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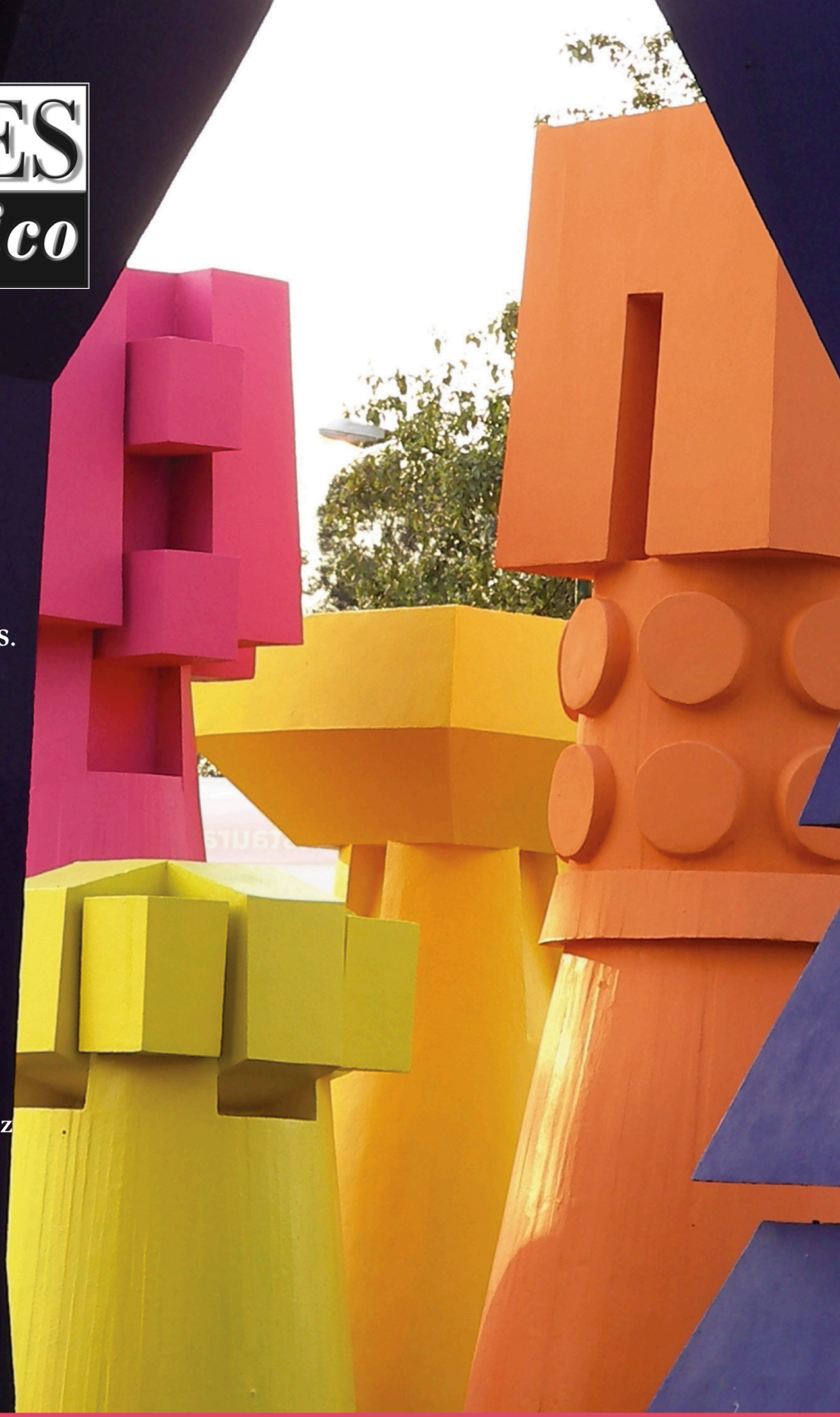

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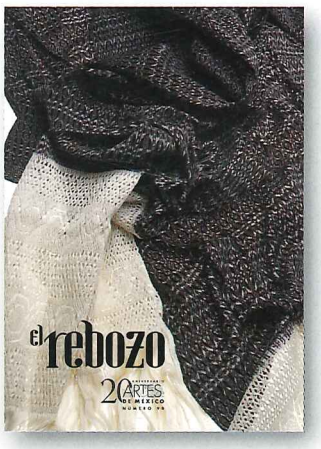

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Mauricio Degollado

Cover

Gathering of the Giants, Station 14 of the Route of Friendship. Joop Beljon, Holland, 1968.

Back Cover

Hacienda de Santa María Regla, Hidalgo.
Photo by Elsie Montiel

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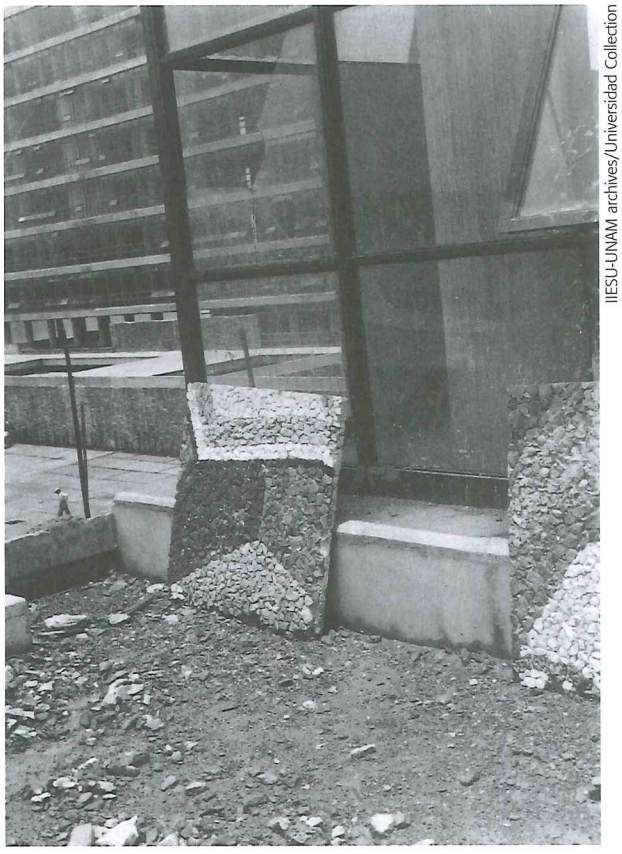

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Our Voice

Interesting times are coming to U.S. politics. Two candidates, two choices and countless questions in between, all of which should eventually and loudly collide to produce the forty-fourth president of the United States. At this stage of the presidential race, the electoral scenario is particularly different from the primary campaigns that amazed U.S. society last year. The most striking element being that the once-Democratic-front-runner, Senator Hillary Clinton, is officially out of the running for the Democratic nomination. In addition, a distinctive feature of this competition is the ideological definition of the candidates' platforms that from time to time tend to move away from their supporters' ideology. In any case, the dispute is raising interesting queries on what the right track for the direction of the country should be, what interests must be defended and whose character would allow the U.S. to recover from the last two periods of political obscurantism and, in line with both candidates, embrace its future and reposition itself in the international arena. The latter is of utmost importance if Washington wants to recover its lost legitimacy worldwide.

Unity for the Democrat and clarity for the Republican are the challenges for both candidates and their respective parties. Signals of Democratic Party reconciliation and reorganization were sent by Clinton in her memorable speech in New York when Obama secured the number of delegates for the nomination last June 3. Obama won, indeed, but Clinton may be very helpful —through remarkable subtlety and political wisdom— for launching a unified presidential campaign. Whether the list of possible vice presidents continues to grow or Obama finally decides to choose Senator Clinton as his running mate, they have decidedly teamed up. As intriguing as it may be, it is interesting to note that, some of Clinton's identified weaknesses that arguably led her to lose the democratic nomination have currently been rated as compensatory points favoring Obama *vis-à-vis* McCain. To mention only a few: her experience, her being part of the establishment, her economic and social projects, her traditional social base. Their first public appearance together in New Hampshire June 27 shows that first, Clinton is still one of the most powerful actors in the electoral race; second, her supporters (namely women, the working class, Latinos and traditional Democrats), donors and staff members, are critical for Obama's victory; and finally, that Obama is proceeding more cautiously, recognizing that even the political phenomenon he is cannot succeed without a solid and trustworthy party.

The ideological definition is another decisive feature. Obama is moving to the center, to the displeasure —or at least confusion— of some hard-left activists. The major problem is that this move is interpreted as ambiguous because of the contradictions and simplifications on central issues that have rarefied his campaign's atmosphere. The ambivalence on free trade, the reversal on accepting public funding limits, the ambiguous and impulsive foreign policy proposals ranging from an immediate withdrawal from Iraq to the normalization of relations with Cuba, the sudden focus on the economy, even Reverend Jeremiah Wright's controversial sermons and the excessive rhetoric are some of the confusing issues that may endanger Obama's victory.

It is no easier for McCain. He is also far from being considered fully to the right. Republican Party hardcore neo-conservatives do not completely identify with his candidacy: how can a neo-conservative feel identified with an immigration proposal like the McCain-Kennedy bill? (Even if McCain, at the end of the day, surrendered to his supporters by turning his back on his own bill.) Above and beyond all this, McCain is fighting to establish a clear difference between George W. Bush and himself. According to a recent *USAToday*/Gallup poll, almost 50 percent of the population is "very concerned" that John McCain would pursue policies too similar to those of George W. Bush. McCain's contradictory declarations on security and particularly on Iraq —I will not leave Iraq until we win the war, "even if this takes us 100 years!"— may stress the links with the sitting president, or perhaps place him dangerously closer to him than he thought. We'll see. Nevertheless, his maturity and caution may establish McCain in the minds of many citizens as a safe alternative to the perhaps bold and excessive "change" discourse.

Despite Obama being ahead with 47 percent of support over McCain's 42 percent, a lot is at stake. Clinton can ask in the Senate for support for Obama's campaign, while Obama and McCain fall into a debate not about platforms but about character and beliefs. The truth is that both candidates are unusual figures in their own parties, and until November, vulnerability will be the constant for both of them.

* * *

Mexico figures among the broad spectrum of issues in the U.S. presidential debate that will undoubtedly be deciding factors for voters. Foremost among them, of course, are regional security, migration, free trade and North American integration. We have dedicated most of this issue of *Voices of Mexico* to the last two, including several articles dealing with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). Only a few months before the fifteenth anniversary of NAFTA coming into effect, when it was supposed to be fully operational, this issue's articles delve into an analysis of the results and balance sheet for each of the national actors involved or the region as a whole, or take a look at prospects for the probable, desirable future scenarios for regional integration.

Our political analysis section begins with a contribution from agrarian specialist José Luis Calva about the NAFTA balance sheet for Mexico's countryside. He demonstrates that not only is there notable unequal development among the three agreement partners, but also how the three government's agrarian policies have affected regional integration: while Mexico has applied World Bank and World Trade Organization free-market and non-governmental intervention policies to the letter, the United States has continued offering its farmers hefty subsidies and set high import tariffs. This explains the Mexican peasantry's justified anger and demand that the treaty be renegotiated immediately.

Our "Economy" section includes four contributions by respected Mexican and U.S. economists about different facets of integration: advances and what remains to be done, its advantages and disadvantages, and its insertion in the broad context of globalization. First of all, Monica Gambrill analyzes Mexico's programs to develop the maquiladora industry, focusing on how, despite NAFTA, the benefits have not remained in the country or even in the region due above all to the forceful participation and comparative advantages of the new economic actors on the world stage, particularly China and other Asian players. Secondly, Pablo Ruiz Nápoles tackles the issue of North American integration, focusing on the intra-regional trade balance, particularly between Mexico and the United States. While Mexico has clearly had a positive trade balance in recent years *vis-à-vis* the U.S., this has also meant an excessive —if not dangerous— increase in our dependence on the U.S. economy, putting on the agenda the imperious need to promote deeper integration including, for example, a customs union or free transit of workers, and above all making a priority of reducing the immense development gap among the three nations. Elisa Dávalos's contribution seeks to demonstrate how worldwide tendencies of foreign direct investment are not aimed today at North America, but mainly at the European Union, whose model of profound integration has made it more attractive for international investors, particularly the big multinational firms. Finally, William Glade first recognizes the great advantages and important benefits the treaty has brought to the three countries, but then goes on to outline the remaining obstacles to its full application and maximum efficacy. Among them, he points to the United States evading full compliance with the agreement by continuing to impose protectionist policies in spheres like agriculture or freight trucking, arguing collateral reasons like border security or Mexico's supposed lack of compliance with environmental standards and regulations.

The integration of North America has undoubtedly been *sui generis*: at the same time that it fosters trade opening, it hardens up border security and transit policies. Tariff de-regulation is accompanied by putting the brakes on initiatives to create greater flexibility on issues like intra-regional migration or joint policies for fighting terrorism or drug trafficking, except those clearly in the interests of the United States like the recently approved Merida Initiative or the construction of the border fence. Researchers Doris Provine and Michael Shelton, on the one hand, and Delia Montero, on the other, delve into these issues in their respective articles. Provine and Shelton outline the differences in local policing of undocumented immigrants in the three countries. Canada shows little tolerance for unauthorized foreigners since legal immigration is relatively accessible. In Mexico, police handling of migration is low profile, but also unsupervised and therefore fraught with abuses. In the United States, efforts have concentrated on strict surveillance along the border, though with a tendency to include immigration checks during any and all dealings between police and Latinos. Neither NAFTA nor the SPP have produced coordination or cooperation in this sphere. Delia Montero reviews the impact of a central, valued resource on relations between the United States and Canada: water. She goes into great detail about the treaties that have traditionally marked relations between the two countries, dealing with how to handle the Great Lakes, for example.

Both U.S. presidential hopefuls have voiced reservations about the viability of broad integration of North America, even questioning NAFTA, though for different reasons. Political scientist Rhina Roux may be right in suggesting that a European Union-type integration is impossible in this region, when she states in her article that historic and cultural reasons, different belief systems, and, above all, the disinterest of

the region's two most developed nations in establishing compensatory mechanisms to make up for the unequal development of the third partner, Mexico, render this goal highly improbable.

Lastly, we should make special mention of the contribution to our "Politics" section by energy expert Rosío Vargas Suárez, who offers her analysis of the recently presented government energy bill. Vargas not only clearly exposes the fact that the bill would privatize part of the oil and gas industry, but also takes on one by one the arguments claiming that it is necessary: the supposedly inevitable decline in Mexico's oil resources; the idea that deep-water drilling is the only viable option; or private funding as the only way of getting the technology required. For Vargas, current difficulties can be resolved by reforming Pemex's fiscal regime and, naturally, taking advantage of today's sky-high oil prices to modernize the country's oil and gas infrastructure.

* * *

The central article in our "Art and Culture" section is about the Route of Friendship: 19 monumental, concrete sculptures placed along Mexico City's southern Beltway to celebrate the 1968 Olympic Games. This great body of work, abandoned for 40 years with no maintenance, left in legal limbo, has survived and is being recovered and readapted to the city of today. Mathias Goeritz, the project's director, brought to fruition in Mexico an idea that was popular among European sculptors of the time: building an Artistic Way, integrating their sculptures into the landscape along highways uniting several European countries to celebrate the friendship and peace among peoples. Another monumental, emblematic work is found on the walls of our university's Central Library. An idea developed by Juan O'Gorman, the library is perhaps the best known, most photographed building in University City. But few people are aware of the fact that it is also a colossal work of craftsmanship in which artisans covered 4,000 square meters with millions of colored stones to make a mural alluding to our country's deep cultural roots, which has not changed color or needed maintenance for 50 years. Lastly, we give our readers a first look at the photographs of Marco Antonio Hernández, who spent several years with the miners of Hidalgo learning what it meant to live underground and documenting their daily lives and their world to present them to the public in his recently published book.

"The Splendor of Mexico" is dedicated to the state of Hidalgo. We begin with the Tula archaeological site as researcher Alfonso Arellano tells us about the two Tulas: the archaeological and the mythical ones. Mythical Tula is the place of men of wisdom and lineage, the most important of whom was Quetzalcóatl, a figure central to understanding the cultures of several Mesoamerican peoples, among them the Mexica. The section continues with a series of Snapshots from Hidalgo, which succinctly show us some of the natural attractions and magical places to visit there. Last of all, we delve into Hidalgo's gastronomy, with its pasties, a legacy of nineteenth-century English participation in local mining, and *barbacoa*, the traditional dish for Sunday brunch made in earthen ovens.

Our "Museums" section takes in the Occupational Medicine Museum in the city of Real del Monte. Housed in the former first hospital for miners built in the early twentieth century by the U.S.-owned Compañía Minera Real del Monte y Pachuca, the building was donated a few years ago along with many of its original furnishings and turned into a place where visitors can see the difficulties and health risks that miners have historically encountered.

In our "In Memoriam" and "Literature" sections, we pay homage to one of the most emblematic figures of Mexican letters, the recently deceased playwright Emilio Carballido. The author of extraordinary works, he was famous for his ability to portray simply the most complex situations of the human condition; undoubtedly, this is the case of the prize-winning play *Rosa de dos aromas* (The Two-Scented Rose), a fragment of which we present to our readers. It is not by chance that in her article, playwright Sabina Berman, one of Carballido's favorite students, dubs him the writer who wrote most effectively and expressively about and for people.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

The Energy Reform or The Return to Oil Multinationals

Rosío Vargas*

Sashenka Gutiérrez/Cuartoscuro

Debating the future of Mexican oil.

The Scenario

Official discourse in recent months has systematically denied that the government intends to privatize Pemex.[1] However, at the same time the state-owned oil company is presented to the public as unviable, on the brink of bankruptcy, inefficient and corrupt, requiring "rescuing" via large investments, given the decline of the its main deposits in the Cantarell oil fields, to avert a national collapse.

The strategy for passing an energy reform has been based on establishing this catastrophic diagnosis in the public's mind, generating the perception that urgent, immediate action is needed, as the first step toward a reform package that would be made public when the executive branch, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the National Action Party (PAN) have come to an agreement on it all.[2] The Senate will be the venue for the reform's fast-track approval without any intervention from society.[3] Promoting in the media the reform's urgency and benefits are President Felipe Calderón; his minister of the interior, Juan Camilo Mouriño; Pemex Director Jesús Reyes Heroles; PRI legislators Manlio Fabio Beltrones, Emilio Gamboa and Francisco Labastida; and PAN Senator Santiago Creel.

What the official campaign generally neglects to include is that during the last four administrations, Pemex's resources have been systematically depleted to encourage its disappearance as a public company. This de-capitalization is presented publicly as proof of its inefficiency and immanent bankruptcy. Actually, it has been the result of 25 years of market-oriented policies that have propitiated vertical disintegration, the implementation of a fiscal policy that virtually confiscates the company's resources, a lack of investment in practically all areas of the firm's activity, debt, the practical elimination of technological development as a budget item and surreptitious privatization.[4] Budget and accounting mechanisms deliberately leading Pemex to the brink of a financial crisis have been implemented to justify the need for state capitalization or a legal reform to open it up to private investment. With the aim of overcoming this purported "crisis," the energy reform promotional strategy is based on a

*Researcher at CISAN. Coordinator of the Area of Globality Studies.

Budget and accounting mechanisms deliberately leading Pemex to the brink of a financial crisis have been implemented to justify the need for state capitalization or a legal reform to open it up to private investment.

series of arguments to legitimize the measure and disqualify its detractors.

THE ARGUMENTS

The official arguments are the following:

1. *A lack of resources*. They say that large investments are needed and cannot be taken out of government coffers because there would be a risk of cutting education, health and other fundamental social rights spending. This is despite the fact that in the last seven years, oil earnings accumulated at 2007 prices have come to US$410 billion. In 2007 alone, earnings came to US$101.6 billion. The vast majority of these monies go to the Finance Ministry, which depends on oil revenues for 40 percent of its budget.
2. *Deep-water drilling is required*. Government spokesmen allege that this is where Mexico's wealth is located. Moving into deep waters will open up our oil deposits to the multinationals through risk contracts. The only option proposed for getting greater volumes of fossil fuels is deep-water drilling, despite the fact that deposits there are not proven reserves.

   It should be pointed out that Mexico has a strip of territory containing light crude oil with high associated gas content running from the coast to intermediate depths where drilling is cheaper than in deep waters and the fossil fuels yield more when refined. It also has areas where little drilling has been done, areas that have been abandoned because efforts have been concentrated on exploiting the Cantarell fields. This is why specialists are questioning the idea of developing deep-water wells, because the majority of the remaining reserves we have are located along the coast and in shallow waters.[5]

   Actually, the argument about deep-water drilling is the door for investors to walk through to their dream of achieving legal certainty in these kinds of constitutionally prohibited activities.

   The government justifies the opening by arguing there is a "need" for investments on the order of US$250 billion for developing upstream activities in the deep waters of the Gulf of Mexico and Chicontepec. Estimates of possible reserves in the latter come to around 7.1 billion barrels of equivalent crude oil. According to Chicontepec's performance and expert opinions, both proposals overestimate existing resources.[6]
3. Another much-used argument is that *the country does not have the technology needed to explore these fields*. Proponents present a false choice between having nothing or accessing the necessary technology, solely possible by sharing Mexico's oil wealth. Actually, this technology can be acquired in the international oil market relatively easily without needing to establish strategic alliances with multinationals or sharing our oil production. Suffice it to point to two deep-water drilling and pumping projects in the Gulf, the Independencia and the Matterhorn projects, as examples of easy access to deep-water drilling technology.[7]

THE POLITICAL ACTORS

The Senate bill was initially attributed to the PRI's Francisco Labastida, president of the Energy Commission, who has made public assurances that Article 27 of the Constitution will not be touched. Labastida has said that his party has already drafted a bill of "secondary reforms", leaving Pemex as a public company without opening the sector up to private investment.[8] The PRI has not come out against private investment in Pemex, but would condition and limit it to certain parts of the production process, maintaining 100 percent state ownership to "modernize, and make [the company] more efficient, but without privatizing it."

In order to not commit its own political capital, the PRI has waited for the chief executive to present his "diagnostic analysis," but has made clear its interest in passing a "comprehensive reform," encompassing not only the *modernization* of Pemex, but also of the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE) and the Central Mexican Light and Power Company (LFC), to include wind and fossil fuel-based energy. That is, the entire sector.

PRI National Executive Committee President Beatriz Paredes Rangel has clearly and repeatedly stated that the

party's basic documents will not be changed to adjust them to the energy reform. However, voices have been raised in her party, both inside and outside Congress, in favor of privatization and the "opening." Some governors want privatization and it is not by chance that some of those voices come from the state of Campeche, like that of state Governor Jorge Ramos Hurtado.[9] The PRI and the PAN have come to a certain consensus in the Chamber of Deputies, since the former approves of private participation in the oil industry as part of the energy reform.

PAN President Germán Martínez Cázares has never tired of repeating that "those who believe that the PAN wants to privatize Pemex are flat out lying; they are falsifying our position." Only recently have they revealed that their party's proposal would include measures to open up Pemex to foreign capital. What is more, Héctor Larios, a member of the PAN and president of the Chamber of Deputies Political Coordination Board, has confirmed that "the central axis of the energy reform" is alliances with multinational companies that will make it possible to explore and exploit new fields and build refineries. In general, the PAN's proposals favor private investment in areas like transportation, storage, refining and pipelines. Secure in the support of a large part of the PRI caucus and of some legislators from the so-called "progressive left" —like Jesús Ortega and Ruth Zavaleta—,[10] the PAN is looking at a promising future for its interests.

The majority of the PRD thinks the capital needed for investment can be found in the profits from the enormous revenues coming in with the over US$100-a-barrel price of oil compared to a production cost of US$4 a barrel. They situate the problem as a matter of the government confiscation of the company's revenues, and therefore find its solution in a comprehensive fiscal reform that would let the company breathe and free it from footing the bill for government current expenditures, deficits and debt. As a strategy, PRD legislators have closed ranks with Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the so-called "legitimate president."

The Protagonist: Energy Reform

The proposal to privatize —attributed by some initially to López Obrador's over-active imagination— turned out to be a reality when announced by Energy Minister Georgina Kessel, who also said it would be ready in late March 2008.

> Moving into deep waters will open up our oil deposits to the multinationals through risk contracts. The only option proposed for getting greater volumes of fossil fuels is deep-water drilling, despite the fact that deposits there are not proven reserves.

Among its proposals is that Pemex would forge partnerships or alliances with international oil companies to explore and exploit deep-water deposits. In a television news interview, the minister made it clear that in return for a partnership for deep-water exploration, 50 percent of the fossil fuels discovered would be handed over to the multinationals.[11]

While at the time of this writing, there is not yet an official version of the definitive content of the energy reform, the media has leaked several points that will be included, like the following:

- Several changes to secondary legislation will be included, mainly to the law that regulates constitutional Article 27 regarding oil, the Law of Public Works, the Law of Acquisitions and Pemex's Charter.[12]
- Some proposals would privatize part (20 to 40 percent) of the company's equity by listing it on the stock market.
- In the proposed version of autonomous management for Pemex, the method considered politically viable for transferring the property to the private sector by changing its legal status is by allowing private participation. Budgetary autonomy for Pemex would allow its Board of Directors to determine the company's course and ultimate future.
- Licensing and opening up gas and oil pipelines; strategic or technological alliances for deep-water drilling and pumping, particularly in the case of trans-border deposits.
- Changes in Pemex's Board of Directors functions to include board members from outside the firm.
- Transferring the exploitation of marginal deposits and previously drilled wells to the private sector, following the example of Venezuela's neoliberal opening in the 1990s.
- Authorizing the creation of independent producers of refined products and crude oil.
- Creating a directorship to manage risk contracts, which would assign the resulting blocks to the highest bidder so they could operate them as concessions or through a risk contract.
- Creating a market institution similar to the ones in Norway, Brazil and Canada, a "Fossil Fuels Council" that would

manage exploration and exploitation of oil, natural gas and the other fossil fuels through public, private or mixed enterprises.

- Reforming Pemex and its subsidiaries' charters as well as the legislation delineating federal administration operations. This proposal, made in a document dealing with activities from 2007 to 2015, points to the need to change Article 6 of the law regulating constitutional Article 27 to legalize "unitization agreements" to allow the exploitation of transborder oil deposits, to designate a single operator and to share profits, eliminating cash payments and putting this kind of project outside the jurisdiction of public works and procurement legislation. This kind of argument is presented based on the supposedly urgent need for exploiting transborder deposits since Mexico runs the risk of the United States doing so using the "drinking straw effect" (the United States sucking up all the oil from its side of the deposits).[13]
- The creation of an authority that would exercise the rights over hydrocarbons is an important part of the strategy. To do this, Articles 27 and 28 of the Constitution would be amended.

A LETHAL BLOW

When some predicted a rapid "happy end" to the government's aim of approving the energy reform, the panorama changed with López Obrador's accusation that Minister of the Interior Juan Camilo Mouriño had been guilty of influence peddling when he worked in the Ministry of Energy and signed over contracts with Pemex worth millions to his family. AMLO presented the documentary proof to the coordinators of the Progressive Broad Front (FAP).

Those who up until that point had unconditionally supported the reform responded immediately. The PRI's Manlio Fabio Beltrones stated that "all the consensuses around the issue" had not yet been reached, and therefore, his alliance with the executive branch no longer seems completely unconditional. As the evidence mounts of Mouriño's conflict of interests, not only regarding the energy reform, but also as a federal public servant given the profits his immediate family and his father-in-law have received through influence peddling from public posts in exchange for economic advantages, his leadership with regard to the energy reform is increasingly weak. Today, not only are more contracts coming to light that were never bid for, but there is also evidence

The central axis of the energy reform is alliances with multinational companies that will make it possible to explore and exploit new fields and build refineries. In general, the PAN's proposals favor private investment in areas like transportation, storage, refining and pipelines.

that Mouriño's unconditional followers —themselves public servants— have been placed in key positions in Pemex and other government institutions to validate strategic alliances with multinational companies, among other tasks.[14] Mouriño's hold on his post is shaky.

THE END OF THE PLAY

However, although the reform has not yet been approved, privatization has been put into practice on the ground through the "collaboration agreements for research and scientific, technological and human resource development" for exploration, drilling and oil and gas production signed by the government and multinational corporations. Recently, one of these agreements was presented for developing a joint study for marine electromagnetic controlled source registry to reduce deep-water exploration risks. In practice, Pemex's agreements have already been signed with Chevron, Nexen, Petrobras, Shell, Stateoil and Exxon Mobil on the condition that they will have to go before international panels if any of the parties fail to live up to their part of the bargain. The crime has already been consummated.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not yet a certainty that the risk contracts, and, in general, the energy reform will pass. However, the forceful way it is being presented, the interests behind it and the actions promoting it leave little room for imagining a different outcome.

The difficulty for conducting a more objective debate that would really allow for evaluating its pros and cons lies in how specialized the issue is and the manipulation of information and arguments. Euphemisms like modernization and democratization can be given any content the speaker wants, but everything in the PAN strategy seems to converge

In their folly, reform proponents have reduced the discussion to a domestic debate, twisting or ignoring the world context, which influences the top management of state companies to cooperate among themselves to stave off future energy crises by taking advantage of growing oil prices.

on mechanisms of privatization by legislating everything but the Constitution, changing it only *de facto*, without any major changes to its actual wording. As has been the practice up to now in Mexico, the purpose is the slow, but steady, dismantling of Pemex.

While President Felipe Calderón's commitment to the multinationals is clear, the recent revelations about influence peddling involving the minister of the interior show that it is no longer just a matter of turning things over to them, but of business deals already brokered from the very power centers of the state.[15]

The problem is that in their folly, reform proponents have reduced the discussion to a domestic debate, twisting or ignoring the world context, which influences the top management of state companies to cooperate among themselves to stave off future energy crises by taking advantage of growing oil prices and the resulting revenues.

In the case of Mexico, it is of even more concern that there is no discussion of the kind of asymmetrical energy integration with our neighbor to the north, which promises to deepen if our resources are turned over to the multinationals. This is not just a business issue; it is geo-political and involves our very survival as a nation. VM

NOTES

[1] See statements by Francisco Labastida Ochoa, president of the Senate Energy Commission, with regard to the anti-privatization movement headed up by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO). Labastida maintains that AMLO is promoting a movement against "the phantom of privatization" of Pemex, since no one is proposing it be sold. *El País* (Madrid), February 22, 2008, p. 3A.

[2] With meager government investment in Pemex, combined with opening it up to private capital, new investors will be allowed to take over national oil income, which in practice is the same as privatizing Mexico's oil.

[3] Israel J. Rodríguez, "Avanza la idea de llevar hasta 49% del capital social de PEMEX a la bolsa," *La Jornada*, February 3, 2008, p. 18.

[4] For the oil industry's recent history, see Narciso Bassols Batalla, *Las etapas de la nacionalización petrolera* (Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2006).

[5] It is interesting to note the converging points of view of U.S. specialists and those Mexicans who are proposing exploring in shallow waters and along the coasts where there is presumed to be potential remaining reserves given the fact that only 22 to 25 percent of Mexico's territory and only 4 percent of the coastal waters have been explored.

[6] Abelardo Cantú published an analysis in the magazine *PetroQuiMex* in which he states that no proposal specifies what exploration tools would justify seeking oil in deep, vaguely located places in the Gulf of Mexico. He also questions the option of exploring Chicontepec. Abelardo Cantú Chapa, "Prioridades de la exploración petrolera nacional: ¿Chicontepec o Campeche?" *PetroQuiMex*, no. 29 (September-October 2007), pp. 60-63. Available on line at http://www.petroquimex.com/numeros_anteriores.php?num=091007.

[7] From the experiences with these projects, we can conclude that, with the discovery of isolated, marginal fields, small independent companies were able to partner up, and, with the help of suppliers and sub-contractors, managed to successfully complete one of the most complex drilling and pumping projects in ultra-deep waters developed to date. The technology Pemex would need to exploit deep-water deposits is available in the suppliers and sub-contractors market for offshore oil production. The companies that have developed it offer all the equipment, tools and services needed for deep-water exploration and development. For more information, consult the magazine *Atlanta Offshore Limited* and the following websites: World Oil (www.worldoil.com) and E&P (www.eandp.info).

[8] We should point out that there is a large gap between the reform proposal's real content and the PRI and PAN's political discourse, which the media have taken it upon themselves to disseminate.

[9] I am referring here to Minister of the Interior Juan Camilo Mouriño's family, which is from Campeche.

[10] Members of the PRD "New Left" current, today fighting to head up the party. [Editor's Note.]

[11] Andrea Becerril, "No nos cruzaremos de brazos ahora que ya soltaron la sopa: AMLO," *La Jornada*, February 15, 2008, p. 5.

[12] See Sergio Domínguez Reyna, "Reforma energética, propuestas y perspectiva," *Energía a debate*, year 4, no. 24, January-February 2006, pp. 10-20.

[13] A very timely book has recently been published dealing with these issues in detail: Juan E. Pardinas et al., *Cruzando límites. México ante los desafíos de sus yacimientos transfronterizos* (Mexico City: Red Mexicana de Energía, 2008). Available at http://www.remexen.org/descargas/transfronterizos/CRUZANDO_LIMITES_web.pdf

[14] Minister Mouriño's friends have come to his defense, arguing that the accusations are just a PRD tactic to boycott the energy reform by eliminating a federal government negotiator, striking a blow against the president and creating a distraction to divert attention away from the conflicts and differences inside the PRD. See Olivia Pescador López, "Panistas salen a la defense de Mouriño. Dice Guillermo Velásquez que lo atacan para retrasar la Reforma Energética," on line at www.diarioCaMBIO.com, consulted March 3, 2008, and "Defiende el PAN a Mouriño," *El Porvenir Nacional*, at www.elporvenir.com.mx/notas. asp?nota_id198294, consulted March 2, 2008.

[15] Carlos Fazio, "Privatizar es el nombre del juego," *La Jornada*, February 25, 2008, p. 24.

NAFTA and Agricultural Policy
The Peasantry's Reasons

José Luis Calva*

Rodolfo Angulo/Cuartoscuro

Peasants demanding the renegotiation of NAFTA.

Since the first day of 2008, peasant protests and mobilizations demanding the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement's agricultural chapter and a comprehensive agricultural policy have once again caused great disquiet in Mexico. The immediate reason for the peasantry's demand is, of course, the last round of trade liberalizations for important agricultural products that went into effect as the last stage of the treaty, including corn and beans, on which the livelihood of three million peasant families depends.

However, this round of liberalizations is actually the straw that broke the camel's back of the peasantry's patience after almost a quarter of a century of turning the Mexican countryside into an enormous laboratory for experimenting with "structural adjustment" policies prescribed by the World Bank.

"Structural Adjustment" And Its Results

In the Mexican countryside, what the World Bank calls "structural adjustment" programs have been persistently implemented from the 1980s on. Broadly speaking, in the agricultural sector, they were made up of three kinds: 1) severely reduced state participation in actively promoting economic development in the sector; 2) an abrupt, unilateral trade opening starting at breakneck speed in 1984 and concluding with the complete incorporation of the agricultural sector into NAFTA; and 3) the reform of agrarian legislation. The latter eliminated the inalienable and unattachable nature of *ejido* and communal land, as well as its protection from adverse possession, all of which were established by the Mexican Revolution, thus opening the way for buying and selling land and concentrating agriculture in large productive units.

* Researcher at the UNAM Institute for Economic Research and member of the National System of Researchers (SNI).

The promoters and implementers of the reforms supposed that this liberal program would lead to an increase in capital investment in agriculture, higher efficiency and the development of food and agricultural raw material production.

However, the results of the neoliberal experiment have been very different from what they expected. Agricultural and forestry gross domestic product for the three years from 2004 to 2006 was 8.7 percent less per capita than that achieved in the three years prior to the neoliberal experiment (1980-1982). In kilograms per capita, production of the eight most important grains was 9.6 percent less in the 2004-2006 period than output in 1980-1982;[1] per capita red meat production was 26.3 percent less; and lumber production was 49.8 percent less measured in cubic decimeters.

By contrast, despite a reduction in poor and extremely poor Mexicans' calorie intake, food imports shot up from US$2.76 billion a year in the 1980-1982 period to US$14.31 billion a year for 2004-2006.

The essential principles and instruments of "structural adjustment" necessarily had to bring forth this result. In the first place, the abrupt, unilateral trade opening, combined with an almost uninterrupted over-valuing of our currency, has caused a swift decline in real prices of products in which Mexico has notorious competitive disadvantages. For example, in the three-year period from 2004 to 2006, corn growers' output was worth 52.1 percent less than in the 1980-1982 period, even factoring into the sale price the Procampo subsidy equivalent per ton, instituted in 1993 as an instrument to compensate for the dwindling prices resulting from NAFTA-linked trade liberalization. Wheat growers lost 33.4 percent of their purchasing power; bean growers, 42.9 percent, etc. As a result, not only did the countryside de-capitalize, but rural poverty also increased.

In addition to the adverse effects of the bottom dropping out of agricultural terms of exchange was the state's abrupt withdrawal from its other rural programs. Quite to the contrary to what happened in developed countries with vigorous agricultural sectors (the United States, the European Union, etc.), which shored up government intervention in the countryside (going as far as to wage a subsidy guerrilla war), in Mexico, government programs in the sector were either hastily suppressed or drastically reduced. As a result, public investment to foster rural development dropped 92.8 percent between 1980-1982 and 2004-2006. This retarded the much-needed expansion of infrastructure —for example, the land opened up to irrigation every year dropped from 146,100 hectares in 1981 to 10,400 hectares in 2006— and reduced maintenance on already existing infrastructure. In addition, overall public spending on rural development dropped 74.4 percent in the same period, particularly affecting research, agricultural extension services, plant sanitation, etc., and canceling specific forms of support such as fertilizer and improved seeds programs.

Quite to the contrary to what happened in developed countries with vigorous agricultural sectors, which shored up government intervention in the countryside, in Mexico, government programs in the sector were either hastily suppressed or drastically reduced.

Finally, "structural adjustment" also brought with it a sharp drop in working capital available as loans. Agricultural loans by the commercial banking system dropped from 15.78 billion pesos annually in the 1980-1982 period (averaging results at constant 1994 prices) to 4.90 billion pesos a year in the period from 2004 to 2006. Total credit to the agricultural sector, including monies from development banks, decreased from 34.42 billion pesos a year to 5.09 billion pesos a year in those same time periods.

To top it all off, the neoliberal reform of agrarian legislation was pushed through during the Salinas administraton, breaking the agrarian social contract established by the Mexican Revolution. This reform put an end to the distribution of land before the constitutional mandate was fully completed in important regions like Chiapas. It also suppressed the land tenure system established under the 1915 Zapatista Agrarian Law, which made *ejido* and communal peasant lands inalienable, unattachable and not subject to adverse possession. Finally, Salinas's reform opened up many ways for individuals to amass large swathes of land. This added, then, a political crisis to the agricultural crisis: according to Subcommander Marcos, the January 1994 Zapatista uprising was sparked precisely by the neoliberal amendment to constitutional Article 27.

For this reason, the crucial question now is to determine whether the Mexican countryside should continue to be used as an enormous laboratory for neoliberal experimentation, or, whether, taking into account the legitimate claims of Mexican rural producers, we should reformulate our economic strategy and agricultural development policies.

The promoters of the reforms supposed that this liberal program would lead to increased capital investment in agriculture, higher efficiency and greater food and agricultural raw material production. However, the results of the neoliberal experiment have been very different.

RENEGOTIATING NAFTA

Ever since NAFTA came into effect, peasant groups have been demanding it be renegotiated, and they have pressed that demand in giant demonstrations like those of January 2008, when the latest round of trade liberalizations included corn and beans. The demand derives from the enormous agricultural asymmetries between Mexico and NAFTA's developed partners.

In the five-year period from 2002 to 2006, in Mexico we harvested 2.8 tons of corn per hectare, compared to 9.2 tons in the United States and 8.1 tons in Canada. In Mexico, the yield per hectare in bean production was 789 kilograms, while in the U.S. it was 1,825 kilograms and in Canada, 1,935 kilograms. And the list goes on. The gap is even wider if we look at labor productivity: the gross value of agricultural production per laborer in the 2004-2006 period was US$4,150 a year in Mexico, while in the United States, it was US$86,280.80 and in Canada, US$76,709.

Among the reasons that explain these asymmetries in productivity are the unequal supply of inputs and agricultural machinery. According to the most recent Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) figures, the United States had 1.7 tractors for each agricultural worker. Canada had two. But Mexico had only 3.8 tractors per every 100 agricultural workers. In the United States, 7.2 tons of fertilizers are used per agricultural worker; in Canada, 7.5 tons; while in Mexico, only 0.2 tons. And the list goes on.

Added to technological asymmetries are the differences in natural resources among the three countries. Per agricultural laborer, the United States has 63.6 hectares of cultivated land, of which 7.9 are irrigated; 83.3 hectares of pasture land and 87.2 hectares of forests. In contrast, Mexico has only 3.2 hectares of cultivated land per agricultural worker, of which only 0.7 hectares are irrigated; 9.3 hectares of pasture land, most of which is of low quality; and 5.7 hectares of forests. (In Canada, the figures per agricultural laborer are 146.8 hectares of cultivated land, 2.1 irrigated; 43.4 hectares of pasture land; and 985.4 hectares of forest.)

As if that were not enough, the quality of the land used for growing corn in terms of temperatures, rainfall, soil and topography was —and is— also better in the United States. Its enormous cereal belt receives 1,489 millimeters of rainfall a year, while Mexico's best rainfall-fed lands receive only 865 millimeters. Also, at the time the corn is flowering, when the plants need more sunlight, in the U.S. cereal belt, the sun comes up at 4 a.m. and goes down at 10 p.m., while in Mexico, two parallels to the south, the days are not this long.

Finally, the United States' competitive advantage in agricultural policies is also overwhelming. In fact, if it has managed to become the world's first agricultural power, it is thanks to its support for agriculture. Starting with the 1862 Morrill Act, which set up educational, research and agricultural extension institutions that have spread throughout the U.S. countryside, it culminated in the 1933 Farm Bill, which established the system of parity prices for the main commodity crops, creating certainty for rural production and thus favoring farms capitalizing and using technology to produce. In the period from 2004 to 2006, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) figures put total agricultural subsidies as a percentage of the gross value of agricultural production at 42.99 percent in the United States, 17.5 percent in Mexico and 33.6 percent in Canada.

Despite these asymmetries, the administration of Carlos Salinas (1988-1994) decided to integrate the entire Mexican agricultural sector into NAFTA, something Canada did not do (it left out sensitive products like milk, cotton, sugar, chicken and eggs, among others). The reigning technocrats considered that trade liberalization would bring with it a substitution of crops in traditional, low productivity segments with products with greater potential. For the more vulnerable products (corn, beans and milk), "extra-long time limits (15 years) for eliminating tariffs" were set, with the supposition that that would be enough to convert the country's production and adjust agricultural production. Naturally, the technocrats never planned what would happen if these premises turned out to be false.

However, we university researchers had already alerted the public that they were false. In fact, my book *Probables efectos de un tratado de libre comercio en el campo mexicano* (Probable Effects of a Free Trade Agreement in the Mexican Countryside), published in 1991 when NAFTA negotiations were

just beginning, predicts figures similar to those cited above, sketching what actually happened. In that book, I warned, "We cannot reasonably think that in the foreseeable future we will be able to match our neighbors to the north because capitalization and technological innovation move ahead there too, and very frequently more rapidly than in Mexico. Equally, it is illusory to suppose that Mexico can beat the United States in a 'war of treasuries,' that is, in agricultural subsidies."

The future caught up with us. Today, even the World Bank recognizes that Mexico's agricultural sector is not prepared for the coming competition under NAFTA. It has admitted that the sector has been subjected to the most drastic structural reforms —the liberalization spurred by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and NAFTA, the elimination of price controls, the land tenure structural reform— but the results have been disappointing: stagnation of growth, lack of external competitiveness and increased rural poverty.[2] The same institution identified the unequal conditions for competition faced by Mexican peasants because of their smaller plots and resources and the extensive U.S. agricultural subsidy programs.[3] Undoubtedly, they should be thanked for recognizing this, but it does not make up for the costs of the neoliberal experiment.

Today, events have proven the technocracy's calculations wrong, but there is no remedying the past. The issue is deciding the future.

One approach consists of underplaying the negative effects of trade liberalization, arguing that high grain prices, caused by the ethanol boom and the explosive demand for food from China and India, will make it possible for Mexican farmers to withstand the competition. The problem is that the high international prices are temporary, while the productive and technological asymmetries are structural.

A second stance would be to face the problem with a realistic vision in accordance with the nation's general interest. This would require redesigning our agricultural policy to apply support mechanisms similar to those used in the United States and at the same time renegotiate NAFTA, either to exercise a common agricultural policy and create structural funds like the European Union's or to simply agree to exclude corn, beans and other sensitive products from NAFTA's liberalization commitments.

This, in short, is the reason the peasants demonstrated once again in Mexico's capital in January 2008.

It would be better to deal with their legitimate complaints, not only to return hope to rural residents, but also to speed domestic production of food and agricultural inputs, making it feasible for the Mexican countryside to fulfill its important functions in the nation's economic development. VM

NOTES

[1] The eight most important grains are corn, beans, wheat, rice, soy, safflower seeds, sesame seeds and sorghum. (Editor's Note.)

[2] World Bank, *Estrategia de asistencia para el país 2002,* Report 23849-ME, available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org /INTMEXICOINSPANISH/Resources/EAP_Documento_Principal2002.pdf. [Editor's Note.]

[3] World Bank, *Generación de ingreso y protección social para los pobres, 2005*. The World Bank carried out this study at the behest of the Mexican government. See http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64193027&piPK=64187937&theSitePK=523679&menuPK=64187510&searchMenuPK=64187282&theSitePK=523679&entityID=000012009_20060727152557&searchMenuPK=64187282&theSitePK=523679 [Editor's Note.]

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Another Step toward North American Integration

The Mexican Manufacturing, Maquiladora and Outsourcing Industry Decree

Monica Gambrill*

Jennifer Szymaszek/Reuters

The latest step taken in Mexico toward deepening North American integration, after signing onto the Security and Prosperity Partnership in March 2005, is the creation in November 2006 legislation of the category of the Manufacturing, Maquiladora and Outsourcing Industry (its name in Spanish is "Decreto para el fomento de la industria manufacturera, maquiladora y de servicios de exportación"), or IMMEX. This sounds very much like "IME", the acronym for the maquiladora industry, and, yes, the IMMEX sprang out of the IME model, now expanded to most of Mexican manufacturing and export service industries as well. What we want to focus on is how this new industry deepens regional integration, with emphasis on defining exactly what "regional" means in the case of North America.

As most readers know, U.S. companies assemble products in Mexican maquiladoras for their home market. Canadian companies also have their own system of co-production with the U.S. and, after NAFTA, began setting up their own maquiladora operations in Mexico as well. Even though much attention has focused on this regional system of co-production, it is not really the relevant aspect of the current debate about North American integration. The real problem behind regional subcontracting is how it enables Asian

* Coordinator of the Area of Integration Studies, CISAN. ruppert@servidor.unam.mx

intermediary goods to be transformed into regional ones, when they are incorporated into the final product and exported to the U.S. from Mexico and Canada. A good part of the US$138 billion deficit that the U.S. sustained with North America in 2007 can be attributed to Asian components, imported under specification of U.S. companies —and these indirect importations are only a fraction of the total, from the combined U.S. Asia-Pacific (APEC) trade, which racked up a US$542-billion deficit that same year.

We want to focus on how this system works with Mexico, without implying in any way that it is exclusive to this bilateral trade relationship. The central point that needs to be understood is that U.S. companies do not assemble parts and pieces of U.S. origin in Mexico. Even if intermediary goods are brought in from the U.S., that does not mean they were made there. To avoid round-abouts, through the U.S. into Mexico, the maquiladora industry has always been allowed to bring in whatever it needs from anywhere in the world. These intermediary goods are imported temporarily and are duty-free as long as they are re-exported later on. Tariffs are paid on them only when and where the final product is consumed —typically in the United States, paying its general tariff on value-added in Mexico.

When NAFTA was negotiated, attention focused on how this system should be changed, to keep third parties from using Mexico as a "back door" into the U.S. market. Rules were implemented to keep that from happening, which would have discontinued the system of temporary imports from third parties into Mexico from 2001 onward. After that date, additional tariffs have to be paid in Mexico, above and beyond the U.S. tariffs. The additional amount to be paid in Mexico is equivalent to the difference between Mexico's higher general tariff and the lower U.S. one. However, it is important to note that even though NAFTA changed third-party temporary imports into Mexico, it left the old system of duty-free temporary imports among the three North American partners intact; and that is the way U.S. companies use Mexico as a trampoline for introducing third-party intermediary goods duty-free into the U.S.

The objective behind NAFTA changes seemed to be tightening regional integration by encouraging increased regional production in North America, including the regional production of intermediary goods. However, shortly after NAFTA came into effect, it became apparent that the use of third-party intermediary goods would not be reduced in North American co-production. One year later, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created, admitting China as a new member in 2001, along with other Asian countries. U.S. duties on Asian imports dropped to the most-favored-nation level as a result of their acceptance in the WTO. So, all that had to be done to circumvent the higher Mexican tariff was to import the Asian intermediary goods directly into the U.S., paying the lower tariff there. These goods could then be brought into Mexico under the North American system of temporary imports, which is not the same as the North American preferential tariff. However, the round-about would incur additional transport and handling costs, so a more feasible strategy developed, sourcing intermediary goods worldwide through newly-created companies in the U.S., and then assembling in China.

Faced with the prospect of losing its maquiladora business to the U.S. and China, what Mexico did was to create a series of special programs that unilaterally reduced its general tariff on third-party intermediary goods to the same level as that of the U.S.

Faced with the prospect of losing its maquiladora business to the U.S. and China, what Mexico did was to create a series of special programs that unilaterally reduced its general tariff on third-party intermediary goods to the same level as that of the U.S., thereby eliminating the need to make any additional payments in Mexico. Now, third-party intermediary goods can be imported in either of two ways: temporarily, if imported under the auspices of a company with a regional program that allows duty deferral until entry into the U.S.; or permanently, if imported under the auspices of a company with a non-regional program that requires tariffs to be paid upon entry into Mexico. In the latter case, goods imported definitively into Mexico are then considered to be Mexican, for the purposes of regional co-production.

These permanent third-party imports into Mexico can be introduced into the U.S. duty free, as Mexican, since NAFTA eliminated the U.S. tariff on "Mexican content" incorporated in U.S. goods assembled there. This system of global intermediary imports operates parallel to NAFTA's rules of origin requiring intermediary goods to be made in North America in order to move around the region duty-free. In regional co-production, duties on third-party intermediary imports are charged only once, regardless of the number of times they move across North American borders for produc-

In lieu of tariff protection, the three governments could cooperate in eliminating obstacles to regional production for a wide variety of goods for which lower transportation costs within North America represent a comparative advantage.

tive purposes. These duties are low, set in Mexico at the same level as the U.S., which ranges from zero to five percent.

U.S. companies' preference for third-party intermediary goods is, to a large extent, what is responsible for the trade deficit the U.S. has registered with its North American partners, which actually corresponds to Asia. It would be a mistake for NAFTA critics to try to decrease the U.S. deficit with the rest of North America by singling out and chastising maquiladora trade. Restricting the flow of Asian intermediary goods through Mexico would merely shift their importation again to the U.S., raising costs and reducing competitiveness, or would encourage the complete transfer of production to Asia. If the problem is the deficit with Asia, a more direct course of action would be to demand reciprocity from Asia, threatening with compensating duties, instead of trying to attack the problem indirectly by excluding Mexico from the system of global trade in intermediary goods.

Mexico wanted the relatively closed region promised by NAFTA, in which its intermediary goods would have tariff preferences over those from third parties; but shortly after the regional treaty was signed, the government followed the U.S. lead in opening the region to third-party intermediary imports. Now, Mexico has taken an additional step in that same direction. With its IMMEX decree, the temporary import system has been extended from a select group of exporting industries to almost the entire manufacturing sector. This move is qualitatively different from the first effort begun in the 1980s. The initial idea was to encourage the manufacturing industry to produce intermediary goods for the maquiladora industry —a strategy that petered out under the WTO agreement that brought competition from China aboard. Now Mexico is trying to convert its manufacturing sector in order to allow it to operate in the same way as the maquiladoras.

For example, the IMMEX decree reduces the concomitant export requirements to 10 percent of the recipient company's production, or a minimum of US$500,000 a year. And more importantly, it creates new modalities of both maquiladora and manufacturing companies: 1) "controlling companies" that manage temporary imports for others operating under their program, for whom they are fiscally responsible; 2) another similar type of importing company but that has no production facilities of its own and is not directly responsible for the recipient's fiscal responsibilities; and 3) chains of sub-maquiladoras and sub-manufacturing plants that have no importing program of their own but receive intermediary goods from companies that do, for whom they sub-contract. These arrangements allow global sourcing of third-party intermediary goods to extend further than before within Mexico.

An alternative to this global sourcing system would be to return to the original NAFTA idea of regional co-production; but this time based on trilateral industrial planning efforts rather than tariff preferences. Raising tariffs on third-party intermediary goods to their normal level would be easy for Mexico but impractical for the U.S. In Mexico the general tariffs were unilaterally reduced and therefore could easily be brought back up to their previous level; but raising the U.S. most-favored-nation tariff would violate the WTO agreement level, and the imposition of countervailing duties on intermediary goods would be impractical. Therefore, in lieu of tariff protection, the three governments could cooperate in eliminating obstacles to regional production for a wide variety of goods for which lower transportation costs within North America represent a comparative advantage or for which certification or standardization are required. This is already happening for a select number of goods such as the production and assembly of auto parts, flat-screen televisions and parts for the aeronautical industry, as well as the sale of electronic business services to the U.S.

However, in order for this regional model of co-production to grow and prosper, more is needed than just trilateral cooperation among the three governments. Widespread recognition of the fact that co-production in Mexico and Canada uses U.S. intermediary goods more intensely than similar production in Asia is required in order to change the growing perception among the U.S. public that its neighbors represent a direct threat to their jobs. On the contrary, encouraging production to return to North America, with Mexico as its preferred low-cost alternative site, would help solve a tandem of other regional problems as well: making regional manufacturing goods more competitive, helping correct the U.S. balance of payments, encouraging regional employment growth, perhaps even to the point of raising wages in Mexico, and reducing migratory flows. VM

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Mexico-U.S. Trade Relations and The Prospects for Integration

Pablo Ruiz Nápoles*

Rebecca Cook/Reuters

The United States has been Mexico's main trade partner since the 1930s. Exports and imports to and from the U.S. make up more than three-quarters of Mexico's foreign trade. Tourism to and from the United States accounts for around 80 percent of all the country's tourism. Mexico shares with the United States a 3,000-kilometer-long land border, two seas and two large rivers. Most foreign investment in Mexico comes from the United States, as do the maquila plants and recently opened franchises. Both inward and outward capital flows either come from or go to U.S. banks or financial institutions. The country's private and public foreign debt is mostly with U.S. banks. Legal and undocumented migrants, mostly Mexicans, crossing Mexico's northern border all head for the United States.

*Professor at the UNAM School of Economics.

Experts analyzing NAFTA's prospects think that the next step in the integration process should be the unification of the three countries' trade and monetary policies. This implies establishing a customs union and creating a common currency.

As a result, since Mexico's economic opening starting in 1983 and really intensified after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect in 1994, it seems natural that a process of economic integration between Mexico and the United States began, with its resulting broadening and deepening of bilateral economic relations. This is even more understandable when the central aim of Mexico's liberalization and de-regulatory policies was to stimulate economic growth through exports, that is, "outward" growth, and financing via foreign investment.

Mexico's commercial and financial exchange abroad over the last two decades has been marked by the reform that has been NAFTA. Its pros and cons can be summarized as follows:

Favorable:

a) Mexico's exports have grown extraordinarily, today making up almost one-third of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). Of these exports, three-quarters are manufactured goods. This has had a positive effect on employment in Mexico's export sector in the first years of NAFTA. Today, Mexico is the world's third largest exporter to the United States, surpassed only by Canada and China. On a world scale, only China has increased its penetration of world markets more.

b) The trade balance with the United States is positive and has been growing since 1995; in 2007 came to more than US$82 billion.

c) Net flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) have been positive and have remained high. This has made it possible to set up export and maquila plants in the country and, financially, has prevented the deterioration of the balance of payments and allowed the country to accumulate international reserves of foreign currency, currently totaling almost US$80 billion. Last year, the net FDI flow was US$23 billion, an amount comparable only to the remittances sent by Mexican workers living in the United States or to revenues from oil exports.

d) Low-priced imports have contributed to decreasing inflationary pressure inside the country and to improving competitiveness in some branches of industry, thus favoring exports.

Unfavorable:

a) The spurt of exports has been uneven. Some branches of industry have increased their presence in the international market, while others have lost market share. On a company level, the favorable effect has been concentrated: there are 300 important exporters, almost all linked to multinationals.

b) Total imports have also grown extraordinarily, making up more than one-third of aggregate supply. They have displaced local industries, causing unemployment, and, above all, they have structurally linked Mexico's manufacturing sector with the U.S. economy, transferring some trade benefits there.

c) The sum of these trends translates into an increased structural dependency of the Mexican economy on the outside world. An example of the gravity of this situation is that, to be able to keep up the rhythm of imports needed for the economy to grow and at the same time maintain a manageable trade deficit, exports have to grow 15 percent a year, a difficult if not impossible feat.

d) While direct and indirect jobs created by exports increased significantly, this only partially compensated for the im-

Peasant organizations made an urgent call on the federal government to review NAFTA, particularly the clauses referring to trade in corn and beans. The producers complain that trade with the United States is unequal, since they receive no government subsidies and U.S. farmers do.

port-related loss of formal jobs. The country's formal employment rate has not grown as expected because the impact of exports on general economic activity is small compared to the low level of domestic market activity.

e) The growth of the work force requires that the Mexican economy create more than one million jobs a year. Since this has not happened despite the increase in exports, migration to the United States, estimated at 500,000 persons a year, has increased. NAFTA lacks favorable rules to regulate migration, which occurs because of the lack of opportunities in Mexico and the demand for cheap labor in the United States.

f) The terms of NAFTA are unfavorable for Mexico in several ways:

- With regard to the agreement's legal jurisdiction: in Mexico's case, it is applied nationwide, whereas in the United States, some states of the union put their own laws above NAFTA. In this sense, we are at a disadvantage.
- In the agricultural sector, the United States maintains its subsidies, while Mexico committed to withdrawing them and kept its promise.
- The format for controversy resolution is unfavorable because there is no way to prevent products with U.S. labels from entering Mexico tax-free from the U.S., but which do not comply with rules-of-origin requirements because they were actually manufactured in Asia.
- Existing compensatory mechanisms are not regularly applied, and when they are, they have no real effect.

g) The trade balance with the rest of the world is increasingly unfavorable to Mexico, particularly with Asian countries like China and Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Malaysia and Singapore.

h) Fifty percent of exports originate with maquiladora plants, which contribute only 3 percent of the country's total employment and do not use nationally produced raw materials. No state-regulated or sponsored program is currently operating.

i) The entry and exit of capital in hard currency, nationally or foreign owned, is totally unregulated, therefore completely freeing up the entry of speculative capital and Mexican capital flight abroad. It is estimated that Mexican citizens have more than US$65 billion dollars on deposit in banks abroad.

j) Trade and exchange rate policies are no longer utilized as state instruments to foster and regulate foreign trade.

Like with any international trade agreement, NAFTA sparks passionate debates about its merits, risks and results. This is due to the fact that despite official rhetoric, far from always being a win-win game, free trade tends to create winners and losers among the countries involved.

Debates about NAFTA recently became front-page news in Mexico when on January 1, 2008, the grace period agreed upon in the treaty ended and the time came to reduce tariffs to zero and/or eliminate non-tariff barriers on grain imports, particularly corn.

The peasant organizations said this was yet another blow to their precarious economic situation, which might result in increased migration to the United States if more peasants become unemployed. Just in the period from 1994 to 2004, 1.3 million jobs were lost in the Mexican countryside, which is why this is considered the main cause of emigration.

For Mexico, it is very important to take a step
forward in integration regarding the mobility of productive factors through
a migratory agreement that would be part
of the overall treaty, as was done in the European Union.

To call the attention of both the public and the government to their demands, a few weeks ago, peasant organizations held a giant march and rally in Mexico City. They made an urgent call on the federal government to review NAFTA, particularly the clauses referring to trade in corn and beans. The producers of these grains complain that trade with the United States is unequal, since they receive no government subsidies and U.S. farmers do.

There are also NAFTA opponents in the United States. This issue has been a thorny one in the presidential primaries. Opponents say that one million jobs have been lost there in the last 14 years, all in manufacturing, and that trade with Mexico has caused downward pressure on the average wage.

Environmental groups also complain that large commercial firms both inside and outside the United States have not complied with NAFTA 's environmental stipulations due to the weakness of the regulatory institutions created by the agreement itself, whose norms lack both teeth and money for monitoring compliance.

Experts analyzing NAFTA's prospects think that the next step in the integration process should be the unification of the three countries' trade and monetary policies. This implies, on the one hand, establishing a customs union, and on the other, creating a common currency, just like the European Union. Although the two measures could be implemented relatively independently of each other, several obstacles would make it difficult, at least with regard to Mexico. Among the many complicated trade policy issues, one important one is Mexico's tariff structure, which differs from that of the United States, and the unavoidable fact that there would be no way of negotiating an intermediate structure given the asymmetry of power of the interest groups in the two countries.

The same is true of monetary policy. In this case, the problem of the loss of sovereignty goes beyond any worn-out nationalism: Argentina's experience is indelibly etched on the minds of the rest of the hemisphere.

For Mexico, it is very important to take a step forward in integration regarding the mobility of productive factors through a migratory agreement that would be part of the overall treaty, as was done in the European Union. This should be seen as the need to regulate a social phenomenon that is both unstoppable and affects both countries.

In the United States, politicians seem to be taking on board the demand to review NAFTA, believing that job losses in their country are due to the trade deficit with Mexico. This viewpoint completely ignores the gigantic U.S. deficit with Japan, China and the European Union.

The other issue that the United States must review is climate change and its effects on NAFTA, so that appropriate measures can be taken to stop pollution and prevent the adverse economic effects that come with it.

Any attempt to change NAFTA by the governments of the countries involved must take into account the asymmetry in the living conditions of the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian peoples. More than forced integration, these asymmetries demand the collaboration of the three nations in really solving the problems of lack of jobs, health care, education and housing.

This must be uppermost in the minds of negotiators, taking precedence over the interests of the large corporations that have been the biggest beneficiaries of the agreement in all three countries. VM

Methodological Problems in Assessing the Unfolding of NAFTA

William Glade*

Guadalupe Pérez/Cuartoscuro

Free transit of Mexican trucks in the United States has been one of NAFTA's main controversies.

Introduction

The current U.S. political campaign has exhibited an almost incomprehensible rush to judgment as Democratic candidates vie with one another to denounce NAFTA. What they can possibly mean about an arrangement that is a *fait accompli* is anybody's guess, for surely they can not be proposing the re-institution of trade barriers, abolishing a development bank, controlling capital movements and repealing the labor and environmental "safeguards" that have been in place for 15 years. One suspects such talk is pure demagoguery, with NAFTA being simply a proxy variable for the nebulous concept of globalization. The demagoguery, however, has found a resonance in widespread public misgivings about the agreement despite the time elapsed since it was signed into law. Curiously, the far more consequential and trade-asymmetrical agreement with China has attracted little of the popular animus that has focused on NAFTA. Trade unions were docile, and scarcely an objection was raised, until the initial trickle of trade became a veritable flood. Even today, despite the substantial dislocations in labor and product markets aggressive Chinese practices have caused, the acceptability of that agreement has not really been challenged in a way equal to misgivings over NAFTA.

While it is not my place to go into contemporary Mexican conversations about NAFTA, no doubt some of the critical commentary is equally misguided and really addresses a different set of concerns. Given the fast-approaching formal

* Professor emeritus of economics at the University of Texas at Austin.

completion of the tri-partite agreement, it is opportune to reflect on how an adequate assessment of the bold experiment, the first free trade compact among countries with such profound economic, social and cultural differences, might be reached. Aside from elucidating an interesting set of narrowly economic issues, such an inquiry will, when it is made, also shed light on the changing social and political dynamics of the three member countries and yield considerable insight into other issues such as cultural hybridization. All of this will be relevant to assessing the diverse impacts of globalization as well.

NAFTA EFFECTS: WHAT DO THEY INCLUDE?

Assessing the accomplishments and shortcomings of an undertaking as complex as NAFTA almost defies the analytical methods of today's social science. Not only are there a great many variables to examine, but there is ample room for honest disagreement over how the different variables should be weighted in arriving at some comprehensive summation of the impacts. Clearly, systematic evaluation is hardly a task for the treatment the matter has largely received so far in the press and in publications intended for the general public. While an abundance of scholarly studies focused on particular aspects of integration have clarified immensely what changes have been taking place, such serious inquiries tend to be overshadowed by more polemical articles, speeches and books. Inevitably, however, the end of the phase-in period will quite properly provoke serious efforts to assess the comprehensive impact of this massive economic experiment, so it is opportune to examine what problems may render such an enterprise especially difficult and problematic.

Although the core agreement focused on removing trade barriers and increasing market access over a period of 15 years, an almost inseparable corollary was the freer movement of capital across the boundaries of the three signatories. Two side agreements were added, one on environment and the other on labor, and a special financing facility, the North American Development Bank —a somewhat grandiose name for an institution with such a limited geographical and financial focus— was instituted to finance infrastructure along the U.S.-Mexico border. While these matters lie somewhat outside the central focus of the trade agreement, they, too, must be considered in assessing NAFTA's impact. In any case a comprehensive assessment must be carried out in full awareness of the opportunity costs of selecting this or that policy course, a judgment that requires some adeptness in constructing careful counterfactual histories of what might have been (in the absence of NAFTA). The old German song "*Wie schön wäre es*" may have given us a charming way of lamenting how nice it would have been, but constructing what would have happened over an exceedingly broad range of economic, political and social relationships, absent certain policy changes, is a fiendishly difficult enterprise.

We need to keep in mind that NAFTA was not only a sub-national regional development program, though one that has had repercussions on the fortunes of different regions within each of the three member countries.

Lastly, even aggregating changes in trade flows, associated changes in the structure of production and employment in each country, changes in capital availability and costs, productivity, wages and working conditions, border infrastructure, and suchlike, one must also consider a substantial number of indirect and longer-term repercussions —externalities (both negative and positive), if you like— for which we may even be lacking agreed metrics. The standard —and useful— distinction between trade-creating and trade-diverting impacts of regional integration is just the first step toward the eventual overall assessment. In time, scholars and investigatory commissions will need to explore not only trade, investment, environmental and labor market and income effects but also the broad penumbra of relational impacts that take place in the social, demographic, political and cultural domains.

We need to keep in mind that NAFTA was not only a sub-national regional development program, though one that has had repercussions on the fortunes of different regions within each of the three member countries. Neither was it, *per se*, an investment program in infrastructure, though it carried profound implications for what each country should do to maximize the benefits of the trading scheme. And it certainly was not envisaged, except very indirectly, as a means of redressing ancient income and wealth distribution issues, nor was it an instrument for alleviating poverty, except as a by-product of its functioning. It was, however, the source

NAFTA has thus contributed to rising productivity, higher employment and higher real incomes for those who have benefited from trade expansion either as producers or as consumers or, more typically, some combination of both.

of an expectation that the strengthening of economic growth in Mexico would provide more resources with which to tackle all these matters. But, that said, there was nothing inherent in NAFTA that could provide an assurance of stable, recession-free growth any more than it would automatically provide remediation for historically problematic governance structures, for unresolved cultural conflicts and class tensions, or for, say, faulty instructional systems in each nation's schools.

NAFTA, Market Access And Trade Liberalization

The key element of any regional integration movement —as in the global liberalization that has been underway since the mid- to late 1940s with the IMF, GATT-GATS-WTO, the WIPO, and the proposed Multilateral Investment Agreement— is the reduction, and ultimately removal, of barriers to market access. So, too, with barriers to exiting from markets, an important consideration where monopolies, whether of the private sector or the public sector, are concerned. All types of markets, both product and factor, are involved, at least in principle, when economic union is the aim. But a substantial reduction or even elimination of trade-based access barriers is also the aim of less comprehensive integration schemes such as common markets, customs unions, free trade areas and, for that matter, preferential trade agreements, all of which seek some measure of trade creation. Trade creation is, however, not the only outcome. As a number of studies have pointed out, regional schemes also involve some measure of discrimination against non-members, the inevitable effect of trade preferences among members. Hence, some trade diversion appears to be inevitable, even though the primary aim is trade creation. But it is reasonable to postulate that trade creation effects dominate trade diversion effects in most of the important regional integration schemes today.[1] Certainly this was the case in NAFTA, wherein, thanks to previous liberalization policies, the trade barriers were relatively low at the agreement's outset.

As NAFTA reaches the end of its scheduled trade-barrier reductions, it is therefore opportune to reflect on what has happened in selected aspects of the integration it has entailed. Aside from gauging the agreement's effectiveness in achieving its stated goals, such a survey can also yield additional insights about the complex factors and forces that condition transactional flows in the world economy. It can also shed some light on whether, in a context of global liberalization, there is much logic anymore in regional arrangements except as way stations in a longer adjustment process as national economies become ever more fully engaged in, or some would say fully exposed to, the world economy.

For NAFTA, the impact on trade flows has been the most commonly used benchmark of achievement, with the effects on employment, both positive and negative, running a close second. In this, judging from the data, there is no doubt the trade-creating aspects have been powerful —*ipso facto* evidence of the removal or reduction of market-access barriers. The volume of trade moving in each direction has risen at a generally rapid clip, so that the U.S. and Mexican economies are far more interpenetrated than ever before. Even trade between Canada and Mexico has risen, albeit less. Apart from the volume of trade flows, NAFTA has also had quite important repercussions on the composition of trade, contributing substantially to trade diversification by product line. Inasmuch as a rise in cross-border investment flows in both directions has accompanied the generally rapid trade expansion, there is no doubt that an even stronger impetus to trade has taken place since, for a goodly number of years, an increasing portion of international trade has consisted not only of intra-industry trade but also of intra-company trade: i.e., trade between branches of the same firm located in different countries, another powerful impetus to international commerce. Taken as a whole, NAFTA has thus contributed to rising productivity, higher employment and higher real incomes for those who have benefited from trade expansion either as producers or as consumers or, more typically, some combination of both.

No doubt employment, productivity and incomes would have risen had Mexican recovery from the 1980s debacle not been accompanied by the trade agreement, but each of the beneficial effects is stronger than it would have been without NAFTA. Particularly compelling, along the way, was

the elimination of quotas, general tariff reduction and, though it was not part of a trade agreement, the reduction of impediments to many types of foreign investment.[2] Not all trade impediments have vanished, but there is no question but that huge progress has been made, covering a considerable variety of categories of exports and imports of goods. True, some implicit barriers remain where phyto-sanitary requirements are concerned, and some product-safety or consumer protection barriers remain, as in pharmaceuticals, but they are by now relatively few, thanks to the long-term experience of Mexican and U.S. producers in catering to the needs of each other's markets.[3] Indeed, the statistical evidence is overwhelming, but it is so extensive that there is no way to include any of it here, given space limitations. Suffice it to say that "border barriers" have exhibited the withering away that Marx once foresaw for the state. It is, of course, another story when it comes to trade in services.

On the service side, the most notorious example is trucking, where vehicle safety and environmental protection have been at least ostensible considerations in restricting cross-border traffic. However, widespread restrictions also remain in the form of professional licensing and certification requirements, the evaluation of academic transcripts, disclosure and authentication requirements for the listing of corporate securities, generally accepted (and expected) business practices (such as the Generally Accepted Accounting Practices) and suchlike. The variety of these is considerable and could be extended to include the social capital and established industry communications networks, trade fairs, markets and such that tend to skew inter-firm transactions toward firms of the same nationality. These behind-the-border access barriers, which could even include language preferences, are harder to deal with. They are not entirely without remedy, however, as business practices in the three countries converge, as professional interaction intensifies, as business, professional and leisure travel grow and as the volume of educational exchanges increases and the segments of society they cover, as well as travel, expand. VM

NOTES

[1] Very likely, however, there was much more trade discrimination, compared with trade creation, in the old Central American Common Market, CAFTA, the Andean Common Market and similar earlier arrangements, as well as similar schemes throughout the developing world.

[2] Mexico had rarely practiced another form of trade management commonly employed elsewhere in the past, namely, various kinds of exchange rate controls: exchange licensing, multiple exchange rates and so on.

[3] It goes without saying that both countries impose mutually acceptable restrictions, even prohibitions, on trade in certain types of objects: narcotics, firearms and special types of cultural property (pre-Columbian artifacts, colonial paintings, rare books and incunabula, the works of the "modern masters").

World Foreign Direct Investment North America and The European Union

Elisa Dávalos*

Yves Herman/Reuters

The European Commission building in Brussels.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is used to acquire part of a company in a country different from the investor's own. This gives him/her a significant degree of influence over those assets, making it a long-term investment different from portfolio investments, which are short-term and purely financial.[1]

Foreign direct investments have become very important in the world economy due to globalization and regionalization and have a growth rate surpassing world production and trade.

This spectacular growth speaks to important processes of reorganization in production, including changes in multinational corporations' structures, changes in capital ownership, processes of concentration and centralization of capital, as well as the productive reorganization of industries into global productive networks.

These global productive networks imply "new forms of transborder relations for investment, production, trade and collaboration for developing products, suppliers and markets, in which different agents participate around central firms. In addition to the traditional components of multinational corporations (headquarters, subsidiaries and branches), the network company is made up of stable contractors and suppliers, franchise holders and other independent units with which it has agreements, plus a complex system of strategic alliances with other business networks from the same or a different national base."[2]

* Researcher at CISAN and host of the radio program "North America Today."

The main attraction for FDI in Mexico, cheap labor, is in crisis because of competition from China. The worldwide restructuring of production that has brought China to the forefront has put Mexico at a crossroads, forcing it to redesign productive strategies to go beyond the mere idea of free trade.

FDI has played a very important role in all these processes. Nevertheless, from the geographical point of view, FDI flows have been very uneven. Table 1 shows the percent of total world FDI into the European Union and the North American region in four specific years out of the period from 1990 to 2006, according to the most recent figures published by the *World Investment Report*.

Right away, we can note that the European Union received a greater and growing percentage, with a slight decline in 2000, but that for 2004 and 2006, it increases to almost half the total world FDI. In every year, the amount received by the European Union was higher than the sum of what flowed to the United States, Canada and Mexico. In fact, the European Union has become the most important, dynamic center for world FDI.

It is important to note that both the United States and Canada's share of world FDI displays a tendency to drop. Mexico's, although with a much lower relative percentage, is growing.

But, what has caused the EU to become the axis of world investor dynamism? An important part of the answer to this question lies in the process of European integration, since it has the effect both of attracting investors from outside the region and of furthering intra-regional investments among member countries. Another important factor is European Union policies, like the incentive for processes of corporate acquisitions and mergers, seeking to consolidate large European consortia.[3] In the European Union, the policy of competition among companies fosters the concentration and centralization of capital, merely regulating and banning certain unfavorable monopolistic practices.[4] The underlying logic is that given that the EU's number one objective is to strengthen the united market more than the national markets, the key is to boost European companies supra-nationally.[5]

The United States, which used FDI as one of its most important mainstays for building its economic hegemony during the post-war boom, was surpassed in the mid-1980s by the European Economic Community and later the European Union in this field. Currently, the EU is the world's most important recipient for FDI.

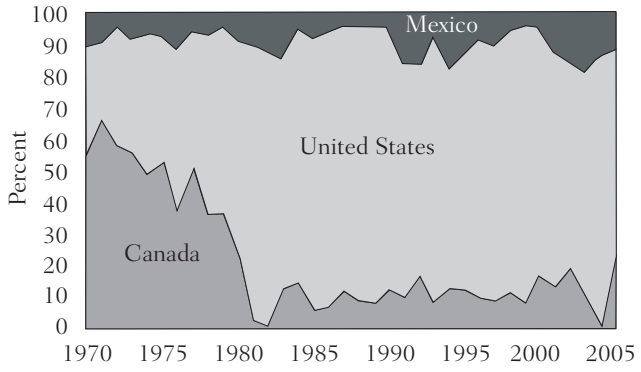
From the intra-regional point of view, FDI flowing into North America is distributed increasingly unevenly. As Graph 1 shows, since the 1980s, Canada has decreased its FDI reception while the United States received a relatively higher percentage. It should be pointed out that Canada's most important investing country is the United States, which in 2006 accounted for 62.2 percent of all its FDI. This speaks to a change in U.S. priorities: the European Union becomes its main field of action. The United States is also the main investor in Mexico. As Graph 1 shows, there has been a slight increase in the FDI flowing into Mexico, but the relative volume it attracts is noticeably less than that of its two trade partners.

TABLE 1
SHARE OF WORLD STOCK OF FDI (PERCENT)

Year	European Union	United States	Canada	Mexico
1990	42.6	22.3	6.3	1.2
2000	37.6	21.7	3.6	1.6
2004	45.2	16.5	3.4	2.0
2006	45.2	14.9	3.2	1.9

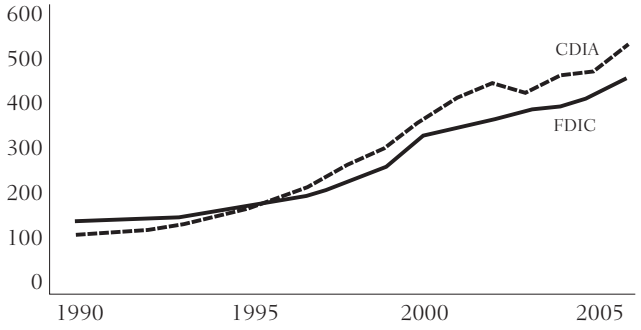
Source: Designed using information from the United Nations, *World Investment Report, 2005*. Annex Table B.2.

GRAPH 1
DISTRIBUTION OF INWARD FDI FLOWS
IN NORTH AMERICA (PERCENT)



Source: Statistics Canada.

GRAPH 2
FDI FLOWS TO AND FROM CANADA (1990-2005)



CDIA: Canadian Direct Investment Abroad.
FDIC: Foreign Direct Investment in Canada.
Source: Statistics Canada.

It is interesting to mention that despite the signing of the 1988 bilateral Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Canada did not attract any more FDI from either the United States or the rest of the world. To a large extent, this is explained by the strategies of multinational corporations, which are the most important factor in FDI. They seem to have restructured geo-economically, focusing on increasing exports from the United States to Canada, even closing manufacturing plants in Canada, like in the case of Gillette.

While Canada has captured relatively less FDI, it has become an increasingly important investor in the rest of the world. Graph 2 shows that since the mid-1990s, it became a net worldwide investor: that is, Canada receives less FDI than it invests in the rest of the world.

North America is facing a new world scenario in which the European Union, as an important leader in world FDI, and Asia, with its surprising growth and economic efficiency rates, cast doubt on its process of economic integration.

For its part, the main attraction for FDI in Mexico, cheap labor, is in crisis because of competition from China. The worldwide restructuring of production that has brought China to the forefront has put Mexico at a crossroads, forcing it more than ever to redesign productive strategies to go beyond the mere idea of free trade, which in and of itself does not guarantee either economic development or international competitiveness.

North America is facing, then, a new world scenario in which the European Union, as an important leader in world FDI, and Asia, with its surprising growth and economic efficiency rates, cast doubt on the process of North American economic integration. They also force us to look more outwardly and less inwardly, given the powerful centrifugal dynamics that other economic areas of the world pose. VM

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank Dagoberto González for his support in preparing this article.

[2] Alejandro Dabat, Miguel Ángel Rivera and James W. Wilkie, comps., *Globalización y cambio tecnológico. México en el nuevo ciclo industrial mundial* (Mexico City: Universidad de Guadalajara/UNAM/UCLA/Juan Pablos Editor, 2004), p. 56.

[3] One example of how EU policies have favored the centralization of capital is the case of telecommunications. In this sector, the main German, French, British and Italian companies occupy the third to the sixth slots in the world ranking. Of the world's top 20 manufacturers, 10 are from the European Union. Previously, there were local monopolies where each state telephone company provided the equipment. The European Union promoted this sector's liberalization and the creation of liberalized service markets by implementing pan-European concessions. In the early 1980s, the EU began to support research and development of new information and communications technologies with its Esprit Program. The 1993 Treaty of European Union proposed a trans-European telecommunications network similar to the trans-European transportation, energy and environmental networks. See Ferrán Brunet, *Integración europea* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999).

[4] Certain forms of competition have been banned, such as price fixing, assigning markets, obligatory exclusive purchasing and all monopolistic or monopsonistic practices that can affect conditions of competition, particularly for smaller companies. But the central axis of European competition does not consist of restricting the size of companies, but rather their behavior; not only are large companies not prohibited, they are fostered to consolidate Fortress Europe.

[5] Brunet, op. cit., p. 406.

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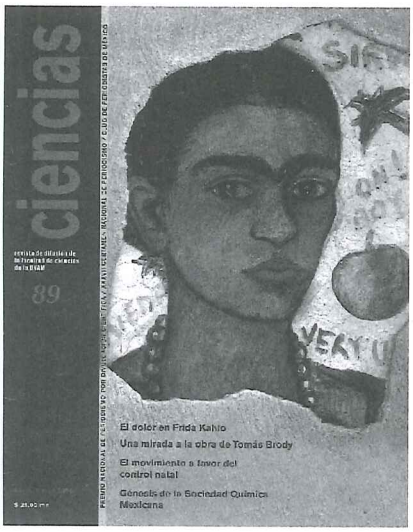

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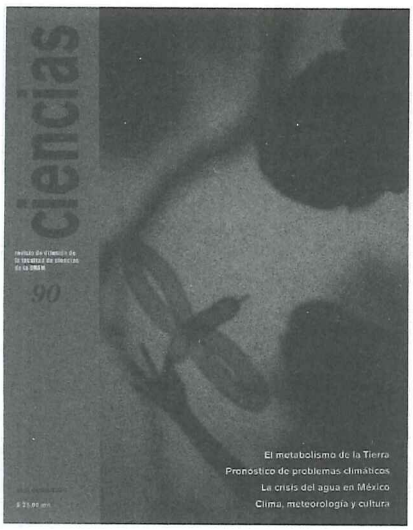

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THE ROUTE OF FRIENDSHIP A TESTIMONY TO MEXICO CITY'S AESTHETIC MODERNITY

Raymundo Ángel Fernández Contreras*

The Route of Friendship, a collective work of 19 monumental concrete sculptures built to celebrate the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games, is unique in the history of world contemporary urban art. Nineteen artists of different races and ideologies, from all the world's continents contributed pieces, which are placed along southern Mexico City's Beltway.[1] It was a special version of what in the 1950s urban sculptors concerned about taking art to the nation's roads and highways called an Artistic Way.

Contingent on the capital city's modern urbanism, the road was the outcome of common interests in the plans of architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, the chairman of the Olympic Games Organizing Committee, and artist Mathias Goeritz. Ramírez Vázquez wanted to visually integrate sculpture and architecture with the Olympic Village as part of the Cultural Olympics activities. Goeritz used the opportunity of being appointed Olympic Committee artistic advisor to organize an international symposium with International Sculptors Federation (FISE) support, and to make ideas that had been buzzing around in the heads of a group of sculptors for at least 20 years a reality.

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Herbert Bayer, Austria, *Articulated Wall* (station 13).

IT WAS THE FULFILLMENT OF 20 YEARS OF ATTEMPTS BY IDEALISTIC SCULPTORS TO CREATE A COLLECTIVE BODY OF ART INTEGRATED INTO A HIGHWAY AS PART OF URBAN PLANNING.

* Architect and art historian. Professor-researcher at the Acatlán School of Higher Learning (FES-Acatlán).

Previous page: Angela Gurría, Mexico, *Signs* (station 1). Photos by Lourdes Grobet.

Lourdes Grobet

Willi Gutmann, Switzerland, *The Anchor* (station 2).

Raymundo Fernández archive

Willi Gutmann with his model, 1968.

Lourdes Grobet

Constantino Nivola, Italy, *Man of Peace* (station 7).

Lourdes Grobet

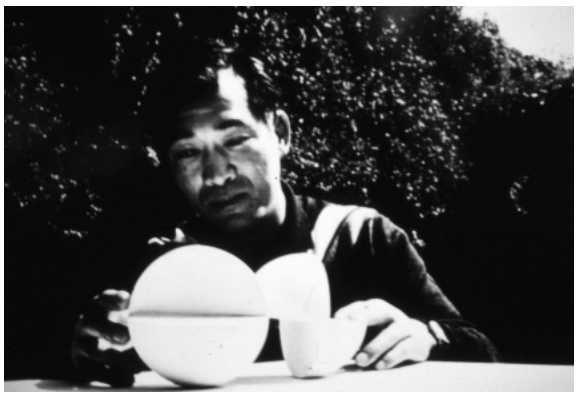
Mohamed Melehi, Morocco, *African Candy Twist* (station 17).

The planning of this artistic way implied unprecedented efforts on the part of the Olympic Games Organizing Committee, which bowed to the argument that it was important to avoid formal languages associated with representations of meanings alien to the Olympics' apolitical spirit. For the artistic way, in consequence, the committee proposed abstract art. This was the first time in Mexico that government-sponsored public art was not done in the style of 1910 Mexican revolutionary muralism.

It was the fulfillment of 20 years of attempts by idealistic sculptors to create a collective body of art that would celebrate universal peace, integrated into a highway as part of urban planning, in which visual artists would play an active role.

Goeritz's Emotional Urbanism

Born in Germany, Goeritz arrived in Mexico in 1949. In the diverse fields of artistic creation he ventured into, urbanism was perhaps the one that brought him the most personal satisfaction. There, he was able to concretize his constant aspiration and personal conviction about what he thought

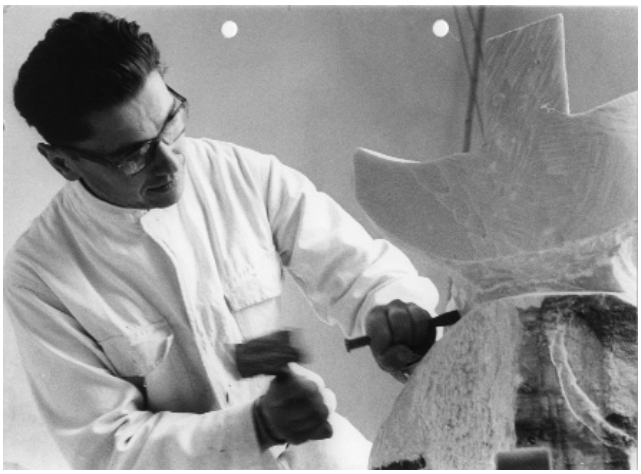


Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Kioshi Takahashi with his model, 1968.

Lourdes Grobet

Kioshi Takahashi, Japan, *Spheres* (station 4).



Raymundo Fernández archive

Pierre Székely, France/Hungary, ca. 1967.

THE CHANGE FROM THE SCULPTURAL PARK TO A ROUTE ALONG A FREEWAY MEANT THAT AT LEAST HALF THE ARTISTS PROJECTED THEIR SCULPTURES FOR A VENUE VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE THEY FINALLY ENDED UP WITH.

Lourdes Grobet

Pierre Székely, France-Hungary, *Two-footed Sun* (station 5).

the mission of art and the artist should be: the search for emotion. It is in urbanism, enriched artistically by his genius, where his determined vocation for the monumental can best be felt. The Satellite City Towers in the State of Mexico, his 1957 masterpiece, testify to this. The original project was to build seven, not five, towers, 200 meters high each, not the 65 meters that were actually built.

In 1968, thinking of grand projects adapted to the country's urban conditions was nothing new for Goeritz. Five years before that, in 1963, he proposed building 300-meter-high sculptures dotted along the Panamerican Highway (from Ciudad Juárez to Tapachula) and the Interoceanic Highway, joining Veracruz to Acapulco, both going through Mexico City. His idea was that they would signal the emergence of regional tourism, economic and social development.

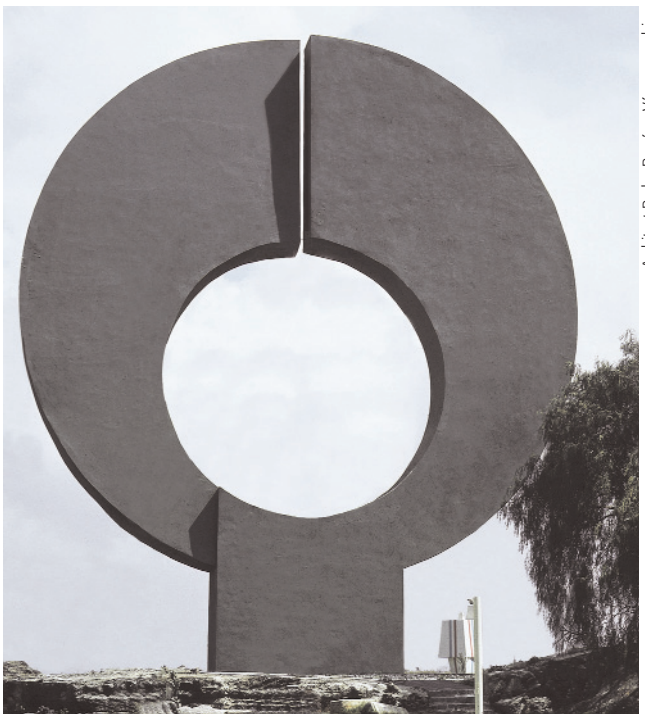
This idea, the direct precedent for the Route of Friendship, was inspired by German Jewish sculptor Otto Freundlich's vision of an international highway system ornamented with art along two large perpendicular axes cutting cut across Europe. Freundlich's project proposed creating monumental art that would commemorate the peace achieved at the end of World War I. Paradoxically, the sculptor would die in the 1940s in Auschwitz, a victim of the Holocaust.

Realizing a Collective Ideal

Freundlich's idea and other proposals inspired by it were distilled into what in 1959 became the *Voie des Arts* (Route of the Arts), which brought together many sculptors, among them Britain's Henry Moore, who traveled through different countries to participate in meetings to promote the construction of that shared ideal. Renowned French sculptor and critic Friederich Czagan headed the symposia, and, as president of the FISE, was the project's main promoter. Goeritz attended several symposia, meeting Czagan in the process and familiarizing himself with the group's ideals.

In early October 1966, Czagan was invited to Mexico to offer his opinion about the viability of holding a sculptors symposium during the Cultural Olympics. Goeritz was interested in getting support from the institution Czagan headed because he wanted to invite some of its members, all outstanding specialists in issues of public sculpture associated with contemporary urbanism, which was central to Goeritz's plans —though not those of Ramírez Vázquez. In Czagan's letter to the Organizing Committee explaining the conclu-

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive



Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Jacques Moeschal, Belgium, Untitled (station 8).

ACHIEVING MONUMENTAL SCALE WAS ANOTHER DIFFICULT TASK, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE IT IMPLIED HIGH CONSTRUCTION COSTS AND DIFFICULTIES FOR ADAPTING THEM TO THE DIMENSIONS OF THE LOCATION.

sions he had come to during his visit, he stated that given Mexico's commitment to 1968, what should orient the sculptors' work was the games, and that the Olympic Village was the best backdrop for an ambitious project of inter-dependence between architecture, urbanists and artists.

And, in effect, the village was a very attractive venue for this purpose since it combined a residential function and novel architecture with a spectacular pre-Hispanic ceremonial area covered with volcanic rock. This explains why Goeritz wrote to Moore in early January 1967, asking him to come to Mexico to create a work for the central space of the Olympic Village. Moore's work would be complemented by pieces by other sculptors that would adorn the village's smaller plazas. The rivalry that soon arose between Goeritz and Czagan for the leadership of the symposium ended with the exit of the latter followed by several sculptors who supported him, whom Goeritz decided not to invite.

The Vicissitudes of Construction

The way the Route of Friendship evolved reveals shaky planning rife with difficulties. Born as an exercise in integration applied to the Olympic Village, its small plazas and space dictated an initial change to a larger venue, a park next to the village itself. Goeritz's insistence on achieving something more spectacular soon led him to propose a concrete bridge over the intersection of Insurgentes Avenue and the Beltway, where he planned to build 15 sculptures. However, the cost was prohibitive, so he chose a new site: the road going up to the Zacatépetl Hill, near the highway. In another order of things, the idea of establishing color-coded routes along the city's streets to lead visitors to the different Olympic venues prompted Goeritz's idea of building a Route of the Arts. That is why he proposed building the sculptures on the Beltway along the 40 kilometers stretching from the Oil Fountain to the Aztec Stadium. Finally, in July 1967, Mexico's president authorized the Cultural Olympics' including a meeting of artists, and the route as we know it today became the definitive proposal.

The change from the sculptural park to a route along a high-speed freeway meant that at least half the artists projected their sculptures for a venue very different from the one they finally ended up with. Only the ones who lived in Mexico and the few who visited the area before the meeting projected their works for the exact site where their piece was eventually placed. For that reason, some of the

sculptures adapted to a freeway better than others. However, we can say that in general, the sculptures fit in well with the landscape thanks to their form, style, colorfulness and the way they use space.

The Organizing Committee sent out a rather imprecise call for works, stipulating six points as requirements for the enormous number of sculptures, which would be seen by drivers and passengers going 70 kilometers an hour for no more than five seconds at minute-and-a-half intervals. Five of these points were successfully complied with at the time. Two were requirements for the artists: using abstract language and simple forms. Two more depended on the organizers: using concrete as the medium and making the sculptures monumental. Another, using color, was a decision to be made by artists and organizers together. However, since there was no agreement, Goeritz's criteria prevailed. The last point was that the sculptors themselves would adapt their sculptures to the landscape. However, it was Goeritz and the Austrian Bauhaus artist Herbert Bayer who resolved the details of their adaptation to the freeway. But neither Bayer nor the members of the team working with Goeritz ever received any public recognition for their work. Neither did Freundlich, until 10 years after the route was finished, when in an interview with Mario Monteforte Toledo, Goeritz recognized his initially having come up with the idea.

GOERITZ IMPOSED HIS VIEWS IN FAVOR OF CONCRETE. THIS MEANT THAT THE ARTISTS CREATED THE FORMS BUT DID NOT TECHNICALLY RESOLVE THEM, MUCH LESS BUILD THEM.

Getting these concrete sculptures built was a long, complicated process for the Organizing Committee. Stone was plentiful around the Olympic Village, but Goeritz imposed his views in favor of concrete. This meant that the artists created the forms for the Route of Friendship, but did not technically resolve them, much less build them. The requirement that they be made of concrete showed up several of the sculptors' limitations for giving their pieces structural and construction resolution.

Achieving monumental scale was another difficult task, particularly because it implied high construction costs and difficulties for adapting them to the dimensions of the location. Goeritz responded to the criticism that he had built very small sculptures compared to the size of the venue by saying that to compete with the scale of the hills and volcanoes, any sculpture that was not the size of a cathedral would have been too small. In addition, several of them had to be reduced in size because they were placed in the central islands of the Beltway, given the lack of public property in the area.

The color requirement also created problems. Several functionalist sculptors thought the material's natural appear-

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

◂ Grzegorz Kowalski, the youngest participant.

Raymundo Fernández archive

Grzegorz Kowalski, Poland, *Sundial* (station 10).

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Itzhak Danziger, Israel, *Door of Peace* (station 15).

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Oliver Seguín, France, Untitled (station 16).

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

◂ Miloslav Chlupac.

Lourdes Grobet

Miloslav Chlupac, Czechoslovakia, *The Three Graces* (station 3).

Lourdes Grobet

Joseph María Subirach, Spain, *Mexico* (station 11).

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Clement Meadmore, Australia, Untitled (station 12).

ance should be respected and refused to use color. Perhaps for that reason, they were rather austere in the use of color, with a predominance of black, white, yellow and blue.

The formal language, though abstract, tended toward the organic or the geometric, with a notable tendency toward the latter. The sequence picked for the stations along the Beltway was decided on the basis of considerations of form, color, use of space and the location and economic regime of the country in question: that is, whether it belonged to the capitalist world, the Communist world or was non-aligned. In addition, depending on whether you drive one way or the other along the route, it gives you the feeling of a beginning, an end and a middle, which is the Olympic Village. The places of honor fell to Mexico, which opened and closed the circuit, and to the artist recognized as the most identified with the ideals of the Route of the Arts, the Belgian Jacques Moeschal.

IT WAS THE ONLY ACTIVITY FOR WHICH THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS DID NOT ELECT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, WHICH IS WHY SOME OF THEM DID NOT RECOGNIZE THEM, MUCH LESS FINANCE THEIR TRANSPORTATION.

For its part, the International Sculptors Conference had its own particularities. In contrast with the rest of the Olympic events, it was the only activity for which the participating nations did not elect their representatives, which is why some of them did not recognize them, much less finance their transportation. From the initial idea of a meeting for five sculptors, it grew to 22. One Polish sculptor who attended, Grzegorz Kowalski, was confused with another artist with the same name, but 50 years older. One country, Spain, participated without having been invited, and the Australian sculptor Clement Meadmore was expelled for his bad behavior. And, although the spirit of the Route was to be inclusive,

Todd Williams, United States, *The Magical Wheel* (station 9).

Todd Williams

Photos this block Arquitect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Gonzalo Fonseca, Uruguay, *Wind Tower* (station 6) (detail).

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS THAT WHEN THE ROUTE OF FRIENDSHIP WAS BUILT, GOERITZ ACHIEVED SOMETHING WHICH MANY HAD THOUGHT IMPOSSIBLE: MAKING THE ROUTE OF THE ARTS A REALITY.

most of the artists came from Europe. This sparked criticisms of Goeritz for only inviting his friends. Since five participants came from the United States, it was rumored that three of them had dual nationality. Three Mexicans participated, but only one Asian, one African and one Australian. The youngest participant was 26 and the oldest, 75. The sculptor who was the most difficult to find was the one representing the black race, and a big hole was created with the absence of Moore, despite the fact that Goeritz invited him five times. Calder occupied a place of honor, and his sculpture was finally placed in the building of the recently completed Aztec Stadium, leaving the venue that was a symbol of the games, the Sports Palace, without a sculptor. This allowed Goeritz to proclaim himself the third honorary guest. But, perhaps the most important thing was that when the Route of Friendship was built, Goeritz achieved something which many had thought impossible: making the Route of the Arts a reality.

The sculptress ca. 1967.

Patronato Ruta de la Amistad

Helen Escobedo, Mexico, *Door to the Wind* (station 18).

Artistic Heritage Scorned

A massive student movement broke out a few months before the games were inaugurated but came to an abrupt end in October 1968. Because of this, the formal ceremony turning the route over to the Mexico City government was canceled and the route has since then remained in total legal limbo. There has never been a formal declaration classifying it officially part of Mexico City's artistic heritage. In addition, there has been rampant land speculation in the area surrounding it; buildings, trees and billboards block the view of the pieces; and in general, there has been no under-

standing of its historic-artistic value. All this has made for its gradual deterioration and near destruction. This is why the current efforts by the Route of Friendship Trust to save it and return it to its original glory should be recognized.

At the end of his life, at the age of 70, while chairing a meeting of academics discussing how to recover the sculptures, Goeritz said that the route should be destroyed. This was perhaps because he knew, from the moment he built it, that it would be smothered by the urban sprawl that it aimed to serve. Goeritz's statement revealed that he thought it was ephemeral, made of concrete on a monumental scale —on a par with his arrogance and determination as an artist. In fact, he used the Olympics as a pretext to show that he was capable of achieving what no one else had been able to.

Contrary to the feelings of Goeritz, for whom the Route of Friendship stopped having any emotional significance, in our opinion, the 19 sculptures and their locations, that artistic way that they cannot be separated from, are testimony to the uniqueness and grandeur of a work that has the merit of showing that urbanism not only was but should continue to be an emotional act. It is up to us to make sure that these sculptures still move us. I hope this article contributes to keeping alive what a few years after they were built Mexico City Mayor Octavio Sentíes called "those follies." VM

Notes

[1] Three more sculptors participated as guests of honor, but their work was not included in the Route of Friendship.

Photos this page: Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez archive

Joop Beljon, Holland, *Gathering of Giants* (station 14).

Jorge Dubón, Mexico, Untitled (station 18).

Special guests from left to right: Mathias Goeritz, Mexico, *Ursa Major*; Germán Cueto, Mexico, *Running Man;* and Alexander Calder, United States, *Red Sun.*

THE ROUTE OF FRIENDSHIP TODAY

The sculptures along the Route of Friendship, abandoned for many years, seriously deteriorated from lack of maintenance and from being out in the open. The city's growth made the sculptures lose presence and visibility. In fact, most capital residents know nothing about their history and the details of their construction, and many do not even know they are there.

However, in 1994 a trust was set up to rescue them and return them to their rightful place as part of Mexico City's urban artistic heritage. Founded by Luis Javier de la Torre and Javier Ramírez, the Route of Friendship Trust's objective is to recover the sculptures. One of its actions was the Adopt a Work of Art Program and another was to create a fund with support from the National Fund for Culture and the Arts (Fonca) that makes the route self-sufficient in maintaining the restored pieces.

Cultural Activities

In addition to the efforts to restore and preserve the pieces, there is a cultural program to put the community back in contact with them through multidisciplinary, temporary installations.

The idea is to integrate the pieces into the dynamics of urban growth, and make the new generations aware of their presence. A series of cultural activities have been organized around some of the pieces touching on issues like art, the environment, biological research and even a fashion show.

Urban Ecology Program

The sculptures located in rocky and wetland areas have given rise to a project in which the UNAM Institute of Biology participates through the Botanical Garden to take advantage of the surrounding areas.

At stations one to 13, located in a rocky area, the "Native Gardens of Pedregal" project is being developed, including the reintroduction of the area's native flora and fauna, taking care that other species exogenous to the area do not invade it. The idea is to create green laboratories for recuperating species and water to protect the area's environment and foster an appropriate combination of the sculptures and the landscape. At stations 14 to 19, located in the wetlands, another program is recreating the Mexica form of production, with the idea of making efficient use of public spaces.

Mathias Goeritz could never have imagined that in 2008, 40 years after fulfilling his almost impossible idea, the sculptures that populated the city with monumental art would still be here and that somebody would be interested in creating new projects with them. This shows just how transcendental his proposal was, despite the difficulties it continually faces.

Sculptures in the Route

Station	Sculpture	Artist	Country	Location	Sponsor
1	*Signs*	Ángela Gurría	Mexico	San Jerónimo Roundabout	Cosío Family
2	*The Anchor*	Willi Gutmann	Switzerland	Periférico Sur, San Jerónimo	Zurich Seguros
3	*The Three Graces*	Miloslav Chlupac	Czechoslovakia	Periférico Sur, Av. Sta. Teresa	Adidas

	Station	Sculpture	Artist	Country	Location	Sponsor
	4	*Spheres*	Kioshi Takahashi	Japan	Periférico Sur	Inmobiliaria Sare
	5	*Two-footed Sun*	Pierre Székeli	France	Carretera al Ajusco	TV Azteca/Fomento Cultural Gpo. Salinas
	6	*Wind Tower*	Gonzalo Fonseca	Uruguay	Zacatépetl	Grant Thorton Fonca
	7	*Man of Peace*	Constantino Nivola	Italy	Intersection of Insurgentes and Periférico	Italian government
	8	Untitled	Jacques Moeschal	Belgium	Entrance to the Olympic Village	——
	9	*Magic Wheel*	Todd Williams	United States	Olympic Village Warm-up Tracks	Fundación Coca-Cola
	10	*Sundial*	Grzegorz Kowalski	Poland	Intersection of Insurgentes and Periférico	HBO/Perisur
	11	*Mexico*	José María Subirachis	Spain	Intersection of Insurgentes and Periférico	Fundación Domecq
	12	Untitled	Clement Meadmore	Australia	Taken away by the Olinca School	——
	13	*Articulated Wall*	Herbert Bayer	Austria	Periférico	——
	14	*Gathering of Giants*	Joop J. Beljon	Holland	Viaducto Tlalpan	ING
	15	*Door of Peace*	Itzhak Danziger	Israel	Av. México	Assa Family
	16	Untitled	Olivier Seguin	France	Av. México-Xochimilco	——
	17	*African Candy Twist*	Mohamed Melehi	Morocco	Coapa	Taco Inn
	18	Untitled	Jorge Dubón	Mexico	Canoeing lanes, Cuemanco	Pineda Covalin
	19	*Door to the Wind*	Helen Escobedo	Mexico	Beltway side road at Cuemanco	Fundación BBVA Bancomer
	Special guest	*Ursa Major*	Mathias Goeritz	Mexico	Esplanade of the Sports Palace	OCESA
	Special guest	*Running Man*	Germán Cueto	Mexico	Main entrance to the University City Olympic Stadium	UNAM
	Special guest	*Red Sun*	Alexander Calder	United States	Aztec Stadium Esplanade	——

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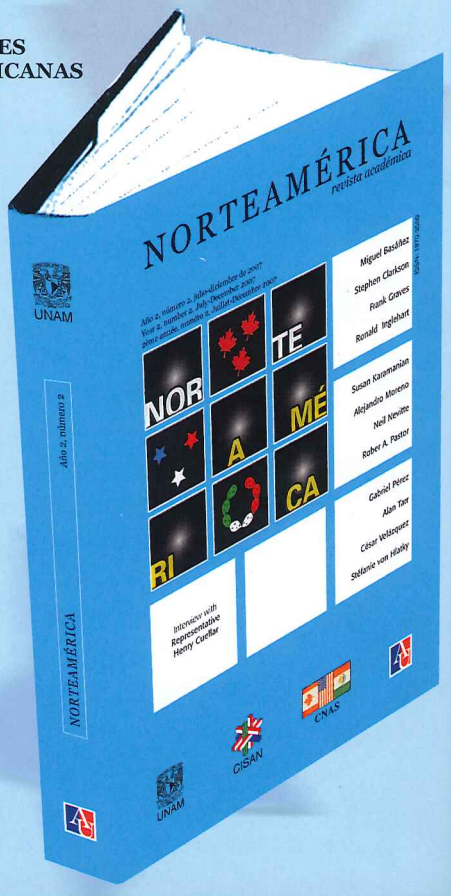

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Torre II de Humanidades, pisos 9 y 10,
Ciudad Universitaria, México, D.F., c.p. 04510.
e-mail: namerica@servidor.unam.mx
Phone: (011 5255) 5623-0305, ext. 42180
Fax: (011 5255) 5550-0379

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The University City Central Library
A Universe of Ideas

Isabel Morales Quezada*

It is difficult to imagine University City without the Central Library. It has two histories: the architectural history, from conception to construction, and the one told by Mexican architect Juan O'Gorman's murals, linked directly to the ideas that made it a reality.

> Historically, Mexico, at a geographic crossroads, has been possible thanks to the collaboration of different forces and cultures….Mexico has been built stone by stone….This is one of them.[1]

This collaboration of forces and cultures is what O'Gorman portrayed, turning the Central Library into the National Autonomous University of Mexico's most emblematic building. But, before describing the murals, we should say a little something about O'Gorman's life and his conception of architecture.

Born in Mexico City in 1905, he was an architect, a painter and a muralist. This explains his interest in integrating other forms of art into architecture. While studying, he collaborated with architect Carlos Obregón Santacilia, did several frescos in a cantina and decorated three *pulque* bars in Mexico City. A great friend of Diego Rivera, he learned artistic composition from him and became interested in folk art.

He introduced Le Corbusier's functionalism to Mexico, with the difference that, for O'Gorman, the objective of architecture was not to produce aesthetic pleasure, but to serve as an effective, practical tool for low-cost construction, as he demonstrated with the design and building of 26 Mexico

*Staff writer.

Unless otherwise specified, photos by Mauricio Degollado.

[1] Juan O'Gorman, right.

[2]

[3]

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[1] IIE-UNAM/Juan Guzmán's Collection

[2] [3] [4] IIESU-UNAM archives/Universidad Collection

The Central Library murals are a work of art, but their process of creation and construction was a work of craftsmanship. The total surface to be covered was 4,000 square meters.

City primary schools. Nevertheless, the functionalist-style house O'Gorman designed for Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo in Altavista, in Mexico City, has irrefutable aesthetic value.

Later, when he designed and built his own home in San Jerónimo, he experimented with "organic architecture," that style oriented toward the explosion of geometric forms that would be more easily assimilated into natural and fantastic figurative elements, fully integrated into the spaces.

As a muralist, O'Gorman created fantastic environments clearly influenced by surrealism, but he also did realist murals, displaying his interest in Mexican history and its heroes. The canvases he did in the 1950s include portraits, still lifes and fantastic, imaginary landscapes. At the end of his life, he drifted away from architecture and muralism, but he continued to paint canvases. Juan O'Gorman died on January 18, 1982.

O'Gorman's career is evidence of his very diverse interests, his great capacity for creation, his appreciation of folk art and his humanism, and makes it possible to understand the reasons behind the conception of the Central Library.

The Birth of University City

Though designed according to the canons of mid-twentieth-century international style, using simple, unadorned forms, glass-covered buildings and concrete as a construction material, University City adds something more. The architects in charge of the project decided to fuse the canon with Mexican culture and called on several Mexican artists like David Alfaro Siqueiros, José Chávez Morado, Diego Rivera and Juan O'Gorman himself to put murals on the walls of some of the campus's buildings.

O'Gorman said that people were tired of the "monotonous, boring repetition of modern architecture, the canon

of glass and smooth walls taken out of U.S. and European magazines."[2] So, he tried to develop a style of architecture fused with Mexican culture, that people could identify with, "rooted in the traditions of the Americas, rooted in functionalism so they would be useful, effective and at the same time expressive."[3]

The building was planned and erected in 1949 and 1950 under the watchful eye of Carlos Lazo, who directed the construction of University City. It is a huge, 10-story, blind parallelepiped built on a three-meter-high platform, designed to hold one million books. It also houses a reading room leading onto a closed garden and a semi-basement that would have workshops for printing and binding books.

Juan O'Gorman told Carlos Lazo about his idea of covering the walls with colored stones in "the impressionist manner, that is, like splashes of color that at a certain distance would be distinguishable as figures."[4]

A Work of Both Art And Craftsmanship

The Central Library murals are a work of art, but their process of creation and construction was a work of craftsmanship.

The total surface to be covered was 4,000 square meters. Given the magnitude of the job, O'Gorman needed materials that would not require constant maintenance, so he decided to use naturally colored stones. He traveled all over the country to find what he needed, collecting 150 samples of original stones. He eventually picked 12 basic colors of stones that were the most resistant to rain, the sun and temperature changes. Since he could not find the blue stone he wanted, he used pieces of colored glass broken up to be like stones. The preparation of the stones is also worth mention: a team of 15 masons broke it up into about three million two- to four-centimeter sized pieces. This process took about seven months.

O'Gorman's design was reproduced on a 42-meter-by-6-meter wooden board, on which the full-scale compositional rendering cartoons for each of the panels were created. Rolls of paper were nailed onto the board a meter away so the artist could transfer the drawing. The colors of the stones were indicated on the cartoons and each one was marked with a number and a letter on the overall design. The paper cartoons with the design on the back were then placed on the bottom of the mold and the stonemason placed the stones on it. Then the mold was filled with cement, sand and gravel; later these slabs were be prepared and placed on the wire netting covering the Central Library's brick walls.

From the very beginning of its construction, the building followed O'Gorman's idea about artistic integration:

> It's all about creating realist architecture as an expression of art in the Mexican style so people feel that it's theirs, linked to tradition and to our regional character, so that when it is integrated with realist painting and sculpture we create visual art as a human manifestation of the culture, differentiated by its own style and character.[5]

Left to right: south wall, colonial period; east wall, duality: industry and countryside; north wall, symbol of the foundation of Tenochtitlan.

O'Gorman said that people were tired of the "monotonous, boring repetition of modern architecture." So, he tried to develop a style of architecture fused with Mexican culture.

Juan O'Gorman believed that under capitalism, the arts acted independently, giving rise to painting and sculpture and spurring artists to sell their work as individual products. What had previously been learned in artist-craftsmen's workshops was now repressed by art schools, which, in O'Gorman's view, served the bourgeoisie to make sure that art did not function "as a [means of] expression contrary to the class interests of the bourgeoisie itself."[6] In academies, architects spent their time copying the styles of the past. For O'Gorman, architects were no longer painters and sculptors, but "managers producing buildings, with no imagination."[7] His aim with the Central Library was to recover that "craft-based art."

As an artist, he would not be satisfied with reproducing the international style prevalent in his time, just as the architects who planned and constructed the building would not either. They both sought a way to give it a national character that would identify the work and make it relevant worldwide.

The Murals' Theme

O'Gorman's work reviews the history of our culture, from the founding of Tenochtitlan and the Spanish conquest until today, where he grants a fundamental place to the National Autonomous University of Mexico as a factor for the development of Mexican culture.

The mural has a central axis drawn on each wall. On either side of it are different scenes, sometimes counterposed, but also indispensable for understanding the development of our culture. Our pre-Hispanic past is present on all the walls, as the basis, the origin, the part of our identity that cannot be forgotten.

The north wall, divided by a central vertical axis and two horizontal axes symbolizing rivers, portrays the foundation of Tenochtitlan. On either side of the vertical axis are elements reminiscent of the life-death duality, symbolized by the sun and the moon. Here, mythical elements, indispensable in Mexica culture, dominate.

The south wall alludes to the colonial period and the dual nature of the conquest: both the spiritual, pious aspect and the violent conquest by force of arms. A column depicting architecture from different periods forms the central axis dividing this duality. O'Gorman pays tribute to the popular painting he admired so much by including angels, churches, fortresses, shields and cannons here.

The east wall presents the duality of tradition and progress, using two aspects of Mexico's social evolution: the city and the countryside. Here, he proposes a new world view with the atom at the center, generating the vital energy of living beings and the potential energy of minerals. At the top is once again the sun-moon duality, corresponding to life and death. This wall shows two facets of Mexican reality: on the left is the world of workers and industry, depicting factories, industrial production and a banner with the slogan "Long Live the Revolution," and on the right is the rural world, represented by a traditional peasant house, the fruits of the earth, an indigenous couple and the figure of Emiliano Zapata, accompanied by a revolutionary holding a flag emblazoned with Zapata's best known slogan, "Land and Liberty".

At the center of the west wall, O'Gorman put the crest of the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Out of it come two symmetrical axes that refer to the university's creative and recreational activities and its role in contemporary Mexico. At the upper left are the initials of the National Library, and at the upper right, those of the National Periodicals Library. (This is because the original plan was to transfer both these institutions' collections to this building; but in the end, it never happened.) The left side of the wall symbolizes the permanence of our culture through the Mexican people's traditional dress, in addition to a pyramid reminiscent of pre-Hispanic temples. On the right are representations of science, technology and sports, activities inherent to the university.

Every event depicted on Juan O'Gorman's murals contributed to consolidating our culture and defined what we are as Mexicans today. Here we find not only historical elements, but also the ideals of progress that have inspired our nation, these depictions will forever be on public view inside the National Autonomous University of Mexico, one of the country's most important sources of knowledge and development. VM

Notes

[1] Carlos Lazo, *Pensamiento y destino de la Ciudad Universitaria de México* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1983), p. 3.

[2] Juan O'Gorman, "Hacia una integración plástica en México," Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *Juan O'Gorman: arquitecto y pintor* (Mexico City: IIE/UNAM, 1979), p. 121.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Luis Roberto Torres Escalona, *Representación histórica de la cultura: mural de Juan O'Gorman* (Mexico City: UNAM, 2003), p. 28.

[5] Juan O'Gorman, op cit., p. 93.

[6] Ibid., p. 122.

[7] Ibid.

Further Reading

Pani, Mario and Enrique del Moral, *La construcción de la Ciudad Universitaria del Pedregal. Concepto, programa y planeación arquitectónica* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1979).

Rojas, Pedro, *La Ciudad Universitaria a la época de su construcción* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1979).

Casting silver bars at the Loreto cyanide plant in Pachuca, Hidalgo, in 1993.

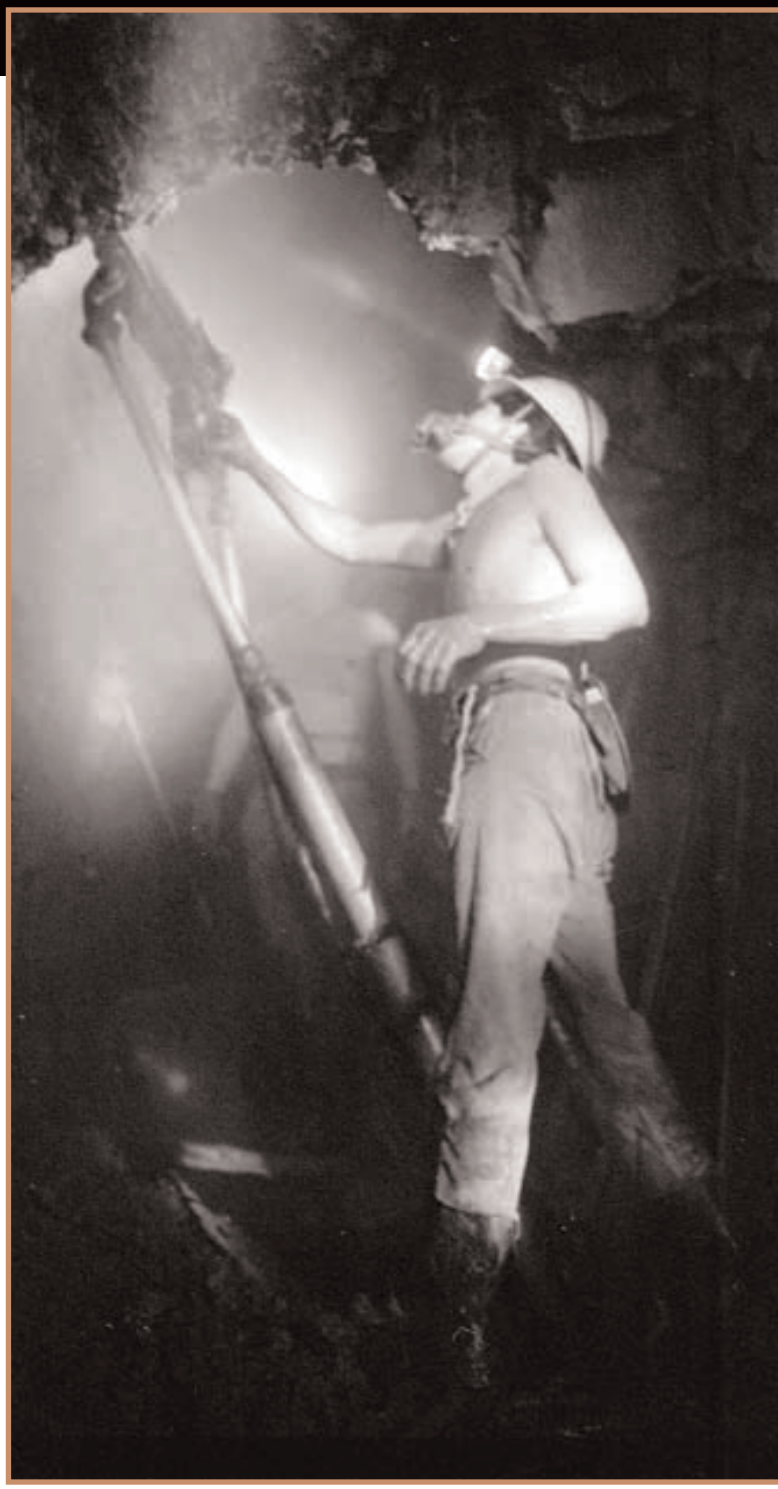
In few places is human life valued and lost, shines and slowly fades away like it does in the mines. Marco Antonio Hernández discovered this when he first arrived to Pachuca in the early 1980s and started photographing the miners' routines and lives. Now his photographs are living memories, instants suspended forever in the heart of the workers of Pachuca and Real del Monte.

The Last Lens

Eugenio Martín Torres*

During the 1980s, no miner could conceive of not going up and down the Pachuca and Real del Monte mineshafts. They knew that the price of silver had dropped and felt that the end was near, but they did not accept it. Hidalgo's miners could not imagine it, these centaurs of silver and rock, whose photograph flashed around the globe in 1983 showing hundreds of them naked, wearing only helmets and boots, protesting the lack of equipment in the mines. Famous miners with no voice or fears! However, the closures soon came, and the bustling activity stopped in the hot, vaporous Alamo Mine, then in the frozen, noisy Roca and Dificultad Mines, culminating in the union's historic number two pit at Real del Monte. And so on, up to the many silences of today.

In the twenty-first century, the Pachuca or Real del Monte mines are not dead; they are just asleep, wrapped in historic memory. They are only waiting for the justice of a decent and transparent life, excavated in the silver-filled veins of the hills and mountains all over Mexico, where miners still live, now and tomorrow, because their vestments are clear firmaments of stars, golden denunciations and debts waiting to be paid. In few places is human life valued and lost, shines and slowly fades away like it does in the mines. Mar-



Drillers in the San José La Rica Mine in Real del Monte, Hidalgo, in 1988.

* Dominican friar and historian specialized in the history of mining. This essay was written for Marco Antonio Hernández's book of photographs *Entre la tierra y el aire* (Between the Earth and the Wind) published by the Archivo Histórico and Museo de Minería A.C., 2008.

co Hernández discovered this when he first arrived to Pachuca, in the early 1980s, and started photographing the miners' routines and lives. Now his photographs are living memories, instants suspended forever in the heart of the workers of Pachuca and Real del Monte.

As Marco Hernandez captures in his work, the daily tasks of mining were not carried out by nameless individuals, but by "cuates", brothers or "compas" who never learned to live alone. On the contrary, they always ate, worked, played, drank, sang or cried in pairs, teams and shifts. The work day started and ended in the dressing room or *secadero*, the place where each miner left his life's dreams before going down into the mine, before sinking into the ground to bring out the silver. Once down there, they walked or took the train to the coal face and started the arduous work that made them sweat their souls. In the midst of profound shadows, their language was expressed by the light of their lamps. That is how the miners talked to each other, shouting and most of the time using double- or triple-entendres.

With his pictures, Marco captured the order and the fraternity of miners, their pride in posing, their strong, free, defiant expression. In many old men, it is sad and nostalgic because, they say, "There used to be 20 of us, and now I'm the only one alive." Marco discovers them, and they appear as flesh-and-blood men, the brave workers who now pray and weep for their dead co-workers and carry in a sack the tools of all of Mexico. His work talks of their relationship with machines, with the mother rock and with the strength and the life that could vanish in just a sip of *mezcal, pulque* or tequila. It also shows their liking for parties, wrestling and for the direct, bright light when they come out of the mine, headed back to the patios.

Miners taught Marco to look at the vaults, tunnels and galleries from above, to measure in them the steps of the light. They taught him to touch Pachuca's air and Real del Monte's humidity. They introduced him to the industrial aesthetic, so virile and mining-related, because machines not only prolong men's strength but also multiply it and dazzle us with their beauty. Marco photographed the profile of the steam pumps, now gone or broken into a thousand parts, also winches and machine rooms, foundries and workshops, big shafts and boilers with many escapes to the world of the stars. This is another legacy of his work, the graphic memory of a very important part of the local mining heritage. VM

Drillers at the San José La Rica Mine, in Real del Monte, Hidalgo, in 1998.

The Dolores Mine in Real del Monte, Hidalgo, in 2007.

Miners taught Marco to look at the vaults, tunnels and galleries from above, to measure in them the steps of the light. They taught him to touch Pachuca's air and Real del Monte's humidity. They introduced him to the industrial aesthetic, so virile and mining-specific, because machines not only prolong men's strength but also multiply it and dazzle us with their beauty.

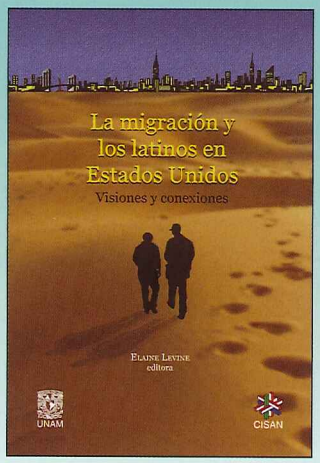
Miners exiting the bucket at the San Juan Pachuca Mine, in Pachuca, Hidalgo, in 1983.

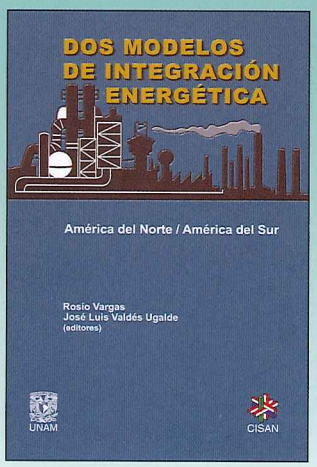
CISAN

publications

La migración y los latinos en Estados Unidos. Visiones y conexiones
Elaine Levine, editor

This book answers questions on a topic we know very little about: what happens to migrants once they cross the border? What are their lives like? What is their work like? What problems do they face? What are their options and plans for the future? A many-sided vision that examines the vicissitudes of their journey and the conditions of their stay there as well as of their possible return. Outstanding academics from both Mexico and the United States with extensive experience in fieldwork and information from original sources make it an undeniable contribution.



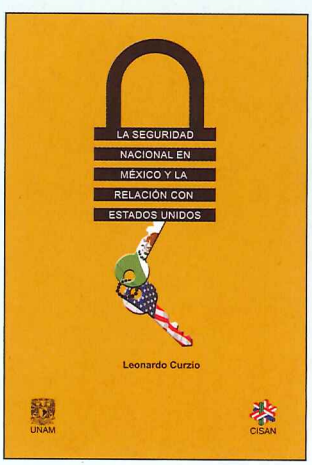


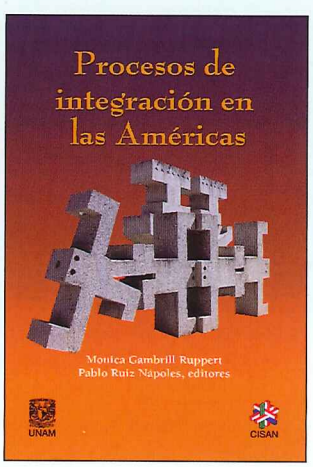
Dos modelos de integración energética. América del Norte/ América del Sur
Rosío Vargas and
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book analyzes the two main forms of energy integration in North and South America, and tries to answer questions like what that integration looks like in practice, whether we can expect solutions to national energy problems without putting national sovereignty at risk and whether integration is compatible with the energy security of all concerned.

La seguridad nacional en México y la relación con Estados Unidos
Leonardo Curzio

The classic national security paradigm must be reinterpreted in the light of the changes both in Mexico and the world. Over the last 20 years, Mexico has gone from being an inward-looking economy to one of the world's most open, though very dependent on the United States; it has stepped up emigration so that, today, unprecedented millions of Mexicans live and work in the U.S.; and in terms of security, it has become part of the equation of security in North America. For all these reasons, we have to review all our suppositions and doctrine in this area.





Procesos de integración en las Américas
Monica Gambrill and
Pablo Ruiz Nápoles, editors

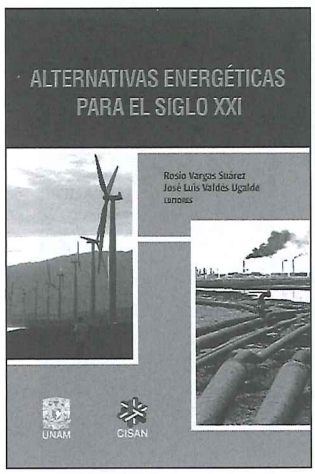
This book studies the intensification of integration processes in the Americas. Based on a huge amount of empirical data, the articles seek to show the impact of integration in regionalization processes. They deal with topics like the theory of the new regionalism as a tool to study recent integration processes; the specificities of Tamaulipas-Texas transborder cooperation; the inconsistencies in mofficial data gathering that make it difficult to ascertain the real magnitude of trade among the NAFTA countries; and Venezuela's contribution to Andean integration.

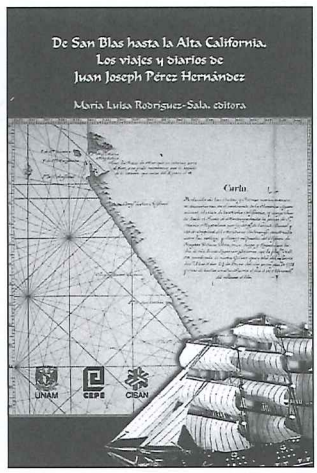
For further information contact
Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte, CISAN
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Torre de Humanidades II, piso 9, Ciudad Universitaria, 04510
México, D.F. Tels. 5336-3558, 5336-3601, 5336-3469 y 5623-0015; fax: 5623-0014; e-mail: voicesmx@servidor.unam.mx

CISAN publications

Alternativas energéticas para el siglo XXI
Rosío Vargas and
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book deals with a vital issue for the world today: the search for energy alternatives to compensate for the imminent scarcity of traditional sources, particularly oil and gas. Based on specialized studies warning that current rates of oil consumption will exhaust known reserves in about 40 years, the authors offer a panorama of the international oil situation, emphasizing the growing importance of natural gas and other renewable energy sources, as well as the obstacles and perspectives these new options face.





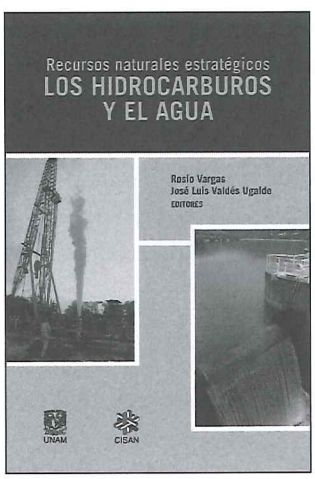
De San Blas hasta la Alta California: los viajes y diarios de Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández
María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, editor

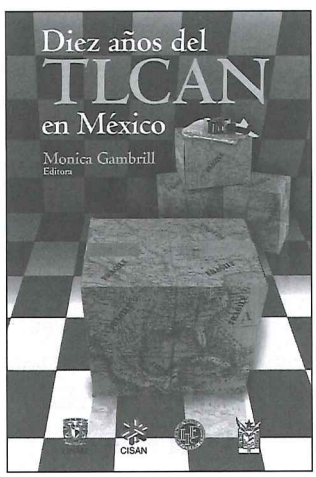
This book deals with the vicissitudes and feats of Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández, a Spanish Royal Navy seaman in charge of the maritime exploration of the northern part of the New World in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The author explains that the ultimate reason for these travels was to be found in the policy and aspirations of two European empires, the Spanish and the Russian. The Spaniards wanted to consolidate and expand their territories in these northern latitudes in the face of the threat of the penetration through trade and settlement by the nascent Russian empire.

Recursos naturales estratégicos. Los hidrocarburos y el agua

Rosío Vargas and
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, editors

This book deals with an issue vital to the survival of the so-called global village: the imminent scarcity of strategic natural resources, basically oil and water, and the risks this poses for the world's well-being and peace. Experts from different disciplines and of different nationalities look at the problem from different perspectives. The prospects are not very promising.





Diez años del TLCAN en México

Monica Gambrill, editor

Ten years after NAFTA came into effect, specialists in different disciplines met to evaluate the effects of its implementation in Mexico. Among other topics, the book looks at macro-economic factors, national industry and the maquiladora plants, foreign investment, labor mobility, agriculture and animal husbandry, cargo transport, the environment and conflict resolution. Particularly interesting is its focus on the agreement's implications with regard to greater integration with the United States.

Forthcoming

La migración México-Estados Unidos y su feminización

Speaking desde las heridas. Testimonios transfronterizos/transborder testimonies through cyberspace

Spanish…and English Spoken
The Hispanic Media in the United States

Celina Bárcenas*

Staff photographer/Reuters

Simon Cipriano, a popular Hispanic radio host in the United States.

More than 350 million people speak Spanish as a mother tongue in Spain and the Americas alone. If we add the 70 million who speak it as a second language, it becomes the third-largest language group in the world. In addition to being the official language in 21 countries, a large part of the U.S. population also speaks Spanish as its first language: about 15 million Latino U.S. residents were born abroad, and official figures show that of the 28.1 million Spanish speakers living in the United States, a little over 14 million state that they also speak English "very well."[1]

In all, the Hispanic community, which in 2000 became the largest ethnic minority in the country, has purchasing power of about US$798 billion a year.[2] In addition, their participation in society is growing in practically all spheres, from the workplace to politics. While many have not severed ties to their communities of origin, most have become almost completely integrated into their new surroundings.

This article is a summary of information from the book *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos* (The Spanish-language Media in the United States), with a broad overview of Hispanic media, as well as some important information about the print media and specialized radio in the U.S.[3]

Bilingual and Spanish-language Media

Given the rapid growth of Spanish-language and bilingual media and heterogeneous selection criteria for data bases, it has been very difficult to define a truly standardized universe, particularly regarding print media and radio. On the one hand,

* Political analyst and media expert.

data bases normally include only those who purchase advertising space, and many lists include radio stations from northern Mexico and Puerto Rico, covering the southwestern United States. Selection criteria also vary. For example, some directories classify simple ad sheets as weeklies; others include radio stations that broadcast full time in Spanish, while yet others include in that same category stations that broadcast more than 10 or 20 hours in Spanish. Thus, statistically speaking, it has not been possible to have an official figure.

We have been able to identify 1,436 publications and broadcasters that we divide into four categories: print media, radio, television and internet. We used the following criteria: we excluded official publications of organizations or associations, including religious ones; only media sources with offices in the United States were incorporated and, in the case of the print media, those who published there. With regard to internet media, we included only one of all the electronic addresses available for each organization, company and media outlet, to avoid duplication. And we ruled out personal web sites or blogs.

Table 1 shows the results. Based on its information, we can see that of all the specialized media in the Hispanic community that we identified, around 47 percent are print media; a little over 35 percent are radio stations; the 230 television stations represent 16 percent; and only 2 percent are internet web sites. We can also note that the dominant format is Spanish-language, followed by bilingual (Spanish and English, even if not in a 50-50 ratio), and lastly, English only. The category marked "Other" includes Portuguese and trilingual (Spanish-English-Portuguese) publications.

Naturally, these media sources are geographically distributed according to the concentration and distribution of the Hispanic-origin population in the United States. We found specialized media in 38 states and the District of Columbia, as Table 2 shows. The states with the greatest number of media outlets, in descending order, are California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois and Arizona, concentrating a little over 70 percent, or 1,014 outlets. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the states with the fewest specialized media outlets are Louisiana, Wisconsin and Hawaii, which has a single Spanish-language television station and one web site. In Alaska, Vermont, North Dakota and New Hampshire, we found no evidence whatsoever of Hispanic media, while in Iowa, Kentucky, Montana, Mississippi, South Dakota, West Virginia and Wyoming, the media we found did not cover the selection criteria used in this research project. It should be pointed out that most of the states in the table (21, including the District of Columbia) made for less than one percent of the total number of outlets. Most of these states are in the Midwest, where the concentration of Hispanics is less than nine percent of the population.[4] New migratory flows herald a change, given that since 2000, the states with a low Latino population, like Tennessee, Maryland, Alabama and Rhode Island, have seen an increase in the number of their inhabitants born outside the U.S., mainly in Mexico.[5]

Print Media

As pointed out above, we identified 676 specialized print media outlets serving Hispanic communities in 242 cities in 38 states. These publications can be divided into three categories: directories, newspapers and magazines. Almost 65 percent are newspapers; almost one-third, magazines; and

Table 1
Media Outlets by Language

Language	Format				Total by format	%
	Print media	Radio	Television	Internet		
Bilingual	166	25	5	6	202	14.1
Spanish	405	473	223	10	1,111	77.4
English	99	9	2	7	117	8.1
Other	6	—	—	—	6	0.4
Total	**676**	**507**	**230**	**23**	**1,436**	**100**

Source: *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos*, p. 26. See footnote 3.

TABLE 2
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEDIA OUTLETS

STATE	FORMAT				TOTAL BY STATE	%
	PRINT MEDIA	RADIO	TELEVISION	INTERNET		
Alabama	3	1	—	—	4	0.3
Arizona	10	25	9	1	45	3.1
Arkansas	2	6	3	—	11	0.8
California	180	142	58	8	388	27.0
Colorado	9	14	7	1	31	2.2
Connecticut	6	7	3	—	16	1.1
Delaware	2	1	—	1	4	0.3
District of Columbia	4	—	—	—	4	0.3
Florida	118	39	20	6	183	12.7
Georgia	17	10	4		31	2.2
Hawaii	—	—	1	1	2	0.1
Idaho	1	6	1	—	8	0.6
Illinois	35	16	4	—	55	3.8
Indiana	2	1	2	—	5	0.3
Kansas	1	3	1	—	5	0.3
Louisiana	1	2	—	—	3	0.2
Maryland	1	5	1	—	7	0.5
Massachusetts	5	9	6	—	20	1.4
Michigan	7	4	—	—	11	0.8
Minnesota	6	1	—	—	7	0.5
Missouri	6	—	—	—	6	0.4
Nebraska	3	2	—	—	5	0.3
Nevada	6	7	9	—	22	1.5
New Jersey	21	1	1	—	23	1.6
New Mexico	7	31	7	—	45	3.1
New York	57	8	5	4	74	5.2
North Carolina	8	7	1	—	16	1.1
Ohio	6	3	1	—	10	0.7
Oklahoma	5	5	2	—	12	0.8
Oregon	6	5	8	—	19	1.3
Pennsylvania	11	4	2	—	17	1.2
Rhode Island	1	2	1	—	4	0.3
South Carolina	3	1	2	—	6	0.4
Tennessee	5	5	—	—	10	0.7
Texas	90	117	61	1	269	18.7
Utah	4	3	5	—	12	0.8
Virginia	14	—	1	—	15	1.0
Washington	10	14	4	—	28	1.9
Wisconsin	3	—	—	—	3	0.2
Total	**676**	**507**	**230**	**23**	**1,436**	**100**

Source: *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos*, p. 30. See footnote 3.

Because of their feeling of socio-cultural belonging, historically Hispanics have created media that deal with what is happening both inside and outside their community. This began three centuries ago and has never stopped growing.

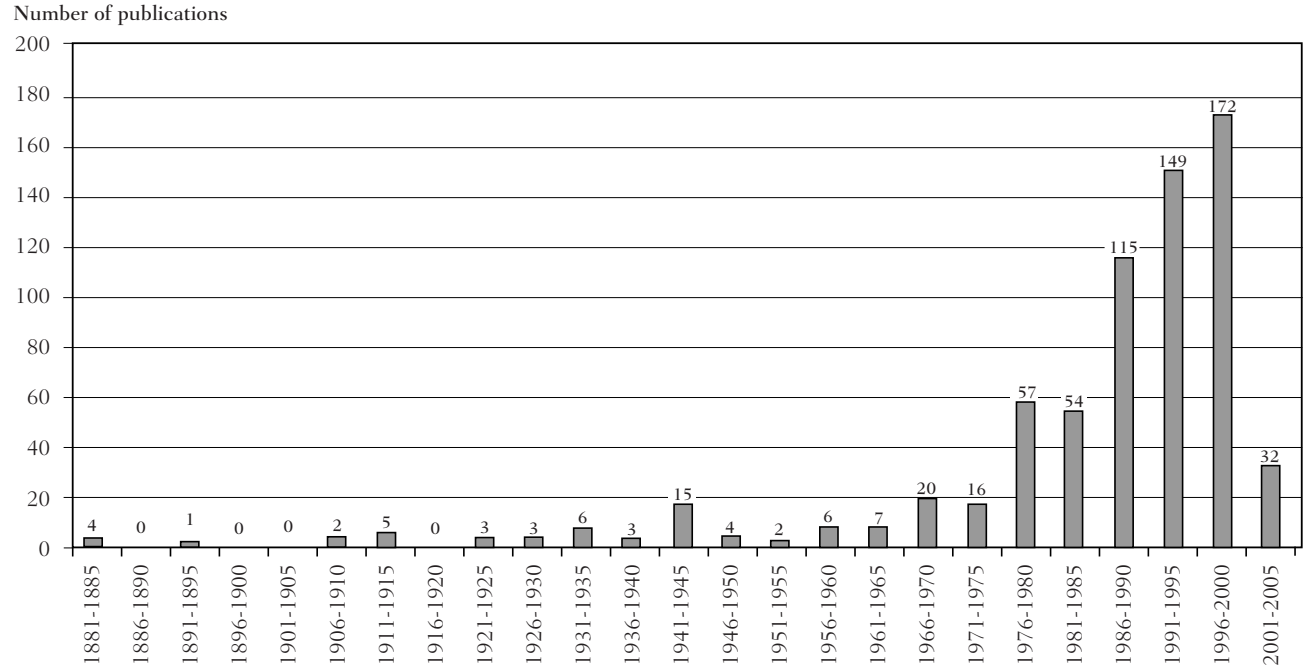
the rest, 5.1 percent, are directories. Six out of every ten publications are completely Spanish-language; one-fourth, bilingual, and the rest, 14 percent, are published exclusively in English. Most of the Hispanic publications (44 percent) are weeklies; one-fourth are monthlies; and the rest come out every two weeks (9 percent), quarterly (7 percent) or annually (6 percent). Seventy-four percent of them have a circulation of fewer than 50,000 copies.

Graph 1 traces the years when the publications were founded. This information gives us a general idea of the historic evolution of the print media from the beginning of the twentieth century until the first five years of the twenty-first century. The data shows that in the early part of the last century, Latinos had access to only five specialized publications.[6] By 1925, that figure had doubled, and by mid-century, there were 46 publications with different formats. It was during World War II that more Spanish-language publications were founded to inform the communities about events in Europe. In the following years, they grew steadily, but between 1976 and 1985, growth skyrocketed 114 percent. By the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s, we see a growth of 127 percent, which slowed down then to 43 percent.

Radio

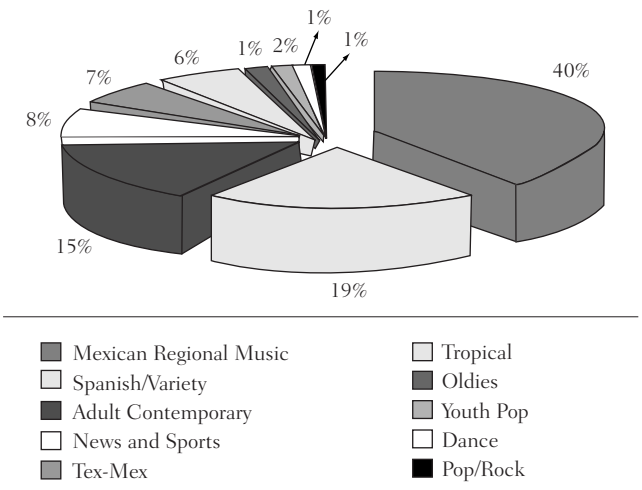
Two hundred fourteen U.S. cities have radio stations targeting the Hispanic community (507 in all in 34 states). Whether in Spanish, English or bilingually, eight out of every 10 broadcast 24 hours a day, delivering very varied programming to their listeners, mostly people over 18.[7] Graph 2 shows the diversity of contents and the proportion in which the radio stations use them. For example, two out of every five stations broadcast Mexican regional music, including *banda, ranchera, mariachi, norteña, huapangos*, etc. Nineteen percent broadcast Spanish-language hits, including everything from salsa to pop music. The romantic music, ballads and international pop hits preferred by today's adults are broadcast by 15

Graph 1
Years Print Media Were Founded



Source: *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos*, p. 34.

GRAPH 2
PROGRAMMING ON HISPANIC RADIO STATIONS



Source: *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos*, p. 34. See footnote 3.

percent of the stations. News and sports stations make up eight percent of the sample, while *tejano* or Tex-Mex and "tropical" music (salsa, cumbia and merengue) make up 7 percent and 6 percent respectively. The rest of the stations play oldies, youth pop, dance and pop/rock music.

CONCLUSIONS

Because of their feeling of socio-cultural belonging, throughout their history, Hispanics have created media dealing with what is happening both inside and outside their community. This began three centuries ago with print media and it has never stopped growing. Its profile has changed as the Hispanic community has evolved and, above all, as technology has facilitated its dissemination. Understanding the characteristics of media specialized in the U.S. Hispanic community allows us to identify the areas that strengthen trade, educational and cultural relations with that community, as well as to improve our communication with them, supporting dialogue and optimizing efforts to get better results.

The media have a dual function as both display windows and promoters of the cultural identity of the communities they serve: they offer spaces for communication and understanding among their audiences and readers; they service cultural needs; and they help people who are far away from their places of origin feel a little more at home. They also help define the profiles of those communities and facilitate their interaction with the rest of society, mainly through the use of Spanish and bilingual formats. Despite the fact that their origins are Hispanic, many of the media outlets targeting that community are being bought up by Anglos, who have noted the big economic potential of this sector of consumers.

With time, the figures will rise and, thanks to external stimuli, like the coming U.S. presidential elections, it is very probable that the Hispanic media will incorporate new elements, mainly low-investment electronic media that become highly visible by crossing borders. However, the challenge that these media outlets face today, mainly the ones in Spanish, is increasing the participation of Latinos in the different facets of their industry. This is especially due to the Hispanic media's success story and how they have attracted the Anglo business community, which little by little has bought up printing houses, radio stations, television stations and web sites that originally belonged to Latinos. In addition, it will also be important to increase original programming, which will undoubtedly be closer to the day-to-day lives of the Hispanic community than programming imported from Spanish-speaking countries abroad. VM

NOTES

[1] The 15 million Latinos born abroad represent about 40 percent of the Hispanic population identified by the 2002 census carried out by the U.S. Census Bureau.

[2] Jeffrey M. Humphreys, "The Multicultural Economy 2006," Table 3, *Georgia Business and Economic Conditions* GBEC, vol. 66, no. 3 (Athens, Georgia), published by the Selig Center for Economic Growth/The University of Georgia.

[3] Graciela Orozco and Celina Bárcenas, *Los medios de comunicación en español en Estados Unidos* (Mexico City: Fundación Solidaridad Mexicano Americana, A.C./ILCE, 2005). For more information, see www.fsma.org.mx

[4] U.S. Census Bureau, *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics 2000*, Table D-P1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 2001).

[5] Fundación Solidaridad Mexicano Americana, *Análisis de la población mexicana en Estados Unidos*, Table 2, internal document (August 2002).

[6] Since the eighteenth century, dozens of small publications began to be published to inform Spaniards about events in Spain, and later, about the independence of New Spain. In 1808, *El Misisipi de Nuevo Orleáns* was first published, and a year later, *El mensajero de Louisiana*, considered the first Hispanic newspapers in the U.S. F. Subervi-Vélez, "Mass Communication and Hispanics," F. Padilla, ed., *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the U.S.* (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 1994).

[7] Most stations identify their target audiences using different age group intervals. For practical purposes, the study used the following age groups: under 12; from 12 to 17; from 18 to 24; from 25 to 34; and over 35, in the main.

Mexico and the Vectors of North American Integration

Rhina Roux*

Lee Celano/Reuters

Presidents Calderón and Bush and Prime Minister Harper at an SPP meeting.

I

In the maelstrom of globalization, a profound, long-term transformation has taken place in Mexico over the last 20 years: a subordinated integration of our national territory into the new North American regional space. This integration, which encompasses not only the economic-productive dimension expressed in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), but also the political-military sphere, is undermining the material and cultural foundations of the Mexican state and destroying the equilibriums in an institutional set-up based on the presidency as the pinnacle that symbolized and articulated state sovereignty. The fragmentation of the country into territorial fiefdoms, the fragility of the institutions, exoduses of migrants and daily violence that has become pandemic are some of the symptoms of this historic change.

* Political scientist and professor-researcher at the Autonomous Metropolitan University, Xochimilco campus.

II

So-called "globalization" is, in essence, the unbridled expansion, without national, legal, state or social barriers, of the universe of the commodity, the de-regulated world market. This renewed expansion is accompanied by the political reconfiguration of the global space. The fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), the U.S. launch of its Enterprise for the Americas (1990), the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the launch of the European Union (1993), NAFTA's coming into effect (1994) and the rise of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (1995) symbolized the end of an era. In the new geography of capital, the creation of regional, supra-national economic spaces, the opening of borders for the free transit of money, goods and capital and the incorporation of new territories in the circuits of accumulation became the trends. Fueled by technological innovation (computer science, micro-electronics, genetic engineering, nano-technology), the breakdown of time-space barriers for

the mobility of capital is changing the face of the entire globe, prompting what Carl Schmitt called the "spatial revolution": a historic redefinition of the spaces of human existence implying not only new proportions and measures in political activity, but also a change in the structure of the very concept of space, similar to that which occurred with the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire, the European crusades and the conquest of the Americas.[1]

In the Western hemisphere, this great transformation translates into a trend: the integration of Mexico into the U.S. economy and markets. This process, which includes neither the free movement of labor nor the harmonization of labor rights, but anchors profitability of capital in geographic and wage "comparative advantages," did not begin with the signing of NAFTA, but with the establishment of the first auto plants and the spectacular growth of the maquiladora industry on Mexico's northern border in the 1980s.

This capitalist reorganization of territorial space, similar in scope to what happened in the late nineteenth century with the construction of railroads, included the advent of industrial corridors that selectively connected northern Mexican cities and ports with U.S. export markets: the San Antonio-Monterrey corridor, the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez corridor (linked to the Texas and New Mexico military-industrial complex) and the San Diego-Tijuana corridor. Certain analyses situate these corridors as part of an even vaster shift consisting of the creation of "transnational economic regions" including cities in Canada, the United States and Mexico, connected among themselves by the economic-trade corridors of North America.[2]

In this frenetic foray into Mexican territory, the new universal kingdom of the deregulated market has broken a state community woven over a long, conflictive historic process. Over the last 20 years, the devaluation of labor power, labor flexibility, turning land and collective natural resources (water, coastlines, forests, beaches, rivers, lakes) into commodities, privatizing public goods and integrating into the U.S. economy and markets have been the axes of a form of modernization that has ended by collapsing the material and symbolic pillars of the Mexican state. Meanwhile, the form of integration with the United States surrounds national authority, creating new areas of turbulence.

In recent years, the accords about intelligent borders and the creation of a regional military command (Northcom), incorporating Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean in the U.S. military security perimeter, have been the axes for deepening integration.

III

For international elites, the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union was the symbol of the foundation of a new world order. Ten years later, the attacks on the Twin Towers accelerated the construction of the legal and institutional architecture of the new imperial command and its doctrine, "preventive war." Breaking modern international law, destroying the bases for the U.S. republic and violating the elementary rules of politics, this new world order thus inaugurated what Giorgio Agamben called the *state of exception* as a permanent technique for governing.[3] From the Patriot Act to the cancellation of *habeas corpus* in the United States and the U.S. chief executive's announcement of a cascade of regulations to further the "fight against terrorism", these actions have constituted this new imperial command. By suspending the rule of law, it is *de facto* founding a new political order. In the foundations of that new order is the criminalization of the enemy, including migrants.

In the Western Hemisphere, the construction of the juridical-institutional architecture of the new imperial command is accelerating and deepening the subordinated integration of Canada and Mexico to the U.S. regional security project announced in 1999 with the Enterprise for the Americas. The project, whose strategic objective was to create a hemispheric area for free transit of goods and capital from Alaska to Patagonia (the Free Trade Area of the Americas, or FTAA), also included the creation of a hemispheric security zone. In recent years, the accords about intelligent borders and the creation of a regional military command (Northcom), incorporating Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean in the U.S. military security perimeter, have been the axes for deepening this trend.

If territorial expansion at Mexico's expense was, together with the War of Secession, one of the pillars for capitalist accumulation to take off in the United States, today, this country's military-industrial complex is preparing for the institutionalized pillage of national goods and to include Mexico

in the United States' territorial jurisdiction. Announced in March 2005, the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) proposed turning the continent into the best place to do business, arming it to deal with internal and external challenges. This new project, designed and launched without the participation of Congresses or Parliament, has three axes: 1) eliminating barriers to capital flow in energy, transportation, financial services and technology; 2) guaranteeing the supply of oil to the United States; and 3) adjusting Mexico and Canada's government policies to U.S. geo-strategic security imperatives, implementing mechanisms for surveillance and control of border crossings at ports, airports, by sea and in the air.

The SPP says absolutely nothing about the mobility of labor or the regulation of migratory flows. In contrast with the European Union, confederated around a single currency, free circulation of individuals and a common bank and parliament, North American integration maintains and reinforces national borders, subordinating its neighbors to the United States. This integration not only impedes the free mobility of the work force, but it also criminalizes Mexican migrants, who are excluded on both sides of the border.

Representatives of the three countries' great financial corporations, organized in the Council on Foreign Relations, have already come out for speeding up this trend. Their central recommendation is to establish by 2010 at the latest a "North American Community," whose limits would be defined by a common external tariff and an external security perimeter.[4] Its promoters talk with conviction and will act in consequence. The first step has already been taken, with the so-called Mérida Initiative, a project of the U.S. executive that includes the transfer of financial resources from the United States to Mexico and Central America for "the fight against drug trafficking and organized crime": equipment to monitor air space and sea lanes, broadening out the "maneuvering room" of U.S. intelligence agencies in Mexican territory, controlling migratory flows and aiding the Mexican army are some of the axes of this new scheme for regional security, which, in fact and without direct troop intervention, extends U.S. military jurisdiction to Central America.

IV

The Mexican state, with its codes of command and obedience, its sources of legitimacy, its rituals and symbols, was configured in a great historic arc. Intersected by the Mexican Revolution, fundamental processes took place in that historic arc that were part of the construction of a national state: the delimitation and state control of a territorial space, the affirmation of a sovereign power, the material and symbolic configuration of a state community and the construction of the great unifying myths of the nation. That historical process presupposed the fulfillment of four conditions: 1) subjecting the Catholic Church to state jurisdiction; 2) preserving the integrity of national territory in the face of the threat of U.S. territorial expansion; 3) centralizing the national chain of command, subduing regional strongmen and local leaders and affirming its exclusive authority *vis-à-vis* foreign powers and commands; and 4) pacifying the country, putting an end to the long cycle of agrarian violence opened up in the nineteenth century and continuing into the first decades of the twentieth. This process, which for Mexico's Liberals meant fighting a civil war (the War of the Reform) and the empire of a foreign prince, Maximilian of Habsburg, did not come to a close with the Liberal victory. It extended to the post-revolutionary regime, expressed in the legal dispute over Article 27 of the Constitution and continued until the expropriation of the oil industry in 1938.

At the same time, the trend that is dragging Mexico toward the north implies territorial reorganization beyond national borders, ceding attributes of the Mexican state and a historic change in relations with the United States. This dimension of the political transformation of Mexican politics appears, on the surface, up to now, as:

1) *The erosion of sovereignty*, that is, of the existence of the state power as a single, supreme command within a territory. Internally, this undermining of authority is expressed in the fragility of the presidency as an institution and the country's fragmentation into political areas of influence and territorial fiefdoms controlled by gangs of drug

In contrast with the European Union, confederated around a single currency, free circulation of individuals and a common bank and parliament, North American integration maintains and reinforces national borders, subordinating its neighbors to the United States.

traffickers, all linked to each other. Externally, it is expressed in the surrender of state authority in internal strategic matters: economic policy, the use and destination of natural resources, national security policy, foreign policy, and education, financial and monetary policy.

2) *The transformation of the army*: its change from being an institution in charge of safeguarding state sovereignty to being a kind of national police force, trained in counter-insurgency and police control of social conflicts. This is what the incorporation of the army into the national public security structure and the attempt to subordinate it to external military authorities are.

3) *The replacement of foreign policy* based on solidarity with other peoples and the principle of national self-determination (the Estrada Doctrine) with a relationship of vassalage to U.S. security interests.

4) *The incorporation of Mexican territory into the U.S. military security perimeter.*

This change is of historic scope and significance. No previous modernization project had implied a change of the state. The Liberal historic project always attempted to change the country by imposing the impersonal rules of the market. But in their time, all the Liberals based themselves on the idea of the existence of a *sovereign internal authority* and *state control over the national territory* (soil, sub-soil, seas and air space) as elements of the state that should be retained.

V

Can a society like Mexico's, whose historic roots are so different from those of the United States, transform itself into a society ruled exclusively by the market and the entrepreneurial spirit? Is it possible that the tendency that is dragging Mexico toward the north will culminate in its integration into a new regional entity whose outline we can barely imagine?

The integration of Mexico with the United States is an objective, real, irreversible tendency, whose driving force is not to be found in the profile of the political elites, but in the economy and geo-politics. This trend began to materialize in the 1980s with the establishment of the first auto plants and the spectacular growth of the maquiladora industry in

The construction of a fence along the border with Mexico is the continuation of the "geo-politics of racial prudence" that has served as a protective shield *vis-à-vis* what in the Anglo imaginary is *l'invasion barbare*.

northern Mexico. It has matured in the industrial corridors that physically link the cities and ports of central-northern Mexico with the industrial and trade centers of Canada and the United States, and in the immediate future, it will continue with the creation of the great transnational trade corridors. This trend is reinforced by the autonomous counter-tendency —until now uncontrollable— coming out of the very movement of workers: the almost half a million Mexican migrants who cross the border heading north every year, making Mexico the world's largest exporter of migrants.[5]

As has happened throughout the entire history of modernity, this unstoppable expansion also finds its limits in the history and culture of peoples. By contrast with old Europe, whose nations share a common past knitted together by 10 centuries of spiritual union, the nations of North America come from different histories and cultural matrices. The differences between Mexico and the United States are not only quantitative: they cannot be measured solely by rates of productivity or trade balances of exports and imports. The positions and counter-positions of these two neighboring and distant nations also belong to the order of civilizations.

Mexico's cultural matrix, historically sustained in the persistence of the Mesoamerican civilization, was translated in the imperial discourse as a racial border that established precise limits between the two nations, limits that, in the imaginary of the North, separated a white nation from a nation of Indians. That racial line, which constitutes modern colonial domination, is today opening up new areas of turbulence. The construction of a fence along the border with Mexico is the continuation of the "geo-politics of racial prudence" that, inaugurated at the time Mexico's territory was plundered in 1847, served as the basis for a rejection by the elites of the north to the annexation of all of Mexico's territory.[6] The fence is a protective shield *vis-à-vis* what in the Anglo imaginary is *l'invasion barbare*.

The concrete forms the new universalization of capital takes in the world and each of its regions, as well as its pre-

cise meanings in life and the collective imaginary, do not depend solely on economic cycles. They are subject to cultural arrangements forged down through history: those symbolic configurations based on which ethnic groups, communities and peoples receive and interpret, question and dispute, adapt and model the meaning of this great transformation. This is perhaps the logic that guides under the surface the movement of Mexican migration: industrial workers and Mixtec, Zapotec, Trique, Mixe indigenous, working and living in California, Chicago, New York. This is one of the novel forms of silent appropriation of territories and riches by the Mexican subordinate classes, who in their exodus take with them ancestral identities, creating new transnational subordinate communities.

The transformation underway is an open process, whose final outcome is by no means predetermined. The modern organization of Latin American migrants also heralds a new era. New universal rights, recognized beyond national borders, are part of Latin American workers' demands in the streets of the United States: labor rights, protection and citizenship are part of these new concrete, specific contents of the universal republic of the rights of human beings opposed to global capital's state of exception. VM

Notes

[1] Carl Schmitt, "Tierra y mar. Consideraciones sobre la historia universal," Héctor Orestes Aguilar, comp., *Carl Schmitt. Teólogo de la política* (Mexico City: FCE, 2001), p. 367.

[2] Víctor M. Godínez, "La economía de las regiones y el cambio estructural," Fernando Clavijo, comp., *Reformas económicas en México, 1982-1999* (Mexico City: FCE, 2000), pp. 370-371, and Claude Bataillon, *Espacios mexicanos contemporáneos* (Mexico City: FCE/El Colegio de México, 1997).

[3] Giorgio Agamben, *État d'exception. Homo sacer* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2003).

[4] John P. Manley, Pedro Aspe and William F. Feld, comps., *Building a North American Community* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press/Independent Task Force 53, 2005).

[5] Figures indicate that between 2000 and 2005, 400,000 Mexican migrants crossed the border into the United States, making Mexico the world's largest sender of migrants, exceeding even China, India and the Philippines. Raúl Delgado Wise, Humberto Márquez Covarrubias and Óscar Pérez Veyna, "El abaratamiento de la fuerza de trabajo mexicana en la integración económica de México a Estados Unidos," *El Cotidiano* no. 143 (May-June 2007), UAM Azcapotzalco, pp. 63-70.

[6] José Luis Orozco, *De teólogos, pragmáticos y geopolíticos. Aproximación al globalismo norteamericano* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 2001), pp. 117-123.

Should Local Police Enforce Federal Immigration Laws?

Comparing Canadian, Mexican and U.S. Policies

Doris Marie Provine*
Michael Shelton**

Staff Photographer/Reuters

Mounted surveillance on the Arizona border with Mexico.

National governments around the world claim sole authority to make immigration policy, but it is more difficult to enforce those rules as economies globalize, increasing the number of visitors, transnational workers and temporary residents. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center has put additional pressure on national governments to deal with inefficiencies in their systems of control. One attractive option is to devolve enforcement authority to the local level, inviting municipalities to assist in the effort to remove unauthorized immigrants.

Devolution of federal enforcement authority to the local level creates an unprecedented opportunity for localities to shape immigration policy toward their own needs. The question is: How will localities respond to this opportunity? What are local interests with respect to immigration, and how capable are cities of managing these responsibilities? Local engagement in immigration control raises questions, not just about local interests and capacities, but about justice. What level of local engagement is appropriate in light of the basic purposes of city governments and their duties to residents?

Cities ambitious for growth and development face an interesting dilemma. As they compete with each other to attract capital investment, they must inevitably open their doors to foreigners. They want to draw in headquarters of multinational companies, foreign investors and a highly skilled workforce, all of which require cultivation of cosmopolitan values and flexibility. Rapid growth also requires workers who will accept low pay and insecure working conditions, which necessitates easy immigration rules.

These requirements may not jibe with national migration policy or local public opinion. The issue is especially contentious because tightening or loosening restrictions on

* Visiting scholar at CISAN and professor of justice studies, Arizona State University.
** Visiting scholar at CISAN.

unauthorized work has implications for the wages and working conditions of established citizens, and for the racial and ethnic composition of cities. Cities, in short, are constrained by:

a) National laws setting immigration levels and status requirements;
b) Internal tensions between workers and employers; and
c) Internal tensions over racial and ethnic change.

How do these issues work out in practice? To what extent is power-sharing in immigration enforcement already a reality? This article considers the cases of Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the three neighboring nations that have committed themselves to free trade and investment under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These nations are similar, not just in their desire to increase trade and investment in their economies, but also in some important political respects. They are all constitutional republics, with federal systems of government. Their constitutions protect the civil rights of all inhabitants, not just citizens. There are nevertheless many important differences in the organization of domestic affairs and in the meaning of federalism within each nation. These differences have implications for how each of them confronts unauthorized immigration.

Differences in Approaches to Immigration In Canada and Mexico

Local authority over immigration enforcement is an established and accepted reality in both Canada and Mexico. The role of local police is quite different in the two, however. The reasons begin with profound differences between the two nations in legal immigration policy. Canada, unlike Mexico, has embraced immigration as a key to its development. National leaders constantly reinforce the idea that immigration from around the world links Canada to the global economy and increases its competitiveness. The emphasis is on permanent immigration, though temporary workers are a part of the mix. Canada encourages legal residents to become citizens through rapid naturalization procedures and investment in English language classes. The national policy of multi-culturalism discourages xenophobia in the media schools. Foreign-born voters help make politicians sensitive to the needs of immigrants. Canada has developed an elaborate regulatory structure of immigration targets, which it adjusts yearly to accommodate economic changes, such as the need for more construction workers in the oil fields of Alberta. It allows localities to admit additional immigrant workers for specific jobs under its Provincial Nominee program.

Canada's policy of rapid growth through relatively easy legal immigration means that there is little compassion or concern for those who enter the country illegally. The prevailing view is that if it is so easy to come in legally, why are you here illegally?

Mexico has no immigration goals or quotas and no messages coming from authorities about the desirability of immigration for economic growth. Immigrants are welcome, but not sought after. Government does not take an active role in their integration into the local community. Instead, the preoccupation is with keeping skilled young people and improving working conditions for the domestic work force. There is some concern with protecting the basic human rights of immigrants and transients, but the major focus of these policies is on citizens.

In their different ways, both Mexico and Canada are seeking to protect themselves from the potentially pernicious effects of the large, dynamic U.S. economy. Canadians can easily identify with Porfirio Díaz's famous remark, "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States!"

Unauthorized immigration is considered a problem in both Canada and Mexico, and both countries, at the national level, have mechanisms to deal with it. A person without status in Canada or Mexico can apply for regularization without risk of detention and immediate deportation. The process in both nations can be lengthy, with significant administrative discretionality, which can be arbitrary or abused by officials. But, significantly, both countries recognize the reality of unauthorized immigration and provide for regularization.

Local Police and Unauthorized Immigration in Canada

The Canadian policy of rapid growth through relatively easy legal immigration means that there is little compassion or concern for those who enter the country illegally. The prevailing view is that it is so easy to come in legally, why are you here illegally? This is true at the local level, even in rapidly

growing cities that need more workers than can come in legally. Vancouver, for example, has a construction boom associated with the 2010 Winter Olympics and an acute need for workers. Unauthorized immigrants can find jobs there, but they risk deportation if they come to the attention of local police. Vancouver police readily and enthusiastically assist in immigration control by checking legal status and notifying federal authorities. This is relatively easy because local police officers have computers in their cars that tell them if a person has an outstanding warrant for overstaying a visa or failing to report to immigration authorities. Anyone who cannot produce papers indicating legal status will be ordered to do so at a federal immigration office, and if he or she fails to report, an arrest warrant will be issued.

Racial profiling is an accepted practice to detect unauthorized immigrants. A person who speaks with an accent or "looks foreign" may be asked to prove their right to be in the country, even if they have no connection with criminal activity. Requesting directions or complaining to the police, for example, can prompt an inquiry about immigration status. This policy also prevails, not surprisingly, with the (federal) Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who serve as local peace officers in smaller towns and cities throughout Canada.

This locally enforced policy has important implications for those attracted to Canada by job opportunities. They can find work because employers are not afraid to hire them on a cash basis. Canada's immigration authorities and police protect employers by not investigating and fining companies that hire people without work permits. Unauthorized immigrants, however, are considered expendable. They must avoid the attention of local police in order to remain. To the extent that they stand out from local populations because of language, dress or skin-color differences, they are especially vulnerable to police questioning and subsequent deportation actions.

LOCAL POLICE AND UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRATION IN MEXICO

Unauthorized immigrants must also avoid the local police in Mexico, but for different reasons. Local and state-level police are to be feared for their actions outside legal bounds, not for their authority within those bounds. National immigration law in Mexico distinguishes between the federal police, who have authority to assist in the control of unauthorized immigration, and state and local police, who have no such authority unless under specific orders from federal authorities to assist in particular enforcement actions. Mexico's National Human Rights Commission drew attention to the importance of maintaining this distinction in its 2005 report.

Persons suspected of being in Mexico without authorization are often targeted by local police for extortion, abuse and detention. The lack of controls on local police and the vulnerability of these immigrants create opportunities for exploitation.

Nevertheless, persons suspected of being in the country without authorization are often targeted by local police for extortion, abuse and detention. The lack of controls on local police and the vulnerability of these immigrants create tempting opportunities for exploitation, and there is no consistent, countervailing disapproving message from local or federal authorities.

An interesting exception to this general rule of official disinterest and toleration of police misconduct regarding unauthorized immigrants is the mayor of Ecatepec, a city of about three million residents that is part of the huge metropolitan area of Mexico City. Mayor José Luis Gutiérrez Cureño has proclaimed that Ecatepec will be a sanctuary for immigrants in transit to the United States, and presumably, for those deciding to settle in the city. He has ordered local police forces not to participate in federal immigration enforcement and has opened local facilities, including the hospital, to serve unauthorized immigrants on humanitarian grounds.

THE UNITED STATES: A MIXED CASE

The United States is somewhere in between its two neighbors in its attitude toward immigration. The U.S. is known as a country of immigrants, and it is, statistically speaking. It has an active refugee policy and about 14 percent of the nation is foreign born. This compares with 20 percent in Canada and less than 12 percent in Mexico. Employment opportunities for both legal and illegal immigrants abound in the U.S., thanks to a strong economy and a relatively lax approach to enforcing hiring rules against employers. The federal emphasis has been, and remains, on border control,

In the U.S., the federal emphasis has been, and remains, on border control, not on federal policing of unauthorized immigrants who have already settled in the country. But public opinion has always been mixed about the desirability of immigration, which has led to occasional drastic shifts in policy.

not on federal policing of unauthorized immigrants who have already settled in the country. But public opinion has always been mixed about the desirability of immigration, which has led to occasional drastic shifts in policy. As immigration has increased in recent years, so have anxieties about the government's capacity to control the flow of new residents. The presence of about 12 million unauthorized immigrants and the rate of unauthorized, virtually uncontrolled immigration from Mexico and Latin America have drawn particular attention. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center has helped to make border control a political priority. The United States is at a policy crossroads. The U.S. tradition of direct legislative control over immigration policy tends to discourage a coherent approach to either legal or illegal immigration. Yet, the absence of a flexible, rational, legal immigration policy encourages (and helps to legitimize) unauthorized immigration. Current prospects for comprehensive immigration reform are bleak.

Into this policy void have stepped states and localities passing local ordinances to discourage unauthorized residents from settling in their areas. Many of these laws require proof of citizenship for jobs, social services, housing and schooling. Trespassing laws are being developed to control day-labor sites, and some jurisdictions are placing restrictions on bail and other rights of the criminally accused. The number of state laws enacted in 2007 (240) was nearly triple the number enacted the previous year. State legislators in 46 of the 50 states considered immigration bills. Law enforcement was a major topic, not far behind employment and drivers licenses.[1]

Local Immigration Policing In the United States

Some cities are attempting to engage their police departments in removing unauthorized immigrants through closer links with federal immigration authorities. Most departments already report those incarcerated for serious violations to immigration authorities, but there is pressure for more comprehensive efforts. The Arizona state legislature, for example, is currently considering a proposal to require police to inquire about immigration status at every opportunity. A few local law-enforcement organizations have taken this initiative themselves. The overall picture, however, is considerably varied, with some departments resisting immigration-law enforcement as inconsistent with their responsibilities to community policing, which is built upon the trust and confidence of residents.

The effort to engage local police in the hunt for unauthorized immigrants represents a sharp break with past practice. Localism and independence from federal authorities are traditional in U.S. police work. In this respect, the U.S. differs from both its Canadian and Mexican neighbors.

It is difficult to know how far the movement to engage local police in immigration control will go. U.S. cities vary enormously in their demographics, their politics and their local economies. In cities dominated by elites who favor immigration and imagine themselves as potential global centers, there is little interest. The immigration policing movement has its strongest support in smaller cities and towns that cannot aspire to global status. These localities are concerned about maintaining their communities in the face of an uncertain economy that is increasingly dominated by multinational corporations and international banks.

One can gain a sense of the current situation from a survey of police chiefs in cities across the U.S. recently conducted by one of the authors and three colleagues at Arizona State University. The survey went to police chiefs in cities of 60,000 or more.[2] Only six percent report formal arrangements with federal authorities to assist in immigration control. Thirteen percent report that they do not assist federal authorities at all. Seventy-four percent report that they contact federal authorities on an informal basis only when they are holding suspects who they believe to be undocumented.

Most departments identify closely with the concept of community policing and report active efforts to gain community trust, including regular meetings with residents and bicycle and foot patrols. Most also report that their officers avoid immigration enforcement in routine activities. Fully 83 percent report that their departments take no action to control day-labor sites; and most say that their officers would not check immigration status at a traffic stop or in interviewing a crime victim, complainant or witness. This survey suggests, however, that policies regarding local enforcement

are in a state of flux. Only 32 percent have a written or unwritten policy, and 46 percent report that their local government has no policy. Those local governments that do have policies appear to be quite evenly split, with 19 percent of chiefs noting a formal or informal policy against police inquiries about immigration status, and 12 percent stating that they are expected to actively deter unauthorized immigration in all of their activities.

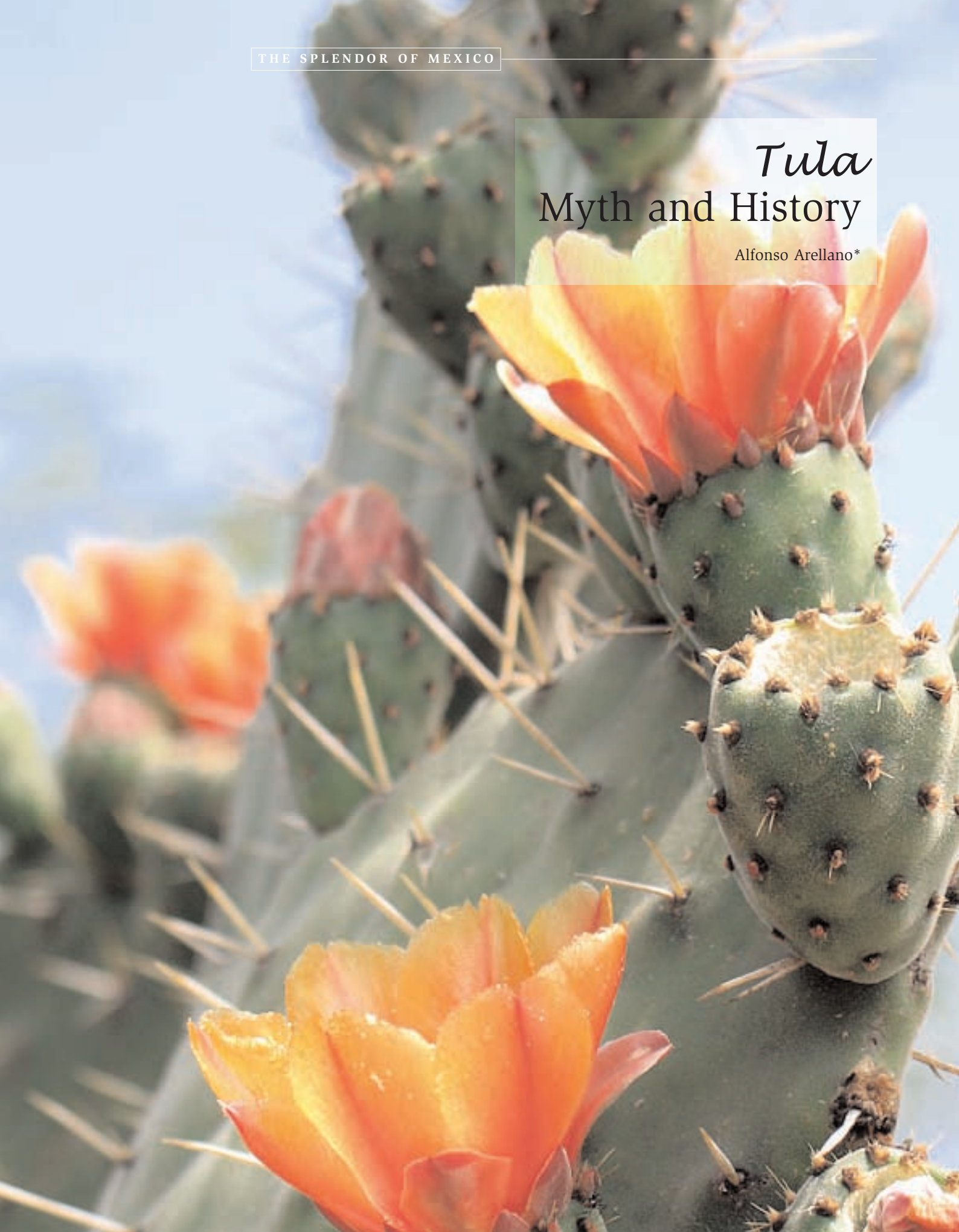
CONCLUSION

Will the local police in the United States, like those in Canada and Mexico, become fully engaged in immigration policing? The undertaking would be much more consequential, given the much larger number of settled, but unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. (4 percent of the population, as opposed to perhaps 0.5 to 1 percent in Canada and an even smaller proportion in Mexico). Such initiatives are also unjust. The United States has, implicitly at least, invited workers without legal authorization by making work available. There is no clear-cut route to regularization, however, for those already in the country. A fairer solution would be to allow people to regularize their status by introducing a "right of repose" that would automatically take effect after a period of living and working without incident. Local police should be prohibited from inquiring about immigration status in non-criminal encounters with residents. At the same time, they should become advocates for legalizing migrants' status, a far more appropriate role for those charged with community safety. VM

NOTES

[1] National Conference of State Legislatures, "2007 Enacted State Legislation Related to Immigrants and Immigration," January 31, 2008, http://www.ncsl.org/print/immig/2007Immigrationfinal.pdf.

[2] The survey produced 285 valid responses, a response rate of approximately 50 percent for both the Arizona and national population of police chiefs surveyed.



Tula
Myth and History

Alfonso Arellano*

Few cities have as important a place in understanding our Mesoamerican past and oscillate as much between myth and history as Tula. It has become popular because it is the archaeological site where the "Atlante" stone sculptures of warrior kings are located. It is also associated with the splendid political, economic and religious home to the priest-king Ce Ácatl Topiltzin Quetzalcóatl, perhaps the most emblematic figure of the pre-Hispanic world. However, in archaeological and historical research, Tula continues to be a city that poses more questions than answers.

Certainly, a great deal of data has been culled from excavations, in particular about its development over more than five centuries, its socio-economic structure and the links Tula established with different groups

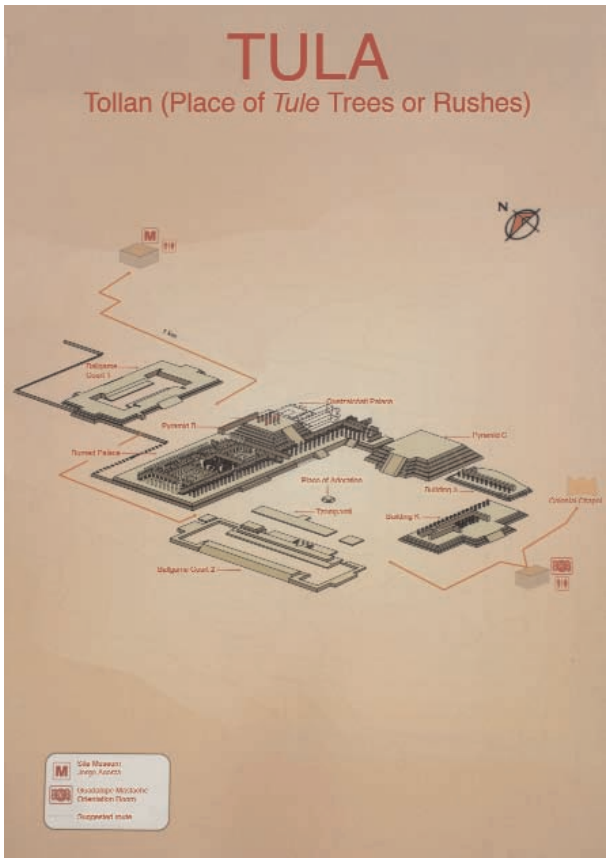
* Professor at the UNAM School of Philosophy and Letters.

Photo previous page by Mauricio Degollado.

Mauricio Degollado

and regions. We also have abundant historical references: lists of rulers, sacred stories and chronicles of different events (wars, matrimonial alliances, coronations). Thanks to all of this, our panorama of the city seems coherent and complete. However, when we look more closely, we do not always find a correlation between the different pieces of data. For example, in archaeological terms it is difficult to situate the government of a specific ruler. The most recent archaeological work and historical interpretations continue to leave the chronology hazy. So, much remains to be done.

However, there is little doubt that since 1930, the Tula of historical sources (among them the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán* [The Annals of Cuauhtitlán], the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* [The Toltec-Chichimec History] by Alva Ixtlixóchitl, the *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* [History of Things of New Spain] by Friar Bernardino de Sahagún, and the *Historia de los mexi-*



Map of Tula Grande.

canos por sus pinturas [History of Mexicans through Their Paintings]) is the history of what is called archaeological Tula. The latter is located in the state of Hidalgo between the Tula and Rosas Rivers, and east of the Salado River, surrounded by the Jicuco, Cincoc and Nopaltépetl or Magoni Hills. On the other hand, different Nahua peoples (Texcocans, Culhuas and Mexicas) are the source of the myths about Tula, and, above all, the invention of the *toltecáyotl* (the Toltec): the essence of being an inhabitant of a fabulous city and, at the same time, being a wise man and artist *par excellence*.

Archaeological Tula Xicocotitlán, excavated several decades ago, revealed a long, complex history. We know that the first human settlements were established between 800 B.C. and 600 B.C., and that during the late pre-classical period (400-200 B.C.) it may have had trade links with regions of the West, the Bajío and the Mexican Basin, according to finds of Chupícuaro and Ticomán ceramics. In the early classical period, areas around Chingú and Julián Villagrán had links to Teotihuacan. At that time (A.D. 200-600), Tula became important when it built an extensive irrigation system and began exploiting limestone deposits.

When Teotihuacan fell, between A.D. 650 and A.D. 700, Tula survived thanks to its hydraulic systems, but it was besieged by the arrival of groups from the North who brought with them a new culture. The change is reflected in ceramics and architecture: the *coyotlatelco* tradition and the construction of rooms with ceilings held up by columns, serpent-covered walls (*coatepantli*) and skulls (*tzompantli*). In addition, they controlled the green obsidian deposits in the Navajas

Different Nahua peoples are the source of the invention of the *toltecáyotl* (the Toltec): the essence of being an inhabitant of a fabulous city and wise man and artist *par excellence*.

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Ballgame court 1.

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Pyramid C.

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Burned Palace.

Hill. As a result, the city recovered its dynamism, particularly in the area known today as Tula Chico, located north of the area open to the public, while residential areas expanded in El Cielito, the Malinche and El Tesoro, eventually covering five square kilometers.

Little by little, Tula Chico was abandoned for a more southern area, Tula Grande, today the area open to the public. We do not know all the reasons, but we do know that a large fire destroyed the city.

Some specialists have preferred the mythological, religious explanation for the population abandoning the area: the myth of Quetzalcóatl and his enmity with Tezcatlipoca.

According to legend, Quetzalcóatl's birth was portentous. His parents, Chimalma and Mixcóatl, lived in or around Xochicalco. One day, Mixcóatl went hunting but found no prey; instead, one of his arrows was aimed at Lady Chimalma, who stopped it with her hand (thus giving rise to the name "shield hand"), impregnating her. To avenge this offense, Chimalma's brothers killed Mixcóatl and banished the future mother. These were the circumstances of Quetzalcóatl's birth, but when he grew up, he returned to avenge his parents, killing his uncles. Later, he was crowned as lord of Tula, where he ruled wisely in peace. At one point, Quetzalcóatl fell ill and no one could cure him. It was then that his rival Tezcatlipoca appeared, disguised as an old man, and offered him a brew that immediately made him better. However, it also made him drunk since the singular medication was *pulque*. Under the influence of the alcohol, the lord of Tula committed incest with his sister and other crimes. The next day, Tezcatlipoca returned to show the lord his evil deeds in his magic mirror, the *tlachialoni*. Quetzalcóatl despaired and decided to abdicate and abandon Tula with his most faithful servants and followers.

Tula Grande then occupied the place left by Tula Chico. It reached its zenith in the mid-tenth century A.D., covering 16 square kilometers and even surrounding the old site. The latter, however, was never re-inhabited; and only occasional offerings were made there. Tula Grande continued to control the obsidian and limestone deposits and developed a very complex soci-

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Coatepantli, detail.

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Coatepantli, detail.

ety with many neighborhoods where both subsistence and luxury items were produced.

Tula's influence spread to several places in Mesoamerica and beyond, from New Mexico to Costa Rica. This can be seen from archaeological finds: turquoise, precious metals, ceramics (like the Soconusco lead ceramics and Costa Rica's *nicoya*), fine shells, furs, feathers and cacao. In addition, the city even boasted neighborhoods for foreigners: Huaxtecs (in the El Corral area), Mayas, Mixtecs, people from the Veracruz region and Zoques, besides Nahuas and native Otomís.

The city's houses were built around patios, perhaps inhabited by nuclear and extended families (that is, parents and children and their spouses and children). Although it is by no means certain, it may have been a patrilocal system: the daughter would remain in her parents' house when she married, and her husband would move there to live with her. Each household had its own temple where they may have buried their most important ancestors; the rest of the dead would be buried in different places around the house. The upper classes lived in the areas close to the large public and religious buildings, and their homes were richly decorated, judging by their multi-colored reliefs. To feed the population, Tula used an area with a radius of almost 40 kilometers for cultivation and hunting and gathering.

Tula collapsed around A.D. 1200. This has been explained, among other things, by deforestation, scanty rainfall, soil erosion and the arrival of new waves of migration from the North between 1197 and 1215 (if we can believe the Boturini Codex), although there is no certainty that they caused the city's fall. Archaeological studies do not confirm the cause.

Another legend attributes the fall of the Toltec city to Tezcatlipoca, during the reign of Lord Huémac. When one of his daughters visited the market and fell in love with a strong, handsome, nude Huaxtec man selling chili peppers, she became ill with love and Huémac, anxious to cure her, summoned the Huaxtec,

Despite everything,
Tula retains that aura of mysticism
and greatness that the centuries preserve,
thanks to archaeology, history and
the perpetuation of myths.

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Ornament on the back of one of the warrior kings.

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Panoramic view of the Burned Palace from the top of Pyramid B.

named Tohueyo (a name which refers to the thumb, sex and being foreign). But actually, Tohueyo was the god Tezcatlipoca in disguise. The first chance he had, Huémac sent his son-in-law to war with the idea that he would be killed, but that did not happen: Tohueyo returned triumphant from that and other battles.

However, as punishment, the kingdom would succumb to several catastrophes. The most outstanding one was a ball game in which Huémac challenged the Tlaloque, gods of rain. The players bet their precious stones and fine feathers. Huémac won the game and the Tlaloque gave him ears and husks of corn, but the ruler refused these gifts, demanding jade and quetzal feathers. In revenge, the gods sent drought and people began to die of hunger and thirst. The survivors abandoned the kingdom and Huémac committed suicide in the Tzincalco cave to avoid witnessing the end.

Tula never recovered. After that, it was subdued by different kingdoms. By the fourteenth century, Azcapotzalco ruled over it, and later it was controlled by the Mexica. After 1521, a son of Moctezuma, Pedro Tlacahuepan Moctezuma, married to a granddaughter of Axayácatl, of royal Toltec blood, claimed Tula. His palace was located in the El Cielito district to the southeast of Tula Grande.

Today, Tula oscillates between ruin, conservation, study and the encroachment of modern populations. And, despite everything, it retains that aura of mysticism and greatness that the centuries preserve, thanks to archaeology, history and the perpetuation of myths. **VM**

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Snapshots from Hidalgo

Former Santa María Regla Hacienda

Property of one of the colonial period's most prosperous mine-owners, Don Pedro Romero de Terreros, the first Count of Regla, this eighteenth-century building preserves traces of its imposing architecture, enhanced by its location at the bottom of a ravine. It was one of the count's three haciendas in the state. Here he processed the gold and silver extracted from his mines. Inhabited only by slaves and foremen, bordered by the river and the ravine, escape was almost impossible; but just in case, the count had the walls covered with obsidian that would slash the hands of anyone who tried to climb them to ribbons. Now a hotel, the building preserves many of its original installations, plus a halo of mystery: they say the ghost of Don Pedro still wanders through its halls doing penance for having killed his own daughter for falling in love with a penniless miner. They also say that Don Pedro promised Carlos III that when he visited New Spain, he would cover the road from Veracruz to Hidalgo with gold and silver so his feet would never touch plebian ground.

Elsie Montiel

Mauricio Degollado

Elsie Montiel

Hidalgo's Basaltic Prisms

Millions of years ago, rapidly cooling lava falling into a ravine formed this vertical wall of giant columns, unique in the Americas, known as prismatic basalt. Approximately 30 meters high, these columns cover the walls of Alcholoya Ravine and are dotted with waterfalls tumbling among the prisms to the river below. Baron von Humboldt praised their beauty in 1803. They are located an hour and a half from Mexico City, 38 kilometers from Pachuca, the state capital, and only 5 kilometers from the magical town of Huasca de Ocampo.

Photos by Mauricio Degollado

Huichapan
A Magical Town

This city and its surroundings' attractions include monumental nineteenth-century architecture, delicious regional cuisine, cave paintings more than 3,000 years old, the highest aqueduct in the hemisphere and thermal baths. It was here that independence was celebrated for the first time in Mexico, on September 16, 1812. Three religious buildings, the Our Lady of Guadalupe Chapel, the Chapel of the Third Order and the San Mateo Parrish, testify to architecture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The atrium cross sculpted out of a single piece of stone fuses elements of indigenous and European art to depict the passion of Christ. The Municipal Palace, built at the end of the nineteenth century, is a magnificent example of stone work.

Photos by Mauricio Degollado

Mauricio Degollado

Elsie Montiel

The El Saucillo Aqueduct

Also known as the San José Atlán Aqueduct, this impressive 14-arch structure is one of the highest of its kind in the country. Built in the eighteenth century of pink stone and masonry, it is 155 meters long, and the central of its three sections is 44 meters high. It still preserves the channel where the water ran, and you can walk along it. Located a few kilometers from the city of Huichapan, on the border with the state of Querétaro, it can be reached by the Mexico City-Querétaro highway.

El Chico

Located in the El Chico National Park, Mexico's oldest, this picturesque mining town, founded in 1565, with its rustic adobe, brick and wooden houses, is nestled in the heart of one of Hidalgo's most beautiful areas. El Chico seems suspended in time, surrounded by an exuberant forest of pines, fur trees and holm oaks, with its hundreds of rock formations, valleys, lagoons, look-out points and a river. Recently, it has become a jumping off point for eco-tourists, but it hasn't lost its peaceful rural feel. Among its attractions are the Purísima Concepción Church, the Cidral Dam, the Trout Corridor, the Milagro River, Cuervo Point, greenhouses with a select collection of flowers, crafts, tasty *barbacoa*and other typical foods.

Photos by Elsie Montiel

Acosta Mine Site Museum

Here we find testimony to three centuries of working the mine, a colonial aqueduct and a majestic stone engine house that used to hold one of the first steam engines in Mexico (1824). The metal gibbet and the winch house are a recent inheritance from U.S. investments in local mining. The visitor goes through the interior of the mineshaft without even noticing that he is entering the belly of the mountain. Retired miners tell visitors their stories like they were work mates, transporting them into the miners' world. In the nineteenth-century home known as the Supervisor's House, we can see images of Real del Monte's main mines, mineral samples and surveyor's instruments like theodolites and levels used in mining work.

Camino Antigüo a Guerrero s/n
Barrio de Acosta
Real del Monte, Hidalgo

Photos by Marco Antonio Hernández

David Ben Gurion Park

This modern 26.3-hectare park located on Camino Real de la Plata Avenue in Pachuca is home to the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Conservatory, a convention center, a concert hall, the Museum of Science and Technology, a hotel, a mall, a sculpture garden and lawns open to the public for meditation, yoga or Tai-Chi.

The central plaza is covered with 80x400 meters of 7 million painted tiles (in 12 different sizes and 45 different colors) designed by Hidalgo-born artist Byron Gálvez Avilés called Homage to the Women of the World

Photos by Mauricio Degollado

The Traditional Flavors of Hidalgo

Elsie Montiel*

Pasties, a miner's meal *par excellence* for working in the bowels of the earth, was adopted by Real del Monte residents when the English left and today is the typical regional food.

The English Legacy

The mining districts of Mineral del Chico, Real del Monte and Pachuca in the state of Hidalgo have a centuries-long history. The richness of the veins, the productiveness of the mines and the impact mining had on the region's economy dates back to shortly after the Spaniards arrived in the Americas. The entire area shows not only architectural, but social and cultural vestiges of what mining has meant over the years. In Real del Monte, a city covered up and down its hillsides with red roofs, alternating with huge smokestacks, winches and stone and brick buildings, nineteenth-century English participation in mining left more than the introduction of steam engines and large investments. They also left pasties, a miner's meal *par excellence* for working in the bowels of the earth, adopted by Real del Monte residents when the English left and today, the typical regional food.

The nineteenth century saw innumerable social upheavals sparked by the movement for the independence of New Spain from the Spanish crown. This meant that many Spaniards were in danger, expelled or ran back to Spain, with the resulting capital flight. Later, this made for political instability that affected all kinds of productive activity. In the hands of Spaniards —the most famous and richest of all was Don José Manuel Romero de Terreros, Count of Regla— the district's mines were no longer profitable.

Despite this, in 1824, attracted by Baron Humboldt's grandiose descriptions and publicity by the Mexican owners' agents about the mines' potential, English investors created the Real del Monte Gentlemen Adventurers Society to surpass the Count of Regla's achievements. They mechanized Mexican mining: their baggage consisted mostly of more than 1,500 tons of machinery, transported from Veracruz on a very eventful trip on which many English miners died from yellow fever before they even reached their destination.

* Editor of *Voices of Mexico*.

Photos by Mauricio Degollado.

Superior technology, particularly the steam engine, large capital investments and improvements on amalgamation techniques were the main cards the English played. After all, at that time, England was the world's leader in mining thanks to innovations introduced in places like Cornwall: they built housing for their workers, workshops and warehouses; they repaired mineshafts and processing areas, and built underground tunnels to connect the mines. Nevertheless, none of it was enough for the enterprise to be a success. After a little over 20 years, they gave up, and, without waiting to harvest the fruits of so much effort, left the country. They left behind considerable infrastructure that would later be used by Mexican businessmen and a cultural heritage still visible in Real del Monte and its surrounding areas. We know that the first soccer game played in Mexico took place in Pachuca, hosted by the English. They also left behind their dead, buried in the English cemetery, which still looks out from its hill over Real del Monte, and the famous pasties, which, like soccer, soon took on a national identity.

The Secret Recipe

The pasty is a kind of turnover filled with meat and potatoes, which for many years was the main source of heat and nourishment for miners in the depths of the earth who had nowhere to heat their meals and could not come to the surface to eat. Certainly, on the rainy, foggy afternoons so common in Real del Monte,

Handmade ovens to bake pasties.


The original pasty filling.

a pasty is a very comforting way to warm up and satisfy your hunger. Pasties normally have a rather thick, crimped edge. It is said that this was originally very practical: since the miners had no way of washing their hands to eat, they would hold the pasty by the edge and eat around it.

The pasty is different from other foods because the crust and the filling are cooked together. The English pasty usually has chopped, not ground meat; the vegetables —potatoes, onions and turnips— must be sliced, not chopped. According to the Trades Description Act of 1967, a pasty should contain 12.5 percent meat.[1]

With time, pasties became Mexican; chili peppers were added to the filling, and then they began to be made out of beans with chili peppers, *mole* sauce, chicken, potatoes and pineapple; one of today's varieties even includes rice pudding. As the most served dish in all the city's restaurants, both big and small, competition is based on each establishment saying it is the only one with the original recipe. The most common criticism they make of each other is of the crust; they say that if it has the consistency of puff pastry, it cannot be called a pasty. Don Ciro Peralta, who started selling pasties outside schools and today owns two pasty shops in the city, swears that he went to Cornwall to get the original recipe for the crust and to exchange recipes for the fillings with his English counterparts. Don Ciro naturally says that his pasty dough has a secret ingredient, which, of course, he refuses to reveal. "[Our dough] is very special. Only Pastes el Portal has it. It's a completely English re-

Cement oven to prepare *barbacoa*. The Don Horacio restaurant, in Pachuquilla, Hidalgo.

Sunday mornings ordinary people eat a delicious consommé with coriander, onion and chili peppers and *barbacoa* tacos with really hot sauce for breakfast or brunch.

Specialties of the Don Horacio restaurant, in Pachuquilla, Hidalgo.

cipe; I went all the way to England to see the original dough."[2] The pasty is baked at about 200 degrees Celsius for about 20 minutes. Don Ciro bakes his in ovens he designed himself, which are not outfitted with a clock or timer to tell him when the pasties are ready, because they know how to judge the time and they never burn them. Regardless, a visit to Real del Monte is not complete if you don't stop and have a pasty, whether with the traditional English filling —but don't forget that the original has chili peppers— or any of the delicious Mexican variations.

Sunday Brunch: *Barbacoa*[3]

While pasties are typical of Real del Monte and miners, *barbacoa* is Hidalgo's traditional dish. There is nowhere in the state it is not prepared. Driving along the highways, it is common to see signs for both restaurants and roadside tents serving it. They are particularly plentiful on Saturday and Sunday mornings when ordinary people eat a delicious consommé with coriander, onion and chili peppers and *barbacoa* tacos with really hot sauce for breakfast or brunch. By one or two in the afternoon, it's hard to find a stand with *barbacoa* left. It is also the favorite dish for many family celebrations; and any old Hidalgo family knows how to make it.

This dish is not eaten underground, like the miners originally did with the pasties, but it is traditionally cooked in three-foot deep holes, called earth ovens.

The home-made variety takes a long time to prepare, beginning the day before when the animal is slaughtered, drained of blood and cut into pieces. Lamb is traditional, but there is also beef, goat, chicken and pork *barbacoa*. The hole is usually dug in the patio of the house, where thick logs are placed, making a little vault. Inside it are placed twigs to get the fire going, and on top of that, stones, to absorb all the heat. After several hours when the stones are red hot, a recipient is put on top of them containing vegetables, rice and *guajillo* chili peppers, where the meat drippings fall, to make the famous consommé. Over the recipient the cooks put a grill made of mesquite branches or metal, then a layer of maguey leaves, the salted seasoned meat and a last layer of more leaves, to give the meat its characteristic flavor. Finally, the oven is covered over with dirt, and the meat is left to cook for between six and twelve hours, depending on the amount of meat. It's a delight.

Today, many homes and restaurants use cement ovens with volcanic rock and a door underneath where the logs are placed to cook the *barbacoa*. In any business where *barbacoa* is a mainstay of the menu, 100 animals a month are cooked. And, while you can have it any day of the week, it's never as good as for a

Mixiote.

Chinicuiles.

weekend breakfast of consommé and tacos made of *barbacoa* fresh from the oven.

Other Typical Dishes

Hidalgo has a lot of desert, which means it has lots of maguey plants and all kinds of cacti. Two dishes that come out of that landscape are *escamoles* and *chinicuiles*. *Escamoles* are the eggs of the ants that live under the maguey plant, which multiply rapidly in the rainy season. They are prepared with butter or chili peppers on a slow fire, with a little onion, chili pepper and coriander, and eaten in a taco or as an hors-d'oeuvre.

Chinicuiles are red worms that live near maguey plants in the rainy season. They are always fried with different condiments and eaten in tacos.

Mixiotes are a dish made from lamb seasoned with *guajillo* sauce and wrapped in a leaf from the maguey plant —each leaf can be opened and separated into up to nine layers. *Mixiotes* can also be made with chicken or pork and are very popular nationwide. They are usually eaten with fresh tortillas. In places like Pachuquita, very close to the state capital of Pachuca, some restaurants have their own recipes handed down by family tradition (for example, pork or chicken *mixiotes* made with *nopal* cactus leaves cooked in copper pots, giving them a unique taste). VM

Barbacoa.

Notes

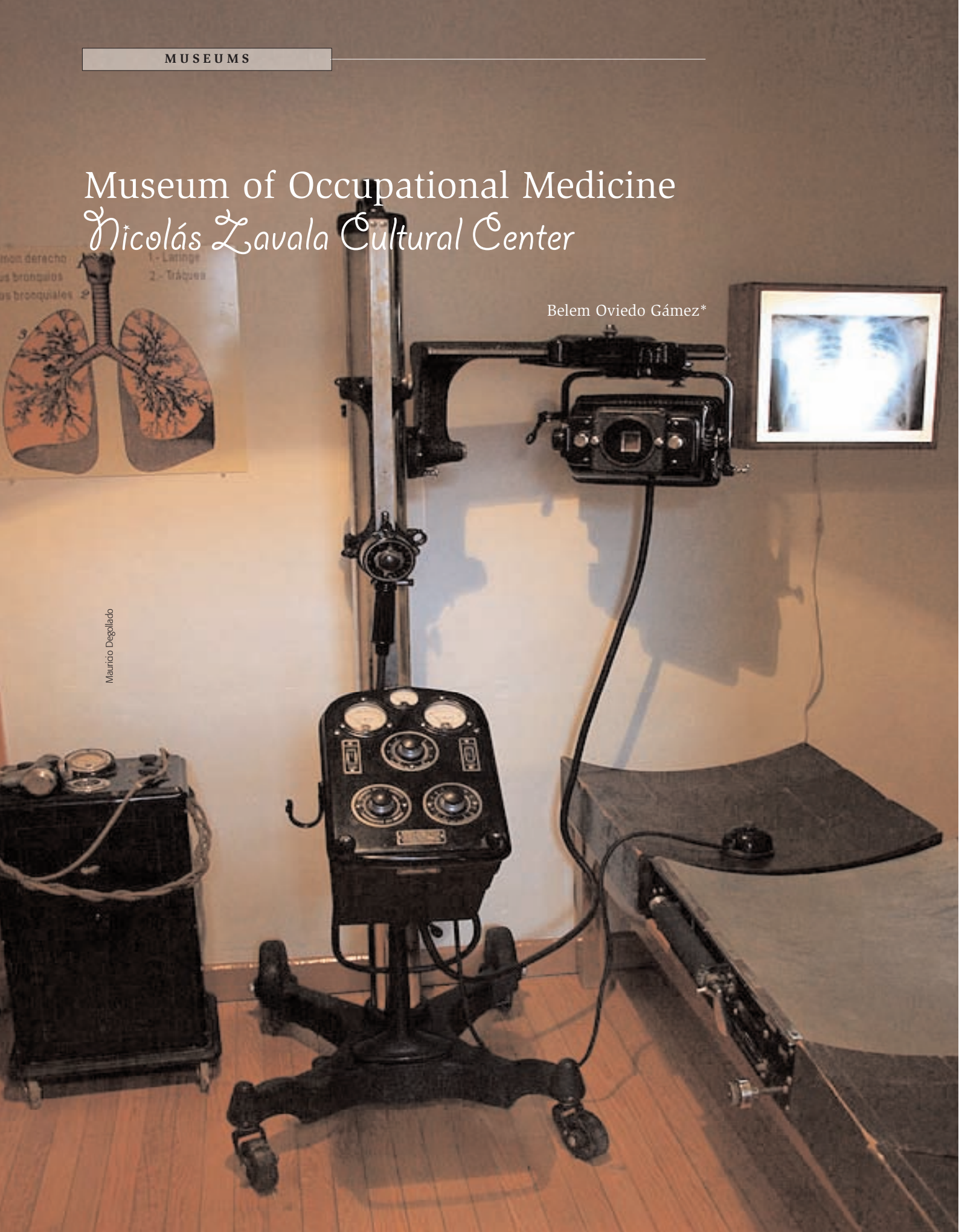
[1] Taken from a description of the recipe for the original Cornish pasty posted on the walls of the Mayor's House at the Acosta-Mine Site Museum in Real del Monte, Hidalgo.

[2] Personal interview, April 27, 2008, in Real del Monte, Hidalgo.

[3] We would like to thank the owners of the Don Horacio restaurant for their help with this article.

Museum of Occupational Medicine
Nicolás Zavala Cultural Center

Belem Oviedo Gámez*



Mauricio Degollado

Marco Antonio Hernández

AHMM archives

Ca. 1905.

The old mining town of Real del Monte is nestled in the Pachuca Mountains, at an altitude of 2,760 meters, only eight kilometers from the capital of the state of Hidalgo. During a large part of the year, it is covered by fog banks and clouds chased there by Gulf winds after a long crossing through the Sierra Madre Oriental mountain range, seeking refuge among the trees of El Hiloche Forest. All this accentuates its air of mystery and beauty, like in the stories of fairies and elves that the English brought to the region in the nineteenth century.

Among the town's sights are the most emblematic places from its past: the Dificultad, Dolores, La Rica and Acosta Mines, the English cemetery and the old Miners' Hospital. They all emerge from the sinuous bends of the mountain, caressed by clouds and the multi-colored sky, as though demanding their proper place in history.

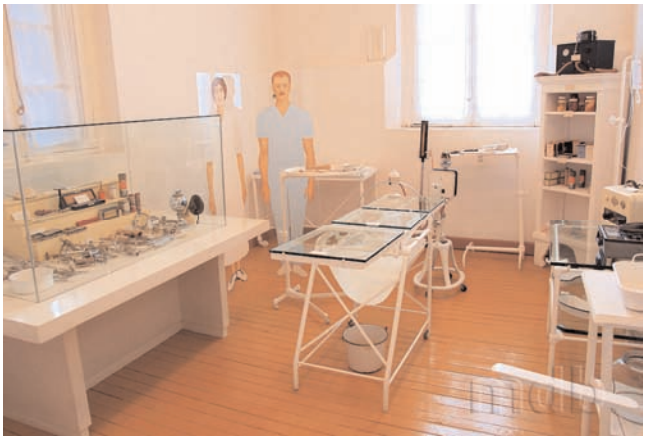
This landscape, stretching to the folds in the mountain range, is constantly changed by the comings and goings of its inhabitants and the adjustments made to accommodate the mines. It catches the eye of everyone who sees it because of the majesty of its steam age, nineteenth-century engine houses and its imposing pulley-topped mining gibbets or towers, built in the early twentieth century with the advent of electricity.

Though from the very start, mining earned its place as one of the world's riskiest occupations, the advent of electrical machines and the intensive use of dynamite wrought a great change in the way people worked. The speed and power they provided increased the possibilities of fatal accidents for the miners. In addition, most people were not prepared to work under the new conditions because they did not have the requisite knowledge and skills.

* Director of the Mining Museum and Historical Archive (AHMM) and president of the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH-Mexico).

Unless otherwise specified, photos by Mauricio Degollado.

Putting a drill on the front of their helmets to fit in explosives created health hazards for the miners because they breathed in the dust when preparing the holes, in the long run causing the terrible disease, silicosis, which eventually killed them. It took several years and medical studies to prove that silicosis was an occupational disease, forcing the mining companies to accept it and look for a way to decrease the amount of dust created during drilling.



The advent of electrical machines and the intensive use of dynamite wrought a great change in the way people worked, increasing the possibilities of fatal accidents for the miners.

Little is known about the medical care miners used to receive. We know that in the early twentieth century, small clinics dealt with emergencies and injuries. It was not until 1907 that the U.S. company finally built a hospital in the area around the Real del Monte Mine in response to the urgent demand for good care for the workers. At that time, people hung big signs around the main mines that can still be seen in El Álamo, Dolores and Purísima: they read, "Thanks for getting out alive" and "Safety First". Throughout the twentieth century, signs were hung up to prevent accidents inside the mines, graphically illustrating how they happen and pointing to workers' carelessness and lack of security measures during the work day. Some of them are very dramatic, like the ones about the death of a miner or the amputation of a limb. Some try to use humor, like the one with a picture of a goat covered in bandages with a subtitle that says, "Don't be like this silly goat." These signs, that used to be hung in the mines' safety departments, are now valuable testimony to the difficult working conditions and lack of safety equipment that predominated here in the first decades of the twentieth century. A representative selection of these signs is exhibited in the old Miners' Hospital, now turned site museum, the Occupational Medicine Museum, the only one of its kind. It also holds a collection of equipment, instruments, furniture and medications that were part of the hospital, most of them since it opened. It was preserved because it treated miners right up until 1985.

Walking through this cultural center and visiting the Occupational Medicine Museum is an experience that traps us somehow. Our senses are insufficient to understand and feel life fighting to overcome death; the prayers of women for their children, their fathers, their husbands, their partners after an accident; the desperation, the impotence and the wishes of those who were waiting for their brother, the "bro", "to make it," "to come back to the mine," "to not go blind, please," or "to walk". These are the unwritten stories; they don't appear on the little cards on the museum walls, but they are there, between the walls of the hospitalization wards, in the old chapel, in the rehabilitation room, in the hallways. But the other side of the story is also there: the sighs of joy, the thanks given to Our Lady of Guadalupe and the Lord of Zelontla, patron saint of miners, for the "miracle of bringing him back to life"; the joy of a fellow

miner, of a close friend who sees himself reborn in the other who "had a close call"; the laughter of the children who, not very aware of what was going on within the hospital walls, not knowing yet about this eternal struggle between life and death, played there, running through the hospital gardens, looked at their reflections in the central fountain or amused themselves watching the chickens, the hens and maybe a sheep or two in the corrals at the bottom of the garden, kept close by because the animals were used to feed the patients and hospital staff.

Surely more than one rested a while in the shade of the trees shaped into eagles by the efforts and imagination of the old gardener.

Whoever sharpens his senses will almost be able to hear the cries of the newborn, the joy of the mother and the pride of the father, because before the miner's union clinics were built, medical care was provided here for workers and their families. The children not only played in its gardens: they were also born there. Women not only cried out in pain, but also from happiness; men suffered their own pain and that of their wives in delivery, and smiled and wept with joy over their newborn son or daughter, a fellow miner who left on his own two feet, able to return to the mine, to the *pulque* saloon, to his home with his family.

Today, the old hospital is recovering so it can share its history, its spaces, its memories, stories and anecdotes about the people who went there and were given care after an accident or when ill. Like the miners reborn after a serious accident, the hospital is reborn after years of abandonment, to share its history with anyone who visits.

A Visit to the Museum[1]

Before the hospital closed in 1985, it had the following areas and services: reception, pharmacy, x-ray room; a ward; an examining room; a nurses' station; recovery, treatment and rehabilitation rooms; an operating room with its equipment and scrub room; four bathrooms, one with a shower and tub; an ironing room for bed linens; a laundry; and a mortuary chapel. All of this was in the building that now holds the Occupational Medicine Museum.

The pharmacy installed and equipped in November 1907 boasts an interesting array of medication and nineteenth-century medical therapy equipment for preparing medications, capsules and formulas.

The pharmacy installed and equipped in November 1907 boasts an interesting array of medication and nineteenth-century medical therapy equipment for preparing medications, capsules and formulas: flame tree flowers, senna and *ipecacuana* are just a few examples of what they have preserved, as well as mortars and flasks and a collection of the "modern medicine" of the burgeoning twentieth century.

Leaving the pharmacy, we come to the radiology room, with its 1930s General Electric equipment, an example of the cutting-edge technology the hospital had. By its looks, it probably was moved from room to room to take x-rays, making it unnecessary to move the patients, which was very practical.

Marco Antonio Hernández

The pharmacy.

Continuing with our tour, we come to the ward, which has kept its original furnishings and ambience: beds, screens, spittoons, commodes, urinals, tables, chairs, intravenous drip dispensers, oxygen tanks. The room contains illustrations of dissected male and female bodies, showing the wonderful, mysterious human body. Given the importance of diseases like tuberculosis, whooping cough and silicosis, this area includes a section dedicated especially to the lungs, x-rays and a doctor's office.

In the treatment room, where the miners went when they had had an accident, there are special tables for cleaning wounds and even for bathing the miner if necessary, to follow the rules for sterilization, because we have to remember that many of the accidents happened in the mine, where conditions were not very hygienic and the miners' work did not let them keep clean.

In addition to the pharmacy, the other rooms with big collections are the rehabilitation and operating rooms. In rehabilitation, there are different kinds of rods, from those that were used to transfer the injured, made of wire, to those designed by Brown Bohler, that were installed in the patient's bed and in corsets to support the spine. There are also different instruments like those for orthopedic surgery, including a set of portable equipment designed by Dr. Albin Lambotte (1866-1955).

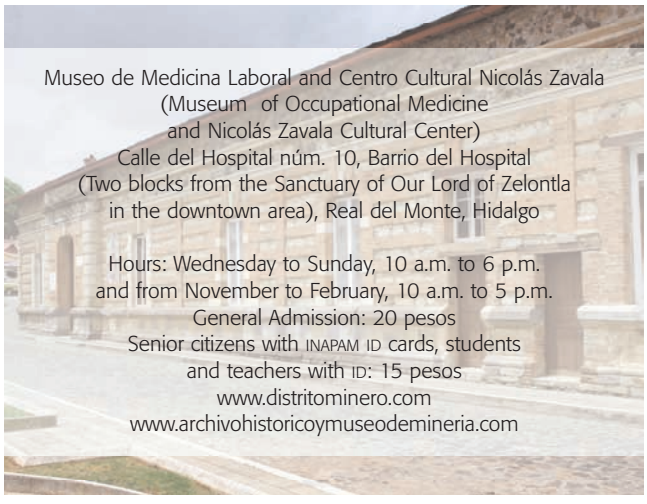
The operating room preserves the early-twentieth-century instruments, which are over 101 years old: forceps and asepto bulb syringes. It has a complete set of anesthesia equipment, including vials of pure ether and chloroform, a metal delivery table, a surgical table built of metal and glass that could also be used as a delivery table, a metal ear-nose-and-throat chair, oxygen tanks, a propulsion apparatus that could be useful in thoracic operations and emergency lights.

In the equipment and scrub room, early antiseptic techniques were used to disinfect and sterilize the equipment, instruments and clothing worn by the surgeon and his assistants. The room also has a refrigerator, one sterilizer for syringes and another for clothing, three Duallan boxes, an apparatus for liquid sterilization and two water sterilizers, in addition to other equipment.

Although the museum visit ends here, it is a good idea to see the House of the Head Nurse, today an exhibition room for different artistic shows, the Archive of the Word, and rooms where visual arts and history workshops are given. In the building that used to hold the area of external medicine, today there is a large multi-purpose room available for cultural and social events. VM

Notes

[1] All infomation is taken from the catalogue *Centro Cultural Nicolás Zavala/Museo de Medicina Laboral* (Mexico City: Archivo Histórico y Museo de Minería, A.C. [AHMM, A.C.], 2005).



Water and Canada's Bilateral Relations with the United States

Delia Montero*

Gary Wepert/Reuters

One of the Canadian government's political and economic priorities has always been its bilateral relations with the United States. In the last decade, however, it has incorporated another issue regarding its biggest trade partner: security, specifically in the framework of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). Undoubtedly, this alliance reaffirms Canada's political and economic relationship with the U.S. government, which is alive and well despite being quite asymmetrical.[1]

Both political and economic forces have managed to remain stable, not only because they share one of the longest borders in the world, where 80 percent of the Canadian population lives and which includes the Great Lakes, one of the world's biggest reserves of fresh water (18 percent), but also because of the dynamism of trade.

The proximity, the language, growing investments, Canada's natural resources, etc., have fostered among other things very dynamic trade along the world's longest non-militarized border.[2] Naturally, it has also forged ample cooperation with Canada's southern neighbor through different accords like the 2001 intelligent border agreement, the establishment of the Binational Planning Group in 2002 and the 2005 joint declaration about common security and prosperity, among others.[3]

The main points on the bilateral agenda cluster around three key issues for the two economies: defense, trade and development. This ensures that efforts are not diluted in too

* Professor and researcher at the Economics Department of the Autonomous Metropolitan University, Iztapalapa campus, and director of the Center for Economic and Financial Documentation about North America (Cedefina).

many activities. The United States has shown special interest in these three points, not only included in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), but also reaffirmed in the SPP. This makes the bilateral relationship more than economic, but one that is a strategic link that seeks to create a common front together with Mexico particularly *vis-à-vis* territorial security, which of course includes insuring energy supply and natural resources like water.

Bilateral relations between Canada and the United States have been reinforced by current Prime Minister Stephen Harper, member of an ultra-right party, whose discourse and actions point to greater integration with his southern neighbor.[4]

Harper, who has repeatedly shown by word and deed his total alignment with the neoconservative current dominant south of the border, showed from the start that his conservative government's fundamental foreign policy priority was the relationship with the United States, a omnipresent topic that some classify as complex interdependence.

U.S.-Canadian relations are more than economic: they are a strategic link that seeks to create a common front with Mexico *vis-à-vis* territorial security, naturally including a secure energy supply and natural resources like water.

Harper's policy leans naturally toward greater economic integration with the United States, dubbed "deep integration," not only in the sphere of economics, but also, those of politics, the socio-cultural, security and the environment.[5]

The Harper government economic and trade policy projects a treaty to share management of natural resources, since Canada is the world's main exporter of energy (gas and oil) to the United States and a continental water market.

Clearly, one U.S. government priority is to ensure its supply of Canadian natural resources, mainly fuel and water, resources that are today key for the countries of the north.[6] It also urgently wants to ensure foreign investment in sectors linked to natural resources like water or oil, which are big business opportunities for big U.S. corporations.

In the specific case of water, bilateral relations have a long history of a series of accords and differences with regard to the Great Lakes, an important part of the common border.[7] Discussions on the topic began in the last century with ample administrative cooperation, beginning with the signing of a treaty in 1909, which established basic responsibilities and objectives to be pursued with regard to the Great Lakes, a natural border between the two territories. This accord gave rise to the International Joint Commission, which managed and set goals for handling the Great Lakes and some of the rivers that cross or run along the two countries' border.[8]

Later, in 1972, the two countries signed the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, revised in 1978 and 1987, committing them both to maintaining the area's ecosystem, and leading to the signing of two new accords in 2005.[9] There were almost no discussions during the negotiations for these accords about water exports, not because there were no plans for them, but because no signed accord has clearly stipulated the status of Canadian water.

What has happened have been several disputes about water being diverted to the United States,[10] linked to its increased consumption.[11] This means that water continues to be an issue on the bilateral agenda.

It should be pointed out that in the western United States, water needs have increased because of economic development and population growth, making securing it a priority. Water disputes in this region have taken place over the distribution of Colorado River water because the states it runs through have had difficulties getting enough. For this reason, in 1922, delegates from seven states (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and California) signed the Colorado River Compact that assigned them each water quotas.[12] These differences over Colorado River water throw into relief the importance of transporting Canadian water by building aqueducts.

Canadian water then became a matter of the first order for its southern neighbor, added to the belief that Canada has a great deal of water. However, actually, Canada has 6.5 percent of the world's water and the United States 6.4 percent, that is, similar amounts. Of course, if we measure it per inhabitant, then Canada has a much greater supply since its population is only 31 million. Another argument in favor of the idea that Canada has a great deal of water is that its territory covers 20 percent of the world's land mass; but not all its water is accessible since some of it is in the form of glaciers or underground sources, etc.

After the Great Lakes accords, which include a series of commitments that have not always been precisely lived up to, we can identify three important moments in bilateral water relations, all closely linked with politics and the econ-

omy. But also, as I already mentioned, Canadian water's status does not seem to be sufficiently clear *vis-à-vis* the needs of its biggest trade partner. The first is the signing of the 1989 bilateral trade agreement; the second, NAFTA's coming into effect in 1994; and the third, the signing of the SPP in 2005.

The first time anyone mentioned the idea of exporting water to the United States was in the 1960s when there was talk of the Grand Canal Company building a large canal to export Canadian water, taking advantage of growing bilateral trade. This agreement was never signed, however, and it was not until some time later when the issue of water was again considered.[13]

Given the possibility of formalizing a free trade agreement with the United States by 1988, Canada began to venture into the area of water resources.[14] So, in 1987, it developed its Federal Water Policy, an initiative that guaranteed the federal government exclusive jurisdiction for the conservation and protection of the oceans, its coastlines, marine species, border waters and federal lands, plus the supply of drinking water and the cleansing and treatment of the water consumed by indigenous peoples.[15] The document, presented to the House of Commons in November 1987, emphasized that the government of Canada did not oppose the export of small amounts of water, as long as it was regulated and coordinated with the provincial governments. However, this bill died in Parliament.

In August 1988, a few months before the signing of the free trade agreement with the United States, the Ministry of the Environment developed a first bill known as the Canada Water Preservation Act (Bill C-156).[16] More specific than the Federal Water Policy, it definitively prohibits water exports as well as channeling it off from the border area as exports. The bill only respects the volumes of water agreed to with the United States with regard to consumption from the Great Lakes in the border area, stipulating that this volume should not surpass the daily quota of one cubic meter per second. This agreement did not include the export of bottled water.

However, a short time after the bill was presented and before it came under consideration on the floor of the Commons, the federal government called for general elections and the project was dropped.[17] Since the bill was not passed, opposition to water exports has simply come to a standstill.

The second important moment was NAFTA coming into effect. The agreement describes water as a good or commodity and stipulates that none of the parties can prohibit or restrict the export or sale of any good or commodity from one country to another. This means that once Canada exports water to the United States, it will not be able to stop doing it. Also, NAFTA demands equal treatment for the companies of the three countries, which means that a U.S. company will have the same right to exploit water as a Canadian company. This creates a situation very similar to that of oil and gas, in which U.S. investments in these sectors come to more than 50 percent and 70 percent, respectively, and most of the exports go to the U.S. market. Bottled water produced in Canada is in the same situation, in which foreign companies control more than 50 percent of production.[18]

One key and very dynamic actor in NAFTA negotiations was the Liberal Party's Jean Chrétien, elected prime minister in 1993. Just like the Conservative governments, the Liberal government declined to negotiate exempting water from the trade agreements, even though the Canadian government had negotiated exemptions for some other raw materials like wood and unprocessed fish.

One U.S. government priority is to ensure its supply of Canadian natural resources, mainly fuel and water. In the case of water, bilateral relations have a long history of accords and differences with regard to the Great Lakes.

While Mexico refused to include oil in NAFTA negotiations, Canada only excluded water technically through a press statement by the prime minister pointing out that the three governments were in agreement that nothing in NAFTA mandated the export of water from any of the three countries:

> The NAFTA creates no rights to the natural water resources of any Party to the Agreement. Unless water, in any form, has entered into commerce and become a good or product, it is not covered by the provisions of any trade agreement, including the NAFTA. And nothing in the NAFTA would oblige any NAFTA Party to either exploit its water for commercial use, or to begin exporting water in any form. Water in its natural state in lakes, rivers, reservoirs, aquifers, water basins and the like is not a good or product, is not traded, and therefore is not and has never been subject to the terms of any trade agreement.[19]

The ratification of this kind of clause may well have put large sums at risk linked to bilateral trade and investments.

In 2001, an Industry Canada public statement emphasized that, due to U.S. water supply problems, particularly in the Southwest, the issue of water exports might reemerge and that, despite the fact that large water exports were *technically* forbidden, the situation might become unsustainable. Therefore, according to Richard G. Harris, Canada might review its policy on this matter and consider whether it could export water with an appropriate pricing policy. This would of course cause heated debate and therefore meant it was time to pay attention to it.[20]

The third moment was March 23, 2005, when the SPP was signed. It is also known as "NAFTA Plus" because some analysts think it goes beyond the realm of a simple free trade agreement since NAFTA has already borne the fruit that can be expected of it with regard to trade with the United States.[21] Therefore, the next step was ensuring natural resources by making a common front in North America.

Water is becoming scarce in some regions and alternative sources are being sought. North America is not immune to this, particularly northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest, which, unlike Canada, are already suffering from water stress.

The advent of the SPP in 2005 throws into relief the reaffirmation of a new commitment with a regional focus for North America, which is merely the U.S. government ensuring investments and natural resources like water and oil, among others.

The main argument regarding water is that it is becoming scarce in some regions and alternative sources are being sought. North America is not immune to this, particularly northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest, which, unlike Canada, are already suffering from water stress. That is why the three countries need to come to regional agreements on issues like the consumption and transfer of water; the channeling of artificial fresh water; and water conservation technologies for irrigation and urban consumption. The United States also wants to include underground water.

Canada´s long history with the United States regarding water and the different agreements they have signed show that up until now the U.S. government has acted quite prudently. Without pressuring too much, it has involved Canada in a series of negotiations that have led them to consider water an economic good —bottled water is the first step— and also something that is part of its common foreign policy, as can be seen more specifically in the SPP.

The U.S. government is pressing vigorously to improve cooperation among the three countries in the SPP framework, particularly with regard to natural resources, of which water is an important one. The SPP is a danger not only because it is a dialogue that is neither very transparent nor very open —apparently few citizens in the three countries are familiar with the scope of the accord— but also because of the pressure that can be brought to bear to ensure the water supply. It is therefore a strategic issue for the U.S. economy.

Despite the fact that water is considered property of Canadians and not a continental good, Canada has had a very difficult time establishing precise limits in its management with the United States, to a large degree due to fear of putting its trade and political relationship with its larger partner at risk. The pressures surrounding water are important, which is why Canada must rigorously review its water policy, which of course could incur frictions.

Greater trade integration and integration of other kinds as the SPP proposes puts Canada in a difficult position, which is why it must maximize its autonomous use of water. It should inform its trade partners that water exports are banned by the SPP since, at the end of the day, they solve nothing and can, on the contrary, cause environmental problems. Canada has never exported water to any country, but the intention to do so exists. VM

NOTES

[1] Canada and the United States enjoy an economic partnership unique in the contemporary world; they share one of the world's largest and most comprehensive trading relationships, which supports millions of jobs in both countries. Since the implementation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1989, two-way trade has tripled. Under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), growth in bilateral trade between Canada and the U.S. has averaged almost 6 percent annually over the last decade. In 2006, bilateral trade in goods and services was US$577 billion, with over US$1.6 billion worth of goods and services crossing the border every single day. Canada's trade with the United States is equivalent to 53 percent of its GDP; the United States represents roughly 4/5 of Canada's exports and over 1/2 of its imports. U.S. direct investment in Canada was worth more than US$241 billion, while Canadian direct investment in the United States was close to US$197 billion. http://geo.international.gc.ca/can-m/washington/trade_and_investment/trade_partnership-en.asp

[2] The goods and services that cross the border every day are worth almost US$1.8 billion; more than half a million persons and 37,000 trucks cross every day; and 79 percent of Canada's exports and 65 percent of its imports come and go to the United States.

[3] Given that trade is very intense between the two countries and to try to tighten security along the border and facilitate trade, the intelligent border consists, among other things, of U.S. customs officials going directly to Canadian production plants to certify *in situ* that the goods slated for shipping are the right ones. See Delia Montero, "Interprovincial Trade and Intelligent Borders in Canada," *Voices of Mexico* 61 (October-December 2002).

[4] The late-2005 election of Conservative Party member Harper put an end to 12 years of Liberal Party government. Many in Canada considered the Liberals the "natural party" of government because it was the center of national politics, having been in power 78 of the 110 years of electoral history. The Conservative Party has also been called the "Canadian Republicans" because of its similarities with the U.S. Grand Old Party with its social conservatism, religious fundamentalism and rural base. Harper won the elections by attacking the Liberals as corrupt, inefficient bureaucrats, arguing that the administrations of Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien had mismanaged public funds. Campaigning under a slogan of responsible government enabled him to launch his right-wing program.

[5] Recently, Prime Minister Harper said that the Kyoto Protocol was a mistake, despite environmentalist groups' considering that Canada's position is unjustifiable See http://www.ledevoir.com/2007/11/27/166236.html?fe=2526&fr=54540

[6] Claude Zerfatti, "Impérialisme et militarisme: actualité du XXIième siècle," lecture delivered at the Autonomous Metropolitan University, Iztapalapa campus, in Mexico City, May 3, 2006.

[7] The Great Lakes are the source of 18 percent of the world's fresh water and make up about 40 percent of the 8,000-kilometer-long border between the United States and Canada, concentrating 65 million inhabitants, 40 percent of U.S. and 50 percent of Canadian industry.

[8] OECD, *Environmental Performance Review* 2004, p. 179.

[9] One of the biggest controversies with regard to these treaties is Canada's disagreement with increased diversion of water from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. See Delia Montero, "Les Grands Lacs et le Saint-Laurent face aux defies du développement et des nouveaux besoins en eau," paper presented in Someure, France in June 2006.

[10] Any re-direction of water from the Great Lakes could have important repercussions for Canada since the rivers born there flow north into Canada. Thus, funneling the water south would not only change the volumes of water flowing north, but would also create changes in the species inhabiting the rivers.

[11] The United States has 5 percent of the world's population and consumes 25 percent of its natural resources. About 40 percent of U.S. industry and 50 percent of Canadian industry is located in the Great Lakes region. In addition, some parts of the United States, like California and Arizona, are currently suffering from water stress.

[12] F. Lasserre and L. Descroix, *Eaux et territoires. Tension, cooperations et géopolitique de l'eau* (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Québec, 2005), p. 370.

[13] It should be pointed out that natural resources have been the subject of major debates for years and issues like the contamination of the air or water came up as matters of public policy only in the 1960s. O.P. Dwivedi, et al., *Sustainable Development and Canada. National and International Perspectives* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2001).

[14] The signing of this bilateral free trade agreement implied guaranteed, improved access for Canadian goods to the huge U.S. market when the U.S. made exemptions in its protectionist laws and reduced tariffs on manufactured products from Canada. Stephen Clarkson, "Tratados de comercio como constituciones: la experiencia de Canadá como Estado postnacional," Teresa Gutiérrez H. and Mónica Verea, comps., *Canadá en transición* (Mexico City: CISAN-UNAM, 1994), p. 134.

[15] OECD, op. cit., p. 54.

[16] On August 25, 1988, Minister of the Environment Tom MacMillan presented this bill to preserve water to the House of Commons. Macmillan said that its aim was to give the federal government legal clout, as had been the objective of the 1987 bill, but the new version completely prohibits water exports. See http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/prb995-e.htm#BILL%20C-156

[17] Since then, no other bill about water has been presented to Parliament.

[18] Delia Montero, "Water in Québec: A Transnational Business," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 29 (Ottawa), 2004.

[19] Government of Canada, Law and Government Division, "Water Exports and the NAFTA," document prepared by David Johansen, March 8, 1999, at http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc. ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/prb995-e.htm#

[20] Richard G. Harris, "L'Intégration économique de l'Amérique du Nord: problématique et recherche future," no. 10, Simon Fraser University (April 2001) at http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/epic/site/eas-aes.nsf/fr/ra1809f.html, p. 31.

[21] Enrique Pino, "Canadá y México: ¿socios distantes? Los límites del comercio intrarregional," paper presented at the Seminario Interuniversitario de Estudios Canadienses (Seminecal), in Bogotá, April 6 and 7, 2006.

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Diamond, Larry, Seymour Menton and Juan J. Linz, comp.
1995 *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*, Boulder, Colo., Reinner.

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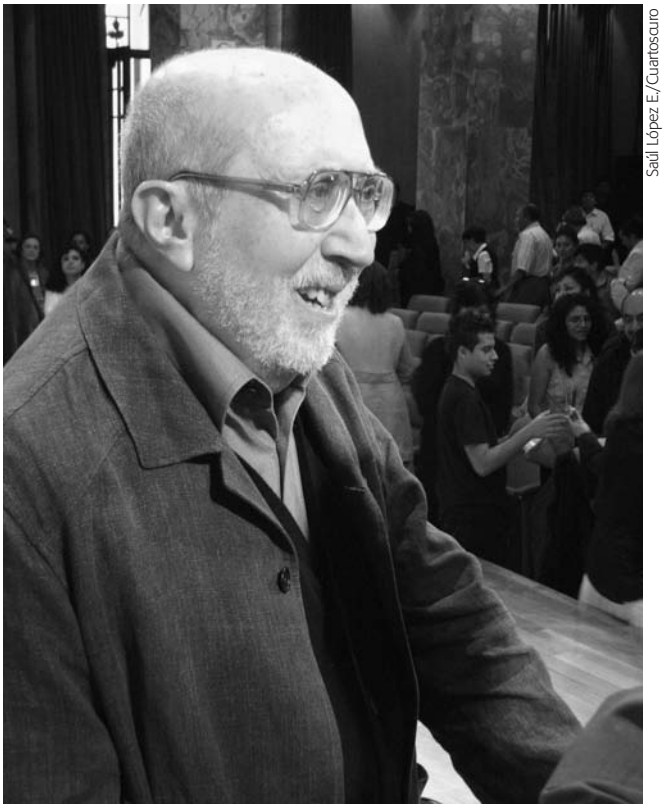
CNAS

Emilio Carballido A Profile

Sabina Berman*



Saúl López E./Cuartoscuro

(1925-2008)

1. Carballido had two secrets. The first was that he made two days fit into one. In the daylight hours he went about the world building and disseminating theater —his own and other people's. He gave workshops, directed plays, edited the most important Spanish-language magazine about plays, *Tramoya* (Stage Machinery) (which he founded himself), compiled the best anthologies of Mexican theater and traveled to congresses and to the dress rehearsals of his plays, whether in Chihuahua or in Cartagena.

In addition —or perhaps we should say, above all— he wrote. Short stories, essays, novellas, novels and theater. Above all, theater. "What time do you write, *maestro*?" I asked him one afternoon in his living room. Carballido scratched the head of a white cat aptly named Marilyn with his right hand, and the cunning scoundrel narrowed his eyes at me and said he wasn't going to tell me.

"Boo, hoo, boo, hoo," he said, "You don't ask such things, Sabinita, boo, hoo, boo, hoo." (Well, the one who told me this was Héctor, Héctor Herrera, his life partner for the last 20 years.)

Before the crack of dawn, Carballido would go up to the third floor of his house and write. He wrote in those big old, hard-covered accounting books. He wrote under the cone of lamplight with blue ink, large and fluid letters, as though he were drawing, as though the heart could be translated into language with no complications at all. By the time the light had fully invaded his study and through the window he could see Vicente Leñero pounding away on his typewriter on the third floor of the house next door, Carballido closed his big book.

He had fulfilled his mission of putting life into words and he went out on the street to live it.

That's how easy writing was for him. On a flight from South America to Mexico, Carba wrote *Rosa de dos aromas* (Two-Scented Rose), Mexico's first feminist play, written, curiously, by a man. Its first production ran for six years; its second, for four; and then it was produced in more than seven countries.

That's how easily he also wrote the television series *Tiempo de ladrones* (A Time for Thieves), the story of Chucho el Roto,[1] and when the Televisa network didn't want to produce a piece that political, in a heartbeat he turned it into a play with a unique modular structure.

* Mexican narrator, poet, playwright and film director. Author of *Un soplo en el corazón de la patria/Instantáneas de la crisis* (A Murmur in the Heart of the Homeland/Snapshots of the Crisis) (2006).

I have never known a less tormented, less insecure writer. And why should Carballido have been tormented or insecure if one of his secrets was a perfect synchronicity with the public?

Just that easily, he wrote more than 100 plays, nine novels, half a dozen novellas, many prologues, two volumes of short stories. As I said recently to the director of the Fondo de la Cultura Economica publishing house, Consuelo Sáizar, when we were talking about gathering and publishing his complete works, "Consuelo, start collecting paper because Carballido's complete works are going to fill more than 20 volumes."

I have never known a less tormented, less insecure writer. And why should Carballido have been tormented or insecure if his second secret was a perfect synchronicity with the public?

It was a rare work of his that was unsuccessful, and it was a rare line of his that did not produce exactly the effect he wanted to achieve in the audience. I once went with him to a rehearsal where he arrived with a stop-watch. He wanted to measure the silences so the audience's laughs would fit right. Another time, I heard him tell a pair of actors that they should slow down the dialogue so people would start to weep at such-and-such a line, and continue weeping until they dissolved in sobs at such-and-such a silence.

This was mastery acquired during a lifetime of writing and observing the effect of what was written on the faces of the audience, which in the theater is not something the writer imagines, like with prose or poetry, but live people. But it was something more.

Something more: it took me many years to decipher this second secret, although it was the first one that brought me to him.

2. I was traveling by train to Monterrey, to a national theater festival. I was going through the cars on the way to my seat when I recognized him sitting in the dining car. I went up to him and said, "Hello, Carballido," with the insolence of all my 20 years, "You really look like the photos on the backs of your books."

I was surprised he knew who the devil I was. He said, "Hello, Berman. Sit down. I'm going to publish you in an anthology. Somebody sent me some of your work. The damned things are pretty awful." He said and narrowed his eyes at me, the cunning scoundrel.

"Say, Carballido," I continued, prolonging the ironic tone, "are you going to punish me for the sin of being Argüelles's student for minutes or days?" (I was referring to my teacher, Hugo Argüelles, his archrival since their youth.) He laughed and we decided my sin had been paid for in full. I started praising his *Rosa de dos aromas*, which I had seen twice at the theater, and I sprang the question on him that I was interested in: "Say, Carballido, how do you get every sentence to frighten the audience or make it laugh? How do you manage to not have even one minute without emotion? Do you cross out the dull lines? What do you do?"

Carba ordered two *petróleos* (tequila with Worchester sauce) and we began a conversation that never even touched on Carballido's technique, but did delve into 30 other topics, and we only stopped when we got to Monterrey. I went to sleep off the seven *petróleos* and he went to a dress rehearsal of one of his plays that was being performed at the festival.

When we met up again the following night in the elegant lobby of the Ancira Hotel, he invited me to his table for dinner and pointed out to me how several critics and theater people around us were eating and drinking like they were starving, until they made themselves sick, all on the government tab.

Drunken, with red eyes, big bellies and coarse laughs, the indecent blather of alcohol-fueled presumption. "Look," he whispered to me, "really look. Take note. Never separate human beings from what they write."

And then he pursed his lips to plant a phrase in my ear that has remained with me intact in my memory: "Anyone who gets used to eating lobster on the government tab becomes a courtesan."

That was the first class I received from Carballido, although the topic —that some theater people were courtesans— wasn't the one that interested me.

3. In the 1980s, the director Abraham Oceransky looked up Carba because the Fine Arts [Institute] had commissioned him to direct his play *El día que se soltaron los leones* (The Day the Lions Escaped). "They picked that play," said Oceransky, "because it's yours and because it's the most inoffensive of all your plays. Since you wrote it 15 years ago, its political punch is so debilitated that it seems like a children's play." "And so?" asked Carballido. "And so," said Oceransky, "I want you to come to a rehearsal and see it with the new ending we've written for it."

In truth, Oceransky's assistant director had rewritten the end, a young playwright just starting out: me. And when Carballido came to the rehearsal at the Julio Prieto Theater and sat down in row 30, raising his hand in greeting, my mouth went completely dry.

The stage lit up and there was actor Carlos Ancira dressed as Emilio Carballido, in wide pants, a denim shirt, a corduroy jacket, hair rumpled. There he was, imitating his gestures and the onomatopoeias he always used to express himself. Clap, clap, clap, with a full-toothed smile; boo, hoo, boo, hoo, with the face of a sad mime.

Carballido was taken aback for the first five minutes of watching himself portrayed on the stage, and then he began to celebrate Ancira's imitation, laughing uproariously.

The play ended: Carba-Ancira was shot down by the Chapultepec Park Zoo police. "Super," he told Oceransky, Ancira and me. "Clap, clap, clap to the third degree," foreshadowing the applause that the ending would, in effect, provoke.

That he wasn't upset by our intromission, that he didn't react with a raging attack of ego, like almost any other writer would have, that he thought of the theater as an open system: that was another key to deciphering Carballido's dramatic aim.

Then, around then, I saw something else that made me understand him better. Carballido told me a long story about something an actress in Colombia had recently told him: her earthshaking encounter with her country's secret police, how they had kidnapped her and how she had gotten away. As though it were nothing, Carballido finished by saying, "Tomorrow I'm going to write it up." And he did: a monologue he sent to the actress so she could stand in front of the audience and tell her story.

The story impressed me. I thought about it and compared it to the complex discourses of other playwrights. And I began to understand Carballido's attitude. His trick was that there wasn't any trick. That he accepted the obvious: theater happens in front of people if it happens. The theater is people performing in front of people. And Carballido had no distance to shorten to achieve it: he considered himself people.

Aside from his pre-dawn writing, he was always surrounded by people. Students, *Tramoya* workers, actors and directors, friends, academics, and more and more friends.

The opposite of the alienated writer, that romantic figure, Carballido thought of himself as just another person. Certainly, not just any person, but the person with the craft that was the most fun, the playwright: the organizer of the drama, of the action, of the people.

The opposite of the alienated writer, that romantic figure, Carballido thought of himself as just another person. That's why his writing was so fluid. He wrote about people and for people. That's also why he had such infallible dramatic aim.

That's why his writing was so fluid. He wrote about people and for people. That's also why he had such infallible dramatic aim. He had people integrated into his consciousness: where he laughed when he wrote, his fellows would laugh; where his tears fell, they would weep.

Each year Carballido invited his "intimates" over on his birthday. The center of the party was the round dining-room table where ten "intimates" —and no more— could all sit down to a plate of turkey in *mole* sauce, rice and tortillas, all homemade with the flavor of dreams. You ate the delicious *mole* with the other nine and then you went out where the other 50 "intimates" were bursting out of the living room or the study or the patio or the stairway, and you started saying hello to people. Because, while you had been eating *mole*, the "intimates" you had said hello to when you came in had already been replaced by another 50 "intimates."

Two years ago I went to visit him in Jalapa. A stroke had paralyzed half his body and when he spoke, half his mouth refused to enunciate and he was hard to understand. "Can you not write, *maestro*?" I asked, almost stating it as a fact, suffering in advance from the expected answer.

I heard him mumble something incomprehensible: "Mmm rt dkttng." We were in his living room, with a big bay window looking out onto Jalapa's blue watercolor sky. I bent over to his lips to decipher what he was saying.

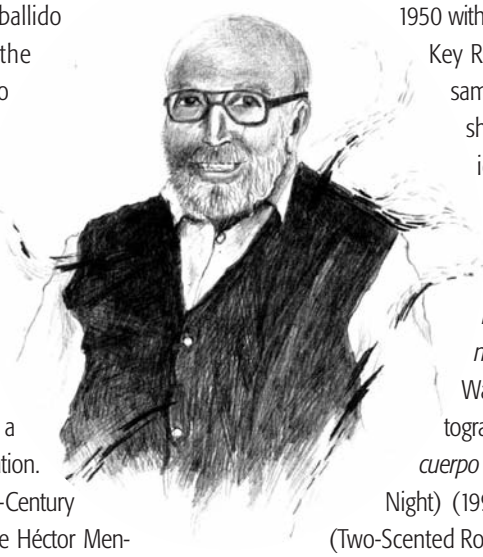
"Certainly I am," repeated Carballido, syllable by syllable with great difficulty. "I'm dictating. I already dictated two books of stories, one for children and one for adults, and I'm preparing two new plays that I already have outlined. Clap, clap, clap."

The playwright most produced in Spanish; the most direct wordsmith life has had in the theater in Spanish: Emilio Carballido. VM

Notes

[1] A famous Mexican real-life Robin Hood figure. [Translator's Note.]

Emilio Carballido
A Poet on Stage



Born in Córdoba, Veracruz, Emilio Carballido studied English literature and theater at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He worked at the National Ballet of Mexico as the literary supervisor, going on tour several times through Latin America, Europe and Asia. He was also a professor at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, and California State University at Los Angeles.

He was part of the generation that came after the Contemporáneos, who inaugurated a vanguard movement of theatrical renovation. Carballido's generation is known as the Mid-Century Generation. Among its famous members are Héctor Mendoza, Luisa Josefina Hernández, Jorge Ibargüengoitia and Carballido himself. Emilio recognized that the presence in Mexico of director Seki Sano, a student of Stanislavski, was a big influence for rethinking realism as a technique for directing and acting. Carballido taught playwrights Sabina Berman and Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda, who he recognized as two leaders of their own generation.

Rosario Castellanos admired his work unreservedly. She once wrote of him, "In Emilio there is an essential quality: congeniality. He has always used it to approach his creations, to interpret them. It has allowed him to go beyond mere appearances to reach the truest nucleus of the general laws guiding human behavior and the human personality. Emilio Carballido's message contains no conformism or cowardice. Believing in the dignity of man does not mean closing your eyes to the traps where it is often lost. Realism, in the best sense of the term, is what we find in this dramatic work. Richness of imagination and of resources. Honorability and valor for expressing what he knows. Rigor."

He began his literary career in 1946 when he published his first novel. Later he published a collection of short stories, *La caja vacía* (The Empty Box) (1962). Carballido wrote film scripts, among the best known of which is *Macario*, based on a story by Bruno Traven, and nominated for an Oscar for best foreign film. The author of works that used irony and humor to question Mexican society's double standard, he made a name for himself as a playwright in 1950 with *Rosalba y los llaveros* (Rosalba and the Key Rings), directed by Salvador Novo. That same year he received a Rockefeller fellowship and in 1955, another from the Mexican Writers Center. He wrote about 150 performance pieces, among which are plots for plays, librettos for opera and film scripts. Some of his best known works are *Felicidad* (Happiness) (1957); *Te juro, Juana que tengo ganas* (I Swear, Juana, that I Want It) (1963); *Fotografía en la playa* (Photograph on the Beach) (1993); and *Escrito en el cuerpo de la noche* (Written on the Body of the Night) (1993). His comedy *Rosa de dos aromas* (Two-Scented Rose) (1986) has been one of the Mexican theater's most successful plays.

In 2002, he received many awards and distinctions: he won the Juan Ruiz de Alarcón National Award for Playwriting, yet another in a long list throughout his career; he was inducted into the Academy of the Arts; and he received the Golden Ariel in Mexico City's Fine Arts Palace, a national film award for his life's work as the writer of more than 50 film scripts. In 2005, his last play, *Lula y Perla (más la justicia)* (Lula and Perla [Plus Justice]), opened as part of the celebrations for his eightieth birthday. In his opinion, to be a good playwright, in addition to natural talent and training, you need "to have sensible literary skills, to write well, because an idea might be very good, but if it's not well written, it's good for nothing, and it won't be effective: the playwright is a poet on stage, that's all."[1]

Carballido, educator and promoter of new authors, will be remembered as a writer who was always young, pro-active, contemporary and innovative. VM

María Cristina Hernández Escobar
Assistant Editor

NOTES

[1] His words on receiving the Juan Ruiz de Alarcón Award in May 2002.

Two-Scented Rose

Synopsis

Two women discover they have been in love with the same man when they are both told that Marco Antonio —"Maco" to Gabriela, his wife, or "Tony" to his lover Marlene— is in jail.

The two women meet at the jail. A few misunderstandings reveal to them the circumstances that make them enemies according to the dictates of society. Despite everything, they agree to help Marco Antonio and start doing all they can to get the money together to get him out of jail. However, along the way, they go through many difficulties —some very painful, presented with black humor— and both come to a bitter-sweet awareness. They reflect about the life they have each led in a profoundly misogynist society in which they have not been fully in control of their decisions, regardless of their formal schooling or their socio-economic status. In the end, they face the dilemma of opting between getting him out of jail or leaving him there so he can assume the consequences of his actions as the Marxist he is.

Drawings in this section by Héctor Ponce de León.

Two-Scented Rose
(Fragment)

A Comedy

by Emilio Carballido[1]

A rose, by any other name, would smell as sweet.

William Shakespeare

Scene 7:

Gabriela's dining room. The table is full of dishes and the remains of a meal. Off: violent music, shots, dying cries. It's the TV.

Gabriela, *off*. Turn that damned thing down! You're not deaf!
Marlene, *entering*. They're going to be, and so are we.

(*She is all dolled up to go out. Begins clearing the table*.)

Gabriela, *entering*. Leave it, please. Tomorrow I'll pick it up. (*She is also very dressed up*.)
Marlene. It's horrible to wake up to a pigsty. It'll just take a minute…
Gabriela. I'm telling you, leave it. I'll do it in a sec. Adrián will help me.
Marlene. Adrián has to go with Héctor to pick up the money from the savers group. (*leaves carrying plates*)
Gabriela. Well. Okay. Your loin roast was delicious. (*leaves with things from the table*)
Marlene, *entering and going to the table for more*. I put a ton of capers in it. It's the most expensive part, so I'm always stingy with them. But not today! And raisins, bacon, olives, almonds…So, when you cut it, you get little pieces of whatever you put in it in every slice. (*licks and smacks her lips*) That's what I like the most!

(*Exits*)

Gabriela, *entering*. I hope it doesn't make the kids sick. Pork is pretty heavy, and they wolfed it down! Just like convalescent ogres, you know.

(*Exits*)

Marlene, *entering*. Hopefully they won't burst. You'd think they were starving little orphans. Just once they can fill their stomachs, right? Your spaghetti was delicious. What do you put in it? Héctor downed so much of it; he almost didn't have room for the pork. (*Exits*)

Gabriela, *entering*. There's no mystery about it. The key is the cheese, good parmesan, and it was imported. And the tomatoes have to be fresh, not out of a can. Well, of course I get the pasta from some Italians, and it turns out tasty. Oh dear, my table cloth. What a mess they made here. The wine is going to those children's heads. (*Exits*)

Marlene, *entering*. The cake was great, but it would have been good to make flan, too. I already put salt on the tablecloth; that'll keep it from staining.

(*picks up tablecloth by its four corners, including all the crumbs on it. Exiting, she crashes into Gabriela, hard. Both shout and laugh.*)

Marlene. What's going on? We're drunk, girl.

Gabriela. We must think we're Chaplin, hon.

(*they rub the sore spots*)

Marlene. Look what a mess it is. Where did I see a broom?

(*Exits*)

Gabriela. Leave it. It was my fault. You didn't bust anything, did you?

Marlene, *entering*. Nothing, very little. (*sweeping*) My fender hit one of your bones. (*she rubs herself*)

Gabriela. My muffler. (*she rubs herself, too*)

Marlene. So that's where you keep it? What a modern muffler. There: all clean. We'll wash the dishes later, before I go. (*leaves with the broom*)

Gabriela. You're like one of the Seven Dwarves. You don't stop. Say, I'm going to have you over every day.

Marlene, *entering*. You're on.

Gabriela. Forget the dishes. You want some rum?

Marlene. Another one?! Mmm. Well, okay.

Gabriela. Superb, like cognac. Maybe better. After a meal, a good shot of rum settles *everything*. And as an aperitif, on the rocks, it's manna from heaven. At any time of the day, really! Maco says I'm like a motorcycle, rrrrum-rrrrum-rrrrum.

(*They both freeze and look at each other. They drink. They sit. Sudden gloom. Silence. They take several sips, avoiding each other's eyes.*)

Marlene. Why did you have to mention that son-of-a-bitch? We were so happy.

(*Short pause*)

Gabriela. Son-of-a-bitch, sub-standard jerk.

(*Short pause*)

Marlene. Idiot shithead.

(*Short pause*)

Gabriela. Imbecile. Prick. Moron.

(*Short pause*)

Marlene. Fucking degenerate.

(*Short pause*)

Gabriela. Lecher, freeloader, sponger.

(*Short pause*)

Marlene. Jack-off, asshole, evil bastard. (*short pause*) Go on, it's your turn.
Gabriela, *trying to find something*. Liar, traitor, asshole, wannabe pimp.

(*Short pause*)

Marlene. Weakling, loafer, conceited shit, woman teaser.
Gabriela. Infra-midget, traitor, pseudo-Marxist, fart machine. (*short pause*) You go on.
Marlene. No, girl, you're hard to beat. Rich-ass-kisser, PRI-member, ass licker, no-balls imbecile. You go.

Gabriela. Fake man, fake husband, fake father, fake eyes, faker. What do you think? That was good! You go!

(*Marlene applauds her and takes a big breath*)

Marlene. Wham-bam-thank-you-ma'am, eats-everything-in-sight, ball-licker, cry baby, wimp, dweeb.

(*Both burst out laughing*)

Gabriela. Fifth-rate lady's man, little-girl's vampire, piggy-bank robber, black hole of the universe, masturbator, big buzzard, bat, broken umbrella.

Marlene. Nightmare, indigestion, loony-toon, broken rattle, ball of shit.

Gabriela. Pot belly, tapeworm-eater, mean son-of-a-bitch.

Marlene. Shit-kicker.

Gabriela. Toothpick-legs.

Marlene. Droopy butt.

(*They laugh so much that they choke, shout, hit each other on the back, and they drink more between guffaws. They end up crying together, with whimpering and sobs. They calm down. They drink, blow their noses, and fix themselves up*.)

Marlene. When do they finish paying you for my things?

Gabriela. Next Tuesday.

Marlene. We should tell Molina.

Gabriela. I already told him.

(*Silence*)

Marlene. You pick him up.

Gabriela. I wouldn't be seen dead there. You go.

Marlene. Why, if he's going to come to your house?

Gabriela. I don't want him here.

Marlene. I don't want him there, either!

Gabriela. He should go to the idiot he knocked up.[2]

Marlene. He'd be overjoyed, but they'd welcome him with a hail of bullets.

(*Pause*)

Gabriela. Marlene, seriously, you go for him. Take him with you.

Marlene. I wouldn't knowingly take anybody's old man away from another woman.

Gabriela. Sweetie, you're not taking anything away from me. I'm leaving him to you.

Marlene. That's real nice of you. Thanks. Sure, before, he had thought of living with me. I don't want him anymore. He's all yours.

Gabriela. Thanks, but no thanks. Put him wherever he fits.

Marlene. That's what I've always done, and very successfully, too.

Gabriela. Well, keep it up, and if you don't have any more room, I'll give you some suppositories.

Marlene. The kind you use?
Gabriela. The kind we use.

(*Silence*)

Marlene. I told you we were plastered.
Gabriela. Bad news. Sorry about that.
Marlene. Forget it, girl. The truth is…
Gabriela. Yes?
Marlene. That it's just a pipedream to think we're going to decide. We have to let him come out all by himself and see which house he goes to.
Gabriela. He might have another one, you know, that neither you or I even imagine.
Marlene. Yes.
Gabriela. Let-him-decide…I don't want that.
Marlene. Neither do I, but …that's the way it is, isn't it?
Gabriela. And you say I'm the cynical one.
Marlene. How much do we decide?
Gabriela. My career…my father decided that. He saw that I had a gift for languages. "You can be independent with that." Yeah, right, big time. Independent and free to work my butt off like a machine, translating things I don't care about. To support the children of two goldbricks, and…actually, to support their fathers. A boarding house would cost them more than this house.
Marlene. Well, I didn't pick the beauty salon. I started sweeping up hair, holding the curlers my mother was putting in. When I turned around, I already knew everything about it. Just like the kitchen: I followed her around, watching her cook…And then, because I felt capable, I did everything better than her. I've always liked to feel capable.
Gabriela. Me, too.
Marlene. But that wasn't choosing my life. I didn't choose Tony either. He took me home from the party and got into my bed without asking me. He's not affectionate. He doesn't help with anything, or almost anything. He gives a little bit so you can't complain. Lots cheaper than a whorehouse.
Gabriela. Then he shows his wallet, full of money, and he uses it to buy big books he doesn't read in a language he doesn't understand to decorate his cubicle. (*Pause*) And he's getting out next week…Wednesday or Thursday.
Marlene. And we're going to wait and see what he decides. Don't pretend you're not. We're going to wait for him to decide.
Gabriela. Yes, we are, aren't we? Marlene, I'm very mad at him, but…it's been so many years together, so much living together, two children! Even Adrián thinks of him a little as his father. Well, he's used to him. It's horrible to think about changing things, or being alone! I could end up with somebody just like him, or worse! This one I already know. Maybe that's love: knowing the entire repertory of the crap they can do to you.
Marlene. And the hots, too, sweetheart. Don't forget them. Knowing the good program that your Maco and my Tony have for between the sheets…When you get the urge. I don't know about you, but, there, he pulls his weight with me.
Gabriela. Yeah, he pulls his weight there with me, too. When he feels like it. And you know, sometimes, just out of pride, I tell him I don't want to? Sure, if he pushes a

little, I let myself be convinced. Isn't there any way that those bastards can be made to depend on a devious, bad-assed, demanding bitch?

Marlene. Yeah, but that kind isn't available. And neither you nor I would like being like them. Exploiting bitches they're called and the whole thing boils down to them not loving anybody. They love themselves; they kiss the mirror. One or two of them come into the salon. I prefer knowing how to love, even if I get what I've gotten!

Gabriela. Knowing how to love, knowing how to give yourself. Yes, it's nice. But what happens to us? And what about the men?! Aren't they ever going to love us as equals?

Marlene. I never see anybody, of any sex, who loves anybody as an equal. Any man who knows how to love gets set upon by some skank who sucks him dry.

Gabriela. And maybe you love each other a lot…Yes, it happens, it does. It happened to me. And you start to change; the bedroom stops being electric; it becomes routine; and he's just a little bit different, and me too, a little more…And one morning you wake up and you're strangers, and it's better if somebody moves out or the fights are going to start.

Marlene. And is it always, always like that?

Gabriela. To make sure it doesn't happen, you have to make the effort together. And if one of you makes the effort and the other doesn't, it all goes to hell.

Marlene. Are you saying that love is an effort of will?

Gabriela. That's what I'm saying.

Marlene. If you're lucky. Friendship's easier. When we find it.

Gabriela. Which is also an effort of will, but…a little less sad.

(*Pause*)

Marlene. Will you give the money to Molina?

Gabriela. We both will. (*pause*) Let him do what he wants when he gets out. Cheers, friend.

Marlene. Cheers…friend. (*they drink*) I'm going to wake Héctor. We're leaving. Call me a cab, would you?

(*They leave with their arms around each other.*) VM

NOTES

[1] Mexican playwright and writer. This fragment is Scene 7 of *Orinoco. Rosa de dos aromas. El mar y sus misterios. Escrito en el cuerpo de la noche. Los esclavos de Estambul* (Mexico City: FCE: 2008), pp. 74-82. *Voices of Mexico* wishes to thank the permission given by the Fondo de Cultura Económica publishing house, the publishers of Carballido's work, to print this fragment of one of his best known, most successful works.

[2] Marco Antonio (also known as "Maco" or "Tony") got involved with one of his students who, at the time the action takes place, is expecting his child. [Editor's Note.]

Reviews

Dos modelos de integración energética América del Norte/América del Sur
(Two Models of Energy Integration North America/South America)
Rosío Vargas and José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, eds.
CISAN-UNAM
Mexico City, 2007, 177 pp.

This volume presents pertinent, quality work and should be widely distributed, starting with its dissemination among UNAM students themselves.

This timely selection of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary essays centers mainly on the economy and international relations, but also includes energy engineering and environmental approaches. Its originality lies in its aim of presenting the reader with the best possible analysis of the notion generally accepted by scholars of the issue and the interested reading public about the two different models for energy integration that exist in the Americas.

The book's first virtue —and undoubtedly the attentive reader will discover this— is that the serious treatment given to its timely topic, mentioned in the work's title (*Two Models…*) brings to the fore three other issues. Even though they are fundamental, these three issues seem to be forgotten because of the recent, very important political changes and conflicts since 1999 throughout the hemisphere. If these three issues are glossed over, the central aim of the analyses presented in this book would lose a great deal of their meaning.

The first issue is the growing, irreversible importance energy has and will have for the survival and development of modern societies, including practically all of the ones in this hemisphere. The second is the worrisome question about the need for and the future of hemispheric energy integration as the best possible long-term horizon for the inhabitants of what, in honor of diversity, we call "the Americas" (plural). The third is the recovery of a Latin American vision derived from shared socio-economic conditions such as persistent poverty, inequality, backwardness and dependence, as well as common historic backgrounds and cultural patterns that identify the countries located from south of the Rio Grande to the Patagonia. That is, the recovery of the identity of the region known as "Latin America".

The efforts in CISAN's book advance precisely by posing the relevant aspects of the moment in which a profound, very long-term problem is situated in today and which, though long-term, requires urgent solution. There is no other way of dealing with the problem: only recognizing, characterizing and

seriously analyzing the current situation —regardless of our wish to reject or accept it— facing the nations of the Americas, as a situation in which the differences among the geo-economic regions stand out in stark relief. A brief perusal of the articles in any major newspaper dealing with big energy multinationals' investment plans or South American governments' initiatives is sufficient to begin to glimpse the importance of the book's subtitle (*North America/South America*) and to understand that this demands we not lose sight of the essential issues in the midst of signs of crisis, change or new elements.

Thus, the reader will find valuable information and rigorous reasoning that will help him/her to profoundly explain the discussion that gives rise to the situation: Does the palpable existence of *two* models of energy integration in the Americas imply the definite cancellation of the possibility of *one* single kind of energy integration for the hemisphere, or, on the contrary, would the latter continue to be a possible and desirable route for all the nations of the Americas?

If the response is that a single model of integration is possible, it would still be necessary to determine how to achieve it: despite the existence of the two different models or thanks to them? Could the two energy integration models co-exist and develop in a complementary way? Or are they now and will they remain in conflict, clashing and barring each other's way in the fight to be dominant along the road to the inevitable —even if in the very long term— energy integration of the continental Americas and the Caribbean.

Of course, this way of understanding the importance of the existence of different energy integration projects also takes into account the historic division of the hemisphere into "the Americas," that is, North America, South America and the Caribbean. Even with the still recent failure of the energy integrationist position promoted strongly by the U.S. government, particularly after 9/11, as part of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and as a continuance of its market reforms since the end of the 1980s, we are still left with the question: Is the desire for reaching a hemisphere-wide energy integration of the Americas, regardless of the form it would take, a necessity for the economic and social advancement of their inhabitants?

In the political sphere, the sphere of power, the answer to this question reveals the continuing need to advance along the road to integration: the failure of FTAA integration did not lead at all to abandoning the formulation and implementation of energy measures in the hemisphere, but rather gave rise to at least two large models, the ones presented in this book.

On the other hand, what is the specific weight that other dimensions of social life, different from the political factors, have in explaining the continued proposals of energy integration, specifically those headed up by the United States in the north and by Venezuela from the south? That is to say, are the economic, environmental, military and other kinds of difficulties what forces the different social actors, particularly decision-makers, to persevere in their efforts to achieve a broad energy integration? Is it possible, for example, that the Latin Americanist, Bolivarian political proposal known as ALBA (the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean), promoted by the Venezuelan government, can achieve the consensuses needed for hemisphere-wide energy integration without renouncing interest in Latin American development?

If these questions and many others as yet unformulated make it worthwhile reading the entire book, anyone who does so will also find that the editors of *Two Models of Energy Integration* have made sure to include quality articles and a diversity of points of view, approaches and nationalities. At the same time they lead the reader to recognize the need to formulate viable ways out for palpable difficulties like those posed for our hemisphere by the worldwide energy crisis and transition.

In this sense, it is altogether respectable that the authors of the different essays present us with approaches that do not seek to inhibit the necessary debate about crucial issues, or attempt to have the last word in the matter. For example, some emphasize the important function of markets in the modern economy in general and in the energy market in particular, while others underline the question of energy security and sovereignty.

The book presents the voices of Canadian, Mexican and Brazilian experts. They differ among themselves undoubtedly, but none of them professes to put an end to the debate, no matter how much he or she disagrees with the other's conclusions. Despite the difficulties for reaching consensuses, what we have here is a clear effort to fully argue and understand the different possible interpretations of the facts that the definition and analysis logically give rise to. We may mention here —and venture a suggestion for any future works Dr. Vargas may prepare— that we miss the participation of U.S. and Bolivian authors.

To sum up, we can conclude that this is a contribution presented by the UNAM from Mexico and North America, obligatory for anyone interested in broadening his or her knowledge and enriching the debate about central, profound issues for the entire hemisphere. VM

Juan José Dávalos López
Professor of the
UNAM School of Economics

Indicadores sociales, políticos y económicos TLCAN-UE. Un enfoque comparado
(NAFTA and EU Social, Political and Economic Indicators. A Comparative Approach)
Alejandro Chanona Burguete
UNAM/Gernika/Centro de Estudios Europeos-FCPyS
Mexico City, 2007, 199 pp.

It is almost impossible for researchers in international relations to find empirical data on social, political and economic issues in different countries in a single source, despite the availability of a wide array of reliable sources for each of these fields. They can be found on the websites of different international organizations like the World Bank (WB), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). However, very few single sources —if any— provide rigorous comparative data on all these issues, and comparative data on countries or regions is even more difficult to find. For the researcher, this can represent a serious problem in terms of time and methodology.

In this context, *Indicadores sociales, políticos y económicos TLCAN-UE. Un enfoque comparado*, by European studies expert Alejandro Chanona Burguete, is an invaluable tool for scholars and students researching relations between North America and Europe, and especially between Mexico and its NAFTA partners and European countries. In a single volume, this book, the result of an UNAM collective and inter-institutional research project, presents a wide range of statistical data in these fields

for both North America and the European Union. In addition, its rigorous review and systematization of the data provides the reader with a comparative analysis of the regions and the countries within these regions.

The data is grouped in 14 broad sections organized as chapters: geography, demographics, macroeconomics, economic globalization, the labor market, education and competitiveness, health, living standards, human development, governance, military security, information and communications, the environment and energy. These sections cover a total of 75 different indicators taken from the WB, the IMF, the OECD, the United Nations (UN), the International Labor Organization, the UNDP, Mexico's Economy Ministry, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the Bonn International Center for Conversion, among other prestigious sources. Each chapter opens with a normative definition of the subject to help the reader avoid methodological confusions. Where necessary, given the variety of methodologies and understandings of the concepts in different countries, the author also provides a description of the methodologies used to measure a given indicator, such as poverty, understood very differently in Europe and North America.

The author warns, however, that, in presenting this data, the book does not attempt to resolve the problem of a lack of reliable statistics for comparative analysis between countries and regions. Rather, it aims at providing a statistical portfolio for researchers and students conducting research in comparative international relations, economics and politics. Neither does the book undertake policy assessment or establish links between the different indicators; instead, it identifies the areas in which countries have good and bad records, pointing to paths for further research. In the author's own words, the book is an important source of reference material for research and teaching. However, although it establishes no relationships between indicators, the reader can draw his/her own conclusions about some of the comparisons, which in turn could also suggest directions for further research.

Due to space limitations, I will present only some of these figures and research directions, more specifically figures for the economic and social fields. First, the book provides the reader with a geographical and demographic overview of the two regions, contrasting the trends in population growth and change, including migration. In this area, Europe has a higher rate of immigration than North America (2.6 vs. 1.6), but this is because Mexico's numbers are negative (-4.6, which means that more people are leaving the country than entering), and this brings the overall regional figure down. Surprisingly, the U.S. immigration rate is lower (3.3) than that of Canada (5.9), but both are higher than the average European rate (2.6). It comes as a surprise, too, to see that in Europe, Luxemburg rather than France (0.66), Spain (0.89) or the UK (1.97), has the highest immigration rate (8.9).

In the field of economics, the book presents comparative figures in three areas representing three different levels: the global (economic globalization), the macro (macroeconomics) and the micro (labor markets). In economic globalization, the book presents trade figures, especially Mexico's trade with the U.S., Canada and Europe, which are common knowledge (Mexico's exports depend on the U.S., and its imports outpace its exports to both regions). At the macro level, however, the book reveals that Mexico's gross domestic product (GDP) is similar to that of Spain and Canada: between 1993 and 2003, Mexico grew 52 percent, whereas Spain grew 69 percent and Canada 70 percent. Its per capita GDP, however, is the lowest in both regions: Europe's average is US$23,183, while in North America it is US$21,440. In contrast, in Mexico it barely reaches US$9,168.

In the labor market, Mexico continues to occupy last place in the rankings: even though Mexico, together with Austria, Ireland and Luxemburg, has the lowest unemployment rate (less than 5 percent, contrasting with Germany, Spain and France's 10 percent), the figures do not take into account underemployment, which is at 20 percent. Mexico's unemployment among young people confirms the country's lack of opportunities: it is the highest in both regions (47.2 percent). The average in the

U.S. and Canada is 30 percent, whereas in Europe, it is 23.9 percent.

Mexico's low levels of social well-being can also be traced in the social data, clearly indicating its deficiencies in relation to its trade partners. Mexico is always last in the rankings for education and competitiveness, health, living standards and human development, and tends to drag down figures for the North American region as a whole. In education, for instance, Mexico has the lowest levels of enrollment in both regions, together with Austria, Germany, Greece and Italy, although it does not do well in schooling levels compared to the majority of these countries.

Nevertheless, Mexico's health budget is the lowest in both regions, representing just 2.7 percent of GDP; the lowest ranking in Europe is Greece with 5 percent, far behind Germany's 8.6 percent. It therefore comes as no surprise that Mexico, together with the U.S., is the country where people invest the most money in private health services. Mexico's living standards compare unfavorably to its North American neighbors and trade partners: in the U.S. and Canada people have a life expectancy of over 80, whereas in Mexico it is 75. Mexico is among the countries in both regions where people live the shortest lives, forming a group with Portugal, Ireland, Denmark and the U.S.

These are only some of the figures Alejandro Chanona's book offers to suggest interesting and new directions for research, along with fascinating material in the fields of politics and the environment. It promises to become an essential source of reference material for both students and scholars in the social sciences. VM

Ariadna Estévez López
Researcher at CISAN