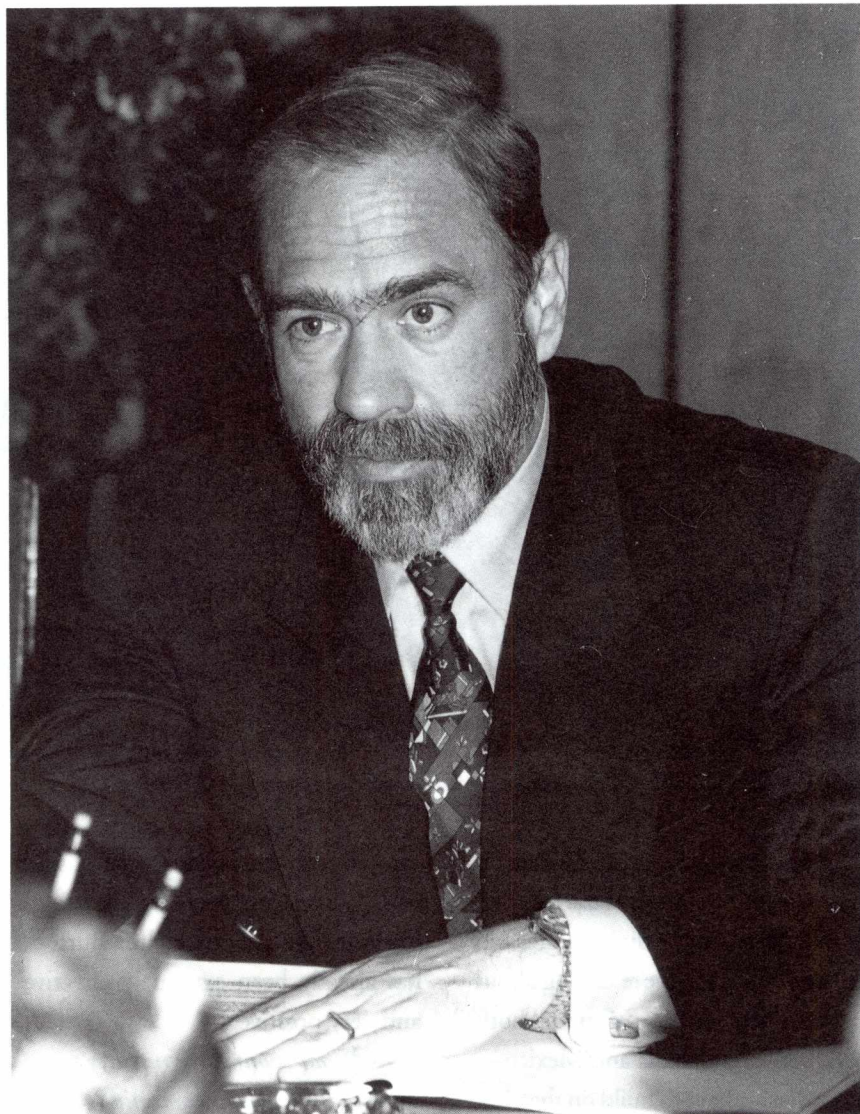


Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

During the interview.

and particularly the U.S. Congress more information on the work that we're doing together. I think it's a very big challenge for both of our countries, but obviously we can only make progress if we work together.

VM: *Canada and Mexico decided to become part of a treaty when they were just getting to know each other. What is the next step?*

JAG: The relationship with Canada is very important for Mexico because Canada is where diversification starts.

It sounds a little paradoxical because Canada is part of NAFTA. However, Canada and Mexico have been further apart than geography would suggest. We knew very little about each other. There was very little trade between the two countries although the potential is great. Just to give you an idea of the potential: Canada and the United States trade about one billion dollars a day, both ways. Mexico and the United States trade about a billion dollars every three days. So, the potential for



Photo: President's Press Office

President Ernesto Zedillo with Germany's Chancelor Helmut Kohl during his visit to Mexico.

developed relationship, just like it is in the case of Canada, but it is a relationship where we can build on existing links, both political and economic, which have been there for many, many years, such as those with Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. And I think that the relationship we have had so far with Europe has not had the necessary framework for changing the quality of links we have. That is why the president promoted a new approach: we call it a “wide-ranging agree-

ment with Europe.” The official name is the Agreement for Economic and Political Cooperation Between Mexico and the European Union, for which there is already a mandate from the Council of Ministers and the political leaders of Europe. This should

Mexico and Canada to do business is very, very important. And the fact that we still have single-digit figures, in terms of billions—we’re talking about a few billion dollars of trade both ways, between Canada and Mexico—shows that we have to build on that, but that the opportunities are very clear.

We now have a political relationship which is better than it has ever been, starting with the prime minister of Canada and the president of Mexico, at the cabinet level and, most importantly, the businessmen of both countries, who are starting to find out the infinite possibilities that arise if they draw closer together. Canada is a country with which we are in a mutual process of rediscovery, but I’m convinced that it is a process which will yield enormous benefits for both our countries. So, I am very, very hopeful. I

can tell you, the political relationship with Canada, in very specific things like our fight against Helms-Burton, has already been extremely effective and very positive.

VM: What is our foreign policy vis-à-vis the European Community?

“The political relationship with Canada in very specific things like our fight against Helms-Burton has already been extremely effective and very positive.”

JAG: The European Union is our second largest trading partner as a block, our second largest source of foreign investment and an invaluable ally on political affairs and matters of international cooperation. It is an under-

become a draft agreement to be discussed with the Europeans in the fall. It has three chapters: the political chapter, which would put us on the same wavelength and with the same access as the United States, Russia,

Canada or the larger countries in the world; an agreement on cooperation which would give us access to a number of European institutions which today cannot operate with Mexico because the present framework does not allow for it; and, of course, last but not least, the negotiation of what can eventually become a free trade agreement with Europe, which we believe can be enormously helpful and which has a potential of being very successful in opening up other markets of the world, and promoting investment in Mexico.

That's going to take some time. We're not in a hurry. We want this to be very high quality, an example of the kind of agreements that can be negotiated. We're very enthusiastic about the possibilities. I think this agreement with Europe can be one of the most important foreign policy initiatives of President Zedillo's administration.

VM: *What is the difference between the Bolívar-like rhetoric about integration that was traditionally used and today's policy toward Latin America?*

JAG: At no other time has the process of integration of Latin America been so real, so alive, and has the potential been so obvious. Why today, and not 30 years ago or even five years ago? Because today, every country in Latin America is practicing, at least philosophically, the same basic approach to economic management; because today democracy is a common denominator of our systems; because no country has 50 percent monthly inflation or a burden of debt that's so heavy that it can't be dealt with. So, conditions today are ripe for the process of integration, and

as a result, integration is happening. Remember that the first free trade agreement Mexico signed was with Chile, which is as far away from Mexico as Hamburg or London. Then, agreements followed with Venezuela and Colombia, Bolivia, Central America. We're now negotiating with Peru and Ecuador. At the same time Mercosur consolidated. Mercosur has negotiated with Chile; Mercosur is negotiating with the Andean countries. The Central Americans are integrating among themselves. This is happening every day. And it is not happening by bureaucratic mandate. It is happening organically, naturally. It is helping our countries to better allocate resources and to develop their full potential, by dismantling trade and non-trade barriers. Mexico and Chile are a very good example of the benefits that accrue to both countries. Trade with Chile has multiplied three or four times in the four or five years that the agreement

has been in effect. And that has been the experience of practically every free trade agreement in the Latin American region.

There's also a hemispheric process, coming out of the commitments made at the 1994 Miami summit, for integration of the whole continent, which we never would have suspected or imagined only a few years ago. So, I think Bolívar's dream is materializing. It's happening. But conditions had to be created, objective conditions, before that mission was launched. And now, I think we're on the right track.

VM: *The importance of the Pacific Basin has been emphasized a great deal. But, what are the figures that show that it has really become important for Mexico?*

JAG: The Asian-Pacific Basin is the single most dynamic economic region in the world. It is growing at between 8 and 10 percent per year. They have a savings rate, savings level, which is between 30 and 35 percent of their GNPs, which explains why they're growing



The presidents of Spain and Mexico, José María Aznar and Ernesto Zedillo.

Photo: President's Press Office

so fast without borrowing a lot of money. They have always been convinced of the benefits of free trade. They started liberalizing their trade regimes at different speeds many, many years ago, and they can be a formidable force in our effort to diversify our economic relations and at the same time offer very active, very dynamic, very important markets.

We are closer to some of the individual countries than we are to the region as a whole. We have, for example, a very old, although not as important relationship as we would want with Japan, in terms of trade. But, when you talk about Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, China itself, you're talking about hundreds of millions—and if you include China, you're talking about billions—of consumers and very rapidly growing economies which can be highly complementary to ours and where we can both benefit. Distance is becoming

less and less of a problem these days and the globalization of not only trade flows, but also production facilities, is allowing for a greater and greater importance of these countries' trade with Mexico. APEC [Asian Pacific Economic Conference] is a privileged forum which we should use to the greatest possible extent. I see only benefits in deepening that relationship.

VM: *International organizations sometimes seem to be weakening, although now is precisely the time when we need them the most. How can they be revitalized?*

JAG: You have a number of international organizations which today behave very differently and also enjoy a very different degree of support from the most important industrial countries. The U.N. is clearly under pressure, both for financial reasons and for political reasons and because it does not enjoy widespread support among some public opinion leaders in the U.S., which systematically criticize the U.N. and are

now even suggesting leaving international organizations. For example, the United States is going to leave UNIDO, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, next year. The case of UNESCO is well known.

The U.N., of course, is an institution that we would have to invent immediately if it didn't exist, because it is the only forum which houses all the countries in the world where the different issues can be addressed. But you can see clearly that it is under political and financial pressure and therefore its effectiveness in some areas is showing that pressure.

On the other hand, international financial organizations such as the World Bank or the IMF are being strengthened, given more resources. The difference, among other reasons, is that in the U.N. it's one country, one vote. In the World Bank and the IMF, the voting power is allocated according to the relative size of the economies, because

they're shareholders that have bought voting powers through their purchase of shares in those institutions or their contributions to the capital. So, I think the larger countries feel more comfortable with institutions where their relative weight and importance can be more readily acknowledged than in a forum like the U.N., where each country counts, theoretically, as one.



Photo: President's Press Office

Cooperation with other Latin American countries is a central objective of Mexico's foreign policy.

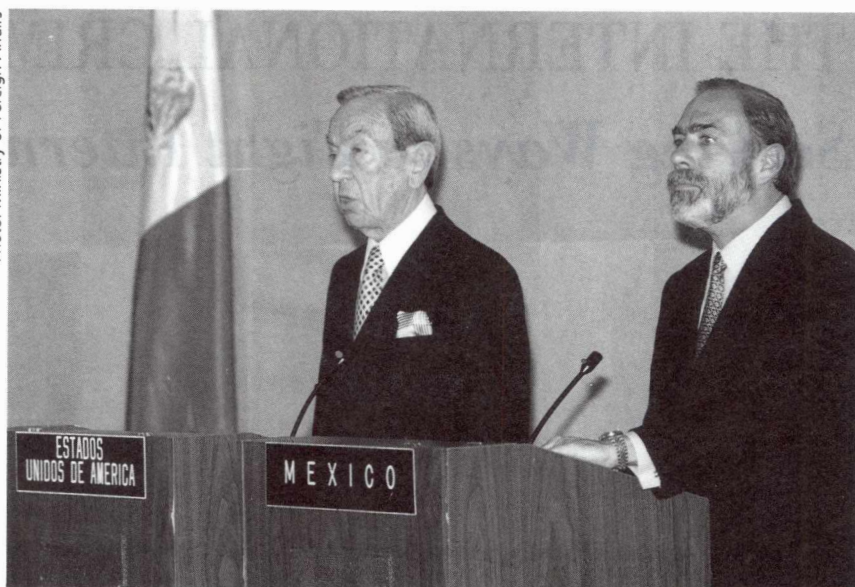
The problem that we face today is, of course, that there are many things that only the U.N. can do, that the U.N. is doing. The erosion of the U.N. is extremely worrying for the world at large, and we should struggle to increase awareness of the need to strengthen it. I think that the modern agenda—the fight against poverty, the fight against drugs, the fight, or sometimes the battle, to preserve, improve and sometimes rescue the environment, the problems of the cities—those are things that have to be addressed by all countries in the world in order to be more effective. Furthermore, the ever-present aim of promoting peace in the world is one of the things that only the U.N. is mandated to do, although today you have a proliferation of *ad hoc* solutions and *ad hoc* coalitions and alliances which stem from the weakening of the U.N. itself.

“The erosion of the U.N. is extremely worrying for the world at large, and we should struggle to increase awareness of the need to strengthen it.”

So, I think here we have an enormous challenge. I think strengthening multilateralism as a way to approach international phenomena is something we should not give up on. Disarmament, nuclear testing, all those things, demand a strong U.N.

VM: *Finally, I would like to say that the euphoria that we all shared with the end of the Cold War has been frustrated*

Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs



NAFTA is contributing to Mexico's economic recovery.

by the outbreak of regional conflicts. What is your perception of the international situation?

JAG: The world is subjected today to two contrary types of pressures: on one hand, those that tend to make

it smaller, to globalize it. Typically, trade and finance are areas where you can see a much more integrated, globalized society, and where boundaries disappear with the advent of free trade, and obstacles disappear, and for trade purposes, borders tend to be less important. The European Union is a very clear example, where you are really thinking about economic

regions. But at the same time, the political, the military, the ethnic, the religious issues are starting to acquire a strength, size and number that go against the globalization process, against the integration process, against the world as a better place to live.

A country like Mexico, of course, has to be very, very careful to interact with the world in a way which strengthens its own interests and at the same time avoid the pitfalls of these international forces that favor fragmentation. This constant struggle between the tendency toward integration and the tendency toward fragmentation, pulverization, are part of our daily lives. And there's nothing we can do to change that. But I think we can, among other things, by strengthening international organizations, have a greater capacity to react against these centrifugal tendencies that work against integration, against peace, against stability in the world. VM

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

Seeking Ways to Fight International Crime

Ricardo Franco Guzmán*

The areas of conflict among nations increase daily, and the international community has used specific mechanisms in an attempt to solve controversies in today's world. Since its founding in 1945, the United Nations has been the international community's highest governing body and its charter the highest norm of international law. The charter stipulates that the International Court is the United Nations' highest tribunal. In the following pages, Ricardo Franco refers to the establishment of an International Criminal Court and the problems and debates involved.

The General Assembly of the United Nations passed Resolution 49/53 on December 9, 1994, creating a Special Committee for the Establishment of an International Criminal Court. The special committee has already had three very successful meetings.

As is to be expected, the creation of an international criminal court has been the object of both profound study and heated discussion revolving around the manifold problems inherent in the idea, some of which are briefly described here.

The creation and composition of the court. The main object in creating the court is to be able to sanction the perpetrators of grave international crimes as a deterrent to these crimes being repeated. The idea that the court's jurisdiction should complement that of national tribunals came up immediately, since the new court would limit itself to the gravest crimes concerning the entire international community.

Method of creation. Most countries agreed that the court should be set up through a multilateral treaty as an independent judicial body and not as a United Nations body through a reform of the U.N. charter.

Relationship with the United Nations. It was also thought that a basic condition for the establishment and functioning of the court was that it have a close relationship with the United Nations. However, some countries considered this inappropriate because it would compromise the court's independence.

The permanent nature of the court. From the beginning, the court was conceived of as a permanent judicial body which would meet when matters were brought before it. Therefore, some of the posts, like those of president, judges, secretary and prosecutor, were conceived of as full-time.

Appointment of the judges and the prosecutor. It was suggested that the judges and prosecutor be appointed by specialists in criminal and international law. Some delegations thought, on the other hand, that this limitation could complicate the selection of the candidates.

* Mexican criminal lawyer. Ph.D. in law.

The main object in creating the court is to be able to sanction the perpetrators of grave international crimes as a deterrent to these crimes being repeated.

The prosecutor's function. It was proposed that the prosecutor have the faculty to open criminal proceedings, for which he/she should previously obtain the consent of the governments involved.

Approval of the enabling legislation for administrative rules of the court. It was considered extremely important to establish a strong link between the charter and the rules of the court, and therefore some delegations suggested they both be drafted and approved at the same time.

The lower courts and appeals courts. It was approved almost unanimously that the court system should include both lower and appeals chambers. The function of the latter would be to deal with the appeals of decisions made in the former.

From the very beginning, the work was guided by the following principles which were meticulously examined:

The principle of complementarity. The third paragraph of the preamble of the "Draft Charter" stipulates that the court will be established to complement national judiciary systems in criminal matters in those cases in which these specific systems are non-existent or ineffective. Rivers of ink flowed in the debate about this principle, which spurred many interventions by the participants.

Some delegations strongly favored the prevalence of national jurisdiction, arguing on the basis of the advantages of the legal stipulations in each country, summarized as follows:

a) All participants would be operating within the context of an established legal system, which would include bilateral and multilateral agreements; b) relevant legislation would be better defined and more developed; c) proceedings would be less complicated since they would be based on familiar

norms and precedents; d) both prosecution and defense would probably be less costly; e) more proof and witnesses would usually be available; f) language problems would be reduced to a minimum; g) national courts would apply already established measures to obtain evidence and testimony, including norms on

damages; and h) sentences would be precise and could be carried out immediately.

Consequences of the principle of complementarity vis-à-vis the list of crimes which should be included within the international criminal court's jurisdiction. Some delegations considered that complementarity necessarily meant the establishment of a single legal system for all the crimes included in the court's jurisdiction. It was argued that a single legal system of this kind is conceivable only if the court's jurisdiction was reduced to very few important crimes.

Other questions regarding jurisdiction. The general consensus about article 33 of the Draft Charter was that to comply with the requirements of precision and certainty in criminal proceedings, the charter should clearly establish the rules the court should follow, regardless of national policies about conflicts in law.

The list of crimes to be included in the charter and their specifications. Some delegations proposed that the court's jurisdiction be limited to only three or four crimes delineated in international law, listed in article 20, sections (a) and (d), such as: a) genocide; b) aggression; c) grave violation of the rules of war; and d) crimes against humanity. ^{VIII}

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O F U N A M

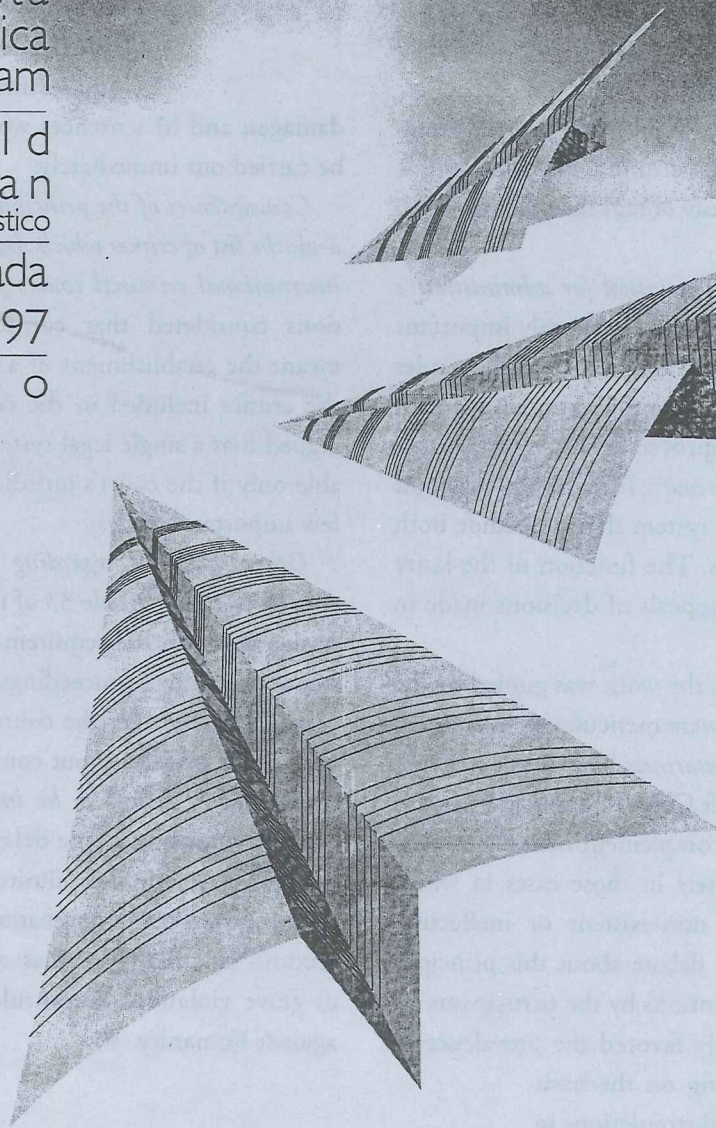
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STUDIES ON NORTH AMERICA IN MEXICO

E v a l u a t i o n a n d P e r s p e c t i v e s

Mónica Vereá Campos*

This year, the Center for Research on North America (CISAN) is celebrating its fifth anniversary of publishing *Voices of Mexico*, previously put out by the Humanities Coordination Department. This responsibility has been an important challenge for such a new center. I believe we have a high-quality magazine, which has not only brought together the contributions of researchers and specialists on the region of North America —our center's main object of study— but has also been able to disseminate the different expressions of our rich Mexican culture. I wish to take this opportunity to honor its editors: Ambassador Hugo B. Margáin, who edited the magazine with great wisdom from 1991 to 1995, and Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, who has continued this work with intelligence, ability and special dedication since March 1995. I would also like to recognize all those who have collaborated in the different phases of its production; they all deserve very special congratulations.

On this anniversary, I want to say a few words about the current state of studies on North America in Mexico.

Until a few years ago, the economic integration of North America was seen as a remote possibility, difficult to bring to fruition. Today, it is a reality. NAFTA, basically oriented toward the commercial integration of the

Photos by Eduardo Sepúlveda



The UNAM Humanities Tower houses the CISAN offices.

Our efforts in Mexico to systematize the study of the region have gradually eliminated some misconceptions which came about mainly due to the lack of knowledge.

* Director of the Center for Research on North America.

three countries through the formalization and regulation of greater exchange of goods and services with the elimination of trade barriers, has also brought greater interaction in other fields. In addition to having an important impact on our economic life, it has been felt in the political, social and cultural fields and, of course, in education.

With this new, greater integration and interdependence between Mexico, the United States and Canada, it is important to examine the proposals and the efforts we have made up until now, as well as our short- and medium-term goals as one of the main academic institutions in our three countries. Academic institutions play a fundamental role in educating professionals in all dis-

INSTITUTIONS IN MEXICO WITH STUDY PROGRAMS ON NORTH AMERICA

Mexico City:

National University of Mexico

1. The first effort was the **Center of Anglo-American Studies** in the Department of Philosophy and Letters in 1966. The center's aim was to research English and U.S. societies, and among its academic achievements was the publication of the magazine *Anglia*. The center disappeared in 1974 for political and ideological reasons.
2. The Humanities Coordinating Department through its Justo Sierra University Program, created the **Mexico-United States Research Area**. On October 26, 1984, the rector of the university, Octavio Rivero Serrano, authorized the creation of the **Center for the Study of the United States**. This project was even more short-lived than that of the Department of Philosophy and Letters since, by early 1986, it had already been cancelled for undisclosed reasons.
3. The **Master's Program in Mexico-U.S. Studies** at the Graduate Studies Department at the ENEP Acatlán was the first teaching program in Mexico, or, to my knowledge, in the United States, to concentrate on the bilateral relationship. The program was inaugurated in January 1984, and its main objective has been to train professionals with a multidisciplinary approach so they may understand, analyze and evaluate the political, economic, legal, social and cultural facets of the bilateral relationship.
4. The **Center for Research on North America (CISAN)** was founded November 10, 1988 under the name **University Program for Research on the United States**. Three months later the University Council approved it as the **Center for Research on the United States (CISEUA)**. Its initial aim was to establish a formal sphere for integrating and rationally channeling the material and academic resources on the United States in the humanities.

Recognizing the need to study the changes and phenomena affecting all of North America, the UNAM decided on May 19, 1993 to also foster research on Canada and its relation with the other protagonists in the region. From then on both multi- and interdisciplinary research projects have been carried out about Canada, and the center changed its name to **Center for Research on North America (CISAN)**.

Today, the **CISAN** has 38 researchers and academic technicians. The 19 researchers are divided into three areas: nine in the area of the United States; seven in the area of Mexico-United States-Canada; and three in the area of Canada. Its lines of research are political, economic, social, foreign policy, cultural-literary, legal and strategic studies.

CISAN's Permanent Program for Visiting Researchers promotes the temporary participation of outstanding specialists from other parts of Mexico and abroad.

In June 1995, **CISAN** researchers began a collective project called "Neoconservatism in North America." To date, this has led to six different international seminars and round table discussions, with the participation of a wide variety of highly qualified specialists. The results of this research will be published.

It is important to emphasize that the natural mouthpiece for **CISAN** is the magazine *Voices of Mexico*, published quarterly in English with a run of 7,000 copies, aimed mainly at foreign readers. Its main objective is that Mexico's best voices be heard in other countries. Researchers from **CISAN** as well as outstanding academics and specialists from Mexico and abroad contribute to the magazine. *Voices of Mexico* is designed both to make important aspects of Mexican culture available to the English-speaking reader and present research results about the political and socio-economic situation of the North American region.

In the six and a half years since its founding, **CISAN** has published 25 books and 11 more are being edited or are at press. The center has also organized numerous specialized courses, congresses, seminars and colloquia focusing more and more on the trilateral analysis of different questions in the region. For example, among the many activities planned for the "Neoconservatism in North America" project, there will be one called "Women in the North American Region at the End of the Millennium" and another called "NAFTA-TAFTA."

I am aware that much remains to be done in the UNAM, but it is fair to say that what has been achieved in establishing a general basis for a minimal understanding of the region is significant.

ciplines and promoting and creating original regional studies, such as those about North America, and, in the last analysis, as agents for change in the promotion of new technologies, with the aim of achieving better understanding among different sectors of our societies. It is said that any region aspiring to improve its international competitiveness needs not only business leaders,

but also academic and professional leaders, who can establish the standards and guidelines for action that may have an impact on development in accordance with its national interests.


However, we are aware of the fact that the economic and political power of the three countries in the region are uneven. We also know that the structural differences

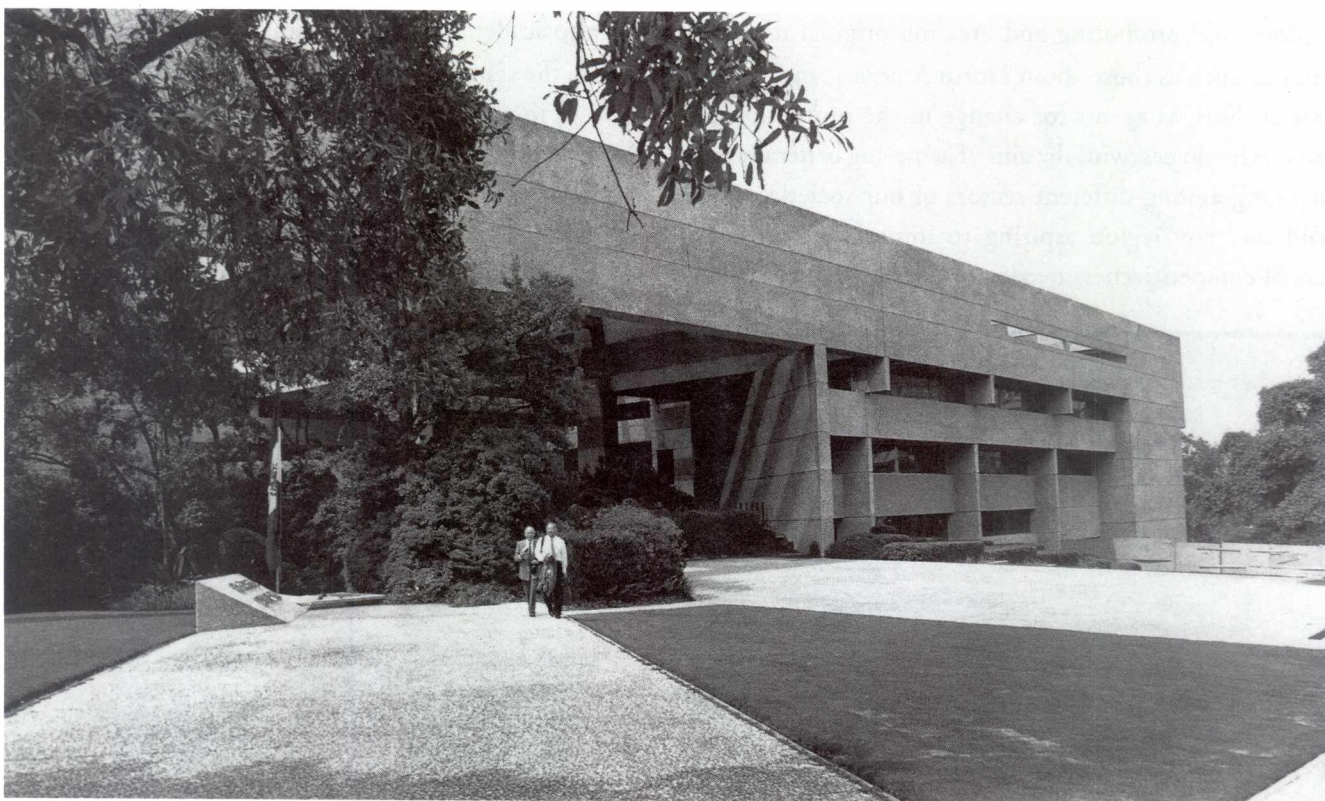
Other Institutions

5. In the mid-1970s the **U.S. Institute** of the **Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CDE)** was created to research U.S. domestic and foreign policy as well as the U.S. economy from the Latin American perspective. In its time, the institute published a great number of very important magazines. Today it no longer exists, although its projects dealing with the United States and the integration of North America have been taken over by the **Division of International Studies**.
6. In the late 1970s the small **Center for Research on Mexico-U.S. Relations** was created by the **Center for Third World Economic and Social Studies (CEESTEM)**. After publishing a few issues of the magazine *Informe*, this center was closed for eminently political reasons.
7. **The Mexico College** [One of Mexico's most important graduate studies and research centers. (Editor's Note.)] created the **Mexico-U.S. Studies Program**, today the **Study Program on the United States and Canada**, a part of the Center for International Studies. This program aims to analyze some concrete aspects of the bilateral relationship. Recently, it has produced several research projects about free trade, the results of which have been published in, among other places, the prestigious collection "México-Estados Unidos" (Mexico-United States). The program currently includes 13 research projects which all draw on its well-stocked Documentation Center.
8. The **José María Luis Mora Research Institute** was also founded at the end of the 1970s to do historical studies. One of its main achievements was the publication at the beginning of this decade of a compendium on U.S. history.
9. The **Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET)** initiated the **North American Studies Program** in 1986, but it was canceled in the early 1990s.
10. **The Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM)** created the **Academic Program on Mexico-U.S.-Canada Relations (PARMEC)** as part of its Department of International Studies in 1992. **PARMEC** has organized many seminars and lectures and published three books. It also offers a specialized course called Studies on the United States and Canada.

Nationwide

In the 1980s, some academic institutions outside Mexico City also opened research centers for the study of North America:

11. The **Northern Border College (COLEF)** was created in Tijuana as part of a decentralization program (originally, the college had been part of the Border Studies Program of the **Mexico College**), to study border questions on site. In addition to researching different border questions, the College has a master's program in Regional Studies. Unfortunately, its **U.S. Studies Department** has been closed.
12. In Cholula, state of Puebla, the **University of the Americas (UDLA)** established a master's program in **U.S. Studies** in the late 1980s. The program is interdisciplinary and aims to train professionals in analyzing the history, politics, society and culture of the United States and their impact abroad.
13. The **Institute for Historical Research at the San Nicolás Hidalgo University of Michoacán** offers an advanced course in **U.S. history**. In addition, the institute is carrying out an overall research project called "U.S. History and Expansionism in Latin America and the Caribbean in 1898."
14. The **Center for Mexico-United States-Canadian Studies** is part of the **Center for Strategic Studies at the Monterrey Technological Institute of Higher Learning (ITESM)**; this center is working on three research projects about free trade in the region.
15. The Program for Research on the United States at the **University of Colima** is developing a research project about Contemporary Intellectual History in the United States.
16. Lastly, the **Autonomous University of Sinaloa** recently opened up the **Mexico-U.S. Studies Area** in its History Department. It is currently carrying out two research projects about specific aspects of the bilateral relations between Mexico and the United States. 



Mexico College, one of Mexico's most important graduate studies and research centers hosts the Study Program on the United States and Canada.

in their educational systems are significant. That is why it would be interesting to examine the European educational integration experience, just as we would profit from looking at the Canadian experience vis-à-vis the United States to finally arrive at concrete ways of collaborating in education from the different perspectives of the three North American countries.

The discussion and analysis on the impact that North American integration under NAFTA has had on education are really quite recent. However, I am convinced that the success of integration depends, among other things, on being able to overcome the great dif-

It is essential to establish even more contacts, agreements or accords with U.S. and Canadian academic institutions to promote greater exchange and to consolidate the flow of information.

ferences in educational levels among the countries involved.

It is also important to recognize the rapid technological advances in telecommunications, especially through the impressive development of computers and, above all, the sophisticated Internet system. All this has permitted the instantaneous transmission of many types of information (library archives, specialized documents and texts) across national borders. This wonderful technological progress, a direct response to globalization, is a watershed for economic, educational and cultural change in any country. It has made academic exchange more dynamic and reduced the differences in research among the North American countries since today they all have the same tools for accessing information and, therefore, contacts and alliances have multiplied exponentially, definitely enriching the current trilateral research projects. The increasing importance of this interaction has made it essential that Mexico for-

malize and systematize scientific studies about the United States and Canada. If we take into consideration that in the 1990s the number of actors in the increasingly difficult and complex trilateral relation has grown substantially, it is even more urgent to deepen their study. This new complexity in trilateral relations has sometimes generated unprecedented situations and furthered the deepening of the differences in their perceptions and viewpoints. I think that our efforts in Mexico to systematize the study of the region have gradually eliminated some misconceptions which came about mainly due to the lack of knowledge. Today, these efforts allow us to promote a more objective, less prejudiced view of our northern neighbors.

As a specialist in the United States and as director of the Center for Research on North America of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, I consider it extremely important to steadfastly continue the systematization of studies on North America. From an overall perspective, these studies have offered us invaluable information about

their complex political, economic and social systems and greater understanding of more complex relations, which are influenced by economic integration. I am convinced that it is essential to establish even more contacts, agreements or accords with U.S. and Canadian academic institutions to promote greater exchange among professors, researchers and students and, of course, to consolidate the continual exchange of information.

While it is the case that since the 1970s, several academic institutions, aware of the need to study the United States from Mexico, set up a few specialized research centers, they are still insufficient. Unfortunately, in Mexico we still lack a deep understanding of the political and economic systems of the two countries with which we have most interaction.

However, it is only fair to say that several universities, institutes, departments and centers have developed projects to analyze, even if in a limited way, some of the realities of North America, even though in the majority



The Center for Economic Research and Teaching, through its Division of International Studies, promotes research on the United States and the integration of North America.

of cases Mexico-U.S. relations occupy a privileged place in their work.

Despite the efforts of the programs mentioned, some of which no longer exist, a solid tradition of research has not yet been established, given that the majority of the

projects are teaching activities and many others do not have enough research staff. This lessens their importance, perhaps not as individual projects, but as research centers. New programs and centers dedicated to the study of the United States have proliferated, but their

RESEARCH PROJECTS ABOUT NORTH AMERICA IN MEXICO

Center for Research on North America (CISAN)

United States Area

- Barbara Driscoll Kelly: *Minorities, Race and Ethnicity in the United States in the Framework of Their Contemporary Social Movements*.
- Rosa Cusminsky: *Evaluation of California Manufacturing*.
- Remedios Gómez Arnau: *U.S. Foreign Policy Toward North America*.
- Claire Joysmith Smith: *Cultural-Literary Presence and Perspectives of Multiculturalism in the United States*.
- Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla: *U.S. Political Thought*.
- Silvia Núñez García: *-Class Inequality and Social Structure in the United States. -Elections in Mexico, Canada and the United States, 1994*.
- César Pérez Espinosa: *Legislative Leadership and the Structure of the U.S. Congress*.
- Antonio Rivera Flores: *Higher Education in the United States*.
- José Luis Valdés: *The United States and Democracy in Latin America: Political Transition and Militarism*.

Mexico-United States-Canada Area

- Mónica Gambrill Ruppert: *The Maquiladora Industry in the Development of Mexico*.
- Elizabeth Gutiérrez Romero: *Comparison of Manufacturing Productivity in the United States, Mexico and Canada*.
- Alejandro Mercado Celis: *Analysis of the Factors for the Placement of Asian Investment in California, the United States and Baja California, Mexico*.
- Eduardo Ramírez García: *Reform of the U.S. Banking System and Mechanisms for Solving Controversies in the North American Free Trade Agreement*.
- Rosío Vargas Suárez: *-The U.S. Energy Sector: Some Implications for Mexico. -The Free Trade Agreement and the Modernization of the Mexican Energy Sector*.
- Silvia Elena Vélez Quero: *Anti-Drug Policies in the North American Region in the 1990s: Convergence and Divergence*.
- Mónica Vereá Campos: *Migration Policies in the North American Region: Implications for Mexico*.

Canada Area

- Julián Castro Rea: *Canada and the Constitutional Crisis; and Elections in Canada*.
- Graciela Martínez-Zalce: *Canada: Two Heritages in Search of an Identity*.
- Elisa Dávalos: *Canadian Regional Industrial Policy in the Context of the Integration of the North American Bloc*.

Trilateral Projects

- *Political Systems in North America. Challenges and Convergence*, Gregory Mahler, University of Mississippi; Robert J. Jackson, Carleton University; and Julián Castro Rea, CISAN-UNAM;
- *Quebec and Ontario*, Mónica Vereá Campos, CISAN-UNAM; and Richard Beach and Jeanne Kissner, Center for Canadian Studies, SUNY, Plattsburgh, New York;
- *Women in the North American Region*, Mónica Vereá, CISAN-UNAM; Graciela Hierro, PUFG-UNAM; Luz Elena Gutiérrez de Velasco, PIEM-COLMEX; Joan Koreman, Women's Studies Program, University of Maryland; Peta Tancred, Center for Research and Teaching on Women, McGill University.

main focus is the U.S. relation to Mexico and not the study of the North American region as a whole. This tendency to concentrate efforts on bilateral Mexico-U.S. relations has diminished the importance of studies about the United States and Canada per se. The result is fewer

new perspectives of analysis even in the research about the relationship between Mexico and the United States itself.

I am convinced that the academic analysis of the new type of emerging relations require new forms of research which will lead to different answers and solutions so

- *Culture, Media and the Music Industry. A Comparative Analysis of the Cases of Mexico, the United States and Canada*, William Straw, Centre for Research on Canadian Cultural Industries and the Institutions; Steven Jones, Tulsa University, Oklahoma; and Graciela Martínez-Zalce, CISAN-UNAM.

Collective Project

- *Neoconservatism in North America*

Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE)

- Arturo Borja Tamayo and Judith Mariscal: *The Computing and Telecommunications Sectors in North America*.
- Arturo Borja Tamayo: *The Study of International Relations in the Americas and the Limits of Neorealist Theory*.
- Jorge Chabat: *Mexico's Entry into the Post-Cold-War Order: From Nationalism to Imperfect Interdependence*.
- Sofía Gallardo: *Transnationalization of Environmentalist Networks and Groups in the Face of NAFTA*.
- Imtiaz Hussain: *The Mechanism for Settling Controversies in the North American Free Trade Agreement: A Case Study in Agriculture*.
- María Isabel Studer: *The Auto Sector in North America*.
- Miguel Angel Valverde: *Domestic Policy and the Formulation of Foreign Economic Policy: The Negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement*.
- Jesús Velasco Grajales: *The Influence of Neoconservative Thinking on Changes in the U.S. State, 1960-1988*.

Mexico College

- Ilan Bizberg: *The Impact of the Opening of the Mexican Economy and NAFTA on the Domestic Labor Market and the Mexican System of Industrial Relations*.
- Gustavo Vega: *The Political Economy of Free Trade in North America*.
- Lorenzo Meyer: *History of Mexico-U.S. Relations*.
- Gerardo Bueno: *Mexico-U.S. Economic Relations, 1981-1993*.
- Blanca Torres: *The Impact of Environmental Problems on Mexico-U.S. Relations*.
- Sergio Aguayo: *Images of Mexico in U.S. Media, 1945-1991*.
- Samuel del Villar: *The Fight Against Drug Trafficking in Mexico and the United States*.
- Carlos Alba: *The Effects of Free Trade on Small Businesses in the State of Chihuahua, Mexico*.
- Celia Toro: *Drug Trafficking Control Policy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy*.
- Bernardo Mabire: *Mexican Nationalism and Its Impact on Mexico-U.S. Relations*.
- José Luis Méndez: *Public Policy and Organizations for Industrial Development in Pennsylvania, United States, and Nuevo León, Mexico*.
- Francisco Alba: *The Impact of Free Trade on Rural Mexican Communities*.

University of the Americas

- David R. Dávila Villers: *NAFTA Foreign Policy Toward Latin America*.
- Isidro Morales Moreno: *Industrial Policies after NAFTA. The Case of the Textile and Petrochemical Industry of Mexico*.
- Robert Shadow: *Sacred Land, Holy Water: A Social History of Mora Country in New Mexico, 1860-1900*.
- Edward Simmen: *The Role of the "Wet Back" and His/Her Descendants in Contemporary Mexican and U.S. Fiction*.
- Alfredo Nava: *The Role of the State and Free Enterprise in the Scientific and Technological Development of the United States, Canada and Mexico*.



The José María Luis Mora Research Institute specializes in historical research.

that, without disregarding the wealth of past experience, it will be possible to reformulate positions, answers and strategies of analysis to understand our northern neighbors. It is important to avoid the two extremes into which most studies have fallen in the past: the emotional rejection of everything linked to the United States on the one hand, and, on the other, our total integration as a panacea.

I would like to conclude with some queries that I think are in need of immediate consideration: What role should universities and, in general, higher education play in Mexico in the economic opening? Which areas of study or disciplines will require reinforcement with economic modernization? Are we prepared for an economy which tends to become highly competitive and therefore demands accelerated training of the workforce? Are we facing a brain drain even bigger than the one we have already suffered? Should we promote teaching and research programs about North American studies in Mexico and about Mexican studies in the United States and Canada? Should we begin to formulate a plan for integrated trinational education? Is the ERASMUS Project, designed to allow for higher student mobility in European countries, an example we should follow for designing and defining our priorities in terms of education for the 1990s? Is this the moment to begin to plan our Academic Free Trade Agreement? And finally, to what point are we able to exploit the potential of greater academic integration without affecting our cultural values? ❧



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CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN SCULPTURE

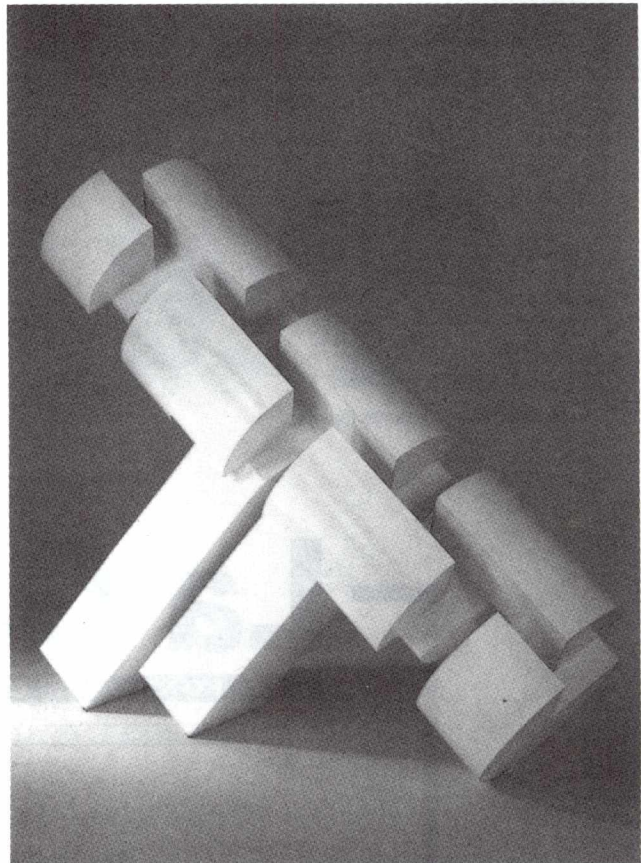
Pedro Cervantes and Sebastián

*Helena Jordán de Balmori**

Masters at creating symbols that express abstract concepts, sculptors Pedro Cervantes and Sebastián are highly qualified, first class craftsmen. Their technique has always been at the service of originality, beauty and aesthetic pleasure, with a sense of playful magic and the simplest markings.

Without being anecdotal, Sebastián always achieves a language of abstract geometric forms expressed by a few lines and three-dimensional shapes, producing modern figures, both contemporary and eternal. His sculptures radiate harmony, as well as a sense of appropriateness and unequalled proportion. They give us joy in solitude, force us to think, to reflect and to communicate with the universe. His work, based on a lucid understanding of the geometric aesthetic, fills us with his sensibility and the charm of his joyful intelligence. His large sculptures are not just ornaments for open spaces and gardens; they bring their own space with them, evoking everything urban. Sebastián emphasizes proportions, reminding us of the great works of art in an almost visionary way, spurred by universal harmony.

In his mathematic creation, spheres and spirals are achieved like equations revealing the art of the past and of all time, like a master of the Pythagorean mysteries. The concept of the work is monumental; its experimental disquiet and its sensitivity to geometric rhythm make Sebastián an explorer of languages through which he uncovers—with disciplined plastic and aesthetic technique—the forms of a wonderful world of ideas and



Teponastle, Sebastián (metal).

inventions that struggles victoriously to reach creative freedom and avoid the status quo.

Pedro Cervantes' broad philosophical and spiritual knowledge turns him into a poet of form. He creates and sculpts with great strength, executing his work in volume immersed in life. Everything is circumscribed to the initial block, nothing juts out of it: his sculptures are solid, clear and full of grandeur. He models his bound

* Mexican writer and art critic.



Photo: Pedro Cervantes

Female Torso, Pedro Cervantes (bronze).

and his mobile Venuses lightly and subtly, but the figure is clear and pure, unvacillating, and, although the form is barely insinuated, the bulges of his volumes develop in liquidly delicate waves, pregnant with a tenderness strangely linked to a fine brutal sensuality.

When Pedro Cervantes works, his sculpting does not change in essence, but supports the basic volumes, going from one to another, from one mass to another ceaselessly. Everything flows, drenched in his feeling; with great love and passion for some of his Venuses, he ties their vitals, as if trying to prevent their flight, keeping for himself their love and possession vibrant with life. This sculptor's language is profoundly mystical, tragic, sensual and religious, an artist who moves man.

The art of these two sculptors is certain and free from doubt; their work makes us feel the light of their consciousness, their truth, their authenticity and their struggle to affirm above all their own spiritual existence, because they know that art is the dawn of human culture, and for that reason they contribute aesthetically to ordering the world around us. ❧

La Gaceta

DEL FONDO DE CULTURA ECONÓMICA

NUEVA ÉPOCA

NÚMERO 308

AGOSTO DE 1996

In Memoriam

Jaime García Terrés

15 de mayo de 1924-29 de abril de 1996



LA GUELAGUETZA

A Zapotec Tradition of Sharing

Andrés Henestrosa*

In the mosaic of Mexican customs, its undisputable specificity makes one festivity with very old and deep roots stand out: the Guelaguetza. What does this Zapotec word mean? Many etymologies have been proposed, most of them inventions, and from the confusion about its true meaning naturally springs a misinterpretation of the tradition. Guelaguetza is nothing more than an erroneous transcription of the word *guendalizá*, meaning kinship, friendship and proximity. The last syllable, *zá*, found in all of the above words in Zapotec is an integral part of their culture. It is also found in all words referring to their essence, including the name of their language and race. The ancient indigenous social organization makes all men of the Zapotec race potential relatives. *Guendalizá*, or Guelaguetza, as it is erroneously transcribed by historians and chroniclers and has survived until today, symbolizes the fact of belonging to the same community, referring to the condition of being a relative, neighbor, friend, guest, in a word, brethren or close. Guelaguetza means,

* Mexican writer.



Photos by Carlos Heinze

Dance. The people of Oaxaca joyously celebrate the Guelaguetza.



Offerings. Today, the people of Oaxaca bring gifts to their state governor during the Guelaguetza.



Dressed up. Women wear their best.

then, that spirit of service among men in the certainty that all joys and all unhappiness belong to everyone at one time or another. José Antonio Gay says the Guelaguetza is the aid the indigenous people offer each other freely at all the most important moments of life: birth, death, the raising of a house and marriage.

This spirit of cooperation and help to relatives, neighbors, fellow countrymen and friends is something attained in day-to-day life, never something sporadic or rare. It dates from the remotest antiquity and, notwithstanding its effects, it cannot really be said that it includes the idea of reciprocity. The aid

Zapotecs give each other is of two kinds: one is in the nature of alms, and the other is a kind of loan or contribution. For example, the help given to a mourner in digging a grave is free, as is the work needed to put up an arbor or lay the foundations or build the walls and roof of a house. In contrast, a contribution is given to help pay for a festivity, be it lay or religious. This contribution may be in coin or in kind. The receiver keeps a list of the contributions he receives in order to make an equal one when his donors require it. All evidence seems to indicate that this is a modern version of the old *Guendalizá* or Guelaguetza. Some-

A Brief History of “Los Lunes del Cerro”

The “Lunes del Cerro” (Mondays on the Hill) festivity, known as the Guelaguetza, is one of the most representative holidays combining cultural traditions from the pre-Hispanic period, colonial celebrations and the contemporary world.

Its origins date back to the fifteenth century when the Aztecs set up a garrison at the top of a hill called by the Zapotecs **Daninayaloani** (now known as the Fortín) and celebrated rites in honor of **Centeótl**, the goddess of corn. The ritual dances and feasts culminated with the sacrifice of a maiden representing the deity. The Zapotec and Mixtec peoples living in the area also worshiped their deities, **Cosijo**, god of rain, and **Pitao Cocobi**, god of agriculture and grain fields. The Zapotecs also traditionally made offerings accompanied by song and dance to bring rain and a good harvest.

The arrival of the Spaniards and the intense process of evangelization that accompanied the military conquest transformed the celebration into a Catholic holiday celebrating Our Lady of Carmen. To coincide with the dates on which the indigenous peoples had visited the hill, it was decided that the virgin's day would be Sunday, July 16, of each year. When the sixteenth did not fall on a Sunday, the celebration would take place on the first and second Monday after the sixteenth. This is the origin of the name “Lunes del Cerro.” In place of the highly scented, yellow **compazúchitl** flower, made as an offering to the sacrificial maiden, the Spaniards used white flowers and added new forms of liturgical celebrations such as the **Dance of the Giants** and the **Parade of the Marmotas** (large balloon figures, held up by a pole in the center and covered by a white cloth on which scenes of the Old and New Testament were painted).

The celebration lost much of its splendor in the early nineteenth century due to the turbulence during and after the War for Independence. However, the custom of celebrating the day of Our Lady of Carmen survived and families visited the hill the first and second Monday of July to spend the morning and early afternoon and partake of a meal. In the twentieth century, the tradition continued, but for the first time included the “**Dance of the Feathers**,” which depicts the Conquest and comes from several Zapotec and Mixtec towns in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca.


In 1932, regional dances were added, along with the presentation of **guelaguetza** to the celebrants. This is a show of brotherhood originating in the tradition whereby Zapotec families return the help received from other families during planting and harvest and for special events, like weddings, births and funerals. In this way, the festivities adopted the name Guelaguetza because the members of the 16 indigenous groups native to the seven regions of Oaxaca traditionally brought crafts, fruit and drink to give to those present and performed their music and dances. Since 1968, each delegation names a postulant to the title of “**Centeótl Goddess**,” the maiden chosen presides over the activities on Fortín Hill, the original site of the pre-Hispanic rituals. ❧

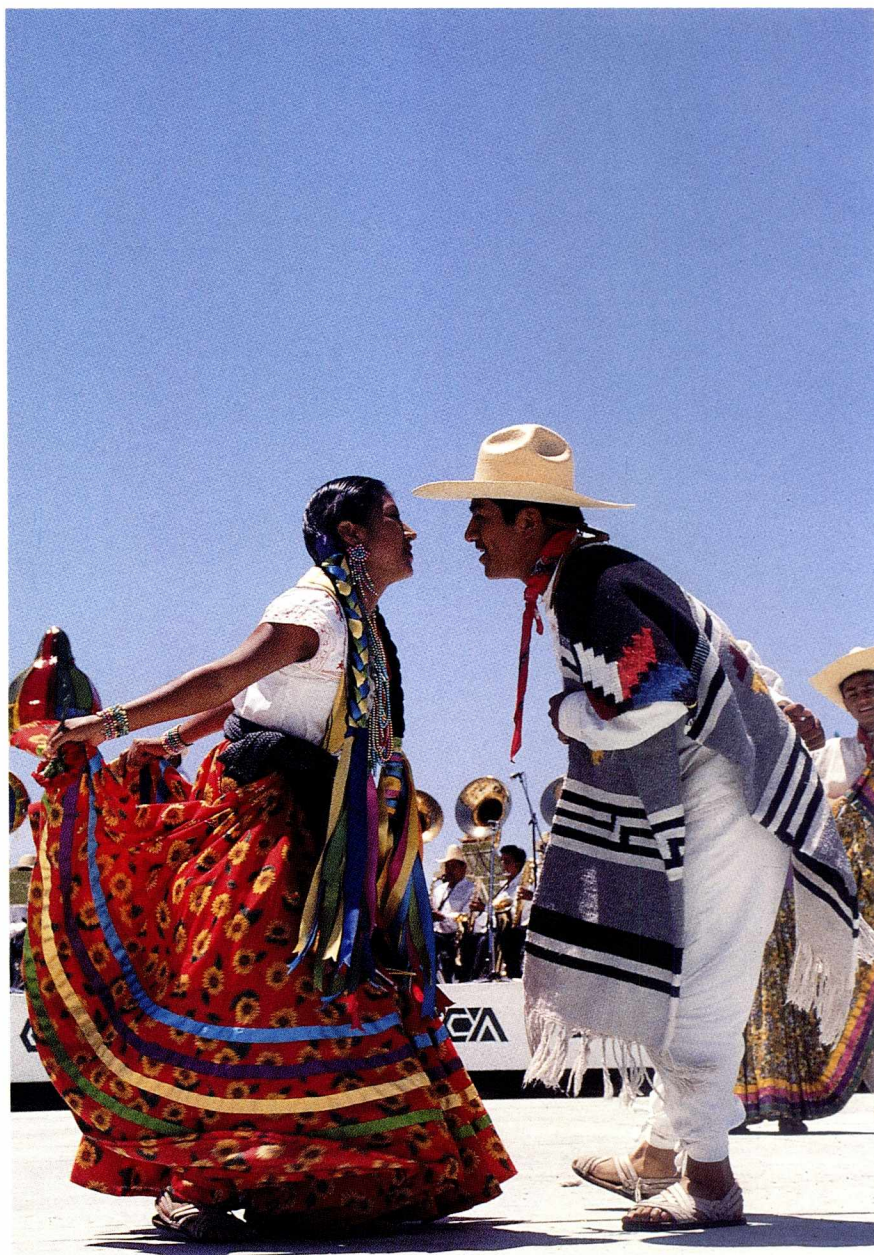


Folklore. Oaxaca's regional dress is as varied as the ethnic groups native to the state.

thing in the spiritual basis of these peoples does not allow them to withhold their help to a relative who might require it. It is not by chance that this kind of event is called “work” in the Zapotec lagoon area. Something enduring in the collective soul of the Zapotecs will not allow them to go empty-handed to a festivity. Even when the host is wealthy, the guests bring a present, poor though it might be, and it is significant that they call it “a sign of affection,” meaning it shows friendship, kinship, affection; in short, it unites all the men of the community.

In recent times and because of the ease with which different regions of the country can now communicate with each other, the *Guelaguetza*, or *Guendalizá*, has acquired new forms, used to show officials the support of townspeople, to show distinguished visitors the joy their visit creates among their neighbors. Whenever this happens, the indigenous people can be seen coming down from the mountains burdened with offerings, which are not always in money or of immediate practical use. A bouquet of flowers often symbolizes the old custom of coming to the aid of one in need.

This tradition of the peoples of Oaxaca, particularly the Zapotecs is undoubtedly a beautiful custom. I have suggested elsewhere that we use the word *Guelaguetza* instead of the ugly word *chubasco*, or the even uglier “shower” that have become commonplace in Mexico, imported into the beautiful Spanish language by Philistines. 



Boy meets girl. It's also a good chance to fall in love.

*Something enduring
in the collective soul of the Zapotecs
will not allow them to go empty-handed
to a festivity.*

MEXICAN CUISINE

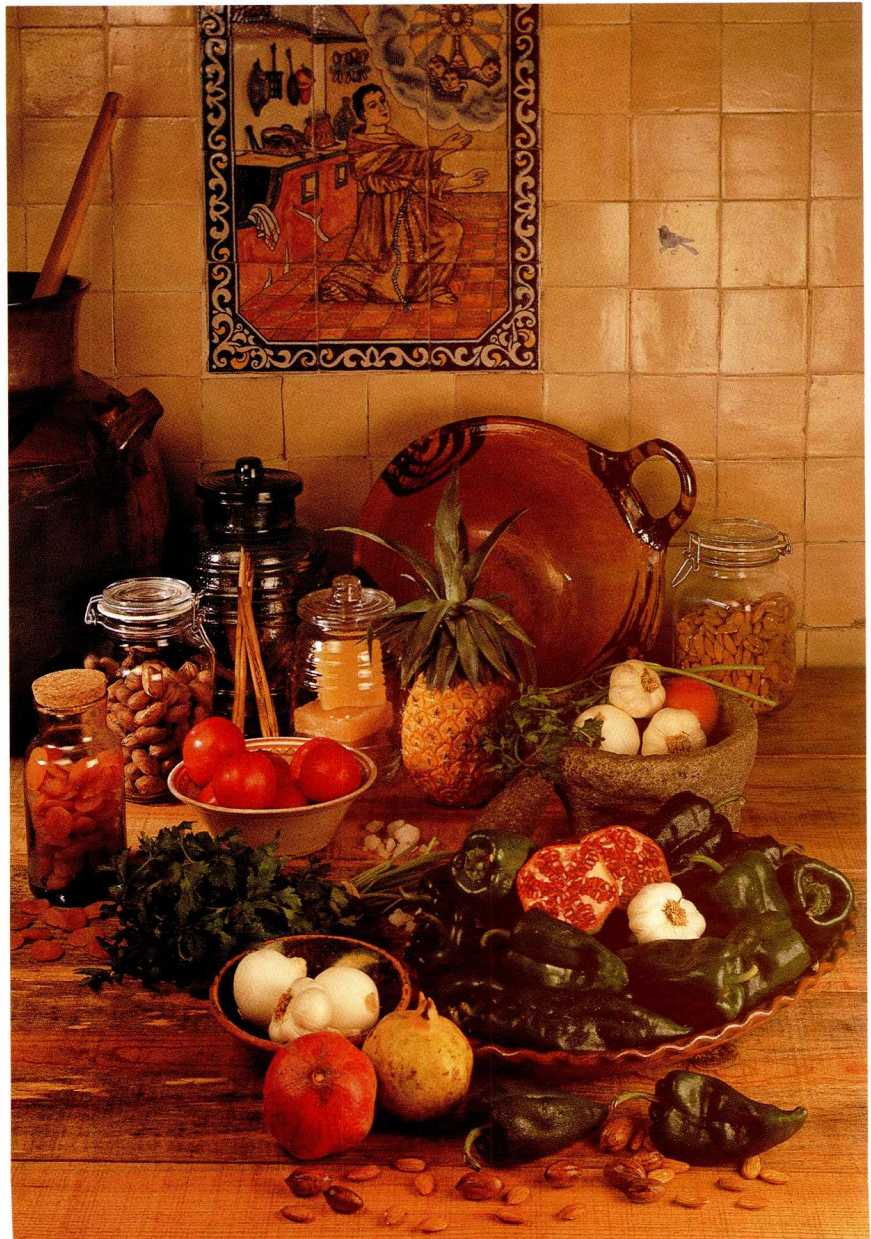
C o n t i n u i t y a n d C h a n g e

*Alfonso de María y Campos**

At a time when the world rejects aggressive, exclusionist nationalism, few spheres of human endeavor are allowed to develop in the shelter of a healthy national identity. We must set aside the spheres of politics and religion, because they tend to authoritarianism, and economics, because it leads to isolationism in a world of growing commercial interdependence. The only area left to us in which we can recover the emphasis on national characteristics is the arts, even though they are also deformed by globalization and the homogenization fostered by the mass media.

Although a country's gastronomy also faces the tendencies of our time (globalization, interdependence, the revolution in communications, etc.), it is one of the few things that at the end of the millennium refuses to be wiped out. In fact, it even grows and evolves to consolidate certain characteristics of tolerance, of identity of an ethnic group and of a nation.

The great sages of gastronomical thought, from Brillat Savarin in the



Photos by Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco

Mexican cuisine is famous not only for its taste but also for its artistic presentation.

* Mexican historian.



Enchiladas. A traditional dish is also *haute cuisine*.

eighteenth century to my recently deceased Catalonian friend Xavier Domingo (whom I pay homage to here), have established some of the essential criteria for defining the food of a given country as “national.” In the first place, for there to be “national cuisine,” it must have originated in authentic “regional cuisines” based on local ingredients and techniques. Also, a national cuisine must develop sufficient identity and character of its own to be able to assimilate culinary products and techniques

from other national or regional cuisines without losing its character. It must also be “exportable,” in the sense that it be able to transform, enrich or conquer other cultures, tastes and cuisines.

Let us look at the case of Mexican food which, as I will show, together with Chinese and French, is one of the world’s three great cuisines. Here we take home at least a bronze medal.

Today’s Mexican food is rooted in the broad and rich base of the pre-Hispanic period, thanks to the original-

ity of the products used. Without listing them all, suffice it to mention corn, tomatoes, chili peppers and chocolate. The gastronomy of the Old World was rapidly enriched by the arrival of Europeans to America. For example, tomatoes became the “traditional” ingredient of the ancient but somewhat doddering cuisines of the Mediterranean (Spain, the South of France, Italy). Without tomatoes, several of these cuisines would not be what they are today, particularly Italian cooking, which also incorpo-

rated corn (or the Turkish grain) as its basis, turning it into the peasant staple, polenta.

At the same time, Mexico's indigenous cooking assimilated the new products and techniques from Europe and even from Asia, Africa and other regions already explored by the Spaniards and other Europeans. Here, the techniques should be emphasized since, while the products themselves were very important (particularly meat and dairy products —animal proteins— and wheat), it was the cooking techniques which adapted the most to the mixture which would become

Mexican cuisine: first and foremost, the use of pork lard for frying of all kinds. Distilling techniques gave rise to mescal, tequila, rum, etc., while local drinks had previously only been fermented, like pulque.¹

Later, in the seventeenth century (often underestimated in Mexican history), human and cultural *mestizaje* (mixes) advanced rapidly with the efficiency only comparable to the dimensions of a population catastrophe.

¹ A fermented milkish drink made from the juice of certain species of agave. [Editor's Note.]

As the population of Mesoamerica dropped dramatically because of the combined effects of disease, war and famine, some population groups disappeared, others began to emerge and still others regrouped, mixing different cultures: North with South, East with West. In this way, important culinary transformations took place spurring the appearance of more or less specific regional cuisines and foods: North, Gulf, Central, Southeast, Pacific cuisines, etc. In many cases the local food products determined the cuisine; in others the incorporation of products from other re-



Chiles en nogada. A colorful mixture of unexpected tastes.

gions and even from other countries enriched and gave a local or regional cuisine its specificity. Outstanding examples of this process were the states of Tabasco, Campeche and Yucatán, veritable gems of our local, regional and even national cuisine: they incorporate the local *tepeiscuincle*², *pejelagarto*,³ crab, shrimp and shark, the imports capers, olive oil and olives, together with some of the finest techniques of the Orient, like pickling by mixing vinegar, olive oil and spices to conserve food longer and give the dishes more flavor.

The cuisine of the high central plateau developed in a more baroque and elaborate style. The great houses and wealthy convents made good use of products native to Mexico and had unlimited access to imports and techniques from Europe and the Orient, furnishing them with a panache worthy of the most elegant tables in the world. After that, the concept of refined, holiday food—particularly



Tamales. A wide variety of flavors and ingredients.

linked to religion—became an essential part of the roots of the new national cuisine.

Mexican cooking is a truly national cuisine, palpable not only in the origins and colors of *chiles en nogada*⁴ or red, green or sweet tamales, but because it is the result of a long, delicate process of amalgamation in which the native opens up to the new without losing strength or identity. Unity and diversity are as important for a regional cuisine as native and foreign are for truly national cuisines.

The twentieth century did not bear out mid-nineteenth century French predictions that Mexico would be conquered gastronomically by the weight of U.S. culture. Aside from the size of U.S. investment in Mexico's food industry, particularly in "fast food," which is much higher than Mexican investment in the U.S., even with NAFTA, the fact is that Mexican food makes its presence felt north of the border. This is due both to the sheer numbers of Mexican immigrants in the

United States and their family and social ties and to the value placed on Mexican food by immigrants. Naturally, it is also explained by the "exportability" of Mexico's products and culinary techniques despite the fact that they may change significantly when adapted locally. The same thing happens to Chinese, Japanese and even French cooking when exported to the United States or other countries, testifying more to their good qualities than to their weaknesses. This is why, today, restaurant guides in the world's largest and wealthiest cities emphasize "ethnic" cooking—a rather doubtful, sociological way of describing outstanding regional and national cuisines. ❧

² Rodant from Mexico and Costa Rica. [Editor's Note.]

³ A particularly tasty fresh-water fish native to the Grijalva River in the state of Tabasco. [Editor's Note.]

⁴ Chili peppers stuffed with ground meat and candied fruit, covered with walnut cream sauce and garnished with pomegranate seeds. [Translator's Note.]

RUFINO TAMAYO

A Pictorial Concept

Samuel Morales Escalante*



Photos: Rufino Tamayo Museum Documentation Center

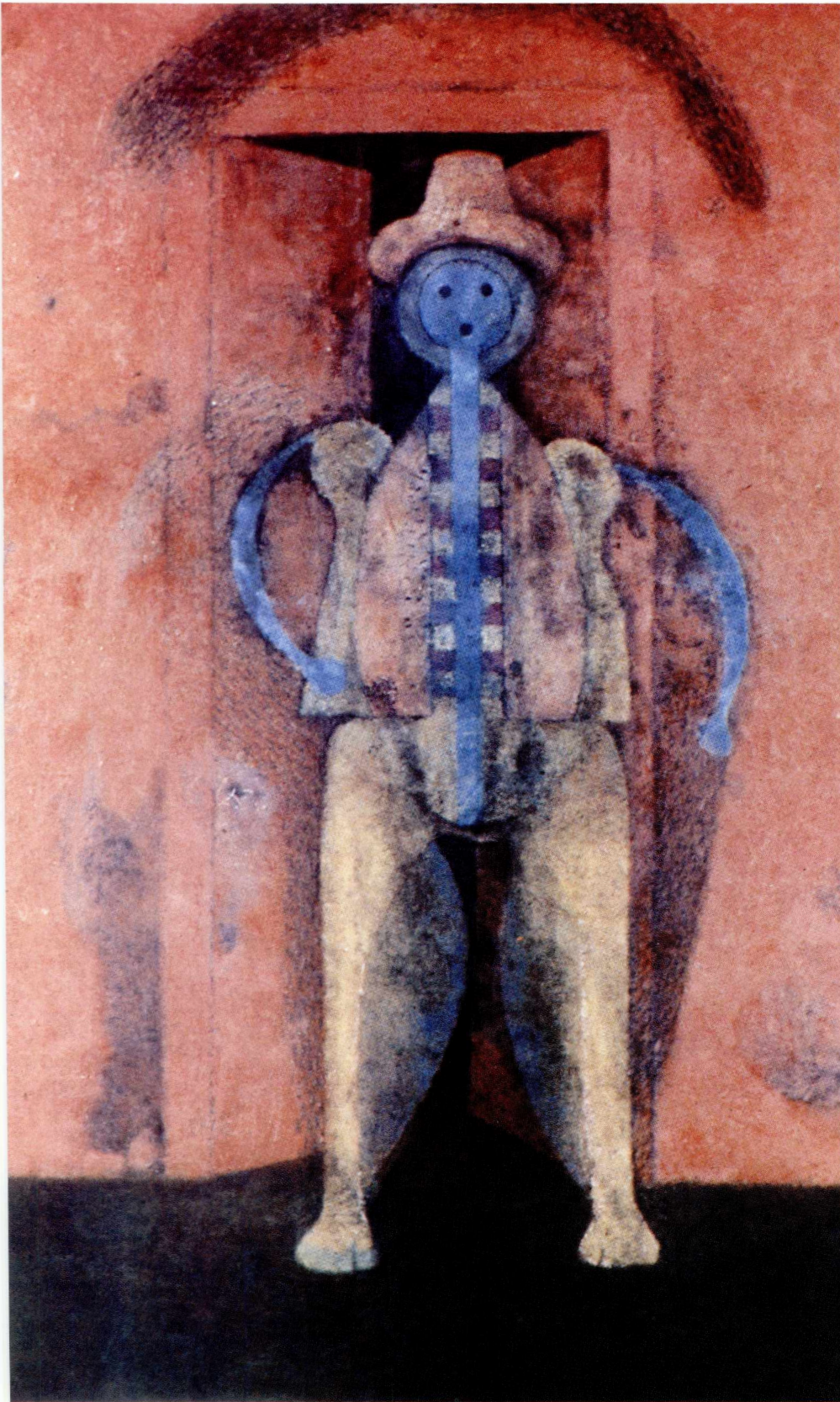
The Great Galaxy, 1978 (oil on canvas).

*Nature teaches us to see. I am constantly
looking; I like to feel dry leaves, stones.
Sometimes I draw from nature, plants.
Above all, I look, I look all the time.¹*

* Head of research and exhibits at the Rufino Tamayo Museum.

¹ Interview with Rufino Tamayo by Rafael Squirru, *Américas*, Vol. 15, No. 11, Washington, D.C., November 11, 1963, p. 27.

RUFINO TAMAYO



Man at the Door, 1980 (oil on canvas).

Essentially an innovator and a versatile artist, Rufino Tamayo (1899-1991) was always convinced that art came from personal investigation and a commitment to the material, but, above all, of the value of freedom as nourishment for the imagination and creative genius. Even though, as he feared, he did not live long enough to continue delving into the heart of painting, his work survives, revealing the pleasure of a man who knew how to look at the world attentively.

His keen sense of observation allowed him to hone his style, to enrich and transfigure his sources. From heading up the Department of Ethnographic Drawing of the National Museum of Archeology, he learned to value composition and the symbolic nature of pre-Hispanic sculpture and pottery. Years later he would develop an affection for these objects and begin a large collection, currently housed by the Rufino Tamayo Museum of Pre-Hispanic Art in the city of Oaxaca.

The expressiveness of the colors and textures of traditional art seduced Tamayo's sensibility, as did the fruit, flowers and other commonplace objects in Mexican culture that contributed to diversifying the formal techniques that he used.

His admission to the National School of Fine Arts in 1917 and his later links with modern art, as well as his interest in painting as a value in and of itself—stories or narration aside—also contributed to his education as an artist. He made good use of his knowledge of some of the

avant garde schools (Fauvism, Futurism, Metaphysical Painting, Surrealism) and later directly, while living in New York and Paris, with the work of Braque, Picasso, Matisse and Dubuffet.

Tamayo took what he thought most useful to his pictorial conception from these trends and developed a vast body of iconographic ideas that underlined the metaphoric character of his work. "My aim," he said, "is to use elements of my country's great artistic past, Mexican forms and colors, and meld them into a modern international unit."²

Tamayo was convinced that artists should maintain a critical distance from nature; that is, they should have the necessary sensitivity, but should be committed to an intellectual rather than instinctual attitude, and thus be able to create a new reality: the work of art. Writing about his mural *La naturaleza y el artista* (Nature and the Artist), he said, "The art student must educate himself from the very beginning in the correct attitude that the artist must have vis-à-vis nature, the [great] source of elements which should not be used literally, but refashioned so the final result is creation, not imitation.

"The student must also know what the correct attitude of the spectator must be when looking at the work of art, which should not be judged on the basis of its similarity to nature,

² Quoted by Victor Alba in *Coloquios de Coyoacán con Rufino Tamayo*, Colección Panorama, Mexico City, 1955, p. 87.



Man in Red, 1976 (oil on canvas).



Watermelons, 1968 (oil on canvas).

but as an independent entity, with a life and problems of its own.”³

Tamayo thought of painting as a poetic form; that is, he conceived of it as a truly creative act, as opposed to what many other artists thought. What is more, he thought painting should be sufficient unto itself, without subordinating to other expressive ends. “I am absolutely convinced that the only thing that gives painting validity are its plastic qualities and its poetry. Poetry is message, humanity, life, which give the plastic elements their reason for being. Painting is not

literature, nor journalism, nor demagoguery. Painting is, I repeat, the wonderful union of poetry, with its message, and the plastic qualities that are the vehicle for transmitting it.”⁴

This is why Tamayo did not take the same road as the painters of the Mexican School, Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros. Even though at the beginning of his career he did paint a great number of pastoral scenes with indigenous figures, they did not have the movement’s social and political message.

Following the road of poetry, then, Tamayo exalted the essential forms of reality with harmony as his maxim.

The size and location of the forms, the balance and use of few colors, although in a broad range of tones, and drawing as the structure of the painting, all come together in his work rhythmically and in concert.

“Nothing is isolated,” he said. “The eye scans the whole canvas without stopping. The distribution and size of the forms, the weight of the colors, the sketch, all this must have a rhythm that the eye can follow without obstacles. Of course, I don’t believe in a photographic likeness. I eliminate details, for example, eyes, if I don’t need them. I aim for the essential, until I say what I want to say with fewer and fewer elements.”⁵

³ Published in *Bulletin No. 24* of the Smith College Museum of Art, October 1943, and quoted in *Letras de México*, a monthly literary and artistic bulletin published by Octavio G. Barreda, Year VIII, Vol. IV, No. 15, Mexico City, March 1, 1944, p. 7.

⁴ “Unas palabras de Tamayo,” in *Espacios*, a magazine of architecture and plastic arts, Mexico City, No. 3, June 1949.

⁵ Quoted by Víctor Alba, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Man, the world and the celestial unfold in his universe like plastic metaphors, but the genesis and the course of these images in time do not travel in a single direction. Rather, they are proposed as a river with different tributaries. Thus, Tamayo's work is sometimes predominantly figurative, and others, he tends more decidedly toward abstraction, particularly geometrical abstraction.

His permanent interest in experimentation with different materials and techniques, adapting them or inventing them, led him to visualize his work as a laboratory.

"In general, I work directly on the canvas, without prior notes, and I go right to the transportation of the real forms that motivated the painting....

"Although I have painted on all kinds of material, I think the extraordinary texture of canvas offers the most possibilities for painting....

"I have never worked with artificial light because I think only natural light gives colors their true tonal value....


"I paint with all kinds of tools because each produces a different texture, and that's how you achieve more richness....

"Because many manufactured colors don't have enough body, I prepare my own to my liking."⁶

The possessor of a world of secrets, Tamayo, who classified himself as a cultural worker, painted eight hours

a day and concentrated on solving the demands that his art made on him.

"It's important to have your feet firmly planted on your own ground, sunk in if necessary," he said. "But in my opinion, keeping your eyes, ears and mind wide open, scanning all horizons, is the right way. Fearlessly picking up and using experience from all over at the same time that you enrich it with local contributions is the only way of making our message universal."⁷

Tamayo was able to transcend the frontier of time and space and achieve his desire to make his work—and Mexican painting—a theme of contemporary world culture. 

⁶ *Rufino Tamayo: obras recientes*, Modern Art Museum-National Institute of Fine Arts, Mexico City, February 1986.

⁷ *Tamayo: 20 años de labor artística*, National Museum of Plastic Arts-Palace of Fine Arts-National Institute of Fine Arts, Mexico City, 1948.



Women, 1971 (oil on canvas).

Photo: Isaias Remba



A BRIEF JOURNEY THROUGH HIS LIFE

Rufino Tamayo was born in the southern state of Oaxaca, August 24, 1899, and died at the age of 91. He is considered one of the best Mexican painters of the twentieth century.

Tamayo attended the School of Fine Arts in Mexico City, but, dissatisfied with the traditional art program he later studied independently. In 1921 he became head of the Department of Ethnographic Drawing at the National Museum of Archeology in Mexico City where he developed an interest in pre-Columbian art. Tamayo reacted against the work of the Mexican muralists, such as Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros, who dominated Mexican art after the 1910 Revolution, because of the epic proportions and political rhetoric of their paintings. He chose to work using Cubist, Surrealist and other European styles, merging them with Mexican subjects: figures, still lifes and animals. Tamayo generally used vibrant colors and solid compositions to depict natural subjects in a symbolic, stylized, or semi-abstract mode.

By 1930 he was a well-known artist in Mexico; he designed the murals for the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City, and in 1948 a retrospective exhibit of his work took place at the Palace of Fine Arts. Among many other prizes, awards, honors and retrospective exhibits, in 1950 the Galerie des Beaux-Arts in Paris gave Tamayo a one-man show; Italy's Venice Biennale honored him with a special exhibit; in 1954 the French government decorated him with the Legion of Honor; and he was awarded the International Prize at the Sao Paulo Biennial. A month before his death, Tamayo was honored with membership in El Colegio Nacional in Mexico City.

Tamayo's generosity included the building and funding of the Olga Tamayo Home in the city of Cuernavaca and a home for the aged for the city of Oaxaca.

Taken from: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume 11, 1993 Edition, and *Voices of Mexico*, Number 17, October-December 1991.

PERICÓN

The Herb of the Clouds

Edelmira Linares*

Robert Bye**

In September, the fields of the mountain slopes of central Mexico are carpeted with yellow flowers, and yellow flowered crosses protect the fields and houses of the southern part of the

Valley of Mexico and the nearby Neo-Volcanic Mountain Belt. In most cases, this anise-scented herb is *pericón* (*Tagetes lucida* Cav.)

This Mexican medicinal plant belongs to the *Asteraceas* or daisy family and grows wild in Mexico's temperate climates. In central Mexico it is known as *pericón* and in the north, *yerbanis*. It is also called Santa María, *peri-*

quillo, *anicillo*, *curucumín* and *guía laga-zaa* (Martínez, 1969).

It has been used medicinally since pre-Hispanic times. In the Nahuatl language it is known as *yauhtli*, or herb of the clouds, because its flowers are usually densely clumped together and look somewhat like clouds, or because they uncloud people's eyes (Hernández, 1959).

* Head of the Department of Education and Public Information of the Botanical Garden of UNAM's Institute of Biology.

** Director of UNAM's Botanical Garden.



Photos by Edelmira Linares and Robert Bye

Pericón. Its flowers are usually densely clumped together and look like clouds. They also uncloud people's eyes.



Crosses of *pericón* are placed at the corners of the fields to protect them from the *chamuco* and hail. This field is in Tlalnepantla, state of Morelos.

Sixteenth century sources, such as the work of Francisco Hernández (1959) and Friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1979), report its use in treating a number of ailments: fighting the effects of cold; staving off fevers; facilitating urination; stimulating menstruation; curbing a cough; stopping gas; eliminating bad breath; increasing milk production; countering the effects of poison; alleviating headaches; and helping the demented and people frightened by lightning.

Martín de la Cruz and Bodiano (1964), on the other hand, mentions that it was used for the wounds caused by lightning and to protect people who cross water.

Today it is reportedly useful in the treatment of abdominal pain, cramps

and flatulence, as well as to scent children's bath water. Occasionally, it is thrown onto flames instead of incense to scent rooms and fumigate and, particularly in hot climates, to get rid of scorpions.

It is also used as a condiment because of its anise-like fragrance. In the outlying, rural areas of Mexico City *chayotes* (or vegetable pears) and corn are commonly boiled with *pericón* to make them more easily digestible and flavorful. It is also used for hot baths, since it is considered a "very hot" plant (Linares *et al*, 1990).

Medicinal plant vendors never pack other plants together with *pericón*, because they say its heat burns and withers the other herbs.

Besides its great medicinal value, it plays an important role in rituals: in ancient times it was associated with the rain god Tlaloc because it sprouted with the first rains. Today it is gathered to be used in the festival of Saint Michael, the Archangel, September 29.

On the eve of Saint Michael's Day, September 28, people make crosses of *pericón* and hang them on their doors, windows and at the corner of fields to make sure the *chamuco* (devil) stays out. On that day, the previous year's cross is taken away and replaced by a new one, which will stay there until the following year. Saint Michael will now be able to come by with his sword on his feast day and kill the *chamuco*, barred from taking refuge in the houses and planted fields protected by the crosses. This belief is strongly rooted in the states of Morelos, Mexico and in some parts of the state of Puebla. ❧

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UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

A Guarantee of Independence And Academic Freedom

Fernando Serrano Migallón*

Autonomy, as the basis for all creative activity, is the essence of intellectual work. Although its etymological meaning makes it seem easy to define and limit the term, the situation is radically different when applied to universities, mainly because of their relationship to the state.

Etymologically speaking, the word "autonomy" means "making its own laws." The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy) defines it as the jurisdiction that municipalities, provinces, regions or other bodies exercise within the state to decide internally on their own particular interests, using their own norms and governing bodies.

From the start, we should distinguish, however, between *state sovereignty*, which is the power of the state to determine for itself its con-

ditions and the development of its policies in the life of the country, and autonomy, understood as the ability of government bodies to act on the basis of general overall guidelines outlined by the state as a whole. Sovereignty is manifested in two parallel ways: internally, through the ability to decide on mandatory general norms; and externally, through the capacity to make international commitments.

Autonomy, on the other hand, is the independence a public institution is given to determine its own functioning and the technical and administrative freedom to develop its own activities.

The concept of sovereignty is applicable only to the state as a whole, and therefore state institutions cannot individually have the same breadth of functions: they cannot legislate, nor be an international center with rights and obligations. That is why autonomous universities cannot be considered "a state within the state." However, even if autonomy is exer-

cised within the radius of action of a sovereign body, whoever exercises it is given complete leeway for acting with regard to specific activities. Therefore, university autonomy guarantees the broadest possible academic, administrative and financial freedom as a prerequisite for achieving the goals of universities: teaching, research and the dissemination of culture without dogma and with the complete freedom for different currents of thought to confront ideas and to generate new ones.

However, the need for freedom in scientific research has not always been clearly understood. The history of education, especially higher education, is a constant struggle between those who have attempted to fit research into a hierarchical, dogmatic structure, outside of which no theory or conclusion is allowed, and those who think that unchangeable, eternal dogmas should stay in the personal realm and that their religious and moral content is independent of science.

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The National University in 1929, the year it became autonomous.



The leaders of the movement for autonomy.

Universities were born in the Middle Ages among the scholastics who determined and channeled their existence. From the very beginning, however, their history has been a struggle for freedom. This worldwide phenomenon was also determinant in the rise and development of the university in Mexico.

In Mexico, the first university opened its doors in 1551, only 30 years after the Conquest. Under the protection—and therefore the control and tutelage—of the crown and the papacy, it was named the Royal Papal University of Mexico, and it retained that name until Independence. In 1833, the liberals, headed up by

Valentín Gómez Farías, suppressed the Royal Papal University of Mexico because it was considered a center of conservatism, completely useless for teaching. Since then, the university has opened and closed its doors on several occasions, depending on who held power—the liberals or the conservatives—until the Austrian archduke, Maximilian of Hapsburg, finally closed it by decree in 1865.

The concept of university autonomy emerged from the idea of scientific autonomy put forward in 1881 by Justo Sierra,¹ who proposed that secondary and higher education should no longer be directly controlled by the state, although the state should maintain the right to inspection. Justo Sierra's proposal was not passed by congress. However, a consensus was established around the creation of the national university and the possibility of its independence.

While autonomy was not achieved then, the idea of making the highest institution of learning in the land “national” was accepted, with the understanding that “the nation” is a series of values which are part of Mexicans' historic heritage and that we are obliged to preserve and add to as the only guarantee of historical, social and cultural continuity.

One hundred years after Mexican independence was declared, on May 26, 1910, the National University

¹ Justo Sierra, Mexican philosopher and educator, was Minister of Public Instruction from 1905 to 1911, during the Porfirio Díaz regime. [Editor's Note.]

of Mexico was created, including the National Preparatory School and the National Schools of Jurisprudence, Medicine, Engineering, Fine Arts and Higher Studies. It was conceived as a teaching institution that would carry out national education. Two years later, when the Chamber of Deputies discussed government spending, the university—just as on so many other occasions—was the object of severe attacks which questioned its usefulness and even its existence.

However, the university as a social project was consolidated with the triumph of the revolution. The Constituent Assembly of 1917 created a new legal category in the centralized sphere of public administration called a government department with the function of providing a public service without political constraints. This was how the University and Fine Arts Department was born, which administered the university. It was a step forward because, for the first time, technical questions were distinguished from political ones. However, control by the federal executive branch over the institution was absolute, and it therefore lacked administrative independence.

In 1918, Córdoba University in Argentina was the scene of a movement, which sparked others in Latin America, demanding university autonomy: it was the cry for the freedom to apply university learning to the great problems facing all nations in order to overcome backwardness.

In Mexico, the University Charter, which became law July 26, 1929,



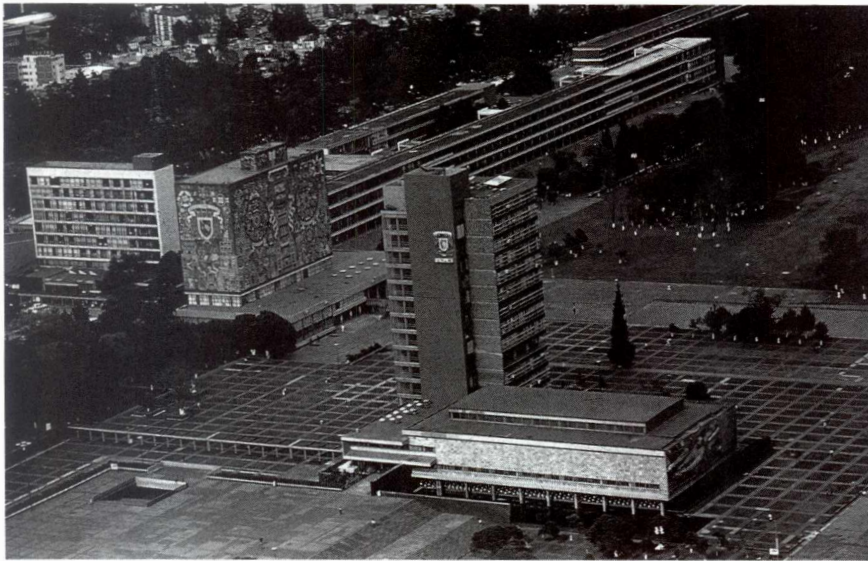
Students were key for winning autonomy.



Ignacio García Tellez. While García was rector of the University, autonomy was established.

defined the National University of Mexico as a public corporation with legal status. The charter recognized for the first time a degree of autonomy for the university, albeit incomplete because the Ministry of Public Education had a delegate in the University Council and the rector was

picked from among three nominees designated by the president of Mexico, who could also veto council resolutions. It was still conceived of as a state institution that should reflect state ideals. However, the nature of the university as a public institution for personalized service was clearly defined.



Mexico's National Autonomous University today.

The need for freedom in scientific research has not always been clearly understood.

During the 1933 debate between Antonio Caso,² who stressed academic freedom, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who favored socialist education, a new university charter was passed, broadening autonomy. It said nothing, however, about the national, public character of the university. It was not until August 3, 1944, when the University Constituent Council was established, that it would finally propose authentic and total university autonomy in

the bill creating a new charter, the one currently in force.

The Charter of the National University, published January 6, 1945, broadened out the concept of autonomy, expressly indicating the national, public nature of the university and establishing the government's responsibility for providing regular subsidies. Since then, autonomy has been considered the highest form of academic freedom for both research and teaching, indispensable to the functioning of a university. This autonomy, established in 1929 and strengthened in 1945, as the eminent Mexican philosopher and jurist Eduardo García Máynez said, was not "a concession, but appro-

priate, given the nature of an institution like the university."

The struggle for autonomy, initially carried out only for the newly christened National Autonomous University of Mexico, was extended to other institutions of higher learning in the country, particularly in the different states nationwide, until it became generalized in all higher education.

In 1980, Fraction 8 was added to Article 3 of the Constitution, guaranteeing university autonomy:

The universities and other institutions of higher learning, considered by law autonomous will have the ability and responsibility of governing themselves; they will pursue their aims of education, research and the dissemination of culture according to the principles of this article, with respect for academic freedom, for teaching and research and the free examination and discussion of ideas; they will determine their own plans and programs; they will fix the terms of admission, promotion and tenure of their academic staff and will administer their own patrimony. Labor relations [within said institutions] with both academic and administrative staff will be governed in accordance with Section "A" of Article 123 of this Constitution and the stipulations made in the Federal Labor Law for a special work, in such a way as to not infringe autonomy, academic freedom for teaching and research and the aims of the institutions referred to in this fraction.

² Antonio Caso was one of Mexico's most important early twentieth century philosophers. Vicente Lombardo Toledano was one of the great interpreters of socialist thought in Mexico and founder of the Popular Socialist Party (PPS). [Editor's Note.]

In developing the new ruling, it was taken into account that the function of universities is to create men of science, men of knowledge in the full sense of the word and that, in order to fulfill that function, they must impart knowledge and develop research according to the principle of academic freedom. Autonomy takes shape in the freedom that all members of the university enjoy to think and to create, to find truth and to make mistakes. Freedom is an essential part of universities. Limiting the freedom to carry out research, creating fear among men about their own thoughts or attempting to channel research toward previously established results is incompatible with the university's code of ethics for its work and the very essence of thought.

University autonomy was conceived by Javier Barros Sierra³ as "a principle emanating from the Western cultural tradition and which is today accepted, although in different ways and degrees, by the majority of modern nations.... University autonomy is essentially the freedom to teach, do research and disseminate culture. This academic autonomy would not exist in a complete form if the university did not have the right to organize itself, to function and use its economic resources in the way it sees fit, that is, if it did not have administrative autonomy and if it did not enjoy legislative autonomy, its ability to dictate its own ordinances. All

of this, of course, within the general lines of its charter."

For autonomous universities, autonomy also implies the obligation to permanently seek academic quality and excellence in all their activities. Autonomous universities are a very important part of the state's social function of molding more and better men committed to solving our nation's problems.

However, the mention of universities' social functions has sometimes been construed as an attempt to justify a series of obstacles and deficiencies they have had since their founding, such as a lack of funding or the obligation to academically homogenize a student population with

the most diverse origins and background. This question of the social function is important, not only because it seems to have been marginalized in the last few years, but also because it can have many focuses.

Without pretending that all shortcomings can be overcome, the essential thing is the challenge which only autonomous universities face: reconciling the social function and academic excellence. The formulation of this challenge is the main justification, in my view, of autonomous universities' preponderant role in our country.

Autonomy as an essential element of research and higher learning only makes sense in public institutions. That is why their commitment is to

*Autonomy must be a bulwark
of institutions of higher education
against the interest of
political parties.*



Today, autonomy is one of the basic values in Mexico's universities.

³ Javier Barros Sierra was rector of the National Autonomous University of Mexico from 1966 to 1970. [Editor's Note.]

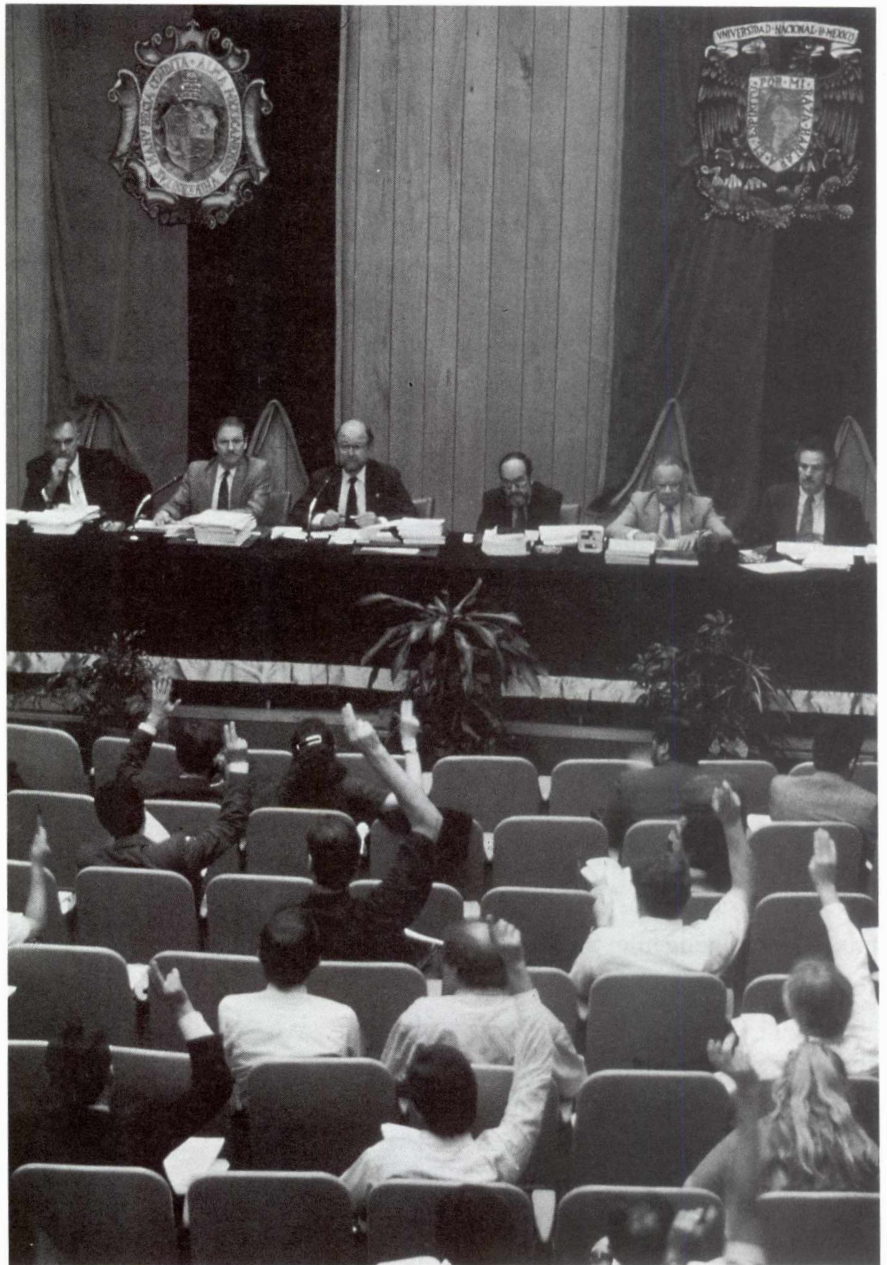
the nation, as the bearer and beneficiary of the values which are above those of the state. The government, as the guiding hand of the state, has a mandate to maintain and foster higher education, which must include all ideologies and forms of thought in society.

The type of research carried out in private centers of higher learning is determined by their patrons. However, it is the state's responsibility to foster the freedom inherent in all intellectual activity, particularly in universities, and to respect the independence needed to recognize, express and seek the best possible development of intelligence, techniques and culture in all kinds of universities, with no limits other than those strictly imposed by the Constitution.

This is another reason that autonomy is only applicable to public bodies that, despite their economic dependence on the state, cannot and must not submit to government directives which obey momentary contingencies, but must incorporate in their midst all tendencies of society.

Autonomous universities are, in addition, part of our identity; their activity must beat with the pulse of our country. Their function must be participatory, critical, creative, pro-active and aimed at transforming society.

Autonomy is established first of all vis-à-vis the state, which, in applying Article 3 of the Constitution, creates enabling legislation for its functioning. Secondly, it is established vis-à-vis a particular administration, from which it receives its operating funds. But it is also established with regard to those



Session of the University Council, made up of UNAM authorities, academics, students and administrative staff.

groups which might intend to influence institutions through providing additional funding for specific projects: in the face of this, autonomy guarantees that the general purpose of the university, its day-to-day functioning and its research will not be affected.

At the same time —and perhaps this is the most important— autono-

my must be a bulwark of institutions of higher education against the interests of political parties. While the free debate of all ideas, including, of course, political ideas, is part of the very essence of universities, the exercise of political rights, recruitment of members and political campaigns must be left outside the university gates. ❧

EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY IN MEXICO

Humberto Muñoz García*

I will begin by saying that today teaching and research in institutions of higher learning are widely recognized as fundamental tasks of society. In a globalized world, where knowledge and information are increasing by leaps and bounds, no country can aspire to progress, culture and democracy without an up-to-date system of higher education which can meet its people's expectations and aspirations in terms of schooling. In the pertinent specialized literature, a close correlation has been shown between investment in this educational level and socio-economic development, particularly in countries like ours, judging by the experience of others in similar circumstances. We Mexicans are at a crossroads today: either we dedicate effort and resources to higher education, or we run the risk of being left behind in globalization.

For the reader to better appreciate these ideas, we will present information about the overall panorama of higher education, first looking at the inequalities among countries and then looking at those in Mexico. The UNESCO document "Policy for Change and Development of Higher Education" explains the tendency to profound inequality prevailing worldwide.

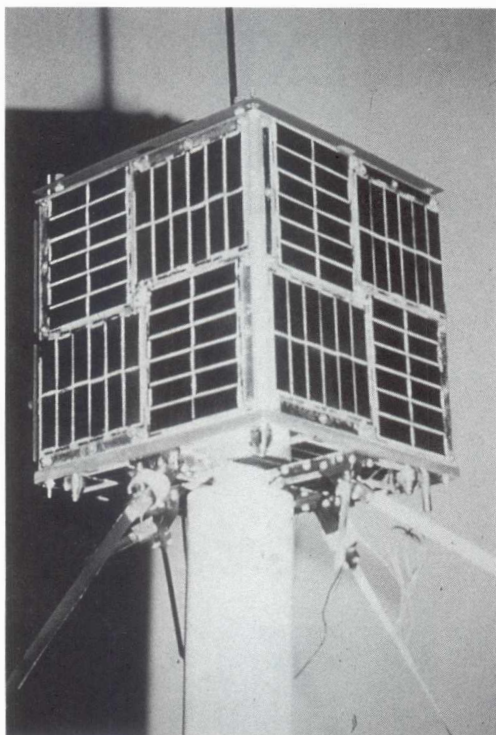
Between 1960 and 1980 world enrollment in higher education among 18- to 23-year-olds increased, but between 1980 and 1991, it tended to stabilize at around 18.8 percent.

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Imaginatina-Marco A. Cruz



In Mexico's southern states (Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero) very few children ever get to the university.



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In the highly developed countries, the enrollment almost trebled in the 30 years between 1960 and 1990, covering 40.2 percent of demand, while in the non-developed countries, it only doubled, covering about 14.1 percent. For the year 2025, the document projects that the gap between the rate of coverage of the demand in these two kinds of countries will be even larger, with an almost

50 percent rate in the former and a substantial decline in the latter countries that will situate them with around 10 percent coverage. If knowledge and human resources produced in universities have become crucial in worldwide stratification, countries like ours will be in an increasingly disadvantageous relative position without having individuals educated for creating, receiving and applying the latest science and technology.

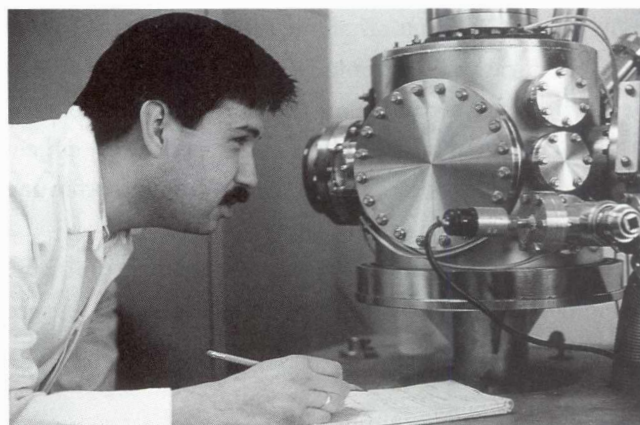
In Mexico, national coverage of higher education for young people between 20 and 24 years of age was 13.8 percent in 1990: this is below the average for the non-developed countries. Despite recent expansion of opportunities in higher education, in 1990 our country continued to show enormous inequalities. A case in point are the results of a comparative regional analysis carried out by the UNAM's Education and Employment Program. The study shows that Mexico's south central states (Mexico City, the State of Mexico and Morelos) concentrate 37 percent of the country's inhabitants 18 and over with four years of higher education and 40.1 percent of those with graduate work; this is the highest index of concentration relative to the demographic base in the country. By contrast, the Southern Pacific region (Chiapas, Guerrero and

Oaxaca) has only 4.7 and 3.4 percent of that population respectively, with the lowest concentration vis-à-vis the total number of people in that age group.

Let's look at another side of the problem. According to the 1990 census, Mexico had a population of 81.1 million people, of whom 4.1 million had at least one year of higher education. Less than half of those (1.9 million) had finished four years or more. Therefore, higher education continued to be profoundly selective.

In other words, in the last decade of the twentieth century, in the midst of globalization, Mexico has a very small base of highly qualified personnel with which to achieve greater competitiveness and urgently needs to rapidly train quality professionals. It must also satisfy the increasing demand for higher education stemming partially from demographics and partially from the economic crunch faced by middle-class families who continue to see a university education as a means of solving employment problems and access to a better standard of living.

With a social coverage of higher education that has remained constant for at least the last ten years, we need an educational policy which will broaden out the opportunities for access to higher education, avoid a greater distancing between Mexico and its competitors and foster greater domestic equilibrium so Mexicans who live in the least favored regions do not continue to be excluded from modernization. Government and society must commit themselves and take serious action so that higher education is permanently a top priority for development. ❧



In developing countries, only 14.1 percent of the population between the ages of 18 and 23 is enrolled at institutions of higher learning.

Gaceta-UNAM. Ignacio Romo

OIL AND NATURAL GAS

A Legal Dispute Brewing in the Gulf of Mexico

(Part Two)

Jorge A. Vargas*

A gigantic oil and natural gas deposit in the deepest portion of the Gulf of Mexico, the object of the ambitious "Baha Project" involving four major international oil companies, has led to a disagreement between Mexico and the U.S. over who has legal right to it. The deposit is situated in a submarine area whose boundaries have never been settled by a bilateral agreement; and, in addition, both countries have always sustained divergent positions with respect to the area's legal status. In Part Two of this essay, Professor Vargas presents us with evidence that may prove that Mexico does have the legal right to explore and exploit the oil and gas resources. The question remaining is whether Mexico is ready to claim it.

It is important to underline now that in late 1976, when Mexico and the United States established a 200 nautical mile zone along their respective coastlines, this demarcation left a relatively small triangular area in the central part of the Gulf of Mexico beyond the outer boundary of these limits. In other words, given the dimensions and physical configuration of this oceanic basin, an area where the respective 200 n.m. of each country do not overlap was left in the central part of the gulf, considering that the opposite coasts of the U.S. and Mexico are more than 400 n.m. apart in the center. Thus, the demarcation of the outer boundaries of the respective 200 n.m. zones left a "window" or a "hole" resembling

a triangle, with a 129 n.m. segment in the north of the gulf as its base (closely following the 29 Parallel north latitude and the intersection of the two 200 n.m. arcs drawn from the baselines off Yucatan and Texas as its vertex, pointing to the south). The area of this triangle covers some 25,000 square miles, approximately.¹

According to conventional international law, the waters in that triangle should be considered part of the high seas, "open to all States, whether coastal or land-locked," since they are located beyond the outer boundary of the

¹ See Hedberg Statement, *Three Treaties Establishing Maritime Boundaries between the United States and Mexico, Venezuela and Cuba: Hearing on S. Exec. Rep. No. 96-49 before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 96th Cong., Sess. at 28-33.*

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200 n.m.² The convention provides that the submarine area underneath the triangle, i.e., its seabed and the corresponding subsoil, should be considered part of the International Seabed Area, governed by Part XI of the Law of the Sea (LOS) Convention.³

It is precisely in relation to this “submarine triangle,” where the U.S. Geological Survey confirmed the existence of vast mineral resources, that Mexico and the United States have divergent legal interpretations. For Mexico, this area, and its resources are part of the International Seabed Area and, as a consequence, of the “Common Heritage of Humankind.”⁴ This means, *inter alia*, that “no State shall claim or exercise sovereignty or sovereign rights over any part of the Area or its resources, nor shall any State or natural or juridical person appropriate any part thereof;” that “[All] rights in the resources of the Area are vested in mankind as a whole, on whose behalf the Authority shall act;” and, that “[No] State or natural or juridical person shall claim, acquire or exercise rights in respect to the minerals recovered from the Area except in accordance with this Part [XI]. Otherwise, no such claim, acquisition or exercise of such rights shall be recognized.”⁵ All the activities taking place in the Area, including exploration and exploitation of its resources, as well as marine scientific research,⁶ are to be carried out “for the benefit of mankind as a whole,”⁷ and to be strictly regulated by the International Seabed Authority.⁸

In simple terms, this language of the 1982 LOS Convention, as interpreted by Mexico, would mean that neither the United States, nor any of its corporations or nationals, are to be allowed to explore or exploit any of the mineral resources located within the triangle or to conduct any marine scientific research there.

It seems that the architect of Mexico’s position was Dr. Alberto Székely Sánchez, who served as the legal advisor of the Ministry of Foreign Relations (SRE) during the administration of President Miguel de la Madrid.⁹ However, as of today, the government of Mexico has not officially expressed its position on this matter.

The United States, in contrast to the Mexican position, has expressly reiterated in numerous international fora that it does not accept the tenor of Part XI of the LOS Convention, especially the powers granted to the International Seabed Authority and the Enterprise. It also rejects the notion that the area and its resources, form part of the Common Heritage of Humankind.¹⁰ Basically, the U.S. contends that the seabed and ocean floor, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, are an underwater area subject to the same legal principles that apply to the high seas. Just as anyone can fish in the high seas, for example, the U.S. considers that its corporations and nationals have the right to explore and exploit the resources in that submarine area, as well as the right to conduct marine scientific research activities therein, since they are located clearly beyond any national jurisdiction. Therefore, for the United States the International Seabed Authority has neither regulatory powers, nor any control over states, their corporations or their nationals in carrying out any activities in the area. Extracting oil from the deep seabed is legally equivalent to catching fish from the high seas.

This may be the legal position that Shell Oil Corporation *et al* are prepared to adopt if the oil deposit located in the “submarine triangle” of the Gulf of Mexico offers good commercial prospects. The “Baha Project,” then, may only be the first step in getting technologically and legally prepared for that not-too-remote eventuality.

² See Arts. 86 and 87 of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (LOS Convention).

³ Art. 1, paragraph 1 of the 1982 LOS Convention defines “the Area” as “the seabed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof, *beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.*” (Emphasis added.)

⁴ See Art. 136 of the 1982 LOS Convention.

⁵ Art. 137, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the LOS Convention.

⁶ Art. 143, LOS Convention.

⁷ Art. 140, paragraph 1, LOS Convention.

⁸ See Arts. 150-155 and 156-169, LOS Convention.

⁹ This legal thesis was advanced by Dr. Székely in “A Commentary with Mexican View on the Problem of Maritime Boundaries in U.S. Mexican Relations,” *Natural Resources Journal* 155, 1982.

¹⁰ For the major objections advanced by the Reagan administration against Part XI, See *inter alia*, Statement by the President, “U.S. Policy and the Law of the Sea,” January 28, 1982, *Department of State Bulletin*, March 1982, p. 54; Statement by Ambassador James L. Malone before the U.S. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, February 23, 1982, May 1982, pp. 61-63, and also before the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, August 12, 1982, October 1982, pp. 48-50.

For the United States extracting oil from the deep seabed is legally equivalent to catching fish from the high seas.



Photos courtesy of PEMEX International Press Office

All Mexicans will benefit if the submarine triangle is legally defined as a natural prolongation of its territory.

Two final but key questions remain, however: how did Mexico determine that the “submarine triangle” in the deepest portion of the Gulf of Mexico should be considered part of the International Seabed Area? And, is this really Mexico’s official position?

Pursuant to the 1982 LOS Convention, if the “submarine triangle” is a part of the International Seabed Area neither Mexico nor the United States can exploit it commercially. However the same convention may validly offer a more legally intriguing and economically practical alternative. Special attention should be given to Art. 76, paragraph 1, which states:

The continental shelf of a coastal State comprises the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas that extend beyond the territorial sea throughout the natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin,

or to a distance of 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured where the outer edge of the continental margin does not extend that distance.

What would happen if recent scientific studies proved that the deepest portion of the Gulf of Mexico is, indeed, “a natural prolongation of [Mexico’s] land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin?”

Regarding the outer boundary of the continental shelf, the convention provides two different regimes:

a. When the geomorphological continental shelf is less than 200 n.m., then the coastal state may legally extend the outer continental shelf boundary up to 200 n.m.; and,

b. When the continental shelf of the coastal state... beyond its territorial sea [extends] throughout the natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge



Environmental protection should be a priority when thinking about exploiting mineral resource deposits in deep-sea areas.

Mexico now has solid evidence to argue that the “submarine triangle” is definitely not a part of the International Seabed Area.

of the continental margin, then the outer boundary of the continental shelf may be legally prolonged to coincide with the outer edge of the continental margin.¹¹

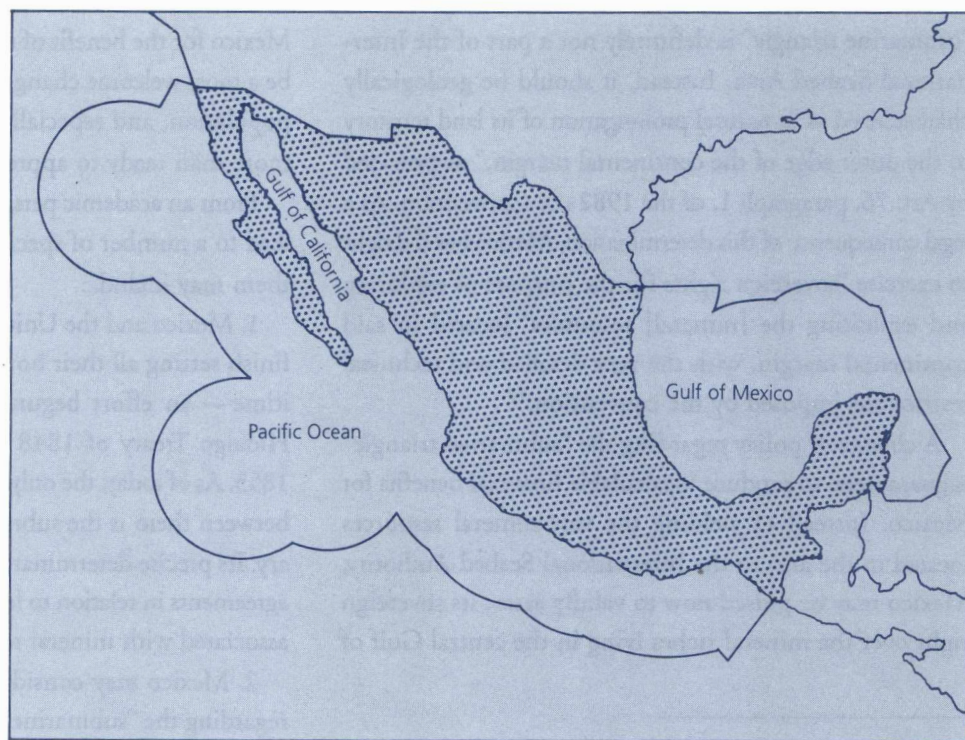
Apparently, Mexico adopted its decision based on the factual situation contemplated in paragraph (a). Most probably, this decision was made without having solid technical and scientific evidence to back it up. Technical studies up until that time had consistently suggested that Mexico’s continental shelves in the gulf did not approach, let alone exceed the 200 n.m. limit. This must have induced Mexico to favor the decision that its natural continental shelf did not even reach the 200 n.m. outer boundary.

¹¹ The 1982 LOS Convention defines the “continental margin as comprising the submerged prolongation of the land mass of the coastal state and consists of the seabed and subsoil of the shelf, the slope and the rise. It does not include the deep ocean floor with its oceanic ridges or the subsoil thereof.” See Art. 76, paragraph 3.

Under this mistaken assumption, Mexico declared—through its legal advisor—that the triangular submarine area beyond the 200 n.m. limit in the deepest part of the Gulf of Mexico was not to be considered a continental shelf but, rather, an area forming a portion of the International Seabed Area, a triangular submarine area beyond the country’s national jurisdiction. Mexico probably adopted what may have been a rush decision without realizing that it was technically unsound and scientifically unproven. However, when the decision was made there was no scientific or geological data proving that the “prolongation of [Mexico’s] land territory [extended] to the outer edge of the continental margin,” which is the case in light of the latest and most advanced geological studies.

Recent seismic and geological studies conducted by the Department of Geology of the University of Texas at Austin characterize the structure of the Gulf of Mexico

basin as a “geological continuum” contained in a semi-enclosed area.¹² The uniqueness of the gulf’s geological structure may be supported by the confluence of several distinct features. First, there are a number of “naturally formed carbonate platforms, such as those off Campeche and Florida.”¹³ Second, continental margins come from opposite sides of the basins and tend to meet and merge in the middle of the gulf.¹⁴ This is a most important scientific discovery. In essence, it means that the “submarine triangle” is located precisely

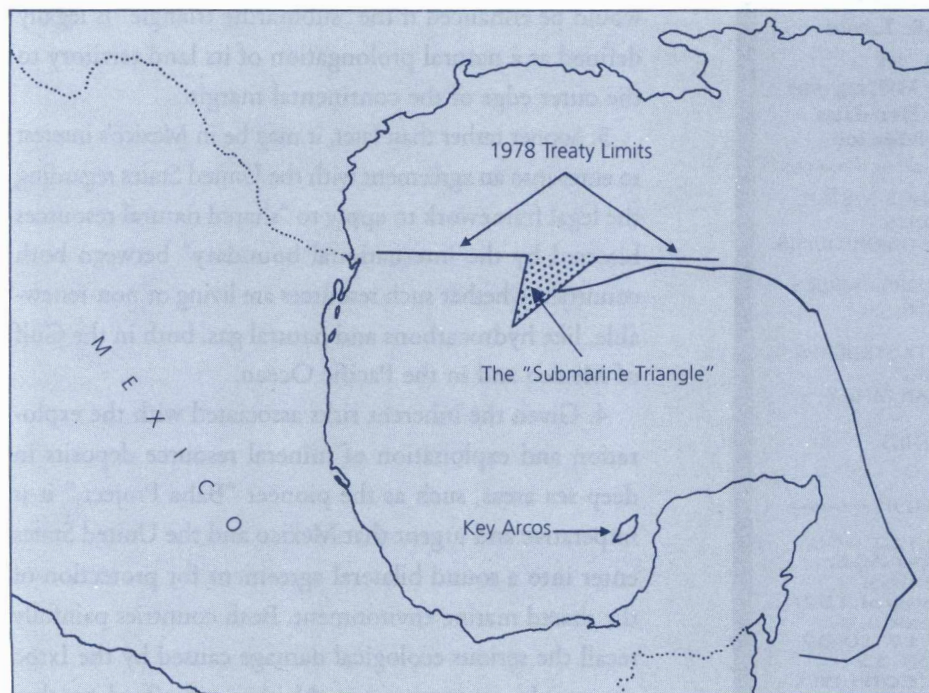


Mexico's current coastal limits.

¹² See Richard T. Buffer, “Seismic Stratigraphy of the Deep Gulf of Mexico Basin and Adjacent Margins,” in *The Geology of North America, Vol. J: The Gulf of Mexico Basin* 353, Amos Salvador, ed., 1991.

¹³ *Idem*, p. 355.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 377.



Given the configuration of the Gulf of Mexico, an area where the respective 200 n.m. limits of Mexico and the U.S. do not overlap left a “window” resembling a triangle beyond the outer boundaries of either country.

where the continental margins from the U.S. and Mexico merge in the middle of the basin. For Mexico, this indicates that its continental shelf extends beyond the 200 n.m. limit, and accordingly, it would have “sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting any

natural resources located in said submarine area, in accordance with the 1982 LOS Convention.¹⁵ Third, the somewhat semicircular shape of this basin also contributes to its uniqueness. For millions of years, sediments have gradually covered the gulf’s submarine topography, from continental shelves and slopes to the abyssal points and have concentrated in the deepest part of the gulf due to gravity.¹⁶

Based on these studies, published in 1991, Mexico now has solid evidence to argue that the

¹⁵ Art. 77, paragraph 1.

¹⁶ *Idem*, p. 376.

“submarine triangle” is definitely not a part of the International Seabed Area. Instead, it should be geologically characterized as “a natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin,” as provided by Art. 76, paragraph 1, of the 1982 LOS Convention. As a legal consequence of this determination, Mexico has the right to exercise “sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting the [mineral] resources” located in said continental margin, with the very detailed and technical restrictions imposed by the convention.¹⁷

A change of policy regarding the “submarine triangle” is guaranteed to produce incalculable financial benefits for Mexico. Instead of yielding the vast mineral resources located in the area to the International Seabed Authority, Mexico may be poised now to validly assert its sovereign right over the mineral riches lying in the central Gulf of

Mexico for the benefit of the Mexican people. This would be a most welcome change of policy that Mexico’s current population, and especially its future generations, will be more than ready to appreciate.

From an academic perspective, the “Baha Project” could lead to a number of specific recommendations. Some of them may include:

1. Mexico and the United States may finally proceed to finish setting all their boundaries—both land and maritime—an effort begun as a result of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. As of today, the only boundary still to be agreed upon between them is the submarine continental shelf boundary. Its precise determination is likely to facilitate reaching agreements in relation to legal and other property questions associated with mineral resources in submarine areas.

2. Mexico may consider declaring its official position regarding the “submarine triangle.” In light of the results that the “Baha Project” expects in the near future, Mexico may reexamine the legal and technical complexities associated with the existence of mineral resources in the central part of the Gulf of Mexico and the benefits that present and future generations of Mexicans could reap from exploiting them. Definitely, Mexico’s official position would be enhanced if the “submarine triangle” is legally defined as a natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin.

3. Sooner rather than later, it may be in Mexico’s interest to enter into an agreement with the United States regarding the legal framework to apply to “shared natural resources bisected by the international boundary” between both countries, whether such resources are living or non-renewable, like hydrocarbons and natural gas, both in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Pacific Ocean.

4. Given the inherent risks associated with the exploration and exploitation of mineral resource deposits in deep-sea areas, such as the pioneer “Baha Project,” it is imperative and urgent that Mexico and the United States enter into a sound bilateral agreement for protection of the shared marine environment. Both countries painfully recall the serious ecological damage caused by the Ixtoc catastrophe some years ago. Neither can afford another similar environmental disaster. ❧

¹⁷ See Art. 76, paragraphs 4-8, 1982 LOS Convention. During the work of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, reaching agreement on the outer boundary of the continental shelf was one of the most controversial and elusive points on the agenda of its Second Commission.



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MEXICO-U.S. RELATIONS

En Route to a Collision or Dealing Together with Immigration?¹

Gustavo Mohar*

Since the outset of the Zedillo administration, Mexico expressed its willingness to develop a “new understanding” with the U.S. government. This strategy seeks to adjust the framework of the bilateral relationship based on mutual respect and clear, direct dialogue, as well as increased cooperation.

The aim is to avoid differences around one of the many issues that make up the bilateral relationship hindering cooperation in any other. That is, the goal is to deal with each issue on its own merits, not allowing any aspect of our agenda to contaminate the whole of our bilateral relationship. Whether this strategy can be successfully applied is something that I will come back to later.

In immigration we could not find an easier, calmer, steadier and more predictable scenario:

In the United States, the cyclical anxiety about immigration came around again. The political establishment (legislators, the presidential contenders) and its surrogates (the think tanks, researchers), NGO's, the [Catholic] Church and, last but not least, the media started a nationwide debate that made it clear that immigration would become the first topic on the bilateral agenda.

The U.S. Congress began what has been defined as the most fundamental change in migratory legislation in many

years. We are still facing the possibility of a new law with several provisions oriented, in my personal view, to formalizing, institutionalizing, current Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) policies: strengthened controls at the southern border, increased worksite enforcement and verified employer compliance with the law. Plus other niceties, such as allowing states to prohibit children of undocumented immigrants from attending public school.

On the Mexican side, the economic cyclical crisis also made itself felt: devaluation, macroeconomic adjustments, recession, risk of uncontrolled inflation and, last but not least, the menace of increased numbers of young unemployed Mexicans preparing to rush to the North.

It is in this context that we need to situate and understand Mexico's approach with respect to the flows of Mexicans migrating to the United States. The topic immediately became a priority in the binational meetings. The bilateral agenda covers a very wide number of issues that deal with the innumerable formal and infor-

Migration between Mexico and the United States, past, present and future, is the most sensitive, complex and difficult issue facing us today.

* Minister for Migrations Affairs, Mexican Embassy, Washington, D.C..

¹ Paper presented at the Conference on Migration and U.S. Policy, Washington, D.C., June 13-15, 1996.



Regional conferences on immigration promote better understanding of its international nature.

mal daily contacts between public officials on both sides. Some could argue that trade, finance or even drug trafficking are more important topics, but I think that none of them represents as big a challenge to both countries as the migration of Mexicans to the United States.

In my view, migration between Mexico and the United States, past, present and future, is the most sensitive, complex and difficult issue facing us today. I will now briefly describe what we have achieved.

BILATERAL MIGRATION MECHANISMS

The Working Group on Migration and Consular Affairs, established in 1977, is one of the 16 different bilateral groups in the Binational Commission.

Over the last 18 months, there have been numerous negotiations between representatives of the two governments which began by agreeing on a common set of principles to regulate our dialogue and basic understandings. That has allowed us to find concrete solutions to some specific migratory and consular problems.

For instance the group has established:

- Criteria and procedures for the dignified return of Mexican immigrants to Mexico once they are apprehended and repatriated by INS agents in the U.S. border area and beyond;
- mechanisms to ensure respect for their civil and human rights;
- measures to facilitate documented border crossing;
- procedures for sharing information in order to actively cooperate in the fight against traffickers and combat violence and crime on the border;
- measures to prevent the existence of the so called "lane runners" in the Tijuana-San Diego corridor;
- ways to establish a pilot program for voluntary repatriation to the interior of Mexico.

One revealing aspect of these meetings has been seeing how little each side knows about the other. It is difficult to accept that although immigration is an old and persistent topic, in the past neither party has been interested enough to really understand what is happening on the other side of the border, what people in charge of immigration policies think and do, what their political constraints and demands are,

their experiences in the field, in day-to-day work, and their ways of solving ordinary logistical operational problems, or of dealing with their respective laws and institutions.

BORDER LIAISON MECHANISMS

Border-liaison mechanisms were established a few years ago to prevent border incidents and to allow local issues to be dealt with locally, thereby helping to solve problems and difficulties that otherwise could become a cause of conflict at the federal level. This is based on the conviction—born of long experience—that the best solutions are found locally, in the field, rather than at the desks of Washington or Mexico City bureaucracies.

Local and state authorities from both sides of the border (consulates, Mexico's National Institute for Migration [INM], the Attorney General's Office, Health Department/INS, customs, the FBI, local police) meet regularly to dis-

cuss and exchange information about different topics, including specific immigration problems affecting their jurisdictions.

These mechanisms are a response to an increased atmosphere of violence and delinquency on both sides of the border. They also aim to establish and promote the facilitation of legal crossings, improve border infrastructure and coordinate the different agencies involved. In short, they are the germ of a comprehensive border-management approach.

CONSULTATION MECHANISMS ON INS ACTIVITIES AND CONSULAR PROTECTION

INS policies and programs in 1996 gave priority to worksite enforcement and employment verification. Therefore, we have met to ensure that this is carried out in a manner consistent with respect for the human and civil rights of Mexican immigrants.



Cuartosuro

One of Mexico's central concerns is that INS policies be implemented in a manner consistent with respect for the human and civil rights of immigrants.

Mexico has 40 consular offices in the United States—probably the largest number in a single country in the world—that cover all the states of the union. Today, each of them has a formal liaison mechanism with the INS and Border Patrol officials of their jurisdiction.

We have proven that regular contact between them enhances mutual understanding and learning for Mexican officials: it has been useful to learn about the laws, rules and procedures that the INS labors under. It has also been useful for U.S. officials to learn about the legal functioning of our consulates in performing their activities to protect Mexican citizens' rights.

BILATERAL STUDY ON IMMIGRATION

Probably for the first time, both governments agreed to support a bilateral study on immigration conducted by Mexican and American researchers and academics. The study is comprehensive and ambitious and seeks to analyze the multiple facets of this issue objectively and scientifically. We hope that from their work, policymakers of both sides will find new elements of analysis and diagnosis, that may be translated not only into a better understanding of the phenomenon, but into specific policy and political decisions.

MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES

It is in our interest to promote a better understanding of the international nature of migration and to find ways to cooperate among all the countries involved. That is why in March of this year Mexico convened the "Regional Conference on Migration," attended by all the Central American countries, including Belize and Panama, as well as Canada and the United States. Its formal result was expressed in a communiqué, but probably more relevant was that the

*The present and future reality
of Mexico-U.S. migration
requires additional
and updated research.*

conference permitted an interesting, extensive, open dialogue between the heads of the immigration offices of the region, plus high level officials from the foreign affairs ministries in charge of their countries' migration, refugee and asylum policies. This was the first time that they got together and had a chance to meet each other face to face, to listen and talk directly about their different perspectives and experiences and the way they experience the migration challenge.

It was surprising to identify so many problems. The determination exists to continue this initial encounter in order to find ways to cooperate and learn from one another. All of the participants recognized the need to deepen the analysis and understanding of the regional implications that immigration has.

I started by saying I would attempt to present Mexico's approach to the question of migration to the United States. I will try to summarize with the following ideas:

1. It was clear for us that the most immediate, urgent need was to establish bilateral formulas and understandings that would allow us to react promptly and strengthen our ability to protect our migrants in the United States. We can see that this is not new, and it has even been considered a limited policy followed by the Mexican government in the past. That is probably true, but the completely new mechanisms, dialogue and agreements that I just described, although minor and obviously insufficient, are practical contributions that make up what can be described as a previously non-existent "network" of channels of communication.
2. The debate about immigration's role in the United States in recent years has been blurred in some cases and its negative impacts highlighted by some sectors, and what is worse, an unfair and risky association made between immigrants and criminals.

The historical contributions of immigrants, and specifically Mexican workers, to the U.S. economy and culture have been disregarded, if not completely denied. It is a paradox, an irony and even a contradiction, that, today, a few years after Mexico and the United States signed NAFTA, committing ourselves and Canada in a long-term, permanent partnership, seeking increased trade and in-

vestment as the real way to eliminate the need of many Mexicans to come to find a way to support their families, we are eying each other with mistrust and even bitterness, something that we thought belonged to the past.

Old images deep in the collective memory of many Mexicans have reappeared, erasing what seemed to be the beginning of a different, more positive relationship between our two countries.

Therefore, we think it is necessary to promote a better understanding of the complexities of this phenomenon. The present and future reality of Mexico-U.S. migration requires additional and updated research that will allow public opinion on both sides, as well as policy-makers in both governments, to have better elements of judgement for understanding its real nature and to translate those studies into viable measures. I think NAFTA is a turning point in the Mexico-U.S. relationship. I hope its long term effects will be beneficial and create more and better jobs in Mexico. Meanwhile, we have to think about how to refocus and deal with the migration between the two countries.

3. The root causes and structural factors of U.S.-bound migration differ in many ways from those of other countries. One of the main differences is the degree of real integration and interdependence, despite the asymmetry of the economies of our two countries. Mexican migrant workers in the United States have responded not only to the so-called "push factors" in Mexico (scarcity of jobs), but also to the U.S. "pull factors" (demand for labor, especially in agriculture and services).

We can differ in the analysis about the net contributions of these workers, but it seems to me that the existence of a regional labor market is hard to deny.

We need not think in terms of traditional programs and past solutions. We are on the verge of the end of the century, living in an international community that is going through dramatic, unexpected changes or at least changes which were not expected to happen with the speed and depth that we face today. Conventionalism in all scientific fields has been questioned, challenged and, on many occasions, rejected. Probably it is time to incorporate this new thinking into the labor markets in North America.

4. Every year there are more than 300 million legal crossings in both directions at the Mexico-U.S. border. This unique movement of people reflects the intensity of the links that unite our countries. Today, the measures adopted to enforce the law in the United States, are building not only walls and barriers, but also the potential for increased tension, insecurity and violence, affecting the lives of citizens and communities on both sides of the international border.

In the short term, there is a need to find alternative measures to "manage the border" in a safer, less aggressive way that puts a priority on the social and economic development of the region. We are committed to continue to search for mutually agreed-upon solutions that represent significant changes locally, and all together these apparently minor solutions should be addressed to the common objective of having a safe and efficient border.

In conclusion, the near future promises both an excellent opportunity and an enormous challenge. Both countries have the option either to work together in the difficult search for new, viable, structural, long-term solutions for jointly managing immigration between them, or to follow a route that will lead to an undesirable, still avoidable, collision. **W**

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MEXICAN-CANADIAN RELATIONS

Toward the Other Distant Neighbor

Isabel Studer*



Photos: The President's Press Office

President Ernesto Zedillo and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien.

In the last few months, government meetings between Mexico and Canada have emphasized the idea of the two countries as strategic partners. The main goal of President Ernesto Zedillo's visit to Canada last June was to strengthen

this view, undoubtedly reinforced by the similarities in both countries' position on the controversial Helms-Burton Act. By April, at the inaugural session of the XI Mexico-Canada Ministerial Commission Meeting, Mexico's Foreign Minister José Angel Gurría said, "For many years Mexico and Canada perceived themselves as countries kept apart by a powerful common neighbor.

In the last few years, we have changed that view and discovered the values and potential of our nations themselves." Also, during the X Mexico-Canada Interparliamentary Meeting (May 1996), several Mexican congressional deputies emphasized that the attitude of Canada's legislators differed radically from that of their U.S. counterparts at the last interparliamentary

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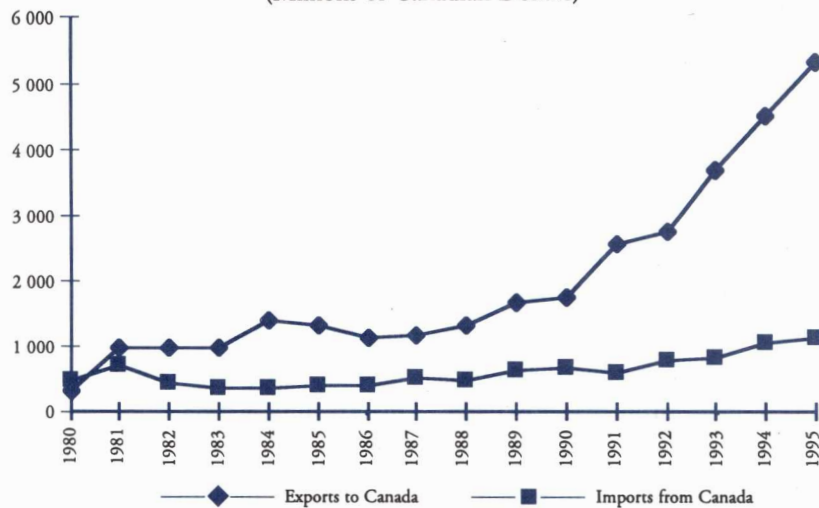
meeting with the United States, which had been held a few weeks previously in Zacatecas, Mexico. Given this, we may well ask ourselves what the bases are for this new partnership between Mexico and Canada.

RECOGNITION OF MUTUAL INTERESTS

The interest of both countries in making our bilateral relations closer and bettering mutual understanding increased visibly with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Indicators show that the bilateral relationship is more mature, which in turn reflects the importance that each country has given its new partner. In recent years, Mexico has maintained its traditional favorable trade balance with Canada and trade between the two countries has increased (Graph 1). Canadian investment in Mexico also continues to rise and in 1995 reached a cumulative figure of more than 800 million dollars (Graph 2). Today, more than 600 Canadian companies operate in Mexico in such different areas as financial and professional services, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade and mining. In addition, more than 60 bilateral accords regulate different kinds of government exchanges, and there are a diversity of agreements between local governments in both countries, as well as many less easily counted but equally important agreements between universities, non-governmental organizations, cultural groups, etc.

Mexico and Canada have also found common interests outside North

Graph 1
MEXICO-CANADA TRADE, 1980-1995
 (Millions of Canadian Dollars)

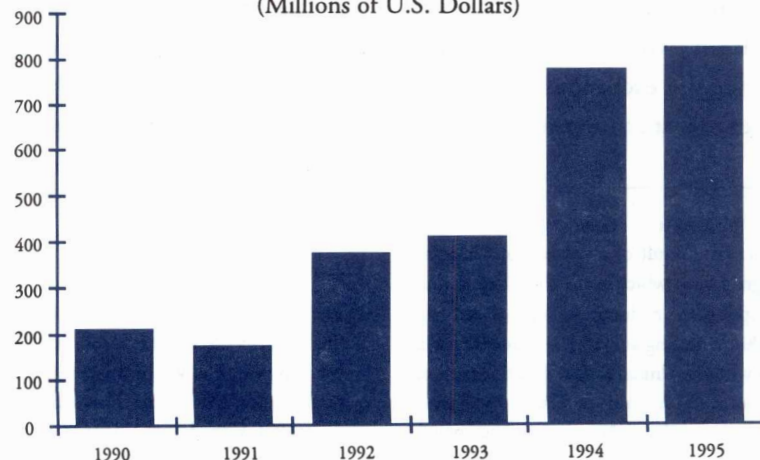


Source: Statistics Canada, Merchandise Trade Division.

America, particularly in the promotion of free trade throughout the hemisphere and, in the long term, worldwide. This is a priority of Jean Chrétien's Liberal government, as demonstrated by its proposal to create the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its sponsorship of Mexico as a member of the Asian-Pacific

Economic Conference (APEC). Canada is currently negotiating with Chile to sign a free trade agreement. Mexico has begun discussions about possible similar agreements with Peru and the Central American Common Market, in addition to the already existing agreements between Mexico and Chile, Colombia and Venezuela,

Graph 2
ACCUMULATED DIRECT CANADIAN INVESTMENT IN MEXICO
1990-1995
 (Millions of U.S. Dollars)



Source: Canadian Embassy in Mexico.

Bolivia and Costa Rica. These stem from both Mexico's and Canada's concern that the United States, because its congress refused its executive branch the fast track, will not exercise its leadership to create a hemisphere-wide free trade zone by the year 2005, as agreed at the 1995 Miami hemisphere summit.

In 52 years of diplomatic relations, Mexico and Canada have concurred on a number of hemispheric matters, among them the maintenance of trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba since 1968 and active participation in the Central American peace process in the 1980s.

There have also been attempts to increase trade between the two countries. The most recent was in the late 1970s when the governments of Pierre E. Trudeau and José López Portillo took foreign policy initiatives aimed at decreasing the economic weight of the United States in each of their countries. The Canadian "third option" policy resulted in Canada's drawing closer than ever before to Latin America and its participation in the North-South dialogue.¹ Canada was also one of the five industrialized countries from which Mexico sought technology in exchange for oil. From these efforts at economic diversifica-

tion arose the creation of a binational Canada-Mexico commission for consultation, as well as increased trade. However, this process was interrupted by the 1982 financial crisis in Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

DISTANT, BUT PARALLEL, HISTORIES

Historically, both Mexican and Canadian foreign policy has made maintaining national identity and independence a fundamental objective. Despite the difference in the size of their economies (Canada's is three times that of Mexico²) and their different cultural values, the basic condition of having the United States as a neighbor has put both countries in its sphere of influence. It has also meant that both depend on its huge market and investment capabilities (although it should be mentioned that 25 percent of foreign direct investment in the United States originates in Canada) and that they are subject to increasing —though uneven— economic interdependence with their powerful neighbor. A counterweight to this has been both countries' active participation in multilateral fora.

However, the foreign policies of both Canada and Mexico also reflect a sense of belonging to different geographic regions. Until very recently,

Canadian foreign policy was oriented fundamentally toward Europe, as is shown by its membership in the British Commonwealth, the French *Francophonie* and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). At the same time, because of its small, open economy, Canadian living standards depend on international trade. This is why Canada has shown such an interest and commitment to strengthening multilateral economic organizations (like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]) and to promoting international security and order. This is the explanation of Canada's significant contribution to U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Mexico, for its part, although it has pursued multilateralism with the same goals that Canada has, refused to be part of GATT until 1987 since its developmental model, based on import substitution, required a closed economy. Mexico's foreign policy toward Latin America is multilateral, as can be seen in its membership in the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Latin American Association for Development and Integration and its participation in U.N. groups like the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

THE HISTORIC CONVERGENCE

The profound changes on the international scene have led to a modification in the foreign policies of both Mexico and Canada, creating a greater possibility of their drawing closer together. The steps forward in the

¹ The "third option" policy, adopted in the 1970s was a result of a revision of Canadian foreign policy, which until then had mainly two options: a) maintaining a privileged relationship with England and b) tightening relations with the United States. The third option recommended diversifying relations with other areas including Latin America, a policy practically abandoned in the 1990s when Canada signed the NAFTA agreement. [Editor's Note.]

² The Canadian economy is, in turn, ten times smaller than the United States', but Canada's per capita GDP is very similar to that of its neighbor to the south. This explains why since 1976 Canada has belonged to the club of the world's most industrialized countries, known as the Group of Seven.

consolidation of an integrated Europe, the stymied Uruguay Round talks and the U.S.'s growing protectionism are some of the factors which have arisen in the 1980s that explain the historic convergence of Mexico and Canada around the North American option. Therein lie the causes of Brian Mulroney's Conservative government's decision to sign the bilateral Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 1987 and Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's proposal to the United States of a similar accord in 1990.

The new course is also a fundamental shift in the historic objective of both countries whereby they refused to accept the idea of a common future with the United States, given that the economies of both countries pointed to growing integration with their powerful neighbor. Mexico decided to accept the North American option and, in 1990, Canada decided to become a member of the OAS, having been an observer since 1972. To a great extent, this was possible due to the political and economic changes taking place in Latin America and the diminished strategic, military importance of the region for the U.S. because of the end of the Cold War.

DIVERGENCE BETWEEN STRATEGIC PARTNERS

The historic convergence between Mexico and Canada does not mean that they automatically agree on foreign policy. Mexico, for example,



During President Zedillo's visit to Canada in June this year.

has expressed its reservations³ or has opposed⁴ a series of initiatives within the OAS designed to introduce mechanisms to guarantee the defense of democracy in the region. In contrast, Canada has supported them all. This support, just like Canada's 1994 proposal to create the Unit for Democracy within the OAS Secretariat is, among other things, a reflection of

³ For example, it expressed reservations to Resolution 1080 (June 1991), which allowed the Secretary General of the OAS to convene an immediate meeting of the Permanent Council in the event of a threat to the democratic process of a member country.

⁴ Mexico opposed the Washington Protocol (December 1991) whereby the countries in the Western Hemisphere give the OAS the authority to suspend a member state whose democratic government has been overthrown by force. Mexico also opposed the 1995 proposal of the Caribbean countries to establish a military force to defend democracy.

a Canadian interpretation of sovereignty which emphasizes the defense of individual rights. In contrast, Mexico has tended to strictly interpret the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples, with their concomitant defense of the national collective [good] when faced with any threat to national territory and political institutions. Insofar as Mexico makes the transition to an open economy, its interpretation of these principles becomes more flexible, as can be seen by the Mexican government's acceptance of "international visitors" during the August 1994 federal elections.

The recent intensification of Mexican-Canadian relations does not mean that their economic dependency with regard to the United States has changed. Mexican-Canadian

Table 1
TRADE IN NORTH AMERICA, 1994-1995
 (Billions of Canadian Dollars)

| Exports | Year | Canada | United States | Mexico |
|---------------|------|--------|---------------|--------|
| Canada | 1994 | — | 184.2 | 1.6 |
| | 1995 | — | 209.7 | 1.1 |
| United States | 1994 | 114.0 | — | 69.4 |
| | 1995 | 137.2 | — | 63.5 |
| Mexico | 1994 | 3.7 | 67.6 | — |
| | 1995 | 4.5 | 84.7 | — |

Sources: Statistics Canada: Customs Basis. For trilateral trade: Canadian International Merchandise Trade; Canada's Balance of International Payments. For Mexico-U.S. bilateral trade: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Basis.

trade is only four percent that of Mexico-U.S. trade and 1.6 percent Canada-U.S. trade (Table 1). In 1995, U.S. investment in Mexico was 24 times more than Canadian, and even Germany invested four times what Canada invested in Mexico (Table 2). Both countries' commerce with the rest of Latin America also represented only a small percentage of their total trade (5 percent and 2 percent respective-

ly). While this remains the case, the common Mexican and Canadian goal of creating hemisphere-wide free trade will continue to be mainly political.

INDICATIONS OF A PROMISING FUTURE

As attested to by the joint Canadian and Mexican actions in different multilateral fora—but particularly in

the resolution supported by both at the last OAS ministerial meeting (June 1996)—common actions by both countries set important precedents for achieving consensus to confront the predominance of U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere, a predominance which flies in the face of international norms. In fact, the mechanism for conflict resolution established in NAFTA Chapters 19 and 20 are a legal instrument for restricting unilateral U.S. government measures which, due to their extraterritorial consequences (such as in the case of the controversial Helms-Burton Act) contravene fundamental rules of international law. This mechanism was the basis of the negotiating position of Mexico and Canada vis-à-vis the United States in the NAFTA discussions.

Maintaining a good relationship with the United States is a priority for both Mexico and Canada. However, today, closer relations between the latter two countries offer enormous potential benefits, not for creating an alliance against their powerful neighbor, but for ensuring that the United States meets its international commitments. Hopefully, these closer relations will also further their common interests, particularly worldwide free trade. This does not mean that we can expect automatic agreement in Mexican and Canadian interests and positions on international questions. In fact, Mexico's encounter with its other distant neighbor requires the creation of closer long-lasting ties despite possible changes in the international situation. ❧

Table 2
FLOW OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT BY COUNTRY
 (1995)

| Country | Millions of U.S. Dollars |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| United States | 3 447 |
| Netherlands | 564 |
| Germany | 537 |
| Canada | 144 |
| Japan | 136 |
| United Kingdom | 93 |
| Other Countries | 575 |
| TOTAL | 5 496 |

Source: SECOFI.

RAG, CARDBOARD AND TIN VOICES

The Poetry of Mexican Toys

Luis Felipe Fabre*

What does the *alebrije*¹ watching me know of me? Where is that so-still toy truck made of reeds going? What melody made the horn sigh? Coordinated by Mauricio Martínez Rosas, *Arcoiris de sueños, así juegan los niños mexicanos* (Rainbow of Dreams. This Is How Mexican Children Play) (Nacional Financiera, Mexico City, 1995) pays homage to traditional toys and the craftsmen who make these fantasies in clay, wire and wood possible.

THE VOICES OF PLAY AND TOYS

In this section of the book, Gutierre Aceves Piña reviews different kinds of common, ordinary games, from tongue-twisters, marionettes, miniatures and paper dolls, to games of chance, noisemakers, sugar skulls and boxers. These toys continue to use indigenous techniques and materials, although, over time, they have incorporated all kinds of elements. One of the main characteristics of traditional toys is that they are unique, smothered in ordinariness and they tend to be permanent. Industrial toys

* Poet. First prizewinner for poetry, *Punto de Partida* magazine, 1995.

¹ *Alebrijes* are brightly painted, fantastic animals carved in wood. [Translator's Note.]



Photo: Rigoberto Moreno Santana



are different in that they are aseptic, homogeneous, changing and continually fresh.

How can you not be seduced by the imperfections in a hand-crafted toy? It is as if those little defects gave each toy a personality of its own, making it more like human beings: one eye bigger than the other, drops of paint fallen by sheer accident, a fingerprint of the craftsman pressed into the clay while molding the nose.

Some toys have a ritual or religious function and are made for particular holidays like Christmas, All Saints Day or Corpus Christi. Others try to teach civic pride or prepare children for their future roles in society. But, as Aceves Piña tells us, "The educational or ritual intentions imposed on toys are no barrier to their being able to seduce the imagination and being subjected to games, that territory of pleasure, that aimless land in which useful ends are avoided and leisure is exalted: compost for the creation of other worlds."

Whether it transmits ideologies from the adult world or not, one of the main values of play continues to be the lack of a precise end. It shares with poetry, then,

its tendency to uselessness. Being something useless in an increasingly utilitarian world is quite enough in itself.

FROM THE FANTASY WORKSHOP

How can we even say the word "ball" without wanting to kick it? How do we say piñata without wanting to break it, even if only with our voices? Much can be said about traditional Mexican toys, but to touch their essence, you have to play with them. All poetry implies play. Playing with language, building doorless castles or houseless windows with words, playing hide-and-seek with its meanings, or exploding language with fire crackers ripping it apart like a Judas doll the day before Easter Sunday, so nothing is left but sound and light. Maybe that is why Raúl Aceves and Jorge Elías Luján both chose poetry to approach toys.

"From the Fantasy Workshop," a collection of writings about traditional toys, includes everything from children's rhymes to verse by poets like Carlos Pellicer, Carmen Villoro, Adriana Díaz Enciso, Jorge Esquinca, Ramón López Velarde, Miguel García Ascencio, Antonio Deltoro and Raúl Bañuelos, among others, bound together with the prose of Raúl Aceves. In this very readable trip through the vast universe of toys, the poet knows how to stop to discover the secrets hidden in a *balero*,² a wire bicycle or a doll. So, for example, when he gets to balls, he writes, "Balls have stopped bouncing. They sleep spherically and remember the trajectory of their flight, the walls they bounced off, the feet they pounded black and blue, the thorns that flattened their souls."

Toys, because of their beauty or their mystery, demand their poem. Play and poetry give life and voice to objects, place themselves on the side of these things, as Francis Ponge would say. It is almost as if children and poets were the guardians or heirs of some animist cult practiced since the infancy of humanity. Practically in

² A Mexican toy which consists of a stick attached by a string to a block of wood with a hole in it; the object is to swing the block of wood and catch it by the hole on the stick. [Translator's Note.]

secret, they carry out the task of humanizing the world, of infusing spirit into matter, of changing things into our brethren.

A craftsman can transform the seeds of a tree into a doll, but it is the little girl who makes it her daughter, and the poet who hears her call, as Luján says, "A doll beckons me in a bewildering tongue." Paul Valéry wrote that poetry only exists in its state of composition and of diction; that is, it requires someone to read it. In the same way, dolls, says Aceves, "in and of themselves are no more than the beautiful products of the imagination in the process of completion." Listen to the call of the things themselves: the top calls out to be spun; the doll insists on being carried; the pinwheel asks only a life-giving breath. We should listen to them because they need us.

Play and poetry also share their alchemist's transforming nature. They subvert objects' habitual functions in order to

find other, more surprising ones. A craftsman makes marbles so that children can play marbles, but children know that marbles can also dance or make families or be planets that crash into each other. And just as play turns a cardboard box, made expressly to hold things, into a spaceship, a table, a house, poetry alters the habitual function of words. In daily speech, words are a means; in a poem, they are an end in themselves. An adjective can become a noun or the word "bird" can stop referring to a bird and be anything else, or, in the best of cases, nothing at all.

Fantasy, that stuff of invention, is not a prior state, but is itself an element. Together with earth, fire, air and water, fantasy made the world.

"Perhaps we are also another type of fantastic creature," Aceves tells us. He knows



Photo: José Martínez Verrea



Photo: José Martínez Vereá

the photographs do not really illustrate the poems, nor do the poems describe the photographs. Rather, words and images strike up unexpected conversations. From the wings on a clay butterfly, Luján can situate himself in “a slanted evening;” a multicolored helicopter is sufficient pretext for “...the clouds to go for a walk/taking the sky with them.”

“A Gentle Ting-A-Ling...” suggests a solitary toy that, suddenly overcoming its habitual timidity, attracts our attention, inviting us, but also reminding us of its own musicality, similar to the tinkling of those little tin mobiles that the wind only just plays upon. Soft sounds that answer each other quietly, words that find echoes in other words, children’s songs that can be heard in a far-off back yard: Luján knows that every word needs silence to be able to occupy its place and that poetry happens, to a great extent, in what is not said. These poems in their brevity frame the silence, charging it with significance.

An almost imperceptible sense of humor permeates these texts; a sense of humor that, without bursting into laughter, makes intelligence—or something similar to intelligence—smile. It is the look of surprise and the ear of surprise:

*In the crystal of one bubble
the whole earth
reflects itself*

*Plop!
Another planet gone³*

Letting oneself be surprised is play, but in order to be surprised, we must be humble before the world and its words. Being quiet and listening; recognizing that everything around us, and in this case toys and language, has something to say. Luján does not describe the game; he turns it into language. In some poems the words play at rhyming; in others, the verses amuse themselves by drawing the similarities with some toy or other, like in the poem written out in the form

there are no precise limits between that misty region of reality called fantasy and the one called just plain reality. Poetry, play and even toys themselves make it palpable. Little girls may grow up to become “sad dolls, or at least disconcerted ones, who sometimes write verse,” and there are “imaginary arrows and bullets” that “break real windows.”

A GENTLE TING-A-LING...

In the part of the book written by Jorge Elías Luján, each poem goes with the image of the toy it was born of, but

³ Jorge Luján’s poems were translated by Rebecca Parfitt and John Oliver Simon.

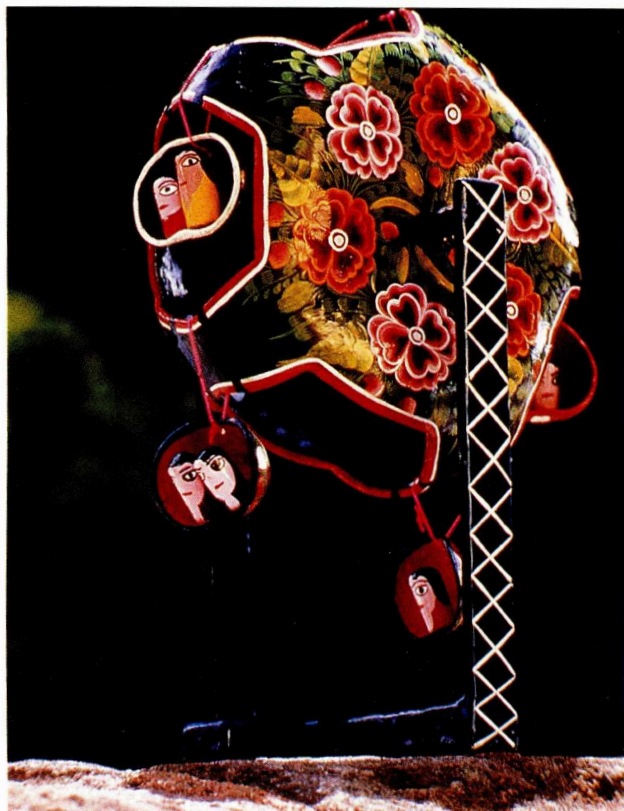


PHOTO: RIGOBERTO MORENO SANTANA

of a snake that begins with the child's tune "A la víbora de la mar" (The Sea Snake). The poet is quiet in the face of the wooden boat, in the face of the clay skull, so that they may insinuate his poem. Just as a child or a puppeteer lend their voices and their movement to the marionettes, but it is the marionettes who speak, who move, the poet lends his voice to the words so that it is the words who speak. "The scribe gathers the words together on the sheet. Does that mean he is the one who makes the design?"

Certain pre-Hispanic reminiscences filter down through these poems, just as they do in the toys: "Rattles there are/Snails resounding/And a layer of arrows bristling the air." Luminosity and silence predominate, although they are not the only elements in pre-Columbian poetry. Luján takes that poetry on board. Its still unexplored vein in Mexican literature is decanted in his writing, almost without wanting it to be. The feeling of how fleeting life is is there throughout the book. Death, at the end of all the games, is perceived despite the carnival colors of the toys.

Childhood passes; the toys await other children to give them life. It is almost as if the toys carried on their shoulders the advantage of a greater ability for dying and reviving:

*Toys dwell inside us
but when the season changes
they leave the nest*

*how soon we see them miles away
we
who do not last*

But the time may also come when the toys—or certain toys—disappear forever. As Aceves Piña warns, "The low [sale] price and the time the artisan takes to make traditional toys have a negative effect, creating a tendency for this kind of production to die out." Their disappearance would mean



PHOTO: JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ VÉREA

Photo: José Martínez Vereá

the end of a form of play and, therefore, of a way of constructing reality. In one of his poems, Luján warns of the threat of extinction of Mexican traditional toys.

*Centuries were needed
To imagine the rainbow*

*Of your shawl
against the night of your skirt*

*Centuries for you to wear them
the last doll of the mountains*

in the future, no trace of you



Photo: Rigoberto Moreno Santana





Faced with the horror that not infrequently seizes the world, a toy, a poem, lose the battle. But sometimes, amidst the horror, the only thing we have to hold on to is a toy, a poem. Luján seeks in toys, in their wooden, wire, cardboard voices, the words that we sometimes cannot find in men. Poetry gives us the possibility of recovering childhood, innocence, even if only while a poem lasts:

*Some carry guns in their hands
you carry a flute
a flute!
oh, little one,
life is savage
outside the jungle*

ON NAHUATL WISDOM


The *huehuetlatolli* is the traditional book of rhetoric, moral philosophy and theology of the Nahuas, or Aztecs, the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico. Here, we present extracts from Chapter 20, the words with which a lord or noble father admonishes his son so he may live modestly, be respectful and know himself to be well with the gods and men.

My son, my boy, little man, listen to me; Our Lord commands thee, yea, now with two words I exhort thee, I admonish thee, my son, my child, my necklace, my fine feather, my oldest, my second son, my smallest.¹

Now I think and I say; now I remember the word I am going to make a gift of to thee, my maternity, my paternity, with which I will do my duty, not tomorrow, but the day after tomorrow when Our Lord Tloque Nahuaque hides me, Our Lord whose rigorousness and strength no one understands, nor truly experience on the Earth.

Receive, then (my word); listen to it: do not follow Our Lord by half measures, live not in impurity. Ah; that thou shouldst perdure for a very long time. Go very calmly, pay attention; this is a terribly difficult, very dirty place...

¹ All three terms are probably listed so that whoever uses the speech may choose the appropriate word.

Note: Fragment from Huehuetlatolli, the sixth book of the Florentine Codex, published by the National University of Mexico, Mexico City, 1955, with paleography, Spanish-language version, notes and index by Salvador Díaz Cintora. 



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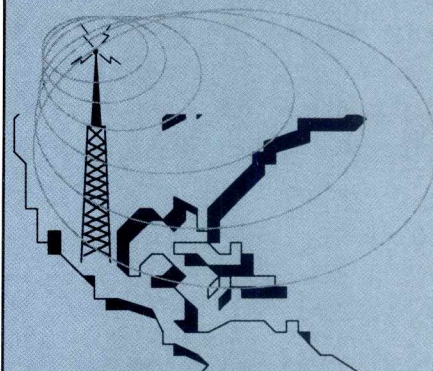
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Cultura con imaginación

THE GREAT EXHIBIT

Olmec Art of Ancient Mexico Mesoamerica's Oldest Civilization

Beatriz de la Fuente*



* Researcher emeritus, Institute of Aesthetic Research, UNAM. In representation of the National University of Mexico, the author and Ann Cyphers, from the Institute of Anthropological Research, participated in the organization, writing of articles and the promotion through conferences of this magnificent exhibit. Photos for this article are courtesy of *Arqueología Mexicana*, and they were printed in *Olmec*, its first special issue in English. Reproduced by permission of *Arqueología Mexicana* © *Ratces* / INAH.

A magnificent exhibit of Olmec objects was recently inaugurated at Washington, D.C.'s National Gallery. In my opinion, the showing demonstrates something fundamental: that Olmec objects are in themselves works of art, just as are those from other civilizations at their zenith. The National Gallery then, is hosting an art exhibit, in which for the first time Olmec pieces are being presented as *objets d'art*. The exhibition confirms once again

the receptivity of Western peoples to diverse expressions of art.

This is the second time the National Gallery has hosted an exhibit of pre-Columbian art. In 1983 it housed the "Art of Aztec Mexico. Treasures of Tenochtitlan" exhibit, a first class presentation of Mexica art. "Art of Aztec Mexico" was characterized by the exceptional sculptures done by Mexica artisans and the carved stone by masters from the provinces ruled by the great Aztec Empire.

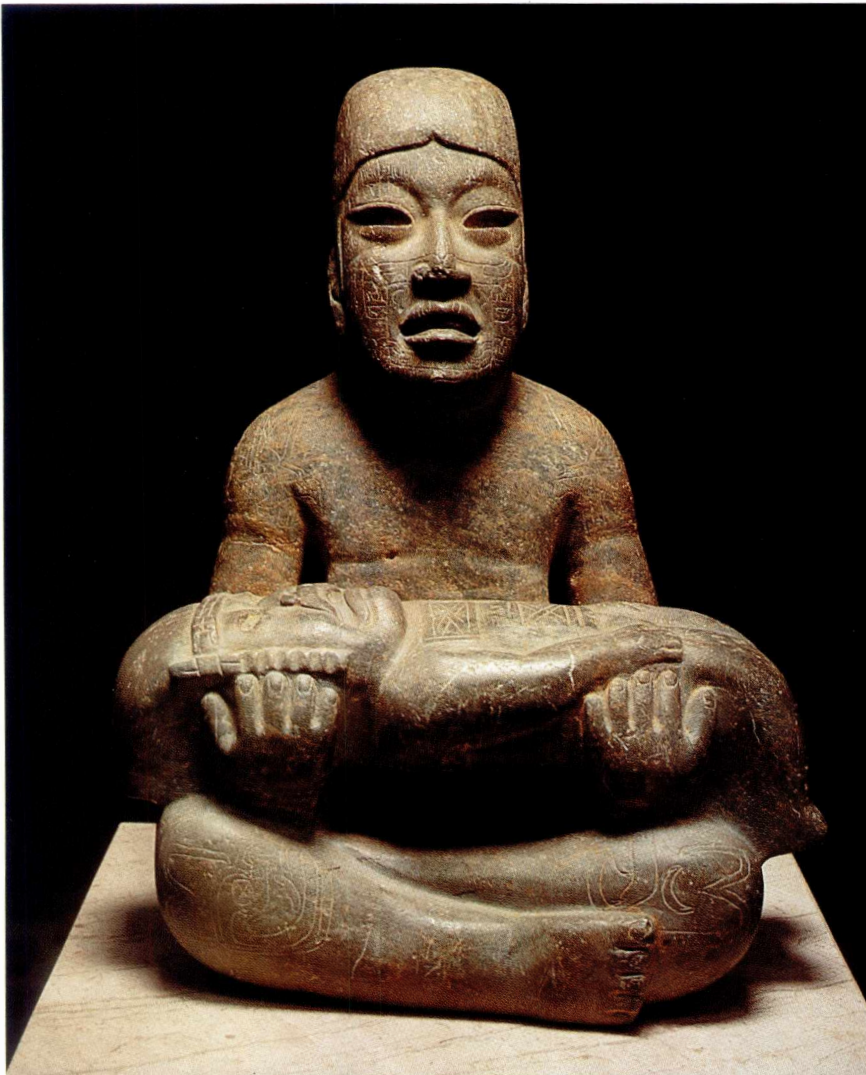
The new showing, in a unique homage to the arts of ancient Mexico, presents Olmec sculpture, the oldest style in Mesoamerica.

The collection is of such high quality that some of the monumental pieces (transported from museums in Villahermosa, Tabasco, and Xalapa, Veracruz, as well as from the Anthropology Museum in Mexico City) grace the enormous, geometric spaces of the East Wing of the U.S. National Gallery.

It is a recognition of the first artists of Mesoamerica, an artistic validation of the objects created by the ancient Mexicans who mainly inhabited the southern part of the Gulf Coast, what is now eastern Tabasco state and southern Veracruz state. Monumental sculptures were carved in this region, called by Mexican scholars the "metropolitan area" and by U.S. researchers the "climax area" or "central area."

The "*Olmec*" concept, as defined by Beyer, arose out of Marshall Saville's comparisons (1927) of several small figures and one with colossal-sized features: the idol of San Martín Pajapan.¹ From this analysis, he deduced that they shared a series of common features: "a human body with a feline head...slanted eyes...long canine teeth...a jutting upper lip." This described a newly identified style that, for reasons of fate and history, was called Olmec.

In the late 1920s, on the basis of these stylistic considerations, the find was categorized as a separate culture,



The exhibition confirms the receptivity of Western peoples to diverse expressions of art.

¹ Beyer, H. "Nota Bibliográfica sobre Tribes and Temples de F. Blom y O. La Farge," *El México Antiguo*, Vol. 2, México, 1927, pp. 305-313.



Of the small pieces, the carvings are outstanding.

older than the other Mesoamerican cultures known at the time: including the Teotihuacan culture, the Mayas, the Huastecs, the Totonacs, the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Toltecs and the Mexicas.

The first archeological expeditions in the Olmec area of the Gulf Coast were carried out in the 1930s. Their findings spurred the establishment of the "Olmec" concept after a round table discussion of experts in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas, in 1942.

However, for 20 years, the Olmec world was the object of only isolated studies. It was not until 1965, with the work of U.S. archeologist Michael D. Coe in San Lorenzo, Veracruz, and his studies of the figurative ceramics

of Mexico's high plateau, that the topic came once again into the limelight.

With that impetus, a conference on the Olmecs was held in 1968 in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, with the participation of distinguished archeologists, among them the Mexican researcher Ignacio Bernal.

More than 20 years have passed, and publications about the Olmecs have been few. Recently, archeologists Ann Cyphers (of the UNAM's Institute for Anthropological Studies) and Rebeca González (of the National Institute of Anthropology and History) reported new finds. Cyphers' discoveries in San Lorenzo, Veracruz, include several monumental sculptures, among them the tenth colossal head. González offers

us a first: a map of old La Venta, Tabasco,² a correct interpretation of the Olmec "city" *par excellence* and important colossal sculptures. Both scholars' studies change our previous perception of Olmec buildings and monumental sculpture.

Other important discoveries include the wood carvings from El Manatí, found by Mexicans Ponciano Ortiz and María del Carmen Rodríguez. Also noteworthy are the finds of archeologist Guadalupe Martínez Donjuan at the surprising site in Teopantecuanitlán, Guerrero.

² La Venta, Tabasco, is one of the best preserved and most representative Olmec cities. [Editor's Note.]



Altar-shaped thrones were the symbols of power of the rulers.

Los Olmecas de Mesoamérica (The Olmecs of Mesoamerica) is a series of essays about “the Olmec problem,” published by City Bank de México in 1994. This book provides not only a general overview of Olmec questions in their “metropolitan” area, but also follows the tracks of their style through Chiapas, Oaxaca, the Mexican high plateau and the highlands of Guatemala.

Due to the difficulty and risk involved in transporting these impressive pieces, only 17 of the nearly 300 known to exist were moved. On previous occasions, the colossal heads of San Lorenzo, Veracruz, have traveled to other exhibitions in Houston, Paris, New York and Venice. The National Gallery showing has two colossal heads and 15 monumental sculptures. Of the latter, 13 are normally housed in the museum in Xalapa, Veracruz; in Ta-

basco state’s La Venta Museum Park and Pellicer Museum; and in the National Anthropology Museum in Mexico City.

The showing in the National Gallery boasts a total of 122 pieces, both large and small, fashioned 3,000 years ago by the people whom we today call the Olmecs.

Olmec sculpture, both monumental and small, is extraordinarily vigorous. Of the small pieces, the sublime jade carvings are outstanding. The magnificent terra-cotta figures are included among the sculptures, since they use volume contained in space. In this small universe, human actions are transmitted with greater vivacity.

I have said elsewhere that Olmec sculpture, in its different materials, is basically homo-centrist: the human figure is the main object. But man can be represented as different animal

forms (jaguar, eagle, monkey, serpent), becoming a supernatural being. The human figure is the one of earthbound actions, perhaps those of the rulers, depicted in the colossal heads. The animal forms are deities: the gods of Olmec origins, of the earth, the rain, lightning and many other forces that to this people were supernatural and incomprehensible.

The Olmec universe comes down to us—within limitations—through the work they left us. This people flourished between 1200 B.C. and 300 B.C., dominated by an elite, priestly and governing caste. They left their portraits in the colossal heads and the rituals of their beliefs in many other sculptures. The Olmecs, as seen through their extraordinary works of art, laid the foundations for art throughout Mesoamerica, establishing the cultural roots of the ancient Mexican world. ❧

THE OLMECS

The Birth of a Great Civilization

Ann Cyphers*

When the Spaniards landed in Mesoamerica in 1519, they were unaware that many great civilizations had flourished in this land for over 2,500 years before their arrival. They conquered the Mexicas, or Aztecs, who were the culmination of a long tradition of complex cultural development whose beginnings may be traced to the Olmec culture. The Olmecs established a number of customs, beliefs and traditions that persisted and/or were transformed over the centuries by the cultures that followed them. Among these traits are their calendars, human sacrifice, the ritual ballgame, monumental architecture including pyramids and plazas, jaguar deities, jade carving, hematite mirrors, monumental stelae and thrones. For this reason, Alfonso Caso, the great Mexican scholar, dubbed them the “mother culture” and was followed in this interpretation by prominent scholars such as Miguel Covarrubias and Michael Coe. This designation has come to be hotly debated in recent years because of its inherent or genetic implications of primacy. In this vein, it must be noted that in several regions of Mesoamerica, agriculture-based cultures were developing and there was significant interplay among them very early. However, none of them achieved the splendor for which the Olmec are famous.

During the Preclassic period, complex culture appeared in Mesoamerica. The concept of “social complexity” refers

to the existence of marked social differences. Around 2300 B.C., the ancient inhabitants lived in egalitarian villages and practiced agriculture. Over a millennium later, around 1200 B.C., the first characteristics of civilization appeared at the site of San Lorenzo. There, the Olmecs created monumental stone art and large-scale architecture. Without a doubt, they were the most highly developed people of their time.

The most important archeological sites in the Olmec territory, sometimes called capitals or regional centers, were San Lorenzo, La Venta and Tres Zapotes. For about 1,200 years, these three capitals flourished and declined sequentially in the order mentioned. A fourth site, known but practically unexplored, is Laguna de los Cerros, considered by some scholars to be a major center.

The Olmecs arose from simple beginnings, establishing their way of life in the fertile coastal lowlands of Veracruz and Tabasco. Their agriculture was based on the Mesoamerican combination of beans, corn and squash and the exploitation of the abundant natural resources of the primary jungle that covered the rich river floodplains and hills. Even though archeologists are still uncertain as to the reasons for their sudden, rapid development, it is likely that local environmental conditions favored it. The complex riverine, coastal and marine environments were full of resources for sustaining life and favoring the early development of the accumulation of wealth. However, life in the tropical jungle was not as easy as we might imagine; for example, in order to plant crops, the Olmecs had to cut down immense trees, a time-consuming and laborious process

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The Olmecs are generally known for their monumental works of art.

reflected in their obsession with highly polished axes, indispensable technology for clearing the jungle.

The Olmec region has often been cited as a water-rich paradise when compared to more arid regions of Mesoamerica because it receives the greatest amount of rainfall registered in Mexico. It may be true that this resource, so necessary for life, was also a major threat to their survival because heavy rainfall can be detrimental to crops, and severe floods were a natural, annual and often catastrophic event. Ecologically speaking, the Olmecs were blessed with a natural abundance not found in all regions of Mesoamerica.

The Olmecs are generally known for their monumental works of art executed in a powerful but simple style, such as the monolithic stone colossal heads, gigantic thrones, stelae, human figures and syncretic and composite figures. Nevertheless, a wide range and variety of art forms can be identified as Olmec, including small or portable stone sculptures, polished jade and serpentine axes with or without

complex iconography, hollow ceramic figurines called “baby faces,” small, solid terra-cotta figurines, carved ceramics, greenstone beads, plaques, perforators, pendants, earspools and other adornments, jade figures and masks. A large number of these artifacts have been united into one large exhibit on the Olmec culture, now on display at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., a show which affords a unique opportunity to view the products of Olmec culture.

Olmec society had strong rulers who were the heads of royal lineages. It is generally accepted that the colossal heads, multi-ton monolithic sculptures made of basalt, are portraits of the ancient rulers. Because the rulers were based in the capitals, it should not be surprising that the majority of the heads come from the regional capitals. Of the 17 known heads, 10 come from San Lorenzo, four from La Venta, two from Tres Zapotes and one from Cobata.

Also associated with rulership, the massive, altar-shaped thrones were the symbols of power of the rulers. Thrones tend to bear the symbols that legitimized the right to rule and include motifs related to the earth monster, caves and sacrifice. Without a doubt, the human figure is the most common theme in Olmec art, yet the heads and thrones are the best known and perhaps their most original contribution. Many monuments such as the colossal heads and thrones show evidence of mutilation and destruction which may be explained in various ways. The death or defeat of a ruler may have resulted in the mutilation of monuments associated with his reign. However, there is evidence from a recent study that some colossal heads were recarved from thrones as part of a ritual sculptural cycle perhaps associated with the death or succession of rulers when the symbol of power is transformed into the portrait of a ruler. Some mutilation was conducted ritually and some is related to the process of recycling valuable, imported stone into new sculptures with different iconography.

The Olmecs established intensive economic exchange with nearby and distant regions. Even the volcanic rock used to make their sculptures was brought from afar, from the Tuxtla Mountains, some 60 kilometers from San Lorenzo and 100 kilometers from La Venta. One of the reasons that the stone sculpture has attracted attention is precisely because southern Veracruz and Tabasco

do not have natural deposits of volcanic stone, and thus, a large workforce was required to transport the huge stones which sometimes weighed 20 tons. This feat defines, in a sense, the strength and authority of the rulers capable of directing these activities.

The Olmec elite patronized talented craftspeople who produced fine stone pieces on a monumental and portable scale. Magnetite mirrors, beads, pendants and other personal adornments and axes are some of the best known objects. Raw material and finished objects were brought from distant places such as Puebla, Oaxaca, Chiapas and Guatemala. Olmec success in economic exchange is evidenced in the presence of objects stylistically “Olmec” in far-flung places in Mesoamerica.

In the Olmec system of beliefs, supernatural beings with animal attributes were prominent. There are naturalistic and stylized representations of jaguars, crocodiles, snakes, sharks and other animals. A central concept was the transformation of humans into special creatures with animal traits and qualities. This syncretism is most notable in the “were-jaguars,” which personify the mystery and power of rulers and priests. The question of Olmec religion is a moot point since scholars apparently have not yet reached agreement on its existence or character. While some favor an animistic belief system based on the existence of supernatural and derived from the environment, others believe there was a more organized religion with definable gods.

For people interested in visiting the region where this great civilization was born and flourished, it is important to mention that the major sites are located along or near modern highways, rivers or ports of Mexico’s gulf coast and have important museums open to the public. Many sculptures from San Lorenzo are located in the Museum of Anthropology in Xalapa, including 7 colossal heads. In the Tenochtitlan, Potrero Nuevo and Azuzul community museums, in the municipality of Texistepec, more than 30 sculptures may be viewed including the most recently discovered colossal head from San Lorenzo. The town of Tres Zapotes has a community museum which displays a number of important Olmec sculptures, as does the Tuxteco Museum in downtown Santiago Tuxtla. The site of La Venta and its museum can be visited in the town of the same name. However, the bulk of La Venta

sculptures are in Villahermosa at the La Venta Museum Park and the CICOM.

Archeological research continues in the gulf coast region with important projects concentrating efforts in and around the four major centers. After several decades of neglect, the renewed interest in America’s earliest civilization has been bringing to light new information that is providing totally new perspectives on the Olmecs, including interpretations of the ancient environment, regional settlement patterns, diet, house areas, burials, craft workshops and ceremonial activities. Yet one of the key problems to be resolved is the reason for the Olmecs’ decline. All of these studies are indispensable for learning about aspects of Olmec life that are not evident in the monumental art which has always been the main focus of study. ❧



A monolithic colossal head, the widely known symbol of the olmecs.

HONORING THE DEAD

A Mexican Tradition

On November 2 of every year, the souls of the dead receive divine permission to visit their living loved ones, who light the way with candles to the altar laden with offerings of bread, *atole*,¹ fruit, cigarettes and all the kinds of food, drink and personal belongings they had been fond of when they still inhabited their bodies.

Mexico's death worship dates from the pre-Hispanic era and is closely linked to the Mesoamerican peoples' dualistic conception of the universe. In this world view, life and death were not two points on opposite ends of a straight line, but two points facing each other on a circle. "There can be no life without death before it, and there can be no death without life before it."²



Photos by Eduardo Sepúlveda Amor

¹ A sweet, thick hot drink made with cornstarch.

² Alfredo López Austin says that death worship had profound agricultural significance: when groups of hunter-gatherers learned to cultivate corn and became planters; the life cycles of the earth—the dry and rainy seasons—became a fundamental part of their world view and are reflected in their gods and rites. See "Los Mexicas y su cosmos" in *Dioses del México Antiguo*, Ediciones del Equilibrista, Mexico City, 1995, p. 25.

*"There can be no life
without death before it,
and there can be no death without
life before it."*



Mexicans go to cemeteries November 1 and 2 to honor their dead.

The celebration is based on the common belief that the souls of the dead are able to visit their relatives in this world.

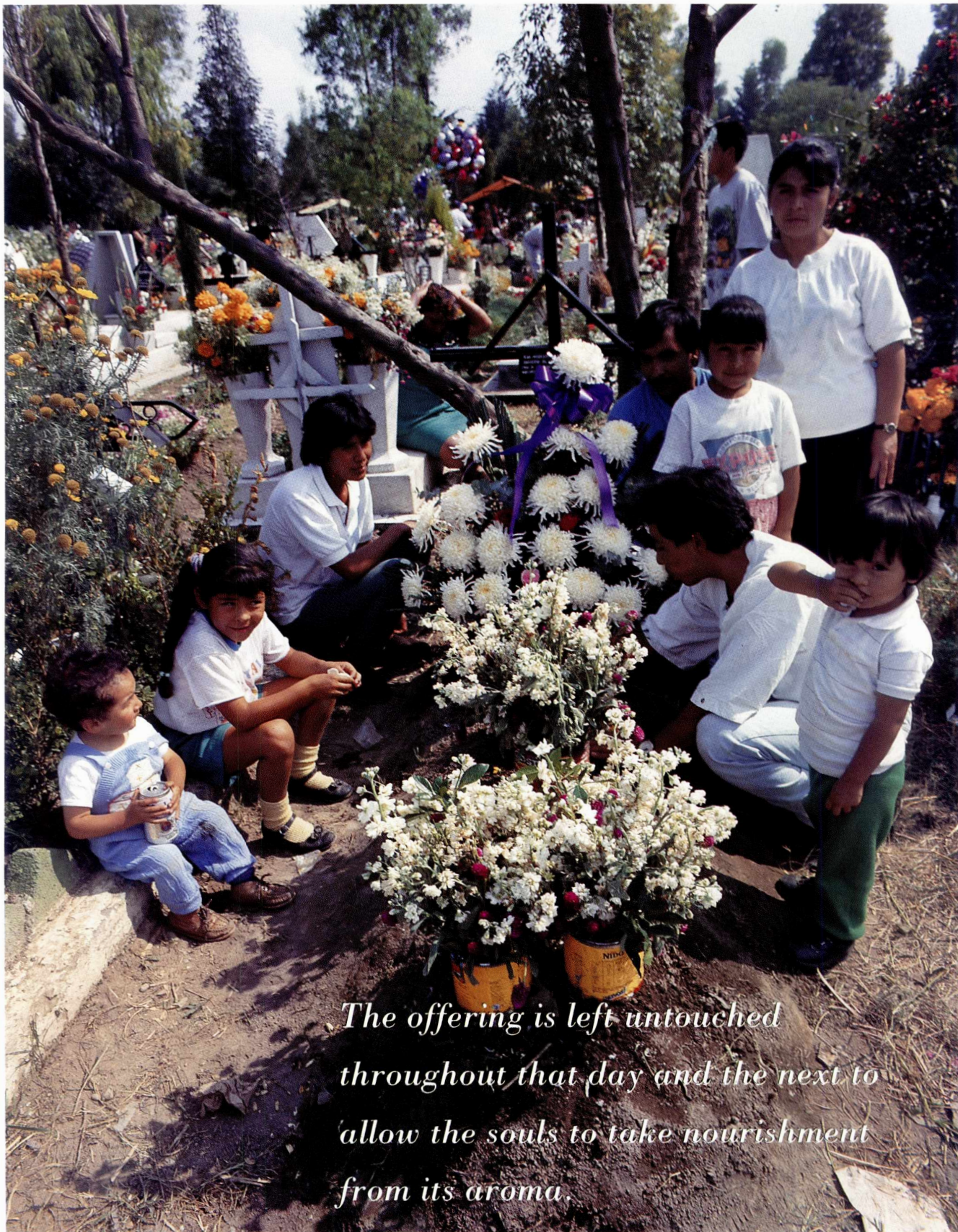
The Mesoamerican peoples believed that when warriors died, they accompanied the sun in its ascent to the heavens to overcome the stars of the night. Women who died in

childbirth were thought to accompany the sun from midday until sundown. But, those who died of natural causes had to go through the nine underworlds, fraught with

danger, before they arrived at *Mictlán*, or the land of the dead. The cave through which the world of the dead was reached was also where men were born.

The Colonial Period brought with it the Catholic view of death: enjoying Heaven or burning in Hell were the reward or the punishment awarded to the souls of men depending on their behavior here on Earth. The Catholic Church picked November 1 and 2 for honoring the dead, in answer to the indigenous fertility ceremonies in the months of *ochpaniztli* and *teotleco* at the end of October and the beginning of November, when the harvest was brought in and offerings made of *cempasúchil* flowers and corn tamales. Two ritual traditions merged into one, and that has survived until today as a mix of pagan and Christian rites.

In our time, with variations from one region to another, the celebration is based on the common belief that on the first and second days of November, the souls of the dead are able to visit their relatives in this world, who must prepare themselves to guide them here and give them the reception they deserve. That is the origin of the altars and offerings to the dead found in Mexico's graveyards and homes at this time of year. These offerings must include candles—one for each departed loved one—to light the way for the souls to reach their altar; fruit, food and water, so the spirits can calm their hunger and thirst; salt for purification; cem-



The offering is left untouched throughout that day and the next to allow the souls to take nourishment from its aroma.



In Mexico, the Day of the Dead continues to be one of the year's most important festivities.

pasúchil flowers, tablecloths and paper ornaments cut like lace; and belongings of the dead.

The *cempasúchil* is sprinkled from the door of the house to the altar.³ The souls come on November 1 and are welcomed with music, dances or prayers; the offering is left untouched throughout that day and the next to allow the souls to take nourishment from its aroma. Toward midday of November 2, they again leave for the world of the dead and their living relatives then eat and drink the offering, after adding con-



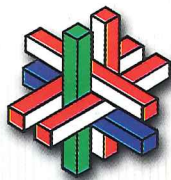
The tradition also includes joking about death.

³ In the pre-Hispanic tradition, the fruit, water, cut paper and candles represent, respectively, the four elements: earth, water, wind and fire.

ditions to the dishes which presumably have lost some of their flavor after being "consumed" by the dead souls.

In many towns and regions of Mexico, the Day of the Dead continues to be one of the year's most important festivities. And, even though much of its significance has been lost in urban areas, every October 31, people continue to build altars, make offerings and visit the dead in graveyards all over the country. ❧

Elsie Montiel
Assistant Editor



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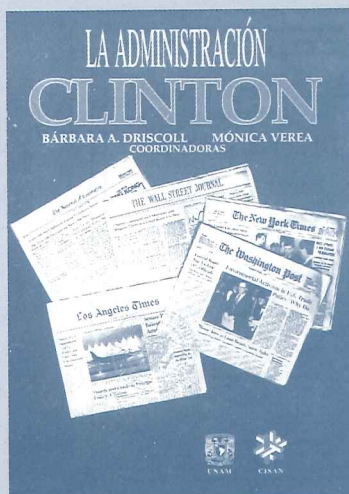
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Bárbara Driscoll, Mónica Vereá,
(coordinators)
1995, 404 pp.

An analysis of the beginnings of the Clinton administration. A basic sourcebook to explain the transition to a Democratic administration and to evaluate current political events.

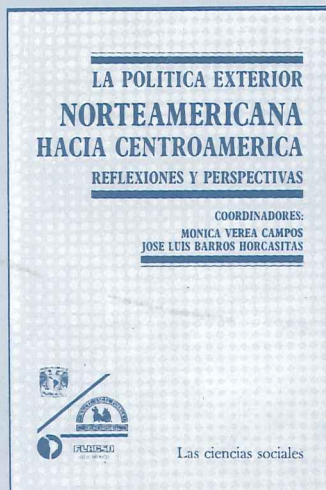


La política exterior norteamericana hacia Centroamérica:

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.

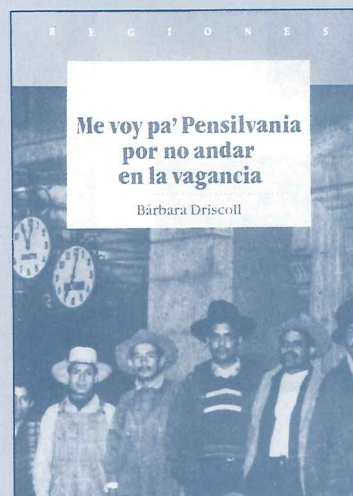
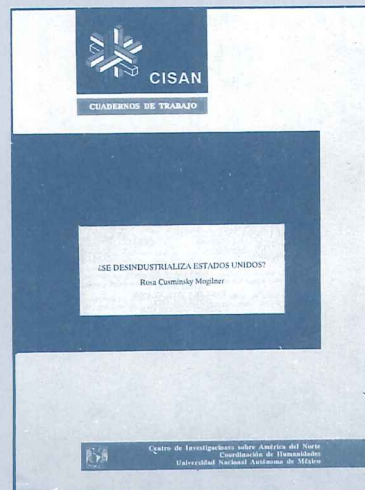
This book contains various articles written by North American and Central American specialists regarding the role of the United States in Central America's recent history.



¿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.

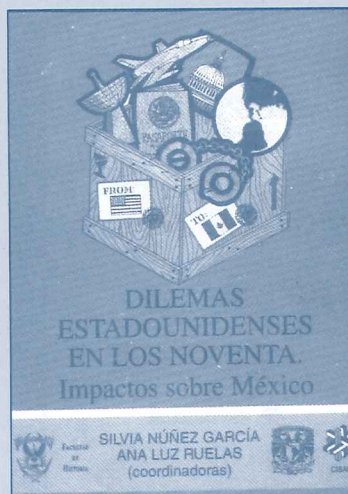
This book summarizes current debates on whether U.S. industry has ceased to be competitive.



Me voy pa' Pensilvania por no andar en la vagancia. Los ferrocarrileros mexicanos en Estados Unidos durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial

CISAN/CONACULTA
México, 1996, 278 pp.
Barbara Driscoll

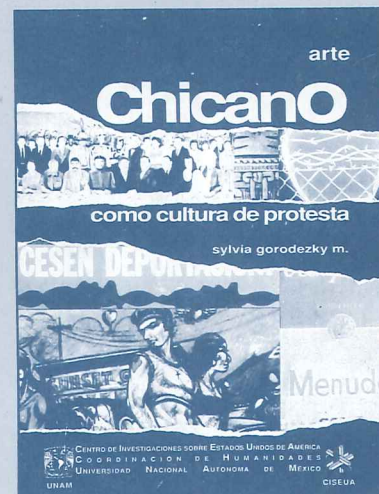
A look at the little known story of non-agricultural Mexican migrant workers in the United States under the Railroad Bracero Program instituted during the Second World War by both the Mexican and U.S. governments.



Dilemas estadounidenses en los noventa. Impactos sobre México

CISAN/UAS Facultad de Historia
México, 1996, 155 pp.
Silvia Núñez and Ana Luz Ruelas
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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.



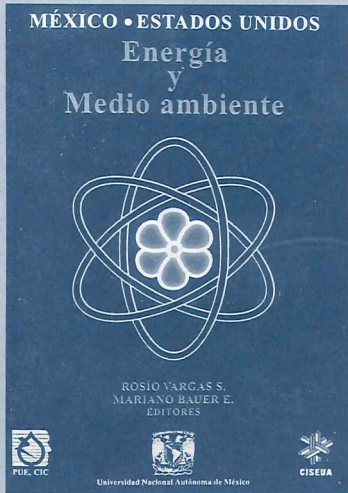
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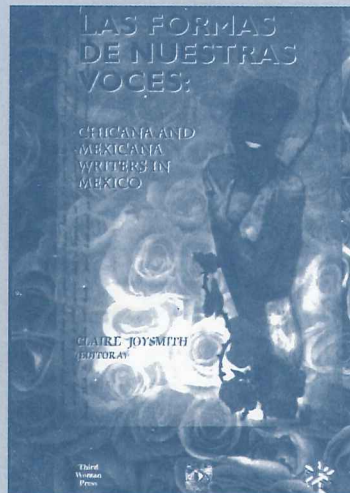


Las formas de nuestras voces. Chicana and Mexicana Writers in Mexico

CISAN/Third Woman Press México, 1996, 350 pp.

Claire Joysmith (ed.)

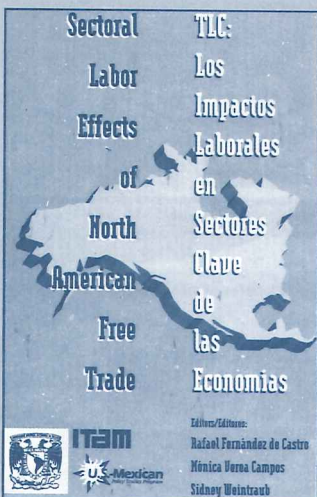
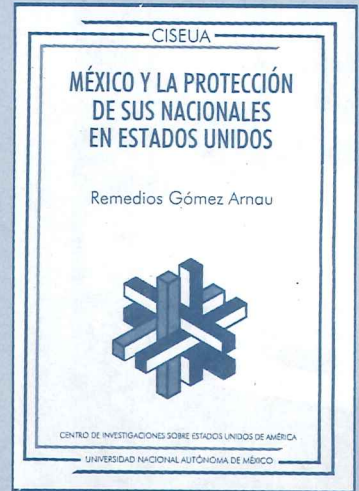
"The chicanas...crossed the 3,000-mile border that separates us from the most powerful country in the world with the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Malinche, the Llorona and Coatlicue on their backs, and they gave them new meaning and an identity they hadn't had before." Elena Poniatowska.



México y la protección de sus nacionales en Estados Unidos

Remedios Gómez Arnau, 1990, 245 pp.

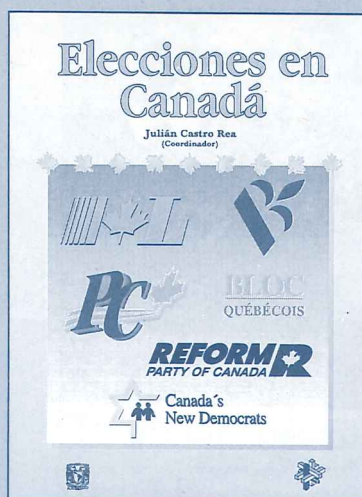
A chronicle of the Mexican government's efforts to protect the rights of Mexican migrant workers in the United States. An impressive study that sheds new light on the issue. Recommended for experts and non-experts in U.S.-Mexican relations and human rights.



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 Sydney Weintraub (eds.), 1993, 368 pp.

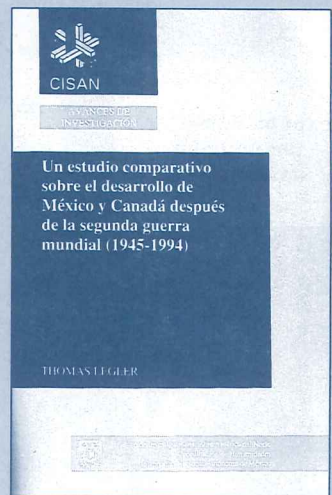
This book examines possible effects on the labor force of the countries involved in NAFTA, particularly in such industrial sectors as autos and textile as well as in agriculture and the maquiladoras. Some of NAFTA's legal implications are also reviewed.



Elecciones en Canadá

Julián Castro Rea (coord.), 1995, 152 pp.

On November 4, 1993, Liberal Party leader Jean Chrétien took office as Canada's twentieth prime minister. CISAN asked seven academic and journalistic specialists from Canada's key provinces of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec to analyze the changes expected from the new Liberal government. This publication is one of the few works in Spanish on Canadian politics and repercussions for Mexico.



Un estudio comparativo sobre el desarrollo de México y Canadá después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1945-1994)

Thomas Legler, 1995, 80 pp. (42 pp. in Spanish and 38 pp. in English) A comparison of postwar Mexican and Canadian economic and political models in the international context.

BORDERING CULTURE

Traduciendo a las chicanas¹

Claire Joysmith*

To translate or not to translate, that is the question. And since this is what the translator's profession is about and since I have academically, professionally and personally found myself enmeshed in a great deal of necessary translation at several levels, I have had to look for viable answers that will not leave this question dangling and liable to haunt me like an *ánima perdida* in the night air. So the closest I can get to a personal answer is that—to paraphrase Gertrude Stein—a translation is a translation is a translation is a translation.

I refuse, however, to give up the noble art of problem-raising-and-solving in the translating process, and so, rather than enter the labyrinthine (im)possibilities of translation as such, I will attempt to deal briefly with what happens linguistically and *culturally* when texts written by Chicanas in English (used as a main linguistic code) cross borders into a Spanish code during a translation process and how gender

markers come into play in crossing these borders in relation to the degrees of linguistic and cultural translatability.

Y es así como quisiera comenzar a cruzar fronteras aquí mismo refiriéndome en español al impulso detrás de la labor traductoril. Dentro del marco "TeLeCiano" y globalizador de nuestros tiempos, en donde los hechos incluso llegan a sobrepasar a las ficciones, la posible perspectiva desde México sería la de proponer maneras de llevar a cabo algún tipo sui generis y propio de lo que se conoce en ciertos ámbitos estadounidenses como "talking back", en palabras de Bell Hooks,² lo cual habría que buscar, de hecho, "traducir" a un contexto mexicano—dentro de las fronteras mexicanas y con la mira alerta hacia afuera también— mediante la ficción y la poesía.

A esto podría dársele forma en lo que he propuesto como un proyecto traductoril bajo el título tentativo de Antología bilingüe de narrativa y poesía escrita por chicanas/A Bilingual Anthology of Chicana Narrative and Poetry³ que estoy elaborando. La intención sería hacer accesible al público lector mexicano una gama seleccionada de textos de origen chicano y en particular del género femenino a fin de ir despertando conciencia de lo que culturalmente significa la posibilidad de un "talking back" a través de la literatura, a fin de realizar una especie de rayos X tentativo de las alternativas de re-

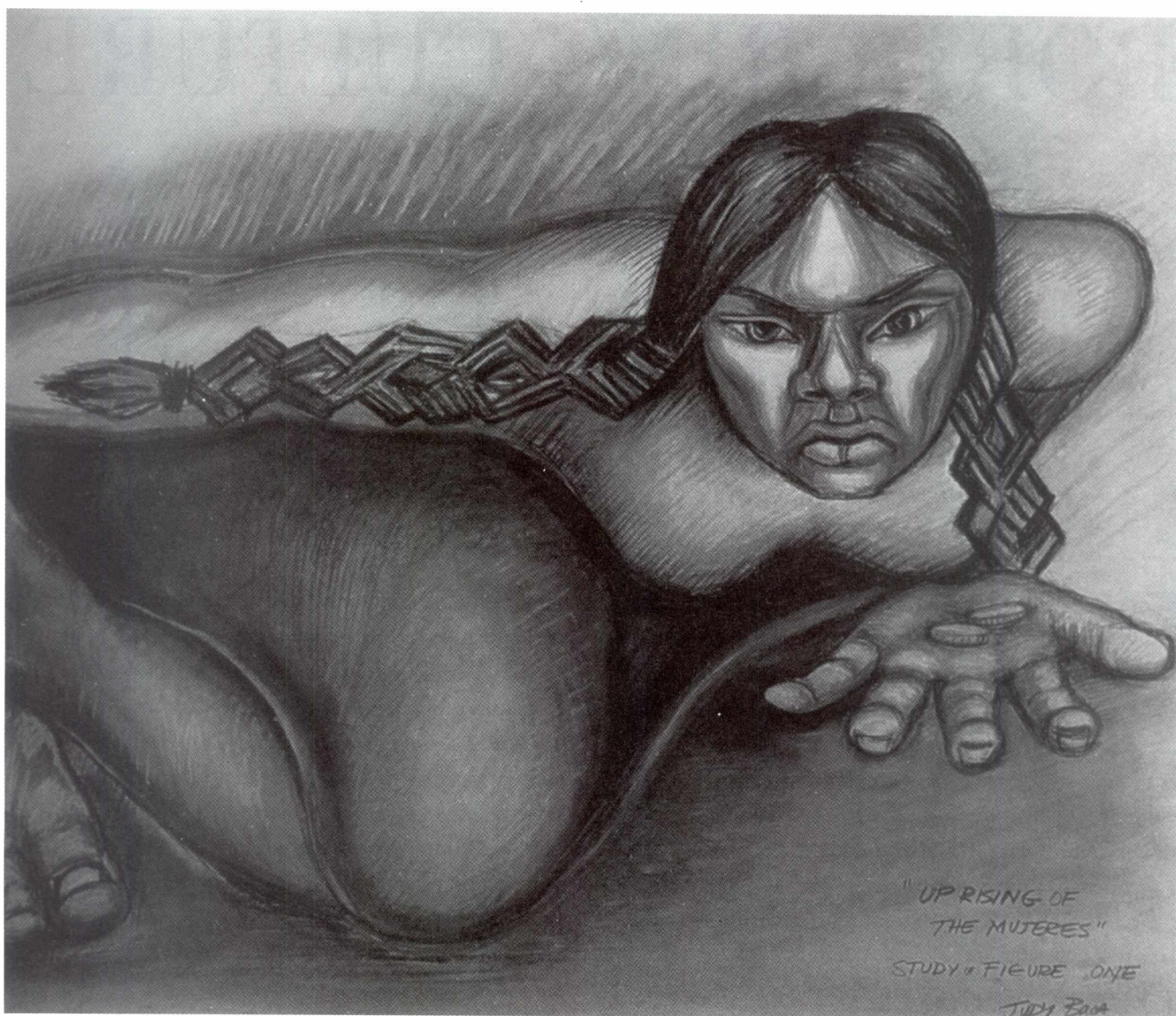
* Researcher at CISAN.

¹ Paper read at the Seventh International Conference on Latino Cultures in the United States/Séptimo Congreso Internacional de Culturas Latinas en Estados Unidos, in Taxco, Mexico, in August 1996. In this exceptional case we publish a text specifically written for a bilingual audience. That is why the fragments in Spanish have not been translated, as it was the ideological intention of the author not to do so. [Editor's Note.]

NOTE: The illustrations for this article were first published in the catalogue *Cara, Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation*, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991.

² See Bell Hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, South End Press, Boston, 1989.

³ I would like to thank the *Fideicomiso para la Cultura México-Estados Unidos* for the financial support given for the carrying out of this project.



Judith Francisca Baca, *Uprising of the Mujeres* ©, 1979 (pastel on paper).

sistencia a las manifestaciones de la cultura estadounidense, todo ello visto, reitero, desde una perspectiva mexicana.

Es decir, mediante una traducción que aparezca cara a cara con el texto original, se intenta hacer resaltar las resistencias y efectos variados presentes en los textos chicanos, los cuales, de leerse sólo en español, podrían perder parte de su impacto y de su significación múltiple. Dentro del contexto de estas resistencias, las cuales se abren en abanico, recordemos, para mencionar algo un tanto obvio, que dentro de un texto en donde el código dominante es el inglés, el español surge como ruptura. Es así como se inserta en tanto código alterno, marcador identitario y de resistencia, con tintes emotivos y políticos, en aquellos casos en donde no existe traducción y

en aquéllos en que se vuelve desafío de multifacéticas intenciones, pues existe traducción pero se elige no utilizarla.

Habrà de considerarse que esos mismos textos que se traducen al español llevan ya la carga de la traducción, que si bien no es lingüística en todos los casos, es innegablemente cultural, y en su mayoría presuponen si no el bilingüismo en todos y cada uno de los casos, por lo menos un marcado biculturalismo, el cual se extiende, claro está, no sólo a quien produce /crea ese texto sino también a quien lo reproduce /recrea, o sea el público lector —u oyente, en su caso.

El hecho de que la antología se proponga ofrecer una muestra de la narrativa y poesía de escritoras chicanas —cuyo protagonismo durante los 80 y 90 es consabido dentro de la

comunidad chicana e incluso fuera de ella— tiene como intención darla a conocer a un público lector mexicano. Se plantea, además, como voz mediadora, como lo propone Martha Traba al hablar del texto femenino en su artículo “Hipótesis de una escritura diferente”, en el conocido volumen *La sartén por el mango*. Encuentro de escritoras latinoamericanas, en donde dice que “el texto femenino queda situado en un espacio próximo a... los marginados culturales [...] En otras palabras si opera, como realmente lo hace, desde la marginación podría perfectamente intermediar como lo hacen todas las contraculturas.”⁴ Y si bien el texto femenino se propone como mediador dentro de un contexto (contra)cultural, también puede funcionar como bi/transcultural y, como es posible apreciar en el proceso traductoril, como (re)marcador de lo femenino en cuanto marcadores de género.

Going back to the aforementioned resistance, it is clear that once the Spanish code becomes “dominant” in a translation process, it can no longer function as a resistance-marker in the same way and that alternative markers must be found. One of the advantages of having face-to-face original and translated texts is precisely the possibility of comparing both, whereby these markers will become apparent. However, possible alternative markers could be to leave certain words in English as they appear in the original text, choosing, as an alternate resistance strategy, *not* to translate them into Spanish. Another strategy is to point out these markers by using italics and /or bold type, depending on the case, thereby underscoring their function.

The translation referred to here is linguistic, of course, although it is also cultural. In order to illustrate this, I would like to propose an example of a text which can hardly be translated in any conventional way because the whole point is that it is addressed not only to a bilingual audience but to a very specifically bicultural Chicana /o audience. Entitled “La loca de la raza cósmica”, by La Chrisx, it appears in Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana S. Rivero’s *Infinite Divisions. An Anthology of Chicana Literature* and is a clear example of “talking back” not only to a male Chicano text like “Yo soy Joaquín” by “Corky” Gonzales, but also to Whitman’s literary tradition of me-as-male in a poem such as “Song of



Ester Hernández, *Libertad* © 1976 (etching).

Myself.” “La loca de la raza cósmica” lists, starting with “*soy*”—always in Spanish, it is worth noting—a whole series of definitions of what it is to be Chicana, maintaining throughout the poem a characteristic use of contradiction and humor. There are examples of different degrees of English and Spanish usage, from an all-Spanish tendency “*soy la reina de la raza cósmica (al estilo Califas)*” to “*soy la que calienta los TV dinners*” or “*soy tamales at Christmas time,*” through to the all-English lines “[*soy*] dumping my old man, even though I’m / pregnant with his child.”

⁴ Martha Traba, “Hipótesis de una escritura diferente,” in Patricia Elena González y Eliana Ortega, eds., *La sartén por el mango. Encuentro de escritoras latinoamericanas*. Ediciones Huracán, Puerto Rico, 1984, p. 25.

Once the Spanish code becomes “dominant” in a translation process, it can no longer function as a resistance-marker and alternative markers must be found.

An attempt to translate this poem brings up several issues: for instance, “*soy tamales en la Navidad*” may be acceptable—even though it loses its interlinguistic markers—and something like “*soy la que bota a su viejo aunque estoy embarazada con su hijo*” is also potentially feasible; but when we come to “*soy la que calienta los TV dinners*” there is no way to translate “TV dinners” since these are culturally a U.S. commodity unknown in Mexico.

There are also other cultural translation challenges, for instance: “*soy refinada* -educated in assimilated/ anglocized/ private institutions.” Here all is translatable, although “anglocized,” which could be translated literally as “*anglificado*,” does not have the same weight *culturally* and certainly not politically for the majority of readers in Mexico.

One finds in translating this poem that one cannot, in fact, linguistically translate the entire poem into Spanish due to the cultural translations that must be solved through the use of explanatory footnotes or asterisks, which is at times a necessary alternative in such “cultural translations.” Something like “*soy la K-Mart*,” for example, may require a footnote explaining that K-Mart has certain social, class and race markers in the United States which are by no means equivalent to those relevant to the recently imported K-Mart in Mexico. Moreover, something like “*soy American of Spanish Surname (A.S.S.)*” cannot be translated as such, and requires an explanatory footnote. Since the “translation” process here is cultural as well as linguistic, the outcome is, in this case, a very unusual translated version, since much remains untranslated and requires annotation.

Ahora quisiera mencionar cómo pueden llegar a funcionar los marcadores —que son, de hecho, marcadores de chicanidad— en una traducción al español. La inserción en la traducción de las llamadas “negritas” o bold type para subrayar ciertos términos podría servir para indicar que estas palabras están inscritas por la voz que inaugura una labor traductoril y origina el texto (en este caso específico, La

Chrisx) y las cuales no han pasado por el filtro traductoril: esa otredad que busca traducir el texto a “otro” código —al español. Mediante el uso de las “negritas” se puede recalcar literalmente el valor que tienen estas palabras-concepto en tanto marca-

dores de lo subalterno en el original, subrayando así su función subversiva-lingüística, cultural y, en algunos casos, genérica. Es decir, las negritas sirven para “compensar”, en cierta medida, ese efecto subversivo que se va perdiendo durante el proceso traductoril.

Esto quiere decir que el efecto visual-tipográfico de la traducción al español de “La loca de la raza cósmica,” por ejemplo, le recuerda de manera iterativa a la lectora/ lector a través de marcadores sui generis —es decir, negritas, subrayado, presencia del inglés— que se está jugando con otro tipo de marcadores creados para fines específicos.

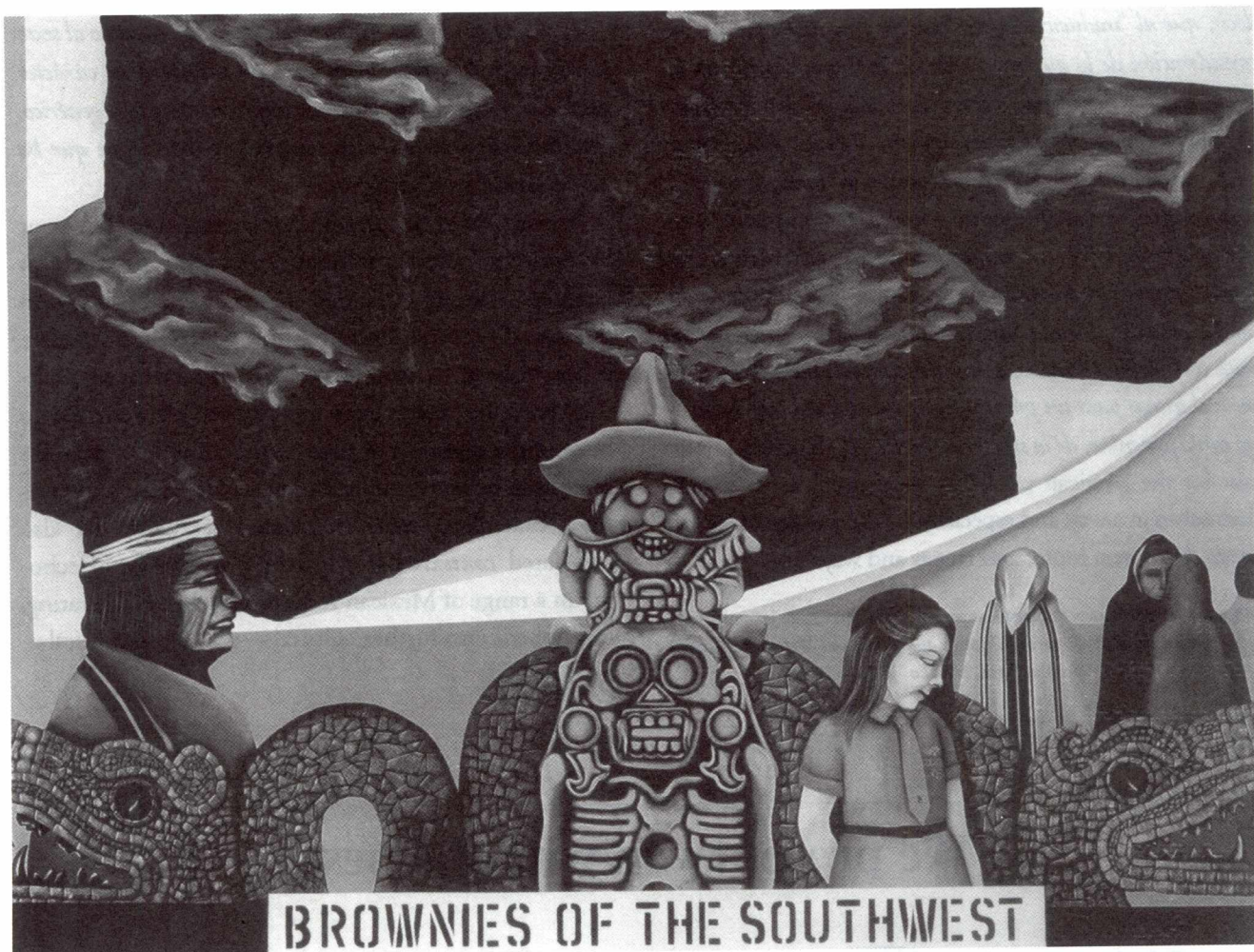
Ahora quisiera pasar a los efectos de la traducción en cuanto a marcadores de género. Puesto que el español marca genéricamente, hay ocasiones en donde se privilegia lo femenino en una traducción al español no marcado genéricamente en inglés como, por ejemplo, y para no ir más lejos, las líneas casi al principio de este mismo poema que hace referencia a las mujeres:

For as different as we all may seem,
When intricacies are compared,
We are all one,
and the same.

que en su versión traducida aparece así:

*Pues por muy diferentes que podamos parecer,
A la hora de comparar complejidades,
Todas somos una,
y la misma.*

Es obvio aquí que el “we” y “the same” adquieren en la traducción un marcador femenino explícito, gramatical, dado que el contexto en inglés así lo indica, aunque existen otros casos en donde la neutralidad genérica propia del texto original en inglés requiere de una decisión traductoril que privilegie a uno de los dos géneros a nivel gramatical, lo cual se desdo-



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Mel Casas, *Humanscape 62*, 1970 (acrylic on canvas).

bla, claro está, en otras implicaciones culturogenéricas más que lingüísticas, con lo que se recalca, una vez más, la naturaleza específica de este tipo de trabajo traductoril.

Sin entrar en mayores detalles aquí, habría que mencionar que es precisamente a través del interlingüismo —y de la traducción misma que ello presupone— que resulta posible insertar marcadores femeninos dentro de un texto en inglés. Como ejemplo podríamos citar unas líneas del poema de la chicana Gloria Anzaldúa “To Live in the Borderlands Means You”: “To Live in the Borderlands means knowing/that the india in you, betrayed for 500 years,/is no longer speaking to you,/that Mexicanas call you *rajetas*.” Aquí “india” y “Mexicana” se vuelven marcadores femeninos gracias al uso del español, pues en inglés permanecen neutrales: “Indian” y “Mexican.” Esto resulta irónico además de subversivo si consideramos que, de hecho, el español es una lengua en donde

queda “sobreprivilegiado” lo masculino: considérese cómo, por dar un ejemplo, la sola presencia de un sustantivo masculino en un enlistado de sustantivos femeninos es suficiente para masculinizar todo el enunciado a nivel gramatical.

A manera de conclusión, quisiera recordar que esta lectura se realiza desde una perspectiva lectoril mexicana (y, de hecho, cabría aclarar, centralista más que fronteriza) y que traducir fronteras a este nivel implica hacer accesible a dicho público la literatura y cultura chicana, la cual, querámoslo o no, se presenta como otredad. Quisiera pensar que la traducción de estas fronteras le permitiría a ese público mirarse y mirar su cultura, sus rasgos identitarios, “desde afuera”, desde el otro lado del espejo, iniciando así un proceso abierto a la deconstrucción /revisión de una imagen identitaria mexicana, que pueda llevar a la reconstrucción /resignificación a partir de un proceso complejo y arduo, pero indispensable, de cuestionamiento y redefinición. Es

decir, que al “traducir fronteras” surgen intersticios para la reconsideración de lo que es y puede ser la mexicanidad para las mexicanas / los mexicanos, que se vuelve cada vez más importante día con día si se ha de mirar de frente al futuro globalizante.

Esta misma labor de “traducir fronteras” puede verse desde una perspectiva específicamente genérica, como ya se ha mencionado y constituye un amplio campo de trabajo en el cual resulta imperativo adentrarse, pues ha quedado muy descuidado. La escritora chicana Sandra Cisneros habla, en una entrevista realizada en México, acerca de la importancia de las escritoras chicanas para un público lector mexicano, tanto masculino como femenino, de la siguiente manera: “I think it is important for the Mexican public to see themselves, to rethink themselves in a way, and especially for the women to see *otro modo de ser*, new routes and arenas and ways out.”⁵

⁵ Quoted in the chapter “Entrevistas poscoloquio,” in Claire Joysmith, ed., *Las formas de nuestras voces: Chicana and Mexicana Writers in Mexico*, CISAN/UNAM/ Third Woman Press, Mexico, 1995, p. 267.

Parecería que lo que propone Martha Traba en torno al texto femenino podría aquí retomarse en cuanto a su carácter mediador y resignificador no sólo como (re)marcador genérico, sino también dentro de un contexto de raza / clase que ha permanecido en el silencio.

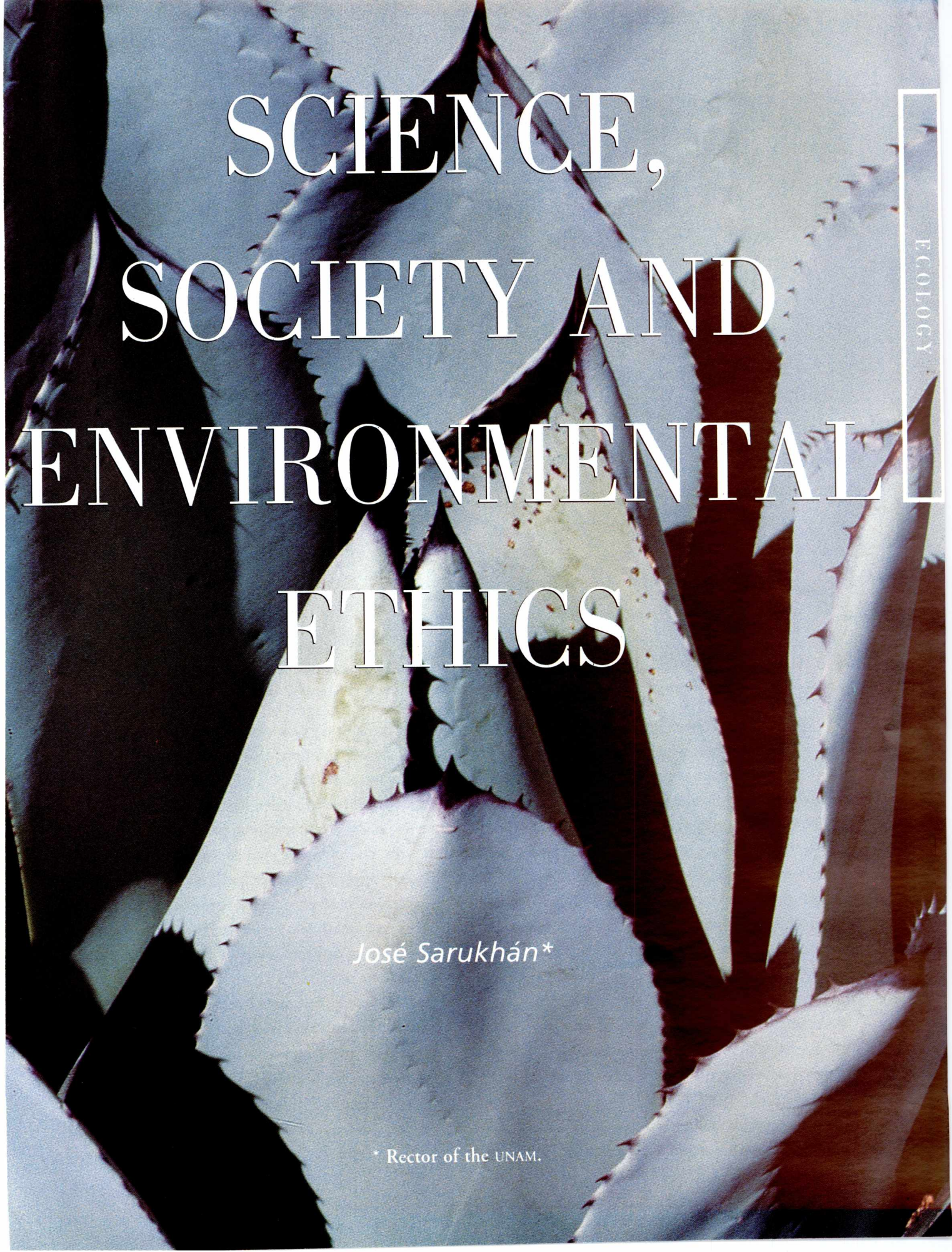
As the title of the present text attempts to point out by bonding culture, translation and the use of both languages, we are reminded that the actual translation process of Chicana narrative and poetry into Spanish is not without its complexities, at a linguistic and cultural level too, as has been mentioned. Yet we could go beyond the question of their translatability, of whether it is more or less feasible and at which level, and consider that these texts, translated textually, are also translated *contextually*, with the possibilities of echoing in a range of Mexican readers, thereby reverberating, it is hoped, into further cultural —and cross-cultural— readings. ❧

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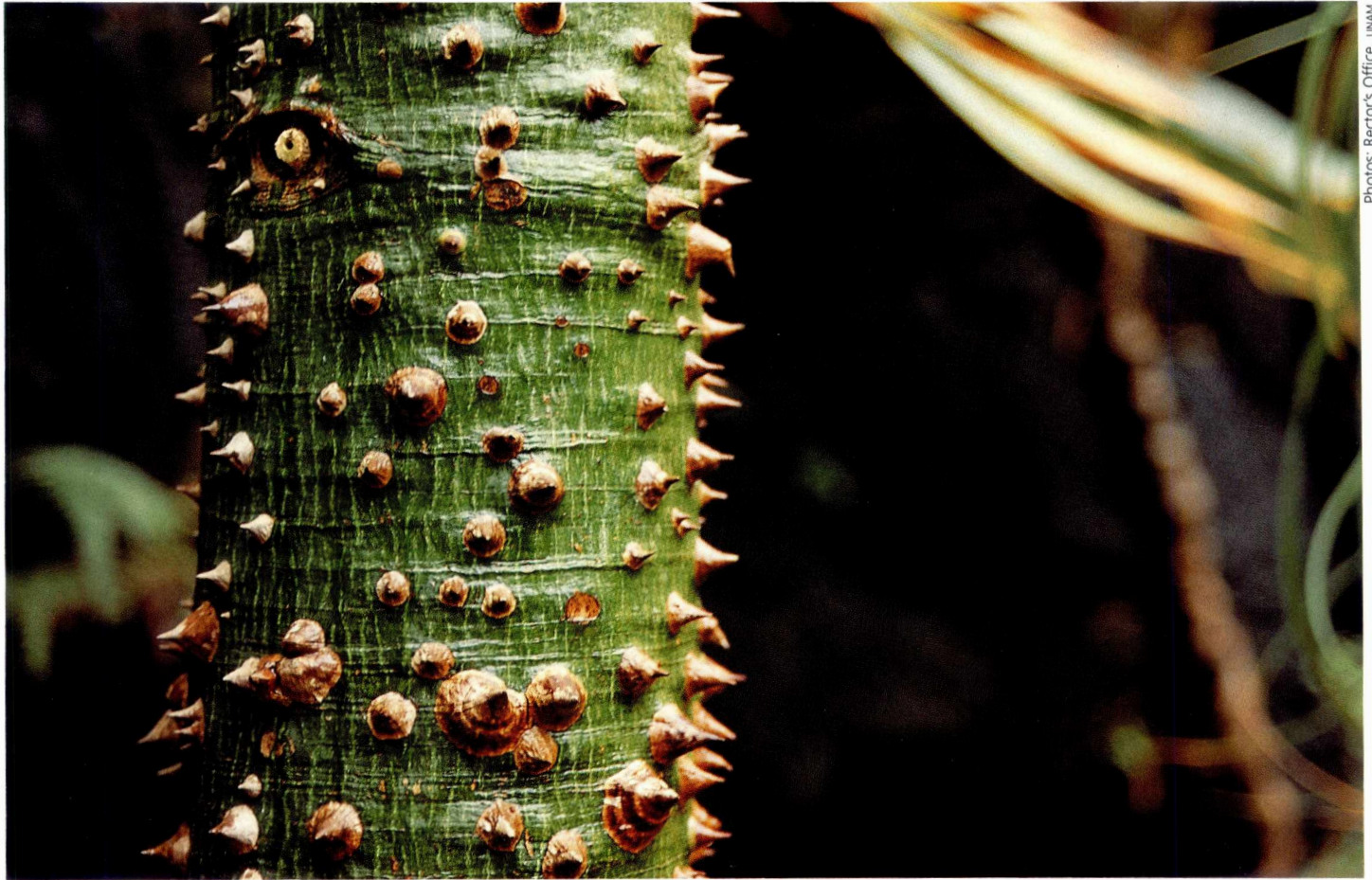


SCIENCE,
SOCIETY AND
ENVIRONMENTAL
ETHICS

ECOLOGY

*José Sarukhán**

* Rector of the UNAM.



Photos: Rector's Office, UNAM

Science moves in the paradoxical context of promoting human and social development and at the same time protecting the environment.

Edward O. Wilson, in his beautiful book *Biofilia*, mentions that when very little is known about an important topic, the first questions people ask about it are almost invariably ethical. As knowledge of the topic grows, people become more concerned with information; their questions are more specific and, therefore the field of vision becomes intellectually narrower. Finally, when the subject is almost completely understood, questions return to ethics. The concerns about the protection of the environment are now in transition from the first to the second phase and, as Wilson expects, should proceed directly to the last phase.

An example of this kind of analytical exercise, involving scientists from many disciplines, including a few philosophers, was the giant environmental meeting in Rio de Janeiro in mid-1992.

Another particularly interesting meeting was the scene of a lively debate among French scientists, and ended

with the drafting of a text known as the “Heidelberg Call.” In my opinion, this illustrated very clearly the kind of problems that science, ethics and society are facing and will have to solve regarding the well-being and development of society, its impact on the environment, the effects of environmental changes on society itself, the ethics of applying different kinds of scientific knowledge in the context of the paradox between human and social well-being and development and the conservation of the environment and the effects of changes in the latter on the human race.

This meeting, organized by researchers from the Cancer Research Institute in Heidelberg, to discuss problems in evaluating scientific generation of dangerous and carcinogenic substances, actually ended up looking at another, broader gamut of concerns, such as the tendency for national governments and some international organizations to protect the Earth from the “evils of Man and progress.” The call



Ecology must be exclusively and strictly scientific or not exist at all.

opposes the emergence of an ideology that is “irrationalist,” opposed to scientific and industrial progress. It emphasizes that humanity has always progressed by putting nature at its service and warns the authorities responsible for the fate of our planet against any decision based on pseudo-scientific arguments. It concludes that ecology must be exclusively and strictly scientific or not exist at all.

This Heidelberg Call to the world’s heads of state and government makes some very salient points, as well as some truly dangerous ones. The beginning and ending passages of the call are very appealing. The beginning expresses the wish of the scientists who wrote it to “make our maximum contribution to the preservation of our common heritage, the Earth.”

The final sentences are also extremely attractive and acceptable:

We draw the attention of everyone to the absolute need of helping poor countries reach sustainable development com-

parable to that of the rest of the planet, protecting them from the problems and dangers generated in the developed nations and not letting them get bogged down in the maze of unrealistic obligations that could affect both their independence and their dignity. The greatest evils threatening our Earth are ignorance and oppression, not science, technology and industry, the instruments of which, when managed appropriately, are indispensable tools for a future built by humanity itself, for itself, which may overcome the really big problems like overpopulation, hunger and disease throughout the world.

Up to this point, the call and these scientists’ vision of environmental problems is correct. However, numerous problems and questions emerge which sometimes allow us to see this call as a relatively naive position that creates confusion between industrial growth, increased profits and a higher gross national product on the one hand, and greater human development expressed in terms of the satis-

faction of basic needs such as subsistence, education, culture and well-being, on the other. Clearly all these qualities are not necessarily synonymous, and neither is it a good idea to confuse scientific progress (understood as knowledge of humanity) and industrial progress.

Finally, some of the expressions used in the Heidelberg Call seem to indicate an idealized conception of nature, the belief in a nature which does not really exist, where progress would apparently be linear and in which all of its consequences would be beneficial for the human species.

The following is an example of a passage in which this kind of statement appears:

We sustain that a “natural state,” sometimes idealized by backward-looking movements, does not exist and probably has never existed since Man appeared in the biosphere, given that humanity has always progressed by increasingly subjecting nature to its needs and not vice versa.

We underline that many of Man’s essential activities are carried out through the manipulation of dangerous substances or near them, and that progress and development have always involved increasing control over hostile forces for the benefit of humanity.

It goes without saying that one of the important aspects of this Heidelberg Call is the warning not to use pseudo-scientific knowledge as a cornerstone of our thinking, as do many environmentalist groups, and even some people



True conservationism must be based on both trustworthy data and ethics.

who work in the science of ecology, who use this kind of intimidating information to “denounce” the dangers of certain human activities.

Naturally, I concur wholeheartedly with this, and I personally, as an ecologist who has worked on aspects of fundamental research in this science, cannot but be totally supportive of this position.

However, it is very clear that we are confronted here with a paradox: the nature of the problems and phenomena we are facing—with regard to the interaction between Man and his environment—is notoriously different from that of other disciplines, both in the field of biology itself and in physics or chemistry.

I mean that phenomena

in molecular biology or molecular genetics, or even in physics and chemistry, are simpler and more predictable. The nature of the interaction of ecological phenomena is infinitely more complex and fundamentally unknown and therefore imposes a scenario in which conclusions which would be perfectly valid in other areas of science cannot be drawn.

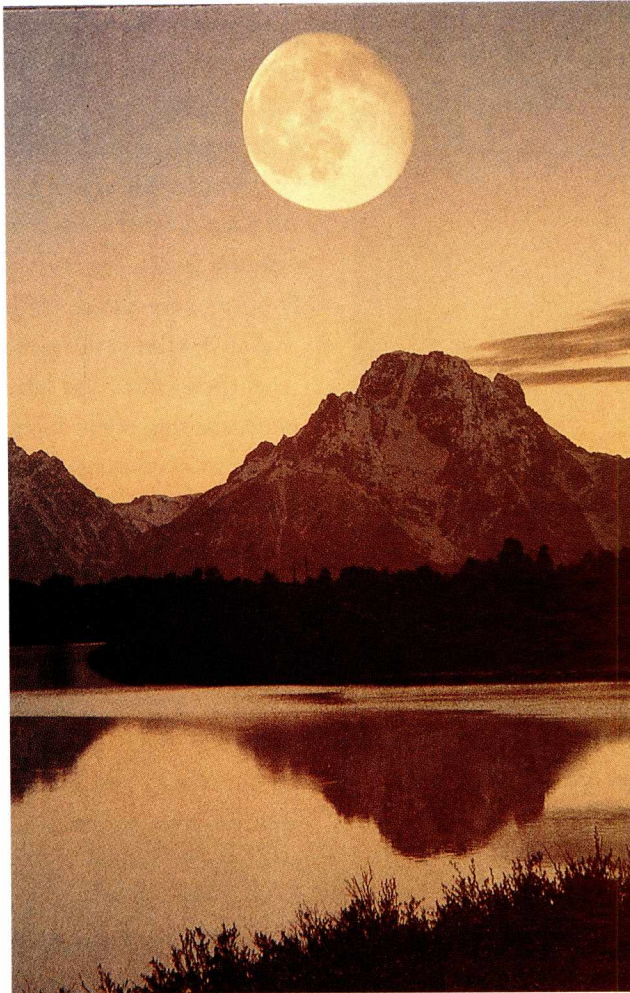
The future of a true conservationist movement, based on the scientific understanding of these phenomena, depends not only on concrete, firm and trustworthy data about the phenomena, but also an advance in its moral reasoning. Its maturity is dependent upon and linked to biology and a new field, bioethics, which deals with different technological advances which today are possible due to steps forward in biology. Numerous philosophers and scientists are developing a more formal analysis of such

complex problems as how to decide who should receive organs for transplant, the justification of heroic—and extremely expensive—measures for prolonging life and the possible use of genetic engineering to alter characteristics of human breeding (inheritance, genetic development). These specialists have only just begun with similar rigor their considerations about the relations between human beings and the organisms which surround us.

The pioneer ecologist and conservationist Aldo S. Leopold, a great student of Mexico's fauna, defined ethics as, "The series of rules that Man invents to face new or complex circumstances, or which involve answers so far off in the

future that a common, ordinary person cannot clearly predict the outcome of those circumstances." From this we can deduce that ethics will be all the more solid if they can successfully deal with the distant future. This is particularly true for the ecological problems facing Man, problems too complicated to be understood solely through intuition, common sense or even partial—albeit scientifically solid—information.

In the context of the ecological conundrum, we find a singular paradox: its values depend on time and it is very difficult to make them lasting. We want health, safety, freedom and personal and family well-being. Undoubtedly, we project this wish for future generations, but not necessarily with the same firmness with which we desire it for our own, and, of course, as long as it does not imply a high personal cost.



Creating awareness of the significance of posterity is vital for protecting the environment.

The great difficulty that environmental ethics face is that natural selection has programed human beings to think in terms of a temporary, physiological definition. Our mind travels basically in dimensions measurable in hours, years, at the most a few generations. The kind of problems we are facing in ecology, particularly at the regional and global level, are such that it is very difficult for people to be seriously concerned about them and to take decisive, even violent, action. Global warming, the deterioration of the quality of the air or the disappearance of hundreds and thousands of species are not of a nature to become quickly perceived as questions that should receive a great deal

of attention from those they affect. As Wilson said, "Ecological and evolutionary time, covering centuries and millennia, can only be conceived intellectually, but it is doubtful they will have any immediate emotional impact."

Only through an extraordinary educational effort and much reflection will people generate emotional responses to situations which are very remote, both time-wise and geographically, and therefore place more value on the significance of posterity.

In another beautiful passage from his book *The Ethics of Conservation*, as part of an "environmental ethic," Wilson says, "I have argued in this book that we are human, to a great extent due to the very particular way in which we associate with other organisms. They are the matrix out of which the human mind originated and in which it is permanently rooted."



Humanity has usually progressed by putting nature at its service.

Why, then, the resistance to developing an ethic of conservation? The usual argument is that people should come first. This is a strong argument and difficult to refute. However, we should ask ourselves: what is left, even after we have solved all the practical problems of individuals and societies? What is the object of reaching personal goals or social development and the realization of individual capabilities? What is the object of the development and evolution of human potential?

The wish to perpetually expand the development of society and personal freedom is clearly inherent to the human spirit. But, to sustain that expansion, we need the most careful, delicate and wise guidance and leadership of the living world in which we function. Expansion and the direction it takes do not necessarily have to conflict. The depth of the ethics of conservation should be measured by the degree to which these two aspects of nature combine and reinforce each other. This paradox can be resolved by using a more appropriate premise: the survival and the protection of the human spirit forever.

It is useful at this point to reflect, albeit briefly, on ethics. The ethics of science are such that their exercise in scientific activity becomes a school of ethics or morality, which, in the words of Mario Bunge, reinforces the following habits or attributes: 1) *Intellectual honesty*, which usually demands 2) *Independent judgement*, which frequently requires 3) *Intellectual courage*, which normally implies the criticism and self criticism which inspire 4)

Love for intellectual freedom, which leads to 5) *A sense of justice*, which is careful to take into account the rights and opinions of one's fellows.

In my opinion, these attributes, generated in the exercise of scientific activity, may be so important that they even mold other characteristics—above and beyond the research itself—related to scientists' personal and family life and the social relations.

And it is just at this point where the discussion about an "ecological ethic" and Man's actions and decisions in his understanding of the different aspects of his relationship to nature must converge with the prediction of the situations which one might call "political" in the best sense of the word.

WOMEN AND THE ENVIRONMENT

For better or for worse, human beings have continually molded their environment, as part of evolution. The domestication of countless plants and animals, each with its own genetic variety, is proof of the beneficial interaction of Man with other organisms. Nature itself, of course, continues to evolve, molding humanity. It is widely known that the cultural characteristics of different societies are the product of their interaction with their environment. This is so much the case that the oldest and richest cultures arose consciously in the areas of greatest biological diversity in the world. The fight for survival in a given environment indelibly marks a culture, giving rise to countless cultural forms, including everything from the social structure itself, the diet and language, to soil-use technologies and a particular cosmogony.

However, one of the elements of this continual interaction between society and nature—greatly ignored, little studied and understood, but which may have a fundamental role in the development, the practical ability and even in creating an ethics of the relationship of societies to Man—is the role played by women in the environment and in the biological diversity that surrounds societies. A group of researchers examined women's role in the environment and in maintaining biodiversity at a world meeting of the World Resources Institute, with

the aim of analyzing and developing an international strategy to protect biological diversity. This analysis fits in with the reflections on the role that women play in family development, in educating children and, finally, in the level of development of a given society.

It is well known that the only factor to which the birth rate can be linked is the level of education of women in each society. Many analyses, carried out at different educational levels, make this very clear. For example, at our National University students' academic performance clearly tends to have a direct correlation to the amount of schooling that their mothers had.

Also, in most developing countries, women bear the primary responsibility for the production and reproduction of food, medicine, fuel and domestic materials and for generating income for such items as schools, education, health and other family necessities. When the development plans of a country do not take into account women's role and contributions, they lead not only to biotic impoverishment, but also to human impoverishment. It is increasingly clear that, unless governments and their development planners explicitly take into consideration poverty, social inequality and gender problems, efforts to maintain environmental balance, and particularly protection of the biological wealth of the planet, will be practically in vain.

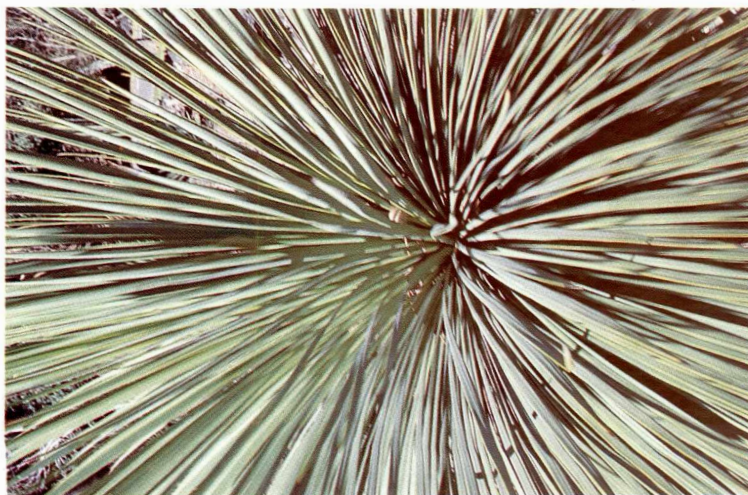
One of the findings of the World Resources Institute meeting was that women's cultural experience, and not their biology, is what makes them particularly adapted to the tasks of conservation. This is exemplified with the activities of a typical woman in India. She works from 12 to 15 hours a day collecting firewood and water, producing in the fields, collecting fodder for and taking care of animals, cooking, cleaning and looking after children and old people. Her relationship with the environment is very intense. The knowledge of Indian women—and those of many other countries—about medicinal plants, for example, is particularly rich and important for family health.

Once again, the most serious problem facing humanity regarding its future relations with the environment is reaching sustainable social, economic and cultural development. And this requires a relationship with an environment that is stable, appropriate and sustainable for long-

term human needs. Making sustainable development a reality is absolutely crucial for reducing the negative effects of human activity on the environment: from the profound transformation of essential inputs for human life (water, air, soil) to ending the extinction of thousands of species which are options for human use and basic elements in the maintenance of stable and viable ecosystems.

But development is not possible without women's full participation. Rural women all over the planet, particularly in the developing regions, and mainly urban women in developed countries, play a vital role both in the conservation of biodiversity and in the potential for perceiving and creating awareness about environmental problems that affect the health and the lives of families and societies. Unless women's many roles as deciding factors in family and community unity and well-being in broad areas of the world are clearly recognized and appropriately valued and their participation in decision-making increased, the environment, the world's biological wealth and human well-being will decline quickly in coming decades.

The debate about an environmental ethic will be possible to evaluate insofar as the cultural aspects underlying the different points of view become more explicit. This is the only way to better understand the challenge of Man's innate desire to progress and better himself for individual and social well-being when faced with an environment which, profoundly modified by that progress, paradoxically becomes the most serious obstacle to the just and egalitarian development of the members of a society. ❧



Making sustainable development a reality is absolutely crucial.

THE RUFINO TAMAYO MUSEUM

A Window on the Avant-Garde of the Twentieth Century

Samuel Morales Escalante*

Devoted to offering its visitors a comprehensive view of the plastic arts the Rufino Tamayo Museum opened its doors to the public in

* Head of research and exhibits at the Rufino Tamayo Museum.

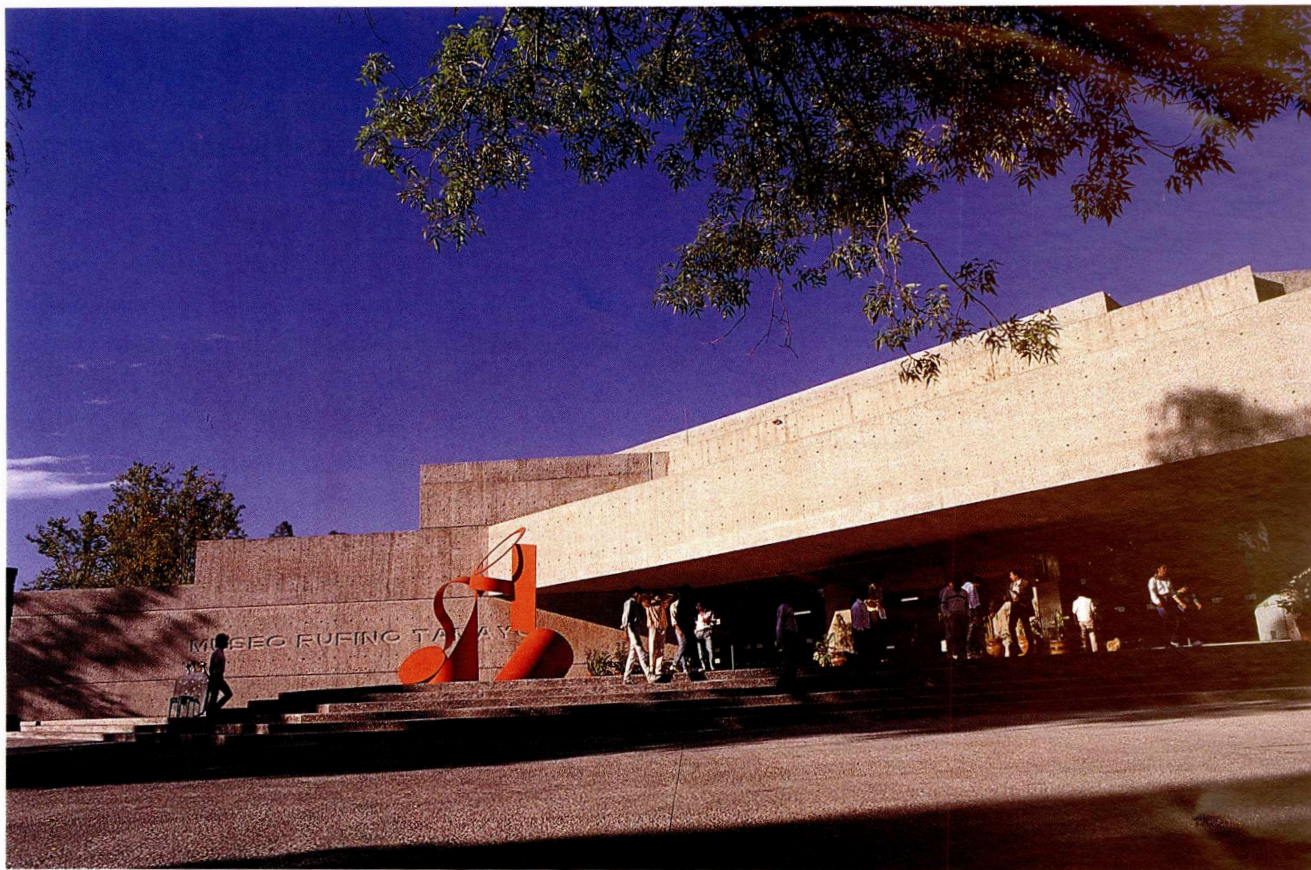
1981 with an exhibit of Rufino Tamayo's contemporary art collection. The painter, originally from the state of Oaxaca, left his collection to the people of Mexico and today it makes up the museum's permanent collection.

The project came to fruition little by little and had to overcome many obstacles. Rufino Tamayo and his wife Olga worked very hard to gather a series of art works representative of this century's movements and tendencies. Construction began in 1979,



Photos: Rufino Tamayo Museum Documentation Center

An example of Mexico's magnificent architecture.



The museum combines the formal heritage of pre-Hispanic and Colonial architecture with modern concepts and materials.

on a site in Chapultepec Forest donated by the Mexican government, and sponsored by the Alfa Group and the Televisa Cultural Foundation.

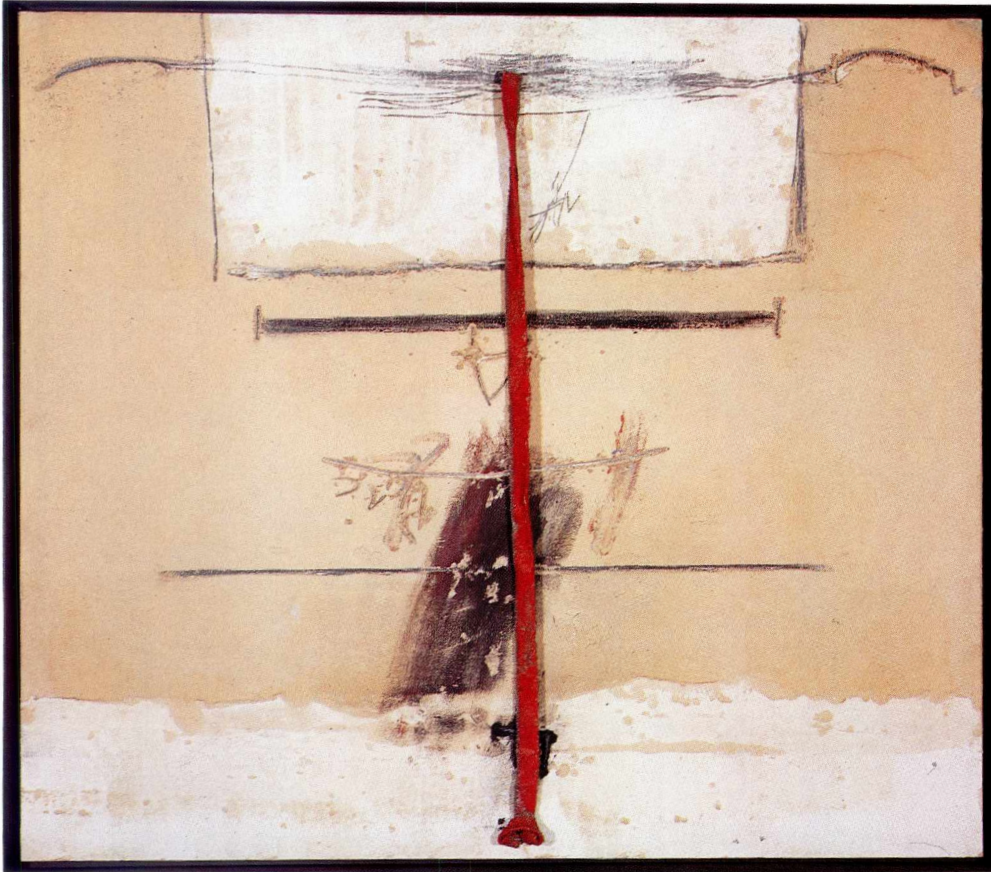
For six years the museum was managed by the business community; in 1986 it became public property, with the National Institute of Fine Arts as caretaker. Three years later, the Olga and Rufino Tamayo Foundation was created to support its activities.

The Tamayo Museum has consolidated the aesthetic vision of its creator through its permanent collection—with discourses that vary periodically—and a program of temporary international exhibits with emphasis on Latin American art.

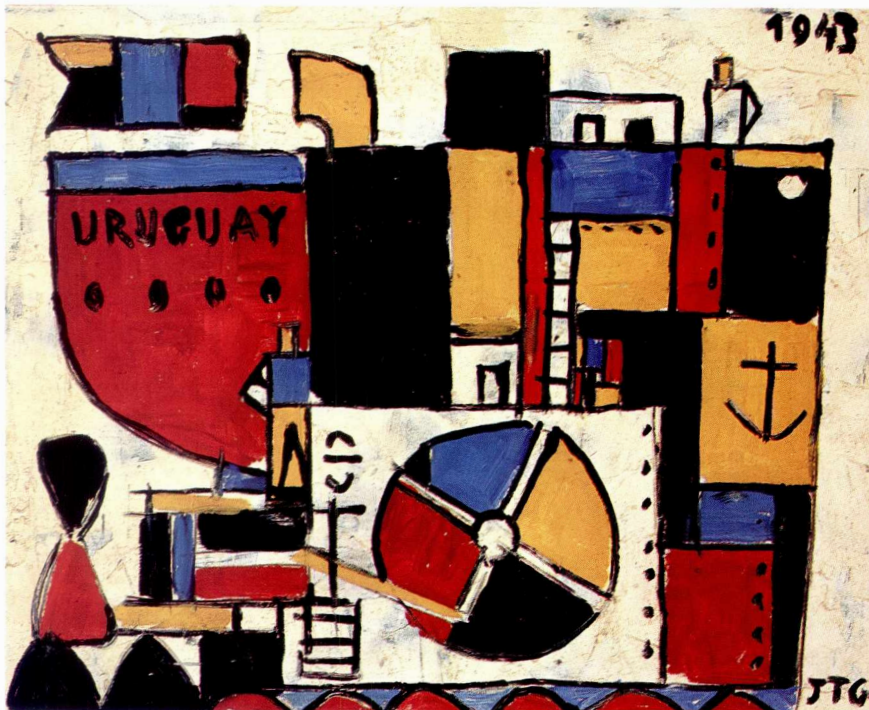
Additionally, the museum hosts multidisciplinary activities linked to other art forms like music, theater, literature and dance. It also holds workshops on graphic expression and courses for beginners. The objective is to offer visitors a repertory of

options according to their academic and leisure interests. The museum has a documentation center dedicated to the study of Tamayo's work and that of the artists in the permanent collection. In fact, the Tamayo Museum and Foundation have been

The museum hosts multidisciplinary activities linked to other art forms like music, theater, literature and dance. It also holds workshops on graphic expression and courses for beginners.



Antoni Tàpies, *Red Strip*, 1971 (mixed technique, canvas).



Joaquín Torres García, *Constructive Boat*, 1943 (oil on canvas).

working for several years to locate and document Tamayo's work with the aim of publishing an annotated catalogue of his entire production.

Rufino Tamayo asked Mexican architects Teodoro González de León and Abraham Zabludowsky to design the building to house the museum. They took their inspiration from the formal heritage of pre-Hispanic and colonial architecture and combined it with modern concepts and materials. Their design sought particularly to emphasize the poetic value of the space in order to establish a harmonious relationship with the works to be housed there.

The museum seems anchored to a sinuous, tree-covered piece of land, completely at one with the landscape of Chapultepec Forest because of superimposed and inter-related volumes stacked on a pyramid base covered with ivy. One of the greatest achievements of this space is the visitor's surprise when he enters and walks toward the balcony vestibule—from where he can see the central patio—which evokes the center of a colonial Mexican house. Natural light, the textures of hammered concrete, the formal rhythm of tiles and walls and the view of the exterior landscape seen through an enormous window all establish a dialogue in this space. The invitation has been made and the visitor begins by deciding whether he wants to start his round by ascending or descending.

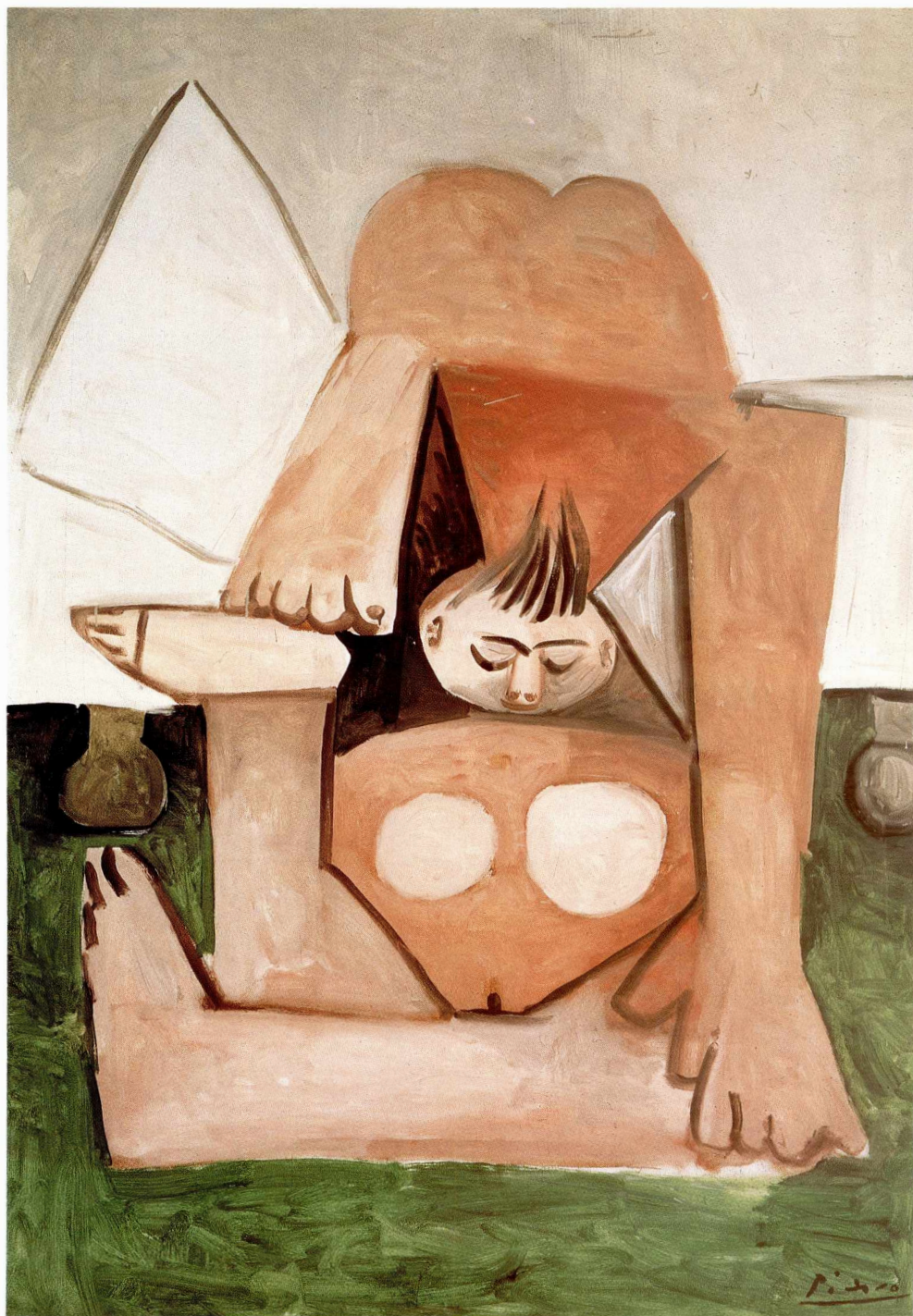
The museum has spaces that can be adapted to the needs of the dif-

ferent projects and museological plans, whether they be large-scale or small works, and according to the variety of props or means of expression used by contemporary artists.

The permanent collection has more than 300 pieces, including paintings, sculptures, graphic art, photographs and tapestries. It is a sampling of some of the artistic movements of this century: Surrealism, Expressionism, Abstract Art, Informalism, Dadaism, Hyperrealism, Pop Art, Op Art, Kinetic Art, Geometrism, Constructivism, Lyrical Abstraction and New Figuration, among others. It contains the work of artists from all over the world, including Francis Bacon, Max Ernst, Willem de Koning, René Magritte, Joan Miró, Henry Moore, Robert Motherwell, Pablo Picasso, Mark Rothko, Antoni Tàpies, Vasarely, as well as some Mexican artists like Lilia Carrillo, José Luis Cuevas, Gunther Gerzo, Mathias Goeritz, Carlos Mérida, Francisco Toledo and Rufino Tamayo himself.

The artistic patrimony of the museum has increased thanks to the work of the Olga and Rufino Tamayo Foundation, which has either purchased or received donations of work from such recognized artists as John Chamberlain, Magdalena Abacarovitz, Kiyoshi Takahashi, Fernando Botero, Edgar Negret and Fernando de Szyszlo.

To broaden its scope, the museum has a program of individual and group exhibits of artists and movements representative of today's




Pablo Picasso, *Nude on a Divan*, 1960 (oil on canvas).

The permanent collection has more than 300 pieces, including paintings, sculptures, graphic art, photographs and tapestries.



The museum's central patio evokes the center of a Colonial Mexican house.

work in the visual arts. Some of the more outstanding showings include: *The Picassos of Picasso*; *Fernando Botero: The Bullfight*; *The School of the South: The Torres García Workshop and Its Heritage*; *Julian Schnabel*; *Robert Motherwell: The Open Door*; and *Louise Bourgeois: The Elegance of Irony*.

Another of the museum's objectives since 1987 has been the dissemination and promotion of the work of Rufino Tamayo through exhibits abroad in countries like Spain, Russia, Norway, Germany, Japan and an upcoming tour of South America. 



The design sought to establish a harmonious relationship between the space and the works of art.

ROBERTO MORENO DE LOS ARCOS

A Passion for History and for the University

Rubén Bonifaz Nuño*

IN MEMORIAM



Photos: Ma. del Refugio González

As though it were his destiny, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos unflinchingly took upon himself the duty of protecting those close to him from suffering.

No one in pain or in need, even if practically a stranger, was left without his support, because he always tried to create joy, consciousness, freedom and the happiness of others.

Like other illustrious Mexicans, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos found in the National Autonomous University of Mexico the appropriate sphere for his ethical and intellectual growth. His actions there are an example of the way he behaved in all facets of his life.

He studied in the UNAM's Department of Philosophy and Letters his bachelor's, master's and doctorate in history. He worked as a professor and researcher, and he held important posts such as head of the Institute of Historic Research and the Humanities Coordinating Department. His work was always an example of how to resolve conflicts in the university.

In all his activities, he continually showed that kind of open-handedness which expected nothing in return, that natural goodness which is its own permanent reward.

As a student he was a cordial leader of his fellows and a respectful and loyal follower of his teachers, some of

* Mexican poet.



He always tried to create joy, consciousness, freedom, and the happiness of others.

whom he helped through the loneliness and sadness that came with age and death. As a teacher, he taught the value of free and original thought. As a researcher, he left a large and celebrated body of work; one quick look at the titles in his bibliography reveals his impassioned interest for Mexico and the defense of this enormous, misunderstood country.

There are those, unfortunately, who see high administrative university posts in terms of power. Roberto Moreno de los Arcos never made this mistake. For him they were just what they are: an opportunity for public service. He showed this in the way he carried out his duties. Appointed twice by the UNAM Board of Governors to be Director of the Institute of Historic Research, he attempted, and often succeeded through friendship and sheer work, in remedying its deficiencies and strengthening its good points. The same can be said of his performance as Coordinator of Humanities, to which he applied a wise mix of honesty and justice.

Just like Mexico, the UNAM is often surrounded by people who would destroy it. Roberto Moreno de los Arcos opposed these efforts unceasingly, efficiently and courageously and contributed tenaciously to its victory.

Roberto Moreno de los Arcos is dead. And the way of his death illuminates his life, making its meaning clear: it was determined by the constant protection of others, by the attempt to alleviate suffering and ignorance in others. His dedication to these ends is thrown further into relief when it is compared to the absolutely manly attitude with which he confronted his own suffering.

It is clear: more than seeking his own happiness, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos charted his life around fostering the happiness of others. Or perhaps it is better said thus: he achieved his own happiness by making other people happy.

The way he faced the last part of his life is an example of the heroism of human solidarity which characterized the whole. ❧

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ROBERTO MORENO DE LOS ARCOS

A B r i e f B i o g r a p h y

Roberto Moreno de los Arcos was born in Mexico City, November 15, 1943. He received his bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees in history from the National University of Mexico. His life was almost completely dedicated to academia and the UNAM, where he held several posts. He was the director of the Institute for Historical Research for two periods, from 1979 to 1985 and from 1985 to 1989. He was also briefly the Coordinator of Humanities between 1989 and 1990. In all these posts he supported historical and humanities research and was an outstanding promotor of publications, as evidenced in the great number of books and periodicals produced in those periods.

His passion for books and libraries led him to concentrate a great deal of his efforts as a historian on research about Mexican bibliography. His texts, all published by UNAM, are classics: *Ensayos de bibliografía mexicana. Autores, libros, imprenta, bibliotecas* (Essays on Mexican Bibliography. Authors, Books, Printers, Libraries), and *Un caso de censura de libros en el siglo XVIII novohispano. Jorge Mas Thephoro* (A Case of Censorship of Books in Eighteenth Century New Spain. Jorge Mas Thephoro). Another outstanding contribution was the publication of José Toribio Medina's books *La imprenta en México (1539-1821)* (Printing in Mexico [1539-1821]) and *La imprenta en Puebla de los Angeles (1640-1821)* (Printing in Puebla de los Angeles [1640-1821]). In 1967, he began a collaboration with Mexican bibliographer José Ignacio Mantecón to publish six issues a year of *Bibliografía mexicana* (Mexican Bibliography) for 11 years. Moreno de los Arcos' *Catálogo General (1939-1989)* (General Catalogue [1939-1989]), for the student library at the UNAM (Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario) is still the obligatory reference work for students, professors and researchers.

Another of his major areas of interest was research into the development of science and technology in Mexico. On April 6, 1970, he became a member of the Mexican Society for the History of Science and Technology, which he headed up from 1988 to 1990. His books on this topic include *La polémica del darwinismo en México. Siglo XIX. (Testimonios)* (The Polemic on Darwinism in Mexico in the Nineteenth Century), *Ensayos de la historia de la Ciencia y la Tecnología en México* (Essays on the History of Science and Technology in Mexico), *Linneo en México. Las controversias sobre el sistema binario en México: 1788-1798* (Linnaeus in Mexico. Controversies on the Binomial System in Mexico: 1788-1798), and *Ciencia y conciencia en el siglo XVIII mexicano. Antología* (Science and Consciousness in Mexico in the Eighteenth Century. Anthology).

Roberto Moreno had a broad variety of interests, all related to Mexico. His intellectual rigor in consulting sources and archives led him to share some of the tenets of the historiographic current known as micro-history. His work on the history of Mexico City parishes and his wide knowledge of the influence and activities of the different religious orders in colonial times is particularly outstanding.

He was nationally and internationally recognized for his enthusiastic work on the Enlightenment in eighteenth century Mexico, particularly the annotated editions of the works of Sigüenza y Góngora and José Antonio Alzate, well-known thinkers of New Spain. His contributions to the cultural history of pre-Hispanic Mexico should also be mentioned. According to the specialist in Nahuatl philosophy, Miguel León Portilla, Moreno's article "*Los cinco soles cosmogónicos*" (The Five Cosmogonic Suns), published in 1963, is still the best starting point for entering the luminous world of the culture of our ancestors.

It was precisely a discourse on Nahuatlisms in modern Spanish which gained him his membership in the Mexican Academy of History on May 19, 1979.

Among the most important scientific and academic associations he belonged to are the Mexican Academy of Language; the Academy of Scientific Research; the Royal Academy of History of Spain (corresponding member); the Spanish Society of History of the Sciences; the Royal Spanish Academy of Language; and the History of Science Society of the United States.

Moreno de los Arcos was also well known as a dedicated teacher. He gave undergraduate and graduate courses in the UNAM's History Department.

He also wrote for popular publications and as a cultural journalist. Many Mexicans remember the passionate articles in his columns "Biblos," "Tabaco y Cultura" (Tobacco and Culture) and "Amor Venal" (Veneal Love) in the national daily *Unomasuno's* cultural supplement, *Sábado* (Saturday). ❧



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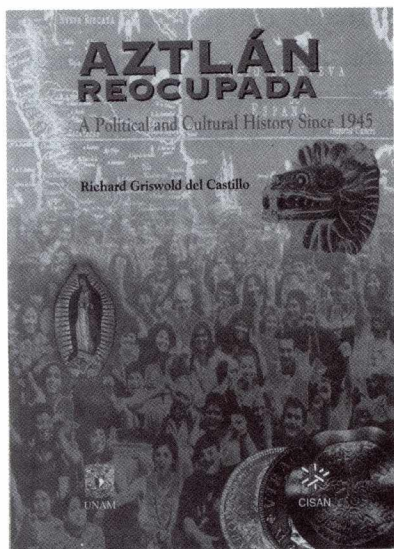
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REVIEWS



Aztlán Reocupada: A Political And Cultural History Since 1945

Richard Griswold del Castillo

CISAN, UNAM

Mexico City, 1996, 204 pp.
(Bilingual Edition).

That the Mexican immigrant and Mexican American communities of the United States have a complex and dynamic relationship with Mexico should come as no surprise. Along with many factors internal to Mexico and the United States, the two countries' proximity has facilitated one of the world's major migratory movements of this century. However, analytical explorations of the multi-faceted relationship between Mexican-origin populations on either side of the border

are remarkably scarce. This academic essay by widely recognized historian Richard Griswold del Castillo establishes useful parameters for examining the evolution of the relationship since World War II by dividing the post-war era into three periods.

Griswold del Castillo characterizes 1945 to 1965 as the Mexican American generation, the one that sought accommodation with U.S., society through pursuing many strategies. While proud of their Mexican roots, Mexican Americans did not question the American dream but used political, social and labor organizations to press for greater access to that dream. Moreover, more prominent Mexican American presence in local and regional politics, in academic circles and in cultural and artistic endeavors pointed to many successes and led to a broader base for future accomplishments.

"Rediscovering Aztlán" coincides with the height of the Chicano Movement from 1965 to 1975, which Griswold del Castillo considers to be the "radical attempt to redefine the political, social, economic and cultural status..." of Mexican-origin individuals in the United States. Consistent with the spirit of the 1960s but unique to the Mexican-origin community, the Chicano Movement challenged the foundations of the American dream and its exclusion of Mexican Americans, in the process, returning to their Mexican

roots for reinforcement and inspiration. Many even chose to call themselves Chicanos, a derogatory term used for many years to refer to Mexican immigrants. Among the myriad manifestations of the Chicano Movement, the author includes César Chávez and the United Farm Workers Union (UFW), the land grant struggle in New Mexico, the Denver Crusade for Justice, Brown Berets, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), Raza Unida Party, among many others.

Particularly noteworthy and enduring about the Chicano Movement was the creativity it spawned in all the arts and literature, "...changing forever the way that American would see Mexicans in the United States." Using Mexican symbols, many Chicano theatre groups drew inspiration from *Teatro Campesino* organized by Luis Valdez and associated with the UFW to develop political commentaries. A notable school of Chicano muralists used public art based on Mexican mural masters to express their criticism of the United States. Moreover, many Chicano writers used their poetry and fiction to explore their *mexicanidad*, as a strategy to understand their position in the United States.

Griswold del Castillo suggests that since 1975 the substantial immigration from Latin America has modified the perspective of the

Mexican-origin population in the United States. The most preferred label is now Latino, which reflects the increasingly diverse Spanish surnamed community. While poverty, unemployment, low levels of education and other social problems persist, a growing Latino professional and middle class points to a prosperous future, at least for some. Voter registration drives and Latino participation in the political parties are just beginning to bear dividends in some areas.

But, what does the new century hold for Mexican Americans? The intensifying economic integration of the United States and Mexico has opened lucrative opportunities for many businesses in both countries, but its effect on the Mexican origin population is not clear. Obviously, the fortunes of the Mexican American community are crucial for Mexican immigrants, since their arrival in the United States inevitably brings them to a *barrio*. However, the long-term consequences of efforts at all levels of U.S. society to curb immigration, and eliminate social benefits for immigrants' children could cause dislocations throughout the Mexican American and Mexican immigrant community. Essays such as Griswold del Castillo's provide a much needed tool in appreciating the significance of Mexican culture as inspiration for the Mexican-origin population in the United States. ❧

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Researcher at CISAN



Tina Modotti: Photographer and Revolutionary

Margaret Hooks

Harpers Collins Publishers,
London

1993, 277 pp.

Margaret Hooks has added yet another book to the literature about women in Mexico in the 1920s. Hooks identified the goal of her work in the Preface, stating that she would try to “demythologize Modotti the legend, extricate her from the shadows of her loves and locate the woman and the artist.” She succeeds in telling Tina’s story; however Tina, the woman, is still an enigma, the unanswered questions are still there.

Hooks, a journalist based in Mexico City, presents a smooth story that embellishes on facts gathered by copious research. The documentation from archives, interviews and texts that the author consulted is impressive. She weaves many names and dates into a journalistic approach of describing people and places. The text is well written, although some of her statements are not factual.

Tina Modotti is a fascinating figure of the Mexican Renaissance, the period in Mexican history following the armed phase of the 1910 Revolution, when major intellectuals and artists plunged into the effort of creating a utopian society. It was at this time that Mexico’s best known muralists, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaró Siqueiros and Jean Charlot, were commissioned by José Vasconcelos to portray the story of the country on the walls of public buildings. The revolutionary fervor attracted many foreigners who wanted to participate.¹ Some, like Bertram Wolfe, needed to get out of the United States because of the persecution of so-called “Bolsheviks,” who were busy unionizing. Others, like Carleton Beals, came because they wanted to contribute to the effort of building a utopian society.

Tina Modotti came to Mexico for the first time in 1922, to bury her first husband Roubaix de l’Abrie Richey, whom everybody called “Robo.” Months later she returned to Mexico with Edward Weston, her lover and teacher, a photographer with whom she lived in that period. Tina remained in Mexico when Weston returned to the United States and stayed until 1929 when she was deported. The doors were closed to Tina in the United States because of her political activity with the Com-

¹ See Henry C. Schmidt, “The American Intellectual Discovery of Mexico in the 1920s,” in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 77, Summer 1978, pp. 335-51.

munist Party. She could have gone to Italy, but she would have ended up in prison. Tina went to Berlin where she worked briefly before going on to Moscow. As a member of the Soviet espionage group, Tina traveled in Europe and participated in the Spanish Civil War. When members of the Soviet Communist Party were no longer welcome in Spain, Tina returned to Mexico, where she died.

Tina's work as a photographer is outstanding, and Hooks's book includes first rate reproductions on good paper. Unfortunately, the author does not reveal her sources of the images or where anyone interested might find them. She handles quotes and information in the same way.

Other people's words are used out of their original context to support Hooks' point. Elaborate descriptions of situations, people and places who were part of Tina's world are often presented without providing the source of her information. This is unfortunate because it limits the book to the general public. Scholars cannot follow up her work to confirm, refute or correct her statements.

Hooks' book is interesting because Tina was an interesting woman. Also because it identifies published sources and adds the author's interviews with people like Yolanda Modotti, Tina's sister, among many others. However, the information is not new, nor is any effort made to interpret it or draw conclusions. The words "possibly," "apparently" and "it seems that" are also used extensively, countering Hooks' goal of demystification. Modotti was a woman of

her time, involved as an artist and with the Communist Party in working toward a better world. She believed it could be done and dedicated the last part of her life to the cause. The scandals in Tina's life are well documented. The earliest press coverage reports the success of a young Italian immigrant as an actress. The Mexico City press had a field day when one of Tina's lovers, Julio Antonio Mella,² was gunned down on a street in Mexico City while walking home with her. Tina's death provoked yet another series of articles inquiring whether she was murdered or died of a heart attack.

The women of the 1920s in Mexico broke with many of the patterns of their mothers and grandmothers. Tina was one of four women who were photographed or depicted in murals in the nude. The others were Anita Brenner, Lupe Marín and Nahuí Olin. Their lives were interesting because they were active in creative fields and produced quality material. Tina's images of Mexico have been justifiably described as sensual and poetic. One of them brought a record price of \$165,000 at a Sotheby's art auction.

Tina's love life is said to contribute to the enigma. She was widowed in her first marriage to Robo and never remarried. She lived with Edward Weston, Xavier Guerrero, Julio Antonio Mella and Víctor Vidalli.

² Julio Antonio Mella was a young Communist revolutionary who, because of his fight against the Machado dictatorship in Cuba (1925-1933), was forced to seek refuge in Mexico.

At least five books have already been published about Tina Modotti. Mildred Constantine published *Fragile Life*, the first gorgeous glossy presentation of Tina's work in 1975.³ Art historian Sylvia Pandolfi produced an excellent catalogue in 1983 for an exhibit featuring Frida Kahlo and Tina Modotti that traveled to London.⁴ Elena Poniatowska turned all the mysterious data surrounding Tina's scandal-ridden life into a very successful novel.⁵ Antonio Saborit published her letters, without editorializing, allowing Tina to speak for herself.⁶ Pino Cacucci wrote about her in Italian after "falling in love with her." The book was translated into Spanish in 1992 and published in Mexico a year later.⁷

Books about Tina's art, political life and lovers are on the way to joining the ranks of the writings about Frida Kahlo, who holds the record with 26 books published about every aspect of her life, including her recipes. ❧

Susannah Glusker
Mexican free-lance writer

³ Mildred Constantine, *Tina Modotti; A Fragile Life*, Paddington Press, New York, 1975.

⁴ Museo Nacional de Arte, *Frida Kahlo-Tina Modotti*, INBA, Mexico City, 1983.

⁵ Elena Poniatowska, *Tinsima*, Ediciones Era, Mexico City, 1992.

⁶ Antonio Saborit, *Una mujer sin pats. Las cartas de Tina Modotti a Edward Weston, 1921-1931*, Cal y Arena, Mexico City, 1992.

⁷ Pino Cacucci, *Los fuegos, las sombras, el silencio...* Joaquín Mortiz, Mexico City, 1992.